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**A Critical Discourse Analysis of *Hillary Clinton's*
Presidential Campaign (2016)**

**The Launch & Concession Speeches
(Fairclough's Framework)**

Presented by :

MOULAY Houda

Board of Examiners:

Chairperson: Mrs. KAID OMAR L.Z.

University of Mostaganem

Supervisor: Dr. BENNEGHROUZI F.

University of Mostaganem

Examiner: Dr BOUDJLAL M.

University of Mostaganem

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Abstract

This research work aims at extracting the discursive structures in Hillary Clinton's presidential election campaign discourse of 2016. Using Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis, the work attempts to uncover the elements of gender references, rhetoric, frames and intertextuality in the Campaign Launch speech and the Concession Speech. The study is divided into three chapters. The first one introduces the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis. In addition, it highlights the notions of rhetoric, the political discourse and the U.S. presidential campaign. The second chapter introduces Hillary Clinton and explains the methods and describes the data. It, further, sheds light on the framework of analysis. The third chapter is devoted to the critical discourse analysis of Clinton's Launch and Concession Speeches of the election campaign. The analysis starts at the level of the text and moves to discursive practice level. At last, we came up to identifying the elements of gender references, frames, intertextuality and rhetorical techniques that are underlying in both speeches.

Keywords: CDA, Fairclough's Framework, Hillary Clinton, U.S. Presidential Election 2016, Gendered Discourse, Rhetoric, Framing, Intertextuality.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work

To my parents for their inestimable love,
their consciousness, their support, their sacrifices
and all the values they have been able to inculcate.

To my sisters and my brothers for their tenderness,
their complicity and their presence.

To all my family and my friends.

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List of Abbreviations

App.:	Appendix
CDA:	Critical Discourse Analysis
CS:	The Concession Speech
DA:	Discourse Analysis
HC:	Hillary Clinton
LS:	The Launch Speech
USA:	The United States of America (U.S.)

General Introduction

The centrality of language in constructing social worlds is considerable. Our use and understanding of language, in turn, construct the way we view ourselves and those social worlds. In this respect, we perform communications and situations of interaction to build certain relations, to maintain ideas and values and to construct identities. The forms of those communications, together with the participants in the act, determine what is known as "discourse". The nature of the latter has, in the recent decades, led many researchers, scholars and educators to study it.

As a basic factor in our communications, discourse has the significance of carrying out the responsibility of our use and understanding of language. When someone's discourse affect on a group of people, and that proves the strength and powerfulness of such linguistic tool. However, the relations among those people can, in turn, affect the discursive patterns; meanwhile, the latter represent the social relations. A prominent space where discourses can dominate people is politics. Opinions, identities, visions, values and ideologies are all communicated through discursive practices. In the last few decades, a major theory in linguistics, known as 'critical discourse analysis', has emerged to study, explain and interpret such kind of social practices.

In the light of the latest American presidential election (2016), some personal interests in its discourses have built the bases for the present study. First, the politics of the greatest country in the world is worth studying. Second, as a student of English language –particularly of sociolinguistics-, the interest in going through an experience of being a critical analyst has surely been of a great motivation and support for this study. Last, it is highly important to note that the personal interest in the American female politician, Hillary Clinton, has

prompted speculations over her presidency. Because the American presidency has always been male-dominated, it has become more interesting for this study to be initiated. Despite the disappointment and loss after the results of the election, other interests in the discourses of Clinton have triggered other perspectives towards the study.

This research work aims at critically analyzing the discourse of Clinton in the presidential election campaign (2016). Through adopting Norman Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis, this work attempts to uncover the hidden discursive structures in two sample speeches of Clinton's campaign: the Campaign Launch Speech and the Concession Speech. The main question of this research is: how are the structures of gender references, rhetoric, and social exclusion and inclusion represented in Hillary Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech and Concession Speech? To make the study manageable, it is hypothesized that Clinton's both Launch and Concession speeches consist of such elements as gender references, rhetoric, and social exclusion and inclusion.

The study is divided into three chapters, the first one is devoted to introducing the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis, with regard to the notion of rhetoric, the political discourse and the U.S. presidential campaign. The second chapter gives space to Clinton's biography and explains the methodology of the work. It, further, sheds light on the framework of analysis. Adopting Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis. The last chapter is devoted to analyzing Clinton's Launch and Concession Speeches of the election campaign through two analytical parts: the text analysis and the discursive practice analysis. Finally, the findings are noted and discussed.

Chapter One

Theoretical Frameworks

Introduction

Since language reflects our intentions, thoughts and ideologies, it offers dominance to certain ideologies, identities and cultures to be prominent within a society. This reflection has recently become the concern of linguists and social scientists. In the last two decades, many researchers in linguistics, language studies and other social sciences have been interested in what is known by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Moreover, they started analyzing lots of written and oral texts and speeches, especially in mass media and political fields. The introductory section of the present chapter is devoted to the theoretical frameworks of Discourse, Discourse Analysis (DA) and CDA. Also, this chapter introduces the meaning of rhetoric and its aspects in political discourses. This chapter closes the door by introducing the features of Presidential elections

1.1 Discourse, DA and CDA

For the purpose of clarifying the concept of CDA, it is necessary to define the primary notions of discourse and discourse analysis. After all, they could all share the same subject of study, yet each one of them has its level of intensity in processing, studying and analyzing. The three notions are defined below.

1.1.1 Discourse

Many scholars and linguists that work in the fields language and social sciences have been concerned in the study of discourse. The term discourse refers to any form of language use in the society (van Dijk, 1997; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Fairclough, 1993). It may also denote different meanings to different people. Yet, it technically refers to the exchange of linguistic sentences or utterances between the speaker and the hearer, or the writer and the reader. As for van Dijk (1997, p. 2), discourse is “the use that people make of language to convey ideas, thoughts, or beliefs within a social context.” Similarly, Wodak and Ludwig

(1999) claimed that the discourse and the society in which it is used are interrelated and, thus, affect each other.

1.1.2 Discourse Analysis (DA)

The notion of DA has attracted many scholars. It differs from the notion of discourse in what Jorgensen & Phillips (2011) provided. On the one hand, Jorgensen & Phillips said that the commonsense definition of discourse is the verbal interchange of ideas, especially conversations. It is based on different contexts such as medical and political discourses. On the other hand, they defined DA as the analysis of language beyond the sentence or utterance. For sociolinguists, DA is primarily used as tool for studying how norms and rules of talk in a particular community are used and matched with different conversational and institutional contexts, in order to describe and explain the meanings in a social interaction.

1.1.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In the late 1970, an area of language study rapidly started developing. This area regards discourse as ‘a form as social practice’ (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258). It is named Critical Discourse Analysis as it takes consideration of the context of language use to be crucial to discourse; moreover, it takes an interest in the relation between language and power (Wodak, 2001). Also, Caroline Coffin (2001: 99) defined CDA as “an approach to language analysis which concerns itself with issues of language, power and ideology”. It is also well appropriate here to consider van Dijk's definition (2001):

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is 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. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus

want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

(p.352)

CDA was introduced by Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress, Bob Hodge and Tony Trew, *language and control* (1979), and later developed by Norman Fairclough (1989) in the UK, Ruth Wodak (1989) in Austria, and van Dijk (1993) in the Netherlands. Wodak (2010) talked about CDA stating that:

CDA can be defined as a problem-orientated interdisciplinary research programme, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods, and agendas. What unites all approaches is a shared interest in the semiotic dimensions of power, injustice, and political-economic, social, or cultural change in society.

(p.302)

What Wodak stated shows the concern of CDA with social problems, not necessarily with language or language use, but rather with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes, identities, powers and structures. Similarly, Meyer et al (2000:146) considered CDA as interdisciplinary, that is to say involving different areas and approaches.

In addition, in order to reveal all about an ideology that a discourse underlies, CDA is the right choice since it is like performing an autopsy to the discourse, be it spoken or written (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010, p55). As an important branch of DA, CDA focuses on talking ways in relation to thinking ways, and highlights “the traces of cultural and ideological meaning in spoken and written texts” (O’Halloran 2005: 1946). Also, for Fairclough (2003, p24), social events, represented in texts, social practices, represented in discourse orders, and social structures, represented in languages, all realize the dialectic nature of the language-society relation.

However, as far as discourse is embedded within sociopolitical and socio-cultural contexts, a larger number of such contexts is included in CDA. Hence, the linguistic analysis' fieldwork is broadened by CDA. Further, the macro-analysis stages deal with naturalized discourse, from being common sense and acceptable to the deep process of making the ideological bases of the discourse clearer (Fairclough 1995). Indeed, politics is the most fitting social field that invites CDA to do its job. Ideological fights are demonstrated in parliaments, political debates, and presidential campaigns. That is expected since, as van Dijk (2004, p.11) claims, "it is eminently here that different and opposed groups, power, struggle and interests are at stake. In order to be able to compete, political groups need to be ideologically conscious and organized."

1.2 Ideology

CDA is an appropriate method and powerful device for deconstructing texts and speeches to come up with the intended ideologies. CDA, according to Billig (2003), has become an approach that aims to enhance understanding social structure, power, gender, identity, ideologies that are activated, maintained, confirmed, legitimated and challenged in the discourse. The term "ideology" has a direct link with political issue as it represents a set of beliefs or principles, one on which a political system, party or organization is based. Scholars in the field of language, however, often tend to extend the concept of ideology beyond the political area and define it in a rather politically neutralized sense as "a set of ideas, which organize our lives and help us understand the relation to our environment" (Calzada-Pérez, 2003, p.5).

Van Dijk (2002) defined an ideology as a system of beliefs, that he named "social representations", shared by members of a certain social group. To him, this group shares the same attitudes or knowledge He claimed: "ideologies are the organizing, basic beliefs of these

social representations" (van Dijk, 2002, p.17), The traditions, norms, principles, and society values are the common cultural ground that the members of any society have. Those grounds are the basis for all cognition within the same group or between different groups, and thus is also presupposed by different ideologies.

Norms like freedom, equality, justice or objectivity are the general norms that represent the basic structure of ideologies. Thus, those norms and values are organized by the society members as their ideology. Fairclough (1992) said that "ideologies built into conventions may be more or less naturalized and automatized"(p.90). Ideologies, to him, are inherited in the unconscious side of our personalities. Therefore, one may response in an automated reactions. For that, it is sometimes proved that one may not identify the influence of their ideology on them.

1.3 CDA Major Frameworks

Before the analysis takes place, the theoretical assumptions should be clarified so that the tools of linking sociology to linguistics would conceptually be developed (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010, p.61). The mentioned tasks can be considered as the basic steps for integrating a theoretical framework for CDA. In addition, it is extremely important to create a framework that can find a way for the sociological and linguistic perspectives to exist and agree. The pluralism of theories and frameworks is a strength of CDA. However, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) claimed that a synthesis of theories is not "a monistic theory model" or "more true than the individual theories" (p.125).

1.3.1 Norman Fairclough's Framework

One of the most used and best known analytical framework in CDA is the tripartite model of analyzing the ideologies and powers introduced by Fairclough. The three provided levels of analysis, in Fairclough's framework, are the description, the interpretation, and the

explanation (as noted by Fairclough 1989, p.26). Furthermore, this model deals with the process of meaning-making within the discourse. Also, it tends to interpret how people cognitively implement and invest meanings in their speeches and texts. However, the various social contexts are taken into account in the crucial part of analysis, namely the explanation. The constituents of Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA are merely three inter-related processes of analysis. These processes are linked to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. They are all clarified below.

1.3.1.1 Description

The object of analysis is the first dimension that the first process tackles, and that is the text. The term text, according to Fairclough (1993, p. 138), refers to “the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event.” For instance, the television language intensifies the multi-semiotic character of texts and adds visual images and sound. Analyzing the text is the first step in Fairclough's CDA model. It implies the study of language structures that is spoken or written for discursive states. According to Fairclough, close analysis of texts is a significant part of social scientific analysis of a whole range of social and cultural practices and processes.

1.3.1.2 Interpretation

The second dimension of Fairclough's model for CDA is the discursive practice. The process that takes place here is the interpretation. According to Rodgers et al (2005, p.372), the production process is tied to the interpretation and consumption. That means, the product is first examined, then the embedded meaning is understood. The way people produce, interpret and transform texts is the concern of this dimension. Hence, it is an in-between step that opens the door to a wider context of analysis.

1.3.1.3 Explanation

The third and final dimension is tied to the analysis of socio-cultural practice. Whatever happens is the social, historical and cultural frameworks that cover the discourse is investigated in this process. Issues like power and ideology are explored through the ways discourses operate in the society. Fairclough (1995) considered language use as socially shaped and socially shaping. He considered texts and discourses as socially constitutive by stating that “[L]anguage use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs.” (p.134).

The following figure shows Fairclough's three dimensional framework of Discourse and Discourse Analysis: (reformulated from: Locke, 2004, p. 42)

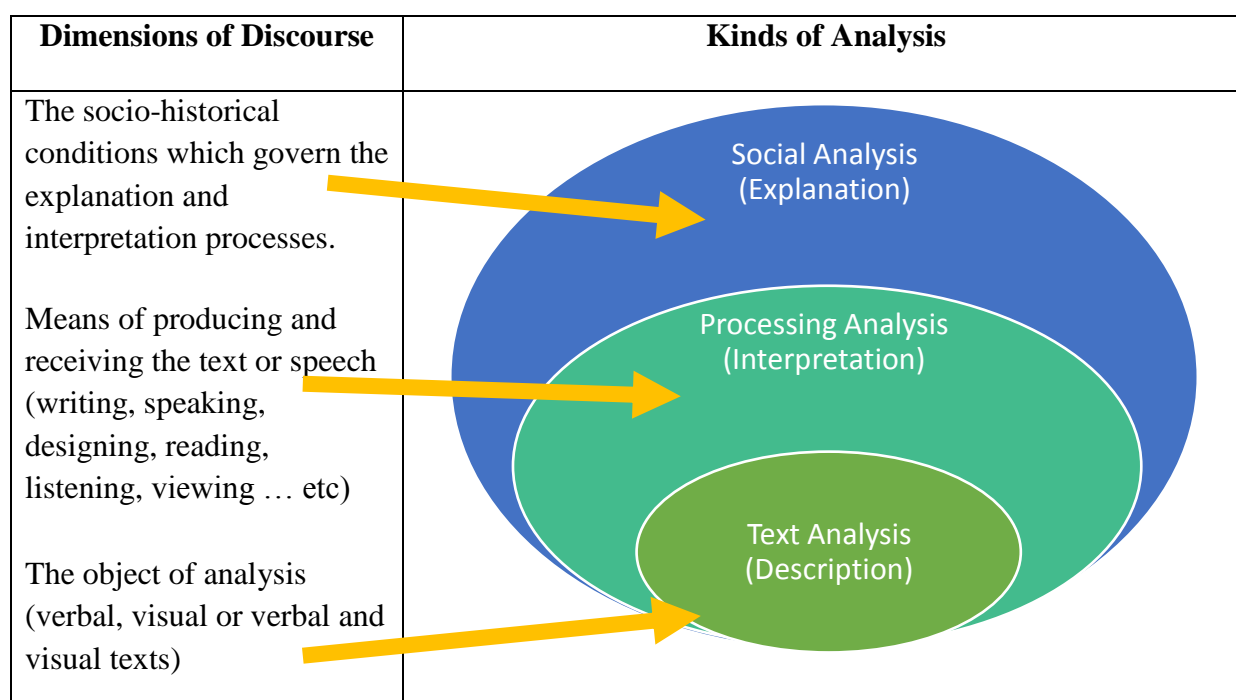


Figure 1. Fairclough's Model for CDA

1.4 Rhetoric

When it comes to 'rhetoric', it is necessary to mention Aristotle's definition in his book Rhetoric. According to him, rhetoric can be defined as “the faculty of observing in any given

case the available means of persuasion” (as quoted in Crider, 2014: p11). In this connection, the term 'rhetoric' was explained by Holmes (1739) as the act of speaking not just morally well, but with art and elegance. He, also, considered it as a persuasion power and skillfulness in public speaking. John Holmes (1739) recognized the principal end of rhetoric is to instruct, persuade, and please. He defined it as:

[A. RHETORIC is the Art of *Speaking* or *Writing well and ornamentally* on any Subject.

Its Principal *End* is to *Instruct, Persuade, and Please.*

Its Chief *Office* is to seek what may be *most conducive* to Persuasion.

B. The *Subject* it treats on is *any Thing whatever*, whether it be Moral, Philosophical, or Divine.] (p.1)

1.4.1 Rhetoric and Politics

Indeed, one of the most rhetorically analyzed domains is politics. The rhetorical analysis, generally, deals with the way a person persuades the others. That means, it studies the inherited energy in the thoughts, emotions and ideologies that the person transmit through language forms (Herrick, 2005). Hence, rhetoric involves someone when they express their feelings and thoughts in the pursuit of persuading others. People who are in high relevance to this kind of analysis are politicians, namely leaders, ministers and presidents.

Aristotle thought of three different speech genres, known as deliberative, epideictic and judicial. He claimed that rhetoric is represented according to those genres in three types of action, respectively noted as political, ceremonial and legal. In all cases of rhetorical analysis, rhetoricians appeal to reason, character and emotion (Crider, 2014: p12). However, what is around those genres and whatever shape a discourse has are also influential on the context in which a rhetoric exists. Medhurst & Ritter (2003) confirmed that rhetoric cannot be separated

from other considerable elements in the analysis. They stated: "Rhetoric cannot—and should not—be treated as an entity unto itself. It always exists in a dynamic relationship with people, policies, practices, and circumstances that give shape and substance to the discourse."(p.12)

In line with defining the appropriate political ends, Aristotle also recognized that rhetoric can help with and contribute to such definition. However, other philosophers obscured Aristotle's defense of rhetoric by denigrating it, Kant and Plato were among them (Triadafilopoulos, 1999, p.743). In addition, to instance the importance and the age-old significance of rhetoric, Rome rhetoricians meant more than delivering speeches. However, Medhurst & Ritter (2003) listed, other than politics in general, many things that rhetoric cannot be separated from. They said:

Rhetoric cannot be separated from the exigencies and constraints which gave rise to the discourse, or from the actions of the person who delivers the discourse, or from the actions, statements, and values of those who labor at the pleasure of the president and under his direct authority—cabinet members, staff members, party operatives, and, yes, speechwriters themselves. (pp.11-12)

Their example of presidency, as it represents the face of high politics, allows us to go deeply into the rhetoric of presidents. Also, the discourse, discourse deliverers (like presidents), people around those deliverers, and they focused on those who write the speeches. Hence, by relating the rhetorical studies as persuasive processes to the subject matter of politics, Vickers (1988) mentioned opinions of philosophers, other than Aristotle, on such relation and linkage between rhetoric and politics. Vickers said:

Plato equates rhetoric and political speech, broadly speaking, with flattery. He argues that truth can only be disclosed in private

conversations, not in the public sphere. Both politics and rhetoric should therefore be abandoned in favor of Socratic philosophy, which alone has access to the truth. (p.90)

Away from the conflict of opinions in such area, Aristotle's understanding of the political rhetoric—or rhetoric of politics—is worth discussion. In all arts and sciences, the means of persuasion are found, and politics is no exception. Aristotle referred those means to as rhetorical proofs (Griffin, 2012) . Indeed, these artistic proofs are made by the speaker. The three Aristotle's rhetorical proofs are introduced below with relevance instances to the political rhetoric.

1.4.1.1 Ethos

Ethos is the first mode of persuasion. This persuasion is achieved by the speaker's personal character. It is regarded as "the most effective means of persuasion" (Aristotle, 1358 a1,10). The intent of the speaker is to appear credible. According to Aristotle, there are three prerequisites that are necessary to appear credible: competence, good intention, and empathy, which is by choosing language that is appropriate for the audience and topic, also choosing proper level of vocabulary, the rhetoric making himself sound fair or unbiased, introducing his expertise, and by using correct grammar and syntax.

1.4.1.2 Pathos

The second mode of persuasion which is the appeal to the emotions of the audience words like sympathy-empathy are derived from pathos. Language choice affects the audience's emotional response, and emotional appeal can effectively be used to enhance an argument. The aim of pathos is to reduce the audience's ability to judge. It can be developed by using meaningful language, correct use of figures of speech, emotion evoking examples, stories of

emotional events and implied meanings. This allows the speaker to increase the effectiveness of the delivery, by either underlying the strong parts or minimize the weak parts.

1.4.1.3 Logos

The third and the last mode is logos. According to Aristotle, pathos relies on making a logical argument backed with reason or evidence to persuade the audience. Persuasion is affected through the speech itself when we have proved a truth or an apparent truth by means of the persuasive arguments suitable to the case in question (Aristotle, 135ba2, 3). Pathos is an important technique, and Aristotle's favourite. Giving reason is the heart of argumentation. Pathos consists of two different forms of proofs : the natural and the technical proof. Natural proofs are based on given data like documents, testimonies etc. The artificial/technical proofs are those that are created with the art of logic.

1.5 Political Discourse

Political discourse has been defined by many linguists in different ways. Schaffner (2004) defined it simply as a sub-category of discourse in general that is based on the theme and the function. A political discourse has different functions because of the different political activities. Also, It is thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics such as political activities, ideas, relations and tendencies. Van Dijk (2002) stipulated that political discourse is not only defined by a topic or style, but rather by who speaks to whom, as what, on what occasion and with what goals. In other words, political discourse is especially 'political' because of its functions in the political process (p.225).

Moreover, van Dijk defined political discourse not only in terms of discourse structures but also in terms of political contexts. He (2004) contends that:

It is not sufficient to observe, for instance, that political discourse often features the well-known ‘political’ pronoun *we*. It is crucial to relate such use to such categories as [*who is speaking, when, where and with/to whom,*] that is, to specific aspects of the [*political situation.*] (p. 13)

The field of politics, in this context, is a social organization. In addition, dealing with politicians and political groups is a matter of ideological differences, alliances or similarities. To van Dijk, the production and understanding of political discourses involves the political ideologies that are represented in many political practices. Moreover, those ideologies are produced by political discourses (p.11). Ideologies, thus, are observable through political discourse. They may be explicitly or implicitly formulated. One major political practice that this study highlights is the presidential elections, much focus is namely on the American case.

1.5.1 U.S. Presidential Elections

In the U.S. constitutional history, since 1789, there have been fifty two presidential elections—three in the eighteenth century, twenty five in the nineteenth century, and twenty-four so far in the twentieth century. The presidential election process has been described as being at the core of representative democracy in the united states. It occurs every four years on election day, held the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. It begins with the primary elections and caucuses and moves to nominating conventions, during which political parties each select a nominee to unite behind. The nominee also announces a vice presidential running mate at this time. The candidates then campaign across the country to explain their views and plans to voters and participate in debates with candidates from other parties.

During the general election, Americans head to the polling booths to cast their votes for president. But the popular vote does not determine the winner. Instead, presidential elections

use the electoral college which was created in the earliest days of the U.S as a voting system that allows the disparate states to come together and elect a single president to represent them all. Harvey thinks that elections are a central mechanism by which one's society resolves conflicts, because it has the effect of offering protection for individuals from their leaders, and provide an opportunity for citizen growth and education.

1.5.2 U.S. Presidential Campaigns

The presidential campaign is considered to be the focal point of American politics. Campbell (2008) said: "campaigns in some form are perpetually in progress. Even before election is over, speculation begins about who might make the run in the next election." Campbell tracked and analyzed presidential campaigns. As an exhausting activity, a political campaign seems to be a challenging activity for nominees. Much money funds are spent by American candidates in their campaigns. They go to every town in the country to make speeches, hire staff people, pay for TV ads, and host conventions.

Campaigns, moreover, are based on technological support in this age. As it is known, media and technology embody the backbone of any campaign. Well designed tools will allow your campaign team to share information easily and efficiently, make well-informed decisions, and easily expand as you approach election day. Every campaign needs three positions filled: treasurer, fundraiser and campaign manager, that the candidate relies on to carry the campaign to victory. The first position; treasurer, is responsible for maintaining the campaign's financial accounting both for internal purposes and for filling legally required campaign statements. While this can be done by a trusted family member or friend. They must have the time necessary to perform the duties on a daily basics.

Second, the fundraiser job is primarily to focus on raising the money necessary for a successful campaign. They are there to ensure that the candidate's efforts are properly focuses

and minimized, and to prepare call lists and meetings for the candidate with potential donors. Finally, the campaign manager; who is the most important member of the campaign team. They are responsible for all aspects of the campaign. They should have a basic understanding of election strategy, be comfortable delegating, have good organization skills and be able to work well with the candidate and the entire team to develop the campaign strategy , and coordinate all aspects of the organization, from fund raising to paid media to voter contact activities.

After these tools, team, budget, strategy, and message are put together, running the actual campaign is mostly just a matter of implementing. The campaign needs to be prepared for changing circumstances and may need to revise any of these previously prepared items, but with solid planning, all daily operations will run much more smoothly.

1.5.3 Campaign Rhetoric

There are many major areas of power that are potentially found in a president. A male president, for instance, has constitutional and statutory power granted by the constitution or conferred by law. He is politically empowered, regardless to power with public opinion. Campaign rhetoric is referred to how a presidential nominee persuades the public. Rhetoricians argued that campaign speeches given by those running for president (as well as their followers), is a persuasive strategies and tactics to connect their favoured policies with beliefs that are widely revered. In other words, public speeches provide important information to the audience and persuade them to prefer you and seek support from the entire constituency.

Conclusion

It is difficult to say whether or not the orator's speech has a true effect. There are expectations for nominees to fulfill as a rhetorical leader. The American public accepts the

orators to speak to them. guide them and comfort them using specific constraints, which must be accounted for in evaluating an orator's persuasive influence. All in all, one may notice that the first part attempted to provide a concise explanation on CDA and its major models. Then, the second part calls upon how rhetoric matters. The next chapter demonstrates the most prominent female American politician, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Chapter Two

Methodology

Introduction

As an introduction to the CDA methodology of the study, this chapter is devoted to the data description. Prior to this, light is shed on HC's biography and political career, with a special focus on rhetoric which reveals the significant elements of power and ideology. Before moving to analyzing some of her speeches, it is necessary to give some background information about the political and rhetorical experience of HC. In addition, this part of the study includes further explanations on Fairclough's model of CDA that this study adopts. Hence, this chapter is but a base for and an introduction to the analytical part.

2.1 Hillary Rodham Clinton

The former Secretary of State, the Democratic candidate, and the proud New Yorker, Hillary Clinton has attracted the public's attention since the presidential election of 1992 that her husband, Bill Clinton, won. She served as a Senator for New York State and ran for presidential election in 2008. As an experienced politician, she carried out the participation in the presidential campaign in 2016. She has specific views about a number of issues such as abortion, free trade, energy policy, environmental issues, foreign policy, war on terrorism, immigration, gun control, health care, tax issues (Kelley, 2001, pp. 3-17; Shambaugh, 2010, pp.21-25)

2.1.1 Early Life and Education

Hillary Clinton was born on October, 26th, 1947 in Chicago, Illinois. She was raised in a religious and politically conservative / Republican household. HC stems from a middle-class family from Illinois (Beasley, 2005).. She is the daughter of Dorothy and Hugh Rodham, who trained Navy sailors during World War II and afterwards started a drapery business. Clinton was a gifted student in high school being described by some as a teachers' favorite. Clinton

was by her classmates considered one of the most mature and active members of her class and she had a reputation for expressing herself well.

She, later on, studied political science at Wellesley College in 1965. As she was the first student to deliver a student commencement address, thus, she attracted national attention since then. Also, she was actively involved in her church community. HC went to Yale Law School and after her graduation she worked as an attorney. She was especially involved with children's rights and family welfare in general. Then, in 1975, she married Bill Clinton and she moved to Arkansas. Five years later they had a daughter, Chelsea.

2.1.2 Professional Life and Political Career

At the commencement ceremony in the college, HC followed Senator Edward Brooke who was the key speaker then. Yet, when she took the stage she launched an attack on Senator Brooke without notes, she even set aside her prepared speech. Clinton accused him of using insulting rhetoric to defend then President Nixon. That seems to indicate that Clinton was a gifted orator as early as in her college years. Since that early time, signs of her leadership ability were exhibited.

Other indications of her interest in politics are apparent in spearheading college reform campaigns. Also, she worked in many committees in college as she was chosen the president of student government . She, also, worked as a Congressional legal counsel for a short time before her marriage. Later on, she became the first lady of Arkansas, namely after electing her husband, Bill, as the governor of Arkansas in 1979. Her experience as an orator began to increase since she used to attend official Arkansas state events and giving speeches around the state. HC, as the first lady, was confident and more acquainted with the importance of her role even after her husband lost the gubernatorial election in 1980.

If Bill was to win the governor's seat back, indications include the need of HC to contribute more actively. At that time, The Arkansas Gazette newspaper wrote "Mrs. Clinton is certainly the best speaker among politicians' wives" (Ryan, 2004). In 1991, HC decided to work on Bill's campaign after his candidature for the Democratic nomination for President. However, the Clintons lived a troubled marriage and they were urged to address those issues on national television. Both Hillary and Bill were prepared for this very critical television appearance. That was a political apologia in terms of rhetoric and surely a learning experience for HC. Away from the details, it was clear that HC has had rhetorical schooling and experience with political rhetoric.

The lady of Arkansas became the lady of the USA after Bill winning 1992's presidential election. Hence, HC became much more politically active than before. Except for the foreign affairs and environmental policy, she oversaw all other areas of government (Ryan, 2004). Bill, the president, made her the head of his National Taskforce on Health Care Reform. HC did much efforts to pass that proposal as The New York Times reported: "No previous First Lady occupied center stage so aggressively or disarmed her critics more effectively". (Ryan, 2004, p. 60). Although HC made her tireless efforts, the plan of health care was not passed. For that, it was considered a prominent failure in HC's career.

As the only First Lady in U.S. history was to hold authority in a government position, and as the time of Bill in the White House came to an end, a thought of a next step was a must for Hillary. The democratic party urged, then, urged her to fight for a seat in the U.S. senate. Pursuing for New York state office, HC announced her candidacy in July 1999. She was elected as a Senator for a six-year term twice in 2000 and 2006. Burrell (2001) claimed:

The position of first lady in contemporary times has the potential of becoming an important part of the office of the president beyond the

role of assisting with ceremonial head of state duties. Legally she is now considered to be a [“de facto”] governmental official. Certainly Hillary Rodham Clinton has had this larger vision of the first ladyship in mind. (p.4)

HC's real political ambitions went farther than that. It was speculated that she was intending to run for the U.S. presidency. After her candidacy for the Senate in 2000 and 2006, she ran for the Democratic candidacy for Presidential election in 2008. In a tight race, HC lost it to Barack Obama, who became the president. However, Clinton served as the U.S. Secretary of State in the Obama administration from 2009 till 2013 (Townsend, 2012, p.36). In 2015, HC announced her plans to run again for the U.S. presidency. In 2016, she became the first woman in U.S. history to become the presidential nominee of a major political party. After a polarizing campaign against the Republican candidate, Donald trump, Clinton was defeated in the election in November 2016.

2.1.3 Female Leadership

Many questions about the impact of power on women who aspire to move up the political ladder can be raised through HC's career. As a feminist on her own right, she handled non-traditional roles, like the Healthcare Reform, and she has been a powerful voice for equal rights for women across the globe (Jones, 2015, p.2). Indeed, to understand how successful female politicians present themselves, HC's career is a good example that provides a useful representation. However, many studies dealt with the political power growth of female politicians to examine whether their words reflect their gender and personalities.

Femininity and competence both create a dilemma to be proven in female figures. Indeed, that dilemma is a challenge for women who are involved in political or leadership titles. Carlin and Winfrey (2009) said that female leaders compete the expectations of being real

men-like leaders. That means, a woman is not competent enough to lead if she is not as tough as a man. Yet, a woman can be neglected or disliked for violating expectations of women if she is as tough as a man. Respecting all that, a successful female leader is the one who can create strong discourse through her femininity and competence, and that requires her "to act tough more favorably." (Brooks, 2013).

The way to HC's success as a female leadership has been built around overcoming and coping with countless social and psychological barriers. The first lady has had to develop her self-representation in front of masculine expectations of leadership. Thus, she has had to reconcile symbolic attitudes toward gender. For that, her claims are more regarded and calculated than her male political cons and pros. The latter, by the virtue of their gender, represent the dominant prototype of a political leader. Throughout her career, HC embodied what women go through to reach power and influence in a profession still mostly dominated by men and by a male model. (Jones, 2016, p.5)

2.2 Methodology

The present study investigates a representative of the American political discourse of speech genre. Indeed, this qualitative study attempts to analyze two speeches of the former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Adopting Fairclough's CDA approach, the study tries to integrate linguistic and social analyses of discourse aiming at revealing power relations and ideology. Moreover, the focus is on two speeches of HC related to the latest U.S. Presidential Election 2016. The first is the Launch Speech (LS) of the campaign. The second is the Concession Speech (CS) after the results of election. More information about both speeches will be given below.

There are many reasons and motives behind choosing HC. First, HC is the First Lady in the U.S., that implies her prominence. In addition, that makes her a well-known female figure

all over the world. Second, her discourse can of course be accounted as a strong, appropriate representative of the American political discourse. More than that, there have been several studies on HC's discourses, yet those studies mostly adopted a pragmatic approach. They are, thus, less tackled from a CDA approach.

The reason behind choosing those specific texts in particular is an interest in tracing a potential development and contrast in Clinton's discourse from the beginning of her campaign to the ongoing election and the results. The aim of studying those two speeches is to conduct a broad critical analysis in order to get the insights into HC's visions and values as represented in her discourse. Importantly, both initial and final speeches of the campaign are chosen for the purpose of testing HC rhetoric in contrasted and variant contexts and situations. The analysis is generally qualitative depending on observations and deductions. It is also quantitative in some areas of considering the frequencies of words and forms.

2.3 Data Description

The transcripts of the speeches are taken from the website of "time.com". They are also available on HC official website. For the sake of convenience, the Launch Speech (LS) transcript is enclosed in the thesis as "appendix I", and the Concession Speech (CS) as "appendix II". Either of the transcripts of the LS and CS are divided into short parts or chunks that are given numbers for the referential use in the analysis. Furthermore, to understand the discourse better, and for the readers who may not have attended, watched or been told about the speeches, it is necessary to describe the contexts and conditions of the speeches.

2.3.1 The Launch Speech (LS)

Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park on Roosevelt Island in New York City, there was the place HC announced her bid for the Democratic presidential nomination. After two months of small events in the early primary states, HC launched her campaign with a large rally in New York City on June 13, 2015. The Democratic frontrunner wore blue, that is the color of democrats. HC talked for about forty five (45) minutes. The LS for her legacy, ideology and power is important as HC wanted to excite Americans in all senses. The themes of the speech and the devices of persuasion will be discussed in the analysis.

2.3.2 The Concession Speech (CS)

There were, indeed, other speeches and debates that HC performed in public for the election campaign. They all are considered representatives of HC discourses, as small circles, that move in the big circle of the overall discourse that implies her ideology, power and interests. This study does not highlight the in-between speeches, yet it consider them as affecting and affected items of the political discourse. As the election ended, Donald Trump, the Republican frontrunner, won. On the following day, November 9, 2016, at the New Yorker Hotel in New York City, HC conceded the election to Trump. She addressed her supporters and the nation after losing the presidential election. The CS lasted for about fifteen (15) minutes.

2.4 Analysis Framework

The process of conducting a CDA work was exemplified in ten questions offered by Fairclough (2001, pp. 94-98). The concern of this thesis is on the relevant ones. Firstly, it is necessary to extract the experiential, relational and expressive values of words in order to uncover ideologies rooted in those small, meaningful and significant linguistic items (p.95).

Then, in order to examine social relations in communicative situations, light should be shed on certain lexemes that say something about, for example, family, title or position. Furthermore, to get insights into specific rhetorical elements in HC's discourse, it is necessary to look at the expressive values of words.

Secondly, uncovering the experiential and relational values of grammatical features is another main goal of the analytical process (Fairclough, 2001, pp.100-104). Referring to the experiential and relational values of words, grammatical features, like pronouns, are analyzed with a particular emphasis on how the participants are involved in communicative situations. Finally, relating to the theory on conjunctions is also a sought goal as it is important to look, for instance, at how simple sentences are linked together (Fairclough, 2001, p.108). The focus here is on which connectors are used to link sentences together and their function.

The present study adopts a CDA framework based on Fairclough's model of CDA. Language analytical perspectives of Fairclough's model are based on the idea that "all linguistic forms express a particular stance" (Kress, 1990, p. 90). That means, texts are interpreted differently in multiple ways since language represents the world in particular ways according to particular interests. Following the CDA model of Fairclough, the analysis of the text consists of the study of the language structures produced in a discursive event. An analysis of the discursive practice is in fact paying attention to examining the production, consumption, and reproduction of the texts. Finally, the analysis of socio-cultural practice consists of an investigation of what is happening in a particular socio-cultural framework (Rodgers et al., 2005, p.372). The analysis discusses the important points regarding the discourse that are: gendered discourse, framing, intertextuality, and rhetorical techniques.

2.4.1 Gendered Discourse

As the analysis focuses on the discursive structures HC used, it also intends to investigate the politician's gender that would affect her text and talk either consciously or unconsciously. In addition, the analysis deals with the significance of HC's discursive features, regarding the reflection of her gender in her speeches. Based on the ideas of Robin Lakoff (1973), interesting views have been made in gender and language. For that, this study tries to relate some findings to such views. As Lakoff said (1973, p. 47), we are taught the language behaviors of our gender(s) since childhood. Interestingly, women are taught to believe that their values are inferior to men's (Lakoff, 1973, p.48).

Do the linguistic behaviors, however, lead women to power? Indeed, as Lakoff suggested (1973), women are restricted by language when using it. That is to say, when a woman speaks in her way, she is still "less than a person"; and the worst is when she speaks like a man, then she is "less than a woman". Therefore, the educated women are taught to use a neutral language by which they can have stronger identities and roles. Further, being aware of social conditions and coping with them are required so that the gendered language appears in neutral forms.. After all, there are always new situations where women are forced to choose their ways of speaking , particularly in political discourses.

2.4.2 Framing

To frame something in mind means to think or feel about it in a particular situation. Thus, they are in the memory to help with understanding the world (Lakoff, 2004, p. 15). However, in discursive practices, the mental structures that depend on background knowledge are known as "frames". The latter create discourses and even make their senses. Generally, in CDA, there is a focus on stereotypical cases that are embodied through frames. In any encountered case, one would mentally build frames to understand and interact with the case.

Linguistic cases are also relevant in this context. That is to say, frames of words and sentences are activated when speaking and listening to linguistic events. Particularly, political language is an interesting example where frames affect on social policies and thoughts. How the nation sees the country and the world is a shape built by framing. Parties, in politics, do not use the same language because ideologies are expressed through linguistic practices. Lakoff (2004) emphasized that frames express ideologies saying: “[d]on’t use their language. Their language picks out a frame – and it won’t be the frame you want” (p. 3). Framing is studied in this paper because it is a powerful political tool in political discourses.

2.4.3 Intertextuality

Fairclough (2001) claimed that "the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text" is known as intertextuality (p.39). The fact that texts are dialogical suggests the notion of intertextuality. The latter is also defined as the constitution of a text out of –or understanding it in relation to- other texts in the social formation ((Kristeva, 1980, p.69; Thibault, 1994). However, intertextuality “points to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones” (Fairclough, 1992, p.270). Not only as a form through which texts are interrelated, intertextuality is perceived as a social practice. Hence, intertextual analysis is an interpretative activity.

2.4.4 Rhetorical Techniques

Persuasion is a skill that politicians use and improve throughout their practices of language in social events. In addition, language is a key builder of such skill. As it is mentioned in the first chapter, one of the most rhetorically analyzed domains is politics. The analytical part of this study deals with the persuasive techniques and devices in two speeches of HC's campaign in the latest U.S. Presidential Election. Linguistic devices that create persuasion are various. Some of them are the repetition, the intense focus on pronouns, storytelling, anaphoric and

exophoric references, the use of flattery and seduction... etc. The way those devices are included in a certain situation is a technique of persuasion. Other than that, the modes of persuasion are also considerable.

Conclusion

In the light of what has been mentioned, the political discourse of HC is a significant representative of the American political one. However, much more significance is embodied in the fact that she could have been the first female American president. For that, and based on the CDA framework, the discursive practices of HC will be the subject of the practical issues in the following chapter. The analytical part –and the study as a whole- tries to show evidence of the features that HC's discourse has, and the ideology it creates and represents.

Chapter Three

Data Analysis & Discussions

Introduction

In the light of what has been mentioned in the previous chapters, it is interesting to shed light of the latest American presidential election in 2016. More interestingly, this part of the study places HC's discourses in the framework of CDA. Since political speeches are highly constructed pieces of discourse, the present chapter critically assesses the discourses of the first speech of HC's Presidential Campaign (LS) and the first speech that followed the elections immediately (CS). As the rationale of this study questions, does HC's discourse of the election campaign consist of gender references, persuasive techniques and social inclusion and exclusion? The research hypothesizes that HC's campaign discourses imply elements of gender references, persuasive techniques and social inclusion and exclusion. This part of the study tries to uncover underlying discursive structures adopting Fairclough's model of CDA that starts with text analysis and ends with discursive practice analysis.

3.1 Data Analysis

The analysis seeks to provide readers with the best insight possible to HC's views and ideologies embodied in both speeches, LS (App.I) and CS (App.II). Based on Fairclough's model of CDA (mentioned in Fairclough, 1995, p.75 and explained by Locke, 2004, pp. 37-49), there are three steps in the analysis process. However, the analysis of this study is divided into two parts. First, the text analysis is concerned with exploring HC's language features in both speeches (LS and CS). It deals with vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and texts structure in general. Second, the discursive practice analysis is concerned with both dimensions of explanation and interpretation. In the second analysis, HC's ideological features are studied in the socio-cultural speech practicing through both samples (LS and CS). In addition, it extracts the representations of gendered discourse, framing, intertextuality, and rhetorical techniques. This framework, as hoped, allows for a selection of

pertinent observations to be made about the texts. For that, the analysis is sought to express fair potentials for generalizing its results about all HC's discourses.

3.1.1 Text Analysis

This part of the analysis is devoted to vocabulary, grammar and cohesion presented in both speeches (LS: App.I, CS: App.II). Vocabulary is studied in terms of word frequency and meaning. Grammar is studied by identifying the choice of pronouns, conjunctions, modal verbs and sentence structures. Cohesion is studied by analyzing the cohesive devices and the text structure as a whole.

3.1.1.1 Vocabulary

This part is concerned with the diction of HC in both speeches. Instances of her word choices are selected and explored. Only three sets of words are analyzed as examples of HC's vocabulary. The first set are related to identity and belonging, the second to the beliefs and thoughts, and the third to the fights and expectations.

First, the figure below shows the frequency of words that express the identity and senses of belonging (America/ the United States (US)/ the United States of America (USA)/ country/ world/ home). The reason behind selecting this kind of words is to be the base for further discussion about nationalism and ideology.

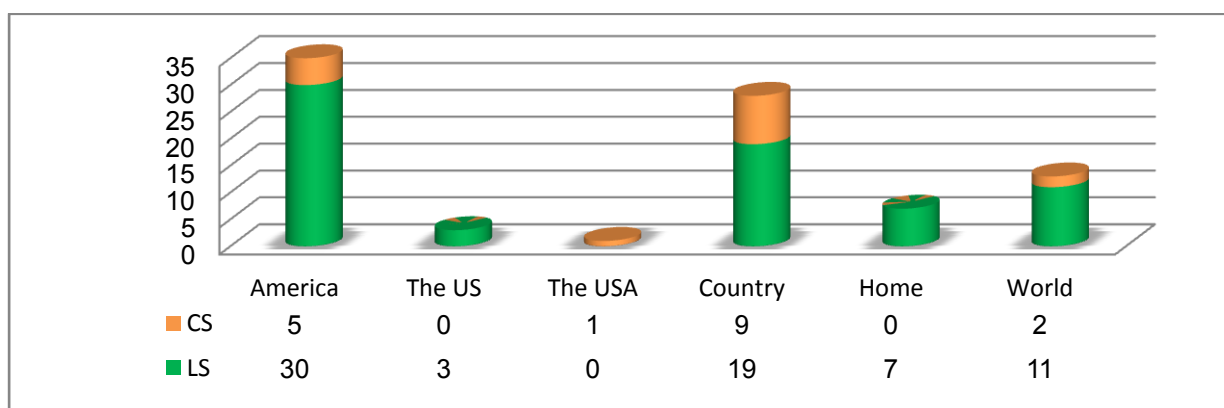


Figure 2. The frequency of identity and belonging words

In both LS and CS (see App.I, App.II), HC uses the word "America" more frequently than "the USA" to refer to her country (Thirty time is LS, and five in CS). HC, however, used the full name of her country "the United States of America" only once in CS, and the short name "the United States" thrice in LS. Moreover, regardless to referent of the word in its singular form, "country" is used quite frequently in both speeches. Another noticeable result is the frequency of "world" that refers to all people, places and things. Other than that, "home" is used seven times in LS, none in CS.

Second, the figure below shows the frequency of words and collocations that express thoughts and beliefs (belief / believe/ I believe/ believed/ think/ I think/ thought). The selected words are in both forms of verbs and nouns; the verbs are represented once as collocations with the personal pronoun "I" and once per se. This set of words and collocations are selected for the reason that they embody thoughts and beliefs that, in turn, embody ideology.

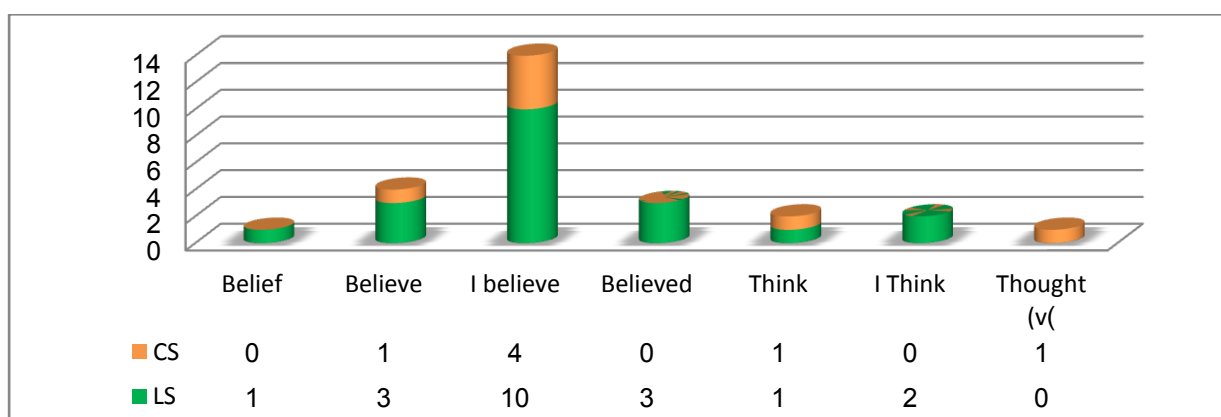


Figure 3. The frequency of beliefs and thoughts words

Noticeably, the verb "believe" is used thirteen times in LS, ten of them collocated with the personal pronoun "I". Moreover, it is used five times in the CS, four of them collocated with "I". The past form "believed" did not collocate with "I", yet it is used thrice in LS. Moreover, the verb "think" is used once in each speech, while it is collocated twice with "I"

in LS. The past form "thought" is used once in CS. However, the only noun appeared is "belief", and it did once in LS.

Third, the figure below shows the frequency of words that express the expectation and fighting in the political conflicts and elections. They are chosen because they are useful in approving or disapproving the linguistic power representation, and they are needed for further framing analysis. Almost all appearing forms of the word "fight" are selected; the noun in either singular and plural forms, the verb in either past and present tenses, and the gerund form. Other than that, result-expectation verbs, "win" and "lose", are selected in various forms.

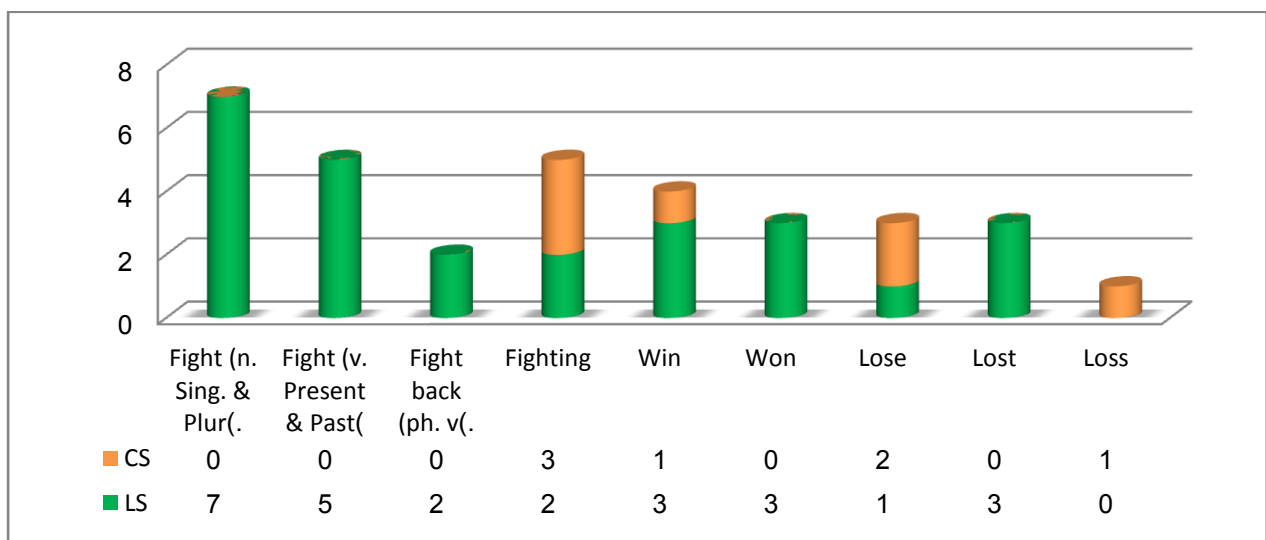


Figure 4. The frequency of fight and expectation words

Generally those words appeared in LS more often than in CS. The noun "fight" is used by HC seven times as a noun and five as a verb in the LS. Further, the phrasal verb "fight back" – that means "to defend"- is used twice. The gerund "fighting" is used thrice in the CS and twice in LS. However, the words of expectations are quite apparent in both LS and CS. "Lose" is used twice in CS and once in LS. Both "win" and "won" appeared thrice in LS, while only once "win" did in CS. Finally, the noun "loss" is mentioned once in the CS.

3.1.1.2 Grammar

This part is concerned with the grammar and the text structure in both LS and CS. First, instances of HC's choices of pronouns, conjunctions, modal verbs are selected and explored. Second, the tenses used throughout the speeches are analyzed. as examples of HC's vocabulary. Finally, some noticed features of HC's sentences and text structures are investigated, particularly repetitive patterns, nominalization, passive forms, and cohesion.

3.1.1.2.1 Pronouns

The selected pronouns, as shown in the figure below, are the personal ones (I/ we/ you/ they), their object state (me/ us/ you/ them), and the possessive state (my/ our/ your/ their). The reason behind selecting those pronouns is that they frame HC in the discourse. The pronouns that refer to the speaker are clearly more frequent than the ones that refer to the others. "I" is used almost one hundred times in LS, and thirty-four in CS. The second prominent pronouns are "we" and "our". Another noticeable result is the use of "you" in either forms of subject and object, while the least frequent pronouns are "they/ them/ their".

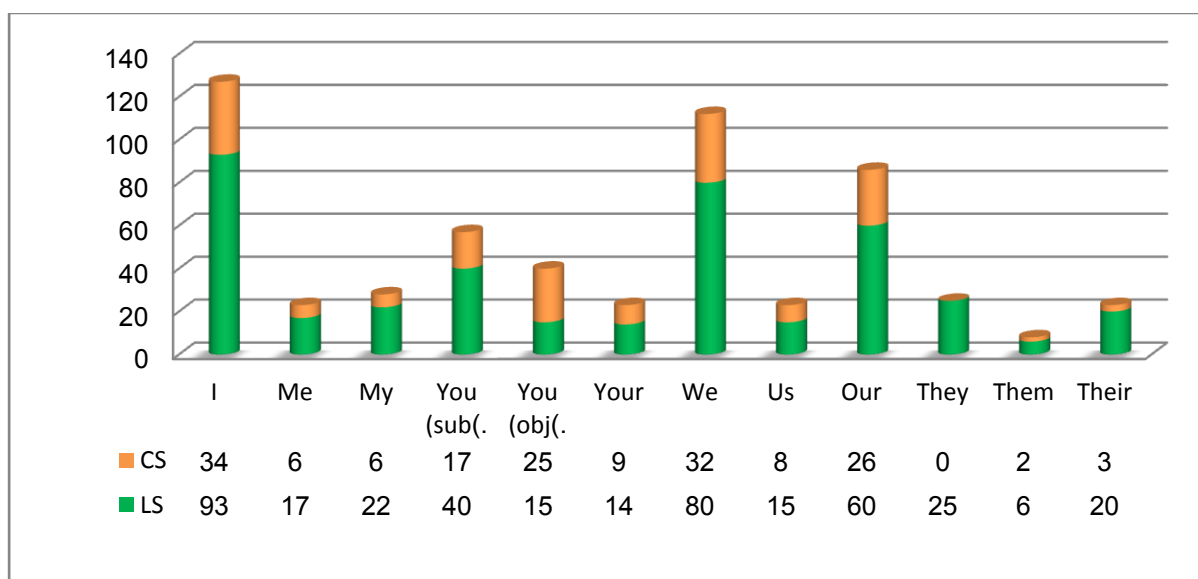


Figure 5. The frequency of pronouns

3.1.1.2.2 Conjunctions

The selected pronouns, as shown in the figure below, are the subordinating conjunction "if" and the coordinating one "but". The adverb "but" is also found, yet not counted. The relevance of studying the use of conjunction in HC speeches is in the fact that they construct her discourse in relation to her choices of words and structures of sentences. More than that, those conjunctions in particular are the most frequent ones in HC's discourse. As it is shown in the figure below, "but" is the prominently used conjunction in both speeches. As for "if" it is quite frequent in comparison to other conjunctions (see App.I and App.II).

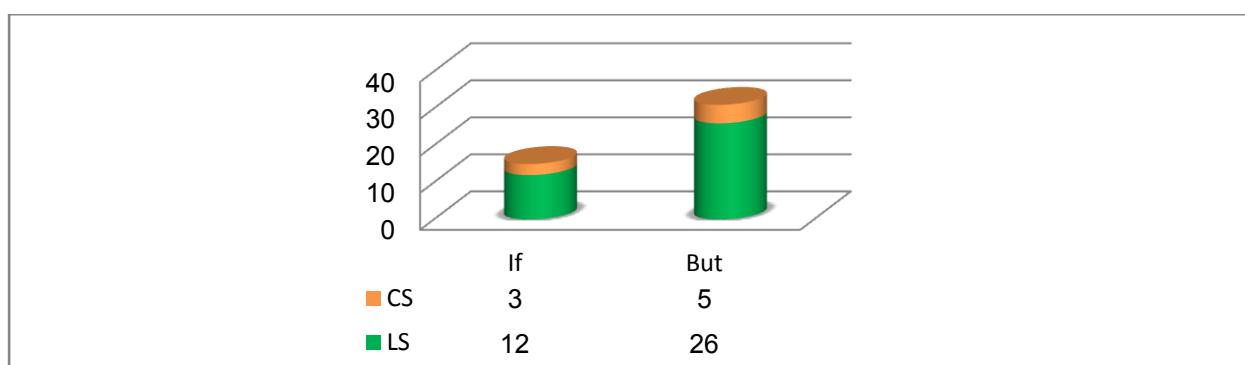


Figure 6. The frequency of conjunctions

3.1.1.2.3 Modal Verbs

The figure below shows the frequency of modal verbs in their affirmative and negative forms in both LS and CS. These selections are relevant to the analysis for they help in constructing meanings, framing their intentions and reflect the potential hopes, decisions, predictions, and abilities of the orator. Noticeably, the future modal "will" is the most frequent one in both LS and CS. "Can", "could" and "should" are the second most frequent ones respectively. HC used "have to" more than "must" to express necessity and obligation. Other than that, her recommendations by "should" are apparent in LS.

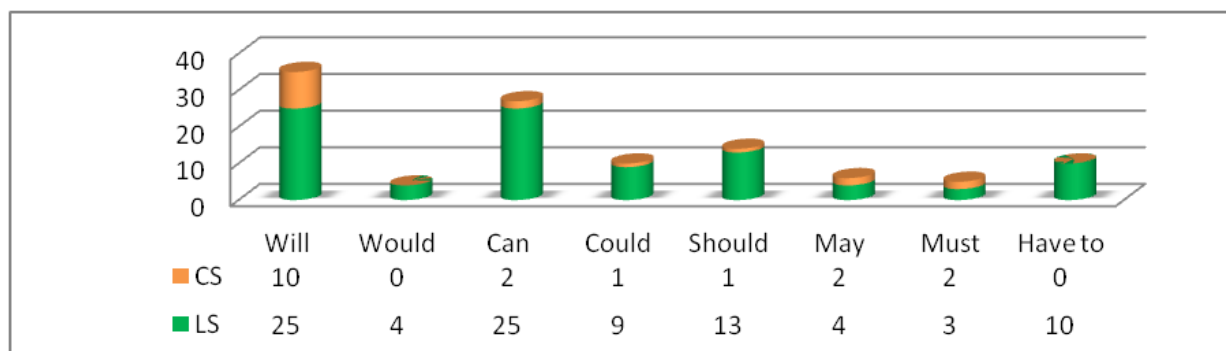


Figure 7. The frequency of modal verbs

3.1.1.2.4 Tense

First, the most used tense in LS is the present simple. HC used it in the starting and ending parts, as well as between her stories and calls. The simple past, however, is used when she first talked about the history of presidents Roosevelt, Obama and Clinton (App.I, 6-13). Noticeably, the past is also apparent when she talked about her family and mother (App.I, 60-65; 163-166), her interest in the health care (App.I, 70-77), and the time being a Senator (App.I, 122-124). In addition, the present perfect is used in some parts of LS. HC used it to describe the business and economic status (App.I, 37-41) and her failures (App.I, 160-161). Moreover, the future is used in some parts of LS where HC lists her promises (App.I, 42; 79; 87-91; 96-99; 130; 132)

However, the past tense is less apparent in CS. HC used it in the beginning (App.II, 2-4) to report the results of the election, then in the middle (App.II, 13-15; 17) to thank whoever supported her. The future is the least apparent in CS. HC used it in some places of hopes and spectaculars (App.II, 5; 9-10; 17; 23). In other occasions, HC used the present perfect in her CS (App.II, 5; 8; 10; 12; 14; 17; 20; 22). Noticeably, the present simple was the most prominent tense in both LS and CS.

3.1.1.3 Structures

Analyzing the text structure depends on many features. Only the major noticeable ones are studied. First, the repetitive forms are analyzed, moving to the nominalization and the passive voice, ending with the cohesion and text structure as a whole.

3.1.1.3.1 Repetitive Patterns

Among the segments of speech, there are some verbal filters that are usually found in ordinary conversations such as "uh..", "uhm ..", "you know..", and so forth. HC used "well.." several times in LS (App.I, 17; 49; 157; 160). She also used "you know.." in both speeches in the moments of laughter or applause. The latter filter is found in App.I (6; 116; 156) and thrice in App.II (23). Other than that, repetitions of some segments in the same sentence – where interruptions occur- are found like the repetition of "I know" (App.I, 125; App.II, 20), "and" (App.II, 21), "we need" (App.II, 19).

Moreover, HC repeated various expressions in the beginning of lists of sentences. The start of some parts of the speeches is repeated, as in HC's appreciation to the place of LS: "[I]t is wonderful to be here ... [T]o be in ... [T]o be right... [T]o be here ..." (App.I, 2-5). Another instance is found in listing her goals behind running for presidency and for whom: "... to make our economy work for you and for every American ...[F]or ... [F]or ... [F]or ..." (App.I, 26-35). Other examples are found in App.I (55-59; 66-68; 84-86; 87-91; 108-111; 145-149) and in her CS where she delivered her thanks to many people (App.II, 11-17).

3.1.1.3.2 Nominalization and Passive Forms

Another visible feature in the sentences' structure is the nominalization. It is simply transforming a clause into a nominal or noun-like entity. It is commonly associated with the passive forms to avoid the human agency in subjects. That is to say, the result of passive

verbs and nominalization is that people –as subjects of the verbs- are absent. The first example in LS is: "...because time-tested values **were replaced by** false promises." (App.I, 15). HC was talking about the economic crises; although she anticipated this by the fact that started the sentence by "we're", the reason, as she said, was breaking what she called "America's basic bargain" that became a time-tested value since the time of Roosevelt (App.I, 9-13). Here, the passive form hid the human agency and supported HC to avoid any responsibility of direct accusations.

The second example is in: "[O]ur political system **is so paralyzed by** gridlock and dysfunction" (App.I, 40). HC textualized the agents by nominalization. Indeed, gridlock and dysfunction –as she referred to financial industry and corporations- are the result of human behaviors and decisions, even the political system is but a group of people. The passive form, however, plays an attractive function namely in the part of the verb. What comes before or after it is always less attractive.

Generally, that is how politicians grammatically relate consequences to reasons providing their sentences –that are usually their responsibilities or ways of avoiding them- with nominalized agents. Another example of a critical use of the passive form is found in CS. When HC seems to be complaining or referring to the election results, she says "...our nation **is more deeply divided** ..." (App.II, 5). Despite the absence of the agent, the agency is restricted. in her intention, to whether the "nation" is related to "voters" only, or the meant division is related to the communal and ethnic differences rather than the constructed and formulated ones.

3.1.1.3.3 Cohesion and Text Structure

It is common place that personal pronouns and possessive pronouns are very much alike as they both generate cohesion within a text. Like the former, possessive pronouns help the

audience to understand who is involved and not involved in a communicative situation. Other than pronouns, conjunctions also setup cohesion between sentence constituents. Deictic references are represented in the use of pronouns. That is to say, HC made sure of her serious commitments and involvements in many actions where "I", "me" and "my" were used. Moreover, HC used the pronoun "it" where she referred usually to a state as in: "[I]t is wonderful to be here"(App.I, 2) and "[I]t has been a joy getting to know them" (App.II, 10). As they sometimes function as anaphoric references, personal pronouns –and especially the pronoun "it"- are very important as cohesion builders.

Like pronouns, conjunctions and transition words contribute to the shape of text structure and cohesion. Since cohesion links between lexical items to create a strong text structure, and thus a strong discourse, the speeches, as noticed, consisted of various lexical items that build cohesion. Apart from the aforementioned conjunctions and pronouns, time and place markers and prepositions (when, where, while, at, in...etc) also embody the cohesiveness of the discourse setting. Therefore, coherence in both speeches is merely expressed by the cohesion they contain lexically and grammatically. In general, the solidity and strength of the texts are the outcome of previous texts that HC is acquainted with in social practices, yet her fight for and eagerness to the presidency in the first place strengthened them more.

3.1.2 Discursive Practice Analysis

After analyzing the text, this part of the chapter attempts to unveil the discursive practices and ideologies through the second and third dimensions of CDA (according the adopted approach of Fairclough). Explanations and interpretations are made through extracting instances from both LS and CS then analyzing how they had been practiced publically by HC. In addition, these analyses are interrelated, based on and justified by the text analysis. First, light is shed on HC's gender discourse. Then, the analyses deal with the tools of

framing, intertextuality and persuasion.

3.1.2.1 Gendered Discourse

In the introductory part of the LS, HC says: "...[O]ne man I served as Secretary of State, **Barack Obama**, and another is my husband, **Bill Clinton**" (App.I, 6). That emphasizes her intentions to attract the audience to her career, and the two names of male leaders implicit the variant politics aspects that held HC's experience. Indeed, the eagerness to be in politics could have urged HC to act in a more stereotypical masculine than feminine way. Gender performances, thus, show some qualities that had been once parts of her way of acting. An instance of HC acting as a protective mother is implied in saying: "[a]s a **young girl**, I signed up at my Methodist Church **to babysit** the children of Mexican farm workers" (App.I, 70). Compassion and caring, in the mentioned example, appears well in her feminine ways; however, linking babysitting to young girls has the implication of a stereotypical woman. HC showed her care stereotypically again in (App.I, 70-71) where she, as a young lawyer, expressed her advocating for children's rights and for the Children's Defense Fund.

In the middle of the LS, HC claimed: "...to end the outrage of so many **women** still earning less than men on the job ..." (App.I, 112). As a female leader talking about women rights, it is expected that HC would use a more feminine language. Yet, such tendency in speaking was not presented in the appropriate feminine approach. Being serious, HC seemed more or less neutral in her language. That is to say, a speech would not have been taken seriously if the female orator addresses women about their issues and rights. Indeed, this can be related to Robin Lakoff's theory of irrationality in women's language. Therefore, the neutral gender that is present in this discourse is the choice of HC to seem objective. For that, she later relates women issues to the family to make them everyone's issues by saying: "[T]his isn't a **women's issue**. It's a **family issue**" (App.I, 113).

In her CS, HC mentions the name of the winning president saying "**Donald Trump** is going to be **our president**" (App.II, 5). Her word "president" implies the full aspect of masculinity, even it was associated with the possessive pronoun "our" to describe the acceptance of other gender. After that, she claimed "...breaking down all the barriers that hold **any American** back from achieving **their dreams**" (App.II, 7). Although she was talking about economy, the neutral gender is meant to be referred to through the determiner "any" and its possessive pronoun "their". However, what is meant by "dreams" is more often associated with impossibility or anticipated by trials. For that, with a bit emphasis on HC as a dreamer, the concession –or literally admitting defeat- did not consist of many references to gender. That is due to the presupposed uselessness of their extensive representation after the dream of presidency had vanished.

Nonetheless, in her LS, among the weak and marginalized people that HC defended, there are immigrants, children, workers, and women. HC promised to help and protect them, then she talked about a single mother raising three kids, and what she could do for her (App.I, 76-77). A critical willingly-thrown word that HC used just after that is "champion". HC said " I want to be **her champion** and **your champion**" (App.I, 78). When a female politicians uses a word that is socially known and conventionalized as being associated with masculinity to describe herself, she is not being a woman, or she is not talking about women. The fact that convincing people of being characterized by masculine features in women's political discourse is often seen as an aspect of complexity in gendered discourse representations.

As it is illustrated in the previous examples, HC did not narrate herself as a woman for women. In addition, her personal stories in LS were to motivate voters and gain their interests. HC was so confident when saying "Well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But I will be the **youngest woman President** in the history of the United States!

And the first **grandmother** as well" (App.I, 157). The feminine reference "woman" is surrounded by two critical references, one is neutral and the other is masculine. That was her way to remind the voters of the age as a significant feature in presidency with implicit focus on her gender.

In addition, to be trusted, HC described herself as a normal citizen that is imperfect (App.I, 160). Yet, she intensified hidden feminine features. That way led her to seem favorable by people. Moreover, HC wanted the audience to see her as a strong woman through referring to what she learnt from her mother (App.I, 160-166). There could be other instances of gender references in both LS and CS, but the aforementioned ones are placed where the gendered discourse is used the most.

3.1.2.2 Framing

In this respect, analyzing the frames as political tools is so broad to be dealt with. Because of that, only three main frames will be analyzed. First, the frame of the president is given much attention by HC in her discourse. She wanted to build an image of the appropriate –and perhaps the perfect- president so the public would be involved in her campaign and, thus, choose her to be the framed president. HC said in LC: "[A]s **your President, I'll do** whatever it takes to keep Americans safe" (App.I, 121). This sentence came after shaping what people believe the US president to be. In previous parts of LS, HC talked about what some presidents did (namely Roosevelt, Clinton and Obama). Then, she said: "[T]hat is **why** I am running for **President** of the United States" (App.I, 24).

Changing the common frame of the president might be even more apparent if HC would win the presidency. For that, she kept implicitly delivering messages that aimed at attracting the public to her as the following president of the US (see App.I, 42; 140; 156-159). In CS, HC avoided much care for such frame as she said: "I **hope** that he will be a **successful**

president for all Americans" (App.II, 2). She expressed her hope that was later followed by disappointment of defeat. The narrative of herself as a president was shaped by what the president is; however, she finally reframed it by who the president is (see App.II, 5).

Second, the frame of America is also apparent in both speeches. As it is shown in Figure 1, HC used the word "America" so often. Her love for her country is shown through framing it with patriotism and pride. In CS, she said "it was about the country **we love** and about building **an America** that's hopeful, inclusive and big-hearted" (App.II, 4). HC shaped this frame for the purpose that it ensures patriotic feelings among the audience. Whenever the country is mentioned by HC, some words and phrases are mentioned to trigger its frame in the American mind. Those triggering items are: "our country", "honor", "serving", "vision of America", "the American dream", "the American belief" ...etc.

Constantly, in her LS, HC built a narrative about her nationality and patriotism. Therefore, she was framing herself as an American, particularly as an American president. Through her talks on her career, position and family, HC showed her strength, compassion, enthusiasm, and hard work as a female leader that is able to lead America. This frame depended on her stories of the past as well as the use of words and phrases that help shaping it like: "prosperity", "security", "peace", and "hardworking". Generally, HC worked on framing herself within the frames of president and America. As a political figure who sought presidency, she had to associate those frames with words and phrases –as the ones mentioned before- to build strong frames.

The last frame to be explored and analyzed in HC's LC and CS is the frame of political conflicts. This frame is shaped through references to Republicans and the fight for presidency. An instance is when HC said " If you'll give me the chance, I'll **wage** and **win** four **fight**s for you" (App.I, 79). The frame implies a battle by Democrats against

Republicans through words like "fights", "win" , "lose", "battle", "debate", and "champion" (see figure 3; App.I, 127; 132). To create certain feelings among the audience, HC used this frame with the association of patriotism frame.

Thus, HC worked on ruining the image of Republicans in the minds of the audience. That is apparent in some instances in LS. Mostly, she used the pronoun "they" to refer to her enemies. She repeated it when she was building a bad frame of Republicans (App.I, 49-53). That seemed to be the fight of good against evil in the minds of listeners. Moreover, HC ridiculed Republicans (App.I, 45) then she stated her goal of running for the election by saying "**I'm not running** to be a president **only for** those Americans **who already agree with me**. I want to be a president **for all Americans**". Again, through her love to America, HC framed herself as willing to be kind and forgive those who do not agree with her. Because of her loss, HC did not use the frame of political conflicts frequently in CS.

3.1.2.3 Intertextuality

As it is defined in the previous chapter, intertextuality is a text-in-text presence. In both speeches of HC, there are only three references of intertextuality. Two of them in LS and only one in CS. Although, HC referred to three presidents in LS (Roosevelt, Clinton and Obama), she just intertextualized one prominent saying of President Roosevelt. HC mentioned "President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms" (App.I, 6) as she talked about the place of the speech (Four Freedoms Park, New York). Roosevelt listed four freedoms in his speech of State of Union (January 6th , 1941): freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear (Roosevelt, 1941). Noticeably, HC praised Roosevelt in a paramount way, yet the reference of the four freedoms should be read in other contexts where the US policy gave no respect to those freedoms.

The second intertextuality example is when HC referred to a song by the Beatles named

"Yesterday". HC said:" [N]ow, there may be some **new voices** in the presidential **Republican choir**, but they're all **singing** the same old **song**. A song called: **Yesterday**" (App.I, 45). She described new Republican politicians by new voices, as their politics was described as traditional and sticking to the past. Even the old song she chose was entitled "Yesterday", that implies more traditional aspects of Republican politics. Critically, HC metaphorically selected the term "choir" to imply that new Republicans would always keep their uniformity, and that was by describing them as group of singers that follow one conductor in singing.

The last intertextuality example is found in CS where HC quoted a scripture from the Bible. It says "Let us not grow weary in doing good, for in due season, we shall reap if we do not lose heart" (App.II, 23). HC referred to this saying for that it is appropriate to avoid tiredness and boredom in working for the country. That was said to shift from the state of disappointment and pain of losing the presidency to the state of restarting more energetically for another chance. The end of the quoted saying reflects the context of success within a number of failings. Being alive, to HC, is still a condition to work for America and call the Americans to stand together. HC, moreover, called for no regret in fighting for a better future as she followed her intertextualized quote by saying that there are many chances are coming and much more work to do (App.II, 24).

3.1.2.4 Rhetorical Techniques

HC's eagerness for presidency may reflect her other intentions. In all senses, the gendered language, the frames and the persuasive devices imply that eagerness. The first technique used by HC in both speeches to persuade the listener is repetition. In instance is found among the rights and values that women fought for -and that HC sought, namely presidency that a woman like HC can never deny. She listed those rights in the things enshrined by what

she referred to as "our constitutional democracy"(App.II, 6). Further, she repeated that expression saying: "our constitutional democracy **demands our participation**" (App.II, 7). This example, despite the results of the election, shows that HC was still eager to be president. Other examples of repetition are listed in the structure analysis (see 3.1.1.3.1)

Furthermore, HC used the names of her grandmother and daughter to catch the audience attention when she said: "I wish she could have seen **Chelsea** become a mother herself. I wish she could have met **Charlotte**" (App.I, 169). That, therefore, would likely to cause a sense of familiarity among the listeners towards the orator.

Another noticeable rhetorical tools is providing a conviction through contrasts. This tool is more likely associated with coordinating conjunction "but". As this conjunction is frequently used by HC (see figure 6), it functioned in both LS and CS as to prove an idea by negating it or to disprove it by confirming its opposite. To make it clear, two examples are listed below:

"[S]o **we're standing** again. **But**, we all know **we're not yet running** the way America should" (App.I, 19)

"[W]e don't hide from change, **we harness it. But we can't do that if we go back** to the top-down economic policies that failed us before" (App.I, 43-44)

In the first example, she wanted to tell the listeners about the prosperity that America reached. Despite that, she confirmed it by negating the state of fast improvement. Indeed, the concern of rhetoric is not to inform the others but to make them believe. For that, HC used such technique to gain the listeners' interest and beliefs. In the second example, she reminded Americans of the bad state of economy by negating referring to it for the sake of change.

Thus, reminding is, like informing, is used to make the American believe in what is preferred by her.

HC's rhetoric through convincing the audience by contrasted ideas is, in addition, explained in her vision for America through framing both the country and the enemy. She used "but" as an initial persuasive tool (App.I, 55), where to contrast her party's good to the Republicans' evil. Further, she described how to measure the American success (App.I, 56-59) by a supportive tool –that is repetition- to persuade Americans that her vision is good, and others' visions are not.

Other examples of the use of "but" are found in CS. HC said: "**[B]ut** I feel pride and gratitude for this wonderful campaign" (App.II, 3) Here, she covered disappointment with confirming her intentions. She, further, claimed: "[W]e have seen that our nation is more deeply divided than we thought. **But** I still believe in America and I always will" (App.II, 5). Generally, the tool of convincing the others by pulling them back to previous good states to forget the bad current ones is quite ineffective. However, a strong orator, like HC, may depend on multi-tools to strengthen their rhetoric.

In addition, HC uses the rhetorical technique of limiting the meaning through relative clauses. That is to say, HC restricted the meaning of a referred concept, person, or a group of things or people. For instance, HC said in CS: "...and especially the young women, **who** put their faith in this campaign and in me" (App.II, 19). The clause here can be modified by "the ambitious feminists". Another example to mention is in LS. HC said: "...fight back against those **who** would drive us apart" (App.I, 142). It is possible to restrict the relative clause to any meant enemy HC pointed at, be it internal or external.

Many examples are found where more than one device of persuasion are united. It is necessary to mention that HC used the political seduction, praising leaders, flattering,

humour, storytelling and other techniques that are part of the orator's rhetoric. As a presidential candidate (in LS), HC seemed more sure of the results of her persuasive techniques. However, after the defeat (CS), she only tried to confirm and approve her patriotism and eagerness to presidency through lesser techniques of persuasion.

3.2 Discussions

Generally, the linguistic behaviors of HC define her gendered language, show the elements of framing and intertextuality she uses, and reveal a lot about the power and ideology that such political figure has. In the light of the aforementioned analytical points, this space is made for discussions. Only the main noticed aspects of the analysis are discussed.

From the results of words' frequencies in the text analysis, one can tell more about the user of these words. Through the diction, the word choice, the word frequency and the word use and collocations, readers or listeners can construct general idea about the writer or speaker. Indeed, the identification of how an orator speaks and what words they usually use is not easy, yet it is possible.

Moreover, many political lies are found in the discourse. They are lies in the world of persuasion of lies, politics. That is, when HC announced her running for all Americans, to what extent can that be right? Almost all Americans –and others- will not answer to deny the lie. They rather believe in it, and here lies the secret of rhetorical effects of the discourse. In addition, HC tended to bring her goals, thoughts and plans to the fore through using the repetition technique, the convincing way of contrasts and many other political tools.

The conflict between the Republican and Democratic exists in all dimensions of analysis. The pronouns "they", "them" and "their" are used by HC to mean the other party. She, in

other chances, framed them as bad and followed each of those frames with an aesthetic construction of the Democratic party frame. Interestingly, the ideological diversity is highly apparent in the American political discourse. HC's ideology is discursively practiced through this way of blackening the image of the others and whitening hers. Indeed, rhetorical devices are fundamental here in order to succeed in maintaining what is planned.

As the representative of the Democratic party, HC worked on comparing and contrasting their ideology with the one of opposite party. Many occurrences of those comparisons and contrasts are found in the speeches and through the analytical points. An important example is when HC talked about the economic prosperity periods versus the crises periods as referring to the ups and downs of both parties, and thus she praised the way her party considered economy and complained about the way Republicans did.

In short, Clinton advocated her ideology implicitly and explicitly throughout her presidential campaign. The power of her discourse, despite defeat, seemed highly prominent. That is proved by the critique provided by the campaign of the opponent, Donald Trump, which should be taken into account. Even in CS, she openly communicated her ideology and intensified her vision for a future America.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, a critical discourse analysis has been undertaken. A full convenience to Fairclough model of CDA has been sought from the beginning to the end of the analysis. First, a text analysis has been carried out in terms of vocabulary, grammar and structure. Second, an analysis of the discursive practice has taken place. The latter has been concerned with four major points: gendered discourse, framing, intertextuality and rhetorical techniques. Finally, this chapter has ended with some discussions of the findings.

General Conclusion

This research work has been set out to extract the discursive structures in Clinton's presidential election discourse using fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis. Moreover, light has been shed on gendered references, frames, intertextuality and rhetorical devices in two sample speeches (the Launch Speech and the Concession Speech). The findings of the critical discourse analysis of Clinton's Campaign Launch and Concession speeches have shown that such a self-made female figure had lived and survived in a male-dominated arena of politicians. In addition, her campaign discourse contained elements of gendered language, persuasive techniques, framing, and other structures that altogether implied Clinton's ideology.

Generally, the results brought some underlying elements of Clinton's campaign discourse to the fore. In addition, it has become noticeable that Clinton, to a considerable extent, depended on discursive structures, frames and techniques of persuasion in order to communicate her ideology. Consequently, the discourse of Clinton's election campaign has been seen as highly constructed. Additionally, the extent of how Clinton portrayed herself as the appropriate president could have been stronger to the public so they would see her in the White House.

The framework of analysis was based on two main parts: the text and the discursive practice. The analysis of the latter embodies the two dimensions of explanation and interpretation that Fairclough suggested in his model. On that score, it is highly appropriate to express the satisfaction about the application of Fairclough's framework in this study. It has been simple to follow and direct to the point. However, each framework or theory can be

exposed to critiques. Regardless to that, researchers are required to try several frameworks and approaches in their analyses so that they help with their improvements.

Critical Discourse Analysis provides researchers with opportunities to know more about realities. Thus, there are so many contributions offered by such approach of analysis to critical discourse scholars. Ever since discourse has had crucial roles in language studies, many ways of answering linguistic questions has improved, and the critical way is the most significant one. By virtue of those approaches, many other research papers can be conducted in various genres other than politics.

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APPENDICES

App.I) Hillary Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech (Jun 13, 2015)

1	Thank you! Oh, thank you all! Thank you so very, very much.
2	It is wonderful to be here with all of you.
3	To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.
4	To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, where I represented our country many times.
5	To be here in this beautiful park dedicated to Franklin Roosevelt's enduring vision of America, the nation we want to be. And in a place... with absolutely no ceilings.
6	You know, President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms are a testament to our nation's unmatched aspirations and a reminder of our unfinished work at home and abroad. His legacy lifted up a nation and inspired presidents who followed. One is the man I served as Secretary of State, Barack Obama, and another is my husband, Bill Clinton.
7	Two Democrats guided by the -- Oh, that will make him so happy. They were and are two Democrats guided by the fundamental American belief that real and lasting prosperity must be built by all and shared by all.
8	President Roosevelt called on every American to do his or her part, and every American answered. He said there's no mystery about what it takes to build a strong and prosperous America: "Equality of opportunity... Jobs for those who can work... Security for those who need it... The ending of special privilege for the few... The preservation of civil liberties for all... a wider and constantly rising standard of living." That still sounds good to me.
9	It's America's basic bargain. If you do your part you ought to be able to get ahead. And when everybody does their part, America gets ahead too.
10	That bargain inspired generations of families, including my own. It's what kept my grandfather going to work in the same Scranton lace mill every day for 50 years.
11	It's what led my father to believe that if he scrimped and saved, his small business printing drapery fabric in Chicago could provide us with a middle-class life. And it did.
12	When President Clinton honored the bargain, we had the longest peacetime expansion in history, a balanced budget, and the first time in decades we all grew together, with the bottom 20 percent of workers increasing their incomes by the same percentage as the top 5 percent.
13	When President Obama honored the bargain, we pulled back from the brink of Depression, saved the auto industry, provided health care to 16 million working people, and replaced the jobs we lost faster than after a financial crash.

14	But, it's not 1941, or 1993, or even 2009. We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy.
15	We're still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were replaced by false promises.
16	Instead of an economy built by every American, for every American, we were told that if we let those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone else.
17	What happened? Well, instead of a balanced budget with surpluses that could have eventually paid off our national debt, the Republicans twice cut taxes for the wealthiest, borrowed money from other countries to pay for two wars, and family incomes dropped. You know where we ended up. Except it wasn't the end.
18	As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning. You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs... you figured out how to make it work. And now people are beginning to think about their future again – going to college, starting a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement.
19	So we're standing again. But, we all know we're not yet running the way America should. You see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay, but your paychecks have barely budged.
20	While many of you are working multiple jobs to make ends meet, you see the top 25 hedge fund managers making more than all of America's kindergarten teachers combined. And, often paying a lower tax rate.
21	So, you have to wonder: "When does my hard work pay off? When does my family get ahead?" "When?"
22	I say now. Prosperity can't be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers. Democracy can't be just for billionaires and corporations. Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too.
23	You brought our country back. Now it's time -- your time to secure the gains and move ahead.
24	And, you know what? America can't succeed unless you succeed. That is why I am running for President of the United States.
25	Here, on Roosevelt Island, I believe we have a continuing rendezvous with destiny. Each American and the country we cherish.
26	I'm running to make our economy work for you and for every American.
27	For the successful and the struggling.

28	For the innovators and inventors.
29	For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases.
30	For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day.
31	For the nurses who work the night shift.
32	For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us.
33	For the veterans who served our country.
34	For the small business owners who took a risk.
35	For everyone who's ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.
36	I'm not running for some Americans, but for all Americans. Our country's challenges didn't begin with the Great Recession and they won't end with the recovery.
37	For decades, Americans have been buffeted by powerful currents.
38	Advances in technology and the rise of global trade have created whole new areas of economic activity and opened new markets for our exports, but they have also displaced jobs and undercut wages for millions of Americans.
39	The financial industry and many multi-national corporations have created huge wealth for a few by focusing too much on short-term profit and too little on long-term value... too much on complex trading schemes and stock buybacks, too little on investments in new businesses, jobs, and fair compensation.
40	Our political system is so paralyzed by gridlock and dysfunction that most Americans have lost confidence that anything can actually get done. And they've lost trust in the ability of both government and Big Business to change course.
41	Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we've made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role.
42	Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire country. And I will do just that -- to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than against us.
43	At our best, that's what Americans do. We're problem solvers, not deniers. We don't hide from change, we harness it.
44	But we can't do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before. Americans have come too far to see our progress ripped away.
45	Now, there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they're all singing the same old song. A song called: Yesterday.

46	You know the one -- all our troubles look as though they're here to stay... and we need a place to hide away... They believe in yesterday.
47	And you're lucky I didn't try singing that, too, I'll tell you!
48	These Republicans trip over themselves promising lower taxes for the wealthy and fewer rules for the biggest corporations without regard for how that will make income inequality even worse.
49	We've heard this tune before. And we know how it turns out. Ask many of these candidates about climate change, one of the defining threats of our time, and they'll say: "I'm not a scientist." Well, then, why don't they start listening to those who are?
50	They pledge to wipe out tough rules on Wall Street, rather than rein in the banks that are still too risky, courting future failures. In a case that can only be considered mass amnesia.
51	They want to take away health insurance from more than 16 million Americans without offering any credible alternative.
51	They shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions.
52	They want to put immigrants, who work hard and pay taxes, at risk of deportation.
53	And they turn their backs on gay people who love each other.
54	Fundamentally, they reject what it takes to build an inclusive economy. It takes an inclusive society. What I once called "a village" that has a place for everyone.
55	Now, my values and a lifetime of experiences have given me a different vision for America. I believe that success isn't measured by how much the wealthiest Americans have, but by how many children climb out of poverty...
56	How many start-ups and small businesses open and thrive...
57	How many young people go to college without drowning in debt...
58	How many people find a good job...
59	How many families get ahead and stay ahead.
60	I didn't learn this from politics. I learned it from my own family. My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like not to have either one.
61	Her own parents abandoned her, and by 14 she was out on her own, working as a housemaid. Years later, when I was old enough to understand, I asked what kept her going.
62	You know what her answer was? Something very simple: Kindness from someone who believed she mattered.

63	The 1st grade teacher who saw she had nothing to eat at lunch and, without embarrassing her, brought extra food to share.
64	The woman whose house she cleaned letting her go to high school so long as her work got done. That was a bargain she leapt to accept.
65	And, because some people believed in her, she believed in me. That's why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American.
66	To meet every challenge.
67	To be resilient... no matter what the world throws at you.
68	To solve the toughest problems.
69	I believe we can do all these things because I've seen it happen.
70	As a young girl, I signed up at my Methodist Church to babysit the children of Mexican farm workers, while their parents worked in the fields on the weekends. And later, as a law student, I advocated for Congress to require better working and living conditions for farm workers whose children deserved better opportunities.
71	My first job out of law school was for the Children's Defense Fund. I walked door-to-door to find out how many children with disabilities couldn't go to school, and to help build the case for a law guaranteeing them access to education.
72	As a leader of the Legal Services Corporation, I defended the right of poor people to have a lawyer. And saw lives changed because an abusive marriage ended or an illegal eviction stopped.
73	In Arkansas, I supervised law students who represented clients in courts and prisons, organized scholarships for single parents going to college, led efforts for better schools and health care, and personally knew the people whose lives were improved.
74	As Senator, I had the honor of representing brave firefighters, police officers, EMTs, construction workers, and volunteers who ran toward danger on 9/11 and stayed there, becoming sick themselves.
75	It took years of effort, but Congress finally approved the health care they needed. There are so many faces and stories that I carry with me of people who gave their best and then needed help themselves.
76	Just weeks ago, I met another person like that, a single mom juggling a job and classes at community college, while raising three kids.
77	She doesn't expect anything to come easy. But she did ask me: What more can be done so it isn't quite so hard for families like hers?
78	I want to be her champion and your champion.
79	If you'll give me the chance, I'll wage and win four fights for you. The first is to make the economy work for everyday Americans, not just those at the top.

80	To make the middle class mean something again, with rising incomes and broader horizons. And to give the poor a chance to work their way into it.
81	The middle class needs more growth and more fairness. Growth and fairness go together. For lasting prosperity, you can't have one without the other.
82	Is this possible in today's world? I believe it is or I wouldn't be standing here. Do I think it will be easy? Of course not.
83	But, here's the good news: There are allies for change everywhere who know we can't stand by while inequality increases, wages stagnate, and the promise of America dims. We should welcome the support of all Americans who want to go forward together with us.
84	There are public officials who know Americans need a better deal. Business leaders who want higher pay for employees, equal pay for women and no discrimination against the LGBT community either.
85	There are leaders of finance who want less short-term trading and more long-term investing.
86	There are union leaders who are investing their own pension funds in putting people to work to build tomorrow's economy. We need everyone to come to the table and work with us.
87	In the coming weeks, I'll propose specific policies to: Reward businesses who invest in long term value rather than the quick buck – because that leads to higher growth for the economy, higher wages for workers, and yes, bigger profits, everybody will have a better time.
88	I will rewrite the tax code so it rewards hard work and investments here at home, not quick trades or stashing profits overseas.
89	I will give new incentives to companies that give their employees a fair share of the profits their hard work earns.
90	We will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs and small business owners by providing tax relief, cutting red tape, and making it easier to get a small business loan.
90	We will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation, science, and research by increasing both public and private investments.
91	And we will make America the clean energy superpower of the 21st century.
92	Developing renewable power – wind, solar, advanced biofuels...
93	Building cleaner power plants, smarter electric grids, greener buildings...
94	Using additional fees and royalties from fossil fuel extraction to protect the environment...
95	And ease the transition for distressed communities to a more diverse and sustainable economic future from coal country to Indian country, from small towns in the Mississippi Delta to the Rio Grande Valley to our inner cities, we have to help our fellow Americans.

96	Now, this will create millions of jobs and countless new businesses, and enable America to lead the global fight against climate change.
97	We will also connect workers to their jobs and businesses. Customers will have a better chance to actually get where they need and get what they desire with roads, railways, bridges, airports, ports, and broadband brought up to global standards for the 21st century.
98	We will establish an infrastructure bank and sell bonds to pay for some of these improvements. Now, building an economy for tomorrow also requires investing in our most important asset, our people, beginning with our youngest.
99	That's why I will propose that we make preschool and quality childcare available to every child in America.
100	And I want you to remember this, because to me, this is absolutely the most-compelling argument why we should do this. Research tells us how much early learning in the first five years of life can impact lifelong success. In fact, 80 percent of the brain is developed by age three.
101	One thing I've learned is that talent is universal – you can find it anywhere – but opportunity is not. Too many of our kids never have the chance to learn and thrive as they should and as we need them to.
102	Our country won't be competitive or fair if we don't help more families give their kids the best possible start in life.
103	So let's staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child.
104	Let's make college affordable and available to all ...and lift the crushing burden of student debt.
105	Let's provide lifelong learning for workers to gain or improve skills the economy requires, setting up many more Americans for success.
106	Now, the second fight is to strengthen America's families, because when our families are strong, America is strong.
107	And today's families face new and unique pressures. Parents need more support and flexibility to do their job at work and at home.
108	I believe you should have the right to earn paid sick days.
109	I believe you should receive your work schedule with enough notice to arrange childcare or take college courses to get ahead.
110	I believe you should look forward to retirement with confidence, not anxiety. That you should have the peace of mind that your health care will be there when you need it, without breaking the bank.

111	I believe we should offer paid family leave so no one has to choose between keeping a paycheck and caring for a new baby or a sick relative.
112	And it is way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job -- and women of color often making even less.
113	This isn't a women's issue. It's a family issue. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue. Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health problem get help is a family issue.
114	In America, every family should feel like they belong. So we should offer hard-working, law-abiding immigrant families a path to citizenship. Not second-class status.
115	And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else.
116	You know, America's diversity, our openness, our devotion to human rights and freedom is what's drawn so many to our shores. What's inspired people all over the world. I know. I've seen it with my own eyes.
117	And these are also qualities that prepare us well for the demands of a world that is more interconnected than ever before.
118	So we have a third fight: to harness all of America's power, smarts, and values to maintain our leadership for peace, security, and prosperity.
119	No other country on Earth is better positioned to thrive in the 21st century. No other country is better equipped to meet traditional threats from countries like Russia, North Korea, and Iran – and to deal with the rise of new powers like China.
120	No other country is better prepared to meet emerging threats from cyber attacks, transnational terror networks like ISIS, and diseases that spread across oceans and continents.
121	As your President, I'll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe. And if you look over my left shoulder you can see the new World Trade Center soaring skyward.
122	As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today's threats and tomorrow's.
123	And when our brave men and women come home from war or finish their service, I'll see to it that they get not just the thanks of a grateful nation, but the care and benefits they've earned.
124	I've stood up to adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel. I was in the Situation Room on the day we got bin Laden.

125	<p>But, I know -- I know we have to be smart as well as strong. Meeting today's global challenges requires every element of America's power, including skillful diplomacy, economic influence, and building partnerships to improve lives around the world with people, not just their governments.</p>
126	<p>There are a lot of trouble spots in the world, but there's a lot of good news out there too.</p>
127	<p>I believe the future holds far more opportunities than threats if we exercise creative and confident leadership that enables us to shape global events rather than be shaped by them. And we all know that in order to be strong in the world, though, we first have to be strong at home. That's why we have to win the fourth fight – reforming our government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans.</p>
128	<p>We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people.</p>
129	<p>We need Justices on the Supreme Court who will protect every citizen's right to vote, rather than every corporation's right to buy elections.</p>
130	<p>If necessary, I will support a constitutional amendment to undo the Supreme Court's decision in Citizens United.</p>
131	<p>I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That's why I've proposed universal, automatic registration and expanded early voting.</p>
132	<p>I'll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color. What part of democracy are they afraid of?</p>
133	<p>No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting for.</p>
134	<p>Government is never going to have all the answers – but it has to be smarter, simpler, more efficient, and a better partner.</p>
135	<p>That means access to advanced technology so government agencies can more effectively serve their customers, the American people.</p>
136	<p>We need expertise and innovation from the private sector to help cut waste and streamline services.</p>
137	<p>There's so much that works in America. For every problem we face, someone somewhere in America is solving it. Silicon Valley cracked the code on sharing and scaling a while ago.</p>
138	<p>Many states are pioneering new ways to deliver services. I want to help Washington catch up. To do that, we need a political system that produces results by solving problems that hold us back, not one overwhelmed by extreme partisanship and inflexibility.</p>
139	<p>Now, I'll always seek common ground with friend and opponent alike. But I'll also stand my ground when I must.</p>
140	<p>That's something I did as Senator and Secretary of State -- whether it was working with</p>

Republicans to expand health care for children and for our National Guard, or improve our foster care and adoption system, or pass a treaty to reduce the number of Russian nuclear warheads that could threaten our cities -- and it's something I will always do as your President.

141 We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other's back.

142 Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart.

143 People all over the world have asked me: "How could you and President Obama work together after you fought so hard against each other in that long campaign?"

144 Now, that is an understandable question considering that in many places, if you lose an election you could get imprisoned or exiled – even killed – not hired as Secretary of State.

145 But President Obama asked me to serve, and I accepted because we both love our country. That's how we do it in America.
With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights.

146 We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded.

147 We can strengthen our families.

148 We can defend our country and increase our opportunities all over the world.

149 And we can renew the promise of our democracy.

150 If we all do our part. In our families, in our businesses, unions, houses of worship, schools, and, yes, in the voting booth.

151 I want you to join me in this effort. Help me build this campaign and make it your own.

152 Talk to your friends, your family, your neighbors.

153 Text "JOIN" J-O-I-N to 4-7-2-4-6.

154 Go to hillaryclinton.com and sign up to make calls and knock on doors.

155 It's no secret that we're going up against some pretty powerful forces that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different vision for America. But I've spent my life fighting for children, families, and our country. And I'm not stopping now.

156 You know, I know how hard this job is. I've seen it up close and personal. All our Presidents come into office looking so vigorous. And then we watch their hair grow grayer and grayer.

157 Well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But I will be the youngest woman President in the history of the United States!
And the first grandmother as well.

158	And one additional advantage: You're won't see my hair turn white in the White House. I've been coloring it for years!
159	So I'm looking forward to a great debate among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. I'm not running to be a president only for those Americans who already agree with me. I want to be a president for all Americans.
160	And along the way, I'll just let you in on this little secret. I won't get everything right. Lord knows I've made my share of mistakes. Well, there's no shortage of people pointing them out!
161	And I certainly haven't won every battle I've fought. But leadership means perseverance and hard choices. You have to push through the setbacks and disappointments and keep at it. I think you know by now that I've been called many things by many people -- "quitter" is not one of them.
162	Like so much else in my life, I got this from my mother.
163	When I was a girl, she never let me back down from any bully or barrier. In her later years, Mom lived with us, and she was still teaching me the same lessons. I'd come home from a hard day at the Senate or the State Department, sit down with her at the small table in our breakfast nook, and just let everything pour out. And she would remind me why we keep fighting, even when the odds are long and the opposition is fierce.
164	I can still hear her saying: "Life's not about what happens to you, it's about what you do with what happens to you -- so get back out there."
165	She lived to be 92 years old, and I often think about all the battles she witnessed over the course of the last century -- all the progress that was won because Americans refused to give up or back down.
166	She was born on June 4, 1919 -- before women in America had the right to vote. But on that very day, after years of struggle, Congress passed the Constitutional Amendment that would change that forever.
167	The story of America is a story of hard-fought, hard-won progress. And it continues today. New chapters are being written by men and women who believe that all of us -- not just some, but all -- should have the chance to live up to our God-given potential.
168	Not only because we're a tolerant country, or a generous country, or a compassionate country, but because we're a better, stronger, more prosperous country when we harness the talent, hard work, and ingenuity of every single American.
169	I wish my mother could have been with us longer. I wish she could have seen Chelsea become a mother herself. I wish she could have met Charlotte.
170	I wish she could have seen the America we're going to build together.
171	An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards. Where we don't leave anyone out, or anyone behind.
172	An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be.

	Even President of the United States.
173	Thank you all. God bless you. And may God bless America.

App.II) Hillary Clinton's 2016 Election Concession Speech (Nov 9, 2016)

1	<p>Thank you. Thank you all. Thank you. Thank you all very much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you so much. Very rowdy group. Thank you, my friends. Thank you. Thank you, thank you so very much for being here and I love you all, too.</p>
2	<p>Last night, I congratulated Donald Trump and offered to work with him on behalf of our country. I hope that he will be a successful president for all Americans. This is not the outcome we wanted or we worked so hard for and I'm sorry that we did not win this election for the values we share and the vision we hold for our country.</p>
3	<p>But I feel pride and gratitude for this wonderful campaign that we built together, this vast, diverse, creative, unruly, energized campaign. You represent the best of America and being your candidate has been one of the greatest honors of my life.</p>
4	<p>I know how disappointed you feel because I feel it too, and so do tens of millions of Americans who invested their hopes and dreams in this effort. This is painful and it will be for a long time, but I want you to remember this. Our campaign was never about one person or even one election, it was about the country we love and about building an America that's hopeful, inclusive and big-hearted.</p>
5	<p>We have seen that our nation is more deeply divided than we thought. But I still believe in America and I always will. And if you do, then we must accept this result and then look to the future. Donald Trump is going to be our president. We owe him an open mind and the chance to lead.</p>
6	<p>Our constitutional democracy enshrines the peaceful transfer of power and we don't just respect that, we cherish it. It also enshrines other things; the rule of law, the principle that we are all equal in rights and dignity, freedom of worship and expression. We respect and cherish these values too and we must defend them.</p>
7	<p>Now -- and let me add, our constitutional democracy demands our participation, not just every four years but all the time. So let's do all we can to keep advancing the causes and values we all hold dear; making our economy work for everyone not just those at the top, protecting our country and protecting our planet and breaking down all the barriers that hold any American back from achieving their dreams.</p>
8	<p>We've spent a year and a half bringing together millions of people from every corner of our country to say with one voice that we believe that the American dream is big enough for everyone -- for people of all races and religions, for men and women, for immigrants, for LGBT people, and people with disabilities. For everyone.</p>
9	<p>So now, our responsibility as citizens is to keep doing our part to build that better, stronger, fairer America we seek. And I know you will. I am so grateful to stand with all of you. I want to thank Tim Kaine and Anne Holton for being our partners on this journey.</p>

10	It has been a joy getting to know them better, and it gives me great hope and comfort to know that Tim will remain on the front lines of our democracy representing Virginia in the Senate.
11	To Barack and Michelle Obama, our country owes you an enormous debt of gratitude.
12	We -- we thank you for your graceful, determined leadership that has meant so much to so many Americans and people across the world.
13	And to Bill and Chelsea, Mark, Charlotte, Aidan, our brothers and our entire family, my love for you means more than I can ever express. You crisscrossed this country on our behalf and lifted me up when I needed it most -- even four-month-old Aidan who traveled with his mom. I will always be grateful to the creative, talented, dedicated men and women at our headquarters in Brooklyn and across our country.
14	You poured your hearts into this campaign. For some of you who are veterans, it was a campaign after you had done other campaigns. Some of you, it was your first campaign. I want each of you to know that you were the best campaign anybody could have ever expected or wanted.
15	And to the millions of volunteers, community leaders, activists and union organizers who knocked on doors, talked to neighbors, posted on Facebook, even in secret, private Facebook sites...
	(LAUGHTER)
16	... I want everybody coming out from behind that and make sure your voices are heard going forward.
17	To everyone who sent in contributions as small as \$5 and kept us going, thank you. Thank you from all of us. And to the young people in particular, I hope you will hear this. I have, as Tim said, spent my entire adult life fighting for what I believe in. I've had successes and I've had setbacks. Sometimes, really painful ones. Many of you are at the beginning of your professional public and political careers. You will have successes and setbacks, too.
18	This loss hurts, but please never stop believing that fighting for what's right is worth it. It is -- it is worth it.
19	And so we need -- we need you to keep up these fights now and for the rest of your lives. And to all the women, and especially the young women, who put their faith in this campaign and in me, I want you to know that nothing has made me prouder than to be your champion.
20	Now, I -- I know -- I know we have still not shattered that highest and hardest glass ceiling, but some day someone will and hopefully sooner than we might think right now.
21	And -- and to all the little girls who are watching this, never doubt that you are valuable and powerful and deserving of every chance and opportunity in the world to pursue and achieve your own dreams.
22	Finally... Finally, I am so grateful for our country and for all it has given to me. I count my blessings

	every single day that I am an American. And I still believe as deeply as I ever have that if we stand together and work together with respect for our differences, strength in our convictions and love for this nation, our best days are still ahead of us.
23	Because, you know -- you know, I believe we are stronger together and we will go forward together. And you should never, ever regret fighting for that. You know, scripture tells us, "Let us not grow weary in doing good, for in due season, we shall reap if we do not lose heart."
24	So my friends, let us have faith in each other, let us not grow weary, let us not lose heart, for there are more seasons to come. And there is more work to do.
25	I am incredibly honored and grateful to have had this chance to represent all of you in this consequential election. May God bless you and may God bless the United States of America.