

An Analysis of Discourse Practice of Political Speeches : A Case Study of Donald Trump

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Abstracts

World leaders' political speeches have become fashionable topics in terms of discourse analysis and language study. The language used in powerful speeches might lead to some changes, support, beliefs, conflicts, or even war. The recent study aimed to determine the discourse practices in the political speeches of Donald Trump. The samples were 20 political speeches by Donald Trump in the Famous Presidential Speeches of the Miller Center from January 19, 2019, to July 4, 2020. The research instrument was Chilton, P. & Schaffner, C.'s (1997 : 145) discourse practice analysis. The statistics used to analyze the data was frequency. The result of the study revealed that Donald Trump's 11 political speeches expressed legitimation as the most common political discourse and demonstrated expressive communication as the most common communicative purpose, which confirmed that every political speech concealed its purpose. In summary, the audience became a target for participating in either action; they, as a result, should be more than consumers of information but defenders of their rights and the rights of the public.

Keywords: Discourse Analysis; Political Speeches; Donald Trump

Introduction

In the political world, politicians attempt to present ideas and data sets to audiences, emphasizing propaganda as a means of establishing close relationships in order to achieve political success. In other words, political communication is the science and art of communication. Politicians are no longer bound by time and distance, thanks to advances in communication science in the twenty-first century. Political communication has become more widespread and rapid. This has evolved into a tool for strategizing effective political goals by utilizing communication to establish guidelines for acceptance among people as recipients. It is a channel for presenting various political information related to government decisions and policies to the public. Political discourse also aims to show the relationship between variables and the power, hegemony, intent of the messenger and the reaction of the receiver. Leaders who use state power to direct the production of discourses hidden in ideology communicate with the people in order to create legitimacy. It also reflects the audience's perceptions, which are both consistent and inconsistent with interpretations based on various beliefs and experiences (Maneesaeng, V., 2016 : 8). Political speech, as seen more clearly in the digital age, flows directly to the audience at all times from all directions. In a positive way, it is to be aware of information as soon as possible. In a negative sense, it is a tool of politicians who want us to believe or conform.

Regardless of the difference between the political system and political culture, the intent of political communication will be the same in the Western and Eastern worlds. The audience will benefit from being aware of political developments in the other hemisphere. People have become more politically aware in recent years, understanding the role and process of politics as well as key political concerns, and being able to ask critical questions and comprehend the impact of issues on their lives (Phonok, C., 2018 : 23). Obviously, the political system, whether in the form of policies, laws, regulations, or powerful orders, will have an impact on everyone in society. When people in society are unable to avoid political power, they demand the right to participate in politics (Kaewmoragot, P., 2017 : 30-31). As a result, the primary goal of political discourse is to persuade people to believe and act in response to the message's content. Nowadays, there are numerous channels and social media platforms that enable politicians to communicate or send messages more quickly. However, if the audience or the general public can analyze the text and the intent expressed through those discourses, they will be able to consciously adjust and keep up with the politicians' objectives. As a result, the study of political discourse models was created in order to comprehend the ideas and intentions of politicians as process messengers and to explain them comprehensively in light of the country's social and political context.

In a linguistic context, the study of discourse in which English is analyzed is rooted in the study of Language for Specific Purposes (LSP), an important science in applied linguistics with the main concepts in the study of language use in various social contexts, such as academic circles, business organizations, the medical industry, and so on (Kadkarnklai, 2015: 289-290). Researchers in this field must conduct a contextual analysis of specific language texts in order to uncover links between language use and communication purposes, attempting to answer the question of why people use such languages. According to Norman Fairclough, N., spoken and written discourse serve different purposes. They are broadly classified into three types: Informative, Persuasive, and Entertaining (Jason, S. W., Anne, G., Danette, I. J. & Bernardo, A. A., 2012: 10). The "three dimensional frameworks of discourse," namely text, discourse practices, and socio-cultural practices, are used to analyze the link between language and society. Texts serve three purposes: (1) the objects to be studied, such as spoken and written language, as well as what the eyes see (visual); (2) the processes that lead to production and perception, such as writing with reading, speaking with listening, and design and visualization; and (3) historical and social contexts. Discourse practices are text production and text interpretation. Discourse practices are considered in terms of the production process, consumption and distribution of the text by considering who is the producer, who is the consumer, how the text spreads to society, and how? (Phanphothong, N., 2014: 7). Socio-cultural practices consist of three levels of context: situations, institutions, and society (Phakdephasuk, S., 2010: 65). Factors in social, political and economic conditions are the context of society before and after the leadership's control of power which is regarded as the cause of text production in a discourse through discourse practice. It reinforces the relationship between discourse and the social context (Sawangarom, A., 2017: 2). As a result, an analytical study of political speech, particularly liberal democratic politics in the Western world, opens the globe to the use of language influence for political advantage, which will necessarily differ from the discourse used by politicians in the democratic Thai political system.

As mentioned at the end of the last paragraph, the study of political discourse was prevalent in Europe and America. Hassan, I. H. (2016: 85, 100-101), for example, studied Egyptian President El-political Sisi's speeches at the Suez Canal opening ceremony and discovered that the power of communication was being used tactically to induce conformity,

as evidenced by the use of verbalization, repetition, and synonyms to achieve the desired ideology of the government. In other words, the Egyptian president hoped that the Suez Canal would serve as a shortcut for shipping goods from Europe to Asia, allowing him to attract more investors and tourists to Egypt. Meanwhile, Rahimi, E. & Sharififar, M. (2015: 333) examined Obama and Rouhani's 2013 political speeches at the United Nations. According to the findings, Obama used casual and colloquial language to reduce the distance between his power and the people in order to make the president's and government's activities as accessible to the public as possible. In contrast to Donald Trump, the current president of the United States, when he gives a speech, it has become a political issue that the entire world is watching. Also on June 1, 2020, Trump made remarks in a speech about the most heartbreaking and traumatic event in the United States, the death of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, committed by a European-American police officer. This accident led Americans to demand justice and equality for blacks by organizing rallies and protests that eventually led to riots. There are some passages that Trump has said, "... our nation has been gripped by professional anarchists, violent mobs, arsonists, looters, criminals, rioters, Antifa... These are not acts of peaceful protest. These are acts of domestic terror... I am taking immediate presidential action to stop the violence and restore security and safety in America..." As you can see, each Trump speech or discourse appears to have focused the world's attention on political, social, and economic issues. This is why Donald Trump's political discourse was chosen for analysis at this time.

By theories, discourse analysis (DA) is a general term for a number of approaches to analyzing spoken or written language use. The objects of DA are defined in terms of coherent sequences of sentences, propositions, speech acts or turns-at-talk. With regard to this field, though there are various perspectives and approaches that emphasize different aspects of language use, they all view language as social interaction and are usually concerned with the social contexts in which discourse is embedded (Hassan, I. H., 2016: 86-87). Meanwhile, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a theoretical research paradigm that seeks to investigate power relations, ideological manipulations, and hegemony. CDA indicates what was formerly known as critical linguistics (CL), which emerged in the late 1970s (Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. & Trew, T. 2018: 185). Critical theory provides a critical perspective or attitude towards society. According to Fairclough, N. (1995: 20), critical theory is any theory concerned with the critique of ideology and the effects of dominance. CDA is not only a school but includes a range of approaches. Moreover, Dijk, T.A. van (2000: 353) emphasizes that CDA is not a unitary theoretical framework or a specific direction. Fairclough, N. (1995: 20), Wodak, R. (2007 : 203-204) and Dijk, T.A. van (2000: 353) comprise the main scholars in the domain of CDA. Fairclough presents a systemic functional linguistic perspective; Van Dijk a text linguistic and cognitive linguistic; and Wodak interactional studies. Significantly, in terms of studying discourse analysis (DA) in politics, Chilton, P. & Schaffner, C.'s (1997) discourse practice analysis plays an important role in this research. According to Chilton and Schaffner (1997), some philosophers, including Descartes, have defined humans as essentially linguistic animals. Aristotle, on the other hand, famously defined humans as political animals. No doubt, both definitions contain a germ of truth. What political discourse analysts would probably claim, if they were to think philosophically, would be that one definition necessarily involves the other. It is surely the case that politics cannot be conducted without language, and it is also probably the case that the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we would call 'politics' in a broad sense.

As all mentioned above, this study will explore discourse analysis, which has resulted in the conception, content and presentation of Donald Trump's speeches. This study will show how to produce meaning, power, and a social truth, as well as the politics of Donald Trump, the 45th President of the United States, by examining the contents of his speeches in order to better understand how he communicates and learn about his ideology.

Research Objective

The primary objective of this research was to examine Donald Trump's approach to political speech.

Literature Review

Fairclough, N. (1995: 96) states that language structures can be studied in discourse analysis to better understand society and to open the door to the possibility of using discourse to influence, dominate, and cause conformity. All of these ideologies are subject to the power of the messenger.

Paltridge, B. (2012: 179) states that discourse analysis can be a link between language and social context. to know the political situation. It also reflects the ideology of the use of language in the discourses of messengers who can use discourse to influence, dominate, or conform.

Dijk, T.A. van (2000: 352) states that discourse analysis is a study that aims to improve understanding and expose the misuse of discourse power, which leads to the creation of frames in order to control and influence the audience. This may cause inequality in society and lead to a way of calling out for anti-inequality.

Chilton, P. & Schaffner, C. & Schäffner (1997 : 212-213) states that there are four main characteristics of political discourse: coercion, resistance, dissimulation and legitimization and delegitimization.

Coercion in political discourse (Haugaard, M. & Lentuer, H., 2006: 4; Obeng, S. G. & Hartford, B. A. S., 2009: 195; Schweber, H., 2012: 169-170) has an important feature: the use of power in discourse. It is a strategy that replaces actions for the benefit of an individual or a group of people resulting from the accumulation of knowledge, power, money, and fame. It is a force that is unjust to people, using tactics ranging from intimidation to violence. When it comes to intimidation, the government's actions differ in two ways. The first is public and private intimidation, also known as social intimidation. The second action is that of a nonpartisan government.

Resistance in political discourse (Drechselova, L & Celik, A. & Celik, 2019: 136; Sturzaker, J. & Verdini, G., 2017: 38; Wenden, A. L., 2005: 92) has an important characteristic is resistance. It demonstrates how the leader's political discourse can cause people to reject or have opposing opinions, leading to the impact of protests. It is noted that people in the Western world are against politics and expressing their opinions is normal. Most of it takes place in the capital because it clearly shows the people's power to make a claim and it is well facilitated in terms of safety.

Dissimulation in political discourse (Green, K., 2012: 1; Luo, Z., 2020: 58; Poggi, I., Errico, F. D., Vincze, L. & Vinciarelli, A., 2010: 228) has the main feature that political leaders try to conceal information or misrepresent certain facts to people for their own goals or interests. They may use rhetoric in the form of conflicts of information between nations or even ethnic matters. If people know the truth about the information that the leaders are hiding, which

has been used to convince them to believe in the same way, it may lead resistance and, eventually, violence.

Legitimization in political discourse (José, M. & García, H., 2013: 301; Sadeghi, B., Hassani, M. T. & Jalali, V., 2014: 1582; Sulaiman, A. K. & Jamil, N., 2014: 4) is one of the strategies employed by leaders who wish to address specific events in the public sphere in terms of facts and accurate, clear norms. On the contrary, delegitimization is a strategy to cause people to conflict and to mislead and brainwash them. There are attempts to use power, as well as unethical behavior and self-rationalization. Both strategies describe the good and bad aspects of how the leader is accountable for what is said publicly.

Research Methodology

Samples

This study employed 20 Donald Trump political speeches from the Miller Center's Famous Presidential Speeches from January 19, 2019 to July 4, 2020, a 2-year period (Source: <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/>). (Retrieved on July 9, 2020)

Research Instrument

The researcher applied Chilton, P. & Schaffner, C. and Schäffner's (1997) theory of political discourse analysis, which matched the purpose of this study.

This paper focuses on content analysis; therefore, the process of doing research is separated into four steps as follows:

Step 1 Resources used in the study

This study analyzes Donald Trump's political discourse practices based on five characteristics of political discourse: coercion, resistance, dissimulation, legitimization and delegitimization. The data is Donald Trump's discourse from January 19, 2019 to July 4, 2020, for a 2-year period, from the Miller Center's Famous Presidential Speeches, 20 discourse sets, 5,247 sentences, from [https://millercenter.org/the-Presidentship/ Presidential-speeches](https://millercenter.org/the-Presidentship/Presidential-speeches).

Step 2 Data collection

In this research, the data collection process is very important. To promote trustworthy data gathering and analysis of research data, the researcher employs the citation of sources concept by studying and collecting data from a variety of sources, such as textbooks, journals, research papers, and electronic sources. All information obtained will be attributed to its source. The data will be analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively in this study. The procedure is as follows:

1. Collecting secondary data from various academic papers, books, and electronic publications such as research findings, thesis, academic writings, and academic articles from various forms of publications. Only content related to the topic matter and conceptual framework of the research will be chosen by the researcher.

2. Study the information on discourse practices

3. Gather information on Donald Trump's political speeches location-by-location from reliable online sources from the Miller Center's Famous Presidential Speeches website.

Step 3 Data analysis unit

A study of Donald Trump's discourse between 2019 and 2020 can be classified by unit of analysis as follows:

Table 1 shows the number of sentences used in the analysis

Speech Set	Number of Sentences	Speech Set	Number of Sentences
Set 1 (S01/19)	87	Set 11 (S11/20)	1,065
Set 2 (S02/19)	289	Set 12 (S12/20)	74
Set 3 (S03/19)	371	Set 13 (S13/20)	119
Set 4 (S04/19)	281	Set 14 (S14/20)	125
Set 5 (S05/19)	265	Set 15 (S15/20)	305
Set 6 (S06/19)	42	Set 16 (S16/20)	143
Set 7 (S07/20)	36	Set 17 (S17/20)	56
Set 8 (S08/20)	66	Set 18 (S18/20)	183
Set 9 (S09/20)	94	Set 19 (S19/20)	186
Set 10 (S10/20)	386	Set 20 (S20/20)	1,146

Step 4 Data analysis

The following are the steps in analyzing Donald Trump's political speeches:

1. Collecting information from Donald Trump's political speeches
2. Arranging the sentences in order
3. Coding the sentences
4. Analyzing discourse practices in Donald Trump's political speeches
5. Examining the results of the analysis and comparing the research data by 3 experts in English and English linguistics. (Inter-Rater Reliability)
6. Summarizing the results of the analysis

Research Conceptual Framework

According to a review of the relevant literature, the four main characteristics of political discourse: coercion, resistance, dissimulation, and legitimization and delegitimization, are the main components of analyzing Donald Trump's political speeches, as shown in Figure 1.

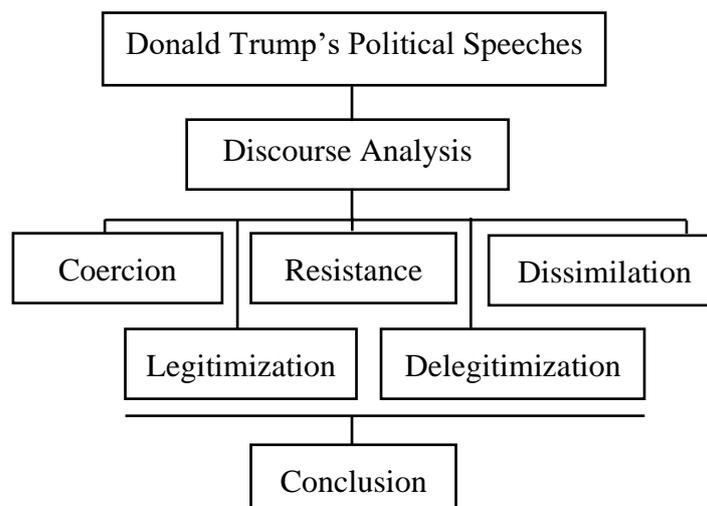


Figure 1 Research Conceptual Framework
 (Prachumchai, S. & Sriraungrith, A., 2020 : 6)

Results

According to Chilton, P. & Schaffner, C. & Schäffner's (1997 : 145) theoretical discourse analysis, the researcher analyzed 5,247 sentences from Donald Trump's discourse.

Table 2 provides an analysis of Donald Trump's political discourse

Features					Goals				Audience					
Coercion	Resistance	Dissimilation	Legitimization	Delegitimization	Informative	Persuasive	Directive	Expressive	World leaders	Politicians	Ambassadors	Reporters	US Soldier	Americans
4	1	-	11	9	4	2	3	11	1	13	1	10	4	13

According to Table 2, the most common form of discourse presentation is Legitimization 11 times, followed by Delegitimization 9 times, of the 20 sets of Donald Trump's political discourse practices. The most frequently used communication goals were the Expressive 11 sets, followed by the Informative 4 sets. American politicians and citizens were the most recipients to the discourses (13 sets), followed by the mass media (10 sets).

What most found about Legitimization were 1) building the border wall between the US and Mexico, 2) crisis with immigration and drugs, 3) LGBTQ's rights and women's rights, 4) a complaint about interfering the next US election, 5) the US economy with bright future, 6) COVID prevention policy, 7) the graduation ceremony for West Point cadets, 8) campaigning policy: "Make America Great Again" and "America First", and 9) praising the U.S. Army for men and women military.

Delegitimization mostly talked about 1) Congress budget to stop illegal immigration, 2) unfair trades by China, 3) diplomatic action with North Korea, 4) denouncing Nancy Pelosi and Representative Adam Schiff, 4) blaming WTO about underestimating and concealing COVID-19.

Discussion

A total of 20 sets of Donald Trump's speech were examined. the most common form of discourse presentation is Legitimization 11 times, followed by Delegitimization 9 times. Coercion, Resistance, and Dissimilation were found 4, 1, 0 sets, respectively. The most frequently used communication goals were the Expressive 11 sets, followed by the Informative 4 sets. American politicians and citizens were the most receptive to the discourses (13 sets), followed by the mass media (10 sets).

According to the study of the 20 Donald Trump political speech, Legitimization and Delegitimization on the first two top findings was related to Matthaveewong, T. (2016: 243-252) and Allen, W. (2007: 3) implying that this type of discourse was most common because leaders desired people to have confidence, trust them, and agree with them. For example, in a sentence in Speech set 1, Trump said: "...thousands of children are being exploited by ruthless coyotes and vicious cartels and gangs... I promised I would fix this crisis, and I intend to keep

that promise one way or the other...a steel barrier will help us stop illegal immigration..." This implied that Trump attempted to use justification because he needed to raise public awareness of the issue and persuade them to support a policy of constructing a border wall between Mexico and the United States. And, in a sentence in Speech set 20, Trump accused and slandered China: "... the power of tariffs being imposed on foreign lands that took advantage of the United States have enabled us to make great trade deals... tens of billions of dollars are now paid to the United States Treasury by the same countries...but we got hit by the virus that came from China...and China must be held fully accountable..." As read and analyzed, Trump blamed China for the outbreak of the coronavirus (COVID-19). Addressing the message in styles of Legitimization and Delegitimization, the information may imply either facts or falseness which may cause the interests of the country or the leaders' personal interests. In this study, Coercion was found 4 sets in Trump's speeches, which most were about the shadow war in the Middle East and "Black Lives Matter" protest. For example, in a sentence in Speech set 7 Trump said, "... the United States military successfully executed a flawless precision strike that killed the number-one terrorist anywhere in the world, Qasem Soleimani..." Trump tried to explained that his order was to protect our diplomats, service members, all Americans, and allies. He accused that for years, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and its ruthless Quds Force — under Soleimani's leadership — had targeted, injured, and murdered hundreds of American civilians and servicemen. He insisted that the United States acted this in self-defense because of General Soleimani's notorious past as one of the world's deadliest terrorists. His speech demonstrated that he had the power to order the strike to stop war and Iran might be worried about this. In addition, the Expressive, the most frequently used communication goal, was related to Mansour, N. (2013: 11) who studied about Obama's speeches in his research of a proposed model for investigating the translation of political messages that most of the country leaders always tried to convey their attitudes, beliefs, ideology to their citizens. In this study, for example, in a sentence in Speech set 7, Trump said: "...today we remember and honor the victims of Soleimani's many atrocities, and we take comfort in knowing that his reign of terror is over... Soleimani has been perpetrating acts of terror to destabilize the Middle East for the last 20 years...what the United States did yesterday should have been done long ago... a lot of lives would have been saved..."As seen, Trump's death statement on Soleimani's assassination order demonstrates the attitude and ideology of the President of the United States toward protecting the American people from the Iranian leader's atrocities. Most of the time Trump delivered speeches, American politicians and citizens were his no. 1 audience. It was related to Al-Radhi, H. (2020: 21) who studied on strategic functions in CNN's media discourse: an ideological strategy to win people's support that the majority of discourse recipients are the populations of the country and the populations of the world. In other words, most of the discourses are passed on to the discourse recipients in the country and has been captured by people all over the world who are interested in those discourse producers.

Practice recommendation

In studying and analyzing political discourse analysis, researchers have to do text examination and socio-cultural practices concurrently. Although the characteristics of political discourse analysis differ from those of other contexts, the communicative purposes remain the same. There is no exception to studying only English because this type of language study necessitates the inclusion of other aspects such as politics and international relations.

Further recommendation

1. Researchers should study discourse practices, particularly the communication style of political discourse, which may differ from other discourses. However, the communication goals remain the same.
2. Researchers should conduct studies on comparative discourses between Eastern and Western leaders.
3. Researchers should look at the interesting discourses of leaders in many contexts, such as religious, business, and social leaders.

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