

**A Critical Discourse Study of Hillary Clinton’s 2015/2016  
Presidential Campaign Discourses**



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## **Abstract**

In the light of the 2016 American presidential election, the thesis uncovers underlying discursive structures in Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign discourse. This is done through the use of the theory and methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis and corpus linguistics. The specific aim is to identify elements of gender references, persuasive techniques and social inclusion and exclusion. The primary analysis (with focus on Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech from June 2015) shows that the campaign launch discourse relies heavily on constructed frames, such as the family frame and the battle frame. Furthermore, gender references are marked by implicitness, and Clinton performs both stereotypical masculine and feminine genders. Also, we found elements of rhetorical tools of persuasion as well as examples relating to George Lakoff's family models in American politics. As for social inclusion and exclusion, Clinton's use of pronouns revealed her attitude towards her supporters and opponents alike. The secondary analysis is a corpus-based analysis with focus on comparing selected aspects from the primary analysis. Finally a discussion of the analytical findings concludes the thesis. According to our results, it might seem that Clinton's main purpose of her campaign discourses is to construct a narrative of herself as President of the United States of America, and additionally, she pushes the boundaries of the historical perception of the American presidency in regards to gender.

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# 1.Introduction

Discourse is a fundamental factor in all communication worldwide and is necessary for our understanding of language and language use. The nature of a given discourse is determined by the sender and receiver, and thus the communicative situation in which it occurs. The knowledge of how to affect other people with one's discourse is an extremely powerful tool as social relations are deeply embedded in discursive patterns, while at the same time, these discursive patterns are also affected by social relations – hence, a well-constructed discourse can be used to dominate people at the receiving end. Therefore, discourse is an important tool in a political world where one's words are the primary means of communicating visions and ideologies, and ultimately making people act on these.

In the light of the upcoming American presidential election, we find it interesting to place Hillary Clinton's discourses in the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis because political speeches are highly constructed pieces of discourse. Thus, we expect to identify implicit patterns embedded in the discourses as they are choreographed with specific purposes in mind. Also, the fact that the American presidency is historically male dominated makes it interesting to look into how Clinton copes with this tradition. Hence,

the thesis critically assesses Hillary Clinton's campaign discourses by means of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics in order to uncover underlying discursive structures. We hypothesize that Clinton's campaign discourses contain elements of gender references, persuasive techniques and social inclusion and exclusion.

Structure wise, the thesis contains a theory section with focus on Critical Discourse Analysis, intertextuality, framing, gender discourse, tools of persuasion, family models, pronouns and deixis and conjunctions. Second, the thesis presents the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics with a specific focus on Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies and the computer software, AntConc. Third, the analysis is divided into a primary analysis with focus on the Campaign Launch Speech from 2015, and a secondary analysis which conducts a comparative corpus-based analysis of the findings in the Campaign Launch Speech (CLS) and the 2016 Clinton Corpus (ClinC). The primary analysis is a qualitative focused analysis with the sole purpose of investigating the content of the Campaign Launch Speech on the basis of the above stated

theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis. The secondary analysis is a quantitative analysis relying on the statistical data found through the use of AntConc but also the findings from the primary analysis in order to compare and contrast Clinton's discourses. Lastly, a discussion of the overall analytical findings follows with the purpose of linking the primary and secondary analyses to critically assess the theoretical framework as well as our own analytical deductions.



## **2. Theory**

In the following section the thesis accounts for the overall theory of Critical Discourse Analysis and the subcategories of grammar with regards to pronouns, deixis and conjunctions. Furthermore, the theory section also looks into the aspect of meaning, intertextuality, framing, gender discourse, persuasive techniques, and family models.

### **2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis**

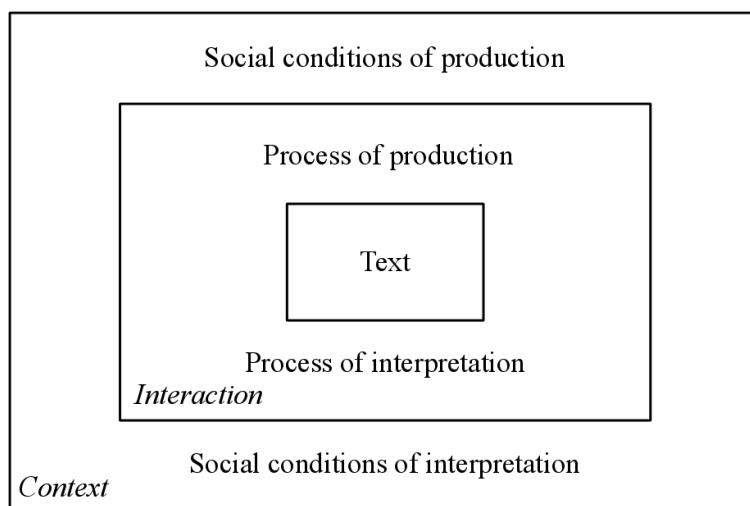
In general, from a broad perspective discourse analysis holds reference to various meanings and activities within disciplines ranging from, for instance, sociolinguistics to computational linguistics. Despite the fact that these linguistic areas differ in approach, they all share the fundamental view of discourse analysis as the analysis of language use. Moreover, it is not only the study of linguistic forms, but also a study of their purposes within a communicative situation (Brown & Yule, 2003, p. 1). In other words, discourse analysis is not merely the knowledge of semantics, but rather a complex knowledge of language in order to understand the practice of a successful communication.

Having established the diversity of discourse analysis in general, the thesis is based on the theoretical foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA). CDA is a branch of discourse analysis that focuses on inequality, social and power relations, and often times, embedded in a political context. Thus, CDA is interested in uncovering power relations and hidden ideologies in social contexts. However, it is paramount to keep in mind that CDA is an interdisciplinary perspective that can be applied to many areas of discourse analysis, as one of the key elements is for the analyst to be conscious of his/her position in culture and society (van Dijk, 2008, p. 85).

The founders of CDA, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (2006, pp. 271-281), have summed up the main ideas of CDA, and the following points are the ones relevant for our thesis. First of all, CDA addresses social problems, meaning that language is viewed as a tool in social processes where the analysts target the linguistic essence of cultural and social constructions. Next, power relations are discursive, as CDA underlines linguistic and discursive elements in social relations. Rephrased, power relations are mirrored, mediated and reproduced by discourse. Moreover, discourse constitutes society and culture in the sense that the relationship between these is dialectical and thus society and culture are constructed through the use of discourse and vice versa. Furthermore, discourse does ideological work, meaning that ideologies through discourse represent

and construct society and culture, and, thereby, also unequal power relations. Therefore, looking only at the text is not sufficient, the analyst must also take the perlocutionary effect into account. As the thesis deals with the discourse of Clinton, it is paramount to distinguish between political ideologies and discursive ideologies. In elaboration, discursive ideologies are not concerned with ‘-isms’ but rather the concept of values. Also, discourse is historical because it always refers to something done or said before. In other words, to gain the full understanding of the discourse one must fully understand the reference in the context. Finally, the critical discourse analysts are responsible for determining the amount of contextual knowledge needed for interpretation, meaning that the understanding of discourse is always dependent on context and recipients.

When carrying out the analysis it is important to keep in mind that the above points should not be seen as separated elements, but as contributing factors to an analysis as a whole. Combining the points allows the analyst to conduct an analysis both on a micro and macro level. To specify, while a micro level analysis focuses on grammatical aspects, such as lexemes, phrases and sentences, the macro level analysis places the discourse in a social and cultural context. This idea has been conceptualized by Fairclough in his three-dimensional model (Fairclough, 2001, p. 21),



*Table 1: Three-dimensional model*

At the first level, represented by the inner box, the analyst conducts a syntactic analysis of the discourse focusing on grammatical aspects or other points that can be read directly from the text, which ultimately requires as much objectivity as the analyst can master. Therefore, as Fairclough writes, the first level is a description of the object of analysis (Fairclough, 2001, p. 91).

The second level represents the semantic part of the discourse analysis, and involves interpreting the meaning of the text in its communicative situation. In other words, from this perspective the discourse is seen as a communicative action where the focus is on the sender and the receiver (Fairclough, 2001, p. 91).

The third level, represented by the outer box, focuses on placing the text in a sociocultural context. This is done by combining the analytical data from the two previous levels and explaining their significance contextually (Fairclough, 2001, p. 91).

Fairclough's three-dimensional model offers a simplified overview of how to carry out CDA. The remaining topics of the theory section are all subcategories needed to realize an analysis of the data specific to the thesis.

## **2.2 Meaning in speech act theory**

Along the same lines of Fairclough's model, a way of regarding meaning can be found within speech act theory where there are three different layers of meaning: locution, illocution and perlocution. Starting with locution, this is "[t]he act of 'saying something' in this full normal sense" (Austin, 1975, p. 94). Thus, locution relates to the literal value of an utterance, and what can be read directly from the grammatical construction.

Next is illocution, which the philosopher of language, J.L. Austin, views as such, "the performance of an 'illocutionary' act, i.e. performance of an act *in* saying something as opposed to performance of an act *of* saying something" (Austin, 1975, p. 99). Rephrased, the illocutionary value corresponds to what is generally viewed as pragmatic meaning given that it is entirely context determined. More abstractly, the illocutionary value refers to what the utterance *does* compared to the locutionary value which is more a matter of what in utterance *is*.

Finally, Austin argues that there is a third layer of meaning – that of perlocution, "[s]aying something will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of other persons: and it may be

done with the design, intention, or purpose of producing them” (Austin, 1975, p. 101). The perlocutionary value cannot necessarily be read directly from the utterance. In short, the perlocutionary value is a reference to the consequence(s) an utterance has in the situational context. Below Austin’s abstract meaning is exemplified, which is extremely helpful when trying to understand the specific difference between the three different layers of meaning,

Locution:

Democrat: “We are up against some powerful forces”

Illocution:

The Republicans are running a strong campaign

Perlocution:

You need to vote on a Democrat unless you want the Republicans to win

## **2.3 Intertextuality and interdiscursivity**

Intertextuality refers to the embeddedness of texts in other texts. In order to understand intertextuality, it is important to know that one distinguishes between different discourses, which refer not only to specific texts, written and spoken, but also different genres. Additionally, Clinton’s Campaign Launch Speech contains elements from different discourses, such as gender discourse, but the speech also contains references to The Beatles and former Democratic Presidents.

Almost everything we say has reference to already written or spoken words, therefore in order to gain the full understanding of such references one must understand the reference to other texts. Also, the references one uses in spoken or written contexts reflect the speaker’s ideologies, attitude and beliefs. Jones (2012, p.14) claims, “[w]hen we appropriate the words and ideas of others in our texts and utterances, we almost always end up communicating how we think about those words and ideas (and the people who have said or written them) in the way we represent them”. Thereby, intertextuality becomes a key factor in promoting the speaker’s ideologies through discourse.

## 2.4 Framing

In discourse, frames are the way we mentally structure background knowledge to make sense of a discourse, but also to produce a discourse. They can also be described as systems and structures that represent stereotypical situations. When we encounter a situation we mentally select a frame that helps us understand and interact with the situation. Frames are thus a part of our memories and help us make sense of the world around us.

The cognitive linguist George Lakoff (2004, p. xv) writes, “[f]rames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world.” He argues that because frames shape the way we see the world, they also shape our goals, our plans, the way we act and how we deem our actions. Moreover, Lakoff explains that we cannot either see or hear frames, as they are a part of our ‘cognitive unconsciousness’, which are “structures in our brains that we cannot consciously access, but know by their consequences: the way we reason and what counts as common sense” (Lakoff, 2004, p. xv). Frames are also present in language, meaning that when we hear a word, the frame to which it belongs is activated in the mind, and thus language activates frames.

Framing can also be used in politics, where they influence social policies and the institutions that carry out those policies. Furthermore, framing is an important part of politics, as it shapes the way the public sees the world. The basic principle of framing in politics is never to use the same language as the other party, as language evokes certain frames, and in political discourse, language is always arranged to evoke certain frames, which are considered part of the party’s ideology: “[d]on’t use their language. Their language picks out a frame – and it won’t be the frame you want” (Lakoff, 2004, p. 3). Framing becomes a way of shaping the world as well as viewing it, and it becomes a powerful political tool.

George Lakoff (2004, p. xv) explains the concept of reframing (in politics), “[r]eframing is changing the way the public sees the world. It is changing what counts as common sense. Because language activates frames, new language is required for new frames. Thinking differently requires speaking differently”. Thus framing and reframing are tools we must understand and consider when looking at political discourse.

## 2.5 Gendered discourse

Robin Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* has been highly influential in the field of gender and language, and her thoughts have been the stepping stone for many ideas concerning gendered language. Not only does her work focus on gender and language, it also takes into account the notions of class, power and social justice, and by doing so it creates an interesting view on men and women's language. Robin Lakoff's work has been said to linguistically ground gender studies by creating a way of understanding and analyzing gender specific communication styles within sociolinguistics as well as discourse studies.

According to Lakoff, language mirrors the power structures in society, and this can be seen through the way men and women use language differently – the difference in syntactical and lexical choices, and thus Lakoff looks at women's language use and language behavior (Lakoff, 1973, p 45-46).

Lakoff starts her discussion of gendered language by saying that our linguistic behavior is taught to us already when we are children, and that the type of linguistic behavior taught depends on the child's gender. Lakoff, furthermore, argues that when the child reaches the age of ten, gendered language becomes more common as the children are divided into same-sex peer groups, and they become more aware of their linguistic behavior as they try to find out who they are and where they belong. Moreover, according to Lakoff, women are already in their childhood taught that they are not as valuable as men, and that their linguistic behavior should reflect that (Lakoff, 1973, p. 48). So, 'women's language' denies a woman her personal identity by forcing her into restricted language use and encourages her to submit to this role in society as 'less than human'. Lakoff believes that a woman has only two choices, "to be less than a woman or less than a person," (Lakoff, 1973, p. 48), as she is ridiculed either for her man-like speech or for her lady-like speech. The effect of this is that women are repeatedly denied access to power because of their linguistic behavior (among other aspects of their behavior). Furthermore, Lakoff argues that some educated women learn to use neutral language. She argues that women who learn neutral language behavior in addition to their gendered language behavior are in fact bilinguals. It requires a highly developed awareness of social situations in order to decode the different nuances and act in compliance with them, and it requires extra energy to always be aware (Lakoff, 1973, p. 48). This takes away energy that the women could use elsewhere, which then again gives them a disadvantage. Again, something stands in a woman's way of her communicating strongly, and often

she might not choose to communicate at all in a situation where she is forced to choose between her two language behaviors.

### 2.5.1 Lexical and syntactical differences

There is difference in men and women's language both in the choice and frequency of lexical items, and also in contexts where specific syntactic rules are executed (Lakoff, 1973, p. 49). Furthermore, an example of grammatical difference in men and women's language is the use of particles that by some are regarded meaningless (Lakoff, 1973, p. 49). One such particle could be expletives. An expletive is a word or a phrase used to fill a vacancy in a sentence, and is often used when people are angry or in pain (e.g. 'damn', 'shit', 'oh fudge' or 'oh dear'). According to Robin Lakoff, there are both stronger and weaker expletives and women and men use them differently. The difference lies in how forcefully one communicates one's feelings (Lakoff, 1973, p. 50). Women use what Lakoff terms 'trivializing particles', which can be expletives such as 'oh fudge' or 'dear me'. This is due to the earlier discussed idea that girls and boys are taught different linguistic behavior. Girls are brought up to show docility and resignation in opposition to boys, who are allowed to show temper.

Moreover, women tend to use neutral adjectives or adjectives that belong to women's language only. Lakoff writes that there are a group of adjective that can only be used by women – these adjectives belong to the group that indicates the speaker's approval and admiration of something. Some of the adjectives in this group are neutral, meaning that both men and women may use them, but others are confined to women's language. The neutral ones are; 'great', 'terrific', 'cool', 'neat', while the ones only used by women are; 'adorable', 'charming', 'sweet', 'lovely', 'divine'. In addition to this, Lakoff points out, that a man could never use the words in this group that belong to women's language, but at women can use both the neutral and the ones that belong to women's language, but not without risk. If a woman chooses to use one of the words instead of another, she automatically suggests something about her personality.

Robin Lakoff uses the term *tag-question formation*. According to Lakoff, women more often turn declarative sentences or imperatives into questions – tag-questions. In itself, the construction of a tag-question is contradictory; a tag is a syntactic shape you use when your utterance is in between a direct statement and a yes-no question. A tag-question, according to Lakoff, is "a declarative statement without the assumption that the statement is to be believed by

the addressee: one has an out, as with a question. A tag gives the addressee leeway, not forcing him to go along with the views of the speaker” (Lakoff, 1973, p. 54). Tag-questions can be used for small-talk, for questioning one’s own opinion, for seeking corroboration from the addressee, or for seeking a particular answer. These types of sentences help the speaker to avoid commitment, and thereby avoiding conflict with the addressee. The problem with these kinds of sentences is that the speaker often seems unsure of him/herself and his/her statement. It might seem as though the speaker seeks confirmation from the addressee or has no view or opinions of his/her own. Lakoff argues that the latter is what is often thought of when women use tag-questions.

Thus by looking at all of these linguistic differences in men and women’s language, we get an insight into the differences of men and women in society, Lakoff writes, “[I]inguistic imbalances are worthy of study because they bring into sharper focus real-world imbalances and inequities. They are clues that some external situation needs changing, rather than items that one should seek to change directly” (Lakoff, 1973, p. 73), because for Robin Lakoff the linguistic differences are the symptoms for a disease that lies in society; social behavior creates language behavior.

The methodology Robin Lakoff used when collecting and analyzing her data has often been criticized, as her approach is not very systematic, quantitative or objective (Lakoff, 1973, p. 46). Furthermore, she is very conscious of her own subjectivity, or what she calls introspectiveness, and remedies it by saying that all writing is in some way subjective or introspective, and the fact that she is aware of her subjectivity might make her work scientific after all, as it is in line with the ideas and procedures of CDA, where the analyst must consider his/her own position within the research.

Lakoff’s work has also been criticized because her samples are based on middle-class, white women, and therefore it is not possible for her to make conclusions on women’s language in general. One can argue that even though it is possible to follow her reasoning in her methodological arguments, that does not make her approach any more objective or scientific. Furthermore, it is not possible to make general conclusions about women’s language, if she does not have a broad selection of women from different ethnic, racial and social groups to base her data on. However, as Clinton is about the same age as Robin Lakoff and also a white woman, she fits Robin Lakoff’s observation group. Therefore, it is relevant to look into how Robin Lakoff’s theory relates to Clinton’s discourses.



Lastly, again one must read and interpret Lakoff's work as part of its context and its contemporary time, in which it was written. Much has, no doubt, happened with 'women's language' and its field of research since the 1970s, but as Lakoff writes, her work is a goad for further studies, and one should use it as that. Even though *Language and Woman's Place* was written in 1973, Lakoff still sees some tendencies in the language use of men and women, which she comments on because she sees a development in women's language, which indicates, again, that her research is the foundation for further studies of the matter.

### **2.5.2 Performative gender**

The theorist Judith Butler draws on the ideas of speech-act theory formulated by J.L. Austin (briefly mentioned in section 2.2) when talking about gender and discourse. Butler founds her theory of gender on the basis of speech acts; according to her, there is no such thing as gender and sex, these are just categories constructed mentally, and therefore they do not refer to something that really exists in the world. Furthermore, the words 'men' and 'women' are just labels, and because we use these labels all the time, they become real to us – we believe that they refer to real entities (Inglis, 2012, p. 248).

Butler attacks the central conventions of classical feminist theory, namely, the idea of a gender identity, which requires representation both in politics and in language. She also goes against the notions of sex and gender as two separate categories, where sex is biologically determined while gender is a cultural construction. To Butler, this distinction is simply not possible because these categories are not real life entities, but constructed categories that we use and exist only because of patriarchy. According to Butler, patriarchy is responsible for these categories of gender and sex, and has created a universal way of viewing these terms (Inglis, 2012, p. 249).

Butler argues that sex and gender are not something people 'have', they are in fact what people 'do' (speech acts) – people perform gender, hence Butler's term 'performative gender'. People perform gender through what Butler refers to as 'stylized repetition of acts', which are performed through 'bodily gestures' that we use every day – 'movements' and forms of conduct that produce the 'gendered self'. Gender is not to be understood as the expression of sex, and the category 'sex' does not refer to any real world thing, but is always produced and institutionalized through different systems of gendered discourse and practice (Inglis, 2012, p. 249). Therefore, a person performing and repeating those specific speech acts and practices becomes a woman or man;

a person is not already a woman or man. Gender is thus scripted, rehearsed and performed. Butler thus discards the idea of a certain gender identity and writes,

[g]ender is a complexity whose totality is permanently deferred, never fully what it is at any given juncture in time. An open coalition, then, will affirm identities that are alternately instituted and relinquished according to the purpose at hand; it will be an open assemblage that permits of multiple convergences and divergences without obedience to a normative telos of definitional closure (Butler, 1990, p. 22).

For Butler, the terms ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ are highly political, because they do not refer to anything which already exists, something ‘in nature’, and therefore they can be challenged, and through their destruction they help weaken the patriarchal thoughts and practices, which exist in society.

## **2.6 Rhetorical tools of persuasion**

As the main object of observation of this particular thesis is that of a Campaign Launch Speech, we find it interesting to look closer into the role of persuasion in Clinton’s discourses, as persuasive language targets the emotions and expectations of the recipients rather than reason. Also, the focus is on convincing the recipients and seeming trustworthy more than it is about providing information (Sornig, 1989, p. 109). Thus, one of the main features of persuasive discourse is to seem believable and to make use of pathos and ethos when sending a message, to use Aristotle’s terminology. To link the aspect of persuasive language to the previous mentioning of speech act theory, one of the main functions of a rhetorical act is to trigger an intended perlocutionary effect among the audience (Sornig, 1989, p. 95). To focus on a few of these essential language functions, one can mention ‘quotational language’, seduction, and intelligibility.

First, quotational language (also referred to as ‘intertextuality’, see section 2.3), “not only carries conviction, or at least feigns credibility by exploiting the prestige of the person by whom a quotation was originated” (Sornig, 1989, p. 100). To comment, quite naturally when referring to the words or works of other people, especially generally well-known people, the act of bringing these into the discourse will without a doubt affect the effect the discourse has on the recipient (the perlocutionary effect). The original intend behind the quote or the significance of this particular person referred to is bound to have an impact on how the recipient sees the sender.

Second, looking closer at seduction, “[s]eduction [...] has at least one important and frequent preliminary move: mimicry, or rather flattery by mimicry, which means getting somebody to see himself and to look at things from another, seemingly more agreeable angle, which of course involves a change of perspective” (Sornig, 1989, p. 97). Sornig (1989, p. 97) further adds, “[s]eductive persuasion tries to manipulate the *relationship* that obtains or is to be established between the speaker and his listener”. Hence, the technique of seduction is indeed interesting to look for when analyzing political speeches.

Lastly, intelligibility is also of great importance, “[w]hat we have in mind here is the fact that in order for language to be effective, e.g. in acts of persuasive communication, the person to be convinced would have to understand every bit of information and every strand of associative meaning that is being transmitted to him” (Sornig, 1989, p. 97). This is a particularly interesting point when dealing with these kinds of discourses as political speeches are given to the public are likely to contain less technical political jargon compared to internal political discourse between politicians or other people working in the field.

## **2.7 Metaphorical structures in American political rhetoric**

A political group or party is joined by common ideas and opinions on various aspects in society, which consequently is rooted in the language and discourse of this particular group. Ruth Wodak (1989, p. 137) writes,

[p]olitical groups need their own language and portray themselves via this language; they define their territory by means of their language; they signal their ideology through certain slogans and stereotypes; their ideological structure is joined together in a certain way and so is their argumentation.

Thus, following the same lines that have already been established in regards to CDA and framing, one’s ideologies are inevitably embedded in one’s discourse. There are a number of ways this manifestation can take form. Therefore, in the following section, the thesis looks into two metaphorical concepts evolving around the notion of viewing society in the light of family structures. These family models are set forth by George Lakoff and represents the values and ideologies of the Republicans and Democrats.

### **2.7.1 The Strict Father model**

The Strict Father model is a reference to the world-view of the Conservatives. In other words, metaphorically speaking, the model portrays the ideal order of society according to the Republican Party. Very basically, “[t]he Strict Father model takes as background the view that life is difficult and that the world is fundamentally dangerous” (Lakoff, 2002, p. 65). Furthermore, to briefly sum up the essence of the Strict Father model, it relies on the frame of a traditional family with a father who functions as the main authority. The responsibility of the father is to raise his children in such a manner that they clearly know right from wrong. This lesson is learned by means of strict rules regarding their behavior, and is further taught by punishing the children when they behave wrongly, and rewarding and loving them when they behave well. In this frame, the mother also plays an essential role in the raising of the children, however, important to note is that part of her responsibility lies in the fact that she must aid in upholding the authority of the father (Lakoff, 2002, pp. 65-66). Moreover, “[l]ove and nurturance are a vital part of family life, but they should never out-weigh parental authority, which is itself an expression of love and nurturance – tough love. Self-discipline, self-reliance, and respect for legitimate authority are the crucial things that a child must learn” (Lakoff, 2002, p. 66).

The above points are some of the key factors that go into the act of raising a child in accordance to the mentality of the Strict Father model. Once a child has reached maturity, the role of the parents changes drastically. At this point, their work must be done and if they have done it properly the child will be prepared to fully function as a responsible individual and the parents no longer have any right to interfere in their child’s affairs. George Lakoff (2002, p. 79) writes, “[a]t maturity, a child is assumed to be able to determine and act on his best interest for himself. A “meddling” parent is one who asserts his authority in the child’s life when he has no business doing so, when his child is mature enough to have authority over his own life”.

In regards to morality, “[t]he entire Strict Father model is based on the further assumption that the exercise of authority is itself moral; that is, it is moral to reward obedience and punish disobedience. I will refer to this most basic assumption as the Morality of Reward and Punishment” (Lakoff, 2002, p. 67). More specifically, it is morally correct to punish one’s child if he or she behaves in a manner that goes against the way he or she has been raised. Likewise, it is morally incorrect not to punish the child. Moreover,

[a] central notion in Strict Father morality is “character,” which is taken to be a kind that is developed in childhood and then lasts a lifetime. The centrality of character in Strict Father morality gives priority to the general metaphor of Moral Essence, in terms of which the concept of character is defined (Lakoff, 2002, p. 87).

Hence, your role in society relies on how you have been raised and how your character has been built. In this regard, it is crucial you have been raised with (from a conservative perspective) the right moral values that all correspond to the metaphorical notion of a domestic household where the father dictates what is right from wrong, and punishes and rewards accordingly.

### **2.7.2 The Nurturant Parent model**

The Nurturant Parent model is similarly a reference to the world-view of the liberals. Briefly paraphrased, the Nurturant Parent model takes its point of departure in the frame of a more modern interpretation of the nuclear family. Ideally, such family consists of two parents, where the responsibilities within the household are shared equally among them, however, single parenting is indeed also a possible option in regards to the model. Moreover, caring plays a major part, both being cared for but also learning to care for others as well, as this ideology argues that the result of love and mutual respect is obedient children (Lakoff, 2002, p.108). George Lakoff (2002, pp. 110-111) writes,

They learn to be towards others and towards themselves what their parents are to them and they learn it in two ways. First, they follow the model of their parents’ behavior. Second, through being securely attached to their parents, they become attuned to their parents’ expectations and try to meet them. If the parents are careful about making their expectations realistic and appropriately challenging – rather than overdemanding or nondemanding – the children will be able to meet them and develop mastery.

As a short comment, the liberal version of the family model offers significantly more agency to the individual child. Put differently, supporters of the Nurturant Parent model believe that upbringing is a question of influencing one’s children by setting a right example for them throughout their

childhood, which contrasts with the intervening ideology of the conservative version of the family metaphor.

However, this does not mean that parental authority is a non-existent concept among liberals, authority does nonetheless require legitimation of how overruling the child benefits the nurturance of him or her. The fact that a child questions the actions of the parent(s) is a positive reflection of the child's good input, which should be taken seriously. This is also how the child learns right from wrong – by observing and questioning its parents, which is in clear contrast to the Strict Father model (Lakoff, 2002, p. 109).

The Nurturant Parent model does not assume that children primarily learn through reward and punishment, nor that adults mostly tailor their actions to rewards and punishments. Instead, it is assumed that children learn through their attachments to their parents – which are, ideally, secure and loving attachments (Lakoff, 2002, p. 110). Additionally, in regards to morality the Nurturant Parent model, naturally, also differs from the Strict Father model,

[t]his view of the family, of childrearing, of what the right kind of person is, and of what the world should be like gives priority to a very different set of metaphors for morality than does the Strict Father model. Where the Strict Father model stresses discipline, authority, orders, boundaries, homogeneity, purity, and self-interest, the Nurturant Parent model stresses empathy, nurturance, self-nurturance, social ties, fairness, and happiness (Lakoff, 2002, p. 114).

All in all, the Nurturant Parent model sees morality from a more social perspective compared to the view of the Strict Father model. The Nurturant Parent model emphasizes the ability to put oneself in someone else's shoes and also the social ability to occasionally put other people's need of nurture above your own (not completely discarding one's own need of nurturance, but if the model works ideally other family/society members will be sure to take your needs into account).

Ultimately, the goal of the Nurturant Parent model is to create individuals marked by fulfillment, happiness, responsibility, self-discipline and self-reliance as well as people who value mutual respect, communication and caring for others (Lakoff, 2002, pp. 108-110).

## **2.8 Grammar**

One of the fundamental aspects in CDA is grammar, which is used in sentence construction and the construction of discourse. The following section focuses on person deixis and pronouns, moreover, looking at lexical choice can help to uncover possibly hidden relational aspects, and determine the people included and excluded in social contexts.

### **2.8.1 Pronouns and deixis**

Pronouns and person deixis are closely intertwined, in general, deixis “is the most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected in the structures of language themselves” (Levinson, 2012, p. 54). To specify, deixis is expressions in language that point out or identify their referent(s) in any given context. Deixis can be divided into different subcategories, relevant to this thesis are, person, spatial and discourse deixis.

Person deixis is the main communicative function of personal pronouns. Basically, person deixis focuses on the participants in a communicative situation, also, it determines who are included or excluded in the social context.

Spatial or space deixis focuses on expressions that consist of demonstrative pronouns, namely ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘these’ and ‘those’, demonstrative adjectives and deixis adverbs of space (Huang, 2014, p. 151). The references can be either within the same context (a near reference) or it can refer to an external situation (a distant reference).

Also, deixis can function as discourse or text deixis, which is reference from one element in the text to another element in the text (anaphora, cataphora, exophora) (Huang, 2014).

The use of pronouns can be a determining factor for the speaker in achieving his or her goal, so it is interesting to do a further investigation of Clinton’s practice of person deixis, thus the thesis mainly focuses on personal as well as possessive pronouns.

Besides, pronominals along with nominals express the participants involved in situations, it can be who is the agent, who is the beneficiary and who is the affected in a situation (Bache, 2000). The agent is the doer of a dynamic situation, the beneficiaries are the people or entities for whom the situation is brought about, and the affected is the target affected by the situation. Who is the agent, beneficiary and affected is determined by the speaker, thereby it can also be determined who has the authority, control and power in the discourse. So, pronominals can

function as social actors, “social actors are participants in clauses, who may be represented as subjects (agents) or objects (goals) in the clause” (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 133).

## 2.8.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns can be divided into categories depending on number, person and gender. Personal pronouns all have different functions in a communicative situation depending on how the speaker uses them, some are including others are excluding.

The 1<sup>st</sup> person singular functions as ‘I’ in the subject case and as ‘me’ in the object case (Bache, 2000). 1<sup>st</sup> person pronouns refer to the speaker or writer. The speaker excludes others by making a personal point of view, and by using 1<sup>st</sup> person deixis the communicative function is to have focus on the speaker. It adds subjectivity to the speech and gives the speaker a personal voice which shows commitment. The speaker becomes personal, which can have a positive effect and outcome on the audience, because the audience can see an actual person with potentially shared ideologies and commitment to the given context. Using the 1<sup>st</sup> person deixis, the speaker becomes fully accountable for what is said and done. Furthermore, by excluding others and only referring to oneself, the speaker is in a power position, where the speaker is the doer talking to the recipient(s) and has the authority in the communicative situation.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and plural ‘you’ can both function in the subject and object case, both pronouns refer to the addressee(s). ‘You’ can be either singular or plural, and in order to clarify who ‘you’ refers to the speaker might have to specify it by a following nominal expression, because it is not always well-defined whether it refers to one or more persons (Bibler et al., 2015, p. 95). In general, the communicative function of 2<sup>nd</sup> person deixis ‘you’ is used when addressing a specific person or person(s) spoken to, where the personal pronoun appeals to empathy from the hearer (Bibler et al. 2015). ‘You’ is a generic pronoun, which can be exerted by a spokesman who does not know the potential addressees’ identity, and by using ‘you’ the speaker acknowledges the addressees as people. So, the speaker, in this case Clinton, can, by using ‘you’, pass on her practices and perceptions, and create solidarity between the addressees and herself (Fairclough, 2001, p. 149).

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular has a gender distinction, namely masculine, feminine, and non-person. By using the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns, the speaker points to participants who are either the speaker/writer or the addressee(s) (Bibler et al., 2015, p. 94). The pronoun ‘it’ is often used in



communicative situations with anaphoric reference to either a non-person noun in the singular, or to a previous section in the context or sentence (Hjulmand & Schwarz, 2011, p. 104). Thus, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns normally function as anaphoric references where they are important in making cohesion links between lexical items within a discourse (Bibler et. al., 2015).

The 1<sup>st</sup> person plural is 'we' in the subject case, and 'us' in the object case. The pronouns 'we' and 'us' can both function as including and excluding. Meaning, 'we' can be inclusive by including the addressee(s), namely 'I' + 'you', but 'we' can also function as exclusive by excluding the addressee(s), although including other people, namely the speaker + the speaker's family, or the Government (Bibler et al., 2015, p. 94). Like with the pronoun 'you', 'we' is also used to refer to people in general. Moreover, 'we' can have four different including functions, "(a) the speaker and one other person; (b) the speaker and a group; (c) the speaker and an entire country; (d) the speaker as a whole" (Maybin et al. 2007, p. 52). It can be argued that (c) could also concern an entire part of the world, for instance 'the west', so one might say that (c) is a subtype of (a).

Using the pronouns 'we' and 'us' demonstrate who has the authority, because the spokesman is speaking on behalf of others, hence he or she has the authority to speak for others. Thereby, the pronouns 'we' and 'us' can be the speaker's way of showing identification with the people included in the social context such as the American people, the Democrats or the Government, and it creates solidarity between the spokesman and the recipient(s). This leads us to another aspect of using the pronoun 'us', which indicates that people who are not included in 'us' belong to another group, namely 'them'. It is a classic example of Othering, where the speaker distances oneself together with the people included in 'us' from the other(s) referred to. The pronouns 'they' and 'them' also belong to the group that can be referred to as 'Othering', which will be elaborated on below.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural is 'they' in the subject case, and 'them' in the object case. 'They' and 'them' are used by the speaker when referring to people outside the 'in-group', they can be used as words for Othering. The spokesman may implicitly or explicitly refer to 'they' and 'them' as the 'other people', not you or me (Bibler et al., 2015, p. 96). Thereby, the spokesman creates solidarity between the in-group members and distances the in-group from the out-group, namely 'they' and 'them'. It is a discursive strategy in preparation for creating different social groups, where the out-group perhaps seems inferior in some way to the in-group. Thus, 'they' and 'them' function as excluding elements, and members of the in-group are included in the context.

### 2.8.3 Possessive pronouns

Personal pronouns and possessive pronouns are very much alike as they both generate cohesion within a text, and like with the personal pronouns, possessive pronouns help the audience to understand who is involved and not involved in a communicative situation.

The possessive pronouns ‘my’ and ‘mine’ are both in the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular by which ‘my’ is a determiner and ‘mine’ functions as an autonomous pronoun. The communicative function for the two possessive pronouns is to pay attention to the speaker. Like with the person deixis ‘I’ and ‘me’, ‘my’ and ‘mine’ refer to the speaker only. The speaker makes personal references by referring to him or herself, which illustrates personal involvement. Thereby, the personal references can have consequences only for the speaker if the context is not right, but if it all goes well then the speaker can get all the credit because of the personal commitment.

The possessive pronouns ‘your’ and ‘yours’ are both in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular, where ‘your’ functions as a determiner and ‘yours’ functions as an autonomous pronoun. They are used when addressing one or more addressee(s). The speaker can use these pronouns to personalize a message to the recipient(s). The pronouns can have exophoric reference, meaning they refer to something or someone outside the context.

The possessive pronouns ‘our’ and ‘ours’ are both in the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural, in this case ‘our’ functions as a determiner, and ‘ours’ functions as an autonomous pronoun (Hjulmand & Schwarz, 2011, p. 101). Both pronouns can function as including, but also as excluding. They are including because the speaker creates solidarity among the recipient(s) and him- or herself. They become one unit, who might have the same beliefs and ideologies, and by using ‘our’ and ‘ours’ the potential distance between the spokesman and the recipient(s) is reduced. Besides, the pronouns can also refer to the spokesman and a group or the spokesman and an entire country, which illustrates that the possessive pronouns ‘our’ and ‘ours’ can be excluding too.

The last possessive pronouns are ‘their’ and ‘theirs’, which are in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, where ‘their’ is a determiner and ‘theirs’ is an autonomous pronoun. These pronouns refer to someone, who is not a part of the ‘in-group’, meaning, ‘their’ and ‘theirs’ can function as ‘them’ and ‘they’ where there is reference to ‘the Other(s)’. The pronouns are impersonal, and when the speaker uses these pronouns, the spokesman excludes someone from the context, also, the spokesman distances oneself from the other(s) referred to. So, ‘their’ and ‘theirs’ can be used by the

spokesman to create distance, but also to imply two groups, namely ‘us’ and ‘them’ relating to Othering presented above.

## **2.9 Conjunctions**

The study of the use of conjunctions in Clinton’s speech is highly relevant because it is a constructed discourse where the words and phrases are chosen with a specific purpose.

Conjunctions setup cohesion between sentence constituents, there are two types of conjunctions, namely: coordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

### **2.9.1 The coordinating conjunction ‘but’**

Coordinating conjunctions combine constituents which are at the same syntactic level. There are three main coordinators in English: ‘and’, ‘but’ and ‘or’. These coordinators can link words, clauses and phrases, also, coordinating conjunctions link conjoints to form a compound unit. A compound unit typically consists of two or more conjoints linked together by a coordinator (Bache, 2000). The thesis only focuses on the use of ‘but’, as we find it relevant to look at the contrastive nature of this conjunction, an example,

a Republican talked about healthcare, but argued in favor of legal abortion.

In the example, ‘but’ illustrates that Republicans may not normally be in favor of legal abortion, so ‘but’ functions as a coordinator, making a contrastive link between the two clauses.

### **2.9.2 The subordinating conjunction ‘if’**

Normally, subordinating conjunctions are used to link the clause to the sentence, and they are a link in the main clause. Subordinating conjunctions place clauses at different levels in relation to one another (Bache, 2000, p. 6), so in contrast to coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions link constituents which have a different syntactic status. Subordinating conjunctions are a bit different from coordinators in linking adverbials, as subordinators “occur in a fixed position at the front of their clause” (Bibler et al. 2015, p. 225).

The conjunction 'if' initiates to conditional sentences or clauses. Bache (2000, p. 111) states, "[a] conditional sentence contains a subclause, realized as an adverbial, which expresses some condition for the speaker's message in the matrix". Conditional sentences are used to express, for instance, the speaker's attitude when making a statement. The main clause and the subclause are highly intertwined by a subordination conjunction, which can function as a conditional clause and express the speaker's ideology implicitly. Therefore, one of the focuses, in the analysis, will concern conjunctions, their influence and effect in the given context, and whether or not Clinton's ideology and attitude are represented implicitly or explicitly.

### **3. Methodology**

The following section contains an introduction to the methodology of CDA and a discussion of CDA. Furthermore, there is a presentation of the methodology of Corpus Linguistics as well as Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies and the software program, AntConc, and lastly, a presentation of the analysis of our data follows. Our main analysis material is Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech from 2015. The reason behind choosing this specific text is an interest in tracing a potential development in her discourse from the beginning of her campaign to the ongoing election. In order to trace this development, we have constructed a corpus, which contains speeches from 2016 as these are newest within the discourse. Hence, to explore a potential development, we make use of the following methodologies in our analysis.

#### **3.1 CDA**

In order to get the full benefit of his three-dimensional model (section 2.1), Fairclough offers ten questions of how to do critical discourse analysis. Below is a short account of the ones relevant to the thesis' overall focus. Firstly, the focus is on the experiential, relational and expressive values of words (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 94-98), where we practice the presented theory in order to uncover ideologies rooted in words we deem as meaningful and significant in Clinton's discourse. Furthermore, the aim is also to examine social relations in communicative situations, which is primarily done by focusing on certain lexemes that say something about, for example, families, titles etc. Also, by looking at the expressive values of words we gain an insight into the specific elements of persuasion in Clinton's campaign launch discourse. Secondly, the goal is to uncover the experiential and relational values of grammatical features (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 100-104). Relating to the experiential and relational values of words, grammatical features, such as pronouns, are analyzed with focus on how the participants are involved in communicative situations. Finally, relating to the theory on conjunctions it is important to look at how simple sentences are linked together (Fairclough, 2001, p. 108). The focus here is on which connectors are used to link sentences together and their function.

### **3.1.1 Discussion of CDA**

After having established the many advantages of CDA, it is important to be aware of the general criticism of the approach. First, CDA has been criticized for not being substantial enough for the analyst to draw general conclusions on the basis of his/her work, as CDA can only regard individual occurrences. As a response, the linguist, Stubbs, offers a solution by claiming, “[a]nalyses must be comparative: individual texts must be compared with each other and with data from corpora. Analyses must not be restricted to isolated data fragments: a much wider range of data must be sampled before generalizations are made about typical language use” (Stubbs, 1997, p. 10). Stubbs thus claims that combining CDA with a quantitative methodology such as corpus linguistics results in more reliable conclusions about language, as the analytical findings are supported by statistical data. Stubbs further adds, “a much wider range of linguistic features must be studied, since varieties of language use are defined, not by individual features, but by clusters of co-occurring features: this entails the use of quantitative and probabilistic methods of text and corpus analysis” (Stubbs, 1997, p. 10). Hence, the thesis makes use of corpus linguistics in addition to CDA in order to add substance to our conclusions.

A second critique of CDA is that it has a tendency of being biased, meaning that often times the political motivation is stronger than the linguistic motivation behind the analysis. More specifically, the analysts choose some texts while ignoring others with the result of finding what they are looking for. Thus, regardless of how generally represented the tendency is, CDA analysts tend to draw broad conclusions on limited findings (Stubbs, 1997, pp. 2-3). As a response to the critique, CDA analysts correspond by stressing how the idea of the unbiased researcher is non-existing. The researcher must be critically aware of one’s stand within the field of study, and thereby also how one’s attitude affects the outcome of the analysis (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 27). In continuation, one must not be carried away and become a ‘Ghostbuster’ by reading too much into the data. Ultimately, throughout the thesis we have strived to as much aware as possible of our own position within our research and how it is founded upon our interests.

## **3.2 Corpus linguistics**

Corpus linguistics is another way of linguistically approaching written and spoken discourses. It is a quantitative approach, and unique because of its ability to fathom extensive amounts of data using

computer software. Moreover, the corpus perspective aims at describing typical rather than unique features. The reasoning behind choosing corpus linguistics is an anticipation that a specialized corpus consisting of a selection of Clinton's campaign speeches from 2016 will support the primary analysis of Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech from 2015. More specifically, comparing and contrasting the initial speech with Clinton's recent campaign discourse, enables us to investigate whether or not there are any differences and/or similarities in her discourse. Thus, this thesis makes use of a corpus-based approach, as we see corpus linguistics solely as a methodology (in contrast to corpus-driven, which views corpus linguistics as a theory). Within the corpus-based approach,

corpus evidence is brought in as an extra bonus rather than as a determining factor with respect to the analysis, which is still carried out according to pre-existing categories; although it is used to refine such categories, it is never really in a position to challenge them as there is no claim made that they arise directly from the data (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p. 66).

Corpus linguistics is not the main interest of the thesis, but rather meant as a supplement to the overall focus on the Campaign Launch Speech. Nonetheless, adding corpus linguistics methodology to CDA allows us to enrich the qualitative analysis with a quantitative angle. Therefore, using statistical data, the analysis becomes of a more objective nature, and allows us to draw broader conclusions.

### **3.2.1 Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies**

Partington et al. (2013, p. 10) defines Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (henceforth CADS) as follows, "that set of studies into the form and/or function of language as *communicative discourse* which incorporate the use of computerised corpora in their analyses". In addition, CADS merges standard discourse analysis with contemporary computer software to analyse data. The fundamental idea of CADS, "is the uncovering, in the discourse type under study, of what we might call *non-obvious meaning*, that is, meaning which might not be readily available to naked-eye perusal" (Partington et al., 2013, p. 11). Thus, CADS can be viewed as a scientific approach to language studies, and when comparing to CDA, the two approaches are similar in the sense of operating in a

qualitative manner, but CADS, “[u]nlike CDA, [...] has no overarching political agenda and has very different attitudes to and traditions of how language data should be managed” (Partington et al., 2013, p. 10). Compared to CDA, CADS is a more objective methodology, which successfully combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches to the analysis of discourse.

### **3.2.1.1 Specialized corpus**

A corpus consists of texts for linguistic analysis, usually digitized in order to use computer software for analysis. Corpora come in many different forms, are constructed for different purposes, and can be used for different analyses. To specify, “computer corpora are rarely haphazard collections of textual material: they are generally assembled with particular purposes in mind, and are often assembled to be (informally speaking) *representative* of some language or text type” (McEnery et al., 2006, p. 4). In the case of the thesis, we have constructed a specialized corpus containing campaign speeches made by Clinton in 2016. The corpus is specialized because the texts have been chosen specifically to illustrate Clinton’s newest campaign discourse. To elaborate, the specialized corpus has been assembled to represent certain linguistic tendencies and all with Clinton as the sender of the discourses. We have transcribed ten of Clinton’s speeches from 2016.

We use the specialized corpus to trace a development in her discourse from the time of the campaign launch to some of the newest campaign speeches. Therefore, the Campaign Launch Speech is treated as a specialized corpus itself in the comparative part of the analysis, consequently, resulting in two specialized corpora. Thus, to avoid any misunderstandings, the thesis refers to the specialized corpora as CLS (Campaign Launch Speech) from 2015, and ClinC (Clinton Corpus) from 2016.

The reason behind creating specialized corpora is to enable us to do a comparative analysis and discussion of Clinton’s campaign discourse. This is done in order to uncover underlying structures and implicit as well as explicit ideologies. The size of the CLS is 5017 words while the size of the ClinC is 21,788 words. The different sizes of the corpora make it necessary to calculate normalized frequencies in order to do a statistical comparison, which is done in Microsoft Excel (see appendix Ac).



### 3.2.2 AntConc

AntConc is a computer software program developed by Laurence Anthony. It is used for concordancing and text analysis when dealing with corpora in corpus linguistics. The software program allows us to analyze a large amount of data represented by the specialized corpus. First of all, compared to manual analysis, this approach reduces the required time to prepare and process larger data sets. Second of all, it is beneficial for the primary analysis to support the analytical findings with substantial evidence provided by the corpus.

A central function of AntConc is to generate concordance, meaning a list of the most frequent words appearing in the corpus, and how the most frequent words appear in their context, known as 'Key Word In Context' (KWIC) (Anthony, 2014), which is extremely helpful to gain an overview of the occurring lexemes in the corpora. A second function of AntConc is the ability to seek out specific lexemes and gain information of their frequencies and their context. This allows us to 'cherry pick' data essential to our primary and secondary analyses, which is interesting to examine further both culturally and linguistically. However, it is important to keep in mind that the customized wordlist is created on the basis of the analyst's interests, and therefore, as a result of a subjective selection process.

As the corpora are of different dimensions, one cannot use the raw frequencies provided by AntConc to compare them, therefore, we have to homologize the corpora by calculating the normalized frequencies. In corpus linguistics it is standard to use the normalized frequency of occurrences per million words, which is calculated by means of the following equation:  $(\text{raw freq}/\text{rel.freq}) * 1,000,000 = \text{normalized frequency}$ . The calculations can be found in appendix Ac.

AntConc can calculate the keyness values, and we use the keyness values to statically emerge lexical patterns, and therefore there is even more focus on the microstructures by using the quantitative methodology. Keyness is proportional to the difference in relative frequencies, meaning the larger the difference in relative frequencies, the larger value of the keyness (Rayson, 2012, p. 2). AntConc can calculate keyness-value, and the technical way of producing keyness is to upload the specialized corpus and the reference corpus at the same time in AntConc, where AntConc will automatically calculate the keyness value. The key words are sorted in terms of their keyness. To

elaborate, the key-word list has the most interesting words with the highest keyness values at the top, and “the least interesting words, whose relative frequency is similar in [the two corpora], are listed at the bottom of the key-word list” (Rayson, 2012, p. 2). The keyness analysis is used to guide our analysis, and we use it to find the correlation and difference between the two frequencies. Also, since the keyness values tell us which words have the largest value, it is interesting to look at the context in which the words appear (KWIC).

### **3.3 Analysis of data**

The primary analysis focuses solely on Clinton’s Campaign Launch Speech from June, 2015. The aim here is to do a broad analysis on the basis of the established theory in order to get the best insight possible into Clinton’s visions and values represented in her initial campaign discourse. The transcript of the speech has been found on [www.time.com](http://www.time.com) and is enclosed in the thesis as appendix Aa for the sake of convenience. Subsequently, a secondary corpus analysis follows where we have constructed our own reference corpus in order to throw light on potential similarities and differences in Clinton’s campaign discourse as a whole. To trace a potential development in the discourse, the corpus has been assembled only by speeches from January to March 2016. Ideally, the corpus should have existed of all the speeches given by Clinton. Unfortunately, however, we were unable to obtain these transcripts. Therefore, the speeches have been transcribed manually and are also enclosed in the thesis as appendix Ab.

The ClinC is only ten speeches, and not all the states that Clinton has addressed are included in the ClinC – our broader conclusions are thus only based on those ten speeches in the corpus, so we need to take this factor into consideration when drawing conclusion. The speeches we have in our corpus are given in Iowa, Florida, California, New Hampshire, Ohio, South Carolina and Nevada, so a lot of states are not included. However, we spot tendencies across the speeches constituting the corpus, which argue in favor of more general conclusions about Clinton’s discourse.

In the corpus analysis, part of the findings are based on a number of key words, which are present in Clinton’s Campaign Launch Speech and therefore deemed relevant in the primary analysis.

The data used for the corpus analysis have all been treated in Excel where normalized frequencies of our key words have been calculated and according tables to illustrate the analyzed tendencies.

## 4. Analysis

The following part of the thesis consists of the analysis, which is divided into two major sections. The primary analysis focuses solely on Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech, which is further divided into the analyses of intertextuality, framing, gender, persuasive techniques, family models, pronouns and the conjunction 'but'. The secondary analysis is corpus-based, where elements from Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech are compared to her general campaign discourse represented by the ClinC.

### 4.1 Primary analysis

Briefly summed up, the Campaign Launch Speech is sectioned into six constituents; the speech introduction, the 'first fight' on economy, the 'second fight' on the strengthening of America's families, the 'third fight' on global issues, the 'fourth fight' on revitalizing Government and the American democracy, and, finally, the closing.

#### 4.1.1 Intertextuality

Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech portrays two highly interesting examples of exophoric references in regards to intertextuality. The first one is the references to the three former democratic presidents, Franklin Roosevelt, Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, while the second is in the form of a reference to *Yesterday*, The Beatles' iconic song.

##### 4.1.1.1 Franklin Roosevelt

The first reference is to President Franklin Roosevelt. In contrast to the following examples, the Roosevelt reference stands out in the sense that Clinton both refers to his specific speech about the Roosevelt concept of 'Four Freedoms'. However, simultaneously, Clinton refers to the geographical location in which her speech takes place, namely, *Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park* on Roosevelt Island in New York City.

The speech is opened by Clinton highly praising Roosevelt,

“[y]ou know, **President Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms** are a testament to our nation’s unmatched aspiration and a reminder of our unfinished work at home and abroad. His legacy lifted up a nation and inspired presidents who followed” (Aa, ll. 13-15).

To begin from one end, when talking about Roosevelt’s ‘Four Freedoms’, it is a direct link to the famous State of the Union address given by Roosevelt on January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1941. In short, the ‘Four Freedoms’ cover what FDR terms, “four essential human freedoms” (Roosevelt, 1941) these being, “freedom of speech and expression [...] freedom of every person to worship God in his own way [...] freedom from want [...] freedom from fear” (Roosevelt, 1941). By freedom of want, the President envisioned global economic understandings in order to ensure world-wide peacetime. Likewise, by freedom from fear, FDR referred to a desire of creating a world where no nation holds the armed power to “commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor” (Roosevelt, 1941). In retrospect and from a global perspective, the reasoning behind the fourth freedom can seem somewhat ironic as the U.S. was in fact first to develop the atomic bomb (with Roosevelt as president). However, the speech must be read in its context, that is, during WWII where Nazi Germany was greatly believed to possess more armed power than actually turned out to be the case.

Staying in the context of the WWII era, it is interesting to look at the ‘Four Freedoms’ in general. Naturally, Roosevelt is famous for his envision during the war, however, to what extent was Roosevelt the pioneer of this vision, and how much was he a supporter? In other words, very similarly, Clinton could have referred to the universal human rights enunciated by the UN in the wake of WWII as these express very similar visions for the world. So why does Clinton refer to Roosevelt specifically? The most obvious reason is found in him being a representative of the Democratic Party and also a well-liked one at that.

Moreover, when dealing with Roosevelt, it is near impossible not to think of ‘The New Deal’ and hence factors such as reforms, improved economy, new jobs, etc. Ultimately, this substantiates a second possible reason for Clinton to refer to FDR since these are very similar to the key issues in her own campaign launch. Thus, by opening her Campaign Launch Speech with Roosevelt as a reference point, Clinton successfully guides her audience to a pre-understanding of her political message. More specifically, without having voiced any of her own beliefs yet, she establishes an expectation among her audience of her following in the footsteps of Roosevelt. Thus, not only does Clinton establish a starting point for her own political agenda, she also harvests

credibility and popularity among Roosevelt supporters. Finally, Clinton borrows Roosevelt's structure by naming her political agenda 'The Four Fights' similar to the 'Four Freedoms'.

Lastly the park, in which Clinton gives her speech, as well as the entire urban island, is named after Roosevelt, which, on the one hand, merely emphasizes the above points. But also, by stating the fact out loud ("[to] be here in this beautiful park dedicated to Franklin Roosevelt's enduring vision of America, the nation we want to be" (Aa, ll. 10-11)), Clinton makes a direct link to her fondness of New York (appealing to her voters in New York). But, she also makes the indirect link of Roosevelt being in the New York Senate prior to his presidency, which would likewise be the case for Clinton if she becomes the next president.

#### **4.1.1.2 Bill Clinton & Barack Obama**

Clinton also refers to Bill Clinton as well as Barack Obama, in relation to the presidents who have followed the legacy of FDR. Clinton says,

"[o]ne is the man I served as Secretary of State, **Barack Obama**, and another is my husband, **Bill Clinton** (Aa, ll. 15-16).

In the case of Bill Clinton, she addresses him both as president (this is not evident from the quote presented here, but the adjective 'another' functions as an ellipsis with reference to the noun phrase 'the presidents who followed' in the preceding sentence – see appendix Aa) as well as her husband. By doing so, she stays formal in the sense of addressing him officially as any other politician (or American) ought to do, which paints a picture of her as a proper politician with respect for her peers and superiors, and ultimately former presidents. However, by also acknowledging the obvious fact that Bill Clinton is indeed her husband, she lets his political persona impact her in a positive manner, while additionally breaking the formal barrier and portraying a more feminine side of herself as a wife. In other words, she firstly carefully builds the case that she has been in as close proximity of the American presidency as one can be without actually being the president herself by living in the White House and serving the American people as First Lady. However, the statement also functions as a reference to her gender by framing herself as a wife, this will be further elaborated in section 4.1.3 on gender.

As for the case of Obama it is important to note the verb ‘serve’, which indicates a relationship highly marked by superiority as well as the acceptance of the nature of such a relation. To elaborate, by using the verb ‘serve’, Clinton emphasizes her respect for Obama as president, and thus appeals to the Americans who voted for him as president rather than her in the previous presidential election. Moreover, in the very closing of her speech, Clinton explains how she has continuously been asked the same question as of how she and Obama have been able to work together after they challenged each other in the last campaign to which she answered,

“**President Obama** asked me to serve, and I accepted because we both love our country. That’s how we do it in America” (Aa, ll. 325-326).

Interesting to note here is the indirect stress on how the love of America is stronger than political defeat as well as political disagreements, which is likewise seen in Clinton’s persistent assurance that she is running for all Americans not only the voters of the Democratic Party (Aa, l. 83). Still, what is interesting here, is why she finds it relevant to mention this potential conflict with a colleague with whom, at the end of the day, Clinton shares very similar political beliefs. What Clinton does is using Obama to substantialize a character trait of being able to work with opponents without Obama actually being her opponent, at least not at the point in time of the current campaign. Moreover, using the conjunction ‘because’ adds further information to the statement, so it is interesting that Clinton feels the need to justify her acceptance.

In closing, Clinton thus uses three specific presidential figures, all with a few minor differences in the outcome. However, in the main, they all serve the same effect (1) Clinton vouches for her credibility among the supporters of the Democratic Party as a whole, (2) Clinton successfully manages to set the political stage on which her own political values are founded before pointing these out specifically, (3) Clinton has also effectively lobbied for the former voters of former Presidents Roosevelt, Clinton and Obama – naturally it is unlikely that many of Roosevelt’s original voters are left, however, general supporters of his legacy also fall into this category. Lastly, she has planted the idea of her as president in the public mind.

Clinton concludes the complements of her potential predecessors with the following statement,

“**[b]ut**, it’s not 1941, or 1993, or even 2009. We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy” (Aa, ll. 38-39).

Interesting to note here is the coordinating conjunction ‘but’, which as mentioned earlier in the theory section functions as a contrastive link between the two linguistic units it combines. Therefore, in this case Clinton creates a contrast between the methods applied by the respective presidents to solve the problems America was faced with at the time and then the ones needed to solve the problems of contemporary America. As a result, Clinton has given her credit to the former presidents in whose legacy she will follow and is at this point ready to start presenting her own values and the key issues she is going to build her campaign on (more on the conjunction ‘but’ in section 4.1.7).

#### 4.1.1.3 The Beatles

The next example of intertextuality and its use as a persuasive technique is found in Clinton’s metaphorical reference to the Republicans as a choir performing a famous The Beatles song,

“[n]ow, there may be some **new voices** in the presidential **Republican choir**, but they’re all singing the same old song... A song called “**Yesterday**.” You know the one – all our troubles look as though they are here to stay... and **we need a place to hide away**... They believe in yesterday” (Aa, ll. 106-110).

The quote is filled with interesting aspects to look into. To start, by referring to ‘new voices’ in the Republican presidential choir, Clinton acknowledges that new politicians have emerged. However, she arguably makes the point, that they are still, in her opinion, being too traditionalistic, which is read in the intertextual reference to the title *Yesterday*. Moreover, when thinking about a choir (at least a performing one) the typical attire is marked by uniformity and every member must follow the lead of a conductor. Therefore, when drawing the imaginary picture of the Republicans as a choir, Clinton indirectly points out a critique of the conservatism the Republicans are known for by presenting them as individuals all dependent on the general traditional conservative mindset of the party (metaphorically realized by the conductor). Moreover, the choice of the lyric extract ‘we need



a place to hide away' indicates a belief of the Republicans hiding from the nation's problems rather than solving them, which is in straight contrast to how Clinton presents her own visions,

"we're [Americans] problem solvers, not deniers. We don't hide from change, we harness it" (Aa, ll. 102-103).

Hence, from this quote the definition of an American is paramount to the definition of a Democrat. The choir metaphor thus seems like an attempt to ridicule a said Republican lack of autonomy and innovative thinking, as in contrast to the Democratic Party, according to Clinton. Very interesting to note here though, is the Republican figure of Donald Trump who by no means is a cookie-cutter example of the typical Republican. However, to keep the context in mind, Trump did not give his Campaign Launch Speech until three days after Clinton had given hers.

Lastly, the choice of song serves more than one metaphorical reference, as mentioned above, the title *Yesterday* provides a critique of the opposite party's overall ideology. Nonetheless, equally interesting to note is how Clinton brings up The Beatles in her Campaign Launch Speech. From an overall perspective, the reference to the band assists two main persuasive effects. First of all, The Beatles is an immense music phenomenon that most generations of Americans know, or know of. Therefore, by mentioning The Beatles, Clinton offers a folksy aspect of her political persona, which appeals to the unceremonious voters, and also voters in general who like to feel they 'know' their president on a more personal level. Regardless, The Beatles-reference also functions as a slightly different metaphorical reference. When The Beatles made themselves known, they were viewed as highly controversial and, in part, they were contributors to a general change in the music industry at the time. Indirectly, Clinton stands for the same tendency, more specifically, she openly advocates progress and renewal; while she is running to be the first female President of the United States, which ultimately is a massive change to the presidential traditions as it has been known up until this day. Nonetheless, this might also simply be an appeal to the voters of Clinton's own age group, which can be an attempt to win voters from that generation.

#### **4.1.2 Framing**

Moving on to the aspect of framing, which is a major factor in Clinton's discourse and her communication of her values. As mentioned in the theory section, frames are mental structures that

we use to compartmentalize and thereby understand the world. Frames help us make sense of situations and once a frame is created it can be very hard to change. Nevertheless, sometimes we have to change our frames as we are placed in new situations and experience things that force us to alter our ideas of the world, this is also referred to as reframing.

Clinton works very directly to change the frame of what we believe a President of the United States to be. If she wants to be elected president, it is paramount that she succeeds in changing or adding to that frame. As there has never before been a woman President of the United States, the common narrative or frame is that a president is a man, a strong father figure, who protects the nation. Therefore, in this campaign, Clinton is using a range of implicit messages to try to reframe that narrative. She has to create a narrative about herself that fits with the narrative of a president, while also slowly changing the existing narrative of what a president is, or perhaps more importantly who a president is.

During her Campaign Launch Speech, she evokes different frames in order to make sure that all her listeners get as accurate an insight into her beliefs, goals and visions as possible. Frames work implicitly within the mind, and are evoked through language, that means that we are never consciously aware of the frames (unless we really look for them, as in this analysis). They slip in and out of our minds whenever they are triggered by something we hear or see that we associate with the frames. Therefore, framing is a powerful tool when constructing political speeches, and thus the frames used in Clinton's speech are meant to have very specific effects on the listeners.

Clinton uses a range of different frames, where some of the strongest are the family frame, the patriotic frame, the personal frame, the battle frame, the Republican frame and the prosperity frame.

The family frame is one of the frames she uses the most. She uses it when she talks about her own family, but also when she talks about the many American families, and the United States as one big family. By evoking the family frame, she becomes closer to her listeners, as she is implicitly saying 'I am one of you. You are my family', but she is also making sure that when she talks about family, everyone knows exactly what kind of values she is referring to. The frame is evoked when she uses words such as 'family', 'mother' and 'children, and is deeply intertwined with the notion of George Lakoff's family models.

Looking at the speech as a whole, Clinton switches between using the plural nouns ‘children’ and ‘kids’ - the noun ‘kid’ is informal while ‘child’ is formal. Therefore, when Clinton uses both words in her speech, we must assume that she is doing it to achieve a certain effect, namely, to make her arguments more appealing to the listeners.

Clinton uses the noun ‘children’ seven times in her Campaign Launch Speech. She mostly uses it in the introductory part of the speech, when she is presenting her visions and goals for America while also creating her personal narrative, but she also uses it in both her ‘fourth fight’ concerning the reforming of Government, and in the speech conclusion where she asks people to join her in her vision for America. Thus, ‘children’ always occurs in connection with the personal pronoun ‘I’. Clinton says,

“**I** believe that success isn’t measured by how much the wealthiest Americans have, but by how many **children** climb out of poverty” (Aa, ll. 128-129)

and,

“[b]ut **I**’ve spent my life fighting for **children**, families, and our country” (Aa, ll. 339-340).

Therefore, when she uses ‘children’, she is creating a narrative about herself as a caring and nurturing woman.

Clinton uses ‘kids’ three times in the speech; one time in the introductory part of the Campaign Launch Speech and two times in the part about her ‘first fight’. When she uses the plural noun ‘kids’, it is most commonly in connection with the pronoun ‘our’, thus making all the kids of America her kids. She says,

“[t]oo many of **our kids** never have the chance to learn and thrive as they should and as we need them to” (Aa, ll. 225-226)

Furthermore, it is also possible to argue that by using the more informal noun ‘kids’, she is positioning herself on the same level as every American, making herself more human to her voters – she becomes one of the people.

Lastly, she is also relying very heavily on the family frame when she mentions her daughter, Chelsea, her granddaughter, Charlotte, and her mother. By doing so, she is underlining that she is no different from the average American. She also has a family to protect, and therefore her voters can trust her to protect their families as well.

She uses the patriotic frame when she is underlining her love for her country, and when she is talking about her vision for America. This ensures a patriotic feeling among her listeners, which gives her speech an element of pathos, and makes it easier to win over the voters. She especially uses this frame when she talks about the ‘fundamental American belief’ (Aa, ll. 17-19). Furthermore, the patriotic frame is triggered by words and phrases such as ‘serving’, ‘honor’, ‘nation’, ‘vision of America’ and ‘our country’.

Throughout the Campaign Launch Speech, Clinton is constantly framing herself, meaning that she is creating an idea of herself within the minds of her listeners. In that way, whenever people think or hear of Clinton as presidential candidate, a certain frame will be triggered in their minds. She is thus creating a narrative about herself as a strong, hardworking and compassionate woman with the abilities to lead America. Whether or not people buy into this narrative is, of course, out of her hands, but if the narrative is strong, it is more likely that people will believe it. This is possibly why the Campaign Launch Speech’s introduction is so long, because she has to make sure that her narrative or frame is as strong as possible. She uses words such as ‘family’, ‘hardworking’, ‘security’ and ‘prosperity’ over and over in order to make sure that these words are associated with her as a political figure. In other words, it seems as if she wants these words to be part of her frame.

She also relies very heavily on the battle frame. This frame is triggered by the words ‘champion’, ‘fighting’, ‘win’, ‘battles’ and the phrase

“I’ll **wage** and **win** four **fight**s for you” (Aa, l. 174).

The whole structure of the speech with the ‘four fights’ evokes this frame. Clinton and the Democrats are participating in the battle for America against the Republicans, and Clinton makes it sound very much as if it is good against evil. By using this frame, she creates a certain feeling amongst her voters – a feeling of patriotism, so this frame is deeply linked with the patriotic frame, as it has some of the same elements.

This thus leads to a further discussion of how she frames the Republicans. She makes the Republicans out to be bad people who do not want the best for America – in fact, they want to ruin America,

“[f]undamentally, they reject what it takes to build an inclusive economy. It takes an inclusive society. What I once called “a village” that has a place for everyone” (Aa, ll. 125-126).

She also ridicules them when she compares their politics with The Beatles’ song *Yesterday* (see section 4.1.1.3). She thus creates a very large cleft between Democrats and Republicans, but then she turns around and says,

“I’m not running to be a President only for those who already agree with me. I want to be a President for all Americans” (Aa, ll. 349-351),

framing herself as a merciful leader, who wants to help everyone, good or bad, because she wants what is best for the nation. She thereby arguably creates a very black and white world, where the Democrats are good and the Republicans are evil, and there is no in-between.

Lastly, there is the prosperity frame, which is concerned with the economy of America. This frame is evoked by words such as ‘jobs’, ‘wages’, ‘paid leave’ and ‘health insurance’. These are possibly the words that Clinton would like us to think about, when her financial plan comes to mind. A large part of her speech is about economy, as that is the most important thing if a nation is to prosper. Therefore, she has to have a very strong financial plan, if she is to be president. She also has to make sure that her financial plan is framed in the right way, so that her voters know exactly what to expect from her, and that is arguably why she spends so much time on it in the Campaign Launch Speech.

Clinton is thus both using existing frames to make sure her listeners can follow her arguments, but she is also creating new ones in order to better position herself as the next President of the United States. She uses all these frames as part of a bigger frame, which is the frame of Clinton as president. She thus wants the voters to think of her in a specific way, and she uses frames to do so.

### 4.1.3 Gendered discourse

The following section on gendered discourse in Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech is divided into three parts; the speech introduction, the 'second fight' and the speech closing, since these are the parts where gendered discourse is used the most.

In the introductory part of the Campaign Launch Speech, Clinton says,

"[o]ne man I served as Secretary of State, **Barack Obama**, and another is my husband, **Bill Clinton**" (Aa ll. 15-16).

As stated in section 4.1.1.2, by mentioning her relations with the two Presidents of the United States, Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, she is implicitly asking her audience to consider her political career, in order to emphasize her experience with different aspects of politics.

As First Lady, Clinton was very controversial. She had a hard time adjusting to the traditional ways of being a First Lady, so she quickly became involved in policy making in the field of health care reform, and she also had great influence on her husband's decisions and opinions (according to her memoirs). Already in 2001, Clinton became Senator from New York, and during the Obama administration Clinton advanced to Secretary of State. Thus, throughout her political career, she has slowly planted the idea of herself as president in the minds of the public – and now she is running for president again, and possibly succeeding partly because of her strong narrative. She thus mentions her political career in the speech in order to induce this narrative within the listeners. In continuation, Clinton has fought for many years to change the narrative that first was created about her as a both an unruly woman, a Madonna and a bitch (Lim, 2009, pp. 254-267). She was unlikeable because she took charge, because she did not want to go about her role as First Lady traditionally. She was hardworking, stubborn and to the point – very masculine in her behavior. However, as her political career advanced she slowly began creating a different narrative. She has created a narrative of herself as a strong, righteous and embracing leader, who is willing and able to protect and serve her country.

Furthermore, Clinton might have to act in a more stereotypical masculine than feminine way in order to be in politics, and therefore she might perform different genders in order to highlight certain qualities that she wants to be part of her narrative. In lines 151-152, Clinton invites her audience to see her as a mother and a protector of the weak by saying,

“[a]s a young girl, I signed up at my Methodist Church to babysit the children of Mexican farmworkers” (Aa, ll. 151-152).

Here, she performs in a feminine way, possibly, in order to benefit from the qualities associated with femininity, such as compassion and caring. Furthermore, her language underlines that she is performing as a stereotypical woman when she says ‘as a young girl’ and talks about babysitting, but her language is still not overtly woman-like (using Robin Lakoff’s definitions). Furthermore, she talks about how she, as a young lawyer, provided better conditions for farm workers children (Aa, ll. 152-154), and how she worked for the Children’s Defense Fund (Aa, ll. 155-157), which again is tied in with her performing stereotypically as a woman to show how caring she is.

In the ‘second fight’ in the Campaign Launch Speech, when Clinton is talking about women’s issues, one would perhaps expect her to use women’s language and generally have a feminist approach, but these tendencies are, however, not present in the Campaign Launch Speech. She addresses these issues using neutral language which results in her message coming across as serious and factual. Following Robin Lakoff’s argument concerning the irrationality associated with the use of women’s language, if she chooses to use women’s language to address women’s issues, it is highly probable that her statements would not be taken seriously, because, according to Robin Lakoff, a statement delivered in women’s language is often not considered very credible or serious. Therefore, when talking about these issues, Clinton also has to be a sort of ‘neutral gender’, so that her statements can seem as objective as possible. She also does not frame these issues as women’s issues, instead she talks about them more broadly as family issues,

“[a]nd it is way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job – and women of color make even less. This isn’t a women’s issue. It’s a **family issue**” (Aa, ll. 238-240),

thereby making it everyone’s issue. By making people believe that women’s issues are family issues it becomes more likely that they will be taken seriously. This seems to be a strategy commonly employed by women in politics. In a study on women’s political discourse from 2005 made by Molly Mayhead and Brenda Marshall, it becomes evident that women in politics are forced to have different approaches than their male counterparts in order to survive in their field.

They are forced to use men's language to display power, they often have to frame their political issues differently in order to be taken seriously, and they have to appear very cold and cynical in order to be respected (2005, pp. 210-212). These tactics are also to some extent used by Clinton. To specify, Clinton is deeply invested in issues concerning health care, education and childcare, which is also reflected in her Campaign Launch Speech. Clinton says,

“[t]his isn't a women's issue. It's a **family issue**. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue. Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health problem get help is a family issue” (Aa, ll. 248-251),

thus defining these issues more broadly as family issues. Women might be forced to use neutral language and behave as men in order to be taken seriously, but when it comes to their political agendas and ways of achieving their political goals, they go about it a bit differently. According to Mayhead and Marshall, when possible, women politicians tend to deal with traditional politics in untraditional ways, which can ultimately change the way politics is done, “[y]et, their [women's] presence in the U.S. House, in the senate chamber, and in the state house, as well as other political bodies, has begun to facilitate significant modification in the governing process” (2005, p. 4). This is also seen in Clinton's 'fourth fight', where she plans to reform Government and revitalize democracy. Thus, even though Clinton does not use women's language or perform stereotypically as a woman without an ulterior motive, she is still addressing politics in a way, which is typical for women in politics.

Moreover, Clinton of course works for the entire nation, but she also wants to be defender of the weak and marginalized. In her Campaign Launch Speech, she talks about women, immigrants, children, workers and single parents, and she wants to be their champion – to help and protect them. She talks about a single mom raising three kids, and what she can do for her (ll. 169-173), and how she wants to be her champion,

“I want to be her **champion** and you **champion**. If you'll give me the chance, I'll wage and win Four Fights for you” (Aa, ll. 173-174).



What is interesting here is that she calls herself ‘champion’, which is a word typically associated with masculinity and also with the battle frame – just as the word ‘president’, so, if Clinton can convince the voters that she is a champion, she is also implicitly convincing them that she can become a president. According to the study made by Mayhead and Marshall, women’s political discourse used to be women, for women (2005, p. 209), where the focus was primarily on women’s issues, but over time this has changed and women’s political discourse is now much more complex. This is also what we see when looking at Clinton’s Campaign Launch Speech – there are many factors at play, and Clinton, in this case, is definitely not narrating herself as a woman for women.

Looking at the closing of the Campaign Launch Speech, it contains several references to Clinton’s gender. As mentioned earlier, Clinton uses the speech conclusion to ask people to support her vision of America and join her campaign. As with the speech introduction, the conclusion very much focuses on her personal narrative, which she uses to convince the voters that she is the next President of the United States. Clinton says,

“[w]ell, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But I will be the youngest **woman** President in the history of the United States! And the first **grandmother** as well” (Aa, ll. 344-345),

here she talks about her gender using neutral language. She, furthermore, downplays the fact that she might be the first woman president and puts focus on her age instead. By doing so, she is implicitly advocating equality between the genders, implying that she does not want to win the election just because people want to promote progress and elect the first woman president – she wants to win because her vision for America is a good vision. She then mentions that she will be the first grandmother to be president, and thereby again implicitly she is saying that she will be the first woman president, but without actually saying it.

She continues by saying,

“[a]nd one additional advantage: You won’t see my hair turn white in the White House - I’ve been coloring it for years” (Aa, ll. 347-348),

which really stands out from all of her other statements. She is, of course, using humor in order to show that she is not so self-important and that she is just like everybody else. Again, it seems as if she tries to appear more like a normal citizen in order to gain the trust of her voters, but she emphasizes her femininity. Here, she might use her femininity to become more likable. She says, I am a person, I am a woman, and I have flaws, I am vain, just like everyone else. She continues by saying,

“[a]nd along the way, I’ll just let you in on this little secret. I won’t get everything right. Lord knows I’ve made my share of mistakes” (Aa, ll. 352-353).

Showing that she is imperfect emphasizes her fallibility. Moreover, in relation to this, an interesting note is that Clinton always wears trouser suits when she is making public appearances, which is typically associated with masculinity, and she thus benefits from the positive stereotypical traits typically associated with masculinity, such as strength and clout.

As mentioned earlier, Clinton refers to her mother a number of times, or to the narrative she is creating about her mother. She tells the story of her mother’s childhood and life, how she was abandoned by her parents and ended up working as a housemaid, and, most importantly, how she never gave up. She tells the story of a strong mother, who never stopped believing in people, and, as mentioned earlier, she says,

“[I]ike so much else in my life, I got this from my **mother**” (Aa, l. 358).

She thus identifies with her mother, or with the narrative she has told about her mother, and by doing so, she implicitly tells the listeners that she is a strong woman too, and therefore they can put their trust in her to protect and believe in their country. She underlines that she is persistent, hardworking and compassionate – the very ideals that her campaign draws on. She combines this with a story of how her mother witnessed the day when women were finally able to vote,

“[s]he was born on June 4, 1919 — before women in America had the right to vote. But on that very day, after years of struggle, Congress passed the Constitutional Amendment that would change that forever” (Aa, ll. 369-371),

and yet again she is adding to the narrative about herself as president, implicitly asking people to vote for a woman president.

Clinton, moreover, evokes the family frame by talking about her mother, daughter and granddaughter,

“I wish my mother could have been with us longer. I wish she could have seen **Chelsea** become a mother herself. I wish she could have met **Charlotte**” (Aa, ll. 378-379).

She again uses this specific frame to become more likable by talking about her family, but she also mentions four generations of women, and each generation has and will experience a different way of suppressing or expressing their gender. She continues by saying that she wants an America

“[w]here we don’t leave anyone out, or anyone behind” (Aa, l. 382),

she thus wants an America where women are not suppressed because of their gender. Furthermore, the use of the proper names of her daughter and granddaughter is a strong rhetorical tool, which is likely used with the intention of capturing the listener's attention and to show familiarity which the listener can relate to.

Clinton ends the Campaign Launch Speech by saying,

“[a]n America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States” (Aa, ll. 383-384),

thus, underlining that if she wins the election and becomes president, there will finally be true equality and she will have changed the narrative.

#### **4.1.4 Persuasive techniques**

The analysis now turns its focus to persuasive techniques in Clinton’s campaign launch discourse. First, this will be done in relation to her ‘first fight’ on the economy and then in relation to the ‘third fight’ on global issues.

To start, the presidential candidate presents her ‘first fight’, that is, her desire to create an economy that makes allowances for what she terms everyday Americans, and thus not merely the Americans at the top making the most profit. Moreover, Clinton lays her case on the basis of wanting to recover the lost meaning of the middle class and to promote up-ward mobility for the poor. She then stops herself with a disclaimer,

“[d]o I think it will be easy? Of course not” (Aa, l. 182),

thus Clinton acknowledges that changing the scene of America’s economy is not going to be easy. However, with persuasive techniques in mind, it is interesting how Clinton continues her discourse after her negation,

“[b]ut, here’s the good news: There are allies for change everywhere **who** know we can’t stand by while inequality increases, wages stagnate, and the promise of America dims. We should welcome the support of all Americans **who** want to go forward together with us.

There are public officials **who** know Americans need a better deal.

Business leaders **who** want higher pay for employees, equal pay for women and no discrimination against the LGBT community either.

There are leaders of finance **who** want less short-term trading and more long-term investing.

There are union leaders **who** are investing their own pension funds in putting people to work to build tomorrow’s economy. We need everyone to come to the table and work with us” (Aa, ll. 183-191).

What Clinton does here is to follow a repetitive pattern by six times in a row using the somewhat same sentence construction. More specifically, Clinton repeatedly uses a restrictive ‘who-clause’ to modify the coherent head in the noun phrases in question – thus, ‘public officials’ is modified by ‘who know Americans need a better deal’ and ‘leaders of finance’ is likewise modified by ‘who want less short-term trading and more long-term investing’, and so on. The essence of a restrictive clause is to add indispensable meaning to the discourse, and therefore it is interesting to take a closer look at the effect it has when Clinton makes use of six similar ones (or at least all of which beginning with the pronoun ‘who’). First of all, the act of repetition is a classic rhetoric tool with the function of adding emphasis to what is being repeated, hence, the restrictive ‘who’-clauses in

this case. Therefore, by repeating the same discursive pattern, Clinton successfully draws added attention to the specific modifications she refers to, which we will look more into now.

When the presidential candidate modifies ‘allies for change’ with ‘who know we can’t stand by while inequality increases, wages stagnate, and the promise of America dims’, then all who share this belief automatically fall into the social group, which Clinton has termed ‘allies for change’. Thus, as Clinton defines this as good news, being an ‘ally for change’ is indeed a compliment and a step in the right direction if one is a Clinton supporter.

Next, when Clinton talks about supporting and welcoming all Americans, it is not a reference to all people holding American citizenship, but rather to all Americans ‘who want to go forward together with us’. In this way, the presidential candidate excludes members otherwise identified as Americans from this elite group she has created and is now complementing. The perlocutionary effect is thus that the recipients of Clinton’s discourse who identify with the type of American being described is likely to feel flattered by the speech seeing as they belong to a defined sub-group of main society.

Moreover, Clinton lobbying for the mainstream working-class Americans is not unusual, however, it is interesting how the candidate continues with the same linguistic pattern when talking about ‘public officials’, ‘business leaders’, ‘leaders of finance’ and ‘union leaders’. The outcome is without a doubt in Clinton’s favor, as the holders of these positions, previously in the Campaign Launch Speech, have been criticized of doing the opposite of helping to improve the American economy compared to the middle class American. Nonetheless, if people in the positions referred to in any way feel that they can relate to Clinton’s restrictive clauses, then they might be flattered as well by Clinton’s praise of them, and ultimately the chances of them placing their votes on her have been improved.

All in all, a general consequence of the above use of the restrictive ‘who’-clauses is that Clinton has created a social group realized by individuals who fit the criteria she has set up and who also feel complemented by the presidential candidate. Moreover, regarding the people who do not at the time of the discourse fit into the restrictive nature of the group, are in turn handed the criteria required for membership, which gives them the opportunity to, metaphorically speaking, join the group by altering their behavior to comply with the norm Clinton has provided.

Furthermore, Clinton uses the social group she has created as a reference point throughout the remaining part of the Campaign Launch Speech on the ‘first fight’. Clinton uses phrases such as

“[w]e will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs...” (Aa, l. 200),

“[w]e will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation...” (Aa, l. 202)

and

“[w]e will make America the clean superpower of the 21<sup>st</sup> century” (Aa, l. 204)

(for a full overview see Appendix Aa). As a consequence, supporters of Clinton feel they are part of the component needed for change which leaves them with a sense of membership and importance, while for Clinton it means more people to help do the required footwork for America to evolve in the direction she wants.

In conclusion, Clinton successfully, by use of flatter and seduction, maintains the desired behavior in the voters who are already carrying it out, and, at the same time trying to convince others to follow the same path.

Moving on to the ‘third fight’, which focuses on America’s position in the global world, and hence Clinton’s vision for the country’s future position.

Similar to the findings above, Clinton again makes use of a repetitive linguistic pattern with the effect of emphasizing her point. In this part of the Campaign Launch Speech, the presidential candidate underlines her vision for America in relation to a number of particular contemporary global issues, she states,

“[n]o **other country** on Earth is better positioned to thrive in the 21st century. **No other country** is better equipped to meet traditional threats from countries like Russia, North Korea, and Iran – and to deal with the rise of new powers like China.

**No other country** is better prepared to meet emerging threats from cyber attacks, transnational terror networks like ISIS, and diseases that spread across oceans and continents” (Aa, ll. 264- 268).

As stated, the repetitive pattern, of three times in a row starting her sentences with the same subject realized by the negated noun phrase ‘no other country’, is a tool for Clinton to accentuate her point.

Moreover, also in relation to the above analysis, one perlocutionary effect of the statement is the feeling of flatter and pride among the recipients of the speech. To elaborate, by using the negated form of the noun phrase, Clinton sets up a reality of other countries being inferior to America when it comes to facing the world's global challenges. Ultimately, framing America in this way is a massive compliment to nations as a whole, and thus, a statement minded directly at the patriotic and nationalistic perception the individual recipient has to think of him- or herself as an American. Furthermore, relating to the patriotic frame, the use of the noun phrase 'no other country' creates an in-group cohesion among Americans, where all other nationalities have been excluded as out-group members. Thus one can argue that Clinton's intended perlocutionary effect is for the American people to take a stand and realize that, as a country, they must act on these issues, given that they are, as Clinton puts it, the best country for the job.

Another point to further support the argument is found in Clinton's phrasing of duty enlisted Americans,

"when our **brave** men and women come home from war or finish their service, **I**'ll see to it that they get not just the thanks of a grateful nation, but the care and benefits they've earned" (Aa, l. 274).

Several aspects are interesting to note here, first is the modifying adjective 'brave', which universally is a positive personal trait to be associated with, and thus a compliment. Furthermore, by using the personal pronoun 'I', Clinton shows dedication towards assuring the American people that it is important to her specifically that people who serve America are properly rewarded for it. Moreover, the quote is subsequent to Clinton's affirmation of America's strong military,

"[a]s a member of the **Armed Services Committee**, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today's threats and tomorrow's" (Aa, ll. 272-273).

Therefore, it is arguable that the intended perlocutionary effect of the last quote is to communicate her massive experience with the U.S Military and Armed Services Committee and thus to emphasize her ability to be in a position of power.

On a completely different note, in the introductory part of the Campaign Launch Speech, Clinton criticizes the Republican presidential candidates of not listening to scientific

experts (Aa, ll. 115-116). Regardless, in the above quote, Clinton offers absolutely no scientific or any other kind of proof for her claims of America being in a better position to deal with the above list of global issues compared to every other country on the planet. There is more than one likely explanation as to why that is the case.

First of all, as the speech is her Campaign Launch Speech, the predominant part of her listeners is already likely to be Clinton-supporters. Therefore, they already regard her as candid and are not likely to question her on the supportive evidence of her claims (as it would more likely be the case in a political debate with more political ideologies involved in the discourse). Therefore, it is not necessary for Clinton to go into more details, because the majority of her recipients already trust her enough not to question her on her facts.

Second of all, as stated in the theory section, an important factor of persuasive rhetoric is not so much to inform as it is to make people believe. Hence, in reality, whether or not Clinton's claims do or do not seem credible is not of the essence here. To be more specific, all Clinton needs to accomplish is to create a scenario where as many Americans as possible place their votes on her because she made them believe that an America, with her as president, is the best chance of solving most serious contemporary global issues and threats.

Thirdly, as also mentioned in the theory section, intelligibility is a key factor as well when talking about persuasive rhetoric. Therefore, since these global issues are all rather complex and not so easily comprehended, Clinton might deliberately leave the more technical argumentation out of her discourse in consideration to the listeners who might not know the ropes of all the details at play in each global issue.

Lastly, talking about potential threats such a transnational terror, cyber attacks, etc. are heavy subjects, which might also be a reason as to why Clinton does not go into more detail on the matters. Instead, she places them in a positive light by concluding her discourse on her 'third fight' with the comment,

“[t]here are a lot of trouble spots in the world, **but** there's a lot of good news out there too” (Aa, ll. 283-284).

Here, we are dealing with the coordinating conjunction 'but'. What Clinton actually does, is acknowledging that serious matters are going on, but now is not the time nor the place to be having that debate, as the sole reason for bringing it up is for Clinton to confirm that she knows these are



factors to be aware of, and that she has a plan for how to take action. This is furthermore supported by the way in which Clinton talks about her previous experience with global ‘hot topics’,

“I’ve stood up to adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel. I was in the Situation Room on the day we got bin Laden” (Aa, ll. 276-277).

Clinton, thus underlines, that she is not new in the position of being involved in major global issues, and she is indeed the right candidate for job as President of the United States of America.

In conclusion, through flatter and seduction, Clinton creates a national in-group relation among all Americans asking them to be aware of the issues in the surrounding world and urging them to take action – when it comes to voting Clinton for president. Furthermore, in referring to her previous national and political positions, as well as, once again using flatter and seduction, Clinton indirectly appoints herself eligible for American presidency.

#### **4.1.5 Family Models**

In her ‘second fight’, Clinton focuses on initiatives minded on the strengthening of America’s families, which makes it relevant to look at the family models presented in the theory. In broad terms, this part of the Campaign Launch Speech can be divided into three main issues, that is, (1) economic issues, (2) the issue of gender equality and (3) the issue of ethnic discrimination and discrimination against sexual orientation.

Clinton begins her presentation on family issues by establishing that American families are forced to deal with new challenges in contemporary society (Aa, ll. 236-237). Briefly summed up, Clinton advocates the right to earn paid sick days, to look forward to retirement rather than feeling anxious about it, to rely on one’s health care to be substantial, and, also, she promotes paid family leave both in regards to newborns as well as illness of close relatives (Aa, ll. 238-245). All of these cases fall under Clinton’s financial policy, but at the same time, they also represent examples of the Nurturant Parent model. To elaborate, the whole idea of applying the two family models to American politics is founded in the viewing of society, at large, as a metaphorical parent figure. Therefore, when Clinton brings up aspects, such as, health care, family leave and paid sick days, she expresses her socialistic ideological vision of society. In other words, society is represented as metaphorical nurturant parent, caring for its citizens – metaphorically viewed as its

children. In contrast, a supporter of the Strict Father model would never stand by utterances as the ones Clinton generates above, but would rather present wishes of less public interference with society's individuals, which would be the Republican version of the family model.

Next is the issue of gender inequality, where Clinton makes the case that gender inequality in regards to unequal pay is a problem well over-due. Interestingly enough, in contrast to previous and historic movements against gender inequality, the presidential candidate argues that this is in fact not an issue specific to the female gender (as seen in section 4.1.3), she says,

"This isn't a women's issue. It's a family issue. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue. Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health problem get help is a family issue" (Aa, ll. 248-251).

When Clinton states that unequal pay between men and women is a family issue, the specific meaning can be interpreted in different ways. On one level, the locutionary value of the utterance is quite simply that it is an issue, which affects families on a general level across America. However, when Clinton further places the issue in alignment with other issues, such as, unequal incarceration rates, addictions and mental health problems, she creates a link with other social taboos that are not at all gender specific. This is highly interesting, as it is now arguable that the illocutionary value is that problems relating to minority groups ought to be problems for the entire society and not specific to the individual minority alone. This is further supported by the manner in which Clinton closes the topic of families, namely by saying,

"these [diversity, openness, and devotion to human rights and freedom] are also qualities that prepare us well for the demands of a world that is more interconnected than ever before" (Aa, ll. 260-261).

In other words, with this in mind, Clinton thus argues that it is a common national responsibility to take the issues of the minorities, or other social groups that one is not a part of, into consideration (in some positions women are minority groups, however, it is arguable whether or not women can be termed a minority in the field of work as a whole). Therefore, one could argue that the perlocutionary effect of the above statement thus is for the recipients of the speech to become more

aware of the need for solutions to problems that they are not necessarily involved directly in themselves. Finally, this is typical Nurturant Parent model ideology, a problem for an individual becomes a problem for the entire country at large. As presented in the theory, caring, nurture and common responsibility are vastly at play when talking about the Nurturant Parent model and ultimately also in Clinton's campaign launch discourse.

Lastly, Clinton discusses the aspects of ethnic discrimination and discrimination against sexual orientation in relation to American family issues. She says,

“we should offer **hard-working, law-abiding** immigrant families a path to citizenship. Not second-class status” (Aa, ll. 253-254).

Interesting to note about this quote is the ambiguity it holds in regards to the two family models. More specifically, from one perspective, the statement once again supports Clinton's progressive political persona and the Nurturant Parent model in the sense of her wanting society to be more inclusive of ethnic minorities and individuals who are at the time of the discourse, according to Clinton, of second-class status. However, very important to notice here is the modifying adjectives Clinton uses to define exactly what immigrant families she is referring to. In more detail, the scenario the presidential candidate creates in her discourse does not involve all immigrant families who are offered 'second-class status', but only the 'hard-working' and 'law-abiding' ones. A pure Nurturant Parent model discourse would arguably be even more inclusive concerning immigrant families in general than what Clinton exhibits here. In fact, setting up criteria in the manner that she does is rather a reflection leaning towards Strict Father discourse. To elaborate, as was also presented in the theory, the Strict Father model operates with the ideology of punishment and reward. Therefore, it is arguable that the above statement resembles Strict Father discourse more than Nurturant Parent discourse, because Clinton wants to reward the immigrants who fulfill her behavioral requirements by awarding them American citizenship, while punishing those who do not by leaving them with second-class status.

Furthermore, Clinton moves on to talk about the LGBT community,

“we should ban discrimination against **LGBT Americans** and **their families** so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else” (Aa, ll. 255-266).

All together, the Republican Party is not known for being the front runners when it comes to gay rights, whereas the Democratic Party, on the other hand, is. When talking about George Lakoff's family models though, there is an explanation to why that is the case. To start with the Strict Father mentality, social roles are set by the parents (ideally the father) and the children will be punished for not following these specific behavioral restrictions. Translated into a societal perspective, the changing in gender roles and sexuality are, historically speaking, relatively new phenomena. Thus, a generational change is needed before the parent-generation themselves have been brought up in a society where binary sexuality is view less strictly compared to previous generations. In that way, it makes perfect sense that supporters of Strict Father discourse disregard any deviation from the historic binary norm. Therefore, from the opposite viewpoint, supporters of Nurturant Parent mentality are vastly more likely to be supportive of individuals who deviate from the binary tradition because a part of the model involves allowance for the child to develop and explore the world on his/her/its own terms. The children (the citizens) are thereby expected to make up their own mind of what is right for them and others. From this perspective, Clinton further draws on the Nurturant Parent model by advocating the rights of the people of the LGBT community.

All things considered, when Clinton refers to American family issues, it can be read as an ambiguous reference. First of all, it can be read literally as she presents it, namely, that each individual family is dealing with these factors. However, a pragmatic reading suggests a metaphorical interpretation with the result of seeing America as a unity forced to deal with the stated issues, and thus the big 'American family' (society at large) is to solve these issues for the benefit of all Americans. Moreover, while predominantly resembling Nurturant Parent discourse, Clinton does however, also show tangent Strict Father mentality, which will be elaborated later in the discussion.

Looking at the closing of Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech from the perspective of family models, a number of interesting aspects are at play. From a broad perspective, what makes the analytical findings below different from the findings above is that so far, the family models have been regarded as a metaphorical frame used to simplify society and its citizens in a idea evolved around significantly different family structures. However, throughout her speech (and especially in the closing) Clinton reverses this idea and openly uses her own family, in form of her mother, to communicate her ideology and vision for a future America. She starts out by giving credit to her

mother for not letting Clinton be a ‘quitter’ after which she continues by explaining how, in her childhood, her mother would not let her

“back down from any bully or barrier” (Aa, ll. 358-359).

By referring to her mother and this childhood experience, Clinton, on the one hand, informs her audience of how she has come to be the person that she is today. On the other hand, however, she also uses the idea of how she was raised by her mother to once again communicate the need for prosperity and perseverance among all Americans.

Moreover, Clinton further adds the fact that, as an elderly, her mother would live with the Clinton’s – a fact serving at least two rhetorical purposes. (1) In the mindset of the Nurturant Parent model, it is an important factor that the mother is not placed in a nursing facility. To be clear, hypothetically speaking, advocating for proper housing facilities for the elderly would indeed also classify as Nurturant Parent discourse, as a want to value the quality of life of the elderly is also a socialistic communal ideology. However, for the sake of Clinton’s discourse it is beneficial for her narrative that the mother lived with her and her husband because it shows Clinton’s literal nurturant side of actually caring for her mother’s well-being. (2) It allows Clinton to set up a narrative in which she becomes the representation of the child in a sort of overturned understanding of the Nurturant Parent model. To elaborate, in the scene set here, the mother quite obviously is the parent and Clinton the child, thus, to follow the model, Clinton herself becomes the metaphorical representation of a citizen and not, as in contrast to earlier, a representative of society as a whole. Consequently, by sharing how she was raised with her supports, Clinton joins them ‘as a child’ representing the ordinary citizens in George Lakoff’s metaphor.

Moreover, the argument of Clinton symbolically joining her supporters is additionally evident in the setting of Clinton’s narrative,

“I’d come home from a hard day at the Senate or the State Department, sit down with her at the small table in our breakfast nook, and just let everything pour out” (Aa, ll. 360-362).

The quote resembles a very typical everyday analogy, which a vast number of people across America will be able to relate to. Namely, the idea of coming home from school/work and vent, complain or simply talk about one’s day with one’s next of kin. The analogy is also highly marked

by humility in great contrast to Clinton's life as Secretary of State and Senator. Therefore, the analogy serves the purpose of bringing Clinton's public persona into a more relatable and personal light, while, at the same time, developing the narrative of her mother.

Therefore, once again it is relevant to look at the words of Clinton's mother, from the perspective of family models,

"I can still hear her saying: Life is not about what happens to you, it's about what you do with what happens to you – so get back out there" (Aa, ll. 364-365).

Despite the fact that Clinton claims that these are the words of her mother, they are a direct reflection of Clinton's own discourse throughout the Campaign Launch Speech. More specifically, citizenship should only be offered to hard-working and law-abiding immigrant families; only the Americans ready for change were praised in regards to the 'first fight', etc. Thus, we cannot assign any certainty or uncertainty as to how authentic the quotation actually is, we can only point out how striking the representation of Clinton's mother is to Clinton's own campaign launch discourse.

Clinton's mother thus becomes a metaphorical symbol of the envisioning of the ideal American mentality and society in accordance with Clinton's ideology. To substantiate, the mother is represented as a parent who offers support when needed, but who also stresses the point that hard-work is a necessity and nothing good will come to you if you do not make an effort yourself. Once again referring to a quote already presented above, the link to Clinton's own discourse is, for instance, found in how she sums up her Campaign Launch Speech by stating,

"I wish she [her mother] could have seen the America we're going to build together. An America where **if** you do your part, you reap the rewards" (Aa, ll. 380-381).

Interesting to note here, is how, once again, the discourse at play partly tangents Strict Father discourse. Similar to the findings in the above analysis of pronouns, the fact that Clinton's promise is based on a conditional 'if-clause' means that a specific behavior is required, in this case, 'doing your part' if one wants to 'reap the rewards'. In other words, as the discourse almost states on its own, if the Americans behave satisfactorily by doing their part, Clinton rewards them in the sense of assuring that one will reap the rewards. Consequently, if one does not do his/her part they are punished by not receiving anything, much in accordance with the Strict Father model.

## 4.1.6 Pronouns

The following is an analysis of the most frequent pronouns used in the Campaign Launch Speech.

### 4.1.6.1 The pronouns ‘me’, ‘my’ and ‘I’

‘Me’, ‘my’ and ‘I’ are all pronouns, which refer to the speaker only. The interesting thing about investigating Clinton’s use of the personal pronouns is to see how she is framing herself in the discourse. Some examples will be analyzed,

“[n]ow, **my** values and a lifetime of experiences have given **me** a different vision for America” (Aa, 1.127).

The communicative function of the person deixis, in the example above, is to pay attention to the speaker. Clinton communicates a statement concerning her life and experience that is illustrated by the pronouns ‘my’ and ‘me’ that both have personal reference. Hereby, Clinton is fully responsible for what is being said, thereby, the statement can have consequences only for Clinton if her vision for America is not right, but if all goes well then she can get the full credit because of her personal commitment. The doer of the statement is, as mentioned, Clinton, she is using her ideologies, knowledge and experience to plan a future for America. She begins the statement with the adverbial ‘now’, which is a discourse marker common for spoken language. Thus, Clinton will use new as well as old experiences to shape American right now and in the future. Also, Clinton tells her recipients that the values she stands for, and the experiences she has collected throughout her entire life and career are meaningful.

In continuation, she offers these beliefs and competences for a more visionary America,

“**I** believe **we** can do all these things **because I**’ve seen it happen” (Aa, l. 150).

In this example ‘I’ is the agent, ‘we’ is the beneficiary and ‘all these things’ is the goal. The demonstrative pronoun ‘these’ functions as discourse deixis whereby it has near reference to

“the potential of every American. To meet every challenge. To be resilient... no matter what the world throws at you. To solve the toughest problems” (Aa, ll. 146-149).

When Clinton says ‘I’, she takes all the responsibility on her shoulders, meaning that the communicative function is a statement that informs the recipients to trust her. Clinton might believe that her conviction matters for the recipients, and the personal reference ‘I’ve seen it happen’ should indicate that Clinton has personal experience, so she knows what she is talking about. It also indicates what Clinton wants, and she depends on her recipients to achieve this goal. Furthermore, ‘because’ is an optional adverbial, which provides further information to the context, so when Clinton uses ‘because’ in her discourse it is an extra persuasive technique that has focus on personal experience. If her voters are committed they will trust her words and actions, and thereby believe that they can actually do ‘these things’ and make a difference, and should they fail, then it falls back on themselves and not on Clinton. Clinton also brings up episodes from her childhood and youth,

“**[a]s a young girl, I** signed up at **my** Methodist Church to babysit the children of Mexican farmworkers, while **their** parents worked in the fields on the weekends. And later, **as a law student, I** advocated for Congress to require better working and living conditions for farm workers whose children deserved better opportunities” (Aa, ll. 151-154).

The example above has previously been analyzed in relation to gender, but is equally interesting to regard in relation to pronouns. The phrase, ‘[a]s a young girl’, functions as a determiner for the speaker, meaning that the preposition ‘as’ is used to indicate the role or condition of the speaker, so in this case, Clinton mentions the period of her life, where she was a young girl. The pronoun ‘I’ demonstrates the agent of the speech act, thus the reference Clinton makes is personal. Also, the pronoun ‘my’ plays a role in this context because Clinton is not referring to a random Methodist Church, but a specific church where Clinton was a regular visitor. The Methodist Church is one of the largest American institutions, so by mentioning the church, Clinton affects millions of people. Hence, a personal reference becomes personal for the recipients. Also, she frames herself as being a religious person, who understands the values of the church. Since 70.6 per cent of the American population is Christian ([www.pewforum.org](http://www.pewforum.org)), framing herself as a religious person strengthens her position as presidential candidate in relation to her religious voters. In the same example, Clinton uses the phrase ‘the children of Mexican farmworkers’. There is more than one interesting aspect in



this phrase, first of all, children are a sore subject for a lot of people and helping children is seen as the most valuable thing one can do.

Second of all, this is the first time Clinton has focus on ethnicity in her discourse. To elaborate, Clinton specifies the fact that the children are from Mexican farmworkers, which brings focus on ethnicity. She shows that she is willing to help all people and she might try to show that people's ethnicity is irrelevant, however by using the pronoun 'their', she is actually placing herself in an elite position in connection to ethnicity and thereby creating Othering.

The third aspect is the fact that they are farmworkers, who normally do not have a lot of money, so Clinton shows compassion for people with limited resources. Consequently, through the use of pronouns the sentence demonstrates that Clinton frames herself as a loving person, and she has been like this since she was a young girl. It seems that she wants to call attention to the fact that she can take care of other people, and perhaps indicate that she does not judge them by their ethnicity or social status.

Furthermore, Clinton presents herself as a nurturant caretaker, when she talks on behalf of the minorities, which relates to the analysis of George Lakoff's Nurturant Parent model in section 4.1.5.

As previously mentioned, Clinton refers to her role as a law student. She is still the agent of the speech act, but in this example she demonstrates the influence of her social status. The patient is still farmworkers, nonetheless this time Clinton is not mentioning the farmworkers' ethnicity, which reveals that her focus has become broader, so it is not just Mexican farmworkers but all farmworkers in America. Clinton uses a personal reference in her discourse to show that she is a good person, who does not give up and keeps fighting for people with limited means. She is showing the audience her ideologies and her commitment to the public in general.

Another example of Clinton's reference to her previous position,

**“[a]s a leader of the Legal Services Corporation, I defended the right of poor people to have a lawyer. And saw lives changed because an abusive marriage ended or an illegal eviction stopped”** (Aa, ll. 158-159).

Like with the previous example, the preposition 'as' is used to describe Clinton's job or function, here she functions as leader of the Legal Services Corporation. The pronoun 'I' indicates that

Clinton is the doer of the speech act. The example shows Clinton's commitment to help people with limited resources, and how she has experienced the positive outcome of her actions. The affected of the outcome are poor people, people caught in an abusive marriage and people involved in illegal evictions, so Clinton points out that she can handle difficult situations with her social status, and she has huge influence, which can help the underprivileged in one way or another. The attention in the sentence is entirely on her, she does not involve other people from her election team, so she gets all the credit. She is the one, who has helped and achieved great things for the disadvantaged. Clinton uses examples like these because she likely wants to promote herself and what she has accomplished as a leader. Another important element in the example is the fact that Clinton's position stands initially in the sentence. To elaborate, Clinton wants to have focus on her position in the community, which can be a way of showing that she can function as a leader because she has already been a former leader, and not just any leader but a leader with great impact. So she uses her title to get influence on the recipients, as they might get more respect for her and the work she is doing and has done.

Again a demonstration of her position of power,

“**[a]s Senator, I** had the honor of representing brave firefighters, police officers, EMTs, construction workers, and volunteers who ran toward danger on 9/11 and stayed there, becoming sick themselves” (Aa, ll. 163-165).

The example above illustrates that the personal pronoun ‘I’ represents Clinton as the doer in the sentence. Also, like the previous two examples, Clinton begins the statement by saying ‘as’, which is a preposition used to describe the fact that Clinton has a particular job, namely Senator. The whole example is a statement where Clinton informs the recipients of the brave and great people America consists of. Clinton pays attention to the fact that she has been a senator, as she demonstrates her high position in society. Her job becomes a part of her identity, which she uses to put herself in a more powerful position. Furthermore, it can have the effect on the recipients that they become aware of Clinton's experience and commitment. The reflexive pronoun ‘themselves’ has anaphoric reference to the ‘brave firefighters’, ‘police officers’, ‘EMTs’, ‘construction workers’, and ‘volunteers who ran towards danger on 9/11’. By mentioning 9/11, Clinton aligns herself with heroism, which strengthens her discourse. Clinton uses the noun phrase ‘the honor’ in

connection with the brave men/women, which expresses her respect and admiration towards these people. One can argue that the focus here is on the people in duty, those who are willing to sacrifice themselves for the country, but it can also be Clinton's way of placing herself as a big supporter of those who support America. So Clinton has respect for those, who do 'the right thing' and show commitment to America, which can be Clinton's way of saying that all people should support America in the best way possible. Arguably, the brave men/women are mentioned because Clinton wants to prove that she can also handle strong and independent people. Also, the reference to 9/11 is a patriotic reference which falls into the battle and the patriotic frame presented in section 4.1.2.

The paragraphs above show that Clinton performs as a person who has had several important jobs, and she has done good things for the American people since she was a little girl. She might want to demonstrate that even though she is a powerful woman, she still has America and the American people as her top priority. The interesting thing here is the fact that Clinton only frames herself and not her political party, she has focus on what she has accomplished, and what she has to offer the American people.

In the 'fourth fight', one also sees a high representation of the personal pronoun 'I',

"I'll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color" (Aa, ll. 296-297).

By saying 'I' Clinton excludes others, and the Campaign Launch Speech becomes more subjective which can affect the audience in a positive manner as they can sense Clinton's commitment to a more functional America. Clinton frames the Republicans' ideologies of being less human and unsympathetic by disempowering and disenfranchising people with limited resources, people with different ethnicities and people who have loss of functional ability, all in all people who are weaker than the average American. By doing so, Clinton places herself in a better position and almost as a hero because she will fight against the Republicans' ideologies.

Clinton likely uses the Republicans as a rhetorical tool to show that her ideologies are much better than the Republicans because, according to Clinton, the Republicans do not care about people with weaknesses, which is the opposite of Clinton's political conviction. The Republicans become 'the Others' in this context, and Clinton communicates a political message saying that she is a much more compassionate and sympathetic person than her opponents. Moreover, the verb

‘fight’ is associated with the battle frame, presented in section 4.1.2. In connection, when Clinton uses the verb ‘fight’ she is also framing herself as a ‘warrior’ for the weak, which evokes the battle frame.

To substantiate, by not including herself as a part of the object in the sentence she excludes herself from the social groups, ‘young people’, ‘poor people’, ‘people with disabilities’ and ‘people of color’. Thus she makes use of a form of Othering by not identifying with the disenfranchised. Much like the same way she chose to be warrior for the Mexican farmworkers when she was a young girl.

In continuation, the upcoming examples indicate Clinton’s inclusiveness of other people, here the pronouns ‘I’, ‘you’ and ‘your’ are analyzed in their given context,

“**I** want **you** to **join me** in this effort. **Help me** build this campaign and make it **your** own” (Aa, l. 334).

In this paragraph, ‘you’ and ‘your’ are the American people as a whole. ‘Me’ is another personal pronoun, which signifies the speaker, it excludes other people from the context, and the communicative situation becomes personal. By using the pronouns ‘you’ and ‘your’, Clinton includes other people, and her request to the recipients is from her, personally. She includes the American people because she needs their help, which she literally says, ‘help me’ (Aa, l. 334). She also says, ‘join me’ which is an invitation to the people to help Clinton in achieving her goal. This statement can make the recipients feel important because they are needed, thus, Clinton shows a sensitive part of herself where she is not strong and independent, but just like most people she needs people around her. Moreover, the request can be a discursive strategy where the recipients get a feeling of importance and with influence. Clinton needs help building the campaign, and if they help, the campaign can be theirs too. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun ‘it’ has anaphoric reference to ‘campaign’, and by building something from scratch one becomes more proud of the result. Hereby, through her discourse, Clinton invites her recipients to join the journey where they are building a strong campaign together where all have something to say, so the recipients do not feel overlooked, but feel like they have an actual influence.

Another example of how Clinton uses her discourse to make a point,

“[i]t’s no secret that **we**’re going up against **some pretty powerful forces** that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different vision for America. **But** I’ve spent my life fighting for children, families, and our country. And I’m not stopping now” (Aa, ll. 338-340).

The personal pronoun ‘we’ includes Clinton and her Democratic voters. She creates a team that must stand together in order to win this battle. She constructs a division of ‘we’, Clinton and her supporters, and those with different visions. Thereby, the American people must decide whose visions they support and agree with. The subclause ‘some pretty powerful forces that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different vision for America’ (Aa, ll. 338-340) represents people with different visions and ideologies than Clinton. It can both be her opponent from the Democratic Party, Bernie Sanders, or it can be the opponents from the Republican Party. Clinton does not criticize the opponent’s visions, she just says they are different. However, the following sentence begins with the contradictory coordinating conjunction ‘but’, so what she really says is that she fights for children, families and the country, these are her visions, and by saying that the powerful forces have different visions, she hereby concludes that their focus points are not on children, families or the country. She also proves that she has always been a fighter, and her values have not changed. Clinton frames herself and her ideologies as being better than her opponents’, and she pays attention to the fact that she has always fought for these values. Even though she gets some resistance, she stays strong and keeps fighting for her beliefs and America. In addition, Clinton points out that she has always taken care of other people.

The next example expresses Clinton’s dedication to becoming the next president,

“[s]o I’m looking forward to a great debate among **Democrats, Republicans, and Independents**. I’m not running to be a President only for those Americans who already agree with me. **I want to be a President for all Americans**” (Aa, ll. 349-351).

In the example, Clinton mentions the American people, where she might demonstrate that she sees people in groupings, which can give an insight into Clinton’s way of thinking. As she is a Democrat there are a lot of American people who belong to other groups, and thereby have different beliefs and visions, so she must show comprehensiveness for all Americans, and in order to be a good

leader she must accept other people's ideologies, which may be the reason for the following statement 'I want to be a President for all Americans' (Aa, ll. 349-351). The statement is interesting because earlier on in the Campaign Launch Speech, Clinton criticizes the Republicans and those with powerful forces, as seen in the examples above. She hereby divides the American people into groups, and she proves that she only belongs to the Democratic group. Clinton is so determined to put the Democrats and their visions in a positive position that she ignores the fact that Republicans also belong to the American people. So, saying that she wants to be president for the whole nation might be true, but those who are not Democrats may be suspicious as she patronizes them. The support from the Republicans can be difficult to obtain, as they see a different Clinton than the Democrats because she does not support their ideologies. For Clinton it is a matter of making the Americans believe in her, she argues that she can manage the role as president for all Americans, hence, it can be an attempt to make up for her patronizing statements earlier by saying that she wants to be there for all Americans without any judgment. She indicates that she can handle people with different visions and ideologies, and she wants to be their leader too.

The following example points to Clinton's use of personal reference,

"[I]ike so much else in my life, **I got this from my mother**" (Aa, l. 358).

Once again the example draws on the reference to Clinton's mother. Clinton is the spokesman, and she only involves her mother in this statement. She refers to her mother as a person, who has given her strength and wisdom. Clinton shares personal experiences, and shows where she gets her ideologies and strength from. It gives the recipients an insight into Clinton's former life, which can help the recipients get a feeling of who she is as a person. By giving the recipients a peek into Clinton's life, she becomes more personal and less formal, also, Clinton shows a warm character, which the recipients might find likeable. Hereby, Clinton demonstrates that she can be sentimental and strong at the same time.

Discourse deixis is represented by the demonstrative pronoun 'this' where there is anaphoric reference to elements mentioned earlier in the speech. The phrase 'like so much else in my life' illustrates that Clinton is familiar with the fact that her mother gives her something. Her mother is a big part of Clinton's life and has influence on how Clinton lives her life. An element that is interesting is the fact that Clinton chooses to start the sentence with a subclause. The focus is

on the adverbial clause, because it has initial position, meaning that Clinton might want to demonstrate that her mother affects many elements in her life. Clinton focuses on this because she earlier talks about her mother's accomplishment and her strong character, so by referring to her, Clinton puts all the attention towards herself since she is so strongly affected by her mother. Therefore, if her mother did well then Clinton does well too, as she is so closely intertwined with her mother.

In the next example, the thesis again looks at Clinton's personal reference to her mother,

"I can still hear **her** saying: "Life's not about what happens to **you**, it's about what **you** do with what happens to **you** – so get back out there"" (Aa, ll. 364-365).

In this paragraph, the possessive pronoun 'her' represents Clinton's mother in this context. 'Her' becomes the object in the informative sentence, and has anaphoric reference to previous elements in the Campaign Launch Speech. When Clinton mentions her mother, she makes a personal reference, which gives the recipients an insight into the relationship between Clinton and her mother. Here, one can be told that Clinton listened to her mother and followed her advice. The communicative function of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person deixis 'you' only has reference to Clinton, from a locutionary perspective. However, in reference to the analysis on family models, it is arguable that from an illocutionary perspective 'you' is an address to the entire nation. Clinton paraphrases a quote said by her mother to Clinton, so the reference is directly towards her. The quote tells something about the life Clinton comes from. According to Clinton, her mother's words were words of wisdom, therefore she follows them and refers to them in her speech. The recipients get an idea of why Clinton has become such a strong woman, thus, Clinton also demonstrates that she is from a family represented by strong women, so being confident and determined is not a new role for her. Furthermore, she proves that she keeps on fighting even though it gets tough, also, Clinton specifies the fact that she is not a quitter but a fighter, who seeks solutions instead of panicking when something happens. The way one handles challenges says something about the person's character, so Clinton chooses to tell her recipients that she keeps fighting.

The fact that she is strong and not a quitter is very important to her, and earlier in the speech she says

“I think you know by now that I’ve been called many things by many people — “**quitter**” is not one of them” (Aa, ll. 356-357).

Clinton represents the female gender, and historically speaking some see women as the weaker sex, which can be one of the reasons why she focuses so much on the fact that she represents herself as independent and from a family with strong women (see section 4.1.3 on gender).

The next example is a demonstration of a discursive strategy where Clinton perhaps tempts her recipients,

“I wish **she could have seen** the America **we’re going to** build together. An America, where if **you** do your part, **you** reap the rewards” (Aa, ll. 380-381).

In the following example, Clinton, the spokesman, uses the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun ‘she’ as reference to her mother. In the clause ‘the America we’re going to build together’ (Aa, l. 380), ‘we’ refers to the spokesman and the American people, mostly her voters. Clinton involves the recipients in America’s future, and they all have to fight for a better future. She involves the American people in the process. Clinton also says ‘going to’, meaning it is an active process. The verb phrase ‘could have seen’ represents past perfect tense, which makes the recipients look back at a situation from a later time, also, the recipients become aware of the fact that Clinton’s mother past away, she is no longer among them. Here, Clinton shows a very sensitive side of herself, and she uses the verb ‘wish’, which is a way of saying that she would like things to be different from what they are, namely that her mother was still alive to experience the up-coming America.

The pronouns ‘you’ and ‘your’ refer to the same people, who are included in the pronoun ‘we’. Yet, Clinton only refers to her recipients, the American people, and she excludes herself from the context. By using the pronouns ‘you’ and ‘your’ the message becomes more personal, Clinton might not know all her recipients’ identity and ideologies, but she knows that they are all willing to fight for America, so if they will secure America, they must do something, specifically choosing Clinton. Furthermore, in relation to the Strict Father discourse seen in section 4.1.5, Clinton tries to persuade her audience by mentioning ‘rewards’. The political discourse represents a persuasive tool where Americans would be rewarded for being American patriots. Some people are willing to do anything for their country, therefore is it a strong political move. In



addition, Clinton still talks to the recipients only, meaning that she does not involve herself in the communicative situation. So, it is the recipients' responsibility whether or not America will succeed, but by using the personal pronoun 'you' Clinton gives all the credit to her recipients if they succeed. Thus, Clinton starts the statement by being sentimental by referring to her mother, this gives the recipients a more personal relationship to Clinton, as they share a personal moment. Then she creates solidarity between her and the recipients because they can do something together, namely building a proud America, hence it also becomes the recipients' responsibility to make Clinton's mother proud. And lastly, she talks directly to the recipients, where she excludes herself and disclaims all responsibility.

#### 4.1.6.2 The pronoun 'you'

Looking at the use of 'you', 'your', 'everybody' and 'their',

"It's America's basic bargain. **If you do your part you** ought to be able to get ahead. And when **everybody** does **their** part, America gets ahead too" (Aa, ll. 26-27).

In the example above the pronouns 'you' and 'your' have a more personal character than the pronouns 'everybody' and 'their' because in this context Clinton directs her speech directly towards the audience, who is physically present. 'You' and 'your' are exerted by Clinton to personalize a message, and by making the recipients the agents in the speech act they might get a feeling of importance and influence. Even though Clinton does not know all her potential recipients' identity, she still manages to make them feel important and with influence on the outcome of the whole election and America's future. Yet, since the message becomes personal, the result of the election will also have personal influence on each recipient because Clinton creates solidarity where people are supposed to stand together no matter what the outcome might be. By using a conditional clause and evoking a frame of personal responsibility more people have obligations if the outcome is negative. Moreover, by referring to personal responsibility one can argue that Clinton makes use of Strict Father discourse, which is commonly a Republican discourse, where every person is responsible for one's own existence. The indefinite pronoun 'everybody' is more generic, and involves all Americans who are willing to do an effort and secure America's future. Since Clinton does not know all her recipients, the use of 'everybody' becomes impersonal, and she can reach a

broader audience. The possessive pronoun ‘their’ has anaphoric reference to ‘everybody’, so again ‘everybody’ refers to the American people, and it is clear that Clinton does not know her recipients, but she is still trying to reach them by giving them the responsibility of America’s future. Moreover, it should be noted that the pronoun ‘you’ also could be used with generic meaning, and thus the equivalent possessive pronoun ‘one’ could also have been used, which would have included more people than simply the audience. Nevertheless, as Clinton specifically uses the pronoun ‘you’ it is arguable that it is her audience she is referring to.

The conjunction ‘if’ expresses the condition for the speaker’s message in the matrix, that being ‘you ought to be able to get ahead’. When the sentence begins with ‘if’, it is a conditional subclause, which functions as a dependent clause, and the expression ‘if you do your part’ is closely linked to the situation expressed by the matrix. The sentence can have two communicative functions, where the speaker simply informs the recipients on the fact that if they do a physical action then it will have a positive outcome. However, the sentence can also function as a directive, where the speaker gives instructions to how to ‘get America ahead’, so if the recipients want to reach America’s goal they have to do ‘their part’. By saying this, Clinton disclaims all the responsibility for America’s future and if the election fails then people have themselves to blame and it will not harm Clinton’s further political career. Nonetheless, it has the opposite effect if Clinton wins the election, then she and her voters achieve solidarity and become a team.

Next is an example of how Clinton uses ‘you’ to communicate the responsibility of her supporters,

“**America** can’t succeed unless **you** succeed” (Aa, l. 69).

In the example, the proprium ‘America’ is the subject in this negative sentence, and ‘you’ is the doer in the subclause. The sentence is a parallel structure where ‘America’ is equated with ‘you’. When Clinton makes the recipients the agent of the speech act, then the recipients can feel they have influence on reaching the goal. The conjunction ‘unless’ is before the conditional subclause, it is an adverbial with medial position, and the expression ‘you succeed’ is closely linked to the situation, which in this case is expressed by the matrix ‘America can’t succeed’. Meaning that it can have consequences for America if the recipients do not succeed. The conjunction expresses the condition of the speaker’s message, and in this example Clinton puts all the responsibility of America succeeding in the hands of the recipients. The pronoun ‘you’ represents the American

people, who are being told by Clinton to succeed. It can be argued that in this specific case, the speaker's idea of succeeding is voting for her, which will both benefit the recipients, the Democrats and America as a whole. The example can function as a statement, but it can also be perceived as a directive. To elaborate, if it is a statement then the sentence is simply a declarative sentence, which gives information and can either be true or false, so the recipients have to consider whether or not they believe that they can have influence on America's success. On the other hand, if the sentence operates as imperative, commonly used by the speaker to express directives, then Clinton gives instruction to the recipients on how to perform an action to reach a goal. Thereby, the speaker's pronouncement is not a question of whether the information is true or false, but more a matter of whether the recipients want to reach their goals or not.

#### 4.1.6.3 The pronouns 'we' and 'our'

The example below shows Clinton's involvement in her own discourse, which is highly relevant when looking at how she frames herself,

**“[i]nstead of an economy built by every American, for every American, we were told that if we let those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone else”** (Aa, ll. 42-44).

This quote is very interesting because it consists of many pronouns that both function as including as well as excluding. The first 'we' involves the speaker and the American people, thereby people who are outside of the context are being excluded. The second 'we' has the same including and excluding function, yet, here 'we' has more impact on the outcome because Clinton informs her recipients that they can have influence on the future economy in American. Clinton starts the sentence by saying 'instead of an economy built by every American, for every American', here, 'instead of' is a preposition which means 'as an alternative'. Thus, Clinton prepares her recipients for the fact that there will come an alternative solution for something that already functions. To elaborate, the phrase 'an economy built by every American, for every American' is a positive statement of the future economy that will benefit all Americans, at least the ones Clinton is targeting. The phrase becomes irrelevant because she is using the preposition 'instead of' so the recipients know that the following will be negative. Moreover, 'those' can be identified as the

Republicans due to Clinton's choice to use the phrase 'trickle down', which is Reagan Republicanism from the 80s.

Clinton places herself in a powerful position to show the great impact she has, but also to show that 'we' has experienced manipulation by someone from the outside in order to change their future plan. The pronoun 'those' has cataphoric reference to people 'at the top', and 'their' has anaphoric reference to people 'at the top'. Both pronouns represent the out-group, meaning that they are not a part of the in-group, which includes the speaker. Clinton's statement clarifies that people at the top have a huge impact on America's economy, and their success can benefit everyone, or at least that is what she and the American people have been told. This can be a way of telling Americans that she and her party have a great plan for the future economy, which has been built by Americans and for Americans, but other people have told her that the top can guarantee America's economy, if only they are allowed to pay lower taxes and bend the rules. All in all, Clinton is saying that Republicans have argued that people at the top are willing to help as long as they make more money and have no restrictions, which she suggests is a vague foundation of a strong economy. The distinction between 'we', 'those' and 'their' is very clear, and Clinton divides people into different groups. She is a part of the 'good guys' who will build an economy for Americans, and 'their' and 'those' belong to the group of 'bad guys' who are only willing to help America as long as they benefit from it.

The next paragraphs are demonstrations of how 'we' and 'our' are used in Clinton's 'third fight' on revitalizing America's Government and democracy,

"[t]hat's why **we** have to win the fourth fight – reforming **our** government and revitalizing **our** democracy so **that** it works for **everyday Americans**" (Aa, ll. 286-287).

'That' is a demonstrative pronoun that functions as spatial deixis whereby it refers to previously mentioned elements in the given context. In Clinton's discourse, 'that' refers to the reason why Clinton and her recipients must win. The following sentence is closely linked to the first sentence. It can be discussed whether the sentence is a statement or a directive, however Clinton becomes very clear in her remark because it concerns what positive outcome the 'fourth fight' has for Americans. Clinton sums up the main focus on the 'fourth fight' just with extra pressure on the recipients, as they have influence on the outcome. Clinton includes the recipients by saying 'we' and 'our', the

pronouns include the spokesman and the American people. The use of the person deixis can be Clinton's way of showing identification with the people included in the communicative situation, namely the American people. Additionally, as mentioned in the theory, even though Clinton is the spokesman and has the authority in the communicative situation, she still obtains equality between her and the recipient(s) because they are 'on the same side' (Fairclough, 2001, p. 106). Yet, Clinton also excludes the people who are not interested in winning the fight, reforming the Government and revitalizing the democracy, but they become the 'bad guys' because they will be seen as people, who are not interesting in making it work for everyday Americans. The reference to 'everyday Americans' includes the ordinary American, which is the most represented community in America. Hereby, Clinton captures the broader population and reduces the distance to her potential recipients by including them in the context.

The last analytical finding in the 'fourth fight' section is an example of the inclusiveness of the pronoun 'we',

“[w]ith that same spirit, **together, we** can win **these** four fights” (Aa, l. 327).

Clinton uses a combination of the adverb 'together' and the personal pronoun 'we' as a rhetorical tool to illustrate that she and her recipients have a special bond, and together they can do great things for America, namely winning the 'four fights'. The interesting thing here, is the fact that Clinton needs people in order to obtain her goal, but when she talks about positive accomplishment such as the reference to herself as Secretary of State and Senator, then she only refers to herself. Additionally, through her discourse, Clinton creates solidarity between her and the recipients when the recipients can do something for her, and have influence on the coming election, but when it comes to success Clinton only refers to herself by using the pronoun 'I', see the examples above. She makes a statement telling that if the recipients have the right 'spirit' they can all together make America work. Clinton distributes the responsibility between her and the recipients, which might be accepted by the recipients because they all have a special bond, indicated by 'together'.

The special bond is also seen in lines 319-320, where Clinton says,

“[I]ike any family, our **American family** is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart” (Aa, ll. 319-320),

evoking the family frame in order to better position herself in people's minds as the mother of this 'American family'. This again has to do with how she slowly tries to alter the president narrative so that it fits with her own personal narrative. She has to alter the frame where the President of the United States is a father figure, and instead convince people that a president can also be a mother figure. She does this by continually repeating this narrative within the different parts of the speech, but she also does this by using patriotism and Othering. Patriotism and Othering unites the people against a common threat, and she then positions herself as the leader of the united people. By combining the us-against-them dynamic with patriotic feelings, it is possible for her to convince her listeners that whatever she does, she is doing for the good of the country and its people – and it is a very strong effect that she achieves by doing so. Furthermore, she uses the family frame to position herself among the people to show that she is no different from them, and thereby win their trust and confidentiality.

The demonstrative pronoun 'these' has cataphoric reference to 'four fights', which is discourse deixis as there is reference from one element to another in the text. The expression 'these four fights' sets up a relation between the communicative situation and the context, meaning that one has to know the elements referred to in order to understand the context. In continuation, Clinton also says 'with that same spirit', the demonstrative pronoun 'that' has cataphoric reference to 'same spirit' and once again, the recipients have to know the context throughout the whole speech in order to understand the reference. Clinton wants all her recipients to have the same spirit as her, since it makes them feel special as they have the same thoughts as Clinton. Through her discourse, Clinton creates a joined effort, which is a part of her persuasive technique as an attempt to make the recipients feel special and included.

#### **4.1.6.4 The pronouns 'their', 'they', 'them' and 'themselves'**

'Their' and 'they' are pronouns which refer to someone or something in the out-group. We have chosen an example that illustrates how Clinton uses these pronouns to create division among groups of people. They are used as a political tool in order to create solidarity within one group and exclude others from the context,

”[t]hese **Republicans** trip over **themselves** promising lower taxes for the wealthy and fewer rules for the biggest corporations without regard for how that will make income inequality even worse.

**We**'ve heard this tune before. And **we** know how it turns out.

Ask many of **these candidates** about climate change, one of the defining threats of **our** time, and **they**'ll say: "I'm not a scientist." Well, then, why don't **they** start listening to **those** who are?

**They** pledge to wipe out tough rules on Wall Street, rather than rein in the banks that are still too risky, courting future failures. In a case that can only be considered mass amnesia.

**They** want to take away health insurance from more than 16 million Americans without offering any credible alternative.

**They** shame and blame women, rather than respect **our** right to make **our** own reproductive health decisions.

**They** want to put immigrants, who work hard and pay taxes, at risk of deportation.

And **they** turn **their** backs on gay people who love each other.

Fundamentally, **they** reject what it takes to build an inclusive economy. It takes an inclusive society" (Aa, ll. 112-125).

The paragraph demonstrates how Clinton uses the pronouns 'they', 'themselves', 'those', and 'these' as a communicative tool to create a distance against the Republicans. In the whole paragraph, 'they' has anaphoric reference to 'these Republicans', and the only time Clinton is using the pronoun 'those' is within a context where she puts down the Republicans. 'Those' refers to people with a scientific background, and according to Clinton the candidates from the Republican Party are not scientists. Clinton frames the Republicans for making statements without having the correct facts, so they appear untrustworthy. Moreover, the sentence 'they shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions' shows that Clinton only includes other women in the context (it is further a critique of the Republicans being against abortion). Here she pays attention to the female gender, where she uses her gender to create solidarity among women. The addressees are very specific here, and Clinton is showing common knowledge and identification with the women involved in the context. The use of 'our' is a deliberate choice and it reveals that Clinton has the authority because she speaks on behalf of other women.

The pronouns 'we' and 'our' have the communicative function of including Clinton and her supporters, and Clinton creates a division between Republicans and Democrats, whereby the Republicans become the 'Other'. One group consists of 'we' and 'our' and the other group consists of 'they'. 'They' represents people outside the in-group, and Clinton explicitly refers to the

Republicans as the other people, who are not included in ‘we’ and ‘our’. Clinton links together Republicans and their bad actions, so she frames Republicans for being against all what Clinton stands for, and according to Clinton, Republicans do nothing good for America. When talking patronizingly about the Republicans, Clinton dissociates herself and the people included in ‘our’ and ‘we’ from the other(s) referred to, here the Republicans. By framing the Republican leadership badly, Clinton also indirectly puts the supporters of the Republican Party in a bad light. So Clinton creates solidarity between the in-group members and distances the in-group from the out-group, namely ‘they’. This powerful technique is a discursive strategy in order to create different social groups, where the Republicans perhaps seem inferior in some way to the Democrats. Hereby, the Republicans become excluded in the communicative situation and the Democrats are being included. This powerful discourse can, however, also have a downside, namely dividing people into groups like this. Clinton is pushing the Republicans away, and does not include them as part of the group, but she ignores that they are also Americans, so if she gets elected, she also has the responsibility for the Republicans. In that case, the Republicans might not have the greatest respect for her, because she has shown no respect for them. However, it should be noted that the two political parties are already heavily divided ideologically speaking. Therefore, even before Clinton’s campaign launch discourse the two parties were already worlds apart.

#### **4.1.7 The coordinating conjunction ‘but’**

Finally, the primary analysis looks at the coordinating conjunction ‘but’, which is already been briefly mentioned in sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.4. Below, is a further analysis of ‘but’s’ function,

“[n]ow, **we** can blame historic forces beyond **our** control for some of **this**, **but** the choices **we**’ve made **as** a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role” (Aa, ll. 97-98).

First, the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘our’ can both have an including as well as excluding function, here the communicative function is to include all Americans including herself. Clinton shows her authority by speaking on behalf of others. Also, the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘our’ are Clinton’s way of showing identification with the people included in the communicative situation, namely the American people. The demonstrative pronoun ‘this’ functions as discursive deixis, because it has anaphoric reference to something mentioned earlier within the same context. ‘This’ also functions



as spatial deixis where the expression refers to elements in a physical context. Thus, the expression sets up relations in space between the communicative situation and the context. So, if the recipients have not followed the speech closely then they might have some difficulties understanding the context.

The coordinating conjunction ‘but’ coordinates two clauses, namely ‘now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this’ and ‘the choices we’ve made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role’, and it sets up a relation of contrast. In the first clause, Clinton is including the people spoken to, and they all blame something else for the mistakes, still, when using the conjunction ‘but’ the additional clause becomes a contrasting element towards the previous clause. The clause ‘the choices we’ve made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role’ demonstrates that Clinton and the people spoken to are not without responsibility. According to Clinton, all Americans can be blamed for the negative outcome in American. Hereby, she is using a political tool where she implicitly tells Americans they have made some mistakes. Yet, the pronoun in the last clause is ‘we’, which involves the speaker as well. Also, she is saying ‘we’ve made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike’, the preposition ‘as’ is used to describe the position other people have, which in this case concerns all Americans. By doing so, she informs all Americans that both she and they have had a responsibility, which has failed. Clinton is willing to show commitment and take some of the responsibility for the mistakes that is demonstrated because she says ‘we’. However, by saying ‘we’ Clinton will not take the blame alone, she is involving the American people, so they can see that they have to make a difference as well.

Again another example,

“**[y]ou** see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay, **but your** paychecks have barely budged” (Aa, ll. 55-56).

In the example, the recipients function as ‘you’, and the pronoun ‘your’ also has reference to the recipients. The audience becomes the agent of the communicative situation, whereby they are involved in the context. Clinton states that her recipients have personal experience with corporations and CEOs, she says ‘you see’, which is a statement that refers to the fact that her audience knows what she is referring to. Even though Clinton does not know her recipients’

individual identity, she is still personalizing her message by involving her recipients with the pronoun 'you'. However, despite her involvement, she cannot escape from the fact that being a politician herself automatically places her among the 'people at top'. Therefore, this is another example of Othering, where there is a division between Clinton herself and the people referred to. 'But' coordinates the two clauses 'You see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay' and 'your paychecks have barely budged', it sets up a relation of contrast, therefore Clinton's first statement is being contradicted by the following statement. The first clause is a positive statement, where Clinton is pointing out the positive development within the business market, and she points out that Americans are aware of this. Then Clinton demonstrates with 'but' that it is not a positive development for all Americans. To elaborate, she uses a negative clause to contradict a positive clause, hence she does not offend anyone explicitly, but implicitly she is saying that the business market does not benefit all Americans. The negative clause is a political tool where the effect of this critique can be that the audience unconsciously starts thinking about the negative outcome of the whole situation, which puts Clinton in a better position.

The last example shows how Clinton uses personal references in order to frame herself,

"[n]ow, I'll always seek common ground with friend and opponent alike. **But** I'll also stand **my** ground when **I** must" (Aa, ll. 311-312).

Here, the statement shows Clinton's personal point of view, which gives the recipients an idea of who Clinton as a politician really is. The adverbial 'now' has the initial position and is again used as a discursive marker.

Clinton emphasizes that she fights for harmony with friends and opponents. The statement is a rhetorical tool that puts Clinton in a positive position because she focuses on common agreements, thereby, people see her as a peaceful and tolerant person. She is capable of cooperating with the opponent, which is a valuable quality for a politician because it shows empathy and sensitivity, so the politician becomes a popular character. Clinton represents herself as a tolerant person, who makes compromises with her fellow men, but the next sentence contradicts this statement because of the conjunction 'but'. To elaborate, Clinton argues that she will make compromises but only if she agrees with the opponents. Her focus point is to clarify that even though cooperation is important, she makes no compromises if they are against her beliefs. Hereby,

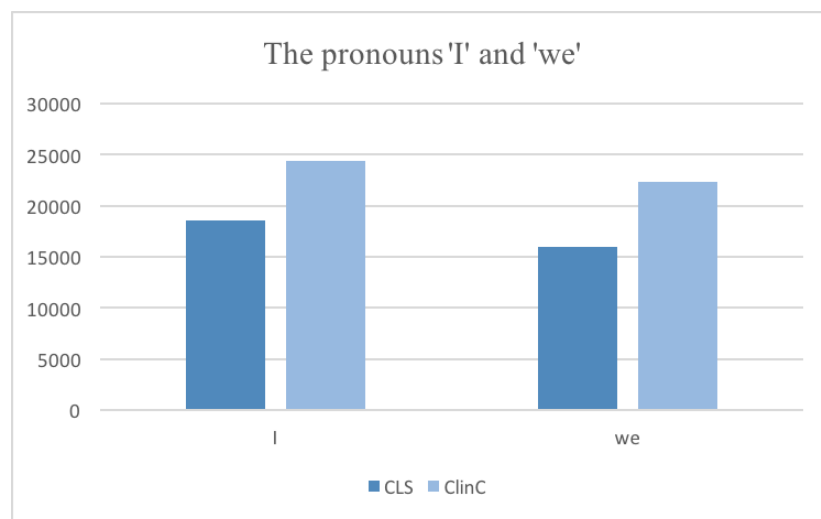
she manages to represent herself as a strong and cooperative person, which can be a part of Clinton's persuasive discourse, as the recipients are shown a competent, strong and empathic leader.

## 4.2 Corpus analysis

The thesis now moves on to the second part of the analysis, which is a corpus analysis where the Campaign Launch Speech (CLS) is treated as a corpus, while the Clinton Corpus (ClinC) is a corpus made of a selection of her 2016 speeches. The corpus analysis consists of a) an analysis of the most frequent pronouns in the corpora, b) a comparative frame analysis based on the previous findings, c) a keyness analysis of the CLS, and d) a keyness analysis of the ClinC.

### 4.2.1 Pronouns

Out of all the pronouns in the Campaign Launch Speech 'I' and 'we' are the most frequent, therefore is it relevant to look further into occurrences of these pronouns in the ClinC. As one can see in the table below, both 'I', with a normalized frequency of 18536.97, and 'we', with a normalized frequency of 15945.78, have higher normalized frequencies in CLS than in the ClinC, where 'I's' normalized frequency is 24417.11 and 'we' has a normalized frequency of 22305.85 (all the calculations can be found in the appendix Ac).



*Table 2: The pronouns 'I' and 'we'*

Generally, 'I' is more frequent in both corpora compared to 'we', and since the pronouns in the CLS have already been analyzed in the primary analysis, the following examples are only from the ClinC. To elaborate, because the pronouns have different frequencies in both corpora, it is

interesting to demonstrate whether or not Clinton uses the pronouns differently depending on the purpose of the speech. The first example is from Clinton's speech at the Jewish Federation in Des Moines,

“**I** think **we** all agree that Iran could never be allowed to obtain a nuclear weapon” (ClinC, Hillary Clinton at Jewish Federation Des Moines).

In the example above the discourse shows how Clinton uses the personal pronouns ‘I’ and ‘we’. Since the personal pronoun ‘I’ is more frequent in both corpora, it can be an indication of the fact that Clinton wants her recipients to pay attention to her only. The purpose of the whole campaign is for Clinton to get elected therefore she must sell herself. She uses the phrase ‘I think’, which is a very weak formulation, as she is not certain about the up-coming statement, and using ‘we’ as the following pronoun gives the impression that Clinton has the authority to speak on behalf of her recipients. After the pronoun ‘we’ Clinton does not use any modal verbs, which makes the statement even stronger, as the effect becomes almost like an order. The statement has an implicit undertone, where people, who do not agree with Clinton in this strong statement, are not a part of the in-group. Hereby, the recipients need to agree with Clinton's statement in order to be accepted, so Clinton turns what seems to be a weak statement into a strong direct announcement.

The second example is taken from Clinton's speech in New Hampshire after loosing to Bernie Sanders,

“[y]ou know when **I** started this campaign last spring” (ClinC, Hillary Clinton speech in New Hampshire after loss to Bernie Sanders).

The example shows personal commitment, where Clinton informs her audience of the fact that she alone started her campaign (even though there is an entire political team behind her). As mentioned earlier, there is still a higher representation of ‘I’ in the CLS than in the ClinC, which can be a demonstration of the fact that her Campaign Launch Speech is an opening speech and thereby a selling product, where she focuses on telling America who she is and what she can do for America. In addition, ‘I’ has the highest normalized frequency in both corpora, and it can only refer to Clinton. So the focus, in both corpora, is on her visions and ideologies, and it demonstrates that it is her campaign, her election. The whole campaign becomes very personal because of ‘I’, therefore

she must give something of herself, which she does in her discourse by using personal references. The recipients must get an idea of whom they are supporting.

‘We’, on the other hand, is harder to distinguish the concluding function of, as it can contain different communities, which can explain why ‘we’ is more frequent in the ClinC. When Clinton uses ‘we’, she covers up all the possibilities there are for her to exclude and include people in her situation. She gets a broader audience, which can explain her more frequent use in the ClinC. Yet, the ClinC represents speeches from different locations, so she may not talk to America as a whole, but more specifically to the states she is located in. Hence, ‘we’ includes Clinton and the people in the specific state, which is also a political tool in order to make them feel special.

## 4.2.2 Frames

Next is an analysis of the frames regarding family, patriotism, battle, the Republicans, and prosperity.

### 4.2.2.1 Family frame

The first frame analyzed in the primary analysis was the family frame. As mentioned earlier, the family frame is evoked by words such as ‘family’, ‘children’ etc. Here, the focus is primarily on the lexemes ‘family’, ‘families’, ‘children’ and ‘kids’. Furthermore, Clinton’s ‘second fight’ is about the strengthening of America’s families, and therefore it is relevant to look at the way Clinton uses the words ‘family’ and ‘families’ in her general campaign discourse.

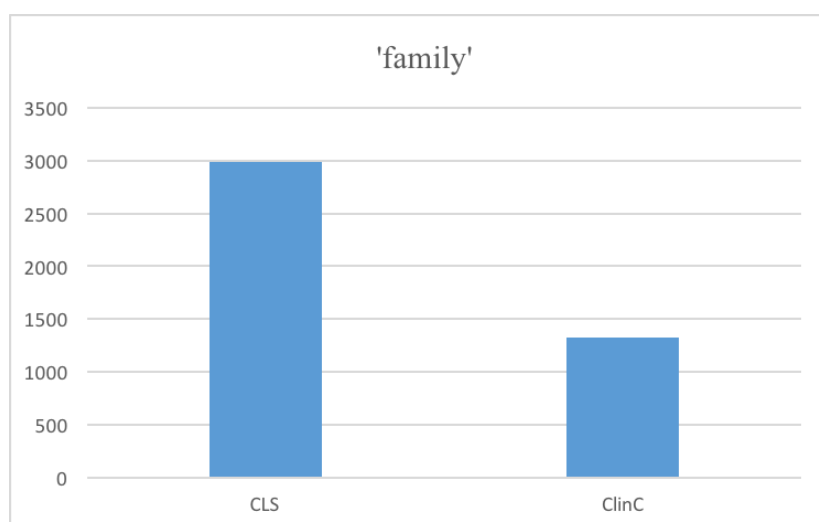


Table 3: 'family'

Here, ‘family’ has a normalized frequency of 2989.83 in the CLS while in the ClinC the normalized frequency is 1331.00, meaning that ‘family’ is used over twice as many times in the CLS. This is interesting, as the strengthening of America’s families is one of Clinton’s key issues in her campaign, but is it not mentioned as much in her overall campaign discourse as in her campaign launch discourse. This might be due to the fact that her Campaign Launch Speech is a statement of visions and plans for America, while the ClinC is made of speeches given after the launch of the campaign in different states around America. In the Campaign Launch Speech, Clinton thus has to focus more on her key issues, which are the visions she has for America, while the speeches from the ClinC contain more concrete promises to the individual states. The lexeme ‘family’ is thus more present in the CLS because it is a more general issue, and therefore it belongs to Clinton’s visions for all of America. In the CLS, Clinton uses ‘family’ in sentences such as,

“[t]his isn’t a women’s issue. It’s a **family issue**. Just like raising minimum wage is a **family issue**” (Aa, l. 248),

where she talks about how women’s issues are family issues, and how these issues affect American families. But she also uses it in sentences such as,

“[l]ike any **family**, **our American family** is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart” (Aa, ll. 319-320).

In other sentences from the CLS, like the one above, where she talks about her own family, which is both her biological family and the entire American population, she uses pronouns such as ‘our’, ‘my’ and ‘your’. By doing so, she evokes the family frame in people’s minds and then inserts herself within that frame, as the mother of the American family. Moreover, she also creates an in-group, which is the American family – the people who support her and her visions, and an out-group, which are those who do not support her, mainly the Republicans, ‘those who would drive us apart’. Furthermore, she is also using pathos here by evoking the family frame, as family is a very emotional aspect. Also, by framing the voters as the American family, Clinton might be hoping to rouse their patriotic feelings in order for her arguments to become stronger (the patriotic frame is further elaborated on below). In the ClinC, ‘family’ is used in the same way, but significantly less,

which again indicates that the focus of the overall campaign discourse is not as much on Clinton’s visions, but on what she can actually do for her voters.

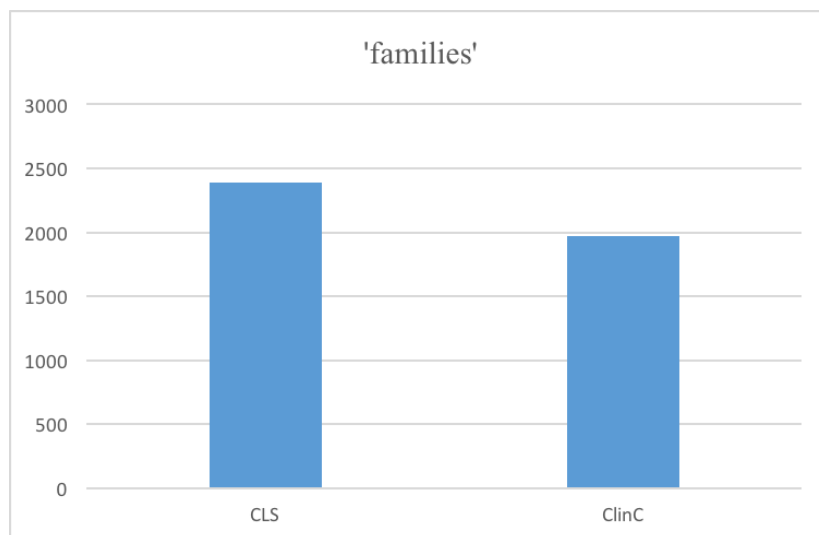


Table 4: 'families'

As with 'family', the plural form 'families' is also more present in the CLS. In the CLS, 'families' has a normalized frequency of 2391.86 while in the ClinC the normalized frequency is 1973.56, and thus, as the table shows, 'families' is used slightly more in the CLS. This is, again, possibly because the Campaign Launch Speech is more about Clinton’s visions and plans for America as a whole, while the ClinC contains speeches that address the individual states and their issues. Clinton’s statements in the ClinC concerning 'families' are thus more concrete than the ones in the CLS,

“I also want to make college affordable again for hard-working **families** and their students” (ClinC, Hillary Clinton attends campaign event in California).

and,

“when our **families** are strong, America is strong” (Aa, ll. 234-235).



Moreover, the argument is further substantiated when looking at the figures for ‘family’ and ‘families’ within the two corpora; in the CLS, ‘family’ has a normalized frequency of 2989.83, while the normalized frequency of ‘families’ is 2391.86, and thus ‘family’ has a higher normalized frequency. In the ClinC, ‘family’ has a normalized frequency of 1331.00, while ‘families’ has a normalized frequency of 1973.56, so, here ‘families’ has a higher normalized frequency. This fits with the above conclusion, as family, as a general issue, is more represented in the CLS, while the focus is more on individual families in the ClinC.

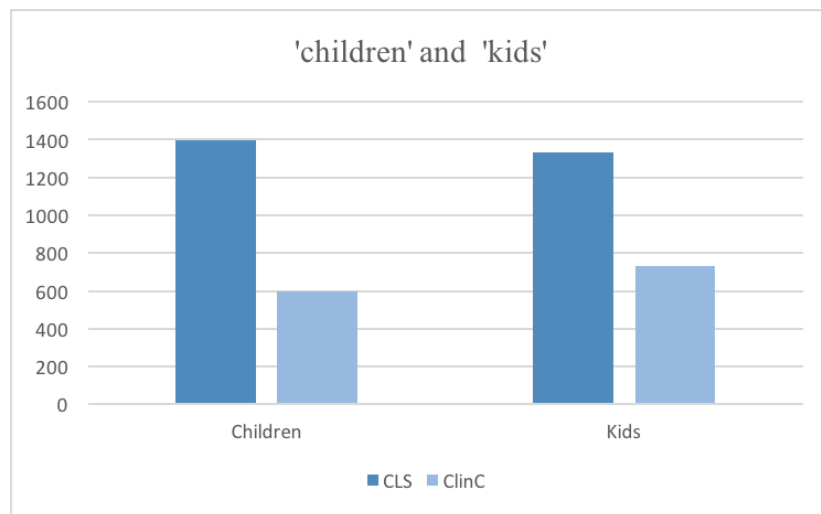


Table 5: 'children' and 'kids'

‘Children’ is a part of the family frame and has a normalized frequency of 1395.25 in the CLS, while its normalized frequency is 597.96 in the ClinC, meaning that it is used more in the CLS than in the ClinC. Moreover, ‘kids’, which is the more informal synonym to ‘children’ has a normalized frequency of 1331 in the CLS and 734.34 in the ClinC, which again shows that it has a higher normalized frequency in the CLS. Both lexemes are thus used more in the CLS, which can indicate that the primary function of the CLS is to present Clinton’s ideological beliefs and values in order to create a narrative about herself as a strong but caring maternal figure. Moreover, ‘kids’ is used more in the ClinC than ‘children’, which can indicate that her overall campaign discourse may be more informal, as ‘kids’ is an informal noun. This also fits with the argument in section 4.2.4.1 about ‘really’, which also indicates that her discourse represented by the ClinC is more informal. Furthermore, here we also see the use of interdiscursivity as she switches a formal and informal discourse both in the CLS and in the ClinC.

The family frame is thus used in both the campaign launch discourse and in the overall discourse represented by the ClinC, but it is used in different situations. As stated above, in the Campaign Launch Speech, Clinton uses the family frame to position herself as the mother of America, while in the ClinC she uses the family frame to show that she can relate to the individual issues of the voters and that she can solve those issues.

#### 4.2.2.2 Patriotic frame

The second frame analyzed in the primary analysis was the patriotic frame. This frame is evoked by words such as ‘honor’, ‘nation’, ‘serving’, ‘America’, ‘American’ and ‘Americans’, which are also the words chosen to conduct the analysis across the two corpora. The lexemes above are those who were found in the Campaign Launch Speech in connection to the patriotic frame. They are then used in the analysis of the corpus in order to compare the use of the frame in the campaign launch discourse to the overall campaign discourse.

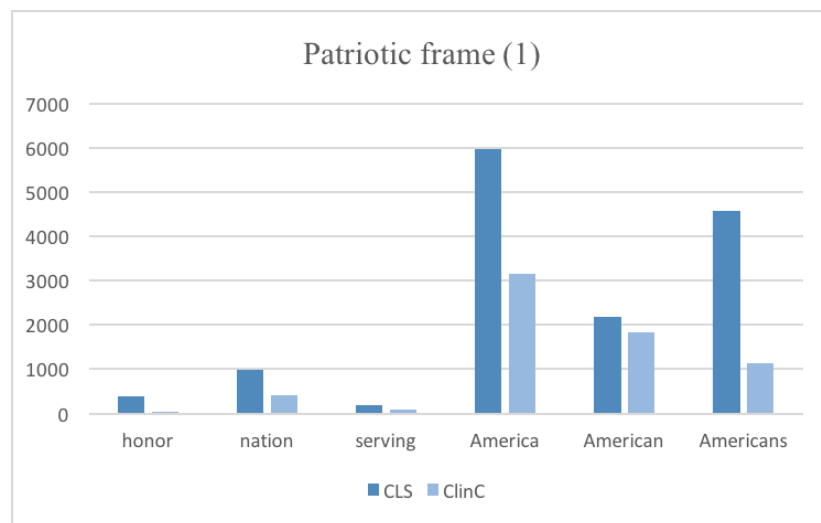
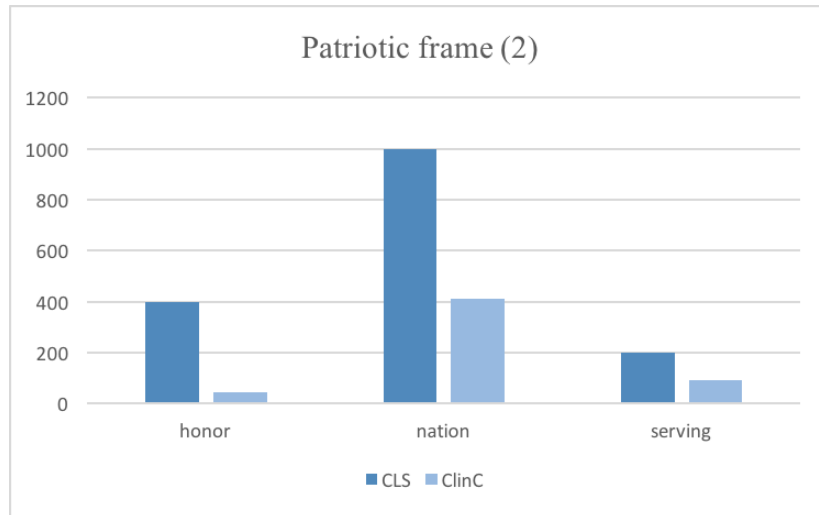


Table 6: Patriotic frame (1)



*Table 7: Patriotic frame (2)*

Looking at the tables above (where table 6 gives an overview of all the lexemes, while table 7 shows a scaled section of table 6, to better illustrate lexemes with a low normalized frequency), all the lexemes are more frequently represented in the CLS, especially ‘honor’, ‘nation’, ‘America’ and ‘Americans’ exhibit a large difference in normalized frequency. This indicates that the patriotic frame is used primarily in the CLS, as the campaign launch discourse plays more heavily on patriotic feelings than the overall campaign discourse. Furthermore, the lexemes chosen here may also be part of other frames, and thus one must keep in mind, that not all of them evoke the patriotic frame. Looking at the individual uses of the lexemes in AntConc, we can conclude that 66 per cent of the uses of the lexemes in the CLS evoke the patriotic frame, while 45 per cent of the uses evoke the frame in the ClinC. If the non-patriotic references were removed from the normalized frequency calculations, the resulting difference in normalized frequencies would be even greater. Therefore, it is still possible to argue that the CLS makes more use of the patriotic frame than the ClinC, and that this is because the Campaign Launch Speech addresses the nation, while the speeches in the ClinC address the states.

#### **4.2.2.3 Battle frame**

Both corpora represent words which are associated with battle. As one can objectively observe the words ‘fight’, ‘fights’, ‘battle’, ‘battles’, ‘win’, ‘champion’ and ‘threats’ have a higher normalized frequencies in the CLS than in the ClinC. The only word with a higher normalized frequency in the

ClinC is ‘fighting’, but the frequencies are still very much alike, 398.64 in the CLS and 413.07 in the ClinC.

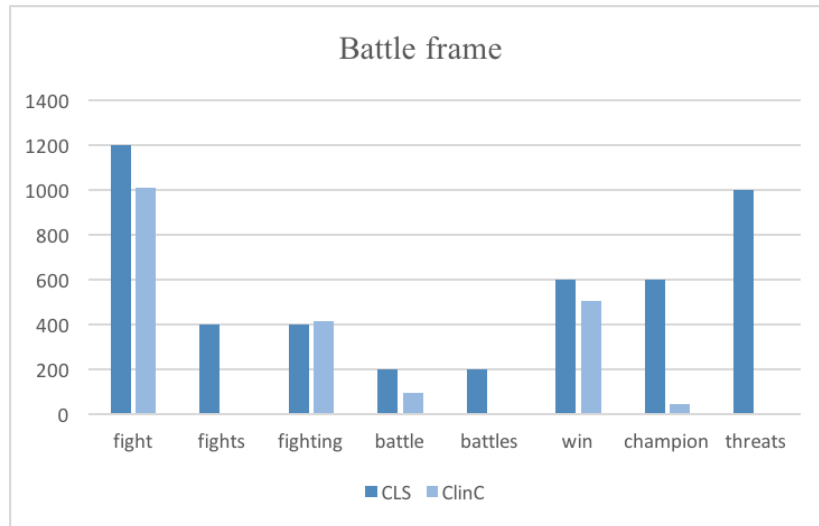


Table 8: Battle frame

All the words mentioned in the table above can function as a verb as well as a noun, and there will only be an analysis of the words with the highest normalized frequencies. The following two examples illustrate how Clinton uses the word ‘fight’ as a verb and as a noun, both examples are from the ClinC,

“I promise to stand up for you every single day as president to listen to you, to **fight** for you” (ClinC, Hillary Clinton at the Jewish Federation Des Moines).

In this example, ‘fight’ functions as a verb, and has a normalized frequency of 1009.73 in the ClinC. Even though the frequency is lower in the ClinC than in the CLS, it is still interesting to look at the context in which the word appears. The infinitive verb ‘fight’ creates a battle frame where people can associate the word with war or battle against an enemy. In this context, Clinton, represented by the personal pronoun ‘I’, uses the verb to take part in a fight against somebody or for somebody, here Clinton’s recipients in Des Moines, who are represented by the personal pronoun ‘you’. By using the word ‘fight’, she frames herself as a protector, and the discourse is perhaps constructed with the purpose of making the recipients in Des Moines feel valued and protected.

The next example demonstrates how ‘fight’ is being used as a noun,

“I will keep up that **fight**” (ClinC, Hillary Clinton attends campaign event in California).

In this statement, ‘that’ is a demonstrative pronoun with specific reference to ‘fight’ (the fight for immigrant families). The noun ‘fight’ becomes determined by ‘that’, meaning that it is not a random fight, but a very specific fight. The word ‘fight’ is very strong and some might combine it with war, battles and the U.S Military (at least in an American context), therefore when Clinton uses this specific reference, she may evoke a battle frame among the recipients, where they get ready for battle and become more enthusiastic. Clinton’s campaign consists of four fights, which is her main focus in the CLS. She calls it ‘the four fights’, and by using this specific terminology, she indicates that she is ready to fight and knows that it is going to be a struggle. Furthermore, naming her four political programs ‘fights’, she is evoking a warrior frame and thereby presenting herself as a strong leader. The word can be associated with a physical fight, but also a fight for social rights, so Clinton may use these words in order to combine all kinds of fights for America, and she evokes different frames among the recipients depending on their gender. To elaborate, masculine stereotypes might associate the word ‘fight’ with combat and war, and feminine stereotypes might think of social rights, therefore, through her battle discourse, Clinton captures all the American people as a whole by using ‘fight’.

The word ‘threats’ functions as a noun and is only represented in the CLS with a normalized frequency of 996.61. An example of how Clinton handles ‘threats’ in the CLS,

“I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today’s **threats** and tomorrow’s” (Aa, ll. 272-273).

The noun ‘threats’ is in the plural, so Clinton does not only refer to one particular threat but multiple threats of all kinds. The pronoun ‘I’ represents Clinton as the spokesman, and she tells people that she is ready for the possible challenges America can get. It is highly interesting that the word is only represented in the CLS, since a part of Clinton’s visions is to protect America. The word is a part of people’s battle frame, meaning when using a word like this, people start thinking of the words itself and its associates. It evokes the patriotic feeling in people and the attention

towards Clinton's discourse intensifies. Therefore, is it relevant to point out the fact that a strong word such as 'threats' is not represented in the ClinC. One of the reasons can once again be the fact that the ClinC represents speeches from different locations in America, so the focus is more on the state, and the CLS represents all Clinton's visions for America as a whole and it is a speech where Clinton focuses on framing herself.

In continuation, words such as 'battles', 'win' and 'fights' also have the highest normalized frequencies in the CLS. They can function both as a verb or a noun. Clinton uses the words when referring to her 'four fights', an example,

"[w]ith that same spirit, together, we can **win** these four fights" (Aa, l. 327).

The word 'win' functions as a verb here, and it can be argued that Clinton only uses these strong words to pay extra attention to her visions. The words create a patriotic feeling as they are put in connection with brotherhood and solidarity. Her choice of words is not random, as it is a constructed discourse, so by using words that create a fighting frame, the audience gets the idea that they must stand together as a whole, meaning winning the 'four fights' with Clinton. Hereby, it is illustrated how words, through political discourse, can evoke a certain frame among the audience, which makes them want to fight along with Clinton. Another aspect is, like with the word 'threats', that the words are not well represented in the ClinC. As one can observe, in the table above, the words (no matter their word class) are more than twice as frequent in the CLS than in the ClinC. The overrepresentation of the battle words in CLS can be Clinton's way of creating solidarity and fighting spirit among her recipients in America, and by not using these words in her other speeches (represented in the ClinC) shows that her focus is on something else, namely what she can do for each individual state.

All in all, the words represented in both corpora create a battle frame, where people's fighting spirit is called into existence. They are all strong words, which some might associate with masculinity in battle/the U.S Military. They are not sensitive words, which is a fact Clinton seems to think she needs to balance out through her discourse. In one way, she uses her femininity to persuade her feminine audience, but at the same time she uses words, such as 'threats', 'fight(s)' and 'battle(s)', which refer more to a masculine stereotype. Clinton might be using this balance to appeal to as many voters as possible, both masculine and feminine.

#### 4.2.2.4 Republican frame

The words ‘Republican’ and ‘Republicans’ are represented in both corpora. ‘Republican’ has a normalized frequency of 398.64 in the CLS and 413.07 in the ClinC, where ‘Republicans’ has a normalized frequency of 797.28 in the CLS and 596.65 in the ClinC, see table below.

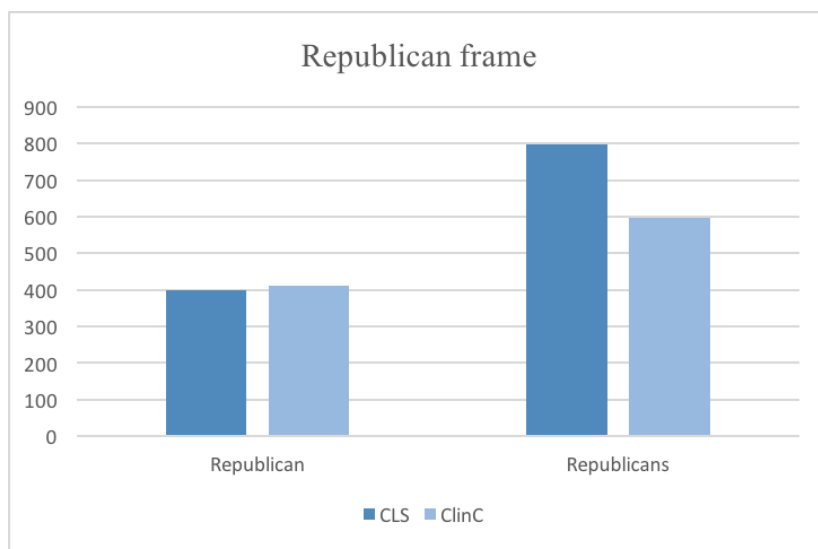


Table 9: Republican frame

In general, the use of ‘Republican’ and ‘Republicans’ is very similar in both corpora, yet there is still a higher normalized frequency in the representation of ‘Republicans’ in the ClinC. As mentioned previously in the analysis, Clinton’s reference to the Republicans creates distance,

“I don’t understand the rhetoric coming from the **Republicans**, because to me, I don’t know, they are living somewhere beside where we are” (ClinC, Hillary Clinton attends the campaign event in California).

The example is from the ClinC, where Clinton speaks at a campaign event in California. Her reference to the Republicans shows that they are not a part of her in-group. She states that the Republicans are off track and not present at all. Hereby, Clinton again creates distance between her and the Republicans. When referring to people from the Republican Party as ‘Republicans’, their identity is determined through their political conviction, so their identity is to be Republican.

The next example is from Clinton’s speech in Iowa,

“[w]hen it is all said and done, we have to be united against a **republican** vision and candidates who would drive us apart and divide us” (ClinC, Hillary Clinton Speech to Iowa).

The word ‘republican’ functions as an adjective that describes the noun ‘vision’, and since Clinton uses the noun phrase ‘a republican vision’, she is certain that her recipients know the Republicans’ visions. The interesting thing about this statement is how it indicates that Clinton wants the American people including herself to be against the Republican leadership, so they do not succeed in dividing the American people. Yet, she actually does that by herself, as she creates distance to the Republicans and makes them ‘the Others’. There is a contradiction in Clinton’s statement where she ignores that running for president also means running for all Americans, including the Republicans. She states that the Republicans’ visions drive them apart and create groups, but her statement does the exact same thing. Since the representation of both ‘Republican’ and ‘Republicans’ is very much alike in both corpora, it seems that Othering is just as much part of her campaign discourse as her Campaign Launch Speech, and thereby, Clinton does not consider the fact that the location of her speech might consist of many Republicans.

#### **4.2.2.5 Prosperity frame**

As already established, the themes of finance and economy are major factors in the Campaign Launch Speech, however, in comparison with the ClinC, it is interesting to note how there are significant variations in regards to how the words relevant to the frame are represented. This is illustrated below by table 9 below,



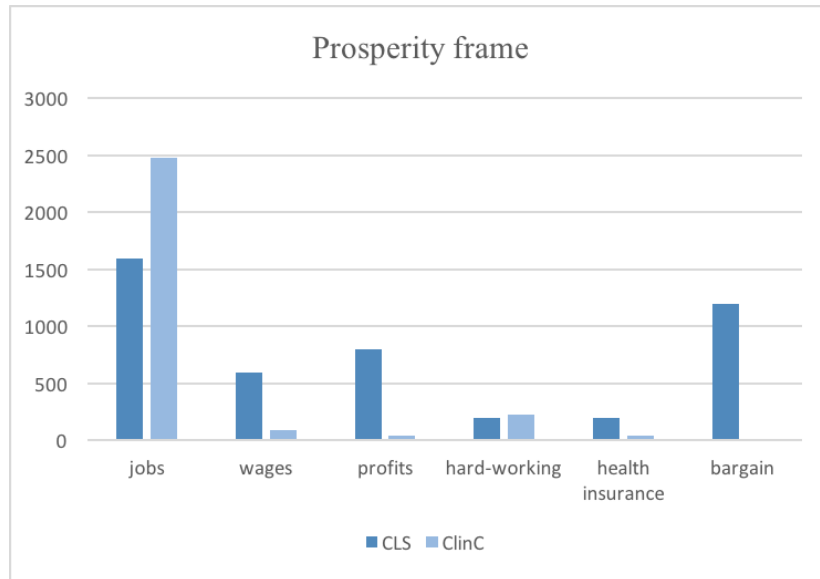


Table 10: Prosperity frame

To start with ‘jobs’, broadly speaking, out of the key words in this table, ‘jobs’ is the most frequent one in both corpora. ‘Jobs’ has a normalized frequency of 1594.57 in the CLS in comparison to a normalized frequency of 2478.42 in the ClinC. Thus, the key word is significantly more represented in the ClinC and an example from the corpus could be,

“[i]t’s about helping people find **good jobs** that pay enough for families to live on and to rebuild the middle class” (ClinC, Hillary Clinton speaks at Columbus Democratic Party Dinner Ohio).

Here, ‘jobs’ is modified by the adjective ‘good’, which adds a qualitative measure to the ClinC discourse and this is not a single case scenario. In fact, the top three collocates appearing to the left of ‘jobs’ in the ClinC is (1) the adjective ‘good’ modifying ‘jobs’ in 18 per cent of the occurrences, (2) ‘paying’ creating the compound noun ‘paying jobs’ in 13 per cent of the occurrences, and finally, (3) the modifying adjective ‘more’ which represents 7 per cent of the occurrences.

As already touched on, ‘good’ is a positive qualification of the noun ‘jobs’, which indicates that there is an opposition, namely, ‘bad jobs’ – something that Clinton, on the behalf of her supporters, is not interested in. Likewise, is the case of ‘paying jobs’, which is also an entirely positive perspective to have on the noun ‘jobs’ as it similarly infers that there is a concept of jobs which are not paying well enough – ultimately also something Clinton wants to avoid in future America. Finally, by modifying ‘jobs’ with the adjective ‘more’, Clinton insinuates that the number of available job options is not sufficient in terms meeting the demands of present-day America.

Therefore, the emphasis on ‘more jobs’ is, again, an indicator of Clinton’s ideological vision embedded in her discursive prosperity frame.

Hence, on the basis of these findings it is safe to say, that in regards to the keyword ‘jobs’, the ClinC represents a discourse very similar to the one found in the CLS, which communicates a prosperous outcome of the idea of ‘jobs’ and prosperity being deeply intertwined – that is, getting a job is crucial for the nation to prosper. However, according to the data, the emphasis on jobs is indeed higher in the discourse represented by the ClinC than the one found in the CLS.

Regardless, important to note is that, apart from the adjective ‘hard-working’, ‘jobs’ is the only key word in table 9, which is more frequent in the ClinC compared to the CLS. More specifically, if one looks at ‘wages’, ‘profits’ and ‘bargain’, one sees a tendency where these key words are up to 26 times more frequent in the CLS in comparison to the ClinC. This is extremely interesting, as these key words in the CLS are important players in the establishment of the prosperity frame. Therefore, when these factors are hardly represented in the ClinC, it is not possible to say that the frame evoked by ‘jobs’ in the CLS is identical to the one characterized in the ClinC.

In elaboration, the occurrences of ‘wages’ in the CLS all appear in the introductory part of the speech and in the section on the ‘first fight’ concerning the American economy. One of the examples is,

“[a]dvances in technology and the rise of global trade have created whole new areas of economic activity and opened new markets for our exports, but they have also displaced jobs and undercut **wages** for millions of Americans” (Aa, ll. 87-89).

In the remaining occurrences, Clinton also characterizes wages as too low. In the ClinC it is the same tendency one sees, however, largely underrepresented compared to the CLS. As for ‘profits’, it should be clarified that in all of the occurrences ‘profits’ functions as a noun and not as the polysemic verb. Nonetheless, it is the same tendency as above, where the key word is overly represented in the CLS compared to the ClinC.

Lastly, the same applies to ‘bargain’, however, important to note here, is that in the ClinC the only occurrence of ‘bargain’ is in the function of a verb. In contrast, in the CLS ‘bargain’ only appears as a noun in contexts such as,

“[i]t’s America’s basic **bargain**. If you do your part you ought to be able to get ahead. And when everybody does their part, America gets ahead too” (Aa, ll. 26-27).

In the majority of the occurrences, this is the specific ‘bargain’ referred to. Again, important to note is how the occurrences, once more, exclusively appear in the introductory part of the Campaign Launch Speech.

In an attempt to explain the lack of balance between the two discourses, one could argue that due to the placement of majority of the key words associated with prosperity, that is, initially in the CLS, they are all part of the frame which Clinton uses to set the stage for the actual presentation of her ‘four fights’. Moreover, it is also arguable that the CLS is more abstract and ideological compared to the ClinC speeches, which are locally set and thus have a higher focus on local ‘jobs’.

### **4.2.3 Keyness in the CLS**

Following is an analysis of the lexemes in the CLS that have the highest keyness value. As mentioned in the methodology in section 3, keyness is used to describe a word, which is key in its context. Furthermore, keywords are words that have an unusual frequency in comparison with a reference corpus. As explained, we have used AntConc to create a list of keywords ranked by their keyness, meaning the words that are used most frequently in the CLS, but less frequently or not at all in the ClinC. The following analysis thus looks at three words from the keyword list with high keyness values that were interesting in connection to the primary analysis, namely ‘Americans’, ‘believe’ and ‘childcare’.

#### **4.2.3.1 Americans**

‘Americans’ has a keyness value of 20.987 in the CLS, which means that it is used a great deal more in the CLS than in the reference corpus, the ClinC. Furthermore, it is the highest ranked word in the keyword list, which means that it is the word with the most unusual frequency in comparison with the ClinC. This can be linked to the analysis of the patriotic frame above in section 4.2.2.2, which Clinton uses more in the campaign launch discourse than in the overall campaign discourse.

‘Americans’ thus has a high keyness because it is part of this frame. Again, the Campaign Launch Speech addresses the entire nation and therefore it has more focus on addressing and rousing patriotic feelings than the speeches included in the ClinC, as they address the specific states.

#### 4.2.3.2 Believe

‘Believe’ has a keyness value of 11.113 in CLS, which again indicates that it is used a great deal more in the CLS than in the ClinC. ‘Believe’ is a stative verb in the group, which is associated with thoughts or opinions. Moreover, often times, the aspect of modality is seen as strictly related to the concept of modal verbs, which is understandable due to the terminology. Nevertheless, modality also applies to other grammatical units (in this case, regular verbs), and, briefly, the concept is summed up as the involvement of non-factuality – or, in other words, the concept of dealing with a reality alternative to the real world (Bache, 2000, p. 142). In the case of ‘believe’, the verb expresses possibility and likelihood – also known as epistemic modality, in which a degree of certainty is determined. ‘Believe’, hence, communicates an opinion and conviction that something is both possible and likely and, here, Clinton’s opinion of how America should be, her personal vision for America,

“I **believe** you should have the right to earn paid sick days” (Aa, l. 238),

and,

“I **believe** you should look forward to retirement with confidence, not anxiety” (Aa, l. 241).

Furthermore, it is a presentation of her ideology and plans for the future if she should be elected president, which might be why ‘believe’ is so much more present in the Campaign Launch Speech. In the Campaign Launch Speech, Clinton is much more focused on her visions, plans, ideologies and personal views than in the other speeches represented in the ClinC, as these communicate concrete ideas and solutions for the individual states, therefore it is not a surprise that ‘believe’ is represented more in the Campaign Launch Speech. Furthermore, when addressing the individual states, she needs to be more factual in order to seem more credible. She needs to appear as if she can actually solve their problems, and therefore she cannot just talk about visions and ideologies in

the other speeches. In contrast, the Campaign Launch Speech launches the campaign, and therefore it has to address ideologies and visions and present a plan for the future.

#### 4.2.3.3 Childcare

‘Childcare’ has a keyness value of 10.055 in the CLS, and is one of the issues Clinton addresses when talking about her ‘second fight’, the strengthening of America’s families. She says,

“I believe you should receive your work schedule with enough notice to arrange **childcare** or take college courses to get ahead” (Aa, ll. 239-240),

and,

“[e]xpanding **childcare** is a family issue” (Aa, l. 249).

Thus, based on the data, one can observe a significantly higher emphasis on the aspect of ‘childcare’ in the CLS in comparison to the ClinC, where it is not emphasized at all. Furthermore, when looking at the first example above, ‘childcare’ is grouped with two other issues, namely, the issues of receiving work schedules with reasonable notice and taking college classes after work. Furthermore, an interesting factor is that Clinton spends a lot of time talking about how she, during her career, has helped children who were in need, and looking at the data, the issue of childcare seems to be part of her narrative about herself. She thus uses the stories about the children she has helped in order to frame herself as a loving, caring maternal figure.

#### 4.2.4 Keyness analysis of the ClinC

After having looked at the words with high keyness value in the CLS, the analysis now inverts its focus to look at the words with high keyness value in the ClinC.

##### 4.2.4.1 Really

With the highest keyness value of 14.092, the adverb ‘really’ is the first word the final part of the analysis will look into. Generally speaking, almost all of the occurrences appear in either central-medial or in pre-medial position, which corresponds to how ‘really’ is commonly used in English

discourse (Bache, 2000, p. 69). An example to illustrate Clinton's use of 'really' in the ClinC could be,

"I want to be a **really** strong candidate to take my vision and our view into a general election against whoever the Republicans nominate" (ClinC, Hillary Clinton Florida Rally post Univision Democratic Debate).

After having studied the individual occurrences of the adverbs it is clear that, with one exception, they all follow the same adverbial structure as adjuncts with a small scope that only covers the succeeding verb, noun or, as seen above, adjective. Moreover, 'really' falls into the category of degree adverbs, and, therefore, it can be concluded that Clinton's use of 'really' functions as an emphasizing adjunct adding prominence to specific aspects of the ClinC discourse. Nevertheless, interesting to note is why the adverb does not at all appear in the initial Campaign Launch Speech, when it is so frequently used in the ClinC with a normalized frequency of 1560.49. One explanation could be that there is a difference in regards to formality in the two respective discourses. To elaborate, the adverb 'really' is commonly used in more informal discursive settings like everyday discourse, and has more formally used counter versions, such as, 'truly', 'genuinely', 'sincerely', 'certainly', etc. On the basis of this, it is arguable that Clinton makes use of a more informal discourse in the ClinC compared to the discourse she used in the Campaign Launch Speech in June 2015. Perhaps the reasoning behind this linguistic decision is founded in an attempt to, as we have also previously pointed to, seem more peer-like and approachable in her locally set speeches.

#### **4.2.4.2 Rights**

The next word to be analyzed is the noun 'rights', which has a keyness value of 8.719 in the ClinC. In the CLS, 'rights' is used only once (in reference to 'human rights'), giving it a normalized frequency of merely, 199,32. In the ClinC, 'rights' has a normalized frequency of 1606.38, nonetheless, the keyword holds references to a number of different specification of 'rights', which is illustrated by the table 11,

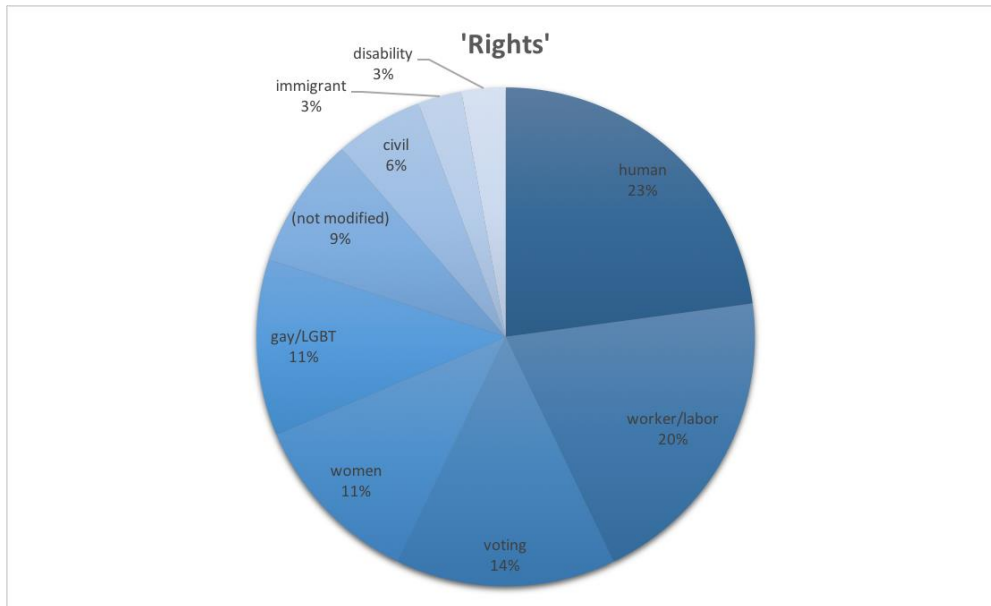


Table 11: 'Rights'

To briefly comment on the content of the table, 'human rights' is indeed the most frequent making up for 23 per cent of the occurrences, but is however closely followed by 'workers/labor rights'. Moreover, 'voting rights', 'women's rights' and 'gay/LGBT rights' are close to equally represented. Also, in 9 per cent of the occurrences, 'rights' holds no specific qualification. Lastly, in few instances, 'rights' appears in relation to 'immigrant rights' and 'disability rights'.

It is interesting to consider why the aspect of various rights receives this much attention in the ClinC, when it is hardly represented in the Campaign Launch Speech. One suggestion could be that the Campaign Launch Speech is meant as a broad introduction to Clinton's political conviction in general, alongside her overall vision for a future America. In addition, following the same lines, the Campaign Launch Speech also focuses a great deal on launching a characterization of Clinton as a presidential candidate. In contrast, as the ClinC is solely constituted by speeches given in 2016, they are all rooted in a context where the Clinton campaign is well established and therefore the presidential candidate can focus more on the actual courses of actions she wants to take if elected. From this perspective, with Clinton being a democrat, it makes sense for her to talk about the rights of minority groups (fitting with the battle frame and the 'warrior of the weak'), as well as rights in general, as part of her ClinC discourse.

Moreover, to return to an already established point, another explanation might again also be that the Campaign Launch Speech is targeted at a larger recipient group, namely the American nation at large, whereas all the speeches in the ClinC are given at various specific locations across

America. Therefore, this might explain why Clinton focuses more on the right of individual American groups depending on the geographical location in which she finds herself at the time of performing the specific speeches.

#### 4.2.4.3 Hope

Finally is the case of ‘hope’, which has a keyness value of 8.704 in the ClinC. In the CLS there are absolutely no occurrences, whereas the ClinC represents a normalized frequency of 963.83. Furthermore, in contrast to some of the other key words analyzed, ‘hope’ denotes a mixed nature when it comes to word classes as it is both seen in the function of a verb as well as a noun (in approximately two thirds of the occurrences ‘hope’ appears a verb, and, thus, in approximately one third of the occurrences as a noun). Interestingly enough, in 60 per cent of the overall occurrences, ‘hope’ appears with the pronoun ‘I’ as a collocate. In other words, in 6 out of ten times, Clinton uses ‘hope’ in subject-verb constructions just like the the following,

“I **hope** you will join me in that. I **hope** you will be there with me. I **hope** I can earn your vote in the Primary on Tuesday. I **hope** I will be your Democratic nominee. I **hope** we will fight against whatever the Republicans put out in our way” (ClinC, Hillary Clinton speaks at Columbus Democratic Party Dinner).

Firstly, in relation to the earlier analysis of persuasive techniques (section 4.1.4), Clinton once again makes use of a repetitive pattern of similar sentence constructions to emphasize her point. Granted, one may argue that the high frequency of ‘hope’ is due to the use of this particular technique, and thus the occurrences are not an evenly distributed tendency throughout the corpus. However, this critique is easily rebutted as we are dealing with highly constructed discourses, and therefore, every choice of word is of great importance. Therefore, when analyzing ‘hope’ as a verb, it is extremely interesting to compare the findings with the analysis on the verb ‘believe’ in section 4.2.3.2 as the aspect of modality also very much applies to the verb ‘hope’. However, highly important to note is how, unlike ‘believe’, ‘hope’ expresses deontic modality, which, in broad terms, is characterized by the assessment of non-real situations in regards to personal values and social relations. Even more accurately concerning ‘hope’, however, is the concept of volition as the verb expresses a wish for how the world preferably should be, depending on the agent in the communicative situation.



Therefore, it was evident that 'believe' expresses a level of certainty of something being possible or manageable in either Clinton's opinion or simply due to surrounding factors making it possible. In contrast, the essence of the verb 'hope' is captured by Clinton's desire for a specific outcome of certain events, hence, 'to hope' is not a matter of relying on a level of certainty, but rather an expression of values and ideologies. In conclusion, the modal verbs 'believe' and 'hope' give the recipient(s) an insight into Clinton's attitude in the CLS and the speeches from the ClinC, respectively. Common for them both is their involvement with non-factuality, however, 'believe' is more factual than 'hope' because 'believe' represents possibility and likelihood while 'hope' refers to personal conviction.

## 5. Discussion

The remaining part of the thesis consists of a discussion of some of the most predominant aspects of the analyses with a specific focus on the discursive frames. Furthermore, the purpose of the discussion is to compare and contrast some of the analytical findings from the primary and secondary analysis.

As stated previously, Clinton uses Othering in different domains of her discourse. On the one hand, as Othering is often viewed negatively, one could criticize Clinton's campaign discourse of being counterproductive when she makes the statement of running for all Americans (Aa, l. 83) when, in reality, it is a strict contradiction of her actual discourse. On the other hand, due to the political foundation of the U.S. Constitution allowing for ideological diversity, one could also argue that Othering is an entirely inevitable phenomenon, especially, when dealing with political discourse. To substantiate, "Othering refers to the general process of demarcating an out-group and thereby reaffirming in-group membership [...] In particular, it involves efforts to label individuals as members of potentially threatening out-groups" (Tope et al., 2014, p. 451). As established by the thesis, in section 4.1.6.4, the concept of Othering is generally discursively manifested by the pronouns 'they', 'them' and 'their'. Hence, the division between the Republican and Democratic Parties is undeniable and, thus, deeply embedded in both democratic and republican discourses. Therefore, it is arguable that Clinton is expected to emphasize this division which is also evident in the data where the lexemes 'Republican' and 'Republicans' are very similarly represented in the corpus and the Campaign Launch Speech.

However, throughout the analysis it also became apparent that the concept of Othering not only applies to members of the Republican Party in Clinton's campaign launch discourse, but also in relation to a number of social and minority groups. Given the multicultural and diverse nature of America, "Othering is present in all systems of inequality (e.g., race, gender, class). For that reason, such expressions need not be grounded in ethnocentrism" (Tope et al., 2014, p. 451). Here, examples from Clinton's campaign launch discourse are: 'young people', 'poor people', 'people with disabilities', 'people of color', 'the LGBT community' and 'Mexican farmworkers'. From one perspective, there is naturalness in Clinton's way of distancing herself from the above groups, as she does not qualify as a member. Also, in the case of 'young people', 'poor people', 'people with disabilities' and 'people of color', Clinton fails to include herself in the reference, but

rather she sets up a hegemonic dynamic where she needs to fight their battles. In contrast, in the cases of ‘the LGBT community’ and ‘Mexican farmworkers’, Clinton actually directly uses the pronouns ‘them’ and ‘their’ in the references to these groups, automatically creating distance. Moreover, interesting to note in regards to ‘the LGBT community’, is how Clinton only includes lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders, while excluding other individuals also not captured by the binary understanding of sexuality, such as, queers, intersexes and asexuals etc, which thus is a further exclusion of perceived deviating groups. Lastly, ‘Mexican farmworker’ is also a stereotypical representation of an ethnic minority emphasizing a lower social status, which is a negative representation of an entire ethnic group. Moreover, “some frames adopted by whites may be cast as general perspectives on race relations” (Tope et al., 2014, p. 454), meaning that Clinton’s discourse produces and maintains the perception of the low working status of Mexican immigrants. Thus, Clinton places herself in a higher social position and makes use of a sort of Othering, however, not as strongly communicated as in the case of how she frames the Republicans. However, from a different perspective it is also possible to argue that Clinton is simply being politically correct in regards to various social groups. Moreover, PC is a term used to eliminate discrimination against marginalized social groups (Baker & Ellece, 2001, p. 93). Hence, one can argue that Clinton’s mentioning of these social groups is simply an attempt to recognize and respect people’s Otherness. Furthermore, by using PC, Clinton places herself in an American tradition of Political Correctness of avoiding discrimination against certain social groups.

Nevertheless, Othering is necessary in order to have a battle frame since a battle frame can only exist when there is both an in- and out-group. The in-group is determined as an opposition to the out-group, in other words, the identity of the in-group members is determined in contrast to the out-group members identity. Thus, the establishment of an out-group is crucial in a battle discourse. Also, the establishment of an in-group is dependent on patriotic feelings, which arguably is why Clinton uses a patriotic frame in her discourse. Since the patriotic frame and the battle frame are so deeply intertwined the question is whether these are two independent frames or rather two sides of the same coin. The patriotic frame is historically marked, meaning that the values embedded in this frame stem from events and beliefs that have had an impact in American history, for instance the American War of Independence plays a big part in the understanding of the patriotic frame. Another example is the notion of Manifest Destiny, which was the common belief among settlers in the nineteenth century that they were destined to spread knowledge and civilization in the now

American West. On the basis of this, it is possible to argue that within the patriotic frame lies the notion of battle, which thus supports the argument that the two frames to some extent essentially are the same. Nevertheless, the battle and the patriotic frame can, furthermore, also be viewed as independent frames, as they can be evoked separately even though some elements overlap. In elaboration, the patriotic frame can to some extent be evoked without triggering the battle frame and vice versa. One of the overlapping elements in Clinton's discourse is the warrior subframe, which Clinton uses to present herself as protector of the weak and marginalized. An extremely interesting thing to wonder about is why Clinton has chosen the warrior approach with focus on her 'four fights', as it seems rather aggressive and masculine, especially in comparison with Obama's 2008 campaign discourse. On the one hand, it is possible that the aggressive battle frame is a direct result of her personal and political values and visions. However, on the other hand, it could also seem like an attempt to accommodate to the masculine historic nature of the U.S. Presidency, which leads to the notion of gender.

From a gender perspective, Clinton's discourse indicates a maternal frame with the function of addressing the female gender without using feminist terminology. The most obvious example has already been thoroughly analyzed and this of course is the strong female character illustrated by Clinton's mother. Also, it is curious how weakly the masculine gender is represented in Clinton's narrative of her own family. To substantiate, apart from her mother, Clinton's daughter and granddaughter are mentioned by their proper names while her father, grandfather and her husband are mentioned by their functional titles. Moreover, it is also interesting that the reference to a specific single parent struggling with college is a woman and not a man. The fact that the female gender is significantly more in focus than the masculine gender reminds one of feminist mentality. Nevertheless, Clinton does not directly portray herself as a frontrunner for the feminist movement, but is rather highly implicit in regards to her own gender. One could argue that Clinton's implicit use of feminist discourse might be a coping strategy with the male dominance of American society, a fact supported by Edith Disler (2005, p. 66), who says "[m]uch language and gender literature points out that the dynamics of interaction produce and reproduce male power". Clinton is reproducing male-power by evoking the battle frame, her straightforward approach to the economy and her choice of appearance (the fact that she as presidential candidate is wearing trouser suits in contrast to her time as First Lady, when she was often seen wearing skirts).

Moreover, George Lakoff's family models could be viewed as representations of the two traditional genders, where the idea of the Strict Father displays a masculine view of parenting while the Nurturant Parent exhibits a feminine angle, based on traditional stereotypical parent roles, which is further exemplified by the reference to the single mother. Therefore, on the one hand, Clinton's performance is feminine when talking about families in connection to 'children', 'kids' and 'minority groups' as we saw in relation to the Nurturant Parent model, ultimately benefitting from the rhetorical effect of pathos. But, on the other hand, Clinton's discourse takes a masculine turn when addressing immigrant issues, economy and world issues, because of her extensive use of ethos where Clinton demands certain behavioral patterns as well as asking the American people to put their trust in her as a valid leader. The mentality of everybody being the architect of their own fortune is partly at play in Clinton's campaign launch discourse which very much mirrors Strict Father ideology and also a concept commonly associated with the Republican Party. Nevertheless, Clinton still argues for a social security net which again places her in the Nurturant Parent (and Democratic) domain. The variation between the Strict Father and the Nurturant Parent models is an interdiscursive shift, which furthermore, exemplifies Butler's notion that different situations call for differently performed genders (Butler, 2002, pp. 43-44).

In contrast to Butler's notion of performed gender, Robin Lakoff works with the stereotypical concepts of man and woman. As stated in the theory, Robin Lakoff has been included as part of the thesis' theoretical framework because Clinton, to some extent, fits within Lakoff's empirical target group. However, since Lakoff has been greatly criticized for her hypothesis and methodological foundation, we find it relevant to include this criticism as part of the discussion. On the one hand, Cameron, McAliden and O'Leary agree that so-called 'women's language' is not used by women only and also not by all women. On the other hand, however, they argue "it is clear that for her [Lakoff] the most important aspect 'women's language' is its association with weakness and subordination, but on the other hand she calls it '*women's language*', that is, typical of women rather than other socially subordinated groups" (Cameron, McAliden & O'Leary, 1988, p. 78). On the basis of the above, it is, from a contemporary view, interesting to note how Robin Lakoff herself writes about Clinton even though, as a presidential candidate, she is in a position of power. As stated in the primary analysis, Clinton does not directly use women's language, however, according to Lakoff's article *Listening to Her: Hillary's Dilemma* from October, 2015, "Clinton has repeatedly "apologized" for her purported email errors. The hope apparently is that, if she womans up (or down) and keeps apologizing, everyone will forgive her and see her for the nice harmless

lady she really is [...] Once you apologize for something, the charge sticks to you forever. So apologizing is not just a sign of weakness but also a way to become still weaker”, thus saying that according to Lakoff women’s language equals weakness, which very much complies with the critique from Cameron, McAliden and O’Leary. According to Lakoff, women tend to apologize more than men and she generates that women’s language is viewed as socially weaker than men’s language. Moreover, following Lakoff’s argument, a similar example is present in the Campaign Launch Speech where Clinton acknowledges her previous “share of mistakes” (Aa, l. 353), and thereby indirectly apologizing for them.

Even though Lakoff has been highly criticized, there are still other scholars who build on Lakoff’s hypothesis and support her gender view of language. Suleiman and O’Connell (2008, p. 379) argue, in *Race and Gender in Current American Politics: A Discourse-Analytic Perspective* an article from the 2008 presidential election,

[w]e found that perspective is indeed gendered, as both interviewees used these markers differentially and in accordance with literature on women’s speech and men’s speech. For example, Hillary Clinton used the discourse marker *y’ know* and the intensifier *so* more often than Bill Clinton. Both markers have been noted in the literature as features of women’s speech.

These are in fact markers we found in Clinton’s campaign discourse, and thus based on the above quote, it is indeed arguable that Clinton makes use of women’s language.

As already stated, one can argue that Clinton makes use of both Nurturant Parent and Strict Father discourses, which ultimately leads us to question George Lakoff’s theory of family models. From one perspective, if Clinton, as a representative of the Democratic Party, communicates discourse representing the Strict Father discourse which otherwise should be a Republican ideology then George Lakoff’s theory might perhaps not hold merit. To substantiate, Clinton makes use of elements that can be associated with the Strict Father model, as for instance when requiring the American people ‘to do their part’ in order to ‘reap the rewards’ (section 4.1.5). Another interesting aspect is Clinton’s reference to international threats, which further links Clinton’s campaign launch discourse with the Strict Father model as it takes “as background the view that life is difficult and that the world is fundamentally dangerous” (Lakoff, 2002, p. 65). Hence, the thesis offers a

suggestion that George Lakoff's metaphorical conception of American politics may not fully comply with the analytical findings from Clinton's campaign launch discourse. But, from a different perspective, one can ask oneself is it Lakoff's metaphorical models that do not comply with Clinton's campaign launch discourse or is it Clinton's campaign launch discourse that does not comply with the traditional notion of the division between conservatives and liberals. First of all, the fact that the thesis suggests that Clinton makes use of Strict Father discourse can be read as an indication of Clinton holding conservative views. Second of all, it is remarkable that Clinton's only reference to ethnic minorities is 'Mexican farmworkers' and 'people of color' in her Campaign Launch Speech, as America is a multicultural nation. In relation, equally striking is the fact that Clinton does not at all mention the flow of refugees, resulting from the current conflict in hotspots in the Middle East, which is an extremely urgent social issue on a global scale. Since a traditional liberal mentality is to embrace people at risk, it is highly conspicuous that Clinton does not pay more attention to the social issues both in America and globally. To further substantiate, in contrast to President Obama, who devoted parts of his campaign and presidency to change the American welfare system, Clinton only focuses very briefly on this matter. In sum, it is possible to argue that Clinton to some extent does not completely fit with George Lakoff's notion of a liberal tradition, however, as George Lakoff says, "[l]iberalism and conservatism are anything but monolithic. Both provide rich moral and political worldviews, rich enough to permit a wide range of variation" (Lakoff, 2002, p. 283).

Therefore, even though the thesis to some extent questions George Lakoff's family models, Lakoff himself, as the quote suggests, has taken potential political variation into consideration. So, when Clinton arguably juggles the two family models it can also be an attempt to actually follow her promise of 'running for all Americans' and win over swing voters.

Even though throughout the thesis the various frames have been dealt with on an individual level they are all in reality deeply intertwined and substantiate one another. Thus Clinton's prosperity and personal frames can in fact be argued to partly be results of the above mentioned frames, in the sense that they all point towards on the one hand, Clinton's political persona as a presidential candidate and, on the other hand, all point to her prosperous agenda. Thus, "[f]rames are so powerful because they induce us to filter our perceptions of the world in particular ways, essentially making some aspects of our multidimensional reality more noticeable than other aspects. They operate by making some information more *salient* than other information; therefore, they "highlight

some features of reality while omitting others”” (Kuypers, 2009, p. 181). Hence, frames are extremely influential political tools of persuasion and seen from a negative perspective exceedingly manipulative if one is not aware of the cognitive processes that are deliberately triggered by the sender’s discourse. Moreover, regardless of how well-constructed a frame is, one can never fully control the associations awoken in the individual recipient's mind. To elaborate, to take the case of the family frame, Clinton seems to assume that her recipients have a positive association with the idea of a family, which might not be the case. In addition, Clinton does not specify her idea of a family which can have both a negative and a positive outcome. From a negative viewpoint, Clinton mentions the LGBT community and ‘their families’, which is extremely ambiguous as the recipients cannot know if Clinton refers to the parents and siblings of people of the LGBT community or if it is rather a reference to people of the LGBT community, their partners and children. Since we live in modern times where the concepts of rainbow families and other nontraditional family constructions are in continuous growth, it is interesting to note how Clinton circles around this notion but without actually addressing it.

From a positive viewpoint, being unspecific arguably works in Clinton’s favor as the process of frames takes place in the unconsciousness and therefore the omission of information goes unnoticed by the receiver. Thus the receiver easily accepts accessible information (Kuypers, 2009, p. 181). To elaborate, when Clinton does not specify the term ‘family’ every receiver of the discourse is likely to take for granted that their idea of a normative family is exactly what Clinton refers to. So, a traditional Christian might have a notion of a heterosexual family, where people with another sexual orientation can have completely different view of what a family is. In other words, if one is not critically aware of the function of the frame, the word ‘family’ will apply to a broader understanding of the term and the individual recipient will not stop to consider whether his or her idea of a family is the one referred to, they will all feel included.

As the analyses proposes a comparison of the two corpora indicated that there are both great similarities and differences in Clinton’s campaign launch discourse (presented in the CLS) and in her 2016 campaign discourse (presented in the ClinC). In one regards, pronouns such as ‘I’ and ‘we’ and the terms ‘families’, ‘Republican’ and ‘Republicans’ are almost equally represented in the two discourses. The equal use of ‘I’ and ‘we’ seems logical as ‘I’ has the function of placing Clinton as the spokesman in her own discourse, where the equal occurrences of ‘we’ are also not surprising as the pronoun has a social including function. Furthermore, the similar occurrences of



‘Republican’ and ‘Republicans’ do not seem out of place given the fact that Clinton is a representative of the Democratic Party, and thus she must address her opposition in order to contrast their different ideologies. What is more, the equal use of the term ‘families’ is also not surprising as Clinton’s ‘second fight’ is devoted to the strengthening of America’s families.

In contrast, it is highly interesting to note that the singular case of the lexeme ‘family’ is more than twice as frequent in the CLS than in the ClinC. It can be argued that Clinton has more focus on presenting herself as a family person in the CLS, as one of the main purposes of the Campaign Launch Speech is to present herself as a presidential candidate. Yet, taking the 2016 context into consideration, a second explanation could be that the front-runner of the Republican Party, Donald Trump, exercises extremely masculine discourse. So, one could argue that Clinton might have to be more masculine in her discourse as well in order to keep pace with her opponent, which then might explain the decline in the use of the lexeme ‘family’ as the word can be associated with a more emotional mentality. Another difference between the two corpora is the use of the patriotic frame where, as the secondary analysis indicated, there is a great difference in the occurrences of the lexemes that we deem associated with the patriotic frame across the two corpora. Hence, the patriotic frame, as we have detected in the CLS, does not occur to the same extent in the ClinC, which ultimately also suggests a change in Clinton’s discourses.

As for the cases of the battle and the prosperity frame the tendency is more ambiguous than the above examples. In these frames (see tables 7 & 9), some lexemes are overly represented in one corpus compared to the other, while others are almost equally represented. Consequently, this inconsistency in the keywords makes it highly difficult to draw any general conclusions on the basis of the frames. Therefore, it is possible to state that some keywords appear equally, however, because of the deviation we cannot determine that the frames, at play in the CLS, are simultaneously represented in the ClinC.

## 6. Conclusion

The thesis set out to uncover underlying discursive structures in Clinton's campaign discourse with a specific focus on gender references, persuasive techniques and aspects of social inclusion and exclusion by means of the methodologies of Critical Discourse Analysis and corpus linguistics. The aim of the primary analysis was to solely focus on Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech complemented by the secondary analysis with the purpose of comparing and contrasting the Campaign Launch Speech with the specialized corpus consisting of a selection of 2016 speeches from Clinton's campaign.

In conclusion, in regards to the elements of gender references, the thesis revealed that the references to gender were more implicit than we had anticipated before conducting the analyses. In relation, we discovered that Clinton's discourses are to some extent neutral in regards to gender, hence, from the view point of Robin Lakoff, we found a highly limited extent of markers of 'women's language'. However, from the perspective of Butler, the thesis discovered that Clinton, through her discourses and her personal appearance, performs both stereotypical masculine and feminine genders. Moreover, since gender references are surprisingly implicit in Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech, it has been challenging to fully compare the occurrences of gender marked words in relation to the secondary analysis. Yet, looking at the use of 'family' and 'families', we noticed a vague change in the CLS and the ClinC indicating that the Campaign Launch Speech is more emotionally loaded than the ClinC. This, however, does not allow us to say anything in general about the difference between the Campaign Launch Speech and the corpus.

Secondly, Clinton makes use of different rhetorical means such as repetition, flatter and seduction, which are all classic persuasive techniques. Moreover, the thesis uncovered that in relation to George Lakoff's family models, Clinton's campaign launch discourse communicates an ambiguous reflection of both the Nurturant Parent and the Strict Father models (however, predominantly Nurturant Parent), consequently, Clinton embraces a larger audience. Furthermore, Clinton also makes use of the persuasive technique of intertextuality by referring to former Democratic presidents and well-known music, ultimately, underlining deliberate choices of how Clinton frames herself as a trustworthy likeable character

Thirdly, both analyses illustrated a high representation of specific pronouns and person deixis all with the function of either social inclusion or exclusion of people within the communicative situation. The comparison of the pronouns 'we' and 'I' in the Campaign Launch Speech and the corpus revealed a highly similar tendency in occurrences, although 'I' is generally more represented in both discourses. Moreover, the primary analysis found that Clinton makes use of Othering primarily through the use of the pronouns 'they' 'their' and 'them', which is mainly targeting the Republican Party, but also certain minority groups.

All in all, after looking at the underlying discursive structures, it has become clear that Clinton's discourses to a great extent rely on carefully choreographed frames all heavily intertwined with one another. In the Campaign Launch Speech some of the most dominant frames detected by the thesis were: family frame, battle frame, patriotic frame, Republican frame and prosperity frame. Elements of some of these frames are also found in Clinton's overall campaign discourse represented by the speeches in the ClinC.

All of the above findings point to how highly constructed Clinton's campaign discourses actually are, and one might argue that all of the above factors are key players in Clinton's narrative about herself as suitable for the American presidency. Interesting to wonder then is if this narrative is strong enough to place Clinton in the White House as the next President of the United States of America?

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Appendix a:

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Appendix b:

Hillary Clinton Rally New Hampshire, January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pfRmk7yqvD4>

Hillary Clinton attends campaign event in California, January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tg2REUOTunI>

Hillary Clinton speaks at Columbus Democratic Party Dinner, March 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2rLh3WXzG9o>

Hillary Clinton at Jewish Federation Des Moines IA., January 25<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GfTqoyg8QjE>

Hillary Clinton Speech to Iowa: 'Let's Go Win the Nomination', February 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1W6gU5t2gvU>

Hillary Clinton's Speech in New Hampshire After Loss to Bernie Sanders, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QPQ-g2iPh5E>

Hillary Clinton wins Nevada Caucuses, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2016

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gCCrj\\_7aR0g](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gCCrj_7aR0g)

Hillary Clinton's Speech in South Carolina, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<http://www.dailykos.com/story/2016/2/27/1492599/-Hillary-Clinton-s-South-Carolina-speech-Transcript>



Hillary Clinton's Super Tuesday Victory Speech, March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016

<http://www.vox.com/2016/3/1/11144350/hillary-clinton-super-tuesday-transcript>

Hillary Clinton Florida Rally post Univision Democratic Debate, March 10<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Ah9lBzwqrQ>

Hillary Clinton speaks at Columbus Democratic Party Dinner, March 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2rLh3WXzG9o>

## Appendix a

### Hillary Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech

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Thank you! Oh, thank you all! Thank you so very, very much.

It is wonderful to be here with all of you.

To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.

To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, where I represented our country many times.

To be here in this beautiful park dedicated to Franklin Roosevelt's enduring vision of America, the nation we want to be.

And in a place... with absolutely no ceilings.

You know, President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms are a testament to our nation's unmatched aspirations and a reminder of our unfinished work at home and abroad. His legacy lifted up a nation and inspired presidents who followed. One is the man I served as Secretary of State, Barack Obama, and another is my husband, Bill Clinton.

Two Democrats guided by the — Oh, that will make him so happy. They were and are two Democrats guided by the fundamental American belief that real and lasting prosperity must be built by all and shared by all.

President Roosevelt called on every American to do his or her part, and every American answered. He said there's no mystery about what it takes to build a strong and prosperous America: "Equality of opportunity... Jobs for those who can work... Security for those who need it... The ending of special privilege for the few... The preservation of civil liberties for all... a wider and constantly rising standard of living."

That still sounds good to me.

26 It's America's basic bargain. If you do your part you ought to be able to get ahead. And when  
27 everybody does their part, America gets ahead too.

28 That bargain inspired generations of families, including my own.

29 It's what kept my grandfather going to work in the same Scranton lace mill every day for 50 years.

30 It's what led my father to believe that if he scrimped and saved, his small business printing drapery  
31 fabric in Chicago could provide us with a middle-class life. And it did.

32 When President Clinton honored the bargain, we had the longest peacetime expansion in history, a  
33 balanced budget, and the first time in decades we all grew together, with the bottom 20 percent of  
34 workers increasing their incomes by the same percentage as the top 5 percent.

35 When President Obama honored the bargain, we pulled back from the brink of Depression, saved  
36 the auto industry, provided health care to 16 million working people, and replaced the jobs we lost  
37 faster than after a financial crash.

38 But, it's not 1941, or 1993, or even 2009. We face new challenges in our economy and our  
39 democracy.

40 We're still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were  
41 replaced by false promises.

42 Instead of an economy built by every American, for every American, we were told that if we let  
43 those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone  
44 else.

45 What happened?

46 Well, instead of a balanced budget with surpluses that could have eventually paid off our national  
47 debt, the Republicans twice cut taxes for the wealthiest, borrowed money from other countries to  
48 pay for two wars, and family incomes dropped. You know where we ended up.

49 Except it wasn't the end.

50 As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning.

51 You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs... you figured out how to make  
52 it work. And now people are beginning to think about their future again – going to college, starting  
53 a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement.

54 So we're standing again. But, we all know we're not yet running the way America should.

55 You see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay, but your paychecks  
56 have barely budged.

57 While many of you are working multiple jobs to make ends meet, you see the top 25 hedge fund  
58 managers making more than all of America's kindergarten teachers combined. And, often paying a  
59 lower tax rate.

60 So, you have to wonder: "When does my hard work pay off? When does my family get ahead?"

61 "When?"

62 I say now.

63 Prosperity can't be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers.

64 Democracy can't be just for billionaires and corporations.

65 Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too.

66 You brought our country back.

67 Now it's time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead.

68 And, you know what?

69 America can't succeed unless you succeed.

70 That is why I am running for President of the United States.

71 Here, on Roosevelt Island, I believe we have a continuing rendezvous with destiny. Each American  
72 and the country we cherish.

73 I'm running to make our economy work for you and for every American.

74 For the successful and the struggling.

75 For the innovators and inventors.

76 For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases.

77 For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day.

78 For the nurses who work the night shift.

79 For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us.

80 For the veterans who served our country.

81 For the small business owners who took a risk.

82 For everyone who's ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.

83 I'm not running for some Americans, but for all Americans.

84 Our country's challenges didn't begin with the Great Recession and they won't end with the  
85 recovery.

86 For decades, Americans have been buffeted by powerful currents.

87 Advances in technology and the rise of global trade have created whole new areas of economic  
88 activity and opened new markets for our exports, but they have also displaced jobs and undercut  
89 wages for millions of Americans.

90 The financial industry and many multi-national corporations have created huge wealth for a few by  
91 focusing too much on short-term profit and too little on long-term value... too much on complex  
92 trading schemes and stock buybacks, too little on investments in new businesses, jobs, and fair  
93 compensation.

94 Our political system is so paralyzed by gridlock and dysfunction that most Americans have lost  
95 confidence that anything can actually get done. And they've lost trust in the ability of both  
96 government and Big Business to change course.

97 Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we've made  
98 as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role.

99 Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire  
100 country. And I will do just that — to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than  
101 against us.

102 At our best, that's what Americans do. We're problem solvers, not deniers. We don't hide from  
103 change, we harness it.

104 But we can't do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before.

105 Americans have come too far to see our progress ripped away.

106 Now, there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they're all singing the  
107 same old song...

108 A song called "Yesterday."

109 You know the one — all our troubles look as though they're here to stay... and we need a place to  
110 hide away... They believe in yesterday.

111 And you're lucky I didn't try singing that, too, I'll tell you!

112 These Republicans trip over themselves promising lower taxes for the wealthy and fewer rules for  
113 the biggest corporations without regard for how that will make income inequality even worse.

114 We've heard this tune before. And we know how it turns out.

115 Ask many of these candidates about climate change, one of the defining threats of our time, and  
116 they'll say: "I'm not a scientist." Well, then, why don't they start listening to those who are?

117 They pledge to wipe out tough rules on Wall Street, rather than rein in the banks that are still too  
118 risky, courting future failures. In a case that can only be considered mass amnesia.

119 They want to take away health insurance from more than 16 million Americans without offering  
120 any credible alternative.

121 They shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health  
122 decisions.

123 They want to put immigrants, who work hard and pay taxes, at risk of deportation.

124 And they turn their backs on gay people who love each other.

125 Fundamentally, they reject what it takes to build an inclusive economy. It takes an inclusive society.  
126 What I once called "a village" that has a place for everyone.

127 Now, my values and a lifetime of experiences have given me a different vision for America.

128 I believe that success isn't measured by how much the wealthiest Americans have, but by how  
129 many children climb out of poverty...

130 How many start-ups and small businesses open and thrive...

131 How many young people go to college without drowning in debt...

132 How many people find a good job...

133 How many families get ahead and stay ahead.

134 I didn't learn this from politics. I learned it from my own family.

135 My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like  
136 not to have either one.

137 Her own parents abandoned her, and by 14 she was out on her own, working as a housemaid. Years  
138 later, when I was old enough to understand, I asked what kept her going.

139 You know what her answer was? Something very simple: Kindness from someone who believed  
140 she mattered.

141 The 1st grade teacher who saw she had nothing to eat at lunch and, without embarrassing her,  
142 brought extra food to share.

143 The woman whose house she cleaned letting her go to high school so long as her work got done.  
144 That was a bargain she leapt to accept.

145 And, because some people believed in her, she believed in me.

146 That's why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American.

147 To meet every challenge.

148 To be resilient... no matter what the world throws at you.

149 To solve the toughest problems.

150 I believe we can do all these things because I've seen it happen.

151 As a young girl, I signed up at my Methodist Church to babysit the children of Mexican  
152 farmworkers, while their parents worked in the fields on the weekends. And later, as a law student, I

153 advocated for Congress to require better working and living conditions for farm workers whose  
154 children deserved better opportunities.

155 My first job out of law school was for the Children's Defense Fund. I walked door-to-door to find  
156 out how many children with disabilities couldn't go to school, and to help build the case for a law  
157 guaranteeing them access to education.

158 As a leader of the Legal Services Corporation, I defended the right of poor people to have a lawyer.  
159 And saw lives changed because an abusive marriage ended or an illegal eviction stopped.

160 In Arkansas, I supervised law students who represented clients in courts and prisons, organized  
161 scholarships for single parents going to college, led efforts for better schools and health care, and  
162 personally knew the people whose lives were improved.

163 As Senator, I had the honor of representing brave firefighters, police officers, EMTs, construction  
164 workers, and volunteers who ran toward danger on 9/11 and stayed there, becoming sick  
165 themselves.

166 It took years of effort, but Congress finally approved the health care they needed.

167 There are so many faces and stories that I carry with me of people who gave their best and then  
168 needed help themselves.

169 Just weeks ago, I met another person like that, a single mom juggling a job and classes at  
170 community college, while raising three kids.

171 She doesn't expect anything to come easy. But she did ask me: What more can be done so it isn't  
172 quite so hard for families like hers?

173 I want to be her champion and your champion.

174 If you'll give me the chance, I'll wage and win Four Fights for you.

175 The first is to make the economy work for everyday Americans, not just those at the top.

176 To make the middle class mean something again, with rising incomes and broader horizons. And to  
177 give the poor a chance to work their way into it.

178 The middle class needs more growth and more fairness. Growth and fairness go together. For  
179 lasting prosperity, you can't have one without the other.



180 Is this possible in today's world?

181 I believe it is or I wouldn't be standing here.

182 Do I think it will be easy? Of course not.

183 But, here's the good news: There are allies for change everywhere who know we can't stand by  
184 while inequality increases, wages stagnate, and the promise of America dims. We should welcome  
185 the support of all Americans who want to go forward together with us.

186 There are public officials who know Americans need a better deal.

187 Business leaders who want higher pay for employees, equal pay for women and no discrimination  
188 against the LGBT community either.

189 There are leaders of finance who want less short-term trading and more long-term investing.

190 There are union leaders who are investing their own pension funds in putting people to work to  
191 build tomorrow's economy. We need everyone to come to the table and work with us.

192 In the coming weeks, I'll propose specific policies to:

193 Reward businesses who invest in long term value rather than the quick buck – because that leads to  
194 higher growth for the economy, higher wages for workers, and yes, bigger profits, everybody will  
195 have a better time.

196 I will rewrite the tax code so it rewards hard work and investments here at home, not quick trades or  
197 stashing profits overseas.

198 I will give new incentives to companies that give their employees a fair share of the profits their  
199 hard work earns.

200 We will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs and small business owners by providing tax  
201 relief, cutting red tape, and making it easier to get a small business loan.

202 We will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation, science, and research by increasing both  
203 public and private investments.

204 And we will make America the clean energy superpower of the 21st century.

205 Developing renewable power – wind, solar, advanced biofuels...

206 Building cleaner power plants, smarter electric grids, greener buildings...

207 Using additional fees and royalties from fossil fuel extraction to protect the environment...

208 And ease the transition for distressed communities to a more diverse and sustainable economic  
209 future from coal country to Indian country, from small towns in the Mississippi Delta to the Rio  
210 Grande Valley to our inner cities, we have to help our fellow Americans.

211 Now, this will create millions of jobs and countless new businesses, and enable America to lead the  
212 global fight against climate change.

213 We will also connect workers to their jobs and businesses. Customers will have a better chance to  
214 actually get where they need and get what they desire with roads, railways, bridges, airports, ports,  
215 and broadband brought up to global standards for the 21st century.

216 We will establish an infrastructure bank and sell bonds to pay for some of these improvements.

217 Now, building an economy for tomorrow also requires investing in our most important asset, our  
218 people, beginning with our youngest.

219 That's why I will propose that we make preschool and quality childcare available to every child in  
220 America.

221 And I want you to remember this, because to me, this is absolutely the most-compelling argument  
222 why we should do this. Research tells us how much early learning in the first five years of life can  
223 impact lifelong success. In fact, 80 percent of the brain is developed by age three.

224 One thing I've learned is that talent is universal – you can find it anywhere – but opportunity is not.  
225 Too many of our kids never have the chance to learn and thrive as they should and as we need them  
226 to.

227 Our country won't be competitive or fair if we don't help more families give their kids the best  
228 possible start in life.

229 So let's staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world,  
230 and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child.

231 Let's make college affordable and available to all ...and lift the crushing burden of student debt.

232 Let's provide lifelong learning for workers to gain or improve skills the economy requires, setting  
233 up many more Americans for success.

234 Now, the second fight is to strengthen America's families, because when our families are strong,  
235 America is strong.

236 And today's families face new and unique pressures. Parents need more support and flexibility to  
237 do their job at work and at home.

238 I believe you should have the right to earn paid sick days.

239 I believe you should receive your work schedule with enough notice to arrange childcare or take  
240 college courses to get ahead.

241 I believe you should look forward to retirement with confidence, not anxiety.

242 That you should have the peace of mind that your health care will be there when you need it,  
243 without breaking the bank.

244 I believe we should offer paid family leave so no one has to choose between keeping a paycheck  
245 and caring for a new baby or a sick relative.

246 And it is way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job  
247 — and women of color often making even less.

248 This isn't a women's issue. It's a family issue. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue.  
249 Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates  
250 of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health  
251 problem get help is a family issue.

252 In America, every family should feel like they belong.

253 So we should offer hard-working, law-abiding immigrant families a path to citizenship. Not second-  
254 class status.

255 And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live,  
256 learn, marry, and work just like everybody else.

257 You know, America's diversity, our openness, our devotion to human rights and freedom is what's  
258 drawn so many to our shores. What's inspired people all over the world. I know. I've seen it with  
259 my own eyes.

260 And these are also qualities that prepare us well for the demands of a world that is more  
261 interconnected than ever before.

262 So we have a third fight: to harness all of America's power, smarts, and values to maintain our  
263 leadership for peace, security, and prosperity.

264 No other country on Earth is better positioned to thrive in the 21st century. No other country is  
265 better equipped to meet traditional threats from countries like Russia, North Korea, and Iran – and  
266 to deal with the rise of new powers like China.

267 No other country is better prepared to meet emerging threats from cyber attacks, transnational terror  
268 networks like ISIS, and diseases that spread across oceans and continents.

269 As your President, I'll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe.

270 And if you look over my left shoulder you can see the new World Trade Center soaring skyward.

271 As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to  
272 recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained,  
273 best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today's threats and tomorrow's.

274 And when our brave men and women come home from war or finish their service, I'll see to it that  
275 they get not just the thanks of a grateful nation, but the care and benefits they've earned.

276 I've stood up to adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel. I was in the Situation Room  
277 on the day we got bin Laden.

278 But, I know — I know we have to be smart as well as strong.

279 Meeting today's global challenges requires every element of America's power, including skillful  
280 diplomacy, economic influence, and building partnerships to improve lives around the world with  
281 people, not just their governments.

282 There are a lot of trouble spots in the world, but there's a lot of good news out there too.

283 I believe the future holds far more opportunities than threats if we exercise creative and confident  
284 leadership that enables us to shape global events rather than be shaped by them.

285 And we all know that in order to be strong in the world, though, we first have to be strong at home.  
286 That's why we have to win the fourth fight – reforming our government and revitalizing our  
287 democracy so that it works for everyday Americans.

288 We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections,  
289 corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people.

290 We need Justices on the Supreme Court who will protect every citizen's right to vote, rather than  
291 every corporation's right to buy elections.

292 If necessary, I will support a constitutional amendment to undo the Supreme Court's decision in  
293 Citizens United.

294 I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That's why I've proposed universal, automatic  
295 registration and expanded early voting.

296 I'll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor  
297 people, people with disabilities, and people of color.

298 What part of democracy are they afraid of?

299 No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting  
300 for.

301 Government is never going to have all the answers – but it has to be smarter, simpler, more  
302 efficient, and a better partner.

303 That means access to advanced technology so government agencies can more effectively serve their  
304 customers, the American people.

305 We need expertise and innovation from the private sector to help cut waste and streamline services.

306 There's so much that works in America. For every problem we face, someone somewhere in  
307 America is solving it. Silicon Valley cracked the code on sharing and scaling a while ago. Many  
308 states are pioneering new ways to deliver services. I want to help Washington catch up.

309 To do that, we need a political system that produces results by solving problems that hold us back,  
310 not one overwhelmed by extreme partisanship and inflexibility.

311 Now, I'll always seek common ground with friend and opponent alike. But I'll also stand my  
312 ground when I must.

313 That's something I did as Senator and Secretary of State — whether it was working with  
314 Republicans to expand health care for children and for our National Guard, or improve our foster  
315 care and adoption system, or pass a treaty to reduce the number of Russian nuclear warheads that  
316 could threaten our cities — and it's something I will always do as your President.

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

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

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

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

325 But President Obama asked me to serve, and I accepted because we both love our country. That's  
326 how we do it in America.

327 With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights.

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

329 We can strengthen our families.

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

331 And we can renew the promise of our democracy.

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

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

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

336 Text “JOIN” J-O-I-N to 4-7-2-4-6.

337 Go to [hillaryclinton.com](http://hillaryclinton.com) and sign up to make calls and knock on doors.

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

341 You know, I know how hard this job is. I’ve seen it up close and personal.

342 All our Presidents come into office looking so vigorous. And then we watch their hair grow grayer  
343 and grayer.

344 Well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But I will be the youngest woman President  
345 in the history of the United States!

346 And the first grandmother as well.

347 And one additional advantage: You’re won’t see my hair turn white in the White House. I’ve been  
348 coloring it for years!

349 So I’m looking forward to a great debate among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. I’m  
350 not running to be a President only for those Americans who already agree with me. I want to be a  
351 President for all Americans.

352 And along the way, I’ll just let you in on this little secret. I won’t get everything right. Lord knows  
353 I’ve made my share of mistakes. Well, there’s no shortage of people pointing them out!

354 And I certainly haven’t won every battle I’ve fought. But leadership means perseverance and hard  
355 choices. You have to push through the setbacks and disappointments and keep at it.

356 I think you know by now that I’ve been called many things by many people — “quitter” is not one  
357 of them.

358 Like so much else in my life, I got this from my mother.

359 When I was a girl, she never let me back down from any bully or barrier. In her later years, Mom  
360 lived with us, and she was still teaching me the same lessons. I’d come home from a hard day at the  
361 Senate or the State Department, sit down with her at the small table in our breakfast nook, and just

362 let everything pour out. And she would remind me why we keep fighting, even when the odds are  
363 long and the opposition is fierce.

364 I can still hear her saying: “Life’s not about what happens to you, it’s about what you do with what  
365 happens to you – so get back out there.”

366 She lived to be 92 years old, and I often think about all the battles she witnessed over the course of  
367 the last century — all the progress that was won because Americans refused to give up or back  
368 down.

369 She was born on June 4, 1919 — before women in America had the right to vote. But on that very  
370 day, after years of struggle, Congress passed the Constitutional Amendment that would change that  
371 forever.

372 The story of America is a story of hard-fought, hard-won progress. And it continues today. New  
373 chapters are being written by men and women who believe that all of us – not just some, but all –  
374 should have the chance to live up to our God-given potential.

375 Not only because we’re a tolerant country, or a generous country, or a compassionate country, but  
376 because we’re a better, stronger, more prosperous country when we harness the talent, hard work,  
377 and ingenuity of every single American.

378 I wish my mother could have been with us longer. I wish she could have seen Chelsea become a  
379 mother herself. I wish she could have met Charlotte.

380 I wish she could have seen the America we’re going to build together.

381 An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards.

382 Where we don’t leave anyone out, or anyone behind.

383 An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even  
384 President of the United States.

385 Thank you all. God bless you. And may God bless America.



## **Appendix b**

### **Hillary Clinton Rally New Hampshire January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2016**

Have a tax system that no longer favors the wealthy, will close the loopholes, will put the pressure on so that companies have to invest for the long-term not short-term speculative profit, and speaking of profit I want to provide incentives in that tax code for more employers to share their profits not just what the CEOs in the shareholders but with all the employees, like market basket guys right here in New England.

And I'm gonna offend affordable Care Act but I want to improve it. I think it's been an incredible success for the beginning now reaching we think nineteen million people but we have to get costs down out of pocket costs deductibles, we have to get prescription drug costs down the United States pays the highest drug costs for the same drugs of anybody in the world. This is a particular passion of mine because you know I took drug companies on back in 93 and 94 they're a tough bunch I understand that but now they're beginning to raise the prices again in a way that is unaffordable. Medicare drug prices went up 12% last year you can't sustain that individual drugs have been quite Drupal quintupled so many times increase the people can't afford that and it makes no sense. This country we as taxpayers we support the National Institutes of Health they do a lot of the research that is used in conjunction with great universities to support the drug research that goes on the pharmaceutical companies I think that's terrific. Then we support the food and drug administration, which is still the gold standard in the world about safe and effective drugs. I think that's terrific too and then the drug companies after getting this help from us turn around and charge us more than anybody else because other countries Canada, Europe, Australia, they forced the drug companies to negotiate for the best deal. The republicans block efforts to require negotiation in our country.

So number 1, I'm going to do everything I can to the medicare and negotiate for a lower price with the drug companies.

Number 2, I'm going to take away their tax deduction for expenses associated with TV advertising, I mean, honestly you all see those adds, they're all the same people running through fields of wild flowers, may be walking on the beach with the ocean in the background, music playing the name of

the drug on the screen and then underneath it there's a voice is soft voice usually which tells you all the things that could go wrong.

Your nose will fall off if you take this drug. Now the drug companies say that I'm trying to decrease their research wealth, well the fact is another one of these inconvenient facts fact is the drug companies now spend more money on TV advertising than they do on research. I'm actually gonna give them the chance to put more money into research by taking away the tax benefit for advertising.

And there are three big three big issues I want quickly to mention that have to do with health care. The first is caregiving taking care of people in our families, which I know so many people in this state do just like people across America taking care of a child with a disability or disease, taking care of a spouse, taking care of a parent and we've got to do more to support the caregivers their predominantly but not exclusively women and often women who have to cut back hours at work or drop out of work and they then lose the benefits that would go toward their social security. And I want us to really focus on how we support caregiving and families because it's such a labor of love and a sense of responsibility that so many people have talked to me about. And I also wanna tackle Alzheimer's. It is the sixth biggest cause of death in America there is no prevention and there is no cure. Every other of the top 10 causes of death there's medicine you can take to try to prevent it, to try to cure it, to treat it, not with Alzheimer's.

I got this idea back in June and over when we get to a town hall like today in a few minutes, and I start calling on people I never know, what you're gonna say. A woman I called on stood up and said "I'm taking care of my husband with early onset Alzheimer's, he's in his fifties and I'm taking care of my mother. What can you do to help me?"

And I began to work with experts and researchers and I rolled out a whole policy about Alzheimer's, and I spoke about it last week in Portsmouth and that woman introduced me because I want people to know when I tell you I'm gonna try to help you, I mean it, I'm not just here for the election, I'm not just here and then I'm gone, I will be there with you, I will fight for you.

And the same is true for mental health, which I've heard a lot about and substance abuse which I've heard a lot about here in New Hampshire. We need more help for mental health and we need to finally end the stigma about treating people for mental health. Health problems should be treated the same wherever or whatever they are and I rolled out my policies about substance abuse right here in New Hampshire because you lead the country in the rate of overdoses and deaths from

heroin. Your neighboring states Vermont the governor Governor Shumlin came over endorsed me and is working with me on this because he was really the first public official a few years ago to say this is an epidemic and I'm proud to have his support, and I will be a president who will work with people who

want to change the way that we treat people, who have substance abuse, provide more treatment work with the police so that it's not just an automatic jail sentence.

First there should be a chance for recovery and every police department and fire department and other public agencies should be equipped with the antidote to reverse opioid and heroin overdoses knock-on and other elements that can save people's lives before it's too late.

Very quickly I've laid out my proposals about dealing with Isis I think we have three big challenges. One we have to do deprive them of physical territory we're doing that with our lead of an air coalition we're supporting the Arabs and the Kurds on the ground and we're making some progress it's going to be a long haul and I am against putting American combat troops in Syria or Iraq to combat Isis.

I believe it would be the wrong move for many reasons but I also think this has to be eventually fought and won by the people over there themselves. That's why I support building back up the Iraqi military that's why I support helping to train and equip the Kurds and I think there is evidence that properly done this can deprive them of territory like we've seen last week in Ramadi.

Second we have to go after the global terrorist jihadi network from North Africa to Southeast, we have to stop the foreign fighters stop the foreign funding and we have to take them on online and you know they are pretty sophisticated online.

They are recruiting, they are advocating their ideology there would be Calif aid, they are inciting violence, they're celebrating violence and we need the help of our great tech companies which are stepping forward to take down their propaganda to take down their messaging because we can't let them dominate the internet and become a beacon for so many of these people who are being radicalized.

And third we have to do a better job to keep us safe here in America better cooperation between federal state and local law enforcement, better cooperation between US and foreign intelligence and law enforcement, and we have to do everything we can to keep guns out of the hands of would-be

terrorists. That's why I don't understand the Republicans blocking a bill to prohibit anybody on the no-fly zone from buying a gun in America if you are too dangerous to fly you are too dangerous to buy a gun and that ought to be absolutely the law here.

And finally you know our first line of defense in communities across our country against radicalization, against recruitment and incitement, against planning for any kind of attack has to be the Muslim-American community itself, and that's why I find the comments being made by Republican candidates so distressing. It's not only shameful and offensive to insult an entire religion and insult Muslim-Americans it's also dangerous and counterproductive. We need people to be united against this threat not divided by inflammatory political rhetoric.

Now there are a lot of other differences between me and the Republicans you don't hear them talking about making college affordable, which I will get free tuition for public colleges and universities, I also have a plan to pay down student debt, save thousands of dollars, change our system because I do not think the federal government should be making money off of lending money to families and students to go to college. You don't hear them talking about partnering with teachers, which is what I intend to do. Teachers and educators in order to really apply the best lessons about how we're going to improve our schools are you sure don't hear them talking about early childhood education although we know that would give a lot of young kids a real chance to be successful in school, so there are big differences here as well. And then when it comes to our rights, our human rights or civil rights, women's rights, gay rights, voting rights, workers rights, gun. You know long list you got to ask yourself they want to turn the clock back that's what they are promising so much tell you where I stand I support a woman's right to choose and I support Planned Parenthood and will defend Planned Parenthood against these attacks.

I will also I will also defend gay marriage and fight against discrimination aimed at the LGBT community.

I will fight for voting rights and I will do whatever I can from who I appoint to the supreme court to even a constitutional amendment to reverse citizens united which has a terrible influence on our politics.

I will continue to fight for workers rights too many workers are denied their fair pay either because of wage debt or miss classification or wage in our problems I will fight for comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship and of course as I've already said I will fight to get us common-sense gun safety measures so there is a huge difference here. And I hope that in these next weeks but you will be willing to not only work in my campaign but to reach out to others to be part

of a campaign that will put us on the path to making sure we keep the White House in democratic hands and I also know how important it is that we restore the promise of America, particularly for young people.

Now as the grandmother of the most extraordinary fifteen-month-old and as a grandmother to be next summer. I'm particularly focused on what we have to do to make sure that our children and grandchildren have the opportunities they deserve in our great country. And I will do whatever I can as a grandmother not only to support my granddaughter but to support everybody's children and grandchildren. I want you to know that I will get up every day in the White House trying to figure out how I do whatever I can that day to give every single person and particularly every child in our country the chance to live up to his or her god-given potential. At the end of my term I want us to say that we really have restored the American Dream. We've reclaim the American promise, and yes you know we are heading into a future where we can be confident and optimistic that's my hope and I need your help to be able to do that.

Thank you all very very much.

## **Hillary Clinton attends campaign event in California**

**January 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Thank you.

Thank you all so much. Thank you all so very, very much. Oh my goodness, this is very exciting for me. I am so honored to be kicking off AAPI for me and this campaign, but I really see it as for all of us. This is a campaign to do everything that the congresswomen just said; to make sure that all people in our country have a chance to live up to their potential; that all people are taken to their heights of what our great nation can offer and that they are part of the diversity that makes us stronger; to be respected and lifted up. That is what we will do together.

I want to thank congressman Judy Chu for those very kind and stirring words, and her support in this campaign and in the past means the world to me. We had some excellent conversations about the agenda that the caucus she chairs in congress is working on, and I was proud to pledge my support. And I want to thank all of the Asian-American and pacific-islander leaders, activists, volunteers and organizers who are here today supporting my campaign, who will be by my side as we go through the primary process and then we bring home a big win in November of 2016.

Now, there are so many elected officials here, which is a great sign of the importance of people registering to vote and voting, but also being willing to run for office. I want to acknowledge a few of them; representative Sablan from the North Marianna islands is with us; Norm Mineta, former secretary of transportation and founder of KPACK; John Chiang, California State Treasurer; Betty Yee, State Controller; Fiona Ma, Board of Equalizers; Irene Bueno, the AAPI director in 2008, who worked so hard for me; Chung Tai, the fighting Chairman of the Vietnamese-American Democratic Club. And it is exciting to see so many of you here in this town whose mayor is with us, Jason Pu, the mayor of San Gabriel.

In addition to the members of my campaign team that Judy mentioned, I also want to recognize Dennis Chang, who is our finance director, and we will be having an event after this and I am very

proud and grateful for all of you who are supporting that. This is especially meaningful for me, for a personal reason as well as the great outpouring of support that you are demonstrating. My late mother grew up in Alhambra and she didn't have a very easy childhood by any means. She was basically rejected by her parents when she was very young in Chicago, and with a younger sister they were out on a train by themselves to travel from Chicago to Los Angeles, to live with her paternal grandparents who had a small house in Alhambra. And she went to High School there, but by the age of fourteen it was clear that her grandparents didn't want her either. So, she left that home and went to work as a maid in a home somewhere here in the area. I cannot tell you how grateful I am to whoever that family was, and here's why; the mother of the home recognized my mother wanted to go to High School, so she said to my mom, "if you get up really early and you get your chores done, you can go to High School, and then you'll have to come back and finish all of them in the evening". Now, that may sound harsh to some people for a fourteen-year-old girl to be put in that position, but my mother was so grateful. The problem was that the home where she was working and living was some distance from Alhambra, a couple of miles, I'm not sure where. So, she literally had to get those chores done and then run to High School, but she so much wanted an education. And she was so proud when so many years later she actually went back to Alhambra High School to a reunion, it had to be the 70<sup>th</sup> reunion, there weren't many folks there but she knew a lot of them, and they had such a great time, and the High School even gave her a role in the parade for homecoming. So, when I think about this part of California, the first thing I think about is my mom, and how kind people were to her here, when her own family was not. And I know how important family is to all of you. And that is how I see our country. I see us, when we are at our best, as lifting up families. Helping families to be strong. Helping families to get the support they need to do the best they can for their children and for their parents.

And I've said in this campaign, the stakes are very high – I want to be a President who deals with the economy, to make sure it works for everybody, not just those at the top; I want to keep Americans safe and keep our country strong around the world; and I also want to do what I can as President to help deal with the problems that keep families up at night. Sometimes it is an illness, sometimes it is a real risk with a job or a small business, sometimes it is the difficulty of affording college. I know about a lot of these problems, and I hear from so many people across our country.

So, standing here today, it's really a great privilege to be launching this exciting part of my campaign in a place that my mother never forgot for the kindness that was shown to her and the chance she had eventually to graduate from High School.

I was so proud to work with the AAPI community when I was a Senator from New York. You know, America's ties to the Asia-Pacific region have always been important, but in the 21<sup>st</sup> century they will be absolutely vital. I was very proud when my husband's administration launched the first ever White House initiative on Asian-Americans and Pacific-Islanders. And I know there are some people here, very young people then, who actually worked in the White House, worked in the Clinton administration, helped to put that initiative into place. The focus was for the federal government to be more deliberate about understanding the challenges and helping all parts of the AAPI community succeed.

And when I was Secretary of State for President Obama, and we launched the pivot to Asia, we were sending a very strong message that we wanted to rebuild ties with our allies and reassert the United States as a Pacific power.

So, we have the ground work here at home and around the world laid, but it is going to take a President working as your partner, standing with you, fighting for you, every single day to make the kind of progress that we can make together.

Now, I think of this story through the lives of so many people, whom I've gotten to know over a lot of decades; one of them is Norm Mineta, who is with us today. Now, some of you know Norm as a dedicated public servant, elected official, a cabinet secretary in both Democratic and Republican administration, but he also reminds us of an important lesson about our nation and what it takes to make it work for everyone. You see, when Norm was a child during WWII, he and his family were forcibly removed from their home and put into an internment camp. He was ten years old, and he was a huge baseball fan. As he stood with his parents waiting for the train to take them away, a military police officer confiscated his possessions including his most prized possession, his favorite



baseball bat. That wasn't in some far away country, that was here in the United States. Yet, despite his own personal experience, Norm never stopped believing in the promise of America. And that is one of the reasons he was motivated to serve our country, to represent his neighbors and to make a real difference on everything from infrastructure to protecting our oceans. I tell you this story, and I think if we had time we could hear dozens and dozens of stories, personal stories about the journeys that brought you, your parents, you grandparents here to America.

But I want to make a larger point, I disagree with the Republican frontrunner, Mr. Trump. You see, I think America is great, because generations of hard-working Americans have made us great. Our value and our ideals have made us great. Now it is up to us to make sure we are even greater, and we pass on the opportunities that have been made available to all of us to our children and our grandchildren.

This is a lesson we would never dare to forget. We are a country build by the hard work of generation of immigrants, and we are stronger because of our diversity and our openness.

Now I really wish I didn't have to stand here today and say any of this, but we are hearing a lot of hateful rhetoric out on the campaign trail. Calling immigrants drug dealers and rapists. Using offensive terms to describe citizen children of immigrants. Saying we should bar all Muslims from entering our country. Republican candidates are saying they would turn away widows and orphans and apply a religious test to people seeking asylum as refugees. They forget a fundamental lesson about our great country, being an open and tolerant society does not make us vulnerable, it is at the core of our strength, of who we are as Americans. It is a creed as old as our founding – e pluribus unum, out of many we are one.

So we have a lot at stake at this election, we are either going to defend the progress that we have made and build on it, or we are going to let a new Republican President rip it all away. Because, make no mistake about it, what you are hearing from all of them is the same failed policies that led to the Great Recession. They want to slash taxes on the wealthy, put consumers at the mercy of

drug companies, insurers and polluters, let Wall Street ride its own rules again. And we know, don't we, how that ends up? We have seen this happen before.

Now, my friends at the other side of the aisle don't like it when I say this, but it's a fact and I sometimes see them being quite evidence at verse, but, in fact, the economy works better when we have a Democratic President in the White House! In fact, you are four times more likely to have a recession when you have a Republican in the White House. And just think back, if you can bear it, to how bad things were in 2008.

You know, after that election, President elect Obama called me and asked me to come see him in Chicago. I didn't know why. It turned out he wanted to ask me to be Secretary of State, but before we got to that he said, "you know, when it comes to the economy it is so much worse than they told us". We were losing 800,000 jobs a month. The American auto industry was on the brink of total collapse. I don't think President Obama gets the credit he deserves for digging us out of the hole that he inherited from the prior administration!

So, we're standing, but we are not yet running the way we need to. I want us to get more good-paying jobs, I want us to raise incomes for hard-working families, I want us to raise the minimum wage, guarantee equal pay for women and protect worker's rights to organize and bargain. I want us to build 21<sup>st</sup> century infrastructure, our bridges, our roads, our tunnels, our ports, airports, transit systems. And we need to combat climate change, which the other party won't even acknowledge. And the best way to do that is investing in clean, renewable energy which will do so much to lift up our economy. I want the United States to be the clean energy superpower of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. There are three candidate countries for that role – China, Germany and us – and I want it to be us. I want us to use our innovation and entrepreneurialism to make a difference.

Now, California is already a leader, but there are other states that are doing more as well. I spend a lot of time, as you know, in Iowa, they get 1/3 of their electricity from wind. We can make investments like this across America.

I know we have got a lot of small business owners in this crowd today, right? I want to be the small business President. I want to make it easier for you to start small businesses, grow small businesses, get credit for your small businesses. And I especially want to reduce barriers to women and minority own small businesses. And I know how hard people are working, so let's make it easier to balance work and family. That's especially true for parents of young children. We've got to join the rest of the world by guaranteeing paid family leave. But it is also true for people who are taking care of their aging parents, isn't it? As a nation we are not valuing and supporting family care givers the way we should. So here is what I am proposing; a new tax credit to help defray the costs for people taking care of an older relative. I want to expand social security, so people who take time out from their careers, primarily women, to raise a child or care for a family member are not penalized when they go to collect their retirement checks from social security.

I also have a comprehensive plan to invest in research to prevent, effectively treat, and make possible a cure for Alzheimer's disease by 2025. How many of you know somebody with Alzheimer's? Yeah, every crowd I'm in so many hand go up. And you know, I know what a burden it is, it is an emotional and physical and financial burden. And people do it because they love their spouse, or their parent, or their grandparent, but it shouldn't be so hard and we must invest more money in research – it is the sixth leading cause of death. And in the top ten causes of death, it is the only one where we have no drugs to treat it, we don't know how to prevent it, and we can't figure out how to cure it. Under my administration, after having talked to scientists and researchers who are doing this cutting edge work, we are going to make progress and in ten years I know we will have a big impact on how to prevent, how to treat and maybe find a cure for Alzheimer's.

I also want to make college affordable again for hard-working families and their students. As Judy said, I have proposed a new college compact that will let young people go to public colleges and universities without having to take out loans to pay tuition. And we are going to let you refinance your student debt. You can refinance your mortgage and your car payment. You ought to be able to refinance your student debt and save thousands of dollars.

And again, as Judy pointed out, we know our immigration system is broken. Millions of undocumented people are working and raising their families here, living in fear of seeing their families ripped apart. And there are millions of family members of lawful, permanent residence and US citizens who wait for years, sometimes decades to have their families join them in America. We can do better than this. You know, we could add hundreds of billions of dollars to our gross domestic product by passing a comprehensive immigration reform. We could shore up social security, because right now undocumented workers contribute twelve billion dollars a year, and if we have comprehensive immigration reform, it is projected to go up to twenty billion. Now, ultimately, though, it is more than an economic issue, it is more than a political issue, it is a family issue. And if we say we value and support families, then we should act as though we do. That's why I voted for comprehensive immigration legislation in the Senate. That's why I will fight for comprehensive reform with a path to full and equal citizenship. That's why you can count on me to defend President Obama's executive actions on DACA and DAPA.

And I would go further. There are so many more undocumented people with deep ties in their communities who deserve the chance to stay, and I will fight for them too.

You know, when I was a Senator, I worked to reduce the backlog for family visas and reunite immigrant families. I will keep up that fight. Applicants from the Asia-Pacific region make up about forty percent of the family visa backlog. Some from the Philippines have been waiting for a visa for twenty-three years. If you are a US citizen and your brother lives in India, it will take at least twelve years just to get him a visa.

And finally, we have got to do more to help the millions of people who are eligible for citizenship, take that last step. I will work to expand fee waivers so more people can get a break on the cost. I will increase access to language programs to help more people boost their English proficiency. I don't want anyone who could be a citizen now to miss out on that opportunity.

And as for our citizens, we are going to fight to protect your right to vote, and make sure your votes are counted on election day.

I would like to see every eighteen-year-old automatically registered to vote. I'd like to see more early voting. And I would like to see the AAPI community get out and vote more, and that is essential because right now it is one of the fastest growing communities in our country, but it is a community that votes at a lower rate than others.

So, we face a lot of challenges, but I am excited, I'm confident, I'm optimistic about our country, and I don't understand the rhetoric coming from the Republicans, because to me, I don't know, they are living somewhere beside where we are. And many of the things they say just do not reflect my experience or the lives of the people that I meet and talk with every day.

So, American families have a lot at stake in the election. A new President is going to walk into the Oval Office in January 20<sup>th</sup> 2017, and we need it to be a President who can do all parts of the job. Make the economy work for everyone with good-paying jobs and rising incomes, keeping families safe and our country strong, tackling the problems that keep families up at night like Alzheimer's or Autism or addiction. Now I'll go anywhere and talk to anybody to find common ground, but I will also stand my ground for you.

I want to share one additional story. I'm very proud to have so many Asian-Americans and Pacific-islanders working with me on this campaign, but I want to tell you about one more. Cheska is a dreamer. She came here from the Philippines with her family when she was a young girl. Her father had a work visa, but he lost his job in the Recession, and that meant that the whole family became undocumented. When Cheska was a senior in High School, teachers were asking her every day, "what are your college plans?" Well, she was in ROTC – she wanted to serve our country. She found the courage to tell her ROTC instructor about her situation. Her school stepped up, they supported her. They helped investigate DOCA and apply for relief. And she got it, and now she is helping her four siblings with their applications.

The day after I announced that I was running for President, Cheska signed up to volunteer with our campaign. Now she is a field organizer in Las Vegas, and she is putting her own college education on hold because she wants to help shape the future of the country that has given her so many opportunities.

Well, I want to give young people like Cheska every chance to succeed. I believe they can make great contributions to our country. But I need your help to do that.

I thank everybody who came from Nevada. I would ask everyone interested in going to Nevada to help out the campaign for the caucus in February 20, just sign up. Some of you, I know, have travelled across the country for me or for President Obama so you are used to being in the hot weather and the cold weather as we pick our nominee and I hope you will consider being involved again.

It is very important, because the stakes have never been higher. Now in the back of the room you will find some of our volunteers ready to help you sign up to get the votes out in Nevada, and if you can't travel you can make phone calls. And then to sign up for other early states. I hope you'll talk to them today.

You know, I started by talking about my mom. I am the granddaughter on my father's side of an immigrant factory worker. Came to this country as a young boy, went to work in the lace mills in Scranton, Pennsylvania, worked really hard all of his life to give his children a greater opportunity, and he did, all three of his sons, including my dad, went to college. And then my dad became a small business man, a really small business man. Served in the navy during WWII, had a small business gain when he came out. He believe din our country, he believed in the work ethic and the individual responsibility that so many of you exhibit. He set a great example about all of that for me. My mom, despite her difficult childhood, never stopped believing that the future could be better, and never stopped being grateful for our country.

So, I came by my commitment to America and our future through my parents. Through my family. And now I have this amazing fifteen month old granddaughter and I think about her every day, and I am grateful that y daughter and her husband send me pictures and videos, so no matter where I am and what going on I can just click them on and watch them again for the 50<sup>th</sup> or 60<sup>th</sup> time. And, of course, Bill and I will do whatever we can to make sure she has the best opportunities in life, but I want to tell you from the bottom of my heart that is not enough. It matters what kind of country she grows up in, and it matters what kind of world is out there waiting for her, and it matters, not that our grandchild can realize the promise of America, but the everybody's child and grandchild has the same chance to do the same. I am fighting to give every one of our children the chance to fulfil their dreams in our country – a nation of dreamers and builders. If you will help me, that is what we will do together.

Thank you all very much!

## **Hillary Clinton at Jewish Federation Des Moines IA. January 25<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Thank you, thank you so much, David, uhm, and thanks to Sharon Goldford great to see Senator McCoy and all of you this morning. I am really delighted to have this opportunity to be here at the Jewish Federation of Greater Des Moines and I wanna thank all of you who works so hard to make this organizations such a vibrant and welcoming place. I'm grateful for the opportunity to share some thoughts with you and then to answer questions. And of course I hope to earn your support in the caucus on Monday and, if all goes well, in the election in November. So let me start by saying "I think it's important to recognize the challenges that David was listing off- it reminded me of the scenes in *The King and I where the King of Siam goes etcetera etcetera etcetera* it's a very long list. But, it's a fair representation of what the next president will face starting on January 20th 2017. I've been very inspired by the thousands of people that I've met across Iowa in this campaign. I've had the opportunity to meet in small groups and really have in-depth conversations about what was on their minds, what worried them, what problems they and their families were facing. So many have shared the concern and their worries, their hopes and their dreams. And I really believe that thanks to all of you here in this state who've giving me the opportunity- I can certainly tell you I will be a better president, a more informed and more understanding president to everything that we're going through together as a nation here at home and around the world.

Folks are really turning in now to pay attention. Senator McCoy I heard was at our event last night and you can just feel the energy. Of course people who are already supporting me come but a lot of people who are making up their minds, who are really thinking hard about what they want in the next president and commander-in-chief are as well and I have tried throughout this campaign to make it clear that I believe I am the only candidate on either side with the experience and judgment to keep us safe at home and around the world. When you're in the White House you cannot pick the issues you wanna work on, you got to be ready to handle every crisis and challenge that comes your way, including those we cannot predict. Just look at the economic head winds coming from China right now, we need a president who understands how the intersection of geopolitics and the global economy can have a direct impact on our prosperity and security here at home.

My first trip with President Obama as Secretary of State was in the spring of 2009 to something called the g20 summit in London where we helped coordinate a global response to the financial



crisis. I've spent endless hours, over four years, having conversations really going at it with china's leaders about the need to reform their economy play by the rules and level the playing field for American workers and businesses and all this turbulence in global markets is a reminder of how important it is to keep strengthening our economy here at home to make it work for every one. The struggling, the striping and the successful all at the same time.

That's why I am promoting, investing in advanced manufacturing, infrastructure, scientific research, clean energy because that will not only create more good-paying jobs for hardworking Americans, it will also help us withstand any economic trouble brewing from China Europe or the Middle East. My point is that all of these issues are connected and we need a president who understands and can do all parts of the job.

Today I want to talk with you about one challenge in particular. That has to be a top priority for our next commander-in-chief how we strengthen our relationship with Israel and take it to the next level. The alliance between the United States and Israel is more important than ever in this time of terrorism and turmoil. Israel needs a strong America by its side and America needs a strong and secure Israel by our side. And that has to be understood to be in our national interest to have an Israel that remains a bastion of stability and a poor ally in a region chaos, and Israel is strong enough to deter its enemies and strong enough to take steps in the pursuit of peace. I'm especially concerned about the recent wave of violence in Israel brutal stabbings shootings vehicle attacks that seek to sow fear among the innocent. Terrorists murdered, as you know, an American yeshiva student named Azra Schwartz in a drive-by shooting. I've said and will repeat again these attacks must stop immediately, and Palestinian leaders should condemn and combat incitement in all its forms. More broadly though Israel and the United States need to work together to address three converging trends Iran's increasingly aggressive regional ambitions, the rise of Isis and the struggle against radical jihadism and the growing effort around the world to isolate and delegitimize Israel first Iran. Of course I'm glad we got our citizens back even though they should never have been held in the first place but let's not forget that [inaudible] fingerprints are on nearly every conflict across the Middle East. It supports bad actors from Syria to Lebanon to Yemen Iranian Revolutionary Guard and its proxies are attempting to establish a beachhead.

[inaudible] from which to threaten Israel and southern lebanon hezbollah is amassing an arsenal of rockets and artillery, and the ayatollahs continue to threaten Israel's destruction in every opportunity. I think we all agree that Iran could never be allowed to obtain a nuclear weapon that's why I worked so hard to set up the coalition to impose international sanctions on Iran. When I came

in as Secretary of State, Iran was on the track to a nuclear weapon. It had while George W Bush was president master the nuclear fuel cycle built covert facilities and stock them with centrifuges. Now during that time as a member of the senate for eight years I voted against every sanction we could imagine, against your run not just oil and gas but estas shoes, everything we went after them but alone it became clear the United States was not having much effect we needed to get the world to understand the threat of a nuclear armed Iran posed to everyone. It took 18 months in a lot of hard work to get China and Russia on board but finally in May of 2010 the UN Security Council passed international sanctions against Iran. Then it took months more as I travel the world to convince countries that were only interested in energy and didn't really think anything Iran did could affect them. That they were wrong because we really had to squeeze them if we had any chance of getting them to the negotiating table we finally did it. I began the preliminary negotiations before I left the state department and secretary Kerry, and the President continued them to conclusion.

I support the agreement negotiated by the great powers- is it perfect, of course not no agreement like this ever is but it has already put a lid on Iran's nuclear program and significantly delayed any potential breakout time. That said however it is not enough to say yes to the agreement, we can say yes but we also have to say we will vigorously enforce it, so it's yes and distrust and verify embedded in a larger effort to counter Iran across the region. And how we handle enforcement in these early months will set the tone for years to come, so we have to get it right.

There must be consequences too.... and we have to make sure that Iran knows, if they try to develop nuclear weapons United States will stop them. We will act ... Iran has not have some change of personality, they will test our result with actions like their [inaudible] and I supported and I'm glad we are oppose it new sanctions in response. To hold the Iranian Government and its revolutionary [inaudible] accountable for their support of terrorism, their missile program, human rights violation, detentions of Americans and other illicit behavior like cyber crime. We also need to push for a political solution in Syria as hard as that may be because that is Iran's real objective to control Syria and have a swath of territory up to Israel's doorstep and to connect with his [inaudible] The second thing is, we have to go after the tide of extremism and this is a threat also on Israel's doorstep. An ..... in the Sinai is becoming more aggressive and sophisticated likely responsible for the destruction of Russian Airliner. It is [inaudible] media reported it, Isis commander for the site recently visited Gaza raising the stakes even higher. I've laid out a detailed plan about how to defeat ISIS and the broader have to defeated in the middle east first and foremost by smashing of

stronghold taking back territory hitting its fighters and its leaders, and infrastructure from the air and intensifying our support for the Arab and Kurdish forces on the ground, who can pursue them. We also have to defeat them though around the world by dismantling the global network of terror that supplies radical jihadists with money, arms propaganda fighters, and we have to defeat them your home.

I fully plots hardening our defenses disrupting radicalization and recruitment, especially online, we have to deny Isis virtual territory just as we deny them actual territory. Now that means we have to be vigilant in screening and vetting refugees from Syria guided by the best judgment of our security personnel but we can't allow terrorists to intimidate us into abandoning our values and our humanitarian obligations, turning away orphans, applying a religious test that discriminates against Muslims, slamming the door on every single **Syrian** refugee. It's not just that doesn't represent who we are, it's also dangerous we need to be united with Muslims here at home and around the world to defeat this threat, so after vigorous screening we should welcome families fleeing from Syria just as we've welcomed previous generations of refugees exiles and immigrants.

The third trend I want to mention is the growing effort around the world to isolate and delegitimize Israel. The boycott divestment and sanctions movement, known as BDS, is the latest front in this battle. Family bTW us demonizes Israeli scientists and intellectuals even young students, and compares Israel to South African apartheid that's wrong. In this campaign should end as you know Wednesday is international Holocaust Remembrance Day.

In the 71st anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz we could never forget that the state of Israel was created in response to evil and has always stood for justice and human rights and any suggestion to the contrary is offensive and unacceptable. Now some of the BDS movement proponents may hope pressuring Israel will lead to peace but no outside force is going to resolve the conflict between Israelis and the Palestinians. Only a two-state solution in negotiate between the parties can provide Palestinians independence sovereignty and dignity, and provide Israelis the secure and recognized borders of a democratic Jewish state as difficult as it is. Everyone has to do their part to build trust and create the conditions for progress and United States still has to be involved in trying to facilitate that but as we look for how best to accomplish that we have to take our alliance to the next level, we need to ensure that Israel maintains its qualitative military edge. Something I work on as both senators Secretary of State, we have to further bolster Israeli air defenses and help develop better tunnel detection technology to prevent arms smuggling and kidnapping. We should also expand high-level US-Israel strategic consultations to present a unified

front to the region and the world. For me this is more than policy, it's personal. I've had the great experience of visiting Israel many times making friends with so many of the leaders and activists who have built Israel and who have continued to fight and defended, and I have been in the middle of the raucous debate Israeli democracy represents and it is for me a very deep connection.

We are two nations woven together lands built by immigrants and exiles yet even with all of our history and our common interests and our shared values, we cannot ever take this relationship for granted. A lot of young Americans don't remember Israel's fight for survival again and again. A lot of young Israelis didn't see the United States broker peace at Camp David or Kindle hope at [inaudible] stand behind Israel when it was attacked. They are growing up in a different world so we have to make sure we create once again those bonds of connections between the next generations.

That's why your work here at the Federation is so important to strengthen bonds of memory and friendship to make sure there will always be a vibrant Jewish community and Iowa for future generations to represent the values and integrity of the Jewish people. To provide hope and stand for justice, to feed the hungry and help those in need to do everything we can to mend our broken world. We can all learn from these values.

Now I have been saying on the campaign trail that it's a little unusual for a candidate for president to say we need more love and kindness in our country but that's exactly what we need. I think to lift each other up to leave no one behind or left out. And as I look forward to your questions, thank you for this opportunity and a promise for me if you will stand up for me the caucus next Monday I promise to stand up for you every single day as president to listen to you to fight for you and with your help deliver the kind of results our country and world deserve thank you all very much.

## **Hillary Clinton Speech to Iowa: 'Let's Go Win the Nomination' February 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016**

Wow, what a night! An unbelievable night! What a great campaign this has been!

An incredible honor to campaign across Iowa with so many of you to make the case for the kind of future we want for the Democratic Party and for the United States of America.

There is so much at stake in this election. I don't need to tell you. Every single one of you who came out for me, who worked so many hours from my young organizers with the energy and passion.

To the families and friends across this state, I am deeply grateful. Well, I love all of you. But here is what I want you to know; it is rare, it is rare that we have the opportunity we do now – to have a real contest of ideas. To really think hard about what the Democratic Party stands for and what we want the future of our country to look like if we do our part to build it. I am a progressive who gets things done for people.

I am honored to stand in the long line of American reformers who make up our minds that the status quo is not good enough, that standing still is not an option, and that brings people together to find ways forward that will improve the lives of Americans. I look back over the years of my involvement from that very first job I had at the Children's Defense Fund, and I know, I know what we are capable of doing. I know that we can create more good paying jobs and raise incomes for hard working Americans again. I know that we can finish the job of universal health care coverage for every single man, woman and child.

I know, I know we can combat climate change and be the clean energy super power of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

I know we can make our education system work for every one of our children, especially those who come with disadvantages. I know we can make college affordable and get student debts off the backs of young people.

And I know we can protect our rights, women's rights, gay rights, voting rights, immigrant rights, worker's rights, I know too we can stand up to the gun lobby and get common sense gun safety measures.

And how do we do that? We do that, we do that by securing the nomination and then we do it by winning and going into that White House as others before have, determined to push forward on the great goals that unite us as Americans. I congratulate, I congratulate my esteemed friends and

opponents. I wish Governor O'Malley the very best, he is great public servant who has served Maryland and our country.

And I am excited about really getting into the debate with senator Sanders about the best way forward to fight for us and America.

In the last few weeks, in the last few weeks we finally began to have what I think is one of the most important substantive conversations that the Democratic Party could have. And I am, I am thrilled at all of the people who are playing a part in that. I know that we may have differences of opinion about how best to achieve our goals, but I believe we have very clear idea that the Democratic Party and this campaign stands for what is best in America, and we have to be united.

When it is all said and done, we have to be united against a republican vision and candidates who would drive us apart and divide us. That is not who we are, my friends. I follow their campaign very closely. I understand what they are appealing to, and I intend to stand against it. I will not. . .

I will not let their divisiveness, their efforts to rip away the progress that we've made, be successful. Because we can't afford that. So, as I stand here tonight breathing a big sigh of relief - thank you Iowa! –

I want you to know I will keep doing what I have done my entire life. I will keep standing up for you. I will keep fighting for you. I will always work to achieve the America that I believe in, where the promise of that dream that we hold out to our children and our grandchildren never fades, but inspires generations to come. Join me! Let's go win the nomination! Thank you all and God bless you!

## **Hillary Clinton's Speech in New Hampshire After Loss to Bernie Sanders February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Thank you all very very much, my Godness

I don't know what we would have done tonight if we had actually won this is a pretty exciting battle.

I'm very grateful to all of you

I want to begin by congratulating Senator Sanders on his victory tonight

and I want to thank each and every one of you and I wanna say I still love New Hampshire and I always will.

And here's what we're gonna do now we take this campaign to the entire country we are gonna fight for everybody in every state, we are gonna fight for solution that make a real difference in people's lives.

You know when I started this campaign last spring I knew we were facing profound challenges as a country the way too many things were going just wasn't right it isn't right. The kids I met in Flint on Sunday were poisoned because their governor wanted to save money.

It isn't right for a grandmother here in New Hampshire anywhere else you have to choose between paying rent and buying medicine because a prescription drug company increased the price 4000 thousand percent overnight and it is it right that a cashier, that I met here in New Hampshire, son is paid less than her son for doing a job she's been on the job for more years.

Now people people have every right to be angry but they're also hungry, they're hungry for solutions. What are we going to do and that is that is the fight we're taking to the country what is the best way to change people's lives so we can all grow together who is the best change maker?

And here is what I promise, here is what I promise, I'll work harder than anyone to actually make the changes that make your lives better. In this campaign you've heard a lot about Washington and about Wall Street. Now senator Sanders and I both wanna get secret unaccountable money out of politics and let's remember let's remember citizens united one of the worst Supreme Court decisions in our country's history was actually a case about a right wing attack on me and my campaign a right wing organization took aimed at me and ended up damaging our entire democracy so yes

you're not going to find anybody more committed to aggressive campaign ... than me.

We also agree we also agree that Wall Street can never be allowed to once again threaten Main Street and I will fight to rein in Wall Street and you know what, I know how to do it.

So when I tell you no bank can be too big to fail and no executive too powerful to jail you can count on it.

Now the real differences in this race are truly over how do we create a future of prosperity, opportunity and security for all of us?

We need to build a growth and fairness economy with higher wages and more good-paying jobs including a bold national mission to create millions of jobs in clean energy, manufacturing and infrastructure.

And we need to unleash again the innovation of our entrepreneurs and small businesses, make it easier for parents to balance work and family, close the loopholes in our tax code, crackdown on corporations that game the system, stop other countries from taking advantage of us with unfair trade practices but even all that is not enough, we also have to break through the barriers of bigotry. African-American parents shouldn't have to worry that their children will be harassed, humiliated, even shot because of the color of their skin.

Immigrant families should have to lie awake at night listening for a knock on the door.

LGBT Americans shouldn't be fired from their jobs because of who they are or who they love. And let's finally deliver something long overdue equal pay for women in this economy.

So here is how I see it a president has to do all parts of the job for all Americans to make sure nothing holds you back. Not debt, not discrimination, not..... for those at the top.

We need to break down those barriers and built ladders of opportunity for every person that is how we will build a better tomorrow together and that has been the cause and work of my life. You know, my family and my faith taught me a simple predow do all the good you can, in all the ways you can, for all the people you can. That's what called me to a life of service just like millions of teachers, nurses and police officers and firefighters and members of our army services, who get up every day and do the quite work, the heroic work for all the rest of us, but when children anywhere in our country go to bed hungry or are denied a quality education or who faced abuse or abandonment that diminished all of us. That's why I did start my carrier at the Children Defense Fond. That's why I went undercover in Alabama to expose racism in schools, that's why I work to reform ..... justice in South Carolina, and that's why I went to Flint Michigan on Sunday.

When people anywhere in America are held back by injustice that demands actions. That is why I



believe so strongly that we have to keep up with every fiber of our being the argument for, the campaign for human rights as women's rights, human rights as gay rights, human rights as worker rights, human rights as voting rights, human rights across the board for every single American.

Now that that is who I am, that is what I've always done, that is why I'm in this race. I know I have some work to do particularly with young people, but I will repeat again what I have said this week. Even, even if they are not supporting me now, I support them. Because I know, I know I've had a blessed life, but I also know what is like to stumble and fall. And so many people across America know that feeling and we've learned it's not whether you get knocked down that matters, it's whether you get back up.

So my friends, please join me in building under progress we've made under President Obama, pushing forward every single day for as long as it takes to break down those barriers that holds us back. We've got to believe in the basic proposition of our country when all Americans have the chance to succeed, when each of us has the opportunity to live up to our own God giving potential, then and only then can America live up to it's potential as well.

So let me, let me thank all of you, I'm very grateful to my wonderful family knowing they are by side keep me going every day, to the thousands of volunteers and organizers who called neighbours and knocked on doors in the New Hampshire snow, to everyone who went to Hillaryclinton.com to give what you could more than 700.000 people have contributed to this campaign. The vast majority given less than a 100 dollars, I know that doesn't fit with the narrated, I know there are those who wanna deny the passion and the purpose you all show every day for this campaign, but you are the reason we are here, and you are the reason we are going to win nomination and then win this election together. Thank you all, thank you so very much.

## **Hillary Clinton wins Nevada Caucuses February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Thank you, thank you so much.

You know, I am so, so thrilled and so grateful to all of my supporters out there. Some may have doubted us, but we never doubted each other. And this one's for you, I wanna congratulate Senator Sanders on a hard fought race here, and I wanna thank each and everyone of you. You turned out in every corner of the state with determination and purpose. Hotel and casino workers who never waiver. Students with too much debt and small business worker who never go off the clock. Tens of thousands of men and women with kids to raise, bills to pay and dreams that won't die – this is your campaign.

And it is, it is a campaign to break down every barrier that holds you back. We're gonna build ladders of opportunity in their place, so every American can go as far as your hard work can take you. And to the thousands of volunteers and organizers who work so hard in this state. To the more than seven hundred and fifty thousand people who've gone to [hillaryclinton.com](http://hillaryclinton.com) and contributed what you could, the vast majority giving less than one hundred dollars. And to the millions of people across the country who are supporting our campaign – Thank you, from the bottom of my heart.

We hear you, we see you, we are incredibly grateful to you, because we're in this together. We look at our country and see so much that isn't working the way it should. We see grand parents forced to choose between paying rent and buying medicine, because a prescription drug company has increased prices five thousand percent over-night. We see African American families denied mortgages at nearly three times the rate of white families. We see small towns and rural communities hollowed out by lost jobs and lost hope. We see a rising generation of young people coming of age in a world where opportunity seems out of reach. And, worst of all, we see children growing up in poverty or pain or fear. Here in Nevada, a brave young girl told me how scared she is that her parents could be deported. In South Carolina, I met kids trying to learn in crumbling classrooms in neglected communities. And there is Flint, Michigan, where children were poisoned by toxic water just because their governor wanted to save a little money.

So Americans, Americans are right to be angry, but we're also hungry for real solutions. In the campaign, you've heard a lot about Washington and Wall Street [inaudible] that starts with appointing a new justice to the Supreme Court who will protect the right of every citizen to vote – not every corporation to buy elections.

And we also agree that Wall Street can never be allowed to threaten Main Street again – no bank can be too big to fail - no executive too powerful to jail. But if we listen to the voices of Flint and Ferguson, if we open our hearts to the families of coal country and Indian country, if we listen to the hopes and heart aches of hard working people across America, it is clear there is so much more to be done.

The truth is, we aren't a 'single issue' country. We need, we need more than a plan for the big banks. The middle class needs a raise, and we need more jobs. We need jobs that pay well and can't be outsourced, jobs that provide dignity and a future. We can do it by unleashing the innovation of our entrepreneurs and small businesses. We can do it with new investments and manufacturing infrastructure and clean energy, especially here in Nevada, which will be the center of solar power.

Somebody, some country, is going to be the clean energy superpower the twenty-first century. It is probably either gonna be China, Germany or us – and I want it to be us, and it will be when I am president.

We also have to do more to make it easier for parents to balance work and family, and to break down barriers that keep so many people on the side lines of the economy, especially women. Don't you think we've waited long enough? It's time for equal pay for equal work!

And don't you think it is time to face head on the reality of systemic racism, and invest in communities that have been left out and left behind? That means reforming our criminal justice system, our immigration system, ensuring that people with disabilities have the same opportunities to work and fully participate in our society. It means to make sure that nothing holds you back – not debt – not discriminations – not a [inaudible] for those at the top.

Now, no one can get this done alone – not even the president of the United States. It's got to be the mission of our entire nation. I have never believed in dividing America between 'us' and 'them'. We are all in this together – we all have to do our part.

So let me say this to men and women who run our country's corporations: "If you cheat your employees, exploit consumers, pollute our environment, or rip off tax payers – we are going to hold you accountable". But, but, if you do the right thing – if you invest in your workers, contribute to your community, help build a better America – we're gonna stand with you, we're gonna go into the future together. We need more jobs. We need more opportunity.

And I wanna say this to all the young people out there: I know what you are up against. If you left college with a ton of loans, it is not enough just to make college more affordable. You need help right now with the debt you already have. That's why I have a plan to cut your rate and [inaudible] payments, so you never have to pay more than you can afford.

But I want you to, I want you to think about this: It can't be just about what we're going to give to you, it has to be about what we're going to build together. Your generation is the most tolerant and connected our country has ever seen. In the days ahead, we will propose new ways for more Americans to get involved in National Service and give back to our communities, because every one of us has a role to play in building the future we want.

Washington is never going to have all the answers, but for every problem we face somewhere someone in America is solving it, and we need you to be a part of that exciting journey we can make together. We need the community activist who decides to run for school board, the entrepreneur who stays and builds instead of leaving a hometown that has seen better days, we need the millions of teacher and nurses, police officers and fire fighters, who get up every day and do quiet heroic work to make our country a safer, fairer, better place.

It's gonna take each of us working together, growing together, looking out for one another and lifting each other up. Because there is a basic truth about America, it's something that Bill and I have been the beneficiaries of that we have tried to contribute to and do all we could to continue.

American can only live up to its potential, when each and every American has the chance to live up to your potential too.

So, imagine, imagine a tomorrow where no child grows up in the shadow of discrimination or under the specter of deportation. And every child in every zip code gets the education he or she needs and deserves. Imagine a tomorrow where every parent can find a good job, and every grandparent can enjoy a secure retirement. Where small businesses thrive and big businesses play by the rules and give more back to the country that has given them so much. Where hard work is honored, families are supported, and communities are strong.

With your help that is the tomorrow we will build for our country. So please join us. Go to [hillaryclinton.com](http://hillaryclinton.com). Become a part of this campaign. Or text: "join" 47246 right now. Let's do this together. Now, I'm, I am heading on! I am, I am on my way to Texas! I am on my way to Texas. Bill is on his way to Colorado. The fight goes on, the future that we want is within our grasp!

Thank you all! God bless you!

## **Hillary Clinton's Speech in South Carolina February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Thank you so much South Carolina! Thank you so much, from one end of this state to another, I am so greatly appreciative, because today you sent a message: in America, when we stand together, there is no barrier too big to break.

We've now gone through four early states, and I want to congratulate Senator Sanders on running a great race. And tomorrow, this campaign goes national.

We are going to compete for every vote in every state. We are not taking anything, and we're not taking anyone for granted.

I want to thank all the local leaders, legislators, mayors, pastors, organizers, volunteers who have worked their hearts out for this campaign. I thank all of our great South Carolina friends going back so many years. I especially want to thank two of your former great Democratic governors, Dick Riley and Jim Hodges. And I especially want to thank your champion—your statesman—in Congress, Jim Clyburn. I am so looking forward to working with the congressman to make the changes and continue the progress that we can build on the record and accomplishments of President Obama.

And to the almost 850,000 people who have contributed what they could, most giving less than \$100, I thank each and every one of you. Now, every day since Iowa, more and more of you have stepped up. Today, grassroots donors are powering this campaign.

And to the millions of people watching across our country, please join us by making a donation to [hillaryclinton.com](http://hillaryclinton.com). And here's why: because together, we can break down all the barriers holding our families and our country back; we can build ladders of opportunity and empowerment so every single American can have that chance to live up to his or her God-given potential. And then, and only then, can America live up to its full potential, too.

This campaign, and this victory tonight, is for the parents and teachers in rural South Carolina. They showed me crumbling classrooms and communities too long neglected. We're going to work together to give our children the education they need and deserve here in South Carolina and across America.

This campaign and our victory is for the entrepreneur who told me more dreams die in the parking lots of banks than anywhere else. And that's especially true for women and people of color. So

we're going to work together to give people—particularly young people—the tools you need to start that small business you've been dreaming of.

And this campaign and our victory is for the reverend—a presiding elder of the AME Church—who looked at all the violence and division in our country and asked me the other night, 'How? How are we ever going to strengthen the bonds of family and community again?'

Well, we're going to start by working together with more love and kindness in our hearts and more respect for each other, even when we disagree.

Despite what you hear, we don't need to make America great again: America has never stopped being great. But we do need to make America whole again. Instead of building walls, we need to be tearing down barriers. We need to show by everything we do that we really are in this together.

Today, too many people at the top, too many corporations have forgotten this basic truth about what makes America great. Prescription drug companies that increase the price of drugs for no reason [other] than greed and then double and triple bills to folks overnight; corporations that use shell games to shift their headquarters overseas for no other reason than to avoid paying their fair share of taxes; companies like Johnson Controls, an auto parts company in Wisconsin, that we taxpayers helped to save with the auto rescue in 2008.

Now, let there be no doubt in any board room or executive suite across this country: if you cheat your employees, exploit your customers, pollute our environment, or rip off the taxpayers, we will hold you accountable. If you turn your back on America, you'll pay a price. But, if you do the right thing, if you invest in your workers and in your country's future, then we will stand with you.

Now, together, we have to break down all the barriers. Not just some. It's important that Wall Street never threaten Main Street again. No bank can be too big to fail and no executive too powerful to jail.

But, America isn't a single issue country, my friends. We need more than a plan for the biggest banks. The middle class needs a raise! And we need more good jobs! Jobs that pay well and can't be outsourced. Jobs that provide dignity and a path to a brighter future. And we can create those good jobs by building on the progress we've made under President Obama. So let's make new investments in manufacturing and small business, in scientific research, in clean energy, enough clean energy to power every home in America. And, don't let anybody tell you we can't make things in America: I know we can, and I know we will.

Let's break down the barriers that keep people on the sidelines of our economy; especially women. Don't you think we've waited long enough for quality affordable child care and paid family leave? Don't you think it's time for equal pay for equal work?

And let's break down the barriers that stop our children from getting the best possible start in life. We need to support great teachers and great schools in every zip code.

Let's break down the barriers holding back our young people, especially the student debt that makes it hard to imagine ever living the life you want.

And we are going to give special support to our historically black colleges and universities, which play a vital role in this state and across our country.

Now, breaking down all the barriers means we also have to face the reality of systemic racism that more than a half a century after Rosa Parks sat, and Dr. King marched, and John Lewis bled, still plays a significant role in determining who gets ahead in America and who gets left behind. We have to invest in communities of color. Reform our broken criminal justice and immigration system. We have to guarantee opportunity, dignity, and justice for every American.

And tonight I want to pay tribute to five extraordinary women who criss-crossed this state with me and for me. Five mothers, brought together by tragedy.

Sabrina Fulton, mother of Trayvon Martin, shot and killed in Florida just for walking down the street.

Lucy Mcbath, mother of Jordan Davis, shot and killed by someone who thought he was playing his music too loud in his car.

Maria Hamilton, mother of Dontre, shot and killed by police in Milwaukee.

Gwen Carr, mother of Eric Garner, choked to death after being stopped for selling loose cigarettes on the street.

And Geneva Reed-Veal, mother of Sandra Bland, who died in police custody in Texas.

They all lost children, which is almost unimaginable. Yet they have not been broken or embittered. Instead, they have channeled their sorrow into a strategy and their mourning into a movement. And they are reminding us of something deep and powerful in the American spirit.

By now, we all know the story of Flint, Michigan. How a city's children were poisoned by toxic water because their governor wanted to save a little money. But there's another side to the story in Flint. It's a story of a community that's been knocked down but refused to be knocked out. It's hundreds of union plumbers coming from across the country to help install new water fixtures. It's



students raising funds for water deliveries and showing up in Flint to distribute supplies. It's the United Auto Workers and General Motors donating millions of dollars.

We know there are many other Flints out there. Communities that have been left out and left behind. But for every problem we face anywhere in America, someone somewhere is working to solve it. Our country was built by people who had each other's backs; who understood we all have to do our part, and that at our best we all rise together.

Imagine what we can all build together, when each and every American has the chance to live up to his or her potential.

Imagine a tomorrow where no child grows up in the shadow of discrimination or under the specter of deportation.

Imagine a tomorrow where every parent can find a good job, and every grandparent can enjoy a secure retirement.

Imagine a tomorrow where hard work is honored, where families are supported, and where communities are strong; when we trust and respect each other despite all that divides us.

So, please. Join us in this campaign for our country's future. Go to [hillaryclinton.com](http://hillaryclinton.com), or text JOIN to 47246, right now.

You know, on one of my first trips to South Carolina during this campaign, I stopped by a bakery here in Columbia. I was saying hello everybody; I went over to say hello to a man reading a book in the corner. Turned out he was a minister. And the book was a Bible. He was studying I Corinthians 13, which happens to be one of my favorite passages. "Love never fails," it tells us. "Love bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things."

These are words to live by not only for ourselves but also for our country. I know it sometimes seems a little odd for someone running for president, these days, in this time, to say we need more loving kindness in America. But I'm telling you, from the bottom up my heart, we do. We do.

We have so much to look forward to. There is no doubt in my mind that America's best years can be ahead of us. We have got to believe that! We've got to work for that! We have to stand with each other, we have to hold each other up, lift each other up! Move together into the future that we will make! Thank you!

## **Hillary Clinton's Super Tuesday Victory Speech March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016**

Hillary Clinton, slated to win the majority of Super Tuesday primaries, gave her victory speech to a Florida crowd Tuesday, having already claimed five states with results still rolling in.

Echoing her previous speeches, Clinton promised a continuation of President Barack Obama's eight years, with improvements to health care and more jobs in the economy.

Drawing on her experiences campaigning in Flint, Michigan and Boston, Clinton said the only thing America needs a little more of is "love and kindness."

You know all across our country today Democrats voted to break down barriers so we can all rise together. I am so delighted to be here with you in Florida. I congratulate Sen. Sanders on his strong showing and campaigning.

I'm grateful to all of you who voted for me, to the volunteers and organizers. I know you worked your hearts out. To all my friends, many of a lifetime who traveled to all the states to tell people about the candidate they knew, and the hundreds of thousands of people who went to HillaryClinton.com to give what they could – most less than \$100 – now this campaign moves forward to the Crescent City, Motor City and beyond.

We're going to work for every vote, and we will need all of you to keep volunteering, contributing, doing everything you can, talking to your friends and neighbors because this country belongs to all of us not just those at the top. Not just the people who look one way, worship one way or even think one way.

America is strong when we're all strong. We know we've got work to do. That work, that work is not to make America great again. America never stopped being great. We have to make America whole. We have to fill in what's been hallowed out.

We have to make strong the broken place, re-stitch the bonds of trust and respect across our country. Now, it might be unusual, as I've said before, for a presidential candidate to say this, but I'm going to keep saying it: I believe what we need in America today is more love and kindness.

Trying to divide America between us and them is wrong, and we're not going to let it work. Whether we like it or not, we're all in this together my friends. We all have to do our part. Unfortunately, too many of those with the most wealth and the most power in this country today seem to have forgotten that basic truth about America.

Yesterday I was at the old south meeting house in Boston where nearly two and a half centuries ago American patriots organized the original Tea Party. I had to wonder what they would make of corporations that seem to have absolutely no loyalty to the country that gave them so much. What would they say about student loan companies that overcharge young people, struggling to get out of debt, even young men and women serving our country in the military or corporations that shift their headquarters overseas to avoid paying their fair share of taxes. Like Johnson Controls and Auto Parts from Wisconsin, that we taxpayers helped to bail out with the auto rescue back in 2008, now they're turning their back on America.

I'm interested this making things right. Let there be no doubt, if you cheat your employees, exploit consumers, pollute our environment or rip off the taxpayers, we're going to hold you accountable.

But if you do the right thing, if you invest in your workers and in America's future, then we'll stand with you. We all need to work together to break down the barriers holding back our families and our country. The middle class needs a raise.

Add more good jobs, jobs that pay enough for a family to live on. Even put a little away for retirement. Jobs that provide dignity and a bright future. We have to invest in manufacturing and business infrastructure, enough clean energy for every home in America. Don't let anybody tell you we can't make things this America anymore because we can, we are and we will.

Together we can break down the barriers that face working class families across network especially in struggling rust belt communities and small towns that have been hallowed out by lost jobs and lost hope. Families who for generations kept our lights on and our factories running.

[Network breaks to call Texas for Clinton]

We can break down barriers for families who have seen too many black children harassed, humiliated and even killed. We can break down barriers for voters in North Carolina who have been systemically disenfranchised. We can break down barriers for hard working immigrants who are too often exploited and intimidated. We have to defend all our rights, workers rights and women's rights, civil rights and voting rights, LGBT rights and rights for people with disabilities.

It starts by standing with President Obama when he nominates a strong, progressive justice to the Supreme Court.

I know, I know too many Americans have lost faith in our future. We hear it in the voices of parents who don't know how they're going to give their kids the opportunities they deserve. We see it in the eyes of working men and women who don't expect anything to come easy, but wonder why it has to be quite so hard.

Like many of you, I find strength and purpose from my family and my faith. They gave me simple words to live by: Do all the good you can for all the people you can for as long as you can.

That is why I believe, deeply, that if we resist the forces trying to drive us apart, we can come together to make this country work for every one. The struggling, the striving and the successful. If we all do our part we can restore our common faith in our common future. That's the spirit powering this campaign. It comes from the young janitor in Arkansas who stopped buying junk food and put off getting a haircut so he could contribute to it. It comes from the disabled combat veteran from Nebraska who sent in \$10. In 70 years of his life he never donated to a political campaign until now.

You can join us too. Go to [hillaryclinton.com](http://hillaryclinton.com). Make a donation. Text, join to 47246.

Let me leave you with a story that's inspired so many of us. By now we all know what happened in Flint, Michigan, don't we? Our city's children were poisoned by toxic water because the governor wanted to save a little money. There's another story in Flint. It's a story of a community that's been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out. It is hundreds of union plumbers coming from across the country to help install new water fixtures. It's students raising funds for water deliveries and showing up to distribute supplies. It's the united auto workers and general motors donating millions of dollars to help.

When I visited Flint a few weeks ago, I went to the house of prayer missionary Baptist church. The congregation locked arms and sang. We've come too far from where we started from. They're not about to quit now.

We know there are many other Flints out there. Communities that are hurting and need help. We've come too far in this country to let us turn back. We're going to build on the progress that we've made. We save the auto industry thanks to President Obama. Now we've got to create new jobs and industries of the future.

We now insured 90 percent of Americans thanks to President Obama. Now we have to finish the job and get to 100 percent. We have come too far to stop now. We've got to keep going.

Keep working. Keep breaking down those barriers and imagine what we can build together when each and every American has the chance to live up to his or her own God given potential.

Thank you all so very much. Thank you.

## **Hillary Clinton Florida Rally post Univision Democratic Debate March 10<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Thank you so much, Tampa!

Wauw, thank you mayor, thank you Bob, for the leadership of this great American city. Thank you for those really stirring words, and thank you for pointing out that when we are working together, when we are not divided, when we are united, there is no limit to what we can achieve and that's what you stand for.

I want to thank Bob Henriquez and congresswomen Kathy Castor and all the elected officials, and mostly I want to thank all of you for being with me today.

I stopped at the over-float-room before coming in and there are about three-hundred - three-hundred and fifty People there, and I hope they can hear me because we tried to set it up so they could because as you can tell we couldn't put them in here.

But I cannot be happier to be back in this extraordinary city, this county, this part of Florida, which is really all about the future and that's what this campaign is all about.

You know, when Bob was talking about the woman who was at the debate last night with her five children, you know, it was really a touching moment, but then after it was over she came up and brought her children to meet me, and she proudly introduced all of them to me. And she told me through an interpreter how well her children were doing in school, and then she said, "they are even taking violin lessons." And I think any parent could just feel the pride that emanated from her, and her deep commitment to her children and their futures.

And Bob is absolutely right, you know, I am running for President to break down all the barriers that stand in the way of anybody fulfilling his or her potential. You see, I think we realize America's potential when we make it possible for every American to actually achieve his or hers. And there are a lot of barriers, I'm aware of that, I see them, I have been fighting against them my entire adult life.

We have made a lot of progress together, but we have a ways to go before we can honestly say barriers of economic challenges, educational problems, health care disparities, other kinds of discrimination and bigotry that too often hold people back. We have to take it all on, and I am committed to doing everything I can as your President and working with all of you to do just that.

You know, creating good jobs, more good jobs, with rising incomes is one of the fastest ways we can knock down barriers. If people feel like they are getting ahead and staying ahead that really lights a fire under our country. People feel like they can make it.

And so, what I have done, not just in this campaign, but going back many years, is to look for ways we can create more jobs, and one of the reasons I wanted to come to Tampa today to talk about creating jobs, is because that is exactly what you are doing, but you need a president, and frankly, you need a Governor who wants to help you create those jobs.

So, you know, we have got to do more to bring back manufacturing jobs, we have to do more to create small businesses and help them grow, and most of our jobs come from small businesses, and the fastest growing small businesses are headed by minority and women who are grasping for the American Dream, and we have to do much more to make sure women get equal pay for the work that we do.

But, let's just focus for a minute on two big areas that would be important here in Tampa and throughout Florida – infrastructure and climate change, right? Now, I know how important the port is to this city and the entire area. It supports eighty-thousand jobs, good jobs, where people can really make a commitment to themselves and their families to do better. Ten-thousand trucks a day go in and out of that port – that shows you how much commerce is happening in this really strategically placed American city.

But, we have to do more to make sure Tampa stays a center for goods coming in and out, so I was thrilled about the I4 corridor that made it possible for that kind of commerce to go back and forth, and I was really disappointed when your Governor sent back three billion dollars for infrastructure. You know, a high-speed rail system from Tampa to Orlando would be amazing for this area. I mean, that would increase tourism, it would increase commerce, it would increase the opportunity

for people to go quickly back and forth. It makes absolutely no sense, especially, when we know that we are going to have to do high-speed rail if we are going to have a competitive economy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. And if we are going to do more to fight climate change by getting more cars off the road and more passengers into high-speed rail.

So, if I am fortunate enough to be your President, we are going back to the drawing boards and we are going to look for ways to build the port, to build high-speed rail, and we are going to have to pay attention to what is happening with the widening of the Panama canal. That may seem far away, but as bigger and bigger ships go through, we are going to have to make sure this port is ready to receive them. That is also an investment in infrastructure.

Now, you know, some people say, “well, you know, there she goes talking about infrastructure again” – and it’s true, right? The reason we were dominant in the 20<sup>th</sup> century included having great infrastructure. Now our roads, our bridges, our tunnels, our ports, our airports are falling behind. You are making some improvements to the airport here in Tampa, but a lot of other places are really falling apart. It is not possible to remain economically competitive in a very very competitive global economy if we don’t have the infrastructure we need to move people and goods quickly from place to place.

So, right here in Tampa, in front of the mayor, I want to tell you if I’m your President, we are going to make investments in this port, we are going to go back and look at high-speed rail, we are going to do everything we can to create more good jobs. And I am proud to have the support of the building and trade unions in this country who will be put to work along with millions of other Americans, and the best way for us to combat climate change is by clean, renewable energy jobs.

You know, I don’t think you move into the future by fighting about things that happened twenty or thirty years ago. That’s why I am rolling out a comprehensive, dynamic, forward-looking jobs-program that really does focus on how we put people to work right here in our country, and the thing about infrastructure and clean energy – those jobs can’t be exported, they have got to be done right here in Florida, in America.

Now, think about the opportunities, you know there are so many opportunities here in Florida for clean, renewable energy and, again, I was told, and I find this one hard to believe, I was told your Governor sent out a directive telling everybody who works for the state not to use the words climate change. Is that right? I mean, you just got to shake your head at that. I mean, that is like the republicans, including your senator, that you referenced earlier, Bob, who when they are asked, “well, what do you think of climate change?” they say, “well, I don’t know, I’m not a scientist.” Now I’ve been going around the country saying “there is a way to cure that, go talk to a scientist, and actually listen to a scientist.” Or maybe go down to Miami Beach one day when now high tide is flooding the streets, or maybe go talk to some of the water systems in central Florida that are getting filled with salt water. You could actually make a tour of Florida and see some of the challenges we are already confronting because of climate change. It is the height of irresponsibility and neglect for anybody in a position of authority not to recognize that Florida will be the most at risk from climate change than any of our states.

And, you know, think about what we could do. We could begin right now, doing much more on solar energy right here in Florida. It’s a beautiful day in Tampa, there is a lot of sun, and Florida does not have as much solar power as states where it doesn’t have as much sun, like Massachusetts, even New Jersey. I think last time I checked it had more capacity for solar power – that makes no sense, and people will look back, I hope they’ll look back from a position of safety, and a position where they can say, “well, at least we finally got around to doing it, and to doing what we needed to be resilient and mitigate the effects of climate change, but what were those people like Governor Scott and Senator Rubio thinking about?! Did they not understand what we were facing as a nation?”

So, I’ll give you another pledge, as President I will do everything I can to help Florida get ready for and deal with climate change and create more clean, renewable energy jobs.

Honestly, you know, when I look at these young people back here, you know, every election is about the future and it is much more about theirs and that little baby’s right there, because if we don’t do what we need to do we won’t be able to deal with a lot of the challenges we are going to confront. That includes health care. You know, I am going to defend the Affordable Care Act and I



am going to do everything I can to bring down the costs and to go after the predatory drug companies that are engaging in nothing but greed.

Have any of you seen my ad about valiant pharmaceuticals, we have just started running it. Did you see it? Good. I'll tell you why; it is an outrage – it shows me reading a letter, this happened at a town hall in Iowa, I was reading a letter from a woman at the town hall, she handed it to me, and she said, “I don't understand what is happening. What can you do to help me?” She has been taking the same drug since like the late nineteen-eighties. She takes ten shots a month. When she started off it costed twenty dollars a shot, and that's the way it was for a really long time, then this company called Valiant Pharmaceuticals bought up the little company that was making this medicine. There was no new money for research, nothing that they were investing, they just bought the company. And then once they got a hold of it, they increased the price, so this woman at the end of last year, 2015, she went to the pharmacy to buy those same ten shots and was told it would cost her fourteen-thousand dollars.

I'll tell you what, we are going to use every legal tool at the disposal of the federal government to prevent companies like that from getting away that kind of financial greed that that represents. I'm also going to everything I can to make sure every single child in Florida has a good teacher and a good school regardless of the zip code they live in. and I want to start with early childhood education to help every child get prepared for school. And you know what, I am going to make college tuition for public colleges and universities debt free, so that you will not have to pay for it.

But I want to spend your tax payer dollars to send middle-class kids and working families kids and poor kids to college debt free, and I just disagree with my opponent's idea to give free college to everybody, including Donald Trump's kids and grandkids. Let's stay focused on where the problem is and let's make sure we get the cost down because tuition has gone up forty-two percent in the last ten years. So I'm going to put pressure on colleges and universities to scrub their costs. They should not be putting more burdens on hardworking families. And then you are going to get the debt you already have reduced dramatically. We are going to let you refinance at lower interest rates, we are going to let you move it to a program where you pay it back as a percentage of your income, and we are going to have a date certain where you no longer have to be paying your student debts, if you have been paying on a regular basis.

And I am going to put enormous pressure on these debt collecting agencies that are going after people, even people in the military, folks serving at Macdill and other places, are being dunned for more payments – we are putting them out of business. I'm tired of that kind of pressure, and I don't think the government should be making money of lending money to young people to get their education, we're going to change that too.

Now, you know, in the next week you are going to hear a lot from the Democrats and the Republicans, and I will say this, I've said it numerous times, despite my differences with my opponent I am proud of the campaign we have run, because we have focused on issues, and I am running a campaign that talks about what results I can produce for you. The other side is running a campaign based on insults, and it is doing a grave disservice to our country. But I want you to listen to what they say, because they truly are going after every right that we have built up over the last fifty years.

I want you to know where I stand; I will protect a woman's right to make her own health care discussions, I will defend Planned Parenthood from the kind of political attack it is under, I will defend marriage equality, and I will do anything I can to end discrimination against the LGBT community, I will protect and defend voting right from the onslaught of attacks, and state after state trying to limit the electorate, trying to make it difficult for people to vote. I will do everything I can to overturn citizens united, a pernicious, corrupting political decision. I will do it by appointing Supreme Court justices who believe rowve wight is the settled law of the land and citizens united needs to be overturned because it is disrupting our government. And I support President Obama's right completely to nominate someone to fill the vacancy on the Supreme Court.

I will defend and promote social security, will not let it be privatized by the Republicans, and will look for ways to extend the social security trust fund, and provide enhanced benefits for people who are really in need – low wage workers, widows who lose half of their monthly income when their husband dies.

I will also work to reform the criminal justice system and end the era of mass incarceration and provide more opportunities to divert people from jail and prison. I will protect the men and women

in uniform and support their families, because when someone serves so does the family, and we have to take care of them.

I will work to reform and improve the viaje, but I will not let the Republicans privatize that either. And I will work for comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship, and I will continue to stand up to the gun lobby, the most powerful lobby in Washington D.C. We have got to do what we can to get common sense gun safety measures, and we can do it in accordance with the constitution and to save lives. Now, can we save every life? I doubt that, but we are losing thirty-three-thousand lives a year - a year! – to gun violence, so please join me in standing up and moving towards common sense gun safety reform.

Now, I can't do any of that unless you help me. Now, we still have early voting in Florida, right? You can early vote today. You can go right from here and early vote. You can early vote Saturday and Sunday between ten AM and six PM, and then, of course, come out to vote on Primary in Tuesday, because I want to be a really strong candidate to take my visions and our views into a general election against whoever the Republicans nominate.

You know, people ask me all the time, well, who do I want to run against. That's not for me to decide. But given what they have all said, I will take any one of them.

So, my friends, join with me in this primary campaign, get everybody you know out to vote. Join with me and I will fight for you every day through this campaign, and most importantly, if I'm so honored as to be your President, I will get up every single day thinking about how I can knock down those barriers, how I can make it possible for any person, especially any boy or girl, to have a chance to live up to his or her God given potential, and for parents to be able to tell their daughters, "you can be anything you want, even President of the United States."

Thank you all very very much.

## **Hillary Clinton speaks at Columbus Democratic Party Dinner March 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016**

Hello!

Wauw, thank you!

Hello Ohio! Ohio Democrats! Thank you. It is... Thank you!

Thank you so much. It is great to be here with so many friends and leaders like Governor Ted Strickland – next senator from Ohio if all goes well and at his election. My friend and former colleague Senator Sherrod Brown – there is no greater fighter for Ohio, for jobs, for our fairness.

Congresswoman Joyce Beatty, thank you for having us here in your district. Congresswomen Marcia Fudge, my friend from Cleveland, Marcy Kaptur, a great fighter for Ohio, congressman Tim Ryan, the honorable Betty Sutton, David Pepper – thank you for sharing the Democratic Party.

Armond Budish, thank you, as county executive mayor, John Cranley of Cincinnati, mayor Paula Hicks Hudson of Toledo.

It is wonderful standing up here looking at this great array of Democrats. Earlier Joyce Beatty and I visited two other great Ohio Democrats, John and Annie Glen, who send you their warmest greetings.

And to all the state and local leader who are pouring your hearts into building the Democratic party across this state, I thank you because we need to elect Democrats up and down the ticket in November.

If I am fortunate enough to be the Democratic nominee, and to be elected President, I will be your partner, we will work hard every day to keep the Ohio Democratic Party strong and to bring back state parties across America. Because together we need to build a future where every American has the chance to live up to his or her God given potential, no matter where you come from, what you look like, or who you love.

Now, I have to say the stakes in this election keep getting higher while the rhetoric keeps sinking lower. In a democracy like ours, of course, we are going to have differences, but what we are hearing from Donald Trump is something else entirely. Let's just tell the truth about what is going on here. Donald Trump is running a cynical campaign of hate and fear for one reason – to get votes. He is encouraging violence and chaos to get votes. He is pitting Americans against each other to get

votes. Donald Trump says he wants to round up millions of Latino immigrants and kick them out of the United States – a nation built by immigrants. He wants to ban all Muslims from the United States – a country founded on religious freedom. He supports torture, advocates killing the wives and children of our enemies, and had to be told that these are war crimes in violation of international law, our own laws, our most deeply held principles, and our constitution. And after stoking every fire he can think of, Trump encourages his supporters to beat up anybody who disagrees with him, literally punch them in the face, and then offers to pay their legal bills.

Now, at our best Americans have rejected demi gods and fear mongers – you don't make America great by getting rid of everything that made America great in the first place.

Now, you and I know, you and I know Donald Trump is not who we are. Now, of course we can criticize and protest Mr. Trump all we want but none of that matters if we don't also show up at the polls.

If you want to shut him down, then let's vote him down, and then let's raise up a better future for ourselves and our children.

My campaign isn't about building walls, it's about breaking down all the barriers holding people back, and building ladders of opportunity and empowerment. It's about helping people find good jobs that pay enough for families to live on and to rebuild the middle class. A good job is the difference between keeping the lights on or not. Replacing outgrown clothes and worn out shoes or not. Keeping your home or not. But it is also about dignity and pride – knowing that you are doing your part and getting rewarded for your hard work. Most of all, a good job is about taking care of the people you love. We all want our kids to have better lives than we did, but without a good job giving your kids good choices and opportunities gets a lot harder. So, if you are doing the same jobs your parents did but for less money and fewer benefits, if you are going to every job fair, sending our resumes, getting retrained, but still can't find a job that pays enough to raise a family. If you saw your parents make that good living, working hard, working so hard every day, and now you can only dream of such a life for yourself, it is no wonder many Americans are concerned, frustrated, even angry. That is why the test of this election has to be whether we can actually create good paying jobs here in America. Because the good jobs of the future are either going to end up in

Europe, or Asia or here, and I'll tell you, we not only want them, we will make sure they end up right here in Ohio and the rest of our country.

Now, anyone running for President owes it to you to come up with real ideas for how to do that – a credible strategy designed for the world we live in now. And I'm just very grateful that leader like Sherrod Brown has looked at my plan and have said, "this is the kind of manufacturing plan that we need". That's what I am going to be working for. And over the past week or so we've had some great arguments and debate in our campaign and I appreciate what has been said. The difference between Senator Sanders and I, debating and disagreeing about issues, is that we are both presenting ideas. The other side is presenting insults that take us nowhere.

This campaign has to be about the future not the past. And, look, I want to be very clear. I know there has been a lot of discussion in the last week or so, about trade, and I'd like to take the opportunity tonight to set the record straight. To every worker in Ohio and every worker across America, let me say this, if I am fortunate enough to be your president, I will stand with you and I will have your back, and I will stop dead in its tracks any trade deal that hurts America and American workers.

Now, I opposed the only multilateral trade deal that came up when I was in the Senate, KAFTA, I thought it was bad for American jobs. I fought for American manufactures against Chinas cheating. And when it comes to the transpacific partnership, I did wait to see what is actually in it. And then I opposed it, because I concluded that I couldn't look American workers in the eye and say, "this deal will raise your wages". So, that's why I've said we have to oppose the TPP.

Now, I respect those who oppose all trade agreements, every single one, I respect that. That is an opinion and it is certainly one that people have every reason to hold. But I have to tell you, trade, when it is done right, can help thousands of Ohio companies that are right now exporting billions of dollars worth of products and creating good paying American jobs in the process. After all, we are not even five percent of the world's population, so if we want the American economy to grow we have to figure out how to sell to the other ninety-five percent. So, while we can't shut our borders to trade, we can, and I will demand, that we have fair trade and as level a playing field as we can create.

You see, I think we need a President who is not just opposed to trade; we need a President who knows how to compete against the rest of the world and win, win for America, and win for American workers.

Right now, the most urgent trade issues we have are with China. The biggest rule breaker out there, and let me tell you something, my friends, I know a thing or two about going toe to toe with the Chinese. I did it as a Senator, I did it as Secretary of State, and I will do it as President. We need to stop China from dumping cheap steel – that is not a new opinion for me. When I was Senator, I went before the International Trade Commission on behalf of steel companies and steel workers in New York, because I could see that both the companies and the steel workers were paying a big price. And we need to strengthen trade rules to prevent blatantly unfair practices, like weak rules of origin that put our carmakers at an unfair disadvantage. And I have also proposed a trade prosecutor, and as Sherrod said, enough investigators so that we will be on these issues immediately. It should not be up to companies and unions and workers to bring trade complaints. The United States Government should be leading the way to protect against unfair treatment.

We also need to take stronger action against companies that are shutting down American jobs then sending them out of our country. We need to get results when we talk about this. Here is what I'll do. If companies ship jobs overseas, we'll make them give back the tax breaks they've received in America that they have taken from city, state and federal tax payers. And if companies try to move their headquarters to a foreign country to skip out on their tax bill, we are going to slap a new exit tax on them. Make them think twice before they pretend to move their headquarters to avoid paying their fair share of taxes, and we will take that money and put it to work in the communities that are being hurt. We'll stand up for American workers and make sure no one can take advantage of us – not China, not Wall street, not over-paid corporate executives.

But we can't stop there. I've laid out a national strategy to create good-paying manufacturing jobs. And I think that is the most important way to judge what someone will do for manufacturing. I am the only candidate with a plan to help create millions of good-paying jobs. Jobs in infrastructure, jobs in manufacturing, jobs in clean energy, jobs in small business. And when I think about what we can do, I know we can have a renaissance in manufacturing, and I know we've got more work than we can possibly imagine repairing infrastructure. So, I am going to do everything I can to save and create jobs.

And by the way, you heard Sherrod mention the auto industry. Now look, there has been some debate back and forth about that. There is no doubt that when President Obama came into office we were in the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression, and the auto industry teetered on the brink of bankruptcy. You remember the Republicans all said, “let it go”, right? They did not want to lift a finger even to help plants and workers in their own states. So, what were we to do? I was still in the Senate. In December, both Senator Sanders and I voted to rescue the auto industry, but it failed. We couldn’t get the Republicans to support it. A month later, we faced one of those hard choices that force you to govern in reality. And it was this; there was a bill that mixed money for the auto rescue and money for other bailouts. Now, that was not an easy vote, and I respect those who voted against it, but I’ll tell you this; I voted for it. President elect Obama asked us to vote for it. I decided it was more important to save the auto industry and save our economy, and I am so glad we did. They’ve just had the best year that they have had in decades. Ohio factories, Ohio supply companies are doing so well.

So, my friends, America is a big, complicated country facing big, complicated challenges. We cannot afford a single-issue strategy or a single-issue President. Knocking down barriers means that we can’t just talk about economic inequality, we also have to take on racial inequality, we have to face up to the equality of systemic racism. You know it’s real. African-American families face discrimination; they have just a fraction of the assets and wealth of white families. African-American families suffered disproportionately in the Great Recession. We have too many young black people dying after encounters with police, like Tamir Rice, just twelve years old, shot and killed while playing in a park. We have to put an end to the fears of immigrant families, who are lying awake at night listening for a knock on the door even after they have lived and worked here for years. And we have to stand up for unions and labor rights.

And I have to thank you, Ohio Democrats, because when the chips were down you did not let Governor Casey drown out the voices of Ohio’s public servants by weakening their unions. Now, let’s stand up for all unions nationwide, because when unions are strong, families are strong, the middle class is strong and America is strong. And don’t forget, Supreme Court appointment will help determine what happens to so many issues, and we cannot let America have a Republican congress, a Republican President, and a Republican Supreme Court.



Knocking down barriers means making sure all our kids get the education they need to succeed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century economy. I believe our schools deserve more TLC – teaching, learning and community. And I’ve laid out a plan so that all kids can benefit from a good teacher and a good school no matter what zip code they happen to live in.

Knocking down barriers means finally guaranteeing paid family leave and equal pay for women. It was a sad day for Ohio When John Kasich defunded Planned Parenthood here, and make no mistake, if the Republicans win the White House we will see that happen nationwide. I’ve spend my career fighting to even the odds for people who have had those odds stacked against them. I’m not offering promises I can’t keep or plans that don’t add up. We all need to do our part, all of us, to build the kind of future we are fighting for, to give every American the chance to really pursue his or her dreams, because then, and only then, can America live up to its potential too.

Now, if you need a little inspiration, let me share something that inspired me; I want you to hear about a young woman from Worthington, Ohio, Named Sarah Cannaul. A few weeks ago, Sarah wrote to tell me how excited all four generation of women in her family are about the Primary on Tuesday. Great grandmother Marcy Vote, a great name, Marcy Vote, is ninety-four. She dedicated her life to the U.S. army as the wife of an officer. She believes our country needs a commander in chief who can lead. Grandmother, Gretel Shuster, was able to get health insurance because of the Affordable Care Act. She believes we need to build on the progress we’ve made under President Obama and not let it get ripped away. Sarah herself has two little kids, and she believes we need to end the epidemic of gun violence and keep our families safe. And then there is little Merritt, who has just started preschool, she is the ultimate reason to vote. Sarah says, “our hope for the future is a nation that can reward love and kindness instead of hate; that can reach out to help other over fear; that our kids can grow up understanding that not only are all things possible, but it’s our job, our responsibility to take these possibilities and make them a reality”. I can’t think of a better way of explaining what we stand for in the Democratic Party. Marcy, Gretel and Sarah are here with us tonight, I had a chance to meet them, they are whom we are fighting for. Their family and millions of families who never stop working, who are always looking to make life better for themselves and for their kids, make that the reality. I know that I we are determined and committed, if we are confident and optimistic, we can deliver on those possibilities.

I want to be a President who gets up every single day and thinks about what I can do to help the struggling and striving Americans. What I can do to help our children and our grandchildren. What I can do to make it absolutely clear that we are going to produce more good jobs with rising incomes. And we are going to be who we should be, consistent with our values. We are going to reject hatred and fear. We are going to decide that we can do better together. That is my hope for our country. I hope you will join me in that. I hope you will be there with me. I hope I can earn your vote in the Primary on Tuesday. I hope I will be your Democratic nominee. I hope we will fight against whatever the Republicans put out in our way, and I hope we will win to continue the progress to move into the future with hope, optimism and confidence that America's best days are still ahead of us.

Thank you and God bless you.

## Appendix c

### Calculations from Excel

|       |       |              |
|-------|-------|--------------|
| CLS   | 5017  | no. of words |
| ClinC | 21788 | no. of words |

1000000

Equation: (raw freq/no. of words)\*1,000000

|                          | CLSC     |             | ClinC    |             |
|--------------------------|----------|-------------|----------|-------------|
|                          | raw freq | rel. freq   | raw freq | rel. freq   |
| I                        | 93       | 18536,97429 | 532      | 24417,11034 |
| we                       | 80       | 15945,78433 | 486      | 22305,85643 |
| family                   | 15       | 2989,834562 | 29       | 1331,007894 |
| families                 | 12       | 2391,86765  | 43       | 1973,563429 |
| woman                    | 2        | 398,6446083 | 9        | 413,0714155 |
| women                    | 8        | 1594,578433 | 23       | 1055,626951 |
| serving                  | 1        | 199,3223042 | 2        | 91,79364788 |
| honor                    | 2        | 398,6446083 | 1        | 45,89682394 |
| nation                   | 5        | 996,6115208 | 9        | 413,0714155 |
| hard-working/hardworking | 1        | 199,3223042 | 5        | 229,4841197 |
| security                 | 2        | 398,6446083 | 10       | 458,9682394 |
| prosperity               | 5        | 996,6115208 | 2        | 91,79364788 |
| champion                 | 3        | 597,9669125 | 1        | 45,89682394 |
| fight                    | 6        | 1195,933825 | 22       | 1009,730127 |
| fight                    | 2        | 398,6446083 | 0        | 0           |
| battle                   | 1        | 199,3223042 | 2        | 91,79364788 |
| battles                  | 1        | 199,3223042 | 0        | 0           |
| win                      | 3        | 597,9669125 | 11       | 504,8650633 |
| fighting                 | 2        | 398,6446083 | 9        | 413,0714155 |
| jobs                     | 8        | 1594,578433 | 54       | 2478,428493 |
| wages                    | 3        | 597,9669125 | 2        | 91,79364788 |
| health insurance         | 1        | 199,3223042 | 1        | 45,89682394 |
| threats                  | 5        | 996,6115208 | 0        | 0           |
| bargain                  | 6        | 1195,933825 | 1        | 45,89682394 |
| requires                 | 3        | 597,9669125 | 0        | 0           |
| democracy                | 6        | 1195,933825 | 3        | 137,6904718 |
| profits                  | 4        | 797,2892167 | 1        | 45,89682394 |
| believe                  | 13       | 2591,189954 | 15       | 688,4523591 |

|             |    |             |    |             |
|-------------|----|-------------|----|-------------|
| americans   | 23 | 4584,412996 | 25 | 1147,420598 |
| american    | 11 | 2192,545346 | 40 | 1835,872958 |
| america     | 30 | 5979,669125 | 69 | 3166,880852 |
| republican  | 2  | 398,6446083 | 9  | 413,0714155 |
| republicans | 4  | 797,2892167 | 13 | 596,6587112 |
| really      | 0  | 0           | 34 | 1560,492014 |
| rights      | 1  | 199,3223042 | 35 | 1606,388838 |
| hope        | 0  | 0           | 21 | 963,8333027 |
| Children    | 7  | 1395,256129 | 29 | 1331,007894 |
| Kids        | 3  | 597,9669125 | 16 | 734,349183  |

#### Keyness value

|           |        |
|-----------|--------|
| CLS:      |        |
| childcare | 10,055 |
| Believe   | 11.113 |
| Americans | 20,987 |
| ClinC:    |        |
| really    | 14.092 |
| rights    | 8.719  |
| hope      | 8,704  |