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UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA

PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO EM LETRAS-INGLÊS E LITERATURA CORRESPONDENTE

IN THE NATION'S INTEREST:

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE ISSUE OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES OF 1960 AND 2000

por

MARK EDWARD ROBINSON

Tese submetida à Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina em cumprimento parcial dos requisitos para obtenção do grau de

DOUTOR EM LETRAS

FLORIANÓPOLIS, JULHO de 2004.

Esta tese de Mark Edward Robinson, intitulada "In the nation's interest: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the issue of national security in the U.S. Presidential Debates of 1960 and 2000", foi julgada adequada e aprovada em sua forma final, pelo Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras/Inglês e Literatura Correspondente, da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, para fins de obtenção do grau de

DOUTOR EM LETRAS

Área de concentração: Inglês e Literatura Correspondente
Opção: Língua Inglesa e Lingüística Aplicada

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We know that our subtlest perceptions, our highest values, are all based upon contrast; that light without darkness or beauty without ugliness would lose the qualities which they now appear to us to have. And similarly, if we would appreciate our own civilization, this elaborate pattern of life which we have made for ourselves as a people and which we are at such pains to pass on to our children, we must set our civilization over against other very different ones. As the traveler who has been once from home is wiser than he who has never left his own doorstep, so a knowledge of one other culture should sharpen our ability to scrutinize more steadily, to appreciate more lovingly, our own.

Margaret Mead. 1928. *Coming of Age in Samoa*. Based on Mead's anthropological fieldwork and doctoral dissertation at Columbia University.

I dedicate this work to God and my family whose steadfast love has supported me throughout my years of exploring different cultures and points of view.

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped me over the past few years in the realization of this work. First and foremost, acceptance to the English language doctoral program in Applied Linguistics at the Federal University of Santa Catarina in December of 1999 and a scholarship from CAPES/DS provided both the impetus and means to pursue this line of research. I wish to thank the DLLE and teachers and students of the extracurricular courses in English at UFSC with whom I had the privilege of working during my first two years of course work. Also of great assistance was the NUPDiscurso group headed by Professors José Luiz Meurer and Viviane Heberle which afforded us "NUPers" a semimonthly forum for sharing ideas and techniques. I wish to acknowledge the esprit de corps of fellow NUPer, Anderson Alves de Souza, who helped me with aspects of the Transitivity analysis. In particular, I wish to acknowledge the encouragement and insight of my academic advisor, Viviane Heberle, who took a chance on a visiting ESL teacher who popped into her office one day ranting and raving about the CNN coverage of the war in Yugoslavia and wanting to learn how to do discourse analysis of events such as press conferences in wartime. She and Zé managed to keep me on track throughout the arduous process of soul searching and researching, writing and rewriting which is essential at this level of studies. I am indebted.

Florianópolis – SC, July 23, 2004.

ABSTRACT

In the Nation's Interest: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Issue of National Security in the U.S. Presidential Debates of 1960 and 2000

MARK EDWARD ROBINSON

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2004

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Months of intense political campaigning in U.S. general election years culminate in a series of live, televised debates between the major contenders for the presidency which are produced to both inform and entertain consumers in the private domain. However, scant attention has been paid to analysis of the texts which are generated by these discursive events utilizing the approaches to media discourse advanced over the past two decades by systemic linguistics and critical discourse analysts in Europe, Australia and South America. In this contrastive analysis, the four U.S. Presidential Debates which premiered in 1960 are compared to the three debates of the most recent series of 2000 with the dual objectives of investigating how genres and discourses are drawn upon, and how shifting language and discursive practices in the media could serve as indicators of social and cultural change in the U.S. since the advent of these institutionalized events. Transcripts of the two debate series were downloaded from the home page of the Commission on Presidential Debates and a 30,000-word compilation of extracts related to the issue of national security priorities in the interview segments of the debate programming were tabulated as 3,500 clauses. The material and relational processes which constitute over 70% of the clauses are the focal point of the transitivity-based text analysis, as well as the positive and negative polarizations of the participants as depicted as in-groups and out-groups at the level of clause as representation. The results suggest that the militarized discourses of Communist containment and nuclear deterrence of the Cold War era which permeate the transcripts of the 1960 debate series have been supplanted by the discourses of despotism and nation building in the 2000 series, while traces of their successive forms of knowledge, the discourses of terrorism and preemptive warfare, also were evidenced in the texts and offer opportunities for future research endeavors in critical discourse analysis of media texts.

Key words: U.S. Presidential Debates, media discourse, critical discourse analysis, Systemic Linguistics, genre, transitivity.

Total Number of Pages: 275

RESUMO

Título:

Para o Bem da Nação: Uma Análise Crítica do Discurso Sobre a Questão de Segurança Nacional nos Debates Presidenciais Estadunidense de 1960 e 2000

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2004

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Os meses de intensas campanhas políticas que antecedem a eleição para presidente dos Estados Unidos culminam em uma série de debates televisionados entre os principais candidatos que são produzidos para informar e entreter os eleitores na esfera privada. Entretanto, apesar de sua importância, pouca atenção tem sido dada à análise dos textos produzidos nestes eventos discursivos utilizando-se as abordagens teóricas da lingüística sistêmica e da análise crítica do discurso desenvolvidas e ampliadas nas últimas duas décadas na Europa, Austrália e América do Sul. Neste estudo, os quatro debates presidenciais estadunidenses de 1960 são comparados aos três debates mais recentes de 2000 com os objetivos de investigar como gêneros textuais e discursos são usados, e como alterações de práticas discursivas podem servir como indicadores de mudanças sociais e culturais nos Estados Unidos desde o advento destes eventos institucionalizados. As transcrições das duas séries de debates foram extraídas do sítio na Internet da Comissão de Debates Presidenciais e uma compilação de 30.000 palavras das passagens relacionadas com a questão de segurança nacional foi tabulada na forma de 3.500 orações. Os processos materiais e relacionais, que constituem mais de 70% das orações, são o foco da análise do sistema de transitividade, assim como as polarizações positivas e negativas dos participantes, que no nível da oração como representação, são caracterizados como pertencentes a grupos internos versus grupos externos. Os resultados sugerem que os discursos militarizados de contenção aos comunistas e à ameaça nuclear da época da Guerra Fria, que permeavam os debates de 1960, foram substituídos pelos discursos de despotismos e fortalecimento nacional nos debates de 2000. Além disso, foram encontrados nos textos traços de discursos de guerra ao terrorismo e a favor de ataques preventivos, os quais oferecem oportunidades para pesquisas futuras no campo da análise crítica do discurso de textos da mídia.

Palavras-chave: Debates Presidenciais, Discurso da Mídia, Análise Crítica do Discurso, Lingüística Sistêmica, Gênero Textual, Sistema de Transitividade.

Número de páginas: 275

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Initial remarks

Three key events shaped this research during my studies at the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras/Inglês e Literatura Correspondente (PPGI) at Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC). First, videotaped recordings of the U.S. Presidential Debates (USPDs) which occurred at the end of the 2000 U.S. general election year while I was teaching an undergraduate English course called American Culture helped to generate class discussions about the three highly stylized formats of the debate productions and how these factors seemed to affect not only what and how the candidates said what they did about issues, but also to which audiences they appeared to be addressing. These considerations then led to a pilot study and an open seminar the following year. Second, the September 11th attacks of 2001, and subsequent promptings by Cable News Network (CNN) International to reflect on what had changed as of that day did, in fact, cause me to reappraise many concerns about the nation from where I come. Third, the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 made me wonder what had changed in post-911 U.S. society. Thus, what began as a gathering of teaching resources developed into a pilot study and open seminar which in turn evolved into a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the language use of political contenders for the U.S. Executive Office in defining national security concerns in USPDs, and particularly, when it would be seen in the nation's interest to use U.S. Armed Forces.

USPDs are one of many types of communicative events that occur every four years during a U.S. general election year. The series of typically three live, televised joint appearances by the nominees of the two major political parties (the Republicans and the Democrats) take place about a month prior to a general election day in November.

In the rationale of the study in Section 1.2, I first discuss the reasons for conducting a *critical* discourse analysis based upon Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). I will then explain why the work follows the qualitative research paradigm, why USPDs are seen as a useful source of mediatized political discourse for an analysis of national security priorities, as well as the reason why two particular USPD series were chosen for this research.

1.2 Rationale of the study

The approach to the study of language called critical discourse analysis has its origin in the contributions of British and Australian critical linguistics, most notably Fowler et al. with the 1979 publication, *Language and Control*, and Kress and Hodge (1979) with *Language as Ideology*. The increasingly detailed analytical frameworks that have been advanced since the late seventies, particularly in their applications to news, have promoted the approach to its eminent international status for studying media texts in the early twenty-first century.

This CDA follows the analytical framework of Norman Fairclough which has been developed throughout the turn of the twentieth century (1989; 1992; 1995; 2001). The approach is regarded as 'critical' because it's principle objective is to expose by means of close discourse analysis, 'and to criticize, connections between properties of texts and social processes and relations (ideologies, power relations) which are generally not obvious

to people who produce and interpret those texts, and whose effectiveness depends upon that opacity' (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 97).

The USPD texts of this study are investigated from the perspective of context of culture and situational contexts, as well as the ´multifunctional´ view of texts, all of which are concepts which have been adopted and adapted from the ´systemic´ theory of language (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 17). Such a view of texts and their contextual parameters thereby allows for explanations and interpretations, as to 'how socially available genres and discourses are drawn upon', and 'how shifting language and discursive practices in the media constitute social and cultural change' (cf. Fairclough (1995a, p.29).

This study follows the qualitative research paradigm. According to Nunan (1992), the distinction between quantitative and qualitative research is 'permeated by a debate on the nature of knowledge and the status of assertions about the world' (p. 10). Whereas quantitative research devises tests, searches for facts, and contends that there exists 'an external truth, which is independent from the observer,' qualitative studies are 'more holistic and recognize that truth depends on the observer, and, thus, all knowledge is relative' (Nunan, 1992, p. 3). Nunan's views reflect the recent 'change in perspectives on where meanings of texts reside,' as Bell and Garrett (1998) explain, whereby 'text takes on more of the interactive qualities of discourse' in that the meanings of texts have come to be seen as 'more a product of negotiation between readers and texts' (p. 2).

While USPDs are but one of many types of communicative events that occur during U.S. general election campaigns, their uniqueness lies in their reconstructions of contents, social relations and social identities as the end of the yearlong electoral process draws near. The live, televised, joint appearances by the major candidates for the presidency generate an enormous amount of data about the contenders before one of them is ushered into a four-

year administration of team-prepared speeches delivered via electronic tele-prompters and a host of spokespersons. USPD series thus offer potential for studies in discourse analysis, social semiotics, communication studies, and other disciplines, whether the focus of attention is on the debate issue of national security priorities or other U.S. social issues.

To better understand why candidates say what they say and talk as they do about particular issues in USPDs, one needs to consider "what is at issue behind the issue". It is proposed that one means of doing so is to have a point of reference by which a contrastive analysis can be made of a specific debate issue, as well as the evolution of the communicative events as a whole. Therefore, the television debut of the 1960 USPDs were chosen to be compared with the most recent ones of the 2000 series.

By comparing the first televised debate series of 1960 between Democratic candidate, John F. Kennedy, and Republican candidate, Richard Nixon, with the most recent series of debates of 2000 between Republican candidate, George W. Bush, and Democratic candidate, Al Gore, this study searches for textual evidence of how the candidates chose to represent national security concerns, and how these representations, and social relations and social identities regarding this debate issue have changed since the midst of the 50-year Cold War and just prior to the onset of the more recent nominalization of the War on Terrorism. By means of such analysis of the relationship between context and language, I will attempt to explain and illustrate how extralinguistic levels of language are realized in the meanings of the texts of this research.

In the materials and methods section of Section 1.3, I explain why transcripts of USPDs are considered suitable texts for this critical discourse analysis, and how the transcripts were obtained and extracts selected. I then present the analytical techniques that were used and the research questions which helped to guide the study.

1.3 Materials and methods

In the process of development of this CDA of USPDs, I chose to conduct a contrastive text analysis of the particular, recurring debate issue of national security using transcripts of the USPDs of 1960 and 2000. Fairclough (1995a, p. 17) argues that ‘a newspaper article is a text, but so too is a transcription of a radio or television programme’. The use of transcripts along with pertinent background information or factors outside the texts of these mediatized political discursive events of past and present thereby allows for textual specificity in linguistic research while not neglecting an interpretation of the discourse practice of text production, distribution and consumption, as well as the social practices of which they are a part. Such factors include social processes and relations which impact the choices in language use of the debate participants. Research such as this then aims to shed some light on how presidential candidates represent the U.S.A. and its national security priorities in USPDs, as well as the topics of alliances, treaties, the perceived role of the United Nations, and the projection of military power.

In the general election year of 1960 there were four debates between the presidential candidates and none between the vice-presidential contenders, whereas in 2000 there were three debates between the presidential candidates and one between the vice-presidential contenders. This research focuses on the *seven* debates between the *presidential* contenders of 1960 and 2000. The complete transcripts of the USPDs of 1960 and 2000 were downloaded from, and are retrievable at, the Debate History page of the website of the Commission on Presidential Debates at http://www.debates.org. The complete transcripts of the USPD series of 1960 comprise 44,000 lexical items while those of the 2000 series

consist of 47,000 words. Even by comparing and contrasting extracts of the transcripts pertaining to the single debate issue of *national security*, a total of 30,745 lexical items were compiled for analysis along with considerable data related to their situational context.

The USPD texts of this study are found in Appendixes 1 and 2 for the USPD series of 1960 (18,720 words) and 2000 (12,025 words), respectively, and are marked as, for example, USPD 1960: 1/4, to indicate the first debate of the series of four which took place that general election year. The extracts were taken from the Question and Answer (henceforth Q & A) segments of the two debate series in which the candidates respond to questions about national security priorities either by members of varying panels of news media representatives, as was the case in the USPD series of 1960, or a sole moderator, as was seen in 2000. Because the reading of written opening and closing statements by the candidates was permitted in the first debate series, whereas even the use of hand-held notes was prohibited in the 2000 series, these segments of the transcripts were not included in this study. Instead, the focus of attention in this CDA is on discussions of national security concerns in the Q & A segments of the two USPD series.

The research procedure follows what might be considered a top-down approach wherein I first take a broad perspective of the social practice of which the USPD texts are a part. Such an approach follows the line of reasoning of Halliday and Hasan (1989, p. 5) because as they argue, ‘in real life, contexts precede texts’, i.e. ‘the situation is prior to the discourse that relates to it’.

I will first focus on discourse ‘in relation to ideology and to power, and place discourse within a view of power as hegemony, and a view of the evolution of power relations as hegemonic struggle,’ as suggested by Fairclough (1992, p. 86). It is at this level of analysis where I contrast the situational contexts of the seven USPDs of the 1960 and

2000 series (Section 3.2), as well as the admixtures of genres and discourses (Section 3.3). Given that Fairclough (1995a, p. 189) sees each different generic admixture as 'likely to ascribe a particular role' to the main 'voices' involved in a mediatized discursive event – such as a USPD, the main participants or text-producing 'agents' of the two USPD series are presented in the analysis of situational contexts in Section 3.2 in order to better explain the social identities and social relations enacted in these 'complex articulations and orderings of voices'. Here, I use 'voice' as does Fairclough (1995a, p. 77) citing Bakhtin (1986) as 'the identities of particular individual or collective agents'.

The scope of the study is then narrowed to an analysis of discourse practice, which is interrelated with the social analysis in Chapter 3. Fairclough (1998) sees the dimension of discourse practice as 'the link between texts and society/culture' (p. 144) It is here where the concepts of 'order of discourse' and 'intertextuality' are investigated, as well as the discourse strategies of candidates utilizing 'hortatory' and 'persuasive' discourses (cf. Longacre, 1992) and the argumentation strategies of debaters as 'vote-gatherer' and/or 'vote-shifter' (cf. Jørgensen and Kock, 1999).

In the third stage or dimension of analysis of Chapter Four, we proceed to the level of the clause as representation in order to explore the micro-processes that have shaped the USPD texts. The transitivity analysis focuses on describing how text producers represent meaning in clauses through systematic choices which encode world views and how the users may relate to and identify with these socially constructed and constitutive versions of reality. Halliday (1994, p.106) cautions that a pattern of representation is but a 'guise' to the building of a 'mental picture of reality' that language users employ to try to distinguish 'what goes on around them and inside them'. These mental pictures or perceived 'goings-on' in and of the world, which according to Halliday (ibid.) include 'happening doing,

sensing, meaning, and being and becoming', may be better distinguished through analysis of the grammatical system of transitivity which 'construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types'. The particular process types which are the focus of attention in the Chapter Four text analysis are discussed in the Section 2.3 overview of Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

Conventions of transcription which take into account pauses, overlaps, abrupt stops and other details, while of interest for future studies, were not used in this CDA. My focus of attention is based on the observations of Halliday (1994, p. xxiv-xxv), who argues that transcriptions in which 'spontaneous, operational speech' is reduced to written form 'show none of the intonation or rhythm or variation in tempo and loudness', and as such they generally 'are not well represented by standard techniques of analysis and presentation'. This is the case with the unavailability of audio and/or audio-visual recordings of both of the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 by which one could at least attempt to demarcate the intricacies of the spoken language use by means of transcription markers.

The analyses of the social conditions and processes of production and interpretation (Chapter 3) are integrated in the text analysis (Chapter 4) in order to maintain the focus of determining 'what close analysis of texture can contribute to social and cultural analysis of discourse' (cf. Fairclough, 1998, p. 147). The '*texture* of texts', as defined by Fairclough (1995b, p. 4), relates to both 'form and organization, and not just commentaries on the 'content' of texts which ignore texture'.

The following research questions were adapted from Fairclough (1998, pp. 161-162; 1995a, pp. 29-31; 1989, p 115). In applying the questions to the USPD series of 1960 and 2000, I have first attempted to explain and interpret respectively the historical, political, and

sociocultural contexts of the social and discursive practices involved before then proceeding to micro-analysis of formal features of the USPD transcript excerpts:

1) Who were the discourse participants and the social and political agents involved in the production and distribution of the first USPDs of 1960 and the most recent series of USPDs of 2000?

2) How are changes in the register variables of context of situation and articulations of socially available genres and discourses realized in the forms and meanings of the USPD texts; what do such changes suggest about how wider social and cultural processes have shaped and continue to shape the way these discursive events articulate these elements of the political order of discourse and the evolution of power relations as hegemonic struggle?

3) Are there 'style' differences between how the candidates of the two series were addressed and positioned to interact; and how are the notions of 'voice', 'ethos', 'marketization', 'conversationalization' and 'democratization' of discourse related to the interpersonal components in the USPD texts?

4) How do the concepts of 'members' resources' and 'intertextuality' function in the USPD texts?

5) What 'moves' typically indicate hortatory and persuasive discourses, and what functions do these discourse strategies fulfill in USPDs (cf. Longacre, 1992)?

6) Is a USPD a debate proper? If USPDs are not true debates, how could these discursive events be described, what functions do they fulfill, and what argumentation devices or strategies serve these functions?

7) What types of processes are most typically seen, how are in-group and out-group polarizations represented by these processes in the national security extracts; and how do transitivity choices in the clauses of the texts represent power, ideologically invested interests, and ingrained values?

By applying these research questions to 1960 and 2000 USPD series and the texts they generated in relation to national security priorities, this study will investigate how social relations were enacted and social identities were revealed in these communicative events, as well as how social relations and identities were produced and reproduced over the past four decades. The text analysis of Chapter Four, with its emphasis on the

transitivity system of Hallidayan SFL (1994), is interrelated with the analyses of the social conditions and processes of production and interpretation of the USPD texts, as seen below:

1.4 Summary of chapter contents:

Chapter 1: Introduction

Explains why presidential debates and the issue of national security became foregrounded in this investigation, why a *critical* approach to discourse analysis was chosen, particularly that of Fairclough, why transcripts of the mediatized political discourse of the USPDs of 1960 and 2000 became the corpus for study, what criteria for text selection and methodology were used to conduct the analysis, and what questions guided the research. The introduction concludes with a summary of the chapter contents.

Chapter 2: General theoretical perspectives

Introduces as concisely as possible the general perspectives and principles upon which the analysis is based: Fairclough's (1989; 1992; 1995; 1998) social theoretical framework for conducting Critical Discourse Analysis and Hallidayan (1978; 1985; 1989; 1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics. Also introduced are the analytical techniques of van Dijk (1998), Longacre (1992) and Jørgensen and Kock (1999).

Chapter 3: Analyses of social practice and discourse practice in USPDs

Provides a broad perspective of the social practice of USPDs, explaining the situational contexts of the two debate series, as well as an analysis of discourse types as admixtures of genres and discourses, and how this relates to ideology and power and the Gramscian notion of hegemony. The chapter looks at how U.S. society and the mediatized political discourse of USPDs shape each other and how the ideologically-invested ways of discussing issues by the participants have perpetuated the power structures of the campaign committees of the two major U.S. political parties. The analyses provide samples from the transcript extracts related to national security priorities and their verbal contexts in order to explore the principles of manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity, and demonstrate how candidates exploited both discourse and argumentation strategies in the two debate series.

Chapter 4: Text analysis: Representations of national security concerns using material and relational processes

Describes the ideational level of meaning-making wherein the processes, participants and circumstances are categorized, thereby helping to distinguish by whom, to whom, and for whom the various types of experience, or world knowledge, are being relayed in the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000 at the lexicogrammatical level of clause as representation. The transitivity analysis describes and interprets the depictions of the world of foreign affairs by debate participants as evidenced by the texts. Cross-references are made to the findings of the Chapter 3 analyses of the social conditions and processes of production and interpretation of the USPD series and texts.

Chapter 5: Final remarks

The final remarks chapter first presents a summary review of the research questions that guided the study. The shortcomings of the research and suggestions for future research endeavors are offered, as well as suggestions for USPD reform in terms of argumentation strategies and audience orientation. The chapter concludes with a recountal of U.S. national security priorities in a post-USPD 2000 setting.

This research follows a top-down approach. However, it should be emphasized that, as Fairclough (1992, p. 86) observes, all levels of discourse analysis are interrelated:

> It is because of their interrelationship that the dimension of discursive practice in my three-dimensional framework can mediate the relationship between the dimensions of social practice and text: it is the nature of the social practice that determines the macro-processes of discursive practice, and it is the micro-processes that shape the text.

The mutual relationship between the three dimensions of analysis is what ultimately determined the sequence of chapters of this doctoral thesis. I will now proceed to an overview of the theoretical perspectives applied in this study.

Chapter Two

General theoretical perspectives

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will first introduce the perspectives and principles upon which this analysis is based: Fairclough's (1989; 1992; 1995; 2001) social theoretical framework for conducting critical discourse analysis and Hallidayan (1978; 1985; 1989; 1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics following the trend in discourse analysis at PPGI-UFSC. I will also use the analytical techniques of van Dijk (1998), Longacre (1992), and Jørgensen and Kock (1999). Secondly, as this study explores how media produce and distribute USPDs, how representations, relations and identities shape and are shaped by mediatized general election practices, and how these changing practices of media and political discourse are thought to relate to wider processes of sociocultural change, I distinguish which of these perspectives, principles and analytical tools are to be applied to these series of discursive events within mediatized politics in the U.S, in general, and to the debate issue of national security priorities, in particular, as a means of situating the reader in terms of a socio-historical background for the critical discourse analysis.

2.2 An overview of critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis is an innovative, multi-disciplinary approach which tackles a number of important social issues while still drawing on many of the methodological tools of more traditional fields such as text linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics and rhetoric. Researchers in CDA do not merely pore over written texts as though these are abstract entities devoid of any relation to a particular society and history. Neither can they, as Fairclough (1992, p. 47) notes, 'simply appeal to 'context' to explain what is said or written or how it is interpreted'. Instead, critical discourse analysts have come to see language as a form of social practice, and analyze a diverse range of texts which might well make use of both written and spoken language texts, and also the type of visual discourse commonly seen in, for example, advertising.

These views reflect those of one of the pioneers of CDA, Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2001). Fairclough's approach draws upon Hallidayan SFL, yet his concern with language, discourse and power in society has encouraged him to integrate sociological concepts as well. Fairclough's (1992) combination of social concepts includes the 'order of discourse' of Foucault with the 'Bakhtinian emphasis on intertextuality', as well as the 'dynamic view of discourse practice and its relationship with social practice that emerges from this conjuncture within a Gramscian conceptualization of power and power struggle in terms of hegemony' (pp. 99-100).

The changing practices of media discourse may be related to wider processes of sociocultural change, and they are also thought to highlight the relationships between language, ideology and power. These relationships are illustrated by shifts in sociocultural

values as evidenced in changes of media discourse practices in regard to the constitution of social relations and identities, and the demands of television viewing audiences to be informed yet entertained.

2.2.1 The framework for the CDA of this research

As may be seen in Figure 1 below, Fairclough's framework for CDA has three levels of analyses, or dimensions, which combine an interdisciplinary commitment to examine sociocultural change in this era of late modernity with a *critical* commitment to discern power relations and dominance in society while maintaining a focus on 'textual specificity in doing discourse analysis' in order 'to come to grips with change' (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 100). The interfacing of textual features with sociocultural practice via the mediating dimension of discourse practice is visualized below in Figure 1:

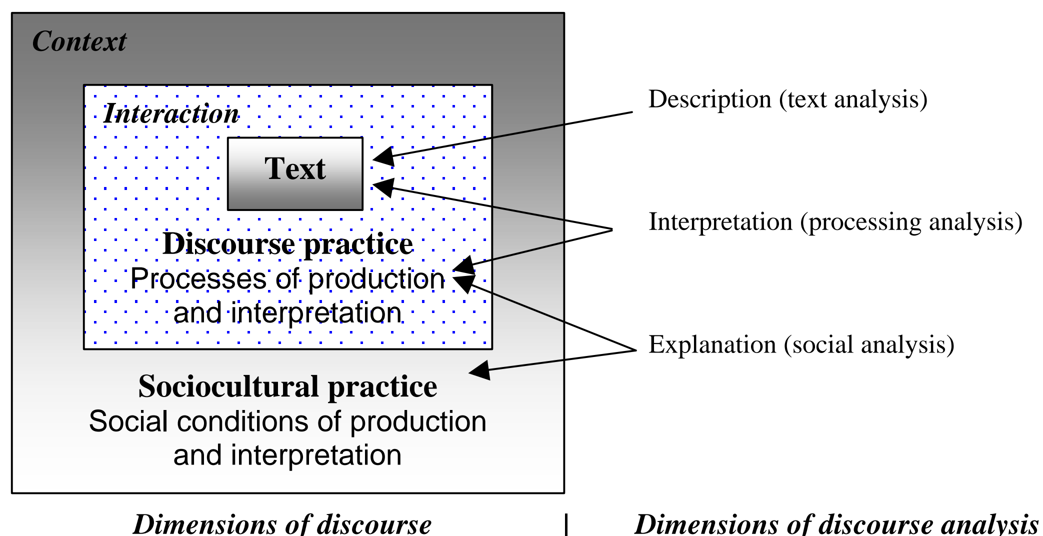

Figure 1: CDA framework of Fairclough (adapted from 1995b, p. 98; 1989, p.25)

I find it helpful to imagine a bird's eye view of a pyramid when one considers the illustration. The three-dimensional discourse analysis then may be seen as having a broad, contextual base from which to explain the sociocultural conditions of production and interpretation; from there one may proceed to the central, mediating dimension of analysis related to the interactive processes of production and interpretation; and then culminating at the apex of the pyramid with text analysis, which utilizes description of lexicogrammatical choices evidenced in the texts themselves. These levels of analysis thereby allow for a mergence of macro- and micro-analyses and correspond respectively with the three dimensions of *discourse* noted above: sociocultural practice (context), as mediated by discourse practice (interaction), and text.

As Fairclough (1989, p. 24) notes, 'whereas all linguistic phenomena are social, not all social phenomena are linguistic'. The stage of explanation, or social analysis, therefore takes into account such 'socially determined and ideologically shaped' nonlinguistic aspects such as *´members' resources´*, or MR, which are seen as representations which participants in discourse have retained in their 'long-term memory' and draw upon regularly, although 'their ´common sense´ and automatic character typically disguises that fact' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 11). The social conditions of production and interpretation 'shape the MR people bring to production and interpretation, which in turn shape the way in which texts are produced and interpreted', thereby constituting the 'context' of discourse in relation to discourse as 'interaction' and 'text' as shown above in Figure 1 (Fairclough, 1989, p. 25).

The 'link between the sociocultural and the textual' is regarded by Fairclough (1995a, p. 60) as 'an indirect one', which is why discourse practice is visualized as the central, mediating dimension of discourse that 'straddles the division between society and

culture on the one hand, and discourse, language and text on the other'. The model thus affords analysts a means of explaining the sociocultural practice of a discursive event, which as Fairclough (1995a, p. 62) observes, 'may be at different levels of abstraction from the particular event'. In this study, the level of abstraction is at the situational context of the two USPD series, and particular attention has been paid to two aspects of sociocultural practice of the USPDs: 'political (concerned with issues of power and ideology), and cultural (concerned with questions of values and identity)' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 62).

The processing dimension of discourse analysis attends to an interpretation of the processes of 'production, distribution, and consumption (including interpretation) of texts', which is why Fairclough (1992, pp. 92-93) sees discourse practice as 'a facet of hegemonic struggle'. Fairclough (ibid.) credits Gramsci (1971, p. 195) in citing Hall (1988, pp. 55-56) with the term 'an ideological complex' to describe 'the field of ideologies in terms of conflicting, overlapping, or intersecting currents or formations' and encourages 'a focus upon the processes whereby ideological complexes come to be structured and restructured, articulated and rearticulated'. The social and processing analyses at this stage are 'essential to an understanding of the interrelations of language, power and ideology' in that 'MR are socially determined and ideologically shaped' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 11).

I have been selective in the discussions of the discourse practice dimension of the two USPD series and have focused attention on processes which have 'a more institutional character' or 'routines' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 59). In the case of USPD productions of past and present, this relates to the institutionalized procedures involved in the joint appearances of the two major party candidates and the naturalized MR that are drawn upon in interpreting questions in the Q & A segments of debate programming because the

'routine and unselfconscious resort to MR' is seen as 'a powerful mechanism for sustaining the relations of power which ultimately underlie them' (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 11).

Fairclough's (1992, pp. 99-100) combining of 'aspects of a Foucaultian view of discourse and a Bakhtinian emphasis on intertextuality' places great emphasis on the way in which 'orders of discourse structure and are restructured by discourse practice'. An order of discourse is seen as 'the totality of discursive practices within an institution or society, and the relationships between them' (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 43).

In the intertextual analysis, I note the trends of marketization (or commodification) of discourse, as well as the conversationalization and democratization of discourse as evidenced in the USPD texts. With regard to manifest intertextuality, I offer samples of discourse representation and negation.

The text dimension of discourse analysis of Fairclough's framework involves linguistic analyses at both the micro- and macro-structural levels, especially lexicogrammar and text structure. The three dimensions of discourse analysis – text, processing and social analyses overlap and are to be viewed holistically. Fairclough (1995a, pp. 57-58), as well as do researchers in SFL, acknowledge that while ideally it would be 'useful analytically to contrast' a text's forms and meanings, in conducting a CDA there is 'a sensible working assumption that where forms are different, there will be some difference in meaning'.

Fairclough's (1995a, p. 58) framework for CDA takes a 'multifunctional view of text' which he has adopted and adapted from Systemic Functional Linguistics. Such a view allows for analysis of the realizations of meanings at the level of the clause by means of the semantics coding system, wherein the 'three main categories of function' each has 'its own systems of choices: ideational, interpersonal and textual' (ibid.). I will discuss this topic more fully below in the SFL section of 2.3; however, I wish to note that the CDA in the

present study utilizes this view of the multifunctionality of text, which has provided ‘a way of investigating the simultaneous constitution of systems of knowledge and belief (ideational function) and social relations and social identities (interpersonal function)’ (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 58) in relation to the selected USPD sample texts of this research

2.2.2 Views of discourse and text in the CDA

The use of the term ‘discourse’ adopted in this study of USPDs is of ‘language use conceived as socially determined’, while the transcripts of such mediatized discourse events are seen as being written accounts of what has been said; therefore, ´spoken texts´ are products of ‘the process of production’ (cf. Fairclough, 1989, pp. 22-24). Discourse is also used to refer both to this ‘abstract’ form, as well as to a ‘count noun’ in the sense of ‘a form of knowledge’ (Fairclough, 1995a, pp. 18-19).

Fairclough’s (1992, pp. 63-64) view of discourse suggests that a ‘dialectical relationship’ exists between discourse and social structure, ‘there being more generally such a relationship between social practice and social structure’, in which social structure is ‘both a condition for, and an effect of’ discourse; therefore it is seen as being ‘shaped and constrained by social structure’, while it is also ‘socially constitutive’. When discourse is viewed from the perspective of ‘a form of social practice, rather than as ‘a purely individual activity or a reflex of situational variables,’ then it is possible to imagine discourse as being ‘a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world and especially upon each other, as well as a mode of representation’ (Fairclough, 1992, p. 63).

In terms of this research, live, televised broadcasts of USPDs in the final stage of yearlong campaigns are seen as a means of urging the electorate by means of discourse and

argumentation strategies to remain or become more actively involved in the impending general election, to decide on a candidate, and to act by voting on Election Day. This topic is explored in the analyses of discourse and argumentation strategies in Chapter Three, and these devices are explained presently in Sections 2.4 and 2.5. For now, I wish to focus upon the constraints on discourse and their corresponding structural effects.

2.2.3 Constraints on discourse

Fairclough's (1989) perspective of language that is applied in this research is that 'social conditions determine properties of discourse', therefore language is seen as 'a social practice determined by social structures', which then 'connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being both a site of, and a stake in, struggles for power' (ibid., pp. 15-19). The three dimensional analysis of power struggles 'exercised and enacted in discourse' at the 'situational' or 'relatively immediate and concrete' level, as well as those at the 'institutional' and 'societal' levels which are 'relatively ´structural´ and long-term' are depicted in Table 1 below and used throughout the social, processing and text analyses of Chapters Three and Four.

Constraints / Dimensions of meaning	Values of features	Structural effects
Contents	EXPERIENTIAL	Knowledge and beliefs
Relations	RELATIONAL	Social relationships
Subjects	EXPRESSIVE	Social identities

Table 1: Constraints on discourse and structural effects (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 74), and formal features: experiential, relational and expressive values (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 112).

As Fairclough 1989, p. 112) observes, in addition to the values shown, ‘a formal feature may have *connective value*, i.e. in connecting together parts of a text’. Formal features of a text with connective value are involved in the interweaving of relationships ‘between texts and contexts’, in other words, ‘some formal features point outside the text to its situational context, or to its ´intertextual´ context’ (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 129-130).

The left column of Table 1 illustrates the ‘three constraints which powerful participants in discourse can exercise over the contributions of non-powerful participants’ (Fairclough, 1989, p. 74). These systematic constraints then affect the choices of formal features and the three types of value which they have, as visualized in the middle column and returned to presently. The three types of formal features and the meanings which they realize simultaneously, when viewed in terms of a dialectical relationship in which social structure impacts and is impacted by discourse, then allow for the corresponding structural effects represented in the right column of Table 1 above.

The role of discourse in constituting or constructing knowledge and beliefs, or social reality, and social relations and ‘the self’’, or social identity, suggests that ‘the long-term effects on knowledge and beliefs, social relationships, and social identities of an institution or society’ are the result of discourse functioning as a form of social practice, and thereby contributing to ‘the reproduction of social structures’ (Fairclough, 1989, p. 74). Therefore, discourse ‘in turn determines and reproduces social structure’, and such ‘reproduction may be basically conservative, sustaining continuity, or basically transformatory, effecting changes’ (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 38-39).

The ‘three main types of mechanism’ that contribute to the reproduction of social structures ‘in respect of knowledge and beliefs, social relationships, and social identities’ may be placed under the following two headings: ‘commonality and coordination of

practice' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 75). Commonality refers to 'practices and discourse types which are universally followed and necessarily accepted because no alternative seems conceivable' (ibid.). These practices and discourse types have 'built into them coordinated knowledge and beliefs, social relationships, and social identities' (ibid.).

There are two forms of coordination of practice, and the struggle between these two mechanisms is both the 'most salient' and greatest 'concern of CLS', or Critical Language Studies: 'inculcation' and 'communication' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 75). Both of these mechanisms for achieving coordination are 'largely hidden' forms of struggle for power behind discourse (ibid.). Inculcation has as its objective 'a wish to re-create the universality and ´naturalness´ of the first mechanism under conditions of class domination and division' (ibid.). Such a process of naturalization is necessary to maintain existing hegemonies or to establish new ones, and thus it is seen as 'the mechanism of power-holders who wish to preserve their power' through seemingly innocuous changes in the coordination of discursive events (ibid.). By contrast, communication is viewed as 'a process of rational communication and debate', and is seen as the 'mechanism of emancipation and the struggle against dominance' (ibid.).

The contestations for power in discourse at the situational level of the text analysis in Chapter Four of this study are probed for linguistic evidence of how relations of power affect the individual candidates. The power struggles behind discourse occurring at the institutional and societal levels of the two USPD series are explained and interpreted in the Chapter 3 analyses of social and discourse practices by determining, as Fairclough (ibid.) suggests, whether the constraints placed upon the contents, relations and subjects (see first column of Table 1) are 'imposed through inculcation' or 'through coordination through communication'.

At the textual dimension, the struggles for power in discourse which bring about change leave behind what Fairclough (1992, p. 97) refers to as 'traces in texts in the form of the co-occurrence of contradictory or inconsistent elements'. The examples provided by Fairclough (ibid.) are 'mixtures of formal and informal styles, technical and non-technical vocabularies, markers of authority and familiarity, more typically written and more typically spoken syntactic forms, and so forth'; however, it is not until these elements 'catch on', or 'lose their patchwork effect' and become 'seamless' that they achieve the commonality of practice which sustains the power-holders (ibid.).

Now, returning to the center column of Table 1 above, there are three types of value that formal features may have: experiential, relational, and expressive. In the social and processing analyses (Chapter Three) and the text analysis (Chapter Four), formal features which suggest that they are 'contradictory or inconsistent elements' are described and interpreted as linguistic 'traces' of power in discourse (Fairclough, 1989, p. 112). A formal feature with experiential value is thought of as 'a trace of and a cue to the way in which the text producer's experience of the natural or social world is represented' (ibid.). A formal feature with relational value is then seen as 'a trace of and a cue to the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse', whereas a formal feature with expressive value is viewed as 'a trace of and a cue to the producer's evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to' (ibid.).

Fairclough (1989, p. 112) emphasizes that 'any given formal feature may simultaneously have two or three of these values'. Additionally, since formal features of texts represent 'particular choices from among the options (e.g. of vocabulary or grammar) available in the discourse types which the text draws upon', Fairclough (1989, p. 110) encourages a constant 'alternation of focus' in doing discourse analysis 'between what is

´there´ in the text' and the 'discourse type(s)'. Such a duality of focus allows for one 'to interpret the features which are actually present in a text', as well as 'to take account of what other choices might have been made' given the particular 'discourse type(s)'.

2.2.4 The view of discourse type used in the CDA

The notion of 'discourse type' adopted for this study is the one proposed by Fairclough (1995a, p. 78) in which discourse types are seen as 'articulations of genres and discourses'. However, as Fairclough (1995a, p. 76) acknowledges, 'many analysts would use the term ´genre´ in the way in which' he uses ´discourse type´ (e.g. Kress and Threshgold 1988).

In the analysis of discourse type of Section 3.3, I follow the example of Fairclough (1995a, p. 85) in the explanation of the make up of USPDs by incorporating 'three different conceptions of genre in terms of their value in analysing discourse types in the media': the 'schematic view' of genre, and the two views of 'generic heterogeneity' which Fairclough (1992, p. 118) differentiates as the 'sequential' and 'embedded' 'modes of intertextual relations' versus 'polyphonic' or 'mixed intertextuality'. The far-reaching concept of 'genre' which extends throughout the analysis of 3.3 follows Fairclough's (1995a) view of it as 'an overarching category for analysing discourse types' (p. 76).

The first of the three views of genre involves seeing it as 'an activity type' having 'a schematic structure made up of stages, either all obligatory or some obligatory and some optional, which occur in a fixed or partially fixed order' (Fairclough, 1995a, pp. 85-88). While the schematic view of genre is said to be 'common amongst linguists', Fairclough (ibid.) describes it as having 'limitations' and, in promoting the analysis of 'generic heterogeneity' of van Leeuwen (1987), argues that rather than 'simply labelling' the

'predictable' stages of a particular 'generic schema', one should also view media texts as combinations of 'different genres' due to the 'complex and contradictory' social constraints placed on media output. These social constraints include 'the production of descriptions which can be seen as impartial and objective, but also entertainment, social control, and legitimation' (ibid.).

While van Leeuwen's (1987) view of genre has as one of its strengths the demarcation of 'stages' based on 'linguistic features', Fairclough (1995a, p. p. 88) states that 'its limitation is that it deals only with' what Fairclough (1992, p. 118) previously termed 'sequential and embedded forms of intertextuality – where different generic types alternate within a text, or where one is embedded in the other'. A more thorough generic analysis would also take into account a 'polyphonic' view of generic heterogeneity, or 'mixed intertextuality, where genres are merged in a more complex and less easily separable way, within stages of an activity type', according to Fairclough (1995a, p. p. 88).

2.2.5 Intertextual relations of texts

Intertextuality is a key component of the analyses of Chapter 3, which emphasizes 'the 'texture' (Halliday and Hasan 1976) of texts and their composition from snatches of other texts' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 100). Because of Fairclough's (1992, pp. 45-47) adoption of 'intertextuality', the concept of which he credits to Bakhtin (1981, 1986) and Kristeva (1986a, p. 37), as well as that of 'interdiscursivity', which he credits to Pêcheux (1982), the CDA framework developed by Fairclough provides a means for looking into 'the many different sorts of relationship that may exist within and between texts'.

Fairclough (1992, pp. 104-105) argues that 'intertextuality is the source of much of the ambivalence of texts', and notes that he uses 'intertextuality as a general term' when the sorts of intertextual relations need not be differentiated. Whenever 'the distinction between intertextual relations of texts to specific other texts' and 'intertextual relations of texts to conventions' are 'at issue', Fairclough (1992, pp. 103-104) distinguishes between the 'manifest' versus 'constitutive' intertextual relations 'used by French discourse analysts Authier-Révuz (1982) and Maingueneau (1987)'.

Manifest intertextuality involves 'incorporating or otherwise responding to other texts' either overtly or covertly, and also, according to Fairclough (1992, pp. 103-104) citing Bakhtin (1986, pp. 79-80), it allows for transformations of such texts, or a means to '´reaccentuate´ them by, for example, using them ironically, parodically, or reverently,' or as some sort of admixture. On the other hand, 'the constitutive intertextuality of a text', according to Fairclough (1992, p. 104), 'is the configuration of discourse *conventions* that go into its production' (emphasis mine). Constitutive intertextuality, or what Fairclough (ibid.) terms 'interdiscursivity', involves the incorporation of 'potentially complex relationships' which a text has 'with the conventions (genres, discourses, styles, activity types) which are structured together to constitute an order of discourse' (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 103-104). Fairclough (ibid.) notes that 'the primacy' which he has 'given to orders of discourse highlights' the latter intertextual relation, 'interdiscursivity'. Aspects of both forms of intertextual relations of texts are explored in the Chapter 3 processing analysis.

As for now, I wish to introduce the aspects of the Systemic Theory of Language and Systemic Functional Linguistics that are utilized in this critical discourse analysis. These are areas of research presently being investigated in the at PPGI, UFSC.

2.3 An overview of the systemic theory of language and SFL

For more than three decades now, numerous researchers have made use of the analytical techniques of Halliday's systemic perspective of language as 'social semiotics', that is, language as a process of constructing meaning and systematizing experience that may either challenge or concede to a social context. The systemic theory of language originates from the system-structure theory of Firth, as well as the contributions of Hjelmslev and the Prague school. In its most basic form, language is seen as a 'resource' for making meaning wherein each system of the 'system network' represents unconsciously made choices in semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology (Halliday, 1994, p. xxvi).

The *systemic* vantage point of language, as Halliday (1994, xxii) notes, allows researchers to analyze discourse more comprehensively by maintaining 'both system and text in focus of attention'. Halliday's (1994, p. xxii-xxiii) emphasis then permits us to view text in its aspect of 'process', wherein 'we consciously focus on the activities which led to its production'. By doing so, we can better discern 'why a text means what it does', and compare the 'quality' or 'value' of 'one text with another, or with what it might itself have been but was not' (Halliday, 1994, p. xxii; 1985, p. xxx). Thus, it is by the notion of system that we can represent language as 'a resource for meaning', which then makes it possible for us to concentrate upon exploring the 'interconnection' of 'choices', and 'the conditions affecting their access' (Halliday, 1978, p. 192).

For Halliday (1989, p. 3) SFL is 'an attempt to relate language primarily to one aspect of human experience, namely that of social structure', and interprets the systemic approach as 'a kind of semiotics' or 'an aspect of the study of meaning'. However, Halliday

(ibid.) acknowledges, 'there are many other modes of meaning, in any culture, which are outside the realm of language'.

Extralinguistic modes of meanings related to USPDs are explored in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 where I analyze the situational contexts and discourse type of the two USPD series while providing background information related to the production of these communicative events, as well as textual evidence of these processes whenever possible. Fairclough's concepts (as seen in Table 1) are interrelated with Halliday's register variables (as seen in Table 2 below) in to order to afford interpretations of how changes in USPDs both shape and have been shaped by power struggles and constraints on discourse due to the influence of social agents or participants in and behind the scenes of these particular events. As for now I will first present in Figure 2 a visualization of genre and register in relation to language by Eggins (1994, p. 34):

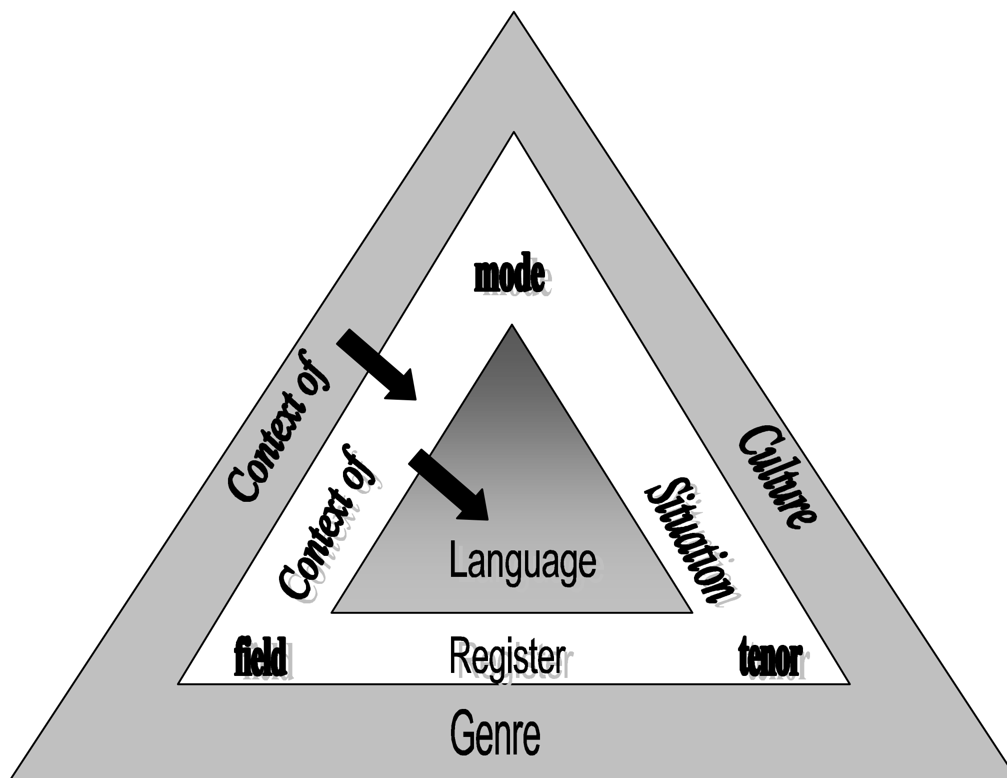

Figure 2: Genre and register in relation to language (Eggins, 1994, p. 34)

As may be seen in the Eggins (1994, p. 34) visualization above, genre is an aspect of context of culture, while the register variables of field, tenor and mode constitute context of situation. Halliday (1989, p. 7) states that it was Malinowski (1923, 1935) who 'introduced the two notions' and that 'both of these, he considered, were necessary for the adequate understanding of the text'.

The means by which combinations of genres and discourses affect interpretations of meanings in the USPD texts of this research are objects of investigation in Section 3.3. While the explanation and interpretation of these particular configurations in the analysis of discourse type is preceded by an analysis of register variables in Section 3.2, the two contextual aspects are viewed as concomitant because analysis of the effectiveness of a text or discourse in succeeding at its purpose(s) 'requires an interpretation not only of the text itself but also of its context (context of situation, context of culture), and the systematic relationship between context and text' (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. xv).

Halliday (1989, p. 23) also notes that the multifunctionality of constituents or segments of texts makes such propositions as 'this part has this function, that part has that function, and the other part has the other function' insupportable. Instead, Halliday (ibid.) asserts that 'strands of meaning are all interwoven in the fabric of the discourse' and that we should 'look at the whole thing simultaneously from a number of different angles, each perspective contributing towards the total interpretation'.

As for the *grammar* aspect of SFL, Halliday (1994, p. xxii) notes that it is 'at once both a grammar of the system and a grammar of the text'. Christie (2000, p. 3) explains that 'a fundamental premise of SFL is the complete interconnectedness of the linguistic and the social. The focus is on how people use language to make meanings with each other as they carry out the activities of their social lives'.

A thorough study of the multifunctionality of the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000 thus calls for a holistic point of view of the constituent parts, or a consideration of the 'fabric of discourse' as a whole, as well as 'the strands of meaning' of which it is composed (cf. Halliday, 1989, p. 23). Therefore, in this research, emphasis is placed on situating the USPD extracts of candidates' responses to questions related to national security concerns, thereby attending to what Halliday (1989, p. 6) describes as an expression of 'the total environment, including the verbal environment, but also including the situation in which the text was uttered'. Halliday's (ibid.) perspective allows for a means of analyzing 'the simultaneous constitution of systems of knowledge and belief (ideational function) and social relations and social identities (interpersonal function)' in the texts of this CDA (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 58).

The extracts of discussions related to national security from the transcripts of the USPDs of 1960 and 2000 are regarded as being in accordance with accepted standards of text and/or discourse analysis because Hallidayan SFL concerns both modes of language. Another strength of SFL is its concern for how situational contexts shape texts within its particular genre; thereby providing a means of analysis of how articulations are realized in the forms and meanings of the texts as a result of the influence of the context of situation.

Section 3.2 explains the changes in register variables in the contexts of situation of the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 and how the variations affect the construction of the texts of this research. I now wish to present below a visualization of context of situation as it relates to semantics and lexicogrammar in the compilation by Heberle (1997, p. 12):

CONTEXT OF SITUATION	**SEMANTICS**	**LEXICOGRAMMAR**
Feature of the context	**Language Function**	**(rank: clause)**
semiotic structures of situation	**semantics component**	***lexicogrammar***
Field of discourse	***Ideational meanings***	***transitivity structures***
(what is going on)	*ideational content*	*clause as representation*
{the ongoing social activity}	*experiential + logical component*	
Tenor of discourse	***Interpersonal meanings***	mood structures
(who is taking part)	*personal interaction*	clause as exchange
{the role relationships involved}	*social relations & social identities*	
Mode of discourse	**Textual meanings**	theme structures
(role assigned to language)	textual structure	clause as message
{symbolic or rhetorical channel}	given vs. new information	

Table 2: Context of situation, semantics and lexicogrammar (Heberle, 1997, p. 12, from Halliday and Hasan, 1989; Halliday, 1973; 1978; Ventola, 1988)

The aspects that are emphasized in the present CDA of the 1960 and 2000 USPD transcript extracts related to the issue of national security priorities have been *italicized* in the adapted compilation by Heberle (1997, p. 12). As may be seen in Table 2, the three register variables of context of situation correspond respectively to the semantics coding system of ideational, interpersonal and textual modes of meaning, which, in turn, correspond respectively to transitivity, mood and theme structures at the rank of clause. When visualized from left to right as a scrutinizing descent from the level of analysis of semiotic structures of context of situation, down to the metafunctional components of systemic theory, and then, even further down to the clausal level of analysis of lexicogrammatical choices, one may see how Halliday (1978, p. 62) surmises that ‘collectively’ the register variables ‘serve to predict the text’. For Christie (1989, p. vii) ‘the notion of register proposes a very intimate relationship of text to context: indeed, so intimate is that relationship, it is asserted, that the one can only be interpreted by the other’.

The field of discourse is expressed by means of ‘the experiential function in the semantics’, and it ‘is not only reflected in the vocabulary; it is also embodied in the transitivity structures in the grammar’ (Halliday, 1989, p. 25). The tenor of discourse then

is expressed by means of 'the interpersonal function in the semantics', and concerns the establishment of relationships, negotiations or exchanges, as well as the expression of attitude or a particular point of view toward an audience (ibid.). 'Since meanings are now seen to be more a product of negotiation between readers and texts', as noted by Bell and Garrett (1998, p. 2), 'text takes on more of the interactive qualities of discourse', although as they note, there is still 'a conspicuous lack of agreement on definitions of both *discourse* and *text*'. In the present study I will treat the terms synonymously.

The mode of discourse, according to Halliday (1989, p. 25), 'is expressed through the textual function in the semantics'. While in the present study, the focus of attention is not on the way in which given versus new information is foregrounded and backgrounded, I do focus attention (see Section 3.2.4) on the notion of rhetorical channel, or more specifically on how much air time was allocated to different forms of language use in the opening and closing statements of the 1960 and 2000 USPD series compared to the Q & A segments of the debate programming (cf. Halliday and Hasan, 1989, p. 47).

The findings of the Chapter 3 analysis of how social relations and social identities are enacted in the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 are integrated with the Chapter 4 transitivity analysis of the structural effects of knowledge/beliefs (see Table 1). These components of the study correspond to 'the doing' or 'interpersonal metafunction of systemic theory', and thus maintain 'the basis of the metafunction theory' (Halliday, 1989, p. 45). Such interrelated analyses involve descriptions and interpretations of the 'talk-oriented registers' of the 1960 and 2000 USPD series, which, in turn, allow for a greater degree of predictability about the meanings of the extracts related to national security concerns (cf. Halliday, 1989, p. 42).

In the Transitivity analysis of Chapter 4, I examine principally the ideational representations, or encoded experiences of the world in clauses which are made up of combinations of participants and circumstances, and the processes which determine them. These terms are explained presently. However, as Halliday (1989, p. 45) stresses, while each metafunction 'makes a clear and distinctive contribution to the grammar', each utterance ought to be viewed as having 'both an interpersonal and ideational component to it' because it both 'does something and is about something.'

2.3.1 The processes focused upon in the transitivity analysis

In a transitivity analysis, the semantic system of the ideational function of the English language is realized at the level of the clause as representation and may have up to three main components: process, participant and circumstance. Halliday's (1994, p. 108) 'tripartite interpretation of processes' first calls for the ascertainment of *process*, which is determined by its verb or verbal group, and of which there are six types: material, relational, mental, behavioural, existential and verbal. The six types of process and the types of 'goings-on' which they represent are illustrated below in Figure 3:

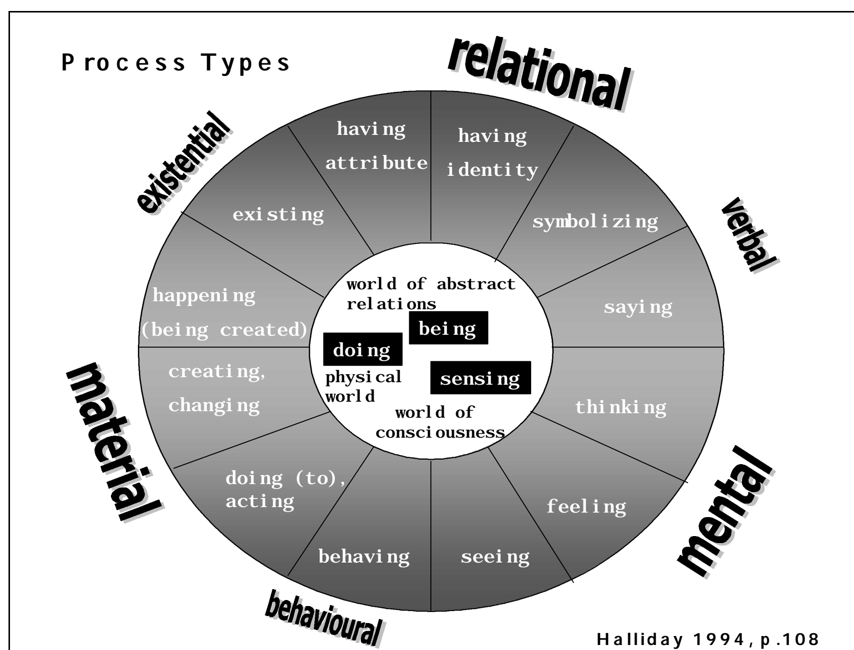

Figure 3: Process types (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 108)

Halliday (1994, p. 107) describes the above 'concrete visual metaphor' or 'model of experience, as interpreted through the grammatical system of transitivity', as being 'one of regions within a continuous space; but the continuity is not between two poles, it is round in a loop'. The types of process, as realized by verbal groups, determine how the system of transitivity functions ideationally to convey at the level as clause as representation experiences of one's physical world, and the world of relations and consciousness.

Probing questions of Halliday (1994) and Martin, et al (1997) are used in the transitivity analysis as troubleshooting mechanisms to better distinguish types of process whenever the less clear or peripheral cases arise. Butt et al (1998, p. 47) stress that 'rather than thinking of particular verbs as always giving expression to one process type, we should think about how a particular verb is functioning in its context', and offer the following examples of how the English verb *feel* can function 'as a material, a projecting or a relational process depending on its relationship with the other elements in the clause':

I felt the wood and decided it needed more sanding	material process (doing)
I felt that I was at a crossroads in my life	projecting process (thinking)
I felt tired	relational process (a kind of being)

In addition, it is common to find single clauses which have more than one lexical verb in them. Martin et al (1997, pp. 116-117) offer the following example of such clauses: *they will start to enjoy the camp next week*. The participants are interpreted as *they* while the circumstances are *the camp* and *next week*.

According to Martin et al (1997, pp. 116-117), although the exemplary sentence is 'a single clause with a single process element', the type of process is realized by 'a complex of the two verbal groups *will start* and *to enjoy*', and it is argued that 'in Transitivity analysis, the second (non-finite) verbal group is the relevant one for Process type'. Therefore, the single process element is a mental one and *the camp next week* is the phenomenon of the mental process of *enjoy*.

The first verbal group, *will start* (Martin et al 1997, pp. 116-117) is said to only 'elaborate the unfolding of the Process' in terms of 'phase', as would similar verbal groups such as *begin*, *continue* and *stop*, when and if collocated respectively with the processes of to understand, to learn, and procrastinating (my examples). Martin et al (ibid.) denote this as follows: (*begin*/*continue*/*stop* → *doing*). Thus, the second (non-finite) verbal group will be analyzed as a singular transitivity configuration (cf. Martin et al, 1997).

The 'concepts of process, participant and circumstance are semantic categories which explain in the most general way how phenomena of the real world are represented as linguistic structures' (Halliday, 1985, p. 102). The following three 'principal' types of

process are seen as constituting 'the majority of all clauses in a text' in the English language: material, relational and mental processes (Halliday, 1994, p. 138).

My focuses of attention in the transitivity analysis of Chapter 4 are on the material and relational types of process which demonstrate the reflective, experiential aspect of meaning-making associated with the multi-faceted issue of U.S. national security priorities. These two types of process were found to constitute over 70% of the total of processes in the initial breakdown of the clauses of the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000 (see 4.3).

Material processes basically involve action or the doing of something by an Actor. The Goal is the person or entity affected by the performance of the material process of the Actor. If there is a Goal, it may be shifted to the front of the clause, and the Actor relocated to the end of the clause, thereby making a passive configuration. If the Actor (or Agent) is then removed from the passive configuration, we end up with what is termed an agentless passive construction such as the following: *the victim was found face down in a puddle of blood*. Here we can see how we have a tremendous amount of imagery; however, the Actor, or the person who actually made the gruesome discovery of *the victim* (the affected Goal), is missing in the material process involving the verb *find*. The evocative mental picture of how *the victim was found* is realized by the circumstances of the clause, which also could be omitted, for instance, if one had the difficult task of informing the next of kin of *the victim*.

Relational processes establish relationships 'between two separate entities', and thereby 'relate one fragment of experience to another' (Halliday, 1994, p. 107). Such process types typically utilize the following verbs: *be*, *has/have*, *become*, *possess*, and *belong*. However, as will be shown in the text analysis of Chapter 4, other less obvious verb uses occur which may also function to establish relational processes and are regarded as peripheral cases.

There are three main types of 'systematic construction of relational processes', or the establishment of a relationship between two distinct entities; and as described by Halliday (1994, p. 119), each entity in turn has two 'distinct modes' of attribution and identification, totaling six categories of relational processes. These are shown below in Table 3:

mode: type:	**attributive** '*a* is an attribute of *x*' CARRIER – Attribute relationship	**identifying** '*a* is the identity of *x*': (reversible) IDENTIFIED – Identifier relationship
intensive ´x is a´	SARAH is wise	TOM is the leader; THE LEADER is Tom
circumstantial '*x* is at (in, on, for, with, along, ...) a'	THE FAIR is on a Tuesday	TOMORROW is the 10th; THE 10th is tomorrow
possessive ´h has a´	PETER has a piano	THE PIANO is Peter's; PETER'S is the piano

Table 3: Attribution and identification in relational processes

As may be seen in Table 3, the three main types of relational processes of the first column are further differentiated in the second and third columns as being either attributive (whereby 'a is an attribute of x') or identifying (whereby 'a is the identity of x'). A clause which is attributive ascribes a positive or negative quality to a participant. In such cases, only one participant is present in the relational clause and is termed the 'Carrier' of the 'Attribute'. The clause is said to be identifying when one entity is used to identify or exemplify another in an Identified and Identifier relationship and, according to Halliday (1994, p. 119), 'the x and the a can be switched around'. The reversibility test thereby helps in distinguishing the attributive and identifying modes.

The text analysis of this CDA focuses on the semantic and lexicogrammatical choices made in the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000. While descriptions and interpretations of the transitivity analysis of the material and relational processes used in the USPD texts

of 1960 and 2000 are primary concerns of the analysis in Chapter 4, aspects of the analyses of sociocultural and discursive practices of Chapter 3 have been integrated in the analysis so that we do not lose focus of 'every section as being part of the network as a whole', which Halliday (1994, p. xxvi) refers to as 'a paradigmatic view of systemic grammar'.

Halliday (1994, p. 112) argues that 'the functions assumed by the participants in any clause are determined by the type of process that is involved'. Circumstances are often associated with the process which provide extra information on the 'how, when, where and why'; although, as Simpson (1993, p. 90) observes, 'they are normally grammatically subordinate in status to the process', and realized as adverbial and prepositional phrases.

Thus far, the ascertainment of the types of process, as realized by verbal groups, has been the priority. Secondly, we have to look at the *participants* who are involved in the processes. This is the focus of attention in the next subsection.

2.3.2 The polarizations of participants in the transitivity analysis

Participant roles are commonly expressed by noun phrases or pronouns in clauses. In the transitivity analysis of Chapter 4, special attention is given to the positive and negative categorizations of the participants. As the patterns of experience represented in the clauses of the USPD texts are presented in compilations of extracts for analysis, I will attempt to answer the fundamental question of 'who or what does what to whom or what?' Simpson (1993, p. 96) refers to this question as the 'first principle of a transitivity analysis'.

I have found van Dijk's (1998) technique of positive and negative polarizations useful as a means for categorizing the clausal participants in the USPD texts into two basic groups: positively portrayed 'in-groups' and negatively represented 'out-groups'. Van Dijk

(1998) proposes four basic strategies which are commonly used in promoting a 'positive self-presentation' of one's perceived in-group, and a 'negative other-presentation' of an out-group. The four components of this 'ideological square' are shown below (ibid., p. 27):

1. Emphasize positive things about Us.
2. Emphasize negative things about Them.
3. De-emphasize negative things about Us.
4. De-emphasize positive things about Them

When someone identifies with a particular group and its members, he or she consciously and/or unconsciously begins the emphasizing and de-emphasizing processes of discursive construction whereby, as van Dijk (1998, p. 26) notes, adherence is given to 'membership criteria, group activities, aims, norms, relations to others, resources, etc.' In the tripartite transitivity analysis, in-group and out-group samples have been compiled for each candidate of the 1960 and 2000 USPD series (see 4.2).

Much of what is said by candidates in USPDs combines 'hortatory' and 'persuasive' discourses. In the section which follows, I explain the 'moves' of these discourses as determined by Longacre (1992) and relate these two types of discourse to the USPD texts.

2.4 Discourse strategies: hortatory and persuasive discourses

The naturalized purposefulness of USPDs to inform the electorate and generate greater voter turn-out on Election Day exploits behavioral discourse, and particularly, the 'subtype' of 'hortatory discourse', which, according to Longacre (1992, pp. 109-111), 'aims at influencing conduct, or getting the receivers of the text to do something'. The impact on the conduct of the debate and television-viewing audiences, as well as that of the candidates'

choices of participants at the level of clause as representation is significant in the analysis of the USPD texts because the social domain of U.S. general elections both shapes and is shaped by the media institution's productions of the USPD series of past and present, which in turn affect the choice of linguistic options in play, and ultimately, we are left with the textual data, 'the observed facts of text-in-situation' (Halliday, 1978, p. 192). Likewise, the way in which the candidates in USPDs interact, and are questioned, both shapes and is shaped by the discourse type with its admixture of media genres and discourses.

The aims of hortatory discourse distinguish it from that of another type, 'persuasive discourse', which Longacre (1992) sees as 'primarily aimed at influencing beliefs and values' (p. 109). A third type of discourse, 'a narrative discourse', is examined in the intertextuality analysis of Section 3.3.

Longacre (1983, p. 1) states that 'the characteristics of individual discourses can be neither described, predicted, nor analyzed without resort to a classification of discourse types'. In addition, Longacre (1992) asserts that 'in any given discourse type the parts of the discourse that are nearer to the main line of that discourse type dominate over parts that are farther from the main line' (p. 121). These two aspects of Longacre's (1983; 1992) work on discourse types are utilized in this CDA. I present classifications of two discourses below which tend to dominate candidates' responses to questions asked about national security concerns in the analysis of Section 3.5

When a candidate's response to a question is classified as a hortatory discourse, this indicates, as Longacre (1992, p. 121) clarifies, that 'hortatory elements dominate over non-hortatory elements', and likewise, 'overtly hortatory elements dominate over covertly hortatory elements (where exhortation is mitigated)'. In the same manner, a persuasive discourse has its elements dominating over other discursive elements. Longacre (1992,

p.109) defines the aims of hortatory discourse are to urge the reader or listener/viewer to do one or more of the following:

(a) to do something they are not currently doing;
(b) to discontinue doing something they are doing;
(c) to continue doing something they are already doing;
(d) to expend greater effort in an activity already embarked on; and/or
(e) to modify the nature of their efforts, and so on.

The USPD texts exhibit segments in which hortatory discourse dominates over other types of discourse. At times, the viewership is told how to conduct themselves in one or more of the above manners, while at other times; it is the opposing candidate or a foreign leader who is told how to modify their conduct as participants. Such positively and negatively polarized representations are the focus of the transitivity analysis in Chapter 4.

A call for action is what Longacre (1992, p. 110) sees as the essence of hortatory discourse. It is the 'move' that is 'minimal and basic' in the issuing of 'commands, which can be mitigated to suggestions of varying urgency' (see [3] in Table 4 below). In persuasive discourse, the essential element is 'appeal (often very subtle) to give credence, or to adopt certain values' (see (4) in Table 4 below) (ibid.). The typical 'moves' of these two discourses are compiled below (Longacre, 1992, p. 109-111):

Hortatory discourse	**Persuasive discourse**
- aims at influencing conduct, or getting the receivers of the text to do something	*- aims at influencing beliefs and values*
[1] Establishment of **authority/credibility** of the text producer;	(1) **problem/question**;
[2] Presentation of a **problem/situation**;	(2) proposed **solution/answer**;
[3] ***commands/orders** (may be mitigated to *suggestions* of varying urgency); and	(3) supporting **argumentation** (logic, experimentation, authority); and
[4] resort to **motivation** (essentially threats with predictions of undesirable results, and	**(4)** ***appeal/solicitation** (often subtle) to give

promises along with predictions of desirable results.	credence, or to adopt certain values.
**Move [3] is minimal and basic, i.e. always present in hortatory discourse.*	**Move (4) is minimal and basic, i.e. always present in persuasive discourse.*
Move [2] may be implied (or present in the context of the situation), i.e. there is necessarily some problem/situation which evokes the command elements.	The same text may embed persuasive discourse as a means of supplying move (4) motivation in the hortatory schema.
Move [4] is found in most hortatory discourse – unless the power of the speaker or writer over the addressee is incontestable.	An attempt is made to state goals and the means whereby they could be attained, or to argue the worthiness of those goals in order to vindicate the cause.
Move [1] is implied, even if not overtly stated, by the other moves in the text.	Expository discourse may be similar to persuasive discourse; however, move (4) appeal is not minimal and basic and is likely to have evaluation of the solution as one of its main points (Longacre, 1992, p. 111).

Table 4: Schema of hortatory and persuasive discourses and the typical moves that influence conduct and/or beliefs and values

As may be seen in the schema of hortatory and persuasive discourses above, the articulations of the aims of the two types of discourse are realized by different moves, although both have elements with a problem/situation or problem/question in their constructions. Longacre (1992, p. 110) refers to ‘schema’ alternatively as ‘superstructure’; and, using an analogy of ‘a given type of game’, sees these as ‘a summary of the high-level moves of the game’.

I shall argue in the analysis of Section 3.5 that the aims of the two discourses are intertwined in segments of the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000, and as such, serve to influence both the ‘conduct’ and the ‘beliefs and values’ of their multiple audiences (cf. Longacre, 1992, p. 111). Longacre (ibid.) acknowledges that the hortatory and persuasive discourses may, in fact, ‘co-exist in one text, especially when the same text embeds persuasive discourse as a means of supplying motivation in the hortatory schema.’ This is thought to be a common practice in both of the USPD texts of this research. Therefore, the

multiple audiences are not only being urged to maintain or modify their conduct in some manner, but they are also being asked to believe in the propositions of the candidates, as are the participants at the rank of clause in the transitivity analysis.

While 'evaluation' is not an aspect of Longacre's (1992, p. 111) classification of the hortatory discourse type, he suggests that 'expository discourse is similar to persuasive,' and refers to Hoey's (1983) description of expository discourse as having 'evaluation of the solution as one of its main points'. Given Longacre's (ibid.) assertion that 'persuasive and hortatory discourse can co-exist in one text,' and that 'expository discourse is similar to persuasive' discourse; it is proposed that candidates in USPDs also may link the 'evaluation of the solution' of expository discourse in their 'proposed solution/answer' of persuasive discourse as an additional 'means of supplying motivation in the hortatory schema' (ibid).

In Section 2.5 which follows, I present an argumentation study made by Jørgensen and Kock (1999) which describes the rhetorical audience in public debate and the debating strategies of a 'vote-gatherer' as opposed to a 'vote-shifter'. These concepts add substantially to the analyses in Chapters Three and Four.

2.5 Argumentation strategies and the rhetorical audience in public debate

Debates go back to antiquity, to the Golden Age of Greece in 5th Century BC, when the musings of Greek playwrights first emerged, as did other forms of art, math, science, logic and rhetoric. These traditions were carried on later in the Roman Era. However, Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423) argue that contemporary, issue-oriented, public policy debates in Europe are not, at least from the rhetorical perspective, *dialogic* by nature, thus

they are not debates per se, but 'different genres with different norms'. Jørgensen and Kock (ibid.) refer to such recent televised debates as '*trialogic*', and having no objective of debaters trying to persuade one another through sound argumentation. Instead, their function is 'to win the adherence of a third party: the audience'.

The goals of the study of Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423) are represented as being twofold: 1) to determine the communicative functions that issue-oriented debates for public audiences via televised broadcasts fulfill; and 2) to distinguish the argumentation devices or strategies that serve these functions. The proposed model of the rhetorical debate audience, which Jørgensen and Kock (ibid.) say was inspired by Tonsgaard (1992), allows for a distinction between 'the different functions of debate for the public audience', as is visualized below in Figure 4:

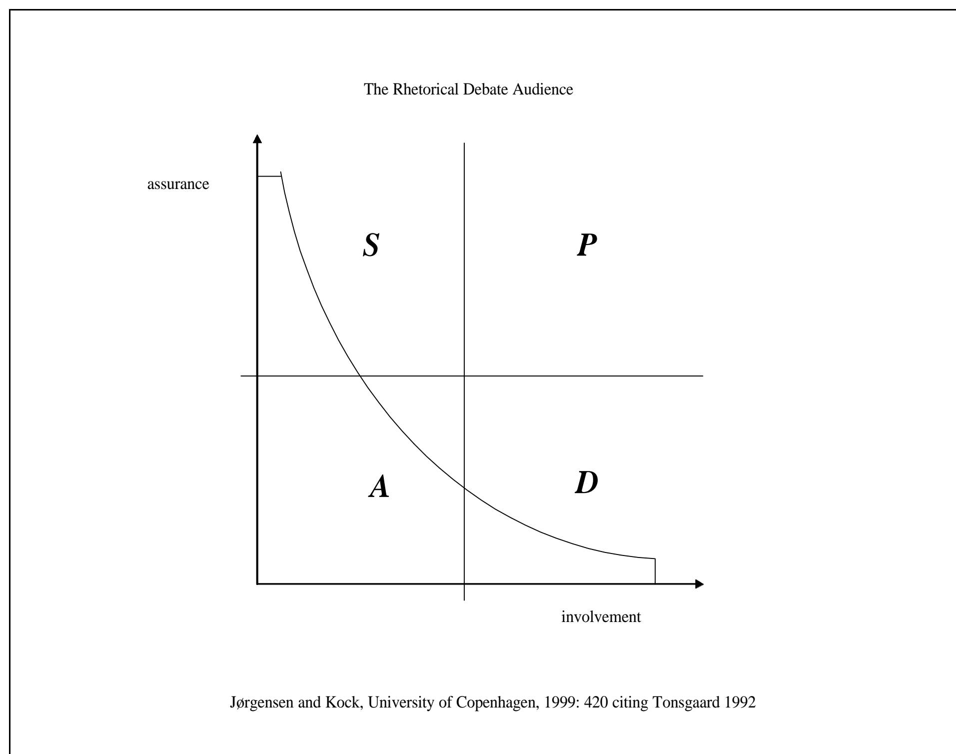

Figure 4: The rhetorical debate audience

‘Undecided voters’, or those segments of the rhetorical audience assuming the roles of Spectators (S), Deliberators (D) and Abstainers (A) who claim in media polls to not have yet made up their minds on how or for whom to vote, are represented by the area *beneath* the curve of Figure 4 above. On the other hand, the segment of voters who assume the role of Partisans (P) by claiming to have already made up their minds on an issue or debater are represented by the area clearly above the curve.

Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423) argue that what they call ‘the static and simplistic Yes-Undecided-No model’ which political pundits promote by which these nefarious, undecided voters become the focal point in contemporary televised debates is inherently flawed because many Deliberators, and perhaps to a lesser degree, Spectators, as represented by the area just *above* the fluctuating curve of Figure 4 can, and often do, make last-minute decisions, even at polling places. Partisans (P) or those voters who claim in media polls to have made up their minds are represented by the area clearly beyond the curve of indecisiveness. However, one should bear in mind that this curve is not static, and that undecided voters are graphically represented as being *nearest* the fluctuating curve.

The *x* and *y* axes of Figure 4 above represent respectively the importance which a voter places on the issues, or their degree of involvement, as compared with the comfort zone, or degree of assurance that the voter feels s/he has of the issue in question. Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423) explain that in their analysis of voting patterns in Denmark from a previous study (Jørgensen, Kock, and Rørbech, 1994; 1998), ‘there are two basically different ways that a debater can try to increase adherence’ to a particular point of view, which is dependent on which segment of the audience s/he ‘mainly appeals to’, although, ideally, a political debater would combine ‘elements from both strategies’. However, more typically, debaters tend to concentrate their efforts, often due to charismatic personal

qualities, to either one or the other of these two types of argumentation strategies: those who broaden the ideological front between themselves and their debating opponent, i.e. vote-gatherers, and those who choose to narrow the front (vote-shifters), thereby, in effect, minimizing the differences between their point(s) of view and those of the opponent.

Vote-gatherers are debaters who tend to expend a great deal of time and energy refuting the propositions of their opponents. These debaters believe in recruiting adherents to their ideological causes, which are inevitably in stark contrast to those of their opponent. Typically, according to Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423), such a debater is 'by far the more "telegenic", as the media people say', and his or her contentions represent a type of 'confusing verbal duel' in which s/he may even attack the opponent's 'motives' or 'cast doubt on the opponent's intelligence, ethics, or good will'.

Vote-shifters, by contrast, are debaters who tend to empathize with their opponent in public debates, even to the point of conceding that they see little difference between the two opposing points of view. Such a tactic allows for the candidates to expend less time and energy in attacking the propositions and rebuttals of their opponents, which in turn allows them to concentrate on promoting why they think their particular courses of action are more appropriate at the given time and circumstances for the good of the cause.

Vote-shifters promote unifying the nation behind their ideological causes, which are portrayed as being merely an alternative way of proceeding than that of their political opponents. Typically, according to Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423), such a debater treats the opponent 'with politeness and respect and avoids face-threatening attacks on his person, ethics, and competence', as well as tending to come across as more 'the academic type, perhaps slightly stiff and dry, but serious and knowledgeable'.

The argumentation strategies of Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423) serve the communicative function of appealing to two very different types of audience who watch political debates for two very different reasons: Partisans (P), who wish to be witness to a gladiatorial bout between the debater of their choice and that of the opposition, and Deliberators (D), who are generally high in involvement in attending to such discursive events; yet tend to see both sides of the issues and dislike the adversarial nature of debate productions. Instead, deliberators seek assurance through the quality of the propositions offered by the debaters and tend to be more inclined to vote for a candidate who appears more centrist or unifying, as well as knowledgeable of the issues.

Abstainers (A) are those who tend to stay home on a voting day, and for this reason are not likely audiences of such communicative events. On the other hand, Spectators (S), who are generally confident in their views of the issues, as well as their appraisals of the debaters, are nevertheless low in involvement. The undecideds of all but the Partisan audiences are visualized in Figure 4 as being nearest the vacillating curve, and segments of the Deliberators and Spectators, as well as to a lesser degree the Abstainers, have communicative needs which require the construction of social relations with them if a candidate is to win over the adherence of these segments of the rhetorical debate audience. Jørgensen and Kock's (1999) findings are harmonious with Fairclough's (1992) position on the dialectical nature of discourse by which social subjects are seen as being 'shaped by discursive practice, yet also capable of reshaping and restructuring those practices' (p. 45).

Chapter Two has provided an overview of the theoretical perspectives used in the analyses of the social conditions and processes of production and interpretation and the text analysis in the present study. These perspectives allow for a method of describing, interpreting and explaining the language use of USPDs in relation to power and ideology.

Chapter 3

Analyzing USPDs in terms of social practice and discourse practice

3.1 Initial remarks

After the premier of the September 26, 1960 media sensation dubbed "The Great Debate", Moderator Frank McGee of NBC News in Washington, D.C. announced the second round of the series of four U.S. Presidential Debates with the following opening lines:

> This is the second in a series of programs unmatched in history. Never have so many people seen the major candidates for President of the United States at the same time; and never until this series have Americans seen the candidates in face-to-face exchange.

While many U.S. citizens may have been less thrilled than the NBC news announcer at seeing history in the making, particularly those among the radio listening audience, the language use demonstrates the essentiality of the central, mediating dimension of discourse of the model for Critical Discourse Analysis used in this research – Discourse Practice, which, as Fairclough (1995a, p. 75) explains, 'ensures attention to the historicity of discursive events by showing both their continuity with the past (their dependence upon given orders of discourse) and their involvement in making history'.

Section 3.2 explains the relationship between the levels or strata of language of the context of culture of USPDs and their situational contexts (see Figure 2). In this study, I have interrelated Halliday's register variables of context of situation (see Table 2) and Fairclough's contents-relations-subjects distinction (see Table 1). Subsequently, the Section 3.3 analysis of discourse type will have then situated the USPD texts for the processing analyses in Sections 3.4 – 3.6, and the text analysis in Chapter Four.

3.2 Analysis of the situational contexts of the 1960 and 2000 USPD series

3.2.1 The determination of register variables

In the analysis of the situational context of a discursive event, as proposed by Fairclough (1989, pp. 146-149), analysts should determine the four variables of field, tenor, relations, and mode. Note that the inclusion of the 'relations' variable is due to Fairclough's distinction of Halliday's 'interpersonal' component as 'relations' and 'identities', and that, although mode, or 'role of language', while it is not visualized in Table 1, the variable has been included in the analysis of this section.

The determination of the register variables of context of situation is assisted by answering the four following questions posed by Fairclough (1989, p. 146). Each question is explored respectively in Subsections 3.2.1 – 3.2.4 below.

1. What's going on?
2. Who's involved?
3. In what relations?
4. What's the role of language in what's going on?

The field variable is further subdivided into 'activity', 'topic' and 'purpose' in order to determine what is going on in a particular discursive event. This affords a means by

which to categorize a situational context according to a set of '*activity types*' that are viewed as distinctive categories of activity 'within a particular social order in a particular institution, and which have larger-scale textual structures' (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 146-149).

The *topics* of the USPD series are constrained by the formats which have been previously negotiated by the campaign committees, the sponsors and/or producers, and broadcaster(s) of the discursive events. These social and political agents typically choose to focus the discussions of a particular debate on issues in domestic affairs, foreign affairs, or a combination of the two. However, as Fairclough (cf. 1989, pp. 146-149) advises, I do not see the demarcation of topic boundaries in USPDs as a means of guaranteeing that 'topics can be mechanically predicted given the activity type'. On the contrary, as Fairclough (1992, p. 123) clarifies, while 'subjects are in part positioned and constituted in discourse'; it also is possible for them to 'engage in practice which contests and restructures the discursive structures (orders of discourse) which position them', and the purpose for such contestations might be 'motivated by polemical considerations and manipulative objectives', as may be seen in the footnoted entry below.[1]

The background information shows how CNN moderator, Bernard Shaw, redefined the boundaries of his subject position in asking a question about a controversial topic related to domestic affairs in the general election campaign of 1988: capital punishment. The question also demonstrates how 'a text is always interpreted with some context in mind', which suggests that 'the values which particular features of a text have, depend on the interpreter's typification of the situational context' (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 151).

[1] Bernard Shaw of Cable News Network (CNN) was the moderator of the second of two USPDs in 1988. Shaw opened the debate with the following question about a hypothetical scenario involving the wife of the Democratic candidate, Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts: 'Governor, if Kitty Dukakis were raped and murdered, would you favor an irrevocable death penalty for the killer?' (See Public Broadcasting Service)

Dukakis, the Democratic challenger to the status quo, had been a vocal opponent of the death penalty throughout his campaign. He knew what situational context he was in. The Republican Party Campaign Committee for George Bush, the incumbent Vice-President of Ronald Reagan, had seized upon Dukakis' beliefs and for months had represented the governor as being "soft" when it came to the deterrence of capital offenses. The Republican Party had, in essence, managed to represent the issue as a common-sense assumption in their 1988 campaign, i.e. the death penalty deters crime.

While Dukakis later conceded that Shaw's question had been a 'fair' one, and that his subsequent defense of his anti-death penalty response might have reinforced the Bush campaign's portrayal of him as being dispassionate, the language use serves as an example of the distinction which Fairclough (1989, pp. 160-161) makes between 'topic' and 'point'. In this case, the topic was the use of the death penalty as a means of deterrence of capital offenses; whereas, the point made by Shaw's line of questioning could not simply 'be reduced to topic because there are also relational and expressive dimensions of point', and 'it is the point that is generally retained in memory, recalled, and intertextually alluded to or reported in other texts' (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 160). This was certainly the case of the second and final USPD of 1988 because Shaw's initial question asked of Dukakis became the defining point of that particular series. Such points are the focus of attention in the processing and text analyses, and their verbal contexts are noted as to whom is addressing whom and when in the exchanges.

As for *purpose*, Fairclough (1989) observes that 'activity types are also associated with particular institutionally recognized purposes' (p. 147). Of course, when more than one social institution is involved, conflicts of interest may arise. Such is the case in the two series of debates of this research in which the purposes recognized by the institutionally

selected subject positions which set up the activity type, and the social identities which assume these positions compete with each other for control of the outcome of the USPDs. However, the principal purpose of a USPD might be thought of as a mediatized elicitation of information regarding the propositions and proposals of presidential candidates in the final stage of a general election year.

According to Fairclough (1989, p. 148), 'the questions of ´who's involved´ and ´in what relations´ are obviously closely connected, though analytically separable'. With regard to *social identities* (see Table 1), names and faces are given to the individual participants, so to speak, or those whom have been 'placed in a range of *subject positions*, which they are exposed to partly through learning to operate within various discourse types' (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 102). Consideration is given to the subject positions which are the result of the activity type(s), the social identities to which the institutionalized USPDs ascribe to the participants in discourse, and 'the different speaking and listening positions' assigned to these subject positions, such as interviewer, interviewee, sponsor, and so forth (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 148).

Interactional routines are 'naturalized conventions and their implicit links to power relations', which therefore makes such interactional routines a component of 'the *relational* value of organizational aspects of talk' (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 134). In the case of USPDs, the interactional routines are seen as the debate formats and subsequent rules of engagement which were negotiated months before the mediatized political discourse events ever take place (see *topics* above).

Additionally, in terms of *social relations* enacted in USPDs, Sections 3.2 and 3.3 focus attention on internal and external struggles for power. As shown in the Dukakis example, CNN's Shaw exercised the relations of power between himself in the subject

position of designated interviewer of the event and one of the two presidential candidates as interviewee. Fairclough (1989) sees such struggles in discourse as a result of the subject 'having the apparently paradoxical properties of being socially determined, and yet capable of individual creativity; obliged to act discoursally in preconstituted subject positions, yet capable of creatively transforming discourse conventions' (p. 169). Similar examples of power behind and power in discourse which serve to constrain as well as creatively transform discourse conventions are provided below in order to better explain the situational contexts of the USPDs of past and present (see 2.2).

The 'role of language', mode, or the '*connective value*' of formal features (see Table 1 explanation), 'not only determines its genre', according to Fairclough (1989, p. 148), 'but also its channel, whether spoken or written language is used'. In the case of the role of language in the USPD series of 1960 and 2000, the channel of spoken language use has remained consistent, although the candidates of the 1960 USPD series twice made use of lengthy opening statements and were able to use concealed notes. The reduced role of opening and closing statements in contemporary USPD series and the admixtures of genres and discourses are discussed below and in the 3.3 analysis of discourse type.

3.2.2 The field variable in the USPD series

Changes in the register variable of 'field' in the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 are shown below in Table 5 and Table 6, respectively. The data in all of the tabulations of this section come from the website of the Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD) and have been integrated with concepts from Tables 2.2 and 2.3.1, and Fairclough (1989, pp. 146-149). The CPD website is listed in the reference section under Electronic Media. In order to avoid

redundancy, the data of each debate which follow the initial tabulation refer specifically to changes in the 'contents' of the *first* USPD of that particular series.

1960: 1st of 4 USPDs: September 26, 1960; *Time:* 9:30-10:30 p.m. EST
FIELD: *Contents:* *What's going on?* **Activity:** *What type of television program is it?* A series of live, televised defenses. **Topic:** *What will be discussed?* Questions in the 1st of 4 debates confined to domestic affairs. **Purpose:** *Why is it being aired?* A public service.
1960: 2nd & 3rd of 4 USPDs: October 7 & 13, 1960; *Time:* 7:30-8:30 p.m. EST
Topic: Questions by news correspondents about any issue of the campaign.
1960: 4th of 4 USPDs: October 21, 1960; *Time:* 10:00-11:00 p.m. EST
Topic: Questions by news correspondents confined to foreign affairs.

Table 5: Field: 1960: 1 – 4 / 4 USPDs

In Table 6, changes in the register variable of field which occurred in the USPD series of 2000 are shown. The data of each debate which follow the initial tabulation refer specifically to changes in the 'contents' of the *first* USPD of the 2000 series.

2000: 1st of 3 USPDs: October 3, 2000; *Time:* 9:00-10:30 p.m. EST
FIELD: *Contents:* *What's going on?* **Activity:** *What type of television program is it?* A series of live, televised job interviews. **Topic:** *What will be discussed?* Questions in the 1st of 3 debates confined to domestic affairs. **Purpose:** *Why is it being aired?* A public service.
2000: 2nd of 3 USPD: October 11, 2000; *Time:* 9:00-10:30 p.m. EST
Topic: *What will be discussed?* Subject matter and questions about any campaign issue.
2000: 3rd of 3 USPDs: October 17, 2000; *Time:* 9:00-10:30 p.m. EST
Topic: *What will be discussed?* Questions selected by the moderator about domestic and foreign affairs: interviewers as participants of the live/debate audience.

Table 6: Field: 2000: 1 – 3 / 3 USPDs

In terms of the *contents* of the four USPDs of the 1960 series, I refer to the type of activity being engaged in as a series of live, televised defenses made jointly by the two major party nominees as candidates in which they take turns arguing before a panel of experts in support or justification of their views and works in seeking advancement to the position of Chief Executive Officer and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the U.S. Government. The interviewing of candidates in a public forum makes this type of

activity similar to that seen in the defense of a thesis or dissertation before an examining committee in an academic context of situation. While the activities are similar, there are differences in the two types of activity, and these are discussed further below.

As for the *contents* of the three USPDs of the 2000 series, I refer to the type of activity being engaged in as a series of live, televised job interviews made jointly by the two major party nominees as applicants for the position of Chief Executive Officer and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the U.S. Government. This is obviously a very basic job description of the President of the United States of America. Also, many political analysts will disagree in what might seem as the debasing of USPDs to the status of a typical job interview. However, I propose that there are other types of activity involved, and that their admixtures make the USPDs of both series anything but typical, and ultimately involve changes in subjects and relations as well. I offer a more complete interpretation of the activity types below and in the analysis of discourse type in 3.3.

'Common-sense expectations are institutionally specific', and although there may be 'generic ´family resemblances´ between interviews across institutions, interviews and our expectations of them differ from' one situational context to another (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 99). Therefore, according to Fairclough (ibid.) 'it will generally make sense to investigate language practices by reference to specific social institutions'. The social institutions of this research are politics at the national level and the media.

The major distinction between the types of activity enacted in the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 involves changes in contents, relations and subjects, and their corresponding structural effects on systems of knowledge and belief, social relations and social identities (see Table 1). The analogies that I am offering here are based principally on the communicative function of the political interview component, i.e. the Question and Answer

segment of the debate programming. However, I also propose that the opening statement of a USPD program is comparable to the opening presentation in a defense, and that the closing statement of a USPD is similar to the closure stage in a job interview when a job applicant's final comments or questions about the position or institution are elicited by such a line of questioning as follows: 'Now, are there any questions that *you* would like to ask?'

As seen in the previous example of CNN's Bernard Shaw, the style of questioning in USPDs allows for transformations of the *topics* of discussion and may well involve points which simultaneously elicit relational and expressive values (see Table 1).[2] Fairclough (1992, p. 127) argues that a particular style 'can be classified with terms such as ´argumentative´, ´descriptive´, and ´expository´'. The debate style of the USPDs is thought to be principally argumentative, although candidates do at times attempt to describe the processes necessary to implement their proposed programs or reinvigorate old ones, and offer evaluation, which is an element of expository discourse (see 2.4) that is analyzed in the discussion of discourse strategies in Section 3.5. However, the primacy of an argumentative style in USPDs thereby affects choices of argumentation strategy (see 2.5), which is another topic of discussion in Section 3.6.

As may be seen in the footnoted example from the first USPD of 1960, an argumentative style of questioning that educes relational and expressive values is not a

[2] In the first USPD of 1960, Sander Vanocur of NBC News asked the incumbent vice-president, Republican Candidate Richard Nixon, the following question: Mr. Vice-President, since the question of executive leadership is a very important campaign issue, I'd like to follow Mr. Novins' question. Now, Republican campaign slogans - you'll see them on signs around the country as you did last week - say it's experience that counts - that's over a picture of yourself, sir; implying that you've had more governmental executive decision-making experience than your opponent. Now, in his news conference on August twenty-fourth, President Eisenhower was asked to give one example of a major idea of yours that he adopted. His reply was, and I'm quoting; "If you give me a week I might think of one. I don't remember." Now that was a month ago, sir, and the President hasn't brought it up since, and I'm wondering, sir, if you can clarify which version is correct - the one put out by Republican campaign leaders or the one put out by President Eisenhower? See Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD-1)

recent phenomena and indicates relations of power and ongoing struggles to define and redefine the relationships and boundaries between the social institutions of politics and media both in constraints behind discourse and in discourse. I suggest that what most distinguishes both types of activity from a *defense* or a *job interview* is the juxtaposing of the applicants on-air. Such an adversarial atmosphere is neither set up in the most demanding of academic settings nor the most aggressive of televised political interviews and political talk shows which are presently aired weekly in the U.S. and consumed by millions of the same viewers who choose to watch debate series. Here I use the term 'consume' as does Fairclough (1998, p. 145) in which 'the production and interpretation of a text' is seen as involving the way 'people draw upon other texts and text types which are culturally available to them'.

In the type of confrontational activity which has evolved between the USPD series of 1960 and those of 2000, the presidential nominees have been enacted as candidates and/or applicants addressing the concerns of multiple audiences in the private sphere by means of responding to questions which are presumably being voiced by varying panels of unbiased news media representatives or a sole moderator. Since the subject position of interviewer is enacted by one or more individuals who may or may not share a similar sense of purpose in the debates, candidates' arguments before a panel of experts in support or justification of their views and works or job applicants' clarifications of publicly disclosed points of view and careers tend to veer in either one of two directions (see 2.5 and 3.6 below regarding argumentation strategies).

In such a type of activity, campaign discourse tends to either minimize or gloss over differences of opinions, or it functions to maximize differences, often to the point of discrediting the other applicant for the position of President of the United States. Here I am

using campaign discourse in the sense of 'discourse' as a 'count noun', or a 'form of knowledge' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 19). Fairclough (1992) states that ''discourse' is also used in different sorts of social situation (e.g. 'newspaper discourse', 'advertising discourse', 'classroom discourse', 'the discourse of medical consultations')'. The use of positive self-presentations and negative other-presentations (see 2.3) are the focus of attention in the processing and text analyses which follow.

As shown in Table 5, the topic of the *first* USPD of 1960 was constrained, at least in the Q & A segment of the debate programming, to discussions of domestic affairs. For this reason, the 1960 USPD text of this research on the issue of national security is the shortest one. As for the topics of the two subsequent debates of the 1960 series, greater leeway in questioning had been negotiated by the discourse participants months before the discursive events took place, thereby permitting the panel of news correspondents to ask about any issue of the campaign. This suggests power struggles behind discourse in favor of the news media as represented as the 'voice' of the people. However, in a study of the political impact of the 1960 USPDs, Wheeler, a professor of political science at Washington and Lee University noted in July of 1962 the following observations regarding the content or subject-matter of the first USPDs (cf. Mazo, et al., 1962, pp. 14-21):

> One of the gravest disappointments of the debates was their effect on substantive issues. The chief issues of the campaign were America's defense posture, her rate of economic growth, her prestige in relation to Russia, and the accidental intrusion of the significance of Quemoy and Matsu. All of these issues were Democratic issues. That is, the campaign was waged on Democratic terms. In politics, as in other areas, the advantage accrues to the side able to maintain the offensive. In politics this is compounded by the fact that the average voter votes against rather than for a person or issue. The Democrats were able to exploit these two advantages largely because of the television debates.

The analyses of discourse practice and text which provide the verbal context of the extracts related to national security priorities of the time confirm the observations made by Wheeler in 1962, when the reelection bid of President Kennedy was already in the making. The fourth and final debate of the 1960 series focused entirely on the more controversial issues of foreign affairs mentioned in the Wheeler quotation above (see Chapter 4), as did the line of questioning of the news correspondents in the second and third debates of the 1960 series. This suggests a preoccupation on the part of the news media representatives to emphasize, if not sensationalize, and consequently, to market the agenda of the Democratic Party and its nominee as challenger to the status quo for their own purpose rather than focus on the programs and proposals related to domestic affairs such as labor reform, organized crime, reforms in civil rights and welfare, sexual discrimination, and so forth; all of which defined the decade of the 1960s in U.S. society.

As for the institutionalized *purposes* of USPDs, I propose that in both series they are aired ostensibly as a public service to better inform the electorate and encourage greater voter turnout on Election Day through a series of joint appearances by candidates in which they discuss their views approximately a month before Election Day. This purpose, however, has been voiced primarily by the two major political parties, the debate sponsor, and media, although as noted above, purposes are not always in congruence.

3.2.3 The tenor variable in the USPD series

The data of Table 7 below refer to tenor or the subject and relation components of the USPDs of the 1960 series. The variations in tenor of subsequent debates are noted after the initial tabulations of each debate series:

1960: 1st of 4 (1/4) USPDs: September 26, 1960; *Time:* 9:30-10:30 p.m. EST
TENOR: ***Subjects:*** *Who's involved?* **Subject positions: 1) interviewers** – panel of news correspondents selected by their networks; **2) interviewees** – candidates nominated by two major parties; **3) moderator** – host and time-keeper chosen by the broadcaster; **4) audiences** – television viewership and radio-listening audience; **5) broadcaster** – transmitter of the activity from a TV studio; **6) sponsor/producer** – negotiators between network representatives and campaign committees; **7) campaign managers** – national strategists of the two major parties' bids for the U.S. presidency, i.e. Republicans and Democrats. **Social identities: 1)** Sander Vanocur of NBC; Charles Warren (Mutual News); and Stuart Novins of (CBS); **2)** RICHARD NIXON: Republican nominee, incumbent vice-president of President Eisenhower; age: 47; religion; Protestant; JOHN KENNEDY: Democratic nominee, Massachusetts Senator, challenger to the status quo; age: 43; religion: Roman Catholic; **3)** Howard Smith (CBS); **4)** viewership of 66.4 million and a radio audience; no live, studio/debate audience; **5)** WBBM-TV studio, CBS affiliate; Chicago, Illinois; **6)** CBS; **7)** Robert Finch (Rep.); Robert Kennedy (Dem). **TENOR:** ***Relations:*** *In what relations are the above subjects involved?* **Interactional routine:** 'standing oration' format; 8-minute opening and 3-minute closing statements; 2 ½minute responses; 1 ½minute rebuttals; no direct questioning between candidates; Kennedy: first opening statement; Nixon: first closing statement; moderator as host. Indicators of power behind discourse: interactional routine; broadcasting venue; exclusion of ABC, candidates' use of notes; control of topic: domestic affairs; exclusion of minor party candidates. Indicators of power in discourse: conventions such as turn-taking, formality and control of topic.
1960: 2nd of 4 (2/4) USPDs: October 7, 1960; *Time:* 7:30-8:30 p.m. EST
Social identities: 1) Paul Niven (CBS); Edward P. Morgan (ABC); Harold R. Levy (Newsday); and Alvin Spivak of United Press International (UPI); **3)** Frank McGee (NBC); **4)** 61.9 million; **5)** WRC-TV studio, NBC affiliate; Washington, DC; **6)** NBC. **Tenor: *Relations*:** Interactional routine: candidates stand at separate podiums; no opening or closing statements; change of venue; panelists control topic; inclusion of a newspaper reporter and a wire service representative.
1960: 3rd of 4 (3/4) USPDs: October 13, 1960; *Time:* 7:30-8:30 p.m. EST
Social identities: 1) Frank McGee (NBC); Charles Van Fremd (CBS); Roscoe Drummond (the New York Herald Tribune); and Douglass Cater (the Reporter Magazine); **3)** Bill Shadel (ABC); **4)** 63.7 million; **5)** Split-screen telecast: Nixon and panelists in an ABC studio in Los Angeles, and Kennedy in an ABC studio in New York City; **6)** ABC. **Tenor: *Relations*:** Interactional routine accommodates a split-screen telecast; change of venues; the inclusion of a magazine reporter.
1960: 4th of 4 (4/4) USPDs: October 21, 1960; *Time:* 10:00-11:00 p.m. EST
Social identities: 1) Frank Singiser (Mutual News); John Edwards (ABC); Walter Cronkite (CBS); John Chancellor (NBC); **3)** Howard K. Smith (CBS); **4)** 60.4 million; **5)** ABC studios; New York City; **6)** ABC. **Tenor: *Relations*:** Interactional routine similar to USPD 1960: 1/4; extended 3-5 minute closing statements; ABC sponsor with a CBS moderator.

Table 7: Tenor: 1960: 1 – 4 / 4 USPDs

The members of the varying panels of news correspondents and the presidential candidates of the two major parties were the principal text producers of the 1960 USPD

series. The corresponding subject positions of *interviewers* and *interviewees* may be further deconstructed using the terms ‘animator’, ‘author’ and ‘principal’, which Fairclough (1992, p.78) citing Goffman (1981, p. 144) offers as a means of determining respectively ‘the person who actually makes the sounds, or the marks on paper’, as compared with ‘the one who puts the words together and is responsible for the wording’, and ‘the one whose position is represented by the words’.

In the case of the interviewers, the news correspondents are animators and authors of their contributions to the 1960 USPD texts of this study. It could be argued that they also are the principals of the text; however, in the bestowed capacity to interview the U.S. presidential candidates of 1960, the panelists serve as representatives of their broadcasting networks or the press, as well as that of the voice of the electorate in the unseen viewership.

In the USPD series of 1960, the sponsors and producers of the events were one and the same – the three major broadcasting networks at the time: CBS, NBC and ABC.[3] CBS and NBC sponsored and produced respectively the first two USPD programs for their linked radio and television broadcasting stations, while ABC did so for the final two discursive events. News announcers of the three major networks took turns acting as host and/or moderator in the series of four one-hour debate programs in 1960.

As for the candidates, they fulfill the subject positions of animators and contributing authors of the USPD text of 1960. The campaign committees are also contributing authors, while the principal or ones whose positions are being represented by the candidates are primarily partisans, and secondarily members of the electorate who are potential adherents. When seeking the Executive Office, politicians have a tendency of taking credit for all

[3] Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS); National Broadcasting Company (NBC); American Broadcasting Company (ABC); representatives of Mutual News participated in first and fourth debates of the 1960 series.

three positions; nevertheless, I have attempted to differentiate the three in the analysis of subjects and relations below as they relate to the debating candidates.

In the Q & A segments of the USPD series of 1960, Kennedy and Nixon fielded questions posed by the panelists in the public sphere and the social semiotic was aired live via the medium of television and the more commonplace medium of radio into the evening settings of homes across the U.S. nation in the private sphere. What the candidates said, and whether or not they came across telegenically has been the subject of scrutiny for decades.[4]

The 1960 USPD series did not feature debate audiences. Interestingly, the subject position of interviewers on the varying panels of news correspondents in the 1960 series also did not coincide with the subject position of addressee or audience. By this I mean that the candidates fielded the questions of their interviewers while looking squarely into the lenses of the monolithic television cameras of the era and delivering their representations to the viewership instead of to their interviewers. The relations of power between social institutions which may have competing purposes for the same activity type and the differences in the roles of the multiple audiences as addressees are returned to presently in the discussion of the purposes of subject positions and social identities in the 2000 USPD series below, as well as in Section 3.6 in which the varying purposes related to the subject positions of interviewee and audience are the focus of attention due to the '*trialogic*' nature

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[4] In 1960, Nixon had been in poor health prior to the first debate. Additionally, he refused the use of makeup and mistakenly chose to wear a light-colored suit which viewers described as making him appear pale and haggard against the whitish television studio background. This contrasted sharply with the visual impact of his Democratic opponent. Kennedy appeared youthful and vigorous with his suntan and dark blue suit. Subsequently, post-debate polls revealed that the visual image had a powerful impact on public perceptions; those who had listened to the debates on the radio thought that Nixon had won, but the larger television audience was generally more impressed with Kennedy. See Coleman (n.d.).

of contemporary, televised debates and the argumentation strategies employed by debaters to try to win the adherence of multiple audiences (see 2.5).

The Kennedy campaign committee led by John's younger brother, Robert, faced two great hurdles in the 1960 general election year: the candidate’s age and religion. Although Nixon was only four years older than Kennedy, the challenger to the status quo’s age at 43 made it a contentious issue of the election, as did Kennedy’s Roman Catholic beliefs. Later, when Kennedy was inaugurated on January 20, 1961, he became the youngest person ever elected President of the United States (cf. Coleman, n.d.).

Two weeks prior to the first debate of 1960 Kennedy’s campaign committee arranged for him to make a campaign address before the Greater Houston Ministerial Association in hopes of dispelling any notion of the U.S. presidency being controlled by the Vatican. Kennedy’s views on the separation of church and state eased this concern yet it remained an issue with many Protestants throughout his presidency (cf. Coleman, n.d.).

Regarding the differences in interactional routines in the four debates of the 1960 series, the panelists in the first and fourth debates were seated together between the candidates on-stage and the visible camera and production crews of the TV studio. In the first debate, each panelist questioned the candidates in turn in a ‘standing oration’ format in which the candidates were seated and took turns at a podium. Each candidate began with an 8-minute opening statement and ended with a 3-minute closing statement. Answers were limited to 2 ½minutes, and any rebuttal was limited to 1 ½minutes. The candidates were not permitted to question each other directly. The first opening statement was made by Kennedy and the first closing statement was made by Nixon. The moderator kept a check on the response times and turn-taking of the panelists and candidates.

The interactional routine of the fourth and final debate was similar to that of the first one of the series; however, the candidates were allowed 3-5 minute closing statements with Nixon making the first opening statement and Kennedy making the first closing statement. In addition, while ABC had not been represented in the first debate, the network had negotiated to act as sponsor of the third and fourth USPDs of 1960.

The interactional routines of the second and third USPDs of 1960 were similar; however, a split-screen telecast was used in the third one. In the ABC showpiece of the third debate, Nixon and Kennedy could see and hear each other on studio televisions in Los Angeles and New York City, respectively (see Figure 5). In both of these debates the panelists controlled the topic and were permitted to ask questions related to any issue of the campaign. A newspaper reporter and a wire service representative were selected by lot by the press secretaries of the candidates from among the reporters traveling with the candidates to join the two news correspondents selected by their respective broadcasting networks as interviewers in the second debate, whereas in the third debate, a magazine reporter was selected to replace the wire service representative.

Figure 5: Coast-to-coast broadcasts in the third USPD of the 1960 series

The manner in which the panelists of news media representatives were chosen also demonstrates the power behind discourse of the three major broadcasting networks and the campaign committees of the two major political parties of the U.S. in 1960. The social identities of these particular representatives of the news media are thus represented as being different, as a matter of chance in being selected by lot; whereas the contributions of the more powerful participants in discourse were affected by executive decisions made by the major broadcasting networks in 1960.

The data of Table 8 below refer to the subject and relation components of the USPDs of the 2000 series. The data of each debate which follow the initial tabulation refer specifically to changes in the tenor variable compared to the *first* USPD of the 2000 series.

2000: 1st of 3 (1/3) USPDs: October 3, 2000; *Time:* 9:00-10:30 p.m. EST
TENOR: ***Subjects:*** *Who's involved?* **Subject positions: 1) interviewer** – moderator; no panelists; **2) interviewees** – candidates nominated by the two major parties; **3) audiences** – debate audience and viewership; **4) broadcaster** – producer and transmitter of the activity; **5) sponsor** – negotiator between the campaign committees and broadcaster; **6) campaign managers** – leaders of the two major parties' bids for the U.S. presidency, i.e. the Republicans and Democrats. **Social identities**: **1)** Jim Lehrer of the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), founded in 1969; **2)** AL GORE: Democratic nominee, incumbent vice- president of President Bill Clinton; age: 53 ; GEORGE W. BUSH: Republican nominee, Texas Governor and challenger to the status quo, son of former President Bush; age: 54; **3)** debate audience of 100-150; projected viewership of 46.6 million; **4)** Cable News Network (CNN) on location at the three respective venues – 2000 USPD: 1/3: Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, 2000 USPD: 2/3: Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and 2000 USPD: 3/3: Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri; **5)** Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD); **6)** Donna Brazile (Dem); Joe Allbaugh (Rep). **TENOR:** ***Relations:*** *In what relations are the above subjects involved?* **Interactional routine:** a 'standing oration' format at separate podiums; all camera/production crews concealed; 2-minute responses; candidates address the moderator and debate audience; 1-minute rebuttals; responses to the moderator's optional 'follow-up' questions limited to 2-minutes; 2-minute closing statements; candidates cannot question each other directly; Gore asked the first question; first closing statement made by Bush. Indicators of power in discourse: interactional conventions such as turn-taking, formality and control of topic.
2000: 2nd of 3 (2/3) USPDs: October 11, 2000; *Time:* 9:00-10:30 p.m. EST
Social identities: 3) debate audience of 100-150; projected viewership of 37.5 million. **TENOR:** ***Relations:*** Interactional routine: a 'roundtable' format; 2-minute limit on responses; Bush asked the first question; Gore made the first closing statement.

2000: 3rd of 3 (3/3) USPDs: October 17, 2000; *Time:* 9:00-10:30 p.m. EST
Social identities: 3) debate audience of 100-150; projected viewership of 37.7 million. **TENOR:** ***Relations:*** Interactional routine: a 'town hall' format; moderator controls participation of members of the debate audience; moderator may ask follow-up questions; 2-minute responses, 2-minute rebuttals, and 2-minute closing statements; Gore asked the first question; Bush makes the first closing statement.

Table 8: Tenor: 2000: 1 – 3 / 3 USPDs

In the USPD series of 2000, the ages and religious beliefs of the two major party nominees as applicants for the Executive Office of the U.S. government were not campaign issues, as had been the case with Kennedy just two weeks prior to the USPD series of 1960. Additionally, the subject positions of debate audiences and broadcaster had been negotiated months prior to the 2000 series by the CPD, which acted as the sponsor that negotiated every debate detail between representatives of the respective national campaign committees and CNN, which acted as broadcaster at the three university venues. Donna Brazile was Gore's campaign manager, whereas Joe Allbaugh was Bush's campaign manager.

The traditional 'standing oration' format of the first USPD of 2000 was similar to that used in the second debate of the 1960 series; however, the sole moderator had replaced the subject position of interviewer, which previously had been enacted by a panel of news media representatives. The two candidates in the first debate of 2000 stood at separate podiums with the moderator seated at a centered table facing them with his back to the debate audience. The positioning of subjects in the 'roundtable' format of the second USPD of 2000 was similar to that of the first of the series; only the moderator changed sides of the table to face the debate audience with the two candidates seated to either side of him. The positioning of subjects and an apparent shift in the subject position of interviewer in the 'town hall' format of the third and final USPD of the 2000 series involve more changes in subjects and relations and are returned to presently.

The subject position of interviewer in the three debates of the 2000 series was fulfilled by a sole moderator. The moderator, Jim Lehrer of PBS, also had acted as the sole moderator of the 1996 USPD series, and as the second of two and the first and third of three moderators in the series of 1988 and 1992, respectively.[5] In each of the events, even those involving panelists as interviewers in 1988 and 1992, the moderator acted as host and orchestrator of the discursive events monitoring the time limits and turn-taking of the candidates. In the USPDs of 2000 and 1996, the moderator also selected the questions, thereby maintaining control of topic in the two most recent series.

I propose that the USPDs of the 2000 series reflect what Fairclough (1992, p. 98) refers to as two media trends which 'can be linked to a spread of conversational discourse from the private domain of the lifeworld into institutional domains'. One such trend is what is 'called 'synthetic personalization' (Fairclough 1989, p. 62), or the simulation of private, face-to-face, discourse in public mass-audience discourse', while the other is 'an apparent democratization of discourse which involves the reduction of overt markers of power asymmetry between people of unequal relations of power' (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 98).

In contrast with the four debates of the 1960 series, CNN cameras were concealed behind partitions that had been set up specifically for the event in the athletic halls and/or auditoriums of the three university campus venues (see Table 8), as well as by cameras located overhead and behind the debate audiences in the USPD series of 2000. The camera and production crews make use of such discrete positioning as a means of attaining synthetic personalization which impacts the subject positions of interviewer, interviewee and audience. The candidates in contemporary debates are continuously on air and focus their up close-up-and-personal addresses to the sole moderator and hushed debate

[5] See Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD-2).

audiences. However, it should be borne in mind that the ‘transparency’ of productions such as these is ‘a testament to the extent to which its conventions of representation have become naturalized’ (cf. Graddol, 1994, p. 136). Yet it is perhaps due to these very same technical advances that the unattended to viewership of USPDs has declined since 1992

I suggest that not only has the orientation of address between the subject positions of contemporary USPDs been affected, but also the manner or style of address. Here I use the term ‘style’ as does Fairclough (1992, p. 127), ‘as varying along three main parameters, according to the ‘tenor’, ‘mode’ and ‘rhetorical mode’ of the text, to use the terminology of systemic linguistics (Halliday 1978)’. Therefore, at least one reason for changes in debate styles is the variation in the situational contexts of contemporary USPDs. The impact of the particular configuration of genres and discourses is another factor that is explored in the analysis of discourse type in Section 3.3.

In what I will refer to as *viewership-oriented debate formats*, such as those of the 1960 series, the subject position of the moderator is more like that of a host or orchestrator of the activity types, i.e. he or she controls the previously agreed upon elements of the format for the purpose of achieving the overall effect desired by the two major party campaign committees, the candidates, media and sponsor. This makes the subject position of the moderator in such activity types analogous to the Academic Advisor of a doctoral or master’s degree candidate in a public *defense* in an academic context of situation.

In the debate formats of the 1960 series, the moderators and panelists were expert members of the U.S. news media who shared some sense of mutuality and commonality of purpose: the elicitation of newsworthy responses to their questions on major campaign issues, the representation of their respective news media employers, and the promotion of the network-sponsored events themselves. The social identities of the news announcers on

the panels who were household names at the time also made their particular questions carry greater weight, thus serving to enhance the depiction made by the three major networks of their performance of a public service on behalf of better informing and motivating the participation of the electorate.

As noted previously, members of the press who had been selected by lot by the press secretaries of the candidates from among the reporters traveling with the candidates also were allowed to appear jointly with the network representatives in the second and third debates of the 1960 series. This suggests a form of democratization of discourse as revealed in ‘the reduction of overt markers of power asymmetry between people of unequal relations of power’ as having occurred as early as the 1960 debut of televised debates by means of an apparent elevation of status of the press corps to that of the televised news announcers of the network power-holders (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 98).

The textual traces of democratization of discourse, as may be seen in the inclusion of these members of the press in the opening remarks of the moderators in the second and third USPDs of the 1960 series therefore serve as indicators of ´external´ struggles ‘between professional politicians and other social agents in fields which intersect with the political system’, as well as ´internal´ power struggles between competing news providers (cf. Fairclough, 1998, p. 147).[6] Thus, the participation of the members of the press in the second and third debates of the 1960 series takes on a much different appearance when viewed from the perspective of struggles for power rather than the media representation of the empowerment of the people by giving them a voice, and the democratic principles of social equality and respect for the individual within a community.

[6] See Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD-1)

The questions posed in what I call a *moderator-oriented debate format* are typically for clarifications of the candidates' publicly disclosed points of view, or those of their respective campaign committee members throughout the general election year and, in fact, throughout the careers of the candidates. This makes such a line of questioning akin to that of someone in the subject position of a human resources manager asking an applicant in a *job interview* to elaborate on entries which were made on his or her résumé or comments which may have been made on behalf of the applicant by a listed reference.[7]

As may be seen in the footnoted entry, the moderator's insistence on the need for the interviewee to clarify for the voters in the viewership what presumably had been stated publicly by Bush's running mate, Dick Cheney, as well as by his campaign officials after the first USPD of 2000 in Boston is seen as another instance of how individuals, while 'obliged to act discoursally in preconstituted subject positions', nevertheless are 'capable of creatively transforming discourse conventions' (see the Shaw-Dukakis example above). It also serves as an example of 'represented discourse' (cf. Fairclough, 1992, pp. 103-104). This language use is seen as functioning to elicit an elaboration of a particular point of view which had been made on behalf of the applicant for the position of Chief Executive Officer of the United States. Represented discourse is an aspect of what Fairclough (ibid.) distinguishes as 'manifest intertextuality', and is investigated further in 3.4.2.

It should be noted that the moderator-oriented debate format has prevailed only in the more recent USPD series of 1996 and 2000, and in both of these series the sole

[7] In the second USPD of 2000, Moderator Jim Lehrer asked the Republican Candidate George W. Bush the following question: New Question. Last question. For you, Governor. And this flows somewhat out of the Boston debate. You, your running mate, your campaign officials have charged that Vice-President Gore exaggerates, embellishes and stretches the facts, etcetera. Are you -- do you believe these are serious issues? This is a serious issue that the voters should use in deciding which one of you two men to vote for on November 7? See Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD-3)

moderator was Jim Lehrer of PBS (see Table 8). There is no reason to assume that there will be no changes in the situational contexts of the forthcoming USPDs of 2004. As Fairclough (1992, p. 98) observes, 'social and discursive tendencies are established through struggle, and they are furthermore established with only a limited stability, with the prospect that their own heterogeneous elements will be experienced as contradictory and lead to further struggle and change'.

The questions delivered by the moderator were announced at the beginning of each debate of the 2000 series as having been chosen by the moderator and not disclosed to anyone. As was the case in the 1960, the candidates could not question each other directly. In the first and second debates of the 2000 series, each candidate was questioned in turn by the moderator and given a response time of two minutes, a rebuttal time limit of one minute in the first and second debates and extended 2-minute rebuttals in the third and final debate, and a two-minute response time for any optional 'follow-up' or embellishment questions by the moderator. Opening statements were not featured in the USPD series of 2000; however, each candidate was given two minutes for closing statements in each of the three debates.

The candidates in the subject positions of *interviewees* and the sole moderator as *interviewer* were the principal text producers of the 2000 USPD series. However, the democratization of discourse bestowed to the participating members of the debate audience in the third and final USPD of the 2000 series warrants attention because it presumably shifts the 'animator', 'author' and 'principal' roles of the subject position of interviewer to these discourse participants, although the contents of their participation were constrained by the moderator, as noted below (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 78 citing Goffman, 1981, p. 144).

In each of the USPDs of the 2000 series, the debate audience was asked beforehand by the moderator to remain quiet and hold all applause, etc, which is why I prefer to refer to

such a subject position as a debate audience rather than a live audience. The third and final debate of the 2000 series involved what has come to be known as the ‘town hall’ format of USPDs. The format was introduced in the second of the three debates of the 1992 USPD series, and reused in the second of two debates in the 1996 series.[8] In this particular format, which news media representatives invariably refer to as the one preferred by former President Clinton, everyday people are displayed in the subject position of interviewers solemnly asking their questions of the presidential candidates.

The participants of the third debate audience in 2000 were determined by a Gallup Poll which had previously identified them as ‘undecided’ St. Louis area voters. Each had been told to write their question on an index card and submit it before the day of the final debate of the series. The selection of the questions and the order in which they were to be asked of a designated candidate were determined by the moderator. On the night of the media event, participating audience members, when called upon by the moderator, stood and read their questions using a hand-held microphone, then remained standing as the candidates responded.[9]

The interactional routine of the ‘town hall’ format permits the candidates, who are seated on stools on the debate platform or stage, to rise and walk about freely, and to address directly those chosen members of the debate audience who had been called upon by the moderator to ask a question of the candidates. The moderator; however, not the participating members of the debate audience, whose hand-held microphones were disengaged once their questions had been uttered, then had the option of asking a ‘follow-

[8] See Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD-2).
[9] See Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD-3).

up' or related question.[10] Thus, while the participation of 'town hall' debate audiences lends itself to a democratization of discourse, the moderator is seen as remaining firmly in control of this relative newcomer to the CPD-sponsored productions of USPDs.

The participation of members of the debate audience in the 'town hall' format of the final debate in the USPD series of 2000 is seen as serving the communicative function of returning the voice of the electorate back to its constituents, although fleetingly. Here I use the term 'voice' as does Fairclough (1992, p. 143) when he refers to 'the voice of 'the lifeworld', or ordinary experience', which he credits to Mishler (1984) following Habermas (1984), and as 'the identities of particular individual or collective agents' (1995a, p. 77). This discursive feature, as well as that observed in the conversationalized 'roundtable' format of the second debate in the USPD series of 2000 are two of the most recent transformations in the mediatized political order of discourse, and are returned to in the discussions of order of discourse and the conversationalization and/or democratization of discourse in Sections 3.3 and 3.4, respectively.

Recall how Fairclough (1989, p. 74) argues that the types of constraint on 'contents', 'relations' and 'subjects' which 'powerful participants in discourse can exercise over the contributions of non-powerful participants' are fundamental concerns of social analysis (see 2.2). When seen from this perspective, I suggest that changes in the social relations and social identities observed in the moderator-oriented debate formats are realized discursively in a shift away from the more formal viewership-oriented format of the 1960 series to the more conversationalized interactional routines of contemporary USPDs. Such a shift in the discourse practice of 'information-giving', which is done

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[10] See Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD-3).

ostensibly on behalf of the electorate, could also indicate wider social changes in the U.S. (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 11).

In most cases in the more recent USPDs, neither the news correspondent who assumes the subject position of interviewer nor the candidate who does likewise as an interviewee is unaccustomed to being on camera. However, given the agreed upon interactional routines and the day-to-day familiarity with political interviews which a seasoned debate moderator such as Jim Lehrer of PBS brings to the discursive events, the sole moderator of a contemporary USPD series is thought to wield great authority which might then be revealed in a particular combination of 'ethoses'.[11]

Ethos involves language, body language and attitude. Fairclough (1992, p. 143) citing Maingueneau (1987) describes ethos as 'how the total comportment of a participant, of which her verbal (spoken or written) style and tone are a part, express the sort of person she is, and signal her social identity and subjectivity'. The oft-perceived coldness in demeanor of a medical doctor lacking a sense of bedside manner is the example provided by Fairclough (ibid.). While mediatized scrutiny of the ethoses of candidates appearing jointly in debates is a common practice, similar analyses of media representatives are not.

Recall the moderator's question footnoted above in which Bush was asked in an indirect manner with a low degree of affinity established between the represented discourse of Bush's running mate (Cheney) and the sole moderator (Lehrer). When seen from the perspective of ethos, the manner in which the interviewer-interviewee relations and the

[11] *Debating Our Destinies* is a copyrighted radio and TV program produced by MacNeil/ Lehrer Productions with the Commission on Presidential Debates and WETA TV 26 and 90.9 FM in Washington, DC. Transcripts of Lehrer's interviews with former USPD interviewees/candidates are available at the PBS Web site listed in the References section under the Public Broadcasting Service.

social identity of the interviewer are set up by the PBS representative, a combination of ethoses is thought to have emerged.

When delivered with a quiet, respectful tone of voice, and the evenhandedness and somberness of a judge, the moderator manages to blend the otherwise unharmonious voices of journalism and politics, combining them with those of the depicted professionalism of human resource management and the casualness of the lifeworld. It is he who controls the topic, turn-taking, and readdressing of any particular point gleaned from the exchanges in the joint appearances of the candidates by means of follow up questions which are completely left to the discretion of the sole moderator. However, one should bear in mind that the power with which the moderator has been vested originates from the power behind the campaign discourse of debates – the two major parties (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 143).

Fairclough (1992, p. 97), as noted in the theoretical perspectives of Section 2.2, argues that it is not until the 'traces in texts in the form of the co-occurrence of contradictory or inconsistent elements' are put to use in such a way that they 'catch on', or 'lose their patchwork effect' and become 'seamless' that they can achieve the commonality of practice which sustains the power-holders. The subject identity of the PBS moderator, who consummates the role of sole moderator in the most recent USPD series, is thought to have had a great bearing on the 'style' of these discursive events, as well as the socially accepted seamlessness with which contemporary USPDs are produced.

The sponsorship of USPDs has been a contentious issue ever since the 1960 series, although the great majority of the U.S. public is unaware of it because the incessant

struggles for power take place behind the scenes of these complex discursive events and as such are not meant to cause a commotion, as footnoted below.[12]

The League of Women Voters is a nonpartisan organization that was founded in 1920 to encourage the participation of women in the U.S. electoral process. Although the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1920 extended the right of suffrage to women, greater participation required the efforts of organizations such as the LWV to actualize the profound sociocultural changes that were taking place at the time. Presently, women account for over half of the turnout of the voting age population in U.S. general elections.

The LWV had been instrumental in petitioning President Ford, the vice-presidential successor to Nixon in 1974, and Jimmy Carter, the former governor of Georgia and little known Democratic nominee in the general election of 1976, to participate in a series of presidential debates that year. The LWV, acting as sponsors, thus managed to reinstate USPDs into the political arena of general elections in the U.S. after a hiatus of sixteen years following the 1960 USPD series. Both Lyndon Johnson, who had assumed the office of the President after the assassination of Kennedy on November 22, 1963, and Nixon, who had narrowly lost the 1960 general election to Kennedy, had managed to avoid the media events during their subsequent successions, elections and reelections.

As seen in the footnoted entries, the temporary suspension of the Communication Act of 1934 and renewed jostling for sponsorship and production rights by the major

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[12] Senate Joint Resolution 207 in 1960 temporarily suspended Sec. 315 of the Communication Act of 1934, thereby enabling the three major broadcasting networks (CBS, NBC, ABC) to choose the U.S. presidential candidates who could participate in the USPD series of 1960, as well as the cities and broadcasting studios from where they would be transmitted. Against the objections of the League of Women Voters (LWV), the Federal Communications Commission in 1981 and 1983 ruled in favor of allowing broadcasters to again transmit from their studios and act as qualified sponsors. On October 3, 1988, the LWV withdrew their sponsorship of USPDs citing that they had become too staged because the politicians were controlling the process, i.e. the tail was wagging the dog. See Mullen (n.d.). Since that time, USPDs have been sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD), which was formed in 1987 by the then-national chairpersons of the Republican and Democratic parties, Frank Fahrenkopf and Paul Kirk, respectively. See Cohen (2000).

broadcasters in the early 1980s, the power struggles between the LWV and campaign officials of both of the major parties, as well as the infighting between the parties to control formats, rules and venues are indicators of the mechanism of 'inculcation' by which the broadcasters and two major political parties attempt to wrest control of USPDs and maintain their existing relations of power (see 2.2). As a result of naturalization, the unequal relations of power have essentially transformed USPDs into a bipartisan, invitation-only gala with the purpose of presenting the nominees of the two major parties jointly before an ever-diminishing, unaddressed and disaffected viewership in the private sphere of U.S. society.

In the USPD series of 1996, the CPD shunned the participation of the Texas billionaire businessman Ross Perot and the Reform Party candidate won less than half of the popular votes of the previous election.[13] The two USPDs of 1996 had an average viewership of 41 million, whereas the viewership of the previous series of 1992 had averaged 66 million. Additionally, the turnouts of the voting-age population in the 1992 and 1996 U.S. general elections were 55.1% and 49.1%, respectively. According to the data compiled by the Federal Election Commission (2003), the 6-percentage-point decline between the 1992 and 1996 general elections made it the largest drop in voter turnout between consecutive general elections since the resumption of USPDs in 1976. Thus, in the general election of 1996, most eligible voters neither bothered to watch the USPDs nor go

[13] In February of 1997, a month after the second inauguration of Bill Clinton, at a panel discussion entitled, Campaign for President: The Managers Look at '96, which was sponsored by the Harvard Institute of Politics, George Stephanopoulos, one of the President's top White House Aides, explained that the campaign strategy of the Democrats had been to downplay the USPD series of 1996 because they had not wanted the electorate 'to pay attention', and that the debates were 'a metaphor for the campaign' because 'we wanted the debates to be a non-event'. When asked by Chris Matthews of CNBC to explain the strategy behind making the debates a 'non-event', Stephanopoulos replied that the Dole Campaign 'simply did not have any leverage going into negotiations. They were behind. They needed to make sure Reform Party candidate Ross Perot wasn't in it. As long as we would agree to Perot not being in it, we could get everything else we wanted going in. We got our time frame, we got our length, and we got our moderator – Jim Lehrer'. See Cohen (2000).

to the polls on Election Day, and President Clinton handily won his ‘non-event’ reelection bid against Dole.

The exclusion of Perot in the 1996 USPDs indicates the flux of power relations, which may shift to hinder, if not prevent outright, any contestation to the elitist discourse practices of the two major political parties. In this regard, I view ideology, as does Fairclough (1992, p. 87), who cites the similarity of his understanding of ideology to that of Thompson (1984; 1990), as ‘significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination’.

Power struggles within each of these major parties for ranking and presidential nomination through caucuses, primaries and national conventions, as well as external struggles between the two powerhouses of the U.S. political system and anyone or any group which proposes reform. Such aversion to political reform in the U.S. suggests an underlying ideological opposition to change, in general, and more specifically, opposition to the perceived threat of the social values of candidates who have not been put through the same arduous nominating process of the two traditional political parties.

Public consent to what I call the test of fire construction of social relations and social identities of the Republican and Democratic Parties allows for a well defined and easy to grasp bipolarity in the U.S. electoral process; a “we are for this and they are for that” mentality which simplifies the socially accepted practice of electing representatives, even at the local level of government. To think and vote otherwise is in opposition to the commonsense notion of how things are done, and a waste of one’s vote.

3.2.4 The mode variable in the USPD series

I now wish to focus attention on the third and final register variable – mode. The data of Table 9 and Table 10 below refer respectively to the ‘connections’ component of the four USPDs of the 1960 series and the three USPDs of the 2000 series (see Table 1). Changes in the mode variable in the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 are then explained and interpreted using the tabulations of time allocations and the corresponding percentages for the opening and closing segments compared to the Q & A segments of the two series.

1960 USPD: 1 / 4: September 26, 1960; *Time:* 9:30-10:30 p.m. EST
MODE: ***Connections:*** *What's the role of language in what's going on?* Written-to-be-spoken channel with the opening and closing statements; televised spoken language.
1960 USPD: 2 – 3 / 4 debates: October 7, 1960; *Time:* 7:30-8:30 p.m. EST
MODE: ***Connections:*** Spoken language use.
1960 USPD: 4 / 4: October 21, 1960; *Time:* 10:00-11:00 p.m. EST
MODE: ***Connections:*** Written-to-be-spoken channel with the opening and closing statements; televised spoken language.

Table 9: Mode: 1960: 1 – 4 / 4 USPDs

2000 USPD: 1 – 3 / 3: October 3, 2000; *Time:* 9:00-10:30 p.m. EST
MODE: ***Connections:*** *What's the role of language in what's going on?* Closing statements: written-to-be-spoken channel without notes; otherwise, spoken language.

Table 10: Mode: 2000: 1 – 3 / 3 USPDs

As may be seen in Tables 9 and 10, as well as in the interactional routines of Tables 7 and 8 above, the main difference in the channel or role of language in the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 has to do with the use of opening and closing statements. While both series made use of closing statements, opening statements were not featured in any of the USPDs of the 2000 series.

In the Q & A segments of the 1960 and 2000 USPD series, language is being used to elicit information. The actualization of responses by the candidates in the subject position of interviewee therefore characterizes this particular segment of USPDs as what Fairclough (1992, p. 11) calls a 'discourse practice of information-giving', whether the information being offered is the result of questioning by a panel of news correspondents or a sole moderator. However, in the USPD series of 1960, the debate formats at that time allowed for extensive opening statements by the candidates in the first and fourth of the four events, thereby distinguishing a mergence of what I will refer to as the discourse practice of addressing a monologue, or simply, oration, with that of information-giving noted above.

The apparent shift in emphasis between the uses of traditional political speech by the candidates in the opening and closing statements in the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 resulted in differences in the text lengths of these segments of the respective debates, as did the choices of topic. The number of minutes allocated to the opening and closing segments in each of the debates of the two series, as well as the time set aside for the political interview and/or political debate segments of the programs, i.e. the Q & A segments are presented in the middle and right columns of Table 11 below. The corresponding percentages of debate programming time allocated to these debate segments appear below each of the time allotments, as well as the total for each of the 1960 and 2000 USPD series.

USPD	opening & closing statements (political speech/oration)	question & answer (political interview/debate)
1960: ¼: 60´	**each candidate: 8´ opening + 3´ closing 22’ total (37%)**	**35´ total (58%)**
1960: 2/4: 60´	not applicable	57´ total (95%)
1960: ¾ 60´	not applicable	57´ total (95%)
1960: 4/4: 60´	**each candidate: 8´ opening + 4.5´ closing 25´ total (42%)**	**32´ total (53%)**
1960: total	**47´ (19.6%)**	**181´ (75.4%)**
2000: 1/3: 90´	each candidate 2´ closing 4´ total (4.4%)	83´ (92.2%)
2000: 2/3: 90´	each candidate 2´ closing 4´ total (4.4%)	83´ (92.2%)
2000: 3/3: 90´	each candidate: 2´ closing 4´ total (4.4%)	83´ (92.2%)
2000: total	**12´ (4.4%)**	**249´ (92.2%)**

Table 11: Time allocations for opening and closing statements versus Q & A exchanges in minutes (´) and the corresponding percentages (%) of the USPD program lengths

The debate formats for the first and last USPDs in the series of four 1-hour programs in 1960 allowed for 8-minute opening statements, and 3 and 4-minute closing statements, respectively. The orations delivered by the two candidates while standing at podiums with concealed notes in these two debates of the 1960 series thus occupied 37% and 42% of the programs, whereas the percentages of time allocated to the candidates being asked questions by panels of news correspondents were 58% and 53%, respectively.

The standard 2-minute closing statements of the three 90-minute USPDs of 2000 accounted for 4.4% of the total program lengths. This equates to 92.2% of these debates being devoted to the more dialogic discourse practice of information-giving by means of interviews with a moderator fulfilling the subject position of interviewer.

In terms of the amount of air time in minutes and percentages that was allotted to the addressing of monologues in the form of political speeches versus that assigned to questioning and answering in the 1960 USPD *series*; a total of 47 minutes of the 240 minutes (19.6%) of debate programming was devoted to the delivery of the written-to-be-

spoken channel as compared with 181 minutes (75.4%) of the more spontaneous and dialogic spoken language usage. By contrast, a total of 12 minutes (4.4%) of the 2000 USPD series was occupied by the delivery of closing statements *without* the use of notes in the three 90-minute programs, which allowed for 249 minutes (92.2%) of a total of 270 minutes of spoken language use to occur.

The data suggest a shift in emphasis from the use of the more traditional written-to-be-spoken channel in the first debate series to that of more spontaneous spoken language use in contemporary debate series. However, I will argue that the naturalization of such discursive change is ideologically 'invested' (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 67 citing Frow (1985). The commonsense notion of shifting greater emphasis to the Q & A segments of more recent USPDs is considered to be a media deception because as Fairclough (1989, p. 102) notes in citing Althusser (1971), there are 'ideological effects in all discourses'.

Recall that the subject position of interviewer in the 1960 series was comprised of varying panels of news correspondents whom once their questions had been consigned to posterity were virtually ignored by the debating presidential candidates. By comparison, when the subject position was fulfilled in the USPD series of 2000 by a sole moderator, not only was the orientation of address changed, but also the style of address.

The viewership and radio-listening audiences were the addressees in the 1960 series: they were the ones to whom the candidates were presumably addressing, although to a contemporary viewership they might be derided merely as "talking heads". Nonetheless, the subject position of addressee ought not to be underemphasized, especially in an age in which the projected viewership of USPD series is in decline. As noted below in the 1962 political analysis of Wheeler regarding public perceptions based on the sequence of opening and closing statements negotiated in the first and final debates of the 1960 series,

the visual impact of a presidential candidate in a live series of USPD broadcasts has profound implications (cf. Mazo, et al., 1962, pp. 14-21):

> A political debate on television "ideally" should be "won" at the beginning. Everything that follows the opening revelation should "ideally" exist merely to confirm the initial promise of who is the good guy and who is the bad guy. For this reason the format of the first and the last debates must be judged to be more congruent with the intrinsic nature of the medium than was the format of the second and third debates. Applying this criterion, it is possible to say that from a formal standpoint--considering the "plot outlines" of the first and the fourth debates - Kennedy must be judged to have "won" the first decisively and the fourth adequately.

The use of notes, and the opportunity for the candidates to review them both before the USPDs of 1960, as well as and when they were off camera, even though these events were live broadcasts, suggests a marked change in mode between the USPD series of 1960 and 2000. As may be seen in Figure 6 below, Kennedy understood this advantage and made full use of it as the challenger to the status quo in the USPD series of 1960:

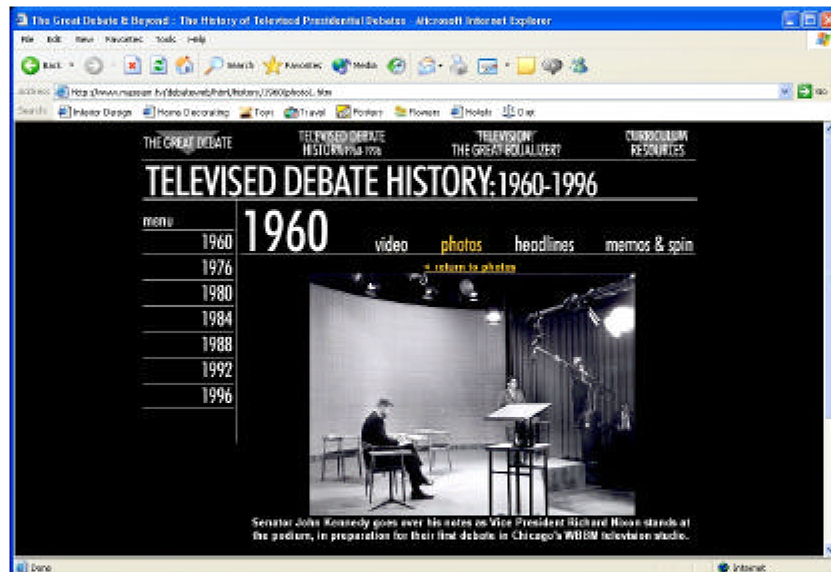

Figure 6: Kennedy reviewing notes before the first USPD of 1960

The difference in the role of language is not only apparent in the opening and closing statements, but also in the Q & A segments of the debate programming of the two series. Textual evidence of the effect of the written-to-be-spoken mode may be seen in the Nixon (see Appendix 1: 1960: 3/4: 1310-1311) extract in which the Vice-President says, 'Senator Kennedy quotes the record, which he read from a moment ago', before then concluding that Kennedy had failed to quote other items of importance. Therefore, the commonsense notion of making contemporary USPDs appear to be more "up close and personal" may, in fact, due to the conscious or unconscious perception of the viewership help to account for declining viewership and voter turnout at the polls on Election Day in recent general election years. Such a factor would appear to be self-defeating if one were not aware that the purposes of the social and political agents involved in the production of these communicative events are not always in congruence.

By the time of the USPD series of the 2000, the orientation had changed. The subject position of addressee had shifted presumably to that of the sole moderator and the debate audiences given that the viewership, due to means of technical advances in broadcasting which I have argued create a form of synthetic personalization, took on the role of passive overhearers or mere spectators in the private sphere to a series of joint job interviews for the U.S. presidency which were performed ostensibly on their behalf.

The empowerment of the sole moderator in the USPD series of 2000 (as well as in 1996) has resulted in this particular subject position manifesting a combination of ethoses involving spoken style and tone (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 143). Such discursive change suggests wider social change in U.S. society with aspects of conversationalization of discourse being realized by such means as the aforementioned 'synthetic personalization'

and 'democratization' of discourse in the more recent productions of USPDs. These topics are returned to for further investigation in Section 3.4.

Fairclough (1989, p. 151) discerns that 'ideologies and the power relations which underlie them have a deep and pervasive influence upon discourse interpretation and production'. The findings of this analysis are enhanced by the analyses of Sections 3.3 – 3.6 in which the cultural resources that were drawn upon by the discourse participants in the two USPD series are seen in their verbal contexts as being ideologically based assumptions about social relations and identities which impact discourse interpretation and production. The analyses which follow will therefore maintain a focus on the 'ideologies and the power relations which underlie them' in the texts of this study because such influence has been 'underlined by recent research into the nature of discourse processing, which has shown situational context to be a more significant determinant of interpretation than it had been thought to be' (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 151).

The variables of situational context create what Halliday (1978, p. 109) refers to as 'the environment in which the text comes to life'. Also, as noted previously, Eggins (1994) sees the context of situation as impacting the 'process of realizing (or encoding) genres in language' (p. 34). The concept of 'genre' therefore is a principal focus of attention in the analysis of discourse type in Section 3.3 which follows.

The 'contents', 'social relations', and the 'particular configuration of subject positions' which constitute each of the 'social subjects' in the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 are seen as being representative of a specific 'discourse type' that 'establishes its particular set of subject positions, which those who operate within it are constrained to occupy' (cf. Fairclough, 1989, pp. 102-103). In Section 3.3 below, the term 'discourse type' is treated as 'configurations of genres and discourses which actually occur, and which may

become more or less stable and conventionalized within orders of discourse' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 76).

The proposed discourse type of *televised debate* is seen as creating 'complex configurations of several genres and several discourses' which are 'articulated together in particular communicative events' such as that seen in *USPDs*; however, as I will argue below, not all of these configurations are seen as being compatible (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 76). Such a view of a particular 'discourse type' in these communicative events is thought to maintain a focus of attention on 'the way in which an order of discourse is structured – the relationships between constituent discourse types – is determined by power relations, and therefore contested in power struggles' (cf. Fairclough, 1989, pp. 101-102).

3.3 Analysis of discourse type in the 1960 and 2000 USPD series

3.3.1 Order of discourse

Fairclough (1998) interprets Foucault's (1972) concept of 'order of discourse' as involving 'a structured configuration of genres and discourses (and maybe other elements, such as voices, registers, styles) associated with a given social domain – for example the order of discourse of a school' (p. 145). Previously, Fairclough (1989, p. 19), 'in highlighting not only the social determination of language use, but also the linguistic determination of society', cited the 'positions which are set up for members of the ´public´ in the order of discourse of policing', or law enforcement. Therefore, before proceeding in this analysis of discourse type, I first wish to propose a similarly structured configuration involving subject positions which I will refer to hereafter as the order of political discourse of *managing a*

general election campaign committee. Such an interpretation is thought to have sufficient grounds for justification given that Fairclough exemplifies this concept with the order of discourse of 'policing', as well as that of 'a school' (ibid.). Fairclough urges that discourse analysis should not be conducted without 'maintaining a duality of focus, on the order of discourse and on the communicative event' (cf. 1998, p. 152). Therefore, in an attempt at maintaining a similar 'duality of focus', USPDs are henceforth regarded as a series of major *communicative events* which take place every four years within the orders of political discourse of the management of general election committees of principally the two dominant political parties in the United States of America (see Tables 7 and 8).

The interpretation is thought to be given further support in how Fairclough (1998, p. 145) clarifies that in distinguishing a particular order of discourse, 'one identifies its constituent discursive practices, and crucially the relationships and boundaries between them'. In his exemplar of 'a school' noted above, these include the following: 'various sorts of classroom talk and writing, playground talk, staffroom talk, centrally produced documentation, etc.' All of these constituent discursive practices may be seen in a committee of a general election campaign, as well (e.g. various sorts of talk and writing by campaign officials, as well as between vying candidates of the same party, one of whom, during a party's national convention in the summer preceding the general election then becomes its official nominee, informal talk, such as in a daytime or night time talk shows, more formal discussions of campaign issues in political talk shows and at fund-raising dinners, orations delivered by candidates at ´hustings´[14], campaign committee strategy sessions and headquarter talk, campaign committee-produced documentation, and so forth).

[14] 1994 American Heritage Dictionary, 3rd Edition Electronic Version 3.6a: a place where political campaign speeches are made and/or the activities involved in political campaigning, such as in 'a veteran of the hustings'; from Old English hûsting, court, and from Old Norse hûsthing : hûs, house + thing, assembly.

Such an emphasis on a particular ‘discourse type’ is thought to maintain the focus of attention on ‘the way in which an order of discourse is structured’, or ‘the relationships between constituent discourse types’, which ‘is determined by power relations, and therefore contested in power struggles’ (cf. Fairclough, 1989, pp. 101-102).

The Shaw-Dukakis exchange in 3.2.1 related to the use of the death penalty demonstrates how it is possible for subjects who are restrained by social conventions to contest and restructure ‘the discursive structures (orders of discourse) which position them’, and that the purpose for such contestations might be ‘motivated by polemical considerations and manipulative objectives’ (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 123). As seen in the explanation of the exchange, I have adopted Fairclough’s (1989, p. 146) perspective of the relationship between social context and discourse type, or ‘how interpreters arrive at interpretations of the situational context, and the way in which this determines decisions about which discourse type is the ´appropriate´ one to draw upon’, although interactions may actually ‘draw upon two or more’ of these. The CNN news correspondent’s choice of questioning, or how he decided to ask the candidate a question with such a provocative preface, involves many factors having to do with ethos, cultural values, viewership ratings, etc. However, it also has much to do with the choice of discourse type.

As discussed in the theoretical perspectives, Fairclough’s model (see Figure 1) makes use of the Gramscian theory of hegemony to explain the seemingly inexhaustible array of cultural resources from which discourse participants may choose because of the ‘productivity of discourse types’ (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 78). Although the creative processes of production and interpretation are, as Fairclough (ibid.) discerns, ‘in fact substantially constrained by the sociocultural practice the discourse is embedded within’, he encourages the analysis of processing in the interpretation stage of his framework in order

to discover ‘how genres and discourses are articulated together to constitute discourse types’, although he acknowledges that ‘many analysts would use the term ´genre´ in the way in which’ he chooses to use ´discourse type´ (ibid. p. 76). Therefore, in the analyses which follow, I will examine the particular articulations of genres and discourses of the 1960 and 2000 USPDs and refer to them *collectively* as a mediatized discourse type.

Recall that Fairclough (1992, p. 126) cites Bakhtin’s (1986, p. 60) use of a particular ‘compositional structure’ to refer to ‘genre’; however, he sees genre as not only involving ‘a particular text type, but also particular processes of producing, distributing and consuming texts’. Therefore, Fairclough (ibid.) chooses to use an adapted ‘category’ from Levinson (1979) to distinguish ‘a particular ‘activity type’’ according to ‘the structured sequence of actions of which it is composed, and in terms of the participants involved in the activity – that is, the set of subject positions which are socially constituted and recognized in connection with the activity type’ (see 3.2). However, the structured sequence of actions ought to be seen as establishing ‘a range of options’ rather than ‘specifying a single rigid pattern’ (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 126) citing Hasan’s works on ‘compositional structure’ in Halliday and Hasan (1985).

Additionally, as described in the overview of the theoretical perspectives (see 2.2), I will follow the example of Fairclough (1995a, p. 85) by incorporating the insights of ‘three different conceptions of genre in terms of their value in analysing discourse types in the media’: the ‘schematic view’ of genre, and the two views of ‘generic heterogeneity’ which Fairclough (1992, p. 118) differentiates as the ‘sequential’ and ‘embedded’ ‘modes of intertextual relations’ as compared to ‘polyphonic’ or ‘mixed intertextuality’. Subsection 3.3.2 presents a schematic view of USPDs and Subsection 3.3.3 focuses on the two views of generic heterogeneity. Thus, by proceeding in this manner of discourse analysis we

gradually move from the ‘explanation’ dimension (social analysis) to the processing analysis involving the workings of intertextuality termed ‘interpretation’ (see Figure 1). However, one should bear in mind that such a linear analytical procedure is inherently misleading because as Fairclough (1995a, p. 78) argues, ‘the analysis of discourse practice cuts across textual analysis, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production and processes of text consumption), and sociocultural analysis’.

3.3.2 A schematic view of the USPDs of 1960 and 2000

Patterns of similarity between the 1960 and 2000 USPD series may be seen in the generic structure of programming elements occurring in a predictable sequence. Table 12 below represents the stages of a typified USPD. Asterisks have been used to designate the programming elements which differed between the two USPD series of 1960 and 2000, and are resultantly, as in the previous analyses, the stages which have received a greater degree of scrutiny in 3.2.4 and 3.3.2, respectively:

pre-debate programming
moderator’s greetings & introductions
moderator’s announcements
candidates’ opening statements*
sequential questioning of candidates
candidate responses
candidate rebuttals
follow-up questions*
candidates’ closing statements
moderator’s announcements & farewell
post-debate programming

Table 12: Stages that constitute a schematic view of a USPD

The ‘relatively fixed stages’ in the ‘activity type’ of a USPD involve programming segments which make these discursive events more readily reproducible by the ‘social’ and ‘political agents’ involved in their production and distribution (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 85). The commonsense means of coordination are also thought to make the activity types more easily recognizable, thus more predictable or pre-packaged for consumption by the U.S. viewership.

The media conventions of pre-debate and post-debate programming are seen as the hobgoblin of the processes of production and distribution of a USPD series, particularly those of contemporary USPDs. However, if a presidential debate were to suddenly appear live on television interrupting previously scheduled programming, viewers would most likely be startled at the apparent here-and-now significance of the event before gradually becoming bored or angered by the intrusion of campaign politics into the private domain. Such “breaking news” devices are reserved for natural disaster warnings or the occasional live footage from the ´live cam´ of a news helicopter of a police pursuit.

Instead of wowing their audiences, broadcasters appeal to a sense of democratic idealism by means of pre-debate programming composed of public opinion polls, political analyses, and other semiotic modes such as symbolic sights and sounds, much the same manner in which major sports events are historically situated. Allan (1998, p. 123) describes the effect in the ‘opening sequence’ of a news program as fulfilling two similar purposes: 1) not only to establish a sense of urgency for the newscast, but also 2) as a way to anchor a declaration of ‘‘nowness’ and ‘liveness’ for its claim of authoritativeness’.

In the second stage of a USPD, the moderator’s cordial greeting to the audiences is likewise extended to the two presidential candidates before there is then a shift to the stage of announcements in which the negotiated rules of the particular interactional routine are

read aloud in a more formal style. Here again I am using Fairclough's interpretation of 'style' as 'mixtures of formal and informal styles' and 'markers of authority and familiarity', as mentioned previously in Section 2.2 (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 97).

In the first and fourth USPD of the 1960 series, what followed next was an 8-minute opening statement by each candidate (see 3.2.4). However, if opening statements are not part of the particular format, a generic USPD then moves to the stage of the programming in which a panel of news correspondents and/or the moderator asks each candidate in-turn questions related to domestic and/or foreign affairs. Each candidate is then afforded the opportunity to comment on the response made by his opponent in the form of a rebuttal.

In the 2000 USPD series, the moderator was empowered with the right to follow up on the response or rebuttal of the debating candidates, which is a point I will return to presently. As the *defense* and/or *interview* stage drew to a close in the 1960 and 2000 series, the moderator called for the closing statements of the two candidates. When this stage was completed, the moderator then proceeded to the announcement stage, in which the date, time and venue of a forthcoming USPD and a farewell to the audiences were delivered.

It should be noted that once a moderator says farewell to the audiences in contemporary USPDs, there is typically a narrative voice-over which serves to summarize the main points or highlights of the evening's event, as well as to keep the viewership from flicking the channel, as the candidates, who are now situated in the distant and muted background of the debate platform, smile broadly and shake the hands of their supporters. The voice-over then becomes a dialogue with a news media colleague who comments on the observations of the previous narrative. Another point which is worthy of note is how there is then an abrupt transition in which the previously unseen viewership becomes the focal point, shifting attention from the voices of the presidential candidates and news media

representatives to that of ordinary people by means of live, video feed from around the nation of people on the streets, in malls, restaurants and bars, at major party headquarters, and so forth, as well as via opinion polls.

In the pre- and post-debate stages of USPD programming an open and unrestrained style of journalistic voice is evident. Such a style is considered to be one of the principal ethoses of the news media, which as Fairclough (1992) observes, 'generally purport to deal in fact, truth and matters of knowledge' (p. 160). In this regard, the news media is unfettered by formats and rules of interaction because of its purported ethos, which has the power to 'systematically transform into 'facts' what can often be no more than interpretations of complex and confusing sets of events' (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 160).

Follow-up questions by the moderator such as that shown in 3.2.3 in which the moderator asks Bush to comment on statements made by his running mate (Cheney) were not features of the first USPD series of 1960. However, I argue that a similar function was effectuated by the panelists in that series, and offer the following samples of such requests for elaboration (see Appendix 1).[15]

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[15] 1960: 2/4: 386: Moderator: Mr. Spivak with a question for Senator Kennedy. Mr. Spivak: Senator, following this up, how would you go about increasing the prestige you say we're losing, and could the programs you've devised to do so be accomplished without absolutely wrecking our economy? 1960: 3/4: 1128: Moderator: The next question is by Mr. Drummond for Vice President Nixon. Mr. Drummond: Mr. Nixon, I would like to ask eh - one more aspect or raise another aspect of this same question. Uh - it is my understanding that President Eisenhower never advocated that Quemoy and Matsu should be defended under all circumstances as a matter of principle. I heard Secretary Dulles at a press conference in fifty-eight say that he thought that it was a mistake for Chiang Kai-shek to deploy troops to these islands. I would like to ask what has led you to take what appears to be a different position on this subject. 1960: 3/4: 1255: Moderator: Mr. Cater's question is for Vice President Nixon. Mr. Cater: Mr. Vice President, I'd like to return just once more, if I may, to this area of dealing with the Communists. Critics have claimed that on at least three occasions in recent years - on the sending of American troops to Indochina in 1954, on the matter of continuing the U-2 flights in May, and then on this definition of the - of our commitment to the offshore island - that you have overstated the Administration position, that you have taken a more bellicose position than President Eisenhower. Just two days ago you said that you called on Senator Kennedy to serve notice to Communist aggressors around the world that we're not going to retreat one inch more any place, where as we did retreat from the Tachen Islands or at least Chiang Kai-shek did. Would you say this was a valid criticism of your statement of foreign policy? (See CPD-1).

The use of follow-up questions in formats that do not allow for direct questioning between candidates is seen as a form of inculcation whereby the interviewer maintains power in the coordination of the Q & A stage of the discursive events. However, the process of rational communication as the tactic for struggle against dominance also can emerge, as noted below in contestations made by Kennedy in 1960 and Gore in 2000 to the rule prohibiting direct questioning between candidates.[16]

Here we may see violations of agreed upon rules of engagement by Kennedy in his rebuttal of a response by Vice President Nixon, and by Vice President Gore in a rebuttal to a follow-up question asked of Bush (see Appendixes 1 and 2, respectively). It is interesting to note how in the 1960 series, Kennedy's challenge enacted a hasty transition by the moderator for the next question of a panelist, whereas the moderator in the 2000 series made a point of admonishing the Vice President for his infringement.

As may be seen in the samples, struggles for power in discourse leave behind what Fairclough (1992, p. 97) refers to as 'traces in texts in the form of the co-occurrence of contradictory or inconsistent elements'. However, breaches of etiquette such as a candidate not adhering to a particular debate rule and speaking out of turn or asking a direct question of his opponent might not indicate so much about 'its property of being uttered at a particular time or place,' as it does about 'the fact of it having a particular status within

[16] 1960: 4/4: 1589-1596: His (Castro's) influence is growing – mostly because this Administration has ignored Latin America. You yourself said, Mr. Vice President, a month ago, that if we had provided the kind of economic aid five years ago that we are now providing we might never have had Castro. Why didn't we? **MODERATOR: Walter Cronkite, you have your first question for Vice President Nixon ...** 2000: 2/3: 847-874: Now, I did want to pick up on one of the statements earlier, and maybe I have heard, maybe I have heard the previous statements wrong, Governor. In some of the discussions we've had about when it's appropriate for the U.S. to use force around the world, at times the standards that you've laid down have given me the impression that if it's something like a genocide taking place or what they called ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, that that alone would not be, that that wouldn't be the kind of situation that would cause you to think that the U.S. ought to get involved with troops. Now, have to be other factors involved for me to want to be involved. But by itself, that to me can bring into play a fundamental American strategic interest because I think it's based on our values. Now, have I got that wrong? **MODERATOR: Trying to figure out who the questioner was.** BUSH: If I think it's in our nation's strategic interest I'll commit troops ... (See appendixes).

particular institutional practices' (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 49). This appears to be the case in the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 in which adherence to the previously agreed upon interactional routine was enforced, yet these two candidates, both Democrats, but the former as a challenger to the status quo and the latter as an incumbent vice president managed to contest the particular institutional practice within which they were positioned. Similar traces of contestations are observed in the analyses which follow, as well as in the text analysis in Chapter Four.

As noted in Section 2.2, USPDs are regarded as 'innovatory discursive events', thus the productions involve changes in mixtures of 'discursive conventions, codes and elements in new ways' that lead to the production of 'structural changes in orders of discourse: they are disarticulating existing orders of discourse, and rearticulating new orders of discourse, new discursive hegemonies' (cf. Fairclough, 1992, pp. 97-98). The above conventions are regarded as relatively fixed stages of these discursive events and such constraints on discourse are evident in textual traces of the USPD texts of this research.

According to Fairclough (1992, p. 127), 'a genre tends to be associated with a particular style, though genres may often be compatible with alternative styles'. The texts of the USPD series of 1960 reveal a more formal style of political interview combined with more extensive use of political speech, although even then news correspondents managed to contest the constraints of formality and distance placed upon them in their respective subject positions, as was seen in the recounted Eisenhower rebuff of Nixon in 3.2.2 above.

The debate style of the 1960 and 2000 USPDs of this study is also considered to be principally argumentative. Textual traces of two argumentation strategies or devices used in the two debate series, and an interpretation of how the fulfillment of their communicative functions is thought to make the USPDs of past and present representative of what

Jørgensen and Kock (1999) refer to as a 'trialogic' type of activity are presented in the discussion of argumentation strategies (see 2.5) in Section 3.6.

As Fairclough (1992, pp. 162-165) observes, since 'questioning is an act which is potentially threatening to the negative face of the addressee', i.e. not wanting 'to be impinged upon or impeded by others', and the fact that this constraint on the role of language in USPDs of this study was negotiated by the candidates, campaign committees, and sponsors and/or producers of every debate series since 1960 indicate how the relations of power not only dictate *who* will participate in USPDs, but *how* they will participate, as well. While the style of both series of USPDs is argumentative, if not combative at times, the saving of face of the presidential candidates is a mutually agreed upon objective of the subject position of moderator. However, due to the contradictory purposes and ethoses of those who enact the subject positions of USPDs, this is not always a simple task.

As noted in the discussion of Table 8, advances in broadcasting technology and techniques afford broadcasters a multitude of choices in their production of artificial proximity or 'synthetic personalization' which is an innovation of contemporary debates. Because of such sophistication in discrete audio-visual recording techniques, Gore was rebuked for weeks after the first of three debates in the 2000 series for uttering moans at the responses of his opponent, George Bush, which were dutifully picked up and aired, live and worldwide. If taken to extremes, such productions can be invasive. However, this, too, is not new to USPDs. As may be seen in the photo below from the Museum of Broadcast Communications (n.d.) of the first USPD of 1960, Nixon was flashed nationwide wiping perspiration from his face when, according to the agreed upon rules of that series, no such unfavorable reaction shots were permitted when a candidate should have been off camera.

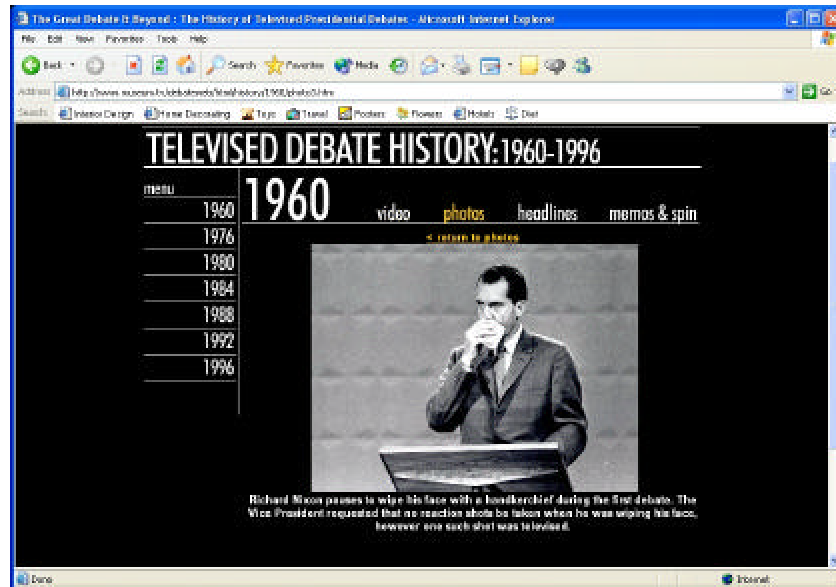

Figure 7: Reaction shot of Nixon in 1960 USPD 1 /4

As may be seen in the examples above, even with the meticulously demarcated constraints on discourse, creativity on the part or subject position of the interviewees, the interviewers, and the sponsors and producers and/or broadcasters are sites of power struggles and may serve to deliver a powerful blow to even the most carefully crafted 'face' of a party's nominee for the U.S. presidency. It is often these subtle differences between one debate and another which serve to work intertextually in the historicization of particular USPDs. As shown above, such differences may be the result of contestations to the established interactional routines within a segment of the debate programming or by split second reaction shots which can serve to depict a presidential candidate unfavorably.

The set of subject positions (see 3.2) and the structured sequence of actions or stages of USPDs therefore distinguish the mediatized formats as particular activity types, while the texts are regarded as traces or linguistic artifacts of the communicative events. In the schematic analysis of 3.3.2 above, I have attempted to explain and interpret 'the routine

and formulaic nature' of mediatized USPDs by investigating the stages, and the contestations which may occur within the elements of debate programming (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 86). Fairclough argues that while such an analysis is useful, 'simply labelling' the stages of such discursive events 'fails to capture' the 'multiplicity of purpose' involved; therefore, he also encourages the types of analysis which are explored below in 3.3.3.1 and 3.3.3.2 (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 86).

3.3.3 Generic heterogeneity in the USPDs

As noted in the theoretical overview of 2.2, Fairclough (1992, p. 118) differentiates the 'sequential' and 'embedded' modes of intertextual relations and 'mixed intertextuality'. The focus of attention in 3.3.3.1 is on providing samples and interpretations of sequentially embedded forms of intertextuality in the 2000 USPD text, whereas the analysis of mixed intertextuality in 3.3.3.2 'focuses less upon activity-type structures associated with genres' and more upon 'genre-associated styles, modes and voices' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 89).

3.3.3.1 Sequential and embedded intertextuality in the USPD text of 2000

In this subsection of the analysis of discourse type I will focus attention on linguistic traces in describing the staging of a sample from the 2000 USPD text which indicates transitions from one 'genre' to another. The numbered clauses of the sample which follows correspond with those of Appendix 2. The sample is a transcription of the response which Gore made in the first of three debates to the following question posed by the moderator: (USPD 2000: 1/3: 245) *Vice President Gore, how should the voters go about deciding which one of you is*

better suited to make the kinds of decisions, whether it's Milosevic or whatever, in the military and foreign policy area?

246 Well, they should look at our proposals
247 and look at us as people
248 and make up their own minds.
249 When I was a young man,
250 I volunteered for the Army.
251 I served my country in Vietnam.
252 My father was a senator
253 who strongly opposed the Vietnam War.
254 I went to college in this great city,
255 and most of my peers felt against the war
256 as I did.
257 But I went anyway
258 because I knew
259 if I didn't,
260 somebody else in the small town of Carthage, Tennessee, would have to go in my place.
261 I served for eight years in the House of Representatives
262 and I served on the Intelligence Committee,
263 specialized in looking at arms control.
264 I served for eight years in the United States Senate
265 and served on the Armed Services Committee.
266 For the last eight years I've served on the National Security Council,
267 and when the conflict came up in Bosnia,
268 I saw a genocide in the heart of Europe with the most violent war on the continent of Europe since World War II.
269 Look,
270 that's where
271 World War I started.
272 My uncle was a victim of poisonous gas there.
273 Millions of Americans saw the results of that conflict.
274 We have to be willing
275 to make good, sound judgments.
276 Incidentally, I know the value
277 of making sure
278 our troops have the latest technology.
279 The governor has proposed
280 skipping the next generation of weapons.
281 I think
282 that's a big mistake,
283 because I think
284 we have to stay at the cutting edge.

Gore’s response begins (clauses 246-248) with a seemingly frank, yet nonetheless modulated adhortation in which the vice president urges or prescribes what the voters

'should' *do* as represented by mental processes which are determined in turn by the twice used verbal phrase 'look at', or *evaluate*, and 'make up', as in *decide* (see Figure 3). (Adhortation, or what Longacre (1992) refers to as 'hortatory discourse' is returned to in the discussion of discourse strategies in Section 3.5). After the initial stage of adhortation, we can see a transition to a narration about a younger Al Gore in the early 70s which is linguistically marked (249) by a temporal conjunction, 'when', and the past tense of the verb 'be' in the lilting narrative opening: *when I was a young man*.

After the moral (257-260) to the story, or what I shall discuss below as 'coda' (cf. Labov, 1972), Gore's narration shifts to an expositional stage (261-266) in which he systematically proclaims the qualifications of his résumé once the Vietnam war veteran returned home to once again serve his country while garnering expertise which would make him far *better suited* as the next President of the United States. According to Martin (1989), hortatory exposition 'persuades to', whereas analytical exposition 'persuades that' one's propositions and/or proposals are the best suited means of, for instance, making *the kinds of decision in the military and foreign policy area* afforded the Chief Executive Officer of the U.S.A. (pp. 35-37).

Thereafter what follows is a transition (267-273) to what is referred to in Section 2.4 as a 'resort to motivation' move of persuasive discourse that is embedded in adhortation (also see 3.5). The verbal command (269), '*look*', functions to appeal to the commonsense of the debate audience and viewership as they are told to reflect upon the assertive propositions which follow by the presidential candidate, who by this time is quite obviously an expert on the subject-matter. Having thus attempted to buttress the adhortation with an emotional appeal (270-273), Gore then speaks on behalf of the ´inclusive we´ and

prescribes (274-275) the need for willpower in the mental process determined by the verbal group, ‘to make a judgment’.

The parenthetical remark (276-278); *Incidentally, I know the value of making sure our troops have the latest technology* is seen as an allusion to the U.S. and NATO-led war in Yugoslavia during the Clinton Administration. The assertion is thought to serve the function of reminding the audiences of the incumbent vice president’s previously declared amassing of expertise, i.e. the credentials which make him the better of the two applicants for the job of Chief Executive Officer and Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces, and is linguistically marked by the adverb *incidentally*. Gore’s self-aggrandizement then shifts back to an exposition stage in which the expert *in the military and foreign policy area* explains (279-284) the flawed logic of what *the governor has proposed*, while making use of ‘lifeworld’ discourse as seen in the reference to the nation needing to *stay at the cutting edge* of military technology (see the discussion of Table 8 above).

As mentioned above, I have also chosen to use Labov’s method for analyzing the narration stage of the generically heterogeneous text sample. Labov (1972, pp. 162-165) assumes all narratives are stories of specific past events which share common or formal properties. Ideally, fully-formed narratives contain simple-past clauses and the following five elements: abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, and coda. Evaluation, or the narrator’s attitude, is thought to occur throughout the narrative. In performing an analysis of the fully-formed Gore narrative above, the five elements are viewed as follows:

(1) ABSTRACT (optional) – preface or summary of the narrative about to be told;
(2) ORIENTATION – location of action in time and place;
(3) COMPLICATING ACTION – an event that causes conflict;
(4) RESOLUTION – an account of what finally happened; and
(5) CODA – the perspective is brought back to the present; often there is a moral to the story or the gist of the narrative is made clear which may signal the end of the narrative.

The incumbent vice president chose to preface his narrative with the abstract (1): *Well, they should look at our proposals and look at us as people and make up their own minds.* By combining his narrative with lifeworld discourse, the Democratic nominee then creates a mental picture for the viewership of a younger Al Gore, fresh out of Harvard, which happens to be in the Boston area of the first debate of 2000. The subsequent four elements are denoted using 2 – 5 above.

[2] *When I was a young man* orients the audience to the time and place of the Vietnam era in the U.S., when in 1970, a 23 year-old Tennessee Senator's son *volunteered for the Army*. *I served my country in Vietnam* is then Gore's representation of why he did so and how: it was his duty to serve his country and the war in Vietnam happened to be the means by which to volunteer to serve. Thus far, there is nothing remarkable about the candidate's depiction; however, it is at this point when Gore adds a complicating factor, which is seen as a formal feature which simultaneously elicits experiential, relational and expressive values (see Table 1), by stating, [3] *my father was a senator who strongly opposed the Vietnam War. I went to college in this great city, and most of my peers felt against the war as I did.*

At this point we can see how Gore seeks to represent a repugnance for warfare, or at least the armed conflict of that particular war, as well as the establishment of a degree of affinity with fellow veterans, those who had protested the war in the greater Boston area and elsewhere, and to some degree with senior citizens, who as parents had seen their children go off to war. The anguish of the candidate is then resolved simply as [4] *but I went anyway*. Therefore, determination, dedication and selflessness might be ascribed to the candidate if the 'positive self-presentation' was delivered effectively via the live televisual

medium (see 2.3). It is at this point in the narration when a moral to the story is made, which signals a closure: [5] *because I knew if I didn't, somebody else in the small town of Carthage, Tennessee, would have to go in my place*.[17]

The Vice President's enactment of social relations and identities in his narrative is then followed by assertions of how the war veteran had returned home and continued to *serve* his country as a Congressman, Senator and Vice President. The social relationships enacted in the content of the above narrative and the social identities enacting these social relationships are thought to serve the communicative function of appealing for the support and votes of a particular segment of the debate audience (see 2.5). Additionally, it is interesting to note how at the end of Gore's two-minute response to the above question, the Vice President hastily concluded his response time with a depiction of his Republican opponent being anti-military by having *proposed skipping the next generation of weapons*. The argumentation strategy of articulating genres and discourses which serve to either minimize or maximize the differences between the points of views of debating candidates also is discussed presently in the analysis of argumentation strategies in 3.6.

Fairclough (1995a) states that a narrative is 'so pervasive a way of using language' in the media that 'it would be misleading to treat it as an ordinary genre' (p. 90). Now that I have shown an example of an *embedded* forms of intertextuality, this brings us to another means of analysis which focuses on '*mixed* intertextuality, where genres are merged in a more complex and less easily separable way, within stages of an activity type' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 88).

[17] Hillin (1988, pp. 71-87) observes that after graduating from Harvard in June of 1969, Al Gore served a 6-month duty assignment as an Army reporter at Fort Rucker in Vietnam from November 1970 to May 1971, whereas duty assignments in the U.S. Army were usually a year in length.

3.3.3.2 Mixed intertextuality in the town hall format of the 2000 USPD series

Much of what we have already seen in the case of the production of a USPD suggests that such a discursive event might well qualify it as being at least comparable to what Fairclough (1995a, pp. 88-90) with his example of ´Slippery When Wet´ describes as a form of 'radical-television-science-genre', albeit *politics* would need to replace *science* in this case. To emphasize the uniqueness in the mergence of genres which are seen as evolving in the production of contemporary USPDs, the following analysis of 'mixed intertextuality' in the so-called ´town hall´ format of the USPD series of 2000 draws upon the previous 'schematic' and 'activity-type staging' views of genre in the other debates of the USPD series of 1960 and 2000; however, the focus of attention will be more on 'heterogeneity in styles, modes and voices associated with genres' in a town hall production (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, pp. 88-90). Nevertheless, text extracts are provided as 'the evidence of language' because as Fairclough (1995a, p. 77) notes, 'the most satisfactory intertextual analyses are those where the identification of genres, discourses and other categories in a text is supported by features of and distinctions within the language of the text'.

Recall that I am using the term 'discourse type' as a particular articulation or configuration of genres and discourses (see 3.3.1 above). USPDs are thus seen as a discourse type of *televised debate*; however, political 'debate' can also be seen as 'a configuration of different genres of dialogue – quarrel, debate proper, critical discussion, inquiry and negotiation' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 189).

I have limited the demarcations of what is to be considered a 'genre' and what is to be considered a 'discourse' to those cases in which the contributions of other researchers call for such distinctions, as noted above in reference to the use of Longacre's (1992)

technique for analyzing discourse strategies in Section 3.5. Fairclough (1995a) also argues that ‘there are no definitive lists of genres, discourses, or any of the other categories I have distinguished for analysts to refer to, and no automatic procedures for deciding what genres etc. are operative in a given text’ (p. 77). Therefore, I shall view genres and discourses as collectively constituting a discourse type.

As I have noted previously (see 3.2.4), the emphasis in contemporary USPDs has shifted toward the Q & A segments of the debate programming. What then distinguishes the so-called ‘town hall’ format of the third and final USPD of the 2000 series from the ‘standing oration’ and ‘roundtable’ formats of the first and second debates, respectively, is the participation of members of the debate audience in the Q & A segment. Therefore, the focus of attention here is on the mixing of genres *within* the stages of the activity type of a town hall debate format related to the Q & A segment of the debate programming. As may be seen in Table 12, the stages which constitute a schematic view of this particular segment of the USPD format are as follow and have been numbered for easier referencing:

(1) the sequential questioning of candidates;
(2) candidates’ responses;
(3) candidates’ comments or rebuttals; and,
(4) the optional follow-up questions by the moderator

In current USPD series, and particularly in the ´town hall´ format, the admixture of genres are thought of as drawing on the day-to-day familiarity of the media genres of *political talk shows* and *talk shows*, as well as from what I refer to as a *forum spectacle*. The latter element, which is seen as being partially a result of advances in television broadcasting technology and techniques, allows for such political discussion on a lavish scale to appear to be more intimate, thus packaged for consumption in the private domain.

Political talk shows have a different style than their chattier counterpart, *talk shows*. As noted previously, such a journalistic style is considered to be one of the principal ethoses of the news media, which as Fairclough (1992) observes, ‘generally purport to deal in fact, truth and matters of knowledge’ (p. 160). Thus, long-standing political talk shows such as ´Meet the Press´ and ´Face the Nation´ have a somber, no frills genre-associated style about them, as well as differences in modes and voices which attract a viewership perhaps different than that which prefers to watch a Larry King Live interview with a jovial host well-known for his assortment of suspenders and ´phone-ins´ from around the world, or an even cozier style of interviewing as may be seen in Live With Regis & Kelly, or the Oprah Winfrey, Montell Williams or Rosie O’Donnell talk shows. While contemporary social conventions prevent a Jerry Springer chair-throwing, slugfest type of daytime ´talk show´ programming, tensions do run high between the candidates due to the backdrop of the anticipated post-debate programming.

The mergence of the chattier style associated with the seemingly innocuous daytime talk show genre with that of a weekly political talk show can lead to conflicts of interests between the discourse participants and confusion and discomfort on the part of the viewership due to the attempts at introducing newer generic and discoursal elements. I offer below an illustration of such contradictory rearticulations. The extract picks up where Gore is commenting (3) on the response (2) made by Bush to a question asked by a member of the audience in the ´town hall´ format of the 2000 series: *What would make you the best candidate in office during the Middle East crisis?*

> **2000: 3/3: 1507-1525: GORE:** ... In the Congress, in the House of Representatives, I served on the House Intelligence Committee and I worked hard to learn the subject of nuclear arms control and how we can diffuse these tensions and deal with non-proliferation and deal with the problems of terrorism and these new weapons of mass destruction. Look, we're gonna

face some serious new challenges in the next four years. I've worked on that long and hard. When I went to the United States Senate, I asked for an assignment to the Armed Services Committee. And while I was there I worked on a bipartisan basis, as I did in the House, I worked with former President Reagan on the modernization of our strategic weaponry. In the Senate I was one of only ten Democrats, along with Senator Joe Lieberman, to support Governor Bush's dad in the Persian Gulf War Resolution. And for the last eight years I've served on the National Security Council. Can I say just one other thing here?

MODERATOR: *It's a related -- it's a related question that is going to be asked by Kenneth Allen. Mr. Allen?*

GORE: I think he gets a -- oh, I'm sorry, you're right, go ahead. **MODERATOR:** *Mr. Allen, right there.*

MEMBER OF AUDIENCE: *Today our military forces are stretched thinner and doing more than they have ever done before during peacetime. I would like to know what you are -- I think we would all like to know what you as president would do to ensure proper resourcing* (sic) *for the current mission and/or more selectively choosing the time and place that our forces will be used around the world.*

2000: 3/3: 1527-1538: GORE: Thank you, sir. Just to finish briefly, I started to say that for the last eight years I've been on the National Security Council. Last week I broke up – I suspended campaigning for two days, or parts of two days, to go back and participate in the meetings that charted the President's summit meeting that he just returned from earlier today. And our team, our country's team over there did a great job. It's a difficult situation.

3/3/: 1539: The United States has to be strong in order to make sure that we can help promote peace and security and stability. And that means keeping our military strong. Now, I said earlier that we are the strongest military, but we need to continue improving readiness and making sure that our military personnel are adequately paid and that the combination of their pay and their benefits and their retirement as veterans is comparable to the stiff competition that's coming in this strong economy from the private sector. And I have supported the largest pay raise in many a year, and I support another one now. I also support modernization of our strategic and tactical weaponry. The governor has proposed skipping a generation of technology. I think that would be a mistake, because I think one of the ways we've been able to be so successful in Kosovo and Bosnia and Haiti and in other places is by having the technological edge. You know, we won that conflict in Kosovo without losing a single human life in combat, a single American life in combat. Now, readiness. The trends before we -- before I got my current job were on the decline, the number of divisions were reduced. I argued that we should reverse that trend and take it back up. And I'm happy to tell you that we have. Now, in my budget for the next ten years I propose $100 billion for this purpose. The governor proposes $45 billion. I propose more than twice as much because I think it's needed.

3/3/: 1582: MODERATOR: *Governor Bush, two minutes.*

3/3: 1583-1611: BUSH: If this were a spending contest, I would come in second. I readily admit I'm not going to grow the size of the federal government like he is.

3/3: 1588: Your question was deployment. It must be in the national interests, must be in our vital interests whether we ever send troops. The mission must be clear. Soldiers must understand why we're going. The force must be strong enough so that the mission can be accomplished. And the exit strategy needs to be well-defined.

3/3: 1599: I'm concerned that we're over-deployed around the world.

As may be seen prior to and after line reference 1526 of the above extract, Vice President Gore had not been ready to relinquish the debate floor and conclude his verbalized checklist of the qualifications which would make him *the best candidate in office during the Middle East crisis*. Gore then challenged the moderator before realizing that he had been in the (3) rebuttal stage of the activity type rather than the (2) candidate response stage, and therefore was entitled to the next question. As the moderator regained his momentarily contested subject position in the Q & A segment, the next participating member of the debate audience had been handed a cordless microphone, and was then instructed to ask his question (1) of the vice president.

As may be seen in line references 1527-1538 above, Gore unabashedly resumed the checklist of expertise from his previous rebuttal (3) until line 1539 when he turned his attention to answering the question (1) of the participating member of the debate audience. The vice president's attempts at controlling the turn-taking and topic of discussion are commonly seen in conversations between people of unequal relations of power, but due to the presumed empowerment of the voice of ordinary citizens in the activity type, Gore's digression became the source of ridicule by political analysts and commentators in the post-debate segment of the programming. However, as may be seen in the footnoted extract below from the final moments before the closing statements of the third and final debate of the 2000 series, Gore's digression had not been, nor was it to be the last of such straying from the (1) and (4) stages of the Q & A segment of debate programming .[18]

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[18] **MODERATOR:** Both of you -- both of you on this subject. There are other questions that also go to this skepticism, not necessarily about you, but all people in politics. Why is that? **GORE:** Well, first of all, Jim, I would like to respond to what the governor just said. Because the trillion dollars that has been promised ... Now let me come directly to your question. **MODERATOR:** We have to go to the closing statements and -- **BUSH:** Well, can I answer that? One reason people are skeptical is because people don't answer the questions they've been asked. The trillion dollars comes out of ... **MODERATOR:** All right. Now we're going to go to closing statements. Vice President Gore, you're first. **GORE:** Thank you very much, Jim, and I'll begin by

The footnoted entry comes from the stage of optional follow-up questions (4) by the sole moderator and demonstrates the difficulty inherent to the generic heterogeneity of the town hall format, or the mixing of genres *within* the stages of the activity type. The comical conclusion of the Q & A segment of the third and final USPD of the series is noteworthy because it suggests the incompatibility of 'conversational modulation' between the voices of the lifeworld with those of political interview, oration, official discourse, media discourse, and persuasive and hortatory discourses, even though the activity type of the debate specifically calls for that degree of candor (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, pp. 88-90).

While there is still a high degree of formality and politeness in more recent debates, as may be seen in the transcript extracts of Appendixes 1 and 2, the panelists in the 1960 series are addressed as *Mr. Cronkite*, and so forth. By contrast, in the 2000 series, the moderator is addressed by both candidates as *Jim*, whereas the candidates continue to refer to each other by means of the titles of *vice president* and *governor*. Therefore, while aspects of the talk show genre have created chattier political interviews, such formality markers are viewed as indicators of 'conversational modulation' by which the individuals who are enacting the subject positions are experimenting with different styles and modes of address by means of 'a mixing of the language of private-domain relationships with the language of public-domain relationships, and a mixing of the language of face-to-face interaction with the language of mass communication' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, pp. 89-90).

One final point which I would like to make here is to how the participant, who was announced as being *an undecided voter* of the St. Louis, Missouri debate venue according to an earlier Gallup Poll, chose to preface his question using a representation made by Bush

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answering your questions -- your last question. I believe that a lot of people are skeptical about people in politics today because we have seen a time of great challenge for our country ... (See CPD-3).

in the two previous debates of the series. The question related to a contentious campaign issue in 2000 that was read aloud by Mr. Allen is therefore viewed as an example of ‘manifest intertextuality’, which is a topic returned to in the analysis of 3.4.2.

As observed in 3.2.3, the chair of the debates directly impacts the Q & A segment of a town hall format. Even when members of the debate audience are called upon to read aloud their questions, their contributions to the generic element of the activity type have been screened previously by the moderator to determine both the suitability of the questions and the order in which they are to be delivered.

At line reference 1599 above, Bush again asserted the factuality of the proposition, as noted below from the (2) response stage in the second USPD.[19] While the participating member of the debate audience was the animator, and presumably the author of the question, as well, I argue that one may not automatically ascribe Mr. Allen the role of principal, or the one whose position is presumably represented by the question, due to the moderator’s screening process in which both the questions and the turn-taking sequence were determined by him beforehand.

The *forum spectacle* generic element is thought to generate the emotionally charged atmosphere of a USPD series much in the same manner as the media-hyped series of ´playoff´ or qualifying games leading up to a Super Bowl championship or a World Cup final manage to depict the matches in epic proportions. However, the argumentative style of

[19] MODERATOR (USPD 2000: 2/3: 1118): You said in the Boston debate, Governor, on this issue of nation building, that the United States military is overextended now. Where is it overextended? Where are there U.S. military that you would bring home if you become president? BUSH (USPD 2000: 2/3: 1126-1143): We've got to rebuild our military. But one of the problems we have in the military is we're in a lot of places around the world. And I mentioned one, and that's the Balkans. I would very much like to get our troops out of there. I recognize we can't do it now, nor do I advocate an immediate withdrawal. That would be an abrogation of our agreement with NATO. No one is suggesting that. But I think it ought to be one of our priorities to work with our European friends to convince them to put troops on the ground ... (Appendix 1).

general election campaign politics was not then and is not now limited to analogies with different versions of football matches, but also with the championship bouts of even more combative forms of sports events, as may be seen below in Figure 8 of a pre-Election Day poster of 1960:

Figure 8: Poster promoting the Election Day bout of November 8, 1960

The *forum spectacle* effect is achieved in more recent USPD series in part by the use of an array of audio-visual semiotic codes such as that which was observed in the CNN pre-debate programming of the 2000 series featuring drum rolls and trumpet blares matched with symbolic furled flags and bald eagles. Such sensorial stimulation is thought to add 'the modulation of entertainment' to the admixture of conversationalized political discourse noted above (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 89).

Contemporary USPDs are considered as communicative events which exemplify 'the constant tension in broadcasting between pressures to inform and pressures to entertain' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 31). Such pageantry or 'invented traditions' may serve as carriers of national identity, and it is by such means that the ruling segments of U.S.

society and the predominance of the two major political parties manage to control not through confrontation, but through consent and indoctrination (cf. Hobsbawn, 1989, 1990).

The viewership is cajoled into watching each of these serious and significant events by familiar and authoritative faces of the news media, and by a variety of visualizations of newsworthy polls and point-counterpoint punditry. The combining of the generic features of talk show with forum spectacle thus produces a particular articulation by which the voices of the public and private domains appear to merge. While no “official” winner is declared in post-debate programming, commentators and the recent use of randomly selected survey respondents who have been instructed how to give their input via telephone or the Internet in interactive polling have assumed the roles of expressing the public voices of politics and journalism, as well as the voices of the electorate at home as to which candidate was seen as having made a valid point or even won a particular debate.

The configuration of genres and discourses of these communicative events are in many respects as distinctive as the candidates themselves, thereby making them easily recognizable, and reproducible as parodies by politically savvy comedians and night-show hosts. Thus, it is not only the caricaturing of the presidential candidates as debate participants that effectuates humor, but also the ‘incompatibilities’ between the particular ‘genres and discourses’ which are drawn upon (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, pp. 76-77).

As may be seen in the analogies to epic sports events of a *forum spectacle*, such complex configurations impact the USPD audiences who are left to wonder if they are witnessing a series of football matches between the two main rivals with the referee trying to enforce the rules of engagement while the fans are scolded to remain seated and silent, or perhaps they are witnessing a series of heavyweight prizefights with the referee attempting to keep the punches above the belt while the judges at ringside seats hold up numbered

scorecards to indicate the winner according to public opinion polls in post-debate programming. For many in the viewership, such farcical incompatibilities in genres and discourses alienate them, and they either watch on in exasperation or go to bed early. For millions of others, whom I refer to as 'partisans' and 'spectators' (see 2.5 and 3.6), the debacles are better than the debates.

To sum up, the USPDs of 1960 featured a unique mixture of genres and discourses, and for the first time in the U.S., with the three major networks acting as sponsors; the innovative media configuration was broadcasted live and nationwide via radio and the politically untested medium of television. It was Kennedy's campaign committee, led by his younger brother, Robert Kennedy, which had managed to entice Vice President Nixon into the first series of debates, and the particular articulation of genres and discourses when aired from the country's metropolitan areas helped to shape the personae of the challenger to the status quo, thereby giving the Massachusetts Senator the social relationship with the public that had been sought and remains to this day his legacy (see Table 7).

By the time of the USPD series of 2000, a great many changes had occurred, as observed in the analyses of situational context and discourse type above. Additionally, this time the incumbent vice president for two terms was a Democrat, whereas his opponent was a Republican Texas Governor best known by millions in the electorate as being the son of President Bush (1989-1991) and having a propensity 'to mangle a syllable or two', as he himself stated in the second USPD of the 2000 series. Once again, the incumbent vice president had been favored going into the USPD series, and yet once again had emerged defeated in an extremely close general election that was to be disputed for years to come.

In linking such media texts to context, the social conditions and processes of production and interpretation allow for explanations and interpretations of 'how socially

available genres and discourses are drawn upon', and 'how shifting language and discursive practices in the media constitute social and cultural change' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p.29). In the next section, I continue the analysis of shifting language and discursive practices in the media by focusing attention on two forms of intertextuality. By doing so, I have followed the example of Fairclough (1992, p. 75) in discussing 'intertextuality' in the analysis of discursive practice above and below, although as he acknowledges, the concept involves 'formal features' of texts, as well.

3.4 Analysis of intertextuality in the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000

3.4.1 Interdiscursivity in the USPD texts

Fairclough (1992, pp. 117-118) makes a distinction between 'manifest intertextuality' and 'constitutive intertextuality' in which the first 'principle' is seen as 'the case where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text; whereas the latter 'is a matter of how a discourse type is constituted through a combination of elements of orders of discourse'. As has been seen in the previous analyses, and as Fairclough (1992, p. 125) acknowledges, 'the elements of orders of discourse are extremely diverse, and it is not always easy to decide whether one is dealing with genres, styles, discourses, or whatever'.

My focus in 3.4.1 is on the 'constitutive' distinction, or what Fairclough (1992, p. 124) terms 'interdiscursivity'. As noted in Section 2.2, Fairclough (1992, pp. 103-104) notes that 'the primacy' which he has 'given to orders of discourse highlights' this intertextual relation of interdiscursivity. I analyze USPD text samples of 'marketization' (3.4.2.1) and 'conversationalization' (3.4.2.2) of discourse.

3.4.1.1 Marketization of discourse in the USPD text of 2000

The term of marketization (or commodification) of discourse relates to a process that was first noticed in the past two decades when social institutions began to adopt and adapt the discursive practices of the market. My first example of marketization was used in Subsection 3.2.3 in relation to the commodification of one's vote, and the maxim of the two-party adherents that one's vote should never be wasted on a minor party candidate. A similar usage which came under scrutiny by educators and school superintendents in 2003 is the 'leave no child behind' slogan of President Bush's educational policy, which actually appeared in the USPD texts of this study when Bush (2000: 2/3: 387-388) stated that 'the goal ought to be an education system that leaves no child behind'.

It is interesting to note that such a use of language is a derivation and 'inculcation' of the U.S. Army Ranger's code of conduct for not leaving a wounded comrade on the battlefield: leave no man behind. Thus, the commodification of annual test scores, while determined by each state's educational system, and thereby not being uniform, is depicted as having empowered students and instilling in the teachers the need to be accountable for each student who fails to keep up with his child-comrade. In terms of combinations of orders of discourse, the wasting of one's vote and the leaving behind of a child-comrade is seen as the combining respectively of the orders of discourse of a political campaign committee and/or a school with the orders of discourse of finance and military.

Let us now look at further examples of commodification as the marketization aspect of intertextuality in the USPD texts. The extracts come from the 2000 USPD series because, as was mentioned previously, these trends are recent ones which have occurred in the past two decades or so. The extracts are set off in text compilations below:

Gore: 2000: 2/3: 643-654: Well, we stand with Israel, but we have maintained the ability to serve as an honest broker. And one of the reasons that are important is that Israel cannot have direct dialogue with some of the people on the other side of conflicts, especially during times of tension, unless that dialogue comes through us. And if we throw away that ability to serve as an honest broker, then we have thrown -- we will have thrown away a strategic asset that's important not only to us but also to Israel.

Bush: 2000: 2/3: 517-520: I think it makes sense for us to use our wealth in that way, or to trade debt for valuable rain forest lands,
2/3: 1245-1254: I think foreign aid needs to be used to encourage markets and reform. I think a lot of times we just spend aid and say we feel better about it and it ends up being spent the wrong way ...
2/3: 1276-1280: So I'll look at every place where we're investing money. I just want to make sure the return is good.

The Vice President's (2000: 2/3: 643-654) use of the term *broker* is noteworthy because in its commercial sense it relates to someone who acts as an agent for others in negotiating contracts, purchases, or sales in return for a commission. In its political usage, the fee or commission element is obscured and relates it to the diplomatic arrangement or management of an agreement between opposing factions. Gore's lexical choice of *honest* is seen as a formal feature with expressive value which further attempts to attribute the quality of impartiality to the U.S. as mediators, although the Vice President prefaces its usage with the assertion that *we stand with Israel*. The mixture of lifeworld discourse with official discourse serves to make the *honest broker* role a commonsense and timeless notion, so much so that Gore's opponent later agrees with the Vice President's usage by saying, *the term honest broker makes sense* (see USPD 2000: 2/3: 665).

In the second of three debates of the 2000 series, the moderator (2000: 2/3: 1234) posed the following question to Governor Bush of Texas: *Do you think -- what is your -- what is your idea about what the United States' obligations are? I'm talking about financial assistance and that sort of thing to other countries, the poor countries.* The question itself is conversationally modulated, which is thought to enact a relationship of camaraderie

between the debate participants, although one of them is about to become the nation's president. Bear in mind that the second debate's format was that of a 'roundtable format' alluding to open deliberations at the circular table of King Arthur and his knights, although said discussions did not involve more than the nominees of the two major political parties of the U.S. (see Table 8).

Governor Bush (2/3: 1245-1254) responds with the following modalized assertion: *I think foreign aid needs to be used to encourage markets and reform*. In this business sense, foreign aid is seen as something of value, a commodity that can be turned to commercial advantage. The commonsense, or naturalization of Bush's official discourse is then complemented by the use of lifeworld discourse in the conversationalized depiction of the 'voice' of like-minded U.S. citizens: *I think a lot of times we just spend aid and say we feel better about it and it ends up being spent the wrong way*. To the governor (2/3: 1276-1280), *foreign aid* is a business transaction; therefore, as Chief Executive Officer of the U.S. government he promises that he would *look at every place where we're investing money. I just want to make sure the return is good*. Thus, one can see the combination of the order of discourse of a foreign aid organization with that of a commercially based one.

Previously, when the moderator (2000: 2/3: 505) asked the governor if *our wealth, our good economy, our power, bring with it special obligations to the rest of the world*, Bush (2000: 2/3: 506-510) acknowledged that *it does. Take, for example, Third World debt. I think we ought to be forgiving Third World debt under certain conditions*. One such condition might be for a *Third World* nation *to trade debt for valuable rain forest lands* (2/3: 517-520).

The proposal, which most definitely involves an exchange of goods and services, is presented as commonsense or standard business sense, thus giving it a naturalness that can

allow it to go undetected in a discursive event as sensorially overloading as a presidential debate. Also, since it involves foreign *Third World debt*, the MR (member's resources), or what the U.S. audiences or text negotiators bring to the text-in-progress depends upon their cultural resources as consumers of the text (see 2.2). However, I see this as a combination of the order of discourse of a religious institution with that of a trading company because the performance of one's penance under the direction of a confessor typically involves repentance, acceptance of punishment and absolution, which in Governor Bush's case requires that the sinner/debtor has something *valuable* for which to *trade* their *debt* to the confessor/investor, whose principal concern is to *make sure the return is good*.

Longacre (1992, p. 107) describes the discourses of eulogies and campaign speeches as types of behavioral discourse (see 2.4). I posit that the act of penance which Governor Bush proposes for an undisclosed Third World debtor to perform involves behavioral discourse as well. What the sinner/debtor is being told by the confessor/investor to do involves forfeiting sovereignty, or to use the words of the presidential candidate, *to trade debt for valuable rain forest lands* (2000: 2/3: 517-520).

The above extracts from the second debate of 2000 are offered as samples to give some sense of the pervasiveness of this aspect of intertextuality. The combination of everyday, lifeworld discourse with the discourse of public or official discourse might help one to better market one's goods and services with an informal style when the formal discourses of diplomatic brokering or trading might not be able to accomplish those goals.

Let us now look at another aspect of interdiscursivity. As before, texts extracts will be set off in text compilations; however, in this analysis there are samples from the USPD series of 1960 as well.

3.4.1.2. Conversationalization of discourse in the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000

Fairclough (1993a, p. 137) draws upon Kristeva's (1986) concept of intertextuality in her study of Bakhtin's concepts, and describes it as 'an endless combination and recombination of genres and discourses.' Incorporating the concept of interdiscursivity helps critical discourse analysts to account for the creative, heterogeneous aspect of a discourse practice. Fairclough (1998, p. 145) notes that the 'conversational practices of the order of discourse of everyday life (the lifeworld)' appear to be in a state of 'colonization of public orders of discourse'. The resultant increase in informal language use and variations in turn-taking and forms of address have been left behind as linguistic evidence in the USPD texts of this study.

The related process of 'democratization', particularly as is seen in the town hall format of the 2000 series, is seen as a presumed empowerment of participating members of the studio audience in their use of lifeworld discourse to deliver questions to a presidential contender. Such a trend, or 'shift in audience address and a change in cultural capital of audiences', however, may be no more than a ruse of the order of mediatized political discourse of the two major parties' campaign committees, which utilize USPDs as one of their many discursive events in the course of a general election year (compare with Fairclough, 1998, p. 150).

It is interesting to note how one of the constraints placed upon participating members of the audience in the third debate of 2000 was that their cordless microphone was muted once the question was delivered. The participants then remained motionless and silent, much like witnesses in a jury trial who have made a statement and watch on as an attorney interprets for the court of public opinion what the particular question/testimony truly signifies. Another point of interest is that, although the candidates are empowered in this particular format to move about the debate platform while receiving and responding to questions, it is generally frowned upon to

do so while one's opponent is doing likewise. Vice President Gore realized the importance of this tenor variable in the third and final debate of the 2000 series when his proximity to his opponent was noted comically with a nod of Bush's head followed by the derisive laughter of the debate audience, as represented in Figure 9 below.

Figure 9: Breach of formal distance in the town hall debate format of 2000

Although instances of marketization were not as evident in the USPD texts of 1960, conversationalization of discourse was apparent even in that era, although perhaps not as pervasive as in contemporary debates. Hart and Triece (n.d.) note that it was Nixon, back on September 23, 1952, who first 'discovered the political power of the new medium' with what has come to be called in media jargon as the 'Checkers Speech'. Nixon is credited by Hart and Triece (ibid.) as having created, through the artificial setting of a studio living room, along with his 'demure wife', Pat, a new 'candidate-controlled political environment' that differed tremendously from that of the more traditional 'party-based' form of candidate promotion. This conversationalization of the public order of political discourse may be seen below in an extract of the so-called Checker's Speech of Nixon (1952):

> One other thing I probably should tell you because if we don't they'll probably be saying this about me too, we did get something-a gift-after the election. A man down in Texas heard Pat on the radio mention the fact that our two youngsters would like to have a dog. And, believe it or not, the day before we left on this campaign trip we got a message from Union Station in Baltimore saying they had a package for us. We went down to get it. You know what it was. It was a little cocker spaniel dog in a crate that he'd sent all the way from Texas. Black and white spotted. And our little girl-Tricia, the 6-year old-named it Checkers. And you know, the kids, like all kids, love the dog and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it, we're gonna keep it!

Nixon was perhaps then the first U.S. politician to make use of the new medium of television to promote himself as a decent public servant and father by means of conversationalizing such things as his ‘personal finances and his cultural virtues’; thereby effectively defending himself from reports of a scandal, and earning for himself a career as a professional Republican politician for another two decades, as well as creating ‘a new political style’ (cf. Hart and Triece, n.d.). Additionally, in that same year, 1952, ‘the first televised coverage of a national party convention’ transformed the traditional political order of discourse into a mediatized one, and also heralded the arrival of ‘the first TV advertisements’ in the U.S.A. (ibid.).

Let us now look at some samples of the conversationalization aspect of intertextuality in the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000. Once again, the extracts are set off in text compilations:

> **Nixon: USPD 1960: 3/4: 871-874:** Yes. As a matter of fact, the statement that Senator Kennedy made was that - to the effect that there were trigger-happy Republicans, that my stand on Quemoy and Matsu was an indication of trigger-happy Republicans. I resent that comment.
> **4/4: 1820-1826:** But as far as underground tests for developing peaceful uses of atomic energy, we should not allow this Soviet filibuster to continue. I think it's time for them to fish or cut bait.
> **4/4: 1873-1978:** When I say "phony spirit," I mean phony, not because the spirit is not good on our side, but because the Soviet Union simply doesn't intend to carry out what they say.
>
> **Kennedy:** USPD 1960: 4/4: 1674-1676: I really don't need Mr. Nixon to tell me about what my responsibilities are as a citizen.
> **4/4: 2186-2191:** The first position you took, when this matter first came up, was that we should draw the line and commit ourselves, as a matter of principle, to defend these islands.

Nixon afforded far more examples of conversational modulation than did Kennedy; however, I have limited myself to three samples here. The verbal context of the first Nixon extract (1960: 3/4: 871-874) is that of a rebuttal of Kennedy's response to a question in which the senator was said to have characterized the Republican Party and its nominee as being overzealously protective of two small islands situated a few miles of the coast of China (see the Wheeler quote in 3.2.2). In Kennedy's response (1960: 3/4: 853-869), the challenger to the status quo ignored the 'represented discourse' (see 3.2.3) all together, and instead responded curtly to its intertextually attached question of whether he would be willing as President to *take military action to defend Berlin* (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 103). However, Vice President Nixon did not ignore the reported speech and expressed his feelings of indignation by stating *I resent that comment*.

In the second extract, Nixon (1960: 4/4: 1820-1826) uses a colloquialism which is thought to date the 1960 USPD text: *I think it's time for them to fish or cut bait*. In this metaphorical depiction, if someone is not going to fish, or is too inexperienced to catch anything, then he or she should get out of the way and at least do something useful, i.e. cut up some bait. The mental projection, which is effectuated by the modal adjunct, *I think*, is a modulated proposal for someone to act in a certain manner. In the verbal context of this particular case, if the Soviet Union intended to continue stalling with regard to *underground tests for developing peaceful uses of atomic energy* then Soviet Premier Khrushchev should forget about any future summit meetings with Nixon as the newly elected U.S. President and attempt to do something else that was considered useful.

In the third Nixon (4/4: 1873-1978) extract, the Vice President again complains about the machinations of the Soviet Union and their *"phony spirit"*. The lexical choice is

simultaneously functional with respect to representations, identities, and relations in that it depicts Nixon as being in daily struggles with the foe, thus he is identified as a fighter for the interests of the U.S., yet frustrated as anyone would be if they had tried to deal earnestly with someone *who simply doesn't intend to carry out what they say*.

In the first Kennedy (1960: 4/4: 1674-1676) extract above, the senator replies testily to Nixon's criticism of his views of the Eisenhower Administration and the state of the nation by saying, *I really don't need Mr. Nixon to tell me about what my responsibilities are as a citizen*. The colloquial discourse is in stark contrast to Kennedy's upper-middle class and official discourses of the USPD texts, and its usage is seen as a strategy of distancing himself from the incumbent by means of the front-broadening strategy (see 2.5) discussed more fully in Section 3.6.

The reproof of Kennedy's older opponent is enhanced by the modal adverb, *really*, and the mitigated command/order to stop telling him what to say and do. Later in the same fourth debate, Senator Kennedy admonishes his vice presidential opponent for wavering in his proposition that the U.S., *as a matter of principle*, had to *defend* the two islands of Quemoy and Matsu from a presupposed invasion by the Chinese Communists.

The 'force' of the reprimand 'speech act' is realized by the combining of the metaphorical usage of lifeworld discourse (*draw the line*) embedded within the otherwise official discourse (cf. Fairclough, 1992, p. 75). Van Dijk (1998, pp. 50-51), in an analysis of a news story about Gadhafi, notes that 'the same metaphor used in the Gulf War (about the line drawn in the sand of the desert)' was used to associate Gadhafi and Saddam Hussein. Thus, Kennedy's usage is thought to have accentuated the 'trigger-happy' image of Nixon which he had been discoursally represented as initiating in a public address just prior to the third of four debates in the 1960 series.

I now offer two instances of conversationalization by each of the candidates in the USPD series of 2000. I will begin with Bush:

> **Bush: 2000: 2/3: 1049-1057:** But we can't be all things to all people in the world, Jim. And I think that's where maybe the vice president and I begin to have some differences. I'm worried about over-committing our military around the world. I want to be judicious in its use. But we can't be all things to all people in the world, Jim. And I think that's where maybe the vice president and I begin to have some differences. I'm worried about over-committing our military around the world. I want to be judicious in its use.
> **3/3: 1602-1611:** I think the mission has somewhat become fuzzy. Should I be fortunate enough to earn your confidence, the mission of the United States military will be to be prepared and ready to fight and win war. And therefore prevent war from happening in the first place.

> **Gore: 2000: 2/3: 490-504:** You know, in the last, or two decades ago it was routine for leaders of foreign countries to come over here and say you guys have got to do something about these horrendous deficits because it's causing tremendous problems for the rest of the world, and we were lectured to all the time. The fact that we have the strongest economy in history today is not good enough. We need to do more. But the fact that it is so strong enables us to project the power for good that America can represent.
> **2/3: 1197-1207:** And Haitians have their problems, but we gave them a chance to restore democracy. That's really about all we can do. But if you have a situation like that right in our backyard with chaos about to break out and flotillas forming to come across the water, and all kinds of violence there, right in one of our neighboring countries there, then I think that we did the right thing there.

According to Fairclough (1995a, p. 23) citing the contribution of Greatbatch (1986), people who are being interviewed do not always respond in a predictable manner: ‘sometimes they answer the question and then introduce topics of their own, sometimes they introduce topics of their own first and then answer the question, sometimes they don’t answer the question at all.’ The ambivalence of the Bush (2000: 2/3: 1049-1057) extract above is a result of its redundant usage of such outside ‘topics’, or previously asserted propositions, which are utilized intertextually in order to redirect the question toward persuasive discourse. Therefore, Bush’s counter-argumentation which preceded the extract above, and is interpreted below (2/3: 1032-1034), qualifies his response as more like that of

introducing topics of his own first and then answering the question by combining official discourse with lifeworld discourse (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 23).

The verbal context of this particular extract is Bush's response to the following question asked by the moderator in regard to the lack of international *intervention* during the 1994 killings in Rwanda: Moderator (2000: 2/3: 1021) *So what would you say, Governor, that somebody would say hey wait a minute, why not Africa, I mean why the Middle East, why the Balkans, but not Africa, when 600,000 people's lives are at risk?* Once again, I wish to note the conversationalized question of the moderator, which is thought to call forth a similar response by the political interviewee.

Bush begins by conceding the importance of the African continent, but insists that the U.S. must have priorities, *and the Middle East is a priority for a lot of reasons, as is Europe and the Far East, and our own hemisphere. And those are my four top priorities* (2/3: 1032-1034). The governor (2000: 2/3: 1049-1057) then shifts to a lifeworld discourse in order to answer the question by means of acknowledging one's shortcomings, in which he speaks on behalf of the nation: *But we can't be all things to all people in the world, Jim.* After this utterance, the Republican candidate (ibid.) broadens the ideologically invested political front between himself and his Democratic opponent by concluding: *I think that's where maybe the vice president and I begin to have some differences. I'm worried about over-committing our military around the world. I want to be judicious in its use.* Thus, it would not have been prudent for the U.S. to get involved somewhere which is not one of the *four top priorities* (2/3: 1032-1034).

In the second Bush (3/3: 1602-1611) extract which comes from the third and final debate of the series, the governor comments on a response that was made by Gore: *I think the mission has somewhat become fuzzy*. The contrast of 'militarized discourse' with

lifeworld discourse is then delineated, following a preface with a formal feature with the expressive value of humility: *Should I be fortunate enough to earn your confidence, the mission of the United States military will be to be prepared and ready to fight and win war. And therefore prevent war from happening in the first place*. Fairclough (1992, p. 130) makes use of a 'militarized discourse of criminality, built around the metaphor of criminals being 'at war' with society, and society having to 'mobilize its forces' to 'fight them off' in his analysis of a news story which appeared in the U.K. tabloid, The Sun.

The objective of *the United States military* in a Bush Administration is clearly demarcated as a resource to *prevent war*. The participating member of the studio audience who had asked the question (2000: 3/3: 1526), as well as the 37.5 million of the projected viewership that evening, are presented a positive depiction of a world without warfare embedded within the minimal and basic move of appeal or solicitation of persuasive discourse, i.e. the U.S. has *to be prepared and ready to fight and win war* if it wants peace (see 2.4). Thus, the line of reasoning is that peace is not the absence of war, but one aspect of the spoils which go to the victor(s).

In the first Gore (2000: 2/3: 490-500) extract above, the Vice President comments on the response made by his opponent to the following question of the moderator (2000: 2/3: 439):

> Should the people of the world look at the United States, Governor, and say, should they fear us, should they welcome our involvement, should they see us as a friend, everybody in the world? How would you project us around the world, as president?

Vice President Gore (2000: 2/3: 490-500), who has an equal two-minute response time due to the debate format, answers the moderator's question more directly than did Bush in the previous extract, yet in his positive portrayal of the successes of the Clinton

Administration, he also prefaces the content of the conversationalized extract above with persuasive discourse, which I will now summarize. According to Gore (2/3: 474-489), the successes of the U.S. are the root of the *problem* of *resentment of U.S. power*, which is why he agrees with Bush's (2/3: 454, 459, 468) thrice repeated assertion that the U.S. must be *humble*, particularly in matters of *foreign policy*. Gore (ibid.) also defines a *mission* for the U.S. at the beginning of the 21st Century, but insists that this would entail *not only military strength*, and the expression of U.S. sociocultural *values*, but also *keeping our economy strong*. At this point in his discussion, Gore (2/3: 490-500) then concludes with the conversationalized extract which I have reinserted below for easier referencing:

> You know, in the last, or two decades ago it was routine for leaders of foreign countries to come over here and say you guys have got to do something about these horrendous deficits because it's causing tremendous problems for the rest of the world, and we were lectured to all the time. The fact that we have the strongest economy in history today is not good enough. We need to do more. But the fact that it is so strong enables us to project the power for good that America can represent.

The opening with *you know* is a discourse marker of everyday life, the lifeworld; however, what Gore then presents as common knowledge is done so by the representation of the discourse of *leaders of foreign countries* when they visit the White House, to which, of course, the average citizen of the U.S. is not privy. Representation of discourse is an aspect of 'manifest intertextuality' which is analyzed presently in Subsection 3.4.3; however here I shall focus attention on its conversational aspects.

The first point that I wish to make is how the represented 'voices' of *leaders of foreign countries* is ambiguous because the text negotiator is left to wonder if, in fact, the leaders of the U.S. government are commonly referred to as *you guys* when foreigners come to the nation's capitol. Since it is prefaced by *you know*, then it must be a common

practice. Secondly, the discoursal representation in a very informal, conversational tenor that the *horrendous deficits* of the U.S. government cause *tremendous problems for the rest of the world* is simultaneously functional with respect to representations, identities, and relations in that it depicts Gore as being *lectured to all the time*, much like an errant youth by his or her power-holding parents. Such a representation identifies the Vice President as having been beleaguered by *leaders of foreign countries* on a regular basis due to the financial mismanagement of previous Republican administrations. Additionally, while the Clinton Administration is credited with having corrected the *horrendous deficits*, the lessons learned from such frustrating criticisms have made Vice President Gore precisely the fiscally sound sort of national leader that the country now needs. My final point is that, while the U.S. is depicted as having *the strongest economy in history today* is represented as still not being *good enough*. Gore then insists that the nation needs to do more and that the successes of the Clinton Administration could allow the nation the opportunity *to project the power for good that America can represent*.

Such a positive portrayal of the state of the nation is thought to have appealed more to the Partisans of the viewership. However, the communicative needs of the Deliberators of the viewership for a more conciliatory or unifying tenor have also been met to some degree by this conversationalized discourse representation (see Section 2.5).

I will now discuss 'manifest intertextuality', or what Fairclough (1992, pp. 117-118) sees as texts which have been 'overtly drawn upon' in the case of the USPD texts of this study. The aspects of manifest intertextuality I explore and provide samples for are: 'discourse representation' (3.4.2.1) and 'negation' (3.4.2.2).

3.4.2 Manifest intertextuality

3.4.2.1 Discourse representation in the USPD text of 1960

In this subsection I shall offer samples from the 1960 USPD text upon which other texts have been ‘overtly’ drawn by means of direct and indirect discourse representation. In traditional grammar, this relates respectively to quoted and reported speech. I have chosen the text of this particular exchange between Nixon and Kennedy in the fourth and final debate of the 1960 series because the two candidates are contesting each other’s direct and indirect discourse representations. We can see how they find faults, and I have researched two other points in order to interpret the purposes of the two candidates:

> **Kennedy: 1960: 4/4: 1682-1715:** Now I didn't make most of the statements that you said I made. I believe the Soviet Union is first in outer space. We may have made more shots but the size of their rocket thrust and all the rest - you yourself said to Khrushchev, "You may be ahead of us in rocket thrust but we're ahead of you in color television" in your famous discussion in the kitchen. I think that color television is not as important as rocket thrust. Secondly, I didn't say we had the worst slums in the world. I said we had too many slums. And that they are bad, and we ought to do something about them, and we ought to support housing legislation which this Administration has opposed. I didn't say we had the worst education in the world. What I said was that ten years ago, we were producing twice as many scientists and engineers as the Soviet Union and today they're producing twice as many as we are, and that this affects our security around the world. And fourth, I believe that the polls and other studies and votes in the United Nations and anyone reading the paper and any citizen of the United States must come to the conclusion that the United States no longer carries the same image of a vital society on the move with its brightest days ahead as it carried a decade or two decades ago.

> **Nixon: 1960: 4/4: 1615-1647:** Now, when we have a presidential candidate, for example - Senator Kennedy – stating over and over again that the United States is second in space and the fact of the matter is that the space score today is twenty-eight to eight We've had twenty-eight successful shots, they've had eight; when he states that we're second in education, and I have seen Soviet education and I've seen ours, and we're not; that we're second in science because they may be ahead in one area or another, when overall we're way ahead of the Soviet Union and all other countries in science; when he says as he did in January of this year that we have the worst slums, that we have the most crowded schools; when he says that seventeen million people go to bed hungry every night; when he makes statements like this, what does this do to American prestige? Well, it can only have the effect certainly of reducing it. Well let me make one thing clear. Senator Kennedy has a responsibility to

> criticize those things that are wrong, but he has also a responsibility to be right in his criticism. Every one of these items that I have mentioned he's been wrong - dead wrong.

As may be seen in Kennedy's rebuttal, he begins with an explicit denial: *now I didn't make most of the statements that you said I made*. While explicit, the denial is modalized by the quantifier *most*, whereas the entry adjunct of *now* is thought to soften the tone or conversationalize what Kennedy finds wrong with Nixon's representation of what he had supposedly said. Kennedy defends himself with regard to the reference to U.S. *slums* by offering the quantifier *too many* for Nixon's choice of *the worst*, and urges support for housing *legislation which this Administration has opposed*. This is considered a front-broadening device. Nixon's reported speech of the U.S. being *second in education* in relation to *the Soviet Union* is then rejected as having been misquoted when Kennedy offers his national security concern which is stated as *ten years ago, we were producing twice as many scientists and engineers as the Soviet Union and today they're producing twice as many as we are*. Kennedy's final assertion of the U.S. as having lost its *image of a vital society on the move with its brightest days ahead* enacts an element of persuasive discourse, appeal or solicitation, which is seen as aiming to influence the beliefs and values of the viewership (as well as radio listeners).

Kennedy refused to back down from the initial assertion of the above extract that the U.S. was behind the Soviet Union in the 'space race'. Kennedy then chose not to refute *the space score card* (an admixture of educational discourse with aeronautical discourse) as being *twenty-eight to eight*, but instead ridicules his opponent with a direct discoursal representation of a conversation that the Vice President supposedly had had with Khrushchev *in the kitchen*.

As noted previously, Nixon was astute in his use of conversationalization of political discourse in his 'Checker's Speech' of 1952. A year prior to the USPD series of 1960, Nixon performed a similar political device in what was dubbed the "kitchen debate". According to Kennedy's 'overt' or direct discoursal representation of his opponent, 1959 was when Nixon had quipped to Khrushchev that *you may be ahead of us in rocket thrust but we're ahead of you in color television*.

In July of 1959, the Vice President traveled to Moscow to open 'the U.S. Trade and Cultural Fair in Sokolniki Park', which was an event that had been 'organized as a goodwill gesture by the U.S.S.R.', according to the History Channel (n.d.). 'On July 24, 1959, in front of replica of a suburban American kitchen, Nixon and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev engaged in an impromptu debate about the merits and disadvantages of capitalism and communism' (ibid.). Khrushchev spoke candidly and asked that the vice president assure him that the U.S. film crews and producers would not censor his remarks before the program was shown in the U.S. Nixon complied on the condition that he, too, would be afforded the opportunity to speak before the people of the Soviet Union by means of an uncensored televised broadcast, and the Soviet Premier agreed.

Nixon's political and discursive maneuvering set the stage for his August 1, 1959 appearance on Soviet national television in which the Vice President 'was heard criticizing Communist policy while warning the Soviet people they would live in tension and fear if Khrushchev attempted to propagate communism in countries outside the Soviet Union' (History Channel, n.d.). In this regard, one can see how Nixon was ahead of his time in understanding the power of the new medium of television and the usefulness of 'democratization' of discourse, which as Bell and Garret (1998, p. 13) note, may be used manipulatively as 'a more effective mask for the exercise of power'. Although Kennedy in

the USPDs of 1960 apparently had not approved of Nixon's performance in the kitchen, e.g. *I think that color television is not as important as rocket thrust*, or his opponent's adroit mixing of official and colloquial discourses and the ideational and interpersonal functions they entail, the vice president's trips in July and August of 1959 established him as a shrewd Republican politician and set up the state visit by Soviet Premier Khrushchev who met with President Eisenhower one month later in Washington, D.C.

One other discourse representation from the extracts above which I was able to document was Nixon's indirect discoursal representation of Kennedy having said *in January* of the general election year that *seventeen million people go to bed hungry every night* in the United States. Bear in mind that this representation was made in the fourth and final USPD on October 21, 1960. Previously, in the second debate of the series on October 7th, during their discussions of domestic issues, Nixon had made the following statement:

> I think this is very harmful at a time Mr. Khrushchev is here - harmful because it's wrong. I don't think it was helpful when he suggested - and I'm glad he's corrected this to an extent - that seventeen million people go to bed hungry every night in the United States. Now this just wasn't true. Now, there are people who go to bed hungry in the United States - far less, incidentally, than used to go to bed hungry when we came into power at the end of the Truman Administration. But the thing that is right about the United States, it should be emphasized, is that less people go to bed hungry in the United States than in any major country in the world. We're the best fed; we're the best clothed, with a better distribution of this world's goods to all of our people than any people in history.

Kennedy evidently had made a public retraction before the second debate, which was acknowledged by Nixon in the above extract; however, the discourse representation managed to resurface in the fourth and final debate of the 1960 series, but was not redressed by Kennedy in his rebuttal. Instead, the challenger to the status quo that general election year sought to influence U.S. beliefs and values that the United States no longer enjoyed *the same image of a vital society on the move with its brightest days ahead.*

Discourse representations thus may be seen as essential tools in an order of political discourse, and the textual artifacts that are left behind as ‘traces’ to their ‘experiential’, ‘relational’ and ‘expressive’ values warrant analysis in analysis of media texts (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 112). Since the USPDs of 1960, with the emergence or ‘colonization’ of what Fairclough refers to as ‘mediatized political discourse as an order of discourse’, one must try to differentiate ‘the elements of the orders of discourse of the political system – the lifeworld (ordinary life), sociopolitical movements, various domains of academic and scientific expertise, and so forth’ from those of the order of media discourse which permeates our lives on a day-to-day basis, although not always recognized as such, in the form of news (cf. Fairclough, 1998, p. 148).

Nixon’s use of the media to promote himself and his nation, and the media’s use of politicians to promote their own interests (recall the Nixon reaction shot), is an uneasy alliance of sorts. Fairclough (1995a, p. 200) notes this site of power struggles as follows:

> The settlement that has been arrived at between politicians and the media is not a stable one. It is a relationship of complicity and mutual dependence which is constantly unsettled by its contradictions, for the agendas of politics and media are not in the end the same. Oscillation between harmony and tension, trust and suspicion, are inherent. The order of mediatized political discourse is itself, therefore, an essentially unstable one.

President Nixon, when he was forced to resign office under threat of impeachment in 1973, had had to negotiate the oscillations inherent to mediatized politics for over a twenty-year period. The ethoses of a free press and free speech and the powers of the Executive Office of the United States to exert influence both internationally and domestically are thus sociocultural values which perpetuate the state of contestation of power. While many sociocultural practices and discursive practices can be seen to be in a never-ending cycle of change, ‘the harmony and tension, trust and suspicion’ between the

White House, and contenders for the highest executive office of the nation, have been and will remain to be 'inherent' to the U.S. political system (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p. 200).

Other aspects of intertextuality are equally compelling. For example, in the analysis of the use of negation below (3.4.2.2), a denial made by Bush presupposes an undisclosed proposition made of his opponent, one that is a 'given', or what Fairclough (1992, p. 161) describes as 'taking factuality for granted'; therefore, the denial works intertextually to affix another text 'only in order to contest and reject' (ibid. pp. 121-122). A negation may involve irony as well, which is basically a way of saying one thing but meaning another.

3.4.2.2 Negation

I will now provide a sample of presupposition and negation to illustrate how it works intertextually in a text extract of the third and final USPD of the 2000 series. The extract was introduced in the analysis of mixed intertextuality in 3.3.3.2; however, here I wish to investigate other points that were made in the exchange between the subject positions of interviewer and interviewees.

Recall that in the extract (USPD 2000: 3/3: 1568-1581) of 3.3.3.2 Gore responded to a question asked by a member of the audience regarding what he would do if elected as President *to ensure proper resourcing for the current mission and/or more selectively choosing the time and place that our forces will be used around the world.* The initial remarks of the Bush rebuttal (USPD 2000: 3/3: 1583-1587) follow thereafter:

> **2000: 3/3: 1568-1581: GORE:** Now, readiness. The trends before we -- before I got my current job were on the decline, the number of divisions were reduced. I argued that we should reverse that trend and take it back up. And I'm happy to tell you that we have. Now, in my budget for the next ten years I propose $100 billion for this purpose. The governor

> proposes $45 billion. I propose more than twice as much because I think it's needed. **1582: MODERATOR:** ***Governor Bush, two minutes.*** **1583-1587: BUSH:** If this were a spending contest, I would come in second. I readily admit I'm not going to grow the size of the federal government like he is.

In the closure to Gore's two-minute response to Mr. Allen's question, the vice president asserts his active participation in the Clinton Administration in which he *argued* for an increase in *the number of divisions* or tactical military units as a means of *readiness*. Gore then gives a *happy*, positive self-presentation of the results of his labor by stating that *we* (as the inclusive *we*) had attained the level of *readiness* which he saw fit (see 2.3). The incumbent vice president then proceeded to a negative other-presentation of his opponent who is depicted as being much less generous in his ten-year military *budget* proposal.

In accordance with the rules of the debate format, the Moderator (2000: 3/3: 1582) then gave Governor Bush the opportunity to use up to two minutes to comment on the vice president's response. Bush (2000: 3/3: 1583-1584) begins by effectively deriding the opposing argument by saying that *if this were a spending contest, I would come in second* before then opining that *I'm not going to grow the size of the federal government like he is* (2000: 3/3: 1586-1587). The representational model makes use of the verb *grow* rather than increase or expand; however, when *grow* takes an object or Goal, it is more typically collocated with a beard, or perhaps, tomatoes.

The denial nevertheless drew prohibited laughter from the studio audience and served the communicative function of banishing Gore to the Washington insider group of fiscally unsound professional politicians. The Texas Governor, a self-admitted Washington outsider, evaluates the proposition of Gore as being little more than a *spending contest*, whereas he pledges not to act in such a manner. Van Dijk states that such stigmatizations serve as a 'strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation', and since

'ideologies involve values, they typically surface as evaluative beliefs or opinions' (Bell & Garrett, 1998, p. 63). These topics are returned to in the text analysis of the next chapter.

The usage of colloquial discourse is seen as a means of differentiating Bush from Gore by the front-broadening argumentation strategy. In essence, the challenger to the status quo, while not challenging the budget proposals asserted by his opponent, states unequivocally that 'I am not like him': *I'm not going to grow the size of the federal government like he is*. However, as Pagano (1994, p. 252) notes, 'what is explicit or implicit is not, as might be expected, the denials themselves, but the propositions that are being denied', or negated. When seen in this light, Bush's assertion through negation that he would *not* increase the size of the federal government implies a proposition which has not been stated explicitly, i.e. Democrats like a big-spending government. Therefore, the Republican candidate has chosen to shift the ideological focus to the ethos of his party that he, as their nominee, is pro-business and anti-federal government spending, thus markedly unlike the representation of his opponent as a spendthrift, career Washington politician.

The elliptical referencing of *like he is*, when combined with explicit denial that a Bush Administration would *grow the size of the federal government*, serves a communicative function of positioning the opponent unfavorably. The questions posed by Pagano (1994, p. 253) below help to clarify the communicative purpose of such discourse:

> Among all the uses of negatives, implicit denials seem particularly interesting, as they raise questions as to what the producer has in mind to cause him/her to produce a denial, why a particular assertion should be implicit in a particular situation, and why a denial fits the context in which it appears.

What Bush might have had in mind to cause him to produce a denial is the need to succinctly distinguish himself from his rival. The context of the denial, or what is thought to have triggered the usage, is the constraint of the rebuttal itself, or having to (or not) respond

to that which was previously stated. Thus, Gore with the use of his own front-broadening, vote-gatherer debating style (see 2.5), had drawn the ire of his opponent, who effectively dismisses his proposition as being little more than a fiscally unsound *spending contest*.

As for second of Pagano's questions, or why the implicit assertion that Democrats are spendthrifts might have been used in this particular situation; it is interesting to note that two weeks earlier, during the first USPD, Bush also had proposed a *pay raise* for members of the military. However, he referred to this then as *a billion dollars more than the president recently signed into law* (2000: 1/3: 173). Thus, ironically (which is another aspect of intertextuality) both candidates propose increases in military pay; however, Bush's positive self-presentation as a generous, pay-raising boss for the military distinguishes him from the negatively portrayed, big-talking, big-spending nominee of the Democratic Party.[20]

The Bush denial may also be seen as formal features which have 'simultaneously' experiential, relational and expressive values, to use Fairclough's (1989, p. 112) terminology. The formal feature with experiential value is seen in the *like he is* implication that Gore and the Democratic Party believe in wastefulness and largesse, whereas Bush and his Republican party do not. To political analysts, this could be regarded as a projected "throwback to the tax-and-spend" decade of Democratic dominance in the sixties, or even further back to 'every piece of legislation in the last twenty-five years', as noted above.

Formal features with relational value are viewed by Fairclough (1989, p. 112) as the enactment of social relations 'via the text in the discourse'. This may be seen in the

[20] The stigmatization of the Democratic Party was evident in the complete transcripts of the USPDs of 1960 as well. In Kennedy's opening statement of the first of four debates, he rejected the notion that he was a ´typical Democratic candidate´ as follows: I know that there are those who want to turn everything over to the government. I don't at all. I want the individuals to meet their responsibilities. And I want the states to meet their responsibilities. But I think there is also a national responsibility. The argument has been used against every piece of social legislation in the last twenty-five years. ... I don't believe in big government, but I believe in effective governmental action (See CPD-1).

spending contest derision, in which Bush makes use of what Fairclough (1995a, p. 71) discerns as ‘translating official discourse into colloquial discourse and thereby giving a populist force to official voices’, in the Republican’s acknowledgement that he would *come in second place* because he is not a spendthrift Democrat. Instead, he identifies himself as a fiscally responsible Republican with ´compassionate conservatism´ values.

A formal feature with expressive value is ‘a trace of and a cue to the producer’s evaluation of the bit of reality it relates to’, according to Fairclough (1989, p. 112). Through Bush’s enactment of a social identity in which he would be a more fiscally responsible leader, Gore’s proposal that he would be *more than twice* as generous to the U.S. military as Bush is not refuted but ridiculed. Thus, Bush denounces his opponent not through an assertion of the inaccuracy of the dollar amounts quoted by Gore, but by the expressive value of the implication noted above, his assessment or judgment of his opponent, followed immediately by the explicit denial that Bush as President would follow a similar course of action if elected. The remainder of the two-minute rebuttal then emphasizes the degree of commitment which Bush has to his own values, evaluations and judgments, and those of his respective party, as well as the partisans of the viewership in the private sphere, who are but one of the multiple audiences to whom he is addressing vis-à-vis the debate audience in the communicative event.

In the next section I will make use of the analytical technique of Longacre (1992) that was introduced in Section 2.4. While discourse strategies in the USPD texts have been mentioned previously in the social and processing analyses of this chapter, here I will discuss the devices more thoroughly and provide a text sample from the transcript of the 2000 USPD and its verbal context.

3.5 Discourse strategies in the USPD texts

A call for action is what Longacre (1992, p. 110) sees as the 'move' that is 'minimal and basic' in the issuing of 'commands, which can be mitigated to suggestions of varying urgency'. On the other hand, in persuasive discourse the essential element is 'appeal (often very subtle) to give credence, or to adopt certain values' (ibid). The 'schema/superstructure' of these two discourses, which are 'discourse-type specific but not discourse specific in terms of the content of a particular text,' and their typical 'moves' are represented in Table 4 (cf. Longacre, 1992, p. 110).

The classifications of Table 4 assist in the analysis below of these two types of discourses which are thought to prevail in the responses and rebuttals of the candidates to questions related to national security concerns, i.e. they are seen as 'elements which dominate over' other non-hortatory or non-persuasive discoursal elements in these segments of the debate programming (cf. Longacre, 1992, p. 121). In the transitivity-based text analysis of Chapter 4, extract compilations from Appendixes 1 and 2 also are shown to exhibit hortatory discourse in that the multiple audiences as the in-groups 'US', 'Self' and 'Friends', as well as the out-groups 'Opponent' and 'Foes' are told by the candidates how to modify their conduct as 'participants' at the level of clause as representation (see 2.3).

I will also argue that the aims of hortatory and persuasive are often intertwined in the Q & A segments of the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000, and as such, serve to influence both the 'conduct' and the 'beliefs and values' of their multiple audiences (cf. Longacre, 1992, p. 111). Longacre (ibid.) acknowledges that these two discourses may, in fact, 'co-

exist in one text, especially when the same text embeds persuasive discourse as a means of supplying motivation in the hortatory schema.'

Also as noted in 2.4, while 'evaluation' is not an aspect of Longacre's (1992, pp. 108-111) classification of hortatory discourse, he suggests that 'expository discourse is similar to persuasive,' and refers to Hoey's (1983) description of expository discourse as having 'evaluation of the solution as one of its main points'. Given Longacre's (ibid.) assertion that 'persuasive and hortatory discourse can co-exist in one text,' and that 'expository discourse is similar to persuasive' discourse; I proposed in 2.4 that candidates in USPDs may also the 'evaluation of the solution' of expository discourse in their 'proposed solution/answer' of persuasive discourse as an additional 'means of supplying motivation in the hortatory schema' (ibid).

Let us now look at a sample from the 2000 USPD text. The form of notation that was used previously in 3.3.3.2 to distinguish the relatively fixed stages which constitute a schematic view of a USPD is used similarly below in the analysis of discourse strategy. However, since we are looking at *two sets* of obligatory (minimal and basic) and optional 'moves', as shown in Table 13, the numbered moves of *hortatory* discourse are designated with closed brackets, such as [1]; whereas those of *persuasive* discourse are marked with numbers enclosed in parentheses, e.g. (1), and as abridged below for easier referencing:

Hortatory discourse	**Persuasive discourse**
[1] **authority/credibility**	(1) **problem/question**
[2] **problem/situation**;	(2) **solution/answer**;
[3] ***commands/orders**	(3) **supporting argumentation**
[4] **resort to motivation**	(4) ***appeal/solicitation**

Table 13: Condensed version of Table 4
for the analysis of discourse strategy

As may be seen below in the opening lines of the USPD 2000 text of this research, the moderator informally presents the first problem/situation related to national security concerns that he wishes the candidates to discuss. In his capacity as debate chairperson, the moderator is also thought to impact the conduct or behavior of the candidates through his style of questioning. Since the question is first directed to Gore, the vice president had two minutes to reply; whereas in the first of three USPD formats of 2000, Governor Bush was given one minute to comment on or rebut Gore's response (see Table 8):

> **Moderator: (USPD 2000: 1/3: 1):** Vice President Gore, [2] if President Milosevic of Yugoslavia refuses to leave office, what action, if any, should the United States take to get him out of there?
>
> **Gore: (USPD 2000: 1/3: 2-45):** Well, Milosevic has lost the election. His opponent, Kostunica, has won the election. [4] (4) It's overwhelming. [2] Milosevic's government refuses to release the vote count. There's now a general strike going on. They're demonstrating. **[3]** I think we should support the people of Serbia and Yugoslavia, as they call the Serbia plus Montenegro, and put pressure in every way possible to recognize [4] (4) the lawful outcome of the election. [4] (4) The people of Serbia have acted very bravely in kicking this guy out of office. [2] Now he is trying to not release the votes and then go straight to a so-called runoff election without even announcing the results of the first vote. Now, we've made it clear, [1] along with our allies, that (2) when Milosevic leaves, [4] then Serbia will be able to have a more normal relationship with the rest of the world. That is a very strong incentive that [4] we've given them to do the right thing. Bear in mind also, [4] Milosevic has been indicted as a war criminal and he should be held accountable for his actions. **[3]** Now, we have to take measured steps [2] because the sentiment within Serbia is, [4] (4) for understandable reasons, against the United States because their nationalism -- even if they don't like Milosevic, they still have some feelings lingering from the NATO action there. **[3]** So we have to be intelligent in the way we go about it. But make no mistake about it; **[3]** we should do everything we can to see that [4] (4) the will of the Serbian people expressed in this extraordinary election is done. And I hope that he'll be out of office very shortly.
>
> **Moderator: (USPD 2000: 1/3: 46):** Governor Bush, one minute.
>
> **Bush: (USPD 2000: 1/3: 47-73):** Well, I'm pleased with the results of the election. [1] As the vice president said, **[3]** it's time for the man to go. It means that [4] (4) the United States must have a strong diplomatic hand with our friends in NATO. That's why [4] (4) it's important to make sure our alliances are as strong as they possibly can be to keep the pressure on Mr. Milosevic. [4] (4) But this will be an interesting moment for the Russians to step up and lead as well. **[3]** Be a wonderful time for the Russians to step into the Balkans and convince Mr. Milosevic that [4] (4) it's in his best interest and his country's best interest. [4] (4) The Russians have sway in that part of the world. **[3]** We would like to see the Russians use that

> sway [4] (4) to encourage democracy to take hold. [4] (4) It's an encouraging election. **[3]** It's time for the man to leave.

Gore begins by demonstrating a here-and-now grasp of the foreign policy situation with six brief, declarative statements which serve to encapsulate the outcome of the recent Yugoslav election. Gore restates the problem/situation [2] as *Milosevic's government* refusing *to release the vote count*. The mitigated command [3] for what the U.S. ought to do, which was initiated by the informal style of questioning of the moderator of how *to get him out of there*, calls for active *support* of those who were *demonstrating* against the government, and the application of *pressure in every way possible* to have Milosevic accept his defeat at the polls, which Gore asserts as being *overwhelming* [4]. This last lexical item denotes an expressive value of irrefutability of an undisclosed vote tally (see Table 4), yet it is, in the Vice President's opinion, *the lawful outcome of the election* [4]. Gore's opinions are also seen as an appeal (4) used to bolster the resort to motivation in that it is a prediction of a desirable election outcome and democratic reform if the event unfolds as he sees fit, or the negative consequences that would result if his suggestions are unheeded.

Gore then poses a second problem [2] that *Milosevic's government* wants *a so-called runoff election*, which is another instance of an expressive value of veiled contempt. However, the overarching problem [2], the one implied by the moderator, is that because of their leadership, Serbia has become a problem, an outcast among nations. This bigger problem, as Gore appraises the situation, will be resolved once *Milosevic leaves*. When this one act is accomplished, then *Serbia will be able to have a more normal relationship with the rest of the world*. This is also seen as a resort to motivation [4] in that it promises a much brighter future for Serbia if the situation is resolved as the U.S *and our allies* are represented as seeing fit [1].

Even with the establishment of authority/credibility, Gore acknowledges a complicating factor, or a problematic situation [2]: anti-U.S. *sentiment within Serbia*, or *nationalism*. While on the one hand Gore says this is *understandable*, (seen as an embedded (4) appeal of persuasive discourse to supply motivation [4] in the hortatory schema), on the other hand he dismisses it as *some feelings lingering from the NATO action there*. The solution to this overarching complication is offered in commands [3] that have been mitigated to the suggestions of urgency which follow: *we have to be intelligent in the way we go about it*, and *we have to take measured steps*.

Gore further uses appeal (4) to praise *the people of Serbia* who *have acted very bravely* and to label *Milosevic* as an *indicted war criminal*. The final, less mitigated but nonetheless vague command [3] begins with *make no mistake about it*, before shifting to an insistence that *we should do everything we can to see that the will of the Serbian people expressed in this extraordinary election is done*. Here we can see two further examples of lexica, *bravely* and *extraordinary*, with the 'expressive feature' of approval of the people and the new electoral process of *Serbia* (see 2.2). These are also seen as embedded (4) appeals of persuasive discourse to supply motivation [4] in the hortatory schema.

The extract reveals the deftness by which the conversationalization of discourse may give the appearance of democratization, i.e. the people of Serbia are getting a ´pep talk´ by a presidential prospect in a USPD a month prior to Election Day. Gore encourages the continuance of acts of defiance against *the Milosevic government* and identifies himself as a proponent for representative democracy worldwide.

It is interesting to note how Gore chooses to make the situation posed by the moderator's question even more problematic, whereas Bush simply states that he is *pleased with the results* [4] (4) and offhandedly gives the order [3] that has been mitigated to a

suggestion that *it's time for the man to go*. Such commands or orders occur in the lifeworld discourse of day-to-day existence, and the force of such assertions depends to a great extent upon intonation and situational factors. For example, if someone were to say that *it's time to go* midway through a film or play, the force of the utterance and its implication distinguishes it from the same expression being made at an airport just prior to a holiday departure. The point I wish to make here concerns Bush's prefacing of represented discourse with *as the vice president says* [1]. Such language usage permits Bush to ascribe succinctly to himself similar knowledge of the events taking place *in that part of the world*, and thereby deliver mitigated commands/orders not to the people of Yugoslavia and the U.S., as Gore has done, but instead to *Russia* and *Milosevic* [3].

Bush makes use of a metaphor in which diplomacy becomes a type of card game, and for the U.S. to continue to have *a strong diplomatic hand*, it must continue to have the support of *our friends in NATO*. This is viewed as an embedded appeal (4) of persuasive discourse to supply motivation [4] in the hortatory schema, and prefaced by the relational processes of *it means* and *that's why*. The previously mentioned command of urgency [3] aims at influencing conduct, or getting the viewership to continue to support NATO, as does the candidate for the presidency, and vote for him as a strong pro-NATO leader.

The removal of Milosevic thus was represented as having been brought about by the military might of NATO and by keeping the *alliances* of the U.S. *as strong as they possibly can be* [4]. Resultantly, it is due to this flexing of muscle that the U.S. and NATO is depicted as being able to *keep the pressure on Mr. Milosevic* and to make him realize that accepting defeat and leaving would be *in his best interest and his country's best interest* [4]. Therefore, in the Bush extract, the problem has already been solved and there is no need for further concern or the continued ground commitment of U.S. troops in the Balkans. As the

Texas Governor would later say (2000: 1/3: 122-123), it is now *up to the people in this region to take control of their country* [4].

Bush concludes by offering a possible solution, a type of backhanded compliment that the Russians might next *step up and lead as well*. The appeal/solicitation (4) to commonsense revealed here is that although Russia had protested NATO's military actions, all could be forgiven now that the fighting had ceased. Therefore, the two nations could become friends again given that Russia might even prove to be useful since they *have sway in that part of the world* and could help to *encourage democracy to take hold*. Bush's resort to motivation [4] with inferred promises of camaraderie is seen as aiming to influence the conduct of the Russian government, to get them to *convince Mr. Milosevic* to leave office. It is thus viewed as a mitigated command [3] prefaced by the lighthearted assertions that it would *be a wonderful time*, and most definitely an act that *we would like to see*.

The election of Milosevic's political rival is portrayed as a pleasant aftereffect of the gallant efforts of the U.S. and NATO on behalf of the people of Serbia. Their attempts at *democracy* are then represented metaphorically as plant-like with roots struggling to *take hold* in barren soil [4].

Fairclough (1992, p. 99) cites Foucault (1981, p. 101) as stating that 'discourses are tactical elements' and that 'there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy'. The Jørgensen and Kock (1999) study (see 2.5 and below) also refers different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy. I apply this argumentation perspective to text samples below, as well as to more extensive extract compilations in the text analysis in Chapter Four, in order to analyze 'traces in texts in the form of the co-occurrence of contradictory or inconsistent elements' which might suggest 'innovatory' discursive changes (cf. Fairclough, 1992, pp. 97-98).

3.6 Argumentation strategies in the USPD texts

The findings of Jørgensen and Kock's (1999, pp. 420-423) argumentation study are of particular interest to this discourse analysis because of their proposition that issue-oriented, public debates in Europe are not *dialogic*, but instead are viewed as constituting 'different genres with different norms'. Such a genre is seen as being '*trialogic*' in nature because the objective of the debaters is to try to win the 'adherence' of the viewership rather than to try to win a particular argument against one's opponent through a process of rational communication and debate (cf. Fairclough, 1989, 75).

Such false argumentation, or pseudo-debates done for the sake of public exposure by means of joint televised appearances of the two major parties' nominees for president is seen as a consumer-oriented shift in power (cf. Fairclough, 1992, 99). Such a change in orientation toward the viewership vis-à-vis debate audiences has also become naturalized, which brings us back to Fairclough's (1989, p. 75) notion of the three types of constraint on social practice (contents, relations, and subjects) of Table 1.

The shift in emphasis of 'purpose' in the 'contents' variable of the situational context (see 3.2) of political debates is therefore the focus of analysis here, and it is viewed as impacting the rearticulation of genres and discourses (see 3.3), which I have argued previously as constituting a discourse type of *televised debates* in the order of discourse of *managing a national campaign committee* (see 3.2). The process has been inculcated by means of seemingly innocuous changes in the coordination of USPD series ever since the advent of these discursive events in 1960, and particularly since their sponsorship was ceded by the League of Women Voters to the Commission on Presidential Debates in 1988.

As seen in 2.5, Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423) explain that ‘there are two basically different ways that a debater can try to increase adherence’ to a particular point of view, and that ideally a debater would combine ‘elements from both strategies’. However, more typically, they observe that debaters tend to concentrate their efforts to either one or the other of the two types of argumentation strategies which follow: Front-Broadening, Vote-Gatherers; and Front-Narrowing, Vote-Shifters.

In the 3.6.1 analysis of the front-broadening, vote-gatherer argumentation strategy, extracts of all four candidates are offered as samples from the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000. A similar analysis of the uses of a front-narrowing, vote-shifter argumentation strategy then follows in 3.6.2. In both analyses, I offer an interpretation of the communicative function of the particular strategy, or the segments of the audiences to whom the candidates are thought to be appealing.

3.6.1 Front-broadening, voter-gatherer strategy

> **Kennedy: 1960: 2/4: 521-527:** And I believe the American people have to make the choice on November eighth between the view of whether we have to move ahead faster, whether what we're doing now is not satisfactory, whether we have to build greater strength at home and abroad, and Mr. Nixon's view. That's the great issue.
> **2/4: 557-562:** Mr. Nixon has been part of that Administration. He's had experience in it. And I believe this Administration has not met its responsibilities in the last eight years that our power relative to that of the Communists is declining, that we're facing a very hazardous time in the sixties
> **3/4: 1206-1209**: I don't think it's possible for Mr. Nixon to state the record in distortion of the facts with more precision than he just did.

> **Nixon: 1960: 2/4: 86-88:** I can only point out that if we are going to judge the Administrations in terms of our attitude toward dictators, we're glad to have a comparison with the previous administration.
> **2/4: 584-588:** Let me make my position clear. I have participated in the discussions leading to the decisions in this Administration. I'm proud of the record of this Administration.
> **4/4: 2098-2113:** Now if the Senator in his answer to this question will say; "I now will depart, or retract my previous views; I think I was wrong in 1955; I think I was wrong in

1959; and I think I was wrong in our television debate to say that we should draw a line leaving out Quemoy and Matsu - draw a line in effect abandoning these islands to the Communists;" then this will be right out of the campaign because there will be no issue between us.

Bush: 2000: Rebuttal to ***Gore: 1/3: 337-340:*** *I think bipartisanship is a national asset. We have to find ways to reestablish it in foreign policy and national security policy.*
1/3: 341: Moderator: Do you have a problem with that? 342: Bush: Yeah. Why haven't they done it in seven years?
3/3: 1634-1646: Spending money is one thing. But spending money without a strategic plan can oftentimes be wasted. First thing I'm going to do is ask the Secretary of Defense to develop a plan so we are making sure we're not spending our money on political projects, but on projects to make sure our soldiers are well-paid, well-housed, and have the best equipment in the world.

Gore: 2000: 1/3: 210-216: I disagree with the proposal that maybe only when oil supplies are at stake that our national security is at risk. I think that there are situations like in Bosnia or Kosovo where there's genocide, where our national security is at stake there.
2/3: 1069-1972: I don't think we agree on that. I would certainly also be judicious in evaluating any potential use of American troops overseas.

Vote-gatherers are debaters who tend to distance themselves from their opponents in public debates and actively recruit adherents to their ideological causes, which are inevitably in stark contrast to those of their political opponents. In the Kennedy (1960: 2/4: 521-527) extract above, the challenger to the status quo portrays his party's platform by providing two views of the U.S. nation in 1960: his view of the nation being mired in a deep malaise and needing new leadership, and that assumed in *Mr. Nixon's view*. The proposition, which may also be seen as an adhortation to get the electorate to *make the choice on November eighth*, is thought to be directed at the Deliberators who might have needed assurance that the younger candidate had a grasp of the issues, or *the great issue*, and a vision for the country.

As seen in 2.5, Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423) note that a vote-gatherer typically is 'by far the more "telegenic" of the debaters', and the contentious nature of his or her representations create a type of 'confusing verbal duel'. This appears to be the case

in the Kennedy rebuttal (3/4: 1206-1209) of Nixon's depiction of the obligations which the U.S. had to defend the two small islands of Quemoy and Matsu (see 3.2.2): *I don't think it's possible for Mr. Nixon to state the record in distortion of the facts with more precision than he just did.* Here, the 'verbal duel' enacted by Kennedy's rebuttal is seen as a front-broadening attack on his opponent's 'motives', which may serve to 'cast doubt on the opponent's intelligence, ethics, or good will' (see 2.5).

In an extract of the second USPD, the more telegenic Kennedy (2/4: 557-562) again distances himself from the incumbent by means of a negative other-presentation (see 2.3) wherein Nixon is ascribed the failures of the Eisenhower *Administration*, which Kennedy evaluates as not having *met its responsibilities in the last eight years*, and resultantly, the *power* of the U.S. *relative to that of the Communists* was portrayed as *declining*. The propositions, which may be seen as an embedded appeal for the Deliberators in the viewership to adopt Kennedy's point of view, is then followed by a resort to motivation (see 3.5) in which the dire threats of the next decade are represented as follow: *we're facing a very hazardous time in the sixties*.

Vice President Nixon (1960: 2/4: 86-88) on the other hand, is seen as appealing to Partisans and Deliberators in his negative other-presentation by means of vague referencing to the way in which *the previous administration* (Truman) had handled *dictators* (2.3.2). Not only does the vice president broaden the ideological front between the foreign policies of the two major parties, but he (2/4: 584-588) then chooses to represent himself as having *participated in the discussions leading to the decisions in this Administration*. Thus, Nixon depicts himself as not only the party's nominee, but also an expert on the workings of the genial, outgoing president's *Administration*, of which he is *proud*. Such propositions are

seen as typifying a vote-gatherer, who makes clear-cut distinctions between himself or herself and an opponent, and appeals to both Partisans and Deliberators in the audience.

In the fourth and final debate of the 1960 series, Nixon was asked the following question by the panelist, John Chancellor:

> 2061: Sir, I'd like to ask you another question about Quemoy and Matsu. Both you and Senator Kennedy say you agree with the President on this subject and with our treaty obligations. But the subject remains in the campaign as an issue. Now, sir is this because each of you feels obliged to respond to the other when he talks about Quemoy and Matsu, and if that's true, do you think an end should be called to this discussion, or will it stay with us as a campaign issue?

In the extract (USPD 1960: 4/4: 2098-2113) which followed, the vice president further distanced himself from his younger and less experienced opponent by means of a form of scolding in which the senator was presented with the exact words of remorse which he should use in his rebuttal (see above). Kennedy (1960: 4/4: 2201), of course, did not repeat verbatim what he had been told to say and instead used the represented discourse of *the testimony of General Twining and the Assistant Secretary of State in fifty-eight* in his rebuttal, thereby attempting to reconstruct the *trigger-happy* image analyzed previously (see 3.4.1.2).

The verbal context of the first Bush extract is in the form of a rebuttal to what Gore (2000: 1/3: 337-340) states as follows: *I think bipartisanship is a national asset. We have to find ways to reestablish it in foreign policy and national security policy.* Jim Lehrer, the sole moderator for the 2000 series then makes use of a conversationally modulated question to which Bush responded emphatically in the rebuttal which follows: *Do you have a problem with that?* Bush (2000: 1/3: 342): *Yeah. Why haven't they done it in seven years?* Here, one can see how the challenger to the status quo refutes the vice president’s positive self-presentation of having worked in a bipartisan manner, and by doing so, Bush manages

to broaden the front between the incumbent and himself while calling into question through a ‘verbal duel’ the ‘ethics, or good will’ of the vice president (see 2.5).

A similar device is used in the extract from the third and final debate of the series (3/3: 1634-1646) in which the values of the fiscally sound Republican candidate are shown to be in stark contrast with those of his big-spending Democratic counterpart: *spending money without a strategic plan can oftentimes be wasted*. Bush follows up on this presumption by announcing that the *first thing I'm going to do is ask the Secretary of Defense to develop a plan* that would assure fiscal responsibility in military matters. The above two extracts are thought of as an appeal to Deliberators by which Bush, who had lesser experience in foreign policy matters, managed to distinguish himself from that of the depicted free-spending, Washington-type incumbent vice president.

In the first Gore (2000: 1/3: 210-216) extract above, the vice president defends the NATO warfare in Yugoslavia that had been supported by the Clinton Administration and objects to the presupposition of his opponent that *maybe only when oil supplies are at stake that our national security is at risk*. The vice president then differentiates the priorities of his Republican opponent with regard to ´humanitarian´ and/or ´peacekeeping missions´ by correlating the act of *genocide* in some foreign country with *our national security* interests.

In the second debate of 2000, the vice president was asked the following question by the moderator, which functions as a rebuttal preface: (2000: 2/3: 1068) *Vice President Gore, do you agree with the governor's views on nation building, the use of military, our military, for nation building as he described and defined it?* Gore (2/3: 1069-1972) stated his disagreement with Bush’s depiction of the U.S. military being used for nation building missions during the Clinton Administration before then concluding with a front-narrowing, vote-shifter style: *I would certainly also be judicious in evaluating any potential use of*

American troops overseas. Both in Gore's defense of NATO military actions and in his disagreement over when and in what capacity the U.S. Armed Forces should be used are seen as appeals to Partisans and Deliberators.

As noted in 2.5, Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423) state that the front-narrowing, vote-shifter strategy is used by debaters to represent themselves more as political centrists, and that they are typically the 'academic type, perhaps slightly stiff and dry, but serious and knowledgeable'. In the 1960 and 2000 USPDs, the incumbent vice presidents more often represented themselves in this manner, although neither candidate was referred to in media accounts as an 'academic type'. However, during the U.S. general election campaign year of 2000, Vice President Gore was frequently depicted in the news media as stiff, or even "wooden", and referred to by his critics as "Al Bore".

In the 3.6.2 analysis below, extracts of each candidate in the two USPD series are offered again as samples of a 'front-narrowing, vote-shifter' argumentation strategy. The order of the candidates has been switched from 3.6.1.

3.6.2 Front-narrowing, voter-shifter strategy

Nixon: 1960: 1/4: 21: I agree with Senator Kennedy's appraisal generally in this respect.
3/4: 902-905: and there isn't any question about what the united American people, Republicans and Democrats alike, would do in the event there were an attempt by the Communists to take over Berlin.

Kennedy: 1960: 2/4: 671-672: I have no disagreement with the Vice President's position on that. My view is the same as his.
2/4: 696: On the question of the summit, I agree with the position of Mr. Nixon.

Gore: 2000: 2/3: 673: ***Moderator:*** *People watching here tonight are very interested in Middle East policy, and they are so interested they want to base their vote on differences between the two of you as president how you would handle Middle East policy. Is there any difference?*
2/3: 674: Gore: I haven't heard a big difference in the last few exchanges.

2/3: 1189-1195: I don't disagree with that. I certainly don't disagree that we ought to get our troops home from places like the Balkans as soon as we can, as soon as the mission is complete. That's what we did in Haiti.

Bush: 2000: 2/3: 579-584: I appreciate the way the administration has worked hard to calm the tensions. Like the vice president, I call on Chairman Arafat to have his people pull back to make the peace.
2/3: 754-760: I think it's a triumph. I thought the president made the right decision in joining NATO and bombing Serbia. I supported them when they did so.

As noted in 2.5, vote-shifters are debaters who tend to minimize the differences between themselves and their opponents, even to the point of conceding that they see little difference between the two opposing points of view. In the samples from the 1960 USPD text above, both Nixon (1/4: 21) and Kennedy (2/4: 671-672 and 2/4: 696) make use of this device; however, Nixon (3/4: 902-905) is thought to have been even more innovative in his portrayal of mutual party interests when he asserts the following: *there isn't any question about what the united American people, Republicans and Democrats alike, would do in the event there were an attempt by the Communists to take over Berlin.*

The communicative function of the vote-shifter strategy above, or to whom the candidates are thought to be appealing, is considered the Deliberator segment of their audiences, as is the case in the extracts of the 2000 USPD series. As may be seen in Gore's (2/3: 674) concession that *I haven't heard a big difference in the last few exchanges*, and in the extract (2/3: 1189-1195) when he acknowledges the concerns of his opponent regarding troop deployment in the following: *I don't disagree with that. I certainly don't disagree that we ought to get our troops home from places like the Balkans as soon as we can*.

I also wish to note the deference which Bush shows to President Clinton in the (2/3: 579-584) extract in *I appreciate the way the administration has worked hard to calm the tensions*, and in the (2/3: 754-760) excerpt when he asserts that NATO's warfare in Yugoslavia was a *triumph*, and that he *thought the president made the right decision in*

joining NATO and bombing Serbia. Vote-shifters are thought to promote the unifying or healing of the nation by means of their ideological causes, which are portrayed as being merely a better way of proceeding than that of their political opponents.

Typically, according to Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423), such a debater treats the opponent 'with politeness and respect and avoids face-threatening attacks on his person, ethics, and competence'. The strategy therefore permits the debater to spend less time and energy in attacking the opponent's propositions, and more time in promoting his or her own, as may be seen in the following extract: *Like the vice president, I call on Chairman Arafat to have his people pull back to make the peace* (2/3: 754-760).

The argumentative strategies of Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423), particularly when elements of both strategies are used effectively by candidates in the USPDs of past and present, serve the communicative purpose of appealing to two types of audience who watch the debates for two different reasons. Partisans tend to vote along party lines and Abstainers tend to stay home on Election Day or not register to vote. Spectators, who are generally confident in their views of the issues, as well as those of the candidates, are nevertheless low in involvement. In the case of USPDs, they are there for the show, and perhaps for this reason, producers cater to them, as well as the Partisans, who are there to watch their gladiatorial candidate in the forum spectacle.

Deliberators, on the other hand, who are generally high in involvement yet, tend to see both sides of the issues, and seek assurance in a debate performance. This segment would be more inclined to vote for a candidate who appears more centrist or unifying, as well as more knowledgeable of the issues. As is discussed further in the final remarks of Chapter 5, this segment of the viewership, as visualized in Figure 4, while near the vacillating curve and having communicative needs which require the construction of social

relations with them if a candidate is to win these crucial votes, are thought to be under-addressed in contemporary USPD series. The candidates' usages of the front-broadening and front-narrowing argumentation strategies are thought to enhance the analysis at the level of clause as representation in the text analysis of the next chapter.

3.7 Concluding remarks: USPDs in terms of social and discourse practice

In this chapter I have analyzed USPDs in terms of sociocultural practice and discourse practice. The analysis of linguistic and extralinguistic features of mediatized political discursive events such as USPDs of two series that occurred four decades apart entails the referencing of the sociocultural forces that have both affected and been affected by underlying ideologies, ironically taken for granted as being invariable or commonsensible. The social and processing analyses in Chapter Three have at least to some extent uncovered the forces at work in and behind USPDs that affect the choices of the discourse participants in these communicative events in relation to their realizations through systematic links within the USPD texts.

Regarding the variables of the contexts of situation in the four debates of the 1960 series, I have shown how field or contents varied according to changes negotiated in the activity types, topics (and the expressive value as points), as well as in the often contradictory purposes of those participants directly involved in the discussions and the social agents behind the scenes of such productions. The tenor variables of social relations and social identities of the 1960 series placed greater emphasis on the journalistic voice of varying panels of news correspondents serving as representatives of the electorate, yet these

same participants were then overlooked as the candidates in all four debates chose to face the TV studio cameras and address the viewership in the private domain (as well as those who tuned in by radio). The mode variable was more of a written-to-be-read channel in the 1960 series and featured lengthy opening and closing statements in the first and fourth debates, all of which had been negotiated months in advance by the two major political parties, their nominees, and the three major broadcasting networks at the time (ABC, CBS and NBC) acting as sponsors of the new communicative events.

Four decades later, the variables of the contexts of situation in the three debates of the 2000 series had changed considerably. The activity types this time were more similar to joint appearances in a series of job interviews than were the question and answer segments performed by panels of news experts, thus making those more akin to an academic defense. As seen in 3.2.2 – 3.2.4, the topics had changed from the urgent Cold War discourses of the constant struggle to thwart Communism and nuclear proliferation to the self-aggrandizing discourses of ridding Europe of despotism. Gone were discussions of such places as Berlin, Cuba and the two obscure islands of Quemoy and Matsu, and such leaders as Khrushchev and Castro. In their place arose the menaces of Milosevic in Yugoslavia, Arafat and the Palestinian uprisings in Israel, and Saddam Hussein, who is represented as flouting the sanctions imposed by the Gulf War coalition and attempting to develop weapons of mass destruction. However, the sense of urgency of having a Cold War adversary is noticeably absent.

The debates of 2000 reveal an empowered, sole moderator of these events. Other changes in social relations and social identities, such as the institutionalized function of the Commission on Presidential Debates as the ´official´ sponsor, the lack of interest of the three broadcasting networks of the 1960 series, the participation of members of the

audience in the third and final, ´town hall´ debate format, and the synthetic personalization of ´up close and personal´ talks with presidential candidates have resulted in the more recent series disengaging the viewership in the private domain even more so because this time, the “Big Brother”-like candidates do not even glance in the direction of the TV camera crews concealed behind partitions and above and behind the debate audiences.

The institutionalized viscosity of USPDs as ordained by the CPD and the orders of discourse of the two major political parties on whose behalf they function when coupled with the inherent flux of mediatized political discursive events to both inform and entertain are thought to yield schizophrenic productions in which there is a coexistence of disparate or antagonistic qualities, identities, or activities. Thus, contemporary USPD productions are seen as complex admixtures of genres and discourses, as well as purposes, only one of which is to historicize them *not* as everyday ‘non-events’ that might better inform the electorate just prior to Election Day.

Additionally, the candidates of the 2000 USPD series had negotiated for no opening statements in the three 90-minute productions, and only 2-minute closing statements. This factor, plus the prohibition of note-usage make the moderator and debate audience-oriented USPDs of 2000 very different from those of the first-ever USPD series of 1960.

The analysis of representations at the clausal level is the focus of attention in the dimension of discourse in Chapter Four. Given that this CDA of the issue of national security priorities in the first-ever and most recent USPD series is concerned with both social practices and discourse practices, as well as the texts that were generated by such events, the preceding analyses have attempted to better situate the USPD texts for the following analysis rather than having them examined in an unnatural state of isolation.

Chapter 4

Text analysis: Representations of national security priorities using material and relational processes

4.1 Initial remarks

The discourse of the USPDs of 1960 and 2000 generally represent foreign policy-making as a world of struggle between the U.S. government and its allies against outside forces in order to promote their economic and national security interests. The concerns expressed by the candidates relate to ideological struggle, diplomacy, summit conferences, military parity, containment, the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, perceived security threats, the covert gathering of military intelligence, the honoring of one's commitments to treaties and alliances, and economic sanctions, to name but a few. In its dealings with the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the National Security Council and CIA, the Legislative and Judicial Branches of government check the balance of power of the President as Chief Executive Officer and Commander in Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces constitutionally. Nevertheless, the contenders for leadership of the Executive Office of the U.S. understand the wide latitude bestowed to the position of power regarding foreign relations. Thus, the system of knowledge and beliefs, and social relations and identities represented in USPDs in the final few weeks of general election campaigns may have a profound impact on how the U.S. government will perceive and be perceived by

other nations, their institutions and citizens for years to come following the outcome of a general election.

The theoretical perspectives presented in Chapter Two are applied to the USPD texts at the level of clause as representation in material and relational processes in Sections 4.3 – 4.4. In Section 4.2 I will explain how I compiled the data for the text analysis.

4.2 Procedure for the compilation of data for the text analysis

Three procedures were used to compile the data for the text analysis, as well as the social and processing analyses of the previous chapter. In the materials and methods section of Chapter One I explained how I got the national security extracts of the USPD transcripts of 1960 and 2000, which totaled 18,720 and 12,025 words, respectively. These texts were extracted from the complete transcripts of the USPD series of 1960 and 2000 that had total word counts of approximately 43,000 and 47,000 lexical items, respectively. The transcript extracts then were broken down into clauses. Next, these clauses were tabulated using the Word for Windows function for converting text into tables.

In the second procedure, the tabulated, single-line clauses were inserted in four Excel tables, one for each of the two major party candidates of the USPDs of 1960 and 2000, i.e. one for Kennedy, Nixon, Bush and Gore. The Excel tables that were used are modifications of ones developed by a colleague at PPGI-UFSC, Anderson Alves de Souza (2003). It is here where the process of discerning the three main components of Halliday's (1994, p. 108) 'tripartite interpretation of processes' is done by means of categorizing each of the 3,574 clauses of the USPD texts of this study according to the types of process, as

well as their corresponding participants and circumstances. However, the advantage of categorizing clauses in this manner with the modified Excel tables of Souza (2003) is that as you are manually inputting the data in their respective cells, automated counts and graphs of the process types are being generated in the formulated cells in the far right end columns of the Excel tables. These program-generated visualizations help to reveal patterns of formal feature usages, thereby permitting one to begin the interpretation process while still inputting data at the description stage of analysis. The tables and figure below are taken from the completed stage of analysis but offer some sense of how the use of program-generated visualizations can assist in on-going data interpretation.

Kennedy	Material	Relational	Total (of four main processes)
usages	387 (of 951)	291 (of 951)	951
Subtotals	40.69%	30.60%	

Table 14: Sample of Kennedy's material and relational processes and corresponding percentages

KENNEDY *Opponent*	Material (Opponent as Participant)	Relational (Opponent as Participant)	Total (Opponent) / (Total of four main processes)
Usages	36 (of 86)	15 (of 86)	86/951
Subtotals	41.86%	17.44%	
Totals	9.30% 36/387	5.15% 15/291	9.04% 86/951

Table 15: Sample of material and relational processes with opponent as participant

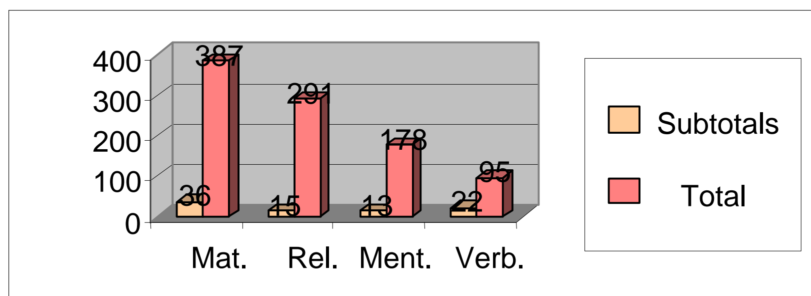

Figure 10: Process types used by Kennedy

Table 14 provides an illustration of Kennedy's uses of material and relational process types in the USPD texts of this study. The Total of 951 processes involving material, relational, mental and verbal types is then given in subtotal percentages. Table 15 narrows the focus as may be seen in the sample of Kennedy's usages of material and relational process types in his representations of his out-group Opponent in discussing national security concerns. As the data were entered and the percentages were compiled in Table 15, the bar graphic of Figure 10 was generated. Due to spatial constraints, I was unable to use graphics such as in Figure 10; however, I included the bar graphic as a demonstration of how the use of the Excel program assists in visualizing process usages. I will now offer a brief account of the data in Table 15 in order to demonstrate how such tabulations will be explained in the analyses of Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

From the data of Table 14, we can see that more than 70% of the processes that Kennedy chose to use were material and relational ones in the USPD texts of 1960. The data of Table 15 then shows that Kennedy chose to make the out-group Opponent, or events related to this group, Participants in 36 (41.86%) material processes, and 15 (17.44%) relational processes of the total of 86 representations involving the four main process types which were categorized initially. The 36 usages of material processes represent 9.3% of the total of 387 material types used, and the 15 usages of relational processes represent 5.15% of the total of 291 relational types used by the candidate. Explanations such as these are then followed by interpretations of what the percentages suggest about each candidate's use of in-groups and out-groups in material and relational processes in Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

I have used tables similar to that of Table 15 to summarize the national security extract compilations of each pair of the 1960 and 2000 candidates in this transitivity

analysis; however, the information enclosed in parentheses is used only in the samples (Table 14 and Table 15) as a means of reference. In the concluding remarks section of 4.5, I then make an overall comparison of the data of all the tables of 4.3 and 4.4.

The third procedure involves the use of a contrastive analysis. This allows for a discernment of patterns of experience in discussions of national security matters in the first-ever USPDs of 1960 and the most recent ones of 2000. For this analysis, one table was required for each of the USPD series. Each contains in sequence the questions posed by the news media representatives or moderator and the responses made by the candidates. In order to automatically number these clauses, the ones tabulated in procedure one above were then copied and pasted onto an Excel table set up for this purpose. Once numbered, these tabulated clauses were transferred to the two sets of dual-columned appendixes found at the end of this study. Appendixes 1 (1960 USPDs) and 2 (2000 USPDs) are thus transcriptions derived from the Q & A segments of the 1960 and 2000 USPD programs that are related to discussions of the issue of national security. Appendix 1 is comprised of 21 pages of 2,047 clauses and Appendix 2 is comprised of 14 pages of 1,527 clauses. These numbered line-references were then used in the text analysis of this chapter and the analyses of social and discursive practices of Chapter 3.

There are two sections to the transitivity analysis: 4.3 is an analysis of material processes and 4.4 is an analysis of relational processes. Each section has three subsections corresponding to the 'goings-on' and the establishment of relationships involving in-group Self and US, the out-group Opponent, and in-group Friends and out-group Foes as clausal Participant. In each of these subsections, transcript extracts of both candidates of the 1960 and 2000 USPD series are arranged sequentially in text compilations that have been marked according to the determining verbal groups, Participants, and circumstantials of the process

type. The extracts are analyzed along with tabulated data from the Excel tables of procedure two (see Table 15) for each pair of candidates of each debate series (1-2 of the 1960 series and 3-4 of the 2000 series). Therefore, the four candidates as text producers, three groups of Participants and the two process types which account for more than 70% of the total of the USPD texts yield a total of twenty-four analyses in Sections 4.3 and 4.4. Each of these descriptions and interpretations of each candidate's representations average 4-5 pages; consequently, the number of material and relational process types has been limited to 10-15 per candidate and are viewed as constituting approximately eighty samples for each of the four candidates in discussions of national security concerns with the in-group and out-group Participants (see Table 16) in the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000.

Process *Participant*	**Material processes Section 4.3**	**Relational processes Section 4.4**
Self/US 1960 USPDs	Kennedy: 4.3.1.1 Nixon: 4.3.1.2 Comparison 4.3.1.3; *Table 17*	Nixon: 4.4.1.1 Kennedy: 4.4.1.2 Comparison 4.4.1.3; *Table 23*
Self/US 2000 USPDs	Bush: 4.3.1.4 Gore: 4.3.1.5 Comparison 4.3.1.6; *Table 18*	Gore: 4.4.1.4 Bush: 4.4.1.5 Comparison 4.4.1.6; *Table 24*
Opponent 1960 USPDs	Nixon: 4.3.2.1 Kennedy: 4.3.2.2 Comparison 4.3.2.3; *Table 19*	Kennedy: 4.4.2.1 Nixon: 4.4.2.2 Comparison 4.4.2.3; *Table 25*
Opponent 2000 USPDs	Gore: 4.3.2.4 Bush: 4.3.2.5 Comparison 4.3.2.6; *Table 20*	Bush: 4.4.2.4 Gore: 4.4.2.5 Comparison 4.4.2.6; *Table 26*
Friends & Foes 1960 USPDs	Kennedy: 4.3.3.1 Nixon: 4.3.3.2 Comparison 4.3.3.3; *Table 21*	Nixon: 4.4.3.1 Kennedy: 4.4.3.2 Comparison 4.4.3.3; *Table 27*
Friends & Foes 2000 USPDs	Bush: 4.3.3.4 Gore: 4.3.3.5 Comparison 4.3.3.6; *Table 22*	Gore: 4.4.3.4 Bush: 4.4.3.5 Comparison 4.4.3.6; *Table 28*

Table 16: Transitivity analysis of material and relational processes and in- and out-group participants

The three procedures allow for consideration of how the representations, and relations and identities regarding the issue of national security as an aspect of broader foreign policy have changed over the years. The social and processing analyses of Chapter Three have previously explained 'how socially available genres and discourses are drawn upon', and 'how shifting language and discursive practices in the media constitute social and cultural change' (cf. Fairclough, 1995a, p.29). The task of the text analysis of micro-structural components of this chapter is to follow up on the previous analyses by probing material and relational processes at the level of clause as representation.

The transitivity analysis combined with the contributions of van Dijk (2001), Fairclough (1989; 1992; 1995), Fowler (1979; 1981), Martin, et al (1997), and others, has proven to be an effective linguistic tool for distinguishing how candidates' depictions of experience may be realized at the level of the clause as representation. Transitivity analysis provides, what Simpson (1993, p.104) explains as, 'one means of investigating how a reader's or a listener's perception of the meaning of text is pushed in a particular direction and how the linguistic structure of a text effectively encodes a 'world-view''.

4.3 Material processes in representations of national security priorities

There are three focuses of attention in the description dimension of the transitivity analysis of material processes: determination of the process type according to the **verbal groups**, which are marked in boldface; categorization of the ACTORS in in-group and out-group polarizations, which I have marked with capital letters; and the noting of the Goal/Range, which is underlined when present. I have not marked other Circumstances in order to keep

the text compilations as legible as possible. The theoretical perspectives of Chapter 2 are applied to the interpretations of the candidates' representations of national security priorities with the use of italicized *quotes* from the extract compilations and usage and percentage compilations from the Excel tables of procedure two in Section 4.2 offering supporting data.

In Section 4.3, the material process types are described and interpreted in three subsections: (4.3.1) in-group Self and US self-presentations, (4.3.2) out-group Opponent other-presentations, as well as (4.3.3) in-group Friends self-presentations and out-group Foes other-presentations. All of the transcript extracts are labeled by candidate, year, the debate number of the total, i.e. 1/4 equals the first of four debates in the particular USPD series, as well as line reference numbers which correspond to Appendix 1 (1960) and Appendix 2 (2000), respectively. The transcript extracts of the candidates of the 1960 USPDs precede those of the candidates of the 2000 series. The order of candidates is switched in each subsection to give equal weight to the candidates' representations.

4.3.1 Material processes: In-group Self and US representations in the USPD texts

The two major party candidates of the 1960 and 2000 USPDs primarily use material processes and in-group US and SELF participants to construct positive self-presentations. The nation, citizens and institutions of the U.S. are not commonly criticized in USPDs; however, it is common in each of the debate series of 1960 and 2000 for the candidates to offer negative representations with evaluations regarding the state of affairs of the nation and its institutions and how they have been mismanaged, especially when the candidate wishes to challenge the status quo of a sitting president or vice president. This was the case of Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts in the USPDs of 1960.

4.3.1.1: Kennedy's uses of material processes to represent the in-groups Self and US

KENNEDY: 1960: 1/4: 152-156: WE **never used** our influence when WE **could have used** it most effectively - and today Cuba is lost for freedom. I hope some day IT **will rise**;

2/4: 402-405: WE **poured** three hundred million dollars of surplus military equipment into Laos. WE **paid** more military aid, more aid into Laos per person than in any country in the world and we ought to know now that LAOS **is moving** from neutralism in the direction of the Communists.

2/4: 563-568: unless THE UNITED STATES **begin to move** here – unless WE **start to go** ahead – I don't believe that WE**'re going to meet** our responsibility to our own people or to the cause of freedom.

2/4: 798-804: I think WE **should protect** our commitments. I believe strongly WE **should do** so in Berlin. I believe strongly WE **should do** so in Formosa, and I believe WE **should meet** our commitments to every country.

4/4: 1677: I**'ve served** this country for fourteen years in the Congress and before that in the service.

In the first Kennedy (1/4: 152-156) extract above the senator makes use of 'the inclusive *we*' to refer to the U.S. nation as having lost opportunities in *we never used our influence when we could have used it most effectively*. Based on Fairclough (1989, pp. 127-128), such usage of 'the so-called 'inclusive' *we*' could indicate, in this particular case, that Kennedy is speaking not only 'on behalf of' himself, but also the viewership in the private domain, and 'indeed all ('right-minded')' members of the Self and US in-groups. As a result of the U.S. failure to act and materially *use our influence* (here used as Goal), the Castro Revolution has succeeded in removing Fulgencio Batista from power in Kennedy's negative other-presentation. The circumstantial element of Manner *more effectively* expresses how the material process might have been done. In the clause, *some day it will rise*, a mentally projected material clause is then used to metaphorically depict *Cuba* as having fallen and in need of assistance to *rise* once again with the Time circumstantial element of Location expressing when Kennedy would like to see the process take place.

In the second debate, Kennedy (2/4: 402-405) again makes use of a negative (SELF) representation, referring to the in-group US, using *we* as Actors *and* three hundred million

dollars as Goal. Here, if we probe to see whether what we have *poured* and *paid* are impacted or affected by the process, thus making them Goals, or whether they elaborate or enhance the process, thereby making them Ranges, we can ask the following question: what did we do with the military equipment/aid? In this case, the circumstantial element of Location, or the destination *into Laos* represents the result of the impact. According to Martin et al (1997, p. 119), a Goal is 'impacted (affected), so it can often be followed by an Attribute, a Role, a Recipient, or a Location of destination that represents the result of the impact'. Actually, it is the lack of impact of which Kennedy complains, so if I probe again with what is Laos doing with the equipment/aid now? - *Laos is moving from neutralism in the direction of the Communists*. Again, it is the circumstantial Location of destination that negatively represents the result of the impact. Such policy failures of the incumbent administration are depicted as exacerbating the problems of U.S. containment of the perceived alien and hostile ideology.

Also, Halliday (1994, p. 111) notes that all material processes are 'not necessarily concrete, physical events; they may be abstract doings and happenings.' An example that Halliday (ibid) uses to 'distinguish between a 'doing to', or DISPOSITIVE type and a 'bringing about', or CREATIVE type of material process', is as follows: 'the mayor dissolved the committee'. In this example, the mayor (as Actor) brings about a change, or the dissolution of the committee (which functions as Goal). In the case of Laos *moving* (2/4: 402-405), the Laotian government is the Actor that is bringing about change in its orientation to U.S. policy as expressed by the circumstantial element of Location.

Later in the same debate, Kennedy (2/4: 563-568) uses material processes with the verbs *move*, *go* and *meet* to represent the state of the nation as mired in a deep malaise. The conjunction *unless*, which signifies except on the condition that, in the Kennedy (2/4: 563-

568) extract *unless the United States begin to move,* establishes a problem/situation move of hortatory discourse. The conditional is then repeated by *unless we start to go ahead*, by which the Location circumstantial expresses the direction of the movement that is needed. The challenger to the status quo then uses a resort to motivation with a prediction of undesirable results; however, the prediction is hedged by use of the grammatical metaphor *I believe* in the negative proposition that the inclusive *we* are not *going to meet our responsibility to our own people or to the cause of freedom*. The nominal group *our responsibilities* is a Goal, and the prepositional phrases *to our own people* and *to the cause of freedom are* circumstantial elements of Purpose which express the intention for the material process *meet*. Similarly, when Kennedy (2/4: 798-804) states that *we should protect our commitments*, the nominal group is impacted by the material process *protect*. Kennedy then specifies that *we should do so in Berlin* and *we should do so in Formosa* and that *we should meet our commitments to every country*. Here, the adverb *so* is a circumstantial element of Manner expressing how, and the prepositional phrases *in Berlin*, *in Formosa* and *to every country* are circumstantial elements of Location and Behalf expressing where and for whom, respectively. The call for action of hortatory discourse, or an economic thrust, is ordered by Kennedy (2/4: 798-804), who uses mitigated commands with the use of *should* and the resort to motivation of hortatory discourse to enable the senator to admonish the administration and warn the inclusive *we* that it is essential to act as he prescribes. Kennedy makes the Goal of *our responsibility* interchangeable with *commitments*, as well as the verbs *meet* and *protect* in his representation of the national security policy of containment of Communism, which was a key component of U.S. Cold War foreign policy at the time of the USPDs of 1960.

Kennedy's (4/4: 1677) last extract emphasizes his commitment and service to the country, realized by the material process *serve*. In the clause *I've served this country*, the country is the Beneficiary, or the entity for whom the process is done. The prepositional phrase *for fourteen years* is a circumstantial element of Duration, whereas *the Congress* and *the service*, which are preceded by prepositions, are not kinds of participants but circumstantials of Place, both of which are subcategories of Location.

Let us now look at how Nixon responds to questions from the panel of news media representatives and how he emphasizes positive things about Self and US as well as the de-emphasizing of negative things about the incumbent Republicans stated by the Democratic challenger to the status quo.

4.3.1.2: Nixon's uses of material processes to represent the in-groups Self and US

NIXON: 1960: 1/4: 46-53: WE **fight** Communism at home not only by OUR LAWS to **deal with** Communists, the few who do become Communists and the few who do become fellow travelers, but WE also **fight** Communism at home by **moving against** those various injustices which exist in our society which THE COMMUNISTS **feed upon**.

2/4: 111-117: Now with regard to Cuba, let me make one thing clear. There isn't any question but that WE **will defend** our rights there. There isn't any question but that WE **will defend** Guantanamo if it**'s attacked**.

2/4: 312-318: Now looking to what WE **ought to do** in the future. In this Cold War we have to recognize where it **is being fought** and then WE **have to develop** programs **to deal with** it. It**'s being fought** primarily in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America.

2/4: 345-346: WE **have to step up** our activities and **launch** an offensive for the minds and hearts and souls of men.

2/4: 632-639: I **would not be willing to meet** with him, however, unless there were PREPARATIONS for that conference which **would give** us some reasonable certainty that you were going to have some success. WE **must not build up** the hopes of the world and then **dash** them as was the case in Paris.

In the first few Nixon excerpts above we can see how he emphasizes that he defends the home front and champions the cause of Communist containment through the use of the inclusive *we* and the material process *fight*. This is the first component of the ideological

square: emphasize positive things about US. The U.S. victims of ideological brainwashing, in the Nixon (1/4: 46-53) extract, or those *few who become Communists and the few who become fellow travelers*, are marginalized and will be dealt with by means of *our laws*, which functions as Actor. Here, the phrasal verb *to deal with* is interpreted as to take legal action, and its preposition is ‘closely bonded with the verb, so that it is functioning as a part of the process’ in *deal with*; therefore, *the Communists* and *the Cold War* (2/4: 312-318) are impacted Goals rather than circumstantial elements (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 159). Nixon then emphasizes the negative characteristics of the sly Communist agitators *who feed upon those various injustices which exist in our society* by exploiting blue collar laborers, civil rights advocates, etc., who they feign to care about. Here *those various injustices* as vague Goals are impacted by the feeding habits of *the Communists* as Actors. By *moving against*, or confronting, these social ills, the perceived human parasites or cadgers would lose their means of survival. The anthropomorphic usage whereby the ideology of Communism takes on human characteristics or motivations is realized by Nixon’s choices of the material processes *fight* and *feed upon*.

As for the external warfronts against Communism, in the Nixon (2/4: 111-117) extract above he states the unquestionable outcome of an agentless attack on the U.S. military base at Guantanamo by asserting *we will defend our rights there*. The *rights* (Goal) are the result of a 1934 treaty that reaffirmed a thirty year-old lease of the property and which could not be terminated without the consent of both governments. Nixon (2/4: 312-318) then specifies *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Latin America* as areas of ideological struggle and U.S. interests by means of a prepositional phrase functioning as a circumstantial of Place. The Cold War combatants are noticeably absent in the two uses of the agentless passive clause: *it's being fought*; however, the inclusive *we* are given the battle cry when Nixon

says that *we* must *develop programs*, *step up activities*, and even *launch an offensive*. The prepositional phrase *for the hearts and souls and minds of men* is a circumstantial element of Manner that expresses how and with what the Cold War could be won in the fiery political rhetoric.

In the Nixon (2/4: 632-639) extract above, *him* refers to Premier Khrushchev of the Soviet Union, and the Vice President expresses his unwillingness to attend another summit conference without *giving us*, as Beneficiary, a successful outcome. In later extracts, Kennedy also expresses this prerequisite for summit conferences, which is regarded as a vote-shifter strategy of minimizing the ideological front between the more experienced vice president and the challenger to the status quo. The extract then concludes with Nixon's proposition that *we must not build up the hopes of the world and then dash them, as was the case in Paris*. Building up *the hopes* is interpreted as a 'creative' material process, much like that of constructing a house, wherein something arises from nothingness. Here, the prepositional phrase *of the world* is a circumstantial element of Behalf expressing on whose behalf is Nixon not going to build up hopes. Nothing came from the famous *Paris* summit conference of mid-May 1960 principally because Khrushchev walked out the first day after condemning U.S. espionage activities. Two weeks earlier, on May 1, 1960, a U-2 reconnaissance plane had been shot down in Soviet air space and the pilot, Gary Powers, was imprisoned at the time of the 1960 USPDs.

4.3.1.3 Comparison of SELF and US in material processes in the 1960 USPD texts

Let us now look at Table 17 below, which is inserted for easier referencing between interpretations of the candidates' usages of the Self in-groups and the US in-groups in material processes. I begin with Kennedy's data followed by that of Nixon.

Table 17 shows that Kennedy's 219 representations of national security issues using the four main process types with the Self in-group as Participant constitute 23.03% of his Total of 951 clauses in the USPD text of 1960. Kennedy's 45 uses of material processes with the group as Actor are 20.55% of the representations, and 11.63% of all of his 387 material processes in the text.

Nixon, however, chose to use the Self in-group 10% more often (33.30%) than Kennedy in his Total of 365 representations of national security priorities using the four main process types. Nixon's usage of 121 material processes with the Self in-group as Actor constitutes 33.15% of the representations (12.6% more than Kennedy), and 27.44% of all of his 441 material processes in the 1960 USPD text (15.81% more than Kennedy), as may be seen in Table 17 below.

Kennedy: *Self*	Material	Total	**Nixon: *Self***	Material	Total
	45	**219/951**		**121**	**365/1,096**
Subtotal	**20.55%**		Subtotal	**33.15%**	
Total	11.63% (45/387)	23.03%	Total	27.44% (121/441)	33.30%
Kennedy: *US*	Material	Total	**Nixon: *US***	Material	Total
	208	**330/951**		**147**	**291/1,096**
Subtotal	**63.03%**		Subtotal	**50.52%**	
Total	53.75% (208/387)	34.70%	Total	33.33% (147/441)	26.55%

Table 17: Self and US representations in material processes in the 1960 USPDs

The usages of the US in-group reveal a marked difference between whom the two candidates of the 1960 USPD series chose to use in material processes. Kennedy chose to use the US in-group in 34.70% of his Total of 330 representations of national security concerns using the four main process types. Kennedy's 208 usages of material processes with the US in-group as Participant are 63.03% of his representations, and 53.75% of all of Kennedy's 387 material processes in the 1960 USPD text. Nixon, on the other hand, used the US in-group about half as often (26.55%) as Kennedy in his Total of 291 representations of national security priorities using the four main process types. Nixon's usage of 147 material processes with the US in-group as Actor, while still 50.52%, is 12.51% less than Kennedy's usage of the same group, and constitute 33.33% of Nixon's total of 441 material processes in the 1960 USPD text (20.42% less than Kennedy).

Senator Kennedy, as challenger to the status quo chose to portray the in-group Self as Participant in about a fifth (20.55%) of his material processes; whereas Vice President Nixon referred to himself or the incumbent administration one third of the time (33.15%) when national security matters were discussed. The Democratic candidate instead chose to invoke the inclusive *we* (63.03%) to do his bidding compared to his incumbent opponent (50.52%). The data suggest that while the incumbent may draw upon the represented successes of the current administration, the challenger to the status quo tends to use the US in-group in material processes to offset this advantage. Overall, both of the candidates chose to use the in-groups Self and US as Actors in over 40% of their discussions of national security matters in the USPD texts of 1960.

Let us now look at the representations of national security issues in the USPD texts of 2000 wherein the principal participants are the in-groups Self and US. I begin with analysis of the Bush extracts then proceed to those of Gore.

4.3.1.4: Bush's uses of material processes to represent the in-groups Self and US

Bush: 2000: 1/3: 178-182: and A COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF that **sets** <u>the mission</u> **to fight** and **win** <u>war</u> and **prevent** <u>war</u> from happening in the first place. 1/3: 239-242: if WE **don't stop extending** <u>our troops</u> all around the world and nation-building missions, then we're going to have A SERIOUS PROBLEM **coming** down the road, and **I'm going to prevent** <u>that</u>.
2/3: 524-528: WE **can help build** <u>coalitions</u> but WE **can't put** <u>our troops</u> all around the world.
2/3: 620-622: it's important for THIS NATION **to develop** <u>an anti-ballistic missile system</u> that WE **can share** with our allies in the Middle East
2/3: 921-924: And as a result, OUR NATION **paid** <u>a price</u>.
2/3: 922-924: And so I don't think OUR TROOPS **ought to be used** for what's called nation-building.
2/3: 930-934: OUR TROOPS **ought to be used to help overthrow** <u>the dictator</u> when it's in our best interest.
3/3: 1462: OUR COALITION against Saddam **is unraveling**.
2/3: 1350-1365: I **want to empower** <u>the people</u>. I **want to help** <u>PEOPLE</u> **help** <u>themselves</u>, not have GOVERNMENT tell people <u>what</u> **to do**.

Four decades later in the USPDs of 2000, this time it is a Republican candidate who is challenging the status quo of a Democratic administration and warning of a decline in the military might of the U.S. Armed Forces. In the first Bush (1/3: 178-182) extract, the Texas Governor asserts the role of *Commander-in-Chief* (the Actor) as the leader who *sets the mission*. Here the verbs *fight* and *win* have *war* as their objective or Goal, as does the verb *prevent*. The prepositional phrases *from happening* and *in the first place* function as circumstantial elements of Cause to express how the verbs *fight* and *prevent* have the same Goal of *war*, which is seen as an appeal move of persuasive discourse: peace is represented not as the absence of war, but the result of winning at warfare.

Bush's (1/3: 239-242) disdain for *nation-building missions* is evidenced elsewhere in the text analysis. Suffice it to say here that such uses of military forces are aspects which Bush feels that other nations should undertake because they do not involve the actions *fight*, *win*, and *prevent* (crucial material processes) when it comes to U.S. warfare tactics. This is further revealed in the (2/3: 524-525) extract where he says the following: *We can help*

build coalitions but we can't put our troops all around the world. Here, the verb *put* or station determines the process with *our troops* as the affected Goal and the prepositional phrase *around the world* functioning as a circumstantial element of Location. One means other than the building of *coalitions* (Goal) by which Bush (2/3: 619-625) proposes *to prevent war* in the Middle East is for *this nation to develop an anti-ballistic missile system that we can share with our allies in the Middle East*. Here, the *missile system* functions as Goal of the ‘creative’ material process with *this nation* as Actor.

In the Bush (2/3: 921) extract above, the governor uses a lexicogrammatical feature with relational and expressive values to describe the loss of lives in the negatively portrayed *nation-building mission* in Somalia. Although Gore (2/3: 903) just previously in the discussion had pointed out that that particular *mission* had taken place *in the previous administration, in the Bush-Quayle administration*, Bush (2/3: 921) concludes that *as a result* of the ill-conceived mission, *our nation paid a price*. Here *the nation* functions as Actor and the noun *price* as the Range of process. The prepositional phrase which prefaces Bush’s evaluation, *as a result*, is a circumstantial element of Cause.

Bush’s (2/3: 930-934) determination for the use of *our troops* involves providing *help* to *empower the people* who wish to *overthrow the dictator*, yet such actions need to be *in our best interest*. Here we have the Goals of *troops* being used, *people* being helped and *the dictator* being ousted. The prepositional phrase *in our best interest* is a circumstantial element of Cause. The governor (3/3: 1462) then warns metaphorically that the former *coalition* of the Persian Gulf War *against Saddam is unraveling*. The prepositional phrase *against Saddam* is a Purpose circumstantial expressing the intention for the process.

Let us now look at how Gore responds to questions from the moderator and how he emphasizes positive things about Self and US as well as the de-emphasizing of negative things about the incumbent Democrats stated by the Republican challenger to the status quo.

4.3.1.5: Gore's uses of material processes to represent the in-groups Self and US

GORE: 2000: 1/3: 25-27: That is a very strong incentive that WE**'ve given** them to **do** the right thing.
2/3: 1107-1108: And what **did** WE **do** in the late 40s and 50s and 60s? WE **were nation-building**.
2/3: 1316-1317: **Are** WE **going to step** up to the plate as a nation the way WE **did** after World War II,
3/3: 1494-1500: When I **graduated** from college, there were plenty of fancy ways **to get out** of **going** and being a part of that. I **went** and I **volunteered**, and I **went** to Vietnam.
3/3: 1507-1512: In the Congress, in the House of Representatives, I **served** on the House Intelligence Committee and I **worked** hard to learn the subject of nuclear arms control and how WE **can diffuse** these tensions and **deal with** non-proliferation and **deal with** the problems of terrorism and these new weapons of mass destruction.
3/3: 1519-1521: I **worked** on a bipartisan basis, as I **did** in the House; I **worked** with former President Reagan on the modernization of our strategic weaponry.

Vice President Gore in the USPDs of 2000, as did Vice President Nixon in 1960, defends the causes and the record of the administration, and also does not see the U.S. Armed Forces as being in a weakened state. Gore (2000: 1/3: 25-27) surmises that NATO's military intervention in Yugoslavia was a *very strong incentive that we've given them to do the right thing* to emphasize one of the presupposed positive aspects or foreign policy successes of the Democratic administration. Here the verb *give*, with *them* as Beneficiary, is collocated with the reciprocal action of what the Vice President now expects, the doing of *the right thing*, or the ousting of Milosevic using a colloquial expression.

To de-emphasize the negative aspects which have been brought up by his opponent regarding the emasculated role of the U.S. military as nation-builders, Gore (2/3: 1106-1108) asks the viewership the following question: *and what did we do in the late 40s and*

50s and 60s? The Vice President then answers his own question by using a 'creative' material process, positively asserting that, historically speaking, *we were nation-building* after WW II. Gore (2/3: 1316-1317) then uses a metaphor depicting the nation as a baseball player who, when it is his/her turn, *steps up to the plate* and confronts the hurled ball of the opposing team's pitcher. The prepositional phrase *as a nation* is a Guise subcategory of the circumstantial of Role and *the way* is a circumstantial of Manner.

Later in the third and final debate of the series, Gore (3/3: 1494-1500) describes himself as having been *graduated from college* with *plenty of fancy ways* for a senator's son *to get out of going and being a part of* the war in Vietnam, before categorically asserting what he eventually decided to do: *I went and I volunteered, and I went to Vietnam*. Here, the prepositional phrase *of fancy ways* is a circumstantial element of Manner with expressive value and *to Vietnam* is a Location circumstantial.

In the Gore (3/3: 1507-1512) extract above, the 'creative' material process determined by the verbal group *can diffuse* affects the Goal of *these tensions* by bringing about a change. Again, the phrasal verb *to deal with* has its preposition 'closely bonded with the verb, so that it is functioning as a part of the process' in *deal with*; therefore, *non-proliferation*, *the problems of terrorism* and *these new weapons of mass destruction* are seen as impacted Goals rather than circumstantial elements (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 159).

Gore (3/3: 1519-1521) then represents himself as being able to *work on a bipartisan basis*, thus narrowing the front between himself and his opponent by means of the expression of the Manner circumstantial. The prepositional phrases *with former President Reagan*, *on the modernization* and *of our strategic weaponry* also are examples of Manner circumstantials elaborating how and what with. The prepositional phrases *in the Congress*, *in the House of Representatives*, as well as *on the House Intelligence Committee* all are

circumstantials of Location expressing the Places where Gore *worked* and *served*. The adverb *hard* is a Quality expression of Manner. In representing himself as such, the incumbent de-emphasizes the negative claims of his opponent and minimizes the differences between them on the issue of national security, which is a means of front-narrowing argumentation strategy (cf. Chapter 3).

Let us now look at Table 18 below, which refers to the candidates' usages of the Self in-groups and the US in-groups in material processes. I begin with Bush's data and follow with that of Gore.

4.3.1.6 Comparison of SELF and US in material processes in the 2000 USPD texts

Table 18 shows that Bush's 288 representations of national security matters using the four main process types with the Self in-group as Participant constitute 34.70% of his Total of 830 clauses in the USPD text of 1960. Bush's 59 uses of material processes with the group as Actor are 20.49% of the representations, and 22.26% of all of his 265 material processes in the text.

Gore chose to use the Self in-group slightly less often (31.42%) than Bush in his Total of 219 representations using the four main process types. However, Gore's 74 uses of material processes with the Self in-group as Actor constitute 33.79% of his Total of 219 representations (13.3% more than Bush), and 27.41% of Gore's total of 270 material processes in the text (5.15% more than Bush), as may be seen in Table 18 below:

Bush: ***Self***	Material	Total	**Gore:** ***Self***	Material	Total
	59	**288/830**		**74**	**219/697**
Subtotal	**20.49%**		Subtotal	**33.79%**	
Total	22.26% (59/265)	34.70%	Total	27.41% (74/270)	31.42%
Bush: ***US***	Material	Total	**Gore:** ***US***	Material	Total
	129	**323/830**		**115**	**261/697**
Subtotal	**39.94%**		Subtotal	**44.06%**	
Total	48.68% (129/265)	38.92%	Total	42.59% (115/270)	37.45%

Table 18: Self and US representations in material processes in the 2000 USPD texts

The uses of the US in-group in the 2000 USPDs do not reveal the marked difference that was observed in the 1960 series between whom the candidates chose to use in material processes (see Table 17). Bush chose to use the US in-group in 38.92% of his 323 representations of national security priorities using the four main process types. Bush’s 129 uses of material processes with the group as Actor are 39.94% of the representations, and 48.68% of all of his 265 material processes in the text. Gore used the US in-group slightly less often (37.45%) than Bush in his Total of 261 representations using the four main process types, yet his usage of 115 material processes with the US in-group as Actor is 44.06% of all of his representations (4.12% more than Bush), and constitute 42.59% of Gore’s total of 270 material processes in the 2000 USPD text (1.47% less than Bush).

The candidates’ usages of the Self in-groups and the US in-groups in both material and relational processes in the USPD texts of 2000 are compared with the usages in the 1960 text in the Concluding Remarks Section of 4.5. As for now, let us turn our attention to representations of one’s Opponent as an out-group in the texts of the two USPD series.

4.3.2 Out-group Opponent in material processes

The major party candidates of the 1960 and 2000 USPDs often wish to distinguish themselves from their out-group Opponents. This means of negative other-presentation may assign singular agency for the performance of a particularly unforgivable act in the past or warnings of what might happen if the opponent were to be elected president. Such representations were seen previously in Chapter 3 in the discussion of resort to motivation.

The following extracts are from the USPD texts of 1960. The order of the candidates' extracts is switched in each subsection to give equal weight to the candidates.

4.3.2.1 Nixon's material processes representing the Opponent

NIXON: 1960: 2/4: 124-125: I don't think THIS KIND OF DEFEATIST TALK by Senator Kennedy **helps** the situation one bit.
2/4: 329-334: I'd like to point out that in the last six years, THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSES, of which he'd been a member, **have cut** twenty million dollars off of the Voice of America programs. THEY also **have cut** four billion dollars off of mutual security in these last six years. THEY also **have cut** two billion dollars off of defense.
2/4: 593-598: He is suggesting that HE **will move** America faster and further than I **will**. But what **does** HE **offer**? HE **offers** retreads of programs that failed.
3/4: 1440-1442: SENATOR KENNEDY'S STATEMENT that he's just made **is not going to help** our Gallup Polls abroad and IT **isn't going to help** our prestige either.
4/4: 1553-1556: WHAT MR. KENNEDY HAS SUGGESTED **would bring** results which I know HE **would not want**,
4/4: 1636-1638: what **does** THIS **do** to American prestige? Well, it can only have the effect certainly of **reducing** it.

In the Nixon (1/4: 124-125) extract above the Vice President condemns the *kind of defeatist talk by Senator Kennedy* which he does not think *helps the situation* of the U.S. trying to contain the Communists. Here, since material processes involve doing something, one may probe with the following question: What doesn't such *defeatist talk* do? According to the

Vice President, it *doesn't help* Communist containment (used as the Goal) which is inferred as *the situation*. In this case, *I don't think* must be interpreted simultaneously with the material process because the grammatical metaphor of modality functions as a mitigated form of persuasion aimed at influencing the beliefs of the viewership. Later, in the third USPD, Nixon (3/4: 1440-1442) again asserts that his opponent's negative other-presentations are *not going to help our Gallup Polls abroad and it isn't going to help our prestige either*. Here, *our Gallup Polls* and *our prestige* are Goals impacted by the twice negated verb *help*.

In the Nixon (2/4: 329-334) extract above, the Vice President focuses the blame on *the Democratic Congresses*, whom he accuses as having *cut twenty million dollars off of the Voice of America programs, four billion dollars off of mutual security, and two billion dollars off of defense*. The *Voice of America* programs are radio broadcasts of the U.S. Information Agency of the Department of State. This program and the other two are Goals.

Nixon scoffs at the Democratic nominee for suggesting that *he will move America faster and further than I will* (2/4: 593-598). Again, I have interpreted *move America* as a metaphor which signifies forward motion as progress or advancement, and consider it a 'creative' type of material process akin to stimulate as determined by the verb *move*. Thus, Kennedy is represented as promoting himself as the impetus for dramatic change who will 'bring about' a fresh change or invigoration of the U.S. in the early 1960s. Nixon, however, sees things differently and the Vice President mocks the metaphorical depiction of his opponent and recasts it with another mental picture in the following: *But what does He offer? He offers retreads of programs that failed*. The use of the front-broadening strategy serves to spoil Kennedy's positive self-presentation of a vibrant country *moving* ahead at a fast pace down a wide expressway to that of the nation as a sputtering clunker with old tires

that have been fitted with new tread by means of the metaphorical usage of *retreads* to depict the *programs* that were said to have been tried and *failed* during the previous Democratic Administration of President Truman. The material process determined by the verb *offer* with *what* and the *retreads* metaphor as the respective Goals are similar to a Halliday (1994, p. 174) example, although in the passive: ‘I only get offered small parts’, which Halliday (ibid.) interprets as a passive, material process with I as ‘recipient’.

In another Nixon (4/4: 1553-1556) extract, the Vice President then states that his opponent’s suggested means for dealing with Castro *would bring results* which were undesirable. The proposition is seen as embedded persuasive discourse as a means of supplying motivation in the hortatory schema by means of ‘creative’ material process, *bring* about, with *results* as the affected Goal of the process.

In the fourth and final debate of the series, Nixon (4/4: 1636-1638) offers his own probe of a material process involved in doing something with the following rhetorical question: *What does this do to American prestige?* The Vice President then answers his own question by making use of a modalized relational process with *only* as a modal adverb, combined with the material process of *reducing* with *it* as the Goal representing *American prestige*. In the denunciatory material processes, Nixon creates a rift between himself and his opponent as a vote-gathering strategy in his attempt to use patriotism as a means of squelching dissent, and by emphasizing the negative aspects of the persuasive discourse of his Democratic opponent, which he assesses as only denigrating the U.S. nation.

4.3.2.2 Kennedy's material processes representing the Opponent

KENNEDY: 1960: 2/4: 528: PRESIDENT EISENHOWER **moves** from the scene on January twentieth
2/4: 538-540: and if HIS VIEW **prevails** then I think THAT**'s going to bring** an important result to this country in the sixties.
2/4: 560-568: THIS ADMINISTRATION **has not met** its responsibilities in the last eight years,
3/4: 1006-1013: what MR. NIXON **wants to do** is **commit** us – as I understand him, so that we can be clear if there's a disagreement – he wants us to be committed to the defense of these islands merely as the defense of these islands as free territory, not as part of the defense of Formosa.
3/4: 1038-1041: Now on the question of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, I must say that I feel that another effort **should be made** by A NEW ADMINISTRATION in January of 1961, **to renew** negotiations with the Soviet Union.
3/4: 1060-1063: One of my disagreements with the present administration has been that I don't feel a real effort **has been made** on this very sensitive subject, not only of nuclear controls, but also of general disarmament. LESS THAN A HUNDRED PEOPLE **have been working** throughout the entire federal government on this subject,
3/4: 1372-1373: we should make it very clear the disagreement between Mr. Nixon and myself. HE**'s extending** the Administration's commitment.

In the first Kennedy (2/4: 528) extract, the senator uses a colloquial expression to describe the upcoming Inauguration Day as *President Eisenhower moves from the scene on January twentieth*. The verb *move* determines the material process whereby a change in Executive leadership will be brought about with *from the scene* and *on January twentieth* as Location types of Circumstance. Kennedy (538-540) then surmises that if his Opponent's *view* is the one which triumphs in the general election, then it would *bring an important result to this country in the sixties*. Here *an important result* is the Goal of the material process with again two Location types of Circumstance, *to this country* and *in the sixties*. The use of *important* is a formal feature with expressive value which foretells a dismal future for the nation. According to Kennedy's (2/4: 560-568) negative other-presentation, the Eisenhower Administration has been unable to effectuate or fulfill *its responsibilities*, which I have

interpreted as the Range of the failure of *this administration*, or the domain of the material process as determined by the verb *meet*.

In the first (3/4: 1006-1008) extract from the third debate, Kennedy refers to *Nixon* as forcing *us* (used as an unfortunate Beneficiary in the material process) to do something: defend two small islands off the coast of China. Kennedy (3/4: 1038-1041) then asserts by means of a passive voice construction the importance for *a new administration in January of 1961* to *make another effort* to reinitiate (*renew*) talks with *the Soviet Union* on *nuclear disarmament*. The verb in this case (*make*), is viewed by Halliday (1994, p. 147) as being 'lexically empty'; therefore, 'the process of the clause is expressed only by the noun functioning as Range'. The clause complex is interpreted as a singular material process determined by the verb *renew* with *negotiations* as Goal of the renewed activity.

Later in the third debate, Kennedy (3/4: 1060-1063) uses the vote-gatherer argumentation strategy by broadening the front between himself and his opponent in his implication by use of the following agentless passive construction prefaced by a negation: *I don't feel a real effort has been made on this very sensitive subject*. Again, the process of the clause is expressed by *effort* functioning as the Range of the material clause. The modal adjective *real* is a formal feature with expressive value denoting a negative opinion. Kennedy then uses the supporting argumentation of persuasive discourse to bolster his claim that *less than a hundred people* (functioning as Actor) *have been working on this subject*. Here the prepositional phrases *on this subject* and *throughout the entire federal government* are respectively Manner and Place types of circumstantial element. In the final extract (3/4: 1372-1373), Kennedy broadens the front again by stating *we should make it very clear the disagreement between Mr. Nixon and myself* before then asserting that Nixon

aims at *extending the Administration's commitment*. The Goal of *commitment* refers to the treaty to protect Formosa and not the disputed islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

Let us now look at Table 19 below of the tabulated usages of the Opponent out-group in material processes. I begin with Nixon’s data followed by that of Kennedy.

4.3.2.3 Comparison of Opponents in material processes in the 1960 USPD texts

Table 19 shows that Nixon’s 211 representations of national security concerns using the four main process types with the Opponent out-group as Participant constitute 19.25% of his Total of 1,096 clauses in the USPD text of 1960. Nixon’s 78 uses of material processes with the group as Actor are 36.97% of the representations, and 17.69% of all of his 441 material processes in the text.

Nixon: *Opponent*	Material	Total	**Kennedy: *Opponent***	Material	Total
	78	**211/1,096**		**36**	**86/951**
Subtotal	**36.97%**		Subtotal	**41.86%**	
Total	17.69% (78/441)	19.25%	Total	9.30% (36/387)	9.04%

Table 19: Opponent representations in material processes in the 1960 USPD texts

Kennedy, however, chose to use the Opponent out-group less than half as often (9.04%) as Nixon in his Total of 86 representations of national security priorities using the four main process types. While Kennedy’s 36 usages of material processes with the Opponent out-group as Participant constitute less than half of those used by Nixon (78), his percentage of usage (41.86%) is 4.89% more than his opponent’s. Also of interest is that Kennedy’s 36 usages of material processes with the Opponent out-group as Participant

constitute just 9.30% of Kennedy's total of 387 material processes in the 1960 USPD text (about half that of his opponent), as may be seen in Table 19 above.

The data indicate that Nixon chose to represent his Opponent out-group more than twice as often (19.25%) as did Kennedy (9.04%). Also, Nixon chose to do so nearly twice as often with material processes (17.69% / 9.30%). While Kennedy is thought of as the younger, more telegenic, vote-gathering style of debater, the senator spent less than ten percent of his time distancing himself from the Vice President in his representations of national security matters. Therefore, Kennedy's ability to make use of the vote-shifter argumentation strategy might have served him well in depicting himself as just as serious and knowledgeable as the incumbent Vice President on national security matters, and only having differences of opinion with the seldom used out-group Opponent as Actor in material processes.

Let us now turn to the extract compilations of the USPD text of 2000. I will then compare the data of Tables 20 and 21, as was done previously.

4.3.2.4 Gore's material processes representing the Opponent

GORE: 2000: 1/3: 193-194: In fact, in my ten-year budget proposal I've **set aside** more than twice as much for this purpose as GOVERNOR BUSH **has** in his proposal.
2/3: 703-706: I was one of the few members of my political party to support former President Bush in the Persian Gulf War resolution, and at the end of that war, for whatever reason, it **was not finished** in a way that **removed** Saddam Hussein from power.
3/3: 1556-1557: The GOVERNOR has proposed **skipping** a generation of technology.

The four usages of material processes constitute the only times that Gore chose to represent his opponent using material processes (see Table 20 below). In the first Gore (2000: 1/3: 193-194) extract above, the Vice President emphasizes the positive things about his

position on military funding by asserting that he has allocated or *set aside more than twice as much for this purpose* as has the out-group Opponent, *Governor Bush*. The prepositional phrases *for this purpose* and *in his proposal* are examples of Cause and Manner circumstantials, respectively. The degree of difference in the two represented proposals is determined by the correlative *as Governor Bush*, which is interpreted as a circumstantial element of Manner. Thus, Gore portrays his out-group Opponent as Actor offering to *set aside* less funding for national security priorities with its inferred Goal consisting of billions of U.S. dollars to differentiate himself from his Republican Opponent, or broaden the front. In the extract (3/3: 1556-1557) from the third debate, Gore once again creates a rift between the candidates by stating directly without any form of modalization that *the governor has proposed skipping a generation of technology*. Here Bush is transfixed as the Actor in his opponent's proposition that *a generation of technology* is to be passed over or skipped as the impacted Goal if the governor is elected president.

In the Gore (2/3: 703-706) extract of the second debate, the argumentation strategy is reversed to a vote-shifter style with prefacing by means of circumstantial elements followed immediately by an admonishment of his opponent's father as the Republican President during the Persian Gulf War: *and at the end of that war, for whatever reason, it was not finished in a way that removed Saddam Hussein from power*. Here *it* is the Goal related to *that war* in an agentless passive construction of the material process as determined by the verb *finish*. The prepositional phrases *at the end of the war* are examples of Location and Cause circumstantial elements, respectively, whereas *for whatever reason* and *in a way* are examples of Cause and Manner circumstantial elements, respectively. In the final projected clause *Saddam Hussein* is the Goal of the material process which failed to oust him. The agentless construction of *that war*, which is the reason the material process

took place, although only referred to by the pronoun *it*, is thought to distinguish Gore's argumentation strategy at this particular moment because it appears to be an appeal to 'swing voters', or those who are said to deliberate both sides of the issues. In the vote-shifter strategy of Chapter 3, Jørgensen and Kock (1999) use the terms 'deliberating' or 'liberal citizens' to describe these swing voters. Such voters might need reassurance that Gore would be just as stern a Commander-in-Chief as his opponent, and that the failure to topple Saddam Hussein in the early nineties was not of Gore's doing.

Let us now look at how Bush responds to questions from the moderator and how he emphasizes his good points, as well as the positive aspects of the out-group administration, yet de-emphasizes any positive traits of his Opponent, the Vice President.

4.3.2.5 Bush's material processes representing the Opponent

BUSH: 2000: 2/3: 579-581: and I appreciate the way THE ADMINISTRATION **has worked** hard **to calm** the tensions.
2/3: 666-669: THIS ADMINISTRATION**'s worked** hard to keep the parties at the table. I **will try to do** the same thing.
2/3: 682-686: I **could handle** the Iraqi situation better. *[Moderator: Saddam Hussein, you mean,* ***get*** *him* ***out*** *of there?]* Bush: I would **like to**, of course, and I presume THIS ADMINISTRATION **would**, as well.
2/3: 757-759: THE PRESIDENT made the right decision in **joining** NATO and **bombing** Serbia.
2/3: 919-924: The mission **was changed**. And as a result, OUR NATION **paid** a price. And so I don't think OUR TROOPS **ought to be used** for what's called nation-building.
2/3: 944-949: I think THE ADMINISTRATION **did** the right thing in that case. I do. It was a horrible situation, no one liked to see it on our TV screens,
2/3: 966-967: THEY made the right decision **not to send** U.S. troops into Rwanda.
3/3: 1586-1587: I'm not **going to grow** the size of the federal government like HE **is**.

The first point that I wish to make here is to note the marked contrast between how Bush represents *the President* and *the administration* compared with his agentless Democratic Opponent. In the Bush (2/3: 757-759) extract above, the Republican candidate states that

the President made the right decision in joining NATO and bombing Serbia. Here, *NATO* and *Serbia* are the Goals of the material processes determined by the verbs *join* and *bomb*. The Texas Governor (2/3: 579-581) acknowledges that *the administration has worked hard to calm the tensions* in the Middle East and *to keep the parties at the table* before then asserting that he (as Actor-president) would *try to do the same thing*. The nominal groups *the tensions* and *the same thing* are the Goals of the material process determined by the verbs *calm* and *do*. Although Bush (2/3: 944-949) confesses that *it was a horrible situation which no one liked to see on our TV screens*, *the administration did the right thing in that case*, too, *when they made the right decision not to send U.S. troops into Rwanda* (2/3: 966-967). The *right thing* and *U.S. troops* are the Goals of the material processes *do* and *send* with *the administration* as a positively represented Actor.

Again, such agreeable propositions function to appeal to the deliberators of the multiple audiences by assuring them that a Bush Administration would more or less follow the same course of action in the Middle East. However, the ideological front between the two candidates is widened when the moderator follows up on a proposition by Bush (2/3: 682-686) that he *could handle the Iraqi situation better* by asking the governor if he meant that he wished for the ousting of Saddam Hussein.

What the Republican candidate states unabashedly is that he *would like to* do so, as prompted by the conversationalized discourse of the moderator: *get him out of there*. Bush's (2/3: 682-686) nonchalance in stating his presumption that *the administration would like to, as well* may have been the result of the effective use of conversationalized discourse by the moderator. We have previously looked at this in Chapter 3 as the register variable of tenor as determined by the 'conversation style' of debate format of the second USPD of 2000. Bush's usages of an idiom, *of course*, functioning as the adverb certainly, and *as*

well, a circumstantial element of Manner, distinguish this as persuasive discourse aimed at influencing the beliefs and values of the viewership that the removal of Saddam Hussein is commonsense, that one could only assume that it is in the nation's interest to do so.

It was at this point in the discussion that Gore (2/3: 703-706) implies that former President Bush was responsible for Saddam Hussein not being *removed from power* in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, as was seen in the Gore extract above. Here, *the Iraqi situation* and the pronoun *him* are the Goals of the material processes determined by the verbal groups *could handle* and *get out*, with the prepositional phrase *of there* serving as a Location circumstantial. The verbal group *could handle* distinguishes this as a modalized material process akin to manage or administer with *better*, as a circumstantial of Manner, expressing how *the Iraqi situation* could be dealt with by a change in Executive leadership.

Another point to make here involves the lack of agency in a material process. Later in the discussion of the second debate, when Bush responds to a question by the moderator about whether or not he had supported U.S. military intervention in Somalia, the Republican candidate (2/3: 919-924) states the propositions that *the mission was changed. And as a result, our nation paid a price.* Here, curiously, *the mission* is the Goal of an agentless passive clause, although, as was noted in 4.3.1.4, Gore (2/3: 903) had already noted that the use of U.S. Armed Forces in Somalia was *in the previous administration, in the Bush-Quayle administration*. Therefore, Bush is thought to have used an embedded persuasive discursive move of persuasive discourse as a means of supplying motivation in the hortatory schema without attributing agency to his beliefs about *nation-building*.

In the final Bush (3/3: 1586-1587) extract of the third and final debate, the Texas Governor states the proposition that *I'm not going to grow the size of the federal government like he is*. The form of negation was previously interpreted in the intertextual

analysis of Chapter 3 in which the Republican candidate effectively dismisses his opponent's proposed $100 billion 10-year military budget as no more than a typical Democratic *spending contest* (Bush: 2000: 3/3: 1583-1584). A Quality subcategory of Manner circumstantial, as determined by the adverbial group *like he is*, realizes the contrast of representations of a Bush Administration with that of a Gore one.

Let us now look at Table 20 below of the candidates' usages of the Opponent out-group in material processes. I begin with Gore's data followed by that of Bush.

4.3.2.6 Comparison of Opponents in material processes in the 2000 USPD texts

The data of Table 20 below show that Gore's 33 representations of national security matters using the four main process types with the Opponent out-group as Participant constitute 4.73% of his Total of 697 clauses in the USPD text of 2000. Gore's 4 uses of material processes with the group as Actor are 12.12% of the representations, and only 1.48% of all of his 270 material processes in the text.

Gore: Opponent	Material	Total	Bush: Opponent	Material	Total
	4	33/697		30	57/830
Subtotal	12.12%		Subtotal	52.63%	
Total	1.48% (4/270)	4.73%	Total	11.32% (30/265)	6.87%

Table 20: Opponent representations in material processes in the 2000 USPD texts

Bush's 57 representations of national security priorities using the four main process types with the Opponent out-group as Participant constitute 6.87% of his Total of 830 clauses in the USPD text of 2000. Bush's 30 uses of material processes with the group as

Actor are 52.63% of the representations, and 11.32% of his total of 265 material processes in the text.

To sum up, Gore chose to use only four material processes involving his Opponent out-group, and two of these usages had the actions of his Opponent's father as President and leader of the Republican Party as the Participant, which still qualify them in the categorizations of candidate and party. These data suggest a reversal in the incumbent-challenger findings of Table 19, in which Nixon as the incumbent (78/211) used more than twice as many material processes as the challenger to the status quo (36/86) in representing the actions of the out-group Opponent. Also, the extract compilations of the 1960 USPD text indicate strong differences of opinions between the two candidates on several national security matters during the Cold War, whereas Bush and Gore in the USPDs of 2000 differed primarily on the role of the military in foreign affairs.

In the case of Gore (4/33) and Bush (30/57), Gore chose to represent his Opponent/party in material processes only 12.12% of the total of 33 overall process types, whereas Bush used Gore and his administration over four times as often in 52.63% of his total of 57 clauses in representing the doings or actions of his out-group Opponent. These findings indicate that Gore, who throughout the USPD series of 2000 was represented by the news media as the more aggressive style of debater, spent less than two percent of his time distancing himself from his Opponent in his portrayals of national security matters using material processes. This suggests that the Vice President may have opted to use the vote-shifter argumentation strategy in which he represents himself as serious and knowledgeable, and only having differences of opinion with his out-group Opponent as Actor in material processes. However, as may be seen in the Bush compilation of extracts above, the challenger to the status quo mostly praised the Clinton Administration's

handling of national security priorities, thereby narrowing the ideological front between the two parties on this particular issue while de-emphasizing any attributes of his opponent. Of course, national security was but one of the issues in the debates, and as has already been seen, candidates readily shift from a vote-shifter to a vote-gatherer debating style.

In the next section, the participant roles of in-group Friends and out-group Foes are described and interpreted. Similar means of referencing and notations are used in this final subsection of analysis of material processes.

4.3.3 Material processes: In-group Friends and out-group Foes

Praising one's friends and bashing one's foes before the live audiences of the USPDs of 1960 and 2000 was realized principally through material processes, although a shift to greater relational process usages was seen in the more recent debate series. In this particular case, the candidates once again square off at each other while representing other people, nations and entire continents. The following extracts are from the USPD texts of 1960. As was done before, the order of the candidates' extracts has been switched in each subsection to give equal weight to the candidates.

4.3.3.1: Kennedy's uses of material processes in representing Friends and Foes

KENNEDY: 1960: 2/4: 136: THAT DICTATORSHIP **had killed** over twenty thousand Cubans in seven years.
2/4: 545-550: THE PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL, THE NEW INCUMBENT **running for** office **called on** Castro during his campaign because he thought it was important **to get** the vote of those WHO **were supporting** Castro in Latin America.
3/4: 1589: HIS INFLUENCE **is growing**
4/4: 1720: Part of that, as the Gallup Polls show, is because THE SOVIET UNION **made** a breakthrough in outer space.

> 4/4: 1972-1985: If THOSE TWO POWERS **should split**; it could have great effects throughout the entire world. Thirdly, I believe that India represents a great area for affirmative action by the free world. INDIA **started** from about the same place that CHINA **did**. CHINESE COMMUNISTS **have been moving** ahead the last ten years. INDIA under a free society **has been making** some <u>progress</u>. But if INDIA **does not succeed** - with her four hundred and fifty million people, if SHE **can't make** <u>freedom</u> **work** - then people around the world are going to determine - particularly in the underdeveloped world - that the only way that THEY **can develop** <u>their resources</u> is through the Communist system.

Kennedy (2/4: 136) acknowledges the cruelty of the U.S.-supported dictatorship of Batista and uses *that dictatorship* as Actor and *over twenty thousand Cubans* as Goal. The Massachusetts Senator (3/4: 1589) also warns (as a resort to motivation) that Castro's *influence* (functioning as Actor) has grown to the point that presidential candidates from other nations, such as *Brazil*, (2/4: 545-550) have begun *to call on* him during their campaigns *in order to get the vote of those who were supporting Castro in Latin America* rather than seeking the backing of the U.S. government. Each of the phrasal verbs *to run for* and *to call on* has its preposition 'closely bonded with the verb, so that it is functioning as a part of the process'; therefore, the nouns *office* and *Castro* are seen as affected Goals rather than circumstantial elements (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 159). The prepositional phrases *in seven years*, *during his campaign* and *in Latin America* are circumstantials of Extent and Location, respectively. Such actions are considered an indication of the loss of U.S. prestige, and Kennedy (4/4: 1720) uses the supporting argumentation of persuasive discourse in stating that *part of that, as the Gallup Polls show, is because the Soviet Union made a breakthrough in outer space*. The material process of the last clause is expressed by the 'empty' verb *make* collocated with *breakthrough* functioning as Range with *in outer space* serving as a circumstantial element of Location.

In the fourth and final debate of the series, Kennedy (4/4: 1972-1985) represents tentative successes in the containment of the Communists: the Russians and the Chinese

disagreed on their versions of communism and expansionism and might *split*, and *India* had been making *some progress*. However, Kennedy again draws on the resort to motivation element of hortatory discourse by issuing the warning that *if India does not succeed - with her four hundred and fifty million people, if she can't make freedom work - then people around the world are going to determine - particularly in the underdeveloped world - that the only way that they can develop their resources is through the Communist system*. Here we can see two interesting usages of material process to represent *India* as an Actor who, by means of the 'empty' verb *make* collocated with the nouns *progress*, and *freedom* collocated with the phrasal verb to *make work*, function as Ranges. The stark bipolarity of Kennedy's world representation may be seen in these clauses, where either a nation succeeds at *making freedom work* or succumbs to *the Communist system*. In the final clause the pronoun (*they*) refers to these floundering nations, *particularly in the underdeveloped world*, which is a circumstantial element of Location. The material process is determined by the verb *develop* with *their resources* as Goal, and the prepositional phrase of *through the Communist system* is an example of the circumstantial element of Manner.

Let us now look at how Nixon responds to questions from the panel of news media representatives and how he emphasizes positive things about Friends and negative depictions of the out-group Foes.

4.3.3.2: Nixon's uses of material processes in representing Friends and Foes

NIXON: 1960: 1/4: 27-31: We have to remember that the Cold War that MR. KHRUSHCHEV **is waging** and HIS COLLEAGUES **are waging**, **is waged** all over the world and IT**'s waged** right here in the United States.

1/4: 39-42: We uphold the very freedoms that the COMMUNISTS **would destroy**

2/4: 640-646: There, MR. KHRUSHCHEV **came** to that conference determined **to break** it **up**. HE **was going to break** it **up** because he would - knew that HE **wasn't going to get** his way on Berlin and on the other key matters with which he was concerned at the Paris Conference.

3/4: 1273-1274: the civil war there **was ended**; and today, at least in the south of Indochina, THE COMMUNISTS **have moved** out,

4/4: 1534-1537: We quarantined Mr. Arbenz. The result was that THE GUATEMALAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES eventually **rose up** and THEY **threw** him **out**.

4/4: 1550-1551: we will quarantine this regime so that THE PEOPLE OF CUBA THEMSELVES **will take care of** Mr. Castro.

4/4: 1659-1666: Let's look at the reaction to Khrushchev and Eisenhower at the last U.N. session. **Did** KHRUSHCHEV **gain** because HE **took** his shoe **off** and **pounded** the table and shouted and insulted? Not at all. THE PRESIDENT **gained**. AMERICA **gained**

4/4: 1823-1826: I think it's time for THEM **to fish** or **cut** bait.

Nixon (1960: 1/4: 27-31) portrays a similar world view as his opponent; however, *the Cold War that Mr. Khrushchev is waging and his and his colleagues are waging,* the Cold War that *is waged all over the world and waged right here in the United States* is a war that is under control due to the able leadership of the incumbent government which protects the people's *very freedoms that the Communists would destroy* (1/4: 39-42). Over-wording with *wage war* suggests 'a focus of ideological struggle' between two ways of living (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 115) but is also thought to be a resort to motivation warning of the undesirable outcome of relenting to the Actors of *Mr. Khrushchev and his colleagues*.

The irrationality of Nixon's (2/4: 640-646) personalized Foe (see the kitchen debate of Chapter 3) is represented in the following clauses: *There, Mr. Khrushchev came to that conference determined to break it up. He was going to break it up because he would - knew that he wasn't going to get his way on Berlin and on the other key matters with which he was concerned at the Paris Conference*. No mention is made of the U-2 spy plane incident;

therefore Nixon is able to create a mental picture of his foe's erratic behavior using material processes as determined by the verbal group *break up* with the pronoun *it* referring *to that conference* in Mid-May of 1961, and *at the Paris Conference*, both of which are further examples of the circumstantial element of Location. Khrushchev's childishness is given as the reason for the failure of the conference: he *knew he wasn't going to get his way*.

The prepositional phrases *on Berlin and on the other key matters* which followed the last clause above (Nixon: 1960: 2/4: 640-646) have been interpreted as the participant function of Range as 'realized by prepositional phrases' in the clause (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 158). The prepositional phrases seem to be attached inextricably to the nominal (*way*); therefore they are thought to establish 'a participant status' (ibid.). Halliday (ibid.) states that 'the line between participants and circumstances is not a very clear one' and offers the following example of a participant function of Range as realized by a prepositional phrase: 'he plays equally well on all three instruments' (ibid.). If one substitutes 'his style' or 'his way' for 'equally well' in the Hallidayan example, a participant status similar to the Nixon construction appears to be established.

A positive self-presentation likewise is applied to *Indochina*, where, according to Nixon (3/4: 1273-1274), because of the strong leadership of the Eisenhower Administration, *the civil war there was ended; and today, at least in the south of Indochina, the Communists have moved out*. Again, Nixon makes use of an agentless passive construction by which the Actor has no blood on his hands and the Communists have simply packed their things and *moved out*. The formal features of *there*, *at least in the south of Indochina*, and *out* are examples of the circumstantial of Location.

Prior to the first Nixon (4/4: 1534-1537) excerpt from the fourth debate of the series, the Vice President has admonished Senator Kennedy for proposing to give help to

the exiles and to those within Cuba who oppose the Castro regime, and reminded him of the nonintervention clauses of the U.S. treaties with Latin America and the charter of the United Nations before then offering a proposition of his own: *we can do what we did with Guatemala* (4/4: 1530-1531). Nixon's (4/4: 1534-1537) lexical choice of *quarantine* is a formal feature with experiential value in that Nixon's experience of the world of foreign affairs, particularly with respect to Cuba, is represented to the debate audiences using what is normally a term of medical discourse for the isolation of a known or suspected pathogen. The portrayal of Castro's tyrannical hold on *the people of Cuba* has relational value as well in that he prescribes the same course of action that is positively self-presented of how *the Guatemalan people themselves*, with merely the nurturing of the U.S. government, *rose up and threw out* their own dictator. Thus, Nixon (4/4: 1550-1551) makes the proposition that the U.S. *will quarantine this regime so that the people of Cuba themselves will take care of Mr. Castro*. Here the adverb *eventually* is a circumstance of Manner, whereas *so that* is an example of a Cause circumstance. Nixon's appraisal of the Cuban situation also carries expressive value as evidenced vis-à-vis the text as the prescribed policy of the next U.S. president, who would be inaugurated on January 20, 1961.[21]

In the final two Nixon extracts, the Vice President (4/4: 1659-1666) portrays how the antics of Premier Khrushchev at *the last U.N. session* had improved U.S. prestige abroad by means of the material processes: *the President gained* and *America gained*, and concludes with the colloquial usage of it being time for the Soviet Union *to fish or cut bait* (4/4: 1823-1826). The negative other-presentation of the Soviet Union stalling on talks to

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[21] At the time of the USPDs of 1960, the Central Intelligence Agency, with the approval of the Eisenhower Administration, had been training an armed force of 1,500 Cuban exiles for more than four months in Guatemala. On April 17, 1961, then President Kennedy was once again criticized by Republicans, as well as by Democrats, but this time for the poor training and lack of air support given to these troops at the infamous Bay of Pigs Invasion at Bahía de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs) in the south of Cuba. See Columbia (2003).

limit the testing of nuclear devices is an example of conversationalization previously looked at in Chapter 3, which has as one of its aims to influence beliefs and values. Here this is done by means of the more graphic material process *cut* with *bait* as the Goal, i.e. to negotiate in good faith.

Let us now compare the data of Table 21 below of the candidates' usages of the Friends and Foes in- and out-groups in material processes. The Participants have been further delineated as specific groups, regions and/or nations.

4.3.3.3 Comparison of Friends and Foes in material processes in the 1960 USPD texts

In the USPD texts of 1960, Kennedy chose to make use of the in-group Friends (UN/NATO/allies) and Latin Americans as the Participants in 5.68% and 5.94% of his material processes, respectively. These percentages correspond to 22 usages of the Friends in-group (UN/NATO/allies) in material processes of his total of 387 of such types; and likewise, Kennedy's 23 usages of material processes to represent both the Foes in Latin America, as well as potential Friends who might be won by a new administration.

Kennedy:				**Nixon:**			
UN/NATO/allies	uses	Subtotal	Total	***UN/NATO/allies***	uses	Subtotal	Total
Material	22	5.68% (22/387)	2.31%	Material	3	0.68% (3/441)	0.27%
LATINOS		Subtotal	Total	***LATINOS***		Subtotal	Total
Material	23	5.94% (23/387)	2.42%	Material	14	3.17% (14/441)	1.28%
RUSSIANS		Subtotal	Total	***RUSSIANS***		Subtotal	Total
Material	3	0.78% (3/387)	0.32%	Material	34	7.71% (34/441)	3.10%
CHINESE		Subtotal	Total	***CHINESE***		Subtotal	Total
Material	3	0.78% (3/387)	0.32%	Material	8	1.81% (8/441)	0.73%

Table 21: Friends and Foes in material processes in the 1960 USPD texts

Nixon focused more on Latin Americans and Russians in material processes (3.17% and 7.71%, respectively), and these Participants were often personified by particularly singled out leaders, such as Castro and Khrushchev, the latter of whom the Vice President had met (see the kitchen debate of Chapter 3). The percentages above correspond to 14 usages to represent both the Foes and potential Friends in Latin America in material processes of Nixon's total of 441 of such types. Nixon's 34 usages of material processes (of his total of 441) were used primarily to represent his nemesis, Soviet Premier Khrushchev.

Overall, the Subtotals for Kennedy add up to 13.18% and 13.37% for Nixon, which constitute nearly identical overall usages of material processes with principal participants belonging to the Friends and Foes groups. Likewise, both Kennedy and Nixon chose to represent Friends and Foes in 5.3% of their overall usage of the four process types. This does not suggest that these and other minor participants were not the subject of discussion more often, but that roughly 13% of the time these particular groups were Participants in material processes and represent about 5% of overall uses of the four main process types. These data differ significantly from those of the USPD texts of 2000, which is the topic of discussion presently.

4.3.3.4: Bush's uses of material processes in representing Friends and Foes

BUSH: 2000: 1/3: 67-70: We would like to see THE RUSSIANS **use** <u>that sway</u> to encourage democracy to take hold. 1/3: 122-123: It's up to THE PEOPLE IN THE REGION **to take control of** <u>their country</u>.

2/3: 604-607: THE COALITION AGAINST SADDAM **has fallen apart** or IT**'s unraveling**, let's put it that way.

2/3: 609-611: We don't know whether HE **'s developing** <u>weapons of mass destruction</u>. HE **better not be**.

2/3: 634-636: After all, <u>a lot of the energy</u> **is produced** from the middle East,

2/3: 693: We don't want HIM **fishing** in troubled waters in the Middle East.

2/3: 824-826: I hope that THEY **put** <u>the troops</u> on the ground so that we can withdraw our troops

> 2/3: 1157-1164: I think what we need to do is convince PEOPLE WHO **live** in the lands THEY **live** in **to build** the nations.
> 3/3: 1464-1466: THE MAN WHO **may be developing** weapons of mass destruction, we don't know because inspectors aren't in.

In the first Bush (1/3: 67-70) extract, the Texas Governor chooses to make a command that has been mitigated to a suggestion: he uses the inclusive *we* regarding the disputed election outcome in Yugoslavia just prior to the first debate of 2000 as preferring *to see the Russians* (as Actor) *use that sway to encourage democracy to take hold*. The diplomatic power or influence of the Russians, or *that sway*, is the Goal of the material process *use*, and as was discussed in Chapter 3, the people of former Yugoslavia's attempts at *democracy* are metaphorically represented as plant-like with it roots struggling to *take hold*. Later in the second debate, Bush (2/3: 604-607) makes a categorical assertion using the critical condition of *the coalition against Saddam* as a problem/situation move of hortatory discourse that is followed by a resort to motivation (2/3: 609-611) with an embedded appeal of persuasive discourse: *we don't know whether he's developing weapons of mass destruction*. Governor Bush (2/3: 609-618) then uses an imperative formal feature as the speech act of giving an ultimatum that Saddam Hussein had *better not be* developing such weapons. Fairclough (1992, p. 75) uses the term 'force' of utterances to refer to the 'sorts of speech acts (promises, requests, threats, etc.) they constitute'. Here, *weapons of mass destruction* are the Goal of Bush's nemesis in the 'creative' material process as determined by the verbal group *is developing*. The use of the conjunction *whether* would typically suggest alternative possibilities, such as in 'we don't know whether he is or whether he is not', yet here such options are unrepresented.

In the Bush (2/3: 634-636) extract from moments later in the discussion of the second debate, the governor uses an appeal move of persuasive discourse to influence

beliefs and solicit support: *after all, a lot of the energy is produced from the Middle East*. The material clause is agentless yet the circumstantial element of Location, *from* (sic) *the Middle East*, situates the location of the oil production and supposed weapons development. The adverb (*after all*) prefaces Bush's proposition, and functions as a Concession subtype of a Contingency circumstantial expressing ultimately or everything else having been considered, the Middle East is a top priority in national security concerns.

Shortly afterwards, Bush (2/3: 693-694) argues that *we don't want him fishing in troubled waters in the Middle East*. Here, Bush makes use of the inclusive *we* in representing the US in-group as a Senser in a mental process which dislikes the Phenomenon of *him*, Saddam Hussein, doing something.

The nominalization by which *he is crafty* is expressed as he is *fishing in troubled waters* has its origin in an Aesop fable entitled 'the fisherman who beat the water' (cf. Taylor, 1975, pp. 172-179). The reason a fisherman agitates or muddies the otherwise clear water of a stream or pond is to cause the prey to panic and rush into his net. The Actor in this portrayal is Saddam Hussein the fisherman, while the fish are Middle Eastern 'friends'. The material process, as determined by the verb *fish*, has the two circumstantial elements of *in troubled waters* and *in the Middle East*, the latter of which is a Place circumstantial.

I interpreted the first prepositional phrase by means of the probe: What do we <u>not</u> want him *fishing* as? In answering this probe we may arrive at the following paraphrase, which involves two presumptions with two distinct processes. Saddam Hussein *is fishing*, and *we don't want him* doing that. Also, he is not merely *fishing*, but he is said to be enacting the role of the proverbial fisherman who beat the water; thus, the prepositional phrase *in troubled waters* works intertextually to elaborate the process by functioning as a Guise subcategory of the Role circumstantial element (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 157).

While experiential metaphors serve to make a text more factual by deemphasizing reason, an interpersonal metaphor such as the *we don't want him* mitigated command above seemingly increases the objectivity of Bush's assertion that the Iraqi President is crafty, thereby elevating it to the level of plain commonsense. The use of such interpersonal metaphors, according to Martin (1989, p. 32), function to naturalize representations:

> Requests for action come out as statements. Assessments of obligation and possibility come out as facts. Through all of this, the voice of the writer disappears. He becomes a recorder of reality, a purveyor of truth. The text is presented as given, not an **interpretation** of what is.

In the Bush (2/3: 824-826) extract following the reference to the *fishing in troubled waters* representation, we can see how the candidate then assigns participant roles to *our European friends* (as an in-group) who are suggested to *put the troops on the ground*, as was done previously *in the Balkans*. Here he uses the inclusive *we* in relation to the material processes *withdraw, fight and win*. The prepositional phrase *on the ground* is a circumstantial element of Purpose expressing the intention of the process of securing an area that has been invaded. The positive self-presentation of U.S. warfare strategy therefore distinguishes the in-group US as not being emasculated nation-builders, but as winning coalition-builders who fight and win wars then return home appreciated by all.

In the final Bush (2/3: 1157-1164) extract, the Republican candidate refers to the in-group US in stating that *what we need to do is convince people who live in the lands they live in to build the nations*. While a simple proposition such as this one would not usually draw attention, when seen in the context of Bush's previous extracts, the assertion is thought of as a negative other-presentation of the foreign policy and military planning of the Clinton Administration and an appeal of persuasive discourse to influence beliefs about a future role of the U.S. Armed Forces as *coalition-builders* rather than nation-builders.

Let us now look at how Gore responds to questions from the moderator. I again note the positive qualities of the Friends and the negative depictions of the out-group Foes.

4.3.3.5: Gore's uses of material processes in representing Friends and Foes

GORE: 1/3: 1/3: 2-9 Well, MILOSEVIC **has lost** the election. His opponent, KOSTUNICA, **has won** the election. MILOSEVIC'S GOVERNMENT refuses to **release** the vote count. THEY**'re demonstrating**.
1/3: 15-16: THE PEOPLE OF SERBIA **have acted** very bravely in **kicking** this guy **out** of office.
1/3: 94-95: THEY currently favor **going forward** with a runoff election.
2/3: 410-413: EVEN THE ONES that sometimes **shake** their fists at us. As soon as they have a change that allows the people to speak freely, THEY**'re wanting to develop** some kind of blueprint that **will help** them be like us more: freedom, free markets, political freedom.
2/3: 549: HE**'s not** only **dealing with** Israel, HE **is dealing** – HE **he's dealing with** us.
2/3: 716-726: I want to **give** robust support to THE GROUPS that **are trying to overthrow** Saddam Hussein, and I know there are allegations that they're too weak to do it, but that's what they said about THE FORCES that **were opposing** Milosevic in Serbia,
2/3: 745-748: and THEY**'re trying to break out of** the box, there's no question about it. I don't think they **should be allowed to**.

In the Gore (1/3: 2-9) extract above, the Vice President states unequivocally that *Milosevic has lost the election*, *his opponent, Kostunica, has won the election*, that *Milosevic's government refuses to release the vote count*, and that the people there are *demonstrating*. Here, the Goals of the first three material processes are *the election* and *the vote count*. The Vice President (1/3: 15-16) then commends *the people of Serbia* who *have acted very bravely in kicking this guy out of office*. The adverb *bravely* is an example of the Quality subcategory of the Manner circumstantial.

Gore acknowledges the contributions of the recently admitted in-group Friends, the Russians; however, he cautions against having them act as mediators in the Yugoslavian election dispute because *they currently favor going forward with a runoff election* (1/3: 94-95). Here I have interpreted *favor going forward with* as a verbal agnate to want to

implement or proceed with something, and see this verbal complex as determining the material process in which *a runoff election* is the Goal.

In the second debate, Gore (2/3: 410-416) creates a rosy mental image in which even *the ones that sometimes shake their fists at us*, can still be won over *as soon as they have a change that allows the people to speak freely*. Here the quarrelsome, out-group foes or *the ones* (as Actors) *that sometimes shake their fists* (as Goal) are represented by means of a nominalization that is elaborated upon by the prepositional phrase *at us* functioning as a Behalf subcategory of the Cause circumstantials. In the next material process, *the* same *ones* are now depicted as *wanting to develop some kind of blueprint that will help them be like us more: freedom, free markets, and political freedom*. The *blueprint* is the Goal of the 'creative' material process and the prepositional phrase *like us* is an example of the Comparison subcategory of the Manner circumstantial.

In the next Gore (2/3: 549) extract, the Vice President encourages Saddam Hussein to bear in mind that *he's not only dealing with Israel, he is dealing – he's dealing with us*. Here, to *deal with* is interpreted as to take action with respect to an ally, which illustrates Israel's in-group status of being matched side-by-side as Beneficiaries with the in-group US rather than Agents of the material processes because the two nations have not caused the process, but are the entities affected by the process of Saddam's dealings or actions.

Gore (2/3: 716-726) also discusses Iraq frequently and makes the proposition that he would like *to give robust support to the groups that are trying to overthrow Saddam Hussein*. Here the material processes are determined by the verbs *give* and *overthrow*, with *support* and *Saddam Hussein* as their respective Goals. Gore then uses supporting argumentation and appeal of persuasive discourse in the following statements: *I know there are allegations that they're too weak to do it, but that's what they said about the forces that*

were opposing Milosevic in Serbia. The material process here is determined by the verb *oppose*, with Milosevic acting as Goal, and *in Serbia* functioning as a circumstantial element of Location. In the final Gore (2/3: 745-748) extract, the regime in Iraq is depicted in a negative other-presentation as trying *to break out of the box*, which is a colloquial way of expressing someone who is challenging authority. Gore then opines that *I don't think they should be allowed to*, in which no agent is responsible for enforcing the sanctions.

Let us look at one final compilation of data related to the material processes which Bush and Gore used to categorize Friends and Foes in discussions of national security matters. Afterwards, in Section 4.4, the focus of attention shifts to relational processes.

4.3.3.6 Comparison of Friends and Foes in material processes in the 2000 USPD texts

In the USPD texts of 2000, the Participants in the Friends and Foes groups have shifted to three groups and geographic regions: the UN/NATO/allies in-group, the Middle East out-group (primarily Saddam Hussein), and the Balkans out-group (primarily Milosevic). Bush chose to make the in-group Friends (UN/NATO/allies) half of all of his usages of material processes (9), with the Middle East (5) and the Balkans (4) comprising the other half of his representations of the Friends and Foes groups in material processes. These usages correspond to 3.40%, 1.89% and 1.51% of Bush's total of 265 material processes in the USPD text of 2000. Bear in mind that the in-group friends included the coalition-builders and moderate Arab states of the extract compilation above.

Bush:				Gore:			
NATO/UN/allies	uses	Subtotal	Total	***NATO/UN/allies***	uses	Subtotal	Total
Material	9	3.40% (9/265)	1.08%	Material	6	2.22% (6/270)	0.86%
MIDDLE EAST		Subtotal	Total	***MIDDLE EAST***		Subtotal	Total
Material	5	1.89% (5/265)	0.60%	Material	18	6.67% (18/270)	2.58%
BALKANS		Subtotal	Total	***BALKANS***		Subtotal	Total
Material	4	1.51% (4/265)	0.48%	Material	19	7.04% (19/270)	2.73%

Table 22: Friends and Foes in material processes in the 2000 USPD texts

Gore focused more on the Balkans (19/7.04%), the Middle East (18/6.67%), and the NATO/UN/allies Friends in-group (6/2.22%) of his total of 270 material processes in the USPD text of 2000. Thus, Gore (7.04%) chose to have the Balkans Friends and Foes group represented as Participants in material processes more than four times as often as Bush (1.51%). Likewise, Gore (6.67%) chose to have Middle Easterners acting and doing things in material processes more than three times as often as Bush (1.89%). While both candidates personified the Middle East and Balkans by their leaders; Yassir Arafat, Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic, Gore represented the Balkans as an administrative success story and Saddam Hussein as a potential threat to U.S. national security interests, yet not nearly as explicitly as his opponent who supported *the bombing of Serbia* and wished to *rebuild* the 1991 *coalition against Saddam Hussein* (cf. extract compilations above).

Overall, the Subtotals for Bush add up to 6.8% with more than twice as many for Gore (15.91%) in overall usages of material processes with Participants belonging to the Friends and Foes groups. Likewise, Bush chose to represent Friends and Foes in 2.16% of his overall uses of the four main process types while Gore had about three times (6.17%) as many. These data differ significantly from those of the USPDs of 1960 where both Kennedy and Nixon had almost identical percentages (13.18% & 13.37%, respectively) of

material process usages, and overall usages (5.3% & 5.3%, respectively) of the four main processes. Gore's usages (15.91% & 6.17%, respectively) are more similar to those of both candidates of the 1960 USPD series than they are to his opponent in the 2000 USPDs. This might be attributable to the fact that both vice presidents had had extensive experience in foreign affairs and Kennedy had been a senator for two terms and served on national security committees, whereas Bush had been the Governor of Texas for two terms.

In the next section of the text analysis, we shall see how relational processes categorize Participants similarly; however, the candidates this time choose to represent the issue of national security priorities with processes of *being* than of *doing*. This is realized through the setting up of intricate relationships between separate entities, which Halliday (1994, p. 119) describes as 'something is being said to 'be' something else', rather than making use of processes in which 'goings-on' are being realized through material processes.

4.4 Relational processes in representations of national security priorities

There are three focuses of attention in the description dimension of the transitivity analysis of relational processes: determination of the process type according to the **verbal groups**, which are marked in boldface; categorization of the roles of CARRIER or IDENTIFIED/TOKEN, which are capitalized; and the noting of the roles of <u>Attribute</u> or <u>Identifier/Value</u>, which are underlined. This means of referencing is used throughout the analysis of relational processes. As in the previous section, the theoretical perspectives of Chapter Two are applied to the interpretations of the candidates' representations of national security priorities with the use of

italicized *quotes* from the extract compilations and usage and percentage compilations from the Excel tables of procedure two in Section 4.2 offering supporting data.

In Section 4.4, the relational process types are described and interpreted in three subsections: (4.4.1) in-group Self and US self-presentations, (4.4.2) out-group Opponent other-presentations, as well as (4.4.3) in-group Friends self-presentations and out-group Foes other-presentations. All of the transcript extracts are labeled by candidate, year, the debate number of the total, as well as line reference numbers which correspond to Appendix 1 (1960) and Appendix 2 (2000), respectively. The transcript extracts of the candidates of the 1960 USPDs precede those of the candidates of the 2000 series, and again the order of candidates is switched in each subsection to give equal weight to the representations.

4.4.1 Relational processes: In-group Self and US representations in the USPD texts

The two major party candidates of the 1960 and 2000 USPDs principally use material and relational processes and in-group US and SELF participants to construct positive self-presentations. As was seen in the analysis of material processes, the nation, citizens and institutions of the U.S. are not commonly criticized in USPDs; however, it is common in each of the debate series of 1960 and 2000 for the candidates to offer negative representations with evaluations regarding the state of affairs of the nation and its institutions and how they have been mismanaged, especially when the candidate wishes to challenge the status quo of a sitting president or vice president. This also is the case in the use of relational processes of this section. The candidates of the 1960 USPDs are described and interpreted first, followed by the candidates of the USPDs of 2000.

4.4.1.1 Nixon's uses of relational processes to represent the in-groups Self and US

NIXON: 1960: 1/4: 32-37: that's why WE **have to continue to be** alert. IT **is** also essential in **being** alert that WE **be** fair;
1/4: 56: WE **are** for the status quo,
2/4: 105: THE UNITED STATES **has** a treaty with all of the Organization of American States.
2/4: 123: No, CUBA **is not** lost.
2/4: 347-349: IT **must be** economic; IT **must be** technological; above all IT **must be** ideological.
2/4: 484-486: THESE **are** ideals THAT **belong not** to ourselves alone, but THEY **belong** to everybody.
3/4: 976-978: THOSE OF US WHO **stand** against surrender of territory - this or any others - in the face of blackmail, in the face of force by the Communists **are standing** for the course that will lead to peace.
3/4: 1283-1286: I think THE PRESIDENT **was** correct, certainly, in HIS DECISION **to continue** the flights
3/4: 1450-1457: ITS GROWTH RATE **is not** WHAT **counts**; WE**'re** well ahead and WE **can stay** ahead, provided WE **have** confidence in America
4/4: 1621: THE SPACE SCORE TODAY **is** twenty-eight to eight. WE**'ve had** twenty-eight successful shots, THEY**'ve had** eight.

In the first Nixon (1/4: 32-40) extract, the Vice President warns U.S. citizens *to be alert* regarding the activities of domestic Communists, but also insists that it is *essential* to be *fair*. The intensive attributes of *alert*, *essential* and *fair* offer a positive self-presentation of the in-groups US and Self as Carriers. Nixon also insists that vigilance be maintained by means of the modalized verbal group *have to continue*, which determines the relational process as an example of the Durative phase of the Ascriptive class. The intensive attribute of being *fair* is thought of as an appeal or solicitation of persuasive discourse aimed at influencing the beliefs and values of the citizenry. In the Nixon (1/4: 56) excerpt which follows this, the incumbent states the obvious that the in-groups Self and US *are for the status quo*, which is seen as the use of a circumstantial Attribute as a means of distancing oneself from one's debate opponent with the front-broadening, voter-gatherer argumentation strategy.

In the second debate, Nixon (2/4: 105) chides his opponent by reminding him before the viewership that *the United States* (used here as Carrier) *has a treaty* (possessive

Attribute). The diplomatic relationship is then said to be *with all of the Organization of American States* as realized by the Additive subcategory of Accompaniment circumstantials. Nixon (1960: 2/4: 123) then disassociates *Cuba* (as Carrier) from being *lost*. Later in the same debate, in representing his foreign policy programs, Nixon ascribes the following intensive Attributes: *economic*, *technological* and *ideological* (2/4: 347-349). In the final extract of the second debate, the *ideals* which Nixon (2/4: 482) first asserts as *great American ideals* are then bestowed possessive attributive status as ideals that *belong not to ourselves alone, but they belong to everybody* (2/4: 484-486).

I have interpreted the two choices of *stand* in the following Nixon (3/4: 976-978) appeal of persuasive discourse as circumstantial Attributes in which the circumstances are 'expressed in the form of the Process': *those of us who stand against surrender of territory - this or any others - in the face of blackmail, in the face of force by the Communists are standing for the course that will lead to peace* (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 130). According to Halliday (1994, p. 135), the two relational processes above, *stand against* and *stand for*, may be correlated with 'represent', and the 'non-salient' verb 'can be *be*' in both samples. The lexical choice of *surrender* makes the first clause semantically negative, thus the prepositional phrase beginning with *against* is necessitated in order to distinguish the two represented groups: the like-minded in-groups Self and US from the out-group Opponent. If a negative form of the verb *be* is inserted along with the preposition *for*, the negative other-presentation is unaffected.

Later in the same debate, Nixon (3/4: 1283-1286) offers a positive self-presentation of the continuation of U-2 spy *flights* just prior to the Paris Summit of May 1960 which Kennedy criticized. The Vice President sees these as essential processes which had to *continue* or remain as they were, thus making *the flights* a circumstance as process. The

verb *continue* determines the relational type of process in which the Carrier, *his decision*, is correlated with the continuance of *the flights*; all of which is prefaced by the intensive attribute of being the *correct* course of action by *the President* as a positively represented Carrier of the vice presidential incumbent.

In the next Nixon (3/4: 1450-1457) extract, the Vice President negates the relationship previously established by his opponent which represents the Soviet Union (as Foe) as having a growth rate greater than that of the in-group US: *Its growth rate is not what counts*. Thus the possessive Attribute of the out-group Foe is disassociated from what is represented as truly important, or *what counts*. Here, I have made use of what Martin et al (1997, p. 125) describe as clauses 'with Process/Attribute (i.e. a quality normally represented as an Attribute is inherent in the Process)', and provide below one of the examples offered in Martin et al (ibid.): It doesn't matter ('it is not important').

The 'Process/Attribute' of *its growth rate is not what counts* (or is unimportant) then requires the supporting argumentation move of persuasive discourse: *we're well ahead and we can stay ahead, provided we have confidence in America*. Here we can see how an appeal/solicitation may be based more on emotion rather than logic by means of ascribing to the in-group US and Self a circumstantial Attribute of being *ahead* of the Foes. The adverb *well* is a Quality subcategory of Manner circumstantial. Nixon then embeds this Attribute in his depiction of another relational process by means of a modalized verbal group *can stay*. This verbal group determines the relational process in which the inclusive *we* as Carrier are correlated with being able to remain *well ahead*, which, again is a circumstantial Attribute with the adverb *well* functioning as a circumstantial element of Quality. Nixon then issues a mitigated command of hortatory discourse in the form of a conditional construction: *provided we have confidence in America*. The conditional is

established by the conjunction *provided*; therefore, one must have the same possessive Attribute of *confidence in America*, in which *in America* is a circumstance of Manner, if one wants to be a truly patriotic citizen.

In the final Nixon (4/4: 1621) extract, the Vice President deconstructs another of his opponent's negative other-presentations which depicts the Soviet Union as being ahead of the U.S. in 'the space race': *The space score card today is twenty-eight to eight. We've had twenty-eight successful shots, they've had eight*. The colloquial expression *space score card* is the Carrier that is ascribed the intensive Attribute of *twenty-eight to eight*. The use of the analogy is how Nixon chooses to relate the number of rocket launches of the US/Self team versus the rival team of the Soviet Foes, each of which is represented with the possessive Attribute of a specified number of *successful shots* into outer space.

Next we will look at how Kennedy represents the in-groups Self and US. Afterwards, the data of Table 23 will be interpreted.

4.4.1.2: Kennedy's uses of relational processes to represent in-groups Self and US

KENNEDY: 1960: 2/4: 212-218: IT**'s not** appeasement. IT**'s not** soft. I believe WE **should be** stronger than WE now **are**. I believe WE **should have** a stronger military force.
2/4: 504-505: I**'ve been** critical of this Administration and I**'ve been** critical of the President.
2/4: 687-688: IT**'s going to be** a test of our nerve and will. **IT's going to be** a test of our strength.
3/4: 853-854: WE **have** a contractual right **to be** in Berlin coming out of the conversations at Potsdam and of World War II.
4/4: 1713-1722: THE UNITED STATES no longer **carries** the same image of a vital society on the move with its brightest days ahead as IT **carried** a decade or two decades ago.
4/4: 1728-1730: WE**'re** first in other areas of science but in space, which is the new science, WE**'re** not first.
4/4: 2165: THE POSITION of the United States **has been** that THIS BUILD-UP, in the words of the president, **has been** foolish.

In the first Kennedy (2/4: 212-218) extract above the senator defends his appeal for an apology to the Soviet Union over the U-2 spy flight incident which ultimately ruined the Paris summit conference of 1960. Kennedy insists that such an expression *is not appeasement* and would not signify that the U.S. is *soft*. The pronoun *it* serves as the Carrier for the apology and both the noun and the adjective are intensive attributes which establish the negated relationship. Kennedy then uses the inclusive *we* to insist that the nation must *be stronger than we now are*. Here *stronger* is an intensive Attribute and *than now* is a circumstantial of Extent which establishes the temporal parameter of the clause complex. The verb *have* in *I believe we should have a stronger military force* determines this relational process in which the desired possessive attribute of Kennedy is *a stronger military force*.

Later in the second debate Kennedy (2/4: 504-505) uses himself (*I*) as Carrier to admit that he has been *critical*, which is an intensive attribute. Here the prepositional phrases *of this Administration* and *of the President* were probed by the interrogative form which follows: How has Kennedy been critical? Halliday (1994, p. 155) describes a 'circumstantial expression of Reason' as representing 'the reason for which a process was taken – what causes it'. In this case, the two prepositional phrases denote how the senator has been *critical*, or what has caused him to be *critical*, i.e. *this Administration* and *the President* as out-group Opponent.

In the next Kennedy (2/4: 687-688) extract, the pronoun *it* is the Carrier for the challenger's depiction of what future negotiations with the Russians over Berlin were going to be like: *It's going to be a test of our nerve and will. It's going to be a test of our strength*. These future negotiations are said to be something else, *a test*, as realized through relational processes with propositional phrases which denote how the future talks with Russia (as out-

group Foe) will be. Here, the prepositional phrases *of our nerve and will* and *of our strength* were probed by the interrogative form which follows: How will the talks be tests and/or with what will the inclusive *we* be tested? The prepositional phrases therefore have been interpreted as circumstances of Manner.

The next three relational clauses with the in-group Self and US as the principle participants involve the possessive Attributes of *a contractual right* (3/4: 853-854) as determined by the verb *have*, and *the same image* (4/4: 1713-1722) as determined by the verb *carry*. The prepositional phrase *in Berlin* (3/4: 853-854) is a Location circumstantial. The prepositional phrases *of a vital society on the move with its brightest days ahead* may be probed with the following question: As what does Kennedy picture the U.S.? The Guise subcategory of the Role circumstantials thus assisted in this interpretation.

The final relational process types of Senator Kennedy were determined by their common verb of *be*, and had the following intensive Attributes ascribed to them: *first* (4/4: 1728-1730) and *foolish* (4/4: 2165). The prepositional phrases *in other areas of science* and *in space* are circumstantial elements of Manner (4/4: 1728-1730), whereas *in the words of the president* is an example of an Angle circumstantial (4/4: 2165).

4.4.1.3: Comparison of Self and US in 1960 relational processes

Let us now look at Table 23. The table shows that Nixon's 365 representations of national security concerns using the four main process types with the Self in-group as Participant constitute a third (33.30%) of his Total of 1,096 clauses in the USPD text of 1960. Nixon's 110 uses of relational processes with the group as Carrier are 30.14% of the representations, and 30.05% of all of Nixon's 366 relational processes in the text.

Kennedy's 219 representations of national security priorities using the four main process types with the Self in-group as Participant constitute 23.03% of his Total of 951 clauses in the USPD text of 1960 (10.27% less than Nixon). Kennedy 37 uses of relational processes with the group as Carrier/Identified are 16.89% of the representations (13.25% less than Nixon), and 12.71% of all of his 291 relational processes in the USPD text (17.34% less than Nixon). Thus, Kennedy used the Self in-group in about a quarter of his total of representations while Nixon used this group as Participant in a third of his. Additionally, Kennedy used about a third of the relational processes that Nixon did to relate the in-group Self to some other entity and less than half the percentage of his total of relational processes in the USPD text of 1960. (Note the similarities with the data of 365 and 366, as well as 219 and 291 above and in Table 23 below.)

Nixon: ***Self***	Relational	Total	**Kennedy:** ***Self***	Relational	Total
	110	365/1,096		37	219/951
Subtotal	30.14%		Subtotal	16.89%	
Total	30.05% (110/366)	33.30%	Total	12.71% (37/291)	23.03%
Nixon: ***US***	Relational	Total	**Kennedy:** ***US***	Relational	Total
	83	291/1,096		75	330/951
Subtotal	28.52%		Subtotal	22.73%	
Total	22.68% (83/366)	26.55%	Total	25.77% (75/291)	34.70%

Table 23: Self and US representations in relational processes in the 1960 USPD texts

Table 23 also shows us that Nixon's 291 representations with the four main process types with the US in-group as Participant constitute about a quarter (26.55%) of all of his 1,096 clauses in the USPD text of 1960. Nixon's 83 uses of relational processes with the in-group as Carrier/Identified are 28.52% of his representations, and 22.68% of his total of 366 relational processes in the text. By contrast, Kennedy used the US in-group in about a third (34.70%) of his Total of 330 representations using the four main process types. His 75

uses of relational processes with the in-group as Participant is 22.73% of his depictions, and 25.77% of his total of 291 relational processes in the USPD text of 1960.

I will compare the above data with that of Gore and Bush in the discussion of Table 24 below. Let us now look at how relational process types were used overall by the two candidates in representing the Self and US in-groups in the USPDs of 2000.

4.4.1.4: Gore's uses of relational processes to represent in-groups Self and US

> GORE: 2000: 1/3: 196-216: WE **should be** reluctant to **get** involved in someplace in a foreign country. But if OUR NATIONAL SECURITY **is** at stake, if WE **have** allies, if we've tried every other course, if WE**'re** sure military action will succeed, and if THE COSTS **are** proportionate to the benefits, WE **should get** involved. Now, just because WE **don't want to get** involved everywhere **doesn't mean** we should back off anywhere it comes up. I disagree with the proposal that maybe only WHEN OUR OIL SUPPLIES **are** at stake that OUR NATIONAL SECURITY **is** at risk. I think that there are situations like in Bosnia or Kosovo where there's a genocide, where OUR NATIONAL SECURITY **is** at stake there.
>
> 1/3: 337-342: I think BIPARTISANSHIP **is** a national asset. We have to find ways to reestablish it in foreign policy and national security policy.
>
> 2/3: 420: THE POWER OF EXAMPLE **is** America's greatest power in the world.
>
> 2/3: 1079-1081: Like it or not, WE **are** now – THE UNITED STATES **is** now the natural leader of the world.
>
> 3/3: 1500-1506: I went to Vietnam. I didn't do the most or run the greatest risk by a long shot, but I learned what IT **was** like **to be** an enlisted man in the United States Army.

In the first Gore (2000: 1/3: 196-216) extract, the Democratic candidate makes use of a lengthy complex of mostly relational processes to set forth the conditions by which he would authorize the use of U.S. Armed Forces abroad. The lexical choice of *reluctant* is collocated with a similar intensive Attribute, *involved*, to express the reticence of the Vice President to send armed forces *in someplace in a foreign country*. The two prepositional phrases are circumstantial elements of Place. Gore uses the inclusive *we* as Carrier in relation to five conditions, realized by relational processes: (1) *if our national security is at stake*, (2) *if we have allies,* (3) *if we've tried every other course*, (4) *if we're sure military*

action will succeed, and (5) *if the costs are proportionate to the benefits*. The relational clauses 1, 4 and 5 above set up attributive qualities that would be prerequisites for the use of force to the Carriers *our national security*, the inclusive *we*, and *the costs* of such an undertaking, respectively. The second clause is a possessive attributive type of relational process, whereas the third clause is a material process. Gore then broadens the front with Bush by negating the relationship which is said to have been proposed by the Republican opponent that *maybe only when our oil supplies are at stake that our national security is at risk*. The incumbent Vice President then defends the administration's previous uses of force by setting up an alternative relationship by which if *situations* were to arise again such as that which occurred *in Bosnia or Kosovo* involving *genocide*, then *our national security* would be thought to be *at stake* as well. The prepositional phrases *at risk* and *at stake* have been interpreted as functioning as circumstantial elements of Manner akin to in danger.

In the Gore (1/3: 337-342) excerpt of the same debate, the Vice President uses a front-narrowing, vote-shifting strategy by correlating the Carrier of *bipartisanship* with that of the Attribute of *a national asset*. In the second debate, the incumbent (2/3: 420) creates a positive self-presentation using the intensive identifying type of relational process with *the power of example is America's greatest power in the world*. The relational process passes Halliday's (1994) test of reversibility with 'America's greatest power in the world is the power of example'. Gore (2/3: 1079-1081) later uses another intensive identifying mode of relational process in his assertive proposition that *we* and *the United States* are the Identified/Token represented by the Identifier/Value of being *the natural leader of the world*. The adverb *now* and the prepositional phrase *of the world* are circumstantial elements of Time and Place, respectively.

In the final Gore (3/3: 1500-1506) extract, the Vice President makes use of a self-effacing preface to then represent himself as having *learned what it was like to be an enlisted man in the United States Army* by volunteering and going off to Vietnam. To understand the lifestyle of *an enlisted man* is an intensive Attribute and *in the United States Army* is circumstantial of Location. The preposition *like* is a Comparison subtype of the Manner circumstantials expressing *what it was like* for Gore *to be an enlisted man*. Recall that in the narrative analysis of Chapter 3, Hillin (1988, pp. 71-87) notes that Gore was not treated *like an* average *enlisted man* because he served a 6-month duty assignment as an Army reporter when a normal tour of duty was a year in duration.

4.4.1.5: Bush's uses of relational processes to represent in-groups Self and US

BUSH: 2000: 2/3: 695-698: And IT**'s going to be** hard; IT**'s going to be** important to rebuild that coalition **to keep** the pressure on him.
2/3: 940-942: Yes. Some of them I **I've got** a conflict of interest on, if you know what I **mean**.
2/3: 1167: WE**'re going to have** kind of a nation-building corps from America? Absolutely not!
2/3: 1176-1180: I strongly believe WE **need to have** a military presence in the peninsula, **not** only **to keep** the peace in the peninsula, but **to keep** regional stability.
2/3: 1404-1406: THE UNITED STATES **must be** humble and **must be** proud and confident of our values, but humble in how we treat nations
3/3: 1422: I**'ve been** a leader.
3/3: 1427: I**'ve got** a strategy for the Middle East.
3/3: 1434-1435: OUR NATION **needs to be** credible and strong.
3/3: 1444-1446: I also need – THE NEXT LEADER **needs to be** patient.
3/3: 1631-1633: THIS **is** a peaceful nation, and I **intend to keep** the peace.

In the second debate of 2000, which focused on foreign policy, Bush (2/3: 695-698) projects a future course of action – the rebuilding of the 1991 Gulf War coalition as represented by the pronoun *it*: *And it's going to be hard; it's going to be important to rebuild that coalition to keep the pressure on him*. Here the adjectives *hard* and *important*

are intensive Attributes ascribed to the relational process *keep*, which is a ‘durative’ phase of one of the ‘ascriptive’ verb classes with the nominal group *the pressure* functioning as Attribute (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 120). Later in the same debate, Bush (2/3: 940-942), as the Carrier of a possessive Attribute, acknowledges that he has a particular relationship with the actions of former President Bush: *Some of them I've got a conflict of interest on, if you know what I mean*. The pronoun *some* and the prepositional phrase *of them*, which is a circumstantial of Cause, intertextually relates the reason for Bush’s reluctance to comment upon previous uses of U.S. Armed Forces by his father. The last clause is a colloquial expression in which the ‘equative’ class of verb (*mean*) determines the identifying relationship: *you know what I mean*. Thus, *I mean* relates something that was intended to be said while the pronoun *you* refers to the entity that is presumed to already *know* the proposition: *I've got a conflict of interest*. The use of the preposition (*on*) could be paraphrased in more formal English as: on some of them *I've got a conflict of interest*, therein making the language feature a circumstantial of Cause expressing why or to what degree Bush is caused discomfort in the possessive attributive process.

In the next Bush (2/3: 1167) extract above, the governor scoffs at the proposition of the moderator that the U.S. (as Carrier) should have *a kind of a nation-building corps from America* (used as a possessive Attribute). Instead, Bush (2/3: 1176-1180) envisions *a military presence in the peninsula* as a desired possessive attribute, which is then followed by an appeal move of persuasive discourse that such an attribute would *not only* make it possible *to keep the peace in the peninsula*, *but* also *to keep regional stability*. Again, a ‘durative’ phase of one of the ‘ascriptive’ verb class with nominal groups was chosen to represent the solicitation for a shared system of beliefs. In its dealings with other nations,

Bush (2/3: 1404-1406) then asserts that *the United States* (as Carrier) ought to be *humble*, *proud* and *confident* in dealing with other nations, all intensive Attributes.

In the third debate of the series Bush responds to a question by a participating member of the USPD audience, who asked what would make him *the best candidate during the Middle East crisis?* Bush (3/3: 1422) ascribes himself the intensive Attribute of having been *a leader* as two-time Governor of Texas, an oil executive, and former co-owner of the Texas Rangers professional baseball team. Bush (3/3: 1427) then is the Carrier of another possessive attributive process and categorically asserts that *I've got a strategy for the Middle East*. The understatement of the 2000 USPD series manages to emphasize positive aspects of the candidate without providing any details whatsoever which could otherwise tarnish such a positive portrayal.

Later in the third and final debate of the series, Bush (3/3: 1434-1435) uses *our nation* (as Carrier) and the intensive Attributes of being both *credible* and *strong*. Bush (3/3: 1444-1446) then states that *the next leader* (as Carrier) also *needs to be patient*. In the final Bush (3/3: 1631-1633) extract, the challenger to the status quo makes two further propositions using relational processes: *This is a peaceful nation, and I intend to keep the peace*. The pronoun *this* relates the United States as Carrier with the intensive Attribute of being *a peaceful nation*, whereas the pronoun (*I*) relates a projected President Bush as having the intention to *keep the peace*. Again, the verb *keep* realizes the relational process and is a 'durative' phase of the 'ascriptive' class of verbs with *the peace* as an Attribute that a future President Bush would want to maintain.

4.4.1.6: Comparison of Self and US in 2000 relational processes

Let us now look at how relational types were used overall by the two candidates in representing the Self and US in-groups in the USPDs of 2000. Table 24 shows that Gore's 219 representations with the four main process types with the Self in-group as Participant constitute almost a third (31.42%) of his 697 clauses in the USPD text of 2000. Gore's 41 uses of relational processes with the in-group as Carrier/Identified are 18.72% of his representations, and 17.67% of his total of 232 relational processes in the text.

Bush also used the Self in-group in about a third (34.70%) of his 830 clauses in the USPD text of 2000. However, his 80 uses of relational processes with the in-group as Participant are almost double that of Gore and represent 27.78% of his portrayals (9.06% more than Gore), and 24.10% of his total of 332 relational processes in the text (6.43% more than Gore).

Gore: *Self*	Relational	Total	**Bush: *Self***	Relational	Total
	41	219/697		80	288/830
Subtotal	18.72%		Subtotal	27.78%	
Total	17.67% (41/232)	31.42%	Total	24.10% (80/332)	34.70%
Gore: *US*	Relational	Total	**Bush: *US***	Relational	Total
	97	261/697		142	323/830
Subtotal	37.16%		Subtotal	43.96%	
Total	41.81% (97/232)	37.45%	Total	42.77% (142/332)	38.92%

Table 24: Self and US representations in relational processes in the 2000 USPD texts

Table 24 shows that Gore's 261 representations with the four main process types with the US in-group as Participant constitute 37.45% of his total of 697 clauses in the USPD text of 2000. Gore's 97 uses of relational processes with the in-group as Carrier/Identified are 37.16% of his representations, and 41.81% of his total of 232

relational processes in the text. Bush's percentages are similar to those of Gore, although he used 323 representations (62 more than Gore) using the four main process types with the US in-group as Participant, which constitute 38.92% of his total of 830 clauses in the USPD text. Bush also used more relational processes (142 vs. 97) with this in-group group as Participant (43.96%), although the percentage of usage (42.77%) of his total of 332 relational processes in the USPD text is similar to that of his opponent (41.81%).

Vice President Gore's usages of the Self in-group in relational processes (17.67%) are similar to that of the challenger to the status quo of 1960, Senator John Kennedy (12.71%). Vice President Nixon (30.05%), the Republican incumbent in 1960, chose to use 12.38% more relational processes with the Self in-group as participant than did Gore as the Democratic Vice President, although the two incumbent's uses of material processes with the same in-group are nearly identical (27.44% vs. 27.41%). I will return to this topic in the Concluding Remarks section (4.5) of this chapter.

4.4.2 Relational processes: Out-group Opponent other-presentations

As was seen in Subsection 4.3.2, the major party candidates of the 1960 and 2000 USPDs often distance themselves from their out-group Opponents using material processes. This means of negative other-presentation is also realized by means of relating one's opponent to negative entities in relational processes; however, this is not always the case. As was seen in 4.3.2, and may be seen in the following analysis, there are occasions when a candidate may choose to minimize the differences between the political parties, or narrow the front, and thereby reassure the deliberators of the viewership that national security priorities will be maintained if not improved once a change in Executive leadership has been attained.

4.4.2.1: Kennedy's uses of relational processes to represent the out-group Opponent

> KENNEDY: 1960: 2/4: 353-356: Of course, MR. NIXON **is** wholly inaccurate when he says that the Congress has not provided more funds in fact than the President recommended for national defense.
> 2/4: 499-501: Well I understood that THIS **was** the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration according to all the Republican propaganda that I've read.
> 2/4: 528-531: President Eisenhower moves from the scene on January twentieth and THE NEXT FOUR YEARS **are** the critical years. And THAT**'s** the debate. THAT**'s** the argument between Mr. Nixon and myself.
> 2/4: 557-558: MR. NIXON **has been** part of that Administration. HE**'s had** experience in it.
> 3/4: 1336-1338: THE U-2 FLIGHT in May just before the summit conference **was** a mistake in timing
> 4/4: 1559-1562: MR. NIXON **shows** himself misinformed. HE surely **must be** aware that most of the arms and resources for Castro came from the United States.

In Kennedy's (2/4: 353-356) first extract above, the senator addresses the vice president as *Mr. Nixon* and uses a modalized assertion to refer to his out-group Opponent as being *wholly inaccurate* (an intensive attribute) about the *Congress* not being supportive of *the President* regarding *national defense* budgeting. When a member of the news media panel asks Kennedy (2/4: 499-501) if it is proper to assign blame to the vice president for events which transpired during President Eisenhower's Administration, the challenger to the status quo establishes an intensive identifying relationship to his Opponent by stating: *Well I understood that this was the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration according to all the Republican propaganda that I've read*. Kennedy (2/4: 528-531) then follows up on his argument by envisioning for the audiences a White House without the grandfatherly image of *President Eisenhower* as the nation faces *the next four years*, which are represented as *the critical years* by the Identifier/Token nominal group. The represented situation/problem is seen as a resort to motivation of hortatory discourse, which is followed by two intensive identifying clauses in which Kennedy relates the near future scenario to *the debate* and *the argument*. The prepositional phrase *between Mr. Nixon and myself* is a comitative

subcategory of Accompaniment circumstantial affixing the Vice President to the problematic situation.

The Kennedy (2/4: 528-536) excerpt above demonstrates another attempt by the candidate to create a sense of historical urgency and democratic zeal about the impending general election. Such political contrivances are not only good for the candidates but also for the sponsors of the USPDs and their news media producers as was discussed in the Chapter 3 analysis. Kennedy (2/4: 557-558) then relates a negative other-presentation, intensive Attribute to his Opponent as having *been part of that Administration* before then assigning blame through the use of a possessive Attribute in *he's had experience in it*.

Nixon (3/4: 1336-1339) is also assigned blame for the *U-2 flight in May just before the conference*, which Kennedy then evaluates using formal features with expressive value as in it *was a mistake in timing*. The representation of irresponsibility is actualized by the relational process with *mistake* as an Attribute and the prepositional phrase *in timing* functioning as a Manner circumstance. In the final Kennedy (4/4: 1559-1562) extract, the senator acts as a vote-gather by calling into question his opponent's aptitude by means of ascribing an Attribute: *Mr. Nixon*, *shows himself misinformed*.

4.4.2.2: Nixon's uses of relational processes to represent the out-group Opponent

NIXON: 1960: 1/4: 64-66: THE QUESTION **is not** one of goals. We**'re** for those goals: IT**'s** one of means.
2/4: 845-846: In my opinion THIS **is** the same kind of woolly thinking that led to disaster for America in Korea.
3/4: 884-886: I **do not mean** by that that ONE PARTY **is** a war party and THE OTHER PARTY **is** a peace party.
4/4: 1491-1493: I think that SENATOR KENNEDY'S POLICIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS for the handling of the Castro regime **are** probably the most dangerously irresponsible recommendations that he's made during the course of this campaign.

4/4: 1641-1647: SENATOR KENNEDY **has** a responsibility to criticize THOSE THINGS that **are** wrong, but HE **has** also a responsibility **to be** right in his criticism. Every one of these items that I have mentioned HE**'s been** wrong - dead wrong.
4/4: 2089: SENATOR KENNEDY **has got to be** consistent here.
4/4: 2090-2096: Both HE**'s** for the President and HE**'s** against the position ... either HE **is** for the President and against that position or WE simply **have** a disagreement here.

In the first Nixon (1/4: 64-66) extract from the first debate of 1960, the incumbent construes the differences between the platforms of the two major political parties by setting up three relational processes that are seen as a vote-shifter strategy to appeal to deliberating voters. For Nixon, what should be done in the nation's interest is disassociated from any crass partisanship by means of negating any identified-identifier relationship between *the question* at issue and *one of goals*. Instead, the vice president ascribes the Attribute of being *for* (or like-minded) to the Self in-group, the Republicans. With this relationship now established, Nixon then suggests that the only true difference between himself as his party's nominee and his Opponent is the *means* of achieving these ends or *goals*.

In the next Nixon (2/4: 845-846) excerpt there is an example of an intensive identifying type of relational process by which 'something is being said to 'be' something else' (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 119). The relationship that is set up by Nixon is between the portrayed willingness of Kennedy to relinquish the islands of Quemoy and Matsu as represented by the pronoun *this*, which Nixon (2/4: 842) evaluates as initiating a chain reaction of Communist expansionism, and the similarly evaluated trait of his Opponent's flawed reasoning or *woolly thinking*, which functions as the Value.

Nixon (3/4: 884-886) uses another interesting negation as preface in *I do not mean by that*. At this point in the debate series Nixon is on the defensive by having been labeled hawkish or 'trigger-happy' by his Opponent in a prior press statement and uses the pronoun *that* to relate to the viewership that the previous two World Wars and the Korean War had

been fought in previous Democratic administrations. Nixon then uses a relational process with *mean*, an 'equative' type of verb, which functions here to remove from association that which is about to be said to the vice president or his in-group Self. The presumption that is then denied is that the Democratic Party is *a war party*, whereas the Republican Party is *a peace party*. In both cases, the nominal groups functioning as Attributes are both indefinite and do not pass the reversibility test of the identifying mode of relational processes. The receivers of the text are therefore left to ponder the negated relationship in which 'something is being said to 'be' something else' (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 119).

The following Nixon (4/4: 1491-1493) relational process is interpreted as a possessive identifying one: *I think that Senator Kennedy's policies and recommendations for the handling of the Castro regime are probably the most dangerously irresponsible recommendations that he's made during the course of this campaign*. Here 'the participants embody the notion of possession, one signifying property of the possessor', i.e. *the recommendations for the handling of the Castro regime* are said to be *Senator Kennedy's* possession (cf. Halliday, 1992, p. 133).

Later in the fourth and final debate of the 1960 series, Nixon (4/4: 1641-1647) assigns a possessive Attribute to his Opponent by means of the twice used verb *has*: *Senator Kennedy has a responsibility*. However, *those things* which his out-group Opponent wishes *to criticize* as being *wrong* (an intensive Attribute), also have to be *right*, according to Nixon. The second ascribed Attribute signifies an opinion, which Nixon then uses to broaden the front through the modalized Attribute: *wrong - dead wrong*.

Nixon (4/4: 2089) later admonishes his Opponent (as Carrier) in *he has got to be consistent here*. The Attribute *consistent* refers to the opponent's criticisms and voting record in Congress, and *here* is a Temporal circumstance of Location. The Vice President

(4/4: 2090-2096) reasserts Kennedy's inconsistency with what I have interpreted as twice used "for us or against us" intensive Attributes: *Either he's for the President and he's against the position ... either he is for the President and against that position*. Nixon then concludes that otherwise, *we simply have a disagreement*, which is a possessive Attribute with *here* again functioning as a Temporal circumstance of Location.

4.4.2.3: Comparison of Opponent in 1960 relational processes

Table 25 shows that Kennedy's 86 representations with the four main process types with the Opponent out-group as Participant constitute just 9.04% of his 951 clauses in the USPD text of 1960. Kennedy's 15 uses of relational processes with the out-group as Carrier/Identified are 17.44% of his representations, and only 5.15% of his total of 291 relational processes in the USPD text of 1960.

Kennedy: *Opponent*	Relational	Total	**Nixon: *Opponent***	Relational	Total
	15	86/951		62	211/1,096
Subtotal	17.44%		Subtotal	29.38%	
Total	5.15% (15/291)	9.04%	Total	16.94% (62/366)	19.25%

Table 25: Opponent representations in relational processes in the 1960 USPD texts

Nixon used the Opponent out-group 10% more often (19.25%) in his 1,096 clauses in the USPD text of 1960. In addition, Nixon used four times more relational processes (62/15) than Kennedy with the out-group as Participant, which is 29.38% of his representations and 16.94% of his total of 366 relational processes in the USPD text of 1960. The data suggest that Nixon expended a great deal more time and energy in refuting Kennedy's propositions and proposals

related to national security during the Cold War and chose to use relational processes with the Opponent out-group as Participant more than three times as often (16.94% vs. 5.15%) as Kennedy to represent his dissension. Nixon's emphasis in maximizing the differences between himself and his debate opponent typifies the vote-gatherer argumentation strategy.

Let us now compare these relational processes with those of the extracts from the 2000 USPD text. In Section 4.5 I will then compare and contrast the usages of the in- and out-groups in both the material and relational processes of the 1960 and 2000 texts.

4.4.2.4: Bush's uses of relational processes to represent the out-group Opponent

BUSH: 2000: 2/3: 800: THE ADMINISTRATION **deserves** credit.
2/3: But in this case IT **was** a nation-building exercise and same with Haiti. I wouldn't have supported either.
2/3: 962: THE ADMINISTRATION **seems** like WE**'re having** a great love for us tonight,
2/3: 1047-1053: I thought THAT **was** a good model. But WE **can't be** all things to all people in the world, Jim. And I think THAT**'s** where maybe THE VICE PRESIDENT AND I begin to **have** some differences.
2/3: 1060-1067: I didn't think IT **was** a mission worthwhile. IT **was** a nation building mission, and IT **was not** very successful. IT **cost** us billions, a couple billions of dollars, and I**'m not** so sure DEMOCRACY **is** any better off in Haiti than IT **was** before.
3/3: 1583-1584: If THIS **were** a spending contest, I would come in second.

The use of the verb *deserve* in the first Bush (2/3: 800) extract above determines this relational process in which the Identified/Token is *the administration* which is said to *deserve* the Identifier/Value of *credit* for having been responsible for the represented successful outcome of the bombing campaign in Yugoslavia. Halliday (1994, pp. 133-134) denotes the verb *deserve* as 'ought to have', which then sets up a possessive attributive type of relational process.

Later in the discussion of the second debate, when Bush responds to a question by the moderator about whether or not he had supported U.S. military intervention in Somalia, the Republican candidate (2/3: 933-934) establishes an intensive attributive relational process between *it* (U.S. military intervention in Somalia) and *a nation-building exercise* before correlating this with U.S. military intervention in *Haiti*. Bush then follows up with a negative appraisal of the two sorts of *exercise*, although as Gore (2/3: 903) had just previously pointed out, the first *exercise* had been authorized by Bush's father *in the previous administration*.

In a Bush (2/3: 962) extract which political analysts said defined the second of three debates of 2000, the governor jokingly relates *the administration* as having the possessive Attribute of *a great love* for the Republicans as determined by the verb *seem*, which is an Appearance phase of the 'ascriptive' verb classes with the nominal group functioning as Attribute: *The administration seems like we're having a great love for us tonight*. Although the example of conversationalization is grammatically flawed, it is seen as an effective means of minimizing differences between the two political parties, and thus a strategy of vote-shifter argumentation aimed at winning over undecided voters.

Later in the same debate, Bush (2/3: 1047-1053) once again commends the Administration's handling of East Timor when the U.S. provided logistical support to the Australians. The pronoun *that* refers to the actions of the administration and *a good model* is the Attribute ascribed to the Carrier. Bush then negates his own presupposition about his Democratic out-group Opponent: *But we can't be all things to all people in the world, Jim*. Here, the nominal group (*all things*) functioning as Attribute is indefinite and the established relationship in the clause of Gore and his party trying to be the world's savior is an irreversible one. The first prepositional phrase is a circumstantial of Cause and the

second is a circumstantial of Location. The presumption is then used by Bush (ibid.) to distance himself from his Opponent: *And I think that's where maybe the Vice President and I begin to have some differences.* The grammatical metaphor of modality established in the first clause by the verb (*think*) prefaces the modalized situation/problem, as represented by the pronoun *that* functioning as Identified/Token, which is correlated with the conjunction of *where* to signify a point of contention which is forthcoming. Bush and *the Vice President* as Carriers are then ascribed the possessive Attribute of *differences*, yet it should be noted that even this relationship is modalized by the modal adverb *maybe*.

Bush (2/3: 1060-1063) disapproves of the out-group Opponent's handling of the uprising in Haiti: *I didn't think it was a mission worthwhile. It was a nation building mission, and it was not very successful*. Here, the Attribute *successful* is rejected by the grammatical metaphor of modality *I don't think*. The nominal group *a nation building mission* is instead ascribed to *it*, the pronoun used to represent the actions of the out-group, and again the Attribute of a *successful* outcome is denied.

The proposition which followed the negative other-presentation above is interpreted as a relational process: *It cost us billions, a couple billions of dollars*. The process of one entity being related to another is determined by the verb *cost* and is regarded as a 'Benefactive attributive relational clause' in which the in-group US is the unfortunate Beneficiary who has paid for the negatively portrayed actions of the out-group Opponent (cf. Martin et al 1997, p. 125). This type of relational process is 'sometimes not recognized in analysis' because, as Martin et al (ibid.) state, it differs from 'the typical Carrier + Process + Attribute or Token + Process + Value structure in some respect'. In the above case, the pronoun *it*, which refers to the use of U.S. Armed Forces in Haiti by the Clinton Administration, is the Carrier, and the Attribute is *billions, a couple billions of dollars*.

When interpreted as a Benefactive, attributive relational clause, the clause could be paraphrased as it was a couple of billion dollars expense for us.

The three relational clauses which follow the proposition above have expressive value because they establish a negative appraisal of the use of force by Bush's Opponent: *I'm not so sure democracy is any better off in Haiti than it was before*. Bush uses a modalized negation of any certainty in the first attributive clause. This is coupled with *democracy* as Carrier with *better off* as its negated Attribute in the second clause with the modal adverb (*any*) expressing how unsuccessful the process was overall. The preposition *than* is interpreted as a Comparison circumstantial which sets up the contrastive relationship: *than it was before*. The adverb *before* is a circumstantial of Time expressing what the situation in Haiti was like before the wastefulness of the out-group Opponent.

The last Bush (3/3: 1583-1584) extract is an example of conversationalization that was discussed previously in Chapter 3: *If this were a spending contest, I would come in second*. The pronoun (*this*) functions as Carrier in a conditional construction in which the nominal group *a spending contest* is attributed to the proposition(s) of Bush's opponent, with the end result of *in second* expressed in the Quality subcategory of a Manner circumstantial. In this conditional sentence, the clause introduced by *if* contains a past subjunctive verb (*if this were*) which helps in determining its intended meaning. Since the subjunctive is used to describe a relationship that is presupposed to be contrary to fact, i.e. it is a USPD and not a spending contest, the verb of the main clause must then contain the modal verb would: *I would come in second*. When the relationship represented in a relational process is not presupposed to be false, the *if* clause must contain an indicative verb and the verb choice in the main clause will depend on the intended meaning.

4.4.2.5: Gore's uses of relational processes to represent the out-group Opponent

GORE: 2000: 1/3: 84: THAT **might be** <u>a good idea</u>.
1/3: 99: THE GOVERNOR'S INSTINCT **is not** necessarily <u>bad</u>.
1/3: 279-282: The governor has proposed skipping the next generation of weapons. I think THAT**'s** <u>a big mistake</u>.
2/3: 481: that THE IDEA of humility **is** <u>an important one</u>.
2/3: 709-712: But the FACT **is** <u>that</u> THAT**'s** <u>the situation</u> that was left when I got there.
2/3: 860-863: that THAT **wouldn't be** <u>the kind of situation</u>
2/3: 891: THAT **was** <u>a mistake</u>.
2/3: 901: THAT **was** <u>ill-considered</u>.
2/3: 903-906: IT **was** <u>in the previous administration</u>, in the Bush-Quayle administration; THE LESSONS there **are** <u>ones</u> that we should take very, very seriously.
2/3: 1093: THIS IDEA of nation building **is** kind of <u>a pejorative phrase</u>
2/3: 1224: WE**'ve had** <u>some disagreements</u> about that.

In the first Gore (1/3: 84) extract above, the incumbent ascribes an intensive Attribute to the pronoun *that*, which refers to his opponent's proposition that the Russians be asked to mediate in the disputed Yugoslav election of 2000; however, Gore does so with the use of *might*, which functions to modalize the verb, and thereby reducing its probability. The Vice President (1/3: 84) then criticizes politely the short-sightedness of his opponent in wishing to increase the role of the Russians by means of the modalization: *the governor's instinct is not necessarily bad*, which is seen as a means of front-narrowing, or minimizing differences. Here, the Identified *instinct* is negated as being an Attribute of *bad*. However, later in the same debate, Gore (1/3: 279-282) again makes use of the divisive discourse of the vote-gatherer in his evaluation of what he represents *the governor* as having *proposed*, the *skipping* of *the next generation of weapons*, which is referenced by the pronoun *that* and ascribed the nominal group *a big mistake* as Attribute. In the second debate, Gore (2/3: 481) agrees with his opponent that the U.S. should be strong but humble and adopts for

himself *the idea of humility* as a Carrier, which is correlated with the nominal group *an important one* functioning as an intensive attribute.

Later in the second debate, Gore relates (2/3: 709-711) the negatively depicted *situation* of Saddam Hussein still being in power in 2000 with Bush's father as U.S. President in 1991. In the identifying relationship established by Gore in *that is the situation*, the pronoun *that* is the Identified/Token and the nominal group functioning as Identifier/Value is definite. The proposition is bolstered by the preface of another identifying relationship *the fact is that*; however, in this case we have a switch in which, instead of the Value identifying the Token, the Token, or the nominal group *the fact*, identifies the Value, or the preposition *that*, and as a result, the verb becomes passive. Therefore, the whole extract could be paraphrased as *the fact remains that the situation was left uncompleted when I got to the White House*. The passive construction, *that was left*, has any agency removed, thus making it necessary for the text negotiator to infer who was responsible for allowing Saddam Hussein to get left behind. The passive material process is similar to one offered by Halliday (1994, p. 175): 'this file got left behind by mistake'.

In the Gore (2/3: 860-863) extract above, the Vice President produces the following denial: *that wouldn't be the kind of situation*. Here, the Vice President uses the pronoun *that* as an Identified/Token elliptical reference to the *genocide in Kosovo* of his previous utterances, with which he then negates or disassociates his out-group Opponent as being concerned. Bush is therefore represented by the negated correlation established between the Identified/Token of such an atrocity and the Identifier/Value of not being *the kind of situation* which Bush would consider as requiring the use of U.S. Armed Forces. This argumentation is front-broadening in that the Vice President challenges the values of his

out-group Opponent not only regarding genocide, but also about the positively portrayed success of NATO in ousting Milosevic.

Two attributive relationships also are established by Gore (2/3: 891) with *that was a mistake* and (2/3: 901) *that was ill-considered*. Here, the Vice President uses the pronoun *that* as a means of correlating the Carrier of two uses of U.S. Armed Forces during Republican administrations with the intensive Attributes of *mistake* and *ill-conceived*: Grenada was *a mistake* and Somalia was *ill-considered*. These uses of the U.S. military took place during the Reagan and first Bush Administrations, respectively.

In another of Gore's (2/3: 903-906) identifying relationships above, the Vice President states: *it was in the previous administration, in the Bush-Quayle administration*. The pronoun *it* functions as Token in representing the use of U.S. Armed Forces in Somalia, and the Value identifying the Token in the circumstantial identifying process is the prepositional phrase as participant. Gore then evaluates the military incursion in Somalia by establishing yet another identifying relationship: *the lessons there are ones that we should take very, very seriously*. Here we again have a switch in which, instead of the Value identifying the Token, the Token, or the nominal group *the lessons there*, identifies the Value, or the pronoun *ones* with *that* as a conjunction introducing the noun clause which follows, which expresses an opinion and is realized by a mental process.

Later in the second debate, Gore (2/3: 1093) juxtaposes the nominal group *this idea of nation building* functioning as Carrier with the modalized Attribute of *kind of a pejorative phrase* in order to express his distaste for *this idea* or negative other-presentation of his out-group Opponent. In the final Gore (2/3: 1224) extract the Vice President acknowledges that he and his opponent (functioning as Carriers) have had *some disagreements about that*, which functions as a possessive Attribute here. The prepositional

phrase is a circumstantial expression representing the Reason for which the relationship was established, i.e. what caused the *disagreements*, which was the negative evaluation of the challenger to the status quo saying that the U.S. Armed Forces were in a weakened state due to their use in nation-building missions around the world.

4.4.2.6: Comparison of Opponent in 2000 relational processes

Table 26 below shows that Bush's 57 representations with the four main process types with the Opponent out-group as Participant constitute 6.87% of his 830 clauses in the USPD text of 2000. Bush's 15 uses of relational processes with the out-group as Carrier/Identified are 26.32% of his representations, and 4.52% of his total of 332 relational processes in the text.

Bush: ***Opponent***	Relational	Total	**Gore:** ***Opponent***	Relational	Total
	15	57/830		14	33/697
Subtotal	26.32%		Subtotal	42.42%	
Total	4.52% (15/332)	6.87%	Total	6.03% (14/232)	4.73%

Table 26: Opponent representations in relational processes in the 2000 USPD texts

Gore's 33 representations with the four main process types with the Opponent out-group as Participant constitute 4.73% of his 697 clauses in the USPD text of 2000. Gore's 14 uses of relational processes with the out-group as Carrier/Identified are 42.42% of his representations, and 6.03% of his total of 232 relational processes in the text.

When this data is compared with that of the candidates of the 1960 USPD series (see Table 25), we can see that Nixon used the Opponent out-group 10-15% more often (19.25%) in his representations of national security priorities than did his opponent or the

candidates in the 2000 USPD series. Also, Nixon used 16.94% of his total of relational processes in the USPD text of 1960 with the out-group as Participant, which is 10-12% more than his opponent or the candidates of 2000. The data indicate that Nixon, more than any of the other candidates of the two USPD series, chose to use the Opponent out-group more often in his representations of national security concerns and chose to do so more often in relational processes by correlating his Opponent out-group as Participant in some negatively portrayed notion or proposition, such as *indicating in advance* that the U.S. would not protect the two small islands of *Quemoy and Matsu* or *apologizing* to the U.S.S.R. for continuing spy flights over that nation just prior to a *summit conference in Paris*, which had as one of its goals the reduction of Cold War tensions between the two nations. In Section 4.5 I compare the uses of relational and material processes with this group as Participant in discussions of national security in the 1960 and 2000 USPD series.

In the next section, the participant roles of in-group Friends and out-group Foes are described and interpreted. Similar means of referencing and notations are used in this final subsection of analysis of relational processes.

4.4.3 Relational processes: In-group Friends and out-group Foes

Candidates in the USPDs of past and present also use relational processes to praise their Friends and bash their Foes. However, there appears to be a shift toward greater relational process usages in contemporary debate series, as will be noted in the interpretations of the tabulated data below. I begin this time with Nixon's uses of relational processes followed by those of Kennedy.

4.4.3.1: Nixon's uses of relational processes to represent Friends and Foes

NIXON: 1960: 2/4: 123: No, CUBA **is not** lost,
2/4: 285-287: THAT **will** always **be** the case as long as THE COMMUNISTS **are** on the international scene, in the aggressive tendencies that THEY presently **are following**.
2/4: 298-301: that at the present time COMMUNIST PRESTIGE in the world **is** at an all-time low and American prestige is at an all-time high. Now THAT, of course, **is** just one factor, but IT**'s** a significant one.
2/4: 831-837: IT **isn't** the few people who live on them: THEY **are not** too important. IT**'s** the principle involved. THESE TWO ISLANDS **are** in the area of freedom. THE NATIONALISTS **have** these two islands.
3/4: 1204: WHAT **has become** a symbol of freedom.
4/4: 2017-2020: First, with regard to Poland, when I talked to Mr. Gomulka, the present leader of Poland, for six hours in Warsaw last year, I learned something about their problems and particularly his. Right under the Soviet gun, with Soviet troops there, HE **is** in a very difficult position in taking anything independent,

In the first Nixon (1/4: 123) extract above, the Vice President negates an intensive Attribute to represent the Cuba Carrier as *not* having the Attribute of being *lost* to U.S. national interests. In the next Nixon (2/4: 285-287) extract, the adverb *always*, a Quality subcategory of the circumstance of Manner, reinforces the expression of the identifying relationship established between the containment of *the Communists* as represented by the pronoun *that* and the Identifier/Value of *the case* or situation/problem. The two attributive clauses which follow the identifying one then correlate *the Communists* as Carriers and *on the international scene* as a circumstantial Attribute, as well as *following aggressive tendencies*. Here, the verb that realizes the possessive attributive process is one of the 'ascriptive' classes: durative (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 120).

In responding to Kennedy's emphasis on the negative aspects of the state of the nation, Nixon (2/4: 296-299) opts to represent a mirror image of the situation; one in which *Communist prestige in the world is at an all-time low* while American prestige is at an all-time high. This is credited to Premier Khrushchev's shoe-banging performance in the

United Nations as compared with President Eisenhower's eloquent speech (2/4: 296-297). The circumstantial element *at an all-time low* is attributed to the Carrier of *Communist prestige* and preceded by the Time circumstantial of Location, *at the present time*. Nixon (ibid.) then correlates his Identified situation using the pronoun *that* with the Identifier *one factor* before then expressing his opinion by means of another identifying relationship with the pronoun *it* as Token identified by the Value *a significant one*.

Later in the second debate, Nixon (2/4: 831-837) describes his concern about his opponent’s willingness to abandon the islands of Quemoy and Matsu which are just off the coast of China. Nixon argues that *it isn't the few people who live on them: they are not too important*. *It's the principle involved. These two islands are in the area of freedom. The Nationalists have these two islands*. Thus, Nixon calls for defense of an Identifier/Token, *the principle*, or the policy of containment, rather than the protection of the islands’ residents: *they* as Carriers are denied of having the Attribute of importance. The initial clause establishes the first identifying relationship of the situation, represented by the pronoun *it*, and correlated by means of negation with the Identifier/Token, the islands’ residents. Nixon (2/4: 836-837) then assigns the circumstantial Attribute of *in the area of freedom* to the two disputed islands 4-5 miles off the coast of China and occupied by Chiang Kai-shek’s *Nationalists*, who are the Carriers related to the possessive Attribute of *these two islands*. In the third debate, Nixon (3/4: 1204) affixes the Attribute of *a symbol of freedom* to the islands as Carrier designated by the pronoun *what*.

In the final Nixon (4:4: 2019-2020) extract, the Vice President creates a mental picture for the viewership of how it must feel to live *right under the Soviet gun, with Soviet troops there*, in his depiction of the predicament faced by the Polish leader, Gomulka, with whom he has met. By asserting that Gomulka is *in a very difficult position*, Nixon

encourages the in-group US to continue to support such outward seeking nations that are now behind the Iron Curtain, but who might one day become in-group Friends if the circumstantial Attribute as realized by the prepositional phrase were to change one day.

4.4.3.2: Kennedy's uses of relational processes to represent Friends and Foes

> KENNEDY: 1960: 3/4: 1049-1052: There are indications, because of new inventions, that TEN, FIFTEEN, or TWENTY NATIONS **will have** a nuclear capacity, including Red China, by the end of the presidential office in 1964. THIS **is** extremely serious.
> 3/4: 1246-1247: they know that IT **will mean** a war.
> 3/4: 1366-1367: THESE ISLANDS that we're now talking about **are not** worth the bones of a single American soldier.
> 4/4: 1577: CASTRO **is** only the beginning of our difficulties throughout Latin America.
> 4/4: 1686-1693: THE SOVIET UNION **is** first in outer space. You yourself said to Khrushchev, "YOU **may be** ahead of us in rocket thrust but we're ahead of you in color television" in your famous discussion in the kitchen. I think that color television is not as important as rocket thrust.
> 4/4: 1963: EASTERN EUROPE **is** the area of vulnerability of the Soviet Union.
> 4/4: 1987-1988: in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Eastern Europe, the great force on our side is THE DESIRE of people **to be** free.
> 4/4: 1992-1999: THEY **want to be** free, and my judgment is that they don't want to give their freedom up **to become** Communists. THEY **want to stay** free, independent perhaps of us, but certainly independent of the Communists.

In the first Kennedy (3/4: 1049-1052) extract above the senator warns of as many as *twenty nations* (Carriers) as one day having *a nuclear capacity* (possessive attribute), which he then expands on by use of the prepositional phrases *by the end of the presidential office in 1964* functioning as Location circumstantials. The supporting argumentation of persuasive discourse prefaces Kennedy's (3/4: 1082-1084) move of appeal/solicitation that *this is extremely serious*, in which *extremely* is a circumstance of Manner/Quality collocated with the intensive Attribute of *serious*.

Later in the third debate Kennedy (3/4: 1246-1247) asserts that the Chinese Communists understand that an attack on Formosa or the Pescadores *will mean a war*.

According to Halliday (1994, p. 123), the nominal group which realizes the Identifier function ‘is typically definite’; however, the verb *mean* which realizes the process is an ‘equative’ class, thereby setting up an identifying relationship with *a war* acting as Identifier/Value. Making use of a front-broadening argumentation strategy, Kennedy (3/4: 1366-1367) then sets up an attributive relationship in which *these islands*, as Carrier, the ones his Opponent wants to defend, are denied as having the possessive Attribute of the value or *worth* of *the bones of a single American soldier* as Attribute. This interpretation makes the negated verb that realizes the process akin to the verb *deserve* and thereby sets up a possessive attributive type of relational process: *these islands are undeserving of the bones of a single American soldier*.

In the fourth and final debate of the 1960 series Kennedy (4/4: 1577) makes use of Castro (as Token) and correlates him to the nominal group that realizes the function of Identifier/Value: *the beginning of our difficulties throughout Latin America*. The two prepositional phrases which expand on the Identifier/Value are circumstantials of Cause/Reason and Extent/Spatial, respectively.

In the next Kennedy (4/4: 1686-1693) excerpt, the Carrier, *the Soviet Union*, is begrudgingly ascribed the Attribute of being *first in outer space*. The prepositional phrase denotes Place as a circumstantial of Location. Thus, the space race had begun and the challenger to the status quo felt it necessary to warn of the consequences of not being in the lead by means of ridiculing his opponent with directly quoted speech in the Kennedy (4/4: 1686-1693) excerpt above: *you yourself said to Khrushchev, "you may be ahead of us in rocket thrust but we're ahead of you in color television"*. Here, the modalized verb permits Nixon some leeway in terms of probability. Also worth noting is the discourse misrepresentation of the Attribute, ahead; whereas above, Kennedy assigns the attribute of being first. The prepositional phrases add to the

process by providing Accompaniment and Manner. Kennedy then concludes with the seething rebuttal that *I think that color television is not as important as rocket thrust*.

As for the weaknesses of the Foes which might be exploited, Kennedy (4/4: 1963) cites *Eastern Europe* as Identified/Token and correlates the region with *the area of vulnerability of the Soviet Union* as Value. The prepositional phrases are circumstantial expressions of Cause and Location. The challenger (4/4: 1987-1988) later concludes that *the great force on our side* when it comes to *Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe is the desire of people to be free*. Thus, the intensive Attribute of being *free* is related to *our side*, by means of a circumstantial of Location, and is a desired entity by these represented peoples. Moments later, Kennedy (4/4: 1995-1999) chooses to use the verb *become*, which realizes the process and is the 'inceptive' phase of the 'ascriptive' class, and Friends, as designated by the pronoun *they* to represent them as not wanting *to become Communists* if the Attribute involves the loss of *freedom*. In the Kennedy assertion that follows the senator states that these *people* (as Carriers) *want to stay free*. The verb *stay*, a 'durative' phase of the 'ascriptive' class thereby realizes the Attribute of *free*. Although Kennedy concedes by use of a relational circumstantial that this could entail also wanting to be *independent perhaps of us*, he then insists that these same people *certainly* wish to be *independent of the Communists* (used here as an intensive attribute).

As Fowler (1991, p. 94) observes, 'language provides names for categories, and so helps to set their boundaries and relationships; and discourse allows these names to be spoken and written frequently, so contributing to the apparent reality and currency of the categories'. Thus, the categorical assertions of the intentions of the Communists, as well as the desires of potential Friends of the U.S. throughout the world who reject the ideology, if repeated often enough and by people with authority and the resources necessary for media

access may serve to perpetuate for generations to come feelings of fear and animosity, as well as the notion of freedom in democracies which have a capitalist economic system.

4.4.3.3: Comparison of Friends and Foes in 1960 relational processes

In the USPD texts of 1960, Nixon chose to make the in-group Friends (UN/NATO/allies) the Participants in only 1.09% of his relational processes. Instead, the Vice President chose as Participants in relational clauses the Russians (4.92%), the Chinese (4.37%), and Latin Americans (3.28%). These four percentages correspond to the total of 50 usages of the Friends in-group (UN/NATO/allies) and Foes out-groups in relational processes of his total of 366 of such types, which represents 13.66% of his total.

Nixon				**Kennedy**			
UN/NATO/allies	uses	Subtotal	Total	***UN/NATO/allies***	uses	Subtotal	Total
Relational	4	1.09% (4/366)	0.36%	Relational	15	5.15% (15/291)	1.58%
RUSSIANS		Subtotal	Total	***RUSSIANS***		Subtotal	Total
Relational	18	4.92% (18/366)	1.64%	Relational	11	3.78% (11/291)	1.16%
CHINESE		Subtotal	Total	***CHINESE***		Subtotal	Total
Relational	16	4.37% (16/366)	1.46%	Relational	4	1.37% (4/291)	0.42%
LATINOS		Subtotal	Total	***LATINOS***		Subtotal	Total
Relational	12	3.28% (12/366)	1.09%	Relational	9	3.09% (9/291)	0.95%

Table 27: Friends and Foes representations in relational processes in the 1960 USPD texts

Kennedy, on the other hand, chose to make the in-group Friends (UN/NATO/allies) the Participants in 5.15% of his relational processes. The challenger to the status quo also used as Participants in relational processes the Russians (3.87%), Latin Americans (3.09%), and the Chinese (1.37%). These four percentages correspond to the total of 39 uses of the

Friends in-group (UN/NATO/allies) and Foes out-groups in relational processes of his total of 291 of such types, which represents 13.40% of his total.

Overall, the Subtotals for Nixon add up to 13.66% and 13.40% for Kennedy, which constitute nearly identical overall usages of material processes with Participants belonging to the Friends and Foes groups. Likewise, Nixon chose to represent Friends and Foes in 4.56% of his overall usage of the four process types while Kennedy did so with 4.10% of all of his clauses in the USPD text of 1960. Therefore, these groups were represented approximately 13% of the time as Participants in the candidates' relational processes and about 4% of their overall uses of the four main process types.

Let us now look at how the functions assumed by Friends and Foes compare to the in- and out-groups of the USPD texts of 2000. I begin with Gore's categorizations.

4.4.3.4: Gore's uses of relational processes to represent Friends and Foes

GORE: 2000: 1/3: 22-23: when Milosevic leaves, then SERBIA **will be able to have** a more normal relationship with the rest of the world.
1/3: 34-35: THEY still **have** some feelings lingering from the NATO action there.
1/3: 44-45: And I hope that HE**'ll be** out of office very shortly.
1/3: 82-84: about asking THE RUSSIANS **to be** involved, and under some circumstances THAT **might be** a good idea.
1/3: 105-106: before we invite THE RUSSIANS **to play** the lead role
1/3: 187: NOBODY **should have** any doubt about that, least of all our adversaries or potential adversaries.
1/3: 269-270: Look, THAT**'s** where World War I started.
2/3: 843-846: and HE**'s still going to try to be** actively involved. HE **is** an indicted war criminal. HE **should be held** accountable.
1/3: 269-270: Look, THAT**'s** where World War I started.
2/3: 835-836: HE **was** the last communist party boss there and then HE **became** a dictator.
3/3: 1477-1479: Even in Iran THEY **have had** an election that began to bring about some change.

In the first Gore (1/3: 22-23) excerpt, the incumbent Vice President uses a possessive Attribute in describing that *when Milosevic leaves, then Serbia will be able to have a more*

normal relationship with the rest of the world, i.e. the nation would no longer be relegated to the out-group Foe category enacted by the U.S. and NATO. The Attribute of *a more normal relationship* is embellished with a circumstantial expression of Cause while the conjunction *when* represents the attribute as a conditional. Gore (1/3: 34-35) then acknowledges that the people of the country that was bombed by NATO Armed Forces have *some feelings*, a possessive Attribute, and that the reason for these *feelings* remaining or *lingering* is *from the NATO action* there. The verb *linger* realizes the relational process and is a 'durative' phase of the 'ascriptive' class of verbs, whereas the prepositional phrase is a circumstantial element of Cause with *there* as a circumstantial of Location.

Gore (1/3: 44-45) then sets up an attributive relationship as a mentally projected clause: *And I hope that he'll be out of office very shortly*. Here, Milosevic is the Carrier represented by the pronoun *he*, and the circumstantial attribute which Gore wishes to assign to him is *out of office* followed with the Time circumstantial of Location. However, Bush's suggestion of having *the Russians* (as Carrier) *involved* (as an Attribute) is represented as a dubious proposition. Gore (1/3: 82-84) then concedes that *that might be a good idea*; however, only *under some circumstances*, which is a circumstance of Manner. Moments later, Gore (1/3: 105-107) urges caution *before* the inclusive *we invite the Russians to play the lead role*. Here *play* sets up the identifying relationship in which the verb that realizes the process is a 'role' verb of the 'equative' class (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 123). The nominal group realizing the function of Identifier/Token is conditionally ascribed to *the Russians* as Identified/Token by means of the conjunction *before*.

Later in the same debate, Gore (1/3: 187) uses a command/order of hortatory discourse that has been mitigated to a suggestion of an undesirable outcome: *nobody should have any doubt about that, least of all our adversaries or potential adversaries*. Here,

nobody, or not any Carrier, should have the possessive Attribute of *any doubt* about contesting the U.S. Armed Forces, which have been represented previously as the strongest in the world (1/3: 186). In the second debate, Gore (2/3: 843-846) again returns to the nemesis of his self-accredited representation, Slobodan Milosevic: *He's still going to try to be actively involved. He is an indicted war criminal. He should be held accountable*. The Attribute *involved* is affixed to Milosevic via the pronoun *he*, and the adverb *actively* functions as a Quality type of Manner circumstantial. *War criminal* is the next Attribute ascribed to Milosevic as Carrier, and I have interpreted *should be held* as a verbal group akin to seen, with *accountable* as the intensive attributive of how he should be seen.

Gore (2/3: 835-836) then refers to Milosevic using an identifying relational process represented by the pronoun *he* juxtaposed with the Identifier/Value of *the last communist party boss*. The verb *become* of the second clause realizes this attributive process by which the Attribute of *a dictator*, which is very importantly indefinite, is also ascribed to Milosevic as Carrier. In the final Gore (3/3: 1477-1479) extract of the third debate, the Vice President bestows a possessive attribute to the people of Iran: *Even in Iran they have had an election that began to bring about some change*. Here, the nominal group, *an election*, is positively attributed to *Iran* as Carrier.

4.4.3.5: Bush's uses of relational processes to represent Friends and Foes

BUSH: 2000: 1/3: 48-50: As the vice president said, IT**'s** <u>time</u> for the man to go.

1/3: 53-58: THAT**'s** <u>why</u> IT**'s** <u>important</u> to make sure OUR ALLIANCES **are** <u>as strong as</u> THEY possibly **can be** to **keep** <u>the pressure</u> on Mr. Milosevic.

1/3: 72-73: IT**'s** <u>time</u> for the man to leave.

2/3: 689-698: THE COALITION that **was** <u>in place</u> **isn't** <u>as strong as</u> IT **used to be**. HE **is** <u>a danger</u>. And IT**'s going to be** <u>hard</u>; IT**'s going to be** <u>important</u> to rebuild that coalition to **keep** <u>the pressure</u> on him.

> 2/3: 805-808: IT**'s** <u>important</u> for NATO **to be** <u>strong and confident</u> and to help **keep** <u>the peace</u> in Europe.
> 2/3: 822-829: I hope OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS **become** <u>the peacekeepers</u> in Bosnia and in the Balkans.
> 2/3: 1031-1034: But there's got to be priorities, and THE MIDDLE EAST **is** <u>a priority</u> for a lot of reasons, as **is** Europe and the Far East, our own hemisphere. And THOSE **are** <u>my four top priorities</u>.

The first Bush extract above comes from the one-minute rebuttal segment in which the governor uses represented discourse. What Gore (1/3: 44-45) had previously stated about Milosevic was as follows: *I hope that he'll be out of office very shortly*. Bush (1/3: 48-50) uses represented discourse in the opening moments of his commentary to represent Gore's utterance in the following manner: *as the Vice President said, it's time for the man to go*. The instance of misrepresented discourse is then repeated similarly by Bush (1/3: 72-73) at the end of his rebuttal as *it's time for the man to leave*. In both usages of colloquial discourse the pronoun *it* represents the problem as Token which is then identified by the Value as the indefinite nominal of *time*. Both of Bush's usages are commands/orders of hortatory discourse which have been mitigated by means of the prepositional phrases being placed in the clause as circumstantial elements. *As the Vice President said* is an example of the circumstantial of Angle (cf. Halliday, 1994, p. 158).

Bush's (1/3: 53-58) supporting argumentation of persuasive discourse occurs between the two mitigated commands: *That's why it's important to make sure our alliances are as strong as they possibly can be to keep the pressure on Mr. Milosevic*. Here, the pronoun *that* is the proposed solution as Identified/Token, which is correlated with the conjunction of *why* to signify a reason which is forthcoming, although it would be possible to eliminate the clause altogether with no loss to the sense of the utterance which follows it. The next *it* pronoun is the Carrier to which Bush assigns the Attribute of *important*, which is then followed by another relational process in which *our alliances* as Carrier is ascribed

the Attribute of *strong*. The degree of strength that Bush prescribes is determined by the correlative *as strong as possible*, which is interpreted as a circumstantial element of Manner. The final clause is also an attributive relationship determined by the verb *keep*, which again is a ‘durative’ phase of the ‘ascriptive’ class of verbs. The nominal group *the pressure* is the Attribute, although typically it would be indefinite, and is ascribed the pronoun (*they*) as Carrier. The prepositional phrase is a circumstantial element of Cause.

In the second debate, Bush (2/3: 689-698) represents *the coalition* of the Persian Gulf War (as Carrier) with *in place* (as circumstantial Attribute) before then assessing that the Carrier has lost its former strength. Bush uses the pronoun *he* in reference to Saddam Hussein to whom he assigns the intensive Attribute of being *a danger* before then making the Aesop fable analogy of *fishing in troubled waters* which was discussed previously in Chapter Three. The embedded appeal move of persuasive discourse as a means of supplying motivation in the hortatory schema now has readied the mitigated yet urgent command: *It's going to be hard; it's going to be important to rebuild that coalition to keep the pressure on him*. The adjectives *hard* and *important* are Attributes ascribed to the coalition rebuilding process referred to by the pronoun *it*. The final relational process, which is the same supporting argumentation of the Bush (1/3: 53-58) extract above of the first debate, once again is an attributive relationship determined by the verb *keep*, a ‘durative’ phase of the ‘ascriptive’ class of verbs. The nominal group *the pressure* is the Attribute ascribed to *that coalition* as Carrier, and the prepositional phrase is a circumstantial element of Cause.

In the next Bush (2/3: 805-808) excerpt, the Texas governor assigns the Attributes of *important*, *strong* and *confident* to represent his view of the role of *NATO to help keep the peace in Europe*. According to Bush (2/3: 822-829), keeping the peace, which again is

a ‘durative’ phase of the ‘ascriptive’ class of verbs, is related to *our European friends* filling in as *peacekeepers* in places such as *Bosnia and in the Balkans* once the major battles and/or bombings are completed. However, in returning to his earlier theme of over-committing troops abroad, Bush (2/3: 1031-1034) asserts that *there's got to be priorities, and the Middle East is a priority for a lot of reasons, as is Europe and the Far East, and our own hemisphere*. I have interpreted the first clause as an existential process; however, the next two processes are attributive with *the Middle East* singled out (as Carrier) as *a priority* (used here as an intensive Attribute), followed by *Europe*, *the Far East* and *our own hemisphere*. The prepositional phrases *for a lot of reasons* are circumstantial elements of Cause which function as a presupposition that the text negotiator grasps the intended meaning. Bush (ibid.) concludes by assigning the regions designated by the pronoun *those* with the intensive attribute of *my four top priorities* should he become *the president*.

4.4.3.6: Comparison of Friends and Foes in the 2000 relational processes

In the USPD texts of 2000, Gore chose to make the in-group Friends (UN/NATO/allies) the Participants in only 1.29% of his relational processes. Instead, the Vice President chose as Participants in relational clauses the Balkans (10.34%), and the Middle East (4.31%). These three percentages correspond to the total of 37 usages of the Friends in-group (UN/NATO/allies) and Foes out-groups in relational processes of his total of 232 of such types, which represent 15.95% of his total.

Gore:				Bush:			
NATO/UN/allies		Subtotal	Total	***NATO/UN/allies***		Subtotal	Total
Relational	3	1.29% (3/232)	0.43%	Relational	23	6.93% (23/332)	2.77%
MIDDLE EAST		Subtotal	Total	***MIDDLE EAST***		Subtotal	Total
Relational	10	4.31% (10/232)	1.43%	Relational	17	5.12% (17/332)	2.05%
BALKANS		Subtotal	Total	***BALKANS***		Subtotal	Total
Relational	24	10.34% (24/232)	3.44%	Relational	14	4.22% (14/332)	1.69%

Table 28: Friends and Foes representations in relational processes in the USPDs of 2000

Bush, on the other hand, chose to make the in-group Friends (UN/NATO/allies) the Participants in 6.93% of his relational processes. The challenger to the status quo also used as Participants in relational processes the Middle East (5.12%), and the Balkans (4.22%). These three percentages correspond to the total of 54 uses of the Friends in-group (UN/NATO/allies) and Foes out-groups in relational processes of his total of 332 of such types, which represent 16.26% of his total.

Overall, the Subtotals for Gore (15.95%) and Bush (16.26%) are nearly identical regarding overall usages of relational processes with Participants as Friends or Foes. Gore chose to represent these in- and out-groups 1.2% less often (5.30%) in his overall usage of the four process types when compared to Bush, who did so with 6.5% of all of his clauses in the USPD text of 1960. Therefore, these groups were represented approximately 16% of the time as Participants in the candidates' relational processes and about 6% of their overall uses of the four main process types.

In the concluding remarks section of 4.5, I will compare and contrast the data of the twelve tables of Sections 4.3 and 4.4. The section provides an overall look at the uses of the in- and out-groups in material and relational processes in the 1960 and 2000 texts.

4.5 Concluding remarks on the text analysis

I now wish to compare and contrast the data of the twelve tables of Sections 4.3 and 4.4. The percentages of use of the in-groups and out-groups in material and relational processes in representations of national security priorities in the 1960 and 2000 USPD texts have been analyzed previously in the comparisons of Subsections 4.3.1, 4.3.2 and 4.3.3, with regard to material processes, and 4.4.1, 4.4.2, 4.4.3, with regard to relational processes. However, the enormity of such a text analysis, while essential, can nevertheless confound not only the text negotiator, but also the text producer, and therefore calls for retrospection bearing in mind the qualitative paradigm of research in which the veracity of such texts is seen as being open for negotiation. Therefore, I will now offer a brief holistic view of the transitivity-based text analysis of Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

How did a transitivity-based text analysis of the issue of national security priorities in the first-ever USPD series of 1960 and the most recent ones of 2000 enhance the previous social and processing analyses about both the communicative events and the specific debate issue in question? Basically, the close text analysis suggests that while such discursive events are flawed and in need of reform(see 5.2), the media productions and the texts they generate are a rich source of socially relevant, mediatized political discourse that merit the attention of discourse analysts, albeit researchers in other academic disciplines may find these topics of interest as well.

The realizations of material and relational process types in the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000 allowed for different renderings of national security concerns at the level of the clause as representation. The types of process that were chosen by the candidates determined

the functions assumed by the in-group and out-group Participants in portraying a world of foreign policy decision-making wherein they both signify and construct the actions and doings, as well as established relationships of the candidates' Self in-groups, the 'inclusive we' of the US in-groups, the political Opponents' out-groups and those of foreign leaders and peoples who may be assigned and reassigned the distinction of being either in-group Friends or out-group Foes from one presidential administration to the next.

In the present research, I have focused attention on the material and relational process types that constitute over 70% of the USPD texts of 1960 and 2000 and have attempted to describe and interpret how the candidates' representations may have functioned to promote positive self-presentations of particular in-groups while also ostracizing a Mr. Khrushchev, Castro, Milosevic or Hussein, as well as hundreds of millions of people to the status of an out-group Foe. I have also attempted to show how candidates at times opt to minimize their ideological differences through the use of a front-narrowing, vote-shifter argumentation strategy, while at other times they distance themselves from their Opponent with a front-broadening, vote gatherer debating style.

In the responses to questions by panels of news correspondents in the four debates of what I have referred to as the *viewership-oriented* 1960 USPD series, the national security priorities of Nixon and Kennedy were most often expressed by material processes. In the extracts of the *moderator-oriented* 2000 series, Bush and Gore chose to represent the issue more by means of relational processes involving *being* than *doing*. This generated more relationships of one entity being related to another as in the following examples: (Gore: 2000: 1/3: 186) *our military is the strongest, best-trained, best-equipped, best-led fighting force in the world and in the history of the world*, which was rebutted moments later by Bush (2000: 1/3: 219-221) by means of a cluster of relational processes in *that's not the question* -

the question is will it be the strongest in the years to come? Such a shift suggests a tendency by contemporary debaters in USPDs to set up relations between separate entities in which a representation is being said to be attributive ('a is an attribute of x') or identifiable with something else ('a is the identity of x') rather than making use of processes in which events or peoples are realized through material processes (see Table 3).

The percentages of usage of material processes of the two incumbent vice presidents are notably similar with Nixon and Gore having a 1.5% difference and about a tenth of one percent difference in their uses of relational processes when discussing the same debate issue forty years apart and from the perspective of opposing party platforms, i.e. ideologically based declarations of the principles on which a group, such as a political party, makes its appeal to the public. It should be noted that this was not the case with the two challengers to the status quo in the general elections of 1960 and 2000 in which Kennedy and Bush have an 8.76% difference in the use of material processes and 9.47% difference in relational processes.

The data suggest that while incumbents tend to represent stability and the advancement of national security interests through a sustained course of action undertaken by themselves and their administration (the in-group Self) by means of both material and relational processes, the challengers to the status quo instead show a tendency to represent active change by invoking the 'inclusive we' to do their bidding with such positive self-presentations as in Kennedy's (2/4: 689) *because we're going to move in sixty-one and two*; as well as by a combination of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation such as in (Bush: 2000: 2/3: 524-528) *we can help build coalitions but we can't put our troops all around the world*. As may be seen in the Bush extract, the choice of Participant represents the current administration unfavorably before multiple audiences in live, televised broadcasts, thus effectively assigning a point of view for the television audience by means of foregrounding particular ´facts´ while obscuring others.

The use of the US in-group in *material* processes appears to function as a form of 'my fellow Americans' soliloquizing technique by incumbents who wish to reassure that the present course is the right one. On the other hand, challengers to the status quo use the same device to solemnly confide to their audience of unsettling events that have transpired in some far off land and what these goings-on portend for the in-group, or how he envisions the US in-group and role in the world, and what policies are in the making to accomplish these new courses of action once empowered with the presidency.

Nixon's use of the Self in-group as Participant in relational processes was 17% more than Kennedy's usage with the same in-group in the 1960 USPD text. Kennedy's lesser usage of the Self in-group as Participant in relational processes thus afforded him less opportunities to establish such relationships as (Nixon: 1960: 2/4: 588) *I'm proud of the record of this Administration*, and (Nixon: 1960: 3/4: 1450-1457) *we're well ahead and we can stay ahead*. By contrast, Gore's representations of national security concerns with the Self in-group as Participant in relational processes were about half of those of the incumbent of 1960, and even 6% less than Bush in the USPD text of 2000. Therefore, while Gore (2000: 3/3: 1505-1506) might have been able to relate to the viewership *what it was like to be an enlisted man in the United States Army*, his opponent, due to the vice president's acquiescence to not relate to the scandal-ridden administration of Clinton, was afforded more opportunities to make representations such as (Bush: 2000: 2/3: 1056-1057: *I want to be judicious in its* (Armed Forces) *use*, and (Bush: 2000: 3/3: 1427) *I've got a strategy for the Middle East*.

Nixon used the Opponent out-group as Participant in 8.39% more of his Total of material processes than did Kennedy in the 1960 USPD text. The data suggest that while Kennedy as challenger to the status quo could deride the Eisenhower Administration as

being ineffective, the incumbent vice president made greater use of material processes to represent his Opponent as Participant in such negative portrayals as *he offers retreads of programs that failed* (Nixon: 1960: 2/4: 597-598). However, Gore's percentage of usage of the Opponent out-group as Participant in material processes was 9.84% less than that of Bush in the 2000 USPD text. Thus, while the incumbent vice president chose to represent his Opponent as Participant in only 4 material processes (see Table 20), his Opponent could counter with a front-narrowing argumentation strategy to minimize differences between the two parties by applauding the actions of *the President* (Bush: 2000: 2/3: 757-759) in having *made the right decision in joining NATO and bombing Serbia* while still having opportunities to depict himself as a stronger military leader than his opponent by such propositions as (Bush: 2000: 2/3: 682) *I could handle the Iraqi situation better*.

Nixon's use of the Opponent out-group as the Participant in relational processes was 11.79% more than Kennedy's usage with the same in-group in the 1960 USPD text. Thus, while Kennedy (1960: 2/4: 557-558) did make use of negative other-presentations of his Opponent as having *been part of that administration*, and as having *had experience in it*, Nixon had over four times more occurrences of relational processes (62 vs. 15). This advantage in the use of relational processes afforded Nixon (1960: 4/4: 1491-1493) more opportunities to represent, for instance, *the policies and recommendations* of his Opponent *for the handling of the Castro regime* as *the most dangerously irresponsible recommendations that he's made*, as well as to depict Kennedy personally as having been *dead wrong* about his criticisms of the Eisenhower Administration (4/4: 1646-1647).

As may be seen in the data of Table 21, the Subtotals for Kennedy and Nixon add up to approximately 13% of their usages of material processes with the Friends and Foes groups as Participants in responses to questions about national security priorities. These

data correspond more readily with Gore's usage (16%) than with Bush's (7%), which could indicate that these three candidates had had more extensive experience in foreign affairs and chose to represent the in- and out-groups as Actors in material processes about twice as often as did Bush.

The text analysis of this chapter has investigated micro-structural features of the USPD texts at the level of clause as representation using a transitivity analysis. When viewed holistically with the analysis of sociocultural and discursive practices of Chapter 3, it is hoped that one may better see how the discourse practice dimension of Fairclough's model for CDA (see Figure 1) is thought to bridge the chasm between texts and society.

Chapter Five

Final Remarks

5.1 A brief look back at the research

U.S. Presidential debates and U.S. national security priorities were foregrounded in this version of critical discourse analysis because I wished to make the work socially activist by means of contrastive analyses of how the recurrent and controversial debate issue was discussed in the first of such discursive events in 1960 and the most recent ones of 2000. The research has attempted to investigate the intricate relations of power which underlie ways of discussing the topic in U.S. society, and in particular to reveal the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging such sociopolitical dominance. While I acknowledge that the elimination of interpreter bias in this research is less than perfect, it is hoped that the study has helped to shed some light on the past and present forms of mediatized political discourse related to the issue of national security priorities in USPD series and has set the stage for a similar contrastive analysis of the issue in terms of how it was discussed in a pre-911 setting in the USPD series of 2000 and the post-911 setting of the 2004 series.

The materials and methods for such a CDA would be similar to those used in the present research; however, one possible way to better distinguish the articulations of genres and discourse within USPDs would be to adopt Meurer's (2004) perspective on genres and rhetorical modes. In addition, I would again use transcripts of these mediatized political

events but would supplement them with notes taken from audiovisual cues to add a multimodal perspective to the work.

The presidential nominees of the Republican and Democratic Parties are typically the two major text producers of USPDs, although as has been shown, there are other important contributors in and behind discourse such as the moderator and the CPD sponsor. These latter two social actors, as well as the national campaign committees of the two major parties who negotiate every detail of these complex events often do so by changes to the register variables of the USPD series. These variances in turn affect the articulations of socially available genres and discourses, ethoses, intermingling of voices, aspects of conversationalization and marketization, and the choices of discourse and argumentation strategies. Such changes leave behind traces in the texts which suggest a shift from viewership-oriented debates of the 1960 series to moderator and debate audience-orientated ones of contemporary USPD series, and perhaps even indicate wider social change taking place in U.S. society, and the evolution of power relations as hegemonic struggle.

A USPD is not a debate ´proper´; there is no ´official´ winner, and debaters tend to focus more on convincing multiple audiences of their worthiness as president rather than presenting sound argumentation on each issue. Resultantly, the viewership becomes voyeurs of "Big Brother" political theatrics in which they are unaddressed in the manner of a newscast while the show is ostensibly done on their behalf.

I will now offer a suggestion for reform in USPDs. Such a change would not only affect the quality of argumentation, but might also reverse the trend in declining viewership by appealing to a heretofore alienated segment of the rhetorical debate audience.

5.2 Suggestions for reform in USPDs

Recall that in Jørgensen and Kock's (1999, pp. 420-423) study of public policy debates in Europe the rhetorical debate audience is represented as being constituted of four different segments of voters who have different needs depending upon their levels of assurance and involvement: partisans (P) are the decided voters, or those who are high in both assurance and involvement; on the other side of the fluctuating curve (see Figure 4) are the abstainers (A) – those who are typically no-shows on a voting day, and/or those who are low in both assurance and involvement; spectators (S) are then the disenchanted who are high in assurance, yet tend to be low in involvement; whereas, deliberators (D) are citizens who are high in involvement, but low in assurance. It is because of the perceived needs of different audiences that the candidates in both series of USPDs are thought to have made at least similar efforts at both of the strategies of vote-gathering and vote-shifting (see 2.5).

In the interest of promoting reform in contemporary USPD series and encouraging greater participation on the part of the electorate, I will argue that the campaign committees of the presidential candidates should change the orientation of address from partisans and spectators to that of the deliberators of the viewership by insisting that the Commission on Presidential Debates afford greater emphasis to the front-shifting argumentation strategy. Given the 'trialogic nature' of such events, debaters will remain 'unwilling to be persuaded by each other'; however, what actually 'threatens the legitimacy of debate is when it is conducted in such a way that there is no chance of anyone in the *audience* shifting to the other side' (cf. Jørgensen and Kock, 1999, pp. 420-423). Therefore, by means of such debate reform, not only could we see a reduction in the confrontational style of USPDs, but

also an increase in the quality of more ‘convincing argumentation, i.e. arguments that those on both sides of the boundary who recognise the force of argument would consider weighty – whether they are persuaded by them or not’ (cf. Jørgensen and Kock (1999, p. 422).

The obvious question which then arises is as follows: what could possibly bring about such change in what I have proposed as the discourse type of *televised debates* in an order of discourse of *managing a national campaign committee*? The bottom line is votes.

The findings of Jørgensen and Kock (1999, pp. 420-423) suggest that not all votes are the same; and that by means of such a change ‘a debater can try to increase adherence to his view’. While the 2004 Republican campaign led by Ken Mehlman has appealed to church-going, senior citizen partisans, the presidential campaign of Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts led by Mary Beth Cahill has made some effort to appeal to the typical abstainers (A) in general elections – the 18-22-age segment of the electorate. However, I will give less regard to the abstainer portion of the voting age population and will instead focus on the other three segments noted below:

> What the voter seeks when he appears in the partisan role is precisely “reinforcement of existing beliefs”; as a spectator, he seeks “excitement and other affective satisfactions”; as a deliberating citizen – or, as Gurevitch and Blumler have it, “liberal citizen” – the voter seeks “guidance in deciding how to vote” (1977: 276).

When a debater appeals to partisans, the effect is seen as that of a pep rally; whereas in the case of appealing to a spectator, the debater is forced to somehow motivate those who ‘probably feel little need for guidance because they know what they think’ (cf. Jørgensen and Kock, 1999, p. 420). However, in the case of deliberators, their needs are different and should be addressed because as Jørgensen and Kock (ibid.) note, ‘although they lean to one side, they feel they need to know and understand more’.

The advantage which could be gained through greater use of the vote-shifting strategy is that it appeals to thousands if not millions who have not actually made up their minds 'and who may well change sides – under the influence of events or arguments' (cf. Jørgensen and Kock, 1999, p. 420). This could hold true in the general election year of 2004 when the U.S. may still have over 100,000 troops deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Another advantage of such change, in terms of winning votes, is that the recruitment of a single deliberator is projected as yielding a net effect of +2 votes for a vote-shifter due to the argumentative adeptness of the debater, as may be seen in Figure 11 below:

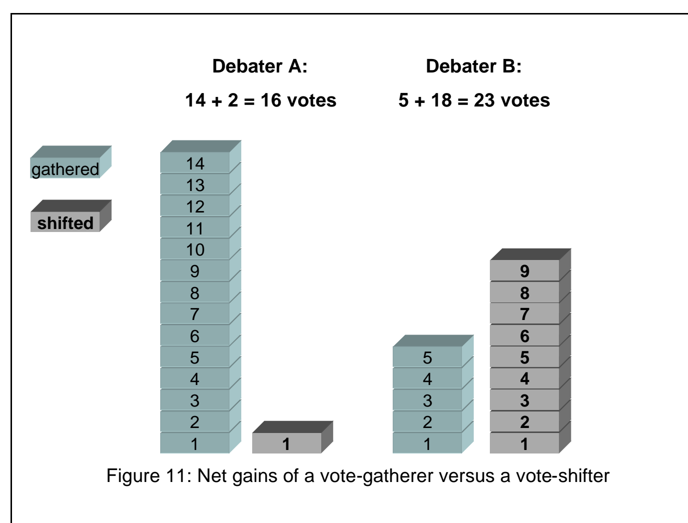

Figure 11: Net gains of a vote-gatherer versus a vote-shifter

As may be seen above in a modified version of Jørgensen and Kock's Figure 2 (1999, p. 421), Debater A *gathered* far more votes (14) from the undecided segment of voters (the ´target audience´ of televised debates) than did Debater B (five), while Debater B *shifted* nine votes from the opponent's side compared to the one of Debater A. Due to the 'net gain' effectuated by the use of the front-narrowing, vote-shifter argumentation style, Debater B's vote tally is 23, whereas his/her opponent's is 16. The idea is an intriguing one

because it is believed that one means by which to promote reform in debating style in contemporary USPD series is to convince the presidential candidates and their respective campaign committees that they can gain votes even at the polling places on Election Day due to such discursive change. However, as Jørgensen and Kock (1999, p. 422) observe:

> The problem is that many forces in modern TV-mediated democracy unite in suppressing the kind of political argument that aspires, and inspires, to vote-shifting debate. TV debates, when best, are both entertaining and informative. But at times there is a conflict. What works well as TV is often front-broadening features that leave little opportunity for shifting rhetoric to unfold: what boosts and entertains partisans and spectators often alienates the deliberating citizen looking for guidance. In consequence, the media furthers the transformation of citizens to a body of, in Jamieson's words, viewers "observing the 'sport' of politics" (Jamieson 1992: 191).

The title of presidential (general election) debates was a misnomer from the start because such ´debates´ have neither a classic debate form nor a function of distinguishing the superior argumentation of a participant, i.e. a winner. For this reason, the reproductions of such events over the past four decades are regarded as joint appearances of the major contenders for the U.S. presidency in a series of live telecasts which reflect social and discursive change which has taken place and continues to occur in the U.S. due to the impact of the medium of television on national politics.

It was almost a decade ago that Lind (1996, p. xiii) observed how it was possible to 'watch intelligent, sophisticated deliberation by viewing C-SPAN coverage of a congressional subcommittee hearing, then change the channel to CNN to witness the president or some presidential wannabe ranting irresponsibly in front of this or that symbolic back-drop'. The reproductions of USPDs are thus seen as exemplary of a shift in the political order of discourse of the executive branch from the political parties' reward-

based barter system to that of an individualistic, entertainment-based celebrity system spiraling toward demagogy.

5.3 Future research endeavors

The texts of this research are seen as ‘material’ realizations of the discourses which were drawn upon in discussions of national security priorities in the ‘social occasions’ of the seven USPDs of 1960 and 2000, which are likewise a result of ‘conventions’ and ‘rituals’ which have ‘specific functions and goals’ (cf. Kress, 1989, pp. 18-19). The post-911 constructions of the militarized discourses of terrorism and preemption have already supplanted their 2000 predecessors of despotism and nation building, and are sure to dominate the other discourses of the USPD series of 2004. However, this time it is believed that the intricate ways of representing the issue of national security concerns for the anxious consumers in the private domain will be built around the 1960 USPD metaphor of ´the free world´ once again being under siege, but this time by stateless groups of ´terrorists´.

The roles of the UN and NATO will figure prominently in the discussions of U.S. national security priorities in the upcoming USPD series of 2004 because of the presumed post-June 30th transfer of power from the U.S., the U.K. and ´the coalition of the willing´ to an Iraqi interim government. The power-holders have made and will continue to make full use of coercion and consent, in both the Middle East and the countries of the alliance themselves, in their hegemonic struggle to maintain dominance, thereby affording ample opportunities by means of discursive events in the media for future CDAs of the newly

emerged discourses from the perspective of how it was articulated in the pre-911 USPD series of 2000 and rearticulated in a post-September 11th USPD context of situation.

In conclusion, while conducting this CDA I have had to consider the ways in which multiple audiences are compelled by authoritative figures and institutions to interpret a crucial USPD issue and the events taking place in the world around them. However, this is as applicable to the analyst himself/herself because as Fairclough (1992) observes, 'there is no phase of analysis which is pure description', that 'the discourse of analysis is, like any other discourse, a mode of social practice', and that 'analysts are not above the social practice they analyse; they are inside it' (p. 199).

On subjects as complex as national security priorities, where ordinary people reading news stories and watching televised news productions are left to try to make some sense of all the events that transpire daily in the public domain, it is important for each of us to remember that these naturalized portrayals relate to the cultural reproduction of power relations of our respective societies, and that each of us should be aware of and control our tendency to believe that his or her own little piece of the massive jigsaw puzzle of world representations consumed from the daily news media genre is indeed the puzzle itself. Therefore, this doctoral thesis is regarded as just one little piece of the puzzle that continues to confound me since the 2000 USPD series.

5.4 U.S. national security priorities since the 2000 USPDs

On January 29, 2002, George W. Bush made his first State of the Union address as the 43rd President of the United States. In addressing both houses of Congress and the nation, Bush

declared ‘two great objectives’ for the U.S. after the September 11, 2001 attacks: ‘First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world’ (White House 2002-1).

Bush then singled out what his administration considers the ‘regimes that sponsor terror’ which comprise an ‘axis of evil’. Previously, on January 10th, Bush had stated that ‘our nation and our fight against terror will uphold the doctrine, either you're with us or against us; and any nation that thwarts our ability to rout terror out where it exists will be held to account, one way or the other’ (White House, 2002-2).

A month later, on February 15, 2002, an opinion piece by Chris Patten (2002) appeared in the Financial Times newspaper in London, in which the former chairman of the conservative party in the U.K. and the European Union's Commissioner for External Affairs deduced the following:

> The stunning and un-expectedly rapid success of the military campaign in Afghanistan was a tribute to American capacity. But it has perhaps reinforced some dangerous instincts: that the projection of military power is the only basis of true security; that the US can rely on itself; and that allies may be useful as an optional extra but that the US is big and strong enough to manage without them if it must.

While Patten’s representation of the military campaign in Afghanistan is itself noteworthy, it is the choice of ‘dangerous instincts’ which most interests me about the modalized appraisal in that it suggests regression, which in its sociocultural usage could signify a reversion in policies related to national security priorities to an earlier pattern of behavior. Patten had premised his commentary on the adage of ‘more jaw-jaw not war-war’, or counsel which had been offered previously by former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill on a visit to Washington, D.C. on June 26, 1954 (Simpson, 1988).

It was some eight months after Bush's (2002a) State of the Union Address before leaders of both parties of the U.S. Congress, the State Department, and past administrations began to speak out publicly, warning of the perils of what has since come to be called the Bush Doctrine. In the most basic of terms, the doctrine allows for preemptive attacks against perceived threats to U.S. national interests.

In a news story published August 16, 2002 in the New York Times (Purdum and Tyler, 2002), senior Republicans were quoted from several news media outlets as being concerned that President Bush was interpreting events in a way that risked alienating allies, creating even greater instability in the Middle East, and in the long-term harming long-term U.S. interests. Brent Scowcroft, President Bush's National Security Adviser who had orchestrated the coalition against Iraq in the Persian Gulf War of 1990-1991 was quoted as expressing concern that 'an attack on Iraq at this time would seriously jeopardize, if not destroy, the global counter-terrorist campaign we have undertaken' (ibid). Henry Kissinger, who was National Security Adviser and then Secretary of State for Presidents Nixon and Ford, emphasized the need for building a careful case that 'the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction calls for creation of a new international security framework in which pre-emptive action may sometimes be justified' (ibid). Meanwhile, Senator Chuck Hagel, a Republican Senator of Nebraska, also noted that 'the Central Intelligence Agency had absolutely no evidence that Iraq possesses or will soon possess nuclear weapons', and warned the president that 'you can take the country into a war pretty fast, but you can't get out as quickly, and the public needs to know what the risks are' (ibid).

One month later, at a speech given at the Commonwealth Club of California (2002), Al Gore argued that the Bush Administration's preoccupation with Iraq was hindering the capture of those responsible for the attacks in New York City and Washington, DC:

> After Sept. 11 we had enormous sympathy, goodwill and support around the world. We've squandered that, and in one year we've replaced that with fear, anxiety and uncertainty, not at what the terrorists are going to do but at what we are going to do.

In a late evening press statement on October 10, 2002 (Nyden 2002), West Virginia Democratic Senator Robert Byrd, the 85-year old Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee and President Pro Tempore of the Senate, acknowledged that the U.S. Senate was about to relinquish to President Bush unprecedented powers to initiate a war with Iraq, and warned of the consequences of not heeding the values of the U.S. Constitution.

> I continue to have faith in our system of government. I continue to have faith in the basic values that shaped this nation. Those values do not include striking first at other countries, at other nations. Those values do not include using our position as the most formidable nation in the world to bully and intimidate other nations. Those values do not include putting other nations on an enemies list so that we can justify pre-emptive military action.

The U.S. House of Representatives had voted earlier that day 296 – 133 to grant Bush authority to wage war against Iraq. Of the 208 House Democrats, 126 voted against the resolution. The following day, October 11, 2002, with a vote tally of 77 – 23, the U.S. Senate approved the use of military force against Iraq with 21 of the 50 Democrats and the independent Vermont Senator Jeffords opposing the measure.

Not quite a year later, in a nationwide address on Sunday evening, September 7, 2003, President Bush appealed to the U.S. Congress for $87 billion to continue the ‘war against terrorism’ at its ‘central front’: ‘We are fighting that enemy in Iraq and Afghanistan today, so that we do not meet him again on our own streets, in our own cities’ (CBS, 2003). The amount was in addition to the $79 billion that Congress had approved in April of 2003.

In remarks made to reporters on September 17, 2003, while meeting with members of Congress on energy legislation, Bush acknowledged that ‘we’ve had no evidence that

Saddam Hussein was involved in September 11th'.[22] According to a Washington Post poll, the correlation of Saddam Hussein with the attacks and his supposed development of weapons of mass destruction had by this time convinced almost 70% of the U.S. public that the Iraqi President had been involved in the September 11th attacks, and therefore the invasion of Iraq in March of 2003 had been justified (Hunt, 2003).

On October 10, 2003, Vice President Cheney appeared before an invited audience at the conservative Heritage Foundation and denounced criticism of the war in Iraq. In Cheney's speech he also defended the postwar effort, the administration's handling of Iraq policy and its larger vision in combating global terrorism (see White House, 2003):

> Some claim we should not have acted because the threat from Saddam Hussein was not imminent. Yet, as the President has said, "Since when have terrorists and tyrants announced their intentions, politely putting us on notice before they strike?" I would remind the critics of the fundamental case the President has made since September 11th. Terrorist enemies of our country hope to strike us with the most lethal weapons known to man. And it would be reckless in the extreme to rule out action, and save our worries, until the day they strike. As the President told Congress earlier this year, if threats from terrorists and terror states are permitted to fully emerge, "all actions, all words and all recriminations would come too late." That is the debate, that is the choice set before the American people. And as long as George W. Bush is President of the United States, this country will not permit gathering threats to become certain tragedies.

This CDA of the issue of national security has attempted to delve into this particular aspect of U.S. foreign policy of past and present in which the president dictates the terms and conditions for the use of U.S. Armed Forces and intelligence services. This may be seen in the remarks of a late-starting Democratic contender for the dual roles as President

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[22] On May 1, 2003, forty-three days after he announced to the nation from the White House that the war in Iraq had begun, President Bush made a speech from the deck of the aircraft carrier Abraham Lincoln in which he announced that the military phase to oust Saddam Hussein, whom he described as 'an ally of Al Qaeda', had been completed and that it was 'one victory in a war on terror that began on September 11th 2001 and still goes on'. Bush landed on the carrier in a Navy jet that the president, who had been an F-102 pilot for the Texas Air National Guard during the final phase of the war in Vietnam, was portrayed as having helped pilot. See Sanger (2003).

and Commander-In-Chief, retired four-star general, Wesley K. Clark. When asked if he would consider being someone's vice-president *instead*, Clark replied that 'if you're concerned about national security affairs, then the right place for the person who wants to be commander in chief is to be the commander in chief' (Seelye 2003). Clark (2003) had previously written in his weekly column of the London Times the following appraisal of the collective military strength of the U.S. and U.K. as of April of 2003:

> The campaign in Iraq illustrates the continuing progress of military technology and tactics, but if there is a single overriding lesson it must be this: American military power, especially when buttressed by Britain's, is virtually unchallengeable today. Take us on? Don't try! And that's not hubris, it's just plain fact.

The UN Secretary-General (United Nations, 2003) disagrees with Cheney and Clark's assessments. The following excerpt from Annan's opening remarks at a conference on September 22, 2003 offers a different perspective on terrorists and the use of military force:

> Terrorists are often rational and intentional actors who develop deliberate strategies to achieve political objectives. We should not pretend that all terrorists are simply insane, or that the decision to resort to terrorism is unrelated to the political, social and economic situation in which people find themselves. But we are also mistaken if we assume, equally, that terrorists are mere products of their environment. The phenomenon is more complex than that. We also delude ourselves if we think that military force alone can defeat terrorism. It may sometimes be necessary to use force to counter terrorist groups. But we need to do much more than that if terrorism is to be stopped. Terrorists thrive on despair. They may gain recruits or supporters where peaceful and legitimate ways of redressing a grievance do not exist, or appear to have been exhausted. By this process, power is taken away from people and placed in the hands of small and shadowy groups.

The Bush Administration continued its appeal for U.N. assistance while insisting on controlling the political and economic future of Iraq. The 'betrayal' which Lakoff (2003) and millions of other Americans felt about the ulterior motives for the war are noted below:

> It was to a large extent the issue of such control that lay behind the UN Security Council's refusal to participate in the American attack and occupation. The reason for the resentment

> against the US, both in Europe and elsewhere, stemmed from a widespread perception that American interests really lay behind the invasion of Iraq. Those interests are: control over the Iraqi economy by American corporations, the political shaping of Iraq to suit US economic and strategic interests, military bases to enhance US power in the Middle East, reconstruction profits to US corporations, control over the future of the second largest oil supply in the world, and refining and marketing profits for US and British oil companies. The 'Iraqi people' would get profits only from the sale of crude, and those profits would go substantially to pay American companies like Halliburton for reconstruction.

Thus, what began as a general study of language use in U.S. Presidential Debates became a more focused analysis of what I have proposed is a particular combination of media genres and discourses, and a recurrent element of these communicative events – the militarized discourse of national security priorities. The focus of this research arose from a series of events which occurred roughly in the time period between the USPDs of 2000 and the second commemoration for the victims of the September 11 attacks in 2003. Regrettably, the third commemoration will follow by but a few days the festivities of the Republican National Convention in New York City, August 30 – September 2, 2004.

The issue of national security priorities in the U.S. has become as socially relevant to the international community as it is to its own people because in 2002 President Bush asked Congress to increase the Pentagon budget by $120 billion over the next five years. The 2002 proposal, according to a New York Times article (Erlanger, 2002), 'exceeds the total military budgets of the world's next 14 biggest defense spenders put together.' The budget adjustment of September 7, 2003 now brings it closer to $500 billion. It is the ethos of the Bush Administration which troubles Lakoff (2003) and millions of others, especially since the next U.S. general election takes place in November of 2004 and the issue is expected to dominate the mediatized political discourses of the presidential candidates.

It is also worth noting here how close the popular and electoral vote tallies were in the general election of 2000.[23] The outcome of that election suggests a divided society, one which Hunter (1991, p. 34) states as being ‘in the midst of a culture war that has had and will continue to have reverberations not only within public policy but within the lives of ordinary Americans everywhere’. The culture war is far from over. One needs only to look at the Time magazine cover of December 1, 2003 below (Figure 12) to see how the U.S. nation remains divided over the Bush Administration, and of the President himself, as well as how contentious the U.S. general election of 2004 might well turn out to be:

Figure 12: Time magazine cover December 1, 2003

It is also worth noting that the U.S. Electoral College is a mostly misunderstood means of avoiding what the drafters of the Constitution foresaw as chaotic, direct elections

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[23] Total electoral votes: 538 (from 50 states and Washington, D.C.). Majority needed to win: 270. Total popular vote: 105,377,660. Republican nominee George W. Bush won 271 electoral votes with 50,461,092 (47.9%) popular votes. Democratic nominee Al Gore won 266 electoral votes with 50,994,086 (48.4%) popular votes. One elector from the District of Columbia left her ballot blank as a protest of Washington, DC's lack of representation in Congress. See President Elect Organization (n.d.).

for Executive leadership. After the outcome of the 2000 general election, its viability has once again come into question. The League of Women Voters states that the abandonment of the Electoral College System is one of its objectives for political reform. However, amending the U.S. Constitution is a far greater task than the empowerment of the nation's political parties, for which the Constitution makes no case: they simply have become a naturalized sociocultural practice of bipolarized governance.

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