

ELYSIAN JOURNAL English Literature, Linguistics and Translation Studies Vol. 3 no.1 (2023) Program Studi Sastra Inggris Fakultas Bahasa Asing, Universitas Mahasaraswati, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

Language, Ideology, and Power in Kamala Harris's Speech: Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

Political speech is a strategy to persuade the political goals and interests to the audience. This study investigates the process of Critical Discourse Analysis in Kamala Harris's speech by using Three-Dimensional Model proposed by Fairclough. The data analysis was conducted by a descriptive qualitative method. This study showed that Kamala Harris represented the Democrat Party's principles, equal opportunity, and voting rights through the speech. Discursive analysis showed that Kamala Harris addressed this speech to some particular societal stakeholders, such as the feminist movement, minority groups, so on. On the other hand, social analysis represented the social effects, such as the first Indigenous cabinet secretary has confirmed. The most dominant ideology in this speech is membership/self-identity. In textual analysis, Kamala Harris also showed the one who has equality, liberty, and justice on her ideological values.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, ideology, power, speech, Kamala Harris

Abstrak

Pidato politik merupakan suatu strategi untuk meyakinkan tujuan dan kepentingan politik kepada audiens. Penelitian ini meneliti proses Analisis Wacana Kritis pada pidato Kamala Harris dengan menggunakan Kerangka Tiga-Dimensi yang dikemukakan oleh Fairclough. Analisis data yang dilakukan menggunakan metode deskriptif-kualitatif. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Kamala Harris mewakilkan prinsip-prinsip Partai Demokrat, kesempatan yang sama, dan hak untuk memilih melalui pidatonya. Analisis diskusif menunjukkan bahwa Kamala Harris menyebutkan dalam pidatonya untuk beberapa pemangku kepentingan sosial tertentu, seperti gerakan emansipasi wanita, kelompok minoritas, dan sebagainya. Di sisi lain, analisis sosial mewakilkan pengaruh sosial, seperti sekretaris kabinet pribumi pertama yang telah ditetapkan. Ideologi yang paling dominan dalam pidato ini adalah keanggotaan/identitas diri. Dalam analisis tekstual, Kamala Harris juga menunjukkan seseorang yang memiliki kesetaraan, kebebasan, dan keadilan dalam nilai ideologinya.

Kata Kunci: analisis wacana kritis, ideologi, kekuatan, pidato, Kamala Harris



Introduction

According to Van Dijk, as cited in Tannen, Hamilton, & Schiffrin (2015), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) aims to investigate the social phenomena, especially in power abuse, discrimination, and inequality through written or spoken discourse. Van Leeuwen (1993: p. 193), as cited in Tsitsanoudis-Mallidis & Derveni (2018) explained that discourse has two aspects they are; power and social construction devices. This analytical research analyzes the structural relationships related to power, dominance, control, and discrimination manifested in the language (Wodak, 1995: p. 204). Moreover, Fairclough (1989: p. 26), proposed the three overlapping dimensional model; textual analysis, discursive analysis, and social analysis in analyzing discourse. In agreement with the theories above, language is not decisive to stand by its own. It needs an intervention from influential people specifically in public places and genres to make it trustworthy. (Fairclough, 200a; Habernas, 2000; Hall, 200a) as cited in Tsitsanoudis-Mallidis & Derveni (2018).

Several studies on CDA have been focused on analyzing the text structure, ideology, and power of political speeches. Some researchers from different countries have examined Barrack Obama and Hassan Rouhani's speeches in the United Nations, Muhammadu Buhari's inaugural speech, and Recep Tayyip Endorgan's speech in World Economic Forum (Sharififar & Rahimi, 2015; Koussouhon & Dossoumou, 2015; Bayram, 2010). Based on those studies, it can be found that the political actors have strategically delivered their speeches to build the relationship between the language and the significance of its interpretations. On the other hand, in Indonesia, Jakarta governor candidates, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or Ahok, had mentioned a religious blasphemy statement to Qur'an specifically to the chapter of Al-Maidah verse 51. (Mandarani & Suwarta, 2017; Hafifah, 2016). CDA can reveal hidden ideologies, either persuasive or provocative statements.

As a public control, language strategy will be formulated for political speeches to target the larger scale of addressees. Those public discourses can express the power by reflecting, reinforcing, and constructing hidden ideologies to completely transfer the political actors' interests. A significant number of academic publications have recently been explored how language structure represents the speaker's ideology and power through their speeches. Rahayu et al. (2021) Shah & Ahmad (2020) analyzed the text structure of political speeches between U.S. president Joe Biden and Pakistani prime minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Both studies revealed that some linguistic structures in both speeches (Rahayu et al., 2021), as well as repetition of lexical items and sentences (Shah & Ahmad, 2020). Meanwhile, Zhu & Wang (2020) explored discursive and social practices of the U.S. President and China's Foreign Minister's speeches in the U.N. general debate forum. The study revealed that Donald Trump represented 'American First' as the United States' ideology, but Wang Yi expressed 'community of common destiny for mankind' as the Chinese ideology. Moreover, Sinambela (2019) conducted a study about Donald Trump's representation in delivering a speech regarding Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel. In conducting this study, Sinambela applied Van Dijk's theory to reveal Donald Trump's ideology. The study found out that the dominant

ideologies that activity description and goal description are used by Donald Trump through his speech.

The United States presidential election in 2020 is a memorable momentum in American history. Two major political parties in the U.S., between Democrat and Republican Party, joined to uphold their political beliefs and values. Kamala Harris is a politician and lawyer nominated in the U.S. presidential election. She also had been a lifetime public service, especially in California Senator and Attorney General, before being the first Black female and Asian American vice president. She had delivered a historical speech at Democratic National Convention during U.S. presidential election.

There are at least two reasons why this is an important subject to be analyzed. First, Kamala Harris is a political figure from the minority groups in society. Second, she is also a daughter of an immigrant who raised her children by herself. It is interesting to see how the use of language structure through Kamala Harris's speech is based on her background and experiences. This paper, therefore, aims to study the existence of power (in and behind discourse) through Kamala Harris's speech by applying the Three-Dimensional Model. This study also examines the representation of hidden ideologies and the text structure from Kamala Harris's speech by using Van Dijk's theories about ideology (1995) and political discourse structure (1997).

Method

This study was analyzed by descriptive qualitative method to explore an in-depth analysis of the data. The data were video documentation published on August 20th 2020 found on Youtube concerning Kamala Harris's vision and mission to be U.S. vice presidential candidate, and also the speech transcript was taken from the internet. In analyzing CDA, this study uses three proposed theories from several scholars they are; Van Dijk's theory (1997) for identifying the political discourse structure of Kamala Harris's speech, Van Dijk's theory (1995) for classifying the dominant ideology in Kamala Harris's speech, and Fairclough's theory (1989) for analyzing the power occurrence in Kamala Harris's speech.

Fairclough's theory focuses on three levels of discourse, such as description, interpretation, and explanation. Because another theory examines text analysis, this method only analyzes discursive and social practice. Discursive practice is an interpretation process of the text covering situational and intertextual context. Meanwhile, the social practice is concerned with the text production's social phenomena and its interpretation process.

In this study, Van Dijk's theory (1995) about ideology is adopted to classify the dominant ideology represented through Kamala Harris's speech. This ideology covers membership/self-identity, activity, goal, norms and values, social position, and resources.

Meanwhile, Van Dijk's theory (1997) about political discourse structure is adopted to this study to identify the text structure of Kamala Harris's DNC speech.

Result and Discussion

In discussing the findings, this study is divided into three sections. First, it presents a "power occurrence" analysis to reveal the power in and behind discourse. Second, this study classifies the dominant ideology represented through the speech. Last, it shows the political discourse structure that is used in Kamala Harris's speech as the data for this study.

3.1. Power Occurrence Analysis on Kamala Harris's 2020 DNC Speech

Fairclough (1989) proposed three stages that can be a powerful strategy to reveal the speech through Critical Discourse Analysis. This section analyzed the power in and behind discourse, as explained in the further analysis below.

3.1.1. Discursive Practice

Discursive practice refers to analyzing the interpretation and interaction of text in society. This stage analyses the production process as the relationship between the product and recipient of the text. This analysis can be divided into two aspects they are situational and intertextual contexts.

First, situational context analyses where and when the text or discourse is produced. This speech was produced before the 2020 U.S. presidential election was held. It can be assumed that Kamala Harris was a lawyer or politician serving public service at the time. Then, she was nominated by Democrat Party to be a vice president candidate, which was paired with Joe Biden. While she delivered this historical speech in front of the audience, she brought a powerful statement by stating, '*Yet so many of the Black women who helped secure that victory were still prohibited from voting, long after its ratification. Black, Latino and Indigenous people are suffering and dying disproportionately. This is not a coincidence. It is the effect of structural racism*' which means that Kamala Harris persuaded the audience with some particular perspectives about American social crises because of the former U.S. President. On the other hand, she utilized this awakening power to be her political strategy for strengthening her reputation and popularity.

Second, intertextual context is an analysis of the text or discourse as the source of interpretation and interaction. Kamala Harris distributed this speech to some participants who belonged to the subject matters of the speech. She mentioned *'this week marks the 100th anniversary of the passage of the 19th amendment. And we celebrate the women who fought*

for that right' which is pointed out to the American women and generations who have fought and sacrificed for their human and civil rights in the U.S. Besides, she also showed a statement about racial discrimination that can be seen through '*Black, Latino and Indigenous people are suffering and dying disproportionately*', which illustrated the minority groups or marginalized groups who are excluded or even discriminated against by the intolerance, supremacy, and xenophobia.

3.1.2. Social Practice

Social practice refers to the analysis of socio-political perspectives to reveal the power occurrence that is occurred through the text or discourse. This explanation deals with the social activity, social process, and social change in society as the effect of discourse production.

Kamala Harris is a political actor and a member of the Democrat Party who represents liberalism principles in the United States. Those ideological values construct Kamala Harris's political position, such as civil and human rights, democracy, and freedom of speech, so on. In Kamala Harris' DNC speech, she brought up two most significant ideological values related to the social issue in the United States: equal opportunity and voting rights.

In terms of equal opportunity, figure (1) depicts the social process of Kamala Harris's speech after it was delivered last August at Democratic National Convention. Figure (1) shows Deb Haaland, who was confirmed as the first Indigenous U.S. cabinet secretary in Joe Biden and Kamala Harris's leadership. American history has excellent momentum that the president's cabinet members come from minority groups or marginalized groups, predominantly indigenous people. Kamala Harris also has delivered a persuasive statement in her speech which mentioned that every human race must be equal in the United States, it can be seen through 'a president who will bring all of us together—Black, White, Latino, Asian, Indigenous—to achieve the future we collectively want' refers to the mission of Kamala Harris to make all American people no matter their races, origins, and religions can join the U.S. parliaments.

3.2. Dominant Ideology Analysis on Kamala Harris's 2020 DNC Speech

Kamala Harris represents Democrats' beliefs and values in her political position and ideological stances. She upholds equality, liberty, and justice for all human races in the United States. Kamala Harris also has worked in public service before accepting the vice-presidential nomination from Democrat Party. To share her background and experiences, which were used to persuade all American people to send their votes for Biden-Harris in the presidential election. She delivered a historical speech regarding many problems such as gender inequality, racial

discrimination, and COVID-19 cases with several victims who have been infected and killed because of the U.S. government's incompetence to give protection, safety, and prosperity to American citizens.

| No. | Ideology | Frequency |
|-------|--------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | Membership/Self-identity | 3 |
| 2 | Activity | 2 |
| 3 | Goal | 2 |
| 4 | Norms and Values | 1 |
| 5 | Social Position | 1 |
| 6 | Resources | 1 |
| Total | | 10 |

Table. 3.1 Ideology represented in Kamala Harris's Speech

By looking at the table above, the most dominant ideology represented in Kamala Harris's speech is membership/self-identity. This type of ideology was used three times in delivering the speech, and some particular reasons also caused it. First, Kamala Harris is a Black woman and Asian American citizen, and she wanted to speak up for all human races, especially minority groups and marginalized groups who lived in the United States; they are all matters. Second, it is also a political strategy to criticize the government that has failed to guarantee protection, safety, and prosperity for all American society.

| Table 3.2 Sample of Dominant Ideology Data | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| Data | Sentences | | |
| 1 | And <i>we</i> celebrate the women who fought for that right | | |
| 2 | These women and the generations that followed worked to make | | |
| | democracy and opportunity real in the lives of all of us who followed. | | |
| 3 | Black, Latino and Indigenous people are suffering and dying | | |
| | disproportionately. | | |

Data (1) represents the ideological value of being a unity of women in society. Kamala Harris represents a compelling invitation for all women in the United States to have strong bonds with one another. She mentioned the pronoun 'we' at the beginning of the sentence, which aims to describe the role of every woman here must celebrate their old generations' triumphs which have fought and sacrificed for claiming their rights in the United States. Therefore, Kamala Harris used this statement to open her DNC speech, which aims to make the American people believe that she is standing at this political forum and delivering a historical speech to upgrade women's statuses and values in society.

Data (2) describes a figure of women and the generations to realize the American ideology, which is liberty. Kamala Harris mentioned a noun phrase *'these women and the generations'* refers to the feminist movement who have fought for several decades to claim for democracy and opportunity in the U.S. This statement reveals a memorable occasion when all

women in the United States marched and protested to get equality, freedom, and justice as a part of society. As a result, Kamala Harris is one of the women actors who successfully prove this struggle when working for public service and accepting a nomination to be the U.S. vice president.

Data (3) tells about the speaker's response regarding racial discrimination in the United States. Kamala Harris illustrated racial discrimination by mentioning some noun phrases related to the human races such as *'Black'*, *'Latino'*, *and 'Indigenous people'*, those are minority groups who are often discriminated against by the U.S. government.

The analysis above can be concluded that the purpose of Kamala Harris represented membership/self-identity as the most dominant ideological value in her speech is to show that all human races in the United States, especially minority groups, marginalized groups, or even scapegoating groups to understand that Democrat Party is a platform for upholding human's equality, freedom, and justice in the country, then Kamala Harris represents this ideology to the political forum in front of all American citizens which aims to make these people believe their votes for choosing Biden-Harris in the presidential election will build the United States better again.

3.3 Text Structure Analysis on Kamala Harris's 2020 DNC Speech

In identifying the text structure of Kamala Harris's speech, this study also used Van Dijk's theory (1997) to examine the speech. The political discourse structure is divided into seven parts they are; superstructure or 'textual' schemata, topics, lexicon, local semantics, speech act and interaction, rhetoric, syntax, and expression structure. The explanation of each part will be elaborated in the following sections below.

3.3.1 Topics

Van Dijk (1997: 25) stated that a political topic related to the controversial public discussion is usually used by political actors such as politicians, political parties, or government members in political forums, political conferences, or political meetings. This element refers to the speaker's political and ideological motives based on their speech, in Kamala Harris's DNC speech, some political topics related to her decision in the U.S. vice-presidential nomination.

| Table 5.5 Sample of Topics Data | | |
|---------------------------------|--|--|
| Topics | Sentences | |
| (4) American women' | And we <i>celebrate</i> the women who fought | |
| struggles | for that right. | |

Table 3.3 Sample of Topics Data

| | Without fanfare or recognition, they <i>organized, testified, rallied, marched, and fought</i> —not just for their vote, but for a seat at the table. |
|----------------------------|---|
| (5) Donald Trump's failure | Donald Trump's failure of leadership has <i>cost lives and livelihoods</i> . |
| (6) Racism in U.S. | And while this virus touches us all, let's be honest, <i>it is not an equal opportunity</i> <i>offender</i> . |
| | And let's be clear— <i>there is no vaccine for racism</i> . |
| (7) American dream | People of all ages and colors and creeds who are, yes, taking to the streets, and also persuading our family members, rallying our friends, organizing our neighbors, and getting out the vote. You are pushing us to realize the ideals of our nation, pushing us to live the values we share: desence and fairness justice and |
| | share: <i>decency and fairness, justice and love</i> . |
| | And <i>our children and our grandchildren</i> <i>will look in our eyes</i> and ask us: Where were you when the stakes were so high? They will ask us, what was it like? And we will tell them. |

In terms of gender equality, data (4) clearly emphasizes a historical event regarding the feminist movement in the past. Kamala Harris indicated her appreciation by mentioning the word 'celebrate', which aims to make all American women aware of how much struggles of old women generations have been passed. In addition, she also dramatically explained the process to claim for their human and civil rights through the verbs' organized', 'testified', 'rallied', 'marched' and 'fought', which were used to evoke a broad understanding of the society in the United States about the American women's struggles.

Kamala Harris also criticized former U.S. President Donald Trump's roles and responsibilities during the COVID-19 pandemic. Data (5) shows that American society was disappointed with the failure of leadership because they could not manage and control the problems and crises in the United States. Kamala Harris also represented this failure through her statement by saying 'cost lives and livelihoods', which means many problems and crises have occurred that made the U.S. collapses.

In data (6), the speaker represents her responses towards the racism in the United States. From the statement above, it can be noticed that Kamala Harris disagreed with racial discrimination in American society, and she wanted an ideal nation where every human race could live together without degrading other beliefs and values. Kamala Harris said that in this COVID-19 pandemic, racism supposed to be eliminated from society by *mentioning 'it is not*

an equal opportunity offender', which was used to educate all American people that inequality, injustice, and discrimination were wrong. Everyone must get their rights and access for prolonging their lives. Furthermore, she also explained that those racists who did not understand this situation will be punished through 'there is no vaccine for racism' to be a deterrent effect for them.

In data (7), the speaker illustrated the American dream of being fulfilled if she is chosen as the U.S. vice president. Kamala Harris believed that everyone could live in a better country without being afraid of the chaotic problems on their side anymore. She mentioned that the noun phrase 'people of all ages, colors, and creeds' and she also portrayed American beliefs and values such as 'decency', 'fairness', 'justice', and 'love' that can be enjoyed and satisfied in their country without differentiating everyone from their races, origins, or religions. Moreover, if the American dream can be realized for people, therefore it can be a great momentum for young generations which is mentioned through 'our children and our grandchildren will look in our eyes to have a better future in the U.S.

The analysis above can be concluded that Kamala Harris tried to persuade the American society that she belongs to govern the country in the future. By giving some political topics related to the current controversial issues about the situation and condition of the United States, she already considered the obstacles and challenges that will be faced in the process of the U.S. presidential election.

3.3.2 Superstructure or 'Textual' Schemata

Van Dijk (1997: 29) stated that superstructure or 'textual' schemata related to schematic forms or conventional categories constructed the overall text. This element is divided into three parts in Kamala Harris's DNC speech: opening, content, and closing.

As the opening of Kamala Harris's DNC speech she mentioned the American beliefs and values in general, such as equality, liberty, and justice for everyone. This statement illustrates how Kamala Harris took the public's attention before discussing her political interests and ideological stances. The speaker sent an honor to all audience and also promised an ideal nation to everyone, especially all American society at the beginning of her speech which aims to make them believe that this speech is delivered to strengthen and encourage people to be stronger and tougher in struggling for their human and civil rights.

In the content section, first, she raised a response to gender stereotypes and racial discrimination in the United States. Kamala Harris explained the process of the feminist movement to get their rights and opportunities in politics, especially for voting rights and getting a seat at the table. This content started the whole argumentation of Kamala Harris's speech because it is a problematic event that occurred in the United States in recent times. Second, the speaker continued the speech by telling a personal story about her mother, Shyamala Gopalan Harris. She wanted all American society to know that her mother was a civil

rights activist in the 1960s. This statement is delivered to build an emphatic expression from the audience that Kamala Harris's mother was a hero for all American citizens. Last, Kamala Harris described some particular reasons why Joe Biden was supposed to be the new U.S. president. She promoted her partner in this political forum to gain more voters from American society. Therefore, those three main contents are constructed to make the speech is powerful.

As a closing statement of Kamala Harris's DNC speech. The speaker conveyed a persuasive statement by sending their votes for Joe Biden, and Kamala Harris will be a great chance to reform the United States to be a superpower country again. The speech is closed by invitation to build a strong bond between Americans.

Based on the analysis above, Kamala Harris successfully used political strategy in constructing her speech structure in a good way. She opened the speech with a memorable statement related to the American beliefs and values, brought up three main contents that strengthened her political interests and ideological values, and closed the speech with an invitation to build a strong bond between the American people.

3.3.3 Local Semantics

Van Dijk (1997: 30) stated that local semantics reflect the political actors' perspectives on positive and negative sides through their speeches. The speaker tries to build a positive image and avoid the negative about themselves. In Kamala Harris's speech, local semantics represents through the data as below.

| | Table 3.4 Sample of Local Semantics Data | | |
|------|--|--|--|
| Data | Sentences | | |
| 8 | She raised us to be proud, strong Black women. And she raised us to | | |
| | know and be proud of our Indian heritage. | | |
| 9 | I've fought for children, and survivors of sexual assault. I've fought | | |
| | against transnational gangs. I took on the biggest banks, and help | | |
| | take down one of the biggest for-profit colleges. | | |
| 10 | Today that country feels distant. Donald Trump's failure of leadership has cost lives and livelihoods Grieving the loss of life, | | |
| | the loss of jobs, the loss of opportunities, the loss of normalcy. And yes, the loss of certainty. | | |

Data (8) explains the speaker's expression about the figure of her mother, Shyamala Gopalan Harris. She told the audience that being a member of minority groups, especially Black women and Asian American people, was not a burden of life for her mother. Kamala Harris mentioned that Shyamala Gopalan Harris raised her daughters, proud of their identity. It also shows a strong message for all minority groups and marginalized groups to be confident, courageous, and resilient in society. Therefore, this statement indicates a positive image that portrays Kamala Harris's political position about all human races are matters.

On the other hand, Kamala Harris told her dedication to public service to solve people's problems. Data (9) shows the speaker's backgrounds and experiences that have handled particular legal cases such as children and sexual assault, criminal organizations, and profitoriented institutions. This statement expresses a positive image of the Democrat Party's principles to provide equality, liberty, and justice for all stakeholders in society.

However, data (10) tells an opposing statement to Donald Trump's leadership in governing the United States. Kamala Harris commented that the former government has failed to provide effective regulations and policies during the COVID-19 pandemic. This statement reveals that the U.S. government was careless and powerless to solve the issues and crises of the American people. Therefore, Kamala Harris showed this negative side of the former government to increase her reputation and popularity with Joe Biden.

The analysis above can be concluded that Kamala Harris mentioned a positive statement to support her popularity, while a negative statement is used to avoid her weakness and fragility by exposing other failures and mistakes

3.3.4 Lexicon

A discourse is related to 'political language', which focuses on the particular political words that are being used. (Edelman (1977, 1985; Herman 1992) as cited in Van Dijk (1997: 33). Global and lexical meanings of discourse belong to the personal background and experience of the speaker. Kamala Harris's speech were dominated by specific vocabularies and terms which were democracy, equality, justice, racism. Those are the abstract concept which were nominalized to represent some collective value in society. This is also known as grammatical metaphor (see Ayomi 2020; 2021). In the speech Harris delivers this political vocabulary to represent the democratic value that all American people elect the U.S. government; therefore, it is a must for the government to be responsible for providing fair and equal treatment without differentiating their level, class, or even status.

3.3.5 Syntax

Van Dijk (1997: 33) stated that syntactic style is also a consideration to make a political discourse easily understood by the recipients. This element covers nominalizations, the use of specific syntactic categories variations of word order, clause embedding, pronouns, sentence complexity, active and passive constructions, and other ways to express significant meanings in sentence forms and structures. Kamala Harris's speech shows some syntactic styles that construct the text structure as the data below.

| No. | Sentences | Frequency |
|-------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | Active | 137 |
| 2 | Passive | 6 |
| Total | | 143 |

Table. 3.5 Active and Passive Sentences in Kamala Harris's Speech

The findings show the frequency of passive and active sentences used in Kamala Harris's speech. From the table, it can be noticed that the passive sentences only occurred six times, while the active sentences occurred one hundred and thirty-seven times. Therefore, the distribution in this table shows that Kamala Harris's speech was more focused on the political agent than the political incident. Therefore, it can be concluded that Kamala Harris wanted to underline the political agents such as herself, Joe Biden, the Democrat Party, American people, soon to be the standpoints of the speech.

| Data | Sentences | |
|------|---|--|
| 11 | We must elect a president who <i>will bring</i> something different, something better, and do the important work. | |
| 12 | A country where we may not agree on every detail, but we <i>are united</i> by the fundamental belief that every human being is of infinite worth, deserving of compassion, dignity and respect. | |

In data (11), the sentence was written down in the active voice. This sentence aims to give information about Joe Biden, a presidential candidate for the United States. The verb '*will bring*' describes Joe Biden's performance that is mentioned different, better, and do the critical work. This statement also promotes Joe Biden himself to be a trusted candidate nominated by Democrat Party.

Kamala Harris's speech used active sentences more frequently than passive sentences. However, the function of a passive sentence is also essential in this speech. It can be seen in data (12) that the sentence was constructed in the passive voice. This statement aims to explain the future implication of the United States if the country is governed by a president who has the excellent capability. The verb '*are united*' here shows the action that will occur if Biden-Harris are elected for the U.S. president and vice president. By looking at this data, it can be assumed that Kamala Harris's speech emphasized the rules, instructions, and policies after being the U.S. vice president.

3.3.6 Rhetoric

Van Dijk (1997: 35) stated that a rhetorical device in a discourse is used to make the clauses or sentences more persuasive. This element can also be used to describe positive self-presentation or other other-presentation found in the ideological value of the speech. Kamala Harris's speech represented some rhetorical devices, as explained below.

| Table 5.7 Sample of Knetorical Devices Data | | |
|---|--------------|---|
| Data | Туре | Sentences |
| 13 | Alliteration | I keep thinking about that 25-year-old Indian woman— all of <i>five feet</i> tall—who gave birth to me at Kaiser Hospital in Oakland, California. |
| 14 | Parallelism | Without fanfare or recognition, they organized , testified , rallied , marched , and fought —not just for their vote. |
| 15 | Euphemism | Family is the friends I turned to when my mother—the most important person in my life— <i>passed away</i> from cancer. |
| 16 | Hyperbole | So, let's fight with <i>conviction</i> . Let's fight with <i>hope</i> . Let's fight with <i>confidence</i> in ourselves, and a <i>commitment</i> to each other. |

Table 3.7 Sample of Rhetorical Devices Data

Data (13) clearly emphasizes a sound repetition through the '*five feet*' phrase called alliteration. Based on Kamala Harris's speech, this alliteration aims to repeat the initial consonant sounds /f/, which is used to describe the appearance of her mother, Shyamala Gopalan Harris. The speaker expressed the specific numbers rather than used other quantifiers because it represents someone important in her life that can be conveyed to the audience from this political forum.

In data (14), the speaker expressed an equivalent pattern between five verbs: 'organized', 'testified', 'rallied', 'marched', and 'fought' constructed in the past tense. Kamala Harris showed her consistency in using this persuasive strategy to make the audience, especially the American society understand the sequence of events in upholding equality, liberty, and justice in the United States.

Data (15) tells a sad story about Kamala Harris's mother, Shyamala Gopalan Harris, who died of cancer. The speaker used a polite expression through the statement that she is delivered in the speech by mentioning '*passed away*' instead of '*died*' because Kamala Harris is a political actor who is supposed to express something good rather than harsh or blunt words. Furthermore, she also wanted to show her honor to the most influential person in life, her mother.

In data (16), Kamala Harris showed an exaggerated statement through her statement above. She mentioned four abstract nouns such as 'conviction', 'hope', 'confidence', and 'commitment' used to describe a real action to fight for justice. This statement is considered a hyperbolic expression since it does not make sense to rely on something that cannot touch concretely, but it looks very persuasive when Kamala Harris implied those words in her speech and discussed inequality and injustice.

Based on the analysis above, it can be seen that rhetorical devices have some functions in speech. First, it can be used to repeat a statement that is important to the audience. Second, it can also be used to make the phrase, clause, or sentence constructed in an equivalent pattern to make the speech delivered smoothly. Moreover, it may replace harsh or blunt words to be polite and give an exaggeration through the statement of the speech.

3.3.7 Speech Act and Interaction

Van Dijk (1997: 37) stated that a pragmatic device is also taking part to grab the public's attention by asking the audience to do any actions through the information that is delivered, such as commands, requests, warnings, and invitations, so on. In Kamala Harris's speech, the use of speech act is also presented as the explanation of data below.

| Table 3.8 Sample of Speech Act Data | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|---|
| Data | Туре | Sentences |
| 17 | Assertive | Right now, we have a president who turns |
| | | our tragedies into political weapons. |
| 18 | Directive | We've gotta do the work to fulfill that |
| | | promise of equal justice under law. |
| 19 | Commissive | I pledge to you that we will act boldly and |
| | | deal with our challenges honestly. |
| 20 | Expressive | It is truly an honor to be speaking with you. |
| | Lipioblite | it is traif an nonor to be speaking with you. |

Data (17) expresses the speaker's utterance related to the reality or fact of the U.S. government. Kamala Harris produced a negative comment to the former U.S. President Donald Trump, who has turned the American people's tragedies for his political goals and interests. This statement refers to the social phenomena in a society where the government is careless and powerless to protect, save, and build stability. Therefore, Kamala Harris mentioned this utterance to be a public's reflection to choose a presidential candidate in the future; they must understand his/her track record at the first time.

Data (18) tells a direct command for all American people that they must work together for a better future. Kamala Harris stated that everyone should participate in the realization process in upholding equal justice. She also requested all citizens regarding this movement; the government will make everyone get equal justice under the law since Biden-Harris are elected in the presidential election.

Data (19) presents a future goal of Kamala Harris's plans when accepting the U.S. vicepresidential nomination. Kamala Harris pledged to all American people that she would act boldly and deal with challenges in the United States. She also conveyed to the audience that in Joe Biden's leadership, the government will be honest, clear, and transparent to society without hiding the data or statistics related to economic growth, country's stability, or even criminal rates from the American people.

Data (20) expresses a powerful invitation to make the audience feel in a warm, calm, and comfortable situation where the speaker opens the speech with a polite greeting before delivering the main contents of the speech.

Conclusion

This study has shown three findings and discussions related to CDA. First, power has been analyzed through production and distribution processes, which can be classified into discursive and social practices. In discursive practice, Kamala Harris addressed the speech to some particular societal stakeholders such as the feminist movement, minority groups such as Black, Latino, and Indigenous people, and COVID-19 victims who were infected and killed by the virus. On the other hand, social practice has been successfully described through Kamala Harris's DNC speech since it can realize American's beliefs and values which is equal opportunity among all human races, and it can be seen through a news article that confirmed the first Indigenous U.S. cabinet secretary, Deb Haaland in Joe Biden's presidency. Second, this study also classified the most dominant ideology, represented by Kamala Harris's speech, membership/self-identity. This type of ideology illustrates Kamala Harris's ideological values regarding the future actions of the American people since she is also a member of minority groups who are excluded and discriminated against by intolerance, supremacy, and xenophobia. Last, as the actor who delivered this speech, Kamala Harris has used the political strategy to build a text structure that aims to run the speech well. The findings found four most important topics discussed: American women's struggles, Donald Trump's failure, racism in the U.S., and the American dream. On the other hand, this speech is also constructed in schematic forms with syntactic and expression structure and rhetorical and pragmatic devices. The use of lexical choice and local semantics is also considered the text's overall.

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