

Positive self-Representations in Kamala Harris's Concession Speech: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

This paper is a critical discourse analysis of positive self-representations in Kamala Harris's full concession speech. The paper is set with the main aim of identifying the positive self-representation in Kamala Harris's concession speech. After losing the elections, the vice president needs an enthusiastic speech that carries positive implications for both herself and fellow citizens. Hence, this paper seeks to pinpoint the discourse strategies used to depict positive self-representations as well as pointing out the most and the least of utilized strategies. To achieve its aims, the study employs a model that is amalgam of Van Dijk's (2002, 2006) models.

Analyzing its data, the study concludes that the vice president exploits the following strategies in her concession speech: norm expression, situation description, presupposition, actor description, lexicalization, national self-glorification, disclaimer, metaphor, repetition, warning. Each strategy contributes to her attempt of depicting herself and her fellow citizen positively.

Furthermore, lexicalization, repetition and norm expressions rate more than other strategies in her speech due to the fact that they help Kamala Harris enhance significant descriptions or attributions, emphasize what to do, and guide the public's direction.

1. Introduction

1.1. The Problem

With the intention of having specific impacts on people, politicians deliver their ideological speeches. Evidently, positive self-representation, as a major part of the ideology, is in some cases mingled with the defense that is shown to be beneficial to people. When the losers do not accept their loss, the effectiveness and the survival of democratic control might be seriously jeopardized. Although victors and losers typically have different levels of support for the political system, this disparity is not always present (Christopher, et al. 2005). As such, it is required to study the way they try to accept the loss. Hence, this paper endeavours to answer the following questions: First, what are strategies of positive self-representations in Kamala Harris's concession speech? Second, what is each strategy used for? What are the most and the least utilized strategies in the speech in question?

1.2. Aims

This paper is a critical discourse analysis that is set with the main aim of identifying the discourse strategies of showing positive self-representation used in Kamala Harris's concession speech. As such, it seeks to pinpoint the strategies of positive self-representations in Kamala Harris's concession speech as well as uncovering the purpose behind using each strategy; and finding out the most and the least utilized strategies in such representation.

1.3. Procedure

The procedure of the study runs in three steps: First, presenting theoretical background. Second, choosing representative extracts to be analyzed according to van Dijk's (2002, 2006) models, and finally drawing conclusions.

1.4. Value

The paper is accomplished with the objective of being valuable for researchers, CDA analyst, politicians, and above all linguists who are interested in the topic of positive self-representation in the Vice president's speech tackled in this paper.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) stems from a critical theory of language a theory that sees the employment of language as an integral part of social practice Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that, in linguistics, CDA is a deep method for examining of language and how it is not just a neutral means of expression, but an energetic tool that reflects and keeps alive structures of power, ideology, and social perspectives. For Van Dijk (2011, p.357) CDA is "a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research movement", with various approaches, each with its theoretical models, methods, etc.

2.2. Ideology :Positive self-representation

The term ideology, means a system of dominant ideas, or beliefs influencing every field of human social interaction, whether economic, political, scientific, educational, and cultural (Zajda, 2014,). To specify, in terms of CDA, van Dijk's (1995) ideological square can be clarified in terms of the following moves: First, to emphasize the positive things about Us and the negative about Others; second to de-emphasize Their positive things and Our negative things; thus, Their negative things are to be topicalized, and highlighted, whereas Our negative things are to be neglected or purposefully hid. Consequently, van Dijk (1995) contends that groups have power, if they are able to have more control the behaviors and thoughts of other groups' members whereby they can legitimate it (p.139). van Dijk (2006, p.131) sees CDA as a study of what goes beyond the study of connection between discourse and social structure and that language use and discourse always assume the broad social representations (knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, and so on) that are present in the intervening mental models, held by language users (p. 131). As such, in the current paper, the ideological discourse is typically structured by a macro strategy of positive self-presentation.

The term representation is to be focused on. It means embodying the concepts, ideas, and emotions in a symbolic form which can be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted (Hall, 1997, p. 10). According to Fairclough (1989, p.24), the term representation in discourse analysis refers to the language used in speech or a document to give meaning to groups and their social actions, events, social contexts, and objects. In referring to the function of language in social interaction, Fairclough (1992, p.72) emphasizes that meaning is not inherent in reality, but is instead constructed through linguistic representation.

3. Methodology

Following Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, the current paper endeavours to analyze the positive self-representation in Kamala Harris's concession speech. Reviewing van Dijk's (2002, and 2006) various works, this paper employs an eclectic model composed of various strategies in terms of the socio-cognitive approach. As such, the following strategies are involved:

1-Situation Description : The situation is described in terms of significant things in presenting an idea since the way it is depicted shows implications related to causes, plights, consequences, appraisal, evaluation, etc. (van Dijk, 2006:739).

2-Norm expressions: the norm encompasses depicting something as explicit statements about what people should or should not do (van Dijk, 2006: 738).

3-Presupposition: This is the structure of what is presumed to be already known. Employing the presuming knowledge is a well-known semantic tool to focus on positive self-representation as common sense e.g.,:

- Muslims worldwide are afraid that Western political, religious, and sexual liberties are contagious (Van Dijk, 1995, p.137).

4. Actor descriptions: This is an important strategy that endeavours describing actors in the situation, for the intended purposes, by their names, function, role or group name, by their actions or (so-called) qualities, their position or relation to other people, etc.. to emphasize both their own positive traits and the negative traits of out group members (Van Dijk, 2006, P.735).

5. Lexicalization : Language users generally choose specific words to refer to the same persons, groups, social relations or issues, depending on the involved genre, and context, social and sociocultural context (language variants, social, norms and values). Many of these context-based words are ideologically based.

6- Warning: This strategy is used when "*emphasizing possible threats and terror*" to warn the people about something. It is a rhetorical strategy used to demonize others in the discourse (Van Dijk, 1995:156). Positive self-representation can further be emphasized by denouncing or condemning negative attributes

7-Disclaimers: A familiar joining of both of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. In sum, they save face by introducing positive things, then, concentrating on others' negative qualities or acts. Consequently, self-qualification of the positive part of the disclaimer is apparent, as in apparent denials, concessions, or empathy, etc.:

-Apparent Empathy: I understand that many people want to come to Britain to work, but there is a procedure whereby people can legitimately become part of our community (Van Dijk, 2006, p.736).

-Apparent Denial: I did not say that every eastern European's application for asylum in this country was bogus, but I have another opinion.

8-Metaphor : they are semantic-rhetorical figures used as persuasive tool e.g., in debates on immigration complex, weird, unfamiliar, new, or emotionally pressing meanings may be made more familiar like the standard metaphor of the word "flood" used as a metaphor for "refugees" portraying "the great threat of immigration. Another semantic realm of employing metaphors is for example done when describing people as animals, e.g., Asylum seekers as 'parasites,' (p.738).

10-Repetition: For Van Dijk (1998: 273) “repetition strategies focus the attention paid to the specific semantic properties of the talk, and hence sustain what is said.

10-National Self-glorification: This is when a speaker praises or glorifies his own country's norms and values, like human rights, democracy, and hospitality, in order to present a positive self-representation. whereas indicating the negative information about their nation used to be ignored or mitigated for ideological orientations (Van Dijk, 2002). So, it can be delivered in many situations, such as positive references to or praise for one's own country, its values, history, and customs (Van Dijk, 2006).

4.Data Analysis

Pursuing its aims, this paper introduces data analysis both qualitatively and quantitatively. As for data they are selected from the web source one wherein it is available and authentic (see web source 1). Data in this study encompass Kamala Harris's speech to enhance public's support.

Data collection: data are collected from the website (<https://time.com/7173617/kamala-harris-concession-speech-full-transcript/>). They encompass Kamala Harris's concession speech after Trump's win of the election.

Data description: Data in this study include Kamala Harris's concession speech. The vice president, losing the new election tried to revive her public's hope and lessen their disappointment. The speech shows her positive self-representation.

Contextual factors: Following Hyme's model (1974, p.59), those factors are to be explained due to their effects in communication. Thus, the concession speech is delivered in 2024. Kamala talks to the Americans specifically those who voted for her. In her speech the key is serious, genre is political speech, and the end is to convince people that losing election is the beginning of fight not the end, the Act sequence is composed of paragraphs as being parts of speech. The channel is oral, the norms are the rules of communication between the vice president and her fellow citizens.

Procedure of analysis: Representative extracts of Kamala Harris's speech are to be analyzed qualitatively first, then, quantitatively. Each extract is presented first. Then, the analysis is to be conducted according to the model of analysis. The strategies of positive self-representation in the extracts are to be revealed, clarified and commented on. The final step is made by counting the strategies to show the most and the least utilized ones. Note that the extracts will be italicized to be separated from the rest of the analysis.

4.1. Qualitative analysis

For Wodak & Meyer (2001), when CDA is done as a qualitative analysis it is employed for critically describing, interpreting, and explaining how discourses are constructed. Thus, the following analysis is intended to show the way positive self-representation is constructed.

Extract1

“Thank you, thank you, thank you, thank you. So let me say (crowd screams love you), and I love you back and I love you back. So let me say my heart is full today. My heart is full today, full of gratitude for the trust you have placed in me, full of love for our country, and full of resolve.”

Opening her speech, the vice president starts thanking her audience. The strategy of repetition is apparent in “*my heart is full today*”, and the word “full” is repeated five times to underline the kind of sentiments she is experiencing at the time of speaking.

Furthermore, national self-glorification strategy is utilized when Harris shows her love for the country. Lexicalization strategy can be touched in words that refer to the feeling she has like “gratitude”, “trust”, “love” and “resolve” as well as the sentence “*my heart is full today*”. This is due to the positive self-representation they carry.

Extract2

“The outcome of this election is not what we wanted, not what we fought for, not what we voted for. But hear me when I say, hear me when I say, the light of America's promise will always burn bright as long as we never give up and as long as we keep fighting. To my beloved Doug and our family, I love you so very much. To President Biden and Dr. Biden, thank you for your faith and support. To Governor Walz and the Walz family, I know your service to our nation will continue. And to my extraordinary team, to the volunteers who gave so much of themselves, to the poll workers and the local election officials I thank you. I thank you all.”

In this extract the vice president employs the strategy of disclaimer stating that while the election results may not be as desired, the light of America's promise will always shine brightly “*But hear me when I say, hear me when I say, the light of America's promise will always burn bright...*”. As a result, her positive self-representation is expressed through a positive outlook on the future. She still glorifies the future of America.

Then, Kamala utilizes another strategy of actor description. She uses the words “my extraordinary team,” and “the volunteers who gave so much of themselves”, “to the poll workers and the local election officials I thank you. I

thank you all.” Thus , she praises all those who work with or support her in the elections. Lexicalization strategy is also present in *“the light of America's promise will always burn bright..”* wherein an optimistic view of the future is adopted. This is also seen in words like *“never give up”* and *“keep fighting”*.

Extract3

“Look, I am so proud of the race we ran. And the way we ran it. Over the 107 days of this campaign, we have been intentional about building community and building coalitions, bringing people together from every walk of life and background, united by love of country with enthusiasm and joy in our fight for America's future. And we did it with the knowledge that we all have so much more in common than what separates us.”

The extract encompasses national self-glorification when the speaker praises her country and glorifies her own commitments, norms and values to so that it seems customary for her and her fellow workers to do so. Actor description is employed by using *“I am so proud of the race”* in order to present a positive self-representation. This is also apparent in her saying *“building community and building coalitions, bringing people together”*.

The extract involves a metaphor where the election is called “race” as a competition. Likewise, “fight for America's future” is also another metaphor for the struggle for America’s welfare. Additionally, lexicalization strategy appears in words like “so proud”, “building community and building coalitions”, “bringing people together”, “united by love of country with enthusiasm and joy in our fight” Those positive lexemes point to the intention of presenting the self and the in-group in a positive way.

Extract4

“Now, I know folks are feeling and experiencing a range of emotions right now. I get it, but we must accept the results of this election. Earlier today, I spoke with President-elect Trump and congratulated him on his victory. I also told him that we will help him and his team with their transition and that we will engage in a peaceful transfer of power”.

The vice president employs the strategy of situation description wherein the way the event is depicted shows implications related to the consequences and the relevant appraisal. She intends to show her obedience and abidance by the law. A peaceful transition of power demonstrates that she is law-abiding and willing to submit to the command or authority of the new ruler. She also uses the disclaimer method when she says, “I understand, but we must accept the outcome of this election.

Extract5

“A fundamental principle of American democracy is that when we lose an election, we accept the results. That principle, as much as any other, distinguishes democracy from monarchy or tyranny. And anyone who seeks the public trust must honor it. At the same time, in our nation, we owe loyalty not to a president or a party, but to the Constitution of the United States, and loyalty to our conscience and to our God. My allegiance to all three is why I am here to say, while I concede this election, I do not concede the fight that fueled this campaign—the fight: the fight for freedom, for opportunity, for fairness, and the dignity of all people. A fight for the ideals at the heart of our nation, the ideals that reflect America at our best. That is a fight I will never give up.”

National self-glorification strategy is utilized throughout praising her country “American democracy”. Moreover, presupposition strategy in saying “A fundamental principle of American democracy” where the principle is said to be fundamental and democracy as something taken for granted. S glorifies her own commitments, norms and values. (“when we lose an election, we accept the results.”; “I do not concede the fight”; “fight for freedom, for opportunity, for fairness, and the dignity of all people”), in order to present a positive self-representation for her ideological orientations so that it seems customary for her and her nation (*A fight for the ideals at the heart of our nation, the ideals that reflect America at our best. That is a fight I will never give up*). Her speech also demonstrates an ongoing emphasis through the strategy of repetition, with the term “fight” representing a conscientious struggle for America's wellbeing. The lexicalization method is based on words like “freedom, opportunity, fairness, and dignity” that are attributed to people.

Extract 6

“I will never give up the fight for a future where Americans can pursue their dreams, ambitions, and aspirations. Where the women of America have the freedom to make decisions about their own body and not have their government telling them what to do. We will never give up the fight to protect our schools and our streets from gun violence. And America we will never give up the fight for our democracy, for the rule of law, for equal justice, and for the sacred idea that every one of us, no matter who we are or where we start out, has certain fundamental rights and freedoms that must be respected and upheld.”

Harris's words depict her intention to be positively represented in the eyes of her fellow-citizen. As a result, she announced that she will continue to work for a moment when Americans may pursue their dreams and passions, and women can make decisions about their bodies without interference from the government. She will work to prevent gun violence in the streets and classrooms. And in America, there will be the rule of law, equal justice, and the precious principle that all people, regardless of their origins or identity, have fundamental freedoms and rights that must be protected. In fact though all what she says is just a wish for the future, yet she depicts the situation as being positive. Thus, the strategy of situation description is exploited here. Additionally, lexicalization strategy embraces focusing on positive words charged with values, hopes and ethical principles she believes in like "dreams, ambitions, and aspirations; freedom to make decisions; rule of law; for equal justice; sacred; fundamental rights".

Extract7

"And we will continue to wage this fight in the voting booth, in the courts and in the public square. And we will also wage it in quieter ways: in how we live our lives by treating one another with kindness and respect, by looking in the face of a stranger and seeing a neighbor, by always using our strength to lift people up, to fight for the dignity that all people deserve. Metaphor in "wage this fight in the voting booth, in the courts and in the public square. And we will also wage it in quieter ways:"

The extract is full of lexemes that point to the positive representation i.e., strategy of lexicalization "treating one another with kindness and respect", "seeing a neighbor", "using our strength to lift people up", "to fight for the dignity that all people deserve". They all suggest good intention, respect, helpfulness, and support. Metaphor in "wage this fight in the voting booth, in the courts and in the public square. And we will also wage it in quieter ways". The struggle is referred to as "war" with the expression "to fight". Moreover, norm expressions encompass depicting explicit statements about what people should or should not do. They have to be helpful, respectful, and dignified.

Extract8

"The fight for our freedom will take hard work. But, like I always say, we like hard work. Hard work is good work. Hard work can be joyful work. And the fight for our country is always worth it. It is always worth it. To the young people who are watching, it is okay to feel sad and disappointed. But please know it's going to be okay".

This extract includes the strategies of disclaimer in "But, like I always say, we like hard work."; repetition where the word "work" made it clear that only venture, and effort undertaking are the cause behind success; and finally presupposition in "the fight for our country is always worth it" wherein the fight is taken as something presumed for the country benefit. Repetition strategy is present in this extract i.e., "fight", "hard work". Disclaimer occurs again when Kamala says it is Okay to be disappointed but not to lose hope.

Extract9

"On the campaign, I would often say when we fight, we win. But here's the thing, here's the thing, sometimes the fight takes a while. That doesn't mean we won't win. That doesn't mean we won't win. The important thing is don't ever give up. Don't ever give up. Don't ever stop trying to make the world a better place. You have power. You have power. And don't you ever listen when anyone tells you something is impossible because it has never been done before".

The strategy of repetition is present in the inspiring, and inspiring phrases or words "That doesn't mean we won't win"; "don't ever give up", and "here's the thing, "That doesn't mean we won't win", "You have power." They allow Kamala to reassure her followers that there is hope and that hard work should continue. Additionally, Kamala uses warning as a discourse strategy when she says, "And don't you ever listen..." This is simply to avoid listening to those who discourage them. Since nothing is impossible, change is possible.

Extract10

"You have the capacity to do extraordinary good in the world. And so to everyone who is watching, do not despair. This is not a time to throw up our hands. This is a time to roll up our sleeves. This is a time to organize, to mobilize, and to stay engaged for the sake of freedom and justice and the future that we all know we can build together. Look, many of you know I started out as a prosecutor and throughout my career I saw people at some of the worst times in their lives. People who had suffered great harm and great pain, and yet found within themselves the strength and the courage and the resolve to take the stand, to take a stand, to fight for justice, to fight for themselves, to fight for others. So let their courage be our inspiration. Let their determination be our charge."

The strategy of using norm expressions is utilized in addition to warning by the vice president here. She tries to encourage her followers by showing what to do in the current situation "do not despair. This is not a time to throw up our hands. She employed the metaphor of "roll up our sleeves.", and in "This is not a time to throw up our hands.". This refers to the beginning rather than the end of strife. Then she adds "to organize, to mobilize, and to stay engaged". Kamala shows that it is time to work hard for the sake of justice, freedom, and the future that we all

know we can create together, and now is the moment to plan, move, and remain active. She urged them to be inspired by the brave people who suffered but endured and stay resistant. Lexicalization appears again and again in positive words to show herself as being positive encouraging people with words like "strength ; courage ; resolve to take the stand; to take a stand; to fight for justice; inspiration; and determination".

Extract 11

"The adage is, only when it is dark enough can you see the stars. I know many people feel like we are entering a dark time, but for the benefit of us all, I hope that is not the case. But here's the thing, America, if it is, let us fill the sky with the light of a brilliant, brilliant billion of stars. The light, the light of optimism, of faith, of truth and service. And may that work guide us even in the face of setbacks toward the extraordinary promise of the United States of America".

The extract encompasses utilizing the strategy of metaphor "dark enough" refers to sadness or difficulty, "you see the stars" refers to hope.

When Kamala states, "I know many people feel like we are entering a dark time, but for the benefit of us all," she is using the Disclaimer strategy. This implies that there is still hope even if they lose. Furthermore, stating "America, if it is, let us fill the sky with the light of ...stars" alludes to the illuminations they would experience and the future they see, which is an example of national self-glorification. The words "brilliant" and "light," which express her love for the nation, are repeated for emphasis.

4.2. Quantitative analysis

Aiding the qualitative analysis, Table(1) below depicts the variation in the implementation of various strategies (Frequencies and percentages).

As viewed in Table(1) below, lexicalization is the most utilized strategy that achieves 19 frequencies with the percentage of 32%. Next, repetition strategy which scores 8 frequencies which means 13%. As for Norm expressions, they appear 6 times which means they have the percentage of 10%. Concerning the presupposition strategy, it appears 5 times which has the percentage of 8%. Regarding disclaimer, metaphor, warning, and national self-glorification, they all score 4 frequencies which achieves 7%. Finally, actor description occurs 3 times and this means it has the percentage of 5%.

Table(1) Frequencies and percentages of positive self –representation strategies in Kamala Harris's Speech.

No	strategy	Examples	Freq.	%
1	Situation description	<i>while I concede this election, I do not concede the fight that fueled this campaign—the fight: the fight for freedom, for opportunity, for fairness, and the dignity of all people.</i>	3	5
2	presupposition	<i>A fundamental principle of American democracy is that when we lose an election, we accept the results.</i>	5	8
3	Norm expressions	<i>to take a stand, to fight for justice, to fight for themselves, let their courage be our inspiration. Let their determination be our charge.</i>	6	10
4	Actor description	<i>Look, I am so proud of the race we ran. And the way we ran it.</i>	3	5
5	Lexicalization	<i>building community ; building coalitions, bringing people together ; united by love of country with enthusiasm and joy in our fight for America's future.</i>	19	32
6	National self-glorification	<i>, the light of America's promise will always burn bright as long as we never give up and as long as we keep fighting.</i>	4	7
7	disclaimer	<i>The outcome of this election is not what we wanted, not what we fought for, not what we voted for. But hear me when I say, hear me when I say</i>	4	7
8	metaphor	<i>only when it is dark enough can you see the stars. ,</i>	4	7
9	repetition	<i>the light of a brilliant, brilliant billion of stars. The light, the light of optimism, of faith, of truth and service. That doesn't mean we won't win. That doesn't mean we won't win.</i>	8	13
10	warning	<i>Don't ever give up. Don't ever stop trying</i>	4	6
	Total		60	100%

To elucidate, the variations of the utilization can be shown in Figure(1) below that clarifies the percentages of the strategies.

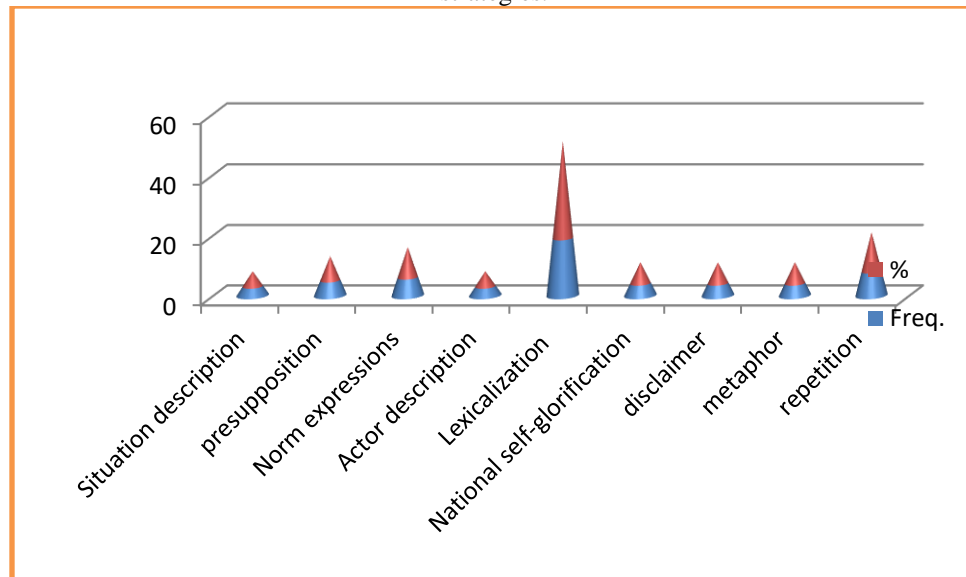


Figure (1) A graph of the frequencies and percentages.

Results

In terms of the qualitative analysis, it appears that the vice president utilizes various sorts of discourse strategies for various purposes that serve positive self-representation like norm expressions, repetition, disclaimer, national-self-glorification, metaphor, warning, situation description, presupposition, actor description, and lexicalization. As such the first aim of the study is achieved.

The vice president employs disclaimer, to pinpoint that, though the results of the election is not what they wish for, but the future will be bright. Hence, part of her positive self-representation is done through the positive look for the future. Another strategy is actor description. Kamala uses the words that positively portray herself those who helped her in her campaign. The strategy of using norm expressions is also utilized in an attempt to encourage her followers in such a disappointing situation by saying “do not despair” since, according to her, this is the time to start, struggle and build their own country for the sake of freedom and justice and the future. She urged them to be inspired by the bravery of people who suffered but endured and stay resistant.

In addition, national self-glorification occurs when she views America with the light filling the sky, which is a metaphor for the hope and the new development. As for the strategy of repetition, it is present in the inspiring, and inspiring phrases or words. This emphatic plan enables Kamala to assure her followers that there is hope and they should go on their way. As such, repeating words like “work” made it clear that only venture, and effort undertaking are the cause behind the real success. As regard presupposition, it is utilized to say that fight in elections is carried out as something presumed for the country benefit. Moreover, warning as a discourse strategy is utilized to tell people to avoid listening to those who discourage them, and avoid despair. The change is possible since nothing is impossible. Thus, the second aim of the study is achieved.

Finally, As regards the quantitative analysis, it appears that, lexicalization is the most utilized strategy since it encompasses using lexical words that have significant descriptions or attribution. Moreover, repetition is utilized as a second mostly employed strategy. Furthermore, norm expressions appear to be existent in the speech since they guide the public their way and show them what to do. As such the third aim of the study is achieved.

Conclusions

After losing the elections, the vice president needs an enthusiastic speech that carries positive implications for both herself and fellow citizens. Hence, she exploits various strategies in her concession speech to achieve her aim of positive self-representation for her and the group of her election campaign. Those strategies include: norm expression, situation description, presupposition, actor description, lexicalization, national self-glorification, disclaimer, metaphor, repetition, and warning.

However, being a political figure Kamala Harris needs to prove her fellow citizens that losing the election is not the ultimate end for the political struggle. To achieve her aim, she focuses on various sorts of discourse strategies like disclaimer when she pinpoints that though they lose in their campaign yet the future will be bright.

Using norm expressions, she encourages her followers to fight for the future. In addition, national self-glorification, in her speech, concerning America, revives the people's spirit. As for the strategy of repetition, it is an emphatic way for looking at the bright side. As regard presupposition, it shows her audience that fight in elections is carried out as something presumed for the country benefit. Moreover, warning as a discourse strategy is utilized to prevent listening to those who are discouraging.

Apparently, Kamala utilizes more lexicalization strategies than all others to enhance significant descriptions or attributions. Moreover, repetition helps emphasizing what to do. Furthermore, norm expressions help speakers guide her public their way and show them what to do (ideologically). Thus, politicians can achieve the effects throughout utilizing such discourse strategies. At the same time they can manipulate the minds of their followers accordingly.

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