



**Representations of Meaning  
Within  
Textual Personas:  
An Analysis  
of  
2008 US Presidential Campaign Speeches**

by  
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## **Abstract**

This dissertation is a Critical Discourse Analysis of the representations of social actors within political discourse. To understand how specific discourse structures affect different mental processes or enable the development of distinct social representations, Critical Discourse Analysis endeavors to detail and explain the ways in which socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies can be manufactured through reproduction (Van Dijk, 1993: 258-259). Representations of social actors and their actions from within the social practices of their culture are inherently constructed upon not only the methods of reproduction, via such means as the media, but also through the power of choice: the choice of how to manufacture words to depict one reality over another, the choice of which images to convey that reality and in the case of this analysis, the choice of how to align oneself within ideological frameworks that depict either traditional values or contemporary values from within society. Using Critical Discourse Analysis I analyze here six campaign speeches of Barack Obama and John McCain from the 2008 US election to address the following question: how do Obama and McCain each utilize textual personas to frame ideological positions via representations of social actors and social actions and the selection of processes types to depict America as being either contemporary, in the case of Obama, or traditional, in the case of McCain?

The analysis will utilize Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Network (2008: 23-54), a sociosemantic inventory, as a central framework for the analysis. Through the use of this network, social actors can be represented in sociological and critical ways to determine who has been nominated for representation, rather than solely upon who has been stated grammatically through linguistic criteria. The analysis demonstrates that not only do political figures utilize representations of social actors to shape the perceptions from within the ideological stances of their discourse, but they also utilize representational categories to hide their identity by aligning their viewership with the perceptions of themselves that they desire to be reproduced via the audience's interaction with the textual personas fabricated from within the text.

Number of words: Approximately 13,000

## **Dedication**

To my parents  
Thank you for all your immeasurable support and unending guidance.

## **Gratitude**

To my Constant, Junko.

To all the teachers and friends who have sought to further our understanding of the scaffolding that sets the patterns in place by which we live.

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Michael Salovaara, who showed me the path.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Within political discourse the manufacture and dissemination of textual personas can be achieved by framing ideological positions through the recontextualization of social practices and the representation of social actors. Social practices are the socially condoned models of how social activities should be accomplished in order to achieve coordination within society and social actors are the selected participants within a discourse (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 6). Texts incorporate social practices to utilize social actors and their actions for the purposes of recontextualizing meaning via the use of representations to signify the perceived cognitions of the intended audience. Caldas-Coulthard (1996: 228) states, ‘all texts code the ideological position[s] of their producers.’ By framing ideological positions within not only the representations of specifically selected participants and their actions, but also via the appraisal of these social actors and their associated actions, manufacturers of political discourse can manipulate the linguistic and sociosemantic elements of a text to produce specific textual personas for their intended audience (Van Leeuwen, 1996; White, 2005). Van Leeuwen (2008: 6) states:

[Discourses] not only represent what is going on, they also evaluate it, ascribe purpose to it, justify it, and so on, and in many texts these aspects of representation become far more important than the representation of the social practice itself.

As such, presidential campaign speeches offer a unique opportunity to implement the

tools of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to decode the representations of meaning constructed within the relationships of the discourse and the audience to provide insight as to how presidential nominees manipulate language to develop textual personas within the representations of their speeches that seemingly become bestowed with symbolic leverage.

In defining language, Bourdieu states that language is a symbolic system of power endowed with the inherent ability to make people see visions of the world that either confirm or transform their perceptions and beliefs of the world, thereby influencing not only their own actions in the world, but also the world itself (1991: 170 cited in Meadows, 2009: 17). Through such power of discourse, presidential nominees fabricate linguistic and semiotic images of the self that seek to connect with the aspirations of the audience, reflect the perceived highest values of the country within the audience and depict the choices of the opponent as being less than ideal. Boussofara-Omar (2006: 330) states that orators choose to speak in precise ways and use language in determined ways as a means of constructing linguistic levels and linguistic images of their selves that will activate complex webs of associations that can link a wide array of discourses and contexts. By use of rhetorical dimensions, language use is facilitated to promote and legitimize the presidential nominee's purposes for depictions of social order and political vision via the assemblage of representations of social actors and social actions. This is discourse that is enacted within the textual landscape of campaign speeches to covertly position ideological frameworks as a means to not only reflect the representation of societal values, but to also shape individual interaction within society because of it.

## 1.1 Objectives of the Analysis

The impetus for the analysis within this dissertation stemmed from two factors. First, as an American, I had a genuine interest in gaining a deeper understanding of the mechanics Obama used to construct the eloquence within his speeches. What were the linguistic, grammatical and semantic elements of his speeches that made his language use so moving and inspiring to so many Americans, including myself? Because I voted for him, I had a sincere desire to ascertain if he was actually at heart a poet or, more likely, able to manipulate language via a methodology that gave him a discrete advantage over McCain. I also wanted to know what was it about McCain's speeches that seemed so plain. While Obama's speeches seemed to offer deeper *meaning* for his intended audiences, McCain's speeches seemed to fulfil a visceral *function* for the intended audiences. What this function was, I did not know at the outset. Was I merely not attuned to the selections of McCain's representations because I was not of the party within his audiences or was there a distinct difference in his approach to language? Secondly, I aimed to understand the tools involved by both candidates for creating an America that seemed to exist for each of the audiences they spoke to: one that was America because it was contemporary and another that was America because it was traditional. By analyzing the choices and patterns within these depictions I hoped to uncover not only the sociosemantic representations applicable to each of the intended audiences, but also the linguistic mechanisms employed by Obama and McCain to manufacture discourse that endowed them with power from two seemingly very different value systems. If so, were these value systems that each group required their leaders to espouse or value systems that their leaders constructed for their followers to be content within?

## **1.2 Selected Data for the Analysis**

For this dissertation, six campaign speeches from the 2008 U.S. presidential elections have been selected from the Democratic nominee, Barack Obama, and the Republican nominee, John McCain, to answer the question: how do Obama and McCain each utilize textual personas to frame ideological positions via representations of social actors and actions and the selection of processes types to depict America as being either contemporary, in the case of Obama, or traditional, in the case of McCain. The speeches that I have selected for this analysis include the nomination speech for each candidate, Obama's Democratic Convention speech, McCain's Republican Convention speech, Obama's victory speech and McCain's concession speech.

## **1.3 Methodology Utilized for Analysis of the Texts**

To aid in answering the question of how representations are utilized to reproduce power by depicting America as being either contemporary or traditional, Van Leeuwen's Network for the Representations of Social Actors and Social Actions (2008) has been applied to provide the central framework for the analysis of the discourse used by Obama and McCain within their presidential campaign speeches. I have selected Van Leeuwen's framework because of the benefits it offers in categorizing the choices made within the discourse via sociosemantic meaning, rather than lexicogrammatical. Because of such categorization, the usage of power as socially assigned to different social actors and actions can be factored into the analysis and the intended potential meaning of such choices investigated. Additionally, the process types and the transitivity of the texts have also briefly been investigated to demonstrate how the specific selection of processes

types can be exploited in conjunction with the social actors and social actions to codify messages within discourse for the purposes of creating ideological presuppositions underneath the surface structures of language through usage of patterns and repetition. Specifically, I will consider one social action utilized by each nominee to construct frameworks for their speeches relevant to the textual personas they seek to fabricate with the texts. Identifying the prevalent types of processes implemented within the speeches is useful in determining how language was selected to demonstrate not only power and status within the metaphors, but to also demonstrate how such messages were constructed within the texts to convey either *meaning*, in the case of Obama, or *function*, in the case of McCain.

## CHAPTER 2

### CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Through CDA, the salient features of a text can be identified to decode the ideologies conveyed within the representations and grammatical patterning of the discourse. CDA is a multidisciplinary approach to language that strives to highlight the nature of social power and dominance by substantiating the intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture (Van Dijk, 1995: 253). It is a cross-discipline approach within Applied Linguistics that is a relatively new branch of Discourse Analysis. Discourse Analysis grew out of the research within different disciplines in the 1960's and early 1970's that included the fields of linguistics, semiotics, psychology, anthropology and sociology and from these multi-disciplinary approaches of Discourse Analysis, CDA emerged with additional influences from the social theories of Foucault, Bordieu, and Habermas as well as the linguistic theories of Halliday (Burns, 2001: 138; McCarthy, 2006: 5). While Discourse Analysis concerns itself with the study of relationships between language and the contexts in which language is used, CDA is instead concerned with issues of language, power and ideology within the discourse of texts (McCarthy, 2006: 5; Coffin, 2001: 99). Fowler (1981: 25 cited in Jaworski and Coupland, 2006: 27) states that:

[To be critical within CDA means to produce] a careful analytic interrogation of the ideological categories, and the roles and institutions and so on, through which a society constitutes and maintains itself and the consciousness of its members...All knowledge, all objects, are constructs: criticism analyses the processes of construction and, acknowledges the artificial quality of the

categories concerned, offers the possibility that we might profitably conceive the world in some alternative way.

One of the main aims of CDA is to highlight how language is utilized within texts to construct specific ideological positions that entail unequal relations of power. Because of this, CDA not only focuses on the linguistic dimensions of language, but also maintains a strong political agenda in reference to how the language is used (Coffin, 2001: 99). Within CDA language is not neutral and ‘all texts are critical sites for the negotiation of power and ideology (Burns, 2001: 138).’ Fairclough (1989: 10-11 cited in Coffin, 2001: 100) states:

The relationship between social action and text is mediated by interaction: that is the nature of the interaction, how texts are produced and interpreted, depends upon the social action in which they are embedded; and the nature of the text, its formal and stylistic properties on the one hand depends upon and constitutes “traces” of its process of production, and on the other hand constitutes “cues” for its interpretation.

CDA can provide effective insights into the relationships within language because it offers a Hallyidayan view of language in which language is itself inseparable from its socio-linguistic context, its mediation of ideology and its relation to power structures within society (Orphin, 2005: 37-38). By identifying the linguistic mechanisms or semantic categories through which ideology is constructed, CDA is able to make apparent the hidden methodology an author may employ within discourse to package representations of the world, whether consciously or unconsciously.

## **2.1 Representations and Interactions within Texts**

Crucial to CDA is the view that the choice of one word over another within a discourse can encode an ideological package of information to reveal a speaker's ideological stance towards a given topic. Through such analysis, CDA can form perceptive insights into the methodology used to construct ideology across texts. White (2000: 142) states that analysis of which social participants have been chosen for inclusion in a text and which participant roles they have been chosen for consistently within the text is a valuable tool for discovering ideological positioning that is not only evaluative, but covert. Additionally, analysis of the language employed by these hidden methodologies entails understanding both the potential of language and its realization within a text (Stubbs, 1996: 97). Stubbs (1996: 93) states that:

It is necessary to identify the linguistic mechanisms which convey ideology...Ideology need not function at the level of conscious or intentional bias...Once it is realized that choices have been made, it is also realized that other choices could be made, and that reality could be presented differently.

Further, central to CDA is the belief that texts should be studied not only as representations, but as interactions as well (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 4). The control of knowledge not only shapes individuals' interpretations of the world, but it also structures the types of discourse and actions individuals may engage in (Van Dijk, 1993: 258). Fairclough (1992b cited in Burns, 2001: 13) describes discourse as having three dimensions: it is a text that is either spoken or written; it is an interaction between the people involved in the processes of production and interpretation of the text; and it is part



of a social action. See Figure 1 below. Because of this sociolinguistic context, CDA is able to offer critical insight into instances of language that exploit socio-political intimations by utilizing theories that mediate ideology and its relations to power structures (Orphin, 2005: 37-38). Through such analysis, ideas may be formulated as to how discourse contributes to the reproduction of ideology between social groups within society to maintain social power and dominance (Van Dijk, 1993: 254).



Figure 1: Dimensions of discourse and discourse analysis: a description of Critical Discourse Analysis (Coffin, 2001: 100 cited from Fairclough: 1995: 98).

Employing CDA necessitates the presumption that language is not merely representing a specific state of affairs. Fairclough (1982a: 43 cited in Van Leeuwen, 2008: 135) states, 'Discourse is a place where relations of power are exercised and enacted.' Additionally, Mason (2006: 154) states that language is the primary means of social interaction and that because of this it not only transfers propositional content, but evaluational and judgmental aspects as well. Because CDA provides analysts with the tools to explain the

structures of social and political issues within discourse, it is able to expound upon the various orders of language within discourse by deconstructing the methods used to maintain hegemony by elite groups via their use and influence of media to further their own ideological dominance over individual lives within societies (Van Dijk, 2001: 353). This is discourse that not only presents a reflection of the social order as perceived by individuals within society, but also shapes the social order of individuals' interactions with society.

By implementing methodologies that influence and manipulate their viewership, individuals within media, and those with media access, such as politicians, are able to distance themselves from their intended audience by hiding behind the methodologies they employ to shape their legitimations of power. CDA aims to highlight the usage of such social inequalities and the tools used to maintain that power (Fairclough, 1995 cited in Coffin, 2001: 99). Presuming that discourse access is an evaluative measure of power, CDA is a crucial diagnostic tool for assessing the extent to which social and political dominance is maintained within that power (Van Dijk: 1996: 90). Implementing the tools utilized within CDA allows relations of power and dominance in society to not only be described, but also challenged and the methods for maintaining and reproducing power explained.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I have chosen CDA because it is able to offer not only an explanation as to why specific choices of language are embedded within

discourse, but also how specific choices of language are categorized within ideologies to construct fabricated textual personas which are used for the intention of reproduction via interaction to maintain power.

## **2.2 Discourse**

According to Foucault (1977 cited in Van Leeuwen, 2008: 6), discourse is a social cognition of “a socially constructed knowledge of some social practice” developed within fixed social contexts and appropriate to conditions large or small. Discourse requires not only a local coherence within texts, but also an assessment of the significance or value of the global textual items within it (Sayer, 2006: 450). However, the ability to understand the significance of items within a text is dependent upon the audience’s internal access to resources from outside the text. It is from within the audience’s notions of such social identity that coherence within the text can be constructed to narrate meaning via not only the selection and omission of textual items, but their evaluation as well. Additionally, within the narrative structures of discourse are the evaluative schemas by which narrators can convey ideological suppositions, reveal their degree of involvement within the action of the discourse and also confirm their recognition of audience expectations (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996: 267).

As such, a text offers only a trace of the meaningful action within the discourse. The action and the evaluation are meaningful because audience members have expectations about not only who people are and what they are like, but also the social practices they

engage in (Gough and Talbot, 1996: 224). Through the inclusion or exclusion of ‘other texts or sets of voices’ a text can recontextualize items from one context by placing them in a temporally and situationally separate context in which meaning and meaning potential can be transformed (Fairclough, 2003: 47; Linell, 1998: 144-145 cited in Dunmire, 2009: 198). Additionally, Van Dijk (1995: 273) states that one of the staples of ideological arguments are presuppositions. Fairclough (1995: 219 cited in Coffin, 2001: 99) states, ‘...it is mainly in discourse that consent is achieved, ideologies are transmitted, and practices, meanings, values and identities are taught and learnt.’ Because presuppositions appertain to knowledge and beliefs that are not asserted, but simply assumed, speakers are able to infuse ideological propositions into texts that take specific beliefs for granted (Van Dijk, 1995: 273).

### **2.3 Ideology**

The function of ideology within discourse is utilized as a means of organizing individual thought along specific lines of reason. Such ideological perspectives can be conveyed through the manipulation of language as a means of engendering cognition to follow patterns of common sense that are not likely to lead towards subversive conclusions as using some other discourses may entail (Lemke, 1995: 13). Kress (1985: 7 cited in Noth, 2004: 18) states that ‘the grammar of a language is its theory of reality’. While a Hallidayan view of language states that grammar is certainly manipulated to construct ideological arguments and presuppositions for the construction of reality based on experience, it is the individuals who introduce ideological statements for reproduction that control not only the grammar and the representations within ideology, but also the

messages that are contained within the grammar and experiences (Stubbs, 1996: 60). In characterizing ideologies, Van Dijk (1995: 248) states:

Ideologies are basic frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted by relevant selections of sociocultural values, and organized by an ideological schema that represents the self-definition of a group. Besides their social function of sustaining the interests of groups, ideologies have the cognitive function of organizing the social representations (attitudes, knowledge) of the group, and thus indirectly monitor the group-related social practices, and hence also the text and talk of members.

Such frameworks of social cognition not only seek to sustain the attitudes and beliefs of one group over another, but they also seek to perpetuate beliefs which position one group's view of the world as being dominant over another. Through this, the representations of beliefs can continue to reproduce social practices, and the inclusion of social actors that signify ideological positions, by facilitating definitions of the self which foster actions and values that emanate from the ideology itself. Additionally, Hall (1982 cited in Stubbs, 1996: 194) describes ideology as not being representative of any intentional biases, but is instead a reproduction of dominant discourse, which through repetition comes to be viewed as common sense that is natural and comprehensive rather than partial and selective. This ongoing discourse and the ideological statements made by individuals takes place not outside of ideology, but from within it (Hall, 1999: 397). However, participants of this discourse may have different roles that affect the production and comprehension of the discourse or ideological statements through the context of the relations between participants (Van Dijk, 2001: 22-23). Through usage of mass media,

individuals within social roles that have access to power can make ideological statements that are designed to contain messages that evoke meaning within codified language. Because those with media access are not only able to construct the message, but assure its continued circulation, the redundancy of the ideological message thus seemingly confirms their position as truth (Noth, 2004: 17).

Within the selected texts for the analysis of this dissertation, Obama and McCain have utilized frameworks within each of their speeches that construct America as being either contemporary or traditional. Not only do the intended audience members interact with specific sets of beliefs *about* America as provided by the speeches of the nominees, but they also interact *within* ideological frameworks of the speeches that construct cognitions which detail not only what America *is*, but how audience members should *be* within America as Americans: contemporary in the case of Obama and traditional in the case of McCain.

## CHAPTER 3

### REPRESENTATIONS OF MEANING AND ANALYSIS OF TEXTS

The language of discourses offer a construction of lexicogrammatical space that reflects aspects of reality which are semantically constructed to not only employ socio-historical contexts, but also employed to recontextualize knowledge for reproduction and dissemination (Van Leeuwen, 2008: vii). Within a Hallyidayan view of language, language is a systematic resource for expressing and exchanging meaning through varying contexts and linguistic usage (Chappele, 1998: 1). Because of this view, the contexts under which language is implemented are available for analysis as are the selections of words that may have been chosen. However, some words and some contexts have more power than others since not all words or contexts are equal, nor are all words and contexts loaded with the same semantic weight (Thompson, 1991: 1 cited in Boussofara-Omar, 2006: 326). The power by which individuals use language to shape discourse may change depending on who creates an utterance and under what circumstances an utterance is employed. Political discourse is one example in which the sociosemantic choices of a writer or orator can be investigated to detail how representations are utilized beyond the level of grammar to convey meaning that is recontextualized for purposes of domination. Because of such power within statements, individuals can exploit the representations of social actors and social actions as a method for augmenting the force of their own assertions as has been done in the speeches of Obama and McCain. Analyzing the sociosmenantic space in which the selection of social actors are utilized can aid in understanding how power is maintained through codification of meaning to achieve political goals.

In the next sections, I will utilize Van Leeuwens Social Actor Network (2008) as the central framework of this dissertation to decontextualize the representations of social actors by investigating categories of representations of social actors implemented by Obama and McCain within their language to not only construct a specific reality for that of their audiences, but also to fabricate their own textual personas for the purposes of maintaining and augmenting their own status and power through the interaction and reproduction of these constructed realities.

### **3.1 Principles of Recontextualization**

According to Bernstein's concept of recontextualization (1999: 184 cited in Van Leeuwen, 2008: vii), knowledge that is produced in one context and reproduced and disseminated in another context undergoes semantic shifts that take place via recontextualizing principles which "selectively appropriate, relocate and relate to separate discourses as a means of constituting its own order and ordering." Within the following speeches, both Obama and McCain employ these principles as a means of creating textual personas within their discourse that selectively appropriate language and participants to reconstitute their own realities. Additionally, Van Leeuwen (2008:6) points out that because discourses are social cognitions, they are socially specific ways of knowing social practices that can be and are used as resources for the representation of social practices in texts. In broadening Bernstein's concept, Van Leeuwen states that all discourses recontextualize social practices and that because of this, all knowledge is grounded in practice (Van Leeuwen, 2008: vii). Utilizing the recontextualization of social practices involves the linguistic and semiotic representation of actors and their roles and



identities as well as their actions and performance styles, setting and timings (Van Leeuwen, 2008: vii-viii).

### **3.2 Representations of Social Actors**

Principles of recontextualization incorporate representations of meaning that function not only above and below the surface of sentences to encode ideological messages, but also function as a mode for carrying the emotions and attitudes that the audience will associate with the roles fulfilled via the selections of specific social actors (Berger, 1966: 113 cited in Van Leeuwen, 2008: 56). Because of this, the inclusion or exclusion of representations of social actors is ultimately utilized to suit the interests and purposes of the audience for whom they are intended (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 28). To achieve their depictions, nominees employ these principles as a means of recontextualizing their choices for representation.

Analysis of the representations within the speeches of each candidate reveal not only the textual persona's they seek to create, but also the types of role allocations they choose to enact in order to frame the shape of their intended discourse via their representations of social actors. Social actors can be utilized for the purposes of being an instigator of action, an agent of action, a beneficiary of action or one affected by action (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 7). The presence of specified roles within the campaign speeches articulates not only the nominees' vision of the country, and their interpretation of their candidacy within it, but also the scope of the semiotic language in which they expect Americans to view their own role within the election and the nation as a whole.

For the analysis of the representations of social actors within the Obama and McCain campaign speeches, categories of representation have been utilized from Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Network (2008). See Figure 2 below.

Representations of Social Actors	Function and Construction
<p><b>Nomination</b></p> <p><b>Categorization:</b></p> <p><b>Functionalization</b></p> <p><b>Identification</b></p> <p><b>Classification:</b></p> <p><b>Relational Identification</b></p> <p><b>Physical Identification</b></p>	<p>Utilizes a social actors unique identity or name.  <u>Construction:</u> use of proper noun for formal, semiformal or informal usage that may include honorific titles. <u>Example:</u> <i>Senator Harris</i> (formal), <i>Harris</i> (formal) <i>Jack Harris</i> (semiformal), <i>Jack</i> (informal)</p> <p>References social actors by what they do or by what they are.</p> <p>References social actors through activities and the things they do, such occupations or roles.  <u>Construction:</u>  noun + -er, -ant, -ent, -ian, -ee. <u>Example:</u> interviewer  noun + -ist, -eer. <u>Example:</u> <i>pianist</i>  noun + -man, -woman, -person. <u>Example:</u> <i>crewman</i></p> <p>References social actors not through what they do, but in terms of what they inexorably are.</p> <p>References the ways in which social actors are defined by the differentialities between classes of people within a given society or institution.  <u>Construction:</u>  Use of age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, Ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation. <u>Example:</u> <i>African-American</i></p> <p>References social actors via their personal relationships, kinship or work relations.  <u>Construction:</u>  Often possessivated, closed sets of nouns: friend, mother, wife.  <u>Example:</u> <i>my friend</i></p> <p>References social actors via their physical characteristics to uniquely distinguish them within a specific context.  <u>Construction:</u>  Use of nouns that denote physical appearance. <u>Example:</u> <i>brunette</i>  Use of adjectives. <u>Example:</u> <i>short</i>  Use of prepositional phrases with or without: <u>Example:</u> <i>with long hair</i></p>

<p><b>Impersonalization:</b></p> <p><b>Abstraction</b></p> <p><b>Objectivation:</b></p> <p><b>Spatialization</b></p> <p><b>Utterance Automization</b></p> <p><b>Instrumentalization</b></p> <p><b>Somatization</b></p>	<p>Utilized within texts for the purposes of backgrounding the identity or roles of social actors, lending impersonal authority or force to an action, adding positive or negative nuances to actions or utterances of a social actor.</p> <p>Utilizes social actors via a quality that is assigned to them by and in the representation. <u>Construction:</u> Use of abstract nouns or concrete nouns that do not denote the semantic feature ‘human.’ <u>Example:</u> <i>Change</i></p> <p>Utilizes the representation of social actors by referring to them via references to a place or thing that is either closely associated with the individual or the action they are being represented as engaging in.</p> <p>References social actors by a place in which they are. <u>Construction:</u> Substitution of one noun for another. <u>Example:</u> <i>America</i> for <i>Americans</i></p> <p>References social actors by their utterances. <u>Construction:</u> Substitution of one noun for another. <u>Example:</u> <i>the report (said)</i>, instead of <i>Jack (said)</i>.</p> <p>References social actors via the instruments they use to fulfill the action they are being represented as engaging in. <u>Construction:</u> Substitution of one noun for another. <u>Example:</u> <i>A weapon (killed)</i> instead of <i>Sam (killed)</i></p> <p>References social actors by utilizing their body for their representation. <u>Construction:</u> Substitution of one noun for another. <u>Example:</u> <i>Kate’s neck</i></p>
<p><b>Exclusion:</b></p> <p><b>Suppression</b></p> <p><b>Backgrounding</b></p>	<p>Utilizes social actors by omitting their involvement from a text.</p> <p>Involves the omission of any reference to the social actor within the text.</p> <p>Excludes any direct reference to the social actor in relation to a given action, however, mention of them may be made elsewhere in the text.</p>
<p><b>Overdetermination</b></p> <p><b>Inversion</b></p>	<p>Depicts social actors as participating in more than one social practice at the same time.</p> <p>Connects social actors to two practices that are opposite one another. <u>Example:</u> <i>The Simpsons=Disfunctional American Family</i></p>

<b>Symbolization</b>	Utilizes fictional social actors or groups to stand-in for non-fictional social actors or groups.
<b>Connotation</b>	Utilizes cultural knowledge to stand in for a classification or functionalization via the use of association. <u>Example</u> : a black mask= the villain
<b>Distillation</b>	Utilizes generalization and abstraction to connect social actors to a social practice.

Figure 2: Selected categories from the Social Actor Network and their representative meaning (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

### 3.2.1 Nomination and Categorization: Functionalization and Identification

Within texts, the analysis of how social actors are nominated can be valuable in understanding how their representations are used across texts. Social actors can be nominated through use of their name, which may also include additional honorific titles, such as Doctor or Ms. Additionally, within the social actor network there are two key types of categorization for defining social actors: functionalization and identification (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 42-45). Van Leeuwen (2008: 43) states that the English language allows speakers to make a choice between functionalization and identification and that the implementation of this choice in discourse is of critical importance in discourse analysis for understanding the ways in which identity can be shaped throughout a text. Functionalization manifests when social actors are referenced through activities and the things they do, such as occupations or roles. Because of this type of usage, government officials are always functionalized. Identification transpires when social actors are designated not through what they do, but in terms of what they inexorably are. Additionally, identification can be divided into three types: classification, relational identification and physical identification. Classification refers to the ways in which social

actors are defined by the differentialities between classes of people within a given society or institution. Relational identification refers to social actors via their personal relationships, kinship or work relations. Physical identification refers to social actors via their physical characteristics to uniquely distinguish them within a specific context.

### **3.2.2 Exclusion: Suppression and Backgrounding**

Representations of social actors are not only included to suit the interests and purposes of their intended audience, but they can also be excluded or omitted from the texts in which they are represented (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 28-30). In some instances the exclusion of social actors may be based upon which details are deemed relevant to an audience, while in other cases exclusion will be part of an inherent strategy. Exclusion can take the form of suppression or backgrounding. Suppression involves the omission of any reference to the social actor within the text. Backgrounding excludes any direct reference to the social actor in relation to a given action, however they will be mentioned elsewhere in the text.

### **3.2.3 Impersonalization: Abstraction and Objectivation**

Social actors can also be represented through means of impersonalization (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 46-47). Impersonalization can be utilized within texts for the purposes of backgrounding the identity or roles of social actors, lending impersonal authority or force to an action, adding positive or negative nuances to actions or utterances of a social actor. Impersonalization can occur through the use of abstract nouns or concrete nouns whose semantic features omit the semantic attributes of being human. Van Leeuwen (2008: 47-

47) distinguishes two types of impersonalization: abstraction and objectivation. Abstraction involves utilizing social actors via a quality that is assigned to them by and in the representation. Objectivation utilizes the representation of social actors by referring to them via references to a place or thing that is either closely associated with the individual or the action they are being represented as engaging in. There are four common types of objectivation: spatialization, utterance autonomization, instrumentalization and somatization. Spatialization references social actors by a place in which they are. Utterance autonomization represents social actors via references to their utterances. Instrumentalization represents social actors via references to the instruments they use to fulfill the action they are being represented as engaging in. Somatization utilizes the body parts of social actors to reference their representation.

### **3.3 Representations of Social Actors within the Discourse of the Texts**

#### **3.3.1 The Nomination Speech of Obama**

*Utilizing representations to of social actors to signify contemporary values*

Within Obama's Nomination Speech, role allocations are implemented in four significant ways as a means of advancing the depiction of contemporary America within the discourse: define former Democratic rival, Hillary Clinton, by what she is, define the Republican candidate by what he does, impersonalize the role of Obama and stipulate that average Americans are to define themselves by when they are.

From the outset of the speech the representation of Hillary Clinton is defined foremost by what she is: a woman and a leader. By categorizing her as a woman through the use of classification within identification, Obama not only differentiates her leadership from other male politicians, but he also affixes to her an identity that is bound to his own interpretation of the election when he states:

Senator **Hillary Clinton** has made history in this campaign not just because **she's** a woman who has done what no **woman** has done before, but because **she's** a **leader** who inspires millions of Americans with **her** strength, **her** courage, and **her** commitment to the causes that brought us here tonight.

Such categorization of Clinton is relevant to Obama's use of discourse not because she was the only woman in US history to have made it this far within an election for the presidency, but because Obama was the only person of African ancestry to make it this far within an election for the US presidency. By allocating Clinton the role of leader, and in a sense outsider because of her gender, Obama is able to quietly acknowledge his own accomplishment within history and take command of her leadership role for himself since he was the one to finally receive the Democratic nomination for the candidacy of the presidency. Additionally, as a means of reinforcing this representation of her, Obama presents her involvement as a candidate in the campaign as part of a journey, a journey that he ultimately now entails as he is the Democratic presidential nominee.

They are **leaders** of this party, and **leaders** that America will turn to for years to come.

That is particularly true for the **candidate** who has traveled further on this journey than anyone else.

In the instance of McCain, Obama backgrounds McCain's involvement in his own utterances, yet utilizes statements made by McCain to signify Democratic ideological suppositions towards the war in Iraq. McCain is on record for supporting the Iraq War and for stating that he would be content to have troops stay in Iraq for the next 100 years. Obama utilizes these utterances as a means of recontextualizing them to augment his own beliefs to support populist sentiment against the war. The significance of such representation is noteworthy because it allows Obama to present a textual persona that seems to have a more developed identity than that of McCain. McCain's involvement in the war via his utterances, as a mistake, is present, however, he is not. The backgrounding of McCain from the discussion of his beliefs via his statements within the discourse enables Obama to attack the Iraq War and therefore attack McCain indirectly to present his own beliefs as having a higher moral currency. In each case, the utterances could be reworded as '*McCain says...*' However, by backgrounding McCain, Obama is able to control the message and recontextualize McCain's meaning within the utterances from one that supports the war to one that supports involvement in an unnecessary war that is actually threatening America.

Change is a foreign policy that **doesn't begin and end with a war that should've never been authorized and never been waged.**

I won't stand here and pretend that there are many good options left in Iraq, but **what's not an option is leaving our troops in that country for the next hundred years**—especially at a time when our military is overstretched, our nation is isolated, and nearly every other threat to America is being ignored.

We **must be as careful getting out of Iraq as we were careless getting in**—but start leaving we must.



By limiting McCain's role within the text to one that narrowly focuses on the fallacy of his actions, Obama is able to attack those actions and thereby define McCain not by what he believes, but by what he does: make mistakes.

The third and possibly most significant representation of social actors employed by Obama within the text is used for depictions of himself. Obama utilizes impersonalization through *abstraction* to construct an identity within the text that is synonymous with his stated goals for the country, while also accounting for his unique social status as a candidate when he uses the word *change* to explain what McCain is not and thereby define what he, Obama, is. In each of the following examples, change is utilized in place of Obama. By focusing not on what he will do, but what he as change represents, Obama is able to make his intended actions seem more universal and outside of scrutiny.

**Change** is realizing that meeting today's threats requires not just our firepower, but the power of our diplomacy—tough, direct diplomacy where the president of the United States isn't afraid to let any petty dictator know where America stands and what we stand for.

**Change** is building an economy that rewards not just wealth, but the work and workers who created it.

The final significant role allocation within Obama's nomination speech focuses not on politicians, but on average Americans. This usage is highly significant because it attempts to contextualize Americans by construing their roles in the election within a relationship that connects them to past and future Americans. To do this, Obama utilizes objectivation, the second type of impersonalization, to represent Americans as being part

of the same struggle. The struggle is one for change that Obama utilizes to represent himself. As a means of uniting Americans under this struggle, regardless of age, religion, sex, creed, color, ethnicity, race, disability, non-disability, sexual orientation and even political persuasion, Obama presents all Americans as being part of the same *generation* that has come to the same moment in time: to vote for him and change the direction of the country.

So it was for **the greatest generation** that conquered fear itself, and liberated a continent from tyranny and made this country home to untold opportunity and prosperity.

So it has been for **every generation** that faced down the greatest challenges and the most improbable odds to leave their children a world that's better, and kinder, and more just.

By utilizing objectivation, Obama is able allocate a role for Americans that not only seeks to bind their actions and beliefs to one another in the present, but also to Americans in the past and future as well that share their vision of America. Through this, Obama fabricates an ideological presupposition in which the election is not about him, but about freedom and the timeless struggle to preserve that freedom that all Americans must go through. Additionally, as a means of reinforcing the necessity of this role as a generation for change in the struggle for freedom, Obama represents Americans through the usage of the possessivated *our* to signify their role in participating in the change that he would like to be through their vote.

America, this is **our** moment.

This is **our** time.

**Our** time to turn the page on the policies of the past.

Our time to bring new energy and new ideas to the challenges we face.

Our time to offer a new direction for the country we love.

### 3.3.2 The Nomination Speech of McCain

*Utilizing representations of social actors to depict traditional values*

Within McCain's Nomination Speech, role allocations for social actors are utilized in two significant ways as a means of depicting America as traditional within the discourse: define Obama via his function in the election and define average Americans by where they are.

In the first instance, McCain refers to Obama only through his role in the election as *my opponent* by utilizing the category of functionalization to avoid any direct mention of Obama's name or even his status as a senator. Such usage by McCain is a clear attempt to limit Obama's involvement in the text. However, it is also used as method to attack Obama directly on a number of policy issues. While Obama attacks the issues that McCain supports via his actions or beliefs as a means to introduce his own, McCain instead attacks Obama's *function* as a rival to introduce his own beliefs. The difference is significant because in Obama's speech McCain is denied involvement within the utterances he has stated, leaving Obama with control of the message. However, in McCain's speech, although Obama's name is suppressed, his function as a rival is utilized in conjunction with the verbal processes of *to argue*, *to claim* and *to propose* to present ideological positions on government that he did not directly make.

I will leave it to **my opponent** to argue that we should abrogate trade treaties, and pretend the global economy will go away and Americans can secure our future by trading and investing only among ourselves.

I will leave it to **my opponent** to claim that they can keep companies and jobs from going overseas by making it harder for them to do business here at home.

I will leave it to **my opponent** to propose returning to the failed, big government mandates of the sixties and seventies to address problems such as the lack of health care insurance for some Americans.

The second significant representation of social actors involves the depiction of Americans through the utilization of impersonalization through the objectivation of spatialization. While Obama also utilized this feature to categorize Americans in relation to a place in time, McCain employs it to refer to Americans via the country they belong to. Each of these uses are similar in the sense that both Obama and McCain are attempting to utilize spatialization as a means to signify American involvement in the democratic process. However, while generation is not a loaded word, America can be utilized to present ideological presuppositions of what America is or should be. McCain employs this usage of America to signify his understanding of the fears facing traditional Americans and reaffirm that America has been safe under the Republican leadership to which he belongs. Additionally, McCain employs America, and the ideals it represents, instead of Americans as a means of giving his life value. Through this usage of America, whose ideals they represent and what they entail are backgrounded. However, in referring to a *kinship of ideals* it can be presumed that such ideals are to come from traditional ideas and are to be preserved.

And I want to thank all my former rivals for the nomination and their supporters for their steadfast

dedication to keeping **America** free, safe, prosperous, and proud.

I don't believe anyone is pre-destined to lead **America**.

I owe her the meaning that service to **America** has given my life, and the sense that I am part of something greater than myself, part of a kinship of ideals that have always represented the last, best hope of mankind.

But we are also expected to concentrate our efforts on the challenges that will confront **America** on our watch and explain how we intend to address them.

**America** is at war in two countries, and involved in a long and difficult fight with violent extremists who despise us, our values and modernity itself.

### **3.3.3 The Democratic Convention Speech of Obama**

*Utilizing representations of social actors to augment personal power*

In the Democratic Convention Speech Obama utilizes the representations of social actors in two significant ways to augment his power: nominate McCain with and without status and impersonalize himself to depict an America that is representative of his values.

Throughout the speech, Obama nominates McCain 21 times: 5 times as Senator McCain, 1 time as the Senator, 1 time as the Republican nominee and 14 times as John McCain. Depiction of McCain as the Republican nominee is used to demonstrate respect for McCain's service to his country as a veteran of the Vietnam War. However, this representation of McCain as a veteran may be employed as a tacit acknowledgement of his elderly age.

The Republican nominee, **John McCain**, has worn the uniform of our country with bravery and

distinction, and for that we owe him our gratitude and respect.

In the instances where Obama nominates McCain via his status as Senator, Obama utilizes the representation of McCain to comment on the mistakes he has made in an official capacity, such as his support of the Iraq War, voting the same as George Bush or generally being out of touch with the American people.

**Senator McCain** likes to talk about judgment, but really, what does it say about your judgment when you think George Bush has been right more than ninety percent of the time?

The truth is, on issue after issue that would make a difference in your lives - on health care and education and the economy - **Senator McCain** has been anything but independent.

Now, I don't believe that **Senator McCain** doesn't care what's going on in the lives of Americans.

And today, we import triple the amount of oil as the day that **Senator McCain** took office.

For while **Senator McCain** was turning his sights to Iraq just days after 9/11, I stood up and opposed this war, knowing that it would distract us from the real threats we face.

In the instances where Obama nominates McCain without reference to his public office, John McCain is utilized to depict his own foolishness. Such depictions that omit his status as Senator are clearly employed as an attempt to entwine McCain within the representations of a fool.

But the record's clear: **John McCain** has voted with George Bush ninety percent of the time.

It's not because **John McCain** doesn't care.

It's because **John McCain** doesn't get it.

I don't know what kind of lives **John McCain** thinks that celebrities lead, but this has been mine.

In the instance of the representations of Obama, *change* is again employed as a method of abstracting Obama's own involvement in the text. At the outset of the speech Obama nominates President Clinton to represent his endorsement of change:

To President Clinton, who last night made the case for **change** as only he can make it...

Just as Obama utilized Hillary Clinton in the Nomination Speech to acknowledge his own victory, Obama nominates President Clinton to signify his power as contextualized within change. Additionally, the use of abstraction seems to have been utilized to omit verbal processes and transitivity in which Obama would say directly what he would do as president. For instance, Obama states:

If John McCain wants to follow George Bush with more tough talk and bad strategy, that is his choice - but it is not the **change** we need.

The same idea could have been rewritten as *–that is not what I would do*. Such omission of transitivity may indeed be more eloquent, but it also has the effect of focusing the audience not on what Obama does or would do, but on what he believes in, which is change. Through this method, Obama is able to depict the audience as being involved in change, a process or state of mind, rather than Obama himself. Each of the following examples abstracts Obama through the use of change, however, they also involve the audience in facilitating this change, and background Obama's involvement as the agent of change as realized through the voter.

That's the **change** we need right now.

**Change** comes to Washington.

**Change** happens because the American people demand it - because they rise up and insist on new ideas and new leadership, a new politics for a new time.

I believe that as hard as it will be, the **change** we need is coming.

By omitting the delineation of how change is realized by Obama or how change is realized by the audience, Obama is able to reproduce the actions he desires in the audience and construct a textual persona in which Obama is represented as being chosen by the audience to make change, rather than Obama using the audience to get elected to make change.

### **3.3.4 The Republican Convention Speech of McCain**

*Utilizing representations of social actors to signify traditional values*

In the Republican Convention Speech McCain employs the representations of social actors in two significant ways as a means of augmenting his power and signifying his values in relation to the audience: nominate himself as symbolization for traditional American values and depict representations of Americans through his representations of the Christian God.

From the outset of the Republican Convention Speech, McCain foregrounds his involvement in the text by nominating himself, via his life, when he states:

In **my life**, no success has come without a good fight, and this nomination wasn't any different.



McCain utilizes his own representation to recontextualize the principles that traditional Americans value in a leader. One of these principles is the dedication to family. To establish this virtue within himself McCain utilizes depictions of his own family via relational identification:

As always, I'm indebted to **my wife**, Cindy, and **my seven children**.

When I was growing up, **my father** was often at sea, and the job of raising my brother, sister and me would fall to **my mother** alone.

Additionally, within the representations of relational identification McCain again utilizes family to depict the virtues of sacrificing family members in a war. Such usage is notable because many of the voters for McCain are from military families and McCain also fought in a war.

I fight for **the family of Matthew Stanley of Wolfboro, New Hampshire**, who died serving our country in Iraq.

A Navy officer rolled down the window, and shouted at **my father** that the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor.

I rarely saw **my father** again for four years.

**My grandfather** came home from that same war exhausted from the burdens he had borne, and died the next day.

Finally, as a means of signifying himself as a father figure for the country McCain utilizes representations of other families and his own to recontextualize his reasons for seeking the presidency.

I'm running for President to keep the country I love safe, and prevent other families from risking their loved ones in war as my family has.

Depictions of McCain's family that utilize four generations of McCains may also serve the function of signifying to the audience that his family maintains cherished American traditions as his family has been in America for more than one generation. Obama, via his father's side, is a first generation American.

In addition to utilizing family and war as signifiers for traditional American values, McCain also utilizes God to signify his faith not only in the Christian religion, but also in America itself. By choosing to nominate God, McCain is able to abstract his role as a Christian and avoid stating his religion, or his religious virtues, directly. However, by foregrounding the representation of God as a signifier of traditional American values, McCain is able to present his faith in God as one that is akin to faith in America. The purposes of such a depiction allow McCain a vehicle for him to codify a message for his audience that construes being an American, a real American, with being Christian.

For reasons known only to God, I've had quite a few tough ones in my life.

We believe everyone has something to contribute and deserves the opportunity to reach their God-given potential from the boy whose descendents arrived on the Mayflower to the Latina daughter of migrant workers.

We're all God's children and we're all Americans.

And I've never lived a day, in good times or bad, that I didn't thank God for the privilege.

And I will fight for her for as long as I draw breath, so help me God.

I'm going to fight to make sure every American has every reason to thank **God**, as I thank **Him**: that I'm an American, a proud citizen of the greatest country on earth, and with hard work, strong faith and a little courage, great things are always within our reach.

### 3.3.5 The Victory Speech of Obama

*Utilizing representations of social actors to symbolize change*

In the Victory Speech, Obama again employs the representations of social actors in two significant ways as a means of signifying his values in relation to change: acknowledge that Americans have had a voice in the election and symbolize the power of that change through a single individual other than himself.

Because Obama ventured to recontextualize the election as being about *change* and not about himself, yet utilized change as an abstraction of himself, his victory places him in a situation where he is unable to directly refer to himself as the agent of change. To unabstract the image of change is to take away its power, and position the beliefs that Obama placed outside of himself as a representation, back into the realm of contestability as being not those of everyone, but his own. However, the message of change as being determined by voting for Obama has been validated by his victory in the election. As a means of uniting the country under one representation, American, Obama makes a strong point of foregrounding as many types of Americans as possible into his victory speech by classifying them for what they are when he states:

It's the answer spoken by **young** and **old**, **rich** and **poor**, **Democrat** and **Republican**, **black**, **white**, **Latino**, **Asian**, **Native American**, **gay**, **straight**, **disabled** and **not disabled** -- **Americans** who sent a

message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America.

Obama again utilizes change as an abstraction of himself and his victory when he states:

It's been a long time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this day, in this election, at this defining moment, **change** has come to America.

This victory alone is not the **change** we seek -- it is only the chance for us to make that **change**.

For that is the true genius of America – that America can **change**.

However, because Obama has won the election, change must be deployed in new way if it is to maintain its currency. As a method for recontextualizing his own abstraction, Obama nominates an average American via classification, who because of her age has truly seen struggle throughout her life as an American. Nixon, while real, is utilized via symbolization for change.

But one that's on my mind tonight is about **a woman** who cast **her** ballot in Atlanta.

She's a lot like the millions of others who stood in line to make their voice heard in this election except for one thing -- **Ann Nixon Cooper** is **106 years old**.

And this year, in this election, she touched her finger to a screen, and cast her vote, because after 106 years in America, through the best of times and the darkest of hours, she knows how America can **change**.

So tonight, let us ask ourselves -- if our children should live to see the next century; if my daughters should be so lucky to live as long as Ann Nixon Cooper, what **change** will they see?

### 3.3.6 The Concession Speech of McCain

*Utilizing representations of social actors to acknowledge change*

In the Concession speech McCain utilizes representations of social actors in two significant ways: celebrate Obama's victory as being one for African-Americans and background the social actors involved in the past enslavement and oppression of African-Americans.

McCain lauds the victory of Obama because he is of African ancestry and utilizes this classification to define the victory as one that seems to be African-Americans alone:

This is an historic election, and I recognize the special significance it has for African-Americans and for the special pride that must be theirs tonight.

There is no better evidence of this than the election of an African-American to the presidency of the United States.

But that he managed to do so by inspiring the hopes of so many millions of Americans, who had once wrongly believed that they had little at stake or little influence in the election of an American president, is something I deeply admire and commend him for achieving.

Such utterances seem to completely suppress the inclusion of voters who voted for Obama that were not African-American. McCain seems to indicate that he believes whites voted for him and African-Americans for voted Obama when he states:

I urge all Americans who supported me to join me in not just congratulating him, but offering our next president our good will and earnest effort to find ways to come together, to find the necessary compromises, to bridge our differences and help restore our prosperity, defend our security in a dangerous world, and leave our children and grandchildren a stronger, better country than we inherited.

Let there be no reason now for any **American** to fail to cherish their citizenship in this, the greatest nation on Earth.

Whatever **our** differences, **we** are fellow **Americans**.

Additionally, as a method of distancing his own voters from past atrocities to the African-American community McCain utilizes objectivation via spatialization to background the involvement of the oppressors who have kept African-American down in the past. He states:

I've always believed that **America** offers opportunities to all who have the industry and will to seize it.

By replacing Americans with America, McCain backgrounds the agents involved in either providing opportunity or denying power and opportunity.

In another example, McCain again backgrounds the actors involved in the injustices of the past. However, this time he backgrounds not only the actors involved in practicing slavery, but also the actors who were slaves:

But we both recognize that though we have come a long way from the old injustices that once stained our nation's reputation and denied some **Americans** the full blessings of **American citizenship**, the memory of them still had the power to wound.

By nominalising *being a citizen* into *citizenship* McCain is able to avoid directly referencing the perceived antonym of citizen: slave. Such an avoidance of this reference within his speech is clearly chosen as a means of addressing the issue of how times have

changed, without fully acknowledging these social practices of the past.

In another instance McCain chooses to reference Booker T. Washington, a famous non-confrontational African-American from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Such a selection seems strangely out of date even when referencing past injustices.

A century ago, President Theodore Roosevelt's invitation of **Booker T. Washington** to visit — to dine at the White House was taken as an outrage in many quarters.

McCain could have chosen Martin Luther King, Jr. as a more apt social actor, however, choosing such a symbolic nomination within his speech may have been viewed by his voters as being representative of change that they are not ready for.

### **3.4 Representation of Social Actions**

Interpreting the representational choices of power or dominance within the selected actions of a text means to also understand how social cognition and discourse shape social actions and practices (Van Dijk, 1993: 122). Analysis of the representations within the speeches of each candidate reveal not only the textual persona's they seek to fabricate, but also the social actions they choose to enact as a means of covertly positioning their selection of social actors, and their assigned roles, within contexts to facilitate the maintenance of the institutions which empower them. Meadows (2009: 17) states:

Any position negotiated for an individual is in turn symbolically linked to the constructed social order and thus authorizes the individual with the power affordances associated with that position. Therefore, identity practices have direct implications for the exercise of power in social practice.

For Obama, a Democrat, such maintenance includes challenging the social practices that have been enacted by the current Republican administration in order to elevate his own visions of how the institution of government should be maintained and to redeem the American way of life. However, for McCain, because he is a Republican nominee seeking to replace a Republican president, this maintenance requires him to defend the social practices of the current administration, while also offering a vision of the future that reassures Americans that their way of life will not be challenged. Through these depictions, it seems that Obama presents a reality within his texts that fabricates *meaning* which construes itself as *we must believe that we can be more than what we are*. However, McCain seems to fabricate a reality within his texts that emphasises not meaning, but *function* and the need to *fight to keep what we have*. To achieve each of their depictions the nominees not only rely on the utilization of different categories of representation, but also on different process types for the construction of divergent grammatical realities within the landscape of their texts.

For the analysis of social actions within Obama and McCain's campaign speeches, categories of representation of social actions have been utilized from Van Leeuwen's Social Action Network (2008). See Figures 3 below. The network will be utilized to specifically look at how Obama utilizes representations of *promise/believe* and McCain



utilizes *fight* to frame their discourse. The usage of process types will also be discussed to aid in investigating how the selection of specific grammatical choices can convey representations of social actions to implement distinct types of meaning.

Representations of Social Actions	Meaning and Function
<p><b>Reaction:</b></p> <p><b>Unspecified</b></p> <p><b>Specified</b></p> <p><b>Cognitive</b></p> <p><b>Affective</b></p> <p><b>Perceptive</b></p>	<p>Introduces cognitive processes as representations of reactions instead of actions to ground propositions within interpretations.</p> <p>Utilizes verbs such as <i>react</i> and <i>respond</i></p> <p>References a set type of mental reaction.</p> <p>References how knowledge is acquired.</p> <p>References how feelings and attitudes are shaped. <u>Example:</u> <i>feel, fear</i></p> <p>References how insight is acquired. <u>Example:</u> <i>see, perceive,</i></p>
<p><b>Material and Semiotic Action</b></p> <p><b>Material Action</b></p> <p><b>Semiotic Action</b></p> <p><b>Interactive</b></p> <p><b>Instrumental</b></p>	<p>Utilizes actions for doing or for meaning.</p> <p>Utilizes actions for doing.</p> <p>Utilizes actions for meaning.</p> <p>Refers to actions by a verb that can only take a human as its goal. <u>Example:</u> <i>hug</i></p> <p>Utilizes the goal of actions that may be human or nonhuman as humans can be interchangeable with objects. <u>Example:</u> <i>use, carry, transport</i></p>

Figure 3: Selected categories from the Social Action Network and their representative meaning (Van Leeuwen: 2008).

### 3.4.1 Reaction

By introducing cognitive processes as representations of reactions instead of actions,

propositions can be grounded within interpretations in which what is seen is now perceived as being known (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 56-59). Reactions to social actions can be attributed as unspecified or specified. Unspecified reactions utilize verbs such as 'react' and 'respond,' while specified reactions can be cognitive, perceptive or affective. Van Leeuwen (2008: 58) points out that it is beneficial to trace which types of reactions are attributed to the different social actors: the greater the power of the social actor the more probable it is that cognitive reactions will be attributed to them rather than affective reactions.

### **3.4.2 Material and Semiotic Action**

Social action can be construed as having material action for doing or semiotic action for meaning (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 59-63). Additionally, it is important to distinguish between actions that affect people and actions that do not. Interactive transactions are actions that are referred to by a verb that can only take a human as its goal. Instrumental transactions are actions in which the goal may be human or nonhuman as humans may be interchangeable with objects. Semiotic actions have an additional dimension by way of their ability to convey meaning.

### **3.4.3 Process Types**

Process types are verbs or verbal phrases that are used to denote doing, existence, states of being or having and speaking (Thompson, 2004). Process types are divided into four types of processes: Relational, Material, Mental and Verbal. See Figure 4 below. For

examples from texts, Material Processes are presented in **bold**, Relational Processes are underlined, Mental Processes are *italicized* and Verbal Process have been ~~striken~~ through.

Process Types	Function within Language
<b>Material</b>	Demonstrate actions through such verbs as <i>do, make</i> .
<u>Relational</u>	Refers to existence through such verbs as <i>have</i> .
<i>Mental</i>	Signifies thinking, feeling and perceiving through such verbs as <i>see, think, feel</i> .
<del>Verbal</del>	Involves saying through such verbs as <i>say, tell, speak</i> .

Figure 4: Descriptions of Process Types and their function within language (Thompson, 2004).

### 3.5 Representations of Social Action within the Discourse of the Texts

#### 3.5.1 Obama's Representational Framework of *Promise* and *Believe*

##### *Social Action as meaning*

Within Obama's discourse the social actions of *promise* and *believe* are utilized to create meaning within his text as a means for augmenting Obama's identity that has already been abstracted as change. This usage is significant because a promise must be made with another person, however believe can be realized through someone or something, such as an idea or higher power. Usages of promise seem to be utilized as semiotic action realized as interactive because of the deeper meaning the instances convey and the necessity of a human agent, while believe is utilized as semiotic action realized as

instrumental because of its interchangeability with human or object goals.

This moment - this election - is our chance **to keep**, in the 21st century, the American **promise** alive.

And it is on their behalf that I *intend to win* this election and **keep** our **promise** alive as President of the United States.

Let us **keep** that **promise** - that American promise - and in the words of Scripture **hold** firmly, without **wavering**, to the hope that we confess.

Instead, it is that American spirit - that American **promise** - that **pushes** us forward even when the path is uncertain; that **binds** us together in spite of our differences; that **makes** us *fix* our eye not on what is *seen*, but what is *unseen*, that better place around the bend.

Obama utilizes promise to not only give fresh meaning to the image of the American Dream, but to also enlist his voters in finding greater meaning within government as realized through him. Through this usage, promise is implemented to signify change that Obama will bring about as president. Additionally, while promise is selected as a means for providing deeper meaning within the election, it is realized by use of material processes. Such selection allows the depiction of promise to be experienced not as an idea, but as a seemingly tangible, yet still abstract, action that the voter must engage in. In the following examples, *believe* is implemented in conjunction with Obamas's assurances of the *American promise* as a perceptive reaction to substantiate the reasons or meaning for voter support of Obama and their rejection of Republican government. Not only are voters required to vote, but to also believe in the promise that will come about as change via Obama's presidency, even after he has left office.

And because of what you said—because you *decided* that change must **come** to Washington; because you *believed* that this year must be different than all the rest; because you *chose* to *listen*

not to your doubts or your fears but to your greatest hopes and highest aspirations, tonight we *mark* the end of one historic journey with the beginning of another—a journey that **will bring** a new and better day to America.

All of you *chose* **to support** a candidate you *believe* in deeply.

Because if we are *willing* **to work** for it, and **fight** for it, and *believe* in it, then I am absolutely certain that generations from now, we *will* be *able* **to look back** and tell our children that this was the moment when we **began to provide** care for the sick and good jobs to the jobless; this was the moment when the rise of the oceans **began to slow** and our planet **began to heal**; this was the moment when we **ended** a war and **secured** our nation and **restored** our image as the last, best hope on earth.

### 3.5.2 McCain's Representational Framework of *Fight*

#### *Social action as function*

Within McCain's discourse the social action of *fight* is utilized to construe a context within McCain's text for augmenting his role as a leader that has already been implemented via symbolization as the epitome of traditional American values. Through his usage of *fight*, McCain attempts to lead and define his audience by articulating to them the functions they should carry out within his election and within his view of society.

So **stand up** with me, my friends, **stand up** and **fight** for America -- for her strength, her ideals, and her future.

But we *will* **fight** every minute of every day **to make** certain we have a government that is as capable, wise, brave and decent as the great people we **serve**.

These usages are significant because *fight*, like *believe*, can be experienced through someone or something. However, individuals can *believe in* something or someone that

generally entails positive connotations or semantic prosody. Fight though, can entail negative connotations or semantic prosody depending on the context and can be experienced as fighting *someone* or *something*, fighting *for* someone or something and also fighting *with* someone or something. McCain uses fight to depict his function as president and to depict the voters' function as Americans. McCain primarily utilizes *fight with* in using the imperative to call voters to action and *fight for* in depicting what he will do as president. Such usage at first seems to be categorized as a material process because of the clear goals involved in fight, however, because the role of fight is to elect McCain, it could also be semiotic instrumental. In addition, these usages could also be labelled as unspecified reaction because if you are to fight you are to react or defend something. In each of the following instances fight is a material process used to depict the function of McCain as president and the function of Americans as voters.

What you **fight** for is the real test.

So **stand up** with me, my friends, **stand up** and **fight** for America -- for her strength, her ideals, and her future.

But we *will* **fight** every minute of every day **to make** certain we have a government that is as capable, wise, brave and decent as the great people we **serve**.

**Fight** with me.

**Fight** for what's right for our country.

**Fight** for the ideals and character of a free people.

**Fight** for our children's future.

**Stand up, stand up, stand up** and **fight**.

And I *will* **fight** for her for as long as I **draw** breath, so **help** me God.

I'm *going* **to fight** for my cause every day as your President.

I'm *going to **fight to make*** sure every American has every reason *to thank* God, as I *thank* Him: that I'm an American, a proud citizen of the greatest country on earth, and with hard work, strong faith and a little courage, great things are always within our reach.

Additionally, it seems that McCain may have chosen to utilize fight as method for attempting to assert more masculinity over Obama, and to also potentially alleviate any questions of it that may have been raised because of his elderly age. Voters, while male or female, may also have required an assurance of traditional values that necessitate power be represented as more masculine via the usage and imagery of fight.

## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 Discussion and Analysis of Results

The implementation of representational choices into systematically-organized sets of statements within the texts of the political discourse analysed here provides each of the presidential candidates with a textual landscape in which they can present Americans not necessarily as they are, but as the nominees, and their party, would like them to be perceived to be or in ways the nominee needs them to perceive themselves to be (Kress, 1985b: 6-7 cited in Fowler, 1996: 7). Because each nominee, and their audience, comes from opposing political parties, the America that is represented within the discourse of each nominee reflects not a singular America, but an America as distinguished through the use of Democratic discourse and an America as distinguished by the use of Republican discourse. Obama's representational choices of America and Americans are utilized to signify the prevalence and necessity of reproducing cognitive perspectives that are contemporary, while McCain's representational choices of America and Americans are employed to signify the prevalence and necessity of reproducing cognitive perspectives that are more traditional. However, Obama's own textual persona is constructed not necessarily through political issues that would be deemed contemporary, but through methods that obscure the line between Obama's actions and Obama's beliefs. Through these methods he seeks to recontextualize the story of what it means to be American, any American: a story in which all Americans can participate *through* him. The representations Obama selects to depict this identity within the texts are ones that evaluate not his actions, but the reactions of Americans, and his opponent, to beliefs that



are positioned outside himself for all Americans to embrace as their own. While Obama utilizes representations to signify what it means it means to *be* American, McCain recontextualizes the process of how to *become* American. Through this process, McCain constructs a textual persona within his representations that focuses not on retelling the story of what it means to be any American, but on what it means to be *him*. The representations McCain selects to depict this identity within the texts are ones that have been chosen to utilize his life as a means of signifying the values his audience expects in a leader. By recontextualizing his personal narrative as the quintessential American, McCain utilizes methods that symbolize his representation as hero.

Throughout their speeches, Obama and McCain each utilize different approaches to their depictions and representations of social actors. Within the grammatical realities constructed throughout the linguistic and semantic representations of the texts, Obama recontextualizes himself as an abstraction of America and McCain recontextualizes himself as the symbolization for America. The usage of these selected representations within Obama's texts seems to imply '*Through you, we, (I, as Change) can help the country reclaim our belief in the American Promise,*' while McCain's seems to denote '*Through me (and what I have learned), I can save the country if you fight with me.*' Obama's methodology seems to present stronger ideological positions as a means of conveying semiotic meaning for voters who have contemporary values. Grammatically, Obama has positioned a reality in which the election is a journey *to* the White House. Obama presents texts that nominalize his involvement and background his identity to maintain this reality through abstraction so that it is grammatically understood that he

perceives what *is* right, thereby implying he is smarter and more capable than McCain. McCain, though, foregrounds his involvement through his personal narrative as a war hero to convey the function he can serve as president and the functions Americans can serve in maintaining traditional values by voting for him, which he frames as fighting for him. Grammatically, McCain has positioned a reality where *if* you vote for him, he will fight for you. Through this McCain employs his life as a means of demonstrating his function in society as a leader by learning what was right, thus implying that he is not innately smarter than Obama, but had to learn right from wrong through experience. Through Obama's use of language, Obama has already determined that he has won and that America itself has more meaning than McCain, who positioned his argument on the function of himself and Americans, which lacks deeper semiotic value.

Additionally, just as Obama and McCain expected their audience members to interact with their texts from specific ideological stances, so too did audience members expect Obama and McCain to interact with their own beliefs from specific ideological perspectives that reflect what they value in a leader. For Obama, this leadership entailed an inclusive use of language to depict American values as having space for all types of Americans. This value either was more important for Obama and his audience than stating *how* he is a leader or it was used to *show* how he is a leader. For McCain though, this leadership entailed a language that positioned him forefront as the leader, as may have been expected by his audience. His use of language was implemented to demonstrate actions which *reflected* his beliefs, rather beliefs that demonstrated his actions, as in the case of Obama. In both cases, the value systems of Obama and his

audience and the value systems of McCain and his audience are determined by the ideologies from within the political party that they all belong to, however the methodologies implemented by the candidates to maintain this power has been constructed to not only reflect the expectations of the audience, but to assure the continued contentment of their cognitions within it.

## **4.2 Limitations**

Presidential campaign speeches are written with the intent to be read aloud in front of large audiences. These audiences include those that are in attendance while the speech is being read, as well as those that will view it as a part of the TV audience at the same time or later. While each presidential nominee takes credit for the speech, it is not certain to what degree the nominees actually wrote their speeches. The speeches have the intended purpose of inspiring their viewers to vote, shape the discourse by which the nominees would like their campaign to be represented and shape the discourse by which the nominees would like their opponent to be recontextualized.

Analyzing the representations of meaning within discourse provides insight to how language is utilized as part of methodology to achieve specific ends for reproduction and legitimations of power. However, making sense of the methods used and the patterns employed is dependent upon the not only the grammatical and semantic knowledge of each individual analyst, but also the social contexts through which the discourse and the language are shaped via outside texts and reference. In analysing the speeches of Obama and McCain I have strived to be as objective and knowledgeable as possible. I have

attempted to analyze the sociosemantic features of the speeches to discover not only how Obama and McCain shaped their representations of America in regards to being contemporary or traditional, but to also outline some of the methods they employed to achieve these purposes within the grammar and their patterns of choice from within the representational categories available. Such purposes are utilized not only within the grammar and representations to legitimate their power, but also as facilitated from within the ideologies that they seek to reproduce as a method of maintaining power. One of the limitations of such an analysis of representations is that that while I have been able to discuss what I believe to be some of the key representations within the texts, another analyst may find features or patterns that they consider to be more significant. Because of this, I am able to only discuss selected representations or categories of representations within each of the texts.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

Human thought and the concrete understanding of words take shape not only through verbal interaction within texts, but also through the derivable experience of reality to which words belong (Malinowski, 1935: 58 cited in Van Leeuwen, 2008: 5). Reality, though, can be manipulated by usage of linguistic and sociosemantic categories from within discourse to shape meaning for the advancement of political ends. In this dissertation I have utilized the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis and the Social Actor and Social Action Networks of Van Leeuwen (2008) to unpack the meaning behind the fabricated realities of language within political texts by analyzing the selections of social actors and social actions from the 2008 campaign speeches of Barack Obama and John McCain. My investigations of language analyzed representations of meaning within the relationships of discourse with the audience to make salient the most notable linguistic images and sociosemantic features implemented by the texts' writers to facilitate not only the nominee's perceived societal values, but to also shape individual interaction within society through such perceived social values as articulated by representations of social actors and social actions. In analysing the discourse constructed within the campaign speeches of Obama and McCain I have strived to identify the methods used to assemble representations of meaning that seek to shape identity through the manipulation of social actors and social actions to facilitate not only the ideological positions the nominees would strive to reproduce, but also the textual personas they have assiduously created for themselves via their ideological positions and representations of meaning.

Through the analysis within this dissertation I have sought to answer the following question: how do Obama and McCain each utilize textual personas to frame ideological positions via representations of social actors and social actions and the selection of processes types to depict America as being either contemporary, in the case of Obama, or traditional, in the case of McCain? Through my investigations of their use of language I discovered choices of representation that manipulated sociosemantic meanings of America, the candidates themselves, average Americans and influential Americans as part of a methodology to fabricate a textual reality for the purposes of framing ideological positions by shaping discourse and reconstituting social cognitions which viewed America as needing to be either contemporary or traditional. Additionally, the social cognitions within the ideologies of the discourse were enhanced via representations of social actors and social actions from within the discourse of the speeches to convey reality in two very distinct ways. For Obama, *meaning* was utilized to shape the majority of categories within his discourse, while for McCain *function* was utilized to shape the majority of categories within his discourse. However, in a society where more and more people have a role within society that dictates their being via their function, it seems ironic that the candidate who represented contemporary America may in fact have been more traditional by focusing on meaning and the candidate who represented traditional America may have in fact been more contemporary by focusing on function. It is likely that Democratic voters, unfulfilled by their function within society, may have required more meaning from their political leader, while Republicans, content with meaning in their lives, possibly via conservative religious values, needed for themselves a leader who provided more function in their lives. Because of this, the language espoused by Obama

and McCain was utilized to depict America as contemporary or traditional. Additionally, the analysis demonstrated how Obama and McCain utilized specific categories of representation to shape these perceptions of America from within the ideological stances of their discourse as well as utilize representations of social actors to hide their identity by aligning their viewership with perceptions of themselves that were fabricated linguistically within their texts for the purposes of being reproduced via the audience's interaction with the textual personas. Because Critical Discourse Analysis aims to highlight the methods employed to maintain and reproduce such power, this analysis has been able to identify, via the Social Actor and Social Action Networks of Van Leeuwen (2008), the linguistic tools and categories of representation employed by Obama and McCain to fabricate two alternate versions of America for the maintenance of their own institutional power and the ideological stances that are demanded by their audiences and required for their audiences.

Van Leeuwen states that all texts should be viewed not only as representations, but as interactions as well (2008: 4). In utilizing the speeches of Obama and McCain, I too have interacted with the discourse as well as reproduced it and recontextualized it from being included within a campaign speech to being included within a dissertation for my own representations of meaning. Representations and recontextualization embody principles and frameworks that all members of society utilize within discourse, consciously or unconsciously, to not only communicate, but to convey meaning. However, while most individuals will utilize representations for communication, only a very select few are within positions of power in which they can or will manipulate language through

methodologies designed to manufacture representations of meaning as part of a larger configuration within discourse to maintain and reproduce institutional power and ideological frameworks. As such, language, especially language within political discourse, can be used as a tool for manipulating audiences by creating depictions of reality favourable to societal institutions and the individuals they support, as well as for reproducing specific cognitions which emanate from the influence of ideologies constructed for the maintenance and fabrication of power through discourse.

While political discourse may be expected to present the opposition as less than ideal and it may be understood that politicians utilize misrepresentation of facts and situations within society for political advantage, there is little indication that Americans are aware of how acutely language patterns can manipulate linguistic elements and sociosemantic categories to facilitate cognitive perspectives that are amendable for representation which work towards altering and reproducing not only ideological positions, but identity itself.



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## **Appendix 1**

### **Text of Obama's Nomination Speech**

**June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2008**

1. Sixteen months have passed since we first stood together on the steps of the Old State Capitol in Springfield, Illinois.
2. Thousands of miles have been traveled.
3. Millions of voices have been heard.
4. And because of what you said—because you decided that change must come to Washington; because you believed that this year must be different than all the rest; because you chose to listen not to your doubts or your fears but to your greatest hopes and highest aspirations, tonight we mark the end of one historic journey with the beginning of another—a journey that will bring a new and better day to America.
5. Tonight, I can stand before you and say that I will be the Democratic nominee for president of the United States.
6. I want to thank every American who stood with us over the course of this campaign—through the good days and the bad; from the snows of Cedar Rapids to the sunshine of Sioux Falls.
7. And tonight I also want to thank the men and woman who took this journey with me as fellow candidates for president.
8. At this defining moment for our nation, we should be proud that our party put

forth one of the most talented, qualified field of individuals ever to run for this office.

9. I have not just competed with them as rivals, I have learned from them as friends, as public servants, and as patriots who love America and are willing to work tirelessly to make this country better.
10. They are leaders of this party, and leaders that America will turn to for years to come.
11. That is particularly true for the candidate who has traveled further on this journey than anyone else.
12. Senator Hillary Clinton has made history in this campaign not just because she's a woman who has done what no woman has done before, but because she's a leader who inspires millions of Americans with her strength, her courage, and her commitment to the causes that brought us here tonight.
13. We've certainly had our differences over the last sixteen months.
14. But as someone who's shared a stage with her many times, I can tell you that what gets Hillary Clinton up in the morning—even in the face of tough odds—is exactly what sent her and Bill Clinton to sign up for their first campaign in Texas all those years ago; what sent her to work at the Children's Defense Fund and made her fight for health care as first lady; what led her to the United States Senate and fueled her barrier-breaking campaign for the presidency—an unyielding desire to improve the lives of ordinary Americans, no matter how difficult the fight may be.
15. And you can rest assured that when we finally win the battle for universal health care in this country, she will be central to that victory.

16. When we transform our energy policy and lift our children out of poverty, it will be because she worked to help make it happen.
17. Our party and our country are better off because of her, and I am a better candidate for having had the honor to compete with Hillary Rodham Clinton.
18. There are those who say that this primary has somehow left us weaker and more divided.
19. Well I say that because of this primary, there are millions of Americans who have cast their ballot for the very first time.
20. There are independents and Republicans who understand that this election isn't just about the party in charge of Washington, it's about the need to change Washington.
21. There are young people, and African Americans, and Latinos, and women of all ages who have voted in numbers that have broken records and inspired a nation.
22. All of you chose to support a candidate you believe in deeply.
23. But at the end of the day, we aren't the reason you came out and waited in lines that stretched block after block to make your voice heard.
24. You didn't do that because of me or Senator Clinton or anyone else.
25. You did it because you know in your hearts that at this moment—a moment that will define a generation—we cannot afford to keep doing what we've been doing.
26. We owe our children a better future.

27. We owe our country a better future.
28. And for all those who dream of that future tonight, I say—let us begin the work together.
29. Let us unite in common effort to chart a new course for America.
30. In just a few short months, the Republican Party will arrive in St. Paul with a very different agenda.
31. They will come here to nominate John McCain, a man who has served this country heroically.
32. I honor that service, and I respect his many accomplishments, even if he chooses to deny mine.
33. My differences with him are not personal; they are with the policies he has proposed in this campaign.
34. Because while John McCain can legitimately tout moments of independence from his party in the past, such independence has not been the hallmark of his presidential campaign.
35. It's not change when John McCain decided to stand with George Bush 95 percent of the time, as he did in the Senate last year.
36. It's not change when he offers four more years of Bush economic policies that have failed to create well-paying jobs, or insure our workers, or help Americans afford the skyrocketing cost of college—policies that have lowered the real incomes of the average American family, widened the gap between Wall Street

and Main Street, and left our children with a mountain of debt.

37. And it's not change when he promises to continue a policy in Iraq that asks everything of our brave men and women in uniform and nothing of Iraqi politicians—a policy where all we look for are reasons to stay in Iraq, while we spend billions of dollars a month on a war that isn't making the American people any safer.
38. So I'll say this—there are many words to describe John McCain's attempt to pass off his embrace of George Bush's policies as bipartisan and new.
39. But change is not one of them.
40. Change is a foreign policy that doesn't begin and end with a war that should've never been authorized and never been waged.
41. I won't stand here and pretend that there are many good options left in Iraq, but what's not an option is leaving our troops in that country for the next hundred years—especially at a time when our military is overstretched, our nation is isolated, and nearly every other threat to America is being ignored.
42. We must be as careful getting out of Iraq as we were careless getting in—but start leaving we must.
43. It's time for Iraqis to take responsibility for their future.
44. It's time to rebuild our military and give our veterans the care they need and the benefits they deserve when they come home.
45. It's time to refocus our efforts on al-Qaida's leadership and Afghanistan, and rally the world against the common threats of the 21st century—terrorism and nuclear

weapons; climate change and poverty; genocide and disease.

46. That's what change is.

47. Change is realizing that meeting today's threats requires not just our firepower, but the power of our diplomacy—tough, direct diplomacy where the president of the United States isn't afraid to let any petty dictator know where America stands and what we stand for.

48. We must once again have the courage and conviction to lead the free world.

49. That is the legacy of Roosevelt, and Truman, and Kennedy.

50. That's what the American people want.

51. That's what change is.

52. Change is building an economy that rewards not just wealth, but the work and workers who created it.

53. It's understanding that the struggles facing working families can't be solved by spending billions of dollars on more tax breaks for big corporations and wealthy CEOs, but by giving the middle-class a tax break, and investing in our crumbling infrastructure, and transforming how we use energy, and improving our schools, and renewing our commitment to science and innovation.

54. It's understanding that fiscal responsibility and shared prosperity can go hand-in-hand, as they did when Bill Clinton was president.

55. John McCain has spent a lot of time talking about trips to Iraq in the last few weeks, but maybe if he spent some time taking trips to the cities and towns that



- have been hardest hit by this economy—cities in Michigan, and Ohio, and right here in Minnesota—he'd understand the kind of change that people are looking for.
56. Maybe if he went to Iowa and met the student who works the night shift after a full day of class and still can't pay the medical bills for a sister who's ill, he'd understand that she can't afford four more years of a health care plan that only takes care of the healthy and wealthy. She needs us to pass a health care plan that guarantees insurance to every American who wants it and brings down premiums for every family who needs it.
57. That's the change we need.
58. Maybe if he went to Pennsylvania and met the man who lost his job but can't even afford the gas to drive around and look for a new one, he'd understand that we can't afford four more years of our addiction to oil from dictators.
59. That man needs us to pass an energy policy that works with automakers to raise fuel standards, and makes corporations pay for their pollution, and oil companies invest their record profits in a clean energy future—an energy policy that will create millions of new jobs that pay well and can't be outsourced.
60. That's the change we need.
61. And maybe if he spent some time in the schools of South Carolina or St. Paul or where he spoke tonight in New Orleans, he'd understand that we can't afford to leave the money behind for No Child Left Behind; that we owe it to our children to invest in early childhood education; to recruit an army of new teachers and give them better pay and more support; to finally decide that in this global economy, the chance to get a college education should not be a privilege for the wealthy few, but the birthright of every American.

62. That's the change we need in America.
63. That's why I'm running for president.
64. The other side will come here in September and offer a very different set of policies and positions, and that is a debate I look forward to.
65. It is a debate the American people deserve.
66. But what you don't deserve is another election that's governed by fear, and innuendo, and division.
67. What you won't hear from this campaign or this party is the kind of politics that uses religion as a wedge, and patriotism as a bludgeon—that sees our opponents not as competitors to challenge, but enemies to demonize.
68. Because we may call ourselves Democrats and Republicans, but we are Americans first.
69. We are always Americans first.
70. Despite what the good Senator from Arizona said tonight, I have seen people of differing views and opinions find common cause many times during my two decades in public life, and I have brought many together myself.
71. I've walked arm-in-arm with community leaders on the South Side of Chicago and watched tensions fade as black, white, and Latino fought together for good jobs and good schools.
72. I've sat across the table from law enforcement and civil rights advocates to reform

a criminal justice system that sent thirteen innocent people to death row.

73. And I've worked with friends in the other party to provide more children with health insurance and more working families with a tax break; to curb the spread of nuclear weapons and ensure that the American people know where their tax dollars are being spent; and to reduce the influence of lobbyists who have all too often set the agenda in Washington.
74. In our country I have found that this cooperation happens not because we agree on everything, but because behind all the labels and false divisions and categories that define us; beyond all the petty bickering and point-scoring in Washington, Americans are a decent, generous, compassionate people, united by common challenges and common hopes.
75. And every so often, there are moments which call on that fundamental goodness to make this country great again.
76. So it was for that band of patriots who declared in a Philadelphia hall the formation of a more perfect union; and for all those who gave on the fields of Gettysburg and Antietam their last full measure of devotion to save that same union.
77. So it was for the greatest generation that conquered fear itself, and liberated a continent from tyranny and made this country home to untold opportunity and prosperity.
78. So it was for the workers who stood out on the picket lines; the women who shattered glass ceilings; the children who braved a Selma bridge for freedom's cause.
79. So it has been for every generation that faced down the greatest challenges and

- the most improbable odds to leave their children a world that's better, and kinder, and more just.
80. And so it must be for us.
81. America this is our moment.
82. This is our time.
83. Our time to turn the page on the policies of the past.
84. Our time to bring new energy and new ideas to the challenges we face.
85. Our time to offer a new direction for the country we love.
86. The journey will be difficult.
87. The road will be long.
88. I face this challenge with profound humility, and knowledge of my own limitations.
89. But I also face it with limitless faith in the capacity of the American people.
90. Because if we are willing to work for it, and fight for it, and believe in it, then I am absolutely certain that generations from now, we will be able to look back and tell our children that this was the moment when we began to provide care for the sick and good jobs to the jobless; this was the moment when the rise of the oceans began to slow and our planet began to heal; this was the moment when we ended a war and secured our nation and restored our image as the last, best hope on earth.

91. This was the moment—this was the time—when we came together to remake this great nation so that it may always reflect our very best selves and our highest ideals.

92. Thank you God bless you, and may God bless the United States of America.

## Appendix 2

### **Text of Obama's Democratic National Convention Speech**

**August 28th, 2008**

1. To Chairman Dean and my great friend Dick Durbin; and to all my fellow citizens of this great nation; With profound gratitude and great humility, I accept your nomination for the presidency of the United States.
2. Let me express my thanks to the historic slate of candidates who accompanied me on this journey, and especially the one who traveled the farthest - a champion for working Americans and an inspiration to my daughters and to yours -- Hillary Rodham Clinton.
3. To President Clinton, who last night made the case for change as only he can make it; to Ted Kennedy, who embodies the spirit of service; and to the next Vice President of the United States, Joe Biden, I thank you.
4. I am grateful to finish this journey with one of the finest statesmen of our time, a man at ease with everyone from world leaders to the conductors on the Amtrak train he still takes home every night.
5. To the love of my life, our next First Lady, Michelle Obama, and to Sasha and Malia - I love you so much, and I'm so proud of all of you.
6. Four years ago, I stood before you and told you my story - of the brief union between a young man from Kenya and a young woman from Kansas who weren't well-off or well-known, but shared a belief that in America, their son could achieve whatever he put his mind to.

7. It is that promise that has always set this country apart - that through hard work and sacrifice, each of us can pursue our individual dreams but still come together as one American family, to ensure that the next generation can pursue their dreams as well.
8. That's why I stand here tonight.
9. Because for two hundred and thirty two years, at each moment when that promise was in jeopardy, ordinary men and women - students and soldiers, farmers and teachers, nurses and janitors -- found the courage to keep it alive.
10. We meet at one of those defining moments - a moment when our nation is at war, our
11. economy is in turmoil, and the American promise has been threatened once
12. more.
13. Tonight, more Americans are out of work and more are working harder for less.
14. More of you have lost your homes and even more are watching your home values plummet.
15. More of you have cars you can't afford to drive, credit card bills you can't afford to pay, and tuition that's beyond your reach.
16. These challenges are not all of government's making.
17. But the failure to respond is a direct result of a broken politics in Washington and the failed policies of George W. Bush.
18. America, we are better than these last eight years.

19. We are a better country than this.
20. This country is more decent than one where a woman in Ohio, on the brink of retirement, finds herself one illness away from disaster after a lifetime of hard work.
21. This country is more generous than one where a man in Indiana has to pack up the equipment he's worked on for twenty years and watch it shipped off to China, and then chokes up as he explains how he felt like a failure when he went home to tell his family the news.
22. We are more compassionate than a government that lets veterans sleep on our streets and families slide into poverty; that sits on its hands while a major American city drowns before our eyes.
23. Tonight, I say to the American people, to Democrats and Republicans and Independents across this great land - enough!
24. This moment - this election - is our chance to keep, in the 21st century, the American promise alive.
25. Because next week, in Minnesota, the same party that brought you two terms of George Bush and Dick Cheney will ask this country for a third.
26. And we are here because we love this country too much to let the next four years look like the last eight.
27. On November 4th, we must stand up and say: "Eight is enough."
28. Now let there be no doubt.



29. The Republican nominee, John McCain, has worn the uniform of our country with bravery and distinction, and for that we owe him our gratitude and respect.
30. And next week, we'll also hear about those occasions when he's broken with his party as evidence that he can deliver the change that we need.
31. But the record's clear: John McCain has voted with George Bush ninety percent of the time.
32. Senator McCain likes to talk about judgment, but really, what does it say about your judgment when you think George Bush has been right more than ninety percent of the time?
33. I don't know about you, but I'm not ready to take a ten percent chance on change.
34. The truth is, on issue after issue that would make a difference in your lives - on health care and education and the economy - Senator McCain has been anything but independent.
35. He said that our economy has made "great progress" under this President.
36. He said that the fundamentals of the economy are strong. And when one of his chief advisors - the man who wrote his economic plan - was talking about the anxiety Americans are feeling, he said that we were just suffering from a "mental recession," and that we've become, and I quote, "a nation of whiners."
37. A nation of whiners?
38. Tell that to the proud auto workers at a Michigan plant who, after they found out it was closing, kept showing up every day and working as hard as ever,

because they knew there were people who counted on the brakes that they made.

39. Tell that to the military families who shoulder their burdens silently as they watch their loved ones leave for their third or fourth or fifth tour of duty.
40. These are not whiners. They work hard and give back and keep going without complaint.
41. These are the Americans that I know.
42. Now, I don't believe that Senator McCain doesn't care what's going on in the lives of Americans.
43. I just think he doesn't know.
44. Why else would he define middle-class as someone making under five million dollars a year?
45. How else could he propose hundreds of billions in tax breaks for big corporations and oil companies but not one penny of tax relief to more than one hundred million Americans?
46. How else could he offer a health care plan that would actually tax people's benefits, or an education plan that would do nothing to help families pay for college, or a plan that would privatize Social Security and gamble your retirement?
47. It's not because John McCain doesn't care. It's because John McCain doesn't get it.

48. For over two decades, he's subscribed to that old, discredited Republican philosophy - give more and more to those with the most and hope that prosperity trickles down to everyone else.
49. In Washington, they call this the Ownership Society, but what it really means is - you're on your own.
50. Out of work? Tough luck. No health care?
51. The market will fix it.
52. Born into poverty?
53. Pull yourself up by your own bootstraps - even if you don't have boots.
54. You're on your own.
55. Well it's time for them to own their failure.
56. It's time for us to change America.
57. You see, we Democrats have a very different measure of what constitutes progress in this country.
58. We measure progress by how many people can find a job that pays the mortgage; whether you can put a little extra money away at the end of each month so you can someday watch your child receive her college diploma.
59. We measure progress in the 23 million new jobs that were created when Bill Clinton was President - when the average American family saw its income go up \$7,500 instead of down \$2,000 like it has under George Bush.

60. We measure the strength of our economy not by the number of billionaires we have or the profits of the Fortune 500, but by whether someone with a good idea can take a risk and start a new business, or whether the waitress who lives on tips can take a day off to look after a sick kid without losing her job - an economy that honors the dignity of work.
61. The fundamentals we use to measure economic strength are whether we are living up to that fundamental promise that has made this country great - a promise that is the only reason I am standing here tonight.
62. Because in the faces of those young veterans who come back from Iraq and Afghanistan, I see my grandfather, who signed up after Pearl Harbor, marched in Patton's Army, and was rewarded by a grateful nation with the chance to go to college on the GI Bill.
63. In the face of that young student who sleeps just three hours before working the night shift, I think about my mom, who raised my sister and me on her own while she worked and earned her degree; who once turned to food stamps but was still able to send us to the best schools in the country with the help of student loans and scholarships.
64. When I listen to another worker tell me that his factory has shut down, I remember all those men and women on the South Side of Chicago who I stood by and fought for two decades ago after the local steel plant closed.
65. And when I hear a woman talk about the difficulties of starting her own business, I think about my grandmother, who worked her way up from the secretarial pool to middle-management, despite years of being passed over for promotions because she was a woman.

66. She's the one who taught me about hard work.
67. She's the one who put off buying a new car or a new dress for herself so that I could have a better life.
68. She poured everything she had into me.
69. And although she can no longer travel, I know that she's watching tonight, and
70. that tonight is her night as well.
71. I don't know what kind of lives John McCain thinks that celebrities lead, but this has been mine.
72. These are my heroes.
73. Theirs are the stories that shaped me.
74. And it is on their behalf that I intend to win this election and keep our promise alive as President of the United States.
75. What is that promise?
76. It's a promise that says each of us has the freedom to make of our own lives what we will, but that we also have the obligation to treat each other with dignity and respect.
77. It's a promise that says the market should reward drive and innovation and generate growth, but that businesses should live up to their responsibilities to create American jobs, look out for American workers, and play by the rules of the road.

78. Ours is a promise that says government cannot solve all our problems, but what it should do is that which we cannot do for ourselves - protect us from harm and provide every child a decent education; keep our water clean and our toys safe; invest in new schools and new roads and new science and technology.
79. Our government should work for us, not against us.
80. It should help us, not hurt us.
81. It should ensure opportunity not just for those with the most money and influence, but for every American who's willing to work.
82. That's the promise of America - the idea that we are responsible for ourselves, but that we also rise or fall as one nation; the fundamental belief that I am my brother's keeper; I am my sister's keeper.
83. That's the promise we need to keep.
84. That's the change we need right now.
85. So let me spell out exactly what that change would mean if I am President.
86. Change means a tax code that doesn't reward the lobbyists who wrote it, but the American workers and small businesses who deserve it.
87. Unlike John McCain, I will stop giving tax breaks to corporations that ship jobs overseas, and I will start giving them to companies that create
88. good jobs right here in America.
89. I will eliminate capital gains taxes for the small businesses and the start-ups that will create the high-wage, high-tech jobs of tomorrow.

90. I will cut taxes - cut taxes - for 95% of all working families.
91. Because in an economy like this, the last thing we should do is raise taxes on the middle-class.
92. And for the sake of our economy, our security, and the future of our planet, I will set a clear goal as President: in ten years, we will finally end our dependence on oil from the Middle East.
93. Washington's been talking about our oil addiction for the last thirty years, and John McCain has been there for twenty-six of them.
94. In that time, he's said no to higher fuel-efficiency standards for cars, no to investments in renewable energy, no to renewable fuels.
95. And today, we import triple the amount of oil as the day that Senator McCain took office.
96. Now is the time to end this addiction, and to understand that drilling is a stop-gap measure, not a long-term solution.
97. Not even close.
98. As President, I will tap our natural gas reserves, invest in clean coal technology, and find ways to safely harness nuclear power.
99. I'll help our auto companies re-tool, so that the fuel-efficient cars of the future are built right here in America.
100. I'll make it easier for the American people to afford these new cars.

101. And I'll invest 150 billion dollars over the next decade in affordable, renewable sources of energy - wind power and solar power and the next generation of biofuels; an investment that will lead to new industries and five million new jobs that pay well and can't ever be outsourced.
102. America, now is not the time for small plans.
103. Now is the time to finally meet our moral obligation to provide every child a world-class education, because it will take nothing less to compete in the global economy.
104. Michelle and I are only here tonight because we were given a chance at an education.
105. And I will not settle for an America where some kids don't have that chance.
106. I'll invest in early childhood education.
107. I'll recruit an army of new teachers, and pay them higher salaries and give them more support.
108. And in exchange, I'll ask for higher standards and more accountability.
109. And we will keep our promise to every young American - if you commit to serving your community or your country, we will make sure you can afford a college education.
110. Now is the time to finally keep the promise of affordable, accessible health care for every single American.



111. If you have health care, my plan will lower your premiums.
112. If you don't, you'll be able to get the same kind of coverage that members of Congress give themselves.
113. And as someone who watched my mother argue with insurance companies while she lay in bed dying of cancer, I will make certain those companies stop discriminating against those who are sick and need care the most.
114. Now is the time to help families with paid sick days and better family leave, because nobody in America should have to choose between keeping their jobs and caring for a sick child or ailing parent.
115. Now is the time to change our bankruptcy laws, so that your pensions are protected ahead of CEO bonuses; and the time to protect Social Security for future generations.
116. And now is the time to keep the promise of equal pay for an equal day's work, because I want my daughters to have exactly the same opportunities as your sons.
117. Now, many of these plans will cost money, which is why I've laid out how I'll pay for every dime - by closing corporate loopholes and tax havens that don't help America grow.
118. But I will also go through the federal budget, line by line, eliminating programs that no longer work and making the ones we do need work better and cost less - because we cannot meet twenty-first century challenges with a twentieth century bureaucracy.
119. And Democrats, we must also admit that fulfilling America's promise will

require more than just money.

120. It will require a renewed sense of responsibility from each of us to recover what John F. Kennedy called our "intellectual and moral strength."
121. Yes, government must lead on energy independence, but each of us must do our part to make our homes and businesses more efficient.
122. Yes, we must provide more ladders to success for young men who fall into lives of crime and despair.
123. But we must also admit that programs alone can't replace parents; that government can't turn off the television and make a child do her homework; that fathers must take more responsibility for providing the love and guidance their children need.
124. Individual responsibility and mutual responsibility - that's the essence of America's promise.
125. And just as we keep our promise to the next generation here at home, so must we keep America's promise abroad.
126. If John McCain wants to have a debate about who has the temperament, and judgment, to serve as the next Commander-in-Chief, that's a debate I'm ready to have.
127. For while Senator McCain was turning his sights to Iraq just days after 9/11, I stood up and opposed this war, knowing that it would distract us from the real threats we face.
128. When John McCain said we could just "muddle through" in Afghanistan, I

argued for more resources and more troops to finish the fight against the terrorists who actually attacked us on 9/11, and made clear that we must take out Osama bin Laden and his lieutenants if we have them in our sights.

129. John McCain likes to say that he'll follow bin Laden to the Gates of Hell - but he won't even go to the cave where he lives.
130. And today, as my call for a time frame to remove our troops from Iraq has been echoed by the Iraqi government and even the Bush Administration, even after we learned that Iraq has a \$79 billion surplus while we're wallowing in deficits, John McCain stands alone in his stubborn refusal to end a misguided war.
131. That's not the judgment we need.
132. That won't keep America safe.
133. We need a President who can face the threats of the future, not keep grasping at the ideas of the past.
134. You don't defeat a terrorist network that operates in eighty countries by occupying Iraq.
135. You don't protect Israel and deter Iran just by talking tough in Washington.
136. You can't truly stand up for Georgia when you've strained our oldest alliances.
137. If John McCain wants to follow George Bush with more tough talk and bad strategy, that is his choice - but it is not the change we need.
138. We are the party of Roosevelt.

139. We are the party of Kennedy.
140. So don't tell me that Democrats won't defend this country.
141. Don't tell me that Democrats won't keep us safe.
142. The Bush-McCain foreign policy has squandered the legacy that generations of Americans -- Democrats and Republicans - have built, and we are here to restore that legacy.
143. As Commander-in-Chief, I will never hesitate to defend this nation, but I will only send our troops into harm's way with a clear mission and a sacred commitment to give them the equipment they need in battle and the care and benefits they deserve when they come home.
144. I will end this war in Iraq responsibly, and finish the fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan.
145. I will rebuild our military to meet future conflicts.
146. But I will also renew the tough, direct diplomacy that can prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons and curb Russian aggression.
147. I will build new partnerships to defeat the threats of the 21st century: terrorism and nuclear proliferation; poverty and genocide; climate change and disease.
148. And I will restore our moral standing, so that America is once again that last, best hope for all who are called to the cause of freedom, who long for lives of peace, and who yearn for a better future.
149. These are the policies I will pursue.

150. And in the weeks ahead, I look forward to debating them with John McCain.
151. But what I will not do is suggest that the Senator takes his positions for political purposes.
152. Because one of the things that we have to change in our politics is the idea that people cannot disagree without challenging each other's character and patriotism.
153. The times are too serious, the stakes are too high for this same partisan playbook.
154. So let us agree that patriotism has no party.
155. I love this country, and so do you, and so does John McCain.
156. The men and women who serve in our battlefields may be Democrats and Republicans and Independents, but they have fought together and bled together and some died together under the same proud flag.
157. They have not served a Red America or a Blue America - they have served the United States of America.
158. So I've got news for you, John McCain.
159. We all put our country first.
160. America, our work will not be easy.
161. The challenges we face require tough choices, and Democrats as well as

Republicans will need to cast off the worn-out ideas and politics of the past.

162. For part of what has been lost these past eight years can't just be measured by lost wages or bigger trade deficits.
163. What has also been lost is our sense of common purpose - our sense of higher purpose.
164. And that's what we have to restore.
165. We may not agree on abortion, but surely we can agree on reducing the number of unwanted pregnancies in this country.
166. The reality of gun ownership may be different for hunters in rural Ohio than for those plagued by gang-violence in Cleveland, but don't tell me we can't uphold the Second Amendment while keeping AK-47s out of the hands of criminals.
167. I know there are differences on same-sex marriage, but surely we can agree that our gay and lesbian brothers and sisters deserve to visit the person they love in the hospital and to live lives free of discrimination.
168. Passions fly on immigration, but I don't know anyone who benefits when a mother is separated from her infant child or an employer undercuts American wages by hiring illegal workers.
169. This too is part of America's promise - the promise of a democracy where we can find the strength and grace to bridge divides and unite in common effort.
170. I know there are those who dismiss such beliefs as happy talk.
171. They claim that our insistence on something larger, something firmer and more

honest in our public life is just a Trojan Horse for higher taxes and the abandonment of traditional values.

172. And that's to be expected.

173. Because if you don't have any fresh ideas, then you use stale tactics to scare the voters.

174. If you don't have a record to run on, then you paint your opponent as someone people should run from.

175. You make a big election about small things.

176. And you know what - it's worked before.

177. Because it feeds into the cynicism we all have about government.

178. When Washington doesn't work, all its promises seem empty.

179. If your hopes have been dashed again and again, then it's best to stop hoping, and settle for what you already know.

180. I get it.

181. I realize that I am not the likeliest candidate for this office.

182. I don't fit the typical pedigree, and I haven't spent my career in the halls of Washington.

183. But I stand before you tonight because all across America something is stirring.

184. What the nay-sayers don't understand is that this election has never been about me.
185. It's been about you.
186. For eighteen long months, you have stood up, one by one, and said enough to the politics of the past.
187. You understand that in this election, the greatest risk we can take is to try the same old politics with the same old players and expect a different result.
188. You have shown what history teaches us - that at defining moments like this one, the change we need doesn't come from Washington.
189. Change comes to Washington.
190. Change happens because the American people demand it - because they rise up and insist on new ideas and new leadership, a new politics for a new time.
191. America, this is one of those moments.
192. I believe that as hard as it will be, the change we need is coming.
193. Because I've seen it.
194. Because I've lived it.
195. I've seen it in Illinois, when we provided health care to more children and moved more families from welfare to work.
196. I've seen it in Washington, when we worked across party lines to open up



government and hold lobbyists more accountable, to give better care for our veterans and keep nuclear weapons out of terrorist hands.

197. And I've seen it in this campaign.
198. In the young people who voted for the first time, and in those who got involved again after a very long time.
199. In the Republicans who never thought they'd pick up a Democratic ballot, but did.
200. I've seen it in the workers who would rather cut their hours back a day than see their friends lose their jobs, in the soldiers who re-enlist after losing a limb, in the good neighbors who take a stranger in when a hurricane strikes and the floodwaters rise.
201. This country of ours has more wealth than any nation, but that's not what makes us rich.
202. We have the most powerful military on Earth, but that's not what makes us strong.
203. Our universities and our culture are the envy of the world, but that's not what keeps the world coming to our shores.
204. Instead, it is that American spirit - that American promise - that pushes us forward even when the path is uncertain; that binds us together in spite of our differences; that makes us fix our eye not on what is seen, but what is unseen, that better place around the bend.
205. That promise is our greatest inheritance.

206. It's a promise I make to my daughters when I tuck them in at night, and a promise that you make to yours - a promise that has led immigrants to cross oceans and pioneers to travel west; a promise that led workers to picket lines, and women to reach for the ballot.
207. And it is that promise that forty five years ago today, brought Americans from every corner of this land to stand together on a Mall in Washington, before Lincoln's Memorial, and hear a young preacher from Georgia speak of his dream.
208. The men and women who gathered there could've heard many things.
209. They could've heard words of anger and discord.
210. They could've been told to succumb to the fear and frustration of so many dreams deferred.
211. But what the people heard instead - people of every creed and color, from every walk of life - is that in America, our destiny is inextricably linked.
212. That together, our dreams can be one.
213. "We cannot walk alone," the preacher cried.
214. "And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.
215. We cannot turn back." \_\_
216. America, we cannot turn back.

217. Not with so much work to be done.
218. Not with so many children to educate, and so many veterans to care for.
219. Not with an economy to fix and cities to rebuild and farms to save.
220. Not with so many families to protect and so many lives to mend.
221. America, we cannot turn back.
222. We cannot walk alone.
223. At this moment, in this election, we must pledge once more to march into the future.
224. Let us keep that promise - that American promise - and in the words of Scripture hold firmly, without wavering, to the hope that we confess.
225. Thank you, God Bless you, and God Bless the United States of America.

### **Appendix 3**

#### **Text of Obama's Victory Speech**

**November 4, 2008**

1. If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer.
2. It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen; by people who waited three hours and four hours, many for the very first time in their lives, because they believed that this time must be different; that their voice could be that difference.
3. It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled -- Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America.
4. It's the answer that led those who have been told for so long by so many to be cynical, and fearful, and doubtful of what we can achieve to put their hands on the arc of history and bend it once more toward the hope of a better day.
5. It's been a long time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this day, in this election, at this defining moment, change has come to America.
6. I just received a very gracious call from Senator McCain.

7. He fought long and hard in this campaign, and he's fought even longer and harder for the country he loves.
8. He has endured sacrifices for America that most of us cannot begin to imagine, and we are better off for the service rendered by this brave and selfless leader.
9. I congratulate him and Governor Palin for all they have achieved, and I look forward to working with them to renew this nation's promise in the months ahead.
10. I want to thank my partner in this journey, a man who campaigned from his heart and spoke for the men and women he grew up with on the streets of Scranton and rode with on that train home to Delaware, the Vice President-elect of the United States, Joe Biden.
11. I would not be standing here tonight without the unyielding support of my best friend for the last sixteen years, the rock of our family and the love of my life, our nation's next First Lady, Michelle Obama.
12. Sasha and Malia, I love you both so much, and you have earned the new puppy that's coming with us to the White House.
13. And while she's no longer with us, I know my grandmother is watching, along with the family that made me who I am.
14. I miss them tonight, and know that my debt to them is beyond measure.
15. To my campaign manager David Plouffe, my chief strategist David Axelrod, and the best campaign team ever assembled in the history of politics -- you made this happen, and I am forever grateful for what you've sacrificed to get it done.

16. But above all, I will never forget who this victory truly belongs to -- it belongs to you.
17. I was never the likeliest candidate for this office.
18. We didn't start with much money or many endorsements.
19. Our campaign was not hatched in the halls of Washington -- it began in the backyards of Des Moines and the living rooms of Concord and the front porches of Charleston.
20. It was built by working men and women who dug into what little savings they had to give five dollars and ten dollars and twenty dollars to this cause.
21. It grew strength from the young people who rejected the myth of their generation's apathy; who left their homes and their families for jobs that offered little pay and less sleep; from the not-so-young people who braved the bitter cold and scorching heat to knock on the doors of perfect strangers; from the millions of Americans who volunteered, and organized, and proved that more than two centuries later, a government of the people, by the people and for the people has not perished from this Earth.
22. This is your victory.
23. I know you didn't do this just to win an election and I know you didn't do it for me.
24. You did it because you understand the enormity of the task that lies ahead.

25. For even as we celebrate tonight, we know the challenges that tomorrow will bring are the greatest of our lifetime -- two wars, a planet in peril, the worst financial crisis in a century.
26. Even as we stand here tonight, we know there are brave Americans waking up in the deserts of Iraq and the mountains of Afghanistan to risk their lives for us.
27. There are mothers and fathers who will lie awake after their children fall asleep and wonder how they'll make the mortgage, or pay their doctor's bills, or save enough for college.
28. There is new energy to harness and new jobs to be created; new schools to build and threats to meet and alliances to repair.
29. The road ahead will be long.
30. Our climb will be steep.
31. We may not get there in one year or even one term, but America -- I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there.
32. I promise you -- we as a people will get there.
33. There will be setbacks and false starts.
34. There are many who won't agree with every decision or policy I make as President, and we know that government can't solve every problem.
35. But I will always be honest with you about the challenges we face.
36. I will listen to you, especially when we disagree.

37. And above all, I will ask you join in the work of remaking this nation the only way it's been done in America for two-hundred and twenty-one years -- block by block, brick by brick, calloused hand by calloused hand.
38. What began twenty-one months ago in the depths of winter must not end on this autumn night.
39. This victory alone is not the change we seek -- it is only the chance for us to make that change.
40. And that cannot happen if we go back to the way things were.
41. It cannot happen without you.
42. So let us summon a new spirit of patriotism; of service and responsibility where each of us resolves to pitch in and work harder and look after not only ourselves, but each other.
43. Let us remember that if this financial crisis taught us anything, it's that we cannot have a thriving Wall Street while Main Street suffers -- in this country, we rise or fall as one nation; as one people.
44. Let us resist the temptation to fall back on the same partisanship and pettiness and immaturity that has poisoned our politics for so long.
45. Let us remember that it was a man from this state who first carried the banner of the Republican Party to the White House -- a party founded on the values of self-reliance, individual liberty, and national unity.



46. Those are values we all share, and while the Democratic Party has won a great victory tonight, we do so with a measure of humility and determination to heal the divides that have held back our progress.
47. As Lincoln said to a nation far more divided than ours, "We are not enemies, but friends...though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection."
48. And to those Americans whose support I have yet to earn -- I may not have won your vote, but I hear your voices, I need your help, and I will be your President too.
49. And to all those watching tonight from beyond our shores, from parliaments and palaces to those who are huddled around radios in the forgotten corners of our world -- our stories are singular, but our destiny is shared, and a new dawn of American leadership is at hand.
50. To those who would tear this world down -- we will defeat you.
51. To those who seek peace and security -- we support you.
52. And to all those who have wondered if America's beacon still burns as bright -- tonight we proved once more that the true strength of our nation comes not from our the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from the enduring power of our ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and unyielding hope.
53. For that is the true genius of America -- that America can change.
54. Our union can be perfected.

55. And what we have already achieved gives us hope for what we can and must achieve tomorrow.
56. This election had many firsts and many stories that will be told for generations.
57. But one that's on my mind tonight is about a woman who cast her ballot in Atlanta.
58. She's a lot like the millions of others who stood in line to make their voice heard in this election except for one thing -- Ann Nixon Cooper is 106 years old.
59. She was born just a generation past slavery; a time when there were no cars on the road or planes in the sky; when someone like her couldn't vote for two reasons -- because she was a woman and because of the color of her skin.
60. And tonight, I think about all that she's seen throughout her century in America -- the heartache and the hope; the struggle and the progress; the times we were told that we can't, and the people who pressed on with that American creed: Yes we can.
61. At a time when women's voices were silenced and their hopes dismissed, she lived to see them stand up and speak out and reach for the ballot.
62. Yes we can.
63. When there was despair in the dust bowl and depression across the land, she saw a nation conquer fear itself with a New Deal, new jobs and a new sense of common purpose.
64. Yes we can.

65. When the bombs fell on our harbor and tyranny threatened the world, she was there to witness a generation rise to greatness and a democracy was saved.
66. Yes we can.
67. She was there for the buses in Montgomery, the hoses in Birmingham, a bridge in Selma, and a preacher from Atlanta who told a people that "We Shall Overcome."
68. Yes we can.
69. A man touched down on the moon, a wall came down in Berlin, a world was connected by our own science and imagination.
70. And this year, in this election, she touched her finger to a screen, and cast her vote, because after 106 years in America, through the best of times and the darkest of hours, she knows how America can change.
71. Yes we can.
72. America, we have come so far.
73. We have seen so much.
74. But there is so much more to do.
75. So tonight, let us ask ourselves -- if our children should live to see the next century; if my daughters should be so lucky to live as long as Ann Nixon Cooper, what change will they see?
76. What progress will we have made?

77. This is our chance to answer that call.

78. This is our moment.

79. This is our time -- to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth -- that out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes We Can.

80. Thank you, God bless you, and may God Bless the United States of America.

## **Appendix 4**

### **Text of McCain Nomination Speech**

**March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2008**

1. Thank you.
2. Thank you, Texas, Ohio, Vermont and Rhode Island.
3. I am very grateful for the broad support you have given our campaign.
4. And I am very pleased to note that tonight, my friends, we have won enough delegates to claim with confidence, humility and a sense of great responsibility that I will be the Republican nominee for President of the United States.
5. I want to thank all of you here and all the Republicans, Independents, and independent thinking Democrats, in all parts of this great country, who supported our campaign for the nomination, and have brought us across the finish line first, an accomplishment that once seemed to more than a few doubters unlikely.
6. I want to commend again, my friend, Governor Mike Huckabee, and his supporters, for their passionate commitment to their campaign that Governor Huckabee so ably represented.
7. And I want to thank all my former rivals for the nomination and their supporters for their steadfast dedication to keeping America free, safe, prosperous, and proud.
8. And, of course, I want to thank my family: my wife, Cindy; my children, and our dear friends who have been throughout this campaign, and will remain in the

challenging months ahead, an unwavering source of support and love.

9. Now, we begin the most important part of our campaign: to make a respectful, determined and convincing case to the American people that our campaign and my election as President, given the alternatives presented by our friends in the other party, are in the best interests of the country we love.
10. I have never believed I was destined be President.
11. I don't believe anyone is pre-destined to lead America.
12. But I do believe we are born with responsibilities to the country that has protected our God-given rights, and the opportunities they afford us.
13. I did not grow up with the expectation that my country owed me more than the rights owed every American.
14. On the contrary, I owe my country every opportunity I have ever had.
15. I owe her the meaning that service to America has given my life, and the sense that I am part of something greater than myself, part of a kinship of ideals that have always represented the last, best hope of mankind.
16. I understand the responsibilities I incur with this nomination, and I give you my word, I will not evade or slight a single one.
17. Our campaign must be, and will be more than another tired debate of false promises, empty sound-bites, or useless arguments from the past that address not a single American's concerns for their family's security.

18. Presidential candidates are judged on their records, their character and the whole of their life experiences.
19. But we are also expected to concentrate our efforts on the challenges that will confront America on our watch and explain how we intend to address them.
20. America is at war in two countries, and involved in a long and difficult fight with violent extremists who despise us, our values and modernity itself.
21. It is of little use to Americans for their candidates to avoid the many complex challenges of these struggles by re-litigating decisions of the past.
22. I will defend the decision to destroy Saddam Hussein's regime as I criticized the failed tactics that were employed for too long to establish the conditions that will allow us to leave that country with our country's interests secure and our honor intact.
23. But Americans know that the next President doesn't get to re-make that decision.
24. We are in Iraq and our most vital security interests are clearly involved there.
25. The next President must explain how he or she intends to bring that war to the swiftest possible conclusion without exacerbating a sectarian conflict that could quickly descend into genocide; destabilizing the entire Middle East; enabling our adversaries in the region to extend their influence and undermine our security there; and emboldening terrorists to attack us elsewhere with weapons we dare not allow them to possess.
26. The next President must encourage the greater participation and cooperation of our allies in the fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan.
27. The next President must lead an effort to restructure our military, our intelligence,

- our diplomacy and all relevant branches of government to combat Islamic extremism, encourage the vast majority of moderates to win the battle for the soul of Islam, and meet the many other rising challenges in this changing world.
28. I will leave it to my opponent to argue that we should abrogate trade treaties, and pretend the global economy will go away and Americans can secure our future by trading and investing only among ourselves.
  29. We will campaign in favor of seizing the opportunities presented by the growth of free markets throughout the world, helping displaced workers acquire new and lasting employment and educating our children to prepare them for the new economic realities by giving parents choices about their children's education they do not have now.
  30. I will leave it to my opponent to claim that they can keep companies and jobs from going overseas by making it harder for them to do business here at home.
  31. We will campaign to strengthen job growth in America by helping businesses become more competitive with lower taxes and less regulation.
  32. I will leave it to my opponent to propose returning to the failed, big government mandates of the sixties and seventies to address problems such as the lack of health care insurance for some Americans.
  33. I will campaign to make health care more accessible to more Americans with reforms that will bring down costs in the health care industry down without ruining the quality of the world's best medical care.
  34. And I will campaign to reduce our dangerous dependence on foreign oil with an energy policy that encourages American industry and technology to make our country safer, cleaner and more prosperous by leading the world in the use,



development and discovery of alternative sources of energy.

35. These are some of the challenges that confront us.
36. There are others just as urgent, and during this campaign I'll travel across the country in cities and rural areas, in communities of all ethnic backgrounds and income levels, offering my ideas and listening to the concerns and advice of Americans.
37. Americans aren't interested in an election where they are just talked to and not listened to; an election that offers platitudes instead of principles and insults instead of ideas; an election that results -- no matter who wins -- in four years of unkept promises and a government that is just a battleground for the next election.
38. Their patience is at an end for politicians who value ambition over principle, and for partisanship that is less a contest of ideas than an uncivil brawl over the spoils of power.
39. Nothing is inevitable in America.
40. We are the captains of our fate.
41. We're not a country that prefers nostalgia to optimism; a country that would rather go back than forward.
42. We're the world's leader, and leaders don't pine for the past and dread the future.
43. We make the future better than the past.
44. We don't hide from history.

45. We make history.

46. That, my friends, is the essence of hope in America, hope built on courage, and faith in the values and principles that have made us great.

47. I intend to make my stand on those principles and chart a course for our future greatness, and trust in the judgment of the people I have served all my life.

48. So stand up with me, my friends, stand up and fight for America -- for her strength, her ideals, and her future.

49. The contest begins tonight.

50. It will have its ups and downs.

51. But we will fight every minute of every day to make certain we have a government that is as capable, wise, brave and decent as the great people we serve.

52. That is our responsibility and I will not let you down.

53. Thank you.

## **Appendix 5**

### **Text of McCain's Republican National Convention Speech September 4<sup>th</sup>, 2008**

1. Thank you all very much.
2. Tonight, I have a privilege given few Americans -- the privilege of accepting our party's nomination for President of the United States.
3. And I accept it with gratitude, humility and confidence.
4. In my life, no success has come without a good fight, and this nomination wasn't any different.
5. That's a tribute to the candidates who opposed me and their supporters.
6. They're leaders of great ability, who love our country, and wished to lead it to better days.
7. Their support is an honor I won't forget.
8. I'm grateful to the President for leading us in those dark days following the worst attack on American soil in our history, and keeping us safe from another attack many thought was inevitable; and to the First Lady, Laura Bush, a model of grace and kindness in public and in private.
9. And I'm grateful to the 41st President and his bride of 63 years, and for their outstanding example of honorable service to our country.

10. As always, I'm indebted to my wife, Cindy, and my seven children.
11. The pleasures of family life can seem like a brief holiday from the crowded calendar of our nation's business.
12. But I have treasured them all the more, and can't imagine a life without the happiness you give me.
13. Cindy said a lot of nice things about me tonight.
14. But, in truth, she's more my inspiration than I am hers.
15. Her concern for those less blessed than we are - victims of land mines, children born in poverty and with birth defects - shows the measure of her humanity.
16. I know she will make a great First Lady.
17. When I was growing up, my father was often at sea, and the job of raising my brother, sister and me would fall to my mother alone.
18. Roberta McCain gave us her love of life, her deep interest in the world, her strength, and her belief we are all meant to use our opportunities to make ourselves useful to our country.
19. I wouldn't be here tonight but for the strength of her character.
20. My heartfelt thanks to all of you, who helped me win this nomination, and stood by me when the odds were long.
21. I won't let you down.

22. To Americans who have yet to decide who to vote for, thank you for your consideration and the opportunity to win your trust.
23. I intend to earn it.
24. Finally, a word to Senator Obama and his supporters.
25. We'll go at it over the next two months.
26. That's the nature of these contests, and there are big differences between us.
27. But you have my respect and admiration.
28. Despite our differences, much more unites us than divides us.
29. We are fellow Americans, an association that means more to me than any other.
30. We're dedicated to the proposition that all people are created equal and endowed by our Creator with inalienable rights.
31. No country ever had a greater cause than that.
32. And I wouldn't be an American worthy of the name if I didn't honor Senator Obama and his supporters for their achievement.
33. But let there be no doubt, my friends, we're going to win this election.
34. And after we've won, we're going to reach out our hand to any willing patriot, make this government start working for you again, and get this country back on the road to prosperity and peace.

35. These are tough times for many of you.
36. You're worried about keeping your job or finding a new one, and are struggling to put food on the table and stay in your home.
37. All you ever asked of government is to stand on your side, not in your way.
38. And that's just what I intend to do: stand on your side and fight for your future.
39. And I've found just the right partner to help me shake up Washington, Governor Sarah Palin of Alaska.
40. She has executive experience and a real record of accomplishment.
41. She's tackled tough problems like energy independence and corruption.
42. She's balanced a budget, cut taxes, and taken on the special interests.
43. She's reached across the aisle and asked Republicans, Democrats and Independents to serve in her administration.
44. She's the mother of five children.
45. She's helped run a small business, worked with her hands and knows what it's like to worry about mortgage payments and health care and the cost of gasoline and groceries.
46. She knows where she comes from and she knows who she works for.
47. She stands up for what's right, and she doesn't let anyone tell her to sit down.

48. I'm very proud to have introduced our next Vice President to the country.
49. But I can't wait until I introduce her to Washington.
50. And let me offer an advance warning to the old, big spending, do nothing, me first, country second Washington crowd: change is coming.
51. I'm not in the habit of breaking promises to my country and neither is Governor Palin.
52. And when we tell you we're going to change Washington, and stop leaving our country's problems for some unluckier generation to fix, you can count on it.
53. We've got a record of doing just that, and the strength, experience, judgment and backbone to keep our word to you.
54. You know, I've been called a maverick; someone who marches to the beat of his own drum.
55. Sometimes it's meant as a compliment and sometimes it's not.
56. What it really means is I understand who I work for.
57. I don't work for a party.
58. I don't work for a special interest.
59. I don't work for myself.
60. I work for you.

61. I've fought corruption, and it didn't matter if the culprits were Democrats or Republicans.
62. They violated their public trust, and had to be held accountable.
63. I've fought big spenders in both parties, who waste your money on things you neither need nor want, while you struggle to buy groceries, fill your gas tank and make your mortgage payment.
64. I've fought to get million dollar checks out of our elections.
65. I've fought lobbyists who stole from Indian tribes.
66. I fought crooked deals in the Pentagon.
67. I fought tobacco companies and trial lawyers, drug companies and union bosses.
68. I fought for the right strategy and more troops in Iraq, when it wasn't a popular thing to do.
69. And when the pundits said my campaign was finished, I said I'd rather lose an election than see my country lose a war.
70. Thanks to the leadership of a brilliant general, David Petraeus, and the brave men and women he has the honor to command, that strategy succeeded and rescued us from a defeat that would have demoralized our military, risked a wider war and threatened the security of all Americans.
71. I don't mind a good fight.



72. For reasons known only to God, I've had quite a few tough ones in my life.
73. But I learned an important lesson along the way.
74. In the end, it matters less that you can fight.
75. What you fight for is the real test.
76. I fight for Americans.
77. I fight for you.
78. I fight for Bill and Sue Nebe from Farmington Hills, Michigan, who lost their real estate investments in the bad housing market.
79. Bill got a temporary job after he was out of work for seven months.
80. Sue works three jobs to help pay the bills.
81. I fight for Jake and Toni Wimmer of Franklin County, Pennsylvania.
82. Jake works on a loading dock; coaches Little League, and raises money for the mentally and physically disabled.
83. Toni is a schoolteacher, working toward her Master's Degree.
84. They have two sons, the youngest, Luke, has been diagnosed with autism.
85. Their lives should matter to the people they elect to office.
86. They matter to me.

87. I fight for the family of Matthew Stanley of Wolfboro, New Hampshire, who died serving our country in Iraq.
88. I wear his bracelet and think of him every day.
89. I intend to honor their sacrifice by making sure the country their son loved so well and never returned to, remains safe from its enemies.
90. I fight to restore the pride and principles of our party.
91. We were elected to change Washington, and we let Washington change us.
92. We lost the trust of the American people when some Republicans gave in to the temptations of corruption.
93. We lost their trust when rather than reform government, both parties made it bigger.
94. We lost their trust when instead of freeing ourselves from a dangerous dependence on foreign oil, both parties and Senator Obama passed another corporate welfare bill for oil companies.
95. We lost their trust, when we valued our power over our principles.
96. We're going to change that.
97. We're going to recover the people's trust by standing up again for the values Americans admire.
98. The party of Lincoln, Roosevelt and Reagan is going to get back to basics.

99. We believe everyone has something to contribute and deserves the opportunity to reach their God-given potential from the boy whose descendents arrived on the Mayflower to the Latina daughter of migrant workers.
100. We're all God's children and we're all Americans.
101. We believe in low taxes; spending discipline, and open markets.
102. We believe in rewarding hard work and risk takers and letting people keep the fruits of their labor.
103. We believe in a strong defense, work, faith, service, a culture of life, personal responsibility, the rule of law, and judges who dispense justice impartially and don't legislate from the bench.
104. We believe in the values of families, neighborhoods and communities.
105. We believe in a government that unleashes the creativity and initiative of Americans.
106. Government that doesn't make your choices for you, but works to make sure you have more choices to make for yourself.
107. I will keep taxes low and cut them where I can.
108. My opponent will raise them.
109. I will open new markets to our goods and services.
110. My opponent will close them.

111. I will cut government spending.
112. He will increase it.
113. My tax cuts will create jobs.
114. His tax increases will eliminate them.
115. My health care plan will make it easier for more Americans to find and keep good health care insurance.
116. His plan will force small businesses to cut jobs, reduce wages, and force families into a government run health care system where a bureaucrat stands between you and your doctor.
117. Keeping taxes low helps small businesses grow and create new jobs.
118. Cutting the second highest business tax rate in the world will help American companies compete and keep jobs from moving overseas.
119. Doubling the child tax exemption from \$3500 to \$7000 will improve the lives of millions of American families.
120. Reducing government spending and getting rid of failed programs will let you keep more of your own money to save, spend and invest as you see fit.
121. Opening new markets and preparing workers to compete in the world economy is essential to our future prosperity.
122. I know some of you have been left behind in the changing economy and it often

seems your government hasn't even noticed.

123. Government assistance for unemployed workers was designed for the economy of the 1950s.
124. That's going to change on my watch.
125. My opponent promises to bring back old jobs by wishing away the global economy.
126. We're going to help workers who've lost a job that won't come back, find a new one that won't go away.
127. We will prepare them for the jobs of today.
128. We will use our community colleges to help train people for new opportunities in their communities.
129. For workers in industries that have been hard hit, we'll help make up part of the difference in wages between their old job and a temporary, lower paid one while they receive retraining that will help them find secure new employment at a decent wage.
130. Education is the civil rights issue of this century.
131. Equal access to public education has been gained.
132. But what is the value of access to a failing school?
133. We need to shake up failed school bureaucracies with competition, empower parents with choice, remove barriers to qualified instructors, attract and reward

good teachers, and help bad teachers find another line of work.

134. When a public school fails to meet its obligations to students, parents deserve a choice in the education of their children.

135. And I intend to give it to them.

136. Some may choose a better public school.

137. Some may choose a private one.

138. Many will choose a charter school.

139. But they will have that choice and their children will have that opportunity.

140. Senator Obama wants our schools to answer to unions and entrenched bureaucracies.

141. I want schools to answer to parents and students.

142. And when I'm President, they will.

143. My fellow Americans, when I'm President, we're going to embark on the most ambitious national project in decades.

144. We are going to stop sending \$700 billion a year to countries that don't like us very much.

145. We will attack the problem on every front.

146. We will produce more energy at home.

147. We will drill new wells offshore, and we'll drill them now.
148. We will build more nuclear power plants.
149. We will develop clean coal technology.
150. We will increase the use of wind, tide, solar and natural gas.
151. We will encourage the development and use of flex fuel, hybrid and electric automobiles.
152. Senator Obama thinks we can achieve energy independence without more drilling and without more nuclear power.
153. But Americans know better than that.
154. We must use all resources and develop all technologies necessary to rescue our economy from the damage caused by rising oil prices and to restore the health of our planet.
155. It's an ambitious plan, but Americans are ambitious by nature, and we have faced greater challenges.
156. It's time for us to show the world again how Americans lead.
157. This great national cause will create millions of new jobs, many in industries that will be the engine of our future prosperity; jobs that will be there when your children enter the workforce.
158. Today, the prospect of a better world remains within our reach.

159. But we must see the threats to peace and liberty in our time clearly and face them, as Americans before us did, with confidence, wisdom and resolve.
160. We have dealt a serious blow to al Qaeda in recent years.
161. But they are not defeated, and they'll strike us again if they can.
162. Iran remains the chief state sponsor of terrorism and on the path to acquiring nuclear weapons.
163. Russia's leaders, rich with oil wealth and corrupt with power, have rejected democratic ideals and the obligations of a responsible power.
164. They invaded a small, democratic neighbor to gain more control over the world's oil supply, intimidate other neighbors, and further their ambitions of reassembling the Russian empire.
165. And the brave people of Georgia need our solidarity and prayers.
166. As President, I will work to establish good relations with Russia so we need not fear a return of the Cold War.
167. But we can't turn a blind eye to aggression and international lawlessness that threatens the peace and stability of the world and the security of the American people.
168. We face many threats in this dangerous world, but I'm not afraid of them.
169. I'm prepared for them.



170. I know how the military works, what it can do, what it can do better, and what it should not do.
171. I know how the world works.
172. I know the good and the evil in it.
173. I know how to work with leaders who share our dreams of a freer, safer and more prosperous world, and how to stand up to those who don't.
174. I know how to secure the peace.
175. When I was five years old, a car pulled up in front of our house.
176. A Navy officer rolled down the window, and shouted at my father that the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor.
177. I rarely saw my father again for four years.
178. My grandfather came home from that same war exhausted from the burdens he had borne, and died the next day.
179. In Vietnam, where I formed the closest friendships of my life, some of those friends never came home with me.
180. I hate war.
181. It is terrible beyond imagination.
182. I'm running for President to keep the country I love safe, and prevent other families from risking their loved ones in war as my family has.

183. I will draw on all my experience with the world and its leaders, and all the tools at our disposal - diplomatic, economic, military and the power of our ideals - to build the foundations for a stable and enduring peace.
184. In America, we change things that need to be changed.
185. Each generation makes its contribution to our greatness.
186. The work that is ours to do is plainly before us.
187. We don't need to search for it.
188. We need to change the way government does almost everything: from the way we protect our security to the way we compete in the world economy; from the way we respond to disasters to the way we fuel our transportation network; from the way we train our workers to the way we educate our children.
189. All these functions of government were designed before the rise of the global economy, the information technology revolution and the end of the Cold War.
190. We have to catch up to history, and we have to change the way we do business in Washington.
191. The constant partisan rancor that stops us from solving these problems isn't a cause, it's a symptom.
192. It's what happens when people go to Washington to work for themselves and not you.
193. Again and again, I've worked with members of both parties to fix problems that

need to be fixed.

194. That's how I will govern as President.

195. I will reach out my hand to anyone to help me get this country moving again.

196. I have that record and the scars to prove it.

197. Senator Obama does not.

198. Instead of rejecting good ideas because we didn't think of them first, let's use the best ideas from both sides.

199. Instead of fighting over who gets the credit, let's try sharing it.

200. This amazing country can do anything we put our minds to.

201. I will ask Democrats and Independents to serve with me.

202. And my administration will set a new standard for transparency and accountability.

203. We're going to finally start getting things done for the people who are counting on us, and I won't care who gets the credit.

204. I've been an imperfect servant of my country for many years.

205. But I have been her servant first, last and always.

206. And I've never lived a day, in good times or bad, that I didn't thank God for the privilege.

207. Long ago, something unusual happened to me that taught me the most valuable lesson of my life.
208. I was blessed by misfortune.
209. I mean that sincerely.
210. I was blessed because I served in the company of heroes, and I witnessed a thousand acts of courage, compassion and love.
211. On an October morning, in the Gulf of Tonkin, I prepared for my 23rd mission over North Vietnam.
212. I hadn't any worry I wouldn't come back safe and sound.
213. I thought I was tougher than anyone.
214. I was pretty independent then, too.
215. I liked to bend a few rules, and pick a few fights for the fun of it.
216. But I did it for my own pleasure; my own pride.
217. I didn't think there was a cause more important than me.
218. Then I found myself falling toward the middle of a small lake in the city of Hanoi, with two broken arms, a broken leg, and an angry crowd waiting to greet me.
219. I was dumped in a dark cell, and left to die.

220. I didn't feel so tough anymore.
221. When they discovered my father was an admiral, they took me to a hospital.
222. They couldn't set my bones properly, so they just slapped a cast on me.
223. When I didn't get better, and was down to about a hundred pounds, they put me in a cell with two other Americans.
224. I couldn't do anything.
225. I couldn't even feed myself.
226. They did it for me.
227. I was beginning to learn the limits of my selfish independence.
228. Those men saved my life.
229. I was in solitary confinement when my captors offered to release me.
230. I knew why.
231. If I went home, they would use it as propaganda to demoralize my fellow prisoners.
232. Our Code said we could only go home in the order of our capture, and there were men who had been shot down before me.
233. I thought about it, though.

234. I wasn't in great shape, and I missed everything about America.
235. But I turned it down.
236. A lot of prisoners had it worse than I did.
237. I'd been mistreated before, but not as badly as others.
238. I always liked to strut a little after I'd been roughed up to show the other guys I was tough enough to take it.
239. But after I turned down their offer, they worked me over harder than they ever had before.
240. For a long time.
241. And they broke me.
242. When they brought me back to my cell, I was hurt and ashamed, and I didn't know how I could face my fellow prisoners.
243. The good man in the cell next door, my friend, Bob Craner, saved me.
244. Through taps on a wall he told me I had fought as hard as I could.
245. No man can always stand alone.
246. And then he told me to get back up and fight again for our country and for the men I had the honor to serve with.

247. Because every day they fought for me.
248. I fell in love with my country when I was a prisoner in someone else's.
249. I loved it not just for the many comforts of life here.
250. I loved it for its decency; for its faith in the wisdom, justice and goodness of its people.
251. I loved it because it was not just a place, but an idea, a cause worth fighting for.
252. I was never the same again.
253. I wasn't my own man anymore.
254. I was my country's.
255. I'm not running for president because I think I'm blessed with such personal greatness that history has anointed me to save our country in its hour of need.
256. My country saved me.
257. My country saved me, and I cannot forget it.
258. And I will fight for her for as long as I draw breath, so help me God.
259. If you find faults with our country, make it a better one.
260. If you're disappointed with the mistakes of government, join its ranks and work to correct them.

261. Enlist in our Armed Forces.
262. Become a teacher.
263. Enter the ministry.
264. Run for public office.
265. Feed a hungry child.
266. Teach an illiterate adult to read.
267. Comfort the afflicted.
268. Defend the rights of the oppressed.
269. Our country will be the better, and you will be the happier.
270. Because nothing brings greater happiness in life than to serve a cause greater than yourself.
271. I'm going to fight for my cause every day as your President.
272. I'm going to fight to make sure every American has every reason to thank God, as I thank Him: that I'm an American, a proud citizen of the greatest country on earth, and with hard work, strong faith and a little courage, great things are always within our reach.
273. Fight with me.
274. Fight with me.



275. Fight for what's right for our country.
276. Fight for the ideals and character of a free people.
277. Fight for our children's future.
278. Fight for justice and opportunity for all.
279. Stand up to defend our country from its enemies.
280. Stand up for each other; for beautiful, blessed, bountiful America.
281. Stand up, stand up, stand up and fight.
282. Nothing is inevitable here.
283. We're Americans, and we never give up.
284. We never quit.
285. We never hide from history.
286. We make history.
287. Thank you, and God Bless you.

## Appendix 6

### **Text of McCain Concession Speech**

**November 4<sup>th</sup>, 2008**

1. My friends, we have come to the end of a long journey.
2. The American people have spoken, and they have spoken clearly.
3. A little while ago, I had the honor of calling Sen. Barack Obama —to congratulate him on being elected the next president of the country that we both love
4. In a contest as long and difficult as this campaign has been, his success alone commands my respect for his ability and perseverance.
5. But that he managed to do so by inspiring the hopes of so many millions of Americans, who had once wrongly believed that they had little at stake or little influence in the election of an American president, is something I deeply admire and commend him for achieving.
6. This is an historic election, and I recognize the special significance it has for African-Americans and for the special pride that must be theirs tonight.
7. I've always believed that America offers opportunities to all who have the industry and will to seize it.
8. Sen. Obama believes that, too.
9. But we both recognize that though we have come a long way from the old

- injustices that once stained our nation's reputation and denied some Americans the full blessings of American citizenship, the memory of them still had the power to wound.
10. A century ago, President Theodore Roosevelt's invitation of Booker T. Washington to visit — to dine at the White House was taken as an outrage in many quarters.
  11. America today is a world away from the cruel and prideful bigotry of that time.
  12. There is no better evidence of this than the election of an African-American to the presidency of the United States.
  13. Let there be no reason now for any American to fail to cherish their citizenship in this, the greatest nation on Earth.
  14. Sen. Obama has achieved a great thing for himself and for his country.
  15. I applaud him for it, and offer in my sincere sympathy that his beloved grandmother did not live to see this day — though our faith assures us she is at rest in the presence of her creator and so very proud of the good man she helped raise.
  16. Sen. Obama and I have had and argued our differences, and he has prevailed.
  17. No doubt many of those differences remain.
  18. These are difficult times for our country, and I pledge to him tonight to do all in my power to help him lead us through the many challenges we face.
  19. I urge all Americans who supported me to join me in not just congratulating him,

- but offering our next president our good will and earnest effort to find ways to come together, to find the necessary compromises, to bridge our differences and help restore our prosperity, defend our security in a dangerous world, and leave our children and grandchildren a stronger, better country than we inherited.
20. Whatever our differences, we are fellow Americans.
  21. And please believe me when I say no association has ever meant more to me than that.
  22. It is natural tonight to feel some disappointment, but tomorrow we must move beyond it and work together to get our country moving again.
  23. We fought — we fought as hard as we could.
  24. And though we fell short, the failure is mine, not yours.
  25. I am so deeply grateful to all of you for the great honor of your support and for all you have done for me.
  26. I wish the outcome had been different, my friends.
  27. The road was a difficult one from the outset.
  28. But your support and friendship never wavered.
  29. I cannot adequately express how deeply indebted I am to you.
  30. I am especially grateful to my wife, Cindy, my children, my dear mother and all my family and to the many old and dear friends who have stood by my side through the many ups and downs of this long campaign.

31. I have always been a fortunate man, and never more so for the love and encouragement you have given me.
32. You know, campaigns are often harder on a candidate's family than on the candidate, and that's been true in this campaign.
33. All I can offer in compensation is my love and gratitude, and the promise of more peaceful years ahead.
34. I am also, of course, very thankful to Gov. Sarah Palin, one of the best campaigners I have ever seen and an impressive new voice in our party for reform and the principles that have always been our greatest strength.
35. Her husband Todd and their five beautiful children, with their tireless dedication to our cause, and the courage and grace they showed in the rough-and-tumble of a presidential campaign.
36. We can all look forward with great interest to her future service to Alaska, the Republican Party and our country.
37. To all my campaign comrades, from Rick Davis and Steve Schmidt and Mark Salter, to every last volunteer who fought so hard and valiantly month-after-month in what at times seemed to be the most challenged campaign in modern times — thank you so much.
38. A lost election will never mean more to me than the privilege of your faith and friendship.
39. I don't know what more we could have done to try to win this election.

40. I'll leave that to others to determine.
41. Every candidate makes mistakes, and I'm sure I made my share of them.
42. But I won't spend a moment of the future regretting what might have been.
43. This campaign was and will remain the great honor of my life.
44. And my heart is filled with nothing but gratitude for the experience and to the American people for giving me a fair hearing before deciding that Sen. Obama and my old friend, Sen. Joe Biden, should have the honor of leading us for the next four years.
45. I would not be an American worthy of the name, should I regret a fate that has allowed me the extraordinary privilege of serving this country for a half a century.
46. Today, I was a candidate for the highest office in the country I love so much.
47. And tonight, I remain her servant.
48. That is blessing enough for anyone and I thank the people of Arizona for it.
49. Tonight — tonight, more than any night, I hold in my heart nothing but love for this country and for all its citizens, whether they supported me or Sen. Obama, I wish Godspeed to the man who was my former opponent and will be my president.
50. And I call on all Americans, as I have often in this campaign, to not despair of our present difficulties but to believe always in the promise and greatness of America, because nothing is inevitable here.

51. Americans never quit.

52. We never surrender.

53. We never hide from history.

54. We make history.

55. Thank you, and God bless you, and God bless America.