

Critical Discourse Analysis of Clinton's Orations at Presidential Elections in 2016

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Abstract

This study aims at critical analysis of the orations of the candidate of democrat party, Clinton, at presidential elections of America. It has been done based on her independent orations and also her last face to face debate with Trump, the candidate of Republic party. In this sense, data analysis has been carried out not only based on the used key words by herself in the orations but also the selection of the theme of speech at odds with the other by using comparative approach in which we have focused on the analysis of the selective words used in the last debate. Also, the findings indicate the most use of four themes of security, nationalism, women and justice among which justice and equality themes have been considered as the nodal point and the theme of women's rights as the empty signifier.

Keywords: CDA, Laclau and Mouffe, empty signifier, nodal point, Clinton

Introduction

The concept of discourse has entered last decades of 20th century as the result of attempts made by thinkers such as Norman Fairclough, Michel Foucault and Ernest Laclau. linguists used this concept mostly for the analysis of units beyond sentence. Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary field affected by different humanities studies, in particular, linguistics, philosophy and Lacanian Psycho-analysis. In discourse analysis tradition, there are different schools and this study has derived benefit from Laclau and Mouffe perspective (1980). Discourse theory consists of stating and understanding processes during which meaning in social-political actions is temporarily stabilized. In other words, in discourse theory this fact is emphasized that all concepts are "empty signifier"; namely, according to the basic assumption, the post-structures have various and numerous meanings, but in a semantic system, they are in the light of a nodal point, a signifier that lies in the of a specific discourse that no referent, but gives the ultimate meaning to other signifiers inside that discourse and they are given meaning. From the perspective of discourse analysis, that a certain signifier means what, is in direction association with the concept of hegemony, that is, the social group that has the social group that has the accepted power and common values in the society, determines the ultimate meaning of concepts. Thus, we should understand that how a given discourse is related to social formation (Laclau and Mouffe, 1980). Also, the concept of articulation is of much importance. Articulation means specific discourse for getting other meaning signifier systems and giving new

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meanings and identities to them, for example if an Islamic discourse attempts to enter the liberal discourse concepts in its semantic framework and give new meanings to them, articulation has happened. Therefore, given the point that we deal with combined discourses, we should know what concepts have been taken from other discourses. Considering above introduction, given the point that in modern political discourse, this article, especially the speeches of Hillary Clinton. The candidate of democrat party in the elections of the united states, it is clear that the policy-makers and counselors have adjusted and formulated the speeches based on linguistic and mental principles of language and this paper aims to explain and analyze the approaches and points from a linguistic point of view related to Laclau and Mouffe (1980).

Review of literature

Van Dijk (1993) in an article entitled "principles of critical discourse analysis" discuss some principles of critical discourse analysis, such as the explicit sociopolitical stance of discourse analysts, and a focus on dominance relations by elite groups and institutions as they are being enacted, legitimated or otherwise reproduced by text and talk. One of the crucial elements of this analysis of the relations between power and discourse is the patterns of access to (public) discourse for different social groups. Theoretically it is shown that in order to be able to relate power and discourse in an explicit way, we need the 'cognitive interface' of models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies and other social representations of the social mind, which also relate the individual and the social, and the micro- and the macro-levels of social structure. Finally, the argument is illustrated with an analysis of parliamentary debates about ethnic affairs.

Dehghan (2006) in his M.A. thesis entitled *The Discourse of Democracy after 11th of September* has analyzed the September 11th attacks based on CDA approach and has studied the role and importance of words as the most important tools for transferring ideology, views and judgements about discourse analysis. He has studied and analyzed the speeches of western leaders and has collected and extracted themes and sub-themes such as terror, linguistic self-magnification, generalization, enemy construction, positioning, and dualism. This study has referred to the issue of dualism that consists of good and evil that means showing others as enemy, inferior, enemies of freedom, enemies of peace, Satan and terrorist. Such a work has not been analysed critically in Iran before although some articles have focused on associated issues abroad. Present investigation is similar to the study conducted in that both have focused on the discourse of western leaders and the method of selecting pleasant words and the words that are paid attention to by American society.

Atawneh (2009) in an essay entitled "The discourse of war in the Middle East: Analysis of media reporting" referred to language war reflects the power of each side in a conflict. The purpose of this study is to investigate how the language of the Israelis and the Palestinians mirrors the strengths and weaknesses of both sides. Data

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were collected from the headlines reported in the local and world media at times of crises and major reported events during the second Palestinian Intifada (2001-2004). The analysis investigates the kinds of speech acts reported in the media showing aggressive or defensive attitudes and focuses on Threats and Appeals together with related illocutionary verbs. The context of war and animosity will furnish the felicity conditions for the investigated speech acts. Results show that the Israelis, as the more powerful side in this conflict, use many more Threats than do the Palestinians. Conversely, many more Appeals are used by the Palestinians, which reflects their weakness.

Bhatia (2009) in an article entitled "The discourses of terrorism" argued that complex, socio-political constructs such as terrorism can be difficult to define objectively. He showed gatekeepers of the international community, consistent with their individual agendas, frame what the media and public understand by such terms, using illusive and metaphorical representations of a diverse range of socio-political situations. Based on a critical analysis of a corpus of political and media discourses, the paper proposes to account for such discursive practices and interpretations in public domains, of which the discourses of terrorism are a prime example.

Colombo (2013) in an article entitled "Discourse and politics of migration in Italy: The production and reproduction of ethnic dominance and exclusion" believed that the initial article seeks to present an investigation of historic, demographic and economic aspects of migration in Italy and also Italian laws on politics and migration. Based on statistics, research reports, and existing Italian and international literature on immigration-related issues, the paper highlights the profile of Italy's migrant groups as well as the role they have been playing in the country's labor market over time. The paper analyses key migration-related legislation showing that Italian immigration policies have been basically focused on ex post regularizations, control of new legal entries and repression of irregular ones. The increasing criminalization and securitization of immigration supported by right-wing parties and the most relevant features of public debate on immigration in Italy are highlighted

Aghagolzadeh, et al. (2014) in an article entitled 'the Analysis of News representation Methods based on Critical Discourse Analysis Approach', using news words selection method that has been collected from the news program of four radios, that is, the radio of Islamic Republic of Iran, America, Farda Radio and Israel Radio, analyzes the news in order to determine the effect of non-linguistic factors on the selection of words used in the media news according to critical analysis approach. In this investigation the data are assessed in the frame work of strategies or solutions such as words generalization and address terms and over-lexicalization. This study aims to discover the hidden semantic layers beyond the words used in the news of the above-mentioned radios and clarify them for the readers that from this point of view, this article like the conducted article intends to consider the special words used in the speeches of this democrat candidate something with the aim and intention beyond what he has used.

Aydin-Düzgit (2015) in the article entitled "European parliament 'doing' Europe: Unravelling the right-wing culturalist discourse on Turkey's accession to the EU" focuses on the discourses of the main centre-right political party group (EPP-ED, EPP) in the European Parliament on Turkey's accession to the European Union. It utilizes the analytical framework of the Discourse-Historical Approach in Critical Discourse Analysis to mainly concentrate on the articulations of 'culture' and 'cultural identity' in the discussions over Turkish accession in official parliamentary debates and in-depth personal interviews with the members of this group. It is argued that a relational theorizing of identity allows for analysis of the ways in which a cultural 'Europe' is articulated through current discussions on Turkey in the mainstream right-wing European Parliament discourse and thus reveals the cultural borders that are enacted with reference to Turkish membership within this group.

Carta et al. (2015) in their article entitled "Discourse analysis, policy analysis, and the borders of EU identity" pointed to the preliminary function frames the conceptual and methodological attempt of the specific subject. The underlying goal of the special issue is two-fold: On the one hand, it aims to shed light on the diversity of discourse theories and related toolkits for analysis. On the other hand, it aims at applying these approaches to the European Union's (EU) discursive practices, with special attention to foreign policy discourses. All contributions revolve around a central focus: the manifold ways in which various EU institutional, national or societal actors employ different discursive strategies (such as justification, legitimating, and argumentation) related to foreign policy with bilateral partners; within multi-lateral milieus or vis-à-vis domestic audiences. In the last section, the contributions to this special issue are briefly summarized.

Theoretical foundations of research

Theoretical foundation of present investigation is based on the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (1980). From the viewpoints of these two theorists, introducing a discourse theory requires stating the key and building concepts of it. Laclau and Mouffe have used numerous and occasionally complicated concepts containing different aspects in order to explain their theory, and naturally its application requires an understanding of these concepts. The main feature of the concepts raised in the desired discursive approach for Laclau and Mouffe is that they are related to each other in specific and chain form that has been raised below. Of course, understanding each concept leads us to understanding the next concepts.

Signifier and Signified

Two concepts of signifier and signified have a key role in Laclau and Mouffe theory (2002). Signifiers, people, concepts, phrases are abstract symbols that indicate specific meanings in special discursive frameworks. The true meaning that a signifier indicates

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is called signified. Signified is a sign that by looking at it, the given signifier is meant for us (ibid).

Central signifier

The person, symbol or concept around which other signifiers gather around its axis or articulated around its axis. Is called the central signifier. The central signifier plays the role of the main pole of the tent that if it is removed, the tent collapse. The central signifier is what has been rejected in the discourse of the rival party and its place is empty (Hosseinizadeh, 2009).

Floating signifier

In this theory, signs and concepts are floating signifiers that different discourses attempt to give meaning to them. Floating signifier whose signified is unchanged. In the other hands, it has numerous signified and discourses attempt to join their signified to it on the basis of their own meaning system and to give meaning to it and to put the other signified aside (Jorgenson et al.,-2010).

Element, moment, field of discursivity

Elements, and signifiers are signs that their meanings have not been stabilized and different discourses attempt to attribute meaning to them. Each signifier prior to entering into discourse, is considered element. Moments are also signifiers and elements that have been articulated inside a discourse and have achieved a temporary identity and meaning (Hosseini zadeh, 2004).

Each sign may have several meanings. Naturally, each discourse based on consonantal with its meaning system, stabilizes one of the meanings and rejects the others. Laclau and Mouffe (2002) call the probable meanings of the signs rejected from discourse “field of discursivity”. Over flow of the meanings of a signifier or sign to the field of discursivity is done with the aim of semantic consistency in a discourse. For example, political and economic development are both floating signifiers that were rejected by the discourse of Islamic Revolution at the beginning of Revolution victory and were sent to the field of discursivity. In contrast, in highlighted the ideological development of the Revolution, after a decade of the Islamic Revolution, both of these floating signifiers went out of the field of discursivity and by gathering other floating signifiers around their axis (as the central signifier), the articulation of discourses related to construction are reformed (Salimi, 2004).

A moment prior to entering into a discourse and articulation and semantic stabilization based in its framework is located in the field of discursivity and is called "element". Elements are floating signifiers that have not put under discourse yet and indeed they have been rejected from the desired discourse (Philips, 2002).

Given above-mentioned points, the concept of discourse in the view of Laclau and Mouffe (2002) could be defined in this way: "A discourse is an attempt toward turning elements into moments through reducing multiplicity of their meaning to one completely stabilized meaning.

Antagonism and otherness

Creation of otherness and supposing antagonism is important for the theory of discourse in three aspects. First, constructing a contradictory and hostile relationship that leads to the production of an "other" or "non", is required for establishing the borders of discourse. Second, establishing conflict borders and hostile relationships is an important affair for stabilizing some part of the discursive formation identity and social activities. Third, opposition experience is an example that reveals the occurrence of the identity (Hourat, 1999).

Hegemony and Meaning Stabilization

Laclau and Mouffe derive political use from the flexibility between the signifier and signified relationship and connect it to the concept of hegemony. That is, if on a special meaning for signifier consensus is reached in the society, in other words, the public thoughts accept a given meaning for it, even though temporarily, and stabilize it, that signifier becomes hegemonic. When the signifiers of a discourse becomes hegemonic, the whole discourse becomes hegemonic.

Temporary stabilization of identities is the most basic function of hegemony in discourse. Achieving hegemony that is considered the ultimate goal of a discourse, will be possible by stabilizing meaning (Tajik, 2000).

Empty signifier

Laclau in his recent work has used the concept of empty signifiers in order to explain the metaphoric trend of a legend. Empty signifier is indicative of a gap in social atmosphere. In other words, it indicates an absent affair. The function of empty signifiers is to represent the desired and ideal condition. Since these signifiers usually remind the deficiencies. Their production will result in the fact that society and politics. Become dynamic the articulation of new political discourse is formed around the axis of empty signifier and its condition for success in hegemony is the presence of empty signifiers that is indicative of restlessness or anxiety, demands and crises in the social and political realms that pave the way for the formation of new discourse. If dominating discourse can fill this gap, they will guarantee their life, otherwise, they will be replaced by rival discourses, discourses that create an ideal image in the minds of subjects from these empty signifiers and people think removing deficiencies is dependent on their ascendancy.

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For example, political development as the empty signifier of construction discourse in restless period of this discourse, turns into a legend with the agency of reformist political subjects. Of the features of the legend is to be desired for all people. But this legend was not still desired for all people and represented only a part of the society, mostly new middle class, intellectuals and academic classes. This is not sufficient for a discourse to become hegemonic. For this reason, it should take a metaphorical aspect or state.

In other words, an ideal aura is incorporated around it and indicated. Future more beautiful than today ;so that it can encourage the intellectuals and idealist classes such as university students more and, on one hand, and it can penetrate into the general classes and underlying layers of the society, on the other hand, accordingly when this ideal atmosphere was little by little transferred into the society the legend of political developments as the central signifier of reforms discourse, was spread among people and turned into the demand of the majority of the society (Laclau,-1993).

The floating signifiers of this discourse also in the light of reformist political subject activity with identification of articulation around the central signifier, achieved relative semantic stability in the public thoughts. In this way, political development turned into a social imagination and with deconstruction and marginization of the rival discourse, it turned from imagination into objectivity and became hegemonic (Tajic,-2004).

Research Methodology

In this research for the purpose of analyzing the election campaign of Hillary Clinton against Trump, first in her several speeches and three debates performed between the two candidates of democratic and republican parties, all the components emphasized by this candidate of democratic party were extracted independently and also in contrast and comparison with those of Trump after extracting key areas of this discourse the writers studied the degree of emphasis and frequency of each area in this study realm using analytical - descriptive method and then the data were shown in the table for the purpose of easy observation and comparison. After observing and comparing different realms of discourse in reaction and answering different realms of the rival discourse, different realms or fields of Hillary Clinton discourse were studied based on Laclau and Mouffe standard discourse analysis.

Present investigation consists of 5 speeches by Hillary Clinton and 3debates between her and trump on following dates.

First debate: 26 September, 2016

Second debate: 9 October, 2016 and

third debate: 19 October, 2016 (the last debate broadcasted between Clinton and Trump on the Islamic Republic TV of Iran).

Finding and Analysis

To extract the signifier used by Hillary Clinton in several speeches and this democratic candidate for presidency elections of the United States that they have been presented along with the sign of these signifiers in separate tables:

Theme of Security

Security means protecting a person society, nation, and a country against external threats and it is considered the opposite point of "threat", Walter Lippmann (1948). The American researcher and writer, was the first person who clearly defined the concept of national security: "A nation enjoys security when they can protect their basic values in the case of avoiding war and can advance these values if they fight."

Consider the following renderings uttered by this candidate of Democratic Party:

1. Being secure also means being safe, safe at home, at school, at work. (September, 2016)
2. Americans are going to have to act with both courage and clarity. (September, 2016)
3. We do have to be prepared for more terrorists plotting attacks. (October, 2016)
4. It's a choice between a fearful America that's less secure and less engaged with the world, and a strong, confident America that leads to keep our country safe and our economy growing. (September, 2016)
5. We also need to listen to the families crying out for relief from gun violence. (October, 2016)
6. The wrong people keep getting their hands on guns. (October, 2016)
7. We do need to do more to stop gun violence. (October, 2016)
8. We cannot go on with losing 90 people a day to gun violence. (October, 2016)

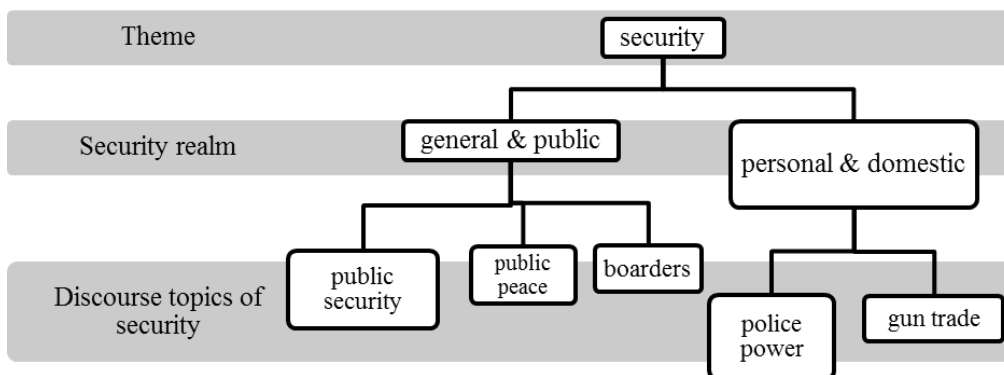
Clinton, the candidate of democratic party in the presidential elections in 2016, has focused on three issues in her speech on the theme of security the main branch or issue is the part that does not exist in trumps discourse, the part that consists of violence in society resulted from arms trade freedom to bear arms in the United States and also the issue of hatred and separation among the ethnic groups and religions in society. The emphasis on these two issues by Hillary Clinton aims at appeal against the freedom to bear arms and also families worried about their children's security in the society, on one hand, and getting the support of human rights defenders and racial equality, on the other hand, that both of these two concepts are absent in the discourse of Trump.

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The second branch or issue is related to the reaction against the issues referred and attended to by Trump including the issues of borders security and the global security of the united-states that this candidate has focused on it to defend the policies of Democratic Party and answer the doubts raised by the rival.

And the third branch or issue includes general issues such as interest in global peace and security and the importance of strengthening the power of domestic security agencies that have only been focused for propaganda manure and paying attention to issues raised by some movements and unions in the society. The sample words related to the theme of security in the speeches of this Democratic Party candidate that have been presented below, confirms her use of these selective words.

Fig.1. Theme of 'Security'



5.2 Theme of 'Nationalism'

Nationalism is a foundation for desire for the ethnic and political units to live together and warrantee this thought the governors and citizens enjoying this coexistence in this hypothetical political unit belong to the same ethnic origin. National feelings root in the thought of building a society with linguistic, religious and psychological identities based on imagining the ancient kinship of hypothetical group members. The mental imagination of this society is more important compared to it historical realities (Canovan, 1996).

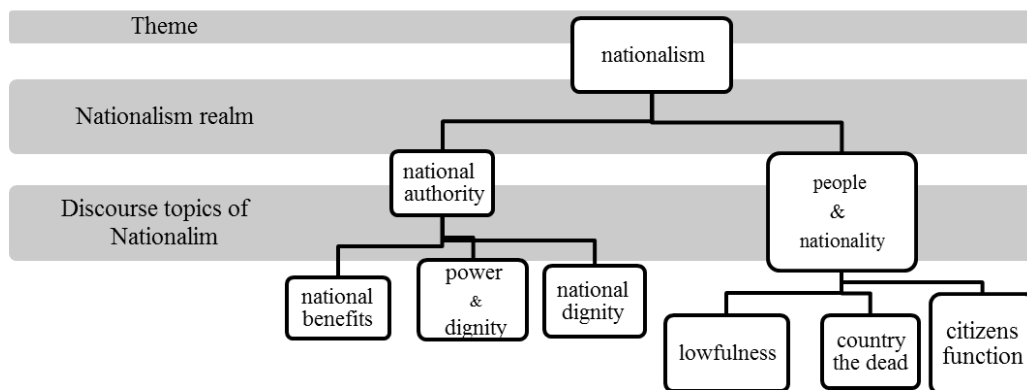
Given the world power of the United States on the one hand, and that everywhere in the world, the president should be the symbol of attention and growing nationalism and national power, on the other hand, under the pretext of the abundance of resources and the determining power of the United States and appreciation and reference to these. Who lost their lives for this country, Hillary Clinton refers to this issue that with

this history and stock, our benefits must be provided all over the world and the security of the United States must be ensured outside the borders of this country. In this way, she thinks the integrity, dignity and national authority of the United States are threatened referring to his rival relationship with Russia and uses it as a tool for stimulating and boiling national sense and authoritarianism of the voters and attempts to rely on this concept that the foreign policy doctrine of the democratic party will save the authority and the international power of the United States. Following figure indicates and confirms her use of words by which she wants to capture the minds of people and achieve her desires, that is, domination over them.

Consider the following renderings uttered by Clinton:

9. So no one should ever underestimate the determination of the American people. And I am confident we will once again choose resolve over fear. (September & October, 2016)
10. We do have the best law enforcement in the world, the best military, the best intelligence services. (September, 2016)

Fig.2- Theme of 'Nationalism'



5.3 Theme of defending the women's rights

According to feminists claims, these days, social organizations, decision-making bodies and institutions such as the family, economy and government based on gender institutionalized template have presented definitions of women that in these definitions, women have always been compared and evaluated with men and their identity have always originated from their gender classification such as mother, daughter or wife. In feminists view when human is studied at general an world level, women are not under consideration, but in these studies, men are considered the

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representatives of human and women have been studied in their own class that is women and sexual class (Mc Dowell and Pringle, 1992).

Consider the following renderings uttered by Clinton:

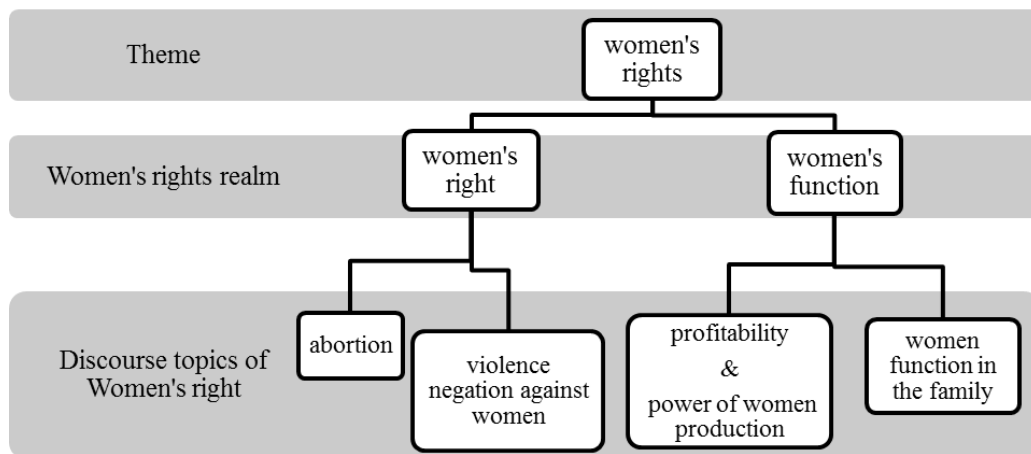
11. Especially at a time when record numbers of women are their household's. (September, 2016)
12. I support abortion. (September, 2016)
13. More than 50 percent of Americans are women, and if we want to build the most productive and highly skilled workforce that we possibly can, we need to value women. (September, 2016)
14. Making it easier for women to find good jobs and rise in the workplace. (October, 2016)
15. Two thirds of minimum wage workers are women, and many of them are also raising families. Even if they're working full time, they're stuck below the poverty line. I don't think that's right. (October, 2016)
16. Here's my bottom line: What's good for women is good for America. (October, 2016)
17. When women are strong, families are strong-and when families are strong, America is strong. (October, 2016)

This democratic party candidate indeed by defending the women's rights and dragging them to the scene and emphasis on women profitability and cases like this wants to bring women to the scene of election using indirect statement and with valuing the women in the society of America to act not only in her own profit but also to the profit of a class she herself is a member and to devote their votes to herself and in this way both to defend her being a woman and can obtain the votes of the women who account for half of the population of the united states.

By emphasizing the desired and weak points of women's situation in the world and especially in the united states of America, she emphasizes the sensitive points in feminist American, the role of women in the best interests and profits of the society, violence against women at home and outside the home and also the concern for law forbidding abortion. Below, words related to the theme of women's rights in the speeches of this Democratic Party candidate indicate this point.

Given the weak point of Donald Trump the rival of Clinton in terms of attention and respect for women's rights and his non-defense case regarding his relations and attitudes toward women and with reliance on the gender of Clinton, the empty signifier used by Clinton has been based on the definition of empty signifier in view of Laclau and Mouffe, the rights of women and feminism. In that she has used this theme as the empty signifier of his election campaigns to the issues and rights of women on the side of Trump.

Fig.3. Theme of 'women's rights'



5.4 Theme of 'Human rights and Justice'

Nowadays, in the prevailing scientific circles, a kind of pragmatism based on human rights has formed where paying attention to fundamental issues and controversial ones relating to human rights is ignored and they are presented in a way that human right notions are lucky and blessed phenomena to human. Heywood (2011) has defined human right as follows: human rights that individuals have it because of being human, and introduces it universal, fundamental and absolute, and also considers human international rights as a set of rights that has been set in the United Nations sets and other conventions and contracts.

consider the following renderings uttered by Clinton:

18. I have been traveling to a lot of places with the point of actually listening to what people are experiencing. (August, 2016)
19. There are millions of peace-loving Muslims living, working, raising families, and paying taxes in our country. (August & September, 2016)
20. So to all our Muslim-American brothers and sisters, this is your country too. And I am proud to be your fellow American. (August, 2016)
21. And despite being the richest country on earth, we have too much economic inequality – and that also undermines the foundation of our democracy. (September, 2016)
22. So, too, must we fight inequality and create opportunity in our time – not just for some Americans, but for all. (October, 2016)
23. Say "Black Lives Matter". (August, September & October, 2016)

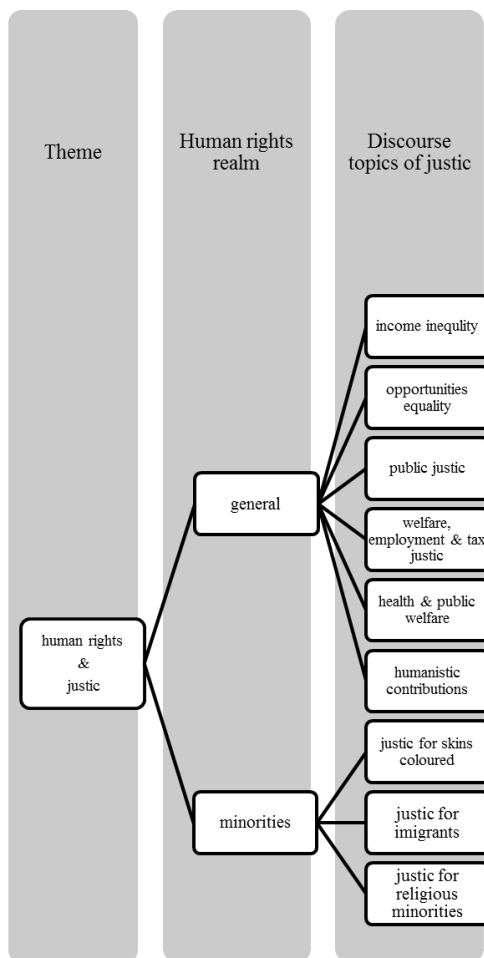
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With statistical looking at Hillary Clinton's speeches and extracting the frequency of her reference to the issue of justice and human rights and conclusion according to the definition of Laclau and Mouffe from central signifier, it could be concluded that the concept and central signifier of Hillary Clinton's discourse has been around the axis of justices and human rights and in this theme of discourse, the candidate democrats has attempted to cover the large majority of voters and getting their attention for inviting them to vote and elect her. Considering the signs and issues used by this candidate in subset of this theme, we witness the use of very extensive vocabulary and tips that cover intermediate to lower society of America, religious minorities, ethnic minorities, immigrants and especially American moslems and blacks.

By relying on concepts such as skin color, public revenue opportunities, justice, unemployment, immigrants, religions, nationality, domestic and social welfare, in general, has sought to show that she focuses on this concept and is partial and committed to the issue of justice and equality among people. That this concept in the discourse of Clinton has grown and developed that much, is an explicit and direct reaction to the economic position and the prosperous life position of the rival and also his entrenchment against Muslims and immigrants.

The writing below, refers to the sample of words related to the theme of human rights and justice in the speeches of this democratic party candidate so as to be a reason for the claim of the writers.

Fig.-4. Theme of 'Human rights and Justice'



Conclusion

Central signifier that is the basic and foundation of discourse of a speaker or writer according to the definition of Laclau and Mouffe with turning to repetition and emphasis on the issues related to justice, equality, human rights and the rights of minorities and frequency of using this concept in all speeches of Clinton, as the central signifier of Hillary Clinton discourse, could be focused on. Given the close competition between the two candidates, clearly the correct method of propaganda is investing on all the spectrums of voters. In this way, instead of relying on a specific target group, Clinton by raising the issue of justice, human rights in the realm of

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election discourse and maneuver around this issue has sought to present an applied program relying on the common profit of all population groups in the society. In this approach reference to issues such as following examples is indicative of this candidate's emphasis on the maximum possible target community in determining propaganda discourse and complete coverage, especially the majority spectrum of the voters including intermediate and low classes of the society. Empty signifier according to findings and given the female sex of Hillary Clinton and furthermore, relying on the issues created as a result of Trump's dialogues leaked about women and his attitude toward women, we witness that the empty signifier used by Clinton is the feminist and women's rights. Another reason for Clinton's reliance on this topic as the empty signifier is that the previous period of presidency of the country has been in the hands of a person from Hillary's own party and she cannot refer widely to the gap in other field. By observing the emphasized components where the selection of components are based on the need coverage and concerns of all the age spectrums and women performance, it has covered from the field the work, family life to the personal life of women. Hostility and antagonism of election discourse and specially against women and in contrast, his soft approach against some of the domestic known enemies of America such as Putin and Bashar Asad, the discourse of Hillary Clinton was completely different and against that of Trump and by declaring strict and dominating position in the foreign policy about the issue of Syria and also an approach similar to presidency discourse of America during the cold war against Russia and, on the other hand, attention to impressionable and vulnerable groups of American society and specially women in America, she planned her discourse in antagonism with this discourse of Trump and based on three principles, that is, international authority of the united states, women's rights, equality and justice of all groups in American society.

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