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Clinton & Trump's Second Debate (2016):
A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Dedication

A negative but

There was this

There was that

There is always a but

A positive but

There was this

There was that

That but

our families, our siblings and our friends

That is who they are

That is who we want to gift.

A special feeling of gratitude to those persons that gave us birth, our beloved parents, whose words of encouragement and push for tenacity ring in our ears. To our siblings who have never left our side and are very dear to us. We also dedicate this thesis to our many friends and to everyone who supported us throughout the process.

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Abstract

In the fall of 2016, a debate took place between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump seeking to gain the Americans' voices for the presidential election. The present study pictures their discourse ideologies enclosed in their second debate through the use of Van Dijk's Model (2006). The objective of the present study is to find out the enclosed ideologies embedded in their discourse through highlighting different discursive strategies mainly the strategies found in Van Dijk's Model. The findings show that those strategies consist of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation which are the main concerns of Critical Discourse Analysis. Besides, The two candidates use polarization in their use of 'US' vs. 'THEM'. Also, the findings show that the model of Van Dijk is suitable for the analysis of this debate as it uncovers well the aspects of the ideological strategies used. Clinton's speech is mainly featured by social inclusion and exclusion, family, battle frames and feminism. Concerning Trump's speech, it is featured by racism, sexism, and misbehavior. Then, briefly, we made an introduction to gender talk because of the gender differences of the two candidates. Lakoff's theory can be applied on their debate. The analysis shows that Clinton is a feminist even though she makes use of both masculine and feminine stereotypes in her discourse. As far as Trump is concerned, he is authoritarian and dominant which are the typical characteristics of male talks.

Key Words: Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Van Dijk Model (2006) , Clinton and Trump Debate.

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List of Abbreviations

CDA : Critical Discourse Analysis

CDS: Critical Discourse Studies

DA : Discourse Analysis

SR: Social Representation

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General Introduction

In order to be a successful politician, one has to be a fluent speaker with great power of address. the way a person talks and the words he chooses to use can say a lot about the person himself and his intentions. Like an iceberg, there is always a deep hidden truth that is not said and remains implicitly communicated (Van Dijk, 2000). Accordingly, the ideological positions of the speaker are framed within his/her political discourse. They can either belong to an individual, a group or a whole society. That is, the ideas are generally proposed by the dominant class of the society in form of text or discourse. Besides, Within the texts, we can find social practices used by social actors or participants and their actions to recontextualize meaning and manipulate the linguistic elements of a text or a discourse to communicate one's ideology to the intended audience. (Van Dijk, 1995b)

Thus, presidential campaign speeches offer great pictures of discourses in which Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) tools can be implemented in order to pinpoint the ideological traits present in the speeches and to make us have a clear understanding of how presidential nominees use language and manipulate it so that to polish their speeches and make the symbolic inductions seem to go unnoticed. Accordingly, Rothfuss (2007) claims that "*words are pale shadows of forgotten names. As names have power, words have power. Words can light fires in the minds of men. Words can wring tears from the hardest hearts*." (p.1900). That is to say, the presidential candidates tend to play on words and make use of their language skills to create an idealistic picture of them in order to impress the audience and win their voices.

In the present study, we will critically analyze the second debate between Clinton and Trump on 2016 from a critical discourse analysis perspective. That is, we will show how both orators use their linguistic and discoursal skills in an important debate in the history of the united states. Besides, the above mentioned point will decide on the next American president. Thus, we have chosen to go with the Critical Discourse Analysis since it is a cross discipline method of analysis that includes not only the linguistic aspect of communication, but also the psychological and

sociological, and ideological aspects. Accordingly, We believe that it will allow us to determine the means of power of address and ideology in the debate.

1. Statement of the Problem

Recently, the American political subject has been on fire, and it has been the subject to every talk, show, and newspaper article. The 2017 presidential came out as a storm as debates made up their way. Thus, we had a deep interest in understanding how the two candidates use language to argument and defend their ideologies through their linguistic, political and ideological knowledge in their debate as both of them have two totally opposites discourse perspectives and interests. Hence, in one hand, Hillary Clinton is a poet at heart, and eloquent in her discourse. Besides, she is highly educated, she is an avid user of rhetoric which makes her discourse inspiring and motivating. On the other hand, we have Donald Trump, a successful businessman, who learned how to sale feelings even if he is not using that much of sophisticated words. As researchers, we are investigating the discourse and ideological strategies to be found in the debate.

2. Questions of the Study

As a matter of fact, every political discourse is a mirror-reflection of ideology of its initiator. Hence, the present study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What are the ideological strategies used by Clinton and Trump in the debate ?

2. What are the characteristics that feature the talk of both participants?

3. Can the elements of Van Dijk's Model be applied to critically analyze the debate?

3. Assumptions of the Study

The present researchers assume the following:

1. Both participants use positive self-representation and other's negative representation.

2. Both participants make use of rhetoric, polarization, and ideological strategies/techniques to best persuade and win the trust of the audience.

3. Hillary Clinton's speech is featured by social inclusion and exclusion, family, battle frames, and feminism.

4. Donald Trump's discourse is featured by sexism , racism and misbehavior towards women.

4. Purpose of the Study

One of the major factors that lead the politicians to reach successfully their objectives and win the public consensus is through the use of colorful and skillful language to impress and convince the audience. In this continuous power struggle, language has the major role in creating and maintaining power in which the ideologies are deeply hidden. Accordingly, the present study concerns itself with a critical discourse analysis of the US Democratic and Republic presidential candidates' speeches to find out the enclosed ideologies embedded in their discourse. Also, it attempts to investigate the ideological strategies used by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton to impress and persuade the audience. Furthermore, this paper intends to highlight critically how these speeches are represented and how it reflects the partial ideological manipulation addressed at different levels such as social and political level.

5. Significance of the Study

The present study is significant for the following reasons:

First, to the best knowledge of the present researchers, there is no study attempting to analyze the outstanding second debate between Trump and Clinton relying on Van Dijk's Model or any other model. Hence, it is a humble contribution to CDA. Second, it is an update study dealing with the actual America political scene from a Critical Discourse perspective. Third, it can be considered as a modest contribution to Discourse Analysis. Fourth, the findings of the research reveal the discourse and ideological strategies featuring both politicians: D. Trump and H. Clinton.

6. Organization of the Study
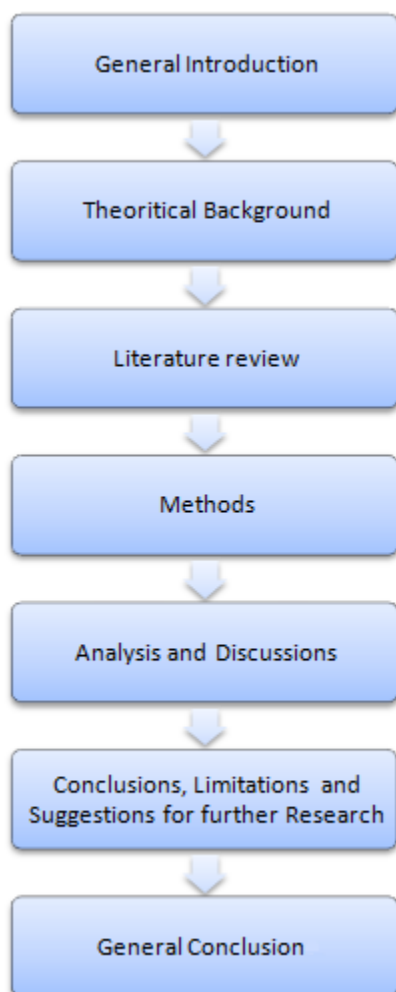
As shown in Figure 01, the present study is divided into four chapters preceded by a general introduction and followed by a general conclusion. First, we introduce our work in the opening sequence which is about the general introduction to the research under investigation. Then, the first chapter deals with the theoretical background related to Discourse Analysis in general and Critical Discourse Analysis in particular. The second chapter is all about the literature review. Therefore, it consists of a summary of some selected studies that fall in the scope of our research. The third chapter deals with the methods and the study design used during our research work. Last but not least, we have the fourth chapter in which we attempted to analyze the debate through an adapted version of Van Dijk's Model (2006a), as well as, our own contribution to the research. The latter, consists of a gender talk analysis between the two candidates. All of the results are summarized in the "Conclusions, Limitations and Suggestions for further Research" section. Finally comes the general conclusion in which a summary of the thesis is provided.

Figure 01: Organization of the Thesis

Chapter one:
Theoretical Background

In this chapter, we are going to review all the important aspects needed in order to fully understand the upcoming theoretical background of the present study. It will be divided into three sections. the first is about Introducing Discourse Analysis. The second one will be about Critical Discourse Analysis and finally, the third section is about introducing Van Dijk's (2006a) Model of Critical Discourse Analysis which we are going to use in our analysis.

Section One: Introducing Discourse Analysis

In this section, we are going to provide the theoretical background concerning Discourse Analysis. Thus, those are important information to help the reader to comprehend the root of our research work.

1.1. What is Discourse Analysis?

In the early 1970s, new insights and directions were introduced in the study of language use and discourse which was characterized by a complementation of new ideas and a continuity with respect to the previous works. That is, most of the various language disciplines shifts brought an extension within discourse phenomena; and later, the raising interest towards these disciplines led to a more integration and autonomous study of discourse(Van Dijk, 1985). Hence, discourse analysis was regarded as a newly cross-discipline (Van Dijk, 1985). However, its earlier history can be traced back to *" classical rhetoric, from work of Aristotle to the present day, has always been concerned with (persuasive)properties of discourse, and the sophistication of its analysis of rhetorical operations "* (Van Dijk, 2016a, p.21). Whereas, grammar, the sister discipline of rhetoric, dealt with the formative rules of language use. In this regard, classical rhetoric advanced a new emphasis placed on both the contemporary stylistics and the analysis of structure and functions of the forms of language use i.e., discourse (Van Dijk, 1985). After some important revivals, classical rhetoric declined with only the emergence of structuralism in the twentieth century. This is done through "*the structural linguistics...offering an explicit definition of*

structural units and categories and the formulation of rules and anthropology...which gave impetus to the very successful structural analysis of narrative" (Van Dijk, 2016a, p.22). By introducing the social psychological notions and cognitive intuitive about attitude change and memory organization in communicative context, a systematic study of discourse was introduced. Thanks to the predecessors, the origin of Discourse Analysis has been arrantly located as a new independent orientation of research. It has been widely defined as an investigation of language in use and which is fundamentally interested in the extra-sentential levels (Brown & Yule, 1983). In other words, Discourse Analysis is not only the study of language but it's a way to look beyond the language itself within the emphasis on how people use it to do more than convening meaning like arguing, persuading people, and to situating their identities in their social community.

For some Linguists, Discourse Analysis is the analysis of text above the sentence (John & Malcolm, 1975) which means that the Textual or Discourse Analysis demands a diversity of focus not only with respect to functions but also with respect to levels of analysis since discourse is the use of language as a form of social practice. Moreover, DA is the analysis of texts within socio-cultural practice (Fairclough, 1995).

1.2. Discourse Analysis as an Interdisciplinary field

Going back to Discourse Analysis as an interdisciplinary field, it has been said that DA keeps on answering questions that are asked in many fields such as Anthropology, Cultural Studies, Psychology, Sociology, and many others. Thus, DA is useful for the study of personal identity and social identification(Johnstone, 2008) . The results of the analysis helped in many cases answering the questions asked about the role of the language used in social life, human's cognition and arts (Johnstone, 2008). In this respect, Jorgensen& Philips (2002, p. 1) claim that:

> *"underlying the word 'discourse' is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life, familiar examples being 'medical discourse' and 'political discourse".*

In other words, discourse is used in different domains, even if the words and patterns are different, which depend on the users and the domain the discourse is used in. Also, it depends on the user's history since it is culturally related. Thus, The examples of medical and political discourse are given even if there are still many other fields such as Geography, Law, Business, etc...

To this, they add:

> *"...a series of interdisciplinary approaches that can be used to explore many different social domains in many different types of studies. And there is no clear consensus as to what discourses are or how to analyze them"* (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 1).

As a multidisciplinary subject, D.A could be approached from many perspectives, relying on different domains they are used in.

1.3. Philosophical Assumptions

Discourse analysis is a fast growing field of inquiry which is considered as an umbrella term covering a wide range of analytical and theoretical approaches. Hence, this diversity lead to a selective overview. Before conducting the theoretical framework, we attempt to provide the readers with a platform that permits better understanding of the field. Hence, we selected the following three theories:

1.3.1. Social Constructionism

The fact that Social Constructionism attracted many scholars is due to its critical way of understanding the world, including human beings. It involves people to be critical in their thinking and their way of observing the world, whenever they are challenged with a conventional or a common knowledge. These observations depend on how people perceive and categorize them. Thus, Social Constructionism is an umbrella term for a range of new theories about culture

and society. It is considered as theoretical orientations that address all these new theories. Accordingly, Discourse Analysis is one among several Social Constructionist approaches but it is one of the widely used approaches within Social Constructionism (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

The representation of the world and the knowledge are constructed by human being through interaction between each others. This phenomenon does not reflect the reality itself but a production of how humans perceive and shape it. According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 9): *Physical objects also exist, but they only gain meaning through discourse".* This is not to imply that people or objects do not have a physical or material existence but that the social meaning of this existence is discursively generated, rather than inherent and internal to the person or object itself. For instance, race is not looked upon as constant but it is embodied through discourse. Therefore, it was totally opposed by Positivism and Empiricism " *that are characteristics of hard science such us physics and biology"* (Burr, 2015). They consider social constructionism as being absurd in which both of them highlighted that the nature of the world can be assessed by observation, and that what exists is what we perceive to exists (Burr, 2015). Moreover, they assumed that the only truth that exists is what they have observed and seen (experienced) in the world. They believe that the phenomena to be observed should be real and concrete to senses or can be scientifically proved.

However, Social Constructionism considers the truth as :

> *"... the ways in which we understand and categorize in everyday life are not transparent reflections of a world 'out there', but a product of historically and culturally specific understandings of the world and therefore contingent"* (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 102).

The creation and interpretation of the reality is based on how people are constructing and developing their own versions of truth. It is also applicable for all the members of that society, culture and people. Therefore, this entails the assumption that if the other societies do not see it this way, they are not considered to be true. According to Jorgensen & Phillips *"With language, we create representations of reality that are never mere reflections of a pre-existing reality but contribute to constructing reality" (2002, p. 9).* This means that we refer to language as a means

to reflect the whole world constructed by people. In other words it deals with what is beyond the everyday experience and to put them real.

To Jorgensen & Phillips (2002) our language is much more than a channel through which we communicate information. That is to say, language is beyond the action of just using words to communicate but it encompasses the mental states and behaviors which refer to opinions, behaviors, and how people perceive the truth. Thus, language is considered as the creation of the social relations and identities. In fact, through highlighting the members of the groups, their position ,their interests and finally their relation with other social groups, discourse is said to be socially constructing identities (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

1.3.2. Structuralism

When Talking about Structuralism, we would be driven to think about Ferdinand de Saussure and his book entitled 'Cours de Linguistique Générale', in which he described the understanding of language as a system even though he had never mentioned the word "structure" in his work since he defined it as a number of units or signs that are put together to create sentences or words that the receiver might understand if he/she uses the same units (De Saussure, 1960). Those units or signs can only make sense if put together with other units or signs (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). De Saussure argued that signs consist of two sides: form (signifiant) and content (signifié). He adds that the relation between the two is arbitrary (De Saussure, 1960). Accordingly, *"The meaning we attach to words is not inherent in them but a result of social conventions whereby we connect certain meanings with certain sounds"* (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 10). That is to say, a sound or a written image of a word is not connected to the image that we imagine or see when we hear the word. However, We only understand what others mean when they say the word which is the result of social convention that has driven us to think about the word which refers to the object it represents in real life. De Saussure saw this structure as a social institution and therefore as changeable over time. This implies that the relationship between language and reality is also arbitrary (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).He also distinguished between two levels of

language, "langue" and "parole". "Langue" is the structure of language. "Parole", on the other hand, is situated language use; the actual signs used in specific situations.

1.3.3. Post-structuralism

De Saussure thought of the language as a system and considered language too much complex and arbitrary for analyses as a whole. Therefore, he made a distinction between langue and parole (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Hence, "Langue" as a structure in the language and "Parole" as the use of the language.

The work of Saussure on language and language use became the subject of study for the Post-structuralism. Besides, the distinction between language and language use were extended. The most famous of all the Post-structuralist theorists was Michel Foucault (1972) who worked on bringing context into text analysis and discourse studies (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). According to Foucault, discourse can be understood as follows:

> "*We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation (...Discourse) is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form (...) it is, from beginning to end, historical – a fragment of history (...) posing its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality" (Foucault, 1972. as cited in Jorgensen& Phillips, 2002, p. 12)*

Accordingly, Foucault (1972) defined discourse as a group of statements that can only be understood when put together. By a limited number of statement, he meant that the number of statements in the group is finite in a discourse, to the contrary to the structure which can be made of an infinite number of possibilities. The reason why Foucault called it a fragment of history is that the whole discourse changes over a period of time. Discourse, therefore, influences and is influenced by the changes that occur through time and by the world around us. By specific modes of temporality, he meant that discourse doesn't work with no regard to time but with divisions, limits and transformations.

Moreover, "*the statements that are produced within a specific domain are rather similar and repetitive*" (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 13) . Accordingly, even if we might have infinite ways of formulating statements, we end up by repeating them because of the narrowed field of focus they belong to. Hence, Foucault views discourse as an all-embracing, extending beyond language to operations of society, set of rule-governed statements that enable human beings to make sense of the world, and at the same time imposing limits on what gives meaning (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

According to Foucault (1972) truth depends on the historical contexts, and the statements which are constructed through discourse and are subject to different kinds of knowledge, which in turn are reinforced by various discursive formations. Also, Foucault investigated the circumstances under which the statements are accepted by the society and are made to function as True as cited in Mills (2003). Besides, Foucault focused mainly his work on the nature of the relations between discourse and practice in which power is imbedded within knowledge. But for him, power plays an important role as it is distributed through various levels of society either positively or negatively. Thus, it builds relationships between the individuals present in the society and is present in various subjects that are treated in the discourse. That is to say, the language of a discourse provide us with the reality or truth that can be understood through it. Hence, the way we use our language does not neutrally reflect the world we live in. Instead, it seriously affects it by both creating, shaping and changing it (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

1.4. Approaches of Discourse Analysis

As a multidisciplinary subject, Discourse Analysis is approached from many perspectives. In this section, the present researchers introduce briefly some major approaches.

1.4.1. Conversational analysis

Conversational Analysis was developed by Sacks, Jefferson and Schegloff in the late 1960s and early1970s.Its origins can be traced in the field of Ethno-methodology, a branch of Sociology which deals with" *the basic competence and interpretative processes members of culture use to interact ant interpret their experience"* (Bhatia, Flowerdew, & Jones, 2008, p.4). The main

emphasis in this approach is placed on the competences that common speakers utilize during their lucid organized and social interaction by providing a deep explanation and description about it. Thus, Conversational analysts examine by the patterns of a conversation to comprehend the properties of the social life. The assumption "*is that such properties can be used to developed procedural rules governing talk-in-interaction"* (Bhatia, Flowerdew, & Jones, 2008, p.4). According to Conversational analysts, a discourse is considered as a social action which means that through the use of words, things are done. These words are not only linguistically related, but also socially related because they perform a specific social action. Thus, these utterances are put together in the way "*that sequentially follow rules of conditional relevance, each utterances displaying a particular understanding of the previous utterances and creating the conditions for subsequent utterances"* (Bhatia, Flowerdew, & Jones, 2008, p.5). Conversational analysts' works are based on the natural occurring or transcribed conversational data rather than the observed ones. They consider the observational data as a subjective element that can be manipulated. Besides, the context is made mainly by conversational moves. The institutional communication and gender communication differences are accessed through an analysis of the interaction happening between the participants instead of being influenced by the social structures or ideologies.

1.4.2. Corpus based analysis

At the outset, Corpus-Based Analysis was used in the fields of grammar and lexicography which consist of the machine-readable texts. Later on, it expended to different corpus approaches have been introduced in discourse analysis.

> *"The earliest initiatives in corpus based analysis of language use begin with the creation of a large (by the standards of those days) general corpora representing language use in a variety of contexts, both written as well as spoken, to draw insights from observations about how people use language, both in terms of lexico-grammar features and their functional variations"* (Bhatia, Flowerdew, & Jones, 2008).

Accordingly, Corpus-Based Analysis started by creating a large generalized corpora in different contexts which can be spoken or written. To determine how language is used, we ought

to take into account their functional variations and lexico-grammar features. In contrast, recently, corpus development was characterized by several important changes. First, corpora have been enriched in term of size and words. This approach permits linguists and discourse analysts to not only analyze sentences or short texts but also larger quantity of texts. This wide corpora determined that language regularly goes along the properties of already made phrases. Before, a discourse was analyzed manually which was a difficult task. However, with the advance of computers and the analytical softwares, a straightforward task and more reliable analysis is made possible.

1.4.3. Multimodal Analysis

Multimodal Discourse Analysis is an approach which considers text as a tool of communication used to interact in the society. As it is a very important resource for it. O'halloran (2004) asserts that:

> *"Multimodal Discourse Analysis is a collection of research papers in the field of multimodality. These papers are concerned with developing the theory and practice of the analysis of discourse and sites which make use of multiple semiotic resources; for example, language, visional images, space and architecture". (p.1)*

Accordingly, this approach deals with how meaning is expressed through the use of different semiotic modes of communication in a social interaction. Before, they used only textual data to analyze a discourse. However, multimodal analysts recently take into consideration other semiotic modes than a text. For example, gestures, postures, visional images, documents layout, music and architectural design (Bhatia, Flowerdew, & Jones, 2008). Importantly, this approach can make use of diverse approaches to Discourse Analysis. Accordingly, the multimodal analysts have been inspired by the conversational analysis. Those analysts are strongly influenced by the Halliday's approach and the Australian social semioticians. Thus, they borrow their way of analysis.

1.4.4. Genre Analysis

Coming from Linguistic Analysis, it studies the functional variations of the formal use of language. Swales has conducted a research for the first time about the genre analytical model in which he researched and described the different academic research genre in order to use them for pedagogical teaching and learning as cited in Bhatia, Flowerdew, & Jones (2008). Thus, in 1981 he identified genre according to it communicative purpose. Another version of Genre Analysis appeared in Australia throughout the Systematic Functional Theory and the third one in the United State but based more on rhetoric. It has been said that Genre Analysis is defined according to the types of the rhetorical acts. It is considered as the exploration of the "*situated linguistic behavior in institutionalize academic or professional settings*" (Bhatia, Flowerdew, & Jones, 2008, p.10). The analysis conducted in this approach, attempts to describe the language in use and to describe it within the context and beyond it. It focuses mainly on the conversations.

Section Two: Critical Discourse Analysis

In this section, Critical Discourse Analysis is tackled. Thus, we are going to shed light on it, through referring to the most leading theorists Van Dijk, Fairclough and Wodak.

1.5. What is Critical Discourse Analysis?

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), also called Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), is an interdisciplinary field of study that immerged from Critical Linguistics, Critical Semiotics, the Socio-political Conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, Discourse and Communication (Van Dijk, 1995a). It emerged in the 1970s at the University of East Anglia (England). Moreover, Many scholars got immersed in CDA and dedicated their works to this field with an interest in different disciplines (Van Dijk, 1995a). The major works are exemplified in the work of Teun A. Van Dijk entitled "*Discourse & Society: A New Journal for a New Research Focus*" (1990). In this journal, it is said that the domains of investigation of CDA are mainly sexism, racism and power (Van Dijk, 1990).

Accordingly, Norman Fairclough, one of the founders of CDA, has described it as:

> *aiming to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power* (Fairclough, 1995).

In other words, Fairclough views it as a way of exploring social order and social processes of the colored discourse by ideologies which are transmitted through the power and the dominance of the speaker. Hence, CDA has the potential to reveal how power is embedded in the discourse (Locke, 2004).

Besides, CDA is an analytical research that aims at studying how power in society and inequality are reproduced and expressed in text and talk (or discourse) in a social and political context. Thus, it mainly aims to understand, expose, and ultimately challenge social inequality (Van Dijk, 2015). Moreover, Van Djik preferred to use CDS as in Critical Discourse Studies to avoid the misunderstanding of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) might misguide by making us think that there is a specific method of analyzing a discourse. CDA is discourse analysis 'with an attitude', as claimed by van Dijk(2015). Moreover, CDA focuses not only on textual analysis but also on many other discourse studies 'angles such as the sociological, psychological, rhetoric, and many others. Hence, CDA is a multidisciplinary study of the social and the political issues rather than the discourse structures outside of the context they are used. More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power abuse (dominance) in society (Van Dijk, 2015).

1.6. What are the key elements of Critical Discourse Analysis?
The main key elements of Critical Discourse Analysis could be summarized as follows:

1.6.1. Discourse:

Discourse is a notion that has several meanings in different contexts. Generally, it is : *language that is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life… (*Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.1). Thus, discourse is a pattern that is used in different domains such us journalism and politics. Furthermore, Discourse encompasses not only written and spoken language but also visual images. Also, it is commonly accepted that the analysis of texts containing visual images must take account of the special characteristics of visual semiotics and the relationship between language and images (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Furthermore, it deals with sign languages, such as American sign languages, whose speaker uses gestures rather than sounds (johnstone, 2008). Therefore, there are a variety of discourses, that deal with different insights related to different domains in the world. However, the most emphasized is the one of Foucault who defined discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. It is true that discourses are signs but it belongs to designate the objects (Foucault, 1972). In this respect, Burr (1995) developed the definition of Foucault and said that discourse is a set of stories and meanings that provide a particular set of events.

According to Fairclough discourse is "*ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world*" (Fairclough, 2004). In other words, discourse represents different aspects of the world which lead to different discourses and relationships. Furthermore, people have different relations associated with the world which addresses different social positions, identities, and relations with other people. They may compliment, compete and even dominate each other. By this means, discourse is influenced and shaped by people and vice versa. To conclude, discourse is viewed as statements and practices that are represented by a given social group which importantly reveal the influence and power embodied in.

1.6.2. Text and talk

The basic element in conducting any critical discourse analysis is the text which can be defined as either spoken, written or visual discourse so that, for example, the words used in a conversation (or their written transcription) constitute a text (Fairclough, 1995). For the spoken texts, in any face to face conversation, they are characterized by being more spontaneous and the use of uncompleted sentences than the written ones. The latter, has often encountered a high level of consideration than the spoken text (utterances). Furthermore, the spoken text is highlighted by frequent hesitation and repetition because it is at that moment that the speaker is building what to say. However, the written text is an idealized production. The process of the spoken and written text involves the production, reception, and finally the interpretation which is called discourse practice (Fairclough, 1995).

In this thesis, the debate to be analyzed is said to be a mixture between the spoken and the transcript form of the latter. As it's a political campaign, we believe that some statements are frequently used by the participants. Thus, it may be possible that the candidates are already prepared for what to say in the debate, and some other statements for contrasting the other candidate.

1.6.3. Ideology:

The notion of ideology was, over these two last decades, an intense discussion in reflecting its relation to CDA. Ideology was firstly introduced by a French philosopher Destutt de Tracy, more than 200 years ago, as a denotation to a new field of study to deal with ideas. Later, especially by Marxist approach, that the term ideology carried out a negative connotation " *False Concienseness* "as a mean of exploitation and domination " (Van Dijk, 2011). According to Van Dijk:

> *Ideologies, are general systems of basic ideas shared by the members of a social group, ideas that will influence their interpretation of social events and situations and control their discourse and other social practices as group members* (2011).

That is, ideology is a set of beliefs and ideas shared by the members of a social community which lead to influence their thoughts and interpretation of the social events. Moreover, these beliefs must be socially *relevant* for them, for instance relevant for their interpretation of, and participation in, major events and actions of social life and the relations to other social groups (Van Dijk, 2011). Ideologies are defined as the foundation of the social representation shared by a social group... this group's ideas may be valued positively, negatively, or not be valued at all (Van Dijk, 2006).

Accordingly, Fairclough (1992)

> *"Ideology can generally be thought of as the set of ideas, beliefs and aims that a person or group holds... Language is one way that ideologies are constructed, maintained and challenged... it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from texts because 'meanings are produced through interpretations of texts" (as cited in Baker & Ellece, 2011)*

That is to say that ideology is as set of ideas, beliefs and aims that can be shared in a social group through the use of language. Furthermore, each group will select from the general cultural repertoire of social norms and values those that optimally realize its goals and interests and will use these values as building blocks for its group ideologies. Thus, ideology has an impact on the "*specific knowledge and beliefs of individual language users"* (Van Dijk, 1995b).

1.6.4. Audience

The act or state of hearing, a formal hearing or an interview; a group of people who gather together to listen to something (such as a concert) or watch something (such a movie or play): the people who attend a performance: the people who watch, read, or listen to something: a formal meeting with an important person: the people who give attention to something said, done, or written(Merriam Webster, 2016).

1.6.5.Audience Design

A theory developed by Bell (1984) which argues that speakers change styles in response to their audience, based on three criteria: Whether the speaker acknowledges the listener's presence.

Whether the listener is directly addressed. Over hearers and eavesdroppers would not be acknowledged, but the speaker would be aware of the former, and unaware of the latter.

The audience is known as having an ambivalent attitudes which makes them have a difficulty in making a choice (to agree, disagree, strongly agree, strongly disagree, or neither agree nor disagree). People may have a complex set of beliefs and attitudes towards a topic which leads them to incompatible answers that contradicts them. That is to say, the audience does not always make sense or clear ideas about a particular discourse which explains their instable attitudes. The speaker, then, is supposed to take into consideration the different listener's answers and be adequate to change his/her style that conveys the most his audience, depending on how much he/she acknowledges listener's presence (addressee) (Bell, 1984).

Then, the speaker investigates first the audience that the candidates have to influence in order to convince them of their arguments, whether they are physically present or watching TV to influence each individual through debates (Bell, 1984)

1.6.6. Power

Power is defined by Weber as "*the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in opposition to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests*" (1925- as cited in Baker & Ellece, 2011).

Power means the right to govern or rule or determine. It implies possession of ability to use force, authority or influence to meld public opinion. Also, it implies for a specific purpose within specific limits. Thus, "*... disciplinary power , on the other hand , is a way of insuring that people exercise self-control or submit to the will of experts*" (Baker & Ellece, 2011). Moreover, it is the ability to act or produce an effect and get the other do what he is told to effectively.

Accordingly, Baker & Ellece (2011) stated that Power could be exercised in different manners, such as:

1. In politics, it is the process that offers people power of their own lives and the social authority or control especially that exercised by a government influences the behavior of others or the course of events.
2. In speech, it is the ability to do things with words.

1.7. Principles and aims of CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis is a special approach in Discourse Analysis whose center of interest is on the components of the discourse, its conditions and the discursive consequences resulting from power abuse by dominant, elite groups and institutions (Van Dijk, 1995a). In 1992, Van Dijk stated :

> *"It is primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis..summarize such criteria by saying that in our opinion CDA should deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it. Let us spell out some implications of such a lofty overall aim."*

That is to say, CDA focuses not only on the textual analysis of the discourse but also tries to comprise the critical analysis of the sociological factors of the inclusion of power abuse, dominance and inequality attached to a text or talk which are affected by the social or political context.

Besides, it studies the patterns that help to control or access the genres, the contexts, the text and talk as well as their properties, and also the mind controlling discursive strategies (Van Dijk, 1995a). In addition, human beings are influencing and being influenced by the world we live in, and this is being expressed via discourses. When we make changes in our discourses through battles on a discursive level, we help to change and reproduce the social reality (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002) . Because of the relation of language and power, the influence can only be done by the powerful or dominant people to whom Van Dijk refers to as *"power elite"*. Thus, critical discourse analysts want to get more insight into the crucial role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance and inequality (Van Dijk, 1992). Thus, CDA studies the discourse as well as how it

functions in society and how inequality is expressed in text and talk. That is, *" CDA does so in opposition against those groups and institutions who abuse their power, and in solidarity with dominated groups"* (Van Dijk, 1995a).

However, the main objective of the critical discourse analyst is to discover the discursive dominance of the speaker over the dominated group or actors which can be the audience. Thus, it requires for the analyst to have multidisciplinary skills to be able to differentiate between the text and talk, power, social cognition, society, and culture. Critical Discourse Analysts became flooded with work since the 1990s because of the many problems that arose in the world such as inequality, oppression, and the many injustices that appeared (Van Dijk, 1992).

1.8. Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach to CDA

CDA is regarded as an umbrella term that covers diverse approaches. During its beginnings, the framework of analysis that is used by the CDA practitioners was the Systemic-functional Linguistics. Some concepts and categories were also borrowed from different other disciplines: Stylistics, Text Linguistics, Social Cognition, Social Psychology, Conversation Analysis, Rhetoric and Discourse Analysis.

Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach to CDA is a very important one since it affirms that the role of cognition does not only work as one but is based mainly on culturally and socially shared knowledge and ideologies of the human beings. He explains how one shall affiliate to different social groups depending on the points of views of the person and the way he expresses his ideas and knowledge. Thus, Van Dijk advanced that when doing a discoursal analysis, one should include what he calls "*the Discourse-Cognition-Society Triangle*" (Van Dijk, 2016b). Accordingly, the content of this triangle all shall be dealt with during the analysis. When saying society, he means both the individual lives in and the whole human's society and the cultures it involves. Thus, discourse is the text and talk, and then, we have cognition which is defined by the Oxford Online Dictionary as *" The mental action or process of acquiring knowledge and understanding through thought, experience, and the senses*." This can be done by studying this

mental processes that we will be able to discover the cause and effect relationship of power to dominance and social inequality (Van Dijk, 1993) . When connecting it to CDA, cognition refers to how the information is processed, how it is received and sent to the others, and the intention of doing so.(Van Dijk, 1990-as cited in Wodak & Michael, 2001). We will see what the Mental Models and Access mean in the upcoming subsections.

1.8.1. Social Representation

Social Cognition was defined by Van Dijk (1990) as "*a socially shared system of social representation, a system which, however, also includes a set of strategies for their effective manipulation in social interpretation, interaction and* discourse". These social representations occupying the memory are considered to be social because they are used, acquired and changed in the different social situations. In this respect, they are shared by the members of a social group. Besides, Van Dijk stated that *"SRs may be conceptualized as hierarchical networks, organized by a limited set of relevant node-categories"* (1990). By this means, these social groups share features like *Appearance, Origin, Socio- economic goals, Cultural dimensions and Personality*(Van Dijk, 1990).Moreover, they encompass a set of social knowledge and evaluative information which" *are about social groups, classes, structures or social issues "*(Van Dijk, 1990). The latter, are purely perceived through experiences, personal knowledge, unique situations and opinions (personal or context bound). However, the SRs "*have undergone a process of generalization, adaptation and normalization"* to fit those of the other members of the social group(Van Dijk, 1990).

1.8.2. The Mental Models

The notion of "Mental Models" was importantly introduced by Van Dijk (1990). As named in Cognitive Psychology, the episodic memory is the location of these situation models. They are defined by Van Dijk as: "*cognitive representations of personal experiences and interpretations including personal knowledge and opinions"* (1990). The latter, represent the individual's interpretations of particular actions, events and situations. Furthermore, Van Dijk, in 1990, stated that these models are considered to be the human's experiences of a given situation. Thus, they

lead to construct a unique model of that event or to update a similar old one. As cited in Van Dijk, 1990, Brown and Fraser (1979) highlighted that these models "*are organized by a fixed Schema, featuring such well-known categories as Setting (Time, Location), Circumstances, Participants and Event/Action, each possibly accompanied by an evaluative Modifier*".

Hence, one of the most special types of mental models is the Context Model. It is about "*feature knowledge and opinions about (the actual) self, the other speech participant, about goals of interaction and about important social dimensions of the current situation*"(Van Dijk, 1990) . Thus, these models are particularly used in a single communicative event in which the social rules and norms are explicated within discourse constraint. Moreover, these *models "form the interface between generalized SRs, on the one hand, and the individual uses of these SRs in social perception, interaction and discourse, on the other hand"*(Van Dijk, 1990) . Thus, the situation models and social representation are considered to be very crucial to dominance and power because a dominant discourse is formed by the evaluations and the shared opinions of a group members about the other social groups in a communicative situation .

1.8.3. Access

Social cognition is the main cause of the production of discourse and the reproduction of power by the power elite. Used in a situated discourse, this production will produce social cognition (Van Dijk, 1993). Thus, in order to dominate and be in a powerful position, one ought to produce and have access to discourse. Hence, What Van Dijk means by power elite is those people who are placed at the higher position of the power hierarchy. Because those people are the ones who dominate, what make them have an access to convey influential discourse and opinion with the help of their social position. In the same respect, Not only politicians can be members of this so called elite but also those working in press, highly educated people, those who have great content of knowledge, etc. Importantly, the lack of knowledge can hinder the access to discourse that is why, before doing the discourse, the participant ought to find his discourse access profile. This profile should include access to information and credibility of the participant (Van Dijk, 1993)

1.9. Main Areas of Studies in CDA

1.9.1. Political Discourse

CDA primarily studies the way social-power abuse, sexism, racism and inequality are expressed, reproduced and legitimated by text and talk in the social and political context (Horkheimer, 1991). Thus, it made its way to draw consequences for political action from critical theory which is the aspiration of those who have serious intentions, and yet there is no general prescription unless it is the necessity for insight into one's own responsibility (Horkheimer, 1991). The reason why CDA may be characterized as a social movement of political discourse analysis is that it ultimately wants to expose social inequality expressed in the discourse of the politicians (Van Dijk, 2001). However, Politicians are not the only participants in the domain of politics. So, discourse analysis also looks at the public, the people, the citizens or the viewers (Media Discourse) with which the politician interacts with since it happens that sometimes those people have their word in what is being said on stage.

1.9.2. Media Discourse

Critical Communication studies was the first to analyze critically Media Discourse before CDA. When works were done on Media discourse based on CDA they mainly focused on investigating the social contexts of the so many press types existing or broadcast genres without forgetting about systematically analyzing the discourse content the topic, the coherence, the syntax, the metaphors, the actor's identity, rhetoric's and many others aspects (Van Dijk, 2015). The Critical analysis of the Media Discourse encompasses the analysis of social and the political issues such as war, terrorism, sexism and others (Van Dijk, 2015).

Section Three: The Van Dijk's (2006) Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

The content of the third section is about Van Dijk and his Model of Critical Discourse Analysis we adopted (2006a). Accordingly we presents who Van Dijk is, his works and the adopted version of the model as well.

1.10. Who is Teun A. Van Dijk?

Teun A. Van Dijk was born in May 7th, 1943 in Naaldwijk, the Netherlands. He got his diplomas of French Language and Literature in the free University of Amsterdam, 1962-1967, and of Theory of Literature from 1967 to 1968. Then, he got his doctorate in Linguistics from the University of Amsterdam in 1972. His Linguistic research was characterized by a study of literature. However, he switched to the development of Text Grammar which was the theme of his Ph.D. thesis entitled " Some Aspects of Text Grammars ". Later on, he worked with Walter Kintsch on how Discourse processes in the field of Cognitive Psychology. Van Dijk, then, took an academic position at the University of Amsterdam from 1968 to 1980 as a Lecturer of Literary Studies. After that, He taught discourse studies at the University of Amsterdam from 1980 to 2004. Since 1999, he was a professor in Barcelona at the University of Pompeu Fabra. (Van Dijk, 2015). After earning a honorific doctorate, he was invited to give lectures and conferences in many foreign countries especially in the Latin America. His native language is Dutch but he got fluent in many other languages such as English, German, French, Spanish and Portuguese (Van Dijk, 2015). He is one of the most known scholars in the fields of Text Linguistics, Discourse Analysis, and Critical Discourse Analysis.

1.11. Teun A. Van Dijk contributions to CDA

Since 1980, Van Dijk changed his perspective of research towards more critical analysis which addresses the study of how the discursive racism, news in the press are structured, produced and comprehended. The emphasize was placed on the analysis of different discourses used by ethnic or social actors as Van Dijk named them, to determine the different ideologies and

the relation between this ethnic groups and the common people in different resources such as news, conversations , textbooks, political discourses, and so on. Accordingly, Van Dijk brought to light the psychological version of CDA in which they dealt with the cognitive interface between the discourse structures and social cognition, in which they are framed within a theory of the role of social cognition in processes of social, political and cultural reproduction. Thus, social representations in our minds (such as socially shared knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and ideologies) are assumed to act as the necessary interface between micro level interactions and individual text and talk, on the one hand, and societal macro-structures, on the other hand. (Van Dijk, 2016b) .

Therefore, new insights were directed toward Critical Linguistic and Discourse Analysis on the different language use and how discourse leads to the reproduction of social power. Thus, the elite racism was introduced to be analyzed in Discourse Analysis to extract the power and the ideology used within the discourse. In the 1990s, Van Dijk started to focus his research works on the role and the impact of discursive language which embodies the ideology and power that represents the social and political thoughts within a given society. Hence, all his present works are based on discourse, context and the knowledge provided with. He came to edit *the Handbook of Discourse Analysis* in which he provided a general overview of Discourse Analysis in 1985. He completed this work through the publication of *the Study of Discourse*the5th volume in 2007 as well as the second edition of *Discourse Studies* in 2011.

He is the founder of a set of journals that contributed to CDA which are *Discourse and Society*, *Text and Talk*, *Discourse Studies*, *Discourse and Communication*, as well as an online Spanish journal (www.dissoc.org). Moreover, he wrote recently 6 monographs in English cited chronologically: *Ideology* (1998) in which he provided the historical background, definition and its relation with discourse, *Racism and discourse in Spain and Latin America* (2005) in which he dealt with how the notion of racism is expressed through discourse, *Discourse and Power* (2008) how power is embedded in discourse through the dominance and the manipulation of the speaker, *Discourse and Context*(2008), *Society and Discourse* (2009), and *Discourse and Knowledge* (2014) He gave in this last one the differences existing between discourse and knowledge. He worked collaboratively with Ruth Wodak in 2000 to edit a book entitled *Racism at the Top*. Besides, he edited *Discourse Studies* presented in 5 volumes in 2007.

1.12. A Summary of Van Dijk's Model

In the present study, we adopted Van Dijk eclectic model that draws on a Critical Discourse Analysis to study the different components, speech acts, and the discursive strategies used within a discourse to determine the ideologies ,inequalities, power, and dominance of the influencing people or elite groups.

Accordingly, when doing the analysis of an ideological discourse, Van Dijk organized his discourse notions into an evaluative structure called the "Ideological Square", encompassing a general strategy of positive self presentation and negative other presentation. It is shown in the following table:

Table 01: Van Dijk's Ideological Square

	Positive	Negative
Us	Emphasize our good properties/ Actions	Mitigate our bad properties/ Actions
Them	Mitigate their good properties/ Actions	Emphasize their bad properties/ Actions

This Ideological Square is highlighted in the eclectic model presented by Van Dijk (2006a) that we adopted into the following figure:

Figure 02: An Adapted Version of Van Dijk's Model of Analysis
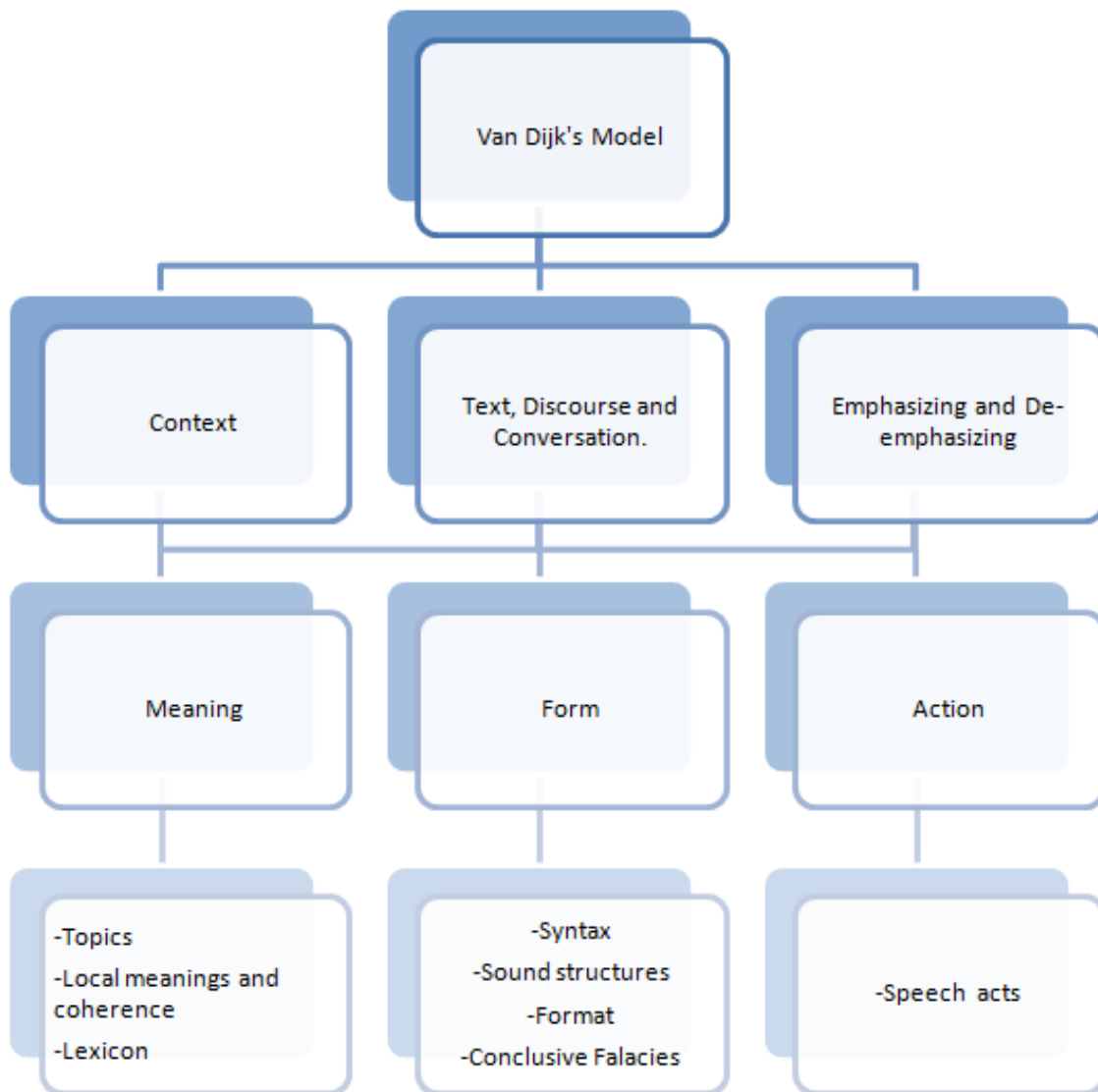
According to Van Dijk's model, the first part represents the discourse structures. The latter, is represented by context components which are considered as the most basic elements of the discourse structure as cited in Van Dijk (2006a):*"...as a function of the structures of the underlying ideologies and the social representations and models controlled by them."*

That is to say, the context is the area in which the speech is provided and carries the whole assumptions and believes of the participants. It embodies the ideologies that the speakers draw on their speeches. In other words, the speaker speaks as a member of a social group; and/or addresses recipient as group member. The context is ideologically biased in which the subject represents the communicative event and its participants as members of categories or groups. (Van Dijk, 2006a)

The second point that is treated on this model is the text, the discourse and the conversation in which the overall strategy used is the presentation of the positive action of US, and the negative presentation of the actions of THEM. Thus, the Emphasizing of Our good things, and Their bad things, as well as the de-emphasizing of Our bad things, and Their good things will be dealt with (Van Dijk, 2006a).

This analytical model is divided into three sections in which Van Dijk placed the emphasis on three levels: meaning, form and action.

- **The Citation of Topics, Local Meanings and Imprecations by Van Dijk (1995)**

At the meaning level, Van Dijk addressed different elements that will be dealt with semantically which are topics, local meanings and imprecations. They can be cited as follow:

- Implication Description: self identity descriptions which are the self presentation of the speaker characterized by his/her gender, age, ethnicity, religion, language, origins and history. (Van Dijk, 1995b)

- Activity Description: refers to the social roles and tasks of the participants. (Van Dijk, 1995b)

- Goal Description: represents the ideological discourse of groups goals reflected in their activities which have to be a positive one. Indeed, these goals are ideological and not factual. This is how groups and their members see themselves or want to be seen and evaluated (Van Dijk, 1995b)

- Norm and Value Description: express what the participants believe to be good or bad and right or wrong. In other words, what their actions and goals lead to achieve (Van Dijk, 1995b).

- Resource Description: deals with the participants background and their social situation for accessing or not to the resources needed for instance whether they are rich or poor (Van Dijk, 1995b).

In the form, Van Dijk discussed the strategies to use: "*Syntactic structures and rhetorical figures such as metaphors, hyperboles or euphemisms are used to emphasize or de-emphasize ideological meanings*" (Van Dijk, 2006a).

The last element in the model discusses action, it deals with speech acts that presuppose Our/Their bad things: promises accusations, etc, as well as, the communicative acts and the interaction strategies that imply Our/Their Good/bad things: Cooperation, agreement, etc. (Van Dijk, 2006a).

Chapter Two:
Literature Review

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a fast growing discipline that interests scholars from different fields. Accordingly, in the present chapter, we will shed light on some previous works conducted in this field from 2010 to 2016.

1. A Selection of Previous Related Studies

Rashidi (2010) introduced us to an analysis of the debate of how the fact of keeping American troops in Irak for war is viewed by two different political parties which are the republican and the democratic candidates of the American's presidential primaries of 2008. This debate has been analyzed through the Van Dijk's (2006) model of analysis in order to determine the ideologies of the two candidates. In his study, Rashidi came into conclusion that both politicians used well the discursive strategies of positive self representation and negative other representation, polarization "US vs THEM", the use of specific vocabulary as well as rhetoric as a persuasive technique. Besides, his analysis led him discover the two parties ideologies and opinions about the withdrawal of the American army from Irak. The Republican candidates are likely to be against it, while the Democratic tended to have the will of their withdrawal. Hence, Van Dijk's model showed its effectiveness in the analysis of political texts.

Wang (2010) presents a paper, based on both Critical Discourse Analysis theory and Systematic Functional Linguistics, in which she analyzes Barack Obama's presidential speeches on the basis of ideology and power expressed through transitivity and modality. Thus, Wang came into the following results: firstly, Obama used simple words and short sentences in his speeches. His language can be easily understood by the citizens and colloquial which makes him close to his audience. Then, the transitivity analysis which this fellow researcher said to be used through the use of what she calls " material process" expressed by showing the government's good deeds. Besides, through the use of transitivity, his speeches are trying to stimulate and improve the American people's trust to hand over the leading of the country to him and his government. Then, we have modality, this one tells a lot about the speech deliverer's attitudes or

opinions about the proposition conveyed in sentences. Obama used a lot of modal verbs, simple present and future tenses and by the use of the first person pronoun which facilitated the understanding of his speeches and developing the audience's faithfulness. Nevertheless, not only the use of the first pronoun helped him to get closer to his audience, but also he successfully communicated his religious belief. The latter helped him a lot to shorten the distance between him and the citizens which might have helped him a lot in winning their hearts and entrusting the country to him.

Richardson (2011)   examines the representation of Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) in the 2006 federal election in Canada. He used Fairclough's approach to CDA on various corpora which are newspaper articles from The Globe and Mail and The National Post, the policy platforms of the Liberal and Conservative parties, and some political speeches. His study revealed that in every discourse studied there was a dominant discourse which is delivered by powerful people that is what Richardson called the "choice discourse". This kind of discourse was mirrored by a set of processes which are rationalization, nominalization and conversationalization. This is what led the citizens to meaningful understanding and appreciation of the intricacy of ECEC in Canada and the idea of freedom of this policy.

Obaid & Fahad (2012) examine Obama's Cairo speech (2009). They adopted in their work the model of Norman Fairclough about "text – interaction – context" (2001). Accordingly, They attempted to answer the ten questions of the model. Those questions are supposed to have answers about the textual characteristics of the speech "how language is used " to find out the speech ideologies, assumptions, and values which are hidden behind the vocabulary, the syntactical structures , and all the metaphors that tell a lot about the speaker's intentions. The results show that the first seven questions of the Fairclough model were present at the textual level. The three remaining questions were irrelevant because those questions focused more on the grammatical side of the language then the meaning behind it. They came to the conclusion that Obama used language to present his new ideology and attain his objectives of showing a very peaceful and pacific intentions towards the Muslim communities around the world. He has attempted to do so by narrating his own experiences and attempted to express himself in a simple way so that his audience will be able to comprehend him well. In his speech, he suggested America to go hand in hand with the Islamic community and improve the relations between them.

Gadalla (2012) explores the ideological strategies used in Barack Obama's Cairo speech. He analyzed the speech by using Van Dijk's model of analysis as well as his ideological square (1998,2006) in order to evaluate the efficiency of this model in analyzing political speeches. The results of this study concluded that although Van Dijk's Ideological Square has no flaws when related to the ideological analysis of political speeches but Van Dijk's Model requires some modifications and additions. One of the results of this study states that the strategies Obama used in his speech reveal his ideologies which were expressed through a positive Self-presentation and a negative Other-presentation by the use of some discursive tactics such as emphasizing the good properties and actions of himself and his nation and mitigating their bad properties and actions. Obama choose well the lexical terms to use in order to deny the existence of his negative traits as well as his nation's. Besides, Obama uses the active voice to accentuate the good qualities of his country which he always mention first in his sentences before the Muslim countries. He repetitively narrated their own good deeds and the bad deeds of his opponents. Gadalla highlighted the ideologies of Obama in his discursive tactics which are all about democracy, liberalism, religion, and humanitarian, as well as an antiterrorism and pacifism. For Van Dijk's Ideological Square, Gadalla stated that even though it is theoretically good in helping to do an ideological analysis, when coming to practice, it needs a lot of modifications and additions. The modifications he suggested are about adopting the term "general" to represent the general level of discourse, and integrating "granularity" and "level" into "description". Moreover, he suggested to include "occasion" " *as a strategy of context, "assertion/denial" as a strategy related to local meanings, "intertextuality" as a structure of meaning, and "sentential topicalization/ de-topicalization" as a strategy related to syntax structures*". He has "*included 'stress' as a strategy of sound structures and 'narrative illustration/no storytelling' as a strategy related to format structures*". And has mingled "disclaimers" under a new strategy named "avoidance". Nevertheless, he suggested the addition of a very important parameter in a well constituted discourse as one the structures which is "rhetotic".

Sarfo & Krampa (2013) Critically Analyze the Speeches of Bush and Obama on Terrorism entitled "Language at War". Form a critical perspective, the topic discussed was Terrorism. This way, six speeches from Bush and Obama are analyzed qualitatively by using mainly van Dijk's model of analysis and some concepts of Fairclough and Rudak about power, context, and mind

control. The main findings of this study give details about how this two Presidents conveyed a negative imagery to terrorism and how anti-terrorism ideology is promoted. They were done by a careful choice of vocabulary and expressions constituted of verb phrases, adverbial phrases, adjectival phrases, prepositional phrases, and clauses with a domination of verbs and nouns. The concept of power, concept and mind control were expressed through simple, compound and complex sentences. To conclude, they noted that the two presidents have been able to express their ideologies of legitimating antiterrorism and illegitimating terrorism through the linguistic elements mentioned before and that this study has been done by the use of the Critical Discourse Analysis theory and studies on terrorism.

Aschale (2013) examines the speeches of Obama on Middle East and North Africa. He used the analytical framework of Fairclough (2002). The analysis of the speeches revealed mainly that the American's political ideology tends to aspire its dominance from allies. Even though it is willing to keep its position as the leader, it is promoting tolerance, democracy, freedom, peace, and security. Moreover, Obama discussed the change he wants to make, he talked about morality and religious matters which are embedded with supportive words, cooperation and alliance in a way that all of this belong to his way of narrating and persuading his audience.

Nugraha (2014) has conducted a research which studies the political speech of Hillary Clinton "American for Marriage Equality" using Van Dijk's model. The objectives of the research is to understand the intended meaning implicitly expressed in her speech. The main findings of his analysis show that Clinton attempted to create the illusion that she one of those people which get discriminations by using the pronoun "our" to lessen the gap between her and the audience and to show her closeness to them. Second, Clinton also tries to attract the audience's attention by making themselves related to her and mentioning her heroic acts that she did to protect the victims of discrimination. Through a semantic element analysis, Nugraha, has found out that Clinton made an explicit and detailed allusion to all the acts that she ever did to protect those discriminated people. Then, he found that Clinton choose carefully the words she uses in her speech. Thus, her use of those words can be explained in stylistics as aiming at getting a positive response from her audience and make them comprehend well the message she wants to transmit. Last but not least, he has been able to draw Clinton's ideology which is a Liberalist

since she mentioned many times in her speech how much she is supporting the freedom of human rights.

Abdel-Moety(2015) examines the American political discourse of interview genre manifested in Hillary Clinton's interviews. In his study, he attempts to analyze numerous TV interviews done by Hillary Clinton. His Analysis adopts a Critical Discourse Analysis approach but was inspired by other models coming from different theories, disciplines, genre, systemic functional grammar. His first attempts to find the features of American interview genre. Then, he aims at portraying the characteristics of the political discourse of Clinton. Third, he attempts to show the way power is used through language. Nevertheless, he tries to investigate how ideological messages are conveyed through smoothly veiled strategies. The outcome of this study point out how American interview genre, as in the former Secretary of the States interviews, encompasses some features of casual conversations. For instance, the use of humor, informal or casual style, ellipsis, etc. In addition, Clinton used a discourse in which she combined the elements of a casual political discourse to ordinary life and experiences her citizens can relate to through the use of long, compound, and complex sentences. This study also highlighted the excessive use of personal pronouns and modality features which were used purposefully to manipulated her audience. In addition, the results indicated that she beneficiated from her status and gave her power in the interviews. Finally, Clinton's political and ideological stances are revealed by the use of specific analytical categories including lexicalization, implication, authority, evidentiality, consensus example/illustration, distancing, polarization, and national self-glorification".

Sharndama (2015) examines the President of Nigeria Muhammadu Buhari's inaugural Speech which was delivered on the 29th May, 2015. In order to carry out his analysis, he adopts the three dimensional Analytical Models of Norman Fairlough. When applying the model through the analysis of the text or a detailed description of its content, this fellow research have been able to interpret or process the text and explain how the social practice and analysis were performed. The findings reveal the ideologies embodied within the new president Muhammadu Buhari's plans which are all about how a good governance should be. Moreover, he wanted to strengthen the international relations with his country. He wanted to embed foreign policies,

democracy, eradicate corruption, make the country safe and fight the insecurities. Finally, he aims to rise the economy of the nation .

Jensen et al. (2016) investigate Hillary Clinton's 2015/2016 Presidential Campaign Discourses from a critical perspective. They aim at uncovering the discursive strategies Hillary Clinton used in her speech, including the persuasive techniques and identifying the elements referring to the gender and the social integrity. The findings show the implicit use of stereotypical masculine and feminine gender references by Clinton. Also, Clinton used rhetorical elements of persuasion and some similarities related to the American, political model of George Lakoff's family. Besides, the researchers focus on studying the aspects found in the primary analysis through a corpus-based analysis.

Hussein (2016) conducted a critical study on an Arabic political discourse delivered by the Egyptian President, Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, at the New Suez Canal Inauguration Ceremony at exploring the ideologies said implicitly and the linguistic features in this political speech. She adopted Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA to analyze the speech. She focused in her analysis mainly on the language used in the speech at both the spoken and written level. Besides, she directed her attention towards how the discourse is performed and towards the socio-cultural aspects used in the discourse. Furthermore, she has done a macro and micro analysis in order to explain the relationship social factors have in the linguistic practices. The main findings of this work suggest that the speech analyzed is unique in a way that it typical characteristics and that the vocabulary used was chosen thoughtfully to attain the goals of the speech deliverer. The researcher came into conclusion that the Egyptian president uses different kinds of Semantic relations. She used a lot of synonyms, figures of speech and repetition,...etc. In order to successfully transmit the ideologies, she is willing to convey to her audience. Finally, she concludes her research by notifying that the translated version depends a lot on the translators. A variety of translated version of some texts mirror some sort of divergence from the original version of the text and this can be "socially or culturally ideological".

Hence, the present study explores the Clinton and Trump's second debate (2016) from Critical Discourse Analysis relying on Van Dijk's Model (2006). The purpose of the study is to

find out the enclosed ideologies embedded in their discourse. Thus, the present researchers attempt to investigate the various ideological strategies used by both candidates to impress and win the public consensus. The findings of the study reveal mainly the following: The ideological strategies consist of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Both Clinton and Trump make use of polarization and express it through the use of "US" vs. "THEM". In one hand, Clinton's speech is featured by the use of social inclusion and exclusion, and frames such as family, education, and battle. Moreover, Clinton's speech, as a female talk, is characterized by both the use of masculine and feminine stereotypes. In the other hand, Trump's speech is featured by racism, sexism, and misbehavior. Besides, Trump's speech is featured by authority and dominance, since it is a male talk.

Chapter Three:
Methods & Study Design

The present chapter concerns itself with the study design, particularly with the research methods and techniques used, the corpus of the study in which the subject of the study is determined; and the data analysis procedures which show how we proceed in the analysis of the present corpus (i.e., debate).

3.1. Study Design

The present study is a descriptive research based on mixed methods, encompassing both qualitative and quantitative representation of some findings. Thus, we believe that it is the appropriate way of investigating our research questions, based on the corpus chosen about the debate between Clinton and Trump.

3.2. The Corpus of the Study

As a corpus to analyze, we select the transcript of the second debate between Clinton and Trump in the presidential elections of the USA for 2016. The transcript of the debate can be found on the official website of the "*New York Times"* (See Appendix 02). Importantly, our choice of the second debate is not random but it is motivated by the important up to date content being discussed and the various themes covered.

3.3. Data Analysis Procedures

After getting access to the official script of the second debate between Clinton and Trump that took place on October 09th, 2016 at Washington University at St. Louis, we have read extensively the text and tried to identify its schemata and main structure. Then, we proceeded to the application of Van Dijk's Model (2006). Importantly, we selected the pertinent illustrations for each steps in the model in order to make the research work less repetitive and wordy. Then, we attempted to discuss them carefully. Besides, Lakoff's notion of Gender Talk is applied at the end of chapter four.

Chapter Four:
Analysis and Discussions

The present chapter concerns itself with the application of Van Dijk's Model (2006a) on Clinton and Trump's second debate that took place on October 09th, 2016 at Washington University in St. Louis. The debate was animated by the journalists Anderson Cooper of CNN and Martha Raddatz of ABC. The latter, opened the debate by presenting the two candidates as follows *"Ladies and gentlemen the Republican nominee for president, Donald J. Trump, and the Democratic nominee for president, Hillary Clinton.".*And Cooper was in charge of managing the questions and the smoothness of the debate.

Section One: Analysis and Discussion of the Debate

In one hand, we have the opening lines of Clinton's speech are characterized by her different visions of America. She welcomes diversity and calls for unity and togetherness of Americans. Besides, she shows her comprehensiveness and willingness to accept all the different ideologies and work for the common interests of America by saying: "*I will work with every American*". Also she says that "*I want us to heal our country*". Importantly, the latter, gives an atmosphere of hope, fresh, and a new start for the Americans. Accordingly, she says:

> a." *I want to be the president for all Americans, regardless of your political beliefs, where you come from, what you look like, your religion. I want us to heal our country and bring it together because that's, I think, the best way for us to get the future that our children and our grandchildren deserve".*

All this can give an insight of Clinton's way of thinking and ideology. Since Van Dijk stated that ideologies are beliefs that are shared by members of a social group (Van Dijk, 2006a), one has to identify Clinton social group. Thus, Hillary Clinton belongs to the American Democratic Party known by the ideology of social liberalism. That is, it supports social and economic equality in which they seek to protect and help the middle-class and the one who are eager to aid themselves in return. As mentioned in the following sentences:

> a."*We have to make up for lost times, because I want to invest in you. I want to invest in hard-working families. And I think it's been unfortunate, but it's happened, that*

since the Great Recession, the gains have all gone to the top. And we need to reverse that".

b."*My vision of America is an America where everyone has a place, if you're willing to work hard, you do your part, you contribute to the community. That's what America is"*.

These examples highlight Clinton's ideology centered around humanism , nationalism and multiculturalism.

In the other hand, we have Clinton's opponent, Trump. At first sight, we are driven to think that Trump is more likely to be realistic and pragmatic rather than ideological. His political approach was entirely about "making America great again". By saying so, Trump highlighted all the real issues happening in America during the current time. He talked about the illegal drugs market, immigration, and terrorism (mainly ISIS). According to Van Dijk (2006a), we all belong to a specific group which share a common ideology. Thus, the group to which Trump belongs is the Republican Party. So, the republican's ideology is well known for being conservative. Their politic is mainly characterized by economic liberalism, fiscal and social conservatism and federalism. Its contrasted rival is none other than the Democratic party.

Trump shift of attention from the overseas to the local issues is one of his strongest arguments. It is all about America First. Accordingly, he states that:

a."*When I look at all of the things that I see and all of the potential that our country has, we have such tremendous potential,..You say who's making these deals? We're going to make great deals. We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order"*.

b."*But I want to do things that haven't been done,... and I look forward to doing it. It's called make America great again"*.

c."*We're going to make America safe again. We're going to make America great again, but we're going to make America safe again. And we're going to make America wealthy again"*.

Analyzing Trump's discourse reveals how his ideology is going to be applied if he came to be a president. He tries to convince his audience that he is going to take care of the issues happening in the country and help the African-American citizens, the Latinos and the Hispanics. Something

that his predecessor didn't do and that Clinton wouldn't do if she came to be the new president. In total opposition when looking at some other of his sayings, his words seem to contrast each others. We are going to see that in details during the upcoming analysis.

Trump said:

a." *...other nations are taking our jobs and they're taking our wealth"*.

b." *People are coming into our country like we have no idea who they are, where they are from, ..."*

c. *"We have enough problems in this country..."*

The sentences above stress Trump's conservative ideology; he is all about "America First" and no place to think about the other nations or the foreigners and immigrants .

The Analysis of the present debate will disclose that both used two ideological strategies: positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. So we are going to analyze the strategies used by these two candidates in the following subsections.

Van Dijk (2006a) suggested the ideological square we presented in the theoretical part which says a lot about how text, discourse and conversation are arranged through the use of the two ideological strategies mentioned before. So, we are going to look first at the positive self-presentation present in the discourse of both Trump and Clinton and then their negative-other presentation in the following subsections.

4.1.Positive Self-presentation in Clinton and Trump's Discourse

It is all clear that Trump used this strategy during all the debate. He accentuated well the good traits his country has as well as what makes his ideology better than the Clinton's one. He emphasized His good things and the bad things his rival has. All of this will be well exemplified in the following subsections about the three main levels of analysis in Van Dijk Model. The first one is about the meaning level which is all about the semantic macro structures of the text (the topics dealt with during the debate), the local meanings, coherence, and lexicon.

4.1.1. MEANING LEVEL

The choice of topics has not been something Trump or Clinton has made. They had to go along the animators questions and the public's ones too. So, they debated about many different questions which highlight the variety of this debate in terms of topics, but during all of the debate, Trump and Clinton were able to convey a positive self description of themselves and their country, both aiming at being the 45th president of the United States.

The first question asked was about whether the two candidates feel like modeling an appropriate and positive behavior for today's youth. While Clinton spoke about her future and pacific plans that reunify everybody, "Stronger together", she calls it. The question targeted as well the dark past of Trump. Thought, he chose to talk first about his plans about "make America great again" if he is elected the president. Also, talked about how bad ISIS is and the different horrible things happening in the world. However, he was heavily criticized by Clinton and stressed disability to govern. Trump responded to her by telling about his plans on helping the Afro-Americans, the Latinos and the Hispanics living in the inner cities. The second question is still about the misbehavior of Trump. Still, he defended himself by arguing that it was all words no actions as Bill Clinton did. Thus, Clinton, the candidate, should be ashamed of herself bringing the topic back. Furthermore, when he was asked to apologize to president Obama by Clinton, he attacked her back saying that it was her who had to apologize to him and also apologize at the same time for the emails she deleted. Next, he even menaced her of putting her to jail for all her wrong doings if he came to be a president. Clinton apologized, and said that it was her mistake deleting those emails. The third topic handled in the debate is health care. While Clinton favored small changes and fixations on the Affordable Care act Obama tailored, Trump had a great time criticizing the Obamacare program as well as the plans of his rival for the health program. Accordingly, he evoked the plans he has for a better health care plan than Clinton's and Obama's.

Nevertheless, a really sensitive topic came out, Islamophobia. Trump reacted first and said that all Muslims have to report any detected problem. He talked about stopping them from coming to America. However, for Clinton, she is willing to have an America where everyone is free to practice his/her religion without distinction. Besides, she talked about how to handle the case of the Syrian refugees. Then, they debated the issue of the illegal immigration. The next question is about if it is acceptable for a politician to have a private stance on issues. Clinton

discussed her case with the release of WikiLeaks purported excerpts of her paid speeches while Trump discussed his affinity case with Russia and Putin. Then, they moved to the question of Spencer about the changes that will occur on tax provisions to ensure that the wealthiest Americans pay their air share in taxes. Accordingly, Trump confessed not paying his taxes but at the same time referred to Clinton's donors who took massive tax write-offs. Then, the Syrian case is brought again and the two candidates were asked what they would do about it and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo, the Russian's contribution to it and the ISIS crisis.

The upcoming question addressed to the two candidates is " *Do you believe you can be a devoted president to all the people in the United States*?" They answered positively in a way that yes they would be a president for every American. Then, the way Clinton treated the supporters of Trump was debated. In addition to that, they debated how a good leader should be as both of them have their flows. Two more questions left; we are approaching the end of this debate; the upcoming question is about the supreme court justice and the most important aspects of selecting it. Both answered in their ways. One more question is added to that. It is about the energy policy and minimizing job loss for fossil power plant workers. The two candidates presented their plans about it to finally move to the last question. The latter is a remarkable question because the two candidates were asked to pinpoint one positive thing they respect in one another which is in fact against the nature of their debate and against the discourse of ideology. The response of Clinton is that she respects Trump's children while the Trump's answer is that he admires her fighting spirit.

Clinton utilizes positive lexical components to describe herself and her country. She has done that during the first words she gave in the debates and all along her discourse. For instance:

> a". ...*it is very important for us to make clear to our children that our country really is great because we're good".*(positive self-representation).

> b. "*These are very important values to me, because this is the America that I know and love".* (positive self-representation).

In (a) and (b) , Clinton praised the importance of America by presupposing that it is due the goodness of the American people. It is clearly and explicitly expressed to determine the ethics and values of the American people including herself .

Also, she says:

> a. "*I have a very positive and optimistic view about what we can do together. That's why the slogan of my campaign is "Stronger Together," because I think if we work together, if we overcome the divisiveness that sometimes sets Americans against one another, and instead we make some big goals..*"

The use of the personal pronoun "I" stresses the exclusion of others in the communicative situation. Hence, it brings to the fore the speaker willingness to a more functional America which can affect positively the recipients. By using the adverb "together", it gives an atmosphere of the commitment and the inclusion of Hillary Clintons with people to seek their help and to make them feel important by embracing them in her campaign. Besides, Clinton Highlights her stretched experience and the broad knowledge she acquired by saying :

> a." *I've proven that I can, and for 30 years, I've produced results for people".* (positive self-representation).

> b." *.. I started off as a young lawyer working against discrimination against African-American children in schools and in the criminal justice system. I worked to make sure that kids with disabilities could get a public education, something that I care very much about..."* (positive self-representation).

Accordingly, she demonstrates that she brought a huge remarkable changes to America. Thirty years of experience are considered to be a qualifying factor to become a president that carries the needed responsibility . Thus, a high level of credibility is shown which leads to confirm the ability of Hillary Clinton to stay in a power position and endeavor for higher objectives. Accordingly, this shows her positive self-representation where she emphasized on her good aspects which one pillar of ideological discourse.

And the Same goes for Trump. In his words:

> a. "*This is a great country. This is a great land".* (positive self-representation).

> b. "*And my whole concept was to make America great again".* (positive self-representation).

In (a) and (b) above, Trump confessed and asserted clearly the greatness of his country in a very explicit way. His whole slogan for this presidential is making America great again.

> a." *...make our country safe again".* (positive self-representation).

> b." *...make America safe again...make America great again...make America wealthy again".* (positive self-representation).

Importantly, Trump kept repeating his slogan several times (we will see this during the Form level of the model). In (a) and (b) above, he expressed how great America is but he has a strong desire for an even better America. This is referred to in the Van Dijk's Model (2006) as the positive self-presentation of us . He accordingly selected positive topics to talk about himself and his country. Hence, throughout these following sentences, Evidentiality is properly illustrated to express the truth :

> a." *...I'm proud of the campaign that Bernie Sanders and I ran. We ran a campaign based on issues, not insults..."* (positive self-representation).

> b." *So I have a deep devotion, to use your absolutely correct word, to making sure that an every American feels like he or she has a place in our country".* (positive self-representation).

> c. "*I have said nobody who makes less than $250,000 a year — and that's the vast majority of Americans as you know — will have their taxes raised, because I think we've got to go where the money is".* (positive self-representation).

Hillary Clinton points out that her campaign is based on facts and problem-solving. She manages to show that all her actions will be realized for the sake of Americans' well being and prosperity by establishing good plans that go along with what the diverse American citizens need.

Even though Trump is notorious for his non tolerant policy, he accentuated that he will help the inner cities:

> a." *I'm going to help the African-Americans. I'm going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities".* (positive self-representation)

b." *I would be a president for all of the people, African- Americans, the inner cities"* . (positive self-representation)

Another important point expressed in the Meaning Level is "disclaimers" where the two candidates used them two deny their bad things.

> a."*Well, first, let me start by saying that so much of what he's just said is not right"*.
>
> b." *I didn't in the first debate, and I'm going to try not to in this debate, because I'd like to get to the questions that the people have brought here tonight to talk to us about"*.
>
> c. "*When I hear something like that, I am reminded of what my friend, Michelle Obama, advised us all: When they go low, you go high"*. (De-emphasizing our bad things).

These statements highlight how Clinton denies her bad things. In one hand, she explicitly refutes what she has been accused of as stated in the first sentence. In other hand, she manages to avoid her bad things by claiming that this debate was conducted to respond the American people questions and not the ones of Trump. Also, she is making a reference to the first lady Michelle Obama by replicating her words as a way to escape   and deny her bad things. This is what Van Dijk calls in his Model of (2006) "De-emphasizing our bad things".

Similarly, Trump said:

> a. "*No, I didn't say that at all. I don't think you understood what was...this was locker room talk...this is locker room talk"*.(De-emphasizing our bad things).
>
> b." *...And I will tell you: No, I have not"*.(De-emphasizing our bad things).
>
> c.*" I don't know Putin. I think it would be great if we got along with Russia...But I don't know don't deal there, I have no businesses there. I have no loans from Russia"*.(De-emphasizing our bad things).

The first statement(a) is Trump's answer to Cooper's direct question about whether he bragged about his misbehavior toward women or not. He defended himself by saying that he did not do so and what he said was not meant for the others to hear. It was something said in private.

The second example (b) was his answer to Cooper who asked him about his misbehavior towards women. He gave a clear answer and he denied the truth.

For the third example (c), this came out when Clinton accused him for being associated with Russia and being helped by them to win the elections.

As far as the lexical structures used by the two candidates are concerned, Clinton used 70 positive terms to describe herself and her country while Trump did so in 64 terms. The two tables below reveal the terms used.

Table 02: Positive Terms that Clinton Used.

Described Person/Subject	Positive Terms	Frequency
Clinton(herself)	Aware (1), positive (2), president (24), humble (1), hoping (2), proud (5)	35
America/ Americans	Freedom (2), respect (5), together (7), liberty (1), security (2), safe (1), love (1), good (7), Justice (3), important (1), better (4), homeland (1)	35
Total		70

Table 03: Positive Terms that Trump Used.

Described Person/Subject	Positive terms	Frequency
Trump	Honest/tly (7), proud (7), respec/ted (9)	23
America/ Americans	Better (1), good (8), wonderful (6), friend/s (8), wealth/y (4), safe (4) tremendous/ly (10)	41
Total		64

4.1.2. FORM LEVEL

In the following, we will attempt to highlight the form level presented in Clinton and Trump discourse.

we have observed that Clinton speech embraces some syntactic structures that describe herself and her country. These structures are utilized to highlight the positive agency of herself and America. They are illustrated in the following:

> a. *"I have tried my entire life to do what I can to support children and families".*
>
> b.*" ...indeed, to the entire world that America already is great, but we are great because we are good , and we will respect one another, and we will work with one another, and we will celebrate our diversity".*

In(a)Clinton shows her good actions that she performed during her entire life by helping the children and supporting families. In(b) she stresses the position of America which is considered to be great, and based on equality and respect of the diversity of American citizens. The latter represents Clinton liberal ideology.

Accordingly, the same goes for Trump in his discourse:

> a." *We're going to make great deals. We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order".*
>
> b." *Well, one thing I'd do is get rid of carried interest. One of the greatest provisions for people like me, to be honest with you, I give up alot when I run..."*

In (a) Trump is exposing his plans of making America an even better country while expressing his conservative ideology by referring to the wall he plans to construct between America and Mexico.

For the second quote, what Trump is trying to say is that he would be losing more than what he has got to win during those elections. He is more likely going to sacrifice himself for the sake of the American citizens somehow a national hero.

As syntactic structures, the active voice is employed to highlight Clinton's good actions as in:

a. "*We are not at war with Islam*".

b. "*So I, when I was secretary of state, advocated and I advocate today a no-fly zone and safe zones*".

In the above statements, Clinton is manifesting pacifism towards Islam. She shows how open minded she is and how the American values are based on the acceptance of the Americans' diversity. Also, she manages to show her labors for freedom and a better safe world not only for the Americans , but also for the entire world.

c."...*I went around the world advocating for our country, but also advocating for women's rights*".

statement(c) refers to Clinton's attempts to create better chances for women and stressing her efforts to attain an even better equality between man and women.

Similarly, Trump used the active voice for the same purpose :

a." *No, I'm a gentlemen...*".

b. " *I have a very, very great balance sheet..*".

By the use of the active voice, Trump attempted to give a positive image of himself in both of these statements. In (a), as if he is denying his bad and refuting his wrong deeds, he described himself as a gentlemen when he was asked by Clinton if he wanted to answer first to the question of one member of the audience. Accordingly, he answered no, and that he is letting her give her speech first. In (b) Trump is talking about his bank account saying that he has no loans and boasting about his balance sheet.

As for the argumentation structures, both nominees manifest stereotypical arguments to show that they are both running for presidency for the sake of American citizens.

From her part, Clinton stated:

a. *"... I want us to heal our country and bring it together because that's, I think, the best way for us to get the future that our children and our grandchildren deserve."*

b. *"They were injured, but they turned the lights on and they powered their factories. I don't want to walk away from them. So we've got to do something for them."*

These two examples refer to the way Clinton manages to show that her campaign is based on solving the issues the American citizens are suffering from. Therefore, she attempts to create a better atmosphere and a better America.

And from his part, Trump's arguments are:

a. *"You will have the finest health care plan there is. She wants to go to a single-payer plan, which would be a disaster..."*

b. *....you will have competition...we'll be able to help people that can't get__ don't have money because we are going to have people protected.*

After criticizing Obama's and Clinton's plan on health program, Trump defined his as a better plan than his rival's one. Accordingly, he gave his arguments which he addresses to the American citizens.

Gadalla (2012) contributed to the improvement of the Van Dijk's Model(2006) by stating that since we can find repetitions and figures of speech in the study of rhetoric. Thus, "rhetoric" will be added to the structures of form and meanings. Here are some examples of this structure from the two candidates' speeches:

Clinton's:

a. *" I'm hoping to earn your vote, I'm hoping to be elected in November, and I promise you..."*

b. *"... our country really is great because we're good"*.

c. *"the 30 years I've been in public service"*.

Clinton makes use of repetition during her entire speech in order to make her most prominent points impactful and remembered by the audience. Accordingly, the above sentences are repeated several times in the debate.

Besides, Clinton's speech is characterized by the use of rhetoric as she is highly educated and worked for prominent political issues. For example:

a.*"....getting the economy to work for everyone...".*

This statement carries out a metaphor which conveys the meaning of moving forward to open the floor for a country with new directions.

b."...*I want us to heal our country"* .

This statement carries out a personification in which a human quality is assigned to a lifeless thing. It expresses that Clinton is willing to make a huge beneficial changes for America.

c. *"... it possible for people of color and older people and young people to be able to exercise..."*

The expression " people of color" is an example of euphemism used by Clinton .Instead of saying black people, she intentionally used this expression so that they will not be offended .

d.*" We need American Muslims to be part of our eyes and ears on our front lines".*

A synecdoche in which the sight is replaced with the eyes and the hearing is replaced with ears which means that Clinton wants the American Muslims to report what they see and hear. That is, to be an American.

e. "*Washington".*

A metonymy that stands for a part from a whole which means the federal government of the United States.

Similarly, Trump's discourse is full of repetitions. He has the tendency to repeat some words, phrases and sentences in a way that impacts the audience's memory for remembering his speech or at least the most impactful parts. We can cite :

a. "*It was locker room talk...That was locker room talk..*".(De-emphasizing our bad things).

b. "*I don't know Putin...I know nothing about Russia. I know__ I know about Russia...the inner working of Russia, I don't deal there. I have no businesses there. I have no loans from Russia...I have no loans with Russia...*".(De-emphasizing our bad things).

c. "*I pay tremendous numbers of taxes...but I pay tax, and I pay federal tax*".

We talked about this before briefly where Trump denies his bad deeds through the use of repetition and that is what happens in the sentences above. Moreover, Trump is not an avid user of rhetoric but we can find in his speech some of it. For instance:

a." *We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order*".

Trump uses here parallelism in which the element of the two sentences are grammatically similar in structures and sounds.

b." *...but we have to built up the wealth of our nation*".

The statement above is expressed through the use of a metaphor in which the wealth of the American nation is compared to a house that can be built.

c." *Washington. D.C.*".

A metonymy that stands for a part from a whole which means the federal government of the United states.

4.1.3. ACTION LEVEL

We will now move to the action level in which we are going to see how the two candidates make use of the speech act of promises as well as interaction strategies which define that one

would be a better president than his/her rival. Accordingly, they displayed in those speech acts good images of themselves, their plans, and the greatness of America.

For instance, Clinton's:

> a."... *I've set forth some big goals, getting the economy to work for everyone, not just those at the top, making sure that we have the best education system from preschool through college and making it affordable*".
>
> b."...*I can promise you that I will work with every American*".
>
> c." *I want very much to save what works and is good about the Affordable Care Act. But we've got to get costs down. We 've to provide additional help to small businesses so that they can afford to provide health insurance...*".
>
> d."..*as president, I will take that work, that bipartisan work, that finding common ground,..*".
>
> e."..*I want to appoint Supreme court justices who understand the way the world really works, who have real- life experience, who have not just been in a big law firm and maybe clerked for a judge and then gotten on the bench*".

Precisely, Clinton exposed a set of actions and plans to be accomplished if she is elected the president of the United State. As she directed her promises for all Americans to make her country even better with her help through making changes and improvements in different fields.

For Trump, here is what he said:

> a.*" ... You will have competition, and we will be able to keep pre-existing, we'll also be able to help people that can't get__ don't have money because we are going to have people protected"*.

In his communicative act, Trump displayed his plan and promised the American citizens that they would have a better health care program (while the present one i.e., Obamacare).

> b." *I will bring our energy companies back. They'll be able to compete. They'll make money. They'll pay off our national debt"*.

Also, he gave an affirmation in which he promises that he will bring wealth to the energy companies and the United States as a whole.

c."...*I'll have more than $100 million invested. Pretty much self-funding money".*

Besides, he made another promise that he would invest his own money to the growth of the country if he came to be president. Something Clinton would not do.

4.2. Negative Other-presentation of Clinton and Trump's Discourse.

The negative other presentation mentioned in the Ideological Square is manifested through highlighting other's negatives. Thus, it is simply used to overstate the bad actions committed by the opponents, and ease their good actions.

4.2.1. MEANING LEVEL

At the meaning level, both nominees selected negative topics to illustrate the negatives of their opponents.

For example, it is used by Clinton as follows:

a. "*People like Donald, who paid zero in taxes, zero for our vets, zero for our military, zero for health and education, that is wrong".*(Negative Other-presentation).

Clinton used this sentence to highlight that Trump is not paying his federal incomes taxes which means that he is not carrying out his duty as an American citizen. Thus, it reflects what kind of president he will be. Importantly, she implicitly said that Trump is a corrupted business man. In addition, she exclude herself from being a part of the social group that Trump belongs.

b." *He never apologized to Mr. and Mrs. Khan, the Gold Star family whose son, Captain Khan, died in the line of duty in Iraq. And Donald insulted and attacked them for weeks over their religion".*(Negative Other-presentation).

Here, Clinton points out that Trump is disrespecting others religions. Thus, Trump cannot preserve social harmony between all kinds of Americans. Besides, he is an Islamophobe.

Making sound his rival untrustworthy, Trump says:

> a." *...all the potential that our country has, we have such tremendous potential, whether it's in business and trade, where we're doing so badly".*(Negative Other-presentation).

In a fine and rough way, Trump has been able to praise his country and criticize his rival in the same sentence. He says that it has a great potential but unfortunately it is doing so badly referring to the government Obama established in which Clinton has her contribution. Besides, When the topic of islamophobia came in, Trump had an excessively pejorative reaction towards Muslims. The most notable word in his discourse is the word "problem". For instance:

> b." *...you are right about islamophobia, that's a shame...because there is a problem...Muslims have to report the problems when they see them...It's radical Islamic terror...".*(Negative Other-presentation).

We notice the above sentence that Trump reported in a very implicit way where the problems are. That is, he noted islamophobia as being a shame and he used the pejorative lexis. He didn't say it directly that the Muslims are the problems here but what is the most noticeable is what he said Muslims should do. For him, the latter are more likely to encounter and see those "problems" than any other American citizens. Thus, he addressed them a message meant to be saying that they are the source of the problems and they are living in a problematic environment which should be reported.

> c." *We have many criminal illegal aliens...they're murderers, drug lords, drug problems...They're murderers and some very bad people".*(Negative Other-presentation).

Trump states it clearly that he is against immigration (aliens) and he accuses some of them of being bad people, murderers, and involved in drug.

Still, referring to Van Dijk's Model, we can find what he called evidentiality. He said that it is typically common to find this point in political discourses. Accordingly, and with reference to the example before, the politicians are driven to express evidentiality in this way "We have the truth versus they are misguided" (Van Dijk, 2006a)

Similarly, Clinton said:

a**."** *It's with him and with the hateful and divisive campaign that he has run, and the inciting of violence at his rallies, and the very brutal kinds of comments about not just women, but all Americans, all kinds of Americans*".(Negative Other-presentation).

Through this statement, Clinton highlighted that trump 's campaign is based on hatred, violence and misbehavior towards women to demonstrate that he is misguiding the American people.

b." *He never apologized to the distinguished federal judge who was born in Indiana, but Donald said he couldn't be trusted to be a judge because his parents were, quote, "Mexican".*(Negative Other-presentation).

In this example, Clinton evokes Trump raciest vision about Mexicans. He claimed that they are not trustworthy. Hence, Trump will not be able to tolerate the America citizens diversity. This later reflects that Trump is misguiding people.

As an answer back, Trump expressed it as follows:

a." *She's done a terrible job for the African-Americans. She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back* ".(Negative Other-presentation).

Accordingly, he expressed the inability of Clinton to act as in her words saying that she is misguiding the citizens by making them think that she would help them while doing nothing for them.

b."*Obamacare will never work. It's very bad, very bad health insurance. Far too expensive. Not only expensive for the person that has it, unbelievably expensive for our country...She wants to go to single-payer plan, which would be a disaster".*(Negative Other-presentation).

The same idea is expressed in the sentence above, evidentiality. Trump didn't only criticize his rival's plan but also his predeceasing health care program who also can be qualified as being his rival since both Clinton and Obama are democrats. "a disastrous plan", " a fraud", " a great lie", and "a big lie" he qualified it.

He also added:

c." *...she has really bad judgment...It's a horrible thing she is doing, She's got bad judgment, and honestly, so bad that she would never be president of the United States".*(Negative Other-presentation).

The same goes for this one, a very explicit and precise evidentiality he expressed here. To tell that this idea is used many times during the whole debate.

To move to the negative lexical terms used by the two candidates we selected the following:

Table04: Negative Terms that Clinton Used

The Described Person/Subject	Negative Terms	Frequency
Trump	Insult (1), racist (1), lie (1), brutal (1), hate/ful (2), temperament (1)	7
American's opponent	War (5), violence (1), Jihadist (1), rebel (1), illegally (1) catastrophic (2), bombed (1), attack (2), aggressiveness (2)	16
Total		23

Table05: Negative Terms that Trump Used

The Described Person/Subject	Negative Terms	Frequency
Clinton	Acid/wash (2), failed (1), apologise/ing (5), lied (6), ashamed (4), disgraceful (1)	19
Imigrants/ ISIS/Islam	Attacks (3), Aliens (1), carnage (1), criminals (1), hatred (5), murderer/s (3), problem/s (13), rebels (5)	32
Obamacare	Deception (1), disaster (16), dumbest (1), expensive (5), fraud (2), horrible (5), lie/s (5)	35
Total		86

4.2.2.FORM LEVEL

As far as the form level is concerned, we can see that both speakers represented his/ her opponent in their discourse through the use of negative representations. Also, we can notice the use of rhetoric to emphasis the other negative or bad things in both Clinton and Trump discourse.

For Clinton, it is:

> a.*" It's just awfully good that someone with the temperament of Donald Trump is not in charge of the law in our country".*

It consists of an oxymoron used to create a confusion for the audience and Trump whether they are going to laugh or pounder.

> b."..*Donald always take care of Donald and the people like Donald* ".

This sentence carries out a simile in which the people that resemble Donald are taken care of himself, and not the others through the use of the tool "like".

c."*...the question our country must answer is that this is not who we are*".

A personification is used in this sentence by attributing the act of answering which is a characteristic related to human beings for a country, a non-living thing. It used to deny the negative values of Trump.

For Trump, it is:

a." *ISIS chopping off heads... this is like medieval times"*.

A simile in which Trump compared the act of chopping off heads to the same acts done during the medieval period through the use of "like" as a tool.

b."*...I will take care of ISIS"*.

This statement reflects a paradox in its meaning. What Trump meant wasn't literally taking care of them but getting rid of them and exterminating terrorism.

c." *People are coming into our country like we have no idea who they are, where they are from...This is going to be the great Trojan horse of all time"*.

A metaphor in which Trump associated the immigration to the Trojan horse. A wooden horse full of soldiers used as a tactic to infiltrate inside the walls of the enemy during the Greek period.

4.2.3. ACTION LEVEL

At the action level, we are going to see how the two candidates make use of the speech act of promises and accusations. Accordingly they displayed in those speech acts negative and bad image of their rivals, and America's rivals.

For her part, Clinton asserts that:

a."*..We have seen him insult women. We've seen him rate women on their appearance, ranking them from one to ten. We've seen him embarrass women on TV*

and on Twitter. We saw him after the first debate spend nearly a week denigrating a former Miss Universe in the harshest, most personal terms".

b." *...that raises questions about his fitness to be our president, because he has also targeted immigrants, afro-American, Latinos, people with disabilities, Muslims, and so many others*".

c."*...I do support the effort to investigate for crimes, war crimes committed by the Syrians and the Russians and try to hold them accountable*".

d."*...There are a lot of refugees, women and children__ think of that picture we all saw of that 4-years-old boy with the blood on his forehead because he'd been bombed by the Russian and Syrian air forces.........There are children suffering in this catastrophic war*".

e."*..I would have a trade prosecutor to make sure that we don't get taken advantage of by china on steel or anything else*".

In(a) and (b),the speech acts are employed to distort Clinton's opponent image. Through these accusations, Clinton stresses that Trump is not fitting the role of a commander in chief. In (c), (d) and (e), the speech acts are based on promises which are directed to distort the image of the America's rival.

From his part, Trump adds:

a." *...I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation....*".

A speech act in which Trump accused Clinton of deleting the 33.000 emails and then he promised that he would "get a special prosecutor" to look into it.

b." *I will knock the hell out of ISIS. We're going to defeat ISIS*".

We can interpret this communicative act as a promise of defeating ISIS something that has not been done yet, but with Trump as a president, it would happen.

c."*I'm going to force them right back into their country*".

When he accused the immigrants of being bad people, Trump promised that he would kick them all back to their original countries.

4.3.Gender Talk

Over years, the question of gender talk differences has attracted the interest of several researchers from many different disciplines such as psychology, communication, and linguistics. The linguist, Robin Lakoff is considered to be the most famous researcher in regard to her contributions to this domain. Her works on gender are among the best available sources on the subject. Hence, Gender is defined by Litosseliti (2006 as cited in Fisker, 2009) as "*the social behaviors, expectations and attitudes associated with being male and female*". This means that the way women perceive and react in life is different from that of men.

According to Lakoff (1973), women's language:

> *" has as foundation the attitude that women are marginal to the serious concerns of life, which are pre-empted by men. The marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected in both the ways women are expected to speak, and the ways in which women are spoken of. In appropriate women's speech, strong expression of feeling is avoided, expression of uncertainty is favored, and means of expression in regard to subject-matter deemed 'trivial' to the 'real' world are elaborated. Speech about women implies an object, whose sexual nature requires euphemism, and whose social roles are derivative and dependent in relation to men".*

Hence, Lakoff meant that women's language tend to reflect how women are seen within the society, powerlessness and uncertainty are expressed through their use of language. The latter is characterized by euphemistic and not aggressive way of talking. Nevertheless, their social roles have always been dependent to the men's one. Even though things are starting to change now, women's speech cannot lie about their tendency to stick to who they used to be. Moreover, Lakoff adds that:

> *"These aspects of English are explored with regard to lexicon (color terms, particles, evaluative adjectives), and syntax (tag-questions, and related aspects of intonation in*

answers to requests, and of requests and orders), as concerns speech by women. Speech about women is analyzed with regard to lady :woman, master: mistress, widow: widower, and Mr: Mrs., Miss, with notice of differential use of role terms not explicitly marked for sex (e.g. professional) as well".(Lakoff, 1973).

That is, at the level of lexicon, women's talk tend to be stressed ;for instance, they are more tolerated to use a discriminating colors than man like ecru and lavender which are unnoticeable in men's talk. At the level of syntax, women and men's language show a similar use in their ordinary speech except in the use of tag questions and raising intonation which are particularly more used by women than men.

Moreover, Lakoff (1973 as cited in Campbell and Rachel, 2011) adds that:

"*The gender differences in communication are explained by the different roles that men and women hold in society. Men communicate in an assertive manner because they occupy the dominant position in the social hierarchy. In contrast, she proposed women communicate in a more tentative and polite manner because they occupy the subordinate position in the social hierarchy*".

In other words, men talk is more competitive and featured by dominance, to obtain a highly position in society or to avoid others domination. Contrarily to women, their conversations are known to be a way to get services and carry out less dominant activities.

Tannen (1990) is another leading scholar in the field of language and gender . She stated that "*one of the most widely cited findings to emerge from research on gender and language is that men interrupt women".* (Tannen, 1990) . Hence, it reflects the stereotype that men are more likely to interrupt women. Accordingly, we can cite the example of Trump and Clinton's debate which is characterized by 15 interruptions of Trump and 5 of Clinton. Thus, the corpus shows that Trump has interrupted frequently his opponent Clinton. Besides, " *These assumptions are founded on the premise that interruption is an intrusion, a trampling on someone else's right to the floor, an attempt to dominate"* (Tannen, 1990). This interruption can be perceived as a way of attempting to dominate the other interlocutor by imposing what the person has to say. Or simply the one who interrupts do not take into consideration the feelings of the speaker. In the

debate we chose we sometimes find both the two candidates speaking at the same time. We can quote:

> *"A listener may talk along with a speaker to provide support, or to change the topic. Even changing the topic can have a range of meanings. It can show lack of interest, it can be an attempt to dominate the conversation..."*(Tannen, 1990)

Accordingly, we have been able to relate her words to the debate we analyze. Most of the time Trump has shown an eager will to dominate the debate. something that let Clinton less talkative than him. It is also related to her way of thinking in which women manifest a sense of support and intimacy. However, men are seeking for status and independence. Thus, they both can show different ideas even when talking while sharing the same context.

Framing is another important point that Tannen highlighted in her book. She claimed that *" they let you know what position the speaker is assuming in the activity, and what position you are being assigned".* These frames are used in conversation to determine the role of the speaker in that situation and that of the listener.

As for complaints, when men perceive sound of it, they directly look for a solution whereas women are simply seeking for understanding and sympathy.

Lakoff, also stated that :

> *An overt order (as in an imperative) expresses the (often impolite) assumption of the speaker's superior position to the addressee, carrying with it the right to enforce compliance, whereas with a request the decision on the face of it is left up to the addressee".* (Lakoff, 1973)

When ordering, men prefer directly to use imperatives which is perceived as being impolite. whereas, *women's speech sounds much more 'polite' than men . One aspect of politeness is as we have just described: leaving a decision open, not imposing your mind, or views, or claims, on anyone else* (Lakoff, 1973).This means that women use an indirect way of ordering which is perceived to be polite.

Wardhaugh (2006) stated that women and men's talk manifest different use of forms of sentences and choice of words. That is, women are more likely to use a more refined language than men do. Besides, women are more criticized on their way of speaking as stated by Lakoff (1973): "*If she refuses to talk like a lady, she is ridiculed and subjected to criticism as unfeminine*".

Based on the above mentioned aspects of gender talk, we attempt to highlight some of them in our text. Thus, Clinton and Trump 's speeches embody two different use of language. Both of them came with different plans to achieve as a future president. We notice that Clinton interrupts only when she believes that its reasonable and essential to make herself clear . However, Trump tend more likely to interrupt Clinton due to his search of dominance. Such in :

> *"CLINTON: OK, Donald. I know you're into big diversion tonight, anything to avoid talking about your campaign and the way it's exploding and the way Republicans are leaving you. But let's at least focus...*
>
> *TRUMP: Let's see what happens...*
>
> *(CROSSTALK)*
>
> *COOPER: Allow her to respond.*
>
> *CLINTON: ... on some of the issues that people care about tonight. Let's get to their questions."*

Going back to what has been said by Lakoff (1973) previously, We notice in the example above that Clinton's discourse is characterized by a prestigious use of a more refined language and complex sentences as she is highly educated. For Trump, he uses a very simple language while interrupting his opponent. His discourse is also characterized by the use of simple sentences.

Moreover, Clinton is fully aware of what she is saying and chooses carefully the right word in the right situation as she uses euphemistic and not aggressive way of talking such as when she employed the euphemistic expression " *people of color*" to refer to the black people while Trump preferred a more direct expression which is "*the African-Americans*".

Besides, Clinton utilizes ordering indirectly as it sounds more polite for a women to not impose herself, as when she said "*Everyone can draw his/her own conclusions at this point about whether or not the man in the video or the man on the stage respects women*". She is leaving an open decision for the audience .

Whereas, Trump tend to use the imperative in which the second person is employed to command what to do. He implicated the audience and imposes what he has to say to them such as: "*Go outside. Look at Paris. Look at that horrible__ these are radical Islamic terrorists.*"

Also, we notice that Clinton 's discourse reflects a sense of closeness and support with the diverse American citizens. As a woman, she shows sympathy through the use of frames such as family to demonstrate her caring as in "*There are children suffering*" and her willingness to establish a health care for every American families . Whereas, Trump's discourse shows how independent he is while seeking for status, his independence show well how self centered he is. For example, in" *I want to do things that haven't been done...*". In addition, he uses negative frames such as "islamophobia" to demonstrate the negative impact of them on his country through the use of simple sentences with impactful ending such as "*...but whether we like it or not, there is a problem"*.

Section Two: Conclusions, Limitations and Suggestions for Further research

In the following section we are going to provide a summary to the conclusions of our research work and present the limitations we came across during its realization. Moreover, we modestly suggest some cues for further researches.

4.4.1. Conclusions of the Study

In the present study, we attempted to adopt Van Dijk's Model (2006) to analyze the second debate between Clinton and Trump. We came into many important conclusions that both the two nominees uses several techniques throughout their discourse to accomplish their political

objectives. These techniques embody their ideological program which is reflected in positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. To refer to the ideological polarization, the two nominees have used discursive tactics symbolized in the use of 'Us' vs. 'Them'. Concerning the positive presentation technique, they both emphasize the good patterns of themselves and their plans; whereas, exaggerating others bad patterns about and their plans. Moreover, they opt for positive matters and lexical terms to hold themselves in the highest regard, their country, and their plans.

They both use disclaimers to deny their bad and negative things in themselves, their plans, and country. In addition, they rely on the syntactic structures to stress a more positive agency of themselves and their plans. Also, they both employ active voice to emphasis their good action for America. For the argumentation structures, both nominees manifest stereotypical arguments to show that they are both running for presidency for the sake of American citizens' interests. Regarding the rhetorical structures, both candidates employ several repetitions to their good actions. The last but not the least, the action level which embodies the use of speech act of promise to generate a good image about themselves.

Therefore, in one hand, Clinton's ideologies of democracy, humanitarianism, multicultural, and liberalism are underscored by her discursive tactics. In another hand, Trump's ideologies of economic liberalism, fiscal, and social conservatism, and federalism are revealed by his discursive tactics. Concerning the negative other presentation strategy, they both stressed two different tactics: for Clinton, she highlighted the bad deeds of her opponent and America's opponent and attenuating the other good patterns, and the same goes for Trump. Besides, They both employ negative terms to represent their rivals and emphasized their negative traits even though we found that Clinton is more keen to the use of the positive self-presentation while Trump is more likely to use the negative-other presentation more frequently (mainly the lexical terms).

In the meaning level, Trump and Clinton repeated several times the bad deeds of their opponents and rivals. To do so, they made use of rhetoric. Nevertheless, we noticed at the action level that Trump and Clinton use communicative and speech acts of accusation to distort and reflect a bad image of one another's opponent as well as their enemies. Therefore, while Clinton's

ideologies of pacifism and humanism are reflected in her discursive tactics, Trump's ideologies of America first and conservatism too is clearly shown.

Accordingly, through our analysis of the corpus, both candidates' discourse hold ideological messages. Those messages are said to be used to manipulate and control the audience's consensus. The latter, are employed in a way that Clinton's speech is mainly featured by social inclusion and exclusion, family, battle frames and feminism. As Tump's speech is featured by racism, sexism and misbehavior. Also, we made use Gadalla's contribution to Van Dijk's Model. That is, we decided to rename, as he did, the two components of the Form level which are forms (repetition) and meanings (comparison, metaphors,...) by rhetoric.

As far as gender issues are concerned, we opted for a short overview of the gender talk while making reference to what has been said in the debate. As a result, we found that Clinton is passionately interested in feminine matters such as protecting the weakest people and collaborating with diverse groupings and looking to protect women's rights. However, she evokes a masculine side when she is fighting to solve these matters. Hence, she makes use of both masculine and feminine stereotypes. For Trump, he shows authority and dominance when talking, a typical characteristic of a male talk. He evokes a sense of independence in his discourse which makes reference to his ideological traits of selfishness.

After having analyzed the second debate for the presidential between Clinton & Trump relying on Van Dijk's Model (2006), we have made the following conclusions:

- The use of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation by the two candidates. Accordingly, we found that Clinton is more keen to the use of the positive self-presentation while Trump is more likely to use the negative-other presentation more frequently.
- Both candidates use polarization "US" vs "THEM".
- Both use repetition to stress "our" good and "their" bad deeds.
- Clinton's discourse embodies ideologies of pacifism and humanism while Trump's discourse reflects his conservatism, America first ideology and selfishness.

- Clinton's discourse is characterized by the use of social inclusion and exclusion, family, battle frames, and feminism. As far as Trump is concerned, his discourse featured by racism, sexism and misbehavior.

- The way the two candidates talk makes reference to typical gender talk issues. Clinton is eager to protect women's rights, the weakest people and looking to collaborate with various social groups. Trump make use of authority and dominance in his talk.

- We could successfully apply Van Dijk's Model (2006) in the analysis. Thus, it is a relevant and pertinent model for such studies.

- Finally, the assumptions of the present study are all confirmed.

4.4.2.Delimitations of the Study

It is essential to note the limitations of the present study. As previously mentioned, the study is limited to one political debate. Thus, we limited ourselves to the second debate between Clinton and Trump for the presidential (October 09th, 2016). Thus, the conclusions of our study are limited to what is discussed during the second debate even though more questions about the other debates can be generated. Moreover, the present researchers focused only on the discourse of the two candidates; thus, the contributions of the Journalists and the audience are not considered here.

4.4.3. Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the reviewed literature and the findings of the present study, we suggest the following cues for further research: (1) further studies could be conducted on the two remaining debates i.e., the first and the third. (2) As far as the second debate is concerned, we limited our analysis to only the speeches of the two candidates without taking into consideration the speeches of the two journalists and the questions of the audience. Accordingly, we suggest an even more in depth analysis of the whole debate including the speech analysis of all the interactions. (3) Our analysis is based on Van Dijk's Model (2006); however, further studies could be based on others scholars' models.

General Conclusion

In the present study, we have been able to critically analyze the debate that took place in late 2016 between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump who are seeking to gain the American's voices for the presidential election. Besides, the application of Van Dijk's Model (2006) on the debate made us to believe in the presence of ideological strategies in the discourse of the two candidates. Thus, those strategies consist of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, as mentioned in Van Dijk's work (2006). Similarly, the two candidates expressed themselves through the use of polarization symbolized in their use of 'US' vs. 'THEM'. Since we have been able to apply all the main aspects presented in Van Dijk's Model, we came to conclusion that this model is a good referential model for anyone willing to work in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis. Moreover, Clinton's speech is mainly featured by social inclusion and exclusion, family, battle frames, and feminism. However, Trump's discourse shows his arrogance, racism, and sexism. As our own contribution to the study, we dealt with gender talk as the debate happened between a male and a female candidates. Thus, following Lakoff (1973), we attempted to apply her theoretical work on the debate. Through this application, we found that Clinton is a feminist even though she makes use of both masculine and feminine stereotypes in her discourse. Whereas, Trump is authoritarian and dominant, which are The typical characteristics   of   male   talk.

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Appendices

Appendix 01: Short Biographies of Clinton & Trump

1. Hillary Clinton

Clinton's will of success came from her supportive family throughout her life. It was her husband who encouraged her to work hard. Hillary Clinton was born on October 26th 1947 in Chicago, she was the eldest daughter of Hugh Rodham, a prosperous fabric store owner, and Dorothy Emma Howell Rodham. She has two younger brothers, Hugh Jr and Anthony. Hillary was raised in Park Ridge, Illinois, a picturesque suburb located in 15 miles northwest of Downtown Chicago. She attended Wellesley College, where she was active student in politics and elected president before graduating in 1969. She then attended Yale law school, where she met Bill Clinton. Graduating with honours in 1973, she went at Yale child study centre, where she took courses on children and medicine and completed one post-graduate year of study. Clinton worked at various jobs during her summers as a college student in 1971. She first came to Washington D.C to work on U.S senatorWalter Mondale's sub-committee on migrant workers in the summer of 1972. She worked in the western states for the campaign of Democratic Presidential nominee George M.C. Governs. In the spring of 1974, Rodham became a member of the presidential impeachment inquiry staff advising the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives during the Watergate scandal. After President Richard M. Nixon resigned in august, she became a faculty member of university of Arkansas law school in Fayetteville, where her Yale law school classmate Bill Clinton was teaching as well. Hillary Rodham married Bill Clinton on October 11. 1975 at their home in Fayetteville. They had a daughter Chelsea Victoria was born on February 27. 1980. During Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign, Hillary emerged as a dynamic and valued partner of her husband. In early 2007, she announced her plans to be the first female president during the 2008 Democratic primaries. After she lost the election to Obama, he nominated her as secretary of the state on January 21. 2009

Clinton testified about the Benghazi attack on January 23th of 2013. Speaking to members of the house foreign relations committee, she defended her actions while taking full responsibility for the incident which killed four American citizens. In June 2014 she released hard choices, a

memoire published by Simon and Chester, which rose to number one on the New York Times best seller list. In September 2016 the Arizona Republic made a surprising announcement: It was endorsing a democrat for the first time in its publication's history supporting Clinton.

Despite trump winning the electoral votes, Clinton won the popular vote by almost three million more votes and she currently holds the record for winning the most votes than any other presidential candidate in U.S history (Biography, 2017).

2. Donald John Trump

U.S president, real estate mogul and former reality TV star Donald John Trump was born on June 14th 1946 in queens, New York. He is Frederick's C. and Mary's Macleod fourth child and he has four brothers, and his father was a builder. At age of 13 his parents sent him to the New York Military Academy where he did well and raised to become a star athlete and student leader by the time he graduated in 1964. He, then, entered Fordham university and two years later transferred to the Wharton school of finance at the university of Pennsylvania, from which he graduated in 1968. Trump followed his father into a career in real estate development, as a student Trump worked with his father during the summer and then joined his father's company Elizabeth Trump and Son. In 1971, Donald Trump was given control of the company, which he later renamed Trump Organization and moved to Manhattan where he began to make important connections with influential people, he soon became involved in large projects in Manhattan that would offer opportunities for earning high profits.

Trump business practice were called into question when in 1973 the federal government field a complaint against Trump, his father and their company alleging that they had discriminated against tenants and potential tenants based on their race, a violation of the fair housing act, which is a part of the civil rights act of 1968. Trump responded to the case in an interview published in the "New York Times" the case was settled in 1975. In 1977 he married IvanaZelnickovaWinklmayer, a New York fashion model and they gave birth of three children.

In 1979, Trump leased a site on Fifth Avenue adjacent to the famous tiffany and company as the location for a monumental $200 million apartment-retail complex designed by "DrScutt" opened

in 1982. In 2004, he took advantage of his high-profile when he began producing the NBC reality series "the Apprentice". In 2012, Trump announced he was considering running for president. On June 16th 2015 Trump made his white house ambitions official when he announced his run for the president on the republican ticket for the 2016 elections. Defying polls and media projections, Trump won the majority of votes in a stunning victory on November 8th 2016.

Despite losing the popular vote to Clinton by almost 2.4 million votes, Trump's electoral win 306 votes to Clinton's 252 votes clinched his election in the 45th president of the United State. (Biography, 2017).

Appendix 02: The Script of Clinton & Trump's Second Debate

RADDATZ: Ladies and gentlemen the Republican nominee for president, Donald J. Trump, and the Democratic nominee for president, Hillary Clinton.

(APPLAUSE)

COOPER: Thank you very much for being here. We're going to begin with a question from one of the members in our town hall. Each of you will have two minutes to respond to this question. Secretary Clinton, you won the coin toss, so you'll go first. Our first question comes from Patrice Brock. Patrice?

QUESTION: Thank you, and good evening. The last debate could have been rated as MA, mature audiences, per TV parental guidelines. Knowing that educators assign viewing the presidential debates as students' homework, do you feel you're modeling appropriate and positive behavior for today's youth?

CLINTON: Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that that's a very good question, because I've heard from lots of teachers and parents about some of their concerns about some of the things that are being said and done in this campaign.

And I think it is very important for us to make clear to our children that our country really is great because we're good. And we are going to respect one another, lift each other up. We are going to be looking for ways to celebrate our diversity, and we are going to try to reach out to every boy and girl, as well as every adult, to bring them in to working on behalf of our country.

I have a very positive and optimistic view about what we can do together. That's why the slogan of my campaign is "Stronger Together," because I think if we work together, if we overcome the divisiveness that sometimes sets Americans against one another, and instead we make some big goals — and I've set forth some big goals, getting the economy to work for everyone, not just

those at the top, making sure that we have the best education system from preschool through college and making it affordable, and so much else.

If we set those goals and we go together to try to achieve them, there's nothing in my opinion that America can't do. So that's why I hope that we will come together in this campaign. Obviously, I'm hoping to earn your vote, I'm hoping to be elected in November, and I can promise you, I will work with every American.

I want to be the president for all Americans, regardless of your political beliefs, where you come from, what you look like, your religion. I want us to heal our country and bring it together because that's, I think, the best way for us to get the future that our children and our grandchildren deserve.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, thank you. Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: Well, I actually agree with that. I agree with everything she said. I began this campaign because I was so tired of seeing such foolish things happen to our country. This is a great country. This is a great land. I've gotten to know the people of the country over the last year-and-a-half that I've been doing this as a politician. I cannot believe I'm saying that about myself, but I guess I have been a politician.

TRUMP: And my whole concept was to make America great again. When I watch the deals being made, when I watch what's happening with some horrible things like Obamacare, where your health insurance and health care is going up by numbers that are astronomical, 68 percent, 59 percent, 71 percent, when I look at the Iran deal and how bad a deal it is for us, it's a one-sided transaction where we're giving back $150 billion to a terrorist state, really, the number one terror state, we've made them a strong country from really a very weak country just three years ago.

When I look at all of the things that I see and all of the potential that our country has, we have such tremendous potential, whether it's in business and trade, where we're doing so badly. Last year, we had almost $800 billion trade deficit. In other words, trading with other countries. We had an $800 billion deficit. It's hard to believe. Inconceivable.

You say who's making these deals? We're going the make great deals. We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order. Just today, policemen was shot, two killed. And this is happening on a weekly basis. We have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides. We need justice.

But I want to do things that haven't been done, including fixing and making our inner cities better for the African-American citizens that are so great, and for the Latinos, Hispanics, and I look forward to doing it. It's called make America great again.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump. The question from Patrice was about are you both modeling positive and appropriate behavior for today's youth? We received a lot of questions online, Mr. Trump, about the tape that was released on Friday, as you can imagine. You called what you said

locker room banter. You described kissing women without consent, grabbing their genitals. That is sexual assault. You bragged that you have sexually assaulted women. Do you understand that?

TRUMP: No, I didn't say that at all. I don't think you understood what was — this was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly I'm not proud of it. But this is locker room talk.

You know, when we have a world where you have ISIS chopping off heads, where you have — and, frankly, drowning people in steel cages, where you have wars and horrible, horrible sights all over, where you have so many bad things happening, this is like medieval times. We haven't seen anything like this, the carnage all over the world.

And they look and they see. Can you imagine the people that are, frankly, doing so well against us with ISIS? And they look at our country and they see what's going on.

Yes, I'm very embarrassed by it. I hate it. But it's locker room talk, and it's one of those things. I will knock the hell out of ISIS. We're going to defeat ISIS. ISIS happened a number of years ago in a vacuum that was left because of bad judgment. And I will tell you, I will take care of ISIS.

COOPER: So, Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: And we should get on to much more important things and much bigger things.

COOPER: Just for the record, though, are you saying that what you said on that bus 11 years ago that you did not actually kiss women without consent or grope women without consent?

TRUMP: I have great respect for women. Nobody has more respect for women than I do.

COOPER: So, for the record, you're saying you never did that?

TRUMP: I've said things that, frankly, you hear these things I said. And I was embarrassed by it. But I have tremendous respect for women.

COOPER: Have you ever done those things?

TRUMP: And women have respect for me. And I will tell you: No, I have not. And I will tell you that I'm going to make our country safe. We're going to have borders in our country, which we don't have now. People are pouring into our country, and they're coming in from the Middle East and other places.

We're going to make America safe again. We're going to make America great again, but we're going to make America safe again. And we're going to make America wealthy again, because if you don't do that, it just — it sounds harsh to say, but we have to build up the wealth of our nation.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Right now, other nations are taking our jobs and they're taking our wealth.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: And that's what I want to talk about.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, do you want to respond?

CLINTON: Well, like everyone else, I've spent a lot of time thinking over the last 48 hours about what we heard and saw. You know, with prior Republican nominees for president, I disagreed with them on politics, policies, principles, but I never questioned their fitness to serve.

Donald Trump is different. I said starting back in June that he was not fit to be president and commander-in-chief. And many Republicans and independents have said the same thing. What we all saw and heard on Friday was Donald talking about women, what he thinks about women, what he does to women. And he has said that the video doesn't represent who he is.

But I think it's clear to anyone who heard it that it represents exactly who he is. Because we've seen this throughout the campaign. We have seen him insult women. We've seen him rate women on their appearance, ranking them from one to ten. We've seen him embarrass women on TV and on Twitter. We saw him after the first debate spend nearly a week denigrating a former Miss Universe in the harshest, most personal terms.

So, yes, this is who Donald Trump is. But it's not only women, and it's not only this video that raises questions about his fitness to be our president, because he has also targeted immigrants, African- Americans, Latinos, people with disabilities, POWs, Muslims, and so many others.

So this is who Donald Trump is. And the question for us, the question our country must answer is that this is not who we are. That's why — to go back to your question — I want to send a message — we all should — to every boy and girl and, indeed, to the entire world that America already is great, but we are great because we are good, and we will respect one another, and we will work with one another, and we will celebrate our diversity.

CLINTON: These are very important values to me, because this is the America that I know and love. And I can pledge to you tonight that this is the America that I will serve if I'm so fortunate enough to become your president.

RADDATZ: And we want to get to some questions from online...

TRUMP: Am I allowed to respond to that? I assume I am.

RADDATZ: Yes, you can respond to that.

TRUMP: It's just words, folks. It's just words. Those words, I've been hearing them for many years. I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York, where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed.

I've heard them where Hillary is constantly talking about the inner cities of our country, which are a disaster education-wise, jobwise, safety-wise, in every way possible. I'm going to help the African-Americans. I'm going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities.

She's done a terrible job for the African-Americans. She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back four years later. We saw that firsthand when she was United States senator. She campaigned where the primary part of her campaign...

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump — I want to get to audience questions and online questions.

TRUMP: So, she's allowed to do that, but I'm not allowed to respond?

RADDATZ: You're going to have — you're going to get to respond right now.

TRUMP: Sounds fair.

RADDATZ: This tape is generating intense interest. In just 48 hours, it's become the single most talked about story of the entire 2016 election on Facebook, with millions and millions of people discussing it on the social network. As we said a moment ago, we do want to bring in questions from voters around country via social media, and our first stays on this topic. Jeff from Ohio asks on Facebook, "Trump says the campaign has changed him. When did that happen?" So, Mr. Trump, let me add to that. When you walked off that bus at age 59, were you a different man or did that behavior continue until just recently? And you have two minutes for this.

TRUMP: It was locker room talk, as I told you. That was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I am a person who has great respect for people, for my family, for the people of this country. And certainly, I'm not proud of it. But that was something that happened.

If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse. Mine are words, and his was action. His was what he's done to women. There's never been anybody in the history politics in this nation that's been so abusive to women. So you can say any way you want to say it, but Bill Clinton was abusive to women.

Hillary Clinton attacked those same women and attacked them viciously. Four of them here tonight. One of the women, who is a wonderful woman, at 12 years old, was raped at 12. Her client she represented got him off, and she's seen laughing on two separate occasions, laughing at the girl who was raped. Kathy Shelton, that young woman is here with us tonight.

So don't tell me about words. I am absolutely — I apologize for those words. But it is things that people say. But what President Clinton did, he was impeached, he lost his license to practice law. He had to pay an $850,000 fine to one of the women. Paula Jones, who's also here tonight.

And I will tell you that when Hillary brings up a point like that and she talks about words that I said 11 years ago, I think it's disgraceful, and I think she should be ashamed of herself, if you want to know the truth.

(APPLAUSE)

RADDATZ: Can we please hold the applause? Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, first, let me start by saying that so much of what he's just said is not right, but he gets to run his campaign any way he chooses. He gets to decide what he wants to talk about. Instead of answering people's questions, talking about our agenda, laying out the plans that we have that we think can make a better life and a better country, that's his choice.

When I hear something like that, I am reminded of what my friend, Michelle Obama, advised us all: When they go low, you go high.

(APPLAUSE) And, look, if this were just about one video, maybe what he's saying tonight would be understandable, but everyone can draw their own conclusions at this point about whether or not the man in the video or the man on the stage respects women. But he never apologizes for anything to anyone.

CLINTON: He never apologized to Mr. and Mrs. Khan, the Gold Star family whose son, Captain Khan, died in the line of duty in Iraq. And Donald insulted and attacked them for weeks over their religion.

He never apologized to the distinguished federal judge who was born in Indiana, but Donald said he couldn't be trusted to be a judge because his parents were, quote, "Mexican."

He never apologized to the reporter that he mimicked and mocked on national television and our children were watching. And he never apologized for the racist lie that President Obama was not born in the United States of America. He owes the president an apology, he owes our country an apology, and he needs to take responsibility for his actions and his words.

TRUMP: Well, you owe the president an apology, because as you know very well, your campaign, Sidney Blumenthal — he's another real winner that you have — and he's the one that got this started, along with your campaign manager, and they were on television just two weeks ago, she was, saying exactly that. So you really owe him an apology. You're the one that sent the pictures around your campaign, sent the pictures around with President Obama in a certain garb. That was long before I was ever involved, so you actually owe an apology.

Number two, Michelle Obama. I've gotten to see the commercials that they did on you. And I've gotten to see some of the most vicious commercials I've ever seen of Michelle Obama talking about you, Hillary.

So, you talk about friend? Go back and take a look at those commercials, a race where you lost fair and square, unlike the Bernie Sanders race, where you won, but not fair and square, in my

opinion. And all you have to do is take a look at WikiLeaks and just see what they say about Bernie Sanders and see what Deborah Wasserman Schultz had in mind, because Bernie Sanders, between super-delegates and Deborah Wasserman Schultz, he never had a chance. And I was so surprised to see him sign on with the devil.

But when you talk about apology, I think the one that you should really be apologizing for and the thing that you should be apologizing for are the 33,000 e-mails that you deleted, and that you acid washed, and then the two boxes of e-mails and other things last week that were taken from an office and are now missing.

And I'll tell you what. I didn't think I'd say this, but I'm going to say it, and I hate to say it. But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation, because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it, and we're going to have a special prosecutor.

When I speak, I go out and speak, the people of this country are furious. In my opinion, the people that have been long-term workers at the FBI are furious. There has never been anything like this, where e-mails — and you get a subpoena, you get a subpoena, and after getting the subpoena, you delete 33,000 e-mails, and then you acid wash them or bleach them, as you would say, very expensive process.

So we're going to get a special prosecutor, and we're going to look into it, because you know what? People have been — their lives have been destroyed for doing one-fifth of what you've done. And it's a disgrace. And honestly, you ought to be ashamed of yourself.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, I want to follow up on that.

(CROSSTALK)

RADDATZ: I'm going to let you talk about e-mails.

CLINTON: ... because everything he just said is absolutely false, but I'm not surprised.

TRUMP: Oh, really?

CLINTON: In the first debate...

(LAUGHTER)

RADDATZ: And really, the audience needs to calm down here.

CLINTON: ... I told people that it would be impossible to be fact-checking Donald all the time. I'd never get to talk about anything I want to do and how we're going to really make lives better for people.

So, once again, go to HillaryClinton.com. We have literally Trump — you can fact check him in real time. Last time at the first debate, we had millions of people fact checking, so I expect we'll have millions more fact checking, because, you know, it is — it's just awfully good that someone with the temperament of Donald Trump is not in charge of the law in our country.

TRUMP: Because you'd be in jail.

(APPLAUSE)

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton...

COOPER: We want to remind the audience to please not talk out loud. Please do not applaud. You're just wasting time.

RADDATZ: And, Secretary Clinton, I do want to follow up on e- mails. You've said your handing of your e-mails was a mistake. You disagreed with FBI Director James Comey, calling your handling of classified information, quote, "extremely careless." The FBI said that there were 110 classified e-mails that were exchanged, eight of which were top secret, and that it was possible hostile actors did gain access to those e-mails. You don't call that extremely careless? CLINTON: Well, Martha, first, let me say — and I've said before, but I'll repeat it, because I want everyone to hear it — that was a mistake, and I take responsibility for using a personal e-mail account. Obviously, if I were to do it over again, I would not. I'm not making any excuses. It was a mistake. And I am very sorry about that.

But I think it's also important to point out where there are some misleading accusations from critics and others. After a year-long investigation, there is no evidence that anyone hacked the server I was using and there is no evidence that anyone can point to at all — anyone who says otherwise has no basis — that any classified material ended up in the wrong hands.

I take classified materials very seriously and always have. When I was on the Senate Armed Services Committee, I was privy to a lot of classified material. Obviously, as secretary of state, I had some of the most important secrets that we possess, such as going after bin Laden. So I am very committed to taking classified information seriously. And as I said, there is no evidence that any classified information ended up in the wrong hands.

RADDATZ: OK, we're going to move on.

TRUMP: And yet she didn't know the word — the letter C on a document. Right? She didn't even know what that word — what that letter meant.

You know, it's amazing. I'm watching Hillary go over facts. And she's going after fact after fact, and she's lying again, because she said she — you know, what she did with the e-mail was fine. You think it was fine to delete 33,000 e-mails? I don't think so.

She said the 33,000 e-mails had to do with her daughter's wedding, number one, and a yoga class. Well, maybe we'll give three or three or four or five or something. 33,000 e-mails deleted, and now she's saying there wasn't anything wrong.

And more importantly, that was after getting a subpoena. That wasn't before. That was after. She got it from the United States Congress. And I'll be honest, I am so disappointed in congressmen, including Republicans, for allowing this to happen.

Our Justice Department, where our husband goes on to the back of a airplane for 39 minutes, talks to the attorney general days before a ruling is going to be made on her case. But for you to say that there was nothing wrong with you deleting 39,000 e-mails, again, you should be ashamed of yourself. What you did — and this is after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress.

COOPER: We have to move on.

TRUMP: You did that. Wait a minute. One second.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you can respond, and then we got to move on.

RADDATZ: We want to give the audience a chance.

TRUMP: If you did that in the private sector, you'd be put in jail, let alone after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you can respond. Then we have to move on to an audience question.

CLINTON: Look, it's just not true. And so please, go to...

TRUMP: Oh, you didn't delete them?

COOPER: Allow her to respond, please.

CLINTON: It was personal e-mails, not official.

TRUMP: Oh, 33,000? Yeah.

CLINTON: Not — well, we turned over 35,000, so...

TRUMP: Oh, yeah. What about the other 15,000?

COOPER: Please allow her to respond. She didn't talk while you talked.

CLINTON: Yes, that's true, I didn't.

TRUMP: Because you have nothing to say.

CLINTON: I didn't in the first debate, and I'm going to try not to in this debate, because I'd like to get to the questions that the people have brought here tonight to talk to us about.

TRUMP: Get off this question.

CLINTON: OK, Donald. I know you're into big diversion tonight, anything to avoid talking about your campaign and the way it's exploding and the way Republicans are leaving you. But let's at least focus...

TRUMP: Let's see what happens...

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: Allow her to respond.

CLINTON: ... on some of the issues that people care about tonight. Let's get to their questions.

COOPER: We have a question here from Ken Karpowicz. He has a question about health care. Ken?

TRUMP: I'd like to know, Anderson, why aren't you bringing up the e-mails? I'd like to know. Why aren't you bringing...

COOPER: We brought up the e-mails.

TRUMP: No, it hasn't. It hasn't. And it hasn't been finished at all.

COOPER: Ken Karpowicz has a question.

TRUMP: It's nice to — one on three.

QUESTION: Thank you. Affordable Care Act, known as Obamacare, it is not affordable. Premiums have gone up. Deductibles have gone up. Copays have gone up. Prescriptions have gone up. And the coverage has gone down. What will you do to bring the cost down and make coverage better?

COOPER: That first one goes to Secretary Clinton, because you started out the last one to the audience.

CLINTON: If he wants to start, he can start. No, go ahead, Donald.

TRUMP: No, I'm a gentlemen, Hillary. Go ahead.

(LAUGHTER)

COOPER: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I think Donald was about to say he's going to solve it by repealing it and getting rid of the Affordable Care Act. And I'm going to fix it, because I agree with you. Premiums have gotten too high. Copays, deductibles, prescription drug costs, and I've laid out a series of actions that we can take to try to get those costs down.

But here's what I don't want people to forget when we're talking about reining in the costs, which has to be the highest priority of the next president, when the Affordable Care Act passed, it wasn't just that 20 million got insurance who didn't have it before. But that in and of itself was a good thing. I meet these people all the time, and they tell me what a difference having that insurance meant to them and their families.

But everybody else, the 170 million of us who get health insurance through our employees got big benefits. Number one, insurance companies can't deny you coverage because of a pre-existing condition. Number two, no lifetime limits, which is a big deal if you have serious health problems.

Number three, women can't be charged more than men for our health insurance, which is the way it used to be before the Affordable Care Act. Number four, if you're under 26, and your parents have a policy, you can be on that policy until the age of 26, something that didn't happen before.

So I want very much to save what works and is good about the Affordable Care Act. But we've got to get costs down. We've got to provide additional help to small businesses so that they can afford to provide health insurance. But if we repeal it, as Donald has proposed, and start over again, all of those benefits I just mentioned are lost to everybody, not just people who get their health insurance on the exchange. And then we would have to start all over again.

Right now, we are at 90 percent health insurance coverage. That's the highest we've ever been in our country. COOPER: Secretary Clinton, your time is up.

CLINTON: So I want us to get to 100 percent, but get costs down and keep quality up.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: It is such a great question and it's maybe the question I get almost more than anything else, outside of defense. Obamacare is a disaster. You know it. We all know it. It's going up at numbers that nobody's ever seen worldwide. Nobody's ever seen numbers like this for health care.

It's only getting worse. In '17, it implodes by itself. Their method of fixing it is to go back and ask Congress for more money, more and more money. We have right now almost $20 trillion in debt.

Obamacare will never work. It's very bad, very bad health insurance. Far too expensive. And not only expensive for the person that has it, unbelievably expensive for our country. It's going to be one of the biggest line items very shortly.

We have to repeal it and replace it with something absolutely much less expensive and something that works, where your plan can actually be tailored. We have to get rid of the lines around the state, artificial lines, where we stop insurance companies from coming in and competing, because they want — and President Obama and whoever was working on it — they want to leave those lines, because that gives the insurance companies essentially monopolies. We want competition.

You will have the finest health care plan there is. She wants to go to a single-payer plan, which would be a disaster, somewhat similar to Canada. And if you haven't noticed the Canadians, when they need a big operation, when something happens, they come into the United States in many cases because their system is so slow. It's catastrophic in certain ways.

But she wants to go to single payer, which means the government basically rules everything. Hillary Clinton has been after this for years. Obamacare was the first step. Obamacare is a total disaster. And not only are your rates going up by numbers that nobody's ever believed, but your deductibles are going up, so that unless you get hit by a truck, you're never going to be able to use it.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, your time...

TRUMP: It is a disastrous plan, and it has to be repealed and replaced.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, let me follow up with you. Your husband called Obamacare, quote, "the craziest thing in the world," saying that small-business owners are getting killed as premiums double, coverage is cut in half. Was he mistaken or was the mistake simply telling the truth?

CLINTON: No, I mean, he clarified what he meant. And it's very clear. Look, we are in a situation in our country where if we were to start all over again, we might come up with a different system. But we have an employer-based system. That's where the vast majority of people get their health care.

And the Affordable Care Act was meant to try to fill the gap between people who were too poor and couldn't put together any resources to afford health care, namely people on Medicaid. Obviously, Medicare, which is a single-payer system, which takes care of our elderly and does a great job doing it, by the way, and then all of the people who were employed, but people who were working but didn't have the money to afford insurance and didn't have anybody, an employer or anybody else, to help them.

That was the slot that the Obamacare approach was to take. And like I say, 20 million people now have health insurance. So if we just rip it up and throw it away, what Donald's not telling you is we just turn it back to the insurance companies the way it used to be, and that means the insurance companies...

COOPER: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: ... get to do pretty much whatever they want, including saying, look, I'm sorry, you've got diabetes, you had cancer, your child has asthma...

COOPER: Your time is up.

CLINTON: ... you may not be able to have insurance because you can't afford it. So let's fix what's broken about it, but let's not throw it away and give it all back to the insurance companies and the drug companies. That's not going to work.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, let me follow up on this. TRUMP: Well, I just want — just one thing. First of all, Hillary, everything's broken about it. Everything. Number two, Bernie Sanders said that Hillary Clinton has very bad judgment. This is a perfect example of it, trying to save Obamacare, which is a disaster.

COOPER: You've said you want to end Obamacare...

TRUMP: By the way...

COOPER: You've said you want to end Obamacare. You've also said you want to make coverage accessible for people with pre-existing conditions. How do you force insurance companies to do that if you're no longer mandating that every American get insurance?

TRUMP: We're going to be able to. You're going to have plans...

COOPER: What does that mean?

TRUMP: Well, I'll tell you what it means. You're going to have plans that are so good, because we're going to have so much competition in the insurance industry. Once we break out — once we break out the lines and allow the competition to come...

COOPER: Are you going — are you going to have a mandate that Americans have to have health insurance?

TRUMP: President Obama — Anderson, excuse me. President Obama, by keeping those lines, the boundary lines around each state, it was almost gone until just very toward the end of the passage of Obamacare, which, by the way, was a fraud. You know that, because Jonathan Gruber, the architect of Obamacare, was said — he said it was a great lie, it was a big lie. President Obama said you keep your doctor, you keep your plan. The whole thing was a fraud, and it doesn't work.

But when we get rid of those lines, you will have competition, and we will be able to keep pre-existing, we'll also be able to help people that can't get — don't have money because we are going to have people protected.

And Republicans feel this way, believe it or not, and strongly this way. We're going to block grant into the states. We're going to block grant into Medicaid into the states...

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: ... so that we will be able to take care of people without the necessary funds to take care of themselves.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

RADDATZ: We now go to GorbahHamed with a question for both candidates.

QUESTION: Hi. There are 3.3 million Muslims in the United States, and I'm one of them. You've mentioned working with Muslim nations, but with Islamophobia on the rise, how will you help people like me deal with the consequences of being labeled as a threat to the country after the election is over?

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, you're first.

TRUMP: Well, you're right about Islamophobia, and that's a shame. But one thing we have to do is we have to make sure that — because there is a problem. I mean, whether we like it or not, and we could be very politically correct, but whether we like it or not, there is a problem. And we have to be sure that Muslims come in and report when they see something going on. When they see hatred going on, they have to report it.

As an example, in San Bernardino, many people saw the bombs all over the apartment of the two people that killed 14 and wounded many, many people. Horribly wounded. They'll never be the same. Muslims have to report the problems when they see them.

And, you know, there's always a reason for everything. If they don't do that, it's a very difficult situation for our country, because you look at Orlando and you look at San Bernardino and you look at the World Trade Center. Go outside. Look at Paris. Look at that horrible — these are radical Islamic terrorists.

And she won't even mention the word and nor will President Obama. He won't use the term "radical Islamic terrorism." Now, to solve a problem, you have to be able to state what the problem is or at least say the name. She won't say the name and President Obama won't say the name. But the name is there. It's radical Islamic terror. And before you solve it, you have to say the name.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton? CLINTON: Well, thank you for asking your question. And I've heard this question from a lot of Muslim-Americans across our country, because, unfortunately, there's been a lot of very divisive, dark things said about Muslims. And even someone like Captain Khan, the young man who sacrificed himself defending our country in the United States Army, has been subject to attack by Donald.

I want to say just a couple of things. First, we've had Muslims in America since George Washington. And we've had many successful Muslims. We just lost a particular well-known one with Muhammad Ali.

CLINTON: My vision of America is an America where everyone has a place, if you're willing to work hard, you do your part, you contribute to the community. That's what America is. That's what we want America to be for our children and our grandchildren.

It's also very short-sighted and even dangerous to be engaging in the kind of demagogic rhetoric that Donald has about Muslims. We need American Muslims to be part of our eyes and ears on our front lines. I've worked with a lot of different Muslim groups around America. I've met with a lot of them, and I've heard how important it is for them to feel that they are wanted and included and part of our country, part of our homeland security, and that's what I want to see.

It's also important I intend to defeat ISIS, to do so in a coalition with majority Muslim nations. Right now, a lot of those nations are hearing what Donald says and wondering, why should we cooperate with the Americans? And this is a gift to ISIS and the terrorists, violent jihadist terrorists.

We are not at war with Islam. And it is a mistake and it plays into the hands of the terrorists to act as though we are. So I want a country where citizens like you and your family are just as welcome as anyone else.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton.

Mr. Trump, in December, you said this. "Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on. We have no choice. We have no choice." Your running mate said this week that the Muslim ban is no longer your position. Is that correct? And if it is, was it a mistake to have a religious test?

TRUMP: First of all, Captain Khan is an American hero, and if I were president at that time, he would be alive today, because unlike her, who voted for the war without knowing what she was doing, I would not have had our people in Iraq. Iraq was disaster. So he would have been alive today.

The Muslim ban is something that in some form has morphed into a extreme vetting from certain areas of the world. Hillary Clinton wants to allow hundreds of thousands — excuse me. Excuse me..

RADDATZ: And why did it morph into that? No, did you — no, answer the question. Do you still believe... TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her? You interrupt me all the time.

RADDATZ: I do.

TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her?

RADDATZ: Would you please explain whether or not the Muslim ban still stands?

TRUMP: It's called extreme vetting. We are going to areas like Syria where they're coming in by the tens of thousands because of Barack Obama. And Hillary Clinton wants to allow a 550 percent increase over Obama. People are coming into our country like we have no idea who they are, where they are from, what their feelings about our country is, and she wants 550 percent more. This is going to be the great Trojan horse of all time.

We have enough problems in this country. I believe in building safe zones. I believe in having other people pay for them, as an example, the Gulf states, who are not carrying their weight, but they have nothing but money, and take care of people. But I don't want to have, with all the problems this country has and all of the problems that you see going on, hundreds of thousands of people coming in from Syria when we know nothing about them. We know nothing about their values and we know nothing about their love for our country.

RADDATZ: And, Secretary Clinton, let me ask you about that, because you have asked for an increase from 10,000 to 65,000 Syrian refugees. We know you want tougher vetting. That's not a perfect system. So why take the risk of having those refugees come into the country?

CLINTON: Well, first of all, I will not let anyone into our country that I think poses a risk to us. But there are a lot of refugees, women and children — think of that picture we all saw of that 4-year-old boy with the blood on his forehead because he'd been bombed by the Russian and Syrian air forces.

There are children suffering in this catastrophic war, largely, I believe, because of Russian aggression. And we need to do our part. We by no means are carrying anywhere near the load that Europe and others are. But we will have vetting that is as tough as it needs to be from our professionals, our intelligence experts and others.

But it is important for us as a policy, you know, not to say, as Donald has said, we're going to ban people based on a religion. How do you do that? We are a country founded on religious freedom and liberty. How do we do what he has advocated without causing great distress within our own county? Are we going to have religious tests when people fly into our country? And how do we expect to be able to implement those?

So I thought that what he said was extremely unwise and even dangerous. And indeed, you can look at the propaganda on a lot of the terrorists sites, and what Donald Trump says about Muslims is used to recruit fighters, because they want to create a war between us.

And the final thing I would say, this is the 10th or 12th time that he's denied being for the war in Iraq. We have it on tape. The entire press corps has looked at it. It's been debunked, but it never stops him from saying whatever he wants to say.

TRUMP: That's not been debunked.

CLINTON: So, please...

TRUMP: That has not been debunked.

CLINTON: ... go to HillaryClinton.com and you can see it.

TRUMP: I was against — I was against the war in Iraq. Has not been debunked. And you voted for it. And you shouldn't have. Well, I just want to say...

RADDATZ: There's been lots of fact-checking on that. I'd like to move on to an online question...

TRUMP: Excuse me. She just went about 25 seconds over her time.

RADDATZ: She did not.

TRUMP: Could I just respond to this, please?

RADDATZ: Very quickly, please.

TRUMP: Hillary Clinton, in terms of having people come into our country, we have many criminal illegal aliens. When we want to send them back to their country, their country says we don't want them. In some cases, they're murderers, drug lords, drug problems. And they don't want them.

And Hillary Clinton, when she was secretary of state, said that's OK, we can't force it into their country. Let me tell you, I'm going to force them right back into their country. They're murderers and some very bad people.

And I will tell you very strongly, when Bernie Sanders said she had bad judgment, she has really bad judgment, because we are letting people into this country that are going to cause problems and crime like you've never seen. We're also letting drugs pour through our southern border at a record clip. At a record clip. And it shouldn't be allowed to happen.

ICE just endorsed me. They've never endorsed a presidential candidate. The Border Patrol agents, 16,500, just recently endorsed me, and they endorsed me because I understand the border. She doesn't. She wants amnesty for everybody. Come right in. Come right over. It's a horrible thing she's doing. She's got bad judgment, and honestly, so bad that she should never be president of the United States. That I can tell you.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Mr. Trump. I want to move on. This next question from the public through the Bipartisan Open Debate Coalition's online forum, where Americans submitted questions that generated millions of votes. This question involves WikiLeaks release of purported excerpts of Secretary Clinton's paid speeches, which she has refused to release, and one line in particular, in which you, Secretary Clinton, purportedly say you need both a public and private position on certain issues. So, Tu (ph), from Virginia asks, is it OK for politicians to be two-faced? Is it acceptable for a politician to have a private stance on issues? Secretary Clinton, your two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, right. As I recall, that was something I said about Abraham Lincoln after having seen the wonderful Steven Spielberg movie called "Lincoln." It was a master class watching President Lincoln get the Congress to approve the 13th Amendment. It was principled, and it was strategic.

And I was making the point that it is hard sometimes to get the Congress to do what you want to do and you have to keep working at it. And, yes, President Lincoln was trying to convince some people, he used some arguments, convincing other people, he used other arguments. That was a great — I thought a great display of presidential leadership.

But, you know, let's talk about what's really going on here, Martha, because our intelligence community just came out and said in the last few days that the Kremlin, meaning Putin and the Russian government, are directing the attacks, the hacking on American accounts to influence our election. And WikiLeaks is part of that, as are other sites where the Russians hack information, we don't even know if it's accurate information, and then they put it out.

We have never in the history of our country been in a situation where an adversary, a foreign power, is working so hard to influence the outcome of the election. And believe me, they're not doing it to get me elected. They're doing it to try to influence the election for Donald Trump.

CLINTON: Now, maybe because he has praised Putin, maybe because he says he agrees with a lot of what Putin wants to do, maybe because he wants to do business in Moscow, I don't know the reasons. But we deserve answers. And we should demand that Donald release all of his tax returns so that people can see what are the entanglements and the financial relationships that he has...

RADDATZ: We're going to get to that later. Secretary Clinton, you're out of time.

CLINTON: ... with the Russians and other foreign powers.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Well, I think I should respond, because — so ridiculous. Look, now she's blaming — she got caught in a total lie. Her papers went out to all her friends at the banks, Goldman Sachs and everybody else, and she said things — WikiLeaks that just came out. And she lied. Now she's blaming the lie on the late, great Abraham Lincoln. That's one that I haven't...

(LAUGHTER)

OK, Honest Abe, Honest Abe never lied. That's the good thing. That's the big difference between Abraham Lincoln and you. That's a big, big difference. We're talking about some difference.

But as far as other elements of what she was saying, I don't know Putin. I think it would be great if we got along with Russia because we could fight ISIS together, as an example. But I don't know Putin.

But I notice, anytime anything wrong happens, they like to say the Russians are — she doesn't know if it's the Russians doing the hacking. Maybe there is no hacking. But they always blame Russia. And the reason they blame Russia because they think they're trying to tarnish me with Russia. I know nothing about Russia. I know — I know about Russia, but I know nothing about the inner workings of Russia. I don't deal there. I have no businesses there. I have no loans from Russia.

I have a very, very great balance sheet, so great that when I did the Old Post Office on Pennsylvania Avenue, the United States government, because of my balance sheet, which they actually know very well, chose me to do the Old Post Office, between the White House and Congress, chose me to do the Old Post Office. One of the primary area things, in fact, perhaps the primary thing was balance sheet. But I have no loans with Russia. You could go to the United States government, and they would probably tell you that, because they know my sheet very well in order to get that development I had to have.

Now, the taxes are a very simple thing. As soon as I have — first of all, I pay hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. Many of her friends took bigger deductions. Warren Buffett took a massive deduction. Soros, who's a friend of hers, took a massive deduction. Many of the people that are giving her all this money that she can do many more commercials than me gave her — took massive deductions.

I pay hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. But — but as soon as my routine audit is finished, I'll release my returns. I'll be very proud to. They're actually quite great.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

COOPER: We want to turn, actually, to the topic of taxes. We have a question from Spencer Maass. Spencer?

QUESTION: Good evening. My question is, what specific tax provisions will you change to ensure the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share in taxes?

COOPER: Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: Well, one thing I'd do is get rid of carried interest. One of the greatest provisions for people like me, to be honest with you, I give up a lot when I run, because I knock out the tax code.

And she could have done this years ago, by the way. She's a United States — she was a United States senator.

She complains that Donald Trump took advantage of the tax code. Well, why didn't she change it? Why didn't you change it when you were a senator? The reason you didn't is that all your friends take the same advantage that I do. And I do. You have provisions in the tax code that, frankly, we could change. But you wouldn't change it, because all of these people gave you the money so you can take negative ads on Donald Trump.

But — and I say that about a lot of things. You know, I've heard Hillary complaining about so many different things over the years. "I wish you would have done this." But she's been there for 30 years she's been doing this stuff. She never changed. And she never will change. She never will change.

We're getting rid of carried interest provisions. I'm lowering taxes actually, because I think it's so important for corporations, because we have corporations leaving — massive corporations and little ones, little ones can't form. We're getting rid of regulations which goes hand in hand with the lowering of the taxes.

But we're bringing the tax rate down from 35 percent to 15 percent. We're cutting taxes for the middle class. And I will tell you, we are cutting them big league for the middle class.

And I will tell you, Hillary Clinton is raising your taxes, folks. You can look at me. She's raising your taxes really high. And what that's going to do is a disaster for the country. But she is raising your taxes and I'm lowering your taxes. That in itself is a big difference. We are going to be thriving again. We have no growth in this country. There's no growth. If China has a GDP of 7 percent, it's like a national catastrophe. We're down at 1 percent. And that's, like, no growth. And we're going lower, in my opinion. And a lot of it has to do with the fact that our taxes are so high, just about the highest in the world. And I'm bringing them down to one of the lower in the world. And I think it's so important — one of the most important things we can do. But she is raising everybody's taxes massively.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes. The question was, what specific tax provisions will you change to ensure the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share of taxes?

CLINTON: Well, everything you've heard just now from Donald is not true. I'm sorry I have to keep saying this, but he lives in an alternative reality. And it is sort of amusing to hear somebody who hasn't paid federal income taxes in maybe 20 years talking about what he's going to do.

But I'll tell you what he's going to do. His plan will give the wealthy and corporations the biggest tax cuts they've ever had, more than the Bush tax cuts by at least a factor of two. Donald always takes care of Donald and people like Donald, and this would be a massive gift. And, indeed, the way that he talks about his tax cuts would end up raising taxes on middle-class families, millions of middle-class families.

Now, here's what I want to do. I have said nobody who makes less than $250,000 a year — and that's the vast majority of Americans as you know — will have their taxes raised, because I think we've got to go where the money is. And the money is with people who have taken advantage of every single break in the tax code.

And, yes, when I was a senator, I did vote to close corporate loopholes. I voted to close, I think, one of the loopholes he took advantage of when he claimed a billion-dollar loss that enabled him to avoid paying taxes.

I want to have a tax on people who are making a million dollars. It's called the Buffett rule. Yes, Warren Buffett is the one who's gone out and said somebody like him should not be paying a lower tax rate than his secretary. I want to have a surcharge on incomes above $5 million.

We have to make up for lost times, because I want to invest in you. I want to invest in hard-working families. And I think it's been unfortunate, but it's happened, that since the Great Recession, the gains have all gone to the top. And we need to reverse that.

People like Donald, who paid zero in taxes, zero for our vets, zero for our military, zero for health and education, that is wrong.

COOPER: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: And we're going to make sure that nobody, no corporation, and no individual can get away without paying his fair share to support our country.

COOPER: Thank you. I want to give you — Mr. Trump, I want to give you the chance to respond. I just wanted to tell our viewers what she's referring to. In the last month, taxes were the number-one issue on Facebook for the first time in the campaign. The New York Times published three pages of your 1995 tax returns. They show you claimed a $916 million loss, which means you could have avoided paying personal federal income taxes for years. You've said you pay state taxes, employee taxes, real estate taxes, property taxes. You have not answered, though, a simple question. Did you use that $916 million loss to avoid paying personal federal income taxes for years?

TRUMP: Of course I do. Of course I do. And so do all of her donors, or most of her donors. I know many of her donors. Her donors took massive tax write-offs.

COOPER: So have you (inaudible) personal federal income tax?

TRUMP: A lot of my — excuse me, Anderson — a lot of my write- off was depreciation and other things that Hillary as a senator allowed. And she'll always allow it, because the people that give her all this money, they want it. That's why.

See, I understand the tax code better than anybody that's ever run for president. Hillary Clinton — and it's extremely complex — Hillary Clinton has friends that want all of these provisions, including they want the carried interest provision, which is very important to Wall Street people.

But they really want the carried interest provision, which I believe Hillary's leaving. Very interesting why she's leaving carried interest.

But I will tell you that, number one, I pay tremendous numbers of taxes. I absolutely used it. And so did Warren Buffett and so did George Soros and so did many of the other people that Hillary is getting money from. Now, I won't mention their names, because they're rich, but they're not famous. So we won't make them famous.

COOPER: So can you — can you say how many years you have avoided paying personal federal income taxes?

TRUMP: No, but I pay tax, and I pay federal tax, too. But I have a write-off, a lot of it's depreciation, which is a wonderful charge. I love depreciation. You know, she's given it to us.

Hey, if she had a problem — for 30 years she's been doing this, Anderson. I say it all the time. She talks about health care. Why didn't she do something about it? She talks about taxes. Why didn't she do something about it? She doesn't do anything about anything other than talk. With her, it's all talk and no action.

COOPER: In the past...

TRUMP: And, again, Bernie Sanders, it's really bad judgment. She has made bad judgment not only on taxes. She's made bad judgments on Libya, on Syria, on Iraq. I mean, her and Obama, whether you like it or not, the way they got out of Iraq, the vacuum they've left, that's why ISIS formed in the first place. They started from that little area, and now they're in 32 different nations, Hillary. Congratulations. Great job.

COOPER: Secretary — I want you to be able to respond, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Well, here we go again. I've been in favor of getting rid of carried interest for years, starting when I was a senator from New York. But that's not the point here.

TRUMP: Why didn't you do it? Why didn't you do it?

COOPER: Allow her to respond.

CLINTON: Because I was a senator with a Republican president.

TRUMP: Oh, really?

CLINTON: I will be the president and we will get it done. That's exactly right.

TRUMP: You could have done it, if you were an effective — if you were an effective senator, you could have done it. If you were an effective senator, you could have done it. But you were not an effective senator.

COOPER: Please allow her to respond. She didn't interrupt you.

CLINTON: You know, under our Constitution, presidents have something called veto power. Look, he has now said repeatedly, "30 years this and 30 years that." So let me talk about my 30 years in public service. I'm very glad to do so.

Eight million kids every year have health insurance, because when I was first lady I worked with Democrats and Republicans to create the Children's Health Insurance Program. Hundreds of thousands of kids now have a chance to be adopted because I worked to change our adoption and foster care system. After 9/11, I went to work with Republican mayor, governor and president to rebuild New York and to get health care for our first responders who were suffering because they had run toward danger and gotten sickened by it. Hundreds of thousands of National Guard and Reserve members have health care because of work that I did, and children have safer medicines because I was able to pass a law that required the dosing to be more carefully done.

When I was secretary of state, I went around the world advocating for our country, but also advocating for women's rights, to make sure that women had a decent chance to have a better life and negotiated a treaty with Russia to lower nuclear weapons. Four hundred pieces of legislation have my name on it as a sponsor or cosponsor when I was a senator for eight years.

I worked very hard and was very proud to be re-elected in New York by an even bigger margin than I had been elected the first time. And as president, I will take that work, that bipartisan work, that finding common ground, because you have to be able to get along with people to get things done in Washington.

COOPER: Thank you, secretary.

CLINTON: I've proven that I can, and for 30 years, I've produced results for people.

COOPER: Thank you, secretary.

RADDATZ: We're going to move on to Syria. Both of you have mentioned that.

TRUMP: She said a lot of things that were false. I mean, I think we should be allowed to maybe...

RADDATZ: No, we can — no, Mr. Trump, we're going to go on. This is about the audience.

TRUMP: Excuse me. Because she has been a disaster as a senator.A disaster.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, we're going to move on. The heart-breaking video of a 5-year-old Syrian boy named Omran sitting in an ambulance after being pulled from the rubble after an air strike in Aleppo focused the world's attention on the horrors of the war in Syria, with 136 million views on Facebook alone.

But there are much worse images coming out of Aleppo every day now, where in the past few weeks alone, 400 people have been killed, at least 100 of them children. Just days ago, the State

Department called for a war crimes investigation of the Syrian regime of Bashar al-Assad and its ally, Russia, for their bombardment of Aleppo.

So this next question comes through social media through Facebook. Diane from Pennsylvania asks, if you were president, what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? Isn't it a lot like the Holocaust when the U.S. waited too long before we helped? Secretary Clinton, we will begin with your two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, the situation in Syria is catastrophic. And every day that goes by, we see the results of the regime by Assad in partnership with the Iranians on the ground, the Russians in the air, bombarding places, in particular Aleppo, where there are hundreds of thousands of people, probably about 250,000 still left. And there is a determined effort by the Russian air force to destroy Aleppo in order to eliminate the last of the Syrian rebels who are really holding out against the Assad regime.

Russia hasn't paid any attention to ISIS. They're interested in keeping Assad in power. So I, when I was secretary of state, advocated and I advocate today a no-fly zone and safe zones. We need some leverage with the Russians, because they are not going to come to the negotiating table for a diplomatic resolution, unless there is some leverage over them. And we have to work more closely with our partners and allies on the ground.

But I want to emphasize that what is at stake here is the ambitions and the aggressiveness of Russia. Russia has decided that it's all in, in Syria. And they've also decided who they want to see become president of the United States, too, and it's not me. I've stood up to Russia. I've taken on Putin and others, and I would do that as president.

I think wherever we can cooperate with Russia, that's fine. And I did as secretary of state. That's how we got a treaty reducing nuclear weapons. It's how we got the sanctions on Iran that put a lid on the Iranian nuclear program without firing a single shot. So I would go to the negotiating table with more leverage than we have now. But I do support the effort to investigate for crimes, war crimes committed by the Syrians and the Russians and try to hold them accountable.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: First of all, she was there as secretary of state with the so-called line in the sand, which...

CLINTON: No, I wasn't. I was gone. I hate to interrupt you, but at some point...

TRUMP: OK. But you were in contact — excuse me. You were...

CLINTON: At some point, we need to do some fact-checking here.

TRUMP: You were in total contact with the White House, and perhaps, sadly, Obama probably still listened to you. I don't think he would be listening to you very much anymore.

Obama draws the line in the sand. It was laughed at all over the world what happened.

Now, with that being said, she talks tough against Russia. But our nuclear program has fallen way behind, and they've gone wild with their nuclear program. Not good. Our government shouldn't have allowed that to happen. Russia is new in terms of nuclear. We are old. We're tired. We're exhausted in terms of nuclear. A very bad thing.

Now, she talks tough, she talks really tough against Putin and against Assad. She talks in favor of the rebels. She doesn't even know who the rebels are. You know, every time we take rebels, whether it's in Iraq or anywhere else, we're arming people. And you know what happens? They end up being worse than the people.

Look at what she did in Libya with Gadhafi. Gadhafi's out. It's a mess. And, by the way, ISIS has a good chunk of their oil. I'm sure you probably have heard that. It was a disaster. Because the fact is, almost everything she's done in foreign policy has been a mistake and it's been a disaster.

But if you look at Russia, just take a look at Russia, and look at what they did this week, where I agree, she wasn't there, but possibly she's consulted. We sign a peace treaty. Everyone's all excited. Well, what Russia did with Assad and, by the way, with Iran, who you made very powerful with the dumbest deal perhaps I've ever seen in the history of deal-making, the Iran deal, with the $150 billion, with the $1.7 billion in cash, which is enough to fill up this room.

But look at that deal. Iran now and Russia are now against us. So she wants to fight. She wants to fight for rebels. There's only one problem. You don't even know who the rebels are. So what's the purpose?

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump, your two minutes is up.

TRUMP: And one thing I have to say.

RADDATZ: Your two minutes is up.

TRUMP: I don't like Assad at all, but Assad is killing ISIS. Russia is killing ISIS. And Iran is killing ISIS. And those three have now lined up because of our weak foreign policy.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, let me repeat the question. If you were president...

(LAUGHTER)

... what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? And I want to remind you what your running mate said. He said provocations by Russia need to be met with American strength and that if Russia continues to be involved in air strikes along with the Syrian government forces of Assad, the United States of America should be prepared to use military force to strike the military targets of the Assad regime.

TRUMP: OK. He and I haven't spoken, and I disagree. I disagree.

RADDATZ: You disagree with your running mate?

TRUMP: I think you have to knock out ISIS. Right now, Syria is fighting ISIS. We have people that want to fight both at the same time. But Syria is no longer Syria. Syria is Russia and it's Iran, who she made strong and Kerry and Obama made into a very powerful nation and a very rich nation, very, very quickly, very, very quickly.

I believe we have to get ISIS. We have to worry about ISIS before we can get too much more involved. She had a chance to do something with Syria. They had a chance. And that was the line. And she didn't.

RADDATZ: What do you think will happen if Aleppo falls?

TRUMP: I think Aleppo is a disaster, humanitarian-wise.

RADDATZ: What do you think will happen if it falls?

TRUMP: I think that it basically has fallen. OK? It basically has fallen. Let me tell you something. You take a look at Mosul. The biggest problem I have with the stupidity of our foreign policy, we have Mosul. They think a lot of the ISIS leaders are in Mosul. So we have announcements coming out of Washington and coming out of Iraq, we will be attacking Mosul in three weeks or four weeks.

Well, all of these bad leaders from ISIS are leaving Mosul. Why can't they do it quietly? Why can't they do the attack, make it a sneak attack, and after the attack is made, inform the American public that we've knocked out the leaders, we've had a tremendous success? People leave. Why do they have to say we're going to be attacking Mosul within the next four to six weeks, which is what they're saying? How stupid is our country? RADDATZ: There are sometimes reasons the military does that. Psychological warfare.

TRUMP: I can't think of any. I can't think of any. And I'm pretty good at it.

RADDATZ: It might be to help get civilians out.

TRUMP: And we have General Flynn. And we have — look, I have 200 generals and admirals who endorsed me. I have 21 Congressional Medal of Honor recipients who endorsed me. We talk about it all the time. They understand, why can't they do something secretively, where they go in and they knock out the leadership? How — why would these people stay there? I've been reading now...

RADDATZ: Tell me what your strategy is.

TRUMP: ... for weeks — I've been reading now for weeks about Mosul, that it's the harbor of where — you know, between Raqqa and Mosul, this is where they think the ISIS leaders are.

Why would they be saying — they're not staying there anymore. They're gone. Because everybody's talking about how Iraq, which is us with our leadership, goes in to fight Mosul.

Now, with these 200 admirals and generals, they can't believe it. All I say is this. General George Patton, General Douglas MacArthur are spinning in their grave at the stupidity of what we're doing in the Middle East.

RADDATZ: I'm going to go to Secretary Clinton. Secretary Clinton, you want Assad to go. You advocated arming rebels, but it looks like that may be too late for Aleppo. You talk about diplomatic efforts. Those have failed. Cease-fires have failed. Would you introduce the threat of U.S. military force beyond a no-fly zone against the Assad regime to back up diplomacy?

CLINTON: I would not use American ground forces in Syria. I think that would be a very serious mistake. I don't think American troops should be holding territory, which is what they would have to do as an occupying force. I don't think that is a smart strategy.

I do think the use of special forces, which we're using, the use of enablers and trainers in Iraq, which has had some positive effects, are very much in our interests, and so I do support what is happening, but let me just...

RADDATZ: But what would you do differently than President Obama is doing?

CLINTON: Well, Martha, I hope that by the time I — if I'm fortunate...

TRUMP: Everything.

CLINTON: I hope by the time I am president that we will have pushed ISIS out of Iraq. I do think that there is a good chance that we can take Mosul. And, you know, Donald says he knows more about ISIS than the generals. No, he doesn't.

There are a lot of very important planning going on, and some of it is to signal to the Sunnis in the area, as well as Kurdish Peshmerga fighters, that we all need to be in this. And that takes a lot of planning and preparation.

I would go after Baghdadi. I would specifically target Baghdadi, because I think our targeting of Al Qaida leaders — and I was involved in a lot of those operations, highly classified ones — made a difference. So I think that could help.

I would also consider arming the Kurds. The Kurds have been our best partners in Syria, as well as Iraq. And I know there's a lot of concern about that in some circles, but I think they should have the equipment they need so that Kurdish and Arab fighters on the ground are the principal way that we take Raqqa after pushing ISIS out of Iraq.

RADDATZ: Thank you very much. We're going to move on...

TRUMP: You know what's funny? She went over a minute over, and you don't stop her. When I go one second over, it's like a big deal.

RADDATZ: You had many answers.

TRUMP: It's really — it's really very interesting.

COOPER: We've got a question over here from James Carter. Mr. Carter?

QUESTION: My question is, do you believe you can be a devoted president to all the people in the United States?

COOPER: That question begins for Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Absolutely. I mean, she calls our people deplorable, a large group, and irredeemable. I will be a president for all of our people. And I'll be a president that will turn our inner cities around and will give strength to people and will give economics to people and will bring jobs back.

Because NAFTA, signed by her husband, is perhaps the greatest disaster trade deal in the history of the world. Not in this country. It stripped us of manufacturing jobs. We lost our jobs. We lost our money. We lost our plants. It is a disaster. And now she wants to sign TPP, even though she says now she's for it. She called it the gold standard. And by the way, at the last debate, she lied, because it turned out that she did say the gold standard and she said she didn't say it. They actually said that she lied. OK? And she lied. But she's lied about a lot of things.

TRUMP: I would be a president for all of the people, African- Americans, the inner cities. Devastating what's happening to our inner cities. She's been talking about it for years. As usual, she talks about it, nothing happens. She doesn't get it done.

Same with the Latino Americans, the Hispanic Americans.The same exact thing. They talk, they don't get it done. You go into the inner cities and — you see it's 45 percent poverty. African-Americans now 45 percent poverty in the inner cities. The education is a disaster. Jobs are essentially nonexistent.

I mean, it's — you know, and I've been saying at big speeches where I have 20,000 and 30,000 people, what do you have to lose? It can't get any worse. And she's been talking about the inner cities for 25 years. Nothing's going to ever happen.

Let me tell you, if she's president of the United States, nothing's going to happen. It's just going to be talk. And all of her friends, the taxes we were talking about, and I would just get it by osmosis. She's not doing any me favors. But by doing all the others' favors, she's doing me favors.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, thank you.

TRUMP: But I will tell you, she's all talk. It doesn't get done. All you have to do is take a look at her Senate run. Take a look at upstate New York.

COOPER: Your two minutes is up. Secretary Clinton, two minutes?

TRUMP: It turned out to be a disaster.

COOPER: You have two minutes, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Well, 67 percent of the people voted to re-elect me when I ran for my second term, and I was very proud and very humbled by that.

Mr. Carter, I have tried my entire life to do what I can to support children and families. You know, right out of law school, I went to work for the Children's Defense Fund. And Donald talks a lot about, you know, the 30 years I've been in public service. I'm proud of that. You know, I started off as a young lawyer working against discrimination against African-American children in schools and in the criminal justice system. I worked to make sure that kids with disabilities could get a public education, something that I care very much about. I have worked with Latinos — one of my first jobs in politics was down in south Texas registering Latino citizens to be able to vote. So I have a deep devotion, to use your absolutely correct word, to making sure that an every American feels like he or she has a place in our country.

And I think when you look at the letters that I get, a lot of people are worried that maybe they wouldn't have a place in Donald Trump's America. They write me, and one woman wrote me about her son, Felix. She adopted him from Ethiopia when he was a toddler. He's 10 years old now. This is the only one country he's ever known. And he listens to Donald on TV and he said to his mother one day, will he send me back to Ethiopia if he gets elected?

You know, children listen to what is being said. To go back to the very, very first question. And there's a lot of fear — in fact, teachers and parents are calling it the Trump effect. Bullying is up. A lot of people are feeling, you know, uneasy. A lot of kids are expressing their concerns.

So, first and foremost, I will do everything I can to reach out to everybody.

COOPER: Your time, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Democrats, Republicans, independents, people across our country. If you don't vote for me, I still want to be your president.

COOPER: Your two minutes is up.

CLINTON: I want to be the best president I can be for every American.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, your two minutes is up. I want to follow up on something that Donald Trump actually said to you, a comment you made last month. You said that half of Donald Trump's supporters are, quote, "deplorables, racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic,

Islamophobic." You later said you regretted saying half. You didn't express regret for using the term "deplorables." To Mr. Carter's question, how can you unite a country if you've written off tens of millions of Americans?

CLINTON: Well, within hours I said that I was sorry about the way I talked about that, because my argument is not with his supporters. It's with him and with the hateful and divisive campaign that he has run, and the inciting of violence at his rallies, and the very brutal kinds of comments about not just women, but all Americans, all kinds of Americans.

And what he has said about African-Americans and Latinos, about Muslims, about POWs, about immigrants, about people with disabilities, he's never apologized for. And so I do think that a lot of the tone and tenor that he has said — I'm proud of the campaign that Bernie Sanders and I ran. We ran a campaign based on issues, not insults. And he is supporting me 100 percent.

COOPER: Thank you.

CLINTON: Because we talked about what we wanted to do. We might have had some differences, and we had a lot of debates...

COOPER: Thank you, Secretary.

TRUMP: ... but we believed that we could make the country better. And I was proud of that.

COOPER: I want to give you a minute to respond.

TRUMP: We have a divided nation. We have a very divided nation. You look at Charlotte. You look at Baltimore. You look at the violence that's taking place in the inner cities, Chicago, you take a look at Washington, D.C.

We have an increase in murder within our cities, the biggest in 45 years. We have a divided nation, because people like her — and believe me, she has tremendous hate in her heart. And when she said deplorables, she meant it. And when she said irredeemable, they're irredeemable, you didn't mention that, but when she said they're irredeemable, to me that might have been even worse.

COOPER: She said some of them are irredeemable.

TRUMP: She's got tremendous — she's got tremendous hatred. And this country cannot take another four years of Barack Obama, and that's what you're getting with her.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, let me follow up with you. In 2008, you wrote in one of your books that the most important characteristic of a good leader is discipline. You said, if a leader doesn't have it, quote, "he or she won't be one for very long." In the days after the first debate, you sent out a series of tweets from 3 a.m. to 5 a.m., including one that told people to check out a sex tape. Is that the discipline of a good leader?

TRUMP: No, there wasn't check out a sex tape. It was just take a look at the person that she built up to be this wonderful Girl Scout who was no Girl Scout.

COOPER: You mentioned sex tape.

TRUMP: By the way, just so you understand, when she said 3 o'clock in the morning, take a look at Benghazi. She said who is going to answer the call at 3 o'clock in the morning? Guess what? She didn't answer it, because when Ambassador Stevens...

COOPER: The question is, is that the discipline of a good leader?

TRUMP: ... 600 — wait a minute, Anderson, 600 times. Well, she said she was awake at 3 o'clock in the morning, and she also sent a tweet out at 3 o'clock in the morning, but I won't even mention that. But she said she'll be awake. Who's going — the famous thing, we're going to answer our call at 3 o'clock in the morning. Guess what happened? Ambassador Stevens — Ambassador Stevens sent 600 requests for help. And the only one she talked to was Sidney Blumenthal, who's her friend and not a good guy, by the way. So, you know, she shouldn't be talking about that.

Now, tweeting happens to be a modern day form of communication. I mean, you can like it or not like it. I have, between Facebook and Twitter, I have almost 25 million people. It's a very effective way of communication. So you can put it down, but it is a very effective form of communication. I'm not un-proud of it, to be honest with you.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, does Mr. Trump have the discipline to be a good leader?

CLINTON: No.

TRUMP: I'm shocked to hear that.

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: Well, it's not only my opinion. It's the opinion of many others, national security experts, Republicans, former Republican members of Congress. But it's in part because those of us who have had the great privilege of seeing this job up close and know how difficult it is, and it's not just because I watched my husband take a $300 billion deficit and turn it into a $200 billion surplus, and 23 million new jobs were created, and incomes went up for everybody. Everybody. African-American incomes went up 33 percent.

And it's not just because I worked with George W. Bush after 9/11, and I was very proud that when I told him what the city needed, what we needed to recover, he said you've got it, and he never wavered. He stuck with me.

And I have worked and I admire President Obama. He inherited the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. That was a terrible time for our country.

COOPER: We have to move along.

CLINTON: Nine million people lost their jobs.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we have to...

CLINTON: Five million homes were lost.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we're moving.

CLINTON: And $13 trillion in family wealth was wiped out. We are back on the right track. He would send us back into recession with his tax plans that benefit the wealthiest of Americans.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we are moving to an audience question. We're almost out of time. We have another... TRUMP: We have the slowest growth since 1929.

RADDATZ: We're moving to an audience question.

TRUMP: It is — our country has the slowest growth and jobs are a disaster.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Secretary Clinton, we want to get to the audience. Thank you very much both of you.

(LAUGHTER)

We have another audience question. Beth Miller has a question for both candidates.

QUESTION: Good evening. Perhaps the most important aspect of this election is the Supreme Court justice. What would you prioritize as the most important aspect of selecting a Supreme Court justice?

RADDATZ: We begin with your two minutes, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Thank you. Well, you're right. This is one of the most important issues in this election. I want to appoint Supreme Court justices who understand the way the world really works, who have real-life experience, who have not just been in a big law firm and maybe clerked for a judge and then gotten on the bench, but, you know, maybe they tried some more cases, they actually understand what people are up against.

Because I think the current court has gone in the wrong direction. And so I would want to see the Supreme Court reverse Citizens United and get dark, unaccountable money out of our politics. Donald doesn't agree with that.

I would like the Supreme Court to understand that voting rights are still a big problem in many parts of our country, that we don't always do everything we can to make it possible for people of color and older people and young people to be able to exercise their franchise. I want a Supreme

Court that will stick with Roe v. Wade and a woman's right to choose, and I want a Supreme Court that will stick with marriage equality.

Now, Donald has put forth the names of some people that he would consider. And among the ones that he has suggested are people who would reverse Roe v. Wade and reverse marriage equality. I think that would be a terrible mistake and would take us backwards.

I want a Supreme Court that doesn't always side with corporate interests. I want a Supreme Court that understands because you're wealthy and you can give more money to something doesn't mean you have any more rights or should have any more rights than anybody else.

So I have very clear views about what I want to see to kind of change the balance on the Supreme Court. And I regret deeply that the Senate has not done its job and they have not permitted a vote on the person that President Obama, a highly qualified person, they've not given him a vote to be able to be have the full complement of nine Supreme Court justices. I think that was a dereliction of duty.

I hope that they will see their way to doing it, but if I am so fortunate enough as to be president, I will immediately move to make sure that we fill that, we have nine justices that get to work on behalf of our people.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. Thank you. You're out of time. Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Justice Scalia, great judge, died recently. And we have a vacancy. I am looking to appoint judges very much in the mold of Justice Scalia. I'm looking for judges — and I've actually picked 20 of them so that people would see, highly respected, highly thought of, and actually very beautifully reviewed by just about everybody.

But people that will respect the Constitution of the United States. And I think that this is so important. Also, the Second Amendment, which is totally under siege by people like Hillary Clinton. They'll respect the Second Amendment and what it stands for, what it represents. So important to me.

Now, Hillary mentioned something about contributions just so you understand. So I will have in my race more than $100 million put in — of my money, meaning I'm not taking all of this big money from all of these different corporations like she's doing. What I ask is this.

So I'm putting in more than — by the time it's finished, I'll have more than $100 million invested. Pretty much self-funding money. We're raising money for the Republican Party, and we're doing tremendously on the small donations, $61 average or so.

I ask Hillary, why doesn't — she made $250 million by being in office. She used the power of her office to make a lot of money. Why isn't she funding, not for $100 million, but why don't you put $10 million or $20 million or $25 million or $30 million into your own campaign?

It's $30 million less for special interests that will tell you exactly what to do and it would really, I think, be a nice sign to the American public. Why aren't you putting some money in? You have a lot of it. You've made a lot of it because of the fact that you've been in office. Made a lot of it while you were secretary of state, actually. So why aren't you putting money into your own campaign? I'm just curious.

CLINTON: Well...

(CROSSTALK)

RADDATZ: Thank you very much. We're going to get on to one more question.

CLINTON: The question was about the Supreme Court. And I just want to quickly say, I respect the Second Amendment. But I believe there should be comprehensive background checks, and we should close the gun show loophole, and close the online loophole. COOPER: Thank you.

RADDATZ: We have — we have one more question, Mrs. Clinton.

CLINTON: We have to save as many lives as we possibly can.

COOPER: We have one more question from Ken Bone about energy policy. Ken?

QUESTION: What steps will your energy policy take to meet our energy needs, while at the same time remaining environmentally friendly and minimizing job loss for fossil power plant workers?

COOPER: Mr. Trump, two minutes?

TRUMP: Absolutely. I think it's such a great question, because energy is under siege by the Obama administration. Under absolutely siege. The EPA, Environmental Protection Agency, is killing these energy companies. And foreign companies are now coming in buying our — buying so many of our different plants and then re-jiggering the plant so that they can take care of their oil.

We are killing — absolutely killing our energy business in this country. Now, I'm all for alternative forms of energy, including wind, including solar, et cetera. But we need much more than wind and solar.

And you look at our miners. Hillary Clinton wants to put all the miners out of business. There is a thing called clean coal. Coal will last for 1,000 years in this country. Now we have natural gas and so many other things because of technology. We have unbelievable — we have found over the last seven years, we have found tremendous wealth right under our feet. So good.Especially when you have $20 trillion in debt.

I will bring our energy companies back. They'll be able to compete. They'll make money. They'll pay off our national debt. They'll pay off our tremendous budget deficits, which are

tremendous. But we are putting our energy companies out of business. We have to bring back our workers.

You take a look at what's happening to steel and the cost of steel and China dumping vast amounts of steel all over the United States, which essentially is killing our steelworkers and our steel companies. We have to guard our energy companies. We have to make it possible.

The EPA is so restrictive that they are putting our energy companies out of business. And all you have to do is go to a great place like West Virginia or places like Ohio, which is phenomenal, or places like Pennsylvania and you see what they're doing to the people, miners and others in the energy business. It's a disgrace.

COOPER: Your time is up. Thank you.

TRUMP: It's an absolute disgrace. COOPER: Secretary Clinton, two minutes.

CLINTON: And actually — well, that was very interesting. First of all, China is illegally dumping steel in the United States and Donald Trump is buying it to build his buildings, putting steelworkers and American steel plants out of business. That's something that I fought against as a senator and that I would have a trade prosecutor to make sure that we don't get taken advantage of by China on steel or anything else.

You know, because it sounds like you're in the business or you're aware of people in the business — you know that we are now for the first time ever energy-independent. We are not dependent upon the Middle East. But the Middle East still controls a lot of the prices. So the price of oil has been way down. And that has had a damaging effect on a lot of the oil companies, right? We are, however, producing a lot of natural gas, which serves as a bridge to more renewable fuels. And I think that's an important transition.

We've got to remain energy-independent. It gives us much more power and freedom than to be worried about what goes on in the Middle East. We have enough worries over there without having to worry about that.

So I have a comprehensive energy policy, but it really does include fighting climate change, because I think that is a serious problem. And I support moving toward more clean, renewable energy as quickly as we can, because I think we can be the 21st century clean energy superpower and create millions of new jobs and businesses.

But I also want to be sure that we don't leave people behind. That's why I'm the only candidate from the very beginning of this campaign who had a plan to help us revitalize coal country, because those coal miners and their fathers and their grandfathers, they dug that coal out. A lot of them lost their lives. They were injured, but they turned the lights on and they powered their factories. I don't want to walk away from them. So we've got to do something for them.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: But the price of coal is down worldwide. So we have to look at this comprehensively.

COOPER: Your time is up.

CLINTON: And that's exactly what I have proposed. I hope you will go to HillaryClinton.com and look at my entire policy.

COOPER: Time is up. We have time for one more...

RADDATZ: We have...

COOPER: One more audience question.

RADDATZ: We've sneaked in one more question, and it comes from Karl Becker.

QUESTION: Good evening. My question to both of you is, regardless of the current rhetoric, would either of you name one positive thing that you respect in one another?

(APPLAUSE)

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, would you like to go first?

CLINTON: Well, I certainly will, because I think that's a very fair and important question. Look, I respect his children. His children are incredibly able and devoted, and I think that says a lot about Donald. I don't agree with nearly anything else he says or does, but I do respect that. And I think that is something that as a mother and a grandmother is very important to me.

So I believe that this election has become in part so — so conflict-oriented, so intense because there's a lot at stake. This is not an ordinary time, and this is not an ordinary election. We are going to be choosing a president who will set policy for not just four or eight years, but because of some of the important decisions we have to make here at home and around the world, from the Supreme Court to energy and so much else, and so there is a lot at stake. It's one of the most consequential elections that we've had.

And that's why I've tried to put forth specific policies and plans, trying to get it off of the personal and put it on to what it is I want to do as president. And that's why I hope people will check on that for themselves so that they can see that, yes, I've spent 30 years, actually maybe a little more, working to help kids and families. And I want to take all that experience to the White House and do that every single day.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Well, I consider her statement about my children to be a very nice compliment. I don't know if it was meant to be a compliment, but it is a great — I'm very proud of my children. And they've done a wonderful job, and they've been wonderful, wonderful kids. So I consider that a compliment.

I will say this about Hillary. She doesn't quit. She doesn't give up. I respect that. I tell it like it is. She's a fighter. I disagree with much of what she's fighting for. I do disagree with her judgment in many cases. But she does fight hard, and she doesn't quit, and she doesn't give up. And I consider that to be a very good trait.

RADDATZ: Thanks to both of you.

COOPER: We want to thank both the candidates. We want to thank the university here. This concludes the town hall meeting. Our thanks to the candidates, the commission, Washington University, and to everybody who watched.

RADDATZ: Please tune in on October 19th for the final presidential debate that will take place at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Good night, everyone. (New York Times, 2016)

Abstract in French (Résumé)

En fin d'année 2016, un débat pour les présidentielles 2017 a eu lieux entre les deux candidats finalistes Hilary Clinton et Donald Trump. Ce modeste mémoire de fin d'étude a pour objectif de faire une analyse critique du second débat entre eux en appliquant le model analytique de Van Dijk (2006). En effet, cela à fin de découvrir les idéologies cachées dans leurs discours, ainsi que les stratégies discursives qu'ils utilisent pour les transmettre, principalement, celles mentionnées dans le model de Van Dijk. Les résultats de l'analyse démontrent que ces stratégies consistent a utiliser une présentation positive de sois même et une présentation négative des autres. Cela a été fait avec l'utilisation de la polarisation et catégorisation avec l'aide des pronoms "Nous", "Eux". Les résultats de cette étude démontrent aussi que le model de Van Dijk est un bon modèle de référence pour toute personne voulant faire une analyse critique d'un discours politique. Donc, Clinton est très concerné par tout ce qui est famille, bataille et féminisme et cela se voit dans son discours. En ce qui concerne Trump, son discours est truffé de paroles raciste et sexiste. Pour finir, nous avons introduit brièvement la théorie de Lakoff (1973) sur les différences entre le parler de l'homme et de la femme. Pour une étude appliquée de sa théorie, nous avons conclus que Clinton manifeste dans son discours les traits de son appartenance a un groupe sociale ou plusieurs. De ce fait, elle essaye de se rapprocher des groupes sociaux dans la société Américaine. En ce qui concerne Trump, il manifeste dans son discours un langage autoritaire et ainsi il domine le débat à travers son discours idéologique.

Mots-clés : Analyse du Discours, Débat Politique, Clinton & Trump, Van Dijk Modèle.