# CHAPTER 2

# REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

## 2.1 Discourse

It follows that "discourse" is a wider term than "text". As stated by Fairclough, the term discourse refers to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part (Fairclough, 1989). According to Halliday, discourse is "a unit of language larger than a sentence and which is firmly rooted in a specific context". The context may refer to the social and cultural context, Paltridge argue "discourse analysis is an approach to analyze the language that is linked to the social and cultural context by examining in language patterns." (Paltridge, 2006)

Discourse has many types of heading under its direction. There are political discourse, ideological discourse, academic discourse, media discourse, legal discourse, etc. Each discourse type possesses its own characteristic linguistic features (Martin and Ringham, 2000). This definition of discourse focuses on the way in which social context of who is speaking, who is listening, and when and where the language occurs (*Ibid*). Those factors determine the nature of its discourse. It is clear how legal discourse and media discourse, will demonstrate different stylistics, wording, and other linguistic features. This research will further analyze political discourse and ideological discourse. Because discourse is a wider term than text, discourse can be analyzed as a text by approaching it as an empirical data.

## 2.2 Discourse as Empirical Data

Discourse should be seen as empiric data, to access the context of a discourse, van Dijk argues that the research should

> systematically study its 'consequences', that is, discourse variations, in different situations, as we do more generally in the study of unobservable phenomena in any science. (van Dijk, 2008)

He highlights the need for empirical research:

> … without detailed experimental (and other empirical) studies I can only speculate on the ways context models are formed, activated, updated and applied in actual discourse processes … what follows are merely general hypotheses (*Ibid*)

Clinton's inaugural address is analyzed through a combination of critical discourse analysis, with its commitment to keyword analysis, using simple web-based word count tools. This approach can reveal patterns of textual dominance in the data such as frequent keywords, keywords density, and repeated phrases, all of which are available for further qualitative analysis. Keyword analysis has distinct advantage that permits critical textual analysis of large bodies of data. Besides using the concept of quantitative analysis, this research also uses the concept of discourse strands and discourse fragment to select its data.

## 2.3 Discourse Strands and Fragments

Discourse stretches out through time. Discourse is like a bundle of intertwined wire, each with a different color that crosses and twists as they stretch forward. These individual wires are the discourse strands, and the wire bundle is

the discourse in its entirety. Flows of discourse that centre on a common topic are called discourse strands (Jäger, 2004). In general societal discourse, a great variety of topics arise. The idea is that such strands are intertwined, and that it can be helpful to explore not only what statements people make within one strand, but also to explore how one strand relates to others. On the other hand, Jäger calls an individual statement inside discourse strands discourse fragments.

The concept of discourse strands is similar to the discourse fragment. The difference between them is the scope. While discourse strand is a more abstract concept, the discourse fragment is located at the level of statements, or basically the "atoms" of a discourse. Discourse fragment, are conceived of at the level of concrete utterances located on the surface of texts (Foucault, 2002). In other words, a discourse strand is one of many topics in a corpus, while discourse fragment is every actual sentence within it. The topic of a text is basically the strands of a discourse; furthermore, the sentences of a topicalized text are the fragment of discourse. In this discourse analysis, the use of discourse strands instead of topic is preferred. Once the discourse strands and fragments is established, two types of dimensional analysis can be used to dissect a discourse strand in several different time and place settings.

## 2.4 Diachronic And Synchronic Analysis

Every discourse strand has a diachronic and a synchronic dimension. A synchronic analysis of a discourse strand examines within the boundaries of what is said at a particular point in time and place. On the other hand, a diachronic analysis cuts through a discourse strand at various points in time and place; specifically at a particular discursive event (Foucault, 2005). By comparing these

synchronic cuts, it provides insights into the changes and continuities of discourse strands over time.

A synchronic analysis cut through a discourse strand in a similar manner as a diachronic one, because each topic has a historical background. When analyzing a topic, diachronic analysis focuses on its history. To identify the knowledge of a society on a topic, reconstructing the historical background of this topic is the task for critical discourse analyst.

This research attempted to put Clinton's address into a diachronic perspective of the outgoing administration of President George W. Bush. Foucault's diachronic method will be applied for contrasting Clinton's ideological discourse with one of his predecessors. This research put a contrast in Clinton's liberal discourse with Bush's conservatives discourse. Bush is selected as the comparison because he is a prominent figure of republican president for the last ten years before Clinton's winning election. Both of them come from a different side of American political party. When using the concept of political discourse, a relation between politics and language must be elaborated.

**2.5 Political Discourse**

This research takes a stance against theoretical linguist who believe that language only function on human cognition. As stated by Joseph, such linguist see politics "as at best an after-effect, a sideshow, not worthy of serious study" (Joseph, 2006). He also argues that "the politics of language are not in anyway intended to act in self-interest, but a way to examine rhetoric in an intellectual

way" (*Ibid*). Therefore, language is not seen as just a phenomenon, but it is a phenomenon with political reason.

Politics in this research is not limited in everyday usage as what politician do, affairs of state, or the literal translation that it suggest; specifically, city or state. Politics is defined in a broader sense; refer to "any situation of unequal distribution of power and the behavior of displaying power play. While finding the exact politic intention would be hard, the very act of using word can never be excluded from its political overtones" (Joseph, 2006). In this research, politics is better to be viewed in a broad and narrow sense. Not only broad sense as what politicians do; seize power, protect power, and prolong power in their respective party, but also the daily display of power in a situation where a non-prevalent distribution of power is always occur.

Political discourse is an attempt to understand the roles of text in human interaction. The way human organizes their social existence, at any level from family, up toward the state. Joseph, in his book, Language and Politics, has made three points of evidence about why politics cannot be excluded from language.

1. Language themselves are constructed out of the practice of speech and writing, and the belief (or 'ideologies') of those doing the speaking and writing;
2. My language is shaped by who it is that I am speaking to, and by how my relationship with them will be affected by what I say;
3. The politics of identity shapes how we interpret what people say to us, so much so as to be a prime factor in our deciding on the truth value of their utterances. (*Ibid*)

While political discourse has direct relationship with language, one cannot say the same when it comes to ideological discourse.

**2.6 Ideological Discourse**

Fairclough mentions several ideas about the relation between text and ideology. He stated that ideology invests language in various ways at various levels (Fairclough, 1995). Language is the medium in which ideology take a stance trough various linguistic devices. He argues that ideology is both properties of structures and of events. Events, such as inaugural address, would be a perfect medium in which ideology reside in its structure. This research also attempts to use another concept of Fairclough, namely "meanings are produced through interpretations" and attempted to decipher the possible interpretations of various ideological component of Clinton. As the property of structures and of events, in this case, an inaugural address, the affiliation of the speaker decides the possible interpretations of the discourse. Thus, liberal discourse must be elaborated in the analysis.

## 2.7 Liberal Discourse

Deciphering the liberal component concealed in Bill Clinton's inaugural address is only possible by establishing the outline on what constitutes liberal discourse and in what way it is distinct from the conservative discourse. The visible difference of liberal discourse and conservatives comes from their importance priority of Enlightenment ideals over the religious ideals (Horvath, 2001). Enlightment ideals believe that a nation is not perceived as the act of God but rather the act of humanity. The National Education Association, for example, claimed that "when the Founding Fathers drafted the Constitution with its Bill of Rights, they explicitly designed it to guarantee a secular, humanistic state" (Hunter, 1991). However, the God and religion are not erased completely from the liberal narrative: "America and every nation on earth is called by God to seek

justice and serve the common good of humanity, not as a special privilege, however, but as special responsibility" (*Ibid*).

Both narratives want the same things in life. They want freedom, chance to prosper, less people suffering, healthy body, crime-free area. The contrast between them is more about how to achieve it. Liberals believe that government duty is to achieve equal opportunity and equality for all (StudentNewsDaily, 2010). Government bears responsible to alleviate social ills and to protect civil liberties and individual and human rights. The role of the government should be to guarantee that no one is in need, so that people can focus on what they want. Liberal policies generally emphasize the need for the government to solve problems. On the other hand, conservatives believe in personal responsibility, limited government, free markets, individual liberty, traditional American values and a strong national defense (StudentNewsDaily, 2010). Believe the role of government should be to provide people the freedom necessary to pursue their own goals. Conservative policies emphasize on individual empowerment to solve problems.

The terms "left" and "right" define the dichotomy of political party. In the United States, liberals are viewed to as left-wing, while conservatives are referred to as or right-wing. On the U.S. political party, blue represents the Democratic Party (upholds liberal principles) and red represents the Republican Party (upholds conservative principles).

Finally, the main difference between the two ideologies can be concluded from the hunter's statement,

Where the cultural conservatives tend to define freedom economically (as individual economic initiative) and justice socially (as righteous living), progressives tend to define freedom socially (as individual rights) and justice economically (as equity.) (Hunter, 1991).

## 2.8 Liberal and Conservatives Ideals

This research analyzes an inaugural address to see the kinds of ideological discourse it draws from. It makes sense to mark all statements in the speech that deal with ideological component. The discourse fragment is outlined based on the research question, knowledge of the speech script (political discourse and liberal discourse) and came up with several topics. The topics or discourse strands selected comes from ideological components (StudentNewsDaily, 2010). Below are eight liberal and conservative ideals component being used as the reference to select the discourse fragment in Clinton's inaugural address. Only eight components are needed to be reviewed as these references are important to decipher the findings of this research.

a. **Energy**

Based on Liberal ideals, Oil is a depleting resource. Other sources of energy must be explored. The government must produce a national plan for all energy resources and subsidize (partially pay for) alternative energy research and production. Support increased exploration of alternative energy sources such as wind and solar power. Support government control of gas and electric industries.

Based on Conservative ideals, Oil, gas and coal are all good sources of energy and are abundant in the U.S. Oil drilling should be increased both on land and at sea. Increased domestic production creates lower prices and less dependence on

other countries for oil. Support increased production of nuclear energy. Wind and solar sources will never provide plentiful, affordable sources of power. Support private ownership of gas and electric industries.

### b. Global Warming

Based on Liberal ideals, Global warming is caused by an increased production of carbon dioxide through the burning of fossil fuels (coal, oil and natural gas). The U.S. is a major contributor to global warming because it produces 25% of the world's carbon dioxide. Proposed laws to reduce carbon emissions in the U.S. are urgently needed and should be enacted immediately to save the planet. Many reputable scientists support this theory.

Based on Conservative ideals, Change in global temperature is natural over long periods of time. Science has not shown that humans can affect permanent change to the earth's temperature. Proposed laws to reduce carbon emissions will do nothing to help the environment and will cause significant price increases for all. Many reputable scientists support this theory.

### c. Healthcare

Liberal ideals support free or low-cost government controlled health care. There are millions of Americans who can't afford health care and are deprived of this basic right. Every American has a right to affordable health care. The government should provide equal health care benefits for all, regardless of their ability to pay.

Conservative support competitive, free market health care system. All Americans have access to health care. The debate is about who should pay for it. Free and low-cost government-run programs (socialized medicine) result in higher costs and everyone receiving the same poor-quality health care. Health care should remain privatized. The problem of uninsured individuals should be addressed and solved within the free market healthcare system – the government should not control healthcare.

### d. Social Security

Based on Liberal ideals, the Social Security system should be protected at all costs. Reduction in future benefits is not a reasonable option. [Opinions vary on the extent of the current system's financial stability.] Social Security provides a safety net for the nation's poor and needy. Changing the system would cause a reduction in benefits and many people would suffer as a result.

Based on Conservative ideals, the Social Security system is in serious financial trouble. Major changes to the current system are urgently needed. In its current state, the Social Security system is not financially sustainable. It will collapse if nothing is done to address the problems. Many will suffer as a result. Social Security must be made more efficient through privatization and/or allowing individuals to manage their own savings.

### e. Taxes

Based on Liberal ideals, higher taxes (primarily for the wealthy) and a larger government are necessary to address inequity/injustice in society (government should help the poor and needy using tax dollars from the rich).

Support a large government to provide for the needs of the people and create equality. Taxes enable the government to create jobs and provide welfare programs for those in need. Government programs are a caring way to provide for the poor and needy in society.

Based on Conservative ideals, lower taxes and a smaller government with limited power will improve the standard of living for all. Support lower taxes and a smaller government. Lower taxes create more incentive for people to work, save, invest, and engage in entrepreneurial endeavors. Money is best spent by those who earn it, not the government. Government programs encourage people to become dependent and lazy, rather than encouraging work and independence.

## f. Global Governance and United Nations (UN)

Based on Liberal ideals, the UN promotes peace and human rights. The United States has a moral and a legal obligation to support the United Nations (UN). The U.S. should not act as a sovereign nation, but as one member of a world community. The U.S. should submit its national interests to the greater good of the global community (as defined by the UN). The U.S. should defer to the UN in military/peacekeeping matters. The United Nations Charter gives the United Nations Security Council the power and responsibility to take collective action to maintain international peace and security. U.S. troops should submit to UN command.

Based on Conservative ideals, the UN has repeatedly failed in its essential mission to promote world peace and human rights. The wars, genocide and human rights abuses taking place in many Human Rights Council member states

(and the UN's failure to stop them) prove this point. History shows that the United States, not the UN, is the global force for spreading freedom, prosperity, tolerance and peace. The U.S. should never subvert its national interests to those of the UN. The U.S. should never place troops under UN control. U.S. military should always wear the U.S. military uniform, not that of UN peacekeepers. [Opinions vary on whether the U.S. should withdraw from the UN.]

### g. War on Terror/Terrorism

Based on Liberal ideals, global warming, not terrorism, poses the greatest threat to the U.S., according to Democrats in Congress. Terrorism is a result of arrogant U.S. foreign policy. Good diplomacy is the best way to deal with terrorism. Relying on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism. Captured terrorists should be handled by law enforcement and tried in civilian courts.

Based on Conservative ideals, terrorism poses one of the greatest threats to the U.S. The world toward which the militant Islamists strive cannot peacefully co-exist with the Western world. In the last decade, militant Islamists have repeatedly attacked Americans and American interests here and abroad. Terrorists must be stopped and destroyed. The use of intelligence-gathering and military force is the best ways to defeat terrorism around the world. Captured terrorists should be treated as enemy combatants and tried in military courts.

### h. Welfare

Liberal ideals support welfare, including long-term welfare. Welfare is a safety net which provides for the needs of the poor. Welfare is necessary to bring fairness to American economic life. It is a device for protecting the poor.

Conservative ideals oppose long-term welfare. Opportunities should be provided to make it possible for those in need to become self-reliant. It is far more compassionate and effective to encourage people to become self-reliant, rather than allowing them to remain dependent on the government for provisions.

## 2.9 Critical Discourse Analysis

The history of CDA stretched far back from a theoretical linguist Halliday. He defines text in a social and semiotic dimension. This led to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Norman Fairclough. Other text analyst follows the lead, for example Teun A. Van Dijk with his racism discourse and Wodak with his historical discourse. CDA combines Halliday's critical language theory with the perspective of hegemonic structures within text by Foucault (Joseph, 2006). Van Dijk empower himself to see through the pattern of racist discourse, where the government utilizing positive self-representation, denial, negative other-presentation. He also mention several rhetorical strategies such as firm but fair, for their own good, vox populi, and the numbers game, all of which used by the government to dominate it's subject (*Ibid*).

The weak spot of CDA comes from its nature. Any intellectual framework that requires a political commitment, for example van Dijk's commitment to abolish racism, should not be done by people with secular academic context (*Ibid*).

In the end, Critical Discourse Analysis will never neutral, it always sides on justice and resistance toward power.

CDA have certain distinct attribute that makes it different from other academic research. The research model of CDA has five main attribute (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). First, CDA research strives to upheld justice and equality. Thus, in their research, Critical Discourse Analyst commit to develop his method solve social and political problem. Second, CDA insist on how discourse is produced and reproduced social domination. This perspective struggles to resist against domination. A good research topic is about issue being critically discussed in public discourse and text. Third, CDA assume an unfair judgment is established toward certain discourse and text. Thus, the duty of Critical Discourse Analyst is to reveal how a discourse practice is being carefully indoctrinized toward discriminated subject. Fourth, CDA is not theory oriented but more inclined toward solving the problem of vague opacity in a discursive practice. The orientation of CDA should be about reducing the opaque of illegitimate social interaction that deviate from universal accepted morality. Fifth, CDA requires honest commitment toward marginalized or dominated group. In conclusion, CDA is never neutral and always siding toward those in unjust condition. CDA helps reveal hidden idea being forced upon in discursive practice. It requires the analyst to always stays in the path of justice while keeps distancing themselves from subjectivity.

The help of linguistics science is decisive toward the result analysis. The term itself means that linguistics is in a sense of a broader term. The discourse must explore a detailed language dimension, namely text structure, text function, and

text strategy. The practical use of those three includes grammar, pragmatics, style, rhetoric devices, semiotics, narrative, argument, literal meaning, and paraverbal (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Still, those linguistic devices are not enough. CDA requires comprehensive theoretical framework to establish the bridge between text and context. Those three dimensions are what Fairclough has been composed in his CDA theory. By implementing three dimensions of analysis (description, interpretation, and explanation), a discourse analysis can used critically to analyze discursive events.

According to van Dijk, there are thirteen steps of research in doing Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 2009).

1. Context analysis.

2. Deciding the topics or the semantic macrostructure.

3. Local Meaning

4. The relevance of subtle 'formal' structures

5. Links between text and context (model context)

6. Discourse semantic (model event)

7. Social cognition

8. Ideology

9. Social structure

10. Micro and macro dimmnesion of society

11. Discursive events as a socio-political acts

12. Social Situation

13. Analyzing the structure of society

To analyze the discourse of Bill Clinton in his inaugural address, this research emphasize on the context of the inaugural address, semantic microstructure of the speech, local meaning of the speech, model context of the speech, model events of the speech, Ideology of Bill Clinton, Social cognition of American Politics.

### 2.9.1 Context

It is assumed that language user inside a social structure is always inclined to represent, reproduce, and interpret inequality (van Dijk, 1997). Context reflects the value and ideology of a group in which an individual language user becomes the member of it. As a member of the particular group, their membership influences the communication situation. Context analysis focus on time and place settings, participant's relationship toward each other (speaker and listener), participant's goal, participant's presupposed knowledge, and participant's ideology. This phase is about questioning what, who, where, when, and how the data is being made.

> a. The social and historical context in which the data sources was produced.
>
> b. The country and place from where it comes from.
>
> c. The writer or the creator of the data sources.
>
> d. The publisher of the data sources.
>
> e. The time of the publishment of the data sources.
>
> f. How the data sources is being founded.
>
> g. Finding out whether the data sources are responses to any major event, whether they tie into broader debates.
>
> h. How they were received at the time of publication.

In this research, context includes the nature of inaugural address, the background of Bill Clinton in a broader social context, and American politics. While reading the context, it is important to establish prior knowledge sufficient enough to select the discourse fragment. Not until then, data selection can be done.

### 2.9.2 Semantic Macrostructure

CDA begin by looking at the big picture. It searches for the global topic of the text being controlled by the speaker. CDA topic is understood as a mental model. It is about how the content of a discursive event made sense to the listener. If the topic is impressive enough to enter the mind of the speaker, discursive events will influence social domination and power reproduction (van Dijk, 1980). The genre of a text is an important medium to shape how the discourse is perceived. The macrostructure is capable to shape the opinion of the listener. Establishing macrostructure is doing information reduction by drawing the holistic conclusion of a summarized text. It describes the global spirit and grand theme of the discourse semantic. The conception of the macrostructure of the text is also required for easier classification of the topic or discourse strands.

It is a requirement for this research to examine the text structure by constructing the outline of the inaugural speech, considering sections that overwhelmingly deal with political discourse and liberal discourse, and understanding how the argument is structured. Explore the kind of issues being introduced at the beginning of the text, issues being repeated in the text, several issues being served one by one in continuous phase, and issues being built up from the warm up to the climax. How the role of the introduction and conclusion

plays on the overall scheme of the research. This part of the research considers the headers and other layout features guide the argument.

### 2.9.3    Local Meaning

Local meaning, or semantic microstructure, functions as a way to understand the speaker's mental model, cognitive, and his ideology. This piece of information is the most influential factors, as it is the most easily remembered and easily reproduced by the listener. Local meaning is being driven by the speaker to communicate new and unfamiliar knowledge toward the listener. The limitation of local meaning comes from the identity, the role, and the relation between the participants of the discursive events.

Exploring local meaning requires the mastery of linguistics study. The orientation of this local meaning is to find the meaning of a discourse fragment, starting from its grammar, semantics, rhetorical figures, thematization, Evidentialities, etc. Observing the most used keywords is very helpful to find the common words in a text. The result of the most used keywords reveals the inclination of speaker toward particular perspective and ideology implication. These keywords in a text come into being with ideological purpose. Local meaning is analyzed to reveal conceptual polarization. There will be visible presupposed ideology being used to fight against, to play victim, to resist power between good and bad. To be able to perceive polarization, van Dijk's concept of coherence between its propositions is utilized, namely, positive self-representation, negative other-representation, and disclaimer (van Dijk, 2004). The orientation of this phase is to construct the fragment of logical argument as it is the foundation of rationalization which discriminate against certain group, ideology, or believe.

Clues regarding statements related with political discourse (persuasive strategies) and liberal discourse (ideological component) are marked. Finding local meaning is likely going to be the most laborious, but also the most enlightening when it comes to exploring how a discourse works in detail. Various statements function at the level of language is identified. Two linguistic device; namely grammar feature and rhetorical figures is used, also thematization, cultural reference, and keyword analysis is utilized to get in-depth results of local meaning.

### a. Grammatical Feature: Deixis, Passive voice, Modalities

Who or what the speeches and objects in the various statements is checked. Should there be any regularity, for instance frequently used pronouns like "we" and "they", it has to be identified who the protagonists and antagonists of the argument. A look at adjectives and adverbs tells more about judgments that the text passes on these groups. Also, taking a closer look at the main and auxiliary verbs that the text uses, and check what tense they appear in. Then, the active versus passive phrases to detect the deletion of actors is checked from its arguments by observing passive phrases. For example, a statement likes "we are under economic pressure" is very different from "X puts us under economic pressure", in which "X" is becoming the scapegoat. Passive phrases and impersonal chains of nouns are a common way to obscure relationships behind the text and deny responsibility. By showing the grammar aspect, such strategies are made visible through the analysis.

The text includes any statements on what "would", "should" or "could" be is marked. Such phrases may create a sense of urgency, serve as a call to action, or imply hypothetical scenarios.

### b. Rhetorical Device: Euphemism, Simile, Alliteration, Antithesis, Rule of Three

The following four elements in the text: Euphemism, Simile, Alliteration, Antithesis is marked and identified. Take a look at how they are deployed for overall argument. Inviting the reader to catch certain associations, for instance, the use of a simile that equates the state with a parent and the citizens with children implies not only significantly simplifying what is actually a very complex relationship, but also conjuring up categories and relationships that legitimize certain kinds of politics, for instance strict government intervention in the social system. Once those four elements listed above has been checked, the analysis followed up by examining additional rhetorical figures to see how these frame the meaning of specific statements. Things to look for in a speech include hyperboles and idioms.

Alliteration is one of rhetorical devices to achieve artistic effects by repeating the same words in a sentence. Any deliberate repetition of the first words that create political or ideological sentiments is checked. Political speech frequently contains anaphoric elements as this is a good way to achieve artistic effect to persuade the listener. If Alliteration is used, that means the speaker would want to achieve sentimental effect toward particular statement. The statement is in need to be defended or to take a stance upon. This can only mean one thing, the statement contains ideological component or suggest political discourse toward his listener.

Antithesis is the literal meaning opposite in a sentence. It is a rhetorical device in which two opposite ideas are put together in a sentence to achieve a

contrasting effect. Antithesis emphasizes the idea of contrast by parallel structures of the contrasted phrases or clauses, i.e. the structures of phrases and clauses are similar in order to draw the attention of the listeners or readers. For example: "Setting foot on the moon may be a small step for a man but a giant step for mankind." The use of contrasting ideas, "a small step" and "a giant step", in the sentence above emphasizes the significance of one of the biggest landmarks of human history.

Rule of Three refers to the use of a series of three elements. It is a rhetoric principle that suggests that things that come in threes are inherently bolder, more satisfying, or more effective than other numbers of things. It is also a well-known feature of public speaking. Max Atkinson, in his book on oratory entitled Our Masters' Voices gives interesting examples of how public speakers use three-part phrases to generate what he calls 'claptraps' to evoke audience applause (Atkinson, 1984). The book also suggest that the use of rule of three is a mnemonic device, to convey easy-to-learn verses that were pointers to other information also resides longer in memory. For example, Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights activist and preacher was known for his uses of rule of three in his many historical speeches. For example, the speech "Non-Violence and Racial Justice" contained a contrast consist of: "insult, injustice and exploitation," followed later by "justice, good will and brotherhood."

### c. Thematization

The elements that serve as the departure point of a message is noted and identified. This elements is coined as thematization, thematization is one of the

important elements that conveys the structure of a sentence. The first clause of a sentence becomes the introduction for Clinton to embark his listener to the next clause of his idea. The thematization of a sentence that contains political discourse is observed. Sentences that draws attention since the first clause and imply the need for his listener to pay attention to what he said. This kind of sentences requires further analysis for this will supply interesting discourse fragment to be analyzed.

### 2.9.4  Context Model

Context is not defined as situational cliché such as time and place; it is a subjective mental representation of the participant of discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Context model is not the same with context. Context model integrate three dimension of discursive practice (social, cognitive, and text) in its interaction. Context model create links between discursive structure (text) and social structure (context). The relation between text and context is linked by context model. This bridge between these two never relate to each other directly. A cognitive tool is used to create the bridge that can represent relevant local or global social structure. This important cognitive tools is mental model. Unique mental model is introduced periodically in the memory of a listener to persuade language user to adept the discourse with their social structure.

Speaker utilizes context model by being able to convey the same ideas and meaning with various text genre and medium, he also organized his discourse using simple schematics regarding the placement settings, role, relation, purpose, knowledge, and ideology from beginning toward the end of the text. The crossing between discourse and society results an in-depth analysis about power and

domination. The goal of analyzing model context is head lighting important ideas that become the common ground for the listener to enter the communication situation.

### 2.9.5  Event Model

Event model is basically the semantics of the discourse. Semantics in the discourse is conceptualized as abstract structure in a form of preposition and logical relation. The meaning of a discourse as a whole is decided by the coherence of its preposition. The coherence means that the proposition between the main premises with its preposition creates logical relation such as causality, extensional, and functional. Coherence is always maintained to keep the interpretation is on track. A discourse can be classified as coherence if any language user could construct the mental model intended by the speaker. A speaker of discourse is always calculating the representation of factual events being referenced by the discourse. The best way to capture event model is by revealing hidden proposition implied by other preposition or deliberately erased from the whole coherence. Event model is more inclined toward semantic meaning while having an organized scheme, context model is more pragmatics.

Later in the research, macro-opinion also captures the cultural reference used by Bill Clinton to justify his Liberal ideals. A last step of CDA requires analyzing how the context informs or giving presupposed knowledge toward the argument. It is important to explore whether the text contain references to other text, or imply knowledge of another speech. Intertextuality toward other text, especially bible quote is a tradition held since the first inaugural address in America. It is customary in American political discourse to employ biblical

language, which is an inherent part of American public speaking. However, given the non-traditional and liberal stance of Bill Clinton, it is essential to analyze biblical references from him and give possible explanations of the particular choices made by him.

### 2.9.6 Social Cognition

CDA is not interested in subjective or individual experience of a language user. CDA take a stance on resistance toward power, the wrong use of power, power domination, and how it is being reproduced in a collective society. Social cognition includes the representation of believe in a community, knowledge, attitude, value, norm, and ideology, all of which, is important in discerning the individual mental representation. It insist on the assumption that every language user in will show his value, and the value represent certain social group or community. This research uses the social cognition of American politics. The polarization between liberal narrative and conservative narrative become the social structure to analyze the discourse.

### 2.9.7 Social Situation

Social situation refers to the analysis of relation between the local and global actor of the discursive events. CDA demands an analysis of the organized structure of society. Firstly, there is micro or local actor whose relevancy is small but direct toward the analysis. Secondly, there is macro or global actor whose relevancy is big but indirect toward the analysis. The main actor of the analysis needs to be revealed for the social context dimension. CDA assumes that the collective act of an individual is represented by the actor of discursive events. The

interaction between the actors becomes an important point toward the CDA; specifically, interaction between groups, movement, organization, social institution, and the affiliation toward political power.

## 2.10   Previous Research

Two previous researches were used as review of Fairclough's CDA and guidance for universal terms, such as ideological component, political discourse, and liberal discourse.

First is Juraj Horvath journal, he is from Slovakia, University of Presov. He analyzes the persuasive strategies of President Obama's public speaking as well as the covert ideology enshrined in his inaugural address. The title of his research is "Critical Discourse Analysis of Obama's Political Discourse". The second study is from Farhatun Nuuril Awwaliyah, she is from Muhammadiyah University of Surabaya. She examined Tony Abbott's and Bill Shorten's statements related to their responses in spying issue towards Indonesia, entitled "A Critical Discourse Analysis of Tony Abbott's and Bill Shorten's Statements Related in Spying Allegation towards Indonesia".

In Horvath's study, he analyzes Obama's political discourse. His subject is Obama's Inaugural address which predestines policies of the newly inaugurated president. This research's overall significance is revealing Obama's policy of change. The aim of this paper is to examine persuasive strategies of President Barrack Obama and its ideological component. His study is grounded in Norman Fairclough's assumptions in critical discourse analysis, claiming that "ideologies

reside in texts" that "it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from texts" and that "texts are open to diverse interpretations".

In Awwaliyah's study, it showed that rhetorical strategy and power were always performed in Abott's statements. Explicitly, ideology was also shown from his statements. Her research aimed to describe the political discourse of Tony Abbott and Bill Shorten in their statements, to reveal how they use political discourse, to find out the aims of their political discourse, and to describe the effects of their statements for Indonesia. CDA proposed by Norman Fairclough is used as the main approach to find out the objectives of the research and Van Dijk's approach of CDA is also applied as the supporting theory.

This research, entitled "Critical Discourse Analysis of Bill Clinton's Liberal Discourse" tried to elaborate the ground theory of both previous researches that refers to Fairclough's three dimensions of CDA, but developed more on van Dijk's three dimension of CDA. Van Dijk's CDA or CDS (Critical Discourse Study) is considered the evolution of Fairclough's CDA. The findings of this research were reflected in how the ideological components were concealed, and its liberal discourse, reflected on ideological component. Additionally this research used an evolved version of CDA, which is van Dijk's CDS, thus this research can be considered as an updated research.