

**AN ANALYSIS OF THEMES AND LINGUISTIC  
DEVICES IN POLITICAL  
AUTOBIOGRAPHIES**

**By**

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**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES**

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**An Analysis of Themes and Linguistic  
Devices in Political Autobiographies**

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## THESIS/DISSERTATION AND DEFENSE APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read the following thesis, examined the defence, are satisfied with the overall exam performance, and recommend the thesis to the Faculty of English Studies for acceptance:

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## ABSTRACT

### **Title: Postmodern Discourse: A Thematic and Linguistic Analysis of Political Autobiographies**

This study aims to explore, through critical discourse analysis of political autobiographies, activist themes in political discourse and how these themes are communicated to readers with the use of linguistic devices. This research analyzes two autobiographies of contemporary political personalities, Nelson Mandela and Barack Hussein Obama. Their selection is based on their similarities of struggle in contemporary political world and political importance in the world politics. Each of them is connected with the concept of 'change' in one way or another. Each of them does not represent the traditional hierarchy of politicians. They have futuristic view with abolition of 'apartheid' in different shapes and have emancipatory agenda. The study is important as it offers deep scholarship in terms of its scope and application not only in Pakistani context but also in global political and historical context.

The Postmodern wave of democratization and the emphasis on democratic values and right to expression make it imperative that the political discourse be studied with more and full attention. In this regard, one genre that is almost totally ignored in Pakistani context and little attention has been paid to it even at the global level, is autobiography. Autobiography is a special kind of composition in which the author gives a picture of the evolution of the self and its relation with the external world throughout this evolutionary process. The famous political autobiographies *Long Walk to Freedom* by Nelson Mandela and *Audacity of Hope* by Barack Hussein Obama were, therefore, selected as the basic units of analysis. Through content analysis different topics are separated from the original text. These topics are then grouped under different categories of van Dijk's theory of Political Discourse Analysis. The exploration and analysis of linguistic devices are also carried out. Besides Van Dijk's Political Discourse Analysis (PDA), Huckin's approach to text and Corpus Linguistics' quantitative methodology aided the systematic in depth analysis. Methods of both the qualitative and quantitative research have been utilized for this study as the researchers believe that quantification of data along with qualitative description produce reliable results.

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## List of Abbreviations

ABC	American Broadcasting Corporation
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CA	California
CAFTA	The Central America Free Trade Agreement
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CD-ROM	Compact Disc Read-Only Memory
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIDE	Center for International and Development Education
CL	Critical Linguistics
CNN	Cable News Network
CO	Commanding Officer
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP	Communist Party
DA	Discourse Analysis
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer AustauschDienst
DG	Director General
DHA	Discourse-Historical Approach
DI KHAN	Dera Ismail Khan
DS	Discourse Studies
FDIC	Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
FDR	Franklin Delano Roosevelt
FMLA	Family & Medical Leave Act
FW de Klerk	Frederik Willem de Klerk

GB	Great Britain
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOP	Grand Old Party
HBO	Home Box Office (Cable and Satellite Television Network)
HI(M)	Hilal e imtiaz (Military)
HMS	His/Her Majesty's Ship
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	Institute of Medicine
IRC	International Red Cross Committee
JFK	John Fitzgerald Kennedy
K.D.	Kaiser Daliwonga (Matanzima)
KWIC	Key Word In Context
LA	Los Angeles
LAX	Los Angeles International Airport
LIWC	Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count
LLB	Bachelor of Laws
MA	Massachusetts
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MNA	Member National Assembly
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NASCAR	National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NED	Nadirshaw Eduljee Dinshaw (Engineering University)
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NIS	National Intelligence Service
NM	Nelson Mandela
NMC	National Management College
NP	National Party
NPR	National Public Radio

NRA	National Rifle Association of America
NUML	National University of Modern Languages
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province (Now KPK or Khyber Pukhtunkhwa)
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PAC's	Political Action Committees
PAFMECSA	Pan African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa
PDA	Political Discourse Analysis
PDA	Personal Digital Assistant
PDF	Portable Document Format
PM	Prime Minister
PTV	Pakistan Television
QC	Queen's Course
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SAT	Scholastic Aptitude Test
SCIRI	Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
SRC	Student Representative Council
TGI	Target Group Index
TGIF	Target Group Index Fridays
UDF	United Democratic Front
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UPI	United Press International
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development



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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my parents my wife

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Language, Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Language, one of the distinguishing features of Homo sapiens, that is, human race, has been the subject of study not only during the modern and postmodern eras but it goes back into the pages of ancient history, to Panini and Greek scholars. Man, variously called as social animal, tool making animal, is also called a talking animal. Through this unique tool called language, man conveys his messages to others.

Language is a unique human tool that distinguishes man from rest of the living creatures. This uniqueness of the human language has been described by Noam Chomsky (1972) in these words: “When we study human language, we are approaching what some might call the ‘human essence,’ the distinctive qualities of mind that are, so far as we know, unique to man” (p. 100).

Different scholars use the term language in a variety of ways. While discussing communication and language Neil Thompson (2003) states:

The term language can be used in a very broad metaphorical sense to refer to any system of communication. For example many people refer to the language of mathematics or the language of music. Similarly computer programming systems are generally referred to as language. However, it is important to be clear right from the start that our focus here is on human language- that is, the use of linguistic forms as the basis of interpersonal and social communication interpersonal meaning specifically between individuals or groups of individuals, and social meaning across whole societies and cultures or significant proportions of them. (p. 37)

A definition of language is given by Montgomery (1995) in the following words: “Language, indeed, is best understood as a set of interlocking relationships in which a linguistic form takes on the meaning it does by virtue of its place within the total system of signs (p. xxv).”

According to Thomson (2003) language is the use of units such as words, sentences or a text as a whole, which combine to give us a meaningful communication. These words or other units form parts of a system which is called human communication.

Language is not only in oral form but it also has its written shape. According to Fromkin, Blair & Collins (1999) civilization has a basic tool, and that is writing and without it, the world of our knowledge could not have been possible.

For language and communication, the researcher has been working on a personal project in order to find an acceptable solution to the controversy of mentalist and behaviorist approaches to the language learning, supported by clear evidences from the ancient scripts and very carefully managed observations carried out for this very study. This study supports the mentalist approach based on the evidences found during the study and goes beyond the mentalist approach. It adds new terminology to the repertoire of the linguistic vocabulary. The study does not totally reject the role of the behaviorist approach in the socialized- progress of the language learning process. The basic argument of this study is that there is a basic and commonly shared linguistic code which comes with the human beings with their birth. This argument has been elaborated, explained and supported by evidences and new terminology has been invented for this purpose because the traditional terminology fails to express this phenomenon fully. This is a case study and follows the techniques of the Observational and Archival Methodologies.

The Postmodern era has yet to dig out the gems of linguistic code rudiments. The controversy between the mentalist and behaviorist approaches has crossed the boundaries of modern era into the Postmodern one. The issue has not been settled yet and the

consensus between the two linguistic worlds seems to be improbable. This research project looks at the role of the brain in the language and creativity and is clearly tilted towards the mentalist approach. The project looks at the issue from a novel stand point. It will first discuss the mentalist and behaviorist approaches. Then the Quranic ideas of the relationship between mind and language will be presented. The observations of this study will be presented later on.

Anotonio and Hanna Damasio say this about the function of the brain:

The functional asymmetry of the human brain is unequivocal, and so is its anatomical asymmetry. The structural difference between the left and right hemispheres is visible not only under the microscope but to the naked eye. The most striking asymmetries occur in language-related cortices. It is tempting to assume that such anatomical differences are an index of the neurobiological underpinning of language. (Cited in Fromkin, 1999)

Hipcratic Treatise on the Sacrid Disease c. 377 BC, says this about the brain:

[The brain is] the messenger of the understanding [and the organ whereby] in an especial manner we acquire wisdom and knowledge. (Cited in Fromkin, 1999)

A.A. Milne in 'The House at Pooh Corner' says this in his own way:

'Rabbit's clever', said Pooh thoughtfully.

'Yes', said Piglet, 'Rabbit's clever.'

'and he has Brain.'

'Yes.' Said Piglet, 'Rabbit has Brain.'

There was a long silence.

'I suppose', said Pooh, 'that that's why he never understands anything. (Cited in Fromkin, 1999)

There is a rudimentary or fundamental language which comes with the man right with his birth.” This native language is universal to all human beings I term ‘Lingua Nativus.’ I have coined this term with the belief that this term best expresses the universal language code present in the brain of all human beings. According to Chambers 20<sup>th</sup> Century Dictionary the term ‘Lingua’ means the tongue. The etymology of the term shows that it is from the Latin origin ‘lingua’ which means the tongue (Kirkpatrick (Ed.), 1983). As far as the term ‘Nativus’ is concerned, the etymology of the term ‘Native’ says that it is from the Latin origin ‘nativus’ coming from ‘ nasci’ or ‘natus’ meaning ‘to be born’ (Kirkpatrick). So, the term Lingua Nativus is the native rudimental code of all human beings which comes with them, In-built within. The Primary Linguistic Data or PLD is a part of it. In addition to this term I have also attempted to introduce two other new terms or combination of terms in a new way or new meaning. These are: ‘Motor Language’ and ‘Vocal Language.’ Actually I have this hypothesis too in my mind that Language is actually motor language plus vocal language. This can be expressed explicitly in the following equation:

$$\text{Language} = \text{Motor Language} + \text{Vocal Language}$$

By Motor Language I mean all those expressive gestures which a child or an adult Homo Sapiens exhibits. The Vocal Language is the Vocal expression of the feelings of Homo Sapiens.

Some fundamental questions for the study were the following:

How do children produce “Creative Expressions?”

Why a child weeps right after birth even if s/he has a changed environment, why not she smiles or laughs to express feelings of changed environment? Who told him/her to do so?

Why not a child, ‘moving on four’, moves in a reverse direction and moves ahead?

Why does a child express surprise/wonder at a new thing or event?

Theoretical bases included both Quranic and Chomskian ideas. In the Surah LV, Al –Rahman, that is The Beneficent, Verses 3 and 4, God says: He hath created man. He hath taught him utterance (The Holy Quran). These two verses of the Holy Quran very

clearly Show that the utterance is an inbuilt capacity of man. This means that when man was created he was gifted with the language. So, language is innate ability or skill of man. These two verses in the Holy Quran support the Mentalist School of thought as far as language is concerned. This idea is also supported by the Surah Al-Baqarah. In Surah II, Al- Baqarah, that is, The Cow, Verse 31, God says: And He taught Adam all the names(5), then showed them to the angels saying: Inform me of the names of these, if ye are truthful.(The Holy Quran). This verse also supports the innate idea of the human language. These verses also suggest that the first ever teacher of language is God. He taught Adam the language, that is, utterance at the time of his creation. These verses exceedingly clearly support the Chomskian ideas of mentalist theory of language learning and acquisition. This idea was presented by the Holy Quran long before Chomsky or any other Mentalist theorist. The Holy Quran presented this idea around fifteen centuries ago. The Holy Quran is not just giving the mentalist approach, although it is fundamental. At some places the Holy Quran is also giving importance to the "Socialization" in polishing and utilizing the innate language "Package." It means that after birth the Homo Sapiens cannot be left alone in a jungle or isolation for beginning the talk. He needs to utilize his eyes and ears to "Open" this "Innate Language Package" hereinafter will be called ILP. Surah Al A'raf verse 179 supports this idea in the following words: "Already have we urged unto hell many of the jinn and humankind, having hearts wherewith they understand not, and having eyes wherewith they see not, and having ears wherewith they hear not. These are as the cattle- nay, but they are worse! These are the neglectful" (The Holy Quran).

Avram Noam Chomsky, the leading figure among the mentalists created a great stir among the linguists of the Northern America when he announced his mentalist ideas. His theory of Language Acquisition Device or LAD in the brain was an iconoclastic idea in the field of linguistics in the 1959. Chomsky had the following two criticisms for the behaviorist ideas:

1. The behaviour of the rats is irrelevant to human language.
2. Skinner fundamentally misunderstands the nature of language.

“By studying the properties of natural languages----- we may hope to gain some understanding of specific characteristics of human intelligence” (Chomsky, 1975: 4-5, mentioned in chapter 2 of Chomsky-Ideas and Ideals by Neil Smith, 1999, p.49).“By rationalism is meant the idea, best represented in the work of his intellectual ancestors Descartes, that reason has precedence over sense in the acquisition of knowledge, and much of his knowledge must be innate” (Smith, 1999).

“Chomsky has provided the best evidence in existence for innateness of some aspects of our knowledge of language and hence for Cartesian rationalism” (Smith,1999).

“Psychological reality- that is, truth of a certain theory” (Chomsky, 1980a, 191, mentioned Chomsky-Ideas and Ideals, p.93).

“We have grammars in our heads. That’s why we can produce and understand unlimited number of sentences; why language can interact with other things inside our heads, like memory and vision and moral judgment, why people who suffer damage to their heads often lose their language in whole or in part; why PET scans show increased blood flow in particular bits of our brain when we carry out linguistic tasks under experimental conditions” (Smith, 1999).

“All human knowledge begins with intuition, goes from there to concepts and ends with ideas.” (Kant, The Critique of Pure Reason, mentioned in Neil Smith-CUP 1999, p. 99)“ A language is a corpus of teachable things” (Ryle, 1961, p.5 mentioned in Neil Smith, 1999 p.116)

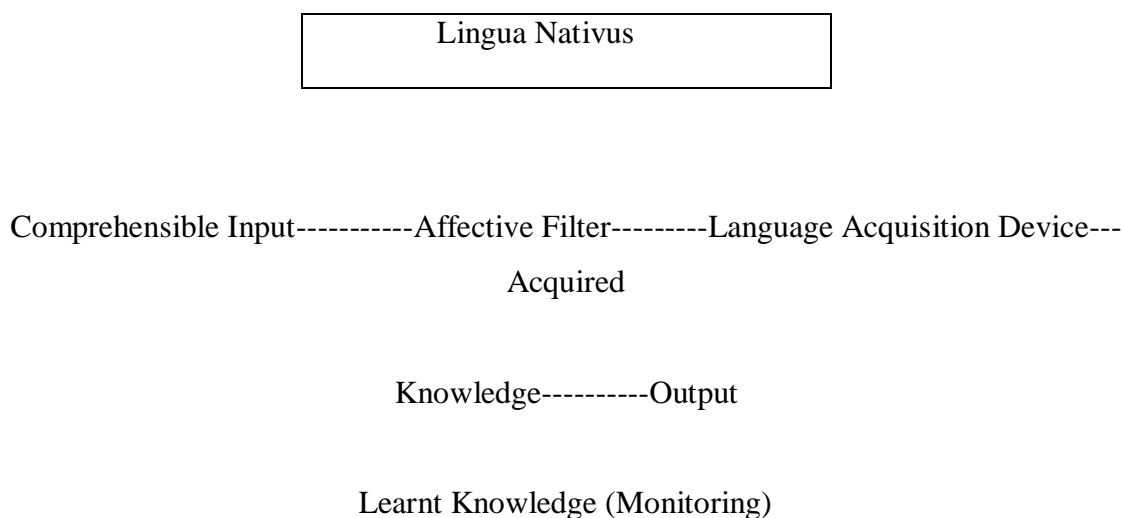
“Internal” means that the domain that the linguists is studying is internal to the mind-brain of particular speakers and hearers, rather than expressing a relation between the mind and the outside world (Ryle, 1961; Smith, 1999)

Chomsky is a mentalist in the sense that he is attempting to understand the working of the human mind within framework of natural sciences (Ryle, 1961; Smith, 1999). The mind-body problem: “Since Descartes, philosophers have been pre-occupied with how the mental can affect the physical, how something which is by definition insubstantial can cause changes in spatially located entities, in other words, how the body can move the body”



We know that Chomsky is mentalist but B.F. Skinner thinks the other way round. But here our hypothesis is that the language is native to man as the Holy Quran categorically says and the approach of Avram Noam Chomsky support this very clearly. The socialization of Skinner plays its role in the development of language but in the later on stage. If we study the Input Hypothesis Model of second language learning and production for our purpose in this study we can see the innateness and Lingua Nativus more at work.

Lets reproduce the diagram which is as follows:



The above Language Acquisition Device is the part of that Lingua Nativus or in other words the mechanism of Lingua Nativus which enables man or Homo Sapiens to speak and later on helps in the social adaption and modification and molding of the human language.

The Methodologies of this Research are Observational and Archeological.

A Case study of a 10-Month Child.

The research instrument or tool of this research work is observation.

The following procedure was followed:

1. Observation.

2. After the observation a kit of analysis was produced for the data.

3. A frame of strategies was determined.

Following Points were kept under consideration for analyzing data:

1. Observed and scrutinized data and analyzed.

2. Data is presented systematically.

The Child Case:

Age:

0-----10 Months

Here in this my case study of the child I observed and studied the development of the child and came to know that child could act “ Independently” and attempt “Self- thought dependent” “Options”. This he could do before “Socialized Actions.” This selection of different options independent of the surrounding and socialization support show that the child could “Create” options for his own facility and in many cases these option- selection was clearly untaught.

In the following picture the child attempted to get onto the bed but he could not do so in the beginning. He then applied different options. He was not guided or supported by anybody. After applying different options to facilitate himself, he at last succeeded in getting onto the bed. During this whole struggle and process his different expressions, in other words “Different Languages” or “Linguistic Utilities” were very much visible. He expressed his “Dislike” and “Anger” when not successful. This dislike or anger was his “own” and created by himself. This was his choice to select this “Item” from his In-built treasure of “Language options”. This is actually provided by the Lingua Nativus, the universal language base or code present in the brain of every Homo Sapiens. The facial expressions, the gestures and the vocalizations are all manifestations of this

language. I call these gestures as the Motor-language and the vocal expressions as the Vocal-language.

The child does the following when “Performing the linguistic actions”:

Crying \_\_\_\_\_

Cooing \_\_\_\_\_

Babbling \_\_\_\_\_

Vocalization \_\_\_\_\_

Talks \_\_\_\_\_

Gesturing \_\_\_\_\_

Muscular Expression \_\_\_\_\_

Movements \_\_\_\_\_

ALL THESE ARE EXPRESSIONS  
AND THUS LANGUAGE

During their struggle and all the mentioned vocal and motor activities the child thinks and my observation during this study reveals that the children do something which they have not been taught. These thought supported activities are creativity. If these creative expressions are , it means that the Lingua Nativus has come to the help of the child.

Thought supported movements = Creativity

Child---- Making-----Creating something during his movements, gestures.

Child observed on:

Ground----- Stairs----- Bed----- Different Places

Certain Questions:

If... child selects different choices, why?

Why a child does this?

Big Ifs.....

Because of the Mind

There are big ifs. If he selects different options

he/she is creative with an innate ability.

So, the Mentalist point of view

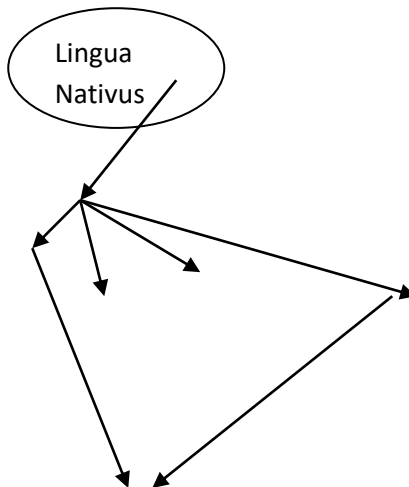
Language, Thought and Intelligence in Children:

Some members of the behaviorist school of psychology regard thinking as sub vocal speech. They have pointed out that, during thinking movements of the throat and tongue

are observable, and therefore that thinking may be termed “internal speech.....Animals cannot speak in the usual sense of the term, but there seems little doubt that they engage in some forms of thinking (Russell, 1956).

It clearly shows that human beings have innate ability of language and the animals do not have this ability.

Here, in these pictures, the child takes the language as activity. When they do something during these doings and performances, they make something. And this ‘making something’ is creativity.



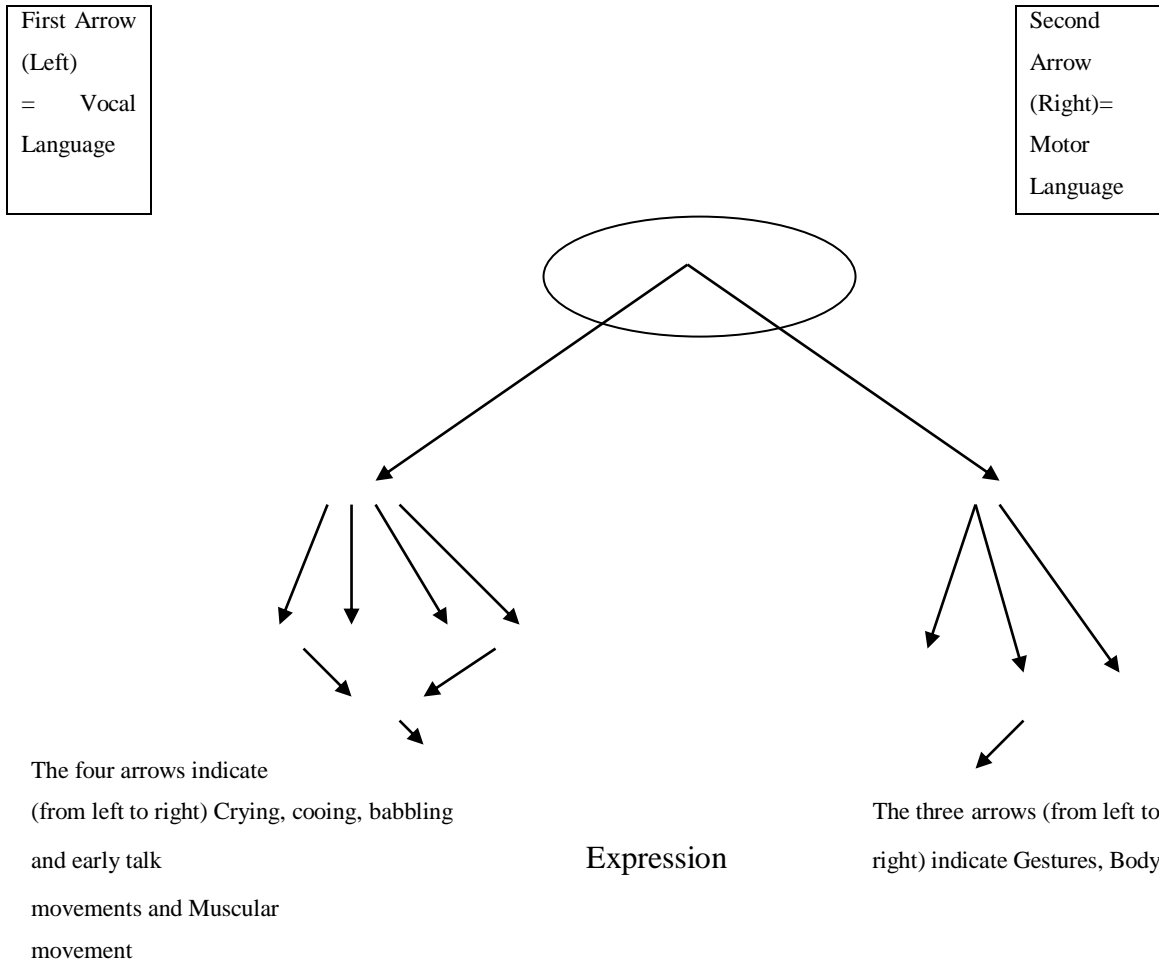
Languag=Expression

Talk  
(Articulation)

+

Socialization (B.F. Skinner)

Lingua Nativus

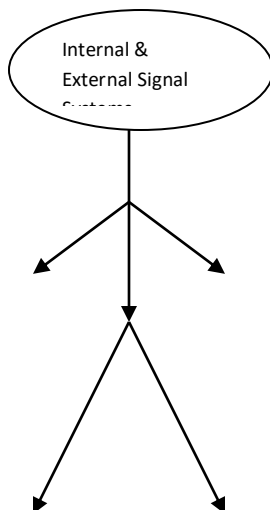


All Homo Sapiens have Basic Language Code. This is In-built Proto-language, like Operating Language, analogous to Operating System of a computer system. There are also the following two systems that play their role in the linguistic activities and they are unique to man in this regard. These are:

Central Nervous System

Peripheral Nervous System

See the figure on the following page for the internal and external sign system.



The language of man depends on the internal and external signal systems.

Smith (1999) discusses the variation of language and the private language. He also discusses the rationalism of Descartes and the empiricism of Quine and the innateness of language. The poverty of stimulus, which says that you know more than what you have been taught has also been discussed and language as the essential and defining property of man, these ideas find detailed discussion here.

There is an internal signal system and there is an external signal system in man. This is unique to man. Both these systems are actually the two aspects of language. The observation of the child showed this very clearly. Actually the Human machine is dependent on signals and communication. And the combination of this is language. So, Signal + Communication = Language.

So, by close observations we find that the mind has a very great and fundamental role in the production and development of language. The unique thing about the human language is that it has been given by God to man and denied to other living beings in the same manner. Man has the ability of language as part of his body just like other body

parts. What I mean here is that language is the essential body part just like the other body parts.

Our study has revealed the following facts:

1. The child thinks.
2. The child considers different options while he does something.
3. During his performance s/he makes something new.
4. There are many things that are not taught to the child but s/he can perform those.
5. Language is not only the name of vocal sounds, it is the name of gestures too.
6. Language is the name of expression.
7. Expressions can be Motor or Vocal, that is, there is a Motor Language and a vocal Language.
8. Lingua Nativus is a broader concept and Language acquisition device is the part of the Lingua Nativus mechanism.

There should be deep and serious research in the Quranic point of view of the human language. The Holy Quran gives the basic and clear concept of language which fundamentally directs us towards the innate nature of language but at the same time as I explained with support of the verses from the Quran, the role of senses is also very important in language development.

Two other terms, of which one is discourse and the other is narrative also require our attention at the very outset of this research work. According to Whetherell (2001), when we study discourse we actually study the human meaning making. Thomson (2003) goes on to say that narrative is the utilization of stories for making some sense of our life or some specific aspects of the same. So, in simple words, during the use of our language we not only give out information to other people but also use discourse and enter into the creation and recreation of the narratives.

Discourse is applied to both written and spoken language. Discourse is an institutionalized and specialized way of speaking and writing that specifies what people say and write, how they say it and what not to say (Johnson, 2005). It also determines what they do not express openly or do not say. Discourses utilize a unified choice of

words with symbols and specific metaphors that help us to construct and communicate a coherent interpretation of reality. According to Fairclough (1995), discourses include representations of how things are and have been, as well as imaginary representations of how things might or could or should be. The knowledge of the knowledge-economy and knowledge-society are imaginaries in this sense, projections of possible states of affairs and possible world. According to online Merriam-Webster dictionary “discourse” is 1. Archaic: The capacity of orderly thought or procedure 2. Verbal interchange of ideas; especially conversation 3.a. Formal and orderly and usually extended expression of thought on a subject b. Connected speech or writing c. Linguistic unit (as a conversation or a story) larger than a sentence 4. Obsolete: Social familiarity.

For macro analysis of discourses, Discourse Analysis (DA) is used. Discourse analysis is defined by Crystal (1994) as the study of continuous stretches of language longer than a single sentence. It is also called discourse linguistics and specially investigates the organization of such general notions as conversations, arguments, narratives, jokes, and speeches, looking out in particular for linguistic features which identify structure of discourse (discourse markers), such as I mean to say or well, anyway. The term has been used to apply to both spoken and written language.

On the other hand, Critical Discourse Analysis aims at micro analysis of discourses. Van Dijk (1989) defines critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

Our units of analysis are autobiographies which are the written form of language and particular kind of discourse. The written form of the language can come before us in any style, ranging from technical to literary form. Writing may be a written drama by any famous classical writer or more recent postmodern drama. Writing can also take the form



of poetry, novel or literary essays. Academic writing is also a variety of written language and discourse. Literary criticism is another form of writing along with all the technical writing not specifically used in literary circles also forms part of written language.

## **1.2 Political Discourse and its Analysis**

What exactly is political discourse? The easiest, and not altogether misguided, answer is that political discourse is identified by its actors or authors, viz., politicians. Indeed, the vast bulk of studies of political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents, prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels (Van Dijk, 1995).

The economic and political situation at global level and emerging indigenous political situation in Pakistan make it necessary to study lives and discourses of political actors in the world and indigenous emerging political situation in Pakistan. Politics in postmodern world, especially in post 9/11 scenario, requires further research in order to understand political discourse and politics at global as well as indigenous level.

Primarily the researcher was concerned with a fact that many people did not fully grasp political discourse. This necessitated further systematic research in this area. Preliminary survey of the researcher also reveals that political autobiographies provide one of the sources of data for such studies. Autobiographies as personal histories provide firsthand knowledge about the author, original language and act as primary sources of information.

Biographies and autobiographies as forms of written language and discourse are other genres getting an increasing attention of the linguists and literary people but are still in the initial stages of analysis. In the present study, units of analysis are two autobiographies; *Long Walk to Freedom* and *The Audacity of Hope* by two black political leaders of international political importance, i.e., Nelson Mandela and Barrack Hussein

Obama respectively. The analysis of these two texts is being carried out in this research work.

Political discourse analysis (PDA), which is a relatively new discipline in the field of analysis, according to Van Dijk (1998) is a critical analysis of political discourses. He includes the whole discipline of political science for political discourse analysis. Main interest of the researcher in this study is to fully analyze the selected autobiographies in the frame of Van Dijk's Model of Political Discourse Analysis.

Present study is delimited to political discourse in two political autobiographies of political actors each representing "change," "non-traditional politics" with emancipatory agenda. Rationale behind selecting these two political personalities is that each of them represents in one way or the other, the concept of "change" in politics and have "futuristic" point of view for the new political world. Nelson Mandela represents Africa; Barack Obama represents America's view.

The selected units of analysis are given in the following table:

Table 1 Selection of units of analysis

<b>S. No.</b>	<b>Political Actor</b>	<b>Autobiography</b>	<b>Political Philosophy</b>	<b>Context</b>
1.	Nelson Mandela	<i>Long Walk to Freedom</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Change</li> <li>• Freedom</li> <li>• New Age</li> </ul>	Black African against White dominance
2.	Barack Obama	<i>The Audacity of Hope</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Change</li> <li>• American Dream</li> <li>• New Turn in US politics</li> </ul>	Black American in White dominant American society and politics

The study is also delimited to the exploration of themes and linguistic devices through the use of CDA methodology and AntConc.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem and Need for Research**

In the postmodern era of international and real politics, the study of political discourse cannot be ignored. The beginning of the process of decolonization in the early

twentieth century and the emergence of new states and the democratization of these states also necessitate the study of discourse of the leaders of the international political arena in order to better understand the new world. In addition, to understand the colonial world of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, the decolonization process and the factors leading to it, the political actors and their thoughts, both on the sides of the colonists and imperialists and the colonized and subjugated, the free world and its leadership, etc., the study and new research are essential in the present era of dialogue. The study of the political discourse will not only give the history of the molding factors of the present world but also the essential knowledge of the economy and the understanding of the relations between different races of the human beings.

In order to study the modern political discourse, we can refer to the speeches of the political leaders they make at different fora. The political speeches in the political gathering, the political talks on different media channels and in the different branches of the media like print media, that is, newspapers, periodicals and magazines on the one hand and radio and television can be some of the other fora where we can find these speeches of the politicians and statesmen. The new manifestation of the postmodern media is World Wide Web or the Internet. Besides, the social media like Facebook and Twitter are some of the social platforms on the Internet where we find the statements of the political leaders and leaders in other walks of life.

All the above mentioned media and channels, which are equally important, there are other channels of expression and communication for the political leaders and statesmen and that is the channels of biography and autobiography. Although the desire of expressing oneself is very old, especially self-expression or writing about oneself, that is, the expression of the “self” but the channel that expresses the self was not given attention. Weintraub (1975) writes in his paper “Autobiography and Historical Consciousness”:

An autobiographic instinct may be as old as Man Writing; but only since 1800 has Western Man placed a premium on autobiography. A

bibliography of all the autobiographic writing prior to that time would be a small fascicule; a bibliography since 1800 a thick tome. (p. 821)

An autobiography does have a scope to be exploited for the study of political discourse and for the discovery of the themes, especially political themes. The language of this genre can also be studied for the linguistic devices that the politicians and statesmen use in their autobiographies to convey or communicate their intended message to the readers and to the world at large. This genre is utilized very little for the analysis of discourse even until recently the genre itself had not been given proper attention. As Weintraub (1975) says:

Since the word “autobiography” by its derivation, means no more than the life recorded is the life lived by the writer, the reach of the term is very wide. Lyric poetry can hardly be free of its strongly autobiographical elements; yet it makes no sense to let this great poetic genre be swallowed up by in the imperialistic overreach of a loosely defined term. The autobiographic factor in such poetry very rarely is “a life,” more frequently but a moment of life, and only sometimes indeed it is a significant moment summing up the quintessential meaning of a life. The individual can sum up his life on a tombstone, but here the rendition of a life awesomely brief; when it is longer, it rather tends to become the record state than a private document. Even if no such criterion is hard and fast, it seems sensible at least, to demand that autobiography has scope. It is expected to have recaptured a significant segment of life, a formidable portion of an experience. (p.822)

The work done on autobiography was initiated in the West and that was mainly in the writing of that genre. Research and analysis of political autobiography as a distinct genre and as a form of political discourse still needs a lot of work at the global level, especially in the South Asian context. This discussion provides the initial stage for problem to be brought to the fore.

In order to investigate the problem, the researcher started analysis of various political autobiographies. In this process, critical discourse analysis which is of paramount importance was carried out. The critical discourse analysis of a small sample provided sufficient background to the researcher to start a systematic research inquiry in the said field. The content of these autobiographies was found to be rich in different Political themes and the use of various linguistic devices to communicate these themes. The problem with the discourse under study is that it is not fully understood by the stakeholders in politics and common people which is evident from the political scenario in the world. That is why it creates problems for the politicians as well as common people. This results in misunderstanding and misinterpretation of political issues.

The present study, therefore, aims to analyze the content of political autobiographies selecting the sample from America and Africa and to compare and contrast the results in the frame of Van Dijk's model of political discourse analysis.

Postmodern age is the age of information dissemination and the emergence of sophisticated information technology for the proliferation of this information within seconds around the globe. Various kinds of dialogues and discourses are pushed and uploaded to the World Wide Web in which political discourses and the themes hidden in these discourses form a major part of this information upsurge. The rapidly changing political scenario at the global level has speeded up the production of political discourse in various forms and this we find in the shape of hard-bound books along with the plethora of other forms of political dialogue. About the political, geographical changes at the beginning of the twentieth century Paul Kennedy (1993) says:

As the twentieth century approached, therefore, the pace of technological change and uneven growth rates made international system more unstable and complex than it had been fifty years earlier. This was manifested in the frantic post-1880 jostling by the Great Powers for additional colonial territories in Africa, Asia, and in the Pacific, partly for gain, partly out of a fear of being eclipsed. It also manifested itself in the increasing number of

arms races, both on land and at sea, and in the creation of fixed military alliances, even in the peacetime, as the various governments sought out partners for possible future war. (p.xix)

After the world war second, there had been great changes in the political and geographical maps of the world. Europe, affected, economically and politically by the blows of the Great War, could no longer control its colonies in Africa and Asia and in other parts of the world. The formation of the consultative body at the global level, United Nations Organization (UNO), also speeded up the process of decolonization. The signing of human rights charter also led towards new politics in the world. The struggle movements in Africa and Asia got momentum. Many countries achieved their independence in the 1940's and others accelerated their struggles. In fifties and especially in sixties, the freedom movements and the human rights demands like colored people's struggle for independence in Africa, especially in South Africa where African National Congress and other organizations accelerated their efforts. In the same manner, in the United States of America, people like Martin Luther King appeared as the flag bearers of such movements.

The discourse of these freedom and human rights movements also went through drastic changes. This change was felt by the researcher during the preliminary study of this "new" discourse, especially these "neo-political discourses" of these struggling leader. The researcher wanted to study in detail these discourses and selected two personalities very relevant in the history and continuity of these struggles. One leader is Nelson Mandela who spent more than twenty-seven years in prison and ultimately succeeded to become the first colored president of the republic of South Africa. The other leader is Barack Hussein Obama who is the first colored president of the United States. His discourse also reveals the topics generally related to the colored people, although he is not a freedom fighter in the real sense of the word.

For the study of their discourses, their autobiographies were selected because on the one hand, these autobiographies provide detailed analysis of their discourses where they are directly addressing the readers, discussing current and historical topics, in a language suited to the current political discourse of the leaders of their respective statuses. On the other hand, autobiographies have not been exploited for political discourse analysis on a large scale. This provides a gap and need for this research.

#### **1.4 Objectives of Research**

1. To study the political discourse through the autobiographies of the colored freedom and civil rights leaders within their specific geo-political framework.
2. To identify thematic manipulation in specific historical and geographical context in the selected units of analysis.
3. To point out and study the vital role of linguistic utilization as an ideas molding tool.
4. To study the contrastive thematic and linguistic manipulation in both the units of analysis.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

1. How is political discourse thematically manipulated in a specific historical and geographical context?
2. How are linguistic tools utilized by the political activists to mold the ideas of their audience and followers?

#### **1.6 Significance of Research**

In the postmodern world of disturbing political issues, political economy and information highways, that is, the quick dispersal of information, especially political ideologies in political discourses provide strong justification for the present study in order to analyze political discourse and understand its essence.

The study is significant because this will point out recurrent trends and themes, putting them in historical context along with various linguistic devices used to communicate these themes in the political discourse in the postmodern era. This will in turn help political actors and other stakeholders in politics and common people understand political discourse at national and international levels. The study will in this way also help grasp future trends and themes in politics through better comprehension of language in politics.

As Apartheid is present everywhere in the world but it has different manifestations and guise, especially in the third world countries, Pakistan being no exception. In the social fabric apartheid can be seen in very many forms, some obvious and some disguised. Political, economic marginalization etc., are manifestations of apartheid. In general terms apartheid is a kind of system that treats and separates members of a society on the basis of color, caste and ethnicity.

In Pakistan apartheid has many manifestations, for instance, in the form of race, ethnicity and economic inequality. According to K.K. Shahid (2014), apartheid is widespread in Pakistan. He writes that the division of economic classes in Pakistan is well documented. However, what is not as highlighted as it should be is racial apartheid and caste-based oppression. We have the ‘kammis’, and ‘mussalis’, with the masihs, bheels, kohlis and others facing both religious and caste-based subjugation. They are more often than not deemed unworthy to share food, drink or even utensils with. They are touted as the ‘untouchables’ but not untouchable enough to not be raped regularly. Women from these castes face racial, religious and gender apartheid. As you can see, as far as apartheid is concerned, Pakistan has a blend of everything — quite often for the same individual.

On gender apartheid World Economic Forum’s Gender Gap Index 2013 shows that Pakistan’s gender apartheid can be seen through the lens of the World Economic Forum’s Gender Gap Index 2013, where we sit pretty at the 135th spot — second from bottom. With the level of physical and sexual violence, forced marriages, karo kari (honor killings) and structural discrimination faced by Pakistani women redefining their



respective nadirs on an annual basis, one actually wonders what Yemen does to its women to take the honorable bottom slot away from us. With the jirga (tribal courts) system, which sanctions honor killings and female persecution, discounted as a 'cultural' and 'tribal' matter, gender apartheid in Pakistan should continue to flourish.

This research work will open avenues of the minds of academics and will draw attention of the social scientists and all stake holders towards this problem and the issue will find space in the literature on apartheid and its different manifestations.

Apartheid is a global concept and the research on this and other related topics will always be relevant and significant in any corner of the world. We see the idea and concept of apartheid at the global level in the postmodern world in the works of researchers like Titus Alexander, Bruno Amoroso, Patrick Bond, Gernot Kohler, Arjun Makhijani, Ali Mazuri, Vandana Shiva, Anthony Richmond, Joseph Nevins, Muhammed Asadi and Gustav Fridolin.

While reviewing Richmond's *Global Apartheid: Refugees, Racism, and the New World Order* (1994), Kathleen Valtonen says that Richmond uses forcefully the analogy of apartheid to describe the strategy that is being adopted by the industrialized countries of Europe, North America, Australasia, and other wealthy enclaves that are seeking to protect themselves from what they perceive to be a singular threat to their territorial integrity and privileged lifestyles. This threat is posed by the increasing pressure of international migration movements-mass migration from poorer to richer countries, from those where government systems have collapsed to those with more stable political environments. About the reason behind this apartheid or separation have been pointed out very clearly. She writes that the reasons being advanced to justify imposition of systems of separation or "apartheid have a familiar ring: defence of existing cultural and social institutions, state security, maintenance of law and order, the need to preserve ethnic identity, preservation of economic privilege, and the need to regulate and manage population movement

Although this research work focuses on two regions, that is, Africa and America but as the engines of apartheid and its manifestations are present everywhere in the world

and this presence of apartheid, in different shapes, makes this study very relevant and significant in any region of the world.

Mutasa (2004) is of the view that in today's world apartheid is reflected in 'who gets what, when and how?' in the global system. Global apartheid offers explanations for the North-South polarization, the peripherization of Africa, the breakdown of WTO trade talks in Seattle (1999) and Cancún (2003), terrorism, endless conflicts and wars, problems with the free movement of labor between the South and the North, increased wealth in rich countries while resources are drained from poor countries, as well as the denial of life saving medicines and care for people living with AIDS.

So, any research work on apartheid and related topics is still relevant in the postmodern and postindustrialized world and in the present world scenario it seems very probable that the debate on apartheid will continue for a long time not only in the social and political fields but also in the circles of academics and intelligentsia of any society. Present study will play a vital role as a catalyst for academicians and social scientists, especially in the third world including Pakistan.

### **1.7 Nelson Mandela and *Long Walk to Freedom***

Nelson Mandela, born 18<sup>th</sup> July, 1918, is one of the political figures and freedom fighters in the contemporary world. On his birth, he was given the name Rolihlahla which in his native Xhosa language literally means “pulling the branch of a tree” or simply “troublemaker.” The English name “Nelson” was given to him by his teacher in school. In his early childhood he was raised in the traditional way of his forefathers undisturbed by the happenings in the country beyond his small world of Xhosa land. But soon this period of peace and joy ended when he came across the system of Apartheid. He tells us the story of his life as a student and later on life in Johannesburg where he came across the new realities of racial discrimination and oppression. He joins the African National Congress (ANC) which begins his active role in the politics of his country, the central role in the struggle against racial discrimination and the system of Apartheid. Mandela also played active role in the formation of the Youth wing of ANC and its military wing

Umkhonto we Sizwe. He received global recognition and fame when he raised his voice against racial oppression and apartheid in the white dominated South Africa. In recognition of his long struggle for freedom and human rights, he was awarded Nobel Prize for peace after his release from prison in 1990. He remained in prison for twenty-seven years on Robben Island after the Rivonia Trial in 1964. In 1994, Nelson Mandela became the first black president of South Africa after the democratic elections which began a new era in the history of the country.

*Long Walk to Freedom* is a political autobiography by Nelson Mandela. It was published in 2003 by Abacus, London. In the book, Mandela narrates the story of his life right from his birth till the end of apartheid. He tells us about his birth, early days, schooling and his family life. Mandela also narrates his arrival in Johannesburg and his early activities and difficulties there. He details his first confrontation with the Apartheid system, his joining the ANC, his role in the ANC, the Rivonia Trial, and imprisonment on the Robben Island for twenty-seven years and his release in 1990. The book consists of eleven parts with one hundred and fifteen sub-parts or chapters. The parts with their headings are given below:

Part One: A Country Childhood

Part Two: Johannesburg

Part Three: Birth of Freedom Fighter

Part Four: The Struggle is My Life

Part Five: Treason

Part Six: The Black Pimpernel

Part Seven: Rivonia

Part Eight: Robben Island: The Dark Year

Part Nine: Robben Island: Beginning to Hope

Part Ten: Talking with the Enemy

Part Eleven: Freedom

## **1.8 Barack Hussein Obama and *The Audacity of Hope***

African American Barack Hussein Obama is the 44<sup>th</sup> president of the United States of America. He is the first ever African American to become the President of the United States. Barack Obama was born on August 4, 1961. His birth place was Honolulu, Hawaii, United States of America. His father was a Kenyan and mother, a white American. So, he belongs to a mixed heritage of black and white American family. Before entering into politics, Obama worked as a civil-rights lawyer and taught law at a University of Chicago Law School. Barack Obama's political career started on his joining the Democratic Party. First he was elected to the legislature of Chicago (Illinois), and then he became the U.S. Senator. In 2008, Obama rose to the presidency of the United States of America. He was re-elected to the office in 2012. Barack Obama's second book, *The Audacity of Hope*, was published in 2006, by Three Rivers Press, New York. It has 375 pages and is divided into the following parts:

Prologue

Chapter 1: Republicans and Democrats

Chapter 2: Values

Chapter 3: Our Constitution

Chapter 4: Politics

Chapter 5: Opportunity

Chapter 6: Faith

Chapter 7: Race

Chapter 8: The World beyond our Borders

Chapter 9: Family

Epilogue

## **1.9 The Scope of the Study and Chapter Breakdown**

This dissertation has been structured and divided into the following five chapters: Chapter 1 introduces the linguistic field of this study discussing language and discourse and the difference between the two. The introduction part also provides background of this study, objectives set for this research work. Chapter 1 puts forward the research questions to be answered in this study along with the discussion of the significance of this

very study. Focus of the research and the delimitation of the research also form part of the introductory chapter. Nelson Mandela and Barack Hussein Obama's brief introduction and the introduction of their books *Long Walk to Freedom* and *Audacity of Hope* respectively are included in the introductory part.

Chapter 2 which is titled as Review of Related Literature gives a review of the literature produced in the research tradition in the field of discourse analysis and autobiographies. The chapter also discusses literature related to the theoretical framework of this study and relevant to the objectives and research questions of this research work. This part looks for and investigates the gap in the literature produced and available in the field of analysis of political autobiographies and linguistic devices.

Chapter 3 of this study discusses research methodology and methods followed in this research. This chapter not only details the methods used by Discourse Analysis or more specifically, Critical Discourse Analysis but also the postmodern method of using the analytical software like AntConc which is introduced and discussed in detail in this chapter.

Chapter 4 is allocated to the collection of the relevant data for this study along with the analysis of the data and the presentation of the analyzed data in a systematic manner.

The last chapter, that is, chapter 5 of the dissertation summarizes the whole work and presents findings. It also presents recommendations and suggestions for the prospective researchers to develop further the research tradition in the field dealt with in the present work.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

For every research work the review of previous literature is very important. It offers two benefits: one, it presents the work that has already been done in the area where the researchers want to find answers to their questions; second, it guides them towards the gaps in the previous research from where they find clear directions for their studies.

According to Waseem and Gulzar (n.d. p. 69), the review of relevant literature is a systematic identification, location, and analysis of documents containing information on a research problem. The documents for literature review may be books, journals, periodicals, abstracts, reviews, research reports, and the related information on the World Wide Web or material in any electronic shape related to the subject or a research problem. The purpose of literature review is to see and critically examine relevant literature that has been produced before which can help the researcher in understanding the present problem and research questions to be answered by research work thereby adding to the existing knowledge in the specific field.

Keeping in view the above discussion, the researcher began to look for the relevant literature, in the libraries, consulting the scholars and the experts in the field under study, getting guidance and useful suggestions from the people related in any way to the research problem under study. The researcher also utilized the World Wide Web for relevant material visiting online libraries, that is, cybraries and using the email facility, contacting all the friends around the globe to provide relevant literature. During this search, the researcher found related literature in the shape of books, both hard copies and the material stored on the electronic devices such as CD-ROM's and Flash drives, in video files and in the form of newspaper cuttings.

Scrutiny of the collected literature was carried out. Relevant literature was arranged in a systematic order for future reference. In this connection, literature about the general field of research for this study, that is, discourse analysis, more specifically critical discourse analysis has been given priority. It gives general development of the field, explaining research methods and methodologies used in this field. It also critically examines tools used in the analysis of data. This provides a degree of justification to the present study to carry out research on questions this work answers and adds to body of the existing knowledge in the field under study.

Before we discuss literature on politics, autobiography, linguistic devices and different aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis the researcher deems it suitable to deliberate on the question 'why should we study language' and in this connection know the opinion of the scholars working in the field of language and linguistic analysis. This has been discussed in the following section.

## **2.1 Study of Language: Its Importance**

Language, one of the most distinguishing features of man, is often not given the attention it deserves. As human beings acquire language as a part of the society and mostly in an unconscious manner and use the same freely and without much difficulties therefore they do not pay attention to the structure and intricacies of it in a manner it deserves.

According to Mooney (2011) people use language throughout their life and in a constant manner but they do not pay serious attention to the use of language. Language is given attention when something goes wrong or when people are passionate about the speaker or topic. In simple words the above statement by Mooney tells us the following points about language and its use:

1. Human beings use language constantly
2. They do not pay proper attention to its use
3. Attention is given to the language use when something goes wrong or we are interested in the speaker or topic

4. Focus on how language works, in common situations, different ways and for different people

Mooney further says in the same book what counts a language and important about it is a political as well as cultural and technical question. Fairclough (1999) is of the view that critical awareness of language arises within the normal ways people reflect on their lives as part of their lives. He further adds that to understand power, persuasion and how people live together, a conscious engagement with language is necessary (p.73). When we study language seriously and closely we find the following about language:

1. How language is understood and processed by our brains
2. How language is learnt and taught
3. What role age, gender, class, ethnicity as social factors play in the use of language by people
4. How a communication between humans and computers be developed in realistic conversation style
5. What are the specific features of poetic and other literary languages
6. In what ways people in various cultures use language to communicate and do things
7. What is the relationship between words, meaning and real world
8. Relation between language and crime or criminal offence (Mooney, 2011).

According to Mooney et al. (2011) language performs many functions, for example it refers to things or places or anything abstract or concrete. It can be used to express power or show status. We should keep in mind that a single utterance can perform more than one functions. According to Jakobson (2000) we should study all the functional varieties of language. He gives six factors that determine various functions of the language. These factors are as under: 1. Addresser, 2. Context, 3. Message, 4. Contact, 5. Code, 6. Addressee.

The above model has addresser on the one end while the addressee on the other. Both of them are essential for the completion of the message communication process. From addresser's side we have emotive or expressive function of language as it expresses the emotions or attitude of the addresser or speaker. On the addressee's side we have



conative function of language as here the message is described. In between are referential, poetic, phatic and metalingual functions. Referential function of language is for convey information while poetic function is utilized in persuasive language as in politics and advertisements. Phatic function of the language is utilized when something is said as a polite way of starting conversation. Metalanguage plays a role to describe or talk about language itself. Crystal (2005) talks about the following functions of the language:

1. It expresses emotions, rapport and sounds
2. It is used for playing, controlling reality, recording facts
3. It also performs the functions of expressing the thought processes;
4. Language is used for expressing identity
5. It is used for fulfilling the technological demands

Multiple functional nature of the language necessitates its multifunctional study and the research scholars working in the field of linguistics should not ignore this fact.

As the study attempts to analyze political discourse it is suitable to define the term political and see literature on it first. This will lead to the political discourse and political discourse analysis. This survey will not only define the term political for our research but will also locate and demarcate its position in the existing relevant literature and give us clear direction for the research on the problem under study. Boousofara-Omar (2006) has found this about the language use by the politicians:

Politicians use language as the site at which they promote, protect and legitimize their power and voice of authority, and rationalize their visions of political order and their representations of harmony. Political speeches are a critical locus for translating those visions and representations of reality into words. Presidential political speeches are elaborately composed, scrupulously revised and edited- resulting in numerous drafts- in order to carry the voice of authority and power of the president while they are carefully drafted to be heard as the voice of the collectivity. (p.326)

The author gives the above statement while discussing political speeches but in the researcher's opinion the same, especially, careful revision and conscious selection of words and phrases are also done in case of political autobiographies. In political

autobiographies politicians also convey their message to the common people and use various techniques in a very skillful manner to persuade their readers. As profession of politicians is politics and what they say or do is political we should first know and understand what “Political” is.

## 2.2 “Political”: Semantic Dimension

Here some semantic aspects of the term “political” are given in order to reach at a relevant definition of the term for the study under consideration. Chambers 20th Century Dictionary (1983) gives us this meaning of the “political”: pertaining to policy or government or pertaining to parties differing in their views of government. Also, interested or involved in politics. This dictionary explains “politics” in these terms: a) the art or science of government b) the management of a political party c) political affairs or opinions d) maneuvering and intriguing e) policy-making, as opposed to administration f) the civil rather than the military aspects of government. The etymology of the term in this dictionary shows that it is from Greek roots, politikos and polites which mean a citizen. Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2003) gives the meaning of the terms “political” as relating to politics and “politics” as the activities of the government, members of law-making organizations or people who try to influence the way a country is governed. A politician, according to this dictionary, is a member of a government or law-making organization. According to *Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Political Thought* (2007), politics is sometimes used as a plural noun and sometimes as singular noun as is used in contemporary world today. The term was used in the negative sense in British English, especially for the activities of different factions.

According to *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (2006) term “political” is an adjective which means connected with state, government or public affairs. A politician is a person whose job is connected with politics, especially as an elected Member of Parliament, etc. Politics is the activities involved in getting and using power in public life, and being able to influence decisions that affect a country or a society.

So, political is anything, idea or activity, that is connected with policy-making, public affairs, state, government, different parties, the art or science of governance, management of parties, civil aspects of the government, law-making, members of law-making organizations, achieving and utilizing power to affect decision-making in a country or society. For the purpose of this research, this definition and the ideas provided by it will be utilized.

The term “Political” is widely used in the present day postmodern world. We hear it from people talking among themselves, in the print media like newspapers, weeklies, periodicals, magazines and on the electronic media like radio and television. Social media on the World Wide Web is also a big forum for political statements and we see the appearance of the term “Political” in various statements and in various forms. Despite the varied use of the term little efforts have been made to define the term. The following lines attempt to explain this term, especially for the use in this study. Miller (1980) says:

Political is a ubiquitous and seemingly inseparable term in the discussion of human affairs. We use it to speak of quite different kinds of things- institutions, actions, conflicts, expenditures, a type of discourse, a branch of science, and such. We apply it to the life and thought of modern nations, ancient cities, and primitive tribes. Even the internal affairs of businesses, unions, schools and churches are sometimes called “political.” In all these cases, we assume that the term has, or at least can have, some definite meaning. Yet it is difficult to say what, if anything, “political” signifies in its various applications and how it signifies what it does (p. 56).

Miller (p. 56) furthers the issue by saying that the meaning of “political” is not just a problem for semantics. It is a question that political scientists must confront at the outset of inquiry, for inquiry in any science “can properly begin only after one has specified, in some way vaguely and naively, as it may be the kind of thing he intends to investigate.” Political scientists are compelled to specify or take for granted some meaning of “political” in order simply to identify the political things.

In Mandela (2003), the term “Political” appears as a noun and used for political prisoners:

I informed the authorities that I would under no circumstances wear shorts and told them I was prepared to go to court to protest. Later, when I was brought dinner, stiff cold porridge with a half teaspoonful of sugar, I refused to eat it. Colonel Jacobs pondered this and came up with a solution: I could wear long trousers and have my own food, if I agreed to be put in isolation. We were going to put you with the other politicals, he said, but now you will be alone, man. I hope you enjoy it. I assured him that solitary confinement would be fine as long as I could wear and eat what I chose.( p. 396)

This term also appears in the national anthem of Great Britain *God save the Queen* and it rhymes with “knavish tricks” in the second stanza of the anthem as given in the Daily Telegraph (2012). The anthem is given as follows:

O Lord our God arise  
 Scatter her enemies  
 And make them fall  
 Confound their politics  
 Frustrate their knavish tricks  
 On Thee our hopes we fix  
 God save us all

Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif while addressing all political-party conference said, “We will not do politics on important national issues” (PTV News, July 15, 2014). This shows that the word “politics” is used in negative sense by the politicians themselves.

Now the researcher would discuss political discourse, some of its different aspects and its position in the related disciplines. The following review will tell us what kind of topics or

issues are brought under the political discourse and will also clarify to us what kind of techniques have been found in it by the existing body of research.

### **2.3 Political Discourse**

Topic or issue that comes under the academic discipline of Political Science is dealt with in Political Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 1995) but in Political Science the political discourse has not been given much attention. According to Encyclopaedia Britannica article *Political Science* (2003):

Political science studies the functions performed by governments e.g., legislation and administration of the law as well as the behaviour of the voters, the operation of the political parties, the influence of political organizations, and other factors in functioning of the state. The discipline which is concerned with observing patterns in political behaviour and deriving Principles from the data is generally distinguished from political philosophy, a normative field that is concerned with such concepts as “right,” “justice,” and “obligation” (p. 565 ).

We have works on political communication and rhetoric (Bitzer, 1981) and few like Gamson (1992) have recently taken a more discourse analytical orientation but this does not fulfill the present day politicized world. For political definition and contextualization, political leaflets and slogans we have other actors as participants, other groups being involved, and different types of political process. According to Lycan (1994) topics or macropropositions of political text or talk may be semantically modalized. Words like necessarily, probably or possibly the case in the past, present or future may be used for events and actions. In the same manner words like permitted or obligatory, wished or regretted etc., are used for actions (Maynard, 1993). These modality variations and choices have a political function as part of various political relevant speech acts, for example promises, threats or recommendations. They also have a more general persuasive function (Chaiken & Eagly, 1976). In this way strategic principle of all ideological and political discourse, that is, an Ideological or Political Square, is obtained

which generally constrains political text and talk and its evaluation “Emphasis/de-emphasis of our/their good/bad actions (van Dijk, 1995a).”

According to Edelman (1977, 1985) and Herman (1992) global and local meanings and the meanings of words have same connections, what is true for global and local meanings; it is also true for meanings of the words. So, lexical choice and variation play an important role in political discourse. Studies of “political language” give attention to the use of special words in political discourse.

Like semantic structures, syntactic structures are able to put more or less stress or spotlight on particular words and phrases and in this way indirectly contribute to corresponding semantic emphasis on particular meanings, as a function of the political affiliation of political actor (Fowler et al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1993).

Allen (1991) explores that in the political discourse, repetition operations at the level of sounds, e.g. alliterations and rhymes, sentence forms like parallelisms and meaning, that is, semantic repetition, are one of the main strategies to draw attention to preferred meanings and to enhance construction of such meanings in mental models and their memorization in attempts of persuasion.

The evaluation of political relevance of discourse analysis requires examination in some more detail the contextual functions of various structures and strategies of political discourse. These functions need to be made more systematic and clear.

Reviewing the relevant literature, the researcher found gap and justification for this study. Although much has been done in the discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, conversational analysis but there is still space for research in the political discourse analysis (PDA), especially in the discourses of political autobiographies which is still an ignored field in PDA. The researcher understands that comparison of the different regions and civilizations of the world will help understand political discourses

and dialogue in the current postmodern world and will also provide a direction for further research in this connection.

Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is relatively a new field in the tradition of discourse analytical studies such as Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). During the last two decades, the researcher observed, that only a few discourse analysts, especially political scientists, have been concerned with the analysis of political discourse. Still these analyses are confined to only political communication and rhetoric. Van Dijk (1995) puts it like this:

That the analysis of political discourse is relevant for the new cross-discipline of discourse studies hardly needs any further argument. Indeed, most scholars doing political discourse analysis are linguists and discourse analysts (see, e.g., Chilton, 1985, 1988; Geis, 1987; Wilson, 1990; Wodak & Menz, 1990). However, when we consider the use or application of discourse approaches in political science, we find that it is one of the few social sciences that so far have barely been infected by the modern viruses of the study of text and talk. As we shall see, what we find in political science are studies on political communication and rhetoric (Bitzer, 1981; Chaffee, 1975; Graber, 1981; Swanson & Nimmo, 1990). Only some of these approaches have recently taken a more discourse analytical orientation (Gamson, 1992; Thompson, 1987d) (p. 2).

As briefly introduced in the Chapter 1 political discourse analysis is comparatively a new aspect of the critical discourse analysis. Here the details of its categories are given. Van Dijk (1995) has defined its boundaries in his theory of political discourse analysis. He defines political discourse, domain of politics and political discourse as political action. The categories discussed by Van Dijk and which will be considered for this study, are as under:

a) Domain: Politics, that is, the whole discipline of political science is the domain of PDA.

- b) Systems: Systems include democracy, communism, dictatorship, fascism and social democracy.
- c) Institutions: They are state, government and parliament/congress/the legislature, city councils and state agencies.
- d) Values and Ideologies: Equality, solidarity, freedom, tolerance, justice and independence are values while ideologies include group and party ideologies.
- e) Organizations: Organizations include political parties, lobbies and political clubs.
- f) Political Actors: Politicians, members of parliament, cabinet ministers are political actors.
- g) Political Relations: Power, power abuse and hegemony, oppression, tolerance, equality and inequality are included in political relations.
- h) Political Process: Governing, legislation, opposition, agenda-setting are among political processes.
- i) Political Action: Political decision making, voting, demonstrations are among political actions.
- j) Political Cognitions: These are attitudes about the relevant issues like nuclear energy.

Van Dijk analyzes political discourse under the following headings which will also be followed in this study:

- a) Topics: Topics include any aspect or problem of life but usually they are about politics. Certain preferred topics are freedom, equality, education, health, crime, unemployment etc.
- b) Superstructures or Textual Schemata: Political discourses follow traditional organization of argumentations, stories and news reports. Meanings are made more or less prominent for obvious partisan reasons. Distribution of meanings in discourse highlights information in a headline, a summary or a conclusion.
- c) Local Semantics: Local political context plays a role in local semantics. This will show the local institutions and organizations, actors and actions etc.
- d) Lexicon: Choice of words also plays a significant role in the political discourse. Enemies for opponents and friends for supporters and in the same way terrorists and freedom fighters are some of the examples of lexical choice of political discourse.



- e) Syntax: Syntactic structure and style include use of pronouns, changes in word order, purposive use of active and passive voices, and use of simple and complex sentences for manipulation of meanings.
- f) Rhetoric: Rhetoric as an art is utilized to persuade people, especially in a political assembly. To attain this persuasive force, arguments, specific forms and figures of style are used in political discourse. Verbose, hyperbolic, dishonest and immoral styles in discourse are not considered desirable but still used.
- g) Expression Structures: Expression structures like that of sounds and graphics usually also play an indirect and sometimes hidden role in emphasizing or de-emphasizing partisan meanings.
- h) Speech Acts and Interaction: Pragmatic analysis of political discourse reveals which specific speech act has been used in which context.

## 2.4 Some linguistic devices

Some of the linguistic devices are given as under. Examples are from *A Handbook of Rhetorical Devices(2008 )* by Robert A. Harris if not mentioned otherwise.

1. Acronym: Acronym is a word that is made up of the first letters of those words that becomes name of some institution or thing. Examples of acronyms commonly available are OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), RADAR (Radio Detecting And Ranging), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and UNICEF (United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund). Another term initialism, a set of initial letters like BBC, is also used in somewhat the same way. Etymology of the term shows that it is from the Greek origin where *akron* means tip or point and *onyma* or *onoma* means name.

2. Alliteration: Etymologically the term is from Latin root *alliterationem* which means “beginning with the same letter”, the stem is *alliterare*. The Latin *ad* means “to” and *littera* means “a letter”. When same letter or sound is used at the beginning of those words that occur close to each other it is called alliteration. Examples of alliteration is “Ah, what a delicious day!”

3. Amplification: Basically from Latin root, *amplus*, meaning to make copious, the term adds details to the thought. In rhetoric it is a device which is used for expanded details for the clarification of a specific point or thought. Example of amplification is “He showed a rather simple taste, a taste for good art, good food, and good friends.”
4. Anacoluthon: The term is fundamentally from the Greek root *anakolouthia* meaning “following”. It is grammatical interruption, shift or break in a sentence that breaks up the sequence. Example of anacoluthon is “Be careful with these two devices because improperly used they can--well, I have cautioned you enough.”
5. Anecdote: The Greek root *ekdotos* means “published”. The part *ek* means “out” and *didonai* means “to give”. Anecdote is a short story that is either amusing or interesting and which is about a person or event that is real.
6. Assonance: Greek root *assonare* consists of *ad* which means “to” and *sonare* means “to sound”. Assonance is also used for developing the interest of the reader. In assonance vowels are repeated between two syllables due to which they sound alike. Example is “A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid” (Matthew 5:14b (KJV)).
7. Backgrounding: Backgrounding is also a linguistic device used by the writers for specific reasons. Giving background or background information to direct the readers in a certain way or give a specific direction in the text.
8. Foregrounding: Fore grounding is used when the writers give prominence to certain things or events.
9. Catchy words or phrases: Words and phrases that can be easily and permanently stuck or put into the minds of the readers are called catchy words and phrases.
10. Chatty Style: In chatty style the writer talks to the reader in a frank and friendly manner and shares with his reader the light and personal moments of his or her life.
11. Colloquial language: Colloquy means to speak together. In other words it is a mutual discourse. Latin root *col-* means “together” and *loqui* means “to speak”. When the writer uses informal and the language used by the people in their daily business of life, he or she uses the colloquial language.
12. Contrasts: In contrasts the differences of points of view are presented. Through contrasts the writers emphasize their points of view.

13. Criticize the opposite opinion: When the writer criticizes the point of view of the opponent he or she tries to destroy or lessen the effects of their arguments.
14. Dramatic language: Dramatic language is also used to attract and affect the attention of the readers. Dramatic style helps to convey the intended message in a dramatic and effective way. Dialogues are inserted in the text to produce dramatic effect.
15. Emotive language: As is clear from the very word ‘emotive’ the use of emotive language is intended to arouse the emotions of the readers.
16. Figures of speech: Figures of speech like metaphors and similes are used to make the writing interesting and add more flavor to it.
17. First person narrative: First person narrative is a linguistic device used specially by writers in the autobiographies and some kinds of novels. In this way the author describes and narrates things and events from his or her own point of view.
18. Forceful phrases: Forceful phrases are specially used by the writers to stress or impose his views. Usually the use of first person pronoun ‘I’ and words like ‘urge’ creates this forceful effect.
19. Framing: Framing is to frame the text, character or event in certain limits or boundaries. Example “In our opinion CDA should deal is primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and the inequality that result from it”(van Dijk, 1993).
20. Hyperbole: *hyper* in Greek means “over” and *ballein* means “to throw”. When the author presents some idea or subject in an exaggerated manner, he or she uses hyperbole. Example is “There are a thousand reasons why more research is needed on solar energy.”
21. Imagery: Through imagery the writer forms an image or picture in the minds of the readers. It is a device used to create a mental picture and convey the message.
22. Imperatives: The use of imperatives or command words is used to persuade or compel someone to do something.
23. Irony: In irony words or expressions are used in such a way that the opposite meaning is intended to produce the humor, dramatic or tragic effect.
24. Lists: Through listing the author of a book or any piece of writing the writer stresses or emphasizes certain point of view. Usually, a cluster of three words is used to emphasize a point.

25. Metaphor: Metaphor, like simile, also compares two things but here words like 'like' or 'as' are not used but that thing is mentioned itself with which another thing is compared on the basis of shared characteristic.
26. Omission: Sometimes some information is omitted or deleted for specific reasons. This is called omission.
27. Onomatopoeia: Onomatopoeia is the direct imitation of the sound produced by an object.
28. Personal Pronouns: The use of personal pronouns has two basic functions. On one hand they are used to make a relationship between the author and the reader and on the other hand personal pronouns have a deictic function, that is, they show the direction of the action of a piece of writing.
29. Personification: In personification, as is clear from the very term, human or animate qualities are given to inanimate objects.
30. Play on the reader's guilt: Here the writer tries to persuade the reader to feel bad about some situation, person or thing.
31. Play on the reader's sympathy: This is the skill of the writer to twist or direct the feelings or sympathy towards a specific person, thing or event.
32. Presupposition: When something is presupposed by the writers for special purposes, the device used is presupposition.
33. Pun: Pun is a special use of a certain word that has not a single meaning but reveals more than one meaning. If certain words have different meanings but they sound the same, this is also called pun.
34. Quote a reliable source: To support or stress his or her point of view the writer makes use of the quotations from the scholars or authorities on the subject under discussion.
35. Repetition: When the writer of a piece of writing repeats certain words or some phrases a special effect is created to catch the attention of the reader and make the composition interesting.
36. Rhetorical Questions: Rhetorical questions are used in rhetoric. Unlike common questions these questions do not necessarily require answers.
37. Rhyming words: Rhyming words have identical sounds in their parts, usually at the end of these words.

38. Shock Tactics: In shock tactics the author tries to surprise or horrify the reader.
39. Short sentences/Paragraphs: Short sentences and paragraphs are meant to help the reader to understand the meaning of the written work with ease and facility.
40. Simile: When two things are compared on the basis of a common or shared characteristic using as or like, it is called simile.
41. Statistics: To convince the reader the writers use numbers and numerical information in their writings. This is called statistics. Statistics helps to give credibility and support to the author's point of view.
42. Symbolism: In symbolism a thing or object is used to represent something else. This symbolic object has a special or intended meaning behind it.

The study of speeches of Barack Obama reveals that he uses some of the rhetorical or linguistic devices in an effective way. Use of pronouns and parallelism has been specially pointed out by Nhat (2008). Some of the critics in the field of political discourse consider success of Obama in politics as the success of his political speeches and oratory. According to Le Chau (2008) through use of pronouns like "I", "We" and "You" Obama is successful in creating the feelings of solidarity with the people he speaks to. By the use of inclusive "We" and phrases like "My fellow Americans" Obama convince his audience of his standpoint in a very effective manner. In the same manner when we study the speeches of Nelson Mandela we come to know that he also makes effective use of pronouns, especially of exclusive "We" and inclusive "We" during his struggle for freedom and after achieving independence. These are only the speeches of these political figures. We need to study the language and discourse of them in their autobiographies which as genre for critical discourse analysis have not been given the attention they deserve.

#### **2.4.1 Use of Swear Words in a Language**

Swear words are spread across cultures in almost all the regions of the world and South Africa and United States are no exception. Many swear words have been identified in the selected units of research. In many cultures these words are the integral part of the daily conversation and sometimes people are not conscious of their use of the swear word

which may create the feelings of impoliteness in some very formal situations. Due to some restrictions by some cultures the research on the swear words is not very vast and varied. Recently the scholars, especially the linguists, have carried out studies in this regard. These studies have been done in the West and its offshoots like the United States and Australia and are especially related to the English language. One reason for the slow progress in the research in such situations as the case of the swear words was the lack of easy access to the large repertoire of the relevant data. With the advent of the large corpora with the millions and billions of words many studies became possible which in the past were considered impossible. Now we have a great number of corpora of many languages around the globe. Some of these corpora have both spoken and written sub-corpora. One of the frequently used corpus of English is the British National Corpus (hereinafter BNC) with one hundred million words. In the present study the researcher is going to focus on the use of the swear word *shit* in both spoken and written genres by looking it up in the BNC. The question this study is going to answer is: How does the use of the swear word *shit* differ in written and spoken genres? The uses of the word under study will be classified according to the classification of the swear words given by McEnery et al (1998). This research work will also look at the unique cases where the swear word does not fit in the classification. The swear word *shit* has been selected because this word is also used frequently in the local languages and the prospective researchers may expand the study by comparing the use of the word in the two cultures. This study has utilized the Mark Davies's corpus resources. Mark Davies, who works at the Brigham Young University has given us free of cost corpus resources. These resources can be accessed at <http://www.corpus.byu.edu>. (Thompson, 2012).

Drescher (2000) explains the swear words in the following way:

S-T (swear-taboo) words are multifunctional, pragmatic units which assume, in addition to the expression of emotional attitudes, various discourse functions. They contribute, for instance, to the coordination of the interlocutors, the organization of the interaction and the structuring of verbal exchange; in that they are similar to discourse markers

McEnery et al (1998) give us different categories in which we can put the bad language. The bad language may be related to religion like the use of the word hell or sex, for instance the word shit which is also the focus of this study and we will discuss this word in detail in this research work. Racism and other areas of human life also provide us many examples of swear words and bad language as in the units of analysis in this research work.

The sample of the data will be classified on the basis of the classification of the swear words given by McEnery et al (1998). The researchers will also see how and why political leaders use such words bringing out the differences of the usage in the spoken and written genres. For this purpose we will look up the word in the 100- million word British national corpus (BNC). The basic intention behind the BNC was to develop a nearly representative corpus of the period involved. The BNC was started in 1991 and the project was finished in 1994. So, this is a closed corpus. The BNC is a monolingual corpus and contains the samples from the written and spoken British English from 1991 to 1994. The major part that is 90%, of the corpus consists of the written text and the rest is about the spoken language (Burnard, Lou 2003). Mark Davies's resources for corpora will be utilized for the search and analysis of the data.

Swear words are not only an integral part of the language in daily use but they are also used in the written genres and institutional environments but they have been given little attention in the research tradition of the scholars of linguistics and other social sciences. This study has selected one swear word shit and discusses it in detail and invites further research in this direction.

The researcher also endeavored to see the use of swear words, selecting one "shit" and search its use at large scale to familiarize himself with the use of words in the selected units of analysis. The purpose was to:

- Find out the occurrence of the swear word shit in the BNC in order to see their functional usage universally as we see in our units of analysis.
- See and observe the difference of usage of the word in the written and spoken genres by looking up the word in the British National Corpus.

- Classification of the usage of the swear word under consideration according to the classification given by McEnery et al (1998).
- Observe the reasons behind the usage of the word by the people and suggest some measures for the further research in this regard.
- Use of swear word shit differ in the written and spoken genres?
- People's use this swear word.

There are very many swear words in the more than six thousand modern language in the world but this research delimits itself to the detailed discussion of the one swear word, that is, shit.

This comparative discussion is based on the work of A. McEnery and Z. Xhiao (2004) and their categorization of the swear word “fuck” as the work “fuck” has been used in the autobiographies on many occasions, especially in the situation between two adverse groups. In their monumental work they focus on one word in detail while looking up the word in the BNC. This research work not only gives us the use of the word under study and its morphological forms but also provide us very interesting findings which opens new channels for further research in this field. The following categories of the word fuck have been used by the researcher in this important work:

- |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. General expletive   | Example: (oh) fuck!         |
| 2. Personal insult referring to defined entity<br>fuck   | Example: You fuck! Or that  |
| 3. Cursing expletive   | Example: Fuck him !etc.     |
| 4. Destinal usage  | Example: Fuck off!          |
| 5. Literal usage denoting taboo referent   | Example: He fucked her.     |
| 6. Emphatic intensifier<br>marvelous!  | Example: Fucking            |
| 7. ‘Pronominal’ form   | Example: Like fuck          |
| 8. Idiomatic ‘set phrase’<br>fuck  | Example: Fuck all or give a |
| 9. Metalinguistic or unclassifiable due to The use of the word<br>you never insufficient context fucking | Example: “fuck” or          |



(McEnery&Xhiao 2004)

The researcher of this study will base their work of classification of the selected swear word Shit on the classification given above and will see if there is any instance of the word which does not fit in any of the above nine categories and search the reasons behind it.

Analyzing the selected data

The search of the word shit in the BNC gives us the figures given in the numerical form below:

Swear word: Shit

Total number of tokens (All): 1733

Frequency per million: 18.13

First, we take the 'General expletive' category. 'Expletive' is a word which is used only to fill up a sentence. It may be meaningless and the sole purpose of its use is to fill up a gap. Majority of the swear words are included in this category. They serve only the grammatical purpose. The examples of the expletive type of swear words are: Oh, shit and Ah, shit. They are not generally addressed to anybody. During the research we find that they are used more frequently in both written and spoken genres. In the spoken genre, these words are used in direct way and is dependent on the style of the speaker and the physical context. In the written genres the usage is accompanied by long explanatory context and lacks physical and semiotic context in not all but many cases.

The next category is 'Personal insult referring to defined entity'. The example we find for this category is: You shit!. Here, we see the deictic role of the pronoun 'you' which defines the individual or any entity to which the 'insult' is directed. This we find in

both the spoken and written genres. The use of this category is found in more intensive and direct personal dealings.

‘Cursing expletive’ for example ‘shit it!’ is found in the BNC but not with the same frequency as we find ‘fuck him’ or ‘fuck her’. Actually, ‘shit him’ is not found in the same manner as the ‘fuck him’ is found. The use in both the genres is little found. As the category itself indicates this category is used specially for cursing and the like purposes. If we look at the ‘Destinational usage’ of the swear word we find some cases of this category but again not many cases are found as compared to other swear words, for instance, ‘fuck off’. This category reveals the ‘directional way’, that is, pointing to space and direction. As compared to ‘general expletive’ category this category is addressed to somebody or at least appears to be addressed to somebody.

The other category which is ‘Literal usage denoting taboo referent’ is also found in the BNC but not as frequently as the other uses of this very word. The example we found in the BNC is: ‘There was layer on layer of fossilized shit’. This literal meaning is used for ‘defecation’ and is rarely used in the spoken English. Other phrases, for example, ‘I need to go to the toilet’ etc.

The other categories given in the above table 2 are ‘Emphatic intensifier’, ‘Pronominal form’, ‘Idiomatic set phrase’ and ‘Metalinguistic or unclassifiable due to The use of the word’ The examples of the categories are ‘Shitting hell!’, ‘Like shit’, ‘Give a shit’ and “shit” respectively.

These categories are also found both in the written and spoken genres but their usage is moderate in both the genres.

During our search in the BNC we found unique form of the word under study. This is given as under:

“Shite”

It is found in the following example in the BNC:

Why *Shite*, you know, the word is shit! (Emphasis added)

Such examples, as above, are unique and we may not assign them to any category very clearly. We can see that the word ‘shite’ is not acceptable in the common day to day language or in written form as the very meaning of the sentence purports to say.

Spoken genre:

The boy is shit!

Why Shite, you know, the word is shit!

Ah shit!

Shit!

Oh shit!

Erm shit that reminds me I've got to write a letter.

It effervesces with it and it gives off [pause] Oh shit

To be a social worker was shit yeah.

It's crap, it's in the middle of the day, it's a load of shit, never sell that.

I mean she's shit hot she does I mean she's pretty efficient isn't she?

Go on, shit.

Well, she went, like balling and shouting at the top of her voice, I mean, she talks to Terry like shit.

Oh, shit, we're having [unclear]

It's nowt shit.

He said, then [pause] half an hour after [pause] Albert rung up to say that you weren't coming to work, so I were right in shit!

He'll eat shit on bloody shovel if you give it him!

They're all shit honestly

Right come on then shit box.

Cos we can always drop them in the shit!

I don't want her to shit on your head.

Bull Shit

shower of shit

Look at all that shit there!

Written genre:

I kept walking, past the old mill, right up around the bend to where the council property starts, and I thought, oh, shit, council houses.

But the shit proliferates, he wrote, and there is still much to be done.

That, wrote Harsnet, is part of the reason why I have chosen glass and not canvas or wood, that is why in my notes I have called it a delay in glass, which is to say a refusal of shit.

But it has to be said (it has to be said!) wrote Harsnet, and Goldberg, typing, smiled to himself, it has to be said, wrote Harsnet, that if every project is likely, if not certain, to result in the addition of a little more shit to the shit that already exists, there is also the possibility, faint it is true but real, of the unexpected, and this is what delay makes possible and what the onward rush of time, the ever-increasing acceleration of time, perpetually denies, and in addition to the possibility of the unexpected appearing in the coils of delay, in addition to that, it has to be said, he wrote, that whatever the project, however trivial, however exalted, it will always say more than its maker knows, and, if genuine (I will return to genuine), something will emerge which is distinct from whatever came before, from whatever elements went to make up the whole, a tone, a voice, which is not the tone or the voice of the maker but something else, something which, in my more optimistic moments, or perhaps my less clear-sighted moments, seems to be distinct from the shit though inseparable from it, a tone, a style, which links it to its maker's other genuine (I will return to genuine) productions.

SHITE WRITTEN

Shite is everywhere.

I think we should cover Dull, and see whether the man there has had his wits cleared by the smell of fresh shite under his nose.'

Yesterday's meat and vegetables had been high — soft and sweet with badness — he had made himself swallow it and then in the night the shite had poured out of him until he was too weak to stand.

KEEPING prices high keeps the shite out,' says Tony Willis, the new director of Allied's up-market Nicholson's pub chain in London.

I think it's the biggest load of shite, simple as that' (FN 13/9/87, pp. 5–6), although a senior officer was prepared to explain his antagonism more fully:

They were afraid of their shite to come out of the towns.

And you'll never read a bigger pile of shite'.

I've done some checking around and have found out that it isn't just pubescent, pizza-faced boys who have made the magazine the best-selling pile of shite that it is.

All this second-generation old school stuff is shite on wheels and has led to the emergence of the Old School Fool, a mug with a large disposable income who is prepared to cough up half a week's wages for anything he perceives to be pre-Day-Glo sportswear.

One instinctively knows when something is shite!

Shite ones do too!

The sound was shite but the vibe was huge.

My mum and dad couldn't understand why I was so shite at it!

Yeah, but it is shite.

Now all the women have got long skirts and all the blokes have got really sensible haircuts, they all do oil painting and the music they like is shite.

#### A YOUNG CONSERVATIVE TALKS UTTER SHITE

Do us a favour and go stick a sharpened pencil in your neck you festering dollop of shite encrusted wank — SW

#### SHITE SPOKEN

I agree with you [pause] but you, I mean, if [unclear], well you might as well say shite!

Levels one, two and three are shite!

Why Shite, you know, the word is shit!

Going to bed with Jean [pause] fucking, fucking shite!

That Williams is shite!

It's a load of shite that paper!

Well, they should be, but this company are shite. [pause]

Just about had enough of this shite!

Ah shite! [pause]

Dog shite [pause] everywhere!

Dog shite!

What a shite.

Oh bloody fucking shite hard core isn't it.

Or shite is also another one

Isn't she gonna get a shite on?

In this research work the researcher discovered and studied the use of the swear words in the British English with focus on only one word for the detailed analysis of the use of this word by looking at the BNC. We looked up the word both in the spoken and written genres and classified the use of the word according the classification suggested by McEnery et al (1998) and explained and interpreted every category along with the examples for each category. We found some unique examples like 'Shite' which cannot be placed in any category because on the one side the morphology and its meanings are not clear and not commonly used and accepted in both spoken and written genres.

The researcher also noticed that there are interesting differences between the uses of the word in the spoken and written genres. In the spoken genre we see that the word is used in a more direct way and sometimes very frankly. In spoken genre the word's 'stress', 'emphasis' and 'specific usage' are supported by the physical context and environment and facial expression and this is the reason that the expression containing the swear word shit in the spoken genre are short. In the written genre the case is not like this.



Why people use this swear word is also an interesting question to answer in this study. For this answer we can give multidimensional answer because the use of the swear word is varied, sometimes very clear and sometimes not very clear. In most cases, we saw in our research that the word is used in the general expletive sense and that means that people generally use the word, especially in the spoken genre, for just filling up the gap or just for grammatical purposes. The 'Oh, shit' and 'Ah, shit' are very good examples in this regard. This category appears to be shared by most cultures and the research scholars are invited to work on this side and compare different languages in this regard. The other uses of this word which we come know in the BNC search are that people use this word for expressing emotions and intensity of emotions like showing anger, annoyance, dislike and the like in different situations. The word is also used for assertion and 'orders' of some sort.

## **2.5 Theme**

The analysis of a given text requires many steps to be followed. Some of these tasks or steps are:

1. Identifying and exploring themes and subthemes
2. Developing hierarchies of themes
3. Selecting the most important few
4. In the last stage developing connection between the themes and the theoretical models

We can discover and identify several themes and subthemes in a discussion, book or any work of art but we have to sift and reduce the number of these themes which we can easily manage. Then we can develop hierarchies of these themes and link them to theoretical models easily. The identification of themes is one of the important tasks while analyzing a text.

Defining and identifying themes in a given text or any work of art is not an easy task. Chambers 20th Century Dictionary (1983) defines theme as a subject set or proposed for discussion, or spoken or written about. This dictionary also defines the term as a ground for action. The etymology of the term reveals that it is from the Greek word *thema* which comes from the root *tithenai* meaning to place, set. The term comes partly through old French *tesme*. A subject is that which is treated or handled or matter for action or operation. According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (New Edition, 2006) a theme is the subject or main idea in a talk or written document or any work of art. The word "main" here means the largest or the most important of its kind. According to Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2003) a theme is the main subject of a talk, book, film, etc. or a short simple tune on which a piece of music is based. So, in simple words a theme is the subject or the most important idea of a book. Defining a theme is not a simple task as far as social sciences and linguistics are concerned. Thompson ([1932-1936] 1993) gave us the motifs of folklore in six volumes. From Anthropology we have Morris Opler (1945) who explains themes in cultural analysis in the following words:

In every culture are found a limited number of dynamic affirmations, called themes, which control behavior or stimulate activity. The activities, prohibitions of activities, or references which result from the acceptance of a theme are its expressions ... The expressions of a theme, of course, aid us in discovering it. (pp. 198-99, in Rayan & Bernard, 2003)

Opler (1945) gives us three important rules for thematic analysis. These are:

1. Themes are seen in the data through expressions
2. Some expressions are clear and explicit while others are subtler and symbolic
3. Cultural systems consist of inter-related themes

According to Opler (1945) the importance of a theme depends upon how often it appears, how pervasive it is, the reaction of the people on the violation of a specific theme and the control of an expression of a theme by a certain context.

Different scholars use different labels and terms for themes. Glaser and Strauss (1967) call themes “categories,” Miles and Huberman (1994) name them as “codes” while Dey (1993) term them as “labels.” For expressions, Glaser and Strauss (1967) the term “incidents,” Tesch (1990) calls them “segments,” Krippendorff (1980) labels them as “thematic units,” Dey (1993) name them as “data-bits,” to Miles and Huberman (1994) they are “chunks,” Lincoln and Guba (1985) call them “units” while to Strauss and Corbin (1990) they are “concepts.”

According to Rayan and Bernard (2003), the identification of themes is one of the most important steps in a qualitative research. This is not very easy job because we do not find clear cut rules for finding and identifying themes in a given work. If there are certain descriptions of theme identification, they are confined to a limited circle of social scientists. We rarely come across these descriptions in the articles or reports. They consider themes as abstract and fuzzy constructs which researchers identify or discover before as well as during and after the collection of data and list the following techniques for theme discovery:

1. Word repetitions
2. Indigenous categories
3. Key-words-in-context or KWIC
4. Compare and contrast
5. Social science queries
6. Searching for missing information
7. Metaphors and analogies
8. Transitions
9. Connectors
10. Unmarked texts
11. Pawning
12. Cutting and sorting

First three techniques, that is, word repetitions, indigenous categories and key-word-in-context techniques in this list are word-based because in these techniques we

study and observe words of the people in their conversations or texts. When we analyze words informally we just read the text and look for words and synonyms that people use frequently. In formal analysis of words we use computers to develop word frequency lists. Sometimes researchers look for some local terms that appear unfamiliar, these local terms are called indigenous categories (Patten, 1990). In key-words-in-context technique a researcher first of all identify key words and then search them in the corpus of text. Words with similar meanings are group together in order to find themes in the text. Many scholars like Glazer and Strauss(1967) are of the view that themes are the ways in which texts show similarity or difference from other texts. This is called constant comparison method. Social science queries also bring into focus the experiences of those people who share information with researchers. At times researchers look for the missing themes or information in the text which is quite opposite the search for the themes in a text or conversation. Search for metaphors, similes and analogies is also way for finding themes. Shift in thematic content, transition, and connecting words *rather than, if or than* among things are among the techniques used for finding themes. Unmarked texts are read thoroughly many times and themes are marked with pencils or colored pens. In pawning along with cutting and sorting somewhat same mechanisms like the marking of text with pencil or pens are followed. Rayan & Bernard (2003) compare various techniques of theme discovery on the basis of the following six points:

1. Whether they are suitable for a specific type of data
2. How much labor and hard work is required
3. Required skill and expertise
4. Comparison at the stage of analysis
5. Comparison on the basis of number and kinds of themes
6. Issues related to reliability and validity of a given technique

Van Dijk (2000) says this about the meaning of discourse and themes:

The meaning of discourse is not limited to the meaning of its words and sentences. Discourse also has more 'global' meanings, such as 'topics' or 'themes'. Such topics represent the gist or most important information of a discourse, and tell us what a discourse 'is about', globally speaking. We may render such topics

in terms of (complete) propositions such as 'Neighbors attacked Moroccans'. Such propositions typically appear in newspaper headlines. (p. 45)

In the relatively new field of discourse analysis, a lot of literature has been produced in recent years and still research is going on as the area of this research needs to discover different aspects of discourse in postmodern world, especially the analysis of themes, macro and micro structures. Van Dijk (1980) puts it like this:

In several disciplines of humanities and social sciences, various notions of “global” units and structures play an important role. In linguistic theory of discourse, for instance, terms like topic, theme, gist or upshot require explicit description ... Although the term “macrostructure” is rather recent, similar notions have been used in the various disciplines mentioned previously. Notions such as “topic” or “plot” (of a story or drama) occur already in classical poetics and rhetoric, and the study of “themes” has always been a main concern of literary scholarship. In modern linguistics the notion could only be accounted for as soon as more attention was paid to the semantic structures of discourse, e.g., in so-called text grammars. (p. 5)

Van Dijk has done research on discourse and its relation with different aspects of society and ideology. His main focus is on discourse and ideology, immigration and racism, media discourse and news analysis (Van Dijk, 1988, 1995b, 1996).

Van Dijk has touched major aspects of discourse in modern society. Fairclough (1994, 1995) goes further in critically analyzing the relation of power and language. He has special focus on the power aspects of discourse, especially power in discourse and power behind discourse. This distinguishes Fairclough's research from that of Van Dijk's.

So far, very little research has been done on political discourse, especially the political discourse analysis of political autobiographies, and research in this area is

actually still in the embryonic stage. Edelman (1977, 1985) has worked on the political language, the relationship of words and policies and the symbolic uses of politics which is a beginning in attracting attention towards language of politics. However, Van Dijk (1995) in his “What is political discourse?” has defined the terms political, political domain, political discourse and political discourse structure which make basis for this study.

The other focus of this study is to determine and analyze themes and the use of linguistic devices in political biographies, the researcher deems it necessary to discuss now autobiography, and understand what actually an autobiography is and also to trace out its origin and development.

Lejeune (1989) defines an autobiography as “a retrospective prose narrative produced by a real person concerning his own existence, focusing on his individual life, in particular on the development of his personality (p.193)”.

Cellini (2008) discusses autobiography in his own autobiography “Vita” in the following words:

All men of whatsoever quality they be, who have done anything of excellence, or which may properly resemble excellence, ought, if they are persons of truth and honesty, to describe their life with their own words; but they ought not to attempt so fine an enterprise till they have passed the age of forty. (p. 5)

The above statement by the Renaissance autobiographer gives us these guidelines for writing autobiography. Any person from any discipline can write an autobiography b) the person must have achieved some distinction in life c) truth and honesty are necessary for an autobiographer d) an autobiography should be written after the ripe age of forty.

The issue of truth in an autobiography has been discussed by Linzie (2006) and developed the following criteria:

1. Unity of thoughts
2. Coherence in writing
3. Facts and figures in authentic form
4. Facts description in a stable manner

Weintraub (1975) describes autobiography as writing about one's own life and life's events. He further says that this genre may have the same history as the beginning of writing by Man. The researcher is of the view that the beginning of writing is the beginning of recording the life events of man. Pictographic writing was the first attempt of the hunting man to record his hunting activities and communicate these activities to other community members. Fromkin, Blair and Collins (1988) confirm this view while discussing the history of writing:

The seeds out of which writing developed were probably the early drawings made by ancient humans. Cave drawings, called petroglyphs, such as those found in the Altamira cave in northern Spain, drawn by humans living over 20000 years ago, can be 'read' today. They are literal portrayal of life at that time. (p. 489)

Petroglyphs, pictograms and ideograms were the pictorial representation of the life and ideas of the early man. In researcher's opinion the beginning of the writing is actually the beginning of autobiography as these early writings were clearly about self and the activities of the self. In the beginnings the written representations were very simple and had literal meanings, for example, if the hunting people wanted to communicate the idea of animals of hunt to other members of community they would simply draw their pictures. With the passage of time they used straight lines for counting. So, the interest and need for writing about one's self and life goes back to the beginning of human culture and civilization. After these early beginnings writing continued to develop and different symbols for representation of ideas and life activities of man were invented. From pictograms and ideograms the development continues and the cuneiform writing appears in Mesopotamia about 6000years ago. The journey of the development of writing continued and we come to the rebus principle. Rebus is a step forward from a graphic symbol to a phonographic sign. Rebus represents words by picture of objects the names of which sound like that word. All these developments in writing and the record of human life went on side by side. So, the autobiographic instinct of man begins exactly with the beginning of writing skills of man. This brief discussion explains only the natural inclination and need of man towards the autobiography or writing about himself

and his activities of day to day life. Before formal autobiographic writings there is long journey and history of autobiographic elements in the writings of different writers.

As emergence of the newly rich people and the development of the widespread printing facilities gave boost to the printed material and the spread of the new genre of literature, in the same way in the last phase of the industrial revolution and the emergence of the new burger class gave boost to the development and spread of autobiographies. The recording of personal events of life could now be easily published due to financial prosperity and accessible printing facilities. Diary writing played a vital role in the recording the daily events of life and helped in the evolution of autobiography. A diary has been used for recording the personal diurnal events in history but there is a fundamental difference between a diary and an autobiography and that is, a diary gives us the description of the diurnal events of life, just small portion of life on daily basis while an autobiography combines all those events in a systematic way selecting the events as considered important by the author. Autobiography is a literary self-portrait and it makes us understand life as a process. Autobiography is a literary form which somewhat like autobiography gives the portrait of the authors by discussing their other works. Montaign's *Essays* (Fromkin, Blair and Collins, 1988) is also an attempt to portray the self. Richard Baxter, 17<sup>th</sup> century great divine wrote about his self-analysis. Rousseau's *Mon Portrait* is also a self-portraiture.

Before the beginning of the nineteenth century we do not have much record of the formal and technically defined autobiographical works but after that, due to the easy printing facilities, a lot of work in this regard has been produced, for example *Confessions* (Rousseau, 1987). The term autobiography appeared for the first time in the German language around the beginning of the nineteenth century or before the close of the eighteenth century. The *Online English Oxford Dictionary* (2014) attaches the name of Southey with the term in a discussion on the Portuguese literature of 1809. Before the term "autobiography," other terms were used for somewhat similar purposes. These include "hypomnemata," "commentarii," "vita," "confessions" and "memoirs". The emergence of autobiography as an important genre is the result of the development of the



historical consciousness or historical mentality, called in other words historicism or historicism.

Where to keep an autobiography as a genre, is a question yet to be answered but we can recall that other genres of literature have strong autobiographical touches. Most of lyrical poetry, more specifically, works by the Romantic poets also contain prominent autobiographical elements. Wordsworth (1888) in his poem *The Prelude* says:

When he had left the mountains and received  
 On his smooth breast the shadow of those towers  
 That yet survive, a shattered monument  
 Of feudal sway, the bright blue river passed  
 Along the margin of our terrace walk;  
 A tempting playmate whom we dearly loved.  
 Oh, many a time have I, a five years' child,  
 In a small mill-race severed from his stream,  
 Made one long bathing of a summer's day;  
 Basked in the sun, and plunged and basked again  
 Alternate, all a summer's day, or scoured  
 The sandy fields, leaping through flowery groves  
 Of yellow ragwort; or, when rock and hill,  
 The woods, and distant Skiddaw's lofty height,  
 Were bronzed with deepest radiance, stood alone  
 Beneath the sky, as if I had been born  
 On Indian plains, and from my mother's hut  
 Had run abroad in wantonness, to sport  
 A naked savage, in the thunder shower. (I, 281-300)

We can clearly see the poet roam around in these lines and the pictorial presentation of the events that revolve around the central figure, that is, the poet himself paint one portion in the life of the poet, making *The Prelude* autobiographical creation.

The following lines from the same poem provide us with more proofs of autobiographical elements in Wordsworth poetry:

Fair seed-time had my soul, and I grew up  
 Fostered alike by beauty and by fear:  
 Much favoured in my birth-place, and no less  
 In that beloved Vale to which erelong  
 We were transplanted;--there were we let loose  
 For sports of wider range. Ere I had told  
 Ten birth-days, when among the mountain slopes  
 Frost, and the breath of frosty wind, had snapped  
 The last autumnal crocus, 'twas my joy  
 With store of springes o'er my shoulder hung  
 To range the open heights where woodcocks run  
 Along the smooth green turf. Through half the night,  
 Scudding away from snare to snare, I plied  
 That anxious visitation;--moon and stars  
 Were shining o'er my head. I was alone,  
 And seemed to be a trouble to the peace  
 That dwelt among them. Sometimes it befell  
 In these night wanderings, that a strong desire  
 O'erpowered my better reason, and the bird  
 Which was the captive of another's toil  
 Became my prey; and when the deed was done  
 I heard among the solitary hills  
 Low breathings coming after me, and sounds  
 Of undistinguishable motion, steps  
 Almost as silent as the turf they trod. (I, 301-325)

We also see the following autobiographical lines among others:

To every natural form, rock, fruit or flower,  
 Even the loose stones that cover the highway,  
 I gave a moral life: I saw them feel,  
 Or linked them to some feeling: the great mass  
 Lay bedded in a quickening soul, and all  
 That I beheld respired with inward meaning. (III, 130-136 )

In above lines we see the development of poet's personality in the company of nature. Nature appears to be the molding force of the poet's mind and soul. In this poem the whole story revolves around the life events of the poet, thus giving us a kind of autobiographical touches of the early and developmental stage of poet's life.

Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind* (1919) represents his own personality and ideology of life. The poem reveals and unfolds the rebellious nature of the poet and his iconoclastic and revolutionary thoughts, look for example at the following stanza from the ode:

If I were a dead leaf thou mightest bear;  
 If I were a swift cloud to fly with thee;  
 A wave to pant beneath thy power, and share  
 The impulse of thy strength, only less free  
 Than thou, O uncontrollable!—if even  
 I were as in my boyhood, and could be  
 The comrade of thy wanderings over heaven,  
 As then, when to outstrip thy skiey speed  
 Scarce seem'd a vision,—I would ne'er have striven  
 As thus with thee in prayer in my sore need.  
 O lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!  
 I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!

A heavy weight of hours has chain'd and bow'd  
 One too like thee—tameless, and swift, and proud. (IV, 45-55)  
 And  
     Make me thy lyre, ev'n as the forest is:  
 What if my leaves are falling like its own!  
 The tumult of thy mighty harmonies  
 Will take from both a deep autumnal tone,  
 Sweet though in sadness. Be thou, Spirit fierce,  
 My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one!  
 Drive my dead thoughts over the universe,  
 Like wither'd leaves, to quicken a new birth;  
 And, by the incantation of this verse,  
 Scatter, as from an unextinguish'd hearth  
 Ashes and sparks, my words among mankind!  
 Be through my lips to unawaken'd earth  
 The trumpet of a prophecy! O Wind,  
 If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind? (V, 60-70)

The above stanza very clearly shows the restless nature of the poet's soul. Throughout his life Shelley tried to spread his revolutionary and iconoclastic ideas. In this stanza directly addresses the west wind and we see a graphic picture of the poet's life. So, autobiographical instinct is hard to separate from the writings of any writers, especially from that of the romantic poets.

John Keats, one of the famous romantic poets has also autobiographical elements in his poetry, especially in his *Ode to Nightingale* (1968). This is quite evident from the third stanza in the ode:

Fade far away, dissolve, and quite forget  
 What thou among the leaves hast never known,  
 The weariness, the fever, and the fret  
 Here, where men sit, and here each other groan;  
 Where palsy shakes a few, sad, last gray hairs  
 Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies;  
 Where but to think is to be full of sorrow  
 And leaden-eyed despairs,  
 Where beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,  
 Or new love pine at them beyond to-morrow. (III, 21-30)

This ode and specially this stanza reveals the personal life of the poet affected by the illness and death of his brother at a very early age (Inglis, 1969). The ode was written six months after his brother's death and clearly shows the effects of it on the mind of the poet.

Revelation of personal life and the self is not only confined to the Romantic poetry but autobiographical elements can also be seen in the Puritan poetry. Milton (1963) in his *Paradise Lost* projects himself through main characters, especially Satan. Satan is a mouthpiece of Milton when, through this character he appreciates courage, freedom and the love of democracy and republicanism. Milton speaks through Satan in the following lines:

What though the field be lost?  
 All is not lost; the unconquerable will,  
 And study of revenge, immortal hate,  
 And courage never to submit or yield:

And what is else not to be overcome? (Book I, I 105-109)

In some essays, for example *Essays of Elia* (Lamb, 1987), the autobiographical elements are prominent through the projection of the writer's personality. In one of his essays, "*Christ's Hospital Five and Thirty Years Ago*," Lamb writes, "I remember L. at school, and can well recollect that he had some peculiar advantages, which I and others of his school fellows had not". He also says "His friends lived in town, and were near at hand; and he had the privilege of going to see them, almost as often as he wished".

By nature human beings like telling and listening to stories. Epic poetry in the ancient times and the invention of new genre of English literature in eighteenth century, that is, novel, is the manifestation of this desire of man. Epic poetry and novels are a form of long stories. In these genres many autobiographical elements can be found. Due to the storytelling nature of human beings scholars like De Niles (2000) suggests to call man as "*homo narrans*" instead of "*homo sapiens*"

Novels like Dickens' *David Copperfield* (1850) have autobiographical elements. About *David Copperfield* Dickens says: "I have in my heart of hearts a favourite child. And his name is *David Copperfield*" (Bloom, 76).

We also find autobiographical elements in Dickens' *Great Expectations* (1861) as "I never had one hour's happiness in her society, and yet my mind all-round the four-and-twenty hours was harping on the happiness of having her with me unto death (ch. 38, p. 2).

Jane Austen's novels also have events from the personal life of the novelist. In her novel, *Pride and Prejudice* (Austen, 1995) she depicts her own life and family. Heroines of her novels specially give picture of her family. The following quote from the novel reveals that the story of her novels revolves around her family:

“Oh! Single, my dear; to be sure! A single man of large fortune; four or five thousand a year. What a fine thing for our girls” (p. 6).

We see that autobiographical instinct compels writers to insert themselves in their works, may be their creations poetry, novel, drama or essay. We see the reflection of the writers’ personalities in their work in one shape or another. They may be seen either in the shape of glimpses from their personal life or projection of their thoughts and ideologies. In autobiography a writer is free to write what he or she thinks right as we know autobiography literally means ‘writing about one’s own life’ but there is another genre in the field of life-writing and that is biography which is fundamentally different from autobiography which has been discussed in the next section.

So far, we discussed term ‘political’ and traced its short history by looking at the use of the term in various situations, we defined this term as given in the dictionaries and discussed the meaning of the term as given by different scholars in the fields related to our study. We also traced the history and origin of autobiographical elements in the works of literary writers. Autobiography was discussed and explained and differentiated from biography. Now we will try to see what actually ‘political autobiography’ means?

## **2.6 Political Autobiography**

The term ‘political autobiography’ was first used by Angela Davis (1974) in her work *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*. After her decision to write an autobiography she says “it was because I had come to envision it as a political autobiography that emphasized the people, the events and the forces in my life that propelled me to my present commitment” (p. xvi).

According to Aristotle (2000), man is a “zoon politikon” by which he means that man is a political animal and integral part of society. When “zoon politikons” write about themselves they will also write about the circumstances around them and thus autobiography presents the development of the “I” but also the description of the circumstances that lead to this development. When man is considered a “zoon politikon” then autobiography and history go hand in hand. Politicians, while writing about

themselves and their circumstances also refer to history as the researcher's preliminary readings of both the autobiographies reveal. Man as a "homo faber" or creative being always strives to change the circumstances in the positive direction and in this way always struggles to go towards "*vita beata*" or happy life. This desire of man, that is, the desire of happy life, finds expression in the autobiographies or more specifically in the political autobiographies.

Political autobiographies are written by politicians or Political actors (Van Dijk, 1995) and are a blend of personal life, political experiences and ideas of the author. The public life activities of a "homo politicus", a person involved in politics play an important role in his or her autobiography. These activities and events in the life of a politician differentiate political autobiography from the ordinary autobiography written by people in the other walks of life.

While discussing the writings on life of the political activists, Perkins (2000) says:

Activist autobiographers seek to alter the consciousness of their readers. Their narratives address crucial omissions in the historical record and endeavor to destabilize dominant ways of knowing by openly challenging hegemonic assumptions. The radical significance of activists' texts is in how their words compel readers to grapple with the sociopolitical landscape outside of the text. (Flanagan, 2011, p. 9)

These words of Perkins give us clear inclinations of the autobiographies of the activist autobiographers. They try to inject in the minds of the readers those ideas which they consider will change the views of their readers. They refer to historical facts, real as well as distorted and challenge through their discourse those assumptions and ideas which they think hegemonic. They also try to change the point of view of their readers about the social and political situation in the real world. Perkins (2000) goes on further and gives the following characteristics of the political autobiography keeping in mind the female political actors:

1. It will give emphasis to the story of the struggle over the autobiographer own personal ordeals;



2. The writers will use their own stories both to document a history of the struggle and to further its political agenda;
3. They provide advocacy for the downtrodden;
4. They will give serious attention to strategic silences for the interest of other activists;
5. Political autobiographers point out oppressive conditions as well as repressive tactics of state agencies;
6. They use autobiography as a tool for political intervention and political education of the masses.

The above characteristics are more specific to the women autobiographical works but generally political autobiography has the following characteristics:

1. Introduction of the author;
2. Personalization of autobiography with information about family and childhood;
3. Introduction of the spouse and children;
4. Discussion of the past experiences in politics;
5. Political autobiography ends with a strong message;
6. Language and vocabulary of a Political autobiography are carefully selected.

The above characteristics differentiate political autobiography from a simple autobiography which is a personal life story of a person with an account of his/her feelings and emotions with no special focus on politics or political activities in the sense mentioned above.

Political autobiography challenges the hegemonistic ideas and the distorted images of the history and historical facts. Barbara Harlow (1987) says, “The connection between knowledge and power, the awareness of the exploitation of knowledge by the interests of power to create a distorted historical record, is central to resistance narratives.

Bell Hooks (1990), in her essay *Writing Autobiography* is of the view that in writing autobiography one writes about the experience and aspect that is a part of the memory of the author and that gives shape to the present. For her, the writing of autobiography was a tool to paint a segregated life of the blacks in the South.

In the modern and postmodern times, autobiography has become the mouthpiece of those people of the world who were enslaved in one way or another due to the color of their skin, gender based prejudices or social and economic class differences. Julia Swindells (1995) has the following view about the significance of autobiographical works for a community:

Autobiography now has the potential to be the text of the oppressed and culturally displaced, forging a right to speak both for and beyond the individual. People in a position of powerlessness--women, black people, working-class people—have more than begun to insert themselves into the culture via autobiography, via the assertion of the 'personal' voice, which speaks beyond itself.

Perkins (2000) is of the view that political autobiography makes sense of the past events through the life in the present. Some writers (Kermode, 1967) call this as “double consciousness”.

We have some of the following eminent views on the moulding capacity of the autobiography:

There is perhaps no literary form more conducive than autobiography to activists' efforts to emphatically link the personal to the political (Perkins, 2000). Shakur (1987) says that black revolutionaries do not drop from the moon. We are created by our conditions, shaped by our oppression (Flanagan, 2011, p.17). Sanchez (1984) expresses these views on the shaping of political activist:

I have come out to you from reconstruction eyes that closed on black humanity that reduced black hope to the dark huts of America; I have come to you from the lynching years, the exploitation of black men and women by a country that allowed the swinging of strange fruits from southern trees.

While distinguishing the narrated “I” from the narrating “I” Smith and Watson (1998) state:

The narrated 'I' is distinguished from the narrating 'I'...The narrated 'I' is the object, the protagonist of the narrative, the version of the self that the narrating 'I' chooses to constitute through recollection for the reader.

## 2.7 Autobiographical literature: A survey

A look at autobiographical literature at global level gives us a picture of the kind of literature produced so far on autobiography in general and political autobiography in particular.

Political autobiographies as political discourse have also received little attention of the discourse analysts. Gray (1998) has this view in this regard:

Few critics, however, have treated autobiographical writing as discourse with political and rhetorical implications (Solomon, 355) and, to my knowledge, no comprehensive theoretical study of political autobiography from a rhetorical perspective has been published. While critics have approached autobiographical writings as historical and literary discourse, the status of political autobiography as a rhetorical genre has never been firmly established, nor its boundaries been clearly defined. (p. 2)

The above statement shows that autobiography has not been fully treated and exploited for political and rhetorical aspects and implications. The researcher has also not found sizable literature on political autobiographies, the analysis of political themes, rhetorical and linguistic devices during the search for literature on autobiographies and particularly on political autobiographies. The researcher has also found that political autobiographies have not been treated fully as discourse in the existing research treasure and tradition. This deficiency necessitates further and in some way fundamental and pioneering research on political autobiographies, especially analysis of political themes and the communication of these themes through linguistic devices. This chapter, therefore, reviews the relevant literature produced so far in the field of Political Discourse Analysis, the treatment of political autobiography as political discourse and the object of political discourse analysis.

There is a research work *Autobiography: Narrative of Transformation* (Barros, 1998) and the other on epideictic discourse of political autobiography *More than a Story:*

*An Exploration of Political Autobiography as Persuasive Discourse* (Gray, 1998) in the existing research area. Epideictic discourse helps to persuade the reader in a political autobiography. The reader identifies himself or herself with the characters and actions in the autobiography and in this way the purpose of persuasion is achieved.

Perkins (2000) in her *Autobiography as Activism* discusses autobiography as the vehicle of the political ideas of the political activists, especially in the civil rights and Black Power movements. The author proves that the three women Angela Davis, Assata Shakur and Elaine Brown who belonged to the Black Power movement utilize the genre of political autobiography for the education and mobilization of their readers. In her work Perkins also points out the traditional values and consistent conventions that are found in the writings of the political actors. So, in the sixties the political activism was on its peak and this gave boost to the political writings including autobiographies which were fully immersed in the political ideas of the political activists who wrote them. In the same manner, Flanagan (2011) in her doctoral dissertation *Autobiography as Political Resistance: Anne Moody's Coming of Age in Mississippi* proves that Moody's autobiography is a narrative of the Black Power woman and her autobiography is not only a civil right autobiography but also a representative of Black Power. Moody's autobiography not presents the political resistance but also a commentary on the social issues as well as racial equality.

In the above two works one aspect of each autobiography has been the focus of the respective research work. In the first study the genre of autobiography has been shown as political activism while in the second one the genre is proved as political resistance. These works provide an initial attempt for the autobiographical analysis but do not give full analysis of the autobiography and comparative analysis of the political narrative.

Selwyn R. Cudjoe (1984) while analyzing Maya Angelou's work states:

[African American autobiography] is meant to serve the group[rather than glorify the individual's exploits . . . . The autobiographical subject thus emerges as an

almost capricious member of the group, selected to tell his or her own story and to explain the condition of the group rather than to assuage his or her egotistical concerns. As a consequence, the autobiographical statement emerges as a public rather than a private gesture, me-ism gives way to our-ism and superficial concerns with the individual subject (individualism) give way to the collective subjection of the group (Flanagan, 2011, p. 14).

On themes we also do not find much work done except some works like themes in Maya Angelou's Autobiographies. As she is an African-American we find family, racism, identity and travel as major themes in her works. In autobiography *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (Angelou, 1969), the writer uses the metaphor of a bird, through which she presents her own problems faced by her as a result of racism and racial oppression. In all works, including the one mentioned above Angelou's discourse represents a political protest. Relationship between the blacks and whites is the center of her autobiographies. Her works include *Gather Together in My Name* (1974), *Singin' and Swingin'* and *Getting Merry Like Christmas* (1976), *The Heart of a Woman* (1981), *All God's Children Need Travelling Shoes* (1986), *A Song Flung Up to Heaven* (2002) and *Mom & Me & Mom* (2013).

According to Gray (1998), autobiography has been studied as a historical and literary discourse yet very few people have analyzed the role of linguistic devices in literary or autobiographical works. We find recent attention towards the use and role of linguistic devices in works like *The Kite Runner* (Hosseini, 2003) which is not actually autobiography but a novel with autobiographical elements.

The role of linguistic devices in discourse has not attracted much attention of the researchers. A paper by Malik, Shah and Mahmood (2013), published in the *Macrothink Institute's International journal of linguistics* discusses the role of linguistic devices in representing ethnicity in novel *The Kite Runner* (Hosseini, 2003). Here, the researchers use Huckin's tools of analysis and they analyze the role of backgrounding, foregrounding, presupposition, omission. Their research also includes analysis of the

text at word level where they see the role of the use of pronoun for representation of ethnicity in the novel. The researchers conclude that:

The writer has used the linguistic devices of foregrounding, backgrounding, presupposition and omission to frame the contents of the text for his objective. These linguistic devices proved very influential instrument to touch the cognitive structure of the reader. By way of a subtle manipulation of language, the writer successfully wields great influence on the preconceptions, beliefs, and ideologies of the readers. He intends to make people accept false claims as true facts, or even to support plans contrary to their ideology. The writer has manipulated the text for the representation of ethnicity to materialize his political objectives. Thus, linguistic devices are powerful instruments for those who are interested in controlling the ideas of the people. (p. 14)

We can see that the researchers have found that text can be manipulated for one's political purposes and for the purpose of this manipulation linguistic devices are powerful instruments. But the unit of analysis in the above research work is a novel which is a literary genre. Further work on the political discourse is needed and for this purpose pure political discourse is to be analyzed. Here, the researcher finds gap and the purpose of the present study is to fill this gap.

## **2.8 Autobiographical Research in Pakistan**

In Pakistan a lot of research literature is produced every year in the research centers and universities of the country. To monitor and develop higher education and research in the country Higher Education Commission of Pakistan was established in 2002. This organization not only oversees the quality of higher education but also helps in the production of high quality research in the country by giving training to the personnel concerned with research and higher education in Pakistan. This organization also gives scholarships to the research scholars in various fields of research including arts

and humanities. Scholarships are given not only for research in the local universities but also in the prestigious research institutions abroad.

Higher Education Commission provides a lot of online services to the research activities in the country. One of the most important services to the local researchers is that the Commission has established an online research repository where it receives the research works done in the indigenous institutions and displays them on its website to be accessible to the global community. The repository gives very systematic information in a well-structured manner. Any researcher who wants to access the previous work can do so in an easy way. A researcher can browse by institution or by subject like social science, language and literature. The researcher selected Arts and Humanities and then selected the sub-category “Language and Literature” to look for autobiographical research in the country. This list contains research produced in Arabic, English, Persian and Urdu among other Pakistani languages. This mixed list has many advantages. It gives updates to the researchers about the research produced in almost all major languages in Pakistan. The researcher can study these theses online or can download any work in pdf format. This list also gives comparative knowledge of the literature produced in these languages. The click on the Language and Literature gave the following results:

Browse by Subject

Library of HEC Subject Area (8846)

Arts & Humanities (b) (1431)

Language and Literature (b5) (1261)

Number of items at this level: 1261

This list was generated on Fri Mar 20 14:20:09 2015 PKT.

After thorough scrutiny of the above list the researcher finds only four results which discuss autobiography, biography or personality in one way or another. These works are not in English. They are in Urdu. These are given as under:

Haider, Abbas. (2012). *Research Study of the Art of the Biography Written by Allama Shibli Nomani*. PhD thesis, University of Karachi, Karachi.

Yousif, Yousif. (2009). *The Ideological Method in the Biography of the Prophet (S. A. W. S)*. PhD thesis, University of Sindh, Jamshoro.

Qaseem, Ather. (2008). *Autobiographies in Urdu literature-A Critique*. PhD thesis, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.

We also have a work by Samina, Bushra a scholar of Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan under the title *A Critical Review of Personality Portrait in Urdu: From Sir Syed's age upto 1985*.

The researcher did not depend on this list only. During independent research the researcher also found one autobiographical work *Rationalization and Fallacies in Benazir Bhutto's and Pervez Musharraf's Political Autobiographies* by Muhammad Akbar Khan in National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. This is a Ph.D thesis submitted in 2012.

Among the 1261 theses on the Higher Education Commission Repository list we have only four theses which are either on autobiography, biography or gives portraiture of a personality. These four works make 0.317 percent of the whole body of the research in language and literature. Remaining theses are 1257 in number which make up 99.68 per cent of the total number of the list. If we further restrict our search then we have one thesis on autobiography, one on personality portraiture and two on biography. In such a situation, they represent 0.079 and 0.158 percent respectively. Interestingly, none of the four works in the repository is in English which brings the percentage of the research on autobiography/biography down to the zero level. The data mentioned above is presented in the following tables:

Table 2 Percentage of total theses on autobiography, biography and personality portraiture in the repository

Theses	Number	Percentage of the total
Theses related to autobiography, biography and personality portraiture	4	0.317%



Remaining theses	1257	99.68%
Total number of theses	1261	100%

Table 3 Percentage of theses on autobiography, biography and personality portraiture in the repository

Theses	Number	Percentage of the total
Theses on autobiography	1	0.079%
Theses on biography	2	0.158%
Theses on personality portraiture	1	0.079%
Remaining theses	1257	99.68%
Total number of theses	1261	100%

Table 4 Percentage of total theses on to autobiography, biography and personality portraiture in English in the repository

Theses	Number	Percentage of the total
Theses on autobiography/biography/personality portraiture in English	0.000	0.000
Theses on autobiography/biography/personality portraiture in other languages	4	100%
Total number of theses on autobiography/biography/personality portraiture in the repository	4	100%

If we include the thesis produced in NUML in the repository list then the situation is represented in the following table.

Table 5 Percentage of total theses including thesis produced in NUML on autobiography, biography and personality portraiture in the repository

Theses	Number	Percentage of the total
Theses related to autobiography, biography and personality portraiture	5	0.396%
Remaining theses	1257	99.60%
Total number of theses	1262	100%

Table 6 Percentage of total theses including thesis produced in NUML on autobiography, biography and personality portraiture separately in the repository

Theses	Number	Percentage of the total
Theses on autobiography	2	0.158%
Theses on biography	2	0.158%
Theses on personality portraiture	1	0.079%
Remaining theses	1257	99.60%
Total number of theses	1262	100%

Table 7 showing percentage of total theses in English including thesis produced in NUML on autobiography, biography and personality portraiture in the repository

Theses	Number of theses	Percentage of the total
Theses on autobiography/biography/personality portraiture in the repository in English	1	20%
Theses on autobiography/biography/personality portraiture in the repository in other languages	4	80%

Total number of theses on autobiography/biography/personality portraiture in the repository in English and other languages combined	5	100%
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The above discussion clearly shows that further research is required to fill the gap we come across in the existing research on autobiographies in general and more particularly on political autobiographies. This gap remains when we have a look at the global level and this gap widens when we look at the Pakistani scenario as is clear from data presented above from Higher Education Commission's repository. This study, will therefore, not only enrich the existing research work on political autobiographies on world level but in Pakistan, this will be a pioneering work.

## 2.9 Critical Discourse Analysis: A Review

A chapter, titled as *Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology* by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (2008) is discussed and critically examined here. In this chapter the authors give us the details of the beginning of the new research theory and methodology which is called critical discourse analysis. According to Jorgenson and Philips (2002), discourse analysis is not only a theory but also research methodology. Different theoretical approaches are utilized in the discipline of CDA which are discussed as follows.

Critical discourse analysis has a link with Critical Linguistics and according to Wodak and Meyer (2008) critical discourse analysis has a theoretical background which was known as Critical Linguistics in the past. Critical Discourse Analysis has developed over time and many other fields have contributed to its development making it an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary field. Critical Discourse Analysis utilizes theories and methods of these fields and researchers in CDA use eclectic methods for research.

Before the present shape of the discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis scholars were working in many other fields which would ultimately contribute to the development

of the CDA. These research fields include Rhetoric, Text Linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Socio-Psychology, Cognitive Science, Literary Studies, Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics. All these fields and the scholars working in these fields helped in the development of the CDA by developing theories and methods which would be later on used by CDA giving it the shape of an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research. Another term, Critical Discourse Studies abbreviated as CDS, is also used by some scholars, for example, Teun van Dijk gives us detailed information and discussion on Critical Discourse Studies. The period between the mid-1960's and early 1970's saw the emergence of new disciplines in the fields of humanities and social sciences.

The period between mid-1960 and early 1970 saw emergence of new disciplines in the fields of humanities and social sciences. These new fields, paradigms or disciplines included Semiotics, Pragmatics, Psycholinguistics, Ethnography of Speaking, Conversation Analysis and Discourse Studies. All of them have discourse as an object of investigation. Although these disciplines had different backgrounds, using different methods and had different objects of investigation yet they had similarities in many ways, at least they all studied discourse in one way or another.

Last years of the twentieth century, that is 1990's, saw the emergence of a group of scholars who met formally in 1991 in Amsterdam university to discuss different aspects of this emerging discipline which we now call Critical Discourse Analysis. These scholars included Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunter Kress, Ruth Wodak and Theo van Leeuwen. They discussed theories and methods of Critical Discourse Analysis started. During their deliberations, similarities and differences with other disciplines, especially Discourse Analysis were discussed. Some of the scholars like Gunter Kress later on left the group but the journey of the development of Critical Discourse Analysis did not stop. CDA accepted and welcomed new theories and methodologies, while some of the traditional theories and methodologies were added to the bodies of theories of the CDA. As a distinct paradigm Critical Discourse Analysis has its own principles like it is problem oriented making it interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary and naturally it

becomes eclectic. When we say that CDA is an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and eclectic that means that it draws theories and methodologies freely from other disciplines suitable for the research done through it.

After the formation of the CDA group, van Dijk launched the journal *Discourse and Society* in 1990. Books like *Prejudice in Discourse* (van Dijk, 1984) *Language and Power* (Fairclough, 1989, 1991) and *Language, Power and Ideology* (Ruth Wodak, 1989) helped to boost the ideas, theories and methodologies of this newly emerged discipline. First meeting of the group resulted in initiation of several projects. Due to the efforts of the group for three years the ERASMUS program exchanged scholars from different countries. ECASMUS is an acronym for European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students. The group attached with ERASMUS consisted of Siegfried Jager from Duisburg, Germany, Per Linell from Linköping, Sweden, Norman Fairclough from Lancaster, Teun van Dijk from Amsterdam, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen from London and Ruth Wodak from Vienna. An issue of *Discourse and Society* was published to present the ideas and approaches of the new discipline.

Today we have many journals like *Critical Discourse Studies*, *The Journal of Language and Politics*, *Discourse and Communication* and *Visual Semiotics* which publish research work of the CDA scholars. The book series like *Discourse Approaches to Politics, Culture and Society* also helped in the development of the field. Editors of this series are Johan Wolfgang Unger and Ruth Wodak from Lancaster University, Andrea Masolff from university of East Anglia. This book series accepts research works concerning discourse, politics, society and culture from the discourse analytic and linguistic point of view. All these journals and books which represented different approaches within Critical Discourse Analysis had at least four notions in common, that is, discourse, critique, power and ideology. Therefore it's not dependent on a single theory but accommodates all the theories of various approaches which helped in development of CDA.

According to van Dijk (2007a) and Wodak (2008a) similarities among these disciplines have been presented in the following lines:

1. All of them studied real language used by real speakers.

2. They shifted the focus to the study of larger units such as texts, discourses, conversations, speech acts and communicative events. Before them the focus was on isolated words and sentences.
3. Socio-cognitive and interactional moves and strategies are also the subjects of these disciplines.
4. They pioneered in the study of non-verbal aspects of language use. These non-verbal aspects include semiotic, multimodal and visual aspects. Their object of study included gestures, images, film, internet and multimedia.
5. These disciplines also study the functions of the context of language use, especially the social, cultural, situative and cognitive functions of the context of the language use.
6. Coherence, anaphora, topics, macrostructures, speech acts, interactions, turn-taking, signs, politeness, argumentation, rhetoric, mental models, that is, the phenomena of text grammar and language use and other sides of text and discourse are studied in these disciplines.

So, very briefly these newly emerged disciplines aimed at language in the real world, the larger units of language instead of individual words and sentences, the socio-cognitive and interactional moves, the non-verbal aspects of language use, the context of language use and the aspects of text and discourse. Discourse has a broader meaning in Critical Discourse Analysis like it may mean anything written on monuments, a policy statement, a written political strategy, all sorts of narratives, a discourse can cover any text or talk for example a speech or any conversation or the language itself. In the modern use we have the terms like racist discourse, gendered discourse and discourses from all walks of life like discourses on employment and unemployment and in the age of media and World Wide Web we have media discourse as well as populist and discourse of the past. So, discourse is a genre, register or style and it includes any political program or manifesto.

## **2.10 The difference between Discourse Studies and CDA**

There is a fundamental difference between the Discourse Studies and the Critical Discourse Studies now called Critical Discourse Analysis, and that is, the latter is

basically constitutive problem-oriented. Terms like text and discourse are widely used in field of Critical Discourse Analysis. The names of scholars like van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, Michel Foucault, Jurgen Habermas, Chantal Mouffe, Ernesto Laclau and Niklas Luhman cannot be ignored while there is research on text and discourse analysis. Many of the scholars attached with Critical Discourse Analysis are living and their active life and research work in Discourse Analysis continue, so these works cannot be declared as final yet. Some of the pioneers in this regard like Van Dijk and Ruth Wodak are actively involved in research. Being a field in its developmental phase, Critical Discourse Analysis needs further research, especially from the South Asian and Pakistani scholars. This is one justification for the researcher to work further in the field to add to the existing body of knowledge, especially in political discourse as the researcher finds much less research in this regard. Critical Discourse Analysis in new field and the formal beginning of the field is traced back to 1990's when the group of scholars, called CDA group by Wodak and Meyer (2008) emerged and met formally in 1991.

## **2.11 Critical Discourse Analysis: Theories and Methods**

While identifying six major areas for critical discourse analysis have been identified by Wodak & Meyer (2008):

1. Analysis and explanation of new economy, society and effects of this new economy on our society.
2. Developing relationship between Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Sciences.
3. Analysis and explanation of the effects of new media proliferation and developments at the world level on the political system.
4. Analysis and explanation of new media and newly emerged genres.
5. Analysis and explanation of the interconnectivity among history, narratives and various approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis.
6. Mixing and utilizing methods of both qualitative and quantitative research. (p. 11)

Ethnographic methods are also used, for example in Discourse-Historical Approach. In these methods first of all a theory which is to be applied is selected and this leads to the conceptualization which is the selection of concepts, their relations and assumptions about them. Operationalization is the next part in these methods where concepts are operationalized and for this purpose procedures and instruments are selected. Discourse or any text is selected next and the selection of information follows. Interpretation and the examination of the assumptions are done in the end. This whole process can be presented in diagrammatically as follows:

Method:

Theory→ Conceptualization: Selection of theoretical concepts and relations, assumptions

↓

Operationalization→ Procedure and instruments

↓

Discourse/text→ Selection of information

↓

Interpretation→ Examination of assumptions

Critical Discourse Analysis uses various theories and methods for its analysis of discourse. According to Luke (1995) CDA uses different techniques and theories to study text and language as social or cultural practice. He says:

Critical discourse analysis refers to the use of an ensemble of techniques for the study of textual practice and language use as social and cultural practices (Fairclough, 1992b). It builds from three broad theoretical orientations. First, it draws from poststructuralism the view that discourse operates laterally across local institutional sites, and that texts have a constructive function in forming up and shaping human identities and actions. Second, it draws from Bourdieu's sociology the assumption that actual textual practices and interactions with texts become "embodied" forms of "cultural capital" with exchange value in particular social fields. Third, it draws from neomarxist cultural theory the assumption that these discourses are produced and used within



political economies, and that they thus produce and articulate broader ideological interests, social formations and movements within those fields (see Hall 1996).

The relatively new interdisciplinary as well as transdisciplinary field of linguistics, critical discourse analysis, utilizes theories and a research methods from across various disciplines. The researcher are going to discuss how critical discourse analysis uses theories and methods from scholars in the modern and the postmodern era. Critical discourse analysis is a relatively new discipline in the ever expanding field of linguistics. The terms critical, discourse and analysis which make up CDA have specialized meanings as far as Critical discourse analysis as a discipline is concerned. “Critical” does not have only negative meaning; rather it has a very balanced view of criticism. Discourse, very simply, means an institutionalized way of writing or speaking. Analysis attempts to find and explore the linguistic regularity in discourse.

Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) in their book *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* discuss Discourse Analysis in the following words:

Although discourse analysis can be applied to all areas of research, it cannot be used with all kinds of theoretical framework. Crucially, it is not to be used as a method of analysis detached from its theoretical and methodological foundations. Each approach to discourse analysis that we present is not just a method for data analysis, but a theoretical and methodological whole – a complete package. The package contains, first, philosophical (ontological and epistemological) premises regarding the role of language in the social construction of the world, second, theoretical models, third, methodological guidelines for how to approach a research domain, and fourth, specific techniques for analysis. In discourse analysis, *theory* and *method* are intertwined and researchers must accept the basic philosophical premises in order to use discourse analysis as their method of empirical study. (p.3)

Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) discuss CDA in the following words:

Critical discourse analysis (often abbreviated as CDA) provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and social and cultural

developments in different social domains. Confusingly, the label ‘critical discourse analysis’ is used in two different ways: Norman Fairclough (1995a, 1995b) uses it both to describe the approach that he has developed *and* as the label for a broader movement within discourse analysis of which several approaches, including his own, are part (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). This broad movement is a rather loose entity and there is no consensus as to who belongs to it. While Fairclough’s approach consists of a set of philosophical premises, theoretical methods, methodological guidelines and specific techniques for linguistic analysis, the broader critical discourse analytical movement consists of several approaches among which there are both similarities and differences (p.60).

Following are the common characteristics among different approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis:

1. The character of social and cultural processes and structures is partly Linguistic-Discursive
2. Discourse is both constitutive and constituted
3. Language use should be empirically analyzed within its social context
4. Discourse functions ideologically
5. Critical research

Although all discourse analytical approaches do not agree with all poststructuralist ideas but they are at one on the following points:

1. Language is not a reflection of a pre-existing reality.
2. Language is structured in patterns or discourses – there is not just one general system of meaning as in Saussurian structuralism but a series of systems or discourses, whereby meanings change from discourse to discourse.
3. These discursive patterns are maintained and transformed in discursive practices.
4. The maintenance and transformation of the patterns should therefore be explored through analysis of the specific contexts in which language is in action.

Critical discourse analysis or CDA is defined as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted,

reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Van Dijk, 1991).

Critical discourse analysis utilizes various approaches for the social analysis of discourse (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, Pecheux M 1982, Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Ruth Wodak, in book, *Language, Power and Ideology* (1989) calls her discipline “Critical Linguistics” which, according to her, is an interdisciplinary approach to language study with a critical point of view.

As far as CDA’s research methods are concerned it utilizes the transdisciplinary ways to collaborate with other disciplines and theories which address the changing shapes of the present day social fabric. Transdisciplinary is different from the interdisciplinary because in this way critical discourse analysis develops its own methods and theories through negotiations with other disciplines. Research is not started with the CDA. One has to develop a background and justify that with the research question. CDA is used as theoretical background and method. Book *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* by (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002) has given us a road map for the discussion of CDA as theory and method. We can use this as a starting point. They discuss discourse analysis or in a broader sense critical discourse analysis as a body of theories and methods of social research. They have tried to have a chain together three important approaches Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory, critical discourse analysis and discursive psychology. In the same way CDA as transdisciplinary field also utilizes different approaches for theory and method including the above mentioned approaches.

Critical discourse analysis is a kind of methodology that looks at what is intended when language describes and explains. It digs out the connections between the discursive practices on the one hand and social and cultural structures on the other. So, critical discourse analysis considers text and language in social context. Critical discourse analysis studies the form, structure and content of discourse.

Fairclough (2003) gives us three characteristics of discourse in social life. These are genres, discourses and styles. Genres are ways of action, discourses ways of

representing and styles ways of being. The dialogism of Bakhtin is also very much used in critical discourse analysis.

As far as the theoretical bases are concerned, various schools of thoughts differ in this regard. The two big names in this connection, Jager and Fairclough look to Foucault for theory. Wodak (2007) uses argumentation theory and rhetoric while analyzing text.

The feminist critical discourse analysis or FCDA is different from the CDA in its development of its gender theory. FCDA is influenced by the third –wave feminist and post-structurulist theories. According to them identities are shaped by discourse (Lazar, 2005).

Discourse, discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis are the new fashion terms in the worlds of linguistics and literature. Discourse has agenda. Discourse analysis analyzes discourse at different levels and critical discourse analysis does the same with a specific emancipatory agenda.

We find some clues about the investigation of the political discourse in the works like the *Journal of Language and Politics* and the book series of *Discourse Approaches to Politics, Culture and Society* but the real work in political discourse had started right after second world war and we see the start of the production of literature in the field of political discourse analysis. Some scholars like Klemper (1975) gave attention to the language and ways of communication and the style of propaganda of the Nazis or National Socialists. The first linguist in this connection is Utz Maas (1984, 1989a, 1989) who studied the Nazi text on the basis of his historical argumentative analysis and shows the determination of discourse by the society and supports Foucault's idea of language as social practice. The polyphony of the text and especially the entextualization of Blommaert (2005) also need the attention of the scholars in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis. Wodak and deCilla (2006) have given us the detailed discussion on language and politics.

In the last seven years the investigation in language of the political institutions and other decision-making institutions has attracted the attention of the scholars like Kyrzyz Oberhuber (2007). He has analyzed the European Convention in detail. The focus

of Ruth Wodak research work is the language of the members of parliaments and common politicians. New methodologies of research in CDA are also being developed during the work on political discourse like the methods of ethnography, interviews in groups along with the commonly used methodologies like political books, newspapers and political speeches (Wodak and Krzyz-anowski, 2008).

Critical Discourse Analysis utilizes various theories for different methods of research. It uses the theories of social cognition and grammar and other theories which help in operationalization of different theoretical concepts and provides instruments and methods of analysis to the CDA. Along with hermeneutics and interpretive perspectives are used and even the quantitative methods can be found as in Mautner (2009). The researcher himself uses the combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods for the present study. As far as sampling is concerned a typical text is analyzed. This typical text can be debatable but it also depends upon the researcher and the social situation which make a text an object of research.

Critical Discourse Analysis does not depend upon only theory or methodology of research. It utilizes theories from different fields and uses methods of research from across various fields. That is why Critical Discourse Analysis or CDA is called an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary field. The following theories show the interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature of CDA.

A brief overview of the theories is given which shows that Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary field that takes freely from any of these theories for its theoretical base.

### **1. Epistemology**

These theories provide models of conditions, contingencies and limit of human perception in general and scientific perception in particular.

### **2. General Social Theories**

These are also usually called ‘grand theories’. They conceptualize relations between social structure and social action. In this way they provide a link between micro- and macro-sociological phenomena.

### **3. Middle-Range Theories**

The focus of these theories is on specific social phenomena like conflict, cognition and social networks along with specific subsystems of society, for example economy, politics and religion.

### **4. Micro-Sociological Theories**

These theories explain social interaction, like resolution of double contingency problem or reconstruction of everyday procedures which members of society use to create their own social order, which is the objective of ethnomethodology.

### **5. Socio-Psychological Theories**

These theories focus on social conditions of emotion and cognition and, compared to microsociology, prefer causal explanations to a hermeneutic understanding of meaning.

### **6. Discourse Theories**

They concentrate on conceptualization of discourse as a social phenomenon and explain its origin and its structure.

### **7. Linguistic Theories**

These are theories of argumentation, of grammar, of rhetoric etc. They describe and explain the particular pattern of language systems and verbal communication.

### **8. Dispositive Analysis**

It is closest to the origin of the concept of discourse, especially to structuralist explanations of discursive phenomena. The epistemological position is based on social constructivism, which denies any societal reality that is determined outside the discursive.

### **9. The Socio-Cognitive Approach**

It gives socio-psychological aspects to critical discourse analysis. In this theory the following three forms of social representations are relevant to understand discourse:

1. Knowledge (personal, group, cultural)
2. Attitudes (not in the social psychology understanding)
3. Ideologies (discourses take place within society, and can only be understood in interplay of social situation, action, actor and societal structures)

### **10. Discourse Historical Approach**

This theory develops a theory of discourse by establishing connection between fields of action, genres, discourses and texts. It puts emphasis on historical analysis and context is understood as mainly historical.

### **11. Corpus Linguistics Approach**

This approach provides additional linguistic devices for thorough analysis and can be applied principally against the backdrop of various CDA approaches.

### **12. Social Actors Approach**

This particular approach includes sociological and linguistic theories, in particular those theories which explain the role of action to establish social structure. According to this approach representation is ultimately based on practice. Practice plays a central role in this approach.

### **13. Dialectical Relational Approach**

It is a near grand theory approach. Some theorists of this approach like Fairclough (1989) focus on social conflict in the Marxian tradition. The elements of dominance, difference and resistance in discourse are its special focus.

## **2.12 Data Gathering in CDA**

For data gathering CDA does not use any specific method but here also it depends on various approaches and we can say there is no specific method of data gathering that can be called as exclusive or specially attached to CDA. It then necessitates that the researcher has a kind of freedom to follow a specific method he or she deems suitable for specific study or can develop a method which is comparatively more suitable for the research he or she conducts.

Socio-cognitive Approach focuses its attention on following linguistic markers for analysis:

1. stress and intonation
2. word order
3. lexical style
4. coherence

5. local semantic moves such as disclaimers
6. topic choice
7. speech acts
8. schematic organization
9. rhetorical figures
10. syntactic structures
11. propositional structures
12. turn-takings
13. repairs
14. hesitation

For the quality check of findings in Critical Discourse Analysis the same criterion for validity, reliability and objectivity of quantitative studies cannot be exactly used but they will require certain changes to fit to the CDA research. Discourse Analysis deals with the representativeness, reliability and validity of the findings, along with completeness of the findings in Critical Discourse Analysis which means no new results should come to the fore with fresh data.

### **2.13 Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)**

Another approach which plays a role in the development of the CDA is Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). This approach keeps the discourse in historical perspective and was developed initially for in-depth investigation into the anti-Semitic stereotyped image. Different aspects of context are considered to see the origin, development or emergence of a specific discourse. Recently DHA has focused its attention on racist discrimination (Wodak et al., 1990, 1999). The study carried out in 1999 focused on the link between discursive construction of the sameness of a nation and discursive construction of difference which result in the political exclusion along with social exclusion of some particular groups.

According to Reisigl & Wodak (2001) there are three dimensions of this analytical approach:



1. Firstly, establish the particular content or topics in a particular discourse
2. Secondly, investigate the discursive strategies which also include argumentation strategies
3. Thirdly, examine the types and tokens in the discourse

In this chapter literature related to the topic under study was systematically scrutinized and discussed in detail in order to find out gaps in the previous studies and provide a right direction for the present research work. The researcher started with the discussion on the justification for the study of language and gave references from the previous scholars in the field of linguistics in support of the serious study of language. Language performs many and different functions in different situations and contexts but common people do not understand the intricacies of the language use with different intentions. Therefore, it is essential that language be studied from different aspects keeping in mind its multiple functions.

As the study analyzes political discourse, it was necessary to define the term “Political” and see their meanings in different but relevant disciplines along with use of the terms in the previous historical records. Some scholars are of the view that defining “Political” is not an easy task but for research study the researcher has to define and delimit the object of investigation. After consulting different dictionaries and studying the views of various scholars in relevant disciplines we developed this definition of “Political” for this study: “Political” is anything, idea or activity, that is connected with policy-making, public affairs, state, government, different parties, the art or science of governance, management of parties, civil aspects of the government, law-making, members of law-making organizations, achieving and utilizing power to affect decision-making in a country or society. The review revealed that politics and related concepts are studied in Political Science but political discourse has not been given proper attention it deserves. There is a need of research on political discourse. As relatively new discipline Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is analyzing political discourse but not much work has been done so far, especially exploiting political autobiography for analyzing political discourse. In discussion on political discourse analysis we gave gist of van Dijk’s theory

of PDA and listed its categories like domain, systems, institutions, values, organization, political actors, political relations, political process, political action and political cognition.

While discussing political discourse and linguistic devices the researcher detailed that politicians use language creativity for encoding their messages, agenda and show themselves as competent leaders. Creativity as combination of knowledge and tradition for creating novel forms and manipulated meaning and also discussed categories of creativity like pattern forming- using the existing linguistic resources and pattern reforming-use of hyperbole and punning and metaphor including their distorted forms was also discussed. Uses of linguistic devices were discussed along with the explanation of the terms “linguistic” and “Device” to fully understand these terms for use in this work. Moving on to the social and historical contexts of linguistic devices a the views of scholars in this field were discussed. The researcher also listed some of the frequently used linguistic and rhetorical devices with relevant examples in order to understand their usage in written and other works in general.

Theme, another aspect of this research, was discussed in detail in the next section. Rules for thematic analysis like 1. Themes are seen through expressions 2. Some expressions are clear while others are symbolic and 3. There are inter-related themes in cultural systems were listed. Along with thematic analysis relationship between themes and expressions and rules for finding themes were the main focus of this section.

Autobiography, biography, difference between autobiography and biography and general survey of autobiographical literature were the next in discussion. Lejeune’s definition of autobiography is “a retrospective prose narrative produced by a real person concerning his own existence, focusing on his individual life, in particular on the development of his personality”. Cellini considers excellence of achievement and the age of forty as prerequisites for a person to write autobiography. The history of autobiography and writing itself is the same as the ancient writings reveal that the prehistoric man wrote about their life events, especially hunting activities of the hunting man. Petroglyphs, pictograms and ideograms were the pictorial representation of the life

of ancient man which shows that the writing and autobiography begin together. Evolution of autobiography through history was discussed next and the researcher came to know about autobiographical elements in the works of different writers and found evidences of these elements in poetry like Wordsworth's *The Prelude* and in novels like Dickens' *David Copperfield* and *Great Expectations*. So, autobiographical elements can be found in one shape or another in the works of writers of the world even if these works are not titled as autobiographies. Difference between autobiography and Biography was discussed next along with the discussion on political autobiography. A survey of the autobiographical literature revealed that there is a gap in the research on the analysis of political autobiographies for the present study as no comprehensive research has been found on the analysis of political themes and linguistic devices in the existing body of research works. In Pakistan the situation is more discouraging and dismal as not a single work was found to be on or related to the topic in the current work. Only four works were found on autobiography and biography in the 1262 theses in the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan repository but none of them was in English or directly related to this study.

Critical Discourse Analysis, theory and method, for this study was described and discussed in detail for its full application in the current research work. We discussed the origin and beginning of CDA group in 1990's and their agenda. Interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature of CDA was detailed as this newly emerged discipline relies on other disciplines for its theories and methods of analysis. The concepts of power, history and ideology were explained in relation to Critical Discourse Analysis. Theories which are utilized in CDA were listed and briefly described to see how CDA applies multidisciplinary approach to different issues. Discourse-Historical Approach was also in focus as this study utilizes the historical contexts for the analysis of themes and linguistic devices.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Research is a systematic and organized work in which researchers collect and analyze information in order to improve human understanding of observable facts under a specific study. Some of the primary characteristics of a research work are that it follows a systematic methodology, establishes, confirms or reaffirms facts or results. Research seeks solution to the problems through either support of the old theories or laws or revises the old ones and replaces them with the new. Research also tests validity of instruments and procedures. Through its answers to the questions and proof/nullification of hypotheses innovative ideas come to the fore which add to the treasure of human knowledge and further research tradition for the benefit of humanity. In order to obtain accurate results a well-planned and systematic structural framework was developed for this study. Structural framework gives not only a clear cut path to the researcher but is also beneficial for research itself. For this reason structural framework is discussed first in the section which follows.

#### **3.1 Framework for this Study**

The researcher developed a well-planned and systematically structured framework for this study. First of all the purpose of the study was clearly demarcated and the types of investigations, that is, qualitative or quantitative, were determined. The selection of theories was next in this structure. Preliminary study and sampling for this study were also important steps in the structural framework for the current study. After determination or selection of the sampling method, the units of analysis were selected. The selection of units of analysis led to data collection methods and tools. When data was collected in a systematic way, coding of data followed. The analysis of coded data on the basis of selected theories was also an important part of this research work. After data was analyzed carefully, the findings of the study were presented in a well-structured and clear

manner. Suggestions for prospective researchers were given at the end of analysis and discussion. This structural framework can be presented diagrammatically as follows:

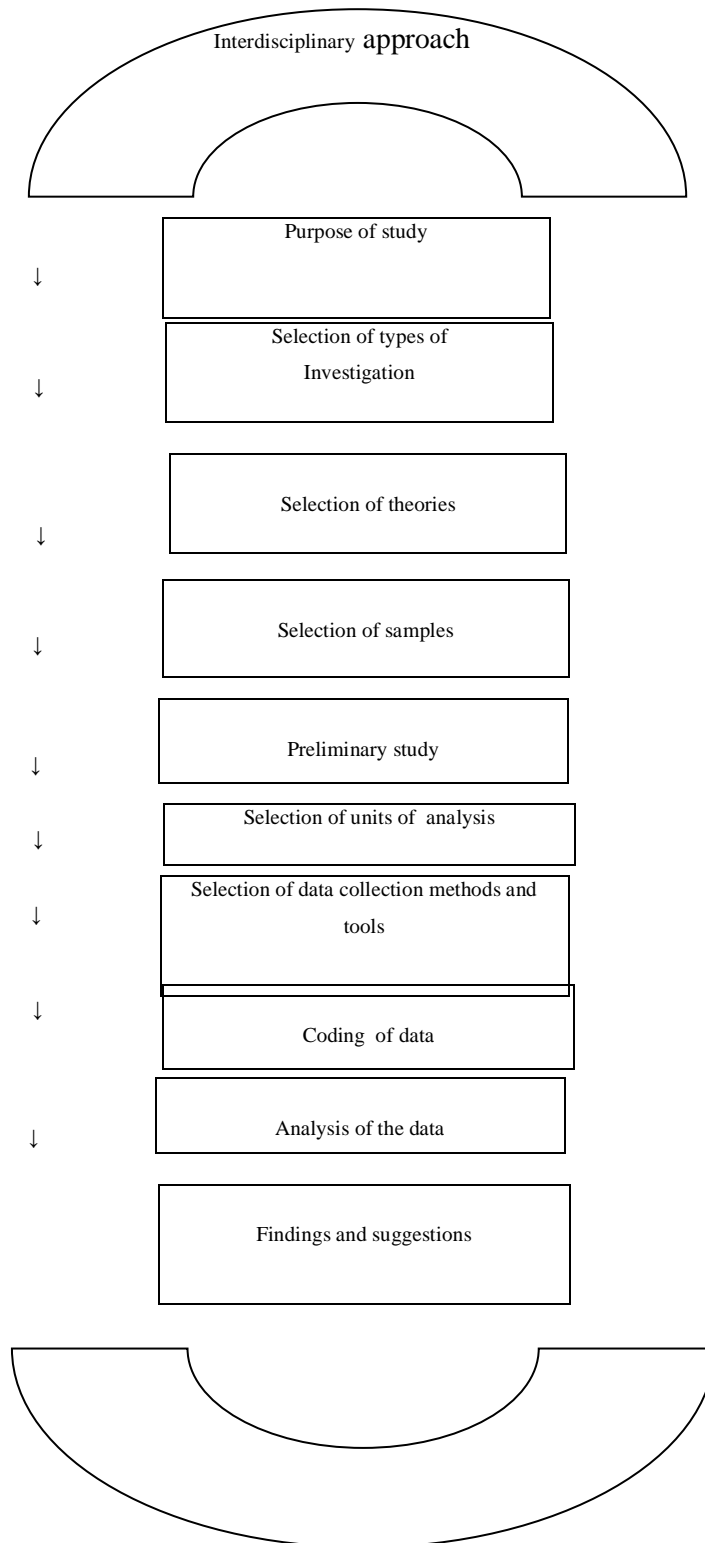


Figure: 1 The Structural Framework for the Current Study

The diagram shown above indicates that it does not present a very complicated structure but clearly shows the path, in simple manner the research work will follow. Different steps of this structural framework are discussed in detail, one by one.

### **3.2 This Research: Qualitative or Quantitative?**

The answer to the question “Is this research qualitative or quantitative?” is that “It is both.” as it makes use of both qualitative methods along with the quantification of the data by using Corpus Linguistic techniques, especially the use of concordancer AntConc. AntConc is a free software used in Linguistics. It is used for concordancing and analysis of text, developed in Japan by Waseda university professor Laurence Anthony in 2011. This freeware performs seven functions on a given text and for this purpose it has a special tab for each function like concordance, concordance plot, file view, clusters, collocates, word list and keyword list.

Let us first see the fundamental difference between these two kinds of approaches and put the current study within these research paradigms.

In qualitative research questions develop as the research work progresses. On the other hand, in quantitative research hypotheses are given at the very beginning of the study. The current study puts these questions before itself:

1. Which themes are frequently referred to in the selected political autobiographies?
2. Which linguistic devices are used by the political leaders to convey these themes?

With these questions certain other sub-questions about the concepts of separation and marginalization and their effective exploitation by the political leaders, especially black political activists became focus of the study. The use of foreign and native words for specific purposes also gave rise to questions about the need and utility of these words in a political autobiography. These sub-questions are:

- a. How are concepts of separation and marginalization presented in political autobiographies?
- b. How are native and foreign words utilized to convey and emphasize certain themes in political autobiographies?

In qualitative research narrative description is important and in quantitative research numerical data is important. The present work is heavily dependent on quantitative data and numbers presented in tabulated forms but at the same time narrative description of the data is an essential part of this research by putting the data in the theoretical framework and historical context and interpreting the same context utilizing theories and historical facts.

Adequacy of inference is accepted in qualitative research while reliability and data have strong relations in quantitative study. Both of these have been utilized in the current study. Validity in qualitative research depends upon triangulation while in quantitative research validity depends upon statistics. Heavy statistical data in the form of numbers and words was collected in this research study. Purposive sampling is preferred in qualitative research. On the other hand, random sampling is preferred in quantitative research. Purposive sampling was preferred in the present work based on the global political importance of autobiographers. Narrative description is preferred in qualitative research while description of procedure is given priority in quantitative research. In qualitative studies summaries are in the narrative form while in quantitative research this summary is in statistical form. Both narrative and statistical summaries can be found in this work. Holistic description and break-up of the phenomena also differentiate qualitative research from quantitative studies which this study combines in a systematic manner.

### **3.3 Sampling for this Study**

In any research, sampling plays an important role because the results of any research project depend upon the correct sampling of the population where the size and representativeness of the samples are of vital importance for the researchers. For this study the purposive sampling was done because the study is an analysis of the themes and linguistic devices in selected political autobiographies. In purposive sampling, as the term purposive suggests the sample is selected due to some specific characteristics. Purposive

sampling is mainly carried out in qualitative studies or research. According to Patton (1990) purposive sampling is carried out in the following cases:

**Extreme or Deviant Case:** In such kind of sampling the unusual or outstanding cases are considered for learning. Examples are topper students.

**Intensity:** In this case, cases or instances rich in information are brought under study, for instance good or poor students.

**Maximum Variation:** With a specific purpose in mind a researcher selects from a vast variety of population to cover different conditions in a sample.

**Homogeneous:** In this kind of sampling variation is restricted and more focused sample is selected for the simplification of analysis.

**Typical Case:** Here the average, normal or typical is taken into consideration.

**Stratified Purposeful:** Subgroups and their comparison are the main purpose of such sampling. **Critical Case:** In such sampling generalization is allowed and information is applied to other cases.

**Snowball or Chain:** In Snowball or Chain sampling people help which cases are rich in information.

**Criterion:** In this kind of sampling those cases are taken which satisfy certain criterion.

**Theory-Based or Operational Construct:** It is based on some theory or theoretical construct.

**Confirming or Disconfirming:** Initial analysis is further elaborated through this kind of sampling.

**Opportunistic:** In this sort of sampling when unexpected happenings occur, the advantages of such happenings are taken for research.

**Random Purposeful:** Through Random Purposeful sampling the credibility of the sample is enhanced.

**Convenience:** In such cases there financial and other benefits like time and money are saved but the credibility is negatively affected.

**Combination or Mixed Purposeful:** Here, in this sampling various needs and interests are met by the combination or triangulation.



**Politically Important Cases:** Such important cases get the attention of the research work or sometimes these political cases are avoided due to some sensitivity attached with these cases.

In this study the selection of the subjects or entity has been done on the basis of the political importance of the personalities and their autobiographies. Both personalities and the units of analysis are politically very important as on the one hand Nelson Mandela represents one of the greatest political and freedom struggles of the twentieth century and is very relevant in the twenty-first century or postmodern era of the human rights and freedom of speech and action. Mandela's autobiography presents the record of the life involved in the political and freedom struggle and the themes are presented in a particular use of language. On the other hand Barack Hussein Obama, the president of the United States of America, the super power of the world, is also an important political figure in the world politics. He is the first black president of the country with a history of racial discrimination and political struggle, especially of the black man in this continental country. The autobiography of Obama, *The Audacity of Hope*, discusses these struggles and world politics which qualifies it for research in this study.

Furthermore, this research work delimits itself to the autobiographies of two international and politically important personalities, Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* and Barack Hussein Obama's *Audacity of Hope*. The study further delimits itself by selecting only black political leaders and their autobiographies cover the period from early twentieth century to the present time. These two sources are rich in the relevant information the researcher is seeking and came to know this fact during the preliminary research and the search for different autobiographies of various political leaders and politically important people all over the globe.

Both hard copies/paper versions and soft copies/electronic versions of the selected units of analysis were utilized for data collection. Paper versions were used for collecting data manually, reading the text and underlining the required information and separating the same from the main text for analytical purposes. Electronic versions were used for the concordancer, that is, AntConc.

### 3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis in this study

As an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary field and eclectic methodology, Critical Discourse Analysis utilizes various tools for data collection which are suitable for specific study. In this study Huckin's analytic tool and content analysis have been used as research tools and all steps of content analysis have been followed.

Being an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary field Critical Discourse Analysis does not rely on one theory or methodology (van Dijk, 2000) as it is a shared perspective and utilizes various approaches for analyzing a text or any other kind of discourse. According to Sheyholislami (2001), it is one of the important principles that any discourse is not arbitrary but purposeful. While doing CDA, body gestures or language, various symbols, utterances, images and other semiotic resources are considered as means utilized by different discourses in different contexts (Fairclough, 2002).

Scholars like Huckin (1997) are of the view that one should first read a text just like an ordinary reader and then give it a second read with an eye of a critic. Without critical involvement and critical questions a reader indirectly accepts the power of a given text (Patten, 2002). While critically analyzing a text one should read it thoroughly several times asking questions as the analyst proceeds in reading, comparing it with other similar texts and reconstructing it in a different way in his or her mind. Placement of a text in specific type of genre also helps in specifying the style and building blocks of a text. Huckin (1997) further says that we should read the text as a whole and try to understand what kind of point of view the text presents. He recommends the following techniques to frame the details of the text:

- 1 .For attracting the reader's attention specially chosen diagrams, photographs and sketches are utilized.
- 2 .Headings and keywords are used to give prominence to certain concepts through specially chosen text. If there is emphasis on the text it is called foregrounding and if it is de-emphasized the technique is called backgrounding.

3. Some events or things are intentionally left out for specific purposes. An average reader usually does not notice it.
4. Presupposition is used for supporting and emphasizing certain ideas.
5. Some views or ideas are presented as more reliable and legitimate through specific choice of voices.

The first two steps, that is, identifying the genre of a text under study and then framing the message of the same text are very important. After these two initial steps any researcher will go on to analyze a text in more detail. Words, sentences and phrases are analyzed as a next step. Following are some of the techniques used by the writers in order to manipulate text and convey their message.

6. Through topicalization, that is, framing at the sentence level, an author tries to change the opinion of a reader.
7. Power relations are expressed through sentence. This characteristic of a text is called agency.
8. Through nominalization and passive verbs information about agents of power are omitted.
9. Readers do not question the presuppositions of the author which he or she utilizes in the shape of persuasive rhetoric
10. Insinuations are used as tools of creating double meanings
11. Connotations are another way of attracting the attention of the reader and making his or her opinion.
12. To convey the modality certain words are used to set tone of a text.
13. Register is conveyed with the specific use of single word.

### **3.5 Methods of Analysis**

This research work utilizes methods of both the qualitative and quantitative analysis. Both of the methods of analysis have been discussed below.

#### **3.5.1 Qualitative Content Analysis**

Qualitative analysis of the content is used widely in field of qualitative research. According to Hsieh & Shannon (2005, p. 1278) qualitative content analysis is a research

method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns.

Mayring (2000) says this about qualitative content analysis: An approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytic rules and step by step models, without rash quantification (p. 2).

Patton (2002, p. 453) defines qualitative content analysis as any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings.

It is obvious from the above definitions that qualitative content analysis focuses on the texts or speeches in a particular context. Unlike quantitative content analysis it does not merely depend on counting words to find meanings, themes and patterns. In this method, the researcher also understands the social reality in subjective way but scientific manner. The qualitative analysis is inductive. Sampling techniques used in qualitative content analysis is purposive sampling. The results of the qualitative analysis are descriptions or in the shape of typologies. Unique themes rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of a specific text are sought. Three approaches to qualitative content analysis are given below:

1. Conventional Content Analysis: Here the coding categories are derived directly and inductively from the unprocessed data;
2. Directed Content Analysis: In this method coding starts with the related theory or research findings.
3. Summative Content Analysis: This begins with the counting of words or content.

(Hsieh & Shannon, 2005)

The process of the qualitative analysis consists of the following stages:

- a. Preparing the data
- b. Defining the units of analysis

- c. Developing categories and a coding scheme
- d. Testing coding scheme on a sample text
- e. Coding all the text
- f. Assessing coding consistency
- g. Drawing conclusions from the coded data
- h. Reporting methods and findings.

### **3.5.2 Quantitative Content Analysis:**

According to Bernard Berelson (1952, p. 74) Content Analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of manifest content of communications.

The focus of the content analysis is the actual content and the internal features. This tool locates specific words, concepts, themes, phrases, characters and sentences in specified texts and then quantification of them is done in a scientific manner. Texts include books, chapters, essays, interviews, discussions, newspaper headlines, articles, historical documents, speeches, conversations, advertisements, theatre, informal conversation, or any shape of language. For content analysis codification of the texts are done or these texts are systematically managed into categories. Then conceptual or relational analysis are applied to the data.

This theory or theoretical area in the existing research tradition provides foundation for further research. A theoretical framework in simple words is a collection of concepts that are interrelated in one way or another and acts as guide for the researchers in their endeavors to find answers to research questions and hypotheses. While emphasizing the importance of theoretical framework Naz (2009) says this in her doctoral dissertation *The Role of Media in the Development and Promotion of English in Pakistan*:

Theoretical framework is very important in a research work in two ways; firstly it helps the researcher to put his data in one place to save it from being lost in the vast realm of knowledge and secondly, the work may provide a better

understanding to the unknown audience who would probably like to use it as a reference for their academic studies (p.125).

### 3.6 Theoretical Framework for this Study

This research is based on theoretical areas of Van Dijk's Political Discourse Analysis. Van Dijk defines political discourse, domain of politics and political discourse as political action. The categories discussed by Van Dijk and which will be considered for this study are as under:

1. **Domain:** Politics, that is, the whole discipline of political science is the domain of PDA.
2. **Systems:** Systems include democracy, communism, dictatorship etc.
3. **Institution:** They are state, government and parliament etc.
4. **Values and ideologies:** Equality, solidarity etc. are values while ideologies include group and party ideologies.
5. **Organizations:** Organizations include political parties, lobbies and political clubs
6. **Political Actors:** Politicians, members of parliament, cabinet ministers are political actors
7. **Political Relations:** Power, power abuse and hegemony etc. are included in political relations
8. **Political Process:** Governing, legislation, opposition, agenda-setting are among political processes
9. **Political Action:** Political decision making, voting, demonstrations are among political actions
10. **Political Cognitions:** These are attitudes about the relevant issues like nuclear energy.

Van Dijk analyzes political discourse under the following headings which will also be followed in this study:

**a. Topics:** Topics include any aspect or problem of life but usually they are about politics. Certain preferred topics are freedom, equality, education, health, crime, unemployment etc.

**b. Superstructures or Textual 'Schemata':** Political discourses follow traditional organization of argumentations, stories and news reports. Meanings are made more or less prominent for obvious partisan reasons. Distribution of meanings in discourse highlights information in a headline, a summary or a conclusion.

**c. Local Semantics:** Local political context plays a role in local semantics. This will show the local institutions and organizations, actors and actions etc.

**d. Lexicon:** Choice of words also plays a significant role in the political discourse. Enemies for opponents and friends for supporters and in the same way terrorist and freedom fighters are some of the examples of lexical choice of political discourse.

**e. Syntax:** Syntactic structure and style include use of pronouns, changes in word order, purposive use of active and passive voices, use of simple and complex sentences for manipulation of meanings.

**f. Rhetoric:** Rhetoric as an art is utilized to persuade people, especially in a political assembly. To attain this persuasive force, arguments, specific forms and figures of style are used in political discourse. Verbose, hyperbolic, dishonest and immoral styles in discourse are not considered desirable but still used.

**g. Expression Structures:** Expression structures like that of sounds and graphics usually also play an indirect and sometimes hidden role in emphasizing or de-emphasizing partisan meanings.

**h. Speech Acts and Interaction:** Pragmatic analysis of political discourse reveals which specific speech act has been used in which context.

This Study will delimit itself to Topics and Superstructure or Textual Schemata.

### **3.7 Clustering the topics under the themes in the frame of Van Dijk's**

#### **PDA**

A systematic plan was developed for a thorough and repeated reading of the two sources of information. Each of the two sources was read five times to have a complete feel of the

sources. First readings of both the units of analysis were quick and just like a common reader in order to know the overall structure of the units and have an initial introduction of these sources keeping in mind the overall framing of the text. After the initial reading a second read was given to the text. This was not just skimming but a deep reading with a critical eye. The third and fourth readings were with same critical mind but with more intensity. After a complete feel of these source in the next reading the fifth or the last reading of the source texts the topics or the relevant portion of the text were underlined with a pencil.

For systematic presentation of the raw data, the relevant parts of the original text and the topics contained in them were presented in the tabulated form. The tables drawn/developed for this purpose have three headings given below:

- The left column is captioned as Page No. This column gives the page number of the relevant part of the text under study.
- The middle column is titled as Words/phrases/sentences/paragraph. This column contains words, phrases, sentences or paragraphs from the original text. This part indicates where the topic in the original text appears.
- The right column is captioned as Topics. This column presents the topics separated from the original text.

After the data was presented in the three-column table for systematic presentation the topics from the right column of this table were separated in five-column paragraph form. This was done in order to create facility for clustering the data into van Dijk's theory at Political Discourse Analysis. See appendices I&II attached with this document.

The topics separated from the three-column table and then presented for clarity in the paragraph form were clustered into themes in the frame of van Dijk's Political Discourse Analysis. Here the data was presented in the three-column table with the following captions of the column:

1. Category/theme: The left column is captioned as category/theme. This column presents the categories given in van Dijk's theory of Political Discourse Analysis.



2. Topics under the category/theme: The middle column is captioned as Topics under the category/theme. In this column all the relevant topics which come under the category/theme are clustered. This has been done manually and the relevant topics have been placed in the category/theme.

3. Frequency/percentage: The right side column in this table is titled as Frequency/percentage. This column presents the frequency or percentage of the topics which come under a particular category or theme. This column gives us the relative strength or weightage of the category or theme

### **3.8 Use of Corpus Linguistics techniques**

The current study makes use of modern techniques of Corpus Linguistics for data mining and exploring themes. In the following lines we not only discuss utility of the use of Corpus Linguistics techniques but also explain the working of concordance AntConc in detail. This software has many useful functions which help a researcher in dealing with large bodies of texts in an efficient manner with less time consumption.

Corpus Linguistics is another new discipline in linguistics that uses computers and software applications for the analysis of large bodies of texts or discourses. The use of computers in the techniques of Corpus Linguistics makes the process of analysis quick, that is, less time consuming, and objective. Tenorio (n.d.) says this about the use of techniques of Corpus Linguistics:

Finally it has been argued that the use of corpus linguistics techniques in CDA may help to avoid or reduce researcher bias. Quantitative computer-aided corpus approaches can address large data sets, and the focus of analysis can take into account collocations, keyness, semantic preference and semantic prosody. What appears to be obvious and is taken-for-granted are checked against the data at the same time that unexpected findings arise in the procedures of description and analysis (Mautner, 2009). Patterns of preferred and dispreferred lexis and structures (Baker, 2006) facilitate detecting of the ideologies of hegemonic discourses associated with particular texts. The

limitations of corpus approaches to CDA are that they work with very little context, may hinder close reading and can help us learn only about the verbal domain. Corpus-informed CDA can give the impression that it is a mechanistic or positivist approach. O'Halloran and Coffin's (2004) discussion of over- and under-interpretation counters this view, however.

### **3.8.1 Use of Concordancer AntConc**

For the analysis of linguistic devices and statistical data collection a free software program AntConc was used. AntConc is easy to download as it can be downloaded as a single *.exe file* with a guide in the PDF form. This program is specially used in Corpus Linguistics and is a multiplatform tool used for research and data-driven learning. This software was developed in 2011 by Laurence Anthony, director at Center for English Language Education in Science and Engineering, School of Science and Engineering, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan. AntConc is a concordancer, that is, it is a concordance program. A concordance is defined as a specific list of those words which the researcher requires for his or her research. The list of words is taken from the text or a set of texts under study. The software shows the words in the context and the format in which these words are presented is called KWIC format. The abbreviation KWIC stands for Key Word in Context.

AntConc has seven tools. These tools can be utilized by clicking on their respective tabs or using the function keys from f1 to f7. These tools have been given as follows:

1. Concordance Tool
2. Concordance Plot Tool
3. File View Tool
4. Clusters (N-Grams)
5. Collocates
6. Word List
7. Keyword List

Figure 11 shows the main window of the concordance 3.2.4w 2011. It has the drop down boxes of File, Global Settings, Tool Preferences and About. The corpus files are shown in the left hand window. Main action or function boxes are shown above the main window. These actions or functions are: Concordance, concordance plot, file view, clusters, word list and keyword list. The box 'Hit' shows the number and rank of the word searched in a file. The KWIC window shows key word in context while the file box shows the name of the file used for various purposes in the AntConc. The dialogue box

on the lower left side is used for writing words whose frequency and other functions are to be found. *Concordance Hits* and *Search Window Size* indicate the frequency or number of the word and the size of the search window respectively.

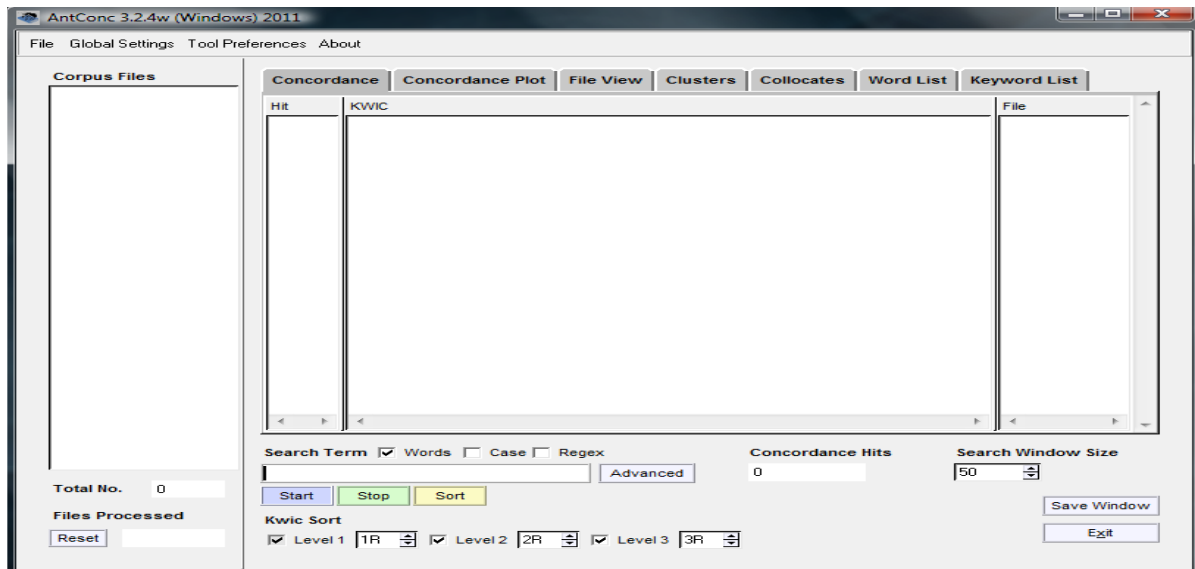
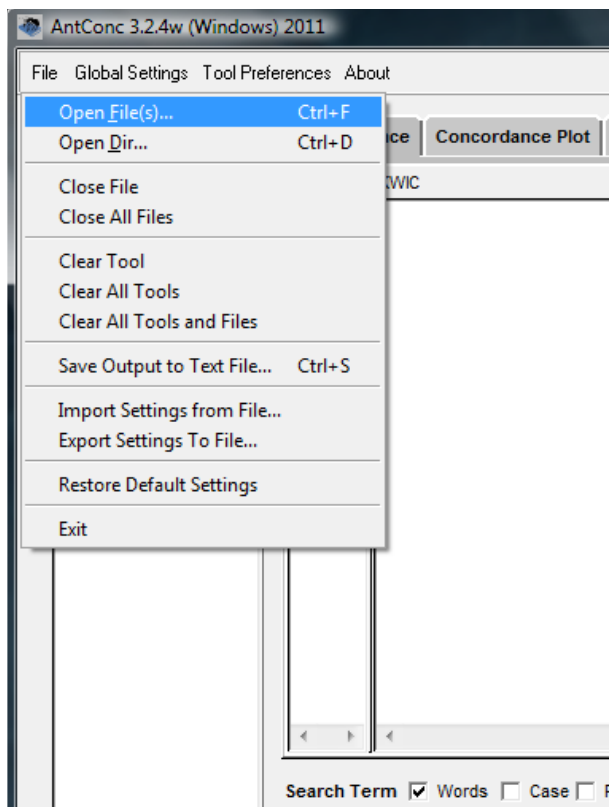


Figure 2 Main window of AntConc

Figure 3 shows file drop down box. The functions are clearly seen in the box. The function boxes and some short cuts to these functions are given below:

- Open File(s): This shows already open files.
- Open Dir: This shows open directory.
- Close File and Close All Files: They close single and all files respectively.
- Clear Tool, Clear All Tools and Clear All Tools and Files: They clear tools and files.
- Save Output to Text File: This saves files for future use.
- Import Settings from File and Export Settings to File: They import or export settings.
- Restore Default Setting: It restores the original settings.
- Exit: It is the function that closes the drop down box.



*Figure 3* File drop box of AntConc

Corpus files appear like this:

decten1pvc01.txt

Only txt Files can be used in AntConc. Common files are converted into txt files by any file converter software. For this study for file conversion Notepad++ was used.

*Figure 4.* Image actual appearance of the corpus files in the corpus files window

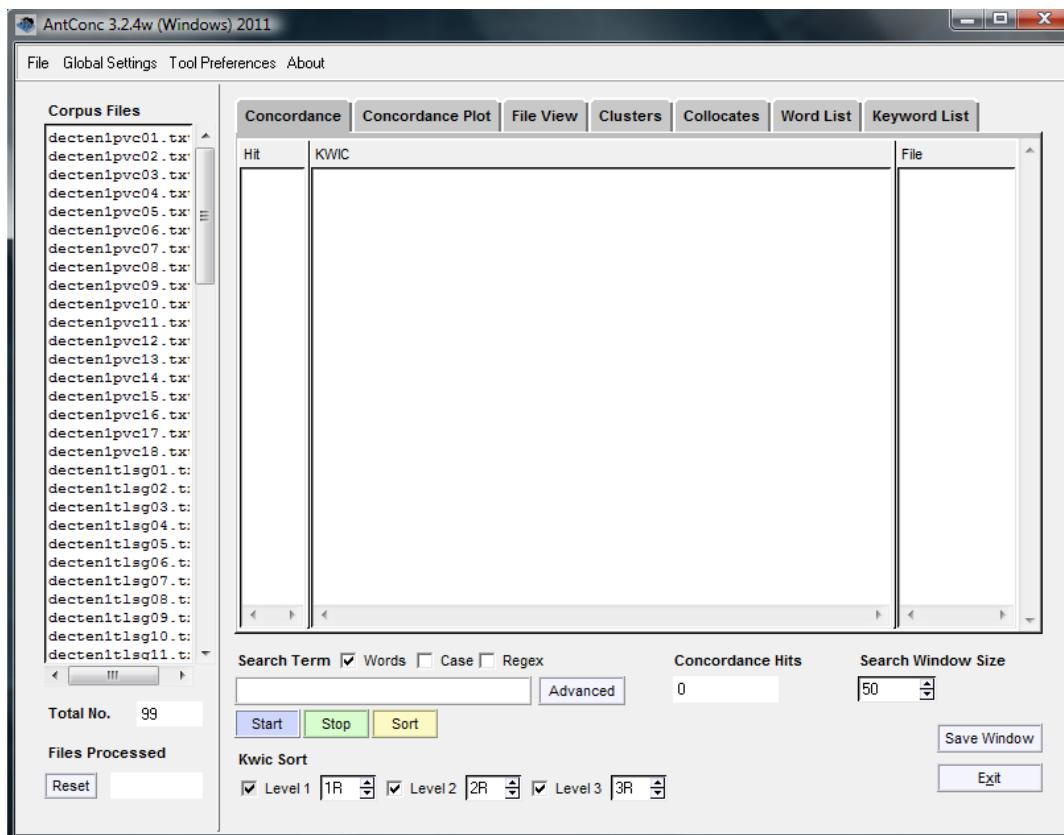


Figure 4 Actual appearance of the corpus files in the corpus files window

In the Corpus Files window the txt files can be seen, in the Hit window the number of the word is shown, KWIC area shows the concordance of the word *canny*. This key word in context appears in the middle of the sentences as appears in the window. File window indicates those files used for concordance.

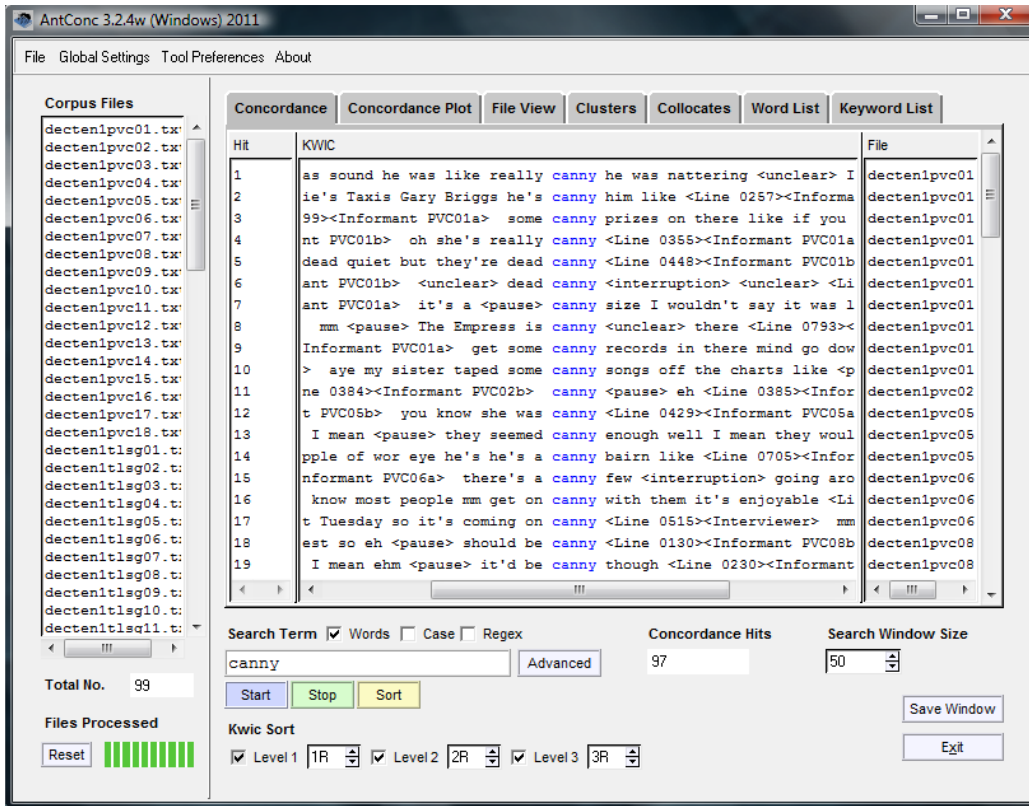


Figure 5 Four actual appearances of files, hits and KWIC

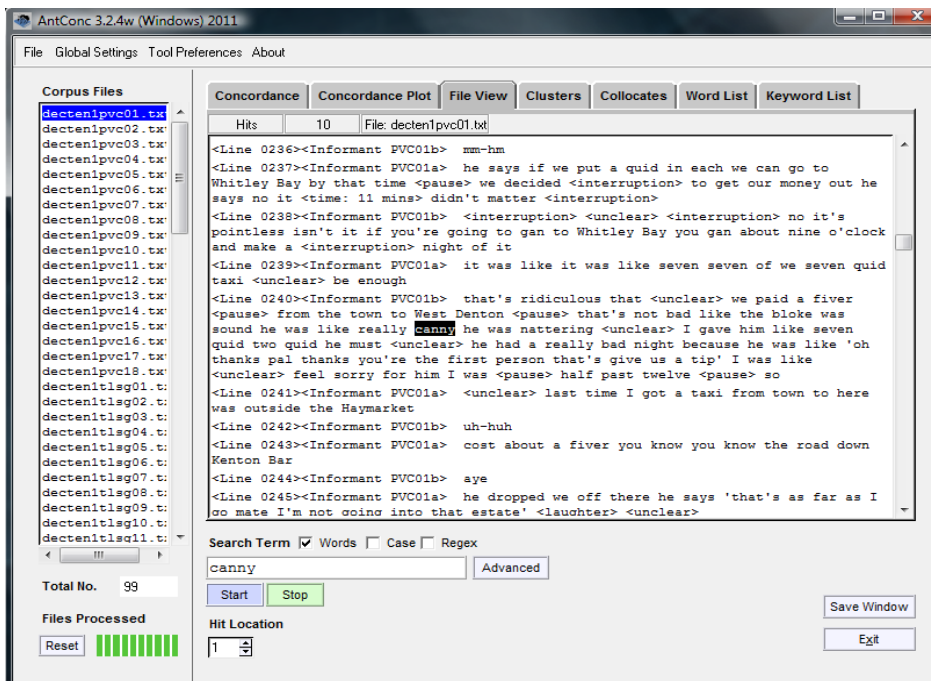


Figure 6 Full file view with the highlighted key word

The search window with the word *house* for search has been shown in Figure 16. Concordance Hits and Search Window Size with number of hits and window size can also be seen in the image.

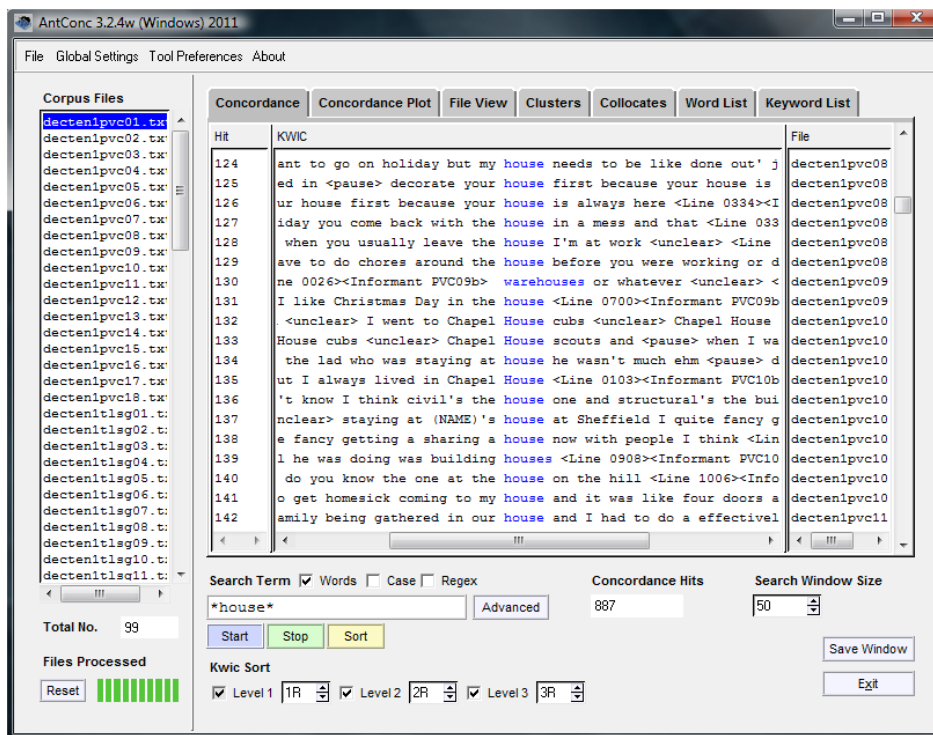


Figure 7 Input or search box

In the Advanced Search function Load File function can be seen in Figure 17. Files can be loaded into relevant area or window of AntConc.

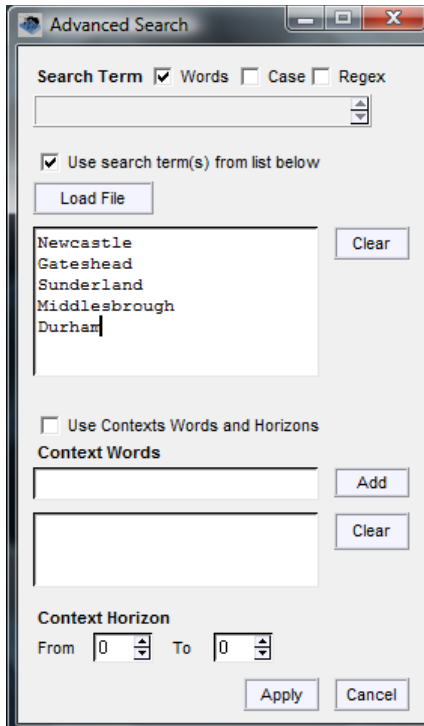


Figure 8 Load File function of concordance AntConc

Global Settings and other details have been shown. Check boxes can be seen on the right side.

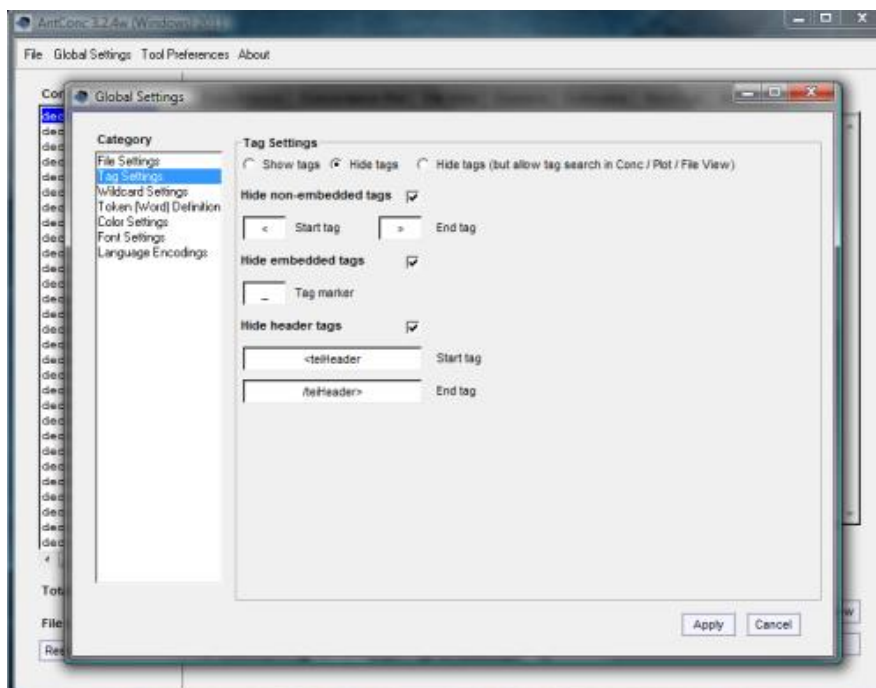




Figure 9 Global Settings drop box of AntConc

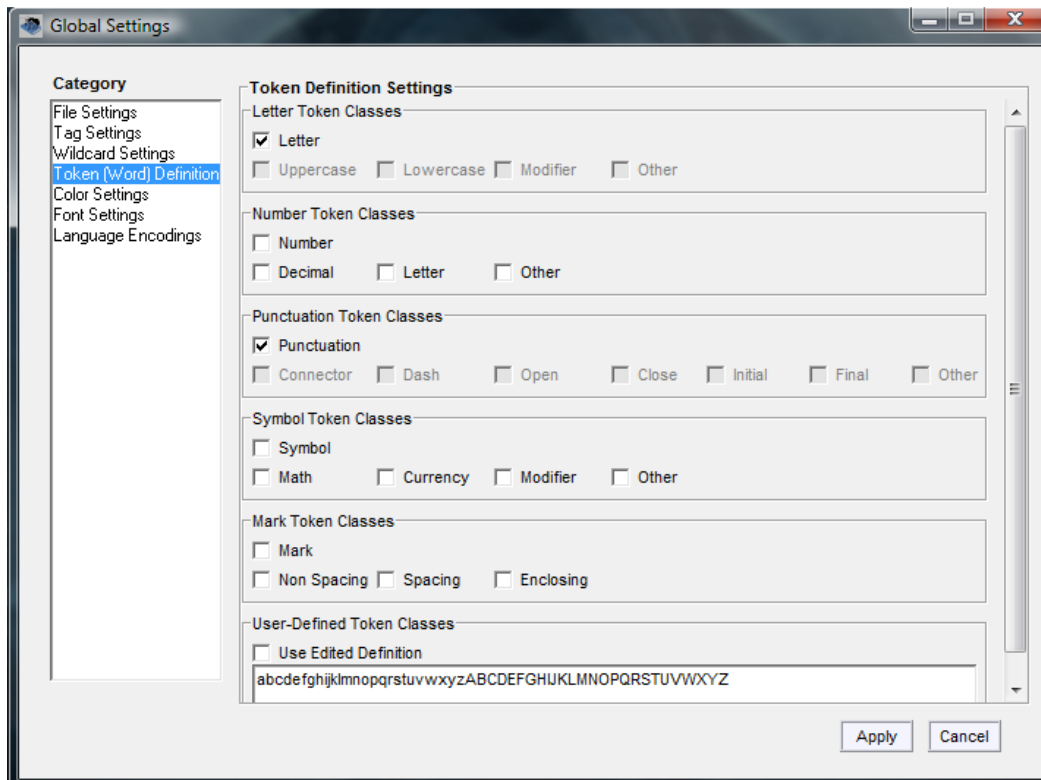


Figure 10 Global Settings and other details with check boxes

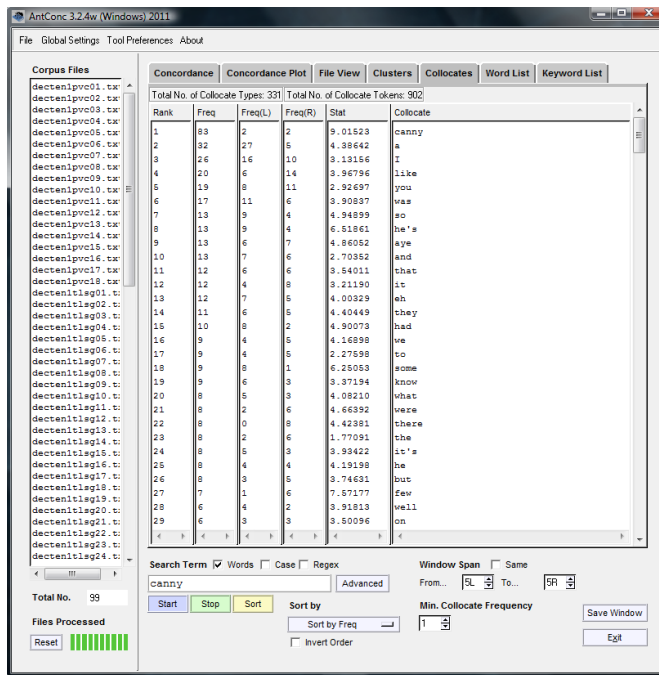


Figure 11 Details of Rank, Frequency and Collocate along with other functions

Current chapter presents research methodology and theoretical framework of this research study. Chapter indicates at the very outset that this research work is both qualitative and quantitative. Quantitative in the sense that it makes use of concordancer AntConc, a software used in Corpus Linguistics for quantification of concepts. Description of themes and linguistic devices makes the present research qualitative. Difference between qualitative and quantitative research has also been discussed in this chapter. Transdisciplinary and interdisciplinary in nature the present work mixes different methods to identify themes and use of linguistic devices in the units of analysis. From content analysis it takes the method of theme identification and for use of linguistic devices at the word level it uses Huckin's tools.

The whole plan of the research has been presented in systematic diagram. This diagram gives step by step progress of the present research study. The diagram includes interdisciplinary approach of the work, purpose of the study, selection of types of investigation, selection of theories, selection of sampling, preliminary study, selection of units of analysis, selection of data collecting tools and methods, coding data, analysis of data, findings and suggestions and triangulation of methods. The chapter also details sampling and the selection of samples for the current work. Different sampling methods along with their sub-types have been discussed and then a sampling method suitable for the current work has been selected. In the end a detailed description of the concordance AntConc has been given in this chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data collection is an important part of any research work. For accurate data collection methods and tools should be reliable and suitable for the topic under study. In the same manner the analysis of data also requires special care and precision for the results to be tested and replicated if required. For the purpose of data collection, both the units of analysis selected for this study were thoroughly studied focusing on the required data in the original source and then recording the same with page number, the specific part of the unit and the separated topics in the same part. Chapter is divided into two sections. Each section focuses on specific autobiography.

#### **SECTION ONE: *Long Walk to Freedom***

##### **4.1 Step 1: Key Facts about the Text of *Long Walk to Freedom***

Before going into the details of the themes, inspirational language and linguistic devices used by Nelson Mandela the key facts about the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* were collected. These facts were collected through the use of Concordancer AntConc.

Table 8 Key facts about text of *Long Walk to Freedom*

<b>S. No.</b>	<b>Key facts</b>	<b>Number in Figures</b>
1.	Pages	631
2.	Word tokens	259330
3.	Word types	16000
4.	Characters (no spaces)	1164317
5.	Characters (with spaces)	1408087
6.	Paragraphs	3984
7.	Lines	22423

In Corpus Linguistics, a word token is defined as individual occurrence of a word or linguistic unit in a piece of writing or speech and a word type is not the actual occurrence but an abstract class of linguistic unit in a piece of writing or speech. The

above table shows that there are 631 pages in total. The number of word tokens is 259330 and word types is 16000. The number of characters with no spaces is 1164317 and with spaces is 1408087. There are 3984 paragraphs in the book and the book consists of 22423 lines. Total topics and related words separated by the researcher are 38313. These statistics give us access to the total items or words of the unit of analysis and help in the analysis of the text.

In addition, there are total 11 parts and 115 sub-parts in the book. Each part was thoroughly read and re-read in order to grasp the text in its totality as well as with respect to various themes, inspirational language, and linguistic devices presented in it. Manually and practically each sentence was given equal attention leaving out not a single page. Words, phrases and sentences were separated from the text and have been presented in tabulated form in the following pages. For readers' facilitation, the presentation of data in tables in this section is carried out very carefully in a condensed manner so as to bring forth only the representative topics and themes. However, for all those readers and researchers who would be interested in in-depth study, the detailed data is presented in the tables attached as appendix 1 of this thesis.

Here are some representative topics and themes selected on the basis of frequency in the text of *Long Walk to Freedom*:

## **4.2 Step 2: *Long Walk to Freedom*: Representative Topics and Themes**

### **Part One: A Country Child**

#### **Sub-parts: 1-8**

#### **Pages: 3-70**

Suitably titled, "A Country Child", the very first part sets a foundation for the whole structure of the story to come. The author, beginning right from his birth, explains the whole circumstances in which he was born to a respectable family and raised by an influential figure who had strong relations with his family. The author tries, from the very beginning, to use words that predict a drama and a stir in the then socio-political and economic set up. Writing about his strong physical body and his African name "Rolihlahla" meaning 'troublemaker', he is actually giving us a prologue to a long

eventful journey through which he was destined to go. The first part revolves around the origin, family and the factors that were going to mold his personality and pave the way for his great and unique role in the history of his country.

Graphically, the start of the dramatic journey of the author is presented as follows:

1918- birth of Rolihlahla, the troublemaker → Death of his father→Role of his mother→Going to new abode, real mould of his personality→Education→Marriagematters→Catalyst for escape

Table 9 Topics related to categories of Childhood, Family and Race-Part 1

Pages: 3-70
race, family and ancestry, tribal life and foreign rule, hostile relations between the natives and the white government, family relations, rural life and food, early liberty/freedom and the love of nature, early free happy days, sense of humiliation, cruelty and honour, death of father/family affairs, family relations and identity, turning point in life, from past to future, new abode, custom/ritual, manhood, custom/ritual, tradition, boyhood, education, White man, education, dealing with whites, regent/elder against decision, brotherhood/friendship, life at home, marriage matters-not our say, marriage matters-girls and their families, social & political advancement, traditions, romance, marriage-consultation, marriage-escape

The above representative data give us a clear picture of the early life of the central character of the book. From the very outset a controlled and conscious use of language and linguistic devices dressing of the intended theme is felt. Van Dijk's theory (1997) of political discourse analysis, that is, PDA, discusses political discourse in the shape of the personal texts or speeches of the politicians. Van Dijk (1997) further adds that political discourse has a very important function of producing, abusing, resisting and maintaining power. Here, in this unit of analysis and especially, in this very first part the author paves the way for the reader to be ready for resistance discourse in the long textual journey he is prepared to go through. The special mention of the family, family relations, physical

strength, white man gives us a feel of conflict, inclusivity and exclusivity which will result in discourse of resistance. Throughout the long discussion in the book, Nelson Mandela could not detach himself from this discourse of resistance. The combination of the selection of themes and the conscious selection of words and phrases create this resistance-effect. Examples of the words and phrases that create resistance-effect are ancestry, race, family, foreign rule, hostile relations, the White government, family relations, early liberty/freedom, free happy days, sense of humiliation, cruelty and honour, identity, education, dealing with Whites, regent/elder against decision, brotherhood/friendship, social and political advancement around which almost the whole story revolves throughout the text.

Look at the examples from the text:

APART FROM LIFE, a strong constitution, and an abiding connection to the Thembu royal house, the only thing my father bestowed upon me at birth was a name, Rolihlahla. In Xhosa, Rolihlahla literally means “pulling the branch of a tree,” but its colloquial meaning more accurately would be “troublemaker.” I do not believe that names are destiny or that my father somehow divined my future, but in later years, friends and relatives would ascribe to my birth name the many storms I have both caused and weathered. My more familiar English or Christian name was not given to me until my first day of school. But I am getting ahead of myself. (p. 1)

Another example is as follows:

My father’s response bespoke his belief that the magistrate had no legitimate power over him. When it came to tribal matters, he was guided not by the laws of the king of England, but by Thembu custom. This defiance was not a fit of pique, but a matter of principle. He was asserting his traditional prerogative as a chief and was challenging the authority of the magistrate. When the magistrate received my father’s response, he promptly charged him with insubordination. There was no inquiry or investigation; that was reserved for white civil servants. The magistrate simply deposed my father, thus ending the Mandela family chieftainship. I was unaware of these events at the time, but I was not unaffected. My

father, who was a wealthy nobleman by the standards of his time, lost both his fortune and his title. He was deprived of most of his herd and land, and the revenue that came with them. (p. 1)

Examples like the ones given above give us clear clues that a great action drama is going to be played in the life of the central figure of this long and difficult journey.

## **Part Two: Johannesburg**

**Sub-parts: 9-10**

**Pages: 73-106**

After his escape from the rural atmosphere, Mandela is introduced to a totally new world. He goes to Johannesburg which is the title of part two of this unit of analysis. Looking at the structure of the book typographically a reader can feel the sign posts of a long journey. The titles of the various parts take us step by step from one post to another. Born and raised in a poverty stricken locality, Mandela, bumps into a world of wealth and fashion. He is completely astonished and absorbed into the colors of wealth and happiness of Johannesburg.

Part two has rightly been captioned as “Johannesburg” as this city becomes the permanent abode of this truly homo politicus.

Table 10 Topics related to categories of Wealth, Poverty and Financial Matters-Part 2

Pages: 73-106
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gold/wealth, Black man miserable, financial/social inequality, Africans-cheap, no rights, clerical jobs for chiefs' sons-most coveted, mine policeman, regent's word's weight, separation, factional fights, factional fights not discouraged by the Whites, feeling of richness, night watchman/natives crossing/pass, secrecy shared revealed, determination, a connection of regent, chamber of mines, Whites, city, women relation, Black in White suburb (Didi/girl), another love, poverty, tram, young wealthy boy, expression of love, love/superiority, proposal-fear of rejection, love-caution not virtue, politics- caution virtue, timidity & hesitation, family matters of Didi, confidence & self-reliance, WNLA-recruitment agency for mine workers, regent - no mention of past, different plans/course of life

From here the real story of the long walk begins. Johannesburg has been the jumping board of Nelson Mandela as far as the Black movement of freedom is concerned. The name and term Johannesburg itself are symbolic and tell us about the great struggle of the African National Congress (ANC) leadership and the common people who were tortured and punished severely just for asking for their rightful demands. The city of Johannesburg cannot be ignored when and wherever there is a mention of the great freedom movement in South Africa.

Johannesburg introduces Nelson Mandela to the great wealth, especially the gold mines in the city and stirs his mind to think about the wealth of his country and the share of his race in this huge wealth. Impressed with the opulence of the city and at the same time disturbed by the poverty of his people, Nelson Mandela decides to find any source of earning in this city. Here, in this city Mandela also intends to meet one of the central leaders of ANC, Dr. A.B. Xuma. The city gifts to him the companionship of Walter Sisulu. Walter Max Ulyat Sisulu was a real-estate agent and an anti-apartheid activist at the time he met Nelson Mandela. Mr. Sisulu had been a very active member of African National Congress (ANC) and was elected as Secretary General as well as Deputy President of the party at various times. He remained in the prison on Robben Island for twenty-five long years. The city, like a mother extends helping hands to Mandela. He gets a house and a job to start life here. Johannesburg and the life in the city together



begin to prepare the young Mandela for the great events to come in his future endeavors. He goes through very tough time with life in extreme poverty and great struggle for survival but at the same time all these troubles give him both physical and mental strength. The representative words in the above table have history, each of them being an individual history, has a long story to tell. So, words like wealth, gold, miserable inequality, job, separation and the like tell us a story like a living being. The terms used by the author tell us a story in the way he directs them. Words full of meaning interact with us while reading his autobiography. Look at the words in context:

Only the presence of cheap labor in the form of thousands of Africans working long hours for little pay with no rights made gold-mining profitable for the mining houses — white-owned companies that became wealthy beyond the dreams of Croesus on the backs of the African people. I had never seen such enterprise before, such great machines, such methodical organization, and such backbreaking work. It was my first sight of South African capitalism at work, and I knew I was in for a new kind of education. (p.50)

Another example among many other is as follows:

That first morning at the firm, a pleasant young white secretary, Miss Lieberman, took me aside and said, “Nelson, we have no color bar here at the law firm.” She explained that at midmorning, the tea-man arrived in the front parlor with tea on a tray and a number of cups. “In honor of your arrival, we have purchased two new cups for you and Gaur,” she said. “The secretaries take cups of tea to the principals, but you and Gaur will take your own tea, just as we do. I will call you when the tea comes, and then you can take your tea in the new cups.” She added that I should convey this message to Gaur. I was grateful for her ministrations, but I knew that the “two new cups” she was so careful to mention were evidence of the color bar that she said did not exist. The secretaries might share tea with two Africans, but not the cups with which to drink it. (p.52)

The above discussion and examples fully supports Van Dijk's theory of PDA as he presents in his paper and talks about the domain of politics. Among other topics he clearly discusses systems and relations. His views on the domain of politics are given below:

We see that ultimately the definition of political discourse can hardly escape the definition of the very notion of 'politics' itself. This paper cannot do such a complex job, of course, also because there is not a single and unambiguous definition of what 'politics' is. Indeed, the whole discipline of political science is the answer to such a question. And depending on studies in political science, politics may thus not only include all official or unofficial political actors, events, encounters, settings, actions and discourses, but also, in abstractly, political processes (like 'perestrojka'), political systems (like deinocracy and communism), political ideologies (like liberalism), and political (group) relations (such as power, inequality, hegemony, and oppression). In all these cases, the polity not only involves political actors, events, relations, practices or properties, but also social, economic and cultural ones.(Van Dijk,1995)

### **Part Three: Birth of a Freedom Fighter**

**Sub-parts: 11-14**

**Pages: 109-161**

“Birth of freedom fighter” is the title of this part, that is, part three. In the previous part, titled “Johannesburg” we are told that this city plays a role of a mold for shaping and reshaping a freedom fighter. This city introduces him to almost everything which are essential ingredients of the life of a political figure and a freedom fighter. These ingredients include the great class difference, both social and financial class, great accumulation of wealth on the one hand and on the flip side extreme misery and poverty. Discrimination in every walk of life is the big catalyst for an eventful political life. The terms and words used in this part tell us the same story.

Table 11 Topics related to categories of Politics and Struggle-Part 3

Pages: 109-161
politics, struggle, politicized from birth, Africans only (racial discrimination), Social inequality, racist laws, Discrimination, humiliation & indignities, Walter Sisulu, ANC, shelter for Africans, Change, 1940's, Atlantic Charter, human dignity, Political development, mineworkers' strike, Strike & government's ruthless retaliation, African mineworkers' union/ mixed parentage, leadership, State prevailed/State, Communism to be adapted to the African situation, Nationalists: English second place, South Africa- Whiteman's country for ever, Nationalists won: who our enemies are, General Smuts: Apartheid- crazy concept born of prejudice & fear, Group areas act & forced removals, Sophia town, the separate representation act, Bantu authorities act, Civil disobedience idea

The politicization of Nelson Mandela begins unconsciously. During his trials and tribulations in the city of wealth and poverty the would-be central figure of the ANC and a great freedom fighter begins to feel suffocated and imprisoned. Every day and every moment he faced humiliation and indignities. People of his race were looked down upon and treated in a very unacceptable way as far as human dignity is concerned. Mandela sees no other way to fight against such indignities except political struggle and defiance of the illegitimate authority of the minority ruling class. We can see that very relevant words and terminology like apartheid, human dignity, political development, mineworkers' strike, strike, government's ruthless retaliation, African mineworkers' union and leadership have been used to express the intended theme. This is very obvious from the words and terms given in the above table of representative data. The manipulation of the words very effectively presents the ideas the writer wants to convey.

The intentional special use of words and their networking combine to produce a collective effect which directly affects the mind of the reader. The special combination of verbs, nouns with specific reference from history like change, 1940's, Atlantic Charter, Nationalists: English second place, South Africa- Whiteman's country for ever, Nationalists won: who our enemies are, General Smuts: Apartheid- crazy concept born of

prejudice, Bantu authorities act and Civil disobedience idea fully help the writer to control, manipulate and direct the text to his own benefit. Development of his public relation and broadening of his acquaintances and friendship circles give Mandela new energy to be up-n-moving on the great active tracks of freedom fighters at that time.

The drama in the language of the living words:

Discrimination→humiliation→indignities→politicization→Politics→struggle

A look at the words used show us that these words lead us through the eventful life of the great fighter and give us a pictorial representation with semiotics all the events of this long and tiring struggle.

#### **Part Four: The Struggle is my Life**

**Sub-parts: 15-22**

**Pages: 165-229**

Stepping into the mire and moving towards the first step of climax, Mandela tells us about the real struggle. The terminologies, words and phrases change accordingly. Road to freedom, passive resistance, apartheid, oppression, oppressed, liberation are some of the words and phrases that appear prominently in part four.

Keywords and phrases in this part are as follows:

Road to freedom = oppression→apartheid→ passive resistance

Passive resistance was a prelude to the active resistance which resulted in violence and active struggle against and defiance of the apartheid regime.

Table 12 Topics related to categories of Struggle-Part 4

Pages: 165-229
road to freedom, non-violence, passive resistance, patience, moderation, modesty-in vain, ban on leaders, defiance campaign, struggle & livelihood, different fees from Blacks & Whites, liberal firms, African education, China/international power, hothead revolutionary, immorality of apartheid, objections on Walter, Walter &

China/international power, Afrikaaner freedom fighter, African freedom struggle, bans/restrictions, ban & ANC, political awakening, bans & freedom fighters, replaced, no authority, Restrictions, freedom, media, political struggle, oppression, freedom, truth & justice, overthrow oppressor- sanctioned by humanity, struck off name for political activities, boycott: mixed results, schools & women, education, struggle, reshaping liberation struggle, freedom charter, new constitution, people, congress of people, oppressed and progressive forces

The real task begins now. The African National Congress holds election for a new president and new plans are thought about keeping in view the government response and reaction to the activities of the ANC. Mandela is now fully involved in the law practice. After working for other law firms for some time he and his friend Tambo establish their own law set up which proves to be a great success. The government has its own agenda. It continues to act upon its policies of apartheid and oppression. Displacement of people and re-location of towns are some of the features of these policies. The themes of oppression and defiance are prominent in this part of the book. All the documents and historical facts are made part of this part in a language most suitable for the intended ideas of the writer of this autobiography.

The title “The struggle is my life” serves as a signpost for the readers telling them where to go now. The real fight is seen at this stage of the story. Although this a real life story of a freedom fighter but if the readers begin at any stage to disbelieve some statements or events, their disbelief is suspended through the use of carefully chosen words and phrases.

**.Part Five: Treason**

**Sub-parts: 23-39**

**Pages: 231-310**

During the treason trial government and ANC come face to face. In this part we have the vocabulary which semiotically presents the whole scenario and can be observed

in the table: Table 13 Topics related to categories of Security, Arrests, Human Rights and Trials-Part 5

Pages: 231-310
Security officials, children, high treason, arrest, arrest in front of the children, security officials, love of challenges/risks, political arrests, media, court, Johannesburg prison-fort, all sorts of men, clothes, prisons bad conditions, treatment like animals, trial, freedom charter, treason/crime political trial, morality tedium of court logistics, state's evidence, submissions detectives, false, nonsensical accounts, language, communism, cross-examination- defeat to state's explanations, parliament Act, self-governments, education, racial discrimination, grand apartheid, policy, morality, discriminatory proportion, citizenship, police, mistakes, justice, organization, court, military training, international power , detainees from all parts & races of the country, anti-apartheid, ANC& PAC declared illegal, during treason trial: no examples of individuals being isolated, beaten & tortured-all these things became common place shortly after

During the last days of 1956, Mandela along with other top ANC leadership, which included Chief Luthuli, were arrested for rebellious activities and imprisoned in Johannesburg jail. Nelson Mandela depicts the extremely bad conditions in the jail. However, after two weeks, they were shifted to the military construction being modified for the trial, this was known as Treason Trial. Later, they were released on but as collateral damage there emerged problems in Mandela's domestic life which had disastrous effects for his family structure and beyond his control to save it from disintegration.

### **Part Six: The Black Pimpernel**

**Sub-parts: 40-48**

**Pages: 311-365**

Part six is captioned as "Black Pimpernel". The title actually comes from the novel *The Scarlet Pimpernel* written in 1905 by Baroness Orczy a British author. This historical

fiction was set in the era of terror after the French Revolution. The hero of the novel disguises himself and helps people against the authorities. After every adventure he leaves a card on which there is a picture of small flower, scarlet pimpernel, which becomes a symbol of disguised adventure. The black pimpernel fully describes the adventurous life and underground struggle of Nelson Mandela.

Table 14 Topics related to categories of Secret Struggle and Security Forces-Part 6

Pages: 311-365
pimpernel/underground activities/struggle, underground structure of ANC, liberal print media, address & prayers, lord's attention towards Blacks, coloured's fear & freedom charter, passive struggle or militant, China-military training, magazine "Liberation", Rivonia-care, Palmach-Jewish national movement military wing, Rivonia-final addition, not to leave the country, a promise, political & economic support from other countries, PAC's propaganda, no alternative, lack of unity among African freedom fighters, misguided support for PAC, MK-brainchild of communist party- described by PAC, non-racialism-core of freedom charter, ANC: First among equals, NM: military training, amateur boxer, shooting, bombs

Right after his release, Nelson Mandela begins underground adventures, not to be found by the authorities. He is given the nickname "Black Pimpernel," which is attached with a fictional protagonist who always narrow escapes arrests during hard period of the French Revolution. At this moment in history, Mandela concentrates on arranging "Stay-at-Home" protests. The Pan Africa Congress tries to sabotage protests by instigating people to reject the protests.

This part is all about political processes and protests as mentioned by Van Dijk in his PDA. Parties arrange meetings and make plans for future. They now think about various options of violence or non-violence. Mk, a military organization of ANC is formed. So, here we find the themes like struggle and relations of different political

factions, especially between the power corridors and the governed people mentioned by Van Dijk in his PDA. His very title of this part is the good example of effective linguistic device because it is the historic term carries within itself the pictorial presentation of a disguised or underground struggle and semiotics of history in motion.

**Part Seven: Rivonia**

**Sub-parts: 49-58**

**Pages: 367-450**

Part Seven is given the title of Rivonia. Rivonia is a suburb area and a small village near Johannesburg in South Africa. Many rich and nouveau riche live here along with the successful information technology professionals. In 1960's, at Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, the African National Congress's top leadership was arrested and tried during the Rivonia Trial which actually changed the history of South Africa.

Table 15 Topics related to categories of Struggle, Government Reaction an Trials-Part 7

Pages: 367-450
<p>revolution, overthrow, from free to fugitive again, land of my birth &amp; destiny, profound relief, Lilieslief, khaki uniform still, details of travels, money, ANC non-racialism, reshaping congress alliance, gallery, press, state on trial, laws by parliament with not my representation, state on trial: atmosphere, African tried by kith &amp; kin, law: criminal not what done but stood for outlawed wife &amp; children, detection &amp; arrest, normal family, social life, denied the right to live normal life, outlawry, police persecution, administrative action, our grievances, prison: robs freedom &amp; identity, authoritarian state, fight, prison, to rob qualities of independent &amp; identity, uniform fo Africans, convicted prisoners, short trousers: 'boys', food, clothes &amp; isolation 'politicals', locked up, freedom songs, 'amandla!', 'ngawethu!', call-and-response</p>

As a result of Rivonia Trial, ANC leading figure Nelson Mandela and most of the anti-apartheid leaders were jailed. This trial actually changed the track of the struggle movement of freedom fighters in South Africa which was ruled by a White minority with its discriminatory separate- development laws. After the Rivonia Trial, which was



conducted during October 1963 the month of June in 1964, the ANC leadership was given a chance to continue its struggle from inside jail in which it was very much successful. Rivonia Trial served as a catalyst for the Black Freedom Movement. Nelson Mandela emerged to the prominence as most the important freedom fighting and central ANC leader. His speech during the trial gave new energy and hope to the Black freedom movement. Nelson Mandela was released from jail after twenty-seven years and five months which is equal to nearly ten thousand days in prison. He became the first democratically elected black president of South Africa in 1994. Now, referring back to the theoretical framework for this study, the recurring topics and themes conform to the theory of PDA. Look at the themes in the theory given below. So far all the topics and themes found in The Long Walk to Freedom are covered by the theory.

Van Dijk's theory of Political Discourse Analysis, its constituent parts:

1. **Domain:** Politics, that is, the whole discipline of political science is the domain of PDA.
2. **Systems:** Systems include democracy, communism, dictatorship etc.
3. **Institution:** They are state, government and parliament etc.
4. **Values and ideologies:** Equality, solidarity etc. are values while ideologies include group and party ideologies.
5. **Organizations:** Organizations include political parties, lobbies and political clubs
6. **Political Actors:** Politicians, members of parliament, cabinet ministers are political actors
7. **Political Relations:** Power, power abuse and hegemony etc. are included in political relations
8. **Political Process:** Governing, legislation, opposition, agenda-setting are among political processes
9. **Political Action:** Political decision making, voting, demonstrations are among political actions
10. **Political Cognitions:** These are attitudes about the relevant issues like nuclear energy.

We find the politicization of the central figure of the unit of analysis along with mention of political activists, government, laws and legal process among others.

### **Part Eight: Robben Island: The Dark Year**

**Sub-parts: 59-70**

**Pages: 453-534**

The reputed Robben Island with its notorious high security jail, in South Africa, is an island in the province of Western Cape. It is eight kilometers, nearly five miles to the west nearly six miles in the north of mainland Cape Town with an area of five miles or thirteen square kilometers.

Table 16 Topics related to categories of Imprisonment and Punishments-Part 8

Pages: 453-534
in single cell, through iron labyrinth, metal doors, handcuffed & piled in police van, national heroes soon but took 3 decades, In plane-shivering, examining scene as strategist, guerilla army might hide here, forested area could shelter nascent guerilla force, brass bell, yelled-‘word wakker! staan op!’, early riser, no burden, 5:30-6:45, At 6:45 am- clean cells, roll mats, blankets, no running water, iron sanitary buckets (ballies- 10 meter diameter, concave porcelain lid, could contain water-used for shaving, cleaning hands & faces, lined up to be counted, lime quarry, lime quarry- blindingly white cliffs & base, palms, grass & metal sheds, at quarry to be for 6 months, then light work for the rest of terms but remained for 13 years, restrictions, family matters , visit: ‘time-up!’, love & emotional support, communication with wife, authorities to get information, case against wife

The name Robben comes from the Dutch origin which means “seals” because there were a lot of seals in these waters in the past. It has been under the control of Dutch and British powers at various times in history. In the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century a lighthouse was built here. From around 1964 up to 1991 it had been a maximum security jail where most of the freedom fighters were imprisoned. The most important figures included Nelson

Mandela and other leaders of African National Congress. After the release of the political prisoners in 1991 the island remained a prison for about five years and in 1997 it was declared as a museum. At the end of the twentieth century, a world heritage site status was granted to it by the United Nations Organization.

**Part Nine: Robben Island: Beginning of Hope**

**Sub-parts: 71-86**

**Pages: 535-608**

During the last days of Nelson Mandela's struggle, he felt that the things began to change in the right direction. There was a drastic change in the behavior of the authorities. This gave hope to Mandela. The freedom looked near. This part describes last moments of Nelson Mandela on the Robben Island.

Table 17 Topics related to categories of Freedom and Hope-Part 9

Pages: 535- 608
reconciliation between races, religion, reconciliation, reaction of prisoners, media, freedom fighters, contempt, science, history, Religion: familiarity, sympathy, Blacks and Whites' behaviors, behavior change, holidays, food, religion/Christmas: concert, other activities, it hardly mattered: pleasures, panoramic tableau, ships, stately oil tankers, gull spearing fish, seals, penguins, resembling brigade of clumsy, flat-footed soldiers, birthday: bare-bone affair, pool food, extra slice of bread or cup of coffee to birthday honor, 60th birthday to make memorable, struggle-to keep before people, government restrictions on press, book on 60th birthday, information & inspiration for people & young freedom fighters, started immediately with unorthodox work schedule-night writing & day sleeping, personal grooming, king, advice, nephew , authorities, tribal affairs, govt., traditional leaders, ANC, govt. sponsored institutions, participation

For the first time Mandela feels that things are changing. Optimism and hope replace disappointment. There were many manifestations of this hope. In this part,

Nelson Mandela gives a pictorial representation of the happenings on the island. It was 1970's that saw many changes in the activities in the prison on the island. Religious sermons, dramatic activities, teaching of course of the ANC leaders on the history of ANC, political economy and other relevant information were given to the members of ANC.

The themes of human needs, their fulfillment, festivities, food, relations, etc., are still prominent in this era of hope and optimism. Mandela now starts work on his autobiographical memoirs but still doing it secretly as the conditions are not very much conducive. So, this part describes early 1970's as the harbinger of hope.

### **Part Ten: Talking with the Enemy**

**Sub-parts: 87-99**

**Pages: 611-668**

As is very obvious from the very title here in this part, Nelson Mandela explains how the road to negotiations was smoothed and way paved to move ahead towards freedom. Mandela and his colleagues are shifted to Pollsmoor, another jail in order to create a gap between the ANC leaders and the common people. Here also negotiation with the authorities in the government begins.

Table 18 Topics related to category of Negotiation-Part 10

Pages: 611-668
official's soft behavior, courtesy, leisure, diversion, gardening, authorities, leisure/gardening, officials' help/cooperation, gardening, harvest supply, officials' decent behavior, health, rumour, communication cell dampness, media, health, political prisoner, change, government & ANC: 2 tracks- military & political, divide-and-rule tricameral, international pressure 'feelers', effort to isolate, negotiations, International community, government's/minister's new behavior, communication with govt., military intelligence officials, accepted negotiations offer, important contacts, future negotiations, communication with colleagues, negotiation/communication, dress,

preparation for meeting/communication, intended impression, preparation for meeting/communication, dismantling apartheid, democratic South Africa, parties, capital punishment, negotiation, ANC- legal, state of emergency

Mandela explains the possible reasons behind transfer of the ANC leaders to jail Pollsmoor in order to separate ANC leaders from the rest of prisoners. Pollsmoor is easy to access for Nelson Mandela's members of family to visit as compared to the Island. During 1984, Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie are at last allowed, to see each other. Mandela says that it took 21 years to see his wife. In the 1980's ANC as getting more and more support from inside the country as well as at the international level.

**Part Eleven: Talking with the Enemy**

**Sub-parts: 100-115**

**Pages: 671-751**

Part eleven is structurally the most suitably titled part as here we see the end point of the great task of freedom struggle. Nelson Mandela is released and political activities of the ANC are given permission. ANC is no more a banned illegal organization. At last freedom earned after long and tiring walk.

Table 19 Topics related to categories of Freedom, Legality and Political Struggle-Part 11

Pages: 671-751

freedom day, preparation for release/freedom, night of freedom, preparation for freedom/few possessions/books & papers, good side human beings, preparation for freedom/farewell, walk towards freedom, preparation/restlessness for freedom, welcome to freedom, welcome to freedom/new media world, welcome to freedom, bye to imprisonment/welcome to freedom, freedom & beauty, beauty of freedom/past-present change, freedom speech, huge welcome to freedom, friend, freedom: problem, into the freedom: peace, democracy & freedom, extraordinary circumstances: creation of a leader, apartheid: gone forever, free political prisoners, normalization of situation, new beginning: strength, courage & responsibilities, mass welcome: courage of leader,

place of birth, forefathers, freedom & responsibility, freedom & evaluation, liberation & politics, negotiating full freedom, negotiating freedom & change, road to freedom, problems/difficulties, day of inauguration, democracy & non-racialism, liberty/freedom, political emancipation, freedom, solidarity

In this last part we have the details of Nelson Mandela's release, his press conference and opinion about the whites and their role in the future South Africa. He tries to assure whites of their critical in the development of the country and to bring together different factions in the South African society.

### 4.3 Step 3: Clustering of topics/themes & consolidation of frequencies

While systemizing all the above data the researcher has consolidated the topics and themes given in the following table. Frequency of each topic/ theme in the text has been written with them.

Table 20 Presenting topics and themes and their frequencies in a consolidated form

S. No	Main Field	Topics and themes with frequencies	Total
1.	Age Factor	Age:49 Old: 164	213
2.	Agency	Agencies: 1 Agency: Informer: 3 CIA: 4	8
3.	Arrest	Arrests: 15 Arrest: 59 Arrested: 66 Arresting: 3	143
4.	Book	Book: 28 Books: 30 Novel: 2 Novels: 4 Poem: 1	66
5.	Bureaucrat	Bureaucrat: 1	1
6.	Business	Business: 16	16
7.	Capital	Capital: 13 City: 67	80
8.	Co-curricular Activities	Co-curricular Drama: 2 lay: Students Christian association: 2 Gettysburg address: 1	5
9.	People	People: 600	600
10.	Communication	Communication: 22 Communications: 11 Communicate: 12 Communicated: 5	50
11.	Conflict	Conflict: 13 Conflicts: 1	14
12.	Constitution	Constitution: 47 Charter: 52	99
13.	Corruption	Corruption: 4 Corrupt: 1	5
14.	Country	Country: 223 Countries: 10	233
15.	Crime	Crime: 34 Criminal: 21 Crimes: 10	65
16.	Culture	Culture: 23 Cultures: 1 Cultural: 6	30
17.	Custom	Custom: 14 Customs: 6	20

18.	Discrimination	Discrimination: 9 Discriminatory: 4	13
19.	Disease	Disease: 1 Diseases: 1 Teeth problems: 2 Heel problem: 6	10
20.	Economy	Economy: 6 Economic: 23	29
21.	Education	Education: 83 Educational: 3 Educate: 6 Educated: 16	108
22.	Employment	Employment: 1 Job: 20	21
23.	Equality	Equality: 10 Equal: 22 Equals: 5	37
24.	Environment	Environment: 3	3
25.	Evolution	Evolution: 5	5
26.	Family	Family: 136 Families: 24 Father: 107 Mother: 100 Wife: 101 Sister: 25 Child:38 Children: 101 Son: 63 Sons: 11 Daughter: 46 Daughters: 7 Granddaughter: 1 Grandchildren:	767
27.	Food	Food: 87 Mealie: 8 Mealies: 14 Samp: 6 Meat: 19 Rice: 10 Seafood: 1 Tea: 30 Bread: 21	196
28.	Freedom	Freedom: 234 Liberty: 7 Liberation: 51 Free: 123	415
29.	Friendship	Friend: 54 Friends: 68 Friendship: 11 Friendly: 17	150
30.	Goodness	Goodness: 5	5
31.	Government Official	Government Official: 37 Officials: 32	69
32.	Health	Health: 18	18
33.	History	History: 95 Historical: 8 Historic: 8 Historically: 3	114
34.	House	House: 180 Houses: 33	213
35.	Human Rights	Human rights: 6 Rights: 56	62
36.	Humiliation	Humiliation:1 Humiliations:2 Humiliating: 8 Humiliate: 1 Humiliate: 1	13
37.	Identity	Identity: 14	14
38.	Ideology	Ideology: 4 Ideologies: 2	6
39.	Indigenous	Indignities: 5	5
40.	Inequality	Inequality: 4	4
41.	Immigration	Immigration: 2 Migrant: 2	4
42.	Institution	Institutions: 7 Institution: 7 Council: 34 Government: 453 Parliament: 48	549
43.	International Politics	International politics International: 49 Sanctions: 30	79
44.	Job	Job opportunities: 12	12
45.	Justice	Justice: 45 Unjust: 7 Injustice: 7 Injustices: 1	60
46.	Language	Language: 38 English: 61 Afrikaans: 28	127
47.	Law	Law: 160 Laws: 46 Legal: 59 Illegal: 23 Legally: 3 Illegally: 10	301
48.	Leader	Leader: 66 Leaders: 100	166
49.	Literary	Literature 6 Mqhayi: 10	16
50.	Love	Love: 39	39
51.	Media	Media: 7 Newspaper: 45 Newspapers: 36 Television: 10 Radio: 22 BBC: 2	122
52.	Moderation	Moderation: 3	3
53.	Morality	Moral: 26 Immoral: 6	32
54.	National Interest	Interests: 22 Interest: 26	48
55.	Organization	Organization: 199 Organizations: 38	237
56.	Peace	Peace: 45 Peaceful: 11 Peacefully: 3	59
57.	People's	Behavior: 28	28

	Behavior		
58.	Police	Police: 231	231
59.	Personal Life	Personal: 19 Life: 210 Lives: 34	263
60.	Personal Traits	Personal traits Strength: 29	29
61.	Policy	Policy: 101 Policies: 27	128
62.	Political Action	Political action Protest: 81 Protests: 17 March: 18 Strike: 84 Strikes: 20 Mass: 63 Campaign: 178 Boycott: 18 Action: 99 Defiance: 57 Disobedience: 12	647
63.	Political Actors	Political actors Politician: 8 Politicians: 10 President: 109 Presidents: 7 Prime minister: 41 Prime ministers: 1	176
64.	Parties	Political Party: 208 Parties:26 ANC:679 PAC: 89 NP: 1 Nationalists: 30 Inkatha: 38 Pan Africanist: 5 African National Congress: 23	1099
65.	Political Legislation	Political Legislation: 19 Elect: 5 Vote: 43 Voting: 21 Voted: 14 Election: 61	163
66.	Political relations	Political relations Apartheid: 93 Separate: 57 Separation: 1	151
67.	Political Rights	Political rights: 4	4
68.	Politics	Politics: 57	57
69.	Poverty	Poverty: 19 Poor: 42 Worker: 13 Workers: 42	116
70.	Power	Power: 80	80
71.	Race	Race: 23 Racial: 30 Racism: 10 Racist: 15 Black: 188 Blacks: 33 White: 374 Whites: 112 Indian: 90 Indians: 52 Coloured: 56 Coloureds: 32	1015
72.	Reading	Reading: 30	30
73.	Religion	Religion: 12 God: 17 Christ: 2 Religious: 11 Christian: 21 Christians: 2 Muslim: 1 Muslims: 1 Methodist: 11 Methodists: 1 Church: 46	125
74.	Revolution	Revolution: 14 Revolutionary: 19 Revolutionaries: 3	36
75.	Science	Science: 15	15
76.	Secularism	Secular: 1	1
77.	Security	Security: 69	69
78.	Sports	Sports: 3 Boxing: 11 Exercise: 26 Play: 8	48
79.	Status	Status: 11	11
80.	Struggle	Struggle: 240	240
81.	Sympathy	Sympathy: 2 Sympathetic: 24 Sympathize:1 Sympathized: 4	31
82.	Systems	Democracy: 29 Democratic: 45 Undemocratic: 4 Communism: 39 Communist: 94	211
83.	Terrorism	Terrorism: 12 Terrorist: 3 Terrorists: 4	19
84.	Time	Time: 439	439
85.	Tolerance	Tolerance: 2 Tolerant: 2 Tolerate: 6	10
86.	Trade	Trade: 33	33
87.	Tradition	Tradition: 8 Traditional: 43	51
88.	Tribe	Tribe: 23 Tribes: 13 Tribal: 29 Xhosa: 82 Zulu: 29	176
89.	Travel	Travel: 13 Travels: 8 Traveling: 9 Drive: 41 Driving: 20 Drove: 46 Driven: 20	157
90.	Unemployment	Unemployment: 1	1
91.	Values	Values: 8 Virtue: 6 Virtues: 2 Generosity: 14 Heroism: 2 Humility: 3 Manhood: 10 Courage: 23 Bravery: 3	71



92.	Violence	Violence: 123 Violent: 20	143
93.	War	War: 76 Wars: 4	80
94.	Weapons	Gun: 13 Guns: 9 Pistol: 3 Weapon: 9 Weapons: 26	60
95.	World Powers	Britain: 12 China: 7 Soviet Union: 8 America: 8 France: 2	37

Researcher is of the view that words and social and historical contexts have strong relationship. Language grows and “socializes” in the society and develops or declines with the passage of time. Social relationship and interaction play their role in developing specific meanings of the words of a language. Linguistic devices used in a language in particular circumstances also follow the social relationship among people and the historical context.

Guerin (1997) says:

The main issue with talking about devices for conversation or text that the analyses seem to reside in the words rather than the social context or social relationships, as if we can analyse the words without the social relationships. While most sociolinguists would not agree with such a statement put this boldly, the view remains implicit and easily taken on board by others. This exacerbated by published analyses of texts with most of the social context removed.

Guerin further (2007) says:

An important point to remember from this, mentioned earlier, is that the social analysis does not reside in words. The real events happening in such situations are in the social relationships and the histories of social relationships. If I remark, “put that down or you are going to be in a lot of trouble,” it is not the words that make things happen here, but our relationship and history and the likely consequences to our relationship or the immediate situation between us if you were to not put it down. So even though words might be used, the power for anything to happen comes from the social relationships and their past and present consequences (Guerin, 1997). This is what game theory is all about, and provides a good way to analyze the “verbal” strategies being highlighted here. But the analysis is more than that.

Now when we re-arrange the themes according to their highest frequency we can clearly see the frequently appearing themes which show the whole drama of the author's eventful life in its specific context. As a political leader his life and mission are very clear from the following re-arrangement of the themes in which political parties, race, family, political action and common people are the first five highest frequency themes. The re-arrangement is given in the following table:

The above data has been presented in the following graph which further clarifies the recurrent themes in the text.

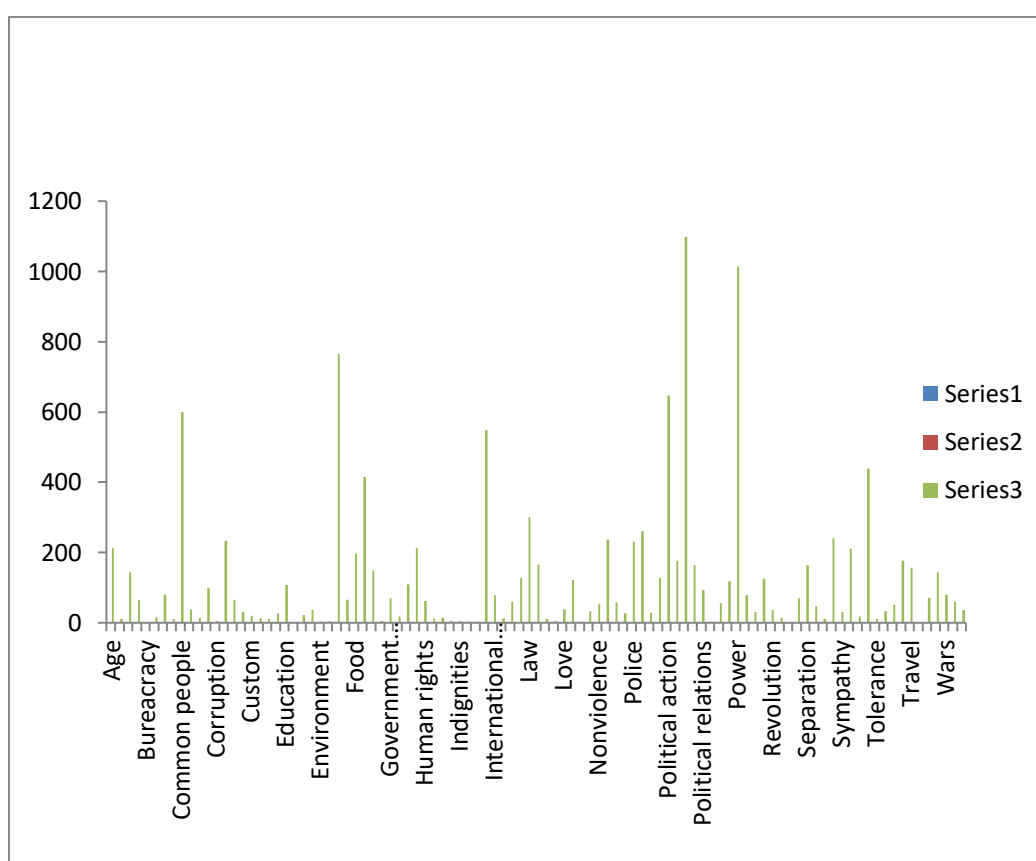


Figure 12 Graphic presentation of the topic headings in *Long Walk to Freedom*

## SECTION TWO: *The Audacity of Hope*

Senator, Barack Obama from Illinois, got national fame at the party convention of 2004 when he addressed a large gathering. The title of his keynote speech was “The Audacity of Hope.” It took him nearly twenty minutes but this speech took him to the

heights of prominence. In the year 200 Barack Obama published his book *The Audacity of Hope*. This contains almost the same themes which he stressed in the 2004 address at the Democratic Party Convention.

The book is a mix of autobiographical and policy analysis elements. In this book Obama gives a detail of his early childhood and different stages through which he had to go through in the early years of his life. He not only discusses his personal life but also gives a detailed account of political problems and related issues of his contemporary world. He discusses various topics in his book people, democracy, values, religion, economy and related issues.

About the book, *The Audacity of Hope*, Barack Obama writes:

THIS BOOK GROWS directly out of those conversations on the campaign trail. Not only did my encounters with voters confirm the fundamental decency of the American people, they also reminded me that at the core of the American experience are a set of ideals that continue to stir our collective conscience; a common set of values that bind us together despite our differences; a running thread of hope that makes our improbable experiment in democracy work. (p. 5)

About the title of the book Barack Obama says:

It wasn't just the struggles of these men and women that had moved me. Rather, it was their determination, their self-reliance, a relentless optimism in the face of hardship. It brought to mind a phrase that my pastor, Rev. Jeremiah A. Wright Jr., had once used in a sermon . . . t was that audacity, I thought, that joined us as one people. It was that pervasive spirit of hope that tied my own family's story to the larger American story, and my own story to those of the voters I sought to represent. (p.194)

#### **4.4 Step 4: Key facts about the text of *Audacity of Hope***

Key facts with respect to Corpus Linguistics about the text of *Audacity of Hope* are given below:

Table 21 Key facts about the text of *Audacity of Hope*

S. No.	Pages	200
1.	Word tokens	122523
2.	Word types	13730
3.	Characters (no spaces)	591668
4.	Character (with spaces)	709729
5.	Paragraphs	1078
6.	Lines	8066

#### **4.5 Step 5: *The Audacity of Hope*: Representative Topics and Themes**

Here are some representative topics and themes found in Obama's *The Audacity of Hope*. Detailed data can be approached given in the tables attached as appendix 2 with this thesis. Look at the topics selected on the basis of frequency in the text of *The Audacity of Hope*:

##### **Prologue**

##### **Pages: 1-11**

Barack Obama encases his book in prologue and epilogue which is an effective method of introducing and finishing a long discussion. Providing prologue serves to formally introduce a work or a debate and is not just to abruptly mug a reader or an audience. The writer not only gives a brief overview of his jobs and career in this part but also appears trying to suspend the disbelief of the reader or general audience or at least tries to guide them unconsciously through the book or its discussion and debates. Semiotically effective start of the book catches the attention of the reader. Presentation of details of personal life and early jobs proves to be effective device which emotionally manipulates the readers and carries them along.

Table 22 Topics related to categories of politics and political career

Pages: 1-11
politics, law, personal life, campaign, personal facts, politics-negative opinion of people, politics, public life, low-income, cynicism, broken promises patience, alternate tradition to politics, binding force, driving apart force, truth of proposition, solution of all problem, something meaningful, speech, people, earnestness, election, senate, election, career, minority, majority, death penalty, kids' health, self-help, not all solution by government, utilization of taxes, government's help, people's opinion right, children's education & challenges as nation, people's desire for involvement into politics, hard work, media person, parliament building, interesting book, doubt about honesty on becoming senator, personal wonder/doubt, book to answer the question

Obama starts the book with short analysis of his political journey, which is spread over a period of ten years. After completing his law school, Barack Obama teaches at University of Chicago.

He was a teacher of constitutional law and a community organizer. Here he discusses all the topics as mentioned in the PDA of Van Dijk, for instance, personal life, personal choices, career, politics, political struggle, political process, people's behavior, government, parliament and other relevant issues in his early personal life. Prologue actually serves as narrator in a drama who explains the events and the future track of actions in a dramatic work. The analytical structure, which follows, will explain this blend of autobiography and policy ideas in a brief graphical language. The brief analytical structure of the book:

Questions in the mind of the author



Answer to these questions

(The book-*The Audacity of Hope*)



Pre-debate idea

(pre-debate preparation)



Prologue

(Sets the stage for the debate)



Unconscious manipulative and educative functions



Devices and tools

(wellplaced themes in the garb of well-chosen words)

So, prologue, in case of *Audacity of Hope* is a seriously thought out structural endeavor to instill the ideas contained in the book into the minds of the readers with sustainable effect in favor of the politician-cum-autobiographer.

### **Chapter 1: Republicans and Democrats**

**Pages: 13-42**

The very caption of the chapter reveals that there follows a discussion which will revolve around the two major parties of the United States. This chapter gives the details of election campaign of Barack Obama through which he was elected senator and entered into main stream politics of the country. We also see a discussion on the relation between

the two parties about which Obama does not seem happy. The element of compromise for the sake of national interest and for the benefit of the people has become a part of the history and the story of the past. The notions and values of cooperation and reconciliation are deplorably ignored.

Table 23 Topics related to categories of political parties

Pages: 13-42
parliament house, flags, communication, staff, media, police/security, grandeur, senate/parliament, senate/parliament building, national emblem, vice president/politician senate building/parliament house structure, civil rights, legislation, party, opponent, negative campaign, personal life, travel, party convention, unfiltered & uninterrupted media time, party, opponent, residence, fierce criticism, party, media, politician, states, staff, hard work, message, luck, inner circle politicians/leaders, victory not important, capital, extra-player/new politician, interviews, photo shoots/media, ideas, partisanship, party, defeat, presidency, parliament/seats/election, politicians, campaign, media & campaign, politicians, negative campaign, print media, election, party, government, opponents/opposition, poverty, politics & maturity, idealism, realism, compromise, right & left, conservative & liberal, dogma & common sense, responsibility & irresponsibility, things that last & that are fleeting,, parties/politicians

In this chapter, the themes of parliament, parties, politicians, communication, political opponents, negative campaign, common sense and responsibilities are very prominent. After the prologue putting the readers on the track of election and leading them into the parliament is a conscious effort to introduce them to the major parties and acquaint them with the personal ideas

of the writer about the intra-party and inter-party relations and express his subjective thoughts. This technique plays a vital role as an opinion maker in favor of the author. Obama remembers the good old days when party leaders and people's representatives would compromise over the issues of the national and people's interest. Here, Obama tries to present himself as an ambassador of good will and shows that his ideas will pave the way for bridging the gap between the two parties which will ultimately result in good

for the people and the whole nation. He is very successful in his manipulative gestures which brings him success in his future political career.

## **Chapter 2: Values**

**Pages: 43-69**

Here, in this chapter, which is titled as “Values”, Barack Obama expresses his views on the moral standards of the politicians. According to him political system of his country is responsible for the corruption, ill will or any other negative traits of the politicians. He adds that the role played by the media, especially social media is also not very friendly and helpful to the politicians. Obama suggests a political system where collaboration and compromise prevail because in this way the politicians can serve the nation in a better way.

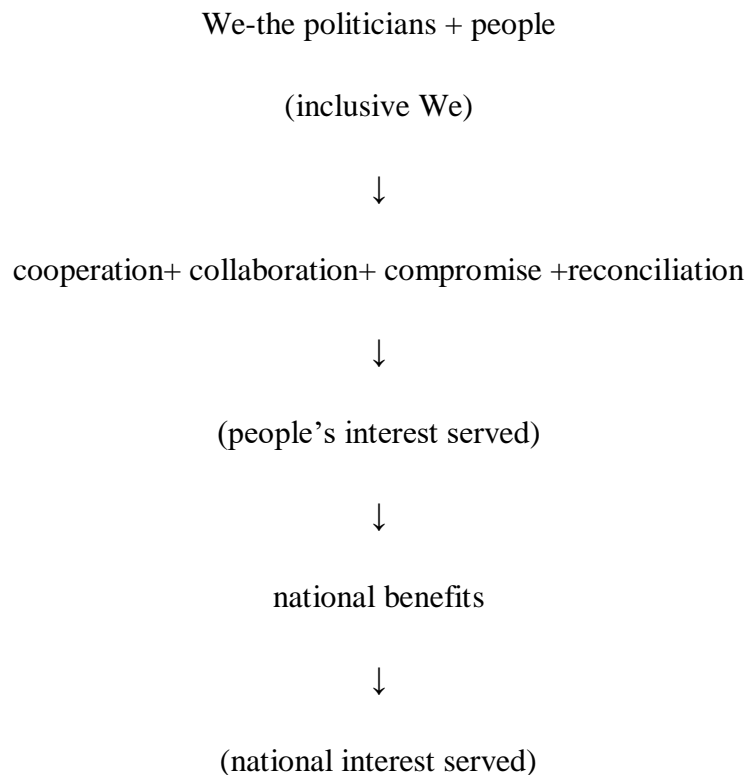
Table 24 Topics related to categories of values

Pages: 43-69
values, virtues, Benjamin Franklin-poor Richard’s almanac, values of self-reliance, self-improvement, risk-taking, drive, discipline, temperance, hard-work, thrift, personal responsibility, optimism & life, confidence, free will, hard work, circumstances of our birth, values, people’s freedom & society’s prosperity, self-government, free-market economy, majority, legitimacy, government, economy, equal opportunity, nondiscrimination, liberty, if we Americans are individualistic at heart...and compassion, tribe, traditions, customs, castes, individualism, communal values, healthy society, family, cross-generational obligations, community, neighborliness, bar & soccer team, patriotism, obligations of citizenship, sense of duty, sacrifice, something bigger than ourselves, religion, ethical percepts, honesty, fairness, humility, kindness, courtesy, compassion, in every society (and in every individual)...that allowed new immigrants to continually remake themselves, society, individualism & communalism, autonomy & solidarity, negotiate tension between these, violence, Europe, feudalism, agricultural & industrial society, size of continent, vast tracts of land, abundant resources, immigrants



By the use of such words and phrases like compromise, collaboration, overarching national benefit and reconciliation and the parallel use of the pronoun “we” throughout the book and especially in this chapter, he gives a feel of national inclusiveness. This concept of inclusivity which he conveys through his advisory suggestion in the text gives a hope to the marginalized sections of the society who are actually ignored due to party conflicts among the politicians who should have given attention to the problems of the poverty stricken hungry and angry men.

This is structurally given as follows:



### **Chapter 3: Our Constitution**

#### **Pages: 71-100**

Constitution is the most important document as far the political life of a nation is concerned. There is a big difference between a society which is governed by a constitution which guarantees basic human rights and a society which ruled without

proper and powerful constitution. Obama lives in a modern society with full support of constitution and human rights guarantees. Obama, being the teacher of constitutional law discusses the interpretation of various parts of the constitution by different people.

Table 25 Topics related to categories of constitution and legal affairs

Pages: 71-100
<p>interpretations, congressmen/parliamentarians, staffer, department, lawyer, client, judge, checks &amp; balances, power diffusion, branches, federal &amp; state governments, no law final, no battle truly finished, strengthen or weaken, water down regulation or block its implementation, agency's power, budget, control of an issue, law, life &amp; new problems, lawyers, officials, citizens, meaning of terms, laws-words on page, malleable, opaque, context &amp; trust, story, poem or promise, opinion not based on constitution, abortion, sodomy, not in text, democratic process, conservatives, election, liberals, courts/judiciary, civil rights, women's rights, civil liberties, environmental regulation, church/state separation, parties, judicial nominees, judiciary committee, majority, party, filibuster, constitution, filibuster, constitutional law, university of Chicago, question- "what's this case about?", students-past, present &amp; future, constitutional design</p>

Barack Obama taught constitutional law for some time. He deplores the delaying tactics of the public representatives in the congress and the difference of the degree of respect for the constitution among old and young senators, the old being more respectful towards the constitution. Obama expresses support for a living and flexible constitution because only a flexible document could cope with the changing circumstances in the world which is ever changing.

Obama touches and discusses all those topics and themes which the Van Dijk theory of Political Discourse Analysis puts forward. For example discussions over law making, political processes inside and outside the parliament and the problems faced by the politicians in this connection.

#### **Chapter 4: Politics**

##### **Pages: 13-42**

This chapter is the continuation of the discussion Obama had started in the previous chapter. A politician has to keep a lot of things in view while dealing with the

people and his engagement with the government. According to the writer a politician should act cautiously while accepting donations and desiring the support of the endorsements of the interest groups. He advises other politicians to be flexible with the government in the special public interest.

Table 26 Topics related to categories of politics in general

Pages: 110-135
campaign, anticipated loss, awoke with sense of dread, smiling & shaking hands, according to plan, primary/election, campaign, debates, health, education, tribune endorsement, too little & too late, loss by 31 points, politicians, disappointments, most people-luxury of licking their wounds privately, politician's loss on public display, concession speech, half-empty ballroom, brave face to put on to comfort staff & supporters, thank-you calls, awkward requests for retiring debts, convincing yourself-bad timing, bad luck, lack of money but feelings of repudiation by entire community, word "loser", people's minds, feelings, high school, joke in front of friends, election, money, politicians, self-financing candidate, bottomless pockets, campaign, shy, no special expertise, formula for winning campaign, opponent's signs everywhere, democracy- most important office is the office of the citizen

In this very chapter, Obama goes on to discuss various ways in which the process of politics makes it very hard for people's representatives to remain on track of their values. He details his early interactions with important donors and problems attached with the endorsements of interest groups. These groups oftentimes consider their help as future guarantee that the politician will definitely endorse their problems. For enhancing the effectiveness of the process, Obama emphatically says that the candidates must not promise their attachment to any specific interest group. While he considers it as not totally unacceptable and even deems essential that some kind of promises of help and ideological uniformity are required in order to get the most required funding and support vital to run a successful political campaign, Barack Obama is of the view that political figures should promise to cautiously think over each problem. Obama sometimes

admonishes and at times gives soft advice to his fellow politicians be flexible in order to better serve the nation. Political process as put forward by the PDA is the main focus of this chapter.

## **Chapter 5: Opportunity**

### **Pages: 137-194**

Although the term “opportunity” is a broader term and is used in this sense in the beginning but later it narrows down to the discussion of economy. The chapter covers the whole economic scenario in the world and then leads the reader to various aspects of U.S. economy.

Table 27 Topics related to categories of economy and people

Pages: 137-194
Google mission-world’s information, site index, email, voice search over telephone, book project, virtual library, entirety of human knowledge, three-dimensional image of earth, American Indian engineer, lights & searches, internet system & traffic patterns mesmerizing image, boundaries of nationality, race, religion & wealth invisible, physicist in Cambridge, bond trader in Tokyo, student in Indian village, manager of a Mexico city department store, time & space-light, Africa, South Asia, U.S., discrete strands, throngs of young people, PDA’s& laptops, new hires-50% Asians, large portion of whites Eastern Europeans, no black or Latino, problem, Google’s scholarships for minority & female math and science students, Google-competitive, top graduates, top math, engineering, computer science programs in the country- MIT, Caltech, Stanford, Berkeley, little number of black & Latino kids in those programs, government policies & wages, the earned income tax credit, unemployment insurance, wage insurance, wages, labor & employers, national labor relations board, business groups, unionized workforce, economy, competitiveness of firms, social security trust fund, retirement system, balance-self-interest & community, markets & democracy, wealth & power, opportunity

In this chapter Barack Obama discusses the economy of the United States. He also expresses his views on step by step development of the economy through the history of the country. The impacts of economy on society, culture, and politics in the U.S. are also points of discussion. He, as a part of the parliament, had the opportunity to get firsthand knowledge of the economy. He is of the view that the economy and education system of the country does not address the problems of the poverty stricken people. Obama puts forward suggestion for positive changes in the educational system. He stresses sustainable and viable solutions in the schooling system of the country. He also gives preference to close connectivity with the people of his constituency as compared to his personal facility in travelling and movement throughout the country. Economy is the central theme discussed by the theory of Political Discourse Analysis.

## **Chapter 6: Faith**

**Pages: 205-226**

This chapter discusses the diversity and the disintegrating forces in one shape or another and the positive integrating role in the American society. Obama supports the greater role of religion in the social and governmental circles of the country.

Table 28 Topics related to categories of faith and religion

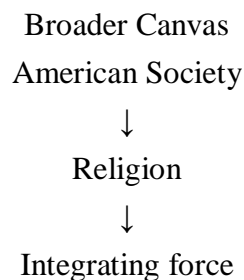
Pages: 205-226
antiabortion & weakness, bullying, intimidation & violence, antiabortion protestors, coming through the front, you're a Christian, ban on abortion-unsafe abortions, unborn children sacrificed, change of heart, prochoice position , religion, religiosity, political movements, abolition & civil rights, prairie populism, religion & politics- salvation, dismantling segregation, gays, lesbians, marriage, sexuality, proper roles of men & women , politics, tradition, order, family values, liberal orthodoxy, politics- republican-abortion, gay marriage, prayer in schools, intelligent design, Terri Schiavo, Ten commandments in courts, supreme court, democrats-secular, Christian right, moral majority, Christian coalition, evangelical Christianity, high-tech America, protestant church-membership, mother's remarriage, Indonesian with skeptical bent, catholic &

Muslim schools, muezzin's call to prayer-multiplication table, mother-spiritually awakened, kindness, charity, love, honesty, empathy, discipline, God-given liberty & Christian faith, liberal administration, regulation, socialistic welfare programs, compulsory attendance at public schools, income tax, individual liberty, traditional values, first Amendment- separation of church & state, abortion & homosexuals, nuclear family, constitution & God's commandments, religious right, Lesbian, monogamous relationship, gays & lesbians

Here, in this chapter Obama discusses political differences and then he shifts his discussion to religion and faith and the stance of Democratic Party on the issues of faith and religious ideas. He discusses the relationship between religion and the government. All these issues are addressed by the theory of Van Dijk in his discussion on political discourses and their contents.

Religion, government and stance of the people and government on religion and its interference with government affairs has been an issue not only in the United States of America but almost everywhere in the world. Barack Obama is of the view that religion can play an integrating role among different sections of the American society.

Graphically it could go like this:



## **Chapter 7: Race**

**Pages: 227-270**

Obama should have placed this chapter in the initial part of his book as problems of race and racial discrimination are the burning issues in the racially and economically diverse society of the United States. His own mixed racial heritage and the controversy

around his identity as Black American during his presidential candidature make this topic more important in the context of this autobiographical work but as an author of political autobiography he gives priorities to political issues and a touch of family affairs in initial chapters of this book.

Table 29 Topics related to categories of race and racial issues

Pages: 227-270
Bill Clinton, white southern boy, segregated buses, civil rights movement, Rosa Park, liberation from bigotry, Clinton & black audience, affection, reconciliation, forgiveness & partial mending of grievous wounds, ability to absorb newcomers, constitution, slavery, equality, economic system-opportunity to all comers, racism, nativist sentiment, powerful & privileged, reforms, unique multicultural nation, demographic change- economic, political & cultural consequences, postracial politics?-no, African Americans' bumps & bruises, TV, music, friends & streets race, race, politics & changes in black and white communities, difference of wage and net worth among blacks, Latinos & whites, politics- gap, nondiscrimination, employment, housing, education , republican administration, justice department's civil rights division, nondiscrimination laws, " reverse discrimination", underrepresentation of minority, incidental impact on white students, difference of wage and net worth among blacks, Latinos & whites, politics- gap, nondiscrimination, employment, housing, education, republican administration, justice department's civil rights division, nondiscrimination laws

Obama belongs to a mixed racial heritage. He was born to black Kenyan father and a white American. He was raised in various localities in the United States and Indonesia. He is of the view that there has been great improvement in the solution of racial conflicts cases of racial discrimination are registered at various levels of society. Prejudice on the basis of race is still felt in the specific areas of the United States. Race is one of the most important and frequently appearing topics in political discourses. Van Dijk's theory of PDA considers this political issue to be solved politically. Obama appeals to the people to reject racial discrimination and racism in all its manifestations.

## Chapter 8: World beyond our Borders

**Pages: 271-323**

In this chapter Barack Obama discusses political and diplomatic affairs at the global level.

He shares his own personal observation of his experience beyond the American borders. He is of the view that most of the common Americans are not well aware of the state of affairs beyond the U.S. boundaries. He also discusses American actions and strategies in the post-9/11 world scenario.

Table 30 Topics related to categories of international affairs and global politics

Pages: 271-323
<p>Indonesia, islands, people, geography, climate, exotic species, tigers</p> <p>Indonesia- population, languages, religion, ethnic groups, oil, capital, currency, location on map &amp; Americans, Japanese surrender-1945, Dutch, Indonesian independence &amp; international pressure, U.S. government, Marshall plan, communism, anticolonialism, Sukarno, Nehru &amp; Nasser-nonaligned movement, west &amp; Soviet bloc, Indonesia's communist party, anti-western, nationalization, rejecting U.S. aid, ties with Soviets &amp; China, U.S. &amp; Vietnam, domino theory, U.S. foreign policy, CIA in Indonesia, military, 1965-General Suharto, purge of communists, 500000- 1 million slaughtered, imprisonment &amp; exile, travelling with children-difficult, worry-situation, shrunk world-direct flights, cell phone, CNN, internet cafes, Indonesia more distant, becoming land of strangers, history, geography, culture &amp; conflicts-each country unique, new world order, containment of communist expansion, NATO, Japan, Marshall plan, Bretton Woods agreement for world financial markets, general agreement on tariffs and trade, IMF, world bank, United Nations, international security &amp; cooperation postwar undertaking's results: cold war's outcome, nuclear catastrophe avoided, end of conflicts between great military powers, unprecedented economic growth-at home &amp; abroad, globalization, liberals: freedom, personal safety, economy, security environment, Truman, Acheson, Kennan &amp; Marshall, post-world war II order, great powers,</p>



nineteenth & early twentieth centuries, expansionist states, Nazi Germany, Soviet Russia, large armies, invasion, access to critical resources, world trade, world's fate, battlefields, our work- helping hand, news reports, tsunami, East Asia, Indonesia, people, sea, pride- America's more than a billion dollars aid, U.S. warships, troops, relief & reconstruction, newspaper, 65 percent of Indonesians- favorable view of the United States, one episode-decades of mistrust, it's a start

Obama discusses international U.S. diplomacy, defense policies, and global arena with an explanation of his personal firsthand experience in the outer world, especially Indonesia. He believes that most of the common Americans do not know much about the world and happenings in world outside the American boundaries. Obama is of the view that America's defense budget along with military strategy is not completely changed according to the new state of affair at the global level. Obama suggests additional and more responsible role global policing endeavors to the American allies. He strongly emphasizes the great need for all inclusive cooperation in the new future strategic efforts. Barack Obama favors one-sided action in the Post- September 11 scenario but at the same time he is against the poorly thought and tackled actions.

## **Chapter 9: Family**

**Pages: 325-352**

Family is the fundamental and most important institution of any society because this first place where the biological man is converted into a social man. Researcher is of the view that this chapter should have been placed at the very outset of the book as it gives us pictorial presentation of not only his own family but also details the problems all American families. Still it prepares the reader go out of the streams of this book's discussion with an emotional attachment with his own family and the bigger family of American society.

Table 31 Topics related to categories of family and relations

Pages: 325-352
wife, remarkable, smart, funny & charming, beautiful, intimidating, off-putting, lived-in beauty, mother, professional, touched-up image, cover-glossy magazine, wife-wow!, she-public office, would beat me, Michelle, politics, patience, telling the truth, Michelle's family, understand her, Robinson household, leave it to Beaver, kindly, good-humored father, never missed work & son's ball games, pretty, sensible mother, baked birthday cakes, order in house, volunteered at school, children behavior, teachers-what they were supposed to be doing, basketball-star brother: tall, friendly, courteous & funny, investment banker, coaching, uncles, aunts & cousins, eating & telling stories, grandpa's jazz collection, laugh deep into night , no dog in the house, domestic bliss, hardships, prime-time TV, race, limited opportunities, parents-fifties & sixties, panic peddling, white families, neighborhood, black parents-extra energy, small incomes, violent streets, indifferent schools, Institution of marriage, marriage rate declined since 1950's, delaying marriage-education & career, by forty-five: 89 percent women & 83 percent men tied the knot, at least once, married couples-head 67 percent of American families, majority-marriage foundation for personal intimacy, stability & child rearing, daddy, sweetie-pie, home, girls, hairdresser, hug, blond girl, kitchen, playdate, Sam-offer my hand, no handshake-with kids, twenty-first century, your-sister, Sasha, can't-find shorts, sly smile: Barack-grateful man, wife-right

This very chapter gives a pictorial detail of autobiographically colored affairs of his family and life in the family in relation to other family members. At the same time Barack Obama does not ignore the American families in general. The economic strains of these families are discussed in full detail and he tries to offer solutions to the financial problems directly or in indirect manner. Although Obama is not in the favor of imposing any instructions on the families in their personal matters but at the same time he stresses the responsible roles of various family members in order to bring stability to the ever changing shape of American institution of family.

## Epilogue

**Pages: 353-362**

This is the last part of the book. Actually, the book is sandwiched between an introductory part, Prologue and this last concluding discussion captioned as Epilogue. As the introductory part opens the world of *Audacity of Hope* to the readers, this part leaves them with a hope for future and the belief in their political leadership who think of the good and comforts in their future life.

Table 32 Topics related to categories of politic and history

Pages: 353-362
speech, 2004: democratic convention-Boston, national attention, keynote speaker, mystery, John Kerry, Illinois primary, fund-raiser, campaign, job training program, Kerry people, speak: at the convention- pretty big, democratic convention, 2000 convention-Los Angeles, defeat: democratic primary, Illinois first congressional-seat, law practice, campaign, neglect- more or less broke, lost time, wife & daughter, far too little: of me-six months, Struggle for-these men & women, moved me, determination, self-reliance, optimism, hardship, pastor, Rev. Jeremiah A. Wright Jr.-sermon, audacity-of hope, American spirit, audacity, believe-evidence to the contrary, restore-sense of community, nation-torn by conflict, personal setbacks, loss-of job, illness, family, childhood-mired in poverty, control & responsibility, our own fate, audacity, one people, pervasive spirit-of hope, own family's story, larger American story, my-own story, voters, represent, basketball game, started to write, great shrine-lit but empty, marble columns, Gettysburg address, second inaugural address, reflecting pool, Dr. King's cadence, floodlit obelisk & shining capitol dome, America, those-who built it, nation's founders, petty ambitions, nation unfurling-across continent, Lincoln, King, lives, perfecting- imperfect union, faceless & nameless, slaves, soldiers, tailors, butchers, collective dreams, process-wish to be part of, heart: love-this country

This is the concluding part of *The Audacity of Hope*. Here, Obama mentions his keynote address and his ascendance to the heights of fame and prominence. The caption

of his keynote address was the same as the title of this book. He shares with the readers his happiness and thankfulness at the quick fame and the public attention but also talks about his confusion amidst the sudden spotlight he receives. He promises and reiterates that in spite of all these changes in his life and vertical ascendance he will serve his nation with more enthusiasm and be more humble but energetic to work for the better future of the nation.

Looking at the above data critically we can see that it represent postmodern world, global context and a society governed by constitution but having its own problems of human relationship. All the themes like politics, democracy, communism, dictatorship, state, government, parliament, equality, solidarity, group ideologies, party ideologies, political parties, lobbies, political clubs, politicians, members of parliament, cabinet ministers, power, power abuse, hegemony, governing, legislation, opposition, agenda-setting, political decision making, voting, demonstrations and attitude categorized by van Dijk under ten headings as domain, systems, institution, values and ideologies, organization, political actors, political relations, political process, political action and political cognition are presented here.

Although themes found in both units of analysis are almost the same but still there is a big difference between the two. There is a difference of language and tone of both the leaders. The origin of this difference lies in geography, history and political systems in their respective societies. We see that the language used in a society governed by real democratic system based on equality and one-man one-vote is softer as compared to a society ruled by undemocratic system based on inequality. We find more abusive words used in South African context. In *Audacity of Hope* few abusive words are mentioned but a satisfaction and feeling of constitutional protection is felt throughout the text of the autobiography. It is evident from the proportion of different themes in this unit of analysis. Diagrammatically *The Audacity of Hope* can be represented as follows:

*The Audacity of Hope*

A product of Constitutional society claims to be based on the principles of
---

equality, justice and rule of law

Themes presented in the book are almost the same as those presented in *Long Walk to Freedom*

Language use is not as severe as we see in the *Long Walk to Freedom*

Manipulation of linguistic devices is different as compared to Nelson Mandela's use of these devices in his specific context

Both units of analysis use the pronoun exclusive and inclusive "we" according to their own contextual, geographical and historical requirements

#### **4.6 Step 6 Clustering of topics/themes & consolidation of frequencies**

In order to ensure more accuracy and support the topic headings identification and related sub-headings AntConc was utilized for finding out their frequencies in the selected text. The following table shows the headings, related sub-headings and their frequencies in the whole text of *Audacity of Hope*.

Table 33 Presenting topics and themes and their frequencies in a consolidated form

S. No	Main Field	Topics and themes with frequencies	Total
1.	Age Factor	Age: 20 Old: 66 New: 165	251
2.	Agency	Agencies: 6 Agency: 10 CIA: 4	20
3.	Arrest	Arrests: 2 Arrest: 1 Arrested: 2 Arresting: 1	5
4.	Book	Book: 30 Books: 16 Novels: 1 Poem: 2	49
5.	Bureaucrat	Bureaucracy: 6 Bureaucrat: 1	7
6.	Business	Business: 44	44
7.	Capital	Capital/City Capital: 5 City: 48	53
8.	Co-curricular Activities	Drama: Play/games: 7	7
9.	People	People: 215	215
10.	Communication	Communications: 1 Communicate: 1 Phone: 19 Phones: 1 Calls: 13	35
11.	Conflict	Conflict: 14 Conflicts: 14	28
12.	Constitution	Constitution: 32 Charter: 1	33
13.	Corruption	Corruption: 12 Corrupt: 3	15
14.	Country	Country: 84 Countries: 48	132
15.	Crime	Crime: 9 Criminal: 3	12
16.	Culture	Culture: 34 Cultural: 16	50
17.	Custom	Customs: 1	1
18.	Discrimination	Discrimination: 13	13
19.	Disease	Disease: 3 Diseases: 1 Cancer: 2 AIDS: 4	10
20.	Economy	Economy: 83 Economic: 86 Economies: 7	176
21.	Education	Education: 50 Educational: 16 Educate: 1 Educated: 3 Student: 14 Students: 30 School: 95 Schools: 46	255
22.	Employment	Job: 49 Jobs: 47	96
23.	Equality	Equality: 9 Equal: 10 Equals: 1	20
24.	Environment	Environment: 9	9
25.	Evolution	Evolution: 3	3
26.	Family	Family: 80 Families: 50 Father: 28 Mother: 58 Grandfather: 12 Grandmother: 9 Wife: 28 Sister: 4 Child: 41 Children: 118 Son: 14 Sons: 5 Daughter: 7 Daughters: 20 Grandchildren: 2	476
27.	Financial matters	Financial matters Money: 73 Tax: 80 Taxes: 12 Income: 42 Incomes: 4	211
28.	Food	Food: 16 Meat: 2 Rice: 2 Tea: 1 Bread: 1 Coffee: 4 Mustard: 3 Cake: 2 Ice cream: 2	33
29.	Freedom	Freedom: 37 Freedoms: 3 Liberty: 18 Liberation: 2 Free: 68	128
30.	Friendship	Friendship Friend: 16 Friends: 34 Friendship: 3 Friendly: 4	57
31.	Goodness	Goodness: 2	2
32.	Government Official	Government officials Official: 5 Officials: 16	21
33.	Health	Health: 94	94
34.	History	History: 44 Historical: 4 Historically: 5	53
35.	House	Housing: 5 House: Houses: 2	7
36.	Human Rights	Human rights: 6 Rights: 75	81
37.	Humiliation	Humiliation: 2	2
38.	Identity	Identity: 5	5
39.	Ideology	Ideology: 7	7
40.	Indigenous	Indignities: 1	1
41.	Inequality	Inequality: 5	5
42.	Immigration	Immigration: 14 Immigrant: 10 Immigrants: 18	42

43.	Institution	Institutions: 16 Institution:6 Council: 4 Government: 169 Governments: 6 Capitol: 19 Congress: 26 Senate: 136 House of representatives: 5	387
44.	International Politics	International: 54 Sanctions: 2	56
45.	Job	Job opportunities Opportunities: 11	11
46.	Justice	Justice: 15 Injustice: 4	19
47.	Language	Language: 26 English: 3	29
48.	Law	Law: 91 Laws: 32Legal: 12 Illegal: 5	140
49.	Leader	Leader: 19 Leaders: 40	59
50.	Love	Love: 24	24
51.	Media	Media: 24 Newspaper: 8 Newspapers: 4 Television: 28 TV: 29 Radio: 14 CNN: 2 Fox News: 4 ABC: 1 NBC: 1 CBS: 1 NPR: 2 New York Times: 3 Wall Street Journal: 4 Technology: 14	139
52.	Morality	Morality: 7 Moral: 31 Immoral: 1	39
53.	National Interest	National interests: National: 69 National interests: 1 Interest: 31 Interests: 40	141
54.	Organization	Organization: 8 Organizations: 7	15
55.	Peace	Peace: 10 Peaceful: 4 Peacefully: 1	15
56.	People's Behavior	People's behavior Behavior: 11	11
57.	Police	Police: 23	23
58.	Personal Life	Personal life Personal: 42 Life: 98 Lives: 43	183
59.	Personal Traits	Personal traits Public life: 6 Audacity: 4 Restlessness: 2 Earnestness: 1 Inability to appreciate: 1	14
60.	Policy	Policy: 97 Policies: 48	145
61.	Political Action	Political action Protest: 1 Protests: 3 March: 1 Mass: 8 Campaign: 89 Campaigns:12 Action: 33 Defiance:1	148
62.	Political Actors	Political actors Politician: 16 Politicians: 23 President: 64 Presidents: 4	107
63.	Parties	Political parties Party: 60 Parties: 18 GOP: 10	88
64.	Political Legislation	Political process Legislation: 20 Elect: 1 Election: 50 Vote: 49 Voting: 14 Voted: 12	146
65.	Political relations	Political relations Apartheid: Relations: 9 Hostile: 7 Discrimination: 13	29
66.	Political Rights	Political rights: Right: 27 Rights: 75	102
67.	Politics	Politics: 114 Political: 103	217
68.	Poverty	Poverty: 37 Poor: 40 Worker: 11 Workers: 103	191
69.	Power	Power: 95	95
70.	Race	Race: 22 Racial: 32 Racism: 10 Racist: 1 Black: 147 Blacks: 35 White: 84 Whites: 17 Latino: 29 Latinos: 19 Indian: 6 Asian: 8 Asians: 1	278
71.	Reading	Reading: 6	6
72.	Religion	Religion: 35 God: 15 Christ: 6 Religious: 75 Christian: 30 Christians: 13 Muslim: 7 Muslims: 2 Methodists: 1 Church: 54 Catholic: 4 Catholics: 2 Protestant: 2	246
73.	Revolution	Revolution: 10 Revolutionary: 3	13
74.	Science	Science: 22	22
75.	Secularism	Secularism Secular: 8 Secularism:2	10
76.	Security	Security: 63	63
77.	Sports	Sports: 4	4
78.	Status	Status: 13	13
79.	Struggle	Struggle: 9	9
80.	Sympathy	Sympathy: 7 Sympathetic:4	11
81.	Systems	Systems Democracy: 51 Democratic: 84 Communism: 12 Communist: 6	153
82.	Terrorism	Technology: 14	14
83.	Time	Terrorism:6 Terrorist: 10 Terrorists: 6	22
84.	Tolerance	Time: 231	231
85.	Trade	Tolerance: 7 Tolerant: 7 Tolerate: 6	20
86.	Tradition	Trade: 42	42
87.	Tribe	Tradition: 13 Traditional: 16	29

88.	Travel	Tribe: 2 Tribes:1 Tribal: 3	6
89.	Unemployment	Unemployment: 11	11
90.	Values	Values: 81 Virtue: 3 Virtues: 6 Generosity: 1 Heroism: 2 Humility: 8 Courage: 7 Hard work: 11 Decency: 2 Duty: 7 Sacrifice: 11 Honesty: 3 Pride: 11 Common sense: 3 Rigor: 1 Fairness: 3 Kindness: 3 Courtesy: 4 Patriotism: 5 Personal responsibility: 4	176
91.	Violence	Violence: 16 Violent: 5	21
92.	War	War: 117 Wars: 9	126
93.	Weapons	Weaponry Arms: 8 Weapon: 1 Weapons: 15 Gun: 10 Guns: 4	38
94.	World Powers	Britain: 1 United Kingdom: 1 China: 26 Soviet Union: 8	36

In order to find out which major topics/themes have emerged the same topics/themes given in the above tables have been re-arranged according to the highest frequency in the text. It is clear from the following tables that the top highest frequency themes are family, race, institutions, education and age. In case of Long Walk to Freedom first five highest frequency themes are political parties, race, family, political action and common people. Here we see that in the top five themes family and race are common while institutions, education, age, political parties, political action and common people are different. This shows the similarity and difference in the priorities of the authors in their specific contexts.

The above data has been presented in the following Graph.

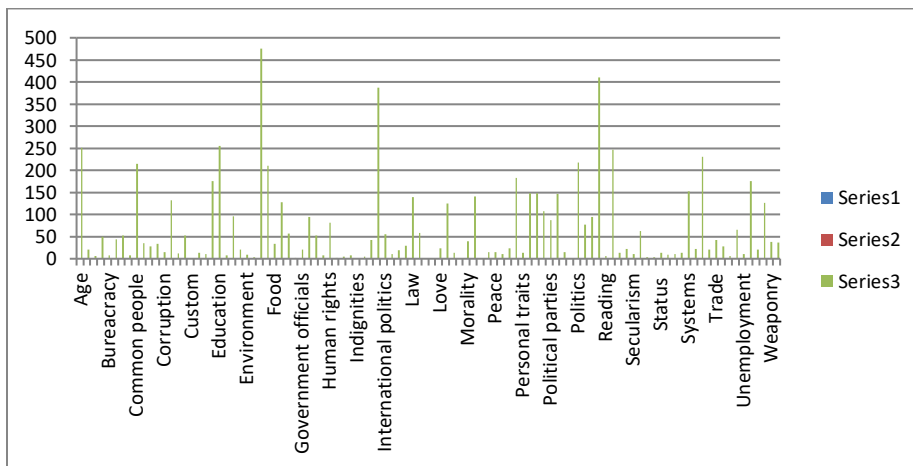


Figure 13 Graphic representation of the topic headings in *The Audacity of Hope*



## SECTION THREE

### 4.7 Linguistic devices used in the texts of *Long Walk to Freedom* and *The Audacity of Hope*

Various linguistic devices are used in the texts of the selected units of analysis. The unique and effective use of the year-statistics in both the autobiographies makes the whole story and its flow easy to understand as shown graphically above. In *Long Walk to Freedom* the author makes effective use of the language of the minority regime, that is, Afrikaans, to manipulate the discourse towards the positive image of the author and his party and negative image of the protagonists. The use of the African language makes the message of the author easy to understand. The Trilingual combination in *Long Walk to Freedom* differentiates it from *The Audacity of Hope* in the historical context. Both the discourses make use of the dramatic language and listing or cluster of three to stress certain themes. The themes of racial discrimination, inequality, poverty, parties, law, justice, separation and history are common in both the autobiographies and are stressed. The use of the term ‘Apartheid’ instead of translated word ‘apartness’ or ‘separation’ in *Long Walk to Freedom* and the term ‘Nigger’ instead of translated word ‘black’ in *The Audacity of Hope* give the feelings of foreign element and history in their respective context.

The given table brings together all the linguistic devices used in *Long Walk to Freedom* and *Audacity of Hope*:

Table 34 Linguistic devices in *Long Walk to Freedom*

S. No.	Linguistic Device
1.	Abusive Language
2.	Adjectives
3.	African/Xhosa/Native Language
4.	Afrikaans Language
5.	Backgrounding
6.	Cluster of Three
7.	Comparison/opposites
8.	Deletion
9.	Description of statistics

10.	Dialogue/ Dramatic language
11.	<i>Family/affection words</i>
12.	Foregrounding
13.	Idioms
14.	Imperatives
15.	Instances of the word ‘thousand’ in the text
16.	Linguistic Devices and Us vs Them
17.	Listing
18.	Metaphor
19.	Numerical Data
20.	Simile
21.	Statistics
22.	Personification
23.	Presupposition
24.	Pronouns
25.	Racial Nouns/Adjectives
26.	Topicalization

Both the texts use the first person pronoun more than any other pronoun. The style of *Long Walk to freedom* is like a novel with protagonist the narrator himself and the antagonist is the apartheid regime and the discriminatory laws or legal system. This style is itself a linguistic device for catching the reader’s mind from the very beginning. Style and narrative technique as a linguistic device is the direct effect of the historical circumstances and context. On the other hand style in *The Audacity of Hope* does exhibit the story-style or the style of a novel. In *The Audacity of Hope* we find that description is dominant as compared to narration. In *Long Walk to Freedom* narrative style dominates.

Basic purpose of the autobiography of Nelson Mandela, according to him, was to ‘inspire’ the young people and for this purpose the style of a story-telling was adopted. First we look at the super structures of the texts selected for this study. The detail has been given below:

#### **4.7.1 Superstructure or Textual ‘Schemata’**

The superstructure or Schema or plural schemata are also important part of the PDA theory. According to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2006), schema is the outline of any plan or a theory. The plural of schema is schemas or schemata (p.1141). According to Van Dijk’s theory of PDA political discourse follow the traditional

organization of argumentation, stories and news reports. Meanings become prominent for partisan reasons. Distribution of meanings in discourse shows information in a caption or headline, summary or in a conclusion.

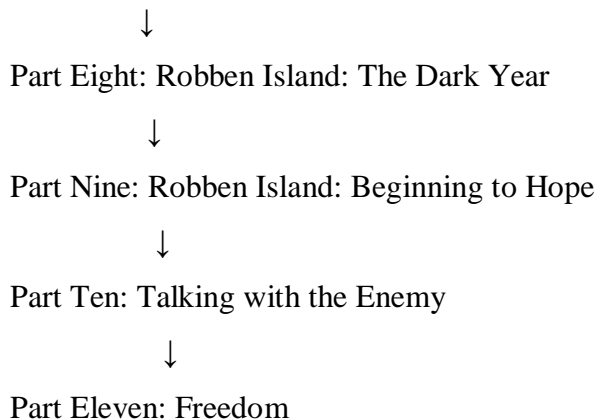
When both the texts selected for this research work were studied they showed the following schemata:

***Long Walk to Freedom:***

In case of *Long Walk to Freedom* the very caption or title of the book tells the whole story told in the book. As this autobiography was written to ‘inspire’ the young generation, this long story not only follows the traditional schemata of the story but also amalgamate the colors or elements of the novel and drama in order to catch the attention of the reader and carry him or her along by using linguistic devices that not only creates the effects of thrill and action but also arouse the emotions of sympathy in the hearts and minds of the readers towards author and his party or ideological group and hate towards his opponents or enemies. Diagrammatically it can be presented as under:

*Long Walk to Freedom* → Meaningful heading or caption which tells the whole story





There are 115 sub-parts into which the whole text has been divided. Every sub-part is captioned with a cardinal numbers with no title in words. This structuring of the text facilitates the reader and helps in manipulation of the text and control of the author over the text and in this way over the meaning and the reader.

Look at the diagram following the cardinal numbers

Sub-parts:

*Long Walk to Freedom/Long journey with signposts, milestones and relief spots- visually*

The cardinal numbers show the milestones/signposts/relief spots

From slavery Part One 1→ 2→ 3→ 4→ 5→ 6→ 7→ 8→ Part Two→ 9→ 10→ Part Three→ 11→ 12→ 13→ 14→ Part Four→ 15→ 16→ 17→ 18→ 19→ 20→ 21→ 22→ Part Five→ 23→ 24→ 25→ 26→ 27→ 28→ 29→ 30→ 31→ 32→ 33→ 34→ 35→36→ 37→ 38→ 39→ Part Six→ 40→ 41→ 42→ 43→ 44→ 45→ 46→ 47→ 48→ Part Seven→ 49→ 50→ 51→ 52→ 53→ 54→ 55→ 56→ 57→ 58→ Part Eight→ 59→ 60→ 61→ 62→ 63→ 64→ 65→ 66→67→ 68→ 69→ 70→ Part Nine→ 71→ 72→ 73→ 74→ 75→ 76→ 77→ 78→ 79→ 80→ 81→ 82→ 83→ 84→ 85→ 86→ Part Ten→ 87→ 88→ 89→ 90→ 91→ 92→ 93→ 94→ 95→ 96→ 97→98→ 99→ Part Eleven→ 100→ 101→ 102→ 103→ 104→ 105→ 106→ 107→ 108→ 109→ 110→ 111→ 112→ 113→ 114→ 115 To Freedom



Figure 14 Long Walk or Struggle Drama in *Long Walk to Freedom*

The above structure of the text shows that it is intentionally and systematically created structured- arrangement which in itself is an effective superstructure and linguistic device. If we look at the arrangement of the sub-parts numbers above we can see along road with signposts and rest of the areas in the shape of sub-parts division captioned with cardinal numbers. As mentioned before numerical data plays a very important role in *Long Walk to Freedom* as far as the direction and the whole schemata of the text are concerned. Every part gives a summary in the shape of its heading and systematically carries along the reader by dividing each part into sub-parts. This superstructure and schema are very effective in manipulating the text.

When we have a look at the text of *The Audacity of Hope*, it also exhibits a specific superstructure and schema. Look at the structure or schema of the text:

*The Audacity of Hope* → Meaningful heading with the message of courage and hope

↓

Prologue

↓

Chapter 1: Republicans and Democrats

↓

Chapter 2: Values



Chapter 3: Our Constitution



Chapter 4: Politics



Chapter 5: Opportunity



Chapter 6: Faith



Chapter 7: Race



Chapter 8: The World Beyond our Borders



Chapter 9: Family



Epilogue

The very first look at the schema of the text reveal that the whole text has been capsuled in prologue and epilogue. In other words we can say that the writer spend good many words in the shape of prologue to set the direction of the text and make road map for the reader to go along. We know that prologues are written before the start of tales like Jeffrey Chaucer's *Prologue to Canterbury Tales* where he set the directions for the readers. As an autobiography is story or tale of life of the writer told by himself or

herself, here Barack Obama has felt the necessity of providing a prologue before he starts of the story of his life and political struggle. The very heading of the book and then the prologue shows the traditional story style. Epilogue provided at the end of the book redirects the reader's attention if there is any kind diversions going through the main body of the text. Barack Obama helps the reader towards his own point of view by providing carefully selected captions for the chapters in *The Audacity of Hope*.

#### 4.7.2 Use of Statistics in *Long Walk to Freedom*

To convey his themes effectively and inspire the young freedom fighters as he mentions the purpose of this autobiography, Nelson Mandela makes liberal use of statistics including numbers of places, persons and number of occurrence of events. The researchers observe that the author has used years as an effective tool to facilitate walk through history along Nelson Mandela. The figures of years have appeared 422 times in the text of *Long Walk to Freedom*. This statistical data of years have been given in tabulated forms below:

Table 35 Years mentioned in the text of *Long Walk to Freedom*

1652	1658	1800s	1819	1820	1820	1825	1983
1838	1840	1879	1879	1886	1900s	1909	1974
1912	1936	1913	1914	1914	1915	1832	1979
1916	1941	1917	1923	1918	1927	1912	1980
1920s	1943	1921	1924	1926	1941	1942	
1934	1937	1939	1940s	1941	1930s	1944	
1946	1949	1960	1960s	1987	1988	1970s	
1948	1950	1961	1962	1990	1972	1975	
1950s	1951	1963	1965	1991	1982	1976	
1953	1952	1964	1966	1992	1989	1980s	
1954	1957	1967	1969	1994	1973	1984	
1956	1959	1968	1970	1993	1971	1981	
1958	1960	1986	1985	1999	1977	1978	

This data show that Nelson Mandela carries the reader along as he walks through the history. Right from his birth in 1918, at times he goes back in history to the

seventeenth century and then continues his journey towards freedom using the years as milestones and direction-post. The use of years in such a way has deictic qualities and the author takes the reader towards his desired direction.

The following table indicates the decades mentioned by the author. This table also shows the number years appeared in each decade in the text which also indicates the important events occurred in these years and that is why they are worth mentioning. Surprisingly, the author does not refer to the eighteenth century even a single time in the text.

Table 36 Decades and number of years appeared in the text

Decade	Number of years appeared in the text
1650s	4
1800s	1
1810s	1
1820s	3
1830s	2
1840s	2
1870s	2
1880s	1
1900s	2
1910s	20
1920s	11
1930s	11
1940s	43
1950s	95
1960s	98
1970s	41
1980s	50
1990s	35

When the data in the above table is converted into a graph shape, we visually see the ‘Long Walk’ and that indicates the role of statistical data in effectively presenting the freedom struggle and other themes in the text. Different bars of the graph show the journey of the mind and the practical involvement of the author in events of struggle for freedom. If looked closely at the graph, one can understand the course of struggle and the rise and fall and the climax of the whole drama of life and struggle of the author of the



book. The graph indicates that the drama on the South African stage begins during the 1650s, the seventeenth century, that is, the action starts here. During the early years the action develops slowly and gradually and then in 1910s there is a rise in the action which leads to the establishment of the African National Congress or the ANC. The climax of the action reaches during the 1960s with the treason-trial of Nelson Mandela and his companions in which they receive life imprisonment. The falling action starts during the imprisonment of Mandela and other treason-trialists on the Robben Island, the only island in South Africa and after the release of Nelson Mandela the action heads towards its grand finale. So, the effective use of chronological data in the shape of the year figures gives the whole picture of the theme of freedom struggle.

Look at the following graph:

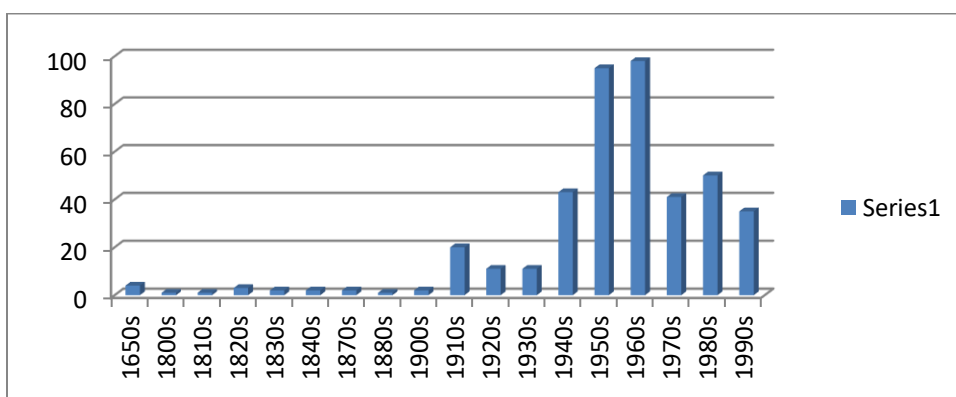


Figure 15 Graphic representation of decades and number of years appeared in the text of *Long Walk to Freedom*

### 4.7.3 Use of numerical data in *Long Walk to Freedom*

Nelson Mandela uses different numerical data to support his claims. The following table shows the amount number that appeared in the text used for stress on the point and as a proof of the claim.

Table 174 Numbers appeared in the text

70	120	250	18000	100000	700000
80	150	250	200000	100000	
100	150	252	60000	100000	
100	230	400	700000	120000	
108	250	8500	100000	400000	

#### 4.7.4 Description of statistics in the text and Hyperbole

In the body of the text we find many examples of comparative statistics which not only emphasize the author's point of view but at the same time also stresses the idea of "Us" vs "Them".

Look at the following examples from the text:

- 1      **three and a half million Xhosas** and a **tiny minority**
- 2      **three million whites** owned **87 percent of the land**
- 3      **eight million Africans** to the remaining **13 percent**
- 4      **three million whites** could participate, but **none of the thirteen million Africans**
- 5      crowd estimated at **half a million**
- 6      as many as **a million people** personally witnessed our procession
- 7      **about million-rand** payoffs to Inkatha
- 8      More than **four million workers** stayed home
- 9      over **twenty million people** going to the polls
- 10     to build **a million new houses** with electricity and flush toilets

(Done on AntConc on July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2014)

#### 4.7.5 Instances of appearance of the word "thousand" in the text

- 1      a **thousand rivers** and streams,
- 2      with **more than a thousand students**
- 3      a prisonlike compound of a **few thousand matchbox houses**
- 4      we will **wait a thousand years** for our freedom
- 5      I marched with Gaur, and **ten thousand others**
- 6      a steady accumulation of **a thousand slights,**  
       **a thousand indignities, a thousand unremembered moments**

7 and he had boosted the amount to **four thousand pounds**  
8 No less than **two thousand volunteers** went to jail,  
9 drew **ten thousand people** at Johannesburg's Market Square  
10 led a demonstration of **five thousand people**  
11 a vibrant community of **more than fifty thousand people**  
12 About **ten thousand people** were in attendance  
13 **Ten thousand people** gathered to hear Chief Luthuli speak  
14 **four thousand police and army troops** cordoned off the township  
15 which had a total enrollment of **ten thousand children**  
16 handed over their **two hundred thousand African students** to the government  
17 On the east Rand it affected some **seven thousand schoolchildren**  
18 More than **three thousand delegates braved police intimidation** to assemble  
19 **twelve thousand** in all  
20 **eight thousand pages of typed evidence** and **twelve thousand documents** to  
prepare its case  
21 All told, more than **one thousand women** were arrested  
22 the number of arrests had increased and nearly **two thousand women** were  
incarcerated  
23 one of them having recruited about **two thousand members**  
24 the Crown entered some **two thousand documents** into the record and called two  
hundred  
25 some **thirty thousand people**, led by the young student Philip Kgosana,  
26 In the early afternoon, a crowd of **several thousand** surrounded the police  
station.  
27 country responded magnificently as **several hundred thousand Africans**  
observed the chief's call  
28 In Cape Town a crowd of **fifty thousand** met in Langa Township to protest the  
shootings  
29 the detention without trial of **more than two thousand people**  
30 **five thousand pounds** for weapons  
31 who not only gave me **five thousand dollars** for weapons and training

32 asked for **five thousand dollars** for the support of MK  
33 I also had **several thousand pounds** in cash  
34 banished there by the British after leading **ten thousand warriors** against  
Grahamstown in 1819.  
35 Within a few days we learned there were about **a thousand men**  
36 The document set a goal of **seven thousand MK recruits** in the country  
37 Despite the intimidation, as many as **two thousand people** assembled in front of  
the courthouse  
38 bumping up and down in a plane at **fifteen thousand feet** seemed far more  
perilous than being locked  
39 known as sections F and G, contained about **a thousand** mostly common-law  
prisoners  
40 de Wet and General Kemp had led **a force of twelve thousand**  
41 On June 16, 1976, **fifteen thousand schoolchildren** gathered in Soweto to  
protest  
42 It was a moment I had dreamed about **a thousand times**  
43 an occasion is lost in the welter of **a thousand details**  
44 cameras and news people as well as **several thousand well-wishers**  
45 **My ten thousand days of imprisonment** were over  
46 I addressed a crowd of **twenty thousand angry ANC supporters**  
47 the strike was a march of **one hundred thousand people** to the Union Buildings  
in Pretoria  
48 On the morning of September 7, 1992, **seventy thousand protesters** set out on a  
march  
49 there would be **ten thousand polling stations** around the country  
50 We sought to train over **one hundred thousand people** to assist with voter  
education

(Done on AntConc on July 8<sup>th</sup>, 2014)

#### 4.7.6 Use of Statistics in *The Audacity of Hope*

To convey his themes effectively Barack Obama makes liberal use of statistics. The researchers observe that the author has used years as an effective tool to facilitate the reader in understanding his point of view. The figures of years have appeared 137 times in the text in *The Audacity of Hope*. This statistical data of years have been given in tabulated forms below:

Table 37 Years mentioned in the text of *The Audacity of Hope*

1600s	1819	1836	1854	1862	1929	1930	1935	1941	1944
1945	1949	1950	1950s	1950s	1952	1955	1955	1958	1960
1960	1961	1963	1964	1964	1964	1964	1965	1965	1965
1967	1967	1967	1967	1967	1968	1969	1971	1971	1972
1979	1980	1980	1980	1980s	1980s	1983	1983	1984	1988
1988	1990	1990	1991	1992	1992	1993	1993	1994	1994
1995	1996	1996	1996	1997	1997	1997	1997	1997	1997
1998	1998	1999	1999	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2001	2001	2002	2002	2002
2002	2002	2002	2003	2003	2003	2004	2004	2004	2004
2004	2004	2004	2004	2004	2004	2004	2004	2004	2005
2005	2005	2005	2005	2005	2005	2005	2005	2005	2005
2005	2005	2005	2005	2005	2006	2006	2006	2006	2006
2006	2006	2006	2007	2009	2009	2050			

This data show that Barack Obama carries the reader along as he discusses politics and history. Right from his birth, he goes back in history to the seventeenth century and then continues his discussion using the years as milestones and sign-posts. The use of years in such a way has deictic qualities and the author takes the reader towards his desired direction.

The following table indicates the decades mentioned by the author. This table also shows the number years appeared in each decade in the text which also indicates the important events occurred in these years and that is why they are worth mentioning. Surprisingly, in case of *The Audacity of Hope* the author does not refer to the eighteenth century even a single time in the text.

Table 38 Decades and number of years appeared in the text

Decade	Number of years appeared in the text
1600s	1
1810s	1
1830s	1
1850s	1
1860s	1
1920s	1
1830s	2
1840s	4
1950s	7
1960s	18
1970s	5
1980s	10
1990s	23
2000s	61
2050s	1

When the data in the above table is converted into a graph shape, we see the political journey of the author, and that indicates the role of statistical data in effectively presenting the political struggle and other themes in the text. Different bars of the graph show the journey of the mind and the practical involvement of the author in events of political struggle. If we look closely at the graph, we can understand the course of struggle and the rise and fall and the climax of the whole drama of life and struggle of the author of the book. The graph indicates that the substantial struggle in the United States or the American continent begins during the seventeenth century, that is, the action starts here. During the early years the action develops slowly and gradually and then there is a rise in the action with the passage of time which leads to the human rights movements and charter. The climax of the action reaches during the nineteen-sixties which leads to equal political rights for all and still continues in one shape or another. So, the effective use of chorological data in the shape of the year figures gives the whole picture of the theme of the political struggle.

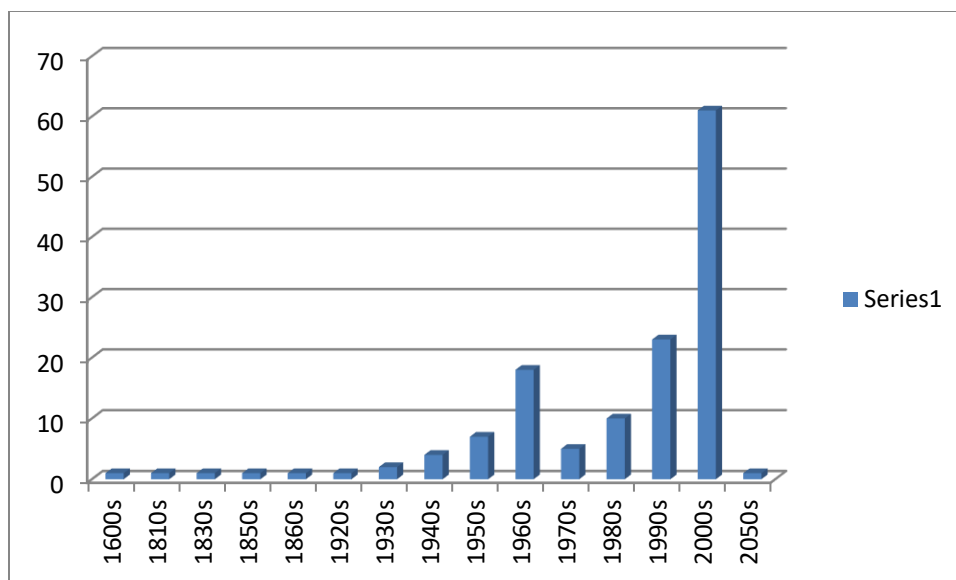


Figure 16 Graphic representation of decades and number of years appeared in the text of The Audacity of Hope

#### 4.8 Use of Pronouns: *Long Walk to Freedom*

In the text the frequency of the pronoun “I” is the highest which 6343 as shown in the table below is. The second highest pronoun is “We” and the third is “My” whose frequencies are 2535 and 2159 respectively. The first third person pronoun, that is, “He” ranks fourth in the whole text with the frequency of 1926. The second person pronoun stands at serial number 11 and has the frequency of 662. The least frequent pronoun is “Theirs” with the frequency of 02. The following table clearly reveals that the top three positions have been occupied by the first person pronoun. A total of 23 forms of pronoun have been identified and ranked on the basis of their frequency in the following table:

Table: 39 Frequency of pronouns in *Long Walk to Freedom*

S. No.	Pronoun	Frequency
1	I	6343
2	We	2535
3	My	2159
4	He	1926
5	It	1679
6	Our	1186
7	Me	1180
8	His	1005

9	They	779
10	Us	717
11	You	662
12	Her	659
13	Him	616
14	Their	513
15	Them	481
16	She	390
17	Its	270
18	Your	172
19	Mine	43
20	Ours	09
21	Yours	07
22	Hers	03
23	Theirs	02

The following graph shows the difference between the occurrences of the various forms of the pronoun shown in the above table:

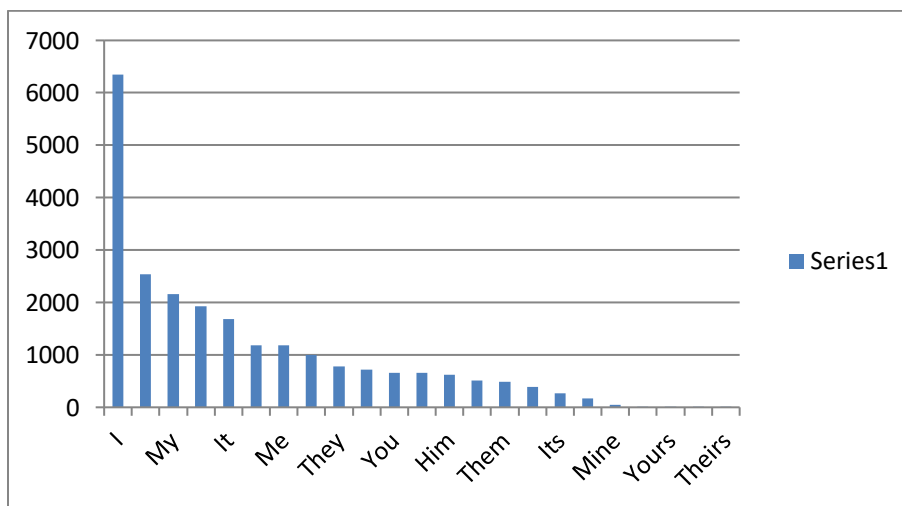


Figure: 17 Frequency of forms of pronouns in the text of *Long Walk to Freedom*

As this autobiography was written to persuade, it addresses the readers in a persuasive and exclusive manner. Exclusive in the sense that it means and addresses a specific group, that is, blacks, and “excludes” whites South in the South African society when it uses the pronoun ‘We’ throughout the text. Some examples of the exclusive ‘we’ from the text are given below:

We lived in a less grand style in Qunu, but it was in that village near Umtata that I spent the happiest years of my boyhood and



whence I trace my earliest memories (p. 8).

The night before the circumcision, there was a ceremony near our huts with singing and dancing. Women came from the nearby villages, and we danced to their singing and clapping. As the music became faster and louder, our dance turned more frenzied and we forgot for a moment what lay ahead (p. 31).

We felt the effects of his regime before we ever saw him. A number of the newer regulations regarding study and free time were immediately rescinded. It was obvious that he intended to roll back every privilege we had won over the years. Our old warders were transferred off the island and replaced by Badenhorst's handpicked guards. They were younger, coarser men who enforced every niggling regulation, whose job was to harass and demoralize us. Within days of Badenhorst's appointment, our cells were raided and searched; books and papers were confiscated; meals were suspended without warning; and men were jostled on the way to the quarry (p. 543)

The above are just a few examples of the use of "exclusive we". From the very beginning up to the nearly end of the book Mandela uses this pronoun in this manner. After the freedom he tries to use the 'inclusive we' for the development and unity of the 'rainbow nation'. Look at the following example which shows a shift from 'exclusive we' towards 'inclusive we':

We have, at last, achieved our political emancipation.  
 We pledge ourselves to liberate all our people from the continuing bondage of poverty, deprivation, suffering, gender, and other discrimination.  
 Never, never, and never again shall it be that this



Person Pronouns		r	s										
Frequency	662	172	07										841
Third Person Pronouns	He	His	Him	She	Her	Hers	It	Its	They	Their	Theirs	Them	
Frequency	1926	1005	616	390	659	03	1679	270	779	513	02	481	8323

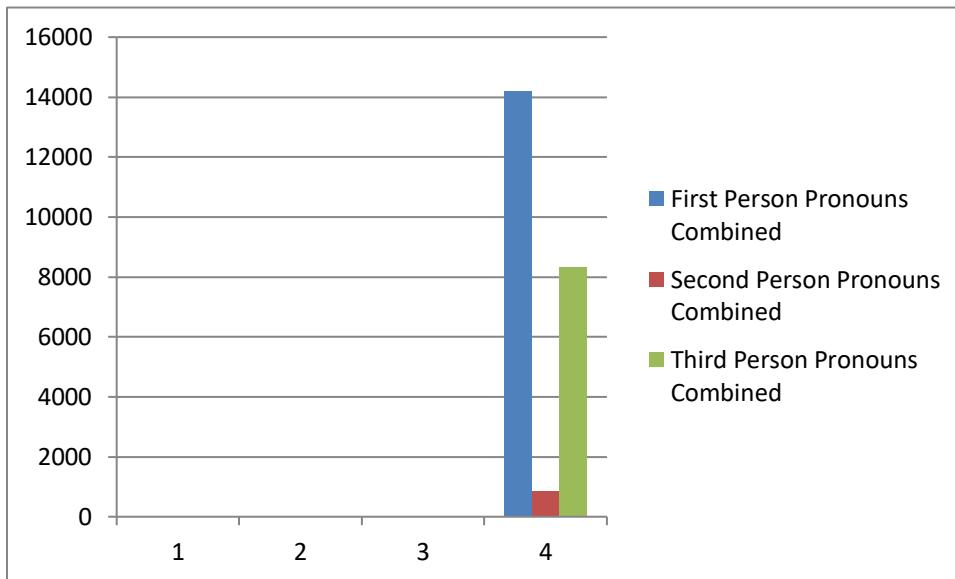


Figure: 18 Combined frequencies of first, second and third person pronouns in *Long Walk to Freedom*

First Person Pronouns Combined:

$$I+My+Me + Mine+We+Our + Ours +Us= 6343 + 2159 + 1180 + 43 + 2535 + 1186 + 09 + 717 = 14172$$

Third Person Pronouns Combined:

$$He + His +Him + She + Her + Hers + It + Its + They + Their + Theirs + Them =$$

$$1926 + 1005 + 616 + 390 + 659 + 03 + 1679 + 270 + 779 + 513 + 02 + 481= 8323$$

In tabulated form the frequencies have been given below:

Table: 41 Frequencies of first person pronouns combined and third person pronouns combined in *Long Walk to Freedom*

First Person Pronouns	I	My	Me	Mine	We	Our	Ours	Us					Total
Frequency	6343	2159	1180	43	2535	1186	09	717					14172
Third Person Pronouns	He	His	Him	She	Her	Hers	It	Its	They	Their	Theirs	Them	
Frequency	1926	1005	616	390	659	03	1679	270	779	513	02	481	8323

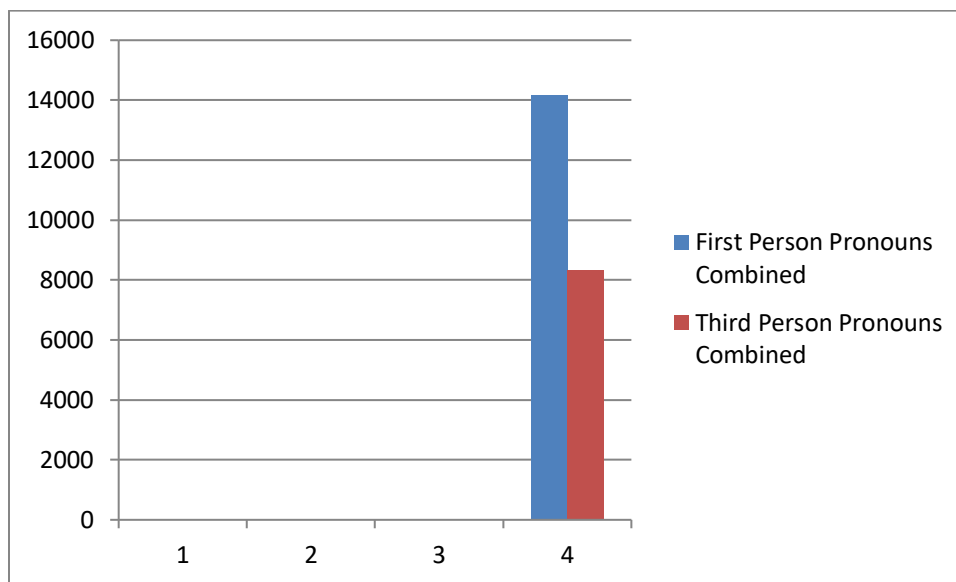


Figure: 19 Frequencies of first person pronouns combined and third person pronouns combined in *Long Walk to Freedom*

First Person Singular Pronouns Combined:

$$I+My+Me + Mine= 6343 + 2159 + 1180 + 43 = 9725$$

Third Person Singular Pronouns Combined:

$$He + His +Him + She + Her + Hers + It + Its= 1926 + 1005 + 616 + 390 + 659 + 03 + 1679 + 270= 6548$$

Table: 42 Frequencies of first person singular pronouns combined and third person singular pronouns combined

First Person Singular Pronouns	I	My	Me	Mine					Total
Frequency	6343	2159	1180	43					9725
Third Person Singular Pronouns	He	His	Him	She	Her	Hers	It	Its	
Frequency	1926	1005	616	390	659	03	1679	270	6548

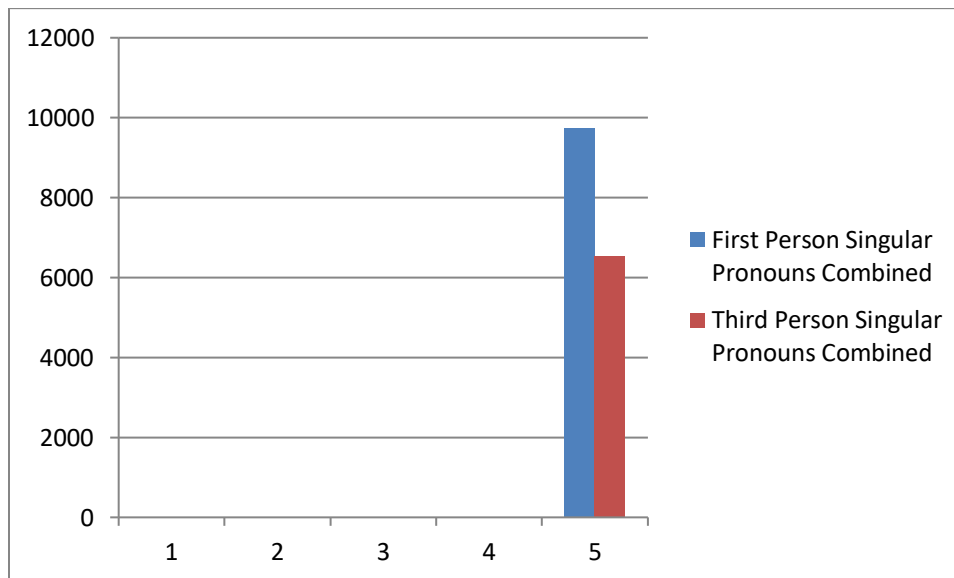


Figure: 20 Frequencies of first person singular pronouns combined and third person singular pronouns combined

First Person Plural Pronouns Combined:

$$\text{We+Our} + \text{Ours} + \text{Us} = 2535 + 1186 + 09 + 717 = 4447$$

Third Person Plural Pronouns Combined:

$$\text{They} + \text{Their} + \text{Theirs} + \text{Them} =$$

$$779 + 513 + 02 + 481 = 1775$$

Table: 43 Frequencies of first person plural pronouns combined and third person plural pronouns combined

First Person Plural Pronouns	We	Our	Ours	Us	Total
Frequency	2535	1186	09	717	4447
Third Person Plural Pronouns	They	Their	Theirs	Them	
Frequency	779	513	02	481	1775

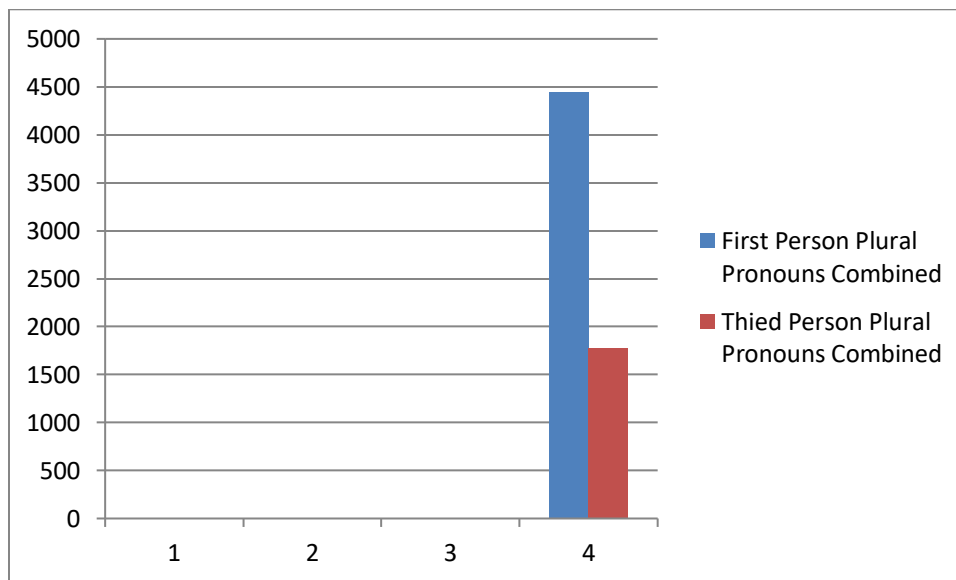


Figure: 21 Frequencies of first person plural pronouns combined and third person plural pronouns combined

Looking closely at the pronouns and their frequencies we see the divide between 'WE' and 'THEM' or in other words the theory of 'WE' vs 'THEM'. Now, when we look at the following statistics of the pronouns used in *Long Walk to Freedom* we see this divide between 'We' and 'THEM'.

First Person Pronouns Combined = 14172

Second Person Pronouns Combined = 841

Third Person Pronouns Combined = 8323

First Person Singular Pronouns Combined = 9725

Third Person Singular Pronouns Combined = 6548

First Person Plural Pronouns Combined = 4447

Third Person Plural Pronouns Combined= 1775

We also see that first person pronouns and third person pronouns are close competitors in the statistics of the pronouns used in this autobiography.

In case of *Audacity of Hope* the situation or context is quite different. United States of America is a constitutional democracy with human rights guaranteed in the constitution with slavery long been abolished. There has been a long history of racism and inequality in the United States; even after the constitutional guarantees people like Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks had to fight for equal rights for black Americans. There is a divide between races but it is not that deep as in South Africa. Barack Obama does talk about race and racism but not in the manner Nelson Mandela does. He quotes his speech from 2004 Democratic National Convention:

“There is not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America—there’s the United States of America.” For them, it seems to capture a vision of America finally freed from the past of Jim Crow and slavery, Japanese internment camps and Mexican braceros, workplace tensions and cultural conflict—an America that fulfills Dr. King’s promise that we be judged not by the color of our skin but by the content of our character. (p. 126)

Obama talks about the United States of America and the Constitution and his use of the pronoun ‘WE’ is inclusive, that is including all Americans:

Moreover, I believe that part of America’s genius has always been its ability to absorb newcomers, to forge a national identity out of the disparate lot that arrived on our shores. In this we’ve been aided by a Constitution that—despite being marred by the original sin of slavery—has at its very core the idea of equal citizenship under the law; and an economic system that, more than any other, has offered opportunity to all comers, regardless of status or title or rank. Of course, racism and nativist sentiments have repeatedly undermined these ideals; the powerful and the privileged have often exploited or stirred prejudice to further their own ends. But in the hands of reformers, from Tubman to Douglass to Chavez to

King, these ideals of equality have gradually shaped how we understand ourselves and allowed us to form a multicultural nation the likes of which exists nowhere else on earth.

#### **4.8.1 Use of racial Nouns and adjectives in *Long Walk to Freedom*, the appearance of black, blacks, white and whites**

→ Blacks and Whites, Us vsThem: examples from the text

Black: AntConc hits: 188

Blacks: AntConc hits: 33

Black+Blacks total hits: 221

Black:

Rank: 182

Frequency: 159

Blacks:

Rank: 863

Frequency: 32

White: AntConc hits: 374

Whites: AntConc hits: 112

White + Whites total hits: 486

White:

Rank: 82

Frequency: 368

Whites:

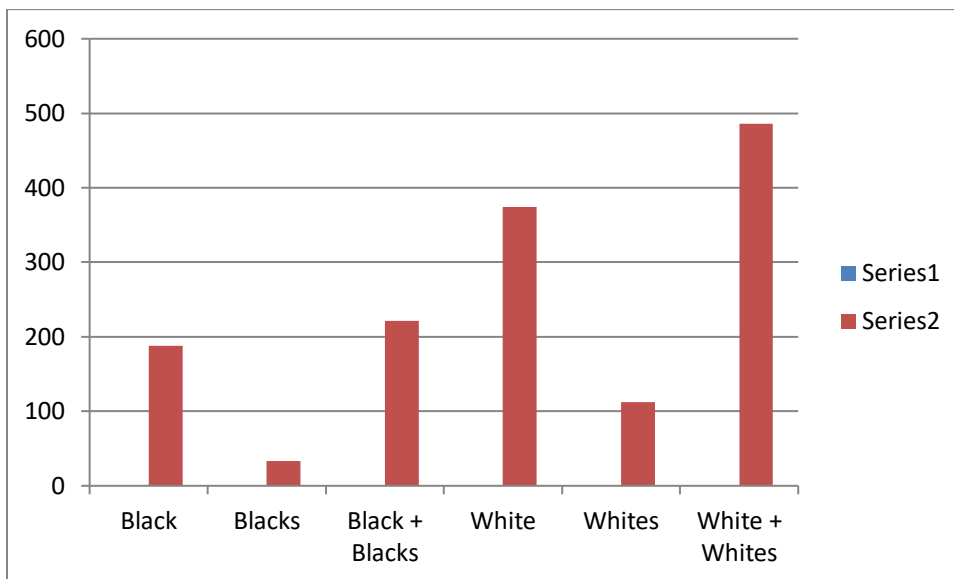
Rank: 280

Frequency: 99



Table: 44 AntConc hits of Adjectives/Nouns Black and White in *Long Walk to Freedom*

Adjective/Noun	AntConc Hits	Frequency	Rank in the text
Black	188	159	182
Blacks	33	32	863
Black+Blacks	221		
White	374	368	82
Whites	112	99	280
White+Whites	486		

Figure: 22 AntConc hits of Adjectives/Nouns Black and White in *Long Walk to Freedom*

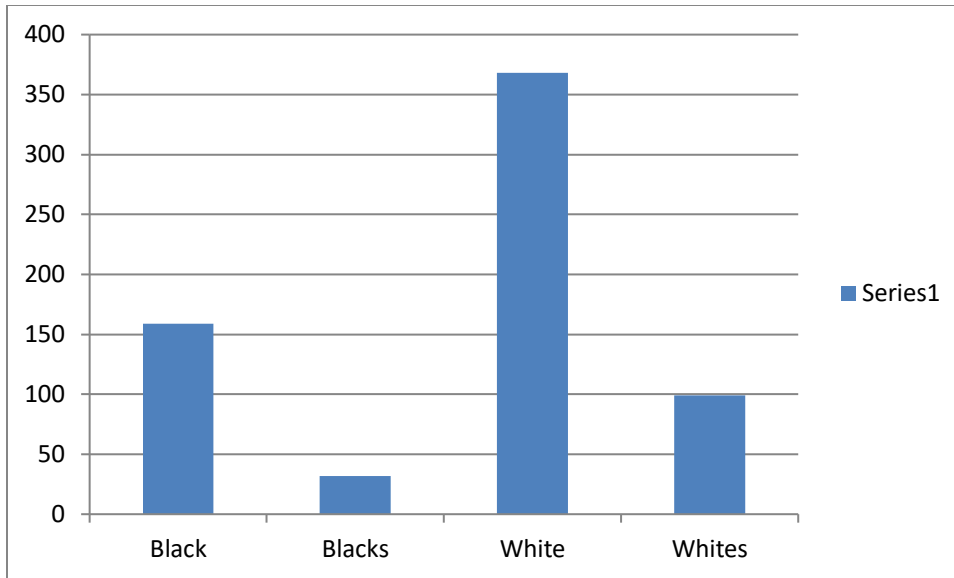


Figure: 23 Frequencies of black, blacks, white and whites in the text of *Long Walk to Freedom*

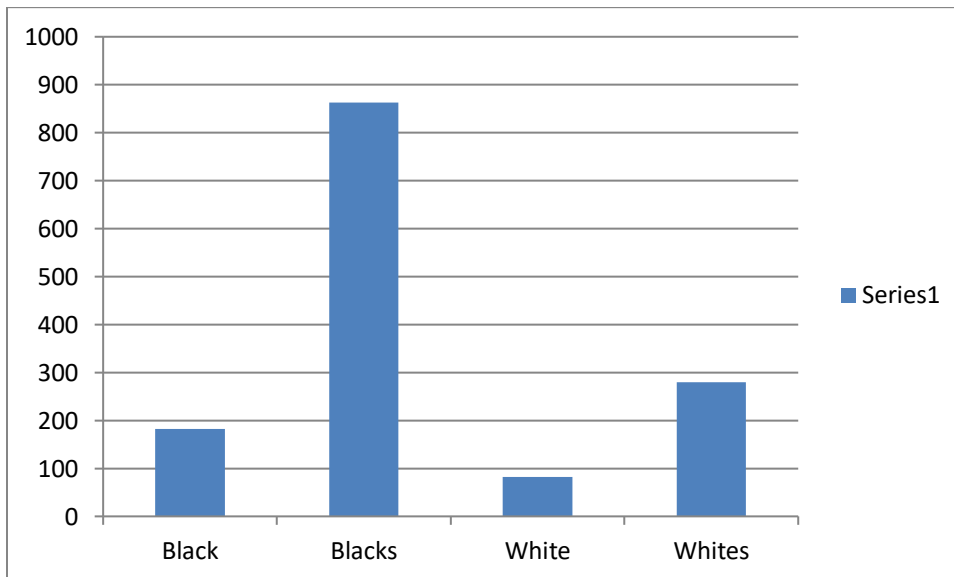


Figure: 24 AntConc ranks of black, blacks, white and whites in the text of *Long Walk to Freedom*

#### 4.9 Use of Pronouns: *Audacity of Hope*

In the text, the frequency of the pronoun “I” is the highest, i.e., 1543 as shown in the table below. The second highest pronoun is “We” and the third is “My” whose frequencies are 779 and 740 respectively. The pronoun “It” ranks fourth in the whole text

with the frequency of 689. The second person pronoun stands at serial number 11 and has the frequency of 282. The least frequent pronoun is “Ours” with the frequency of 02. The following table clearly reveals that the top three positions have been occupied by the first person pronoun. A total of 23 forms of pronoun have been identified and ranked on the basis of their frequency in the following table:

Table: 45 Difference between the occurrences of the various forms of the pronoun in

*The Audacity of Hope*

S. No.	Pronoun	Frequency
1	I	1543
2	We	779
3	My	740
4	It	689
5	Their	633
6	Our	629
7	They	454
8	His	390
9	Me	380
10	He	368
11	You	282
12	Them	210
13	Her	205
14	Its	184
15	She	182
16	Us	179
17	Him	102
18	Your	64
19	Mine	07
20	Yours	03
21	Hers	03
22	Theirs	03
23	Ours	02

The following graph shows the difference between the occurrences of the various forms of the pronoun shown in the above table:

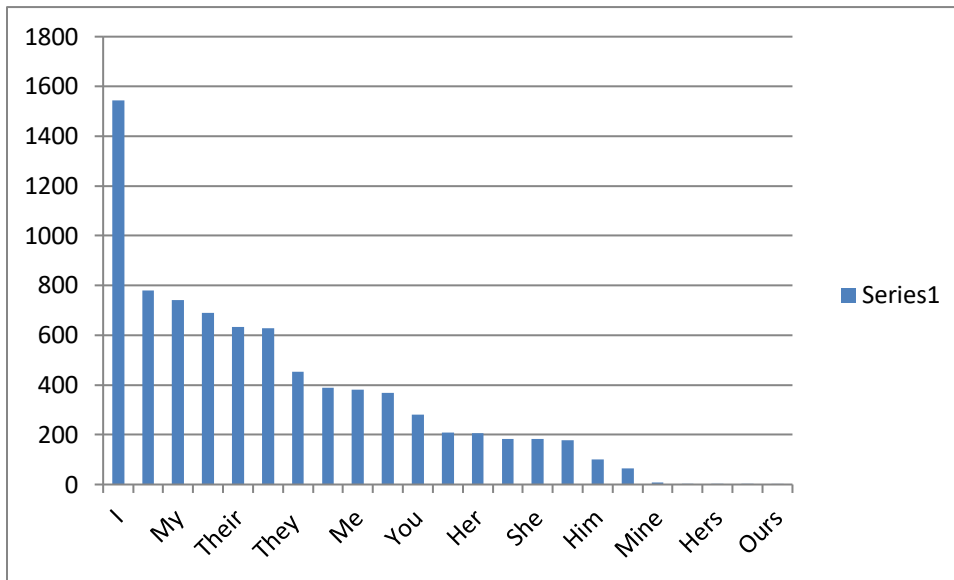


Figure 23 Difference between the occurrences of the various forms of the pronoun in The Audacity of Hope

Now we compare the frequencies of the first person pronouns combined, the second person pronouns combined and the frequency of the third person combined.

The frequencies of the first person pronouns have been added below:

First Person Pronouns Combined:

$$I+My+Me + Mine+We+Our + Ours +Us= 1543+740+380+07+779+629+02+179 = 4259$$

The frequencies of the second person pronouns have been added below:

$$\text{Second Person Pronouns Combined: } You + Your + Yours = 282+64+03=349$$

The frequencies of the third person pronouns have been added below:

Third Person Pronouns Combined:

$$He + His +Him + She + Her + Hers + It + Its + They + Their + Theirs + Them =$$

$$368+390+102+182+205+03+689+184+454+633+03+210=3423$$

In tabulated form the above details have been given as follows:

Table: 46 Combined frequencies of first, second and third person pronouns

First Person Pronouns	I	My	Me	Mine	We	Our	Ours	Us					Total
Frequency	1543	740	380	07	779	629	02	179					4259
Second Person Pronouns	You	Your	Yours										
Frequency	282	64	03										349
Third Person Pronouns	He	His	Him	She	Her	Hers	It	Its	They	Their	Theirs	Them	
Frequency	368	390	102	182	205	03	689	184	454	633	03	210	3423

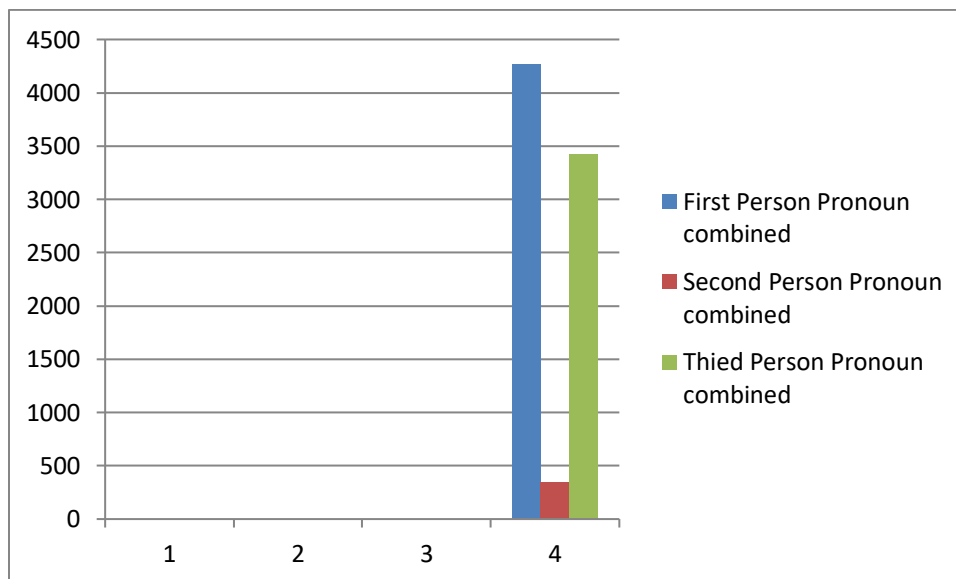


Figure: 24 Combined frequencies of first, second and third person pronouns

First Person Pronouns Combined:

$$I+My+Me + Mine+We+Our + Ours +Us= 1543+740+380+07+779+629+02+179 = 4259$$

Third Person Pronouns Combined:

$$He + His +Him + She + Her + Hers + It + Its + They + Their + Theirs + Them =$$

$$368+390+102+182+205+03+689+184+454+633+03+210=3423$$

In tabulated form the frequencies have been given below:

Table: 47 Frequencies of first person pronouns combined and third person pronouns combined

First Person Pronouns	I	My	Me	Mine	We	Our	Ours	Us					Total
Frequency	1543	740	380	07	779	629	02	179					4259
Third Person Pronouns	He	His	Him	She	Her	Hers	It	Its	They	Their	Theirs	Them	
Frequency	368	390	102	182	205	03	689	184	454	633	03	210	3423

Figure: 26 Frequencies of first person pronouns combined and third person pronouns combined

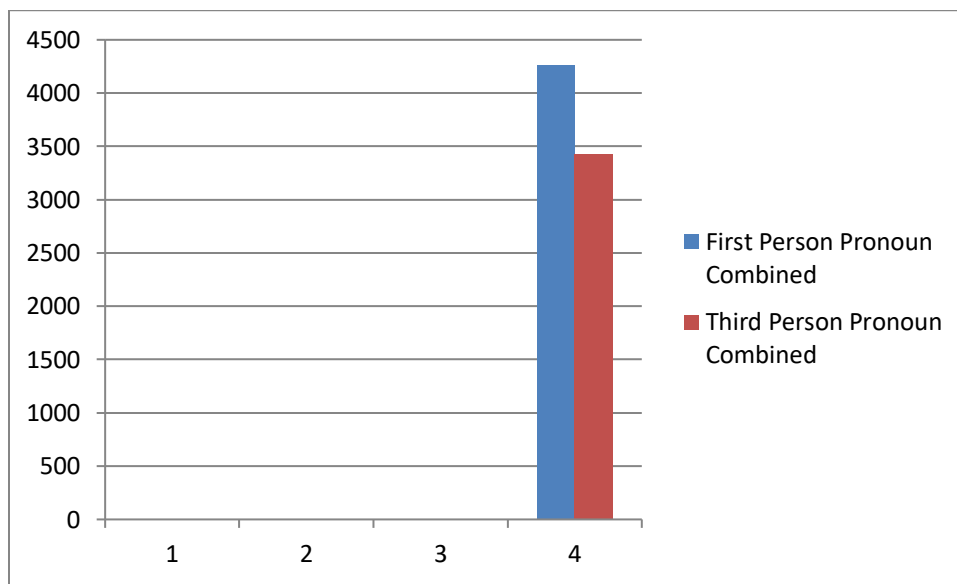


Figure: 25 Frequencies of first person pronouns combined and third person pronouns combined

First Person Singular Pronouns Combined:

$$I+My+Me + Mine= 1543+740+380+07=2670$$

Third Person Singular Pronouns Combined:

$$He + His +Him + She + Her + Hers + It + Its= 368+390+102+182+205+03+689+184=2123$$

Table: 48 Frequencies of first person singular pronouns combined and third person singular pronouns combined

First Person Singular Pronouns	I	My	Me	Mine					Total
Frequency	1543	740	380	07					2670
Third Person Singular Pronouns	He	His	Him	She	Her	Hers	It	Its	
Frequency	368	390	102	182	205	03	689	184	2123

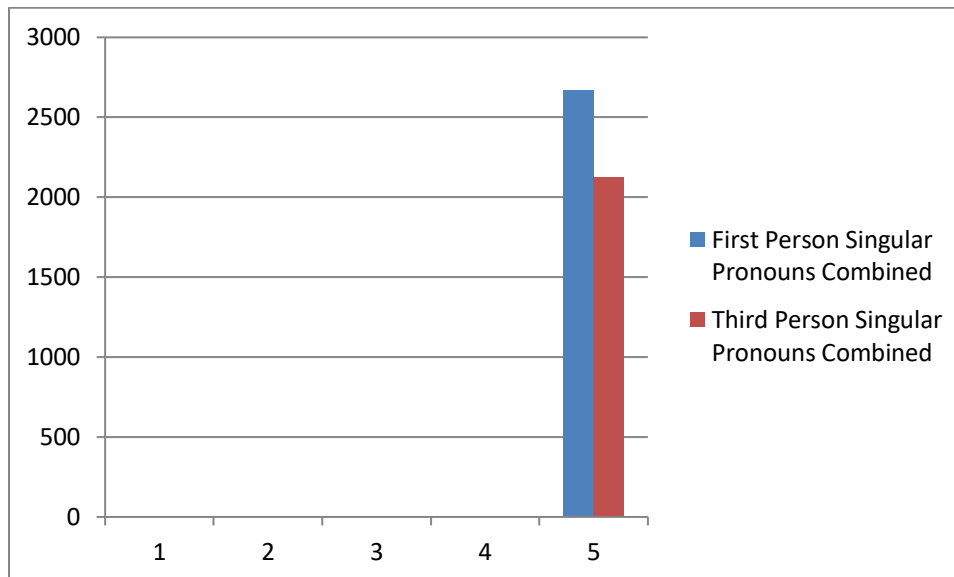


Figure: 26 Frequencies of first person singular pronouns combined and third person singular pronouns combined

First Person Plural Pronouns Combined:

$$\text{We+Our} + \text{Ours} + \text{Us} = 779+629+02+179 = 1589$$

Third Person Plural Pronouns Combined:

$$\text{They} + \text{Their} + \text{Theirs} + \text{Them} = 454+633+03+210 = 1300$$

Table: 49 Frequencies of first person plural pronouns combined and third person plural pronouns combined

First Person Plural Pronouns	We	Our	Ours	Us	Total
Frequency	779	629	02	179	1589
Third Person Plural Pronouns	The y	Thei r	Their s	The m	
Frequency	454	633	03	210	1300

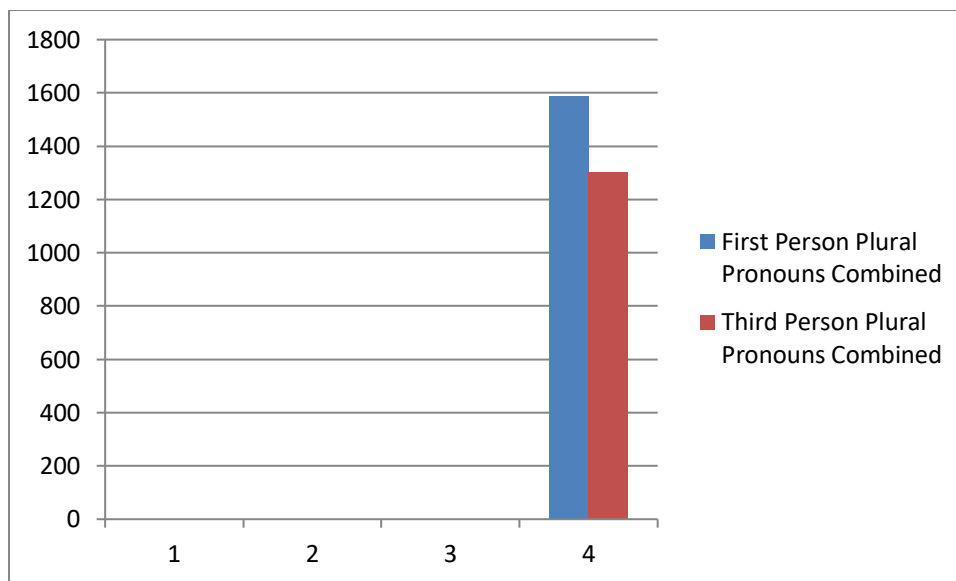


Figure: 27 Frequencies of first person plural pronouns combined and third person plural pronouns combined

During the researcher's visit to the United States in 2015 some of the U.S. citizens did not quite agree with the inclusive use of 'WE' by Obama and they were of the view that there was a difference in Obama's use of 'WE' before and after his election as the president of the country. According to their opinion during his election campaign he used inclusive 'WE' but after his election for some purposes it is exclusive 'WE', tilted to a specific group.



### 4.9.1 Use of racial Nouns and adjectives in *The Audacity of Hope*

→ Blacks and Whites, Us vs Them: examples from the text

Black: AntConc hits: 147

Blacks: AntConc hits: 35

Black+Blacks total hits: 182

Black:

Rank: 99

Frequency: 137

Blacks:

Rank: 465

Frequency: 32

White: AntConc hits: 118

Whites: AntConc hits: 17

White + Whites total hits: 135

White:

Rank: 176

Frequency: 78

Whites:

Rank: 921

Frequency: 17

Table: 50AntConc hits of Adjectives/Nouns Black and White

Adjective/Noun	AntConc Hits	Frequency	Rank in the text
Black	147	137	99
Blacks	35	32	465
Black+Blacks	182		
White	118	78	176
Whites	17	17	921
White+Whites	135		

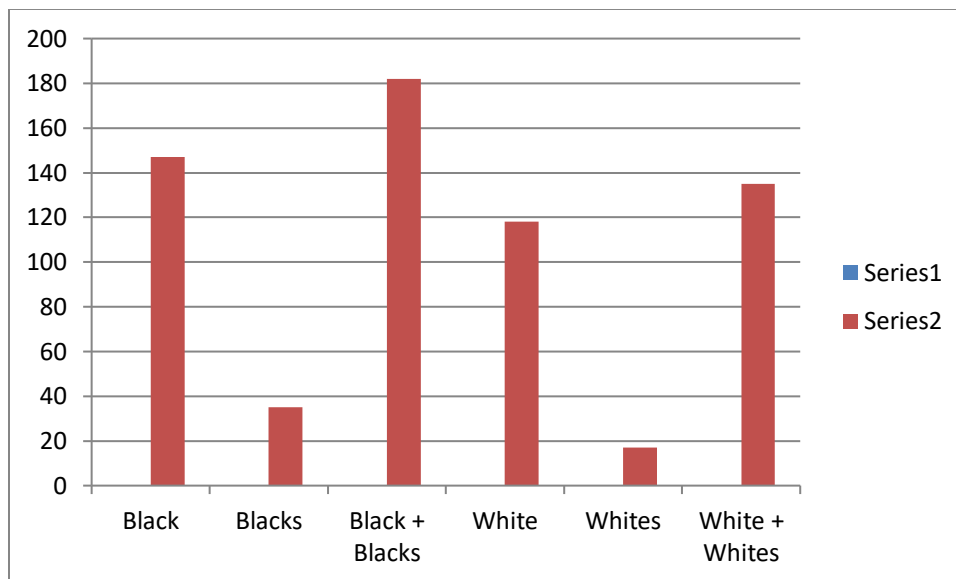


Figure: 28 AntConc hits of black, blacks, white and whites in the text of The Audacity of Hope

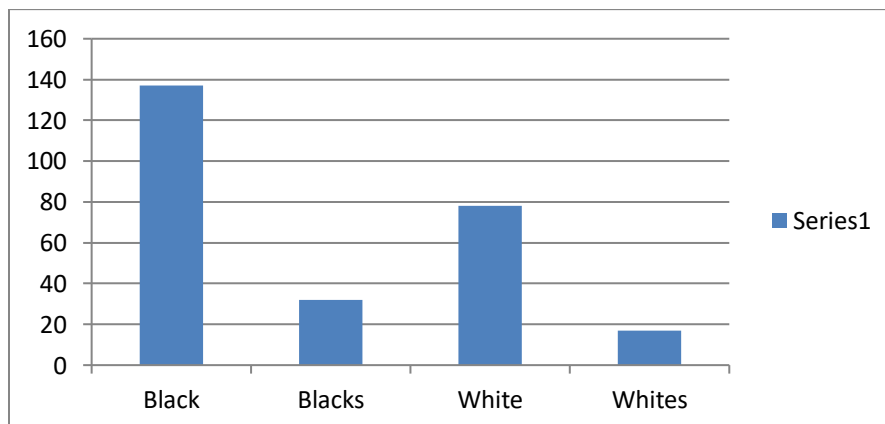


Figure: 29 Frequencies of black, blacks, white and whites in the

text of *The Audacity of Hope*

Politicians use language creativity in order to encode their desired messages and agenda, and establish their identity as a competent leader. Creativity is not an easy concept to define but some scholars like Negus and Pickering (2004) and Pennycook (2007) consider creativity as the cultural phenomenon. They are of the view that creativity is an activity in which a person combines aspects of knowledge and tradition thereby creates novel forms and different and manipulated meanings. According to Carter (2004) there are two categories of this creativity. One is “pattern forming” which is the skillful use of those linguistic resources which already exist. These resources are used in such a way that produce particular effects. Examples of pattern forming are repetition, alliteration and parallelism. On the other hand we have “pattern reforming”. Hyperbole, metaphor and punning, including their distorted forms, are some of the examples of the pattern reforming. Alvarez-Caccamo and Prego-Vasquez (2003) calls the informal style and resources such as metaphor and dialectal speech, in political conversation and themes as the “political cross-discourse”. Politicians or political actors not only use different creative techniques to decorate their oral and written language but they also want to bring others to their point and persuade the people along with establishing a specific political identity in their speeches and written works. They also employ these linguistic devices for attracting the attention of the common masses and for their desired opinion making. In this way they show themselves more competent than others. Linguistic devices are a part of the creativity on the part of the person who uses language for specific desire’s achievement. For politicians, the use of linguistic devices becomes necessity to achieve the desired effect in their discourse. In the West there is great influence of the classical studies on the discourse of the present day politics or in other words the politics and political discourse of the postmodern era. This influence comes through the education system. Today we see this influence not only in politics but also in the educational, cultural discourse and this penetration of the ancient rhetorical influence affect the language and specially the discourse of the politicians. Today, we see the use of hyperbole, metaphors, parallelism, idioms, proverbs, punning, humor, neologism, assonance, rhyme, alliteration and repetition in the discourse of the postmodern politicians for getting the attention of the listeners or audience. Metaphor is the most commonly used device by the politicians for their political persuasion. Politicians try to show their political strength by showing their skills in their



Birth

Politics

President

Active political life: 1990's till date (2016)

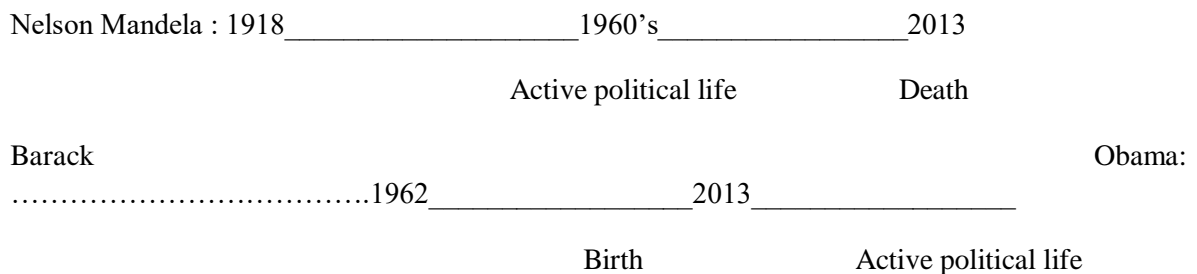
Linguistic divide

English- Single language use

No other major languages of the context like Spanish, French, Chinese etc. used

Context: Context affected themes comparatively more than the linguistic devices

Historical placement and connection of Nelson Mandela and Barack Obama:



When we put the two texts in historical context we find influence of history and respective specific period on the style, language and themes of both the texts. The purpose of the two autobiographies also affects their linguistic styles. We find drama, thrill, and action words in the *Long Walk to Freedom* while in *The Audacity of Hope* the descriptive-pictorial style which acts as linguistic device predominates.

The historical as well as geographical contexts and co-contexts of both the texts are different in many respects. In case of *Long Walk to Freedom* its author Nelson Mandela the situation was quite different from that of the situation in North America or more specifically in the United States of America, a context for *Audacity of Hope*, when the actions of both the autobiographies took place. This historical context definitely affects the themes of both the texts. The following table shows the themes in the *Long Walk to Freedom*.

Table 51 Themes in *Long Walk to Freedom*

Agencies	Education	Human rights	Literature	Political action	Security	Weaponry
Arrests	Employment	Humiliations	Love	Political actors	Separation	World powers
Books	Equality	Identity	Media	Political cognition	Sports	
Bureaucracy	Evolution	Ideologies	Moderation	Political parties	Status	
Co-curricular activities	Family	Indignities	Morality	Political process	Struggle	
Common people	Financial matters	Inequality	Non-violence	Political relations	Sympathy	
Communication	Food	Institutions	Organizations	Political rights	Systems	
Conflicts	Freedom	International politics	Peace	Politics	Terrorism	
Corruption	Friendship	Job opportunities	People's behavior	Poverty	Time	
Country	Goodness	Justice	Police	Power	Tolerance	
Crime	Government officials	Language	Personal life	Race	Traditions	
Culture	Health	Law	Personal traits	Reading	Tribe	
Customs	History	Leader	Police	Religion	Unemployment	
Discrimination	Housing	Literary People	Policies	Revolution	Wars	
				Secularism	Violence	

On the other hand themes in *Audacity of Hope* are shown in the following table:

Table: 52 Themes in *The Audacity of Hope*

Age factor	Diseases	Housing	Media	Political process	Sympathy
Agencies	Economy	Human rights	Media technology	Political relations	Systems
Bureaucracy	Education	Identity	Morality	Political rights	Technology
Business	Empathy	Ideologies	National interests	Politics	Terrorism
Capital/City	Employment	Inequality	Organizations	Poverty	Tolerance
Common people	Equality	Immigration	Peace	Power	Trade
Communication	Environment	International politics	People's behavior	Race	Travel
	Evolution	Institutions	Personal life	Reading	Unemployment
Constitution	Family	Job opportunities	Personal traits	Religion	Values
	Financial matters	Justice	Policies	Science	Wars
Country	Food	Law	Political action	Secularism	Weaponry
Crime	Friendship	Leader	Political actors	Security	World powers

Culture	Government officials	Literary People	Political cognition	Status	
Discrimination	Health	Love	Political parties	Struggle	

In South Africa the history was being told through the books of foreign people which claimed that South Africa came into being when Jan Van Riebeeck came to the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 A.D. which according to the black people was not the reality. At the time of the birth of the author of *Long Walk to Freedom* in 1918 South Africa was under the complete control of the white man who came from Europe. Blacks, who were in majority, had very limited rights whatsoever. With the passage of time many discriminatory laws were passed and made parts of the constriction of South Africa. One such collection of racist laws was the laws of apartheid or 'separate development' for blacks and whites. These laws were considered tools of suppression by the black majority of the country. Nelson Mandela explains apartheid in *Long Walk to Freedom* in these words:

Malan's platform was known as apartheid. Apartheid was a new term but an old idea. It literally means apartness and it represented the codification in one oppressive system of all the laws and regulations that had kept Africans in an inferior position to whites for centuries. What had been more or less de facto was to become relentlessly de jure. The often haphazard segregation of the past three hundred years was to be consolidated into a monolithic system that was diabolical in its detail, inescapable in its reach, and overwhelming in its power. The premise of apartheid was that whites were superior to Africans, Coloreds, and Indians, and the function of it was to entrench white supremacy forever. As the Nationalists put it, Die wit man moetaltyd baas wees (The white man must always remain boss). Their platform rested on the term baasskap, literally boss-ship, a freighted word that stood for white supremacy in all its harshness.

The policy was supported by the Dutch Reform Church, which furnished apartheid with its religious underpinnings by suggesting that Afrikaners were God's chosen people and that blacks were a subservient species. In the Afrikaner's worldview, apartheid and the church went hand in hand. (p. 99)

## CHAPTER 5

### FINDINGS AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

#### 5.1 Overview

The study has attempted to analyze themes and linguistic devices in political autobiographies, one by South African black freedom-fighter Nelson Mandela and the other by Barrack Hussein Obama, the first black president of the United States of America.

The introductory chapter, Chapter 1 discussed the language as a unique tool of the human species and its importance in the life of human beings on the earth. The chapter further highlighted the difference between language and discourse and explained that discourse is a specialized way of speaking or writing. Political discourse was also the main focus of this chapter. Chapter 1 further explained the theory and method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Significance of the study, focus of the work and scope are other aspects of this research which were discussed in detail in the first chapter. The two personalities whose autobiographies are the units of analysis in this research work, that is, Nelson Mandela and Barrack Hussein Obama and their autobiographies, *Long Walk to Freedom* and *Audacity of Hope* respectively have been introduced in this chapter. The chapter concludes with the scope and timeline of the study.

The second chapter is titled as Literature Review. First of all the chapter traces back the origin and development of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and discusses its theories and methods along with the scholars who are involved in its development. It further discusses the difference between Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis. The chapter also describes and explains the origin and development of the Political Discourse Analysis (PDA). Theories and methods used in the interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary field of CDA have been discussed to notice its eclectic nature. The chapter also traces back the origin and development of the term political and provides definitions of this term to clarify its meaning for this research work. The origin and development of the genre of autobiography is also the focus of this chapter. This chapter discusses in detail the history and development of this very genre and also reviews the research literature related to the studies done on the genre so far. The discussion provides



us the gap and justification for this study. The survey of the research work produced so far in Pakistani universities necessitates research on autobiographies and the related genres. In addition, theme, its definitions and detailed survey of the relevant literature relevant on autobiographies and other literary works further gives direction to this work. The chapter is concluded with the discussion of the need for research to add new knowledge to the treasures of research through world research tradition for the benefit of humanity.

Chapter 3 of this study presents the theoretical framework and research methodology which this research work follows. At the very outset the chapter gives an introduction to the function and purpose of this chapter. Then theoretical framework is defined and its importance for a research work is explained. The explanation of qualitative and quantitative research or methods of content analysis are also part of this chapter. The chapter also gives a detail of the sampling method for this work, defining and explaining sampling, random sampling and purposive sampling. The chapter discusses research tool, the physical and manual work done while collecting data from the primary sources. Clustering the separated topics into the themes or categories described by van Dijk is explained in this chapter. Van Dijk's Political Discourse Analysis and its categories have been described and explained in this chapter. The use and description of the concordance AntConc also form part of this chapter. The chapter ends with the Analysis and description of the data.

The Chapter 4 is captioned as Data Collection and Analysis. Here the collected data is presented in tabulated form. In the tables given in this chapter data is presented systematically. This pattern has been followed for both the units of analysis, that is, *Long Walk to Freedom* by Nelson Mandela and *Audacity of Hope* by Barrack Hussein Obama. The clustered data is presented systematically. The graphic and systematic presentation gives us the frequency of the topics under a theme or category occurring in the source text, that is, units of analysis.

Findings and concluding discussion for further research are presented in the Chapter 5. Here, first of all, the research work done is summarized. This is done to show what steps have been followed in what order to facilitate the quick reading of the whole procedure of this research work. Then findings of this research work are presented and

conclusions from these findings are drawn. The above discussion summarily presented the whole research study. Next are discussed the findings of this research work.

## 5.2 Findings

The selected texts were approached from Van Dijk's (1995) point of view as mentioned in his Political Discourse Analysis theory. For finding linguistic devices Huckin's (1997) approach was followed. Following Huckin's approach the researcher framed both the texts and looked for possibly all sorts of diagrams, sketches and photographs and other attempts which the writer uses to involve his/her reader. The titles of the selected units of analysis, the chapter headings, the headings of parts and sub-parts were also given special attention for fore-grounding and backgrounding. This study has opened new ways for the researchers in the field of linguistics by finding out new aspects of the genre of autobiography as far as the language, historical and geographical contexts are concerned. Separation along with other common themes as found in this study make this work a frontliner for further elaboration and expansion in this regard. The unique use of foreign language terms and words as linguistic devices, mostly in case of *Long Walk to Freedom* and rarely in *Audacity of Hope* gives the research tradition new direction to make new discoveries in the autobiographical literature with special focus on themes, linguistic devices, history and geography with the use of innovative methods as the researcher has not only used traditional research methods and tools but also his own methods and modification of some theory based methods and tools.

The major finding in this research work is that the political actor utilized the foreign words as a political tool and especially as linguistic devices not only in the practical political life but also in the autobiography very effectively. The following table shows that these foreign words were used by the author in the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* to manipulate the meaning for his benefit:

Table 53 Imperative and general Afrikaans Words/phrases in *Long Walk to Freedom*

Afrikaans	Meanings
Laatdaardiekruuiwa loop!	Let that wheelbarrow move!
Word wakker! Staan op!	Wake up! Get up!
Val in! Val in! •	Fall in! Fall in!
katkop that is, a cat's head, after the shape of the bread)	a cat's head, after the shape of the bread
Stilte in die gang! •	Quiet in the passage!
Gaanaan! Gaanaan! •	Go on! Go on! (they would shout, as if we were oxen)
Nee, man! Komaan! Komaan! •	No, man! Come on! Come on!
Klagtes en Versoeke! Klagtes en Versoeke! •	Complaints and Requests! Complaints and Requests!
(No ANC or PAC here!) Verstaan? •	Understand?
Mandela, Jmoetjovingeruitjou gat trek •	You must pull your finger out of your arse
Jou ma se moer	Your mother is a moer, moer is a vulgar term for an intimate part of a woman's anatomy
Smaaklik •	tasty
Ag, Mandela, ( added,your wife is only seeking publicity)	Ag, a word of hate and exasperation (further, he uttered something so offensive and uncomplimentary about my wife that I immediately lost my temper)

Table 54 Afrikaans Words/phrases and negative representation of the blacks in *Long Walk to Freedom*

Afrikaans	Meaning
Swart gevaar	The black danger
Die kaffer op syplek	The nigger in his place
Die koeliesuit die land coolies	The coolies out of the country (coolies being the Afrikaner's derogatory term for Indians)
Apartheid	Apartness
Die wit man moet altyd baas wees •	The white man must always remain boss
baasskap	boss-ship, word that stood for white supremacy
Eievolk, eietaal, eie land	Our own people, our own language, our own land
Kaffer, jysalkakvandag! •	Kaffir, you will shit today!
WragtigonshernKommunisgevang! •	My word, we've caught a Communist!
Baas	the Afrikaans word for boss or master
HOOGVERRAAD	HIGH TREASON
verkramp	hard-line
Die Eiland	The island
Robben	Dutch word for seal
Dis die Eiland! Hiergaan julle vrek! •	This is the island. Here you will die
Hier is ek jou baas? •	Here I am your boss!
Ek verstaanniedaardiekafferboetie se taalnie •	I don't understand that kaffir-lover's language
Haas! . . . Haas? •	The word haas means move in Afrikaans, but it is customarily reserved for cattle
Haas! Haas!.... Haas! Haas!	Shows frequent use of the word
Trek uit! Trek uit! •	Undress! Undress!
Nee, man. Komaan! Gaanaan!	No, man. Come on. Go on
Jou groot pens sal in die plek verdwyn •	That great stomach of yours is going to disappear here in prison. Pens means stomach, but is used to refer to the stomach of animals like sheep or cattle. The word for the stomach of a human being is maag

In comparison African words are used to show the other extreme, that is, positive: Representation of the African people, especially the blacks. Look at the following table:

Table: 55 African Words/phrases representing positive image of the blacks in *Long Walk to Freedom*

African Language/Xhosa	Meaning
Rolihlahla	In Xhosa, Rolihlahla literally means pulling the branch of a tree, but its colloquial meaning more accurately would be troublemaker
Mealies	Maize-people in the West call corn
umphothulo	mealie flour eaten with sour milk
umngqusho	samp, sometimes plain or mixed with beans
Ndize	hide-and-peek
Icekwa	touch-and-run
Khetha	choose-the-one-you-like
kraal	House/property
Qamata	the god of Nelson Mandela's father and forefathers
iingxande	rectangular houses
rondavels	superior huts
Bayete a-a-a, Jongintaba !	Hail, Jongintaba!
Jongintaba	One who looks at the mountain
Uqinisufokotho, Kwedini! •	Brace yourself, my boy!
Uxande	middle house
Ndiyindoda! •	I am a man!
Dalibunga	Founder of the Bunga, • the traditional ruling body of the Transkei
Amakhankatha	guardian
Ikhankatha	attendant
MayibuyeAfrika! •	Let Africa come back!
NkosiSikeleliAfrika •	God Bless Africa ( African national anthem)
MayibuyeAfrika! •	Shows frequent/repeated calls
Asihambi	We are not moving!
Sophiatownlikhaya lam asihambi •	Sophiatown is my home; we are not moving
Afrika! &Mayibuye!	Shows frequent/repeated calls (calls & answers)
Lobola	Bride's price

Table: 56 African struggle-words in *Long Walk to Freedom*

African Language/Xhosa	Meaning
Ngutyana	one of Winnie's clan names
Qhipu! • •	I strike! •
Mkonyanisi •	an affectionate term for son-in-law in Xhosa
Amandla! •	Freedom (repeated)
Zaziwe	Hope
Amandla! • Ngawethu! •	Freedom !Ours !
iAfrika! • Mayibuye!	Africa ! Let come back !

This situation divided South African society in many respects, especially the clear divide of 'we' vs 'them' and the specific use of nouns and pronouns. The word enemy has been used 44 times in the text of *Long Walk to Freedom*. Use of the pronoun 'WE' is also influenced by the historical context. In the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* the pronoun 'WE' is used in exclusive way or in other words we see the 'exclusive we' whenever Mandela uses this pronoun. By exclusive use we mean that whenever Mandela uses 'WE' he means 'we fellow Africans' and excludes whites, whom he considers enemies, from this circle of we. We have this example of exclusivity among many others in the text but this one gives us history behind language use:

It was at Mqhekezweni that I developed my interest in African history. Until then I had heard only of Xhosa heroes, but at the Great Place I learned of other African heroes like Sekhukhune, king of the Bapedi, and the Basotho king, Moshoeshoe, and Dingane, king of the Zulus, and others such as Bambatha, Hintsu and Makana, Montshiwa and Kgama. I learned of these men from the chiefs and headmen who came to the Great Place to settle disputes and try cases. Though not lawyers, these men presented cases and then adjudicated them. Some days, they would finish early and sit around telling stories. I hovered silently and listened. They spoke in an idiom that Iâ€™d never heard before. Their speech was formal and lofty, their manner slow and unhurried, and the traditional clicks of our language were long and dramatic. (p. 28)

In the same way whites also uses 'WE' in exclusive manner. In this way for each group the other group is 'THEM', that is, out of their circle. The historical context in case of *Long walk to freedom* also leads to local semantics and the use of group languages. We see the specific use of Afrikaans and African languages for specific effects in the text of Nelson Mandela's autobiography. Other linguistic devices like metaphors, similes and

direct speech, as we have seen, are also used to convey specific meaning in the specific context.

The following data from the text support the above discussion:

The themes this study explored in both the texts show the influence of the historical context. Ten most frequent themes in both the texts reveal the influence of respective history in the each text. This influence is obvious from the following tables:

Table: 57 Ten most frequent themes in *Long Walk to Freedom*

S. No.	Theme	Frequency in the text
1.	Political Parties	1099
2.	Race	1015
3.	Family	765
4.	Political Action	647
5.	Common People	600
6.	Institutions	549
7.	Time	439
8.	Freedom	415
9.	Law	301
10.	Personal Life	260

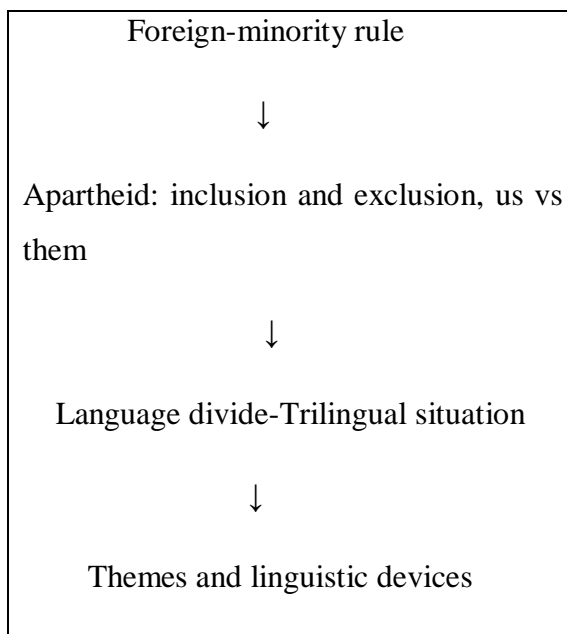
Table: 58 Ten most frequent themes in *The Audacity of Hope*

S. No.	Theme	Frequency in the text
1.	Family	476
2.	Race	411
3.	Institutions	387
4.	Education	255

5.	Age	251
6.	Religion	246
7.	Time	231
8.	Politics	217
9.	Common People	215
10.	Financial Matters	211

In the *Long Walk to Freedom* as we frame the whole text in a certain period show the struggle between the dominant and the dominated. The themes of Inequality, race, poverty, denial of universal and democratic rights dominate. The policy of separation is expressed in the words of the oppressor and intentionally not translated is an effective linguistic device which gives the impression of unjust domination of the native people by foreign forces. The term 'apartheid' has been made a living word which shows its very nature of discrimination by the manipulation of the text around it.

Look at the framing of the whole text of *Long Walk to Freedom* in the following diagram:

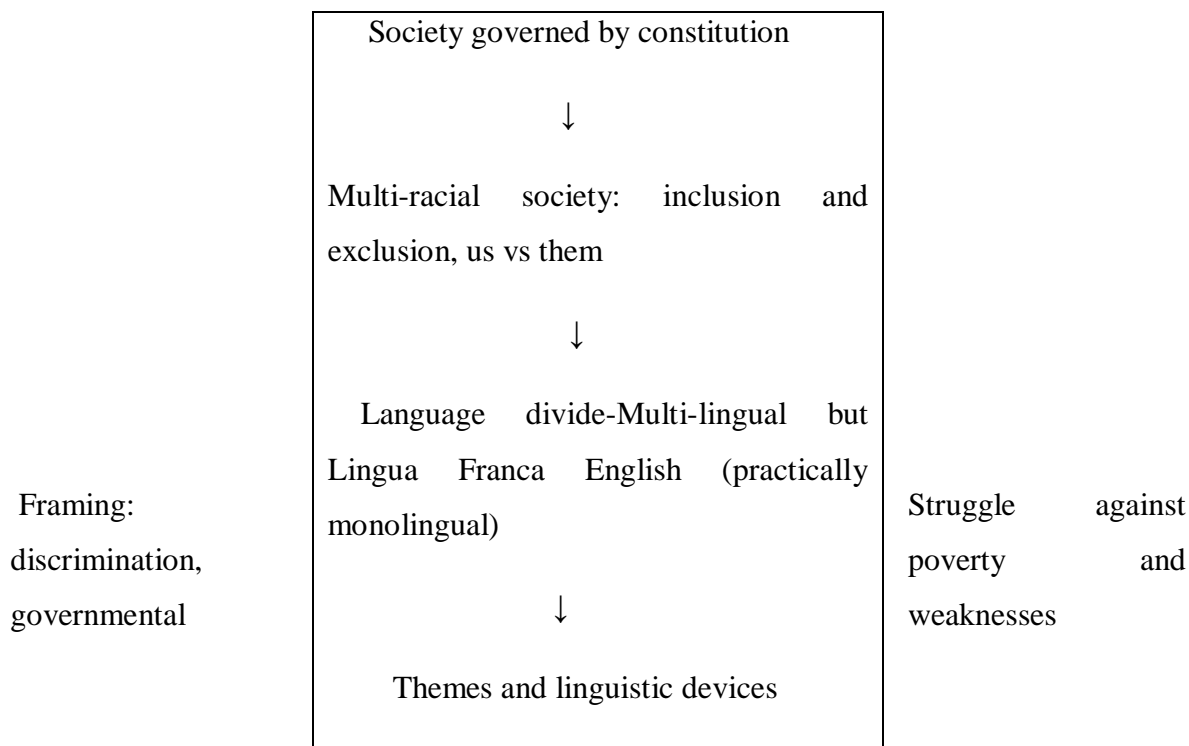




Framing: Struggle against apartheid and foreign-minority rule

1945 - 1990

We can also frame the whole text of *The Audacity of Hope* in the following diagram:



The above frames show that there is a difference and overlap of historical-context in both the texts. This difference and overlap influence the themes and linguistic devices in these texts. In *Long Walk to Freedom* the themes of freedom struggle, human rights, law, education, racial discrimination, inequality, imprisonment, government officials' behavior, poverty and family are predominant while in *The Audacity of Hope* along with the themes of discrimination, poverty, education, law, family are more prominent.

Topics and themes:

The topics in both the texts have been separated by reading every line of the original texts so that no topic remains unseen or unrecorded. These topics are given in the following lines. The themes thus discovered have been given in the tabulated form which follows the topics in this chapter.

*Long Walk to Freedom* is a memoir/autobiography by a freedom fighter who spent twenty-seven years and five months in prison for his political beliefs. Before his sixtieth birthday his colleagues in the prison suggested to him to write his memoirs, however the first draft was not published and the present volume is based on that first draft. He says:

From there, the trail grows cold. I heard nothing from Lusaka about the manuscript and still do not know precisely what Oliver did with it. Although it was not published while I was in prison, it forms the spine of this memoir. (p.420)

The basic purpose of that first draft of memoirs had to be to present to people and young freedom fighters their entire struggle for freedom and the purpose of their struggle against the apartheid regime. He writes in the book:

One day, Kathy, Walter, and myself were talking in the courtyard when they suggested that I ought to write my memoirs. Kathy noted that the perfect time for such a book to be published would be on my sixtieth birthday. Walter said that such a story, if told truly and fairly, would serve to remind people of what we had fought and were still fighting for. He added that it could become a source of inspiration for young freedom fighters. The idea appealed to me, and during a subsequent discussion, I agreed to go ahead. (p. 416)

The above extract from the main text tells us that intention was to write memoirs in the shape of a story in order to inspire young freedom fighters. Simply, we can put this in the following way:

Memoirs→Story→Inspiration

That is:           Genre: Memoirs/autobiography

                          Structure: Story

                          Purpose: Inspiration

About writing the memoirs and the selection of words and phrases Mandela writes:

I wrote rapidly, completing a draft in four months. I did not hesitate over choosing a word or phrase. I covered the period from my birth through the Rivonia Trial, and ended with some notes about Robben Island. (pp. 16-17)

Again, Mandela tells us about his experience and internal feelings while writing his autobiography:

I relived my experiences as I wrote about them. Those nights, as I wrote in silence, I could once again experience the sights and sounds of my youth in Qunu and Mqhekezweni; the excitement and fear of coming to Johannesburg; the tempests of the Youth League; the endless delays of the Treason Trial; the drama of Rivonia. It was like a waking dream and I attempted to transfer it to paper as simply and truthfully as I could. (p. 417)

*Long Walk to Freedom* is a blend of personal life which includes the purely domestic life, romantic life of the author, his initial adventures, professional life, political journey, description of nature and history. Summarily, this long story or his-story can be presented as follows:

Birth and parentage→Death of father→Life at Grand Place→Clarkebury, Healdtown and Fort Hare→Flight to Johannesburg→Initial difficulties and accommodation→Legal studies and practice→Marriage, marriage break-up and romance with Winnie Mandela→Political connections→Full political involvement→Creation of Umkhonto We Sizwe→Rivonia trial and life imprisonment→Robben Island→Release and Democratic, non-racial South Africa→First black president

The story of the freedom struggle has been narrated in a way that shows influences of his readings, especially of the novels he read during his imprisonment on the Robben Island. About his leisure readings, especially novels, he writes:

But the suspension of study privileges had an unintended benefit, and that was that I began to read books that I would not otherwise have read. Instead of poring over tomes about contract law, I was now absorbed by novels. (p.431)

About selection of books and novels he further says:

I did not have an unlimited library to choose from on Robben Island. We had access to many unremembered mysteries and detective novels and all the works of Daphne du Maurier, but little more. Political books were off-limits. Any book about socialism or communism was definitely out. A request for a book with the word red in the title, even if it was Little Red Riding Hood, would be rejected by the censors. War of the Worlds by H.

G. Wells, though it is a work of science fiction, would be turned down because the word war appeared in its title. (p. 431)

Nelson Mandela adds:

From the first, I tried to read books about South Africa or by South African writers. I read all the unbanned novels of Nadine Gordimer and learned a great deal about the white liberal sensibility. I read many American novels, and recall especially John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, in which I found many similarities between the plight of the migrant workers in that novel and our own laborers and farmworkers.

Nelson Mandela specially mentions the novel 'War and Peace' by Tolstoy:

One book that I returned to many times was Tolstoy's great work, *War and Peace*. (Although the word war was in the title, this book was permitted.) I was particularly taken with the portrait of General Kutuzov, whom everyone at the Russian court underestimated. Kutuzov defeated Napoleon precisely because he was not swayed by the ephemeral and superficial values of the court, and made his decisions on a visceral understanding of his men and his people. It reminded me once again that to truly lead one's people one must also truly know them. (p. 431)

Nelson Mandela also talks about movies and the researcher also see the influence of these movies on the language and action of the autobiography- *Long Walk to Freedom*. He says:

In keeping with the increased openness on the island, we now had our own cinema. Almost every week, we watched films on a sheet in a large room adjacent to our corridor. Later, we had a proper screen. The films were a wonderful diversion, a vivid escape from the bleakness of prison life. (p.439)

About his first movie in prison he says:

The first films we saw were silent, black-and-white Hollywood action movies and westerns that were even before my time. I recall one of the first ones was *The Mark of Zorro*, with the swashbuckling Douglas Fairbanks, a movie that was made in 1920. The authorities seemed to have a weakness for historical films, particularly ones with a stern moral message. Among the early films we saw now in color, with dialogue were *The Ten*

Commandments with Charlton Heston as Moses, *The King and I*, with Yul Brynner, and *Cleopatra*, with Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor. (p.439)

Mandela further shares his experience with the movies which he watched in the prison in these words:

We were intrigued by *The King and I*, for to us it depicted the clash between the values of East and West, and seemed to suggest that the West had much to learn from the East. *Cleopatra* proved controversial; many of my comrades took exception to the fact that the queen of Egypt was depicted by a raven-haired, violet-eyed American actress, however beautiful. The detractors asserted that the movie was an example of Western propaganda that sought to erase the fact that Cleopatra was an African woman. I related how on my trip to Egypt I saw a splendid sculpture of a young, ebony-skinned Cleopatra.

Mandela also mentions a documentary that affected him. He says:

I was particularly affected by a documentary we saw about the great naval battles of World War II, which showed newsreel footage of the sinking of the H.M.S. *Prince of Wales* by the Japanese. What moved me most was a brief image of Winston Churchill weeping after he heard the news of the loss of the British vessel. The image stayed in my memory a long time, and demonstrated to me that there are times when a leader can show sorrow in public, and that it will not diminish him in the eyes of his people.

Mandela also mentions American documentary *Hell's Angels* about a group of young people. He says:

One of the documentaries we watched concerned a controversial American motorcycle group, the Hell's Angels. The film depicted the Hell's Angels as reckless, violent, and antisocial, and the police as decent, upstanding, and trustworthy.

The above background is necessary to this work in order to understand the style, structure, the storyline and the linguistic devices the writer uses to carry the reader along and present the intended themes in an effective manner.

*Long Walk to Freedom* is also a blend of narration, description and dialogues. It exhibits the influence of the style of a novel with a protagonist, Nelson Mandela and the antagonist, the racist South African government. The central female character is Winnie Mandela. It has story and plot, story being the narration of events and plot is the narration

of events with time sequence and cause and effect relationship between the events. According to E. M. Forster's book *Aspects of Novel* (1927) there are two types of characters, the ever developing characters that he calls round characters and the static characters which he labels as flat characters. By the definition of E. M. Forster Nelson Mandela is the round and rapidly developing character. The thrilling characteristics of this book show the influence of the movies watched by Nelson Mandela. Like bildungsroman, a novel about the moral and psychological growth of the main character (Merriam-Webster, 2014), *Long Walk to Freedom* depicts the character of the main character, Nelson Mandela and the related events which revolve around the main character. The themes and linguistic devices used to convey these themes mostly come through the main character.

The study found themes and linguistic devices at a large scale and systematically presented in tabulated forms. After a scrutiny of the discovered entities the selection was narrowed down based on the higher frequencies of the entities in the given units of analysis.

1. Themes described by Van Dijk's theory of political discourse are found to be present in the political autobiographies selected for this study. After clustering topics in *Long Walk to freedom* and *Audacity of Hope*, 104 topics and themes have been found. These are presented in alphabetical order:

Table 59 Themes in *Long Walk to Freedom* and *The Audacity of Hope*

Order	Emerging topics and themes through clustering
A	Age factor, Agencies, Arrests
B	Books, Bureaucracy, Business
C	Capital, City, Co-curricular activities, Common people, Communication, Conflicts, Constitution, Corruption, Country, Crime, Culture, Customs
D	Discrimination, Diseases
E	Economy, Education, Empathy, Employment, Equality, Environment, Evolution
F	Family, Financial matters, Food, Freedom, Friendship
G	Goodness, Government officials
H	Health, History, Housing, Human rights, Humiliations
I	Identity, Ideologies, Indignities, Inequality, Immigration, Institutions, International politics
J	Job opportunities, Justice
L	Language, Law, Leader, Literary people, Literature, Love

M	Media, Media technology, Moderation, Morality
N	National interests, Non-violence
O	Organizations
P	Peace, People's behavior, Police, Personal life, Personal traits, Police, Policies, Political action, Political actors, Political cognition, Political parties, Political process, Political relations, Political rights, Politics, Poverty, Power
R	Race, Reading, Religion, Revolution
S	Science, Secularism, Security Separation, Sports, Status, Struggle, Sympathy, Systems
T	Technology, Terrorism, Time, Tolerance, Trade, Traditions, Tribe, Travel
U	Unemployment
V	Values, Violence
W	Wars, Weaponry, World powers

2. Dominant Linguistic devices used to convey these themes are given below:

Table 60Linguistic devices in *Long Walk to Freedom* and *The Audacity of Hope*

S. No.	Major Linguistic Devices
1	Abusive Language, Afrikaans Language, Imperatives, African/Xhosa/Native Language
2	Backgrounding, Foregrounding, Deletion, Presupposition
3	Cluster of Three, Listing, Comparison
4	Dialogue/Dramatic Language
5	Nouns/Racial Nouns/Adjectives
6	Numerical Data, Statistics, Description of Statistics
7	Metaphor, Simile, Personification

3. The unique and effective use of the year-statistics in both the autobiographies makes the whole story and its flow easy to understand as shown graphically above.

New and unique finding in this study is the special-effect use of statistics and other new devices in both the texts given in the following table:

Table 62 Unique linguistic devices in *Long Walk to Freedom* and *The Audacity of Hope*

S. No.	Unique Linguistic Device
1.	Use of cardinal numbers/cardinals
2.	Structural manipulation/structures
3.	Use of anno-statistics
4.	Use of numerical manipulation/numeric
5.	Verbal description of statistics with hyperbolic effect/statisto-hyperbole
6.	Use of foreign/ 'language of the enemy'/ lingua inimicus
7.	Pronominal inclusivity
8.	Pronominal exclusivity
9.	Racial nouns/ noma radix
10.	Imperatives

4. In *Long Walk to Freedom* the author makes effective use of the language of the minority regime, that is, Afrikaans, to manipulate the discourse towards the positive image of the author and his party and negative image of the protagonists.

5. The use of the African language makes the message of the author easy to understand.

6. The Trilingual combination in *Long Walk to Freedom* differentiates it from *The Audacity of Hope* in the historical context.

7. Both the discourses make use of the dramatic language and listing or cluster of three to stress certain themes.

8. The themes of racial discrimination, inequality, poverty, political parties, law, justice, separation and history are common in both the autobiographies.

9. The use of the term 'Apartheid' instead of translated word 'apartness' or 'separation' in *Long Walk to Freedom* and the term 'Nigger' instead of translated word 'black' in *The*



*Audacity of Hope* give the feelings of foreign element and history in their respective context.

Here we discuss presence of hegemonistic ideas in political discourse in terms of critical discourse analysis with a special focus on intertextuality and assumptions. The data is collected from two political autobiographies. The theoretical base and background for this discussion is provided by Fairclough's intertextuality and assumptions as explained in his work '*Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research* (2003)'.

According to Van Dijk (1998) critical discourse analysis is a kind of research that basically look at the mechanisms through which the misuse of power, dominance and the ideas of inequality are mixed and opposed in the human society and political discourses. Text and talk are used for these purposes. For this purpose critical discourse analysis tries to understand these abuses, dominance and inequality clearly. In the given units of analysis we find many instances of abuses, dominance and inequality.

Gramsci (1971) explains the term hegemony in his own way. According to him power does not only and always depend on force, rather it is a matter of consent. In Gramsci's concept of hegemony ideology plays a vital role. The common sensical presentation of certain ideas are peculiar aspects of dominance and hegemony.

In simple terms intertextuality may be defined as the presence of the existence of other texts within a certain text under consideration. According to Fairclough (2003) intertextuality is 'the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text\_\_\_ quotation.' He also says that intertextuality is the 'relations between one text and other texts which are external to it, yet in some way brought into it.' This presence of other entities in the text represent voices or ideas other than the author's himself. Reported speech is considered as the most commonly used form of intertextuality. Existing of different genres in a discourse is also a form of intertextuality. The cases of Malala Yousafzai and Rymond Davis give us examples of intertextuality in the media and common discourse. In both these cases we hear different people representing different strata and sections of the society discussing the matter in their own way. We see intertextuality in their discourses. Intertextuality is also the combination of different genres and discourses. Intertextuality opens up differences in text.

As far assumptions are concerned they are also very important to be considered while analyzing a discourse for hegemony. Text always make assumptions. Assumptions are somewhat similar to intertextuality but there is a difference between the two although the difference is very vague and not very clear. We can say that in a discourse something is said very clearly and other things are taken as said, they assumed to be said. Assumptions are reduced opinions, to put it very simply.

According to Fairclough (2003) assumption is the implicit or implied meaning in the text. Other similar terms are also used in pragmatics and semantics like presupposition, entailment and implicature. He gives three types of assumptions. These are existential, propositional and value assumptions. These types suggest what exists, what the case is and what is desirable or undesirable respectively.

Here we see the use of different social constructs in developing and expressing hegemonic ideas through political discourse. Using the autobiographic material to see the use of intertextuality and assumptions used for the hegemonic ideas and in this way contributing to world research tradition. We also face sub-questions while we study the selected autobiographies. These are:

How are the hegemonic ideas interwoven in political discourse?

How are intertextuality and assumptions used to convey hegemonic ideas in political discourse?

In politics and political discourses all over the world in general and in the third world in particular the hegemonistic ideas are interwoven in one way or another. These expressions of hegemonistic ideas take the help of different ideas and constructs in various shapes. In world politics the same hegemonistic ideas are expressed at various levels, especially in the speeches of the elite political leadership. The problem in the third world as well as in the developed world is that the ideas, that is, the hegemonistic ideas expressed in the speeches of political leaders influence people in their own interest but the tools used to express these ideas are not visible to the common man. This study tries to make these ways visible by considering some of them along with intertextuality and assumptions. This discussion is important because it brings out in clear terms how the hegemonic ideas are interwoven in world political discourse. Many people do not understand the intricate use of

language and specific words and phrases which are intentionally used in the speeches of the political figures. Majority of the people who are not concerned with the intricacies of the language and have not enough knowledge to understand the twisted use of the language and the use of different constructs will be benefitted by this research study.

The Italian by birth Antonio Gramsci was a Marxist thinker. He was not only a thinker but also a politician, linguist. He discusses the concept of hegemony. His concept is different from the dictionary definition as mentioned above. His concept of hegemony does not only and solely depend on the force and coercion. In his concept of hegemony ideology plays a vital role in maintaining and expanding the hegemonic ideas. When the ideology becomes invisible and take the shape of common sense it becomes very effective because in this way people accept the hegemonic ideas through consent.

Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin (1934) is also a prominent name in philosophy and literary criticism. He was a Russian philosopher and critic and his theory of dialogism is very important when we critically analyze discourse. Dialogism, polyphony, heteroglossia and open interpretation are four important theories of Bakhtin. Bakhtin gives central role to the word or utterance in his theory. According to him a word or utterance has the qualities of addressivity and answerability. The terms “addressivity” and “answerability” have special importance in the theories of Bakhtin. It means that every word or utterance is addressed to someone and it at the same time it requires answer. For Bakhtin discourse is a chain or series of utterances and it is dialogic in nature.

Another name in the field of Critical Discourse analysis is Norman Fairclough. Here, in this part our main stress is on the ideas of intertextuality and assumptions as discussed by Norman Fairclough (2003) in *Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. According to Fairclough intertextuality gets different voices together in the same text. In this way intertextuality opens up the differences. As far as the assumptions are concerned they narrow down the differences by offering common platform. The five scenarios of openness, conflict, resolution, bracketing and consensus are also to be kept in mind while discussing the intertextuality and assumptions.

Van Dijk (1993) is also an influential personality in the field of critical discourse analysis, especially his contribution in the media studies is worth mentioning here. Dijk especially stresses the aspects the abuse of power, the problem of injustice and the matters

of inequality. Van Dijk also discusses the relationship between ideology and discourse. In media discourses the Different ideologies and hegemonistic ideas are presented in different ways, sometimes visibly and sometimes invisibly.

For the study of the orders of discourse and the interdiscursive relations we refer to Foucault (1998). The institutional and societal orders of discourse are very important in this regard. So, all the discursive practices in the institutions and society are covered under the Foucaultian tradition of discourse analysis.

The above works done by the great scholars, as mentioned above, are of great importance in the field of critical discourse analysis and have great impact on the studies and research done in this discipline all over the world. But we have to keep one thing in mind that these studies and researches are directed towards the respective society of the concerned scholar or researcher. So, we find almost no or little relevance of these studies for our society and indigenous culture. In other words we find gaps for further studies and research especially relevant to our society and political culture.

The base for this discussion is provided by the works of Antonio Gramsci (1971), Norman Fairclough (2003) and Van Dijk (1998). We will rely on Gramsci for the definition of hegemony. Van Dijk's ideas will be utilized for the discussion of media studies, especially discourse, power and ideology. The main focus is on the intertextuality and assumptions as utilized for the production of hegemonistic ideas in the discourse. Intertextuality is the presence of the actual elements of other texts in the given text or the text under study. The intertextual relations are achieved by the use of direct speech or indirect speech. It is not necessary that there should be explicit use of the direct speech. Sometimes the same effect is achieved through the indirect use of intertextuality techniques or devices. The use of assumptions is also very effective in achieving the intertextual relations. If the intertextuality plays a role in the opening up the differences in the text, the assumptions are used to reduce these differences. In simple words assumptions are the reduced opinions. All the scenarios as presented by Fairclough will be searched and their use will be analyzed in the selected discourse and on the basis of all the above analysis results will be deduced and further suggestions will be given for further research in this field. The text selected for this very study is from world political scenario, the very current situation in the world political culture and the discourses as we see and hear in our

parliament and outside the parliament. An effort in the selection has been made that these texts represent the current scenario in the political discourse in the world.

For this purpose the autobiographies of the present world leaders have been selected. This will help us compare the appearance of the text in two different cultures. These autobiographies have been selected because they represent not only the current scenario of the present political situation and discourse but also show the row between the black leader and the government. The basic reason behind this selection is the current socio-political and socio-economic situation in the world. The situation on the national and international levels have made the people think and talk seriously about the day to day happenings in the world. In the day to day transaction of business of real life this interaction is more explicit.

### **5.3 Concluding Discussion**

Although the struggles of Nelson Mandela and Barrack Obama brought a lot of changes to their respective societies but still everything could not be corrected immediately. That is why the democratic governments of these leaders were criticized by some critics. Pilger (2013) writes about the post-1994 era:

With democratic elections in 1994, racial apartheid was ended, and economic apartheid had a new face. During the 1980s, the Botha regime had offered black businessmen generous loans, allowing them to set up companies outside the Bantustans. A new black bourgeoisie emerged quickly, along with a rampant cronyism. ANC chieftains moved into mansions in "golf and country estates." As disparities between white and black narrowed, they widened between black and black.

Here again we can see that both Mandela and Obama have been criticized by same author:

Ironically, Mandela seemed to change in retirement, alerting the world to the post 9/11 dangers of George W. Bush and Tony Blair. His description of Blair as "Bush's foreign minister" was mischievously timed; Thabo Mbeki, his successor, was about to arrive in London to meet Blair. I wonder what he would make of the recent "pilgrimage" to his cell on Robben Island by Barack Obama, the unrelenting jailer of Guantanamo.

Here we have agent of change-response to Pilger:

I can't understand what would prompt John Pilger to write this unfriendly and unfair article on Madiba's legacy when the old man is lying in hospital in critical condition.

While I like much of Pilger's material, here he falls into typical western-white-radical-liberal judgmental mode, criticizing liberation struggles and post-liberation states for the fact that there's no magic wand they can wave to suddenly eliminate poverty and injustice. It reminds me of something Fidel said: "For 40 years you try to strangle us, and then you criticize us for the way we breathe!"

Post-apartheid South Africa has not exactly faced an easy time. Centuries of underdevelopment and institutionalized white supremacy; the aftermath of the apartheid state's endless fostering of division, violence, fear, self-hatred and ignorance; the sudden disappearance of the liberation movement's major state-level backers (the Soviet Union and East Germany in particular); the all-too-real threat of civil war from a combination of Afrikaner and Inkatha right-wing forces; the all-too-real threat of foreign intervention to go with such a civil war; the clear possibility of total economic collapse; the threat of economic sabotage by the big corporations; the scourge of AIDS across the whole of sub-saharan Africa; the global rise of neoliberalism in the wake of the Soviet collapse. All of that and you want to negate the historic defeat of apartheid just because the ANC didn't want to scare off foreign investors?! Total pie-in-the-sky analysis, of the same variety that says Gaddafi 'sold out' because he tried to do some deals with imperialism in order to protect his country. Doesn't the much-more-fashionable Venezuela also deal with the devil, selling its oil to the enemy? Doesn't Nicaragua? Of course they do, and they are right to do so. Challenging chronic underdevelopment, raising living standards and contributing to the creation of a more just world - these projects are not going to be furthered without extremely subtle and complex strategy, and a large dose of tactical compromise.

There are many other opinions according to which criticism of Mandela is unjust. One among them is Tupy (2010). In reaction to Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's accusations against her former husband she writes:

Whether true or not, the controversy deserves scrutiny. After all, few have enjoyed Nelson Mandela's saintly reputation while still alive. Of course, no one should be above criticism.

Those who lived in South Africa in the 1990s remember Mandela as a man of peace who strove for reconciliation between the races. But this same Mandela also refused to stop and to condemn atrocities committed in the name of the African National Congress (ANC) against other black organizations — the Inkatha Freedom Party in particular.

She further says:

A more serious problem is that Winnie, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, appears to be challenging the 1994 constitutional settlement that allowed for a peaceful transfer of power from the minority to the majority in exchange for strong property rights enforced by a relatively independent judiciary. Like all negotiated settlements, the South African one was full of compromises that made a lot of people uneasy. But, in the absence of a highly unlikely military victory of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, over the white regime, compromise was the only game in town. It is that security of property rights — however imperfectly arrived at — that allows the South African economy to enjoy investment and growth.

Criticism on Obama:

On July 27, 2004 then Illinois state senator and U.S. Senate candidate, Barack Obama, delivered the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention. That speech, "The Audacity of Hope," propelled the unknown Obama to rock star status in the Democratic Party. The speech's title had been borrowed from a 1990 sermon from Obama's pastor, Jeremiah Wright.

In that speech Obama stated, "The audacity of hope! That is God's greatest gift to us, the bedrock of this nation; the belief in things not seen; the belief that there are better days ahead."

Obama was elected to the U.S. Senate in 2004 and in October of 2006 he released his second book, "The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream." It quickly rose to the top of the New York Times bestseller list. The book embellished the themes of his keynote address and laid the foundation for what would become his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008 against the presumptive nominee, Sen. Hillary Clinton. And then Obama surprised everyone, especially Clinton. Her Achilles heel turned out to be her vote in favor of the Iraq war. Obama won the nomination and the

general election. The time had come for him to turn the promise of the audacity of hope into reality.

### 5.3.1 Codification of *Audacity of Hope* and *Long Walk to Freedom*

Before going towards the researcher deems it relevant and important for the prospective researchers to know how codification for this study was carried out how they can go ahead with other innovative methods. Complete data can be found in the appendices. Here only a sample is presented.

#### *Audacity of Hope*

##### Prologue

Table 63 of text of *The Audacity of Hope*

Page No.	Words/Phrases/Sentences/Paragraph	CODES
01	Political office, age 35, law school, marriage, impatient with life, seat opened in Illinois legislature, civil rights lawyer, community organizer, consultation with wife, talked to everyone, visits to block club meeting, church socials, beauty shops, barbershops, campaign literature to standing guys in the corner	Politics, law, personal life, campaign
01	Two questions: funny name? & seem nice, then why going into something dirty & nasty?	Personal facts, politics-negative opinion of people
01/02 1	Familiar questions, Chicago low-income neighborhoods, cynicism with politics & public life, in South Side neighborhoods- generation of broken promises	Politics, public life, low-income, cynicism, broken promises
01/02 2	Smile & nod, understood skepticism, other tradition to politics, country's founding days & civil rights movement, stake in one another, binding force greater than driving apart force, if people believed in truth of this proposition-we might not solve every problem but can do something meaningful	Patience, alternate tradition to politics, binding force, driving apart force, truth of proposition, solution of all problem, something meaningful
02	Convincing speech, People impressed-not sure, appreciation for earnestness & youthful swagger, election to legislature	Speech, people, earnestness, election
02	6 years later for U.S. senate- not sure	Senate, election
02 1	Choice of career, 2 terms in minority, Democrats' control of senate, passed bills, death penalty system, health program for kids,	Career, minority, majority, death penalty, kids' health
02 2	Teaching at university law college-enjoyed, frequently, invited to speak around town, preserved independence, good name & marriage, the 3 at risk as set foot in the state capital	Teaching, speeches, independence, good name, marriage, risks in state capital/state Politics
02/03 1	Years took their toll, function of getting old, age- to acquaint you to your flaws, blind spots, recurring habits of thought-genetic or environmental, worsen with time- hitch in walk, pain in hip	Getting older, flaws, habits of thought, genetic or environmental, flaws & time



02/03 2	Chronic restlessness, inability to appreciate, blessings in front of you, endemic in modern life, too in American character, very evident in the field of politics, politics-encourages trait or attracts those possess this-unclear	Chronic restlessness, inability to appreciate, blessings, endemic flaw, modern & American life, restlessness & politics, politics encourages or attracts- unclear
02/03 3	Every man: to live up to his father's expectation or make up for father's mistakes-that explains my malady & anything else	Father's expectations or mistakes
03 1	Consequent of restlessness: challenged sitting Democratic incumbent, ill-considered race, lost badly, life not obliged to work out as you'd planned	Restlessness, election, loss, poor planning, <u>life's own mechanism</u>
03 2	One & half year later, loss sufficiently healed, lunch with media consultant, run for statewide office, late September 2001	Time, loss healed, media, statewide election
03	Political dynamics changed, Newspaper, Osama bi Laden	Political dynamics, print media, current issue (time context)
03	Hell of a thing, bad luck, can't change name, shrugged apologetically	Bad luck, historical coincidence, apology
03/04 1	I suspected he was right, that realization ate out at me, envy of seeing younger politicians succeed where I had failed	Coincidence, tension, success & failure
03/04 2	The pleasures of politics- adrenaline of debate, animal warmth of shaking hands and plunging into a crowd, began to pale against meaner jobs- begging for money, the long drives home after the banquet had run two hours longer, bad food, stale air, clipped conversations with a wife, stuck by me but fed up with raising children alone & question my priorities	Pleasures of politics, meaner jobs, family/personal life
03/04 3	Legislative work, policy making: began to feel too incremental, removed from larger battles- over taxes, security, health care & jobs, national stage, doubt about path chosen, dream not happen & moving to more sensible pursuits, refusing the truth & ending up bitter, quarrelsome & slightly pathetic	Policy making, taxes, security, health, jobs, doubt, sensible pursuits, refusing truth-bitter, quarrelsome, pathetic
04 1	DENIAL, ANGER, bargaining, despair	Stages of politics
04 2	Not through all stages prescribed by experts... my limits... reforms & initiatives... time at home... daughters, wife,... long-term financial obligations.... exercise & reading.... earth rotation & seasons... without exertions on my part	Stages of politics, reforms & initiatives, family life, physical fitness, reading, finance, natural phenomena, one's role
04/05	...this acceptance...running for the United States Senate...up-or-out strategy... settled into a calmer, more stable, and better-paying existence...she more out of pity than conviction- agreed to this last race... orderly life she preferred... count on her vote	Election, last attempt, non-political stable life, belief
05	The Republican incumbent... 19 million... to unseat the previous senator... wasn't widely popular... didn't really seem to enjoy politics... unlimited money... genuine integrity... grudging respect from the voters	Election, money, popularity, politics, integrity, respect of voters
05	For a time... I'd had in the first place	Government, election, money, black vote

05/06	I didn't care. Freed from worry... press conferences...peeled green shamrock stickers off the lampposts	Low expectations, preparation for election, donations, no media response, unimportant place
06	Mostly, though, I just traveled...train tracks and silos... not efficient process...machinery of Democratic Party... real mailing list or Internet operation... rely on friends and acquaintances... arrange for my visit to their church, union hall, bridge group, or Rotary Club...sometimes...two or three people... assure the hosts that the turnout was fine and compliment them on refreshments...church service...forget to recognize me... head of union local would let me speak to his members just before announcing that the union had decided to endorse someone else	Travelling, not efficient way, Party machinery, connections, mail, Internet, church service, club, local union
06/07	But whether...two people or fifty... to keep my mouth shut and hear what they say...jobs, their business...things they remembered from their childhood...loss of manufacturing jobs... health care...heard on Rush Limbaugh or NPR...most of them too busy with their work or their kids to pay much attention to politics...plant closed, a promotion... a child first step	Patience, personal problems-jobs, children, health, bills, promotions, little attention to politics
07	No blinding insights...modest people's hopes...constant across race, region, religion, and class...bankruptcy ... genuinely good education...college even if their parents weren't rich... safe , from criminals... clean air, clean water, and time with their kids... to retire with some dignity and respect	People's modest hopes, not to file for bankruptcy, education, safety, clean air, water, time with family, retirement
07	That was about it...how they did in life depended mostly on their own efforts... didn't expect government to solve all their problems...didn't like seeing their tax dollars wasted... that government should help	Self-help, not all solution by government, utilization of taxes, government's help
07	...they were right...slight change in priorities...every child had decent shot at life and meet the challenges we faced as a nation...nod inagreement...asked how they could get involved... I knew once again just why I'd gone into politics	People's opinion right, children's education & challenges as nation, people's desire for involvement into politics
07	I felt like working harder than I'd ever worked in my life	Hard work
08	THIS BOOK GROWS directly out of conversations on the campaign trail...fundamental decency of the American people...set of ideals...collective conscience...common set of values...thread of hope...democracy work...expression not just in marble slabs of monuments or recitation of history books...in hearts and minds... and can inspire us to pride, duty, and sacrifice	Involvement with people, decency, ideals, values, hearts & minds of people, pride, duty, sacrifice
08	I recognize the risks of talking this way...globalization... common values might seem hopelessly naïve... to gloss over serious differences... who feel ill served by our current institutional arrangements	Globalization, technological change, cutthroat politics, culture wars, no shared language, no tools, admen, pollsters, speechwriters, pundits, cynical aims, power, expedience, greed, intolerance, strayed from myths, differences, policy &

		performance, muffling the complaints, institutional arrangements
08/09	My argument , however, is that we have no choice...weary of the dead zone that politics has become...new kind of politics , one that can excavate and build upon those shared understandings that pull us together as Americans	Choice, politics, interests, ideological minorities, absolute truth, honesty, rigor, commonsense, policy debates, false & cramped choices, Religion, secularism, black, white , brown, change course, weaker & fractured, new politics, shared understandings, pull together
09	That's the topic of this book... policy challenges...no unifying theory... ten-point plans	Changing politics & civic life, unifying theory, manifesto, charts, graphs, timetables, plans
09	Instead what I offer is something more modest... values and ideals that have led me to public life...political discourse...as a senator and a lawyer, husband and father, Christian and skeptic... ground our politics in the notion of a common good	Values, ideals, political discourse, unnecessary division, politics, common good
09/10	Let me be more specific about how the book is organized...political history...bitter partisanship...common values...political consensus...constitution not just as a source of individual rights but also as a means of organizing a democratic conversation around our collective future...institutional forces- money, media, interest groups, and the legislative process- that stifle even the best intentioned politicians...beyond our division... concrete problems...economic insecurity of many American families, the racial and religious tensions within the body politic, and the transnational threats-from terrorism to pandemic-that gather beyond our shore	Political history, partisanship, values, political consensus, constitution, rights, democratic conversation, collective future, institutional forces, money, media, interest groups, legislation, stifling forces, economic problems of families, race, religion, transnational threats- terrorism, pandemic beyond shore
10	I suspect that some readers may find my presentation of these issues to be insufficiently balanced...Democrat...editorial pages of New York Times than those of the Wall Street Journal...angry about politics that favor the wealthy and powerful over average Americans... opportunity to all... believe in evolution, scientific inquiry and global warming...free speech... politically correct or politically incorrect...to impose religious beliefs...prisoner of my own biography...through the lens of a black man of mixed heritage...who looked like me were subjugated and stigmatized, and the subtle and not so subtle ways that race and class continue to shape our lives	Insufficient balance, media group ideas, anger, political prejudice & bias, universal opportunities, evolution, scientific inquiry, environment, freedom of speech, religious freedom, race, mixed heritage, subjugation & <u>stigmatization</u> , race & class- molding/shaping forces
10/11	But that is not all that I am... my party can be smug, detached, and detached at times... free market, competition, and entrepreneurship... government programs don't work as advertised...fewer lawyers and more engineers... America has more often been force for good than for ill in the	Detachment, free market, competition, entrepreneurship, government programs, lawyers, more engineers, force for

	world...few illusions about our enemies, and revere the courage and competence of our military... reject a politics that is based solely on racial identity, gender, identity, sexual orientation, or victimhood generally...ails the inner city...breakdown in culture that will not be cured by money alone... values and spiritual life matter at least as much as our GDP	good,enemies, army, rejection of politics of prejudice, race, gender, identity, sexual orientation, breakdown in culture in inner city, money not the only cure, values & spiritual life as important as GDP
11	Undoubtedly, some of these views will get me in trouble...new enough on national political scene...bound to disappoint some...indicates a second , more intimate theme to this book-namely, how I, or anybody in public office, can avoid the pitfalls of fame, the hunger to please, the fear of loss, and thereby retain the kernel of truth, that singular voice within each of us that reminds us of our deepest commitments	Views, trouble, national politics, disappointment for some people, fame, hunger to please, fear of loss, inner kernel of truth, deepest commitments
11	Recently, one of the reporters covering Capitol Hill stopped me...she had enjoyed reading my first book..." if you can be that interesting in the next one you write"... I wonder if you can be honest now that you are a U.S. senator	Media person, parliament building, interesting book, doubt about honesty on becoming senator
11	I wonder, too, sometimes. I hope writing this book helps me answer the question	<u>Personal wonder/doubt</u> , book to answer the question

## Chapter One

### Title: Republicans and Democrats

Table 64of text of *The Audacity of Hope*

Page No.	Words/Phrases/Sentences/Paragraph	CODES
13	ON MOST DAYS, I enter the Capitol...from the Hart Building... flags and seals of fifty states...the train creaks to a halt...bustling staffers, maintenance crews, and the occasional tour groups, to the bank of old elevators...swarm of press...hello to the Capitol Police...stately set of double doors, onto the floor of the U.S. Senate	Parliament house, flags, communication, staff, media, police/security, grandeur, senate/parliament
13	The Senate chamber...American eagle...the busts of the nation's first twenty vice presidents sit in solemn repose	Senate/parliament building, national <u>emblem</u> , vice president/politician
13/14	And in gentle steps... date back to 1819...names of senators who once used it...scratched or penned in the senator's own hand... I can imagine Paul Douglas and Hubert Humphrey...civil rights legislation...gathering votes...defends the Union against the forces of secession	Senate building/parliament house structure, civil rights, legislation, votes, federation, secession
14	Except for the few minutes that it takes to vote...just how to position himself on the issue  (Write parliamentarian also where politician is written)	Vote, politicians, senate/parliament, decisions, bills, amendments, cooperation, senators/politicians, majority, leader, committee, chairman, staff, controversy,

		Republican/party, Democrats/politicians/party, senate floor/parliament, staff, senators/politicians, consultation, leader, lobby, interest group, constituent mail, ideology, position, issue
14/15	It makes for an efficient process...repeating the ritual... world's greatest deliberative body, no one is listening	Politicians, constituents/voters, phone calls/response, donations/money, media, interview, senator/politician/parliamentarian, bill, speech, national issue, speaker/parliamentarian, debate, poverty alleviation, obstructionism, judicial appointments, energy independence, speaker/parliamentarian, speech, chamber/parliament, presiding officer, media, debates/speeches' record, senator/politicians/parliamentarians, deliberation, parliament house, listening
15	I REMEMBER January 4, 2005... photographs, and autographs	Senate/parliament/parliamentarians, parliament, family, friends, senate/parliament, politicians/parliamentarians, oath taking, senate/parliament, family, vice president/parliamentarian, family, media, <u>judiciary</u> (suitable to mention here?), parliament's library, supporters, <u>meeting with people/socializing</u>
15/16	A day of smiles and thanks, of decorum and pageantry- that's how it must have seemed to the Capitol's visitors... Washington was on its best behavior that day... continuity of our democracy...certain static in the air... After the family and friends went home... receptions ended...the sun slid behind winter's gray shroud... That country was divided... more divided politically...before World War II	Meeting with people/socializing, parliament house, Capital, democracy, family, friends, nature, political division, war
16	Both the presidential election and various statistical measures appeared to bear out conventional wisdom...the culprits to blame for the deficit	Election, <u>surveys</u> , conventional wisdom, issues, difference of opinion, world politics/war, taxes, abortion, weapons, religion, marriage, immigration, trade, education, policy, environment, rules/regulations/laws, government, judiciary, severe difference of opinion/opposition, environment, budget deficit, blame-game
16	For me, none of these was entirely surprising...and the	Capital, politics, world politics,

	New York Times best-seller list	<u>political nominations</u> , election, revolution, investigation, government shutdown, impeachment, <u>dangling chads (see)</u> , election, public/people/voters, campaign, politics, industry of insult, media
16/17	And after eight years in Illinois legislature... game had come to be played... Springfield in 1977...of the U.S. House of representative...Democratic Caucus...meted out by the GOP...accusing them of malfeasance, corruption, incompetence, and moral turpitude	Legislature/legislation, parliament, politics, parliament, party, majority, rules, speaker/parliamentarian, parliament, amendment, party, tax, party, services, party/politicians, parliamentarians, party, party, party, parliamentarians, party relations, compromise, food & refreshment, old parliamentarians, political operatives/politics, malfeasance, corruption, incompetence, moral turpitude
17/18	I don't claim to be passive bystander in all this... politics as a full-contact sport...ironclad Democratic district...Republican invective... I had clung to the notion that politics could be different, and that the voters wanted something different...but the country's policies would change for the better	Politics, full-contact sport, party's criticism, legislation, commonality, politics, voters, false interpretation, verbal attacks, solution to problems, issues, true interpretation, people's instinct for fair play & commonsense, politics & policies
18	It was that mind-set...U.S. Senate race...that I had proven my point	Mind-set, election, campaign, express true thoughts, election, election, majority/margins, proven point
18	There was....Democratic National Convention...Republicans were scared of him	Campaign, Political observers, politicians/candidates, media/negative media campaign, money, positive campaign, negative, personal life, media, party, opponent, negative campaign, personal life, travel, party convention, unfiltered & uninterrupted media time, party, opponent, residence, fierce criticism, party
18	Later, some reporters....fifty states... my victory proved nothing	Media, politician, states, staff, hard work, message, luck, inner circle politicians/leaders, victory not important
19	No wonder then upon my arrival in Washington...what typical Senate campaign had come to look like	Capital, extra-player/new politician, interviews, photo shoots/media, ideas, partisanship, party, defeat, presidency, parliament/seats/election, politicians, campaign
19	They told me about their fallen leader...of aiding and	Defeat, money, negative campaign,

	abetting Osama bi Laden	ads/media, print & electronic (tv) media, personal life attacked,patriotism, terrorism/international issue
19	And then there was the small matter of the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth... a weak-kneed appeaser	Media & campaign
19/20	No doubt there were Republicans...an irrefutable mandate	Politicians, negative campaign, print media, election, party, government, opponents/opposition, elections, war/international issue, advocacy groups, media, presidency, campaign,election, mandate
20	But whatever conditions...of the United States	Political conditions, election, president, political capital, conservative activist/politician, public office, decorum, party,parliamentarian, parliament, election, politicians, voters, irregularities/ <u>rigging</u> , parliamentarians, votes, election, president
20/21	I would get my first big batch of phone calls...to win an election	Negative reaction of voters & politicians, race, convention, speeches, decency,speech, election
21	In other words...just sentiment	Election/victory & defeat, politics, sentiment
21/22	MY WIFE WILL tell you....is not such a bad deal	Wife/family, not worked up,politicians, media, politicians, politics, political system, political events/acts/actions, dinner parties, doing politics, political environment, negative campaign/personal attacks, Nelson Mandela & other great personalities in prison, <u>name-calling not bad deal</u> ,
22	Still, I am not immune to distress... has gone seriously awry	Distress, democracy
22	It's not simply that a gap exists...closer alignment	Gap, ideals & reality, war, law, systems, reformations, unions, protests, promise & practice
22	No, what's troubling...big problem	Gap, challenges, politics, Petty & trivial issues, avoidance of tough decisions, inability to build consensus, big issues
22	We know that global competition...will be put to good use	International competition/dealings, equality, mobility/progress, education, teaching/teachers, math & science, inner-city, illiteracy, public/government school system, status quo, money & its utility in education

22/23	We know that our health-care system is broken...an eye-popping bill for taxpayers	Health, expenditure, efficiency, economy, employment, employees insecurity & destitution, ideology & politics, drug bill, public & private, price, bureaucracy, taxpayers
23	We know that the battle against international terrorism...belligerence or isolationism	Terrorism, ideologies, security, military power, cooperation, international relations, poverty, failed states, national interests, charity, foreign policy debates, war, isolation
23	We think of faith as a source of comfort...and drives us further apart	Faith, division, tolerance, race, religion, culture, tension, conflicts, politics, negative role of politics
23	Privately, those of us in government...cannot govern	Government, gap, politics, politicians, political situation, politicians, winner-take-all elections, control, branches of government, compromise, victory & loss unrealistic pledges, tax, services, privatization, social security, benefits, war & sacrifice, governing/government
24	And yet publicly it's difficult to find much soul-searching or introspection on either side of the divide...to beat the other side into submission	Divide, campaign, print media, bookstands, blogs/internet, criticism & blame, conservatism, liberalism, Tom DeLay, Nancy Pelosi, big oil, lawyers, religious zealots, gay activists, TV & print media, party preference, right & left, conspiracy, America hijacked by cabal
24/25	Of course there is another story to be told...and endless chatters	People's business/affairs, job, jobless, business, kids, high bills, health insurance, pension, bankruptcy, future fear, contradictions & ambiguities, politics, politics business not mission, debate, chatters
25	A government that truly represents these Americans...bond that will not break	Different politics, lives, traditions, troubled past, country, wars, parties, tribal hatreds, common hope, common dreams, unbreakable bond
25	ONE OF THE first things...and government worked	Capital, Senate members/parliamentarians, parties'/members' cordial relations, old politicians/parliamentarians, politics, conservative & liberal commentators, civility, government
25	At a reception one evening...between then and now	Old parliamentarian, parliament house, old & new politics
25/26	"It's generational", he told me without hesitation...and get things done"	Generation, WWII, differences but commonality, trust & respect, differences but things done



26	As I listened to the old man reminisce...in the halls of power	Civil rights, power, women & minorities, halls of power
26	I realized too...postwar rubble	Governing/government, consensus, war, Cold War, Soviet threat, economy, Europe, Japan, war/postwar
26/27	Still, there's no denying that American politics in the post-World War II years was far less ideological...around such issues	Politics, war, ideology, party, parliament house, economy, New Deal, wages, benefits, public works, standard of living, party, live-and-let-live philosophy, race, inequality, social norms, sexuality, women's role, culture, political dispute
27	Throughout fifties and early sixties...an election rolled around	Party, philosophical fissures, libertarianism, paternalism, Republicanism, federal activism, conservatism, social experimentation, civil rights, regulation, tax, party, economy, party, free markets, fiscal restraint, business, anticommunism, election
27	It was the sixties...for the foreseeable future	Political alignment, civil rights, social structure, Civil Rights Act-1964, party
28	Then came the student protests...its elders might dictate	Protest, war, right & justified actions, new generation
28	And then, with the walls of status quo breached...a piece of the pie	Feminism, Latinos, hippies, Panthers, welfare moms, gays, rights, recognition, share/participation
28	It would take several years...House of Representatives	Movement, silent majority, philosophy & ideology, environment, job/occupational security, health, laws, civil rights, conservatism, party, parliament house
28	But the country's tectonic plates had shifted...rejection of authority	Political conditions, politics, morality, personal politics, interaction, race, gender, rejection of authority
28/29	Accordingly, liberalism and conservatism were now defined in the popular imagination less by class than by attitude...political home	Liberalism, conservatism, class, attitude, tradition, culture, counterculture, right, strike, corporate tax, sex, drugs, rock & roll, Latin Mass, region, race, votes/voters, new liberalism, violence, intellectuals, race, spitting on vets, family, faith, flag, neighborhood, white privilege, difficult times, assassination, burning, war/defeat, economy, gas lines, inflation, plant closing, international event, oil

		politics/economy, New Deal, political home
29	I'VE ALWAYS FELT a curious relationship to the sixties...standing up for the disadvantaged	Sixties/era/period, mixed heritage/marriage, social upheavals, changes, Hawaii & Indonesia/regions, information through mother, liberalism, civil rights movement, values: tolerance, equality, standing up for the disadvantaged
29/30	In many ways...Mahalia Jackson and Joan Baez	Limits, distance & sweet-natured romanticism, Black Power, SDS, space program, Peace Corps, Freedom Rides, Mahalia Jackson, Joan Baez
30	It was only as I got older...wisdom of the over-thirty crowd	Maternal grandparents/family,sixties, party, president, adolescence, politics, culture, change, Dionysian, book, film, music, Huey Newton,68 party convention, Stones at Altamont, revolution, style, attitude,rebllion, received wisdom of over-thirty crowd
30/31	Eventually, my reception of authority spilled into self-indulgence and self-destructiveness...superiority over those not so victimized	Rejection, authority, self-indulgence, self-destructiveness, challenge to convention, reexamination of assumptions, values of mother & grandparents, capitalism, American imperialism, constraints,freedom, monogamy, religion, moral superiority
31	All of which explain why...optimism, and faith	President, election, policy, poverty, military, game/sport, wife/family, <u>TV show</u> , individual & collective destinies, traditional virtues, hard work, patriotism, personal responsibility, optimism, faith
31/32	That Reagan's message found such a receptive audience...and the income for the average working stiff flatlined	President, voters/people, communication skill, liberal, government, economy, social class, voters, government, tax/money, bureaucracy, mandate, liberal speeches, rights, entitlement, duty, responsibility, welfare state, policy, economy, business, unions
32	Nevertheless, by promising to side with those who worked hard...politically correct elites	Hard work, obedience of law, cared for family, loved country/patriotism, common purpose, liberals, out-of-touch band, tax-and-spend, blame-America-first, politically correct elites
32	WHAT I FIND remarkable...and moral standing	Politics, president, narrative, 40-

		year remove/sixties, political discourse, conflicts of sixties, men & women, era, political disputes, individual choices, identity, moral standing
32	I suppose it also highlights the fact...and relations between the sexes did not go away	Issues, sixties, counter culture, consumerism, lifestyle, musical preferences, political commitments, race, war, poverty, relations between sexes
32	And maybe it just has to do with the sheer size of the Baby Boom generation...number of cup holders automakers in their cars	Baby Boom, demographic force, politics, market for related drugs, cup holders automakers in cars
32/33	Whatever the explanation...simplicity was a virtue	Party, liberals, conservatives, ideology, affirmative action, crime, welfare, abortion, school prayer, earlier battles, domestic, foreign, economy, policy, productivity, distributional justice, growing & slicing pie, tax, small or big government, environment, policy, natural resources, economy, development, drilling, strip-mining, bureaucracy, red tape, growth, politics, policy, simplicity, virtue
33	Sometimes I suspect...a recipe for governing	Politicians, president/leader, direction of politics, politicians, polarizing rhetoric, politics of resentment, voters, governing/government
33/34	But for a younger generation of conservative operatives...You had to choose sides	Generation, conservative operatives, politicians, campaign, tax, Christian nation/religion, conservative leadership, New Left's leaders in sixties, right wing, politics, policy, god & evil, Activists, parties, party, abortion, party, gun control, compromise-weakness, <b><u>You were with us or against us</u></b> , ( give reference of Musharraf's statement), to choose sides
34	It was Bill Clinton's singular contribution...in the new economy	President, ideology, conservative, liberal, party, problems/issues, campaign, party/politicians, <u>Sister Souljah</u> , election, presidency, health, education, training, working families, economy
34	Still, he instinctively understood the falseness...the majority of Americans	People, government spending & regulation, economic growth, markets, fiscal discipline, social justice, societal responsibility, personal responsibility, poverty,

		politics, Clinton's Third Way, pragmatic ideological attitude, majority
34/35	Indeed, by the end of the presidency, Clinton's policy...two Democratic senators from California, population 33, 871, 648	Presidency, policy, public/people's support, politics, party, election, economy, policies, government/governing, demography, politicians, population growth, party, region, party, parliament house/Senate, votes, parliamentarians/senators, votes, parliamentarians/senators, party, region, population
35	But that failure...party discipline	Politicians, conservative movement, corporate sponsors, donors, think tanks, media, technology, mobilization, power, House of Representative/parliament house, party, discipline
35/36	And the understood the threat Clinton posed...take over the United States government	President, conservative, majority, president, morality, policy, radical, <u>biography</u> , <u>draft letter saga</u> , <u>marijuana puffing</u> , <u>Ivy League intellectualism</u> , <u>professional wife</u> , <u>sex</u> , conservative, president, personal lapses, traits of sixties liberalism, conservative movement, president, term of presidency, movement, government
36	THIS TELLING OF the story is too neat...poisoned the atmosphere	Historical narrative, manufacturing, president, air traffic controllers, labor movement, majority, minority, congressional districts/party region, race, party, seats, president, parliamentarians, political debates, polarization in Congress/parliament house, money, TV/media negative ads/media negative campaign, polluting political atmosphere
36	Still, when I think...and still lose everything	Old Washington hand/ Old parliamentarian, old parliamentarians, politics, arrested development, issues not abstract & simple, war-hell but still right thing to do, economies' collapse, best-laidplans, <u>people could work hard all their lives and still lose everything</u>
36/37	For the generation of leaders who followed...that bring us together as Americans	Generation, leaders, comfort, experiences, attitude, politics, back-and-forth between Clinton and Gingrich/parliamentarians, elections,

		psychodrama, Baby Boom generation, old grudges, college campuses, victories, minorities, women, full citizenship, individual liberties, questioning authority, citizens' equal betterment, loss, shared assumptions, trust & fellow feeling
37	So where does that leave us...and not wishful thinking	Party, political leader, center-right leader, fiscal conservatism, bureaucracy, experimentation with market, social policy, leader, party/politicians, conservatives, parliament house, state capitals, traditional conservative virtues of temperance and restraint, debt, tax cuts, irresponsible behavior/policy, deficit, poor/poverty, religion & politics, conservation & conservatism not to conflict, foreign policy, facts not wishful thinking
37	But these Republicans...for the national defense	Party/politicians, debate, compassionate conservatism, president, campaign, ideology, party, absolutism, conservatism, absolutism of free-market, tax, regulation, safety net, government, private property, national defense
37/38	There's the religious absolutism of the Christian right... or the words of Thomas Jefferson	Religion, absolutism, religious right, difficult issue of abortion, religion/faith, fundamentalist brand, public policy, overriding alternative, liberal theologians, National Academy of Science/institution/science, Thomas Jefferson/old leadership
38	And there is the absolute belief in the authority of majority will...toward the New Jerusalem	Majority will, power, majority, institutional checks- the court, the constitution, the press/media, the Geneva Convention, the rules of the Senate/parliamentary restrictions or rules, traditions governing redistricting, <u>New Jerusalem</u>
38	Of course, there are those within the Democratic Party...for his or her sins	Party, power, party, politicians/parliamentarians, radical ideas, law, region, ethnicity, economy, party, electoral map, senate/parliament, money, elites, election, politicians, parliamentarians, liberal, parliamentarian, military superiority, parliamentarian, virtue

		of capitalism, <u>Congressional Black Caucus</u> , <u>Jesus Christ died for his/her sins</u> ,
38/39	Instead, we Democrats are just, well, confused...resembling a governing philosophy	Politicians/party, religion, <u>New Deal</u> , <u>Great Society program</u> , party encroachment/politics, liberal interest groups, global change/globalization, inner city, centrist approach, conservative leadership, parliamentarian/legislators, candidates, ideas, energy, education, health, homeland security, governing philosophy
39	Mainly, though, the Democratic Party has become the party of reaction...White House scandal	Party, reaction, war, military action, market problems & solution, market principles, religion, secularism, morality, election, court, party plans, lose court, White House scandal/scandal
39	And increasingly we feel the need...to take up the same approach	( <u>Us vs Them consider this</u> ), party, wisdom, advocacy groups, Democratic activists/party activists, party, vilifying campaign of other party, dividing electorate/voters, right wing, disciplining measures, party/politicians, power, same approach
39	I understand the frustration of the activists...that justify righteous indignation	Disappointment, activists/groups/party, party, victory, polarizing campaigns, conservative movement, Bush Administration/government, policy, <u>righteous indignation</u>
39/40	Ultimately, though, I believe... or embrace “socialized medicine”	Party/politicians, partisan & ideological strategy, exaggeration or demonization, loss, political debate, ideology, political debate, “either/or” thinking, big government or no government, health insurance, “ <u>socialized medicine</u> ”
40	It is such doctrinaire thinking...a cynical electorate is a self-centered electorate	<u>Doctrinaire thinking</u> , partisanship, politics, right wing, polarized electorate, tone of debate, <u>a cynical electorate is a self-centered electorate</u> ,
40	But for those of us who believe that government has a role to play...linked to the interests of others	Government’s role, opportunity, prosperity for all, polarized electorate, party, majority, broad majority, parties & independents, national renewal, self-interest & others’ interest

40/41	I'm under no illusion...to lift large numbers of our fellow citizens out of poverty	Majority, problems, tough choices, sacrifice, political leaders, ideas, energy policy, deficit, foreign policy, globalization, terrorism, isolationism, civil liberties, mandate, health, broad political support, strategies, poverty
41	I made this same argument in a letter...as one blogger later put it – simply an “idiot”	Left, letter, blog Daily Kos/media, advocacy groups, activists, parliamentarians, judiciary, politicians/party, blogs/electronic media, people's postings/comments, politics, party, elites, connection with people, severe comments of some people
41	May be the critics are right...for winning is all that matters	Critics/criticism, political divide, trivialization of politics, politics- a diversion, sport, differences (us & them), winning all important/doing anything is right
41/42	But I don't think so...to support the children that they did bring into the world (BLACK AND WHITE CONFLICT)	People/ordinary citizens, politics & culture/political & cultural battles, solution, race & region, friendship between races, discrimination, Black Panther/black business man, drug dealers, bankers/financing/discrimination, feminism, abortion, working class's financial problems for supporting their children
41	I imagine they are waiting for a politics with maturity to balance idealism and realism...and those that are fleeting	Politics & maturity, idealism, realism, compromise, right & left, conservative & liberal, dogma & common sense, responsibility & irresponsibility, things that last & that are fleeting
41	They are out there, waiting for Republicans and Democrats to catch up with them	Parties/politicians

## Chapter Two

### Title: Values

Table 65 of text of *The Audacity of Hope*

43	THE FIRST TIME I saw the White House was in 1984...New York congressional delegation	Presidency, education/college, community organizer, president, educational financial aid, student leaders, (black, Puerto Rican, Eastern
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		European)race, petitions, legislators/parliamentarians
43/44	It was a brief trip...that they remained subject to laws and our collective consent	Presidency, security, confidence in democracy
44	Twenty years later...what had been lost	Tight security, loss
44	The inside of the White House...in the Lincoln Bedroom?	Presidency/president house-well-kept old, worn out house, house & history, Gettysburg address, sports, TV, film, radio
44/45	I was greeted immediately by a member of the White House legislative staff and led into Gold Room...and a picture with him and First Lady	Parliamentarians, president, vigor, picture, First Lady
45	I happened to be starving at that moment...around sports and the kids	Legislators/parliamentarians, food, president, discipline, election, Little League, grilling, good company, sports, kids
45/46	There had been a moment during the breakfast meeting...a system to keep the power in check	Meeting, president, parliamentarians, food, agenda, campaign, Iraq/war, Patriot Act, Social Security, tax, vote, judiciary, President's changed gestures, party, parliamentarians, power & isolation, founders' wisdom, power in check
46	"Senator?" I looked up, shaken out of my memory...the President himself appeared in the doorway and waved me in	Parliamentarian, black men/race, waiting staff, food, Blue Room, politeness, president
46	"Obama!" the President said, shaking my hand..." Not at all, Mr. President."	Wife/family, TV/media, election, family, impressive lady, hand sanitizer, advice
46/47	He nodded... " We both had to debate Alan Keyes. That guy's a piece of work, isn't he?"	President's advice, lot of attention, not to slip
47	I laughed...more than a little uneasy	Stories from campaign, unconscious habit/arm over others' shoulder, made others uneasy
47	SINCE MY ARRIVAL in the Senate... the rest of the Middle East has dispelled these views	Parliament, criticism, president, government, policies, tax, fiscal irresponsibility, morality, health, energy policy, competitiveness, campaign, speech, war, rally, weapon of mass destruction/war, invasion of Iraq/war, cost/expenditure, Iraq or Middle East/international affairs
47	So Democratic audience are often surprised...what they think is best for the country	Party voters, opponents not bad, best thoughts for the country/consider best for the country
47/48	I say this not because I am seduced by the proximity to power...a price that they themselves almost never have to pay	Proximity to power, presidency, politics & courtesy, opposition/criticism, family loss in war/Iraq, letter, email,voter, college drop-out, financial cause,government/power, actions' consequences & <u>no effect on them</u>
48	It is to say that after all the trappings of office...and to recognize in the values I share	Official formalities, president & politicians/parliamentarians, common



		human beings/universal human nature, virtues, vices, insecurities, injuries, policy, shared values
48	This is not an easy posture to maintain in Washington...and perhaps are bad people	Capital/government/parliament, policy, debates, war, difference magnified, party, campaign, conflict, media, suspicious political atmosphere, Washington/capital/politics/government, lawyers, political operatives, professions-winning arguments not solving problems, disagreement, different values (bad faith, bad people, US vs THEM)
48/49	Outside of Washington...a deep shade of red	Capital, political division, Illinois/ <u>bellwether state</u> , party, urbanization, social conservatism, party, <u>Land of Lincoln</u> , microcosm of the country, regions, urban, rural, races, big city, geography, culture, political parlance, <u>deep shade of red</u>
49	I first traveled through southern Illinois in 1997... “We got Dijon if you want it,” she said to me	Travel, parliament/legislature, family, teaching, legislative aide, <u>toss map</u> , sports, <u>tool around the state</u> , <u>UPI reporter</u> , campaign, <u>reception?</u> , dresses/just khakis & polo shirts, no fancy linen trousers or silk shirts, owned no linens or silks, <u>TGI Friday’s</u> , food/cheeseburger, Dijon mustard/food, no Dijon- here is French’s mustard/aide gave yellow bottle of French’s mustard, waitress confused, <u>got Dijon/ that food available</u>
49/50	I smiled...I didn’t think there were any photographers around	Food, photographers/media
50	And so we traveled... “ Good Deals on Guns and Swords.”	Travel, sport, driving, cornfields, forests, lakes, towns, malls, Wal-Marts, <u>brick courthouses</u> , main streets, stores, vendors, fresh peaches, corn, <u>one couple</u> -“ Good Deals on Guns and Swords”
50	We stopped in a coffee shop to eat pie... or folks hunting out of season	Food, jokes/light mood, mayor of Chester/politician, Statue of Superman/visiting spot, Emigration to big cities/urbanization, manufacturing & coal-mining/jobs, sports, <u>vast distances</u> , <u>VA facility</u> , women missionaries in Keya, Swahili/language, farmers, finance/financial pages of Wall Street Journal, white linen slacks or silk Hawaiian shirts/men’s dresses, food, party, politician, local state, attorney/law/ <u>judiciary</u> , race, crime, joy-riding sprees or folks hunting out of

		season/ <u>enjoyment</u> ,
50	“The Gangster Disciples,” he said, munching on a carrot...kids without jobs, selling dope and speed	Crime, carrot/food, race, joblessness/unemployment, <u>dope &amp; speed</u>
50/51	By the end of the week, I was sorry to leave...all of it felt familiar	Friendship, people, reflection of myself, family, openness, matter-of-factness, kindness, food, <u>the grape halves in the Jell-O mold</u> , familiarity
51	It’s that sense of familiarity that strikes me...in one of Chicago’s northern suburbs	Familiarity, travel, locality/geography, race, sport, family, Indian wedding/culture/ceremony, locality/geography
51	Not so far beneath the surface... more, not less, alike	Becoming alike/Similarity
51	I don’t mean to exaggerate here...from place to place	Pollsters, race, religion, region, economy, abortion, gun/weapon, sacrilege, income tax, sex, media
51	It is to insist that across Illinois...track people’s personal attributes	Cross-pollination/interaction, peaceful collision among people & cultures, identity, coherence/new identity, Beliefs & predictability, expectation, explanation, religion, tolerance, media & its role, secular & religious, rich & poor, poor: self-critical, aspirations, popular culture, parties, voters, liberals, conservatives, personal attributes
52	All of which raises the question...convinced that they proved the Christian right’s growing power	Common values, political culture’s <u>fixation</u> , values clash, election, <u>exit poll</u> , voters, moral values, vote/voting, commentators/media (?), data, social issue, election, <u>gay marriage</u> , <u>number of states</u> , <u>Christian right</u> , <u>growing power</u>
52	When these polls were later analyzed...characterized the Democratic Party platform	Polls, exaggeration, voters, national security, election, moral values, abortion, corporate malfeasance, politicians, liberals, material concerns, party
52/53	I think Democrats are wrong to run away from a debate about values...regulations and policies	Politicians, debate, values, conservatives, working-class, voters, party, language of values, <u>to map world</u> ,inspiration, action, isolation, election, polls, shared values, standards & principles, majority, politics, budget, projects, regulations, policies
53	“ WE HOLD THESE truths to be self-evident... that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness”	Truths, equality, Creator/religion, rights, life, liberty, happiness
53	Those simple words are our starting point as Americans...each and every day  (GET &SEE DECLARATION OF INDEPENENCE)	Unalienable rights, government, common creed/belief, Declaration of Independence, 18 <sup>th</sup> century/ <u>time context/history</u> , <u>liberal &amp; republican thought</u> , freedom, rights
53	Indeed, the value of individual freedom is so	Individual freedom, <u>Martin Luther’s</u>

	ingrained in us that we tend to take it for granted...in their daily lives	<u>posting on the church door, idea still rejected in some parts of the world, evidence in daily life</u>
53/54	In fact, much of my appreciation of our Bill of Rights comes from having spent part of my childhood in Indonesia and from still having family in Kenya...fishing off the island of Lamu	Bill of Rights, childhood, family, Indonesia & Keya, army & individual rights, bureaucracy, wife/family, race, <u>region &amp; ancestors</u> , <u>grandmother/family, visits &amp; fishing</u>
54	But during our travels Michelle also heard...or how much she cherished that freedom	Wife/family, Africa, people's fates not their own, jobs, business, bribes, activists, jailed, no freedom of expression, government, politics, family, family ties, tribal loyalties, favors, <u>uncles &amp; aunts showing up unannounced</u> , American & freedom
54	At its most elemental level, we understand our liberty in a negative sense...and personal responsibility	Liberty, negative sense, right to be left alone, opportunity, values, virtues, <u>Benjamin Franklin-Poor Richard's Almanack</u> , values of self-reliance, self-improvement, risk-taking, drive, discipline, temperance, hard-work, thrift, personal responsibility
54/55	These values are rooted in a basic optimism about life...values of equal opportunity and nondiscrimination complement rather than impinge on our liberty	Optimism & life, confidence, free will, hard work, <u>circumstances of our birth</u> , values, people's freedom & society's prosperity, self-government, free-market economy, majority, legitimacy, government, economy, equal opportunity, nondiscrimination, liberty
55	If we Americans are individualistic at heart...and compassion	Tribe, traditions, customs, castes, individualism, communal values, healthy society, family, <u>cross-generational obligations</u> , community, neighborliness, <u>bar &amp; soccer team</u> , patriotism, obligations of citizenship, sense of duty, sacrifice, <u>something bigger than ourselves</u> , religion, ethical percepts, honesty, fairness, humility, kindness, courtesy, compassion
55	In every society (and in every individual)...that allowed new immigrants to continually remake themselves	Society, individualism & communalism, autonomy & solidarity, <u>negotiate tension between these</u> , violence, <u>Europe</u> , feudalism, agricultural & industrial society, <u>size of continent</u> , <u>vast tracts of land, abundant resources</u> , immigrants
55/56	But we cannot avoid these tensions entirely...to do for ourselves	Tensions, values, distortion & excesses, Self-reliance & selfishness, independence & license, ambition & greed, frantic desire to succeed, history, patriotism & jingoism and xenophobia, dissent, faith- self-righteousness, closed-mindedness & cruelty, charity-paternalism & unwillingness to

		acknowledge the ability of others
56	When this happens...hold such excesses in check	Liberty & dumping toxins, mall & destruction of home, countervailing values, judgment, excesses
56	Sometimes finding the right balance is relatively easy...due to rising rates of obesity	Balance, society, right to restraint individual freedom, constitutional amendment, no uncharted freedom whatsoever, state's power to control& behavior, government monitoring food/eating, expenditure, obesity
56/57	More often...economic security and competitiveness	Tensions & balance, complicated & contradictory world, 9/11, constitutional principles, fight/war, terrorism, president, parliament house, balance, security, civil liberties, economy, policy, manufacturing, workers/laborers, towns, economic security, competitiveness
57	Unfortunately, too often in our national debates we don't even get to the point where we weigh these difficult choices...you will often draw a blank stare	Debate, difficult choices, policy, values, countervailing values, conservative, government, interference, marketplace, right, arms/weapon, wiretapping, sexual practices, liberals, freedom, press/media, women's reproductive freedoms, costs, business owner
57	In a country as diverse as ours...right to worship	Diversity, government, democracy, respect of values, liberals, gun & library books, conservative, women's right to reproductive freedom, religion & worship
57/58	The result of such an exercise...a moratorium on all executions	Party, majority, senate/parliament, bill, videotaping of interrogations & confessions in capital cases, death penalty & its effect, crime, mass murder, rape, murder of a child, ultimate punishment, capital cases & errors, police tactics, racial bias, <u>shoddy lawyering</u> , <u>death row inmates exonerated</u> , party, governor, <u>moratorium on all executions</u>
58	Despite what appeared to be death penalty system ripe for reform...during the course of his campaign	Death penalty, reform, bill, videotaping, state prosecutors, police organizations, legislators/parliamentarians, crime, party, governor, campaign
58	It would have been typical of today's politics for each side to draw a line in the sand...as much as possible out of the press	Politics, <u>to draw a line</u> , death penalty, racism, police misconduct, law enforcement, <u>coddled criminals</u> , meetings, prosecutors, public defenders, police organizations, press/media
58/59	Instead of focusing on the serious disagreements around the table...was signed into law	Disagreements & common value, death penalty, innocence & capital offence, police, bill modification, videotape confessions, confessions free of

		coercion, parties, unanimous passage, law
59	Of course, this approach to policy making doesn't always work...win converts to their position	Policy, politicians, interest groups, conflict, ideological goal, abortion, activists, legislators/parliamentarians, compromise, partial-birth abortion, public/people/voters, winning converts/voters
59	And sometimes our ideological predispositions are just so fixed that we have trouble seeing the obvious...could very well end up being charges of the state	Ideological predispositions, senate/parliament, party, parliamentarians, school/education, breakfasts to preschoolers, self-reliance & children, formative years, <u>charges of the state</u>
59	Despite my best efforts...call theory into question	Bill, defeat, preschoolers/students, <u>debilitating effects of cereal and milk</u> , passage of bill, legislator/parliamentarian, ideology & value, values applied to facts, <u>ideology overrides whatever facts call theory into question</u>
60	MUCH OF THE confusion surrounding the values...isn't a proper topic for public discussion	Values debate, politicians, public/people, misperception- politics & government equivalent, <u>value should not or cannot be legislated, doesn't mean not proper topic for public discussion</u>
60	I value good manners, for example...a group of young people	Good manners, clear speech, looks me in the eye/confidence, hopeful about the country, can't legislate good manners/legislation & good manners, can encourage good manners
60	The same goes for competence...chatting among themselves in full view	Competence, pride in work, extra mile, accountant, plumber, three-star general, person on the other end of the phone seeming to solve your problem, encounter competence sporadic lately, government, business, people standing in line- antitax, antigovernment, antiunion sentiments, <u>workers chatting among themselves in full view</u>
60/61	Progressives in particular seem confused on this point...simply turned off the TV and tried to strike up a conversation with their kids	Progressives, <u>clocks cleaned</u> , elections, speech, sex on TV/sex in media, <u>HBO</u> , adults & TV, children & parents' duty
61	Having said all that...what streamed into their homes	TV, Sex ads and children, sports, teen age show, drunkenness, nudity, nudity & mixed sexes, not reality, broadcast, cable industries, better standards & technology, parents-to control what streamed into their homes
61	You would have thought I was Cotton Mather...not to act as the town scold	<u>Cotton Mather</u> , speech, newspaper editorial/print media, government, regulations, reporters, <u>national race</u> ,

		vote, <u>Bush agenda</u> , <u>not to act as the town scold</u>
61	And yet every parent I know...leaders who may be less sensitive to constitutional constraints	Parent, liberal, conservative, <u>coarsening of the culture</u> , <u>easy materialism</u> , <u>instant gratification</u> , <u>severing of sexuality from intimacy</u> , government censorship, concerns to be recognized, experiences validated, appearing censorious, progressive political leaders, problem not acknowledged, parents & leaders who will acknowledge, leaders & constitutional restraints
61/62	Of course...workers' pension funds	Conservative, culture, executive pay, 1980-CEO & hourly worker's pay, (42-1) difference, 2005: 262-1 ratio, conservative outlets, Wall Street Journal/print media, outlandish salaries, stock options, top talent, economy, corporate leaders, CEO pay & little to do with improved performance, highly compensated CEO's- drops in earnings, losses in shareholder value, massive layoffs, underfunding of workers' pension funds
62	What accounts for the change in CEO pay is not any market imperative...the same sense of outrage, that they direct against dirty rap lyrics	CEO pay-not market imperative but cultural, workers & little/no growth, CEOs-sense of shame & pliant, handpicked corporate boards, ethic of greed & collective lives, <u>corruption in government &amp; business</u> , <u>greed &amp; materialism- 2/3 of most important moral challenges</u> , raising kids with right values-first, conservative, government-not to determine executive pay packages, conservatives-same moral force, outrage as they direct against dirty rap lyrics
62/63	Of course, there are limits to the power of the bully pulpit...and I think that is pretty important, also	Power, limits, <u>pulpit</u> , law, values, rights & opportunities, powerless, society, racial discrimination, moral exhortation, whites/race, <u>civil rights era</u> , <u>Jim Crow</u> , era of race relations, Supreme Court cases/judiciary, <u>Brown v. Board of Education</u> , <u>the Civil Rights Act of 1964</u> and <u>Voting Rights Act of 1965</u> , laws, government & society, law & white people to associate with blacks, Law & enforcement of love, Law & <u>lynching</u> , <u>Dr. King</u>
63	Sometimes we need cultural transformation and government action... We are betraying our values	Cultural transformation, government action, change in value & policy society, <u>inner-city schools</u> , money, parents & children, values of hard work

		&delayed gratification, society, poor children & education, <u>perpetuating lies</u> , betraying values
63	That is one of the things that makes me a Democrat...or for the worse	Party, communal values, mutual responsibility, social solidarity, place of worship, work place, family, government, conservative, power of culture, individual success & social cohesion, government & culture
63/64	I OFTEN WONDER what makes it so difficult for politicians to talk about values in ways that don't appear calculated or phony...between honest sentiment and political stagecraft	Politicians, values, calculated or phony, public life, scripted, standardized values, <u>black church, NASCAR track, reading at kindergarten classroom</u> , honest sentiment & political stagecraft
64	Then there's the fact that the practice of modern politics seems to be value-free...poking through their personal affairs in search of damaging information	Modern politics, value-free, scandalous behavior, rewarded, fabrications, distortions, insults, <u>questioning their motives</u> , poking personal affairs, damaging information
64	During my general election campaign for the U.S. Senate...talking to my wife and children	Election campaign, senate/parliament, party/politicians, young man & camera-elevators, <u>restroom, wife &amp; children</u>
64/65	At first, I tried reasoning with him... "Are you this close to him all the time?"	Justin & reporters/media
65	Soon several news crews arrived with their cameras to film Justin filming me...that they considered important	News crews/media, <u>Justin repeating name, rank &amp; telephone number</u> , campaign, <u>Justin &amp; local broadcasts</u> , cartoons, editorials, sports radio chatter, opponent, succumbed & apologized, damage to campaign, <u>Medicare &amp; Middle East diplomacy</u> , violation of value- civil behavior
65	The gap between what we deem appropriate behavior in everyday life and what it takes to win a campaign...steered by the winds of public opinion	Behavior, campaign, politician's values tested, politics & competing claims, different sets of constituents, interests of state & nation, party loyalty & independence, value of service & obligations to family, politicians & moral bearings, <u>winds of public opinion</u>
66	Perhaps this explains why we long for that most elusive quality in our leaders...what they were going through	Leaders & authenticity, truthfulness beyond words, disagreement, liberal politics, trustworthy, <u>basset-hound face</u> , values, honest, <u>stood up for what he believed in</u>
66	That last aspect of Paul's character...and see through their eyes	Empathy, moral code, Golden Rule, sympathy, charity, <u>to stand in somebody else's shoes and see through their eyes</u>
66	Like most of my values... "How do you think that would make you feel?"	Values, empathy, mother/family, cruelty, thoughtlessness, abuse of power, racial prejudice, bullying in the schoolyard, workers underpaid

66/67	But it was in my relationship with my grandfather that I think I first internalized the full meaning of empathy...I rinsed out the milk carton before I put it in the garbage	Grandfather/family, empathy, mother/family, grandparents/family, high school years, father/family, grandfather & adolescent rebellion, temperament, career, feelings, 16 years old, petty & arbitrary rules-arguing
67	With a certain talent for rhetoric...I was in some way diminishing myself	Rhetoric, merits of views, win arguments, <u>grandfather-flustered, angry &amp; unreasonable</u> , struggles & disappointments, senior year, appreciated his need to feel respected, rules, <u>without regard to his feelings or needs-diminishing myself</u>
67	There's nothing extraordinary about such an awakening...as a guidepost for my politics	Mother's principle- "How would that make you feel?", politics
67	It's not a question we ask ourselves enough...envisioned their own sons and daughters in harm's way	Country, empathy deficit, <u>wouldn't tolerateschools-that don't teach, underfunded, understaffed, underinspired if we thought that children were like our children</u> , CEO & multimillion bonus, health-care for workers, equals, those in power- war, sons & daughters
67/68	I believe a strong sense of empathy would tilt the balance...we diminish ourselves	Empathy, balance of politics, people struggling in society, iflike us-their struggle like our own, fail to help-we diminish ourselves
68	But that does not mean...We are all forced beyond our limited vision	Struggling & better off, black leaders & whites' fears, George Bush/president, empathy, conservative, liberal, powerful, powerless, oppressed, oppressor, <u>shaken out of complacency</u> , limited vision
68	No one exempt from the call to find common ground	All-common ground
68	Of course, in the end a sense of mutual understanding isn't enough...whether we truly believe in them at all	Mutual understanding, talk-cheap, value, empathy in practice, community organizer, challenge neighborhood leaders- where time, energy & money, true tests of what we value, pay price for our values, sacrifice, <u>truly believe in them at all</u>
68/69	By these standards at least...that our families get less and less of our time	<u>Americans- being rich, thin, young, famous, safe, entertained</u> , legacy, next generation, debt, equal opportunity, stand idle, children & poverty, <u>family but economy structure &amp; life organization leave less time for families</u>
69	And yet a part of us knows better...they demand deeds not just words	Values, values our inheritance, values subject to challenge, intellectual & cultural critics, they have provento be surprisingly durable and surprisingly constant across classes, and races, and faiths/religions, and generations, claims-



		if tested against fact & experience, values-deeds not words
69	To do otherwise would be to relinquish our best selves	<u>Otherwise-relinquish our best selves</u>

## Long Walk to Freedom

### Part One

#### Title: A Country Child

#### Sub-part: 1

Table 66of text of *Long Walk to Freedom*

Page No.	Words/Phrases/Sentences/Paragraph	CODES
Title Page	Long walk to freedom	Struggle for freedom
3	Long walk	Struggle
3	Apart from life, a strong constitution...	Life and physical strength
3	connection to the Thembu royal house...	Relation
3	my father bestowed upon me at birth was a name, Rolihlahla.	Identity
3	In Xhosa, Rolihlahla literally means 'pulling the branch of a tree'...accurately would be 'troublemaker'.	Rebellion/Rebellious
3	I do not believe that names are destiny...	Destiny
3	many storms I have both caused and weathered.	Struggles and conflicts
3	My more familiar English or Christian name was not given to me until my first day at school.	Identity change/Separation attempt
3	I was born on 18 July 1918 at Mvezo, a tiny village...	Birth
3	The year of my birth marked the end of Great War; the outbreak of an influenza... the visit of a delegation of the African National Congress to the Versailles peace conference...	Historical landmarks in the world and South African black struggle
3	Mvezo, however, was a place apart... life was lived much as it had been for hundreds of years.	Country life- routine and uneventful
3	The Transkei is 800 miles east of Cape Town... largest territorial division within South Africa...	Geography
4	With a population of...Xhosa..Besothos and Whites.	Race
4	My father, Gadla Henry Mphakanyisa, was chief by both blood and custom.	Family and ancestry
4	He was confirmed as chief of Mvezo by the king of the Thembu tribe , under the British rule, his selection had to be ratified by the government... local magistrate.	Tribal life and foreign rule
4	Although the role of chief... become debased... by the control of an unsympathetic white government.	Hostile relations between the natives and the white government

4 paragraph coding	The Thembu tribe reaches back for twenty generations to king Zwide. According to tradition,...the Xhosa nation.	Genealogy and ancestry
4	The Xhosa are a pride and patrilineal people...I am often addressed as Madiba...as a sign of respect.	Race/ethnicity and pride
5	Ngubengcuka, one of the greatest monarchs...Mandela, my grandfather.	Proud history and ancestry
<u>5</u>	Although over the decades...I was in the line... to the Thembu throne... to counsel the rulers of the tribe.	Status and position in the tribe
5	My father was a tall, dark-skinned man... passed down from father to son.	Family traits
5/6 upto here para c	My father ...referred to as prime minister of the Thembuland... as well as teaching them.	Father's status and wisdom
6 mixed again	In later years, I discovered that my father was not only an advisor to kings but a kingmaker...	Father's influential position
6	After the untimely death of Jongilizwe in 1920s...my father could not then imagine.	Father's wealth and prosperity
6/7	All told, my father had four wives... each was my senior not only in age but in status.	Family relations
7	When I was not much more than a newborn child, my father... strain in character... passed on to his son...	Father's traits in son
7	I maintain that nurture, rather than nature, is the primary moulder of personality...	Role of nurture

## Sub-part: 2

Table 67 of text of *Long Walk to Freedom*

Page No.	Words/Phrases/Sentences/Paragraphs	CODES
9	The village of Qunu was situated...stoop to walk through...	Simple country/village life
9	There were no roads...wore blankets dyed in ochre...a hill overlooking the village...	Poverty of the black people
9	With very few exceptions...and a dipping tank to rid the cattle of ticks and diseases.	Social inequality
9/10	Maize (what we called mealies and people in the west call corn)...people could not afford anything richer...the concept of education was still a foreign one to many.	Poverty and social inequality
10	My mother presided over three huts at Qunu...My mother's sister is my mother; my uncle's son is my brother; my brother's child is my son, my daughter.	Family relations

10	Of my mother's three huts one was used for cooking...producing <i>umphothulo</i> (mealie flour eaten with sour milk) or <i>umngqusho</i> (samp, sometimes plain or mixed with beans)...milk from our cows and goats was always plentiful.	Rural life and food
11	From an early age, I spent most of my free time in the veld playing...the simple beauties of nature, the clean line of the horizon.	Early liberty/freedom and the love of nature
11	As boys, we were mostly left to our own devices...one got the hang of it.	Early free happy days
11/12	I learned my lesson one day from an unruly donkey...I learned that to humiliate another person is to make him suffer an unnecessarily cruel fate. Even as a boy, I defeated my opponents without dishonouring them.	Sense of humiliation, cruelty and honour
12	Usually the boys played among themselves... <i>ndize</i> (hide and seek) and <i>icekwa</i> (tag)...But the game I most enjoyed playing with the girls was what we called <i>ketha</i> , or choose-the-one-you-like...and then tease him all the way home.	Black African games
12	The most popular game for boys was <i>thinti</i> , and like most boys' games it was a youthful approximation of war... greatly admired, as generals who achieve great victories in war are justly celebrated.	Marshal/fighting spirit
12/13	After games such as these...historic battles and heroic Xhosa warriors...Xhosa legends and fables... virtue and generosity will be rewarded in ways that one cannot know.	Marshal race, respect for virtue and generosity
13	Like all Xhosa children, I acquired knowledge mainly through observation... not through questions. When I first visited the homes of whites, I was dumbfounded by the number and nature of questions that children asked their parents- and their parents' unfailing willingness to answer them...	Education of the black and white children/Questioning habits
13	In my household, questions were considered a nuisance; adults imparted such information as they considered necessary.	No role of questioning in black educational tradition
13	My life, and that of most Xhosas at the time, was shaped by custom, ritual and taboo... All of these beliefs were perfectly natural to me.	Africans'/Xhosas' customs, rituals and taboos

13	I came across few whites as a boy at Qunu. The local magistrate....with a mixture of fear and respect.	Unequal relations between blacks and whites
13/14	But their role in my life...these curious and remote figures.	Relations between young blacks and white man
14	The only rivalry between different clans...But amaMfengu were an industrious people... more educated and 'Western' than other Africans.	Inter-tribal feuds of Africans
14	When I was a boy...amaMfengu were the most advanced...first to become Christians...jealousy than tribal animosity...local form of tribalism...relatively harmless.	Clans, Christianity and tribalism
14	At this stage...violent tribal rivalries that would subsequently be promoted by the white rulers of South Africa.	Relations between African tribes and the white man
14/15	My father did not subscribe to the local prejudice... the great spirit of the Xhosa, Qamata, the God of his fathers...My father was the unofficial priest...between the natural and the supernatural.	Religion
15	While the faith of Mbekela brothers...it did inspire my mother...in fact Fanny was literally her Christian name...	Mandela's mother's religion
15	'Your son is a clever young fellow,' he said. 'He should go to school.'...immediately decided that his youngest son should go to school.	Start of school education/Schooling
15	The schoolhouse...my father's cut-off trousers.	Schooling
15/16	On the first day of school, my teacher, Miss Mdingane, gave each of us an English name and said that henceforth that was the name we would answer to in school...	Identity change/Dual identity
16	This was the custom among Africans... due to the British bias of our education. The education I received was a British education, in which British ideas, British culture..automatically assumed to be superior...There was no such thing as African culture.	Racial and cultural bias/unequal relations of Blacks and Whites
16	African of my generation-and even today-generally have both a Western and an African name. Whites are either unable or unwilling to pronounce an African name...with the great British sea captain Lord Nelson,	Dual identity continues

	but that would be only a guess.	
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### Sub-part: 3

Table 68 of text of *Long Walk to Freedom*

17	One night, when I was nine years old, I was aware of a commotion in the household. My father... he died.	Death of father/Family affairs
17	I do not remember experiencing great grief...Although my mother was the centre of my existence, I defined myself through my father.	Family relations and identity
17	My father's passing changed my whole life... why, or where I was going.	Turning point in life
17/18	I packed the few things that possessed...I could not imagine that the future I was walking towards could compare in any way with the past that I was leaving behind.	From past to future
18	We travelled by foot...The buildings consisted of two iingxande (or rectangular houses) and seven stately rondavels (Superior huts)...Nearby was a white stucco church.	New abode
19	In the shade of two gum trees that graced the doorway...the royal residence of Chief Jongintaba Dalindyebo, acting regent of the Thembu people.	Chief of Thembu people/African <u>mode</u> of government
19	As I contemplated all this grandeur an enormous motor car rumbled through the western gate... 'Bayete a-a-a, Jongintaba!' ('Hail, Jongintaba!'), the traditional salute of the Xhosa for their chief... This was the regent who was to become my guardian and benefactor for the next decade.	Mandela's guardian
19	In that moment of beholding Jogintaba and his court I felt like a sapling pulled root and branch from the earth... I had no thought of money, or class, or fame, or power...	Introduction to money, class, fame and power
19	Children from poor homes...confronted by great wealth...In that instant, I saw that life might hold more for me than being a champion stick-fighter.	Greater future struggle
20	I learned later that, in the wake of my father's death...The regent had not forgotten that it was due to my father's intervention that he had become acting paramount chief.	Mandela's turn in life
20	My mother remained in Mqhekezweni for two days...Her tender look was all the affection and support I needed, and as she departed she turned to me and said, 'Uquinissufokotho, Kwedidni' ('Brace yourself, my boy')...How could I not be braced up? I was already wearing the handsome new outfit purchased for me by my guardian.	The beginning of new life
20	I was quickly caught up in...I was completely absorbed in my new world.	New living
20/21	I attended a one-room school next door to the palace and studied English, Xhosa, history and geography...Our	New schooling and discipline in life

	teachers, Mr Fadana and, later, Mr Giqwa, took special interest in me...My own self-discipline was reinforced by my aunt Phathiwe, who lived in the Great Place and scrutinized my homework every night.	
21	Mqhekezweni was a mission station of Methodist Church...a wound elegantly around the head.	Religion and Westernized life
21	If the world of Mqhekezweni revolved around the regent...They called me by the pet name of Tatomkhulu, which means 'Grandpa', because they said when I was very serious, I looked like an old man.	New family life
21/22	Justice was four years older than me...while I would inherit whatever the regent, in his generosity, decided to give me.	Mandela's new company
22	Every day I was in and out of the regent's house...one for visitors and one shared by Justice and myself.	New abode and new roles
22/23	The two principals that governed my life at Mqhekezweni were chieftaincy and the Church...the interpreter and the policemen, who at the time represented the height of African aspirations.	Politics, religion and the common African
23	Reverend Matyolo was...but He was also a vengeful God who let no bad deed go unpunished.	Religious teachings
23	At Qunu...to take part in a fight against boys from another village, a transgression I never committed again.	Commitment to religion
23	That was the only rebuke... I had abused the trust of my adopted family.	Childhood mischiefs
24	Because of the universal respect the regent enjoyed...through which one could achieve influence and status.	Power and influence
24	My later notions of leadership...All Thembus were free to come – and a great many did, on horseback or by foot.	Leadership and consultative meetings
24	On this occasion, the regent was surrounded by his <i>amaphakathi</i> , a group of councilors...whose opinions carried great weight.	Consultative council
24	Letters advising these chiefs and headmen...he would not utter another word until the meeting was nearing its end.	Meetings and expression of opinion
24	Everyone who wanted to speak did so. It was democracy in its purest form...(Women, I am afraid, were deemed second-class citizens.	Freedom of expression and status of women
25	A great banquet was served...while others were sober and even, and shunned emotions.	Meeting speeches and Mandela's political training
25	At first, I was astonished by the vehemence...showing no emotions at all.	Freedom of expression and chief's tolerance
25	The meetings would continue until some kind of consensus was reached...A minority was not to be crushed by a majority.	Pure democracy
25	Only at the end of the meeting... His purpose was to sum up...the audience, led by the regent, would roar with laughter.	Democratic atmosphere
25	As a leader, I have always followed the principles I first saw demonstrated by the regent at the Great Place...	Leadership and principles
25/26	I have always endeavoured to listen to what each and every person in a discussion had to say... I always remember the	Leadership quality

	regent's axiom: a leader, he said, is like a shepherd. He stays behind the flock, letting the most nimble go ahead...they are being directed from behind.	
26	It was Mqhekezweni that I developed my interest in African history. Until then I had heard only of Xhosa heroes...clicks of our language were long and dramatic.	African history
26	At first, they shooed me away...My imagination was fired by the glory of these African warriors.	Oral African history and its influence on Mandela
26	The most ancient of the chiefs who regaled the gathered elders with ancient tales was Zwelibhangile Joy...authority on the history of the Thembus in large part because he had lived through so much of it.	<u>Oral African history</u>
26	But as grizzled as Chief Joy often seemed... when he spoke of the <i>impis</i> , or warriors...Ngangeliwe's heroism, generosity and humility.	Heroism, generosity and humility
27	Not all of the Chief Joy's stories revolved around the Thembus. When he first spoke of non-Xhosa warriors...and the deeds of all African heroes regardless of tribe.	All African warriors/ marshal spirit
27	Chief Joy railed against the white man...I had already been robbed of my own birthright.	Black and white conflict/Birthright/Freedom robbed
27	Chief Joy said that the African people lived in relative peace until the coming of the <i>abelungu</i> , the white people... the Thembu, the Pondo, the Xhosa and the Zulu were all children of one father... The white man shattered the <i>abantu</i> , the fellowship, of the various tribes...	White man's treatment of Africans
27	The white man was hungry and greedy for land...But the white man took the land as you might seize another man's horse.	White man snatches land of the Africans
27	I did not yet know that the real history of our country was not to be found in standard British textbooks, which claimed South Africa began with the landing of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. It was from Chief Joyi I began to discover that the history of Bantu-speaking people...particularly after 1652, was not always so accurate.	Fabricated history/History distortion
28	In Mqhekezweni, I felt not unlike the proverbial country boy...arrange for my mother and sisters to be brought to the Great Place.	New abode and <u>brought-up</u>
28	When I first arrived in Mqhekezweni...so, the meat did not fall easily off the bone.	First interactions/awkward situations
28/29	I watched the others using their knives and forks...I did not eat much chicken that day at luncheon.	New manners/Table etiquette
29	Afterwards the older sister told the younger, 'You will waste your whole life if you fall in love with such a backward boy,' but I am happy to say the young did not listen...I had considerably improved my table etiquette.	Love and etiquette

#### Sub-part: 4

Table 69 of text of *Long Walk to Freedom*

30	Circumcision- preparation for manhood	Custom/ritual, manhood
30	Ceremony for Justice- 26 of us to accompany, grass huts , traditional place for Thembu kings,seclusion lodges, happy & fulfilled, transition from boyhood to manhood	Custom/ritual, tradition, boyhood , manhood
30/31	Wealthiest boy- stories of Johannesburg, miners, miner & monarch, strong & daring- the ideal of manhood, at mines lost health & lives, helped mine-owners than my people	Wealth, strength, courage, manhood, exploitation
31	Before ceremony daring exploit, old days- cattle raid or battle but we stole a pig & slaughtered, pork	Custom/ritual, tradition
31	Singing & dancing, forgot things ahead	Customs/rituals, happy occasions
31/32	To bathe-purification, no flinching or crying, trial of bravery & stoicism, man must suffer in silence	Custom/ritual, bravery, manhood/virility
32	Ingcibi- circumcision expert, assegai to change us from boys to men with a single blow	Tradition, transformation, boyhood, manhood
32	Cry: 'Ndiyindoda!' ( 'I am a man')	Manhood/virility
32/33	Other boys much stronger & firmer than me, disabled briefly, to hide my agony, a boy may cry; a man conceals his pain	Boyhood & manhood/virility
33	Now could marry, build home, plough my field, circumcision name: Dalibhunga	Responsible, reliable man
33	Foreskins & healing plant leaves	Traditional methods/healing
33	Conclusion: huts, wet wood burning, clouds of smoke, lie on backs, one leg flat, one bent, abakwetha-initiates into the world manhood, amakhankatha-guardian, rules to follow to enter manhood properly, paint body & head, white chalk -purity	Traditional methods
33/34 1	First night midnight-attendant, wake up gently	Traditional methods
33/34 2	To go out to bury foreskin not to be used by wizard for evil purposes- symbolically burying our youth, not to leave warm hut but went out & buried foreskin, last remnant of childhood	Tradition, transition from childhood & youth
34 1	Quietude, not to be seen by women, spiritual preparation for the trials of manhood	Preparation for manhood
34 2	Red ochre, sleep with a woman, remove pigment, might be future wife, in Mandela's case removed with a mixture of fat & lard	Preparation for married, responsible life
34 3	Lodges burned, great ceremony, gifts, felt richer, not jealous of Justice	Custom/ritual, ceremony
34 4	Walking differently-straighter, taller & firmer	Feeling of manhood & maturity
34 5	Hopeful: someday will have wealth, property & status	Hope, wealth, property & status
34/35 1	Main speaker Chief Meligqili: eye-opening speech- illusory promise, conquered, tenants, no power, strength, control over our land	Feelings of conquered people, slave, economic exploitation, powerlessness



34/35 2	shacks, cheap alcohol, cough lungs in the bowels of white man's mines, white man's unequalled prosperity, no power to govern, no weapons, scholars never to teach as no place to study	Poverty of the conquered , wealth of exploiter / poverty & exploitation, education
34/35 3	Abilities, intelligence & promise squander-eke out living doing the simplest, most mindless chores for the white man	Destruction of abilities, mean living
34/35 4	Today's gifts naught- not given greatest gifts- freedom & independence	Freedom & independence
34/35 5	Qamata- dozing, had I better die to shake him awake & tell the flower of the Xhosa nation are dying	Provocation of divine power, cruelty/elimination of a race
35	At that moment no one including Mandela wanted to hear his words, ignorant & ungrateful man's comments, value of education & benefits by white man, Mandela at that time: white man benefactor , not oppressor	Disguised exploitation in shape of education, oppressor in the guise of benefactor
35/36 1	Words' effect later on, seed sown	Speech's effect, seed of freedom struggle
35/36 2	Dormant for long season but began to grow, it was not the chief but myself	Dormant period, growth of freedom thoughts, speech's effect, representation of feeling
36	After ceremony to river, knew little or nothing beyond it, although forbidden to look back but went to burned huts, 2 pyramids of ashes, no more a child- no thinti, steal maize or drink milk from cow's udder, mourning for my youth, not a man that day & for many years	Limited world, childhood & youth

## 5.4 Recommendations

This research will prove a pioneering work in the genre of its units of analysis and a trend setter as far as the research in political discourse analysis is concerned. The researcher would like to make the following recommendations for prospective researchers:

1. As this research study has discovered that not much work has been done on the genre of autobiography in Pakistan, there is a great need of research in this regard. The study also indicates that not much attention has been paid to this genre at the global level which necessitates systematic research work

2. Autobiography should be recognized as a distinct discourse and fit for discourse analysis which will help in furthering the disciplines of Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis and related fields. The study of autobiography as a distinct discourse should be made a part of the academic courses at master and doctoral levels in the discipline of English Linguistics.
3. This study was confined to two units of analysis, so, it is recommended that other autobiographies need to be explored for further research and compared for different themes and other concepts.
4. This research work analyzed two autobiographies by black leaders, one from South Africa and the other from United States of America. The researcher recommends that further research should be done on autobiographies of leaders from other regions of the world.
5. The study further recommends that comparative studies of autobiographies, biographies, memoirs and similar genres should be carried out and the differences and similarities be brought to the fore.
6. The study further recommends that not only the autobiographies of the political leaders be further explored but also autobiographies written by leaders in other fields of life as well as by ordinary people. This will expand the study of this genre and will give new boost to the linguistic studies, especially to the discipline of discourse analysis.
7. The study was carried out on the autobiographies of two living personalities, of whom one, Nelson Mandela, died while the research was in progress and the other, Barack Hussein Obama, is living and is actively involved in politics. Research can be carried out by prospective researchers to find whether the ideologies these authors discuss in their autobiographies were actually followed by these authors and how they worked for the achievement or removal of the problems in their actual political careers.
8. The study focused on the themes in general and has tried to find all possible themes in these two units of analysis and then selected the five most frequent themes in these two autobiographies. The prospective researchers may study in detail very limited number of themes in detail from different angles in different contexts.

9. As the literature review of this study reveals that some research work has been done on the limited aspects of autobiography in the world but the researcher finds that the autobiography is much more than a mere 'narrative of transformation' or a 'persuasive' composition. It needs deeper study and serious attention of the research scholars.

10. The units of analysis of this study cover a period from the early twentieth century to the early twenty-first century. Studies may be carried out to find out themes in the twenty-first century autobiographies and compare the themes of the postmodern era with the themes of the twentieth century.

11. Linguistic devices were pointed out and analyzed to see how these devices were used in these two autobiographies to convey the intended meaning. This research may be enhanced by working on other units of analysis from the same regions or different regions for comparative research.

12. Most of the data collection of this study was done manually by underlining topic, then writing the actual part of the text in the computer and the relevant topic separated from that in the relevant boxes. This is very time-consuming. For limited purposes the concordance software AntConc and software LIWC were used which the researcher found useful and recommends the use other softwares like these to facilitate future research.

13. Clustering of the topics into themes or putting the topics in the categories of the given theory is also time-consuming work. For this purpose, softwares like NVivo and ATLAS.ti can be used to integrate technology in the autobiographical analysis. These softwares have not been used in this research but during this research the researcher came across these softwares which claim to help in literature review and other aspects of research.

14. Theories of Historical Linguistics can be used to explore history, linguistic changes and the linguistic representation of history through autobiography.

15. Scholars are invited to expand this study by studying swear words at the same time and give a comparison of their usage in the same language and genre or in different languages and genres.

16. This work used the BNC for the research considered very useful for the purposes here. This is one hundred million-word corpus. Other scholars can utilize other corpora which contain billion plus words and the multimodal resources of some the corpora to see different aspects of the swear words and their uses. These efforts will boost up the research in this direction and will definitely add to the literature in the research tradition in this connection.

17. This research also discovered motivational language throughout the discourse of the selected units of analysis and it is recommended that proper attention should also be given to this aspect of political autobiographies.

18. Political autobiography is a good blend of language, history and political philosophy. So, this can be an object of research both in Linguistics and Political Science and proper attention should be paid to these aspects by the scholars in the above mentioned fields.

The field of research and genre targeted in this research are somewhat ignored areas in research tradition and the researcher hopes that further expansions will be made in this regard with the use of new methods as an attempt has been made in this study.

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20/11/30 •

## Appendix 1

### Long Walk to Freedom: Part One

#### Title: A Country Child

This part sets the stage for the eventful life of Nelson Mandela. The part begins with the information about the birth and birthplace of the author and ends with his entry into the urban life of Johannesburg.

**Total Pages: 70**

**Total Sub-parts: 8**

**Sub-part: 1**

This 3-page part revolves around the very birth of the author, the information about his parents and family and its position in area under discussion. The words sparated in the following table will give the taste of the early childhood of the author, and details of the geneology of the family of the author as a backround to the drama in the book. Following table shows the words, phrases and sentences in this part.

Table 9 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 3-7
Topics: Words/phrases/sentences
Struggle for freedom, Struggle, Life and physical strength, Relation, Identity, Rebellion/Rebellious, Destiny, Struggles and conflicts, Identity change/Separation attempt, Birth, Historical landmarks in the world and South African black struggle, Country life- routine and uneventful, Geography, Race, Family and ancestry, Tribal life and foreign rule, Hostile relations between the natives and the white government, Genealogy and ancestry Race/ethnicity and pride, Proud history and ancestry, Status and position in the tribe, Family traits, Father's status and wisdom, Father's influential position, Father's wealth and prosperity, Family relations, Father's traits in son, Role of nurture

Sub-part: 2

Table 10 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 2 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 9-16

Words/phrases/sentences:

Simple country/village life, Poverty of the black people, Social inequality, Poverty and social inequality, Family relations, Rural life and food, Early liberty/freedom and the love of nature, Early free happy days, Sense of humiliation, cruelty and honour, Black African games, Marshal/fighting spirit, Martial race, respect for virtue and generosity, Education of the black and white children/Questioning habits, No role of questioning in black educational tradition, Africans'/Xhosas' customs, rituals and taboos, Unequal relations between blacks and whites, Relations between young blacks and white man, Inter-tribal feuds of Africans, Clans, Christianity and tribalism, Relations between African tribes and the white man, Religion, Mandela's mother's religion, Start of school education/Schooling, Schooling, Identity change/Dual identity, Racial and cultural bias/unequal relations of Blacks and Whites, Dual identity continues

Sub-part: 3

Table 11 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 17

Words/phrases/sentences: Death of father/Family affairs, Family relations and identity, Turning point in life, From past to future, New abode, Chief of Thembu people/African mode of government, Mandela's guardian, Introduction to money, class, fame and power, Greater future struggle, Mandela's turn in life, The beginning of new life, New living, New schooling and discipline in life, Religion and Westernized life, New family life, Mandela's new company, New abode and new roles, Politics, religion and the common African, Religious teachings, Commitment to religion, Childhood mischiefs, Power and influence, Leadership and consultative meetings, Consultative council, Meetings and expression of opinion, Freedom of expression and status of women, Meeting speeches and Mandela's political training, Freedom of expression and chief's tolerance, Pure democracy, Democratic atmosphere, Leadership and principles, Leadership quality, African history, Oral African history and its influence on Mandela, Oral African history, Heroism, generosity and humility, All African warriors/ marshal spirit, Black and white conflict/Birthright/Freedom robbed, White man's treatment of Africans, White man snatches land of the Africans, Fabricated, history/History distortion, New abode and brought- up, First interactions/awkward situations, New manners/Table etiquette , Love and etiquette

Sub-part: 4

Table 12 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA



Pages: 30-36

Words/phrases/sentences: Custom/ritual, manhood, Custom/ritual, tradition, boyhood , manhood, Wealth, strength, courage, manhood, exploitation, Custom/ritual, tradition, Customs/rituals, happy occasions, Custom/ritual, bravery, manhood/virility, Tradition, transformation, boyhood, manhood, Manhood/virility, Boyhood & manhood/virility, Responsible, reliable man, Traditional methods/healing, Traditional methods, Traditional methods, Tradition, transition from childhood & youth , Preparation for manhood, Preparation for married, responsible life, Custom/ritual, ceremony, Feeling of manhood & maturity, Hope, wealth, Property and status, Feelings of conquered people, slave, economic exploitation, powerlessness, Poverty of the conquered , wealth of exploiter / poverty & exploitation, education, Destruction of abilities, mean living, Freedom & independence, Provocation of divine power, cruelty/elimination of a race, Disguised exploitation in shape of education, oppressor in the guise of benefactor, Speech's effect, Seed of freedom struggle, Dormant period, growth of freedom thoughts, speech's effect, Representation of feeling, Limited world, Childhood & youth

## Sub-part: 5

Table 13 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 37-42

Words/phrases/sentences: white man's gold mines, counselor, Education, Education, Education, White man, education, Dealing with whites, education, respect & obedience, Education, Education, counselor, manual work- to work in garden, Regent, pound note, promised not to disappoint him, Education, ability, no heritage but ability, Education, first day class, embarrassment, Education, friendship, Education, sports, mediocre, Education, trained teachers, English, history, Teacher, BA, boldness, Education, strict discipline, Students' feared, gardening, intimate with white family, Broad-mindedness, education, devotion, Reverend's wife/family, Education, ability, opportunity, poverty, Education, heritage

## Sub-part: 6

Table 14 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 43-50

Words/phrases/sentences: Education, signs of conflict, Education, religion, liberal arts, English model, Education, English models, civilization, war, Education, discipline, food, Education: students from all over the country & protectorates, Inter-tribal relations, Education, hostel, religion, modernism, Education, boldness, Education, boldness, race- relations, Education, reforms, co-sitting, eating manners, Sports, Prefect, extra-curricular activities, Physical strength, morality, Duty and morality, Poet/literature, oral history, Poet/literature, Black & white relation, education, Poet's style disappointing cultural clash between Africa & Europe, Strike: clash between good

&bad/foreign, victory one day, Poet/literature,boldness, motivation, changed perception , Poetry/literature, constellation to Europe- greed & envy, different stars to different nations of the world, Manhood, pride & power, chosen people, Conflicting ideas, larger African culture & tribes

Sub-part: 7

Table 15 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 51-62

Words/phrases/sentences: Higher education, Higher education, dress, Higher education, success Education, history, war, Education, relative, Education, religion, sports, counselor, law, Education, religion, morality, political authority, colonialism, government, racism , Scholars, slavery, hard work, moderation, social policies Education, Professor, languages, history, political resistance, legislation, Travel, respect for professor, English language, anthropology, politics, native administration & law, interpreter or clerk magistrate, civil service , elitism, undemocratic practice, Departure from tradition, election, committee, organizers, Education, senior-junior difference/dispute, Battle against authorities, power-right & justice, Education, sports, training , natural ability, diligence, discipline, patience, Extra-curricular activities-drama, Religion, friendship, Meal/food, discrimination, Education, physics & physical science-dancing, Discipline, rules violation, study, Education, sophistication, use of modern facilities, Nostalgia , World War II, Britain, support, world leader, Voters, leader, international community, freedom, suppression, Leader, western values, freedom, own freedom, War, world leader, radio/technology, racism civilization, oppression, ANC, Friendship, ANC, rebel, Black-white relations, Blackman, courage, indignities, Education, leadership, financial success, elite class, Education & family prestige , Student election, problems-food, boycott, Election, election in absentia, boycott, communication with authorities, Re-election, same result, Second resignation, Authorities' warning, Personal decision, consultation. Moral stand & educational risk, Decision-refusal  
No compromise, right, dictatorship, no benefactor

Sub-part: 8

Table 16 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 63-70

Words/phrases/sentences:: Regent/elder against decision, Brotherhood/friendship, Life at home, Marriage matters, Marriage matters  
 Marriage matters-not our say, Marriage matters, Marriage matters-girls and their families, Social & political advancement, education, traditions, romance, Marriage-consultation, Marriage-escape, Options-tribe, family, intermediaries, Escape plan, Escape plan, Escape plan, financial matters, Escape, journey, Escape, journey, natives' problems, Escape, journey, documents, relative, Escape, journey, documents, Escape, official, regent's reaction, humiliation, Arrest, defence, knowledge of law , Humiliation, escape friend's help, journey, money, Escape, journey, discrimination, Johannesburg/urban center-luxuries, dreams, risks , Johannesburg/urban center-glamour  
 Johannesburg's beauty, new journey

## Part Two

Title: Johannesburg

Sub-part: 9

Table 17 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 73-87

Words/phrases/sentences: Gold/wealth, Black man miserable, Financial/social inequality, Africans-cheap, no rights, Clerical jobs for chiefs' sons-most coveted, Mine policeman, Regent's word's weight, Separation, factional fights, Factional fights not discouraged by the whites, Feeling of richness, Night watchman/natives crossing/pass, Secrecy shared revealed, Determination, A connection of regent, Chamber of mines, whites, White owner, White man in power/possession, Jobless/hardships, humbled, Revolver in suit case, Arrest, No trouble for friend, Charge, court, fine, African-match box like houses, Wealth & riches, war: labour demand, Johannesburg: modern city, Native town: match box houses, African female typist-always white male typist, First meeting with Sisulu, African- limited property, Matchbox house- rent, To become lawyer, Article clerk, English language, Schooling & practical experience, Share, Results of omissions, Negative results of falsehood & deception, Few African landowners, Correspondence education, Law, lawyer, attorney, serving article, Law firm, discrimination in financial matters/fees, Religion, race, politics & liberalism, Sympathy among whites, Importance of language/English, Black Johannesburg, No colour bar, New cups-discrimination, Ignoring cups/discrimination, No offence-middle path, White supremacist thoughts in liberal whites, Law- a tool to change society, For law, against politics, Board, little power, ANC, CP, Snatched Africans' land, enslaved forcing Africans, discrimination, Education & leadership/ qualities of leader, Colour-blind, White/communist sharing equality, Communist philosophy, Political, organization, Religion, communism, sharing philosophy, Haves & have-nots, CP, South African struggle, purely racial, CP-get-together mixed, First mixed color blind group

M.A. English. No tie, living like Africans

Sub-part: 10

Table 18 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 89-106

Topics: Alexandra-Dark city, neglect of authorities, Black town-poverty & crime, Hellish life in Alexandra, Africa-Freehold property, Politically conscious African, Alexandra, Orlando-home/house, Poverty, native bus, candles, education, Poverty days in city, Suit, gesture, painful, Poverty & friendship, Food-poverty, philanthropy, Poverty & provincialism, Smoked ham/food, Love, City & fading tribalism/ Tribalism, Love, city, women relation, Black in white suburb (Didi/girl), Another love, Poverty, tram, Young wealthy boy, Expression of love, Love/superiority, Proposal-fear of rejection, Love-caution not virtue, Politics- caution virtue,, Timidity & hesitation, Family matters of Didi, Confidence & self-reliance, WNLA-recruitment agency for mine workers, Regent - no mention of past, Different plans/course of life, Separation from past/old connections-painful, Love & value of old world, Family case: Father-Justice, Effects of old relations/emotional speech, Residence shift/free accommodation, Multi-ethnicity, polyglots/Fanagalo-lingua franca, Tribal meetings, Privileged meetings, government-ethnic division, Lawyer, leader & language of own people,, Importance of language, One people with different tongues, Regent's death, Reconciliation & guilt, Great leader-united people, different opinions, Almost no change at Mqhekezweni, Change in beliefs-vast canvass, Conflict in head & heart- head's decision , right of every man, famous rivers-many to cross, Degree- no passport to success, Education- not the only thing for freedom, Education- slow process, Politics-engine of change, solution-not theory, ANC-no racialism/equity, No formal education, practical wisdom, Struggle for freedom/revolution, Advisory board-debates on anything affecting Africans, Protest/march, Observer-participant, One's people, effectiveness of protest/boycott, positive results, Business: wealth & money, Discussion, politics: to steel money, Discussing politics is waste of time, Politics is poison, Politics-price, Political involvement, Lawyer important for future struggle- uncertain, Financial consideration, Generosity, Education, proper suit, borrowed: money & academic dress, Meeting with mother, Traditionalism, Duty to people as a whole, Graduates automatically become leaders-no, Respect as Thembu-no, World of politics-yes, Common sense & practical experience more important than high academic qualifications, Bachelor of law, Whites-practice & university, English speaking universities-incubators of liberal values, University: generosity & animosity, Not all colour-blind, discriminatory behaviour/ Kaffir, Law, Professor: women & African not to become lawyers, Freedom struggle & white friends, Friendship, separate hostel & young freedom fighters, Racial discrimination, justice not at all blind, Ideas, Political beliefs, debates, Political movement, liberation struggle, sacrifice, oppressed

## Part Three

Title: Birth of a Freedom Fighter

Sub-part: 11

Table 19 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 109-116

Topics: Politics, struggle, politicized from birth, Africans Only (racial discrimination), Social inequality, racist laws, Discrimination, humiliation & indignities, Walter Sisulu, ANC, shelter for Africans, Change, 1940's, Atlantic Charter, human dignity, Roosevelt, Churchill, democratic principles, fight against tyranny, African Claims, Walter's Sisulu, Dr. Pixley ka Seme-one of founders of ANC, Africa- blackman's continent, inferiority complex- barrier to liberation, skin colour-beautiful, black soil of Mother Africa, self-reliance, Lembede: ethnic differences melting away, Newspaper: *Incundla ya Bantu*-modern times: nationalism, imperialism, Paternalistic British colonialism: cultured, progressive & civilized, Clarity & verbose style, Newspapers/ media: *Inkundla & Bantu World*, ANC-party, superciliousness & mass organization, leadership, Politics & self-interests, Youth League, Youth League: recruit new members, Youth League: lecture on history of nations, Chosen people & superior race, African nationalism, Elections in ANC, Nationalism, democracy & liberation, Anti-African actions/laws, no trusteeship, discrimination/racist actions, Communism, no to wholesale foreign ideology & Communist party, Committees, political freedom, commitment, Lembede's Africanism, African racial exclusivity, Opposed to communists, whites, Sense of inferiority, Discuss, politics-married to politics, Mandela's first wife-nurse at non-European General hospital, Daughter of mineworker, Relatives: Ma Sisulu & Evelyn's mother, Love & marriage

Sub-part: 12

Table 20 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 117-126

Topics: Political development, mineworkers' strike, Strike & government's ruthless retaliation, African mineworkers' union/ mixed parentage, leadership, State prevailed/State, Communism to be adapted to the African situation, Incitement, sedition, Red Menace, arrests, Act/freedom of all South Africans of colour, Passive resistance, mass campaign, Protest, left studies, prison, Spirit of defiance & radicalism- M. Gandhi, Mandela- family matters, accommodation, Mandela's residence, Family & children, Own home-guests, Enjoyed domesticity, Religious/clergymen, embezzlement, Scott & African priest, Problem with some guest (Dalmini), Requisite time for articles, Wife, children, maternity leave, nurse's professional efficiency-death of a child, Politics: circumstances dictate events, ANC's president's death, Lembede succeeded by Peter Mda-his analytical approach, excellent leader, Youth League, Sisulu-first fulltime ANC member, Branch of Youth League, Nationalism, white oppression & white domination, Marxism, multiracialism, Elected to Executive committee, freedom fighter- sacrifices Ramohano- nationalist & organizer, Mandela's political learning, Passive resistance, joint efforts, Pass system, race classification, job reservation, Cooperation among parties, groups, ANC, credit withdrawal, Vote for all campaign, African to help Indian brothers, Organization- greater than its individual parts, meeting- disorder

Sub-part: 13

Table 21 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA



Pages: 127-139

Topics: African could not vote, Who won- our interest, 'swart gevaar' (the 'black danger'), 'Die kaffer op sy plek' ('the nigger in his place', 'Die koelies uit die land' ('the coolies out of the country'), Afrikaner's bitterness-towards English, towards Africans, Malan-Apartheid, The premise of Apartheid: Whites were superior to Africans, Coloureds and Indians, and the function of it was to entrench white supremacy for ever,, 'Die wit man moet altyde baas wees ('The whiteman must always remain boss'), Baasskap= boss-ship, White supremacy & all its harshness, Blacks-subservient species, Apartheid & church- hand in hand

Nationalists: English second place, South Africa- whiteman's country for ever , Nationalists won: who our enemies are, General Smuts: Apartheid- crazy concept born of prejudice & fear, Overthrow white, domination, Communist party: economic class rather than race-rejected, Nationalism & Africanism, South Africa multiracial country, Ultra-revolutionary stream of Nationalism, White man- leave !, Indians-mother country India, coloureds- Africa as mother country, Malan: coming to power, Pardoned supporter of Nazi Germany, Acts, colour & race, Group areas act-essence of Apartheid, Mass organization & mass mobilization, Activist stage, Mass action-Gandhi's non-violent protests, willing to violate the law, go to prison as Gandhi had, Government will crush, Dr. Xuma's personal interest, Ultimatum, re-election, Night at a friend's house, Presidency, Election to presidency, Elections, Dr. Xuma defeated, Political rights, Politics & job, Mass action, party, Freedom day: 1 day strike, African & Indian, Freedom day strike, Suppression of Communism act, Protest & criticism, Repression, National day of protest, join hands, Committee, National Executive of the ANC, Mass action, ANC office, Day of protest & freedom day, National campaign, A man involved in a struggle without a home, Where does Daddy live?/ family, Long standing opposition to Communism breaking down, Human rights, freedom fighter, Marxist, Marxism

Communist Manifesto, Das Kapital, Dialectical materialism, Racial oppression, Marxism & freedom fighter, African Nationalism & Dialectical materialism, Emancipation from minority rule, Problems in an international & historical context, Human prejudice & chauvinistic, violent nationalism,

Communists are using us !

Sub-part: 14

Table 22 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 140-161

Topics: Apartheid, race, Group areas act & forced removals, Sophiatown, The separate representation act, Bantu authorities act, Civil disobedience idea, Walter Sisulu & Nelson Mandela, Walter: Indians, Coloureds & Africans inextricably bound together, 6th April-1952, Jan Van Riebeeck, Defiance campaign, Driver's license, unusual for African, car collision, pay own expenses, Testing station, white woman, I, going too slowly, One-man taxi service, rides to comrades, friends, Letter to Dr. Moroka, Best ideas while driving

During the trip, two white boys, collision, white truck driver yelled, took to police station 'Kaffer, jy sal kak vandag!' ( Kaffir, you will shit today), reply in the same manner by Mandela, African & English, My identification, 'The Guardian', ' Wragtig ons het'n Kommunis gevang!' ( My word, we've caught a communist), Dealing with police, measurement, night, not proper to measure at night, Name?- Mandela, first?, to help if not difficult with sergeant, Run out of petrol, elderly white lady-refuses to give, two miles, my 'baas' (boss), got petrol, Meeting with Dr. Moroka, less eventful, exhausted constitutional means, 6 unjust laws, Malan: whites inherent right to preserve identity, Malan's reply declaration of war, civil disobedience, volunteers, violence with non-violence, Volunteers, Newspaper: 'Indian Opinion'-Gandhi & non-violence, Principles & tactics, non-violence- practical necessity, Open-ended programme of non-cooperation & non-violence, Whites Only facilities such as toilets, second stage mass defiance, Day of volunteers, Defiance campaign, Address to mass of people & two dozen people, Unity among black people- Africans, Coloureds & Indians, Defiance: courage, enthusiasm & sense of history, singing songs-'Mayibuye! Afrika!' (Let Africa come back!'), Mandela: overseeing the day's demonstration, Reverend N.B. Tantsi, Tantsi withdrawal-great disappointment, to show we are not just a group of young rabble-rousers, Nana Sita replaced N.B. Tantsi-equally venerable, Defiance, Defiance, communication with govt. official, media, Township, demonstration, Nana Sita-guiding spirit, Police restrained!, to exhaust the volunteers?!, ordered gates open, police surrounded & arrested volunteers, local police station, charged, Action committee leaders discussed the day's events, Night's meeting, hungry, sleepy, police appearance, 'into the van', I argued, took Yusuf Cachalia & I to police station, Found ourselves among more than fifty volunteers in the red-brick police-station called Marshall Square,

song: 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika' (God Bless Africa), White warder-violent push, protest, kick in my shin, vocal demonstration, injured man can request for a doctor, acute pain during the night, First concentrated experience of prison, Marshall Square: squalid, dark & dingy , First day: 250 violated various unjust laws, 85000 people all walks of life, 'Hey, Malan, Open the jail doors. We want to enter.', Enormous publicity, ANC membership- 20000 to 100000, During 6 months of campaign-travelled a lot, mass communication primitive, politics parochial, to win people one by one, Alcott Gwentshe-dispute, successful shopkeeper, jailed, individualistic, at odds with own executive populated with intellectuals, Gwentshe could exploit certain issues, Gwentshe-people behind him but wrong for disregarding Executive, Not action to which masses are, opposed- impossible to enforce, campaign threat to security & Apartheid, civil disobedience-not protest but crime, partnership between Africans & Indians, Public Safety Act, Criminal Laws Amendment-corporal punishment for defiers, Government: underhanded means- spies & agents provocateurs, volunteers screened before selected to defy, At Marshall Square one fellow, Rmaila, never seen before, unusual prison garb, simply vanished on third day Second fellow, Makhanda, military demeanour, Police spies, Africans who spied against their own brothers did so for money, did not believe in black man's efforts of change, Black policemen helped the movement, Other impediments: United Party, abandon campaign, Strauss, rejected, retaliated, Break away ANC group-National Minded Bloc, Thema, editor of newspaper Bantu World, severely criticized the campaign, J.B. Marks banned, 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, no proof, minister of justice declared, narrowly defined life, Transvaal conference: Mandela to replace J.B. Marks, Mandela national president of Youth League, Opposed by group, ex-communists & extreme African nationalists, called 'Bafabegiyi' (Those Who Die Dancing'), freedom now , Poupularity & election-other factors, Height of Defiance campaign 30 July, 1952: Mandela arrested, other the like arrests, Our trial, Our appearance in the court, exuberance & political rallies, Breach of faith, Communism, disagreement, Equality, humiliation, communism, Faintheartedness, party, self-interest, harm, Communism , judiciary, Mistakes but Defiance Campaign new chapter, campaign: ANC- talk than action, mass-based organization, fear of imprisonment removed, it's a hindrance to liberation struggle, non-violence, campaign –unrealistic views , Campaign, time, momentum, Defiance Campaign- urban and rural defiers, Freedom from doubt or inferiority, full fledged freedom fighter

## Part Four

Title: The Struggle Is My Life

## Sub-part: 15

Table 23 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 165-169

Topics: ANC-new president for new era/resistance of government policies, Humility, confidence, patience, fortitude, slow & clear in conversation-leadership, Commitment to struggle/freedom/against apartheid, Road to freedom, Non-violence, passive resistance, Patience, moderation, modesty-in vain, Ban on leaders

Bans & freedom, Ban & illusion of freedom, Secret decision, ANC, SAIC-possible ban, Mandela plan, underground operation, Underground operation & function, leadership, Mandela plan: systematic divisions, cells, Covert restructuring, Education: Lectures, set curriculum, Three courses: world, governed, change, Economic system: capitalism, socialism, Blacks: as race, as economic class, Banned leaders active,

Collective decision-making, Mandela plan: not wide spread defiance, Plan-problems, dissension-government crack down

## Sub-part: 16

Table 24 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 170-177

Topics: Defiance campaign, struggle & livelihood, Different fees from blacks & whites, Liberal firms, African education, No LLB, qualifying examination to support family, Fully-fledged attorney, Own office, Oliver-whites only chair, ANC business, Oliver: cool, logical & intelligent, His objectivity & my emotionalism, Mandela & Tambo collaboration, Mandela & Tambo-only African firm, African- desperate for legal help, Whites only facilities, African humiliations, Oliver: plight of masses, Mandela & Tambo: Hope for Africans, Courts: courtesy & contempt, Africans never to be: prosecutor, magistrate, judge, Authority: protected by colour of skin, Prejudice in court, Kaffir lawyer, Court discrimination, certificate (evicts Mandela), Violation of court practice, 'John', six pence, Urban Areas Act-premises, Code of law: no equality, Population registration, group areas acts: defined inequality, Coloured classification-mistakes, Shoulders' structure-discrimination, Police brutality, Death- multiple causes, Ban: temporarily lifted, African lawyer, Whiteman's law applied to a sangona, Court: Mandela's behavior, African woman: stolen clothes

Sub-part: 17

Table 25 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 178-185

Topics Sophiatown: poverty & squalor, Sophiatown: for whites ( originally), Sophiatown & Africans, Sophiatown: evacuation, Forced evacuation & ANC, Resistance, Expiry of banning orders, Ban, meeting, police, Police: poor records, Police: insulting remarks, Dangerous situation-song, Freedom square, Sophiatown: not moving, Freedom square, Who what saying, Nothing to hide, Government repressiveness, Incite audience, Violence to end Apartheid, Freedom song-youth, Mass struggle, actions & government's restlessness, No moral goodness in using ineffective weapon, Non-violence not answer but ANC policy, Whites & African leaders,

Objection & apology, World festival of youth and students for peace and friendship-Substitute passport, Non-violence- not effective, China/international power, Hothead revolutionary, immorality of Apartheid, Objections on Walter, Walter & China/international power

Sub-part: 18

Table 26 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 186-188

Topics: City & country boy, freedom, Personal traits-early riser, dawn, change, Orange Free State & Mandela-atmosphere/geography, Afrikaaner freedom fighter, African freedom struggle, Bans/restrictions  
Ban & ANC, political awakening, Bans & Freedom fighters, replaced, no authority

Sub-part: 19

Table 27 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 189-191

Topics: Restrictions, freedom, media, political struggle, Oppression, freedom, Truth & justice, overthrow oppressor- sanctioned by humanity , Struck off name for political activities, Support from Afrikaners & Africans-Hope in racist South Africa, Afront to justice, Inherent right to fight for political beliefs, Precedence, no charges paid, Independence of judiciary

Sub-part: 20

Table 28 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 192-206

Topics: Protest, battle cry, Use of force, government, law , Meeting, ban, People's reaction, No violence, planning, Authorities & ANC, Political action, slogan, people, organization, Resistance and people's interest, No alternative- armed violent struggle, Oppressor defines nature of struggle, Education-engine of personal development, African education: Foreign churches, missions, Western- style education, limits

Racist education, White Afrikaner against African education, English-language of emancipation for Africans,

Education Apartheid stamp, Baaskap- institutionalizing inferiority, Africans: no opportunities, Bantu: education according to opportunity, Bantu: menial worker, Bantu: no place in European community, Retard African culture, S freedom struggle, Mental outlook at stake, Education for ignorance, inferiority- no education at all, Religion-division, Education , law, Boycott, Boycott, Boycott: parents & community,

Boycott: mixed results, schools & women, Education, Education, struggle, Reshaping liberation struggle, Freedom charter, New constitution, people, Congress of people, Oppressed and progressive forces, Racial groups, Conference, unity of parties, groups, organizations, Suggestions for freedom charter and Charter of freedom itself, Suggestions from various walks of life, one man one vote, Party & charter , Charter, Congress of people, Delegates, government officials, freedom ,

Songs, speeches, charter read aloud, success, Police's action, meeting, Charter- great beacon of liberation struggle, democracy, equality, human rights, opportunities, good points of historical charters, Charter-objections- communism, whites, capitalism, Charter-revolutionary document, economy, politics, destruction of apartheid

Sub-part: 21

Table 29 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 207-221

Topics: Mandela: Family & political affairs, Transkei trip: friends, family, daughter, Fact-finding-newspaper poor shadow of reality, Talk first hand, Majuba Hills, British, Afrikaners, Bantu music, its effects, Political situation-ANC centralization, Government restrictions, Beauty & rebuke, names of white imperialists, Discussions & consultations, Home coming: familiarity, Mother, Bungha: political body, Bantu authorities, Bungha & chiefs' power, Bantu authorities & role of local chiefs, Madela's audacity, Legal grounds, Homeland, different man 13 years ago, Police followed, Organization & funds, Mother-food, Horn, surprise, joy, Right path? Yes, chosen correctly, Family & freedom struggle, Qunu: people, reminiscent, sisters, Chief: by birth & blood, Second mother: happy, City life: erasing the past, Freedom fighter- own roots, New world, new ideas, political evolution, Organizing, meetings, Bantu authorities, Teaching- lawyer-ANC, Politics & Transkei, National politics & tribal politics, Politically advanced, Democracy & politics-leaders on merit not on birth, Traditional leadership, Self-interest & people

Politically opposite/conflict, Friends & relations, Limping man, Conversation useful and interesting, My identity, suspected policeman, Smuggler-dagga-discrimination, Doors of liberation-open to all, Apartheid- turned men into criminals, Apartheid- immoral & unjust legal system, Contempt for laws & regulations, Congress of people- highest number of leadership, Not superstitious, Owned by whites, untouchable for blacks, Africa of story books, Surveyed surroundings, Places for guerrilla army, Communism & Christianity in South Africa, Poor white



women –tragedy, Newspaper- editorial policy, High treason, suppression of communism act, State’s repressive strategy, Raids, holiday, rejuvenated, Lashes by magistrate, Father bearing gifts

Sub-part: 22

Table 30 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

Pages:

Topics: Party organization, Bantu authorities-platform for our own ideas, Meet people on their own term, Bantustans- Grand apartheid, Blacks & Whites- percentage of land, Theme of report-rejection of integration, Historical-logical homelands, Force, jigsaw puzzle of people’s life, Cheap labor for white industry, ANC’s rejection of Tomlinson commission, Government’s rejection of some recommendations for being progressive, Plot of land near birth place, Activism, Grassroots objections, Quarantined, newspapers for information, Contempt for restrictions, not my own jailor, Bitter political dispute, 1950-club, Health/Gym poorly equipped, Sports/boxing, speed & power, boxing-egalitarian, exercise-outlet for tension & stress, Gym: exercise two & a half hours, Son: happy & confident

Age: 19, 1952: Fox street, first black law practice, Suppression of communism act: bans, Transvaal supreme Court,

Banned men, Dr. Moroka & Albert Luthuli, Chief Luthuli- Africa salute, Youth leader & Mandela, Sophiatown- blackspot, Failed Western Areas anti-removal campaign-oppressor defines nature of struggle, Group of women, address- protest the pass laws, 1956- tense times, Treason trial 1956, Forbidden from political gathering but brought together for treason trial, Our supporter joined us, Skilful coach but rarely present, club shattered, Club: Brutus & Caesar, Truth about betrayal, Separation, boxers, uncomfortable place, African boxers: shackled by poverty, denied the opportunities like white boxing clubs/racism, Less opportunities but great achievements by black

boxers, examples of boxers

## Part Five

Title: Treason

Sub-part: 23

Table 31 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 231-238

Topics: Security officials, children, high treason, arrest, Arrest in front of the children, Security officials, Love of challenges/risks, Political arrests, media, court, Johannesburg prison-Fort, all sorts of men, clothes, Prisons bad conditions, treatment like animals, a nation's standard, Fort: spirits high, media, people, All sorts of freedom fighters gathered, exchange of ideas, experiences, Discussions on parties, negro history, culture, politics, freedom, African heroes song, no difference among freedom fighters, Court of justice, Drill Hall, Twist Street, cheering of supporters, Thumb raised, Non-Whites Only section courtyard conspiracy, Roman Dutch antecedents, death punishment, Two stage evidence, Magistrate, no microphone, loudspeaker, Wire-cage, 'Dangerous. Please Do Not Feed.', Formidable defence, State's humiliating treatment, 'fantastic', 'like wild beasts.', 18000-word Crown case against us, revolver shots, people injured, court

adjourned, Different charges, Freedom Charter, charges for different races, Treason Trial Defence Fund, Treason not colour- blind, restrictions, Prison, health, culture

Sub-part: 24

Table 32 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/**sub-part 1** of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages:239-243

Topics: Marriage unraveling/ family life, Family, birth of child, Family/wife-religion, passivity & submissiveness, oppression, Family- difference in views of roles in life, Difference: service to religion & service to nation, marriage dissolution, Family: battle for the minds of children, religion & politics, Pictures of World leaders on walls/ politics, Family affairs and politics, Family affairs, Family affairs/marriage, Family affairs, Family affairs, politics, Family affairs, differences, failed marriage, Family/marriage, breakup traumatic, Family dispute, children

Sub-part: 25

Table 33 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/**sub-part 1** of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 244-248

Topics : Trial, Freedom Charter, treason/crime political trial, morality Tedium of court logistics, State's evidence, submissions detectives, false, nonsensical accounts, language , Communism , cross-examination- defeat to state's explanations, Trial: violence planning, language, fraud, communism, violence, campaign, riots, murders, Evidence of Conspiracy , Witness- mental health, fraud, State violator of laws, authorities/special branch, falsehood, Laughter, magistrate's scolding , fine for contempt of court, restrain, legal manoeuvring, State: fabricating evidence for lost cause, Evidence and documents, Preparatory examination, Crown dropped charges against some, Government's new appointment, former minister, justice, politics, nationalist, Nazism, communism, state's worry, Discharge, opposition, country on volcano, conspiracy preparatory examination magistrate- 'sufficient reason' high treason, unknown actual trial time/date

Sub-part: 26

Table 34 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 249-253

Topics: Lovely young woman nearby bus stop, The woman & her brother at my office-Winnie, Love at first sight, Love & wife's family, Love, food, Love, marriage, law, Love, politics, Love, proposal, marriage, Treason Trial-law practice, financial difficulties, On Winnie's small salary, Marriage, ban relaxation, lobola, Marriage, customs, Marriage, ceremony, ANC's Executive, Marriage, father's advice, Marriage, family, friends, No honeymoon, routine-work, politics, trial, freedom fighter-no time for wife, love-strength

## Sub-part: 27

Table 35 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 254-256

Topics: Election, parties, protest, Parties, strike, campaign, govt. measures, Strike, leaders, authorities, communication, strike, media, humiliation, decision- pride, embarrassment, strategy , Strike, party, votes, Strike-force, free support, organization-haven, not prison, minority, majority, Home: strike, other sort of coercion, Maid: coercion, strike, Maid: rights, strike

## Sub-part: 28

Table 36 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 257-260

Topics: Discriminatory laws/Passes or 'Reference books' for women, fine of £ 10 or 1 month imprisonment, Women, protest, struggle, freedom, Women refusal & chased away women and clerks of pass office, Arrests by police, Family/wife-to join Orlando women in protest at pass office, wife politicized, Family/wife/single act can change life, Winnie- well-to-do, Freedom fighter- hand-to-mouth, Mandela's warnings/advice to Winnie, Concerns of husband and a leader do not always coincide, Winnie determined/determination, Women-central pass office, Arrested women: 'Tell our madams we won't be at work tomorrow!', Mandela and Tambo: Marshall Square, Winnie happy, Mandela proud, Second day-arrest increased, Lilian Ngoyi-whatever time no to bail, Mandela: compromise- fortnight in prison, after that to bail out, she accepted, Bailed out within two weeks, women's anger, Winnie: two teenage Afrikaner, wardresses- friends with Winnie- visited Orlando- back by Non-European carriage-issue-dismissed-never seen

Sub-part: 29

Table 37 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 261-265

Topics: Trial, judges affiliation & reputation , Shift of trial, state's trick, parties, Commuting /travel, time, money, food, rent, clothes, children, Brilliant & aggressive defense team, Manoeuvre: recusal of judges, Win legal battle, lose war, judge's integrity & political opinion, Judges/judiciary, Trial, indictment, violence, Suppression of Communism Act, Trial, Freedom Charter, overthrow, money & time, Family/Wife: labour, daughter, Family/ birth of child, tradition, modern methods, Family/wife learning driving , Family, wife-marriage & motherhood, wife's identity

Sub-part: 30

Table 38 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 266-269

Topics: Rival party, anti-multiracialism, militancy, masses, Africans/non-africans , Leaders, Youth Leaguers, manifesto, constitution, Africans only, white supremacy, socialism, democracy, no communism, whites, Indians foreign minorities, Africanists, Freedom Charter, African nationalism, Parties, Youth League, principles, leaders, nationalism, unity, communists, Indians, races, PAC founders well known to Mandela, Sobukwe friend, 'Prof', astonished & dismayed at political mentor Gaur Radebe joined PAC, Member of CP's Central Committee aligned with the

Organization that rejected Marxism-curious, PAC: personal grudges, disappointments, jealousy & revenge, Freedom suppress personal feelings but not like robot, as own family to the family of people, individual feelings to people, PAC: views & behaviour immature, Philosopher- odd if not liberal as young, conservative as old, I am not conservative but some of my youth's views undeveloped & callow, Mandela: Sympathy with Africanists but freedom struggle required, compromises & accept discipline one resisted as younger, more impulsive man, PAC: dramatic, over-ambitious programme, liberation in 1963, first step in 1960, last in 1963, Promise dangerous which cannot be kept, PAC: anti-communism, darling of Western press & U.S. State Deptt. , PAC:dagger in heart of African left, NP ally in PAC, anti-communism , PAC: supporting NP's views on separate development, Nationalists also rejected interracial cooperation, NP & U.S. State Deptt. exaggerated size & importance for their purposes , Welcomed role of PAC bringing anyone into struggle, but role always a spoiler, Divide people at critical moment, go to work if we called for strike, misleading statements, ANC & PAC unity possible, Heated polemics cooled: commonality would bring together, Mandela: gave attention to PAC's policies & activities, Mandela: finding affinities rather than differences, PAC: inaugural conference, Sobukwe's presidential address, Asked Sobukwe for copy of presidential address, constitution & other policy material- he promised but not seen for long, Mandela to Potlako Leballo: Promise but no material, Potlako Leballo: not to give , can be used for attack on us, Mandela disabused him & got all material

Sub-part: 31

Table 39 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 270-272

Topics: Parliament Act, self-governments, education, racial discrimination, grand apartheid, Policy, morality, discriminatory proportion, citizenship, freedom, rebellion, Policy, resistance, legal help, govt. cruelties, media-invisibility, defiance-taxes, Party, protest, repression, members, ban, party power, Protests, killings, govt. measures , People against relatives, family, politics, Tribesmen & relatives complaints, differences on separate development

Sub-part: 32

Table 40 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 273-278

Topics: Mills of God & South African judicial system, after 2.8 years 30 pleaded not guilty  
 Crown's documents (books, papers, documents seized from accused): 2000 documents, 210  
 witnesses, 200/210 special branch members, Detectives: in wardrobes, under beds, posing ANC  
 members Documents: Public, muddled by special branch, Poor acoustics of the hall: we could be  
 fined for what we did not say, imprisoned for what we couldn't hear, hanged for what we did not  
 do, Lunch time- spacious garden of neighbouring vicarage, good meals, tea etc. by redoubtable Mrs  
 Thyanagee Pillay, Tiny vacations, politics, jacaranda trees, Test of our endurance than trial of  
 justice, Death of Oswald Pirow- setback to govt. - 'Africans', 'natives', Nuwe Order & New Age,  
 hundred plus documents given free by, Pirow, de Vos replaced him, no eloquence & acuity of  
 predecessors, Beginning of examination of experts: Prof. Murray, expert in communism, admitted  
 charter humanitarian document, represents natural reaction & aspiration of non-whites to harsh  
 conditions in South Africa, State not managed to produce valid evidence that ANC plotted  
 violence, Robert Resha's speech recording- fanfare, drumroll in the press, Robert Resha: Transvaal  
 Volunteer-in-Chief, roomful of Freedom Volunteers in 1956, Robert Resha: Disciplined, not violent  
 be not violent, true volunteer to be violent, absolutely violent- murder Murder ! That is all., Resha's  
 speech- emphasis discipline, Our turn : to go on offensive, Speculation( press & govt.) of Luthuli as  
 first witness but Dr. Wilson Conco, Dr. Conco, experienced, topper of all, pride of Zulus, Justice  
 Kennedy: 'Sinjalo thina maZulu' ('We Zulus are like that.', ANC's commitment to non-violence,  
 Luthuli: blood pressure, witnessed, dignity, sincerity, teacher & chief, ANC policy, Chief Luthuli:  
 innate goodness of man, moral persuasion & economic pressure change of heart of white South  
 African, Non-violence & Pacifism- there is big difference, Men & nations even non-violent  
 defended themselves when attacked, Conco & Luthuli: judges not listening to domestic servants but  
 independent, articulate Africans, Advocate Tengrove: Tried to drag Luthuli to ANC communists



dominated, dual policy of non-violence, public & secret plan of violent revolution, Chief Luthuli: refuted, chief accused of hypocrisy, moderation, Tengrove lose control, Crown running wild, Chief Luthuli's 21st May testimony interrupted by an event of great magnitude, a month later all South Africa different place

Sub-part: 33

Table 41 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 279-282

Topics: December, 1959- ANC annual conference, Durban, anti-pass demonstration, great bonfire of passes,

Planning for anti-pass campaign: deputations, workers went everywhere, leaflets, stickers, posters-circulated, posted in trains & buses , Govt: threat to ban ANC, independent Ghana in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah alarmed Nationalists, , 1960-17 states to be independent, 1960-British PM- winds of change, PAC: sabotage ANC's anti-pass campaign, opportunism, Sobukwe' invitation to join their anti-pass campaign, we declined, people ignored their call, PAC's slogan: ' No bail, no defence, no fine', they believed few weeks sentence but Sobukwe got 3 years imprisonment with no option of fine, PAC's call mixed response but tragic Sharpville occurrence, Sharpville-savagery on front pages around the globe, Sharpville: national turmoil, govt. crisis, U.S. State Dept., U.N. Security Council, racial equality, Stock Exchange , Capital's outflow, whites' emigration, Liberals urged Verwoerd for concessions to Africans , Govt: Sharpville- communist conspiracy, Sharpville massacre: amateurishness & opportunism of leaders, Rank & files showed courage & fortitude at Sharpville & Langa, in one day they moved to front lines of the struggle

Sobukwe: hailed inside & outside the country, Chief Luthuli burned his pass, announced nationwide stay-at-home, National Day of Mourning & protest for atrocities at Sharpville, Orlando:

Duma Nokwe & Mandela burned passes before hundreds of people & dozens of press photographers, Country's magnificent response to chief's call, truly mass organization, Cape town-50000, emergency, habeas corpus, Martial law

Sub-part: 34

Table 42 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 283-285

Topics: Police search, legal help, family, history & fables, Police station, bad conditions & treatment

Tiny cells, no facilities, blankets, food, toilets, drainage, stench, protest, surly rejoinder, protest, threat, Obeying orders & food, Food, committee, petition, release, law, Foulness & filthiness of bedding

Release, rearrest, for seconds & re- Emergency Regulations, State of Emergency, Memorandum to know our rights, Dispute with officers, to attend Treason Trial in Pretoria, to Pretoria Local

Sub-part: 35

Table 43 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 286-290

Topics: Court/ judiciary, Mistreatment/insulting behavior of officials with dignitaries, Judiciary, police

Police, mistakes, justice, organization, court, military training, international power, Detainees from all parts & races of the country, anti-apartheid, ANC& PAC declared illegal, We: outlaws, Prison: worst conditions, Complaints declared lies, sneer, Demands, contempt, later accepted, large cell, trial, legal books, Apartheid: separation by colour, authorities eventually yielded, Diet according to colour, discrimination among Africans, Indians & Coloured too, Food complaints, judiciary, Trips, flights, ANC, leaders, ban, Party: leader, wisdom, external wing, Winding up law practice, friend, Kruger: tall & imposing fellow, treated with fairness, thought of running away, Gentleman's code, not to escape, freedom

Sub-part: 36

Table 44 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 291-300

Topics: Bad effect of State of Emergency on conduct of trial, Defense team to withdraw from the case & conducting our cases in protest, inequities of the State of Emergency, Accused instructed defense council to withdraw & they did so, 3-judge panel shocked, till end of Emergency we conducted our own defence, Strategy simple & defensive: to drag out the case until the end of Emergency, Trial/difficult to prepare case from prison, Trial/Prison & court, Trial/Art of courtroom etiquette-rehearsal, Expected question-too realistic rehearsal, Trial/encouraging light moments, jokes, law, equality, apartheid assumptions, Consultations, prison officials, Integration, ignorant electorate, racism, harmony, Family visit, restrictions, puzzling, Arguments, cross examinations, caliber of trialists, Court: address-advocate, accused, Trial/court proceedings, Prison, meeting, Trial/court: lawyers' release, Trial/protest, trial law & strength, morality, Trial/cross-examinations & re-examinations, Emergency, liberation struggle, lawyers, few weeks in prison, Testimony, banning, internal exile, moderation, non-violence, democracy, Universal adult franchise, economic pressure, dialogue between Africans & government, parliament, danger, violence communism,

one-party state, Democracy, one-party or multi-party system, discrimination, despotism for non-Europeans, Universal franchise & voters' education, Illiteracy, illiterate whites?-discrimination, People, leader, election, manifesto, point of view, interests, not much education, Achieve demands without violence through numerical superiority, Demands possible, foreseeable future, prejudice & hostility, economic pressure, Emergency lifted, joy, family & friends, own bed, Prison, small events of life & person, End of Emergency, trial, violence, miseries of farmworkers, stay-at-homes, strikes, Trial/Professor Matthew, violence, organization, denial, Non-violence, suffering, freedom, oppression, better circumstances

Sub-part: 37

Table 45 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 301-302

Topics: Emergency, National Executive, state-internal threat, underground-depart from democratic procedures, conferences, branch meetings, public gatherings, New structures, communication with unbanned Congress organizations, Executive Committee- to adapt to illegal conditions, Youth League, Women's League dissolved-it was resisted fiercely by some, We: now illegal organization-politics not risky but perilous one, Mandela & Tambo closed: friends' offered facilities, Preferred Ahmed Kathrada's flat No. 13 Kholvad House, practice closed but reputation as lawyer not dimmed, Lounge of No. 13 & passage crammed with clients, only room to be alone in was kitchen, Preparing case-stay late in Pretoria, little time for meals, family, telephone, called away, Winnie pregnant, husband at the hospital at the time of birth but not to be 1960, Christmas adjournment, Makgatho ill, in school, violated banning orders drove all night, again to mother's place, he needed surgery, to arrange for his surgery, When returned: Winnie in labour, rushed to non-European wing of Bridgman Memorial Hospital, mother & daughter in residence, girl ok but, Winnie weak, Daughter's name: Zindziswa, Named after daughter of poet laureate of the Xhosa people, Samuel Mqhayi, inspired many years before at Healdtown, Poet's return after long time, wife pregnant he did not know, his doubt, rage, violated, ten-day no-entry into house, with assegai to stab mother & daughter, Looked & saw she was his image- said 'u Zindzile' ('You are well established')- named

daughter Zinziswa, the feminine version of what he had said

Sub-part: 38

Table 46 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 303-306

Topics: We reputed charges of violence, admitted non-cooperation & passive resistance, if it is high treason we are guilty continued, adjournment, formed opinion, presumed six days later to return for verdict, Bans to expire after 2 days, Police not aware, first time in 5 years to leave Johannesburg to attend meeting, Weekend long-planned- All-in Conference in Pietermaritzburg, Agitation for a national constitutional convention for all South Africans, I main speaker, 300-mile drive before the night to speak, To work from underground, M-plan, free from paralysing restrictions, sometimes surface to show ANC fighting, hazardous life, away from family, A man denied the right to live the life he believes in- he becomes outlaw, After return Winnie read my thoughts, to go for time how long? Not known, pack small suitcase, if convicted –prison if discharged-underground, Good-bye to family, Thembi not present, Children of freedom fighter not ask many questions from father, they understood but knew something serious was occurring, Kissed daughters good-bye, 14 hundred delegates-religious, social, cultural & political bodies for conference in Pietermaritzburg, enthusiastic audience, joyous reaction, forgot experience of intensity of addressing a crowd Speech: called for national convention-black,white, Indian & coloured sit down in brotherhood, constitution-mirrored whole country's aspirations, Called for unity- invincible if spoken with one voice, All-in Conference: called for national convention of elected representative of all adult men & women on equal basis, Non-racial democratic constitution, National Action Council elected, Mandela honorary secretary to communicate this demand to government, If state failed then 3-day stay-away, coincide with declaration of South Africa as republic on 29th May, I had no illusion that the state would agree, October, 1960, all-white referendum, South Africa republic, dreams of Afrikaner nationalism, cut ties with country they fought against in Anglo-Boer war, 52 % pro-

republic, date of proclamation 31st May, 1961, our date of stay-at-home, change for us just cosmetic

After conference letter to ask Prime Minister Verwoerd to call national convention, warning of most massive 3-day strike, beginning 29 May, if failed to call the convention ‘...no illusions about counter-measures..,’ grim dictatorship, Mandela issued press statements affirming strike as peaceful, non-violent stay-at-home, No reply from PM, described letter arrogant, government-intimidating displays of force ever assembled in country’s history

Sub-part: 39

Table 47 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

Pages: 307-310

Topics: Old Synagogue, March 29th , 1961, Treason Trial verdict, supporters & press, visitors’ gallery & press bench packed, Crown to change indictment at the eleventh hour ( 59th minute of the eleventh hour !), the court rebuffed the prosecution, approval murmur by the gallery , 3-judge panel verdict: yes- ANC to replace government, illegal means of protest during Defiance Campaign, some leaders advocating violence, Strong left-wing tendency in ANC revealed in anti-imperialist, anti-West, pro-Soviet attitudes, But impossible for the court to conclude that ANC acquired or adopted policy to overthrow state by violence in the sense to prepare or condition masses to commit direct acts of violence against the state, Court: prosecution failed to prove ANC a communist organization, or Freedom Charter envisioned a communist state, ‘...found not guilty and are discharged.’, Spectators’ gallery, Great happiness, hoisted defence council on shoulder (no easy task in case of Issy Maisels-large man !), looked for friends, wives, relatives, Winnie- hugged her, free for this moment but not to savour that freedom , Treason Trialists: sang ‘Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika’., More than 4 years in court, dozens prosecutors, thousands of documents, tens of thousands of pages of testimony-state failed in its mission, Verdict: an embarrassment to government at home & abroad, Government: more bitter, our grievances not legitimate but made government more ruthless, I did not regard verdict: vindication of legal system, or evidence that black man could get fair trial in white man’s court, Verdict: right, just but as a result of superior

defence team & fair-mindedness of the panel of these particular judges, Court system: perhaps only place in South Africa where black man could possibly receive a fair hearing, Court system: where rule of law still apply- particularly true in courts presided over by enlightened judges- appointed by United Party, many of them still stood by the rule of law, As a student Mandela was taught: in South Africa rule of law paramount, applied to all persons regardless of social status or official position, Sincerely believed in this, planned life based on these assumptions, Mandela's career as lawyer & activist removed scales from eyes, difference between what taught in lecture rooms & learned in courtroom, From idealistic view of law as sword of justice to law as tool used by ruling class to shape society in their favourable way, never expected justice however much I fought for it, though sometimes I received it, Treason Trial: 3 judges rose above prejudices, their education & background, Streak of goodness in men that can be buried or hidden & then emerged unexpectedly, Justice Rump: seemed to share point of view of ruling white minority but in the end fairness dominated his judgment, Kennedy: less conservative, attracted by idea of equality, with Duma Nokwe on same plane, airline bus refused to take Duma, he also refused to ride in it, Judge Bekker: open-minded, aware accused had suffered greatly at the hands of state, Mandela commended the 3 men as individuals, not representative of court or state or even their race These were examples of human decency under adversity, Judge Bekker's wife sensitive to needs of others, During State of Emergency she collected goods & brought to the accused, Consequences of government humiliating defeat: decided never to let happen again, not rely on judges not appointed by them, not to observe legal niceties that protected, terrorists or permitted prisoners certain rights in jail, During Treason Trial: no examples of individuals being isolated, beaten & tortured-all these things became common place shortly after

## **Part Six**

Title: The Black Pimpernel

Sub-part: 40

Table 48 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 311-317

Topics: Pimpernel/underground activities/struggle, Underground structure of ANC, Liberal print media, Address & prayers, Lord's attention towards blacks, Coloured's fear & freedom charter, Passive struggle or militant, Seismic psychological shift- easy for Africans, Planned life, Creature of night, loneliness, Underground- ways to be invisible, Chauffeur, Police, outlaw, press-Black Pimpernel, French revolution, Secret movement, Narrow escapes, Loyalty of African policemen, Deliberately unkempt, Not recognized & snubbed

Sub-part: 41

Table 49 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 318-324

Topics: Underground time: used mainly in planning, Stay- at- home, Virtual war between State & liberation movement, Twelve days without bail, Playing with fire, Sleeping accommodation, Largest call-up, Stay-at-home, English press, PAC's saboteur, Roadblock, pass, fictitious number, Maginificent response, republic day drowned, Response, communication, disappointed, Non-violence over, Second call after consultation, tremendous success, new day, Non-violence-no more, Use of violence, CP-underground, military wing, Revolutionary language, People & enemy, Walter: pride of angry lions, Diplomacy, Violence: old African expression, Textbook definitions, no wait for these, No consensus over the issue, Issue of violence, ANC: non-violence: inviolate principle, Non-violence-a tactic, Symbols of oppression, Not pacifist , Military movement, Violence: different parties, Violence-no reconciliation, Non-violence failed, New military wing, New path of organized violence

Sub-part: 42

Table 50 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA



Pages: 332-335

Topics: Farmhouse-property for underground life House boy, Tea story, Africans not always equal,

Pages: 325- 327

Topics : Military novice, MK spear-resistance to white incursion, Whites allowed, Reading literature & experts, Various freedom fighters of the world, South African history, Freedom day: letter to newspapers, Not to surrender  
Outlaw in own land

Sub-part: 43

Table 51 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Sub-part: 44

Table 52 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Underground freedom fighter-light sleep, China-military training, Magazine “Liberation”, Rivonia-care, Palmach-Jewish National Movement military wing, Rivonia-final addition

Sub-part: 45

Table 53 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

Pages: 336-340

Topics: Four types of violent activities, Sabotage approved, Against government & military installations, Structure of MK like ANC, Not to endanger life, Divided loyalty between ANC & MK, Secretary to be informed, Nobel Peace prize-acknowledgement of our struggle, Setback to Nationalists, Timings of Nobel Peace prize & MK, explosion, 16 December, war & death unfortunate, Birth of MK, Bombings: Apartheid & race discrimination, Freedom & democracy by new methods, Submit or fight, Defence of our people, future & freedom, Liberation without bloodshed & civil war, Civil war, Dingane’s day-righteousness & dynamite on our side, White South Africans on volcano-new era in freedom struggle, Government’s counter offensive, root out threat to their survival

Sub-part: 46

Table 54 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

Pages: 341-348

Topics: Family, children, identity, Magazine “Drum”, picture PAFMECSA-OAU, Underground executive, not to leave the country, a promise, Political & economic support from other countries, PAC’s propaganda, MK, chief, violence, Leaving & a soldier as wife, Last minute consultation, Chartered plane, Nervous- crossing borders, Spare time: animals, Borders of four countries, Africa of myth & legends, Eventful flight, Frightening episode: adept in appearing brave, Blacks & Whites mixed, No colour bar, Free man, truly home, Dar es Salam, simplicity, man of people, Class alien, socialism indigenous, Armed struggle & Sobukwe, PAC’s appeal, Basner: radical politics, persona non grata, asylum, Old man, Sudan, identity, Whiteman for blacks’ rights persecuted, Oliver : military style, International offices of ANC, Lagos conference: unite African states, Happy meeting with old colleagues, Black pilot-strange , Apartheid mindset, Italian imperialism, Guerilla forces in the forests, Blacks inferiors , Nelson Mandela: Chided myself

Sub-part: 47

Table 55 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

Pages: 349-359

Topics: Ethiopia, Selassi, Italian, Allied forces, Ethiopia-special for me, Adis Ababa- not impressive, Emperor of Ethiopia-lion of Judah, Black Generals, soldiers, Application for accreditation blocked-PAC’s description of us, King small- African giant, David Motsamayi- identity, Speech of NM to conference, details given, Personal experience, outlaw, promise, go back, Return to South Africa, Reluctant to support violence  
No alternative, Lack of unity among African freedom fighters, Misguided support for PAC, MK- brainchild of Communist party- described by PAC,  
PAC’s lies, Converted Kapwepwe Conference successful, Egypt-cradle of civilization, Egypt

model for us, President Nasser, Ghana: Country's policies, history, leadership, Tunis: President Habib, positive, Five thousand pounds for weapons, Rabat: crossroads of liberation movements, Algerian resistance to France, White settler community, Not to neglect political side, Algerian/French army, Walking history of guerilla movement, Veterans with traditional weapons plus modern arms, Power of nationalism & ethnicity, Sierra Leon-parliament, Misunderstanding, Liberia: modest living, Annoyed-only books, Bank notes, Senegal: mix of French, Islamic & African culture, Oliver: Asthma, Senghor: Ways of colonizer, Shaka, French-African aspirations, Diplomatic passport, next destination London

Sub-part: 48

Table 56 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 360-365

Topics: Anglophile, British parliament, system of inequity, British manners, England, friends & literature on guerilla warfare, London: 2/3 of globe, Labour & Liberal parties, ANC, white, Indians & communists, PAC, training & support, Non-racialism-core of freedom charter, ANC: First among equals, NM: Military training, amateur boxer, Shooting, bombs, Thoughts of a soldier & politician, Poor: alike everywhere, Liberation army: egalitarian, Advice but he himself different, After 8 weeks to return, commander of MK, Discussion & gift pistol, Kahartoum: booking in a posh hotel, First group of MK recruits, Purpose of revolution: Not only trigger but fair & just society, Private plane, Local white magistrate, real name, South African police, suggestion of white magistrate, chauffeur of Cecil Williams

**Part Seven**

Title: Rivonia

Sub-part: 49

Table 57 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 367-377

Topics: Rivonia: revolution, overthrow, From free to fugitive again, land of my birth & destiny, profound relief, Lilieslief, khaki uniform still, Details of travels, money, ANC non-racialism, reshaping Congress Alliance, Serious proposition, entire leadership, Against unravelling the Alliance?, ANC policy & foreign leaders, No dictation, No quick decision, Sabotage & guerilla warfare, Brief on trip, Welcome home party, Chauffeur, Winnie & children, Geography, Indian ocean, Natural beauty, Sabotage plans, 'Freedom' over, Escape, would have shot, White sergeant-identity, No search-loaded revolver, Revolver & notebook never found, Farce, lawyer, declined to give statement, Locked, Return of the black Pimpernel, Harassment of Winnie-my information, Infiltration with informers, I-lax too, Who did it?, Speculation –futile, No worry of police, No despair, disappointment, Food, share, trust, Johannesburg police-number, Locked, Planning, cough, Walter, Laugh- mixed feelings, Court, Flattery, No. 1 on most wanted list, Spirits- up, Magistrate, attorneys, uneasy, Freedom, fairness, democracy, Symbolism of my role, State on trial, Winnie-hardships, Ngawethu- ie 'Power', Headlines, Jail: Winnie, new dress, love, solidarity, family affairs, Long imprisonment

Sub-part: 50

Table 58 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 378-383

Topics: Verkrampste (hard-line), Liberal, prisin hospital, Hospital comfortable, safest, Speculation of rescuing, Betrayal ?, Government's plan to divide, Beauty & eloquence of my speech, Nationalist oppression, CIA helped my arrest ?, Not kept secrecy of my movements , Visitors & high spirits in prison, Common law criminal, intimidate me, single cell, Visitor: twice a week, Winnie: Clean clothes, food, love & difficulty, Spicy lunch, Red apple-warder, African warders outdo masters, Bail: sensitive issue in ANC, Isolation & communication, I-public symbol of rebellion & struggle, Underground life, Enforced isolation- conducive to study, Law of Torts, Book of torches, sabotage, Daily exercise, Acquaintance- but prison incubator of friendships, Private payroll, Convicted prisoners & political prisoners, Dinath-night, Corruption among cabinet minister, Apartheid-poison, Informer, Escape: benefits, Two plans of escape, Escape: not to be attempted, 'Note' not destroyed, unfortunate time

Sub-part: 51

Table 59 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 384-395

Topics: Monday 15 October, 1962, Free Mandela slogan, Liberation movement, Mass demonstration, Hearing shifted, Old Synagogue, Court & Kaross, Winnie-traditional headdress, Xhosa skirt, Amandla Ngawethu, Friends & family, African walking into white man's court, History, culture & heritage, African nationalism, past & future, Two-week remand demanded, one week postponement given, Hand over Kaross (blanket), Supreme court, never again tried to take blanket, Kaross would incite other prisoners, Own defence, Aspiration of African people, Bench , gallery, press, State on trial, Laws by parliament with not my representation, State on trial: Atmosphere, African tried by kith & kin, colour bar, Fought against: race discrimination, Blackman in Whiteman's court, Trial: witness, leaving country, strike

Did not dispute: technically guilty, National convention, three-day strike, Letter to prime minister, New non-racial constitution, Human rights, civil liberties- of vital importance to African people , Rights of freedom, civil liberties

Rights of government of African people, African not member of parliament, Provincial council, municipal council- No African, Africans: no vote, Parliament & other government bodies, Provincial council, municipal council, Civilised country: PM letter, vital issue, affecting majority of the citizen, No reply to vital issues communication, Tone of letter

Number of witnesses, My witness, defence, Charge was accurate, Cross examination, Unfairness of court, Guilty of no crime, Plea in mitigation, UN, General Assembly- sanctions, It hurts me to send you to prison, Non-European seats filled, police, Amandla, Ngawethu, gavel, Plea in mitigation, Chance-do it again, Elders, arrival of Whites, amapakati, democratic rule, Own country: in name & right, own government, Fatherland, Political outlook, land- whole tribe, men free & equal, all participated, Constitution of the council: Imbizo, Pitso or Kgotla, Political struggle, Much primitive but revolutionary democracy, none in slavery or servitude, Poverty, want & insecurity no more, ANC: democracy & non-racialism, Conflict: conscience & law, Russell: nuclear weapon, Law: immoral, unjust, intolerable

Men, not capable of doing nothing , Law: hamper my life, Law: criminal not what done but stood for outlawed Wife & children, Detection & arrest, Normal family, social life, Denied the right to live normal life, outlawry, Police persecution, administrative action, Our grievances: government actions, violence, Price of beliefs, Sentence cannot change my devotion, Penalties do not deter men from what is right, Conscience, African & prisons of South Africa

Freedom in own country, Fear & hatred of conditions, Sentence completed: still moved by conscience, Duty to my people, Five years imprisonment without parole, Political offence, Winnie: bold, Singing ‘ Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika’- our anthem

Sub-part: 52

Table 60 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

Pages: 396-400

Topics: Prison: robs freedom & identity, Authoritarian state, Fight against prison to rob qualities of independent & identity, Uniform for Africans, Convicted prisoners, Short trousers: 'boys', Food, clothes & isolation 'Political's', Locked up: twenty-three hours, Isolation: no watch, time, company-insects, Absence of human companionship: dehumanizing, Swallow pride, Freedom fighter beside his people- locked away With others, Robert Sobukwe, mealie, Desire for company, 'New Age', African tour, authorities, single cells

Prison conditions, Tefu, Sobukwe- Russian history, Freedom in 1963, Leader & demand, False hopes, Bob- not a real politician !, Tefu: complaints, Mandela: afraid of whiteman- who is he?, Newspaper: Mandela-that is who Mandela is !, Walter Sisulu: bail, underground, Nana Sita: house, 'white', Group Area Act, Blackout, blood pressure, pills, overdose, Winnie's visit, concerns, Rumours: health broken down

Sub-part: 53

Tabl 61 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 401-403

Topics: Conference, Mass political action, military wing of struggle, terrorism, new militancy, Separate development-self- government, Individual freedom- election: opposed to homeland policy, Bantustan system instituted, voting only, ANC to use both, Leaders voiceless: imprisonment, banning or exile, Terrorism, Bantu Authorities, Sabotage, iron fist, General Law Amendment Act, Ninety-day detention Law, habeas corpus, Police state, Liberal Progressive Party, lone vote against the act, Penalties: from five years to death sentence, communism, redetention, Sabotage Act, Act: wording broad, House arrest, bannings, Sabotage: Minimum- penalty five years without parole, maximum- death, media, Prohibited: reproduction of statement, Possession of banned publication criminal offence



Sub-part: 54

Table 62 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 404-416

Topics: Someplace very beautiful, 'Die Eiland', Robben Island, Four of us shackled, windowless moving van sanitary buckets, Robben Island-beautiful 'Esiquithini'= 'At the island', Makanna (Nxele)-Xhosa commander 'forlorn hope' (phrase: Ukuza kuka Nxele), Autshumao, Autshumao's only ever successful escape, Robben island: Seal (Dutch), Robben island: different uses, Island, 'die', Afrikaans & English, Haas! Haas ! ('move' for animal), Jog, Political prisoners, Punished for beliefs, Warning, , Dress, undress- soaking clothes, Length of hair, Hit- no defence, Bravado-court-surprise, Act within law, Not prepared to be bullied, Political prisoner-lawyer-then quieter, Provoked Boer, record, Filthy record, Rights of people, Single cells with windows, no talk, Taken to cells with large windows- best I have ever seen, Cells-own toilets & showers, Cold porridge, exhausting day, others sleep, I on blanket, Coloured warder, Mandela no smoking, tobacco & sandwiches, Coloured warder: great risk, Island: no idea of prisoners (work), Job given to do, Steve- Afrikaans, Two brothers on island-assaulted prisoners, One brother to assault Mandela other brother stopped, Head of prison, Pens- animal stomach, maag- human stomach, Most revolutionary organization- Communist party, Poor National party ! ash-heap of history !, More tobacco to Gaetsewe !, Equal piles, choose !, Agony of indecision, still unhappy, Warder: warning, Punish Tefu, Tefu alone 'It is not fair'- Tefu- 'I am an old man.' Abused my power ?, Other prisoners, my nephew, Transkei, family history, PAC, ANC, PAC: Propaganda, people's knowledge, Good-bye, dehumanizing, Safety in numbers, Hungry, Pretoria- their own motives, falsehood, Solitary confinement- prisoners resourceful, Sabotage Act, Grapevine, Who else under arrest?, 1961-bannings, Thomas Mash-recognized, Rivonia, Charged with sabotage, Dry cleaner's van, policemen, police dogs, Farm search- documents but no weapons, Jo Slovo, Bram Fischer not there, First day in court- no counsel, Serious trial, Lesser crime punished by life sentence, You might hang- long sleep !

**Sub-part: 55**

Table 63 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 417-427

Topics: Fortified police van, Before the whole world, All around police officers, Amandla !, Ngawethu !, Mayibuye Afrika!, No proper clothes, Lost weight, Security tight, Judge Quartus de Wet, Indictment, copy given, Charges: sabotage & conspiracy, Solitary confinement, Winnie unable to attend, State's barbarous technique of applying pressure, State doing the same to families, Winnie-traditional dress,, Irony-Forbade Winnie, Together preparing our case, Government-case-in the newspapers, Palace of Justice, suit comfortable, State- attack from us, Technically free-re-arrest, Charged: sabotage & guerilla warfare, Disdain for the proceedings, Government to be in dock, Government is responsible for the happenings

Each said: government is criminal, Microphone- dignity of court, Yutar: charges, Umkhonto, Charges, Government: 173 witnesses, Mandela:out of country, planning at Rivonia, State's star witness Mr. X, Witness of MK cadre to convict me, Mtolo-I did not lose faith, Testimony- simplicity, Break under torture, Betrayal, Petty criminals, Incriminate us, Six-page plan of action, Operation Mayibuye, Plan drafted in my absence, Capital trial, Sense of honour, Communication, We-locked up,outside new life, Godfather-to accept this office, Accepted- my honour !

Sub-part: 56

Table 64 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 428-442

Topics: Case: evidence & defence, Supreme penalty/Death sentence, Trial: platform for our beliefs, No legal sense but moral sense, Deny murder, guerilla warfare, Handwriting-communism, Not limited by questions & answers-read statements, Politics & ideals, grievances, State's eavesdropping/ disinformation, Fortnight –draft of address, Mandela's address: some approved, Bram concerned, Tight security- Winnie, mother, Defence would deny state's a number of state's assertions, Preparation for guerilla warfare were being made, Accused No. 1, Not to testify, Counsel: sufficient experience, Criminal code, Degree, attorney, Admit: formed MK, Incorrect perception/opinion of state, Transkei-elders, stories, Question of violence, some charges true some untrue, no love of violence, Tyranny, exploitation & oppression- so violence, Not acted irresponsibly, no harm to human life, ANC: non-racial democracy, African: fewer rights, Non-violence achieved nothing, ideas of terrorism, MK formed in 1961, Civil war, Civil war-racial peace, Result of war, 50 years: Anglo-Boer war, great loss of life on both sides, Sabotage for race relation, Sabotage: punishable by death, Rebellion: government's slaughter of our people, Force to defend against force, Whites compulsory military training- not to Africans, Left country-attended PAFMECSA, Guerilla war, sabotage, ANC & MK to keep separate, Ideological creed, African Nationalism, No socialist state, Not condemned capitalist society, ANC & Communist party different, ANC: Africans' rights, Communist party: working class government, Cooperation between ANC & Communist party- only common goal, Like cooperation between GB, USA & Soviet Union against Hitler, African leaders- Communists as friends-Communists treated Africans as human beings & equals, Not communist but African patriot-attracted to classless society, Influenced by Marxist thought, Marxist literature- parliamentary system, Magna Carta, Petition of Rights & Bill of Rights, British & US democratic & judicial institutions, Disparity between black & white life, Lack of human dignity, Africans, white supremacy, black inferiority, Poverty, morality & violence, Share & equal political rights, Revolutionary, fear of whites, democracy, Right to live, Struggle for freedom, against domination, prepared to die, After address silence, 4 hours- read Wet, lessen impact of my statement, Wide publicity of speech, Denying responsibility for sabotage, Operation Mayibuye & policy of guerilla warfare not adopted by ANC, Opposed-

premature, Communist party membership, Four counts guilty, Moral duty-no moral guilt, Membership of ANC & Communist party- Govan & Kathrada, Radio, aerial at the farm, Denied acts of sabotage, Brother-in-law of Wolpe-to intimidate him/progressive lawyers, Jimmy-ties change, De Wet dismissed charges against him, Some: Never broken down, Been assaulted in prison, Leather-bound volumes, Ad hominem insults, Failed to prove guerilla warfare, Judge's questions-hope, No decision of guerilla warfare, Murder & attempted murder- not mentioned in indictment, Legal questions, MK's policy: no loss of life, Guerilla war, ANC=MK ?, No decision, no date fixed for guerilla warfare, Bram, de Wet, 2 organs separate, De Wet- considered verdict

Sub-part: 57

Table 65 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages:443-445

Topics: Judge de Wet, Rivonia trial, London university, student president, Rivonia trial & the world, LLB papers, University of London, passed exams, 11 June, sentence, Reasons for the conclusions, Guilty on 4 counts, Kathy ¼ counts, Sentence- not today, Death sentence-?, No appeal even if death sentence, Counsel unhappy about the decision of no appeal, My death-our death not in vain, Would not be appealing, If not death sentence still no appeal for it may go against us, Nationalist not to repeat the mistake of no death sentence, John Vorster-minister of justice, Smuts-prime minister, Mandela: prepared for death, Shakespeare's quotation: ' Be absolute for death; for either death or life shall be the sweeter.'

Sub-part: 58

Table 66 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 446-450

Topics: Friday, 12 June, 1964, 'WE STAND BY OUR LEADERS', Winnie & mother-son will be sentenced to death, 'The state against Nelson Mandela & others'-Alan Paton president of Liberal Party, Two alternatives: to bow or to resist, De Wet- moment to reveal decision, To catch his eye- not looking in our direction, Grievances of non-European population, De Wet- catch breath, voice muted, barely audible, Function of court: enforce law & order, Crime of conspiracy= high treason, Supreme penalty-no, life imprisonment, 'Dennis, what is it?' 'Life!'. 'Life! To live', Thumbs-up ANC salute, police hustled us out of dock, Handcuffed in the cells, black van, 'Amandla', clenched fists, Separated from Dennis Goldberg- he was white, We-Pretoria Local, International pressure, Verwoerd- no influence of telegrams- telegrams from socialist nations into waste-basket, De Wet- defence propaganda- acknowledging pressure- majority would regard him our killer, Greater pressure from his own people, Mandela surprisd & displeased on Kathrada, Motsoaledi & Mlangeni sentence, Pretoria Local: every evening before lights out African prisoners' freedom songs, 'Amandla!', 'Ngawethu!', call-and-response

## Part Eight

Title: Robben Island: The Dark Years

Sub-part: 59

Table 67 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 453-460

Topics: Midnight, knock at the door, colonel Aucamp, taking to place of freedom, not my ideal freedom, no trouble-get everything you want, Aucamp:Woke all, in single cell, through iron labyrinth, metal doors, Handcuffed & piled in police van, national heroes soon but took 3 decades, In plane- shivering, Examining scene as strategist, guerilla army might hide here, Forested area could shelter nascent guerilla force, Minutes later-Cape Town, Table Mountain, Table Bay, Atlantic-Robben Island, On Island: Airstrip, cold winter wind, thin prison uniform, guards automatic weapons, Driven to old jail: to strip, indignities of prison life, change garb of old prison to new, Plain khaki uniforms of Robben Island, Apartheid in clothing, Guns & one-word command by warders, Maximum security structure for political prisoners, Taken to prison within prison,

German shepherds, Sections A,B, C, we in B, at night both doors locked, Cells damp, your bodies will absorb moisture, bad bedding, cold, Cell- small cramped space, 'N. Mandela 566th /64', General sections F & G, common-law-prisoners, ¼ political in them, isolation: 2 reasons-risky from security & political point of view, not to 'infect' others with political views, With us prominent figures of other parties, Other prominent figures, intellectual were with us-more company, Festive times in prison seeing old friends & new faces, First few weeks-oppressive, as many guards as prisoners, Work: to move (wheelbarrows) & crush stones, Enforcing silence, warders staring as were caged animals, Work tedious & difficult, muscle ache, June, July bleakest, winter, rains, cold, shiver to the bones, exercise permission under strict supervision, Kathy: 'Laat daardie kroiwa loop!' ('Make that wheelbarrow move!'), Wheelbarrow to tip over, warders laughed, Mandela helped Kathy, warders stopped smiling, Filling skip: excessive demands, our policy, no quotas, go-slow strike, threats but we continued as long as we worked in courtyard, Robben Island: Great change(62-64), experiment to fully fledged, harshest prison both for prisoners & prison staffs, Coloured warders-cigarettes & sympathy gone, warders white, Afrikaans- speaking overwhelmingly, master-servant relationship, baas, we refuse to call them, Racial divide absolute: no black warders, no white prisoners, Movement among prison adjustment but the Island new, harsh & distant world, here different fight had begun, Trousers, complaints list, ignored, 3-piece pin-stripped suit on my floor, other comrades given ?, Not given to them, I returned, warder balked at touching that trouser worn by black man, commanding officer picked it up, same clothing as everyone else, why not others? No answer

Sub-part: 60

Table 68 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 461-464

Topics: Island: 2 weeks, our lawyers, purpose: how we settled & still no appeal against the sentence, few weeks-eternity, visitors from another world, Empty room, hugging but restrained by major's presence, We are well, no appeal, Bram believed we should appeal, Bram-Molly, his wife, my asking about her disturbed Bram, once again composed but not answered my question, Molly's death in car accident, drowned, Molly: (we devastated by the news) wonderful, generous, unselfish,

without prejudice, helped Bram greatly-had been wife, colleague, comrade, Bram: already experienced disaster- adolescent son's death by cystic fibrosis, Bram: act of turning away, stoic, not to burden his friends with his own pain, troubles, Bram: Afrikaner, conscience, rejected own heritage, ostracized by his own people, Bram: Level of courage & sacrifice-class by itself, Mandela: I fought against injustice, not my own people, Letter to Bram, major allowed (didn't live up to his agreement, letter never posted), surprised & pleased, Rules governing letter-writing: to immediate families, 1 letter 500 words every 6 months, Within few months settled into pattern, Prison life is about routine, each day, week like previous one, months, years blend into each other, anything that departs from that pattern upsets authorities, Routine: sign of well-run prison, Routine-comforting, trap, pleasant mistress hard to resist, makes time go faster, watches, time-pieces barred, Never knew precise time, only bells, whistles, shouts to depend on, effort to recall day & month, first thing to make calendar on wall of my cell , Losing sense of time is easy way lose grip & even one's sanity, Prison: Time slows down- not idleness & inactivity but work, study & resolving disputes, things- hours outside, months inside, Challenge: for (political) prisoner- survive prison intact, undiminished, conserve, replenish beliefs, what to do to survive, know enemy's purpose before strategy, Prison designed: to break spirit, destroy resolve, exploit weakness, demolish initiative, negate signs of individuality, Stamp out spark that makes human & who one is, Survival in Prison: Understanding what authorities wanted to do to us & sharing that understanding, authorities' mistake, together-strength for us, Men: capacity & reaction different to stress , Stronger raised weaker-both stronger in the process, created our lives, authorities acknowledged, order in prison not by warders but by ourselves, Leader: sometimes unpopular actions, results not known for years, some victories' glory known to winners, consolation in being true to your ideals, even if no one else knows of it, Sidelines: smaller, different arena-audience we & oppressors, microcosm of whole struggle, fight inside as outside, racism & oppression same, simply to fight on different terms, Prison & authorities: conspire to rob each man of his dignity, I would survive-any man or institution to rob me of dignity will lose, Will not part with it at any price & under any pressure , Would not emerge from prison-not seriously considered, Life sentence not truly life sentence, never thought would die behind bars, perhaps denying this because unpleasant to contemplate, Someday: feel grass under my feet, walk in sunshine as a free man, Mandela: fundamentally optimist-comes from nature or nurture cannot say, Part of being optimistic keeps: one's head pointed towards sky & feet moving forward, Dark moments: Mandela's faith in humanity sorely tested but would not & could not give himself up to despair- that way lay defeat & death

Sub-part: 61

Table 69 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 465-468

Topics: 5:30 am, brass bell, yelled- 'Word wakker! Staan op!', Early riser, no burden, 5:30-6:45, At 6:45 am- clean cells, roll mats, blankets, No running water, iron sanitary buckets (ballies- 10 meter diameter, concave porcelain lid, could contain water-used for shaving, cleaning hands & faces, At 6:45 am- clean ballies, whispered word, lingering not allowed, talk softly, First few months Breakfast( mealie pap porridge, cereal made from maize or corn) in cells by general prisoners, slop in bowls, spin through bars, clever trick, deft hand not to spill, Few months later: breakfast in courtyard in metal drums, metal bowls, mug of what was called coffee but in fact ground-maize, baked until it was black & brewed with hot water

Before breakfast Mandela would jog around the perimeter, Diet discriminatory: 'balanced diet', balanced-between unpalatable & inedible, food source of protest, Authorities: 'Ag, you kaffirs are eating better in prison than you ever ate at homes!', Authorities: 'Val in!, Val in!' ( 'Fall in!, Fall in!')- inspection, khaki jacket properly buttoned (3 buttons), doff of hats if warder walked, If: buttons undone, hats unremoved, cells untidy- violation of prison code punished with either solitary confinement or loss of meals, After inspection work in courtyard, no breaks, noon-lunch, drum wheeled into courtyard, African: boiled mealies-course kernel of corn, Indians & Coloured: samp, or mealie rice- ground mealies in soup-like mixture samp sometimes with vegetables, Our mealies served straight, Lunch: often received phuzamandla ('drink of strength')- powder from mealies & a bit of yeast, to stirred in water or milk, if thick tasty but authorities gave so little to just colour water, Mandela: saved powder for several days but if found hoarding- confiscated & punished, After lunch worked until 4, ½ hour to clean, seawater shower, salt water tap, 3 large galvanized metal buckets used as bathtubs, No hot water, stand or squat soaping with brackish water, rinsing off the dust, Cold water in cold weather: not pleasant but made best of it, sometimes sing-water less icy, could converse here in early days, 4:30, knock at wooden door, supper delivered, common-law prisoners would dish out food, We would return to cells to eat, mealie pap porridge, sometimes odd carrot, piece of cabbage or beetroot thrown in to (usually) search for it, If we did get a



vegetable: same one for weeks until carrots & cabbages were old & mouldy, thoroughly sick of it, Every other day a small piece of meat usually mostly gristle, Supper: Indians & Coloured got ¼ loaf of bread (katskop, that is, cat's head after the shape of the bread & a slab of margarine, Africans: it was presumed that they did not care for bread as it was a 'European' type of food, Food: Less than scanty amount, kitchen smuggling, cooks common-law prisoners- best food for themselves or friends, tastiest morsels for warders to get favours or preferential treatment, 8 pm night warder locked in corridor, key in small hole to outside warder, warder's walk up & down, ordering go to sleep, no 'lights out', single mesh covered bulb burned day & night, Later: those studying for higher degrees permitted to read until 10 or 11 pm, Acoustics in corridor good: chat a bit to each other before going to sleep, if whisper clear, also to warder, yell- 'stilte in die gang' ('Quiet in the passage'), Warder: would walk up & down a few times to make sure we were not reading or writing, Few months later: sand along the corridor to hear footsteps of warder so that we could stop talking or hide any contraband, When we were quiet warder would take his seat in small office where he dozed until morning

Sub-part: 62

Table 70 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 469-472

Topics: After meeting with Bram & Joel, to head office ¼ mile, stone structure, fingerprints taken, photographs- authorization?, Familiar with regulations-valuable, warders ignorant of them & could be intimidated by superior knowledge, warder taken aback & unable to offer explanation, threatened to charge but no pictures without authorization, Pictures-demeaning to be seen as prisoner, did consent to 1, the only one on Robben Island, Instead of hammers needles, thread & jerseys, CO with reporter & photographer of Daily Telegraph London, announced as international press regular diversion for us, First official visitors, skeptical of them, Conservative newspaper

not sympathetic to us, in government's interest to show we not being mistreated 2 journalists walked around the courtyard, Mandela to talk, prison rules every individual to talk for himself, To negate power of organization & collective strength, Objected but little headway, Not to use the word 'we' when made complaints, But if to speak on behalf of others it was Mandela to speak, Reporter-20 minutes, candid about prison & Rivonia Trial, photograph, relented only it would be published overseas, help our cause, even if least bit friendly, Would agree for photograph if Mr. Sisulu could join me, in image we are talking about something not remember, never article or heard about, Reporters barely put of sight- jerseys removed & hammers given, Stream of visitors, Rivonia Trial but government to show proper treatment,, Stories of inhuman conditions, assaulted, tortured, Government embarrassed by allegations, to combat brought string of outsiders to rebut critical stories, British lawyer, who argued Namibian independence before the world court, a Mr. Hynning-representative of American Bar Association, Americans novelty in South Africa, Mandela curious to meet representative of such an august legal organization, Mr. Hynning's visit: into courtyard, General Steyn-polished, sophisticated, suits of fine quality & a fashionable cut, General Steyn: called us 'gentlemen', doffing his hat to us but he oppressed us by omission rather than commission, blind eye, habitual absence, emboldened brutal prison officials, carte blanche to them, General said to select our spokesman & Mandela's name was called out by prisoners, General nodded & Mandela stood & detailed summarized complaints ( food, living conditions, work detail) , Central & most important: political prisoners not criminals, Mindless work, Mr. Hynning said as prisoners we had to work, lazy to boot, Our cells, he said in backward American prisons conditions worse than on Robben Island, paradise by comparison, justly convicted he added, lucky not to receive death penalty we probably deserved , Mr. Hynning: perspired a lot, not sober, southern American accent, curious habit of spitting while talking, something never seen before, Mandela interrupted after hearing a lot, you misunderstand, took offence that Mandela was contradicting him, General Steyn: watched & listened without comment, Circumstances: tempers could not be kept down, men angered by Mr. Hynning's remarks, why permitted to see us at all, normally visits lifted but this one demoralizing, authorities wanted this, Meeting someone with so impressive affiliation and so little understanding was depressing, Hynning turned and walked away without so much as a good-bye, we not sorry to see him go, Discussed Mr. Hynning for years, Men imitated the way he spoke to comic effect, never heard about him again, he did not win friends on Robben Island for the American Bar Association

Sub-part: 63

Table 71 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 473-478

Topics: Four categories (A-D) of prisoners, A most privileges & D lowest, Political prisoners/ 'security prisoners-automatically D, Privileges: visits, letters, studies, opportunity to buy groceries & incidentals-lifeblood of prisoner, Raising status from D to C took years, Despised classification system-corrupt, demeaning, repressing prisoners in general and political prisoners in particular, Classification parallel to sentence, Refused to compromise conduct & be docile & not complain for category change, Classification evaluation= political tribunal, Inhuman restrictions-communication one's with family ' first degree' relatives-African & European /Western view of immediate family, No news about family- worse than bad in prison, Mail-call, not giving letter without reason, not to explode, proper channel, Letter like summer rain, not to show eagerness, Letter-heavy censor, ink/razors, Visit: not told who, Winnie-banned, special dispensation, technically not permitted, Visiting Robben Island: not easy, maximum 30 minutes, no contact/same room visits, Visits: not planned, authorities' manipulations, some men no visits in decade, Visiting room: for non-contact visits-cramped, windowless, smudged glass with holes drilled, Microphones & speakers-improvement, Walter & Mandela: Winnie-dressed up, frustrating not private moment, Winnie: strained, my circumstances, getting to Robben Island, harsh rituals, indignities of warders, impersonality of contact, Winnie: second banning, loss of job, as social worker, harassment of wife a trouble, powerlessness gnawed at Mandela, Conversation awkward, not easy by presence of warders, only English & Afrikaans not African languages, Only family matters no political, if deviate or unfamiliar name authorities interrupted, Warders not familiar with variety & nature of African names- so interruption often, wasting our precious minutes explaining, ignorance also good to invent code names for people & pretended referring to family members, First visit : important, my health, physical abuse, I was fit but thinner, Winnie thinner too, face drawn or tense, urged her to put on weight, inquired about my & Winnie's families, Warder: 'Time up! Time up', visits-go by in blinking of an eye, retain Winnie's presence, return to visit again and again, not to see Winnie

for six months but it turned out not to see her for another 2 years

Sub-part: 64

Table 72 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 479-486

Topics: Lined up to be counted, lime quarry, Lime quarry-blindingly white cliffs & base, palms, grass & metal sheds, At quarry to be for 6 months, then light work for the rest of terms but remained for 13 years, Tools & instructions for lime mining, slept after supper at 4:30 in the afternoon, woke next morning aching & tired, No explanation why quarry but to show we were not different from general prisoners, to crush our spirits, Opposite effect, we invigorated, I preferred to be outside in nature, Walk to & from quarry- tonic, some considered drudgery but Mandela did not. Not different from common prisoners, lepers, hide, not to be affected- our sight, corner of eye- ANC salute, Road divergence, communication site, cottage- Robert Sobukwe, Sobukwe clause of General Law Amendment 1963, half-life, Morning: tools, armed warders, 'Gaan aan! Gaan aan!', if we were oxen, 11 am, flag, sweat, 'Nee, man! Kom aan! Kom aan!' pile lime, wheelbarrow, truck, Midday: we ate under small zinc shed, warders large shed, tables & benches, for us mealies, seagulls, could spoil lunch, At 4 pm- lime in truck, faces caked with white dust, pale ghosts, scrub in cold water, never rinsed away dust, Light worse than heat at the quarry, Sunglasses, reading glasses refused/not permitted, Almost after 3 years sunglasses, to purchase them ourselves,

Sunglasses etc.-corollaries to outside struggle, apartheid struggle, preserve our humanity , Quarry B section prominent political prisoners- ‘little Rivonia Trial’,MK, SACP, Treason Trialist, Liberal Party, African Resistance Movement, Eddie became one of my greatest friends, Counterbalance: common-law-prisoners, Big Fives or Twenty-Eights, agent provocateurs, inhibit our political discussions, Bogart-Walter’s breakfast, too scared to refuse , Gang members: ‘ Benifunani eRivonia?’ (what did you want at Rivonia?), next line- ‘Did you think that you would become the government?’, warders encouraged & hoped to provoke us, Fight fire with fire-‘Stimela’, not political song but the context made it here, train from Southern Rhodesia, guerillas to fight South African army, Songs increased: ‘Amajoni’ ( Johnny), ‘ Tshotsholoza’ –comparing struggle to motion of an oncoming train, Freedom Charter, Transkei- lyrics, ‘There are two roads, one is the Mantanzima road, and one road is the Mandela road, which one will you take?’, Singing-work lighter, gang members no competition for us, warder-fluent in Xhosa, stop singing, whistling banned, then worked in silence, Gang members: raw material to be converted, non-political prisoner-‘ Joe My Baby’, ANC & smuggle material in & out, Bogart’s savage beating by warder, my help, Ways to stand up to the authorities, PAC-Ganya’s beating, attorney role, letter, head office, remove warder from island, refused, but shortly afterwards transferred off, Emboldened: Bogart’s case, Bogart, ‘ No, baas, I was never assaulted.’, dismissed, Commander: ‘Well, Mandela, the case is closed.’, Manela humiliated, Bogart bribed with extra food & tobacco, after that signed & written statement to take up case

Sub-part: 65

Table 73 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

Pages: 487-496

Topics: Prison: no improvement without reason, IRC , IRC: Western powers & UN's attention, authorities feared, world opinion, avoid condemnation, IRC: listened & responded to us, regulations: some procedure for complaints, did every Saturday but perfunctory, chief warder: 'Klagtes en Versoeke! Klagtes en, Versoeke! (Complaints and requests! Complaints and requests!) , Those with these lined up, complaints about food, clothing, visits, chief warder: 'Ja, ja', next.', if organization warder yelled 'No ANC or PAC here! Verstaan?'(Understand?), List of complaints: consulted at quarry & lavatory, to warder, accused of violating regulations, to IRC authorities not listen to grievances , On visit Mandela called to head office, Mr. Senn, nervous, not comfortable in his surroundings, Sweden, Rhodesia, Meeting not monitored, critical difference, listened carefully, extensive notes, again meeting tense, what to expect from other, Complained vociferously: clothing, food, visits, letters, studies, exercise, hard labour, behavior of the warders, certain requests such as transfer to prisons nearer home that authorities would never satisfy

Clothing improved, Senn acclimatized in racism, bread bad for your teeth, mealie makes them strong, Later liberal representatives, wholeheartedly fought for improvements, money to wives & relatives for visits to the island, Study permission, D too granted permission, no postgraduate studies but exception in my case as I established precedent in Pretoria, Few BAs, registered for university-level courses, few not high school certificates some well educated, some only Standard V or VI, night like study hall than a prison, Study with conditions- no politics or military history, no funds but from families, lending books, Controversy: study privileges, Unity Movement, unfettered right, as freedom fighters & political prisoners study could improve & strengthen us, UNISA, Rapid Results College, Mandela- University of London mixed blessing, books on on South African reading list, many as unsuitable and banned , Book: South African library for book on contract law, book received after return date, late fine for not even having received book , With books, publications, Economist, received, subscription ended, Minimum facilities- tables & chairs, to IRC, stand-up desks, wooden board jutting out of wall chest-level, After quarry working at standing desks tedious, Kathy, desks sloped steeply, commanding officer surprise visit, 4 books, nothing happened, sheepish Kathy, 6 months later given three-legged wooden stools & desks lowered, Arbitrary way of charging, judicial hearing, magistrate, not done, to IRC, problem for myself, situation soon altered, Weekends: all day in cell except 30 minutes for exercise, one Saturday, newspaper on bench, warder friendly, not by accident, Newspaper: more valuable than gold, diamonds, food or tobacco for political prisoners, news-intellectual raw material for struggle, news not allowed at all, Walter bereft without news, complete blackout, to raise our morale or to

know people outside are thinking about us, Duty to keep ourselves updated of the politics, fought for newspaper, not adept at first, quarry, warders' sandwiches, newspaper, newsprint wrappers, retrieved from bin & slide into our shirts, Acquiring paper: through bribery, only unethical means of obtaining information I tolerated, warders always short of money- their poverty our opportunity, Papers: risky to pass, possession serious charge, one person, usually Kathy or, later mac Maharaj to read, Kathy in charge of communications, he had ingenious ways to pass information, go through the paper, make cuttings, secretly distributed, write summary, passed among us, smuggled to general section, after summary paper destroyed into small pieces, placing in ballie, warders never inspected, Newspaper: left cell, plucked it, normally after bedtime but like child eating pudding before main course, so eager, opened the paper in cell immediately, Engrossed, not heard footsteps, officer & 2 warders, caught black-and-white-handed, charged for possessing contraband, thorough search anything for else, Magistrate: room at headquarters as island's court, open-and-shut case, I offered no defence, sentenced 3 days isolation & deprivation of meals, I do not think I was set up by warder as some assumed, authorities- how I got newspaper, refused to answer, if railroaded they would have known how I had got it, Isolation cells: same complex, other wing, across courtyard, felt enormously distant, Isolation- no company, exercise, food (only rice water), pap seemed feast, First day in isolation-painful, second day more or less adjusted to absence of food, third day without craving, deprivation common to Africans in everyday life, I without food for days in early years in Johannesburg, Solitary confinement: forbidding aspect of prison life, no end & beginning, own mind-plays tricks, dream or really happened? question everything, right decision? My sacrifice worth it? No distraction from these haunting questions, Human body: enormous capacity for adjusting to trying circumstances, One can bearable if can keep one's spirit strong even body is being tested, Your spirits can be full even when your stomach is empty, Early years- isolation habit, charged for smallest infractions, lose meals for sidelong look, failing to stand on warder's entering room, some PAC prisoners flouted rules for the sake of doing so, so great deal of time in isolation, Authorities believed: isolation cure for defiance & rebelliousness, Second isolation shortly after first, great difficulty in making complaints heard, Remoteness of prison authorities ignored with impunity, deaf ear, give up in frustration, outside world would forget about us, One day at quarry: Commanding officer with his commanding officer-Brigadier Aucamp( not to be confused with the same name at Pretoria Local who looked after us during Rivonia Trial), both watched us at a distance, Aucamp: short, heavysset, in suit, biannual inspection, we to stand at attention at grille of cells, holding up our cards as he walked by, To present our grievances, walked towards them, violation of regulations, warders to be surprised by my novelty of action, would not

stop me, that proved to be the case, Reached 2 men, commanding officer- 'Mandela, go back to your place.', addressed Aucamp, again ordered, Mandela- 'I am here already, I will not go back.', hoped Aucamp would hear me out but he studied me coldly & said calmly to warder- 'Charge him.', CO: 'Take him back to the cells.', charged, no defence, 4 days isolation, lesson in what I had done Disobeyed in desperation- no one, least of all prison officials likes to have his authority publically challenged, Aucamp, response, humiliate his subordinate, prison officials- better responded to private overtures, Robben Island- best to influence privately than publically, Mandela sometimes condemned for being too accommodating to prison officials but he accepted this criticism in exchange for the improvement

Sub-part: 66

Table 74 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 497-503

Topics: Section warder more important than minister of justice, commissioner of prisons, even head of prison, your demand immediately fulfilled if at good terms with him, Decent to warders in my section, hostility self-defeating, ANC policy- educate all, even enemies, all men, even prison service warders capable of change, tried our utmost to try to sway them, Treated warders in the same way as they treated us, not all warders ogres, some believed in fairness, friendly with warders not easy proposition, For warders courteous to a black man abhorrent, useful to have warders well disposed towards us, overtures to selected warders- no one liked such a job, One warder hostile, a comrade to befriend him, his jacket to sit on it, nodded to give even against comrade's grain, Same warder, few days latter: extra sandwich thrown on grass near us-shown his friendship, Dilemma: toss a bit of slop like animals, rejecting gesture altogether warder's humiliation, the comrade wanted the sandwich, I nodded to take it, Strategy worked: the warder less wary, questions about ANC, by definition-a man working for prison service was probably brainwashed by the government's propaganda, He would have believed: we were terrorists and communists who wanted to drive the white man into the sea but we quietly explained our non-racialism, desire for equal rights & our plans for redistribution of wealth, The warder said: 'It makes more bloody sense than the Nats.', Sympathetic warders facilitated communication with F & G (general



prisoners) Politicians: fortify organization in prison as outside, communication essential for protests & complaints, General section: greater number of prisoners coming & going, men in F&G-recent information about movement, friends & families, Communication violation of regulations, effective ways around ban, drum deliverers from general section, whispered messages, clandestine communication committee, organize such practices, Matchbox technique of communication, coded messages, rain could foil, more efficient methods, Letters & notes in plastic, bottom of drums, bottom of dirty dishes, create mess, warders complained but never investigated, Toilets & showers, isolation, encouraged comrades to be charged & placed in isolation, rim of toilet bowl, warders never searched, Writing not to be deciphered easily: written in milk, paper appeared blank, disinfectant sprayed, writing reappeared, milk not regular, one diagnosed with ulcer, we used his, Coded script on toilet paper, popular, discovered, Took extraordinary measure of rationing toilet paper, Govan to count 8 squares of toilet paper for each prisoner per day, Best & easiest ways: getting sent to prison hospital, shared same wards, Communication with outside world: 2 ways- prisoners who were leaving the island & contact with visitors, Prisoners: letters in clothes or baggage, visitors- more dangerous, risks also by the visitor, Lawyers: warders not permitted in the room, pass letter, lawyers not searched, in these meetings could communicate by writing as during Rivonia Trial, Room bugged: say, 'Please tell...' and the pause and write 'O.T.,' meaning Oliver Tambo, on a piece of paper, 'that we approve of his plan to cut down the size of the...' and then write 'National Executive'. Plastic-wrapped note-1966, general section hunger strike, we supported a strike of prisoners, sympathetic strike, hunger strike consists of one thing: not eating, Time-lag in communication: general prisoners did not know, authorities played role in disinformation, SOP, ANC supported strike unanimously, some PAC men in general section did not, First day normal food-refused, second, third, fourth day food improved- mouthwatering-refused, warders smiled, Resisted great temptation, driven especially hard at quarry, prisoners collapsing-taken away in wheelbarrows, Head office, Colonel Wessels: attempt to call off strike, demand why strike, prison condition, anti-apartheid struggle, no matter if not know why strike in F & G, our brothers & struggle indivisible, snorted & dismissed me, Extraordinary course of events: warders on food boycott for better better food & improved living conditions, combination too much for authorities, settled with warders, A day or two later: 3 representatives to negotiate change, general prisoners declared victory, called off strike, we followed suit a day later, First most successful hunger strike, as form of protest-not high successful rate, rationale quixotic, outside world must know of it otherwise starve to death, Newspaper stories, pressure groups support, problems in early years to alert people on the outside, Hunger strike: to me too passive, We: already suffering were

threatening our healths, courting death I favoured: more active, militant protest-work strikes, go-slows, refusing to clean up, actions that punished the authorities, not ourselves, Authorities wanted: gravel, we produced no gravel, clean prison yard, it was untidy, this distressed & exasperated them, whereas they enjoyed watching us go hungry, I outvoted, joke: not wanting to miss a meal, advocates of hunger strike: traditionally accepted form of protest, great leaders waged it, once the decision I supported wholeheartedly, remonstrate with wayward colleagues who did not abide by our agreement, they wanted food saying they had served the struggle for many years, Comrades: eat on sly, simple reason, by second day no toilet use, but one morning one fellow might go to toilet, our internal intelligence service, certain men weak in this regard

Sub-part: 67

Table 75 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 504-511

Topics: Visit by family, police persecution, Family visit, authorities negative behavior, family matters

visit: tiring requirements, Special branch raids visit, Visit: family matters, health, education & finances of family, undermine under guise of friendship, Visit: restrictions, family matters, Visit: 'Time-up!', Visit, love & emotional support, Visit: family torture, Family difficulties, authorities, Harassment, Prison, legal defence, Legal defence, Strategy: overwhelm prison authorities & court with legitimate questions, Not lawyer, Applied to registrar of Supreme Court: records, documents, books, list of state's witnesses, summaries of testimony, Nature of defence, not to reveal defence before actually in court, Legal defence, difficulties, Defence, matter dropped, Information, media, Prison officials behavior/relations with prisoners, Prison officials behavior/relations with prisoners, Media access, Media access, Communication/conversation, Prison provides time for thinking, Political debates, parties, parties, Parties, Party & leadership, Non-political discussions, custom, culture, identification, health, Custom, Non-political discussions: tigers native to Africa or not, Language/words for things as proof of their existence

## Sub-part: 68

Table 76 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 512-520

Topics: Prison officials, Prison officials & prisoners relations, Prison officials & prisoners relations, Death of political leader, tense relations, Death of political leader, political assassination not supported, Political leader-apartheid, education, parties, Political news ,political prisoners , Organizations, military ability, Authorities, policies, ANC, harsh atmosphere , Prison officials & prisoners relation/treatment, Selective intimidation, Administrative court worked overtime, our legal committee, Court on the island, Officials:vindictive, Our revenge: humour, jokes, Humour /jokes, Humour , Non-political discussions/animals, Non-political discussions/animals, language, Officials, language, humour, Officials: punishment, Discussion of law, punishment, Charge, defence, Charge dismissed, No conversation allowed , Orders defied, party & groups-plan, High authorities visit, orders rescinded , Friendly relations, charges withdrawn, Prison cell change, Shift- visitor, unity, no. 18 will speak for all, Visit by Mrs Helen Suzman- only member of Progressive Party, spokesman, unity , Judiciary, parliamentarians, political prisoners food, clothing, study, rights to information such as newspaper, embarrassing symbols, harsh treatment, General principles, individual case, prison policy minister of justice, cells inspection, odd & wonderful sight courageous woman, Parliamentarian visit, officials behavior change, parliament

## Sub-part: 69

Table 77 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 521-527

Topics: Struggle: neither easy nor short, first few years difficult for organization outside & of us in prison , After Rivonia underground machinery destroyed, structures discovered & uprooted, those not captured scrambling to stay one step ahead of enemy, virtually every one of ANC's senior leaders either in jail or in exile, After Rivonia, External Mission: for fund-raising, diplomacy, military training programme to take up organization as a whole, to create organization in exile &

revitalize underground ANC inside South Africa State: grown stronger, police powerful with ruthless methods, techniques sophisticated, Defence Force expanding, economy stable, white electorate untroubled, powerful allies Great Britain & U.S.-content to maintain status quo, Struggle : middle to late 1960's, Namibia( then South West Africa), SWAPO into Caprivi Strip, Guerilla movement in Mozambique & Angola, Zimbabwe( the Rhodesia) battle against white minority, Ian Smith's white government bolstered by South African Defence Force, ANC: considered battle in Zimbabwe as extension in struggle at home, 1967- ANC formed alliance with Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)- formed by Joshua Nkomo, MK soldiers, Tanzania & Zambia, Zambezi River, home, Luthuli detachment, August-Luthui Detachment & ZAPU troops-Rodhesian army, casualties, overpowered by superior number of Rhodesian forces, some captured & some retreated into Bechuanaland (independent Botswana), 1968- another ANC detachment entered Rhodesia- Rhodesian army & South African policemen posted to Rhodesia, Some fighters imprisoned with us, our forces not victorious but engaged enemy, milestone 'Justice' Panza- one of commanders of Luthuli Detachment briefed training, political education & valour in the field, Mandela as former commander-in-chief- proud of soldiers, July 1967-Chief Luthuli's death, hit by train, permission: letter to his widow, Great vacuum: Nobel laureate, distinguished, international figure, respected by black & white, so- irreplaceable, Yet: Oliver Tambo-acting president-general of ANC could fill chief's shoes, like Luthuli he was: articulate yet not showy, confident but humble, Epitomized Chief's percept: 'Let your courage rise with danger.' , Memorial service at B, everyone permitted to say something, respectful service except one sour note, Neville Alexander: Non-European Unity Movement, without even perfunctory regrets he accused Luthuli being stooge of white man mainly because he accepted Nobel Peace Prize, Neville's speech against cooperation, Mandela: since my arrival on the island for accommodation on the island, patch-up between PAC& ANC, precedent for unity as a whole, PAC & ANC: competition than cooperation, our arrival on the island encroachment on their territory, most senior PAC prisoners regretted that we were not hanged, PAC (anti-communists & anti-Indian, said it more militant & ANC should follow its lead) & ANC relations, discussions for unity- Zeph Mothopeng, Selby Ngendane, Clarence Makwetu, John Pokela, Mandela isolated- Zeph isolated (on own-comical), PAC: participation in meetings if part affiliation, boycotted news sessions, greatly annoying, PAC members ignorant of their organization on outside, heresy (in paper- Patrick Duncan had become member of PAC Executive): PAC opened doors to whites & Indians, PAC members considered it as ANC propaganda, ANC: internal organization on the island- High Command (more officially- High Organ), it consisted of most senior ANC leaders on the island-men who had been members of

National Executive: Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba & Mandela, Mandela- head of the High Organ, High Organ not to influence external ANC policy but prison complaints, cell system in prison, activities vital to health of the organization, First years on the island: High Organ- representative of all political prisoners (petition signed by virtually all including PAC, Unity Movement & Liberal Party members) until Neville Alexander complained it was neither democratic nor truly representative- other body to be created, Neville's suggestions turned into prisoners' committee, consultative, decisions not abiding, first Fikile Bam of Yu Chi Chan Club president, then leadership rotate, committee came to be known as Ulundi & acted as disciplinary committee for all political prisoners, High Organ: ethnic composition controversy, Xhosa, disturbed Mandela, ANC: mistaken perception as Xhosa organization, I would refute the criticism by saying presidents of ANC have been from other tribes, Executive mixture of tribal groups 'Mdala (Old Man!)', why do you talk only to Xhosas?' Mandela satisfied them by saying they were one people, tried to prove by conversing with someone not Xhosa whenever he would be walking in front of men from general section, 5th rotating member of High Organ, not usually Xhosa, criticism died, Mandela: did not by any means dominate High Organ, a number of his proposals rejected, sometimes frustrating, against stand in presence of senior officer but comrades believed it trivial matter, negative consequences of resistance- outweigh any benefits, Second issue rejected on similar grounds, surnames or Christian names- I felt each degrading, insist on honorific 'Mr', pressed for it for many years but not successful, later it a source of humour- colleagues would occasionally call me 'Mr' Mandela

Sub-part: 70

Table 78 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 528-534

Topics: Time & change, imprisonment, mother suddenly seemed very old, family, Prison: time for visitors

Family/children, Family's health, family issues, Family/Children's education & relatives, time, recollection, fear about mother's health, Mother's death, not allowed for funeral, Family/thoughts

about mother, regret Mother's death, poverty, own life, right choice, people, family, penalty, struggle, People's need, family, struggle, regret, Family/wife's detention without charge, Terrorism Act, power of arrest & detention without trial, insulting/cruel treatment of wife/family, Wife charged, legal defence, anti-apartheid lawyer, Suppression of Communism Act-reviving ANC, release without explanation, ban & house arrest, visit rejected, Family troubles and inner/mental disturbance, Communication with wife, authorities to get information, case against wife, Family loss/first oldest son's death, Family trouble/loss- not have words to express, Family loss, grief, friend, No permission for son's funeral, letter to his mother, Family/memories of deceased son, Mandela with Winnie & Walter, ANC salute, in the background flag & people, Cyril Ramaphosa & Joe Slovo in Johannesburg, during preparatory talks for a new constitution, Chris Hani memorial at Orlando Stadium, Soweto, with Tokyo Saxwale (right) and Charles Ngekule (left), In 1994, Mandela revisited Robben Island, The cell in which Mandela lived for 18 of 27 years in prison, The waters of Table Bay separate Robben Island from Cape Town. In distance is Table Mountain, Mandela: with Archbishop Tutu, in the background people, Mandela: with F.W. de Klerk, in the background some persons/officials, Mandela: casting vote in South Africa's first general election, in very happy mood, Singing the national anthem at Mandela's inauguration with Thabo Mbeki and Mandela's daughter Zenani, Mandela: a warm embrace with Bishop Tutu after the ceremony, other ANC leader & officials, Mandela: with his children, Zindzi, Zenani, Makaziwe, and Makgatho, Mandela: with great-granddaughter in September 1994, Mandela: with his family, Mandela: with grandson Bambata

## Part Nine

Title: Robben Island: Beginning to Hope

Sub-part: 71

Table 79 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 535-541

Topics: Prison atmosphere, authorities & prisoners, Prison, clothes, food, equality, games, freedom, warders' rotation, Prison- freedom to gather, prisoners & authorities, Religion, Religion &

authorities, Religion, exercise, freedom, Religion, Religion, army, war, political leader, Religion, history, politics, news, Religion, Religion, revolution, reconciliation between races, Religion, reconciliation, reaction of prisoners, Religion, media, Religion, freedom fighters, contempt, Religion, science, history, Religion: familiarity, sympathy, Blacks and whites' behaviors, Religion, behavior change, holidays, food, Religion/Christmas: concert, other activities, political parties , Religion: songs, English & African, equally enjoyed by prisoners & authorities , Prison: political figure/leader, Prison: test of man's character , Games & politics, Games , Games , Games, studies/education, Dramatic society , Performance in dramas, classic Greek plays, elevating, hero-trying circumstances, Drama: leadership, experience, people, individual loyalty, man's character-experience, Cruelty, higher law, leader-justice with mercy, defiance of unjust laws-freedom fighter

Sub-part: 72

Table 80 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 542-545

Topics: Authorities: questions, Party's policies, prejudices, Prison: escape plan, Prison: escape plan, Prison: escape plan, Prison: escape plan, intelligence agency, murder attempt, Prison officials/CO's, Prison officials/CO's, Meeting with every new CO-to show seriousness of our cause & evaluate him, Badenhorst first to turn down request, Badenhorst: strict, brutal measures to harass & demoralize us, Badenhorst: clock back to 1960's, always 'NO', everything deteriorated, One morning: Badenhorst at quarry: 'Mandela, jy moet jou vinger uit jou gat trek' ('You must pull your finger out of your arse'), no care for the expression, advance towards the CO, he to car & driven off, From car command, truck, to section B, courtyard, Badenhorst-back & forth-oath Or swear word: 'Jou ma se moer' his favourite expression, Your mother is a moer, moer-vulgar term for an intimate part of a woman's anatomy, Dropped classification, study privilege, to rectify the mistake, Mandela: anger abated, CO's crude remark at to me quarry calculated one, single out me as principal trouble maker

Sub-part: 73

Table 81 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 546-549

Topics: 1971-SWAPO men, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, hunger strike to protest isolation, we joined, unacceptable insubordination 28 May night, woken, stripped, warders obviously drunk yelling & taunting us, led by sadistic Fourie-we called Gangster, Extremely cold night, naked & shivering, cell search, warders kept abusing, Govan's chest pain & collapse, Fourie scared & ordered to return to cells, Search found nothing, Fourie's sadistic impulses, molested general section prisoners, warders beating of general section prisoners, Toivo ja Toivo assaulted, hit back warder, he was severely punished, Complaints of treatment but ignored, incident stands out in memory, It was by no means unique, it was rule rather than exception during Badenhorst's period, Determined: not to let conditions deteriorate, message to outside to agitate his dismissal , delegation to meet CO, Walter & Mandela from ANC, 2 each from other parties, CO agreed to meet: we threatened to use every weapon at our disposal, reform ways & restore privileges, consideration, confrontation victory, efforts produced response , Important visit, in rain take shelter instead of work, next day troika of judges, I was chosen as spokesman, During preparation for meeting secretly told a prisoner beaten



by a guard in general section, met judges outside where working , General Steyn's introduction of me, judges to talk privately, I said in presence of the General & the Colonel, judges reluctantly acquiesced , Mandela: Beating & its cover-up, Badenhorst severe retaliation, Mandela: you can see for yourselves, judge Corbett: 'The prisoner is quiet right.', Other problems, Badenhorst fuming but outwardly seemed chastened, judges thanked & I said good-bye, Judges' remarks unknown after meeting but CO's hand tied over next few months, within 3 months he was to be transferred, Badenhorst departure: head office, General Steyn's visit, Badenhorst present, my list of demands, when finished, Bdenhorst expressed good wishes, do not I dumbfound but amazed, thanked him & wished luck in his endeavours, Long time thought , Badenhrst: another side, obscured but existed, all men seemingly cold-blooded have core of decency, If hearts touched-capable of changing, Badenhorst not evil, inhumanity foisted by inhuman system, behaved like brute because rewarded for brutish behaviour

Sub-part: 74

Table 82 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 550-552

Topics: New CO not obviously progressive but courteous & reasonable, Badenhorst tenure dip on graph of steady improvement , Young warders gone too, Willemse might have been reasonable but shocked when saw us more talk than work at quarry, I summoned to his office after few weeks: my help, men & discipline otherwise someone like previous one again, His request legitimate, meeting of men, extension of rules, he wanted some time to consider, CO allowed meeting, we compromised for better conditions, no complaints from CO, Early Willemse's tenure: 1971-72, influx of MK soldiers, seen combat, movement in exile, never happy on ANC men imprisonment but keen to debrief them, Extremely eager to know about Oliver, training camps, MK's successes & failures, Extremely militant not easily to take to prison life, Jimmy April-MK officer & trained under Joe Slovo, fought in Rhodesia, MK's infiltration with forged identity documents, Jimmy among them & arrested in South Africa , Jimmy: war stories, MK's problems, I as founder & first C-in-C of MK, Jimmy more candid with me, abuses by MK officer, matter to himself, letter to Oliver for some must reforms in camps, Head office with CO: saw Jimmy outside other officer, to

me in agitation about refusal of officials to give him his letter, Ground? , matter not allowed to see, I entered office but before I could say something Jimmy was inside , Jimmy: loudly demanded letter, began to push me aside to get to officer's desk & take letter, official with letter behind me , It might have been comical scene in film but here nerve-racking , Mandela: calmed down Jimmy & requested him to leave the room, assured him of getting his letter, Speech- the intended effect, Jimmy left room, I turned to extremely rattled officer, Mandela: odd position, not opposing authorities but mediating between my own people & men I had so long fought against, Militancy of those coming to the island put Mandela frequently in such position , Mandela: we encouraged by their radicalism but they sometimes made our day-to-day life more burdensome , Within a week officer handed Mandela Jimmy's letter

Sub-part: 75

Table 83 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 553-555

Topics: One morning to ocean's rocky shore, glass towers of Cape Town, Illusion: city with Table Mountain behind it looked agonizingly close-reach out & grasp it, Seaweed, collected & loded in trucks, taken to Japan to be used as fertilizer, Work not taxing that day but in coming weeks it was strenuous, It hardly mattered: pleasures, panoramic tableau, ships, stately oil tankers, gull spearing fish, seals, penguins, resembling brigade of clumsy, flat-footed soldiers , Daily drama of weather over Table Mountain-shifting canopy of clouds & sun, Summer: water felt wonderful, winter: torture, rocks jagged-cut & scraped legs, we preferred the sea to the quarry, although not more than a few days at a time there, Ocean-proved chest of treasure, pieces of coral & elaborate shells, bottle of wine, told tasted like vinegar , Jeff Masemola of PAC extremely talented artist & sculptor, allowed pieces of driftwood, carved into fantastic figures, warders offered to buy, He constructed bookcase for me-used for many years, authorities told they provided me with it, Shore atmosphere relaxed, extremely well food, drums, seafood stew, clams & mussels, crayfish, grab head & tail or it would wriggle free, Abalone (molluscs we call perlemoen) my favourite, to prise open from rock,

difficult to open, slightest bit overcooked-too tough to eat, Our catch, pile, Wilton Mkwazi-chef among us would concoct stew, when ready warders joined us, picnic lunch, 1973-smuggled newspaper: wedding of Princess Anne & Mark Philips, bridal luncheon: rare & delicate dishes detailed, Wedding menu included: mussels, crayfish & abalone- which made us laugh, we were dining on such delicacies every day, One afternoon on beach eating stew, surprised visit of Lieutenant Terblanche-head of prison, we quickly pretended to be working but not fooled him, he discovered second drum containing a mussel stew bubbling over the fire, speared a mussel-ate it: declared 'smaaklik', Afrikaans for 'tasty'

Sub-part: 76

Table 84 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 556-558

Topics: Robben Island-'the University'- not because prisoners studied different subjects or earned multiple degrees 'the University'- because we learned from each other, own faculty, professors, curriculum, courses We made distinction: distinction between academic studies-official & political studies, University growth: partly of necessity, to educate new comers to island in the history of ANC who know very little about ANC Walter: greatest living historian of ANC-genesis & early days of the organization, informal history into course constructed by High Organ, syllabus A- 2 years lectures on ANC & liberation struggle, Syllabus also included course taught by Kathy, 'A History of the Indian Struggle', other comrade on history of Coloured people & Mac- studied in German Democratic Republic taught a course on Marxism, Teaching conditions not ideal: study groups at quarry, circle around the leader of seminar, teaching style Socratic, ideas & theories through asking & answering questions, Walter's course central, 1920's & 1930's, founding of

ANC in 1912, for many this the only political education ‘correspondence course’ to general section, smuggle lectures, response with questions & comments , Beneficial for both-us & them: men little formal education but great knowledge of hardships of the world, Their concerns practical rather than philosophical, Tenet of Socialism: ‘From each according to his need, to each according to his need’, ‘Yes, but what does it mean in practice?, Land- no money & money –no land: which one has greater need?, such questions very valuable , we forced to think hard about our views, Mandela: political economy, evolution of economic man-ancient communal societies- feudalism , Then capitalism & socialism, I am not a scholar & not much of a teacher, preferred to be asked questions than to lecture, Mandela’s approach: not ideological but biased in favour of socialism- most advanced stage of economic life then evolved by man , Mandela: in addition to informal studies legal work continued, to hang name-late outside my cell, so many hours a week preparing judicial appeals for other prisoners, though forbidden under prison service regulations, prisoners of very different ideas sought my help, South African law: no guarantee to defendant of right to legal representation, thousands of indigent men & women to prison for lack of representation Few afforded a lawyer, to accept whatever was court’s verdict, In general section many sentenced without benefit of counsel & a number of them came to me to make an appeal, for most first time to deal with an attorney, Smuggled note from F & G, particulars-charge, evidence & testimony, clandestine nature: slow, bits & pieces, Old Mandela & Tambo office: consultation ½ hour, here 1 year or more, Advised ‘clients’ to write a letter to registrar of Supreme Court for record at no charge, sometimes registrars supplied material gratis, After record appeal based on some judicial irregularity such as bias, incorrect procedure or insufficient evidence, my handwriting to copy himself or find others to do so as it was violation of regulations to prepare a man’s case, Enjoyed: keeping legal skills sharp, few cases verdict overturned, sentence reduced, gratifying victories, Prison: contrived to make feel powerless, one of few ways to move system, never met for whom worked but out of blue one serving pap for lunch would whisper a thank you

Sub-part: 77

Table 85 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

Pages: 559-566

Topics: Oppression of wife: 1972 kick down door of No. 8115, bricks hurled through window, gunshot fired at front door, 1974: Winnie charge with violating banning orders-restricted her from having any visitors apart from her children, Winnie: working at lawyer's office, friend brought Zeni & Zindzi during lunch hour- 6 months imprisonment in Kroonstad Prison in Orange Free State, Not horrendous than at Pretoria, letter that she felt liberated, reaffirmed commitment to struggle, children to visit on Sundays, Winnie's release in 1975: letters & communications with lawyers for plan for me to see Zindzi, Prison regulations: no children between 2 & 16 to prison, at the entry to the island children in this legal limbo of age restrictions, Reason behind rule not pernicious, lawmakers: negative effects on children psyches, equally damaging for prisoners-source of deep sorrow not to be able to see one's children 1975: Zindzi 15, alter birth documents, birth records for Africans not in a very uniform or organized way, so easy to modify, permit approved, Winnie's mother visit, told about Zindzi visit, She in a peevish way: Zindzi not yet 16, Not told about gambit, wader, I said it was nothing, Mother-in-law: stubborn: Mkonyanisi (affectionate term for son-in-law in Xhosa) you have made serious error because Zindzi is only 15, Mandela: widened eyes in alarm, she did not mention Zindzi again, Not seen Zindzi since she was 3, father from old photographs than memory, fresh shirt, more trouble with appearance, own vanity but not to look like old man for youngest daughter, Winnie: not seen her for a year, delighted to see youngest daughter a beautiful woman, resembled her beautiful mother, Zindzi: shy, hesitant first, father's love from distance, absent in her childhood & adolescent Zindzi: strong, fiery young woman like her mother in the same age, To lighten atmosphere: warders- guard of honour, questions about her life & friends, Sundays at home, small incidents & adventures, she was holding back her tears as I talked, Tragic note: Bram Fischer's death of cancer, government left no fingerprints on his body but state's harassment brought final illness that took him soon, state hounded him after death-confiscated ashes after cremation, Bram: purist, underground & outlaw after Rivonia Trial, advised not to do this, be in courtroom, Afrikaner son of judge president for rights of powerless, like general side by side with troops, but unacceptable to him: other to prison & he free, sacrifice from others & not himself, Bram Fischer: underground while on bail & captured, sentenced to life imprisonment in 1965, newspaper campaign for release on humanitarian grounds after cancer diagnosis, influenced government, few weeks after release to brother's house in Bloemfontein, still under arrest, he died, Bram Fischer: in many ways, grandson of the PM of Orange River Colony had made the greatest of sacrifice of all, Mandela: strength from fact fighting with & for own people, Bram Fischer: fought against own people for the freedom of others, A month after this visit:

request for visit by Winnie turned down because I did not wish to see her-authorities told this absurd reason to her, I protested before head of prison- Lieutenant Prins, Prins: not a sophisticated, I explained situation evenly & without animosity, situation unacceptable & wife to be permitted to visit, Prins: not listening & said that my wife wanted publicity, I told that I resented his remarks but before I had finished he uttered something so offensive & uncomplimentary about my wife that I immediately lost my temper, Rose to assault but controlled & used words instead of fists, I do not approve of oaths & curses but that day I violated my principle, Mandela: told Prins that he was contemptible & without honour, if repeated the same words would not hold myself back as I had that day, Stormed out, not even greeted comrades outside, Violated my self-control-considered that defeat at hands of opponent, Next morning-head office, charged, handed summons, warrant officer- have anything to say?, Mandela- 'No, you can speak to my attorney', I asked to be taken to my cell, Counter suit charging from the lieutenant to minister of justice with misconduct, prison system racist institution, perpetuate white supremacy, Case: cause celebre & make them regret they had ever charged me in the first place, George Bizos to represent, meeting, written instructions as room bugged, authorities refused, I said they had no right to withhold permission, confirmed my suspicion Authorities afraid: George would give written statement to press, This was part of strategy, George as conduit to communicate with Oliver Tambo in Lusaka, sensitive information, I had previously used George for such purposes but the document in question did not contain such material Date for island disciplinary court set, magistrate from Cape Town assigned, my attorney the following day, George & Mandela met at head office & consulted, no sooner the hearing started prosecutor announced prison was withdrawing its case, Judge gavelled case close & abruptly left the room, surprise for us, congratulated on apparent victory, putting away my papers when another warrant officer said to hand over the file to him Mandela: refused, protected by attorney-client privilege, case over, Plucked the document off the table, contained nothing they did not already know, Escape: unlikely prospect but thought entire time on the island, Mac Maharaj & Eddie Daniels, both brave & resourceful-were always hatching plans & discussing possibilities, Most plans & possibilities far too risky but that did not stop us from considering them, Jeff Masemola- our master craftsman, passkey, key: soap, imprint, piece of metal, access to storerooms, never used to leave our section, The Sea- uncrossable moat around Robben Island, 1974: Mac had idea to cross the barrier, recently taken to dentist in Cape Town, dentist related by marriage to well-known political prisoner, Dentist was sympathetic, Dentist: refused to treat Mac unless leg's irons removed, Window in dentist's second-floor waiting room- just short drop to a small side-street- we might make a run for it, Mac returned: urged for appointments at dentist, did so, day arranged for

Mac, Wilton Mkwayi, me, and one other prisoner to go to Cape Town, 3 of us willing but 4th one refused, doubts about this man's loyalties- it concerned me that he knew what we were planning, 3 of us by boat to Cape Town, dentist's office under heavy guard, all 3 trained as soldier & probably best chance to escape, Mac-knife to use, at dentist's guard first cleared all other patients, on our demand & with the support of dentist guard removed our leg irons, Mac- window & street, something bothered, empty street in central Cape Town in middle of the day, before filled with traffic, trap, I too sensed something not right, Wilton-adrenaline flowing said Mac was talking nonsense & 'Madiba, you are losing your nerve', but I agreed with Mac, 3 of us ended up having our teeth examined, dentist curious why I had come because my teeth were fine Mac's plans practical but Eddie's imaginative ones, Early years no planes over the island but by mid-1970's both planes & helicopters (to & from tankers) were flying over our heads, Eddie's plan to involve the organization using a helicopter painted with the South African military colours, Helicopter to pick me up on the island, Then deposit me on the roof of a friendly foreign embassy in Cape Town where to seek asylum, It was not ill-conceived plan, Told Eddie he should smuggle out the suggestion to Oliver in Lusaka, Eddie did so but we never received a response

Sub-part: 78

Table 86 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 567-572

Topics: Birthday: bare-bone affair, pool food, extra slice of bread or cup of coffee to birthday honouree, 60th birthday to make memorable, Struggle-to keep before people, government restrictions on press, Book on 60th birthday, information & inspiration for people & young freedom fighters, Started immediately with unorthodox work schedule- night writing & day sleeping, Assembly line for processing manuscript, Warders' suspicion, completed a draft in 4 months- birth to Rivonia Trial, Waking dream as I wrote, Mac: hid, smuggled out, in 1976 his release, 500- page original manuscript buried in southern part-garden, Buried manuscript in 3 places, We 4 people buried it in 3 places, I carved out a space near manhole that led to a drainpipe, Finished in time to line up for march to quarry, Few weeks later: work crew from general section were digging in the manuscript area, Wall: to stop general section prisoners from communication with us, Kathy: main

part would be safe, breakfast-crew out to prevent fraternization with us, Beginning of trench close to other 2 parts 2 portions unearthed by us, Bigger required more time, we satisfied that pipe would not be dislodged for wall, Mandela: that day's satisfaction- 2 salvaged, not to think about 3rd , On return from quarry: alarmed, pipe removed, manuscript uncovered, Mandela's reaction watched by warders, Eddie disposed of 2 other pieces , Next morning, office-manuscript found, Showed papers- your hand writing?, my silence, exasperation, Mandela: proof for any penalty?, Notations in margin-Walter Sisulu & Ahmed Kathrada, Mandela: again furnish evidence, No penalty that day, later: Walter, Kathy & Mandela before commissioner of prison, study privileges suspended indefinitely- 4 years , Mac: release, notebooks to England, After 6 months house arrest to Lusaka to meet Oliver Tambo, then to London, with a typist- reconstructed manuscript, put together typescript, then returned to Lusaka & presented Oliver with a copy

Sub-part: 79

Table 87 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 573-574

Topics: 1976: minister of prisons, prominent cabinet member, Jimmy Kruger's extraordinary visit to see me Kruger: influential about prison policy & critical of government's handling of liberation struggle, Reason behind the visit: make success of separate development policy & the 'quasi-independent' homelands, showpiece Transkei-led by my nephew & one-time benefactor K.D. Matanzima, Matanzima: repressed legitimate opposition, commanding officer- in bantering way: 'Mandela, you ought to retire to the Transkei and take a good long rest.' , Same proposed by Kruger, in meeting our grievances, letter of 1969, political prisoners, not criminals, Kruger: 'Nah, you are all violent communists!', Told Kruger history of ANC & turning to violence, he knew almost nothing about ANC but something through right-wing press propaganda, ANC older than NP, Freedom Charter- so uninformed cabinet minister, Nationalist politicians condemned what they did not understand, Release, 1914 Afrikaner rebels-violence, in parliament, meetings, could vote, General de Wet, General Kemp-12 thousand force, occupied towns, deaths, released after convictions of high treason, Robey Leibbrandt-underground organization during WWII, opposed



South Africa's support for the Allies, sentenced to life imprisonment but pardoned, Ignorant of the episodes as he was of Freedom Charter, difficult to negotiate with a person who does not share the same frame of reference, Waving aside all these as ancient history, Kruger offered if I recognized Transkei government & moved there the sentence would be dramatically reduced, Rejected Bantustan policy, I would return to Johannesburg, month later same proposal & I rejected again, only a turncoat could accept it

Sub-part: 80

Table 88 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 575-580

Topics: Our knowledge of current events-sketchy, later confirmed by newspaper or visitor, 1976-uprising reports, Soweto youth overthrown military, soldiers dropped guns & fled, through young participant prisoners true account, 1976: 15000 schoolchildren, Soweto, protest, half of all classes in Afrikaans, Teachers & students- no oppressor's language, No response to pleadings & petitions, police, firing, 13 years old Hector Pieterse & many others killed, children-sticks & stones, mass chaos, hundreds of children wounded & killed, 2 white men stoned to death, Riots & violence across the country, youth- protest & rebellion, Students' boycott, ANC joined, Bantu Education haunted its creators-angry & audacious youth its progeny, Isolation section filled with youth after uprising, whispered first-hand information, 1960's dormant & 1970's eruption, youth in training camps in Tanzania, Angola & Mozambique, Outside support for what you are inside-encouraging, Young men: brave, hostile, aggressive, 'Amandla', confront, not cooperate, the island upside down, the authorities would yearn for us-that time had come, Young men: angry revolutionary spirit of the times, Mandela aware of that before through coded conversation, New prisoners: appalled by barbaric conditions, should have seen the island in 1964, New prisoners: they were skeptical of us as they were of the authorities, thought our advice feeble & unassertive, New prisoners: considered Rivonia Trialists as moderates, unpleasant feeling, scold or listen?, chose the latter, Strini Moodey-South African Students' Organization & Saths Cooper-Black People's Convention, Papers on movement & philosophy- what brought them to struggle, their motivation, ideas for future, Young men:CO- my favour, not prepared to do that, they would have regarded me as collaborator of

oppressor, Young men: refused to conform to basic prison regulations, wearing prison cap & not standing up in presence of senior officers 'Take off your cap', 'What for?', Unbelievable: revolutionary question, Major: against regulations, why regulation? & its purpose?, Major stomped out- 'Mandela, you talk to him.', I did not, bowed in prisoner's direction- on his side, First exposure to: Black Consciousness Movement, During ban on ANC, PAC & CP- Black Consciousness Movement filled the vacuum for the young, Black Consciousness Movement: less a movement than a philosophy, Its idea: blacks must first- liberate themselves from the sense of psychological inferiority complex bred by three centuries of white rule, Only then: people could rise in confidence & truly liberate themselves from repression, Black Conscious Movement: advocated non-racial society, But they excluded whites from playing a role in achieving such society, Black, Consciousness Movement's concepts same as ours at the time of the founding of ANC Youth League-Africanists, ethnic pride, racial self-confidence, rejected white assistance in the struggle, Same response to same problem that had never gone away They would transcend some of the strictures of the Black Consciousness, Black Consciousness-no programme of action & outlet for protest, frustration for these young men, BCM fertile ground for ANC but did not recruit them, not to alienate & other parties on the island, friendly but not to proselytize them, Their questions on ANC's Bantustans policy, Freedom Charter on Nationalization answered, many with questions did come to us, Contacted some through smuggled notes, spoke with some from Transkei- asked about my old house, welcomed Patrick 'Terror' Lakota of South African Students' Organization, Terror- nickname due to prowess in soccer, formidable in debate, racial exclusiveness-closer to ANC, discourage to join ANC not to create tension in general section Terror: publicly switched his allegiance to ANC, assaulted by BCM members, not to testify, ANC- tent to accommodate different views & affiliations, After him dozens, even those who attacked Terror joined ANC, Terror- top leader in general section, teaching ANC policies, Our views still potent, best hope for unifying liberation struggle as a whole, Political feuding in general section, ANC, PAC, BCM, administrative court, outside lawyer, I- not to be character witness, not to heighten bitterness between the 3, My role: not just leader of ANC but as promoter of unity, honest broker, peacemaker, unifier-at the risk of alienating some of my own colleagues, Decision: not to testify, displeasure of colleagues, struggle indivisible-same enemy

Table 89 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 581-585

Topics: Young lions-fend ourselves, go-slow 2nd year, end to manual labour at quarry, demanding something useful-studying or learning a trade, 1977: end of manual labour, could spend our days in our sections, work in the courtyard- figleaf to hide their capitulation, Victory: unceasing protests & simple logistics, 1-3 warder ratio, shortage of warders, rebellious young men required each required his own warder, we required less supervision in our own section, End of manual labour: liberating-reading, letters, discussing issues, legal briefs, my favourite hobbies: gardening & tennis, Survival in prison: develop ways of satisfaction in daily life- washing clothes, sweeping corridor, organizing one's cell, outside prison- more consequential tasks, Permission for garden in the courtyard, Excavate many rocks for garden, Seeds provided, tomatoes, chillies, onions, some of the best tomatoes & onions given to warders, Always enjoyed gardening- first at Fort Hare, at Johannesburg no time & space, Books on gardening & horticulture, trial & error, attempts to grow peanuts but to give up- one of only failures, Garden: control, custodian, taste of freedom, Garden: metaphor for aspects of my life- watch, cultivate, harvest, responsibility for what a leader cultivates, mind work, preserve what can be preserved, eliminate what cannot succeed, Letter to Winnie about a tomato plant-buried the plant finally, Mixture of feelings, our relationship not to go that way, sometimes nothing can be done to save something that must die, End of manual work: gain weight, quarry barely enough work to work up sweat but walk to & from quarry enough to keep trim, Exercise: physical health, peace of mind, dissipates tension, tension enemy of serenity, Thought clearly when in good physical condition, training one of inflexible discipline of my life, in prison outlet for my frustrations essential, On the island: boxing routine of roadwork & muscle-building on Monday to Thursday: Run on the spot- 45 minutes, fingertip push-ups-100, sit-ups-200, deep-knee bends-50, other callisthenics, Letters to children: exercise, fast-moving games like basketball, soccer, tennis- not successful, did influence some colleagues, For African of my age exercise unusual, even Walter- few turns, if old man can why can't I? Meetings: outside visitors, IRC-stress for time & facilities for exercise, 1970's- volley-ball & ping-pong No work at quarry: courtyard into tennis court, painted green, white lines, our own Wimbledon, Bit of tennis at Fort Hare, not expert, forehand strong, backhand weak, replacement for walk, for exercise, not for style, back-court player, rushing when clean slam, End of manual labour: more time for study, when

studies cancelled in the midst of pursuing LLb from London University, started that during Rivonia Trial, suspension for 4 years- would assure longest time in pursuit of that degree, Suspension: unintended benefit, Instead of contract law now novels, No unlimited library: access to unmemorable mysteries & detective novels, all books of Daphne du Maurier, political books off limits, books about socialism & communism out, Titles with word 'red' even if Little Red Riding Hood rejected by censors, The war of the worlds turned down for the word 'war' in the title , First tried: read books about South Africa or by South African writers, read all unbanned novels of Nadine Gordimer & learned about white liberal sensibility, read many American novels-especially John Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath-found many similarities between plight of immigrant workers in the novel and our own labourers & farmworkers Tolstoy's War and Peace read many times , Although the word 'war' in the title but the book was permitted, Particularly taken with portrait of: General Kutuzov- everyone at Russian court underestimated him, defeated Napoleon because he was not swayed by ephemeral & superficial values of the court , General Kutuzov: made decision on visceral understanding of his men & his people, it reminded me once again that truly to lead one's people one must also truly know them

Sub-part: 82

Table 90 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

EXTRA SPACE????????

Pages: 586-589

Topics: Soweto student uprising: Winnie & Dr. Nthato Motlana with Black Parents' Association-concerned, local professionals & church leaders- guiding hand & intermediary for the students , Government equally wary of parents & young rebel, Winnie detained, Internal Security Act, 5 months imprisonment, write to her & daughters- boarding school, I was distressed by her imprisonment, not mistreated, emerged in December-firmer in her commitment to the struggle, Winnie: government-brazen & shameless act, popularity, banished to remote township in Orange Free State , Brandfort township-250 miles southwest of Johannesburg, Winnie & Zindzi-

possessions dumped in front of three-room, tin-roofed shack, white farmers, she did not speak Sesotho, Her new circumstances saddened & angered me, could imagine her in Soweto, friends here but there alone, Nothing memorable about this township, poverty, house No. 802, Brandfort, as both in prison at the same time, Life hard in Brandfort, whites mostly Afrikaans-speaking & very conservative, Winnie & Zindzi-harrassment, Zindzi-intimidation, Judge's ruling: Zindzi could receive visitors in peace, Winnie: resilient, befriended people including sympathetic whites, Operation Hunger, crèche for children, medical clinic, 1978: Zeni's marriage with Prince Thumbumuzi-son of King Sobhuza of Swaziland, George Bizos, Zeni under 21, my legal consent, George met me in consulting room, warder, jestingly-no secrets from guards, George: love of the 2, King enlightened traditional leader & member of ANC , Requirements by young man's family, Swazi prince-Thembu princess, Zeni's marriage: advantage- diplomatic privileges, could visit at will, in winter: visit of the couple along with newborn baby, prince's status-meeting in consulting room, waited with some nervousness, Wondrous moment: Zeni-tossed daughter, ran to embrace me, not seen her since her daughter's age, embraced new son, granddaughter-throughout visit held her, the happiest man to hold a baby that day, Visit: more official purpose- for me to choose a name for the child, custom, Zaziwe (Hope) chosen, special meaning for me- for all years in prison hope never left me, now it never would, Convinced: this child- part of a new generation of South Africans, For him: apartheid would be a distant memory- my dream

Sub-part: 83

Table 91 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 590-594

Topics: 1 or 2 years after 1976: in a dreamy nostalgic state of mind, past memories both friends & foe, dream life very rich, nights reliving times of the old days, Recurring nightmare, no one at all, empty home, 1976 letter to Winnie: (para 1) Happier version of dream, youth jive & infiba, Letter: (para 2)- 2 weeks in December 1956-son, Makhulu (Evelyn's mother), Joy: dwelling on happy moment, unhappy: pain to my family through my absence, Another letter from 1976: (para 1)- missing Winnie & children, loving remarks & blind eye to irritations, small events, no time, return, Letter (para 2): photo of Winnie & Nolitha 1976 letter to Zindzi: identity of Nolitha, rival, picture from National Geographic, Thoughts of freedom-one of pleasantest ways to pass time, 1976- another letter: long drive alone as on 12/6/58, to both's parents graves, return to No. 8115, Early 1970's: family album, Warders: confiscated Winnie's pictures but seizing pictures eventually ceased, Photo album: requests, first from my section, then from sections F & G, F & G: rarely received visitors & even letters, many photographs removed, have something personal, Sometimes men asked for photograph, not album, young girls, not old lady !

Sub-part: 84

Table 92 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 595-599

Topics: 1978: news demand for 15 years, compromise, radio service, canned summary over intercom, Good news for government & bad for all opponents, First broadcast: opened with the death of Robert Sobukwe, then victories of Ian Smith's troops in Rhodesia, detention of government opponents in South Africa Despite slanted nature glad to have it, read between the lines & educated guesses based on obvious omissions, P.W. Botha succeeded John Vorster as PM, Deptt. of Information's misuse of funds, resignation of Vorster, Botha-aggressive defence minister, military strike into Angola in 1975, Vorster biography- willing to pay for his beliefs, Vorster:

imprisoned for supporting Germany during WWII, not sorry to see him go, escalated battle against freedom to new heights of repression, Without expurgated radio broadcasts we learned of successful liberation struggle in Mozambique & Angola in 1975, independent states With revolutionary governments, Increased openness: cinema, films wonderful diversion, escape from bleakness of prison life, First films: silent, black-and-white, Hollywood action movies & Westerns even before my time, The Mark of Zorro-swashbuckling Douglas Fairbanks-1920, authorities-weakness for historical films, stern moral message, First films in colour with dialogue: The Ten Commandment-Charlton Heston as Moses, The King and I-Yule Brynner, Cloepatra- Richard Burton & Elizabeth Taylor, Intrigued by: The King and I-clash between values of East & West, West had much to learn from the East, Queen of Egypt-raven-haired, violet-eyed American actress, Western propaganda to erase the fact that Cloepatra was an African woman, in Egypt seen sculpture of young ebony-skinned Cloepatra, Later South African films with black stars, shouts, whistles & cheers, Permitted to select documentaries, my preferred format: Sophia Lorain, documentary from state library selected by Ahmed Kathrada our section's librarian, Affected by: great navel battles of WWII, newsreel footage of sinking of HMS Prince of Wales by Japanese, Winston Churchill's weeping after the loss of the British vessel-image for long time when a leader shows sorrow in public & it will not diminish him in the eyes of the people, Controversial American motorcycle group-the Hell's Angels- depicted as reckless, violent & antisocial & police as decent, upstanding & trustworthy, Film's meaning: all criticized Hell's Angels for their lawless ways but Strini Moodley-bright young from BCM accused us out of touch with the times, Bikers represented equivalent of Soweto students of 1976-rebelled against the authorities, Reproached us for being elderly middle-class intellectuals who identified themselves with the movie's right-wing authorities instead of the bikers, Strini's accusation: furore, number of men-Hell's Angels indefensible, band of amoral sociopaths, although Mandela did not agree with him but came to his defence, Though Hell's Angels were unsympathetic-after all rebels against authorities, though unsavoury rebels they were, Not interested in Hell's Angels but we had stuck in mind-set no longer revolutionary, we jailed for 15 years, I for nearly 18, the world we left long gone, Danger: our ideas frozen in time, Prison still point in a turning world, It is very easy to remain in the same place in jail while the world moves on Always open to new ideas, not rejected new or different position, continued dialogue about our beliefs & ideas-debated, questioned & so refined them, we had not stayed in one place- we had evolved, Robben Island becoming open but state was not reforming its views, no doubt- a free man one day, we might be stuck but world moving towards our position not away from it, The movie reminded me: the day I did walk out of prison I did not want to be

political fossil from an age long past, After 15 years in 1979: same diet Africans, Coloured & Indians announced, justice delayed is justice denied, reform-hardly worth celebrating Same amount of sugar: a spoonful & a half, reduced ½ spoonful from Coloured & Indian prisoners adding that amount for Africans, Recently receiving bread in the morning made little difference as we had been pooling it for years, Our food improved in the previous 2 years but not because of the authorities, Soweto uprising- the island only for 'security prisoners', number of general prisoners drastically reduced, Political prisoners in kitchen-diet improved- not better chefs but smuggling stopped, All food used- not keeping for themselves or giving as bribe to the warders, more vegetables, meat in soups & stews, then realized we should have been eating such food for years

Sub-part: 85

Table 93 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 600-604

Topics: Sports, health, Health, international community, Prisoner, dangerous journey, life, Humiliating experience, Sports, health, health facilities for blacks, Health, Health/operation, Health, doctor, official/warder, Health, behavior of staff, Education, relations, equality, prejudice/racism, Health, family, media, Right to buy newspaper/access to media, restrictions, Media, censor, Media, free Mandela, political prisoners, censor, Freedom campaign-new strategy, Award, sabotage, govt. retaliation, Free Mandela campaign, candidate for university chancellor, Campaign, hopes, 1970's- miscalculation

Sub-part: 86

Table 94 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA



Pages: 605-608

Topics: Personal grooming, king, advice, nephew , Authorities, tribal affairs, Govt., traditional leaders, ANC, govt. sponsored institutions, participation , Support for the king, Matanzima-visit/communication , Meeting and persuasion, Members' opinion accepted, meeting not accepted , Wife/family health, attorney/law, Wife/family, help, Prison officials, transfer, Orders from govt., Abrupt transfer-disturbed, Luggage, Indignities of prison, friendship, loyalty, authorities, Journey/transfer, change, Journey/transfer, security, pollsmoor prison

## Part Ten

Title: Talking with the Enemy

Sub-part: 87

Table 95 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 611-616

Topics: maximum security prison, beautiful scenery , Pollsmoor: modern face but primitive heart, common law & political prisoners-different treatment, Better accommodation/facilities, Facilities, scenery, Prison: movements, ANC leadership, isolation communication, Young lawyer and ANC member, organizer, Skepticism- but not the case , Food, world media approach/media technology, study, freedom , Early rise, exercise, colleagues' reaction, Wife's visit, better facilities, illusions, Pollsmoor: easier for wife & family, visits humane , Official's soft behavior, courtesy, Leisure, diversion, gardening, authorities, Leisure/gardening, Leisure, Officials' help/cooperation,

Gardening, harvest supply, Officials' decent behavior, health, rumour, communication cell dampness, media, Health, political prisoner treatment, Change, 'contact'( family) visits, First family contact visit, dream

Sub-part: 88

Table 96 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 617-623

Topics: 1981 & 1982: struggle intensified- enemy's efforts also increased, State's cruelty, letter bomb killing woman escalation of armed struggle, Civilians' killing tragic but inevitable, Government & ANC: 2 tracks- military & political, divide-and-rule tricameral , Powerful grassroot political movements/organizations, against apartheid constitution , ANC- new popularity, Desmond Tutu-Nobel Peace Prize 1984, my letter not allowed, international pressure 'feelers', effort to isolate, negotiations, International community, government's/minister's new behavior, International community-communication, International community, prison conditions, violence, military targets, Unitary, non-racial, egalitarian, democratic set-up, difficulties for govt. , International media, communism, terrorism, religion, violence/non-violence, constitutional democracy, police state, inequality, Freedom & unconditional rejection of violence government's proposal for freedom, media, family, lawyer, response , Family and lawyer, response/communication, loyalty to organization, negotiations, not war, Violence-Mandela and govt., Family, lawyer, family matters/political affairs, officials, Response, daughter, people award, time gape, Zindzi/- dynamic speaker like mother, proud father, Speech: member of ANC till death, Oliver Tambo- more than a brother, friend & comrade for 50+ years, to see me free, Speech: conditions, govt., forms of resistance, violence, amnesty and free choice to people, Freedom for all, our sufferings, birthright, Freedom and restrictions, Free men and negotiations, people's freedom,

leader and people's freedom inseparable

Sub-part: 89

Table 97 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 624-627

Topics: Health, Health, family, govt., govt. & ANC accommodation, peace, No politics but wife's status, health, Health, commanding officer, suspicion, Not friends, alone, New prison cell-palatial on ground floor, 3 rooms, study, exercise, Realization, change, negotiations/communication, oppression, violence, war, Against white minority, wrong side of history, right but not might, time to talk, Negotiations/talks sensitive, dogmas, terrorism, communism, fascism, racism, ban, political prisoners, troops, unconditionality, Negotiation-important decision, Isolation, colleagues, visits to colleagues, monitoring, Meeting/discussions of colleagues, communication with govt., Solo-move, collectivity impossible, leader-independent decisions if in right direction

Sub-part: 90

Table 98 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 628-632

Topics: Communication, talks about talks, no response, demoralizing, another opportunity, British Commonwealth meeting, sanctions, fact-finding mission, Group leader visited Mandela, meeting with cabinet, negotiations, Government: Session extraordinary, measure, new suit, shoes, Communication, time for negotiations, not fighting, violence, negotiations, international sanctions, Nationalism, communism, non-racial society, Freedom Charter, democracy & human rights, socialism, communication, Violence, negotiations, Communication, Negotiations, govt. actions, Violence, negotiations, international pressure, communication, Negotiations, Prison officials, Communication, Communication, negotiations, Communication, armed struggle, constitutional guarantees for minority, Resolution, further, communication, Compromise, Secret communication

Sub-part: 91

Table 99 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 633-635

Topics: Different roll, change in govt. behavior, Common people, life activities, Excursion, thoughts of escape, Excursions, Interaction with white young men, Curious behavior of white prisoners, Excursion, not recognized, Trips instructive, change, white life- wealth & ease, Excursions-diversion, little freedoms, complete freedom

Sub-part: 92

Table 100 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 636-639

Topics: Communication with govt., Military intelligence officials, Accepted negotiations offer , Important contacts, future negotiations, Communication with colleagues, officials response, Negotiations with govt., Negotiations, colleagues reaction , Not against negotiations , Not against negotiations in principle, Oliver's note through lawyer, secret discussions, concerns, Meeting between National Executive of ANC & government, Negotiations and communication

Sub-part: 93

Table 101 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 640-643

Topics: 1988: first negotiations , Negotiations , Defective knowledge of Afrikaner negotiators about ANC, Sketched of ANC, the armed struggle, ANC's alliance with CP, goal of majority rule & the idea of racial reconciliation, armed struggle, violence , Renouncing violence, self defence, Violence and negotiations, Peace and negotiations, ANC, armed struggle, cold war communism, negotiations, No orders from government, short term interests between ANC & CP, nonracial South Africa communists in ANC white or Indian & control blacks in ANC , Nationalization- ANC& Freedom Charter wholesale nationalization of South African economy, Even distribution of the rewards of certain industries, African Capitalism, Issue of majority rule, rights of minorities, Freedom Charter

Sub-part: 94

Table 102 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 644-648

Topics: Communication, positive effects, State of Emergency, international pressure, sanctions, 1987- ANC's 75th anniversary, conference-50 nations delegates, armed struggle, apartheid, Freedom Charter, Violence, election, nationalist, liberal, conservative parties, Optimism, difficult time, prison-freedom, memories, Health, security, Health, security officials, Doctor, health, negotiations, Offer of tea, coloured nurse, guards, spilled tea & rushed out, Health, disease, doctor, Health, Health/tuberculosis- damp cell, Health, govt. minister, prison officials, food, Health, food, restrictions on diet, Negotiations, between confinement & freedom, not freedom, Clinic: extremely comfortable, extra attention by nurses, no black nurse permitted, Nurses' party, no permission to me, party in my room, Nurses' behavior, no security risk, guards' intervention

Sub-part: 95

Table 103 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 648-652

Topics: Security tightened, officers more alert, to leave, where not told, nurses to thank & farewell but not there, To Victor Verster, lovely wine-growing area, cottage, New home/place to live in, Beautiful with modern facilities, removed & isolated, walls with razor wire, guards, halfway house between prison & freedom, Visit by Coetsee, gift, irony, he was extremely solicitous, freedom, illusion of freedom, gilded cage, Cook, once warder, rocky ride, like brother to Mandela, Swart: 7am-4pm, physician-diet, food technology, Food and comrades, Mandela's help in chores, Language practice, Food, health, Drink/wine, Drink/wine, Drink/wine, Drink/wine

Sub-part: 96

Table 104 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 653-656

Topics: armed struggle, CP, majority rule, Communication, terrorists, reasonable men, Communication, violence, SACP, majority rule, Violence, power share, no rejection of CP, majority rule, preserving power, majority rule and peace negotiations-majority rule & whites' concerns, Proper conditions for & actual negotiations, Health, head of party & state separate, party politics, change, Political violence & international pressure, defiance campaign, apartheid, sanctions, Political violence-tragic side, wife, July- 71st birthday, nearly entire family visit, deep pleasure but pain to miss it for so many years

Sub-part: 97

Table 105 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 657-660

Topics: Negotiation/communication, dress, Preparation for meeting/communication, intended impression, Preparation for meeting/communication, unequal treatment unacceptable, Preparation for meeting/communication/dress, Meeting/communication venue, Meeting/communication venue, Communication, cordial atmosphere, Talks/communication, history, culture, Release of all political prisoners unconditionally, Communication for peace, Meeting- a step forward, Mr. Botha's resignation, acting president-commitment, change & reform, Change, communication, Government, new beginning

Sub-part: 98

Table 106 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 661-665

Topics: Negotiations, Towards freedom: release of comrades, Freedom, no bans, principle, Dismantling apartheid , Meeting with de Klerk, consultation with colleagues, Guidance from colleagues, letter to de Klerk/communication, Reconciliation , Spirit of speech not in evidence , Negotiations, political prisoners, state of emergency troops , Negotiation, Noval experience group rights , Group rights- modernized apartheid white fears of domination by blacks , Release & ban, emergency, political prisoners , Negotiation/new turn

Sub-part: 99

Table 107 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 666-668

Topics: Dismantling apartheid, democratic South Africa, parties, capital punishment, negotiation, ANC- legal, State of Emergency , Meeting with Mr. de Klerk, release from prison, Freedom: conflict between blood & mind walk of freedom , Disagreement over release-time & place, irony, Compromise, Preparation for freedom

## **Part Eleven**

Title: Freedom

Sub-part: 100

Table 108 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA



Pages: 671-678

Topics: Freedom day, Preparation for release/freedom, Night of freedom, Preparation for freedom/few possessions/books & papers, Good side human beings, Preparation for freedom/farewell, Walk towards freedom, Preparation/restlessness for freedom, welcome to freedom, Welcome to freedom/new media world, Welcome to freedom, Bye to imprisonment/welcome to freedom, Freedom & beauty, Beauty of freedom/past-present change, Freedom speech, Welcome to freedom, Huge welcome to freedom, Huge welcome to freedom, Friend, First night of freedom, Freedom: Problem, Into the freedom: peace, democracy & freedom, Extraordinary circumstances: creation of a leader, Apartheid: gone for ever, Free political prisoners, Normalization of situation, New beginning: strength, courage & responsibilities, Mass welcome: courage of leader, Freedom, place of birth, forefathers

Sub-part: 101

Table 109 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 679-683

Topics: Welcome & felicitations by all, Changed world, Armed struggle & negotiations, Fears of minority whites,, reconciliation, Role of whites important, Personal feelings, Huge welcome to freedom, Black poverty, Freedom without civility and peace not true freedom, No change in black life, Non-racial & democratic South Africa, Personal home, Home & happiness, Celebrating freedom

Sub-part: 102

Table 110 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 684-687

Topics: Freedom & responsibility, Freedom & evaluation, Talks with government, Freedom & politics, Tour of Africa & Europe, Colours of freedom, Sharing our struggle with African countries,

Reconciliation, Freedom & friends, Unusual support for freedom

Sub-part: 103

Tabl 111 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 688-690

Topics: Liberation & politics, Politics & reconciliation, Reconciliation efforts & politics, Political problems reconciliation efforts, Political problems & Internal feuds, Internal feuds/disturbing situation

Sub-part: 104

Table 112 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 691-694

Topics: Negotiating full freedom, Negotiating freedom & change, Government's delaying tactics/negotiation, Politics & power, Power sharing & struggle for power, Politics of alliance, Talks, Talks & history, Equality, History lesson, Defining political prisoners & political exiles, Process of negotiations, Constitutional issues

Sub-part: 105

Table 113 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 695-700

Topics: Visiting place of birth, Regrets, Political change , Nostalgia, Homecoming/Robben island, Political difference, victory on battlefield, Negotiation & Fight, International tour, sanctions & politics, Sanctions as tool, Europe/Progress, beauty, emergency/sanctions, Politician & experience/Advice of a veteran , Welcome in the U.S./Welcome by international community, Race, colour & pride, U.S. government support for sanctions, U.S./Bush's support, Canada & Eskimos/Suppression, Racist colonial texts, Black South Africans & Inuit people/Suppression in the world/Sympathy, unity, Role of TV/electronic media/media, Political schedule, health, advice of a veteran, Disagreement, sanctions

Sub-part: 106

Table 114 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 701-705

Topics: Back home & negotiations, Internal violence, Anti-ANC steps,, Conspiracy, Negotiation problems, Suspension of armed struggle, Mandela's negative response, Thinking of suspension, Political consultation, ANC: controversy over MK's next role, Pretoria Minute, armed struggle suspended, Peace process & escalation of violence, Government /police alleged negative actions, Violence in natives, Third force, hidden hand , Internal feuds: ANC, IFP & government machinery, Violence, Inkatha, internal feuds, Role of government in violence, Police backed violence, Inkatha, Intentional negligence by government, Negative role of government in violence, Violence: negative effects for negotiations, Violence & armed struggle

Sub-part:107

Table 115 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 706-711

Topics: Political parties/leaders' gathering, Sacrifices and hard work appreciated, Racist government & international community, Sanctions to remain, ANC: grass-roots, confidentiality, Media and reports of violence, Curbing/ending violence, Agreement, code of conduct & violence, Violence & government, Violence, African leadership & De Klerk, Law & order and the role of government, Deadline to government, Party elections, President of ANC & struggle, Negotiation & Apartheid, ANC: from illegal to mass political party, Change/adaptation, Organizing party, exile & new South Africa, Role of ANC, New challenges, ANC: recruiting integrating various groups, Whispering vilifying campaign, court & charges, Court, defence, Jail, innocence

Sub-part: 108

Table 116 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 712-717

Topics: Talks & democracy, History, democracy, Parties, Parties' disputes, Power sharing, history, Legitimacy of government, Constitutional safeguards & judiciary, Political environment, changes & changes in broadcasting corporation, Last word/concluding the session, talks, Colonial/bossy style, Retaliation unacceptable behavior, Double agenda, Tolerance, Reconciliation/Tolerance, Election, defeat, election results, Referendum, Vote for reforms, Political campaign, Support for negotiations

Sub-part: 109

Table 117 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 718-720

Topics: Family disputes/separation from wife, Struggle for liberation, Appreciation for wife, Allegations & tensions, No regrets with wife, Destiny of a freedom fighter, Life unstable for freedom fighters, Children of a freedom fighter

Sub-part: 110

Table 118 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 721-727

Topics: Multi-party conference, Government's scandals security officials & corruption, Form of government, Disagreement between government & ANC, No agreement, Convention deadlock, No minority veto, Differences, Veto, senate & power sharing, Bilateral talks, Mass action, Internal feuds, ANC's anger, Demand for armed struggle, Suspension of talks, Mass campaign/action, Transitional government, Attacks & terrorism, Hope & difficulties, Record of understanding & democracy, Differences, Power sharing, Form of government & no minority veto

Sub-part: 111

Table 119 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages:728-731

Topics: Home at Qunu, Violence--- white, Death of an important figure, Law & order, zeal of freedom fighters, White extremism, White prejudice & hate, White supremacists, Violence & negotiations, Police involvement in killing/death, Loss of a friend, Tolerance, generosity, loyalty, self-sacrifice, Friendship, State funeral to freedom fighter (Oliver), Freedom & democracy

Sub-part:112

Table 120 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 732-737

Topics: Black majority, Parties, Constitution, Election, Constitution & election, White homeland/homeland, Interim constitution, Freedom fighters & awards, Nobel Prize, Award & freedom struggle, Legal defence, humanitarian aid & Political prisoners, justice & equality, apartheid, Commitment to make peace process, Campaign for national assembly, Polls, Polling stations, People's forums, People's forums & people's opinions, Suggestions from the forums, Freedom, Reconstruction programme, Realistic thoughts, Tolerance, Political awareness/teaching

part: 113

Table 121 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 738-740

Topics: Road to freedom, problems/difficulties, Volkstaat, Registration of parties, Power for provinces, Efforts to stop bloodshed, Opposition to party registration, Violence, violence, Mediation by international community, Electronic media, Race, Different races & common loyalty

Sub-part: 114

Table 122 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 742-745

Topics: Voting day & nostalgia, Past leadership, Remembering/nostalgia, First vote of life, Change, New South Africa, Election results, ANC- no two-thirds majority, Minority accepting/conceding defeat, Reconciliation & democracy, Pride, joy & collectivity, Formation of government, Minority-anxiety of future, All going into future together

Sub-part: 115

Table 123 Words/phrases/sentences in part 1/sub-part 1 of the text of *Long Walk to Freedom* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 746-751

Topics: Day of inauguration, Democracy & non-racialism , Liberty/freedom, Political emancipation, Freedom, Solidarity, Two anthems, History, Racial discrimination, Sacrifice, Apartheid-deep wound, Comrades & struggle, Hope/Optimism, Humanity, Struggle, Twin obligations of man, Racial discrimination, Family & people, Hunger to be free, Early freedom-an illusion/freedoms, No individual but collective freedom, No limited freedom, Long &lonely years, Liberation of oppressed & oppressor, Long way to freedom, walk not yet ended

## Appendix 2

### Prologue

Table 128 Words/phrases/sentences in Prologue pages 1-7 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p> <p>Pages: 1-7</p>
<p>Politics, law, personal life, campaign, Personal facts, politics-negative opinion of people, Politics, public life, low-income, cynicism, broken promises Patience, alternate tradition to politics, binding force, driving apart force, truth of proposition, solution of all problem, something meaningful, Speech, people, earnestness, election, Senate, election, Career, minority, majority, death penalty, kids' health, Teaching, speeches, independence, good name, marriage, risks in state capital/state, politics, Getting older, flaws, habits of thought, genetic or environmental, flaws &amp; time, Chronic restlessness, inability to appreciate, blessings, endemic flaw, modern &amp; American life, restlessness &amp; politics, politics encourages or attracts- unclear, Father's expectations or mistakes, Restlessness, election, loss, poor planning, life's own mechanism, Time, loss healed, media, statewide election, Political dynamics, print media, current issue (time context), Bad luck, historical coincidence, apology, Coincidence, tension, success &amp; failure, Pleasures of politics, meaner jobs, family/personal life, Policy making, taxes, security, health, jobs, doubt, sensible pursuits, refusing truth-bitter, quarrelsome, pathetic, Stages of politics, Stages of politics, reforms &amp; initiatives, family life, physical fitness, reading, finance, natural phenomena, one's role, Election, last attempt, non-political stable life, belief, Election, money, popularity, politics, integrity, respect of voters, Government, election, money, black vote, Low expectations, preparation for election, donations, no media response, unimportant place, Travelling, not efficient way, Party machinery, connections, mail, Internet, church service, club, local union, Patience, personal problems- jobs, children, health, bills, promotions, little attention to politics, People's modest hopes, not to file for bankruptcy, education, safety, clean air, water, time with family, retirement, Self-help, not all solution by government, utilization of taxes,</p>



government's help, People's opinion right, children's education & challenges as nation, people's desire for involvement into politics, Hard work

Table 129 Words/phrases/sentences in Prologue pages 88-11 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Pages: 8-11

Involvement with people, decency, ideals, values, hearts & minds of people, pride, duty, sacrifice, Globalization, technological change, cutthroat politics, culture wars, no shared language, no tools, admen, pollsters, speechwriters, pundits, cynical aims, power, expedience, greed, intolerance, strayed from myths, differences, policy & performance, muffling the complaints, institutional arrangements, Choice, politics, interests, ideological minorities, absolute truth, honesty, rigor, commonsense, policy debates, false & cramped choices, Religion, secularism, black, white, brown, change course, weaker & fractured, new politics, shared understandings, pull together, Changing politics & civic life, unifying theory, manifesto, charts, graphs, timetables, plans, Values, ideals, political discourse, unnecessary division, politics, common good, Political history, partisanship, values, political consensus, constitution, rights, democratic conversation, collective future, institutional forces, money, media, interest groups, legislation, stifling forces, economic problems of families, race, religion, transnational threats- terrorism, pandemic beyond shore, Insufficient balance, media group ideas, anger, political prejudice & bias, universal opportunities, evolution, scientific inquiry, environment, freedom of speech, religious freedom, race, mixed heritage, subjugation & stigmatization, race & class- moulding/shaping forces, Detachment, free market, competition, entrepreneurship, government programs, lawyers, more engineers, force for good, enemies, army, rejection of politics of prejudice, race, gender, identity, sexual orientation, breakdown in culture in inner city, money not the only cure, values & spiritual life as important as GDP, Views, trouble, national politics, disappointment for

some people, fame, hunger to please, fear of loss, inner kernel of truth, deepest commitments, Media person, parliament building, interesting book, doubt about honesty on becoming senator, Personal wonder/doubt, book to answer the question

## Chapter One

### Title: Republicans and Democrats

Table 130 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter One pages 13-15 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Pages: 13-15

Parliament house, flags, communication, staff, media, police/security, grandeur, senate/parliament, Senate/parliament building, national emblem, vice president/politician

Senate building/parliament house structure, civil rights, legislation, votes, federation, secession, Vote, politicians, senate/parliament, decisions, bills, amendments, cooperation, senators/politicians, majority, leader, committee, chairman, staff, controversy, Republican/party, Democrats/politicians/party, senate floor/parliament, staff, senators/politicians, consultation, leader, lobby, interest group, constituent mail, ideology, position, issue Politicians, constituents/voters, phone calls/response, donations/money, media, interview, senator/politician/parliamentarian, bill, speech, national issue, speaker/parliamentarian, debate, poverty alleviation, obstructionism, judicial appointments, energy independence, speaker/parliamentarian, speech, chamber/parliament, presiding officer, media, debates/speeches' record, senator/politicians/parliamentarians, deliberation, parliament house, listening

Senate/parliament/parliamentarians, parliament, family, friends, senate/parliament, politicians/parliamentarians, oath taking, senate/parliament, family, vice president/parliamentarian, family, media, judiciary (suitable to mention here?), parliament's library, supporters, meeting with people/socializing Meeting with people/socializing, parliament house, Capital, democracy, family, friends, nature, political division, war

Table: 131 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter One pages 16-18 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p> <p>Pages: 16-18</p>
<p>Election, surveys, conventional wisdom, issues, difference of opinion, world politics/war, taxes, abortion, weapons, religion, marriage, immigration, trade, education, policy, environment, rules/regulations/laws, government, judiciary, severe difference of opinion/opposition, environment, budget deficit, blame-game, Capital, politics, world politics, political nominations, election, revolution, investigation, government shutdown, impeachment, dangling chads (see), election, public/people/voters, campaign, politics, industry of insult, media, Legislature/legislation, parliament, politics, parliament, party, majority, rules, speaker/parliamentarian, parliament, amendment, party, tax, party, services, party/politicians, parliamentarians, party, party, party, parliamentarians, party relations, compromise, food &amp; refreshment, old parliamentarians, political operatives/politics, malfeasance, corruption, incompetence, moral turpitude, Politics, full-contact sport, party's criticism, legislation, commonality, politics, voters, false interpretation, verbal attacks, solution to problems, issues, true interpretation, people's instinct for fair play &amp; commonsense, politics &amp; policies, Mind-set, election, campaign, express true thoughts, election, election, majority/margins, proven point, Campaign, Political observers, politicians/candidates, media/negative media campaign, money, positive campaign, negative, personal life, media, party, opponent, negative campaign, personal life, travel, party convention, unfiltered &amp; uninterrupted media time, party, opponent, residence, fierce criticism, party, Media, politician, states, staff, hard work, message, luck, inner circle politicians/leaders, victory not important</p>

Table 132 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter One pages 19-22 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p> <p>Pages: 19-22</p>
<p>Capital, extra-player/new politician, interviews, photo shoots/media, ideas, partisanship, party, defeat, presidency, parliament/seats/election, politicians, campaign, Defeat, money, negative campaign, ads/media, print &amp; electronic (tv) media, personal life attacked, patriotism, terrorism/international issue , Media &amp; campaign, Politicians, negative campaign, print media, election, party, government, opponents/opposition, elections, war/international issue, advocacy groups, media, presidency, campaign, election, mandate, Political conditions, election, president, political capital, conservative activist/politician, public office, decorum, party, parliamentarian, parliament, election, politicians, voters, irregularities/rigging, parliamentarians, votes, election, president, Negative reaction of voters &amp; politicians, race, convention, speeches, decency, speech, election, Election/victory &amp; defeat, politics, sentiment , Wife/family, not worked up, politicians, media, politicians, politics, political system, political events/acts/actions, dinner parties, doing politics, political environment, negative campaign/personal attacks, Nelson Mandela &amp; other great personalities in prison, name-calling not bad deal, Distress, democracy, Gap, ideals &amp; reality, war, law, systems, reformations, unions, protests, promise &amp; practice , Gap, challenges, politics, Petty &amp; trivial issues, avoidance of tough decisions, inability to build consensus, big issues, International competition/dealings, equality, mobility/progress, education, teaching/teachers, math &amp; science, inner-city, illiteracy, public/government school system, status quo, money &amp; its utility in education</p>

Table 133 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter One pages 23-26 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p> <p>Pages: 23-26</p>
<p>Terrorism, ideologies, security, military power, cooperation, international relations, poverty, failed states, national interests, charity, foreign policy debates, war, isolation</p> <p>Faith, division, tolerance, race, religion, culture, tension, conflicts, politics, negative role of politics, Government, gap, politics, politicians, political situation, politicians, winner-take-all elections, control, branches of government, compromise, victory &amp; loss unrealistic pledges, tax, services, privatization, social security, benefits, war &amp; sacrifice, governing/government, Divide, campaign, print media, bookstands, blogs/internet, criticism &amp; blame, conservatism, liberalism, Tom DeLay, Nancy Pelosi, big oil, lawyers, religious zealots, gay activists, TV &amp; print media, party preference, right &amp; left, conspiracy, America hijacked by cabal, People's business/affairs, job, jobless, business, kids, high bills, health insurance, pension, bankruptcy, future fear, contradictions &amp; ambiguities, politics, politics business not mission, debate, chatters, Different politics, lives, traditions, troubled past, country, wars, parties, tribal hatreds, common hope, common dreams, unbreakable bond Capital, Senate members/parliamentarians, parties'/members', cordial relations, old politicians/parliamentarians, politics, conservative &amp; liberal commentators, civility, government, Old parliamentarian, parliament house, old &amp; new politics, Generation , WWII, differences but commonality, trust &amp; respect, differences but things done, Civil rights, power, women &amp; minorities, halls of power, Governing/government, consensus, war, Cold War, Soviet threat, economy, Europe, Japan, war/postwar, Politics, war, ideology, party, parliament house, economy, New Deal, wages, benefits, public works, standard of living, party, live-and-let-live philosophy, race, inequality, social norms, sexuality, women's role, culture, political dispute</p>

Table 134 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter One pages 27-30 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p> <p>Pages: 27-30</p>
<p>Party, philosophical fissures, libertarianism, paternalism, Republicanism, federal activism, conservatism, social experimentation, civil rights, regulation, tax, party, economy, party, free markets, fiscal restraint, business, anticommunism, election, Political alignment, civil rights, social structure, Civil Rights Act-1964, party, Protest, war, right &amp; justified actions, new generation, Feminism, Latinos, hippies, Panthers, welfare moms, gays, rights, recognition, share/participation, Movement, silent majority, philosophy &amp; ideology, environment, job/occupational security, health, laws, civil rights, conservatism, party, parliament house , Political conditions, politics, morality, personal politics, interaction, race , gender, rejection of authority , Liberalism, conservatism, class, attitude, tradition, culture, counterculture, right, strike, corporate tax, sex, drugs, rock &amp; roll, Latin Mass, region, race, votes/voters, new liberalism, violence, intellectuals, race, spitting on vets, family, faith, flag, neighborhood, white privilege, difficult times, assassination, burning, war/defeat, economy, gas lines, inflation, plant closing, international event, oil politics/economy, New Deal, political home .Sixties/era/period, mixed heritage/marriage, social upheavals, changes, Hawaii &amp; Indonesia/regions, information through mother, liberalism, civil rights movement, values: tolerance, equality, standing up for the disadvantaged, Limits, distance &amp; sweet-natured romanticism, Black Power, SDS, space program, Peace Corps, Freedom Rides, Mahalia Jackson, Joan Baez, Maternal grandparents/family, sixties, party, president, adolescence, politics, culture, change, Dionysian, book, film, music, Huey Newton, 68 party convention, Stones at Altamont, revolution, style, attitude, rebellion, received wisdom of over-thirty crowd , Rejection, authority, self-indulgence, self-destructiveness, challenge to convention, reexamination of assumptions, values of mother &amp; grandparents, capitalism, American imperialism, constraints, freedom, monogamy, religion, moral superiority</p>

Table 135 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter One pages 31-42 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p> <p>Pages: 31-42</p>
<p>President, election, policy, poverty, military, game/sport, wife/family, TV show, individual &amp; collective destinies, traditional virtues, hard work, patriotism, personal responsibility, optimism, faith, President, voters/people, communication skill, liberal, government, economy, social class, voters, government, tax/money, bureaucracy, mandate, liberal speeches, rights, entitlement, duty, responsibility, welfare state, policy, economy, business, unions, Hard work, obedience of law, cared for family, loved country/patriotism, common purpose, liberals, out-of-touch band, tax-and-spend, blame-America-first, politically correct elites, Politics, president, narrative, 40-year remove/sixties, political discourse, conflicts of sixties, men &amp; women, era, political disputes, individual choices, identity, moral standing Issues, sixties, counter culture, consumerism, lifestyle, musical preferences, political commitments, race, war, poverty, relations between sexes, Baby Boom, demographic force, politics, market for related drugs, cup holders automakers in cars, Party, liberals, conservatives, ideology, affirmative action, crime, welfare, abortion, school prayer, earlier battles, domestic, foreign, economy, policy, productivity, distributional justice, growing &amp; slicing pie, tax, small or big government, environment, policy, natural resources, economy, development, drilling, strip-mining, bureaucracy, red tape, growth, politics, policy, simplicity, virtue, Politicians, president/leader, direction of politics, politicians, polarizing rhetoric, politics of resentment, voters, governing/government, Generation, conservative operatives, politicians, campaign, tax, Christian nation/religion, conservative leadership, New Left's leaders in sixties, right wing, politics, policy, god &amp; evil, Activists, parties, party, abortion, party, gun control, compromise-weakness, You were with us or against us, ( give reference of Musharraf's statement), to choose sides President, ideology, conservative, liberal, party, problems/issues, campaign, party/politicians, Sister Souljah , election, presidency, health, education, training,</p>

working families, economy, People, government spending & regulation, economic growth, markets, fiscal discipline, social justice, societal responsibility, personal responsibility, poverty, politics, Clinton's Third Way, pragmatic ideological attitude, majority, Presidency, policy, public/people's support, politics, party, election, economy, policies, government/governing, demography, politicians, population growth, party, region, party, parliament house/Senate, votes, parliamentarians/senators, votes, parliamentarians/senators, party, region, population, Politicians, conservative movement, corporate sponsors, donors, think tanks, media, technology, mobilization, power, House of Representative/parliament house, party, discipline, President, conservative, majority, president, morality, policy, radical, biography, draft letter saga, marijuana puffing, Ivy League intellectualism, professional wife, sex, conservative, president, personal lapses, traits of sixties liberalism, conservative movement, president, term of presidency, movement, governmentHistorical narrative, manufacturing, president, air traffic controllers, labor movement, majority, minority, congressional districts/party region, race, party, seats, president, parliamentarians, political debates, polarization in Congress/parliament house, money, TV/media negative ads/media negative campaign, polluting political atmosphere, Old Washington hand/ Old parliamentarian, old parliamentarians, politics, arrested development, issues not abstract & simple, war-hell but still right thing to do, economies' collapse, best-laid plans, people could work hard all their lives and still lose everything, Generation, leaders, comfort, experiences, attitude, politics, back-and-forth between Clinton and Gingrich/parliamentarians, elections, psychodrama, Baby Boom generation, old grudges, college campuses, victories, minorities, women, full citizenship, individual liberties, questioning authority, citizens' equal betterment, loss, shared assumptions, trust & fellow feeling, Party, political leader, center-right leader, fiscal conservatism, bureaucracy, experimentation with market, social policy, leader, party/politicians, conservatives, parliament house, state capitals, traditional conservative virtues of temperance and restraint, debt, tax cuts, irresponsible behavior/policy, deficit, poor/poverty, religion & politics, conservation & conservatism not to conflict, foreign policy, facts not wishful thinking , Party/politicians, debate, compassionate conservatism, president, campaign, ideology, party, absolutism, conservatism, absolutism of free-market, tax, regulation, safety net, government, private property, national defense, Religion, absolutism, religious right, difficult issue of abortion,



religion/faith, fundamentalist brand, public policy, overriding alternative, liberal theologians, National Academy of Science/institution/science, Thomas Jefferson/old leadership, Majority will, power, majority, institutional checks- the court, the constitution, the press/media, the Geneva Convention, the rules of the Senate/parliamentary restrictions or rules, traditions governing redistricting, New Jerusalem Party, power, party, politicians/parliamentarians, radical ideas, law, region, ethnicity, economy, party, electoral map, senate/parliament, money, elites, election, politicians, parliamentarians, liberal, parliamentarian, military superiority, parliamentarian, virtue of capitalism, Congressional Black Caucus, Jesus Christ died for his/her sins , Politicians/party, religion, New Deal, Great Society program, party encroachment/politics, liberal interest groups, global change/globalization, inner city, centrist approach, conservative leadership, parliamentarian/legislators, candidates, ideas, energy, education, health, homeland security, governing philosophy, Party, reaction, war, military action, market problems & solution, market principles, religion, secularism, morality, election, court, party plans, lose court, White House scandal/scanda, party, wisdom, advocacy groups, Democratic activists/party activists, party, vilifying campaign of other party, dividing electorate/voters, right wing, disciplining measures, party/politicians, power, same approach, Disappointment, activists/groups/party, party, victory, polarizing campaigns, conservative movement, Bush Administration/government, policy, righteous indignation , Party/politicians, partisan & ideological strategy, exaggeration or demonization, loss, political debate, ideology, political debate, “either/or” thinking, big government or no government, health insurance, “ socialized medicine”, Doctrinaire thinking, partisanship, politics, right wing, polarized electorate, tone of debate, a cynical electorate is a self-centered electorate, Government’s role, opportunity, prosperity for all, polarized electorate, party, majority, broad majority, parties & independents, national renewal, self-interest & others’ interest, Majority, problems, tough choices, sacrifice, political leaders, ideas, energy policy, deficit, foreign policy, globalization, terrorism, isolationism, civil liberties, mandate, health, broad political support, strategies, poverty, Politics & maturity, idealism, realism, compromise, right & left, conservative & liberal, dogma & common sense, responsibility & irresponsibility, things that last & that are fleeting,, Parties/politicians

## Chapter Two

### Title: Values

Table 136 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Two pages 43-53 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p> <p>Pages: 43-53</p>
<p>Presidency, education/college, community organizer, president, educational financial aid, student leaders, (black, Puerto Rican, Eastern European) race, petitions, legislators/parliamentarians, Presidency, security, confidence in democracy, Tight security, loss, Presidency/president house-well-kept old, worn out house, house &amp; history, Gettysburg address, sports, TV, film , radio, Parliamentarians, president, vigor, picture, First Lady, Legislators/parliamentarians, food, president, discipline, election, Little League, grilling, good company, sports, kids, Meeting, president, parliamentarians, food, agenda, campaign, Iraq/war, Patriot Act, Social Security, tax, vote, judiciary, President's changed gestures, party, parliamentarians, power &amp; isolation, founders' wisdom, power in check , Parliamentarian, black men/race, waiting staff, food, Blue Room, politeness, president, Wife/family, TV/media, election, family, impressive lady, hand sanitizer, advice, President's advice, lot of attention, not to slip Stories from campaign, unconscious habit/arm over others' shoulder, made others uneasy, Parliament, criticism, president, government, policies, tax, fiscal irresponsibility, morality, health, energy policy, competitiveness, campaign, speech, war, rally, weapon of mass destruction/war, invasion of Iraq/war, cost/expenditure, Iraq or Middle East/international affairs ,Party voters, opponents not bad, best thoughts for the country/consider best for the country, Proximity to power, presidency, politics &amp; courtesy, opposition/criticism, family loss in war/Iraq, letter, email, voter, college drop-out, financial cause, government/power, actions' consequences &amp; no effect on them Official formalities, president &amp; politicians/parliamentarians, common human beings/universal human nature, virtues, vices, insecurities, injuries, policy, shared values Capital/government/parliament, policy, debates, war, difference magnified, party, campaign, conflict, media, suspicious political atmosphere, Washington/capital/politics/government, lawyers, political operatives, professions-</p>

winning arguments not solving problems, disagreement, different values (bad faith, bad people, US vs THEM), Capital, political division, Illinois/ bellwether state, party, urbanization, social conservatism, party, Land of Lincoln, microcosm of the country, regions, urban, rural, races, big city, geography, culture, political parlance, deep shade of red , Travel, parliament/legislature, family, teaching, legislative aide, toss map, sports, tool around the state, UPI reporter, campaign, reception? , dresses/just khakis & polo shirts, no fancy linen trousers or silk shirts, owned no linens or silks, TGI Friday's, food/cheeseburger, Dijon mustard/food, no Dijon- here is French's mustard/aide gave yellow bottle of French's mustard, waitress confused, got Dijon/ that food available

Food, photographers/media, Travel, sport, driving, cornfields, forests, lakes, towns, malls, Wal-Marts, brick courthouses, main streets, stores, vendors, fresh peaches, corn, one couple-“ Good Deals on Guns and Swords” , Food, jokes/light mood, mayor of Chester/politician, Statue of Superman/visiting spot, Emigration to big cities/urbanization, manufacturing & coal-mining/jobs, sports, vast distances, VA facility , women missionaries in Keya, Swahili/language, farmers, finance/financial pages of Wall Street Journal, white linen slacks or silk Hawaiian shirts/men's dresses, food, party, politician, local state, attorney/law/judiciary , race, crime, joy-riding sprees or folks hunting out of season/enjoyment , Crime, carrot/food, race, joblessness/unemployment, dope & speed Friendship, people, reflection of myself, family, openness, matter-of-factness, kindness, food, the grape halves in the Jell-O mold, familiarityFamiliarity, travel, locality/geography, race, sport, family, Indian wedding/culture/ceremony, locality/geography, Becoming alike/Similarity, Pollsters, race, religion, region, economy, abortion, gun/weapon, sacrilege, income tax, sex, media Cross-pollination/interaction, peaceful collision among people & cultures, identity, coherence/new identity, Beliefs & predictability, expectation, explanation, religion, tolerance, media & its role, secular & religious, rich & poor, poor: self-critical, aspirations, popular culture, parties, voters, liberals, conservatives, personal attributes

Common values, political culture's fixation, values clash, election, exit poll, voters, moral values, vote/voting, commentators/media (?), data, social issue, election, gay marriage, number of states, Christian right, growing power, Polls, exaggeration, voters, national security, election, moral values, abortion, corporate malfeasance, politicians, liberals, material concerns, party, Politicians, debate, values, conservatives, working-class, voters, party, language of values, to map world, inspiration, action, isolation,

election, polls, shared values, standards & principles, majority, politics, budget, projects, regulations, policies , Truths, equality, Creator/religion, rights, life, liberty, happiness, Unalienable rights, government, common creed/belief, Declaration of Independence, 18th century/time context/history, liberal & republican thought, freedom, rights ,Individual freedom, Martin Luther's posting on the church door, idea still rejected in some parts of the world , evidence in daily life, Bill of Rights, childhood, family, Indonesia & Keya, army & individual rights, bureaucracy, wife/family, race, region & ancestors , grandmother/family, visits & fishing

Table 137 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Two pages 54-64 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Pages: 54-64

Wife/family, Africa, people's fates not their own, jobs, business, bribes, activists, jailed, no freedom of expression, government, politics, family, family ties, tribal loyalties, favors, uncles & aunts up unannounced, American & freedom, Liberty, negative sense, right to be left alone, opportunity, values, virtues, Benjamin Franklin-Poor Richard's Almanack , values of self-reliance, self-improvement, risk-taking, drive, discipline, temperance, hard-work, thrift, personal responsibility, Optimism & life, confidence, free will, hard work, circumstances of our birth, values, people's freedom & society's prosperity, self-government, free-market economy, majority, legitimacy, government, economy, equal opportunity, nondiscrimination, liberty, If we Americans are individualistic at heart...and compassion Tribe, traditions, customs, castes, individualism, communal values, healthy society, family, cross-generational obligations, community, neighborliness, bar & soccer team, patriotism, obligations of citizenship, sense of duty, sacrifice, something bigger than ourselves, religion, ethical percepts, honesty, fairness, humility, kindness, courtesy, compassion

In every society (and in every individual)...that allowed new immigrants to continually

remake themselves Society, individualism & communalism, autonomy & solidarity, negotiate tension between these, violence, Europe, feudalism, agricultural & industrial society, size of continent, vast tracts of land, abundant resources, immigrants

But we cannot avoid these tensions entirely...to do for ourselves Tensions, values, distortion & excesses, Self-reliance & selfishness, independence & license, ambition & greed, frantic desire to succeed, history, patriotism & jingoism and xenophobia, dissent, faith- self-righteousness, closed-mindedness & cruelty, charity- paternalism & unwillingness to acknowledge the ability of others Liberty & dumping toxins, mall & destruction of home, countervailing values, judgment, excesses, Balance, society, right to restraint individual freedom, constitutional amendment, no uncharted freedom whatsoever, state's power to control & behavior, government monitoring food/eating, expenditure, obesity, Tensions & balance, complicated & contradictory world, 9/11, constitutional principles, fight/war, terrorism, president, parliament house, balance, security, civil liberties, economy, policy, manufacturing, workers/laborers, towns, economic security, competitiveness, Debate, difficult choices, policy, values, countervailing values, conservative, government, interference, marketplace, right, arms/weapon, wiretapping, sexual practices, liberals, freedom, press/media, women's reproductive freedoms, costs, business owner, Diversity, government, democracy, respect of values, liberals, gun & library books, conservative, women's right to reproductive freedom, religion & worship, Party, majority, senate/parliament, bill, videotaping of interrogations & confessions in capital cases, death penalty & its effect, crime, mass murder, rape, murder of a child, ultimate punishment, capital cases & errors, police tactics, racial bias, shoddy lawyering, death row inmates exonerated, party, governor, moratorium on all executions, Death penalty, reform, bill, videotaping, state prosecutors, police organizations, legislators/parliamentarians, crime, party, governor, campaign, Politics, to draw a line, death penalty, racism, police misconduct, law enforcement, coddled criminals, meetings, prosecutors, public defenders, police organizations, press/media, Disagreements & common value, death penalty, innocence & capital offence, police, bill modification, videotape confessions, confessions free of coercion, parties, unanimous passage, lawPolicy, politicians, interest groups, conflict, ideological goal, abortion, activists, legislators/parliamentarians, compromise, partial-birth abortion, public/people/voters, winning converts/ voters , Ideological predispositions, senate/parliament, party, parliamentarians, school/education, breakfasts

to preschoolers, self-reliance & children, formative years, charges of the state , Bill, defeat, preschoolers/students, debilitating effects of cereal and milk, passage of bill, legislator/parliamentarian, ideology & value, values applied to facts, ideology overrides whatever facts call theory into question Values debate, politicians, public/people, misperception- politics & government equivalent, value should not or cannot be legislated, doesn't mean not proper topic for public discussion, Good manners, clear speech, looks me in the eye/confidence, hopeful about the country, can't legislate good manners/legislation & good manners, can encourage good manners Competence, pride in work, extra mile, accountant, plumber, three-star general, person on the other end of the phone seeming to solve your problem, encounter competence sporadic lately, government, business, people standing in line- antitax, antigovernment, antiunion sentiments, workers chatting among themselves in full view Progressives, clocks cleaned, elections, speech, sex on TV/sex in media, HBO, adults & TV, children & parents' duty, TV, Sex ads and children, sports, teen age show, drunkenness, nudity, nudity & mixed sexes, not reality, broadcast, cable industries, better standards & technology, parents-to control what streamed into their homes, Cotton Mather, speech, newspaper editorial/print media, government, regulations, reporters, national race , vote, Bush agenda, not to act as the town scold, Parent, liberal, conservative, coarsening of the culture, easy materialism, instant gratification, severing of sexuality from intimacy, government censorship, concerns to be recognized, experiences validated, appearing censorious, progressive political leaders, problem not acknowledged, parents & leaders who will acknowledge, leaders & constitutional restraints , Conservative, culture, executive pay, 1980-CEO & hourly worker's pay, (42-1) difference, 2005: 262-1 ratio, conservative outlets, Wall Street Journal/print media, outlandish salaries, stock options, top talent, economy, corporate leaders, CEO pay & little to do with improved performance, highly compensated CEO's- drops in earnings, losses in shareholder value, massive layoffs, underfunding of workers' pension funds, CEO pay-not market imperative but cultural, workers & little/no growth, CEOs-sense of shame & pliant, handpicked corporate boards, ethic of greed & collective lives, corruption in government & business, greed & materialism- 2/3 of most important moral challenges , raising kids with right values-first, conservative, government-not to determine executive pay packages, conservatives-same moral force, outrage as they direct against dirty rap lyrics, Power, limits, pulpit, law, values, rights & opportunities, powerless, society, racial

discrimination, moral exhortation, whites/race, civil rights era, Jim Crow, era of race relations, Supreme Court cases/judiciary, Brown v. Board of Education, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965 ,laws, government & society, law & white people to associate with blacks, Law & enforcement of love, Law & lynching, Dr. King, Cultural transformation, government action, change in value & policy society, inner-city schools, money, parents & children, values of hard work & delayed gratification, society, poor children & education, perpetuating lies, betraying values, Party, communal values, mutual responsibility, social solidarity, place of worship, work place, family, government, conservative, power of culture, individual success & social cohesion, government & culture, Politicians, values, calculated or phony, public life, scripted, standardized values, black church, NASCAR track, reading at kindergarten classroom, honest sentiment & political stagecraft, Modern politics, value-free, scandalous behavior, rewarded, fabrications, distortions, insults, questioning their motives, poking personal affairs, damaging information, Election campaign, senate/parliament, party/politicians, young man & camera-elevators, restroom, wife & children , Justin & reporters/media

Table 138 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Two pages 65-69 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Pages: 65-69

News crews/media, Justin repeating name, rank & telephone number, campaign, Justin & local broadcasts, cartoons, editorials, sports radio chatter , opponent, succumbed & apologized, damage to campaign, Medicare & Middle East diplomacy , violation of value- civil behavior, Behavior, campaign, politician's values tested, politics & competing claims, different sets of constituents, interests of state & nation, party loyalty & independence, value of service & obligations to family, politicians & moral bearings, winds of public opinion Leaders & authenticity, truthfulness beyond words, disagreement, liberal politics, trustworthy, basset-hound face, values, honest, stood up for what he believed in, Empathy, moral code, Golden Rule, sympathy, charity, to stand in somebody else's shoes and see through their eyes, Values, empathy, mother/family,

cruelty, thoughtlessness, abuse of power, racial prejudice, bullying in the schoolyard, workers underpaid, Grandfather/family, empathy, mother/family, grandparents/family, high school years, father/family, grandfather & adolescent rebellion, temperament, career, feelings, 16 years old, petty & arbitrary rules-arguing, Rhetoric, merits of views, win arguments, grandfather-flustered, angry & unreasonable, struggles & disappointments, senior year, appreciated his need to feel respected, rules, without regard to his feelings or needs-diminishing myself, Mother's principle- "How would that make you feel?", politics, Country, empathy deficit, wouldn't tolerate schools-that don't teach, underfunded, understaffed, underinspired if we thought that children were like our children, CEO & multimillion bonus, health-care for workers, equals, those in power- war, sons & daughters, Empathy, balance of politics, people struggling in society, if like us-their struggle like our own, fail to help-we diminish ourselves Struggling & better off, black leaders & whites' fears, George Bush/president, empathy, conservative, liberal, powerful, powerless, oppressed, oppressor, shaken out of complacency, limited vision, All-common ground, Mutual understanding, talk-cheap, value, empathy in practice, community organizer, challenge neighborhood leaders-where time, energy & money, true tests of what we value, pay price for our values, sacrifice, truly believe in them at all Americans- being rich, thin, young, famous, safe, entertained, legacy, next generation, debt, equal opportunity, stand idle, children & poverty, family but economy structure & life organization leave less time for families, Values, values our inheritance, values subject to challenge, intellectual & cultural critics, they have proven to be surprisingly durable and surprisingly constant across classes, and races, and faiths/religions, and generations, claims-if tested against fact & experience, values-deeds not words, Otherwise-relinquish our best selves

### Chapter Three



**Title: Our Constitution**

Table 139 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Three pages 71-81 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p> <p>Pages:71-81</p>
<p>Senators/parliamentarians, Capitol Hill/parliament house, like drinking from fire hose  Description, Senate/parliament, Staff &amp; offices, Washington/capital, Illinois , negotiate committee assignments, issues, 10 thousand constituent letters, Election Day, 300 speaking invitations every week, half-hour blocks, Senate floor-committee rooms-hotel lobbies-radio stations, hired staffers, 20s-30s-schedule, briefing book, whom meeting with, steer to nearest restroom, Living alone/family life, family, Chicago, hothouse environment of Washington , Wife's family &amp; friends, manage my prolonged absence my job required , 3 days a week in Washington, rented apartment, Law School, Capitol Hill/parliament, downtown, Solitude &amp; bachelorhood, take-out menus, basketball/sports, reading late into night, gym/exercise, dishes in sink, not making bed, marriage, domesticated, soft &amp; helpless, first morning in Washington, shower curtain, game/sports, beer, slept at halftime, 2 hours late, crick in neck/health, food, silence, calling home repeatedly, daughters/children/family, Senators/parliamentarians, families, moving to Washington, overzealous staff, average age 60, advice related to business of Senate, committee assignments, committee chairmen, how to organize staff, whom to talk to for extra office space, how to manage constituent requests, advice useful, occasionally contradictory, meeting with Senator Byrd/senior parliamentarian, Appropriations Committee/parliamentary committee, Senior parliamentarian, dean of the Senate, history, family, coal-mining, West Virginia, native talent, poetry &amp; fiddle, poverty, different jobs, war, election, local parliament, national parliament, 1952 , 1958-Senate/parliament, 47 years-every office/experience &amp; positions, 6 years majority leader, 6 years minority leader, populist impulse, benefits, black lung benefits &amp; union protections, miners, roads &amp; buildings, electrification, poor communities, 10 year-night course, Congress/parliament, law degree, Senate/parliament rules, 4-volume history of</p>

the Senate/parliament, scholarship, discipline & love for the institution, passion for Senate & his ailing wife, reverence for constitution, pocket-sized copy, debate

Old Senate Chamber/parliament, party, minority leader, senior senator description, a hint of Appalachians like knotty grain of wood beneath polished veneer, Speech, themes, Old Senate Chamber/parliament, Shakespearean rhythm, clockwork design of the Constitution, Senate-charter's promise, dangerous encroachment, Executive Branch, Senate's/parliament's independence, founding documents, meaning of Republic, spirit of Senates past, 50 years, Jefferson, Adams, Madison- halls of the Capitol/statesmen and parliament house, the city/capital-history, Racism/inequality/injustice, Contradictions, marble busts, arcane traditions, memories & ghosts , autobiography, leadership, KKK, time & place, giants of Senate, Southern resistance to civil rights legislation, liberals, principled opposition, war resolution, MoveOn.org, political counterculture, Warring impulses, darkness & light, Senate, grand compromise, Northern & Southern states, Senate's role-guidance, passions of the moment, minority rights, state sovereignty, protection of the wealthy from the rabble, non-interference, slaveholders, peculiar institution, Senate, genetic code, power & principle, debate, brilliant & flawed men, government, the whip and the chain , Senator/politician, oratory, constitutional law books, earliest debates & founding documents, judgment, history, Children/family, laws, Capital/parliament house, law should be & law is, statute, a requirement, companies, workers, interpretations, congressmen/parliamentarians, staffer, department, lawyer, client, judge, Checks & balances, power diffusion, branches, federal & state governments, no law final, no battle truly finished, strengthen or weaken, water down regulation or block its implementation, agency's power, budget, control of an issue, Law, life & new problems, lawyers, officials, citizens, meaning of terms, laws-words on page, malleable, opaque, context & trust, story, poem or promise , words' meaning-subject to erosion, sometimes collapsing in the blink of an eye, National security, 9/11, White House/president/executive, Congress/parliament, courts, hearings/debates, secretary of state, Congress's/parliament's resolution, war, memos, attorney general, sleep deprivation, repeated suffocation, torture, "severe pain", " accompanying organ failure, impairment of bodily function, or even death", Geneva Conventions, " enemy combatant", war in Afghanistan, 4th Amendment, U.S. citizens, on U.S. soil, White House/president/executive, Senate/parliament, dark-haired young man & parents, young woman, coma, life support, heartbreaking story & Congress intervention, precedents ,

President, power, ethics, end-of-life-decisions, difficult issues, party, policies, debate, process, White House/president, congressional allies/parliamentarians/allies , opposing views, rules of governing, fixed meanings or standards, power, habeas corpus, separation of powers, terrorism, right/sanctity of life, disregard or bend to strong wills  
 Disregard of rules, manipulation of language, conservatives, liberals, Newt Gingrich's Contract, party, legislation, impeachment, " it depends on what the meaning of the word 'is' is." academics, high priests of political correctness, eternal truths & hierarchies of knowledge, youth, moral relativism, Conservatives, federal courts/judiciary  
 Courts/judiciary, conservatives activists, pro- abortion, pro-affirmative-action, pro-homosexual, pro-criminal, pro-regulation, anti-religious liberal elitism, judges/judiciary, law, opinion not based on Constitution, abortion, sodomy, not in text, democratic process, Founding Fathers, courts' role/judiciary's role, "strict constructionists" to the federal bench, men & women-interpreting & making law, original meaning of Founders' words, follow rules, Left, conservatives, election, liberals, courts/judiciary, civil rights, women's rights, civil liberties, environmental regulation, church/state separation, New Deal, the Bork nomination, advocacy groups, party, leaders, opposition, judicial confirmation, conservatives, grassroots army, Parties, judicial nominees, judiciary committee, majority, Party, filibuster, Constitution, filibuster, senate/senators, unlimited debate, minority veto power over any piece of legislation, Filibuster & cloture, firewall against majority overreach, Filibuster, South, Jim Crow, federal interference, 14th & 15th amendment, civil rights, voting rights bills, fair employment bills, anti-lynching, rules, procedures, precedents, law, black subjugation, filibuster-not only stopped bills but snuffed blacks' hope in South, Democrats/party, George Bush, filibuster, appellate courts, Supreme Court, President, party, majority, nominees, filibuster, " nuclear option" judicial nominations

Table 140 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Three pages 82-92 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Pages:82-92

Filibuster, judicial nominations, supermajority requirements, judges/judiciary-lifetime appointments, behooves presidents, benefits to democracy, “ moderate”, hostility towards civil rights, privacy, checks on executive power, right of most Republican judges, Social Security, New Deal, socialist revolution, Nuclear option & filibusters, judicial confirmations, Mr. Smith Goes to Washington, senate, politicians, malicious cause, Politicians, filibuster, friend, blockage, president, moderate nominees, election, judges, values, win at polls, Friend, party, filibuster, Filibuster, Democrats/party, defensive, courts, lawyers, procedural tricks, popular opinion, party, democratic decisions, campaign finance law, rights, values, progressives, democracy, Conservatives, democracy, majority, legislature/assembly/parliament, amendment, mother’s health, party, bill, partial-birth abortion, party line vote, step out, parliamentarian, law, court, unconstitutional, judiciary-whatever they wanted to do, politics, votes , Senate/parliament procedure, separation of power, judicial nominations, rules of constitutional interpretation, esoteric, partisan jousting, Procedural rules, define results, government, regulate pollutes, tap phone, define democracy, elections, system, self-governance, values & shared commitments , Washington/Capital, Teaching, Constitutional law, University of Chicago, question-“What’s this case about?”, students-past, present & future, Theology professors, Scripture, Constitution, students-phrases & passages, Teaching, constitutional law, accessible relevant documents after 2 centuries, guide but no intermediary, Timothy & Luke, founding documents- Declaration of Independence, Federalist Papers, the Constitution, product of men, Founders’ intentions-arguments & palace intrigues, core ideals, Constitution, judiciary, founding documents, inalienable rights, Declaration of Independence, Bill of Rights, 2nd Amendment, gun regulation, desecration of flag is speech? ,basic common-law rights, marriage, bodily integrity, personal decisions- abortion, end-of-life care, homosexualityDisagreement, conservative, liberal, parties/politicians, academic, layman, individual liberties, Founders, Constitution, common law, right to speak & worship, right to peaceably assemble, government, right to own, buy & sell property, to take with fair compensation, free from unreasonable searches & seizure, not to detained without due process, right to

fair & speedy trial, right to make own determinations with minimal restriction, family life & raising children , Universal rights, liberty's meaning, levels of government, people, political community, equal worth of every individual/equality, political spectrum, Founders' teaching, Declaration, government, creed, anarchy & individual freedom, danger in the idea of equality, if everybody truly free, constraints of birth, rank, social order, notion of faith, notions of truth, goodness & beauty, coherent society, Enlightenment thinkers-Hobbes & Lock, one man's freedom not another's tyranny, individual license, liberty, political theorists, American Revolution, democracy, freedom & order, governed's consent, laws & liberty, uniform, predictable & transparent, rulers & ruled, Founders , theories, history, functioning democracy, city-states of ancient Greece, 13 states with diverse population, Athenian model of democracy, direct democracy, republican form of government, people, election, representatives, geographically compact, homogenous community, common culture, common faith, well-developed set of civic virtues-limited contention & strife

Founders, contentious debate, constitutional architecture, rule of law, representative government, bill of rights, national government, 3 coequal branches, bicameral Congress/parliament, federalism, authority in state governments, diffuse power, check factions, balance of interests, prevent tyranny by few or many, history, republican self-government, large & diverse society, "jarring of parties" and difference of opinion, "promote deliberation and circumspection", Declaration, debate, constitutional construction, Congress/parliament- abuse of expanded commerce clause power, Congress's/parliament's power to declare war, democratic house , conservative, liberal, constitutionalists, Individual liberty, rules of democracy, argument, conservative, liberal, results, courts/judiciary, legislature/parliament, decision, teachers, lead children in prayers?, minority faith, forbid prayers?, parents of faith, secular world 8 hours a day?, university, fairness, history, racial discrimination & exclusion, medical school, applicant, color-blind fashion, procedural rule-right to filibuster, judiciary, constitutional interpretation, win argument & yield outcome-we think it's pretty good rule , if otherwise-we tend not to like it so much , Abortion, flag burning, Founding Fathers, Constitution ratifiers, Justice Scalia/judge, original understanding, democracy , Justice Breyer/judge, constitutional provisions, original understanding, arguments, context, history, practical outcomes, decision, Founding Fathers & ratifiers-hoe to think & what to think, reason & judgment,Justice Scalia/judge, language of Constitution,

interpretation, election, president's age, judges, meaning of text Constructionists' reverence, Founders, scope of accomplishment, Constitution, revolution, Federalist Papers, ratification, Bill of Rights, natural law & divine inspiration, Justice Scalia/judge, democracy, fundamentalist faith Justice Breyer/judge, Constitution, context, ever-changing world, Constitution's language, due process, equal protection, original understanding, 14th Amendment, sex discrimination & racial segregation, understanding of equality, Constitutional dispute, strict construction, disagreement among Founders & ratifiers, meaning, arguments, first principles, Revolution's core, national government & power, economy, state laws, standing army, debt, president's role-treatise with foreign powers, Supreme Court's/judiciary's role in determining the law, meaning of- freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, threat, judge/judiciary & original intent of Founders or ratifiers,

Historians, legal theorists, Constitution, principle, power & passion, difference of intentions of Founders, contingent on time & place, ambitions of men, interpretation of rules & contingency, competition & imperatives, high-minded phrasing of prevailed factions, strict constructionist, constitutional text, values, past, freedom, relativist, rule breaker, teenager, parents-imperfect, the freedom of the apostate, Apostasy, myth of founding, Darwin & intelligent design, someone's at the wheel, Constitution-power & principle, republic, successful societies, Shift in metaphors, democracy-not house but conversation, Madison's design, blueprint for action, draftsman-buildings construction, framework & rules, just society, agreement, what's right, abortion, decision for a woman to make, decision for legislature/parliament, school prayer or no prayer at all

Constitution, future, separation of powers, checks & balances, federalist principles, Bill of Rights, "deliberative democracy", citizens- ideas & external reality, persuading others, shifting alliances of consent, power & government, law making, not always right & change, motives & interests, individual and collective judgments-legitimate & fallible

Table 141 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Three pages 93-100 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p> <p>Pages:93-100</p>
<p>History, Founders, absolute authority, king, the theocrat, the general, the oligarch, the dictator, the majority, anyone making choices for us, George Washington &amp; Caesar's crown, 2 terms, Hamilton's plan-New Army, Adam's reputation-Alien &amp; Sedition Acts, Jefferson-wall between church &amp; state, 60's, not liberal judge/judiciary, revolution-every 2 or 3 generations, Constitution-defense against tyranny</p> <p>Absolute power, Founders, ordered liberty, absolute truth, infallibility of idea, ideology, theology or "ism", tyrannical consistency, future generation, single &amp; unalterable course, majorities &amp; minorities, cruelties, Inquisition, Pogrom, gulag, jihad, Founders, trust in God, Enlightenment spirit, trust in minds &amp; senses God had given, suspicious of abstraction, asking questions, history, theory-fact &amp; necessity, power, national government, politics &amp; public interest, politics without politics, Washington's step-down, realism, practicality, flexibility, curiosity, Union's survival , History, Founders, absolute authority, king, the theocrat, the general, the oligarch, the dictator, the majority, anyone making choices for us, George Washington &amp; Caesar's crown, 2 terms, Hamilton's plan-New Army, Adam's reputation-Alien &amp; Sedition Acts, Jefferson-wall between church &amp; state, 60's, not liberal judge/judiciary, revolution-every 2 or 3 generations, Constitution-defense against tyranny , Absolute power, Founders, ordered liberty, absolute truth, infallibility of idea, ideology, theology or "ism", tyrannical consistency, future generation, single &amp; unalterable course, majorities &amp; minorities, cruelties, Inquisition, Pogrom, gulag, jihad, Founders, trust in God, Enlightenment spirit, trust in minds &amp; senses God had given, suspicious of abstraction, asking questions, history, theory-fact &amp; necessity, power, national government, politics &amp; public interest, politics without politics, Washington's step-down, realism, practicality, flexibility, curiosity, Union's survival , Constitution, checks &amp; balances, separation of power, federalism, groups &amp; fixed interests, alter over time</p> <p>Absolutism, constitutional structure, politics, unprincipled, history, choices, affirmative</p>

action, prayers in schools, ideals, vision, values, realities of common life, process, Constitution, convention, opinions, propriety & truth, force of argument Conversation, subject, Founders, Declaration of Independence, historian Joseph Ellis, transformative moment, history, laws, human relationships, coercion, spirit of liberty, Founders, slaves-fields, beds & children, Constitution, rights of citizens, political community, no protection to those outside the constitutional circle, Native American, treaties, court of the conqueror, black man Dred Scot, who would walk into the Supreme Court a free man and leave a slave, Democratic deliberation, franchise, white man without property & women, reason, argument, pragmatism, economy, religion, class, slave, freedom, America-original sin, sword-chain, Democracy, school of thought, Founding Fathers-hypocrites, Constitution, betrayal of grand ideals, Declaration of Independence, abolitionists, Great Compromise-North & South, pact with the Devil, conventional wisdom, constitutional compromise, slavery, omission of abolitionist sentiments, 3/5th Clause, Fugitive Slave Clause, Importation Clause, 24th Congress, debate regarding slavery, federalism, Senate/parliament, formation of Union, silence & postponement, Founders, slavery's ultimate demise, genius of Constitution, space for abolitionists to rally and the debate to proceed, Civil War, 13th, 14th, 15th Amendments, Union perfected, American with African blood, dispute, love America, institutions, circumstances of birth, injustice, ghosts of generations past, open wound, aching spirit, ails this country still, History, pragmatist, reason, compromise, liberty, idealists, William Lloyd Garrison, justice, slaves, former slaves, Denmark Vessey, Frederick Douglas, women like Harriet Tubman , power would concede nothing without fight, prophecies of John Brown, spill blood not just words, half slave-half free, deliberation and constitutional order-luxury of the powerful, and that it has sometimes been the cranks, the zealots, the prophets, the agitators, and the unreasonable-in other words, the absolutists-that have fought for a new order , antiabortion activist- town hall meetings, animal rights activist-raids laboratory, absolute truths-absolute, Lincoln, deliberative function of democracy, limits of deliberation, firmness & depths of convictions, opposition to slavery, divided house-could not stand, presidency, practicality, bargains-South, Union, war, general, strategy, stretch Constitution, conviction & expediency, 2 contradictory ideas, Talk & common understanding, we-imperfect, God on our side, to act-protected by providence, Self-awareness & humility, Lincoln, principles, democracy, speeches & debates, reasoned arguments, North &



South, conversation & war, battle, demonize fathers & sons on either side, blood of slaves, pragmatism-moral cowardice, Lincoln & others-Gettysburg, absolute truths, price to pay George W. Bush/president, nominees, court/judiciary, Senate/parliament, Democratic senators/parliamentarians, filibuster, “extraordinary circumstances, Republicans/parliamentarians, vote, “nuclear option”, party activists-fight, their side’s capitulation, Gang of Fourteen, judges/judiciary, “extraordinary circumstance”, filibuster, colleagues/parliamentarians, Democrats/parliamentarians, “nuclear option”

Senator Byrd/parliamentarian, deal, Capitol/parliament house, Republican John Warner of Virginia/parliamentarian, younger & old parliamentarians/Gang, “We have kept the Republic!”-Senator Byrd, reporters/media, Senator Byrd/parliamentarian, Capitol/parliament house, Senate committees, secretary, books & aging manuscripts, photographs & campaign memorabilia, photographs together, shook hands & smiled for photographer, sat in well-worn chairs, inquired after his wife/family, figures in photos, advice-as new member of the Senate/parliamentarian, Rules, precedents, binders/books, Senator’s time/parliamentarian’s time, rules-unlock the power of the Senate/parliament, keys to the kingdom, Senate’s past/parliament’s past, presidents, bills, not to be in rush, White House/president/presidency, constitutional design, Senate-supreme, Republic, Constitution, Holy Bible/religion, Senate histories, beautifully bound books, time to write, Fortunate, regret-the foolishness of youth, Years & experience, Regrets, Senator/parliamentarian, God’s grace/religion, Face-study, books, God’s grace/religion, signature, scratched his name on the gift

## Chapter Four

### Title: Politics

Table 142 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Four pages 101-110 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

Pages: 101-110

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Town hall meetings, media, Washington/capital

Attendance at the meetings-50 to 2000, cross-section, Republican, Democrat, old, young, fat, skinny, truck drivers, college professors, stay-at-home moms, veterans, schoolteachers, insurance agents, CPAs, secretaries, doctors, social workers, polite & attentive, prescription drugs, deficit, human rights in Myanmar, ethanol, bird flu, school funding, space program, flaxen-haired woman: intervention in Darfur, elderly black gentleman in inner city neighborhood-soil conservation

Crowd, hard work, children, hope, cleansing, gladness

Shake hands, pictures, child-autograph, articles, business cards, handwritten notes, armed-services medallions, small religious objects, good-luck charms, grab my hand-hopes, Washington, people in power-change, stay who you are, don't disappoint us

American tradition, politics-quality of politicians, specific terms, president-moron, Congressmen-bum, broader indictment, in pockets of special interests, voters, in Washington-"just playing politics", meaning votes & positions are taken contrary to conscience, campaign contributions, polls, party loyalty, what is right, fiercest criticism-politicians from one's own ranks, Democrat-who "doesn't stand for anything", "Republican in Name Only", change in Washington, rascals out

Rascals-where they are, reelection rate for House members-96%

Political scientists, interconnected world, penetrate the consciousness, busy & distracted electorate, winning in politics, name recognition, election & name repetition, ribbon cuttings, 4th of July parades, talk show circuit, fund-raising & interest groups, left & right, political contributions, political gerrymandering, House members, congressional district, Democrats or Republicans, borders, voters- no longer choose their representative, representatives-choose their voters

Polls, voters hating Congress, like congressman, politicians-likable folks

Intelligent, thoughtful, hardworking & bad tempered stubborn, vane-senators, constituents

Senators-men & women-grim, uncompromising, insincere, mean, news, process, nation's business, Washington/capital/senate, change-newfound pomposity, argumentativeness, guardedness, transformation, politician, TV/media, movies

Senators-megalomania & uniqueness

Ambition, motives-sacred & profane, goal of becoming senator: fanatical single-mindedness, disregarding health, relationships, mental balance & dignity, campaign, calendar, time, 7 days off, 12-16 hours a day, wife/family, not normal schedule

Ambition, single-mindedness, politicians, companion emotion, announcement as candidate, Election Day, fear, loss, total & complete humiliation

Loss, politics, drubbing in 2000, mistakes, poll & big percentage difference, cardinal rules, modern politics, poll before announcement

Things downhill, Congressman/incumbent's adult son killed by drug dealers, campaign suspended

Christmas holidays, Hawaii, grandmother, wife & daughter/family, legislature, legislation, vote, gun control, bill, red-eye, wailing baby & wife/family, front page story in Chicago Tribune/media, state senator, Congressional candidate, to remain on vacation, campaign manager, potential ad, palm trees, beach chair, sipping mai tai, guitar, voice-over, highest murder rate

Campaign, anticipated loss, awoke with sense of dread, smiling & shaking hands, according to plan, primary/election, campaign, debates, health, education, Tribune endorsement, too little & too late, loss by 31 points

Politicians, disappointments, most people-luxury of licking their wounds privately, politician's loss on public display, concession speech, half-empty ballroom, brave face to put on to comfort staff & supporters, thank-you calls, awkward requests for retiring debts, convincing yourself-bad timing, bad luck, lack of money but feelings of repudiation by entire community, word "loser", people's minds, feelings, high school, joke in front of friends, miss free throws, feelings adults organize their lives to avoid

Emotions' impact, average big-time politician, rarely failed, high school quarterback, class valedictorian, father-senator or admiral, destined for great things, corporate executive, Al Gore-Vice President/politician, presidential race/election, plush office, midtown Manhattan, meeting, election, fledgling television venture

Vice president, the most powerful man on the planet, campaign, calls, schedule, election, meeting-chore, just one of the hundred guys, money, big steep cliff you guys are on

Steep cliff-precipitous fall, satisfaction & influence, politics, vice president, executive, vice president, calls, loss, change, television idea, lifetime, butterfly ballot, condescending smile, business, ill-considered investment, pride of accomplishment, exercise of power, vice president, public life, politics, second acts-no second place

Politics-win, loss, money, campaign finance laws, reporters, bribery, politician, campaign fund-personal, fancy junkets, honoraria, legislation, highest bidder, corruption, lobbying, politics-getting rich, bags of small bills, lucrative practice of lobbying

Money, politics, lobbyists, quid pro quo, elected officials, access to officials, voter, better information, staying power, tax code, billions for clients

Politicians, money, Senate, most members-rich, status & power, challenges & fear, money-can't guarantee victory & can't buy passion, money, TV ads-money consumption, without money pretty much guaranteed to lose

Money-breathtaking, big state race, multiple media markets, legislature, election/campaign expenditure, legislation, meals from lobbyists, checks from gaming & tobacco interests, Senate election/campaign, media consultant, campaign plan, bare-bones budget, grassroots support, "earned media"- ability to make our own news, 1 week TV ad- ½ million dollars, primary-5 million, general election-10-15 million dollars

Supporters-money, Election, fund raising, not fun-people's behavior, grand parents

Table 143 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Four pages 111-120 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 111-120
Topics: Words/phrases/sentences
<p>Election, money, politicians, self-financing candidate, bottomless pockets, campaign, shy, no special expertise, formula for winning campaign</p> <p>Opponent's signs everywhere</p> <p>Politics, "signs don't vote", signs &amp; TV, black community, seniors &amp; children</p> <p>Campaign &amp; budget, panic</p> <p>Luck- fashionable among wealthy donors, Internet, fund-raising, corporate PAC's, League of Conservative Voters, dark-horse status, poll numbers, negative TV ad,</p>

allegations, ex-wife

Money/wealth, corporate support, victory, money chase, change, sense of shame-asking strangers for large sums of money, campaign, banter & small talk-eliminated, no “no” for an answer

Change, time with people of means, law firm partners, investment bankers, hedge fund managers, venture capitalists, smart, interesting & knowledgeable people, public policy, liberal in politics, opinions in exchange for checks, class, income scale, \$ 2000 check, political candidate, free market, educational meritocracy, social ill-cured by high SAT score, protectionism, unions troublesome, no sympathy-global capital, prochoice & antigun, suspicious of religious sentiment

Worldview, same school & books, avoiding certain topics, core issues-candid, tax cuts-to reverse, electorate, role of faith in politics, cultural meaning of guns, rural areas, state

Fund-raising: became like wealthy donors, time above: immediate hunger, disappointment, fear, irrationality, hardship of 99 %, public life, true for every senator, senate-narrow interactions, fight- town hall meetings, listening tours, stops by old neighborhood, schedule-different orbit from most of the people you represent

Race/election, raising money again, upstart-fresh face, not changed Washington, made people unhappy with difficult votes, least resistance, fund-raisers, corporate PAC’s, lobbying shops, changes- realism, compromise, learning the ropes, problems of ordinary people, Rust Belt town, dwindling heartland, distant echo than palpable reality, abstractions- to be managed than battles to be fought

Campaigns- money & organized people, politics-win & not lose, organized people important like cash, low-turnout primaries, gerrymandered political map, divided electorates, race/election, candidate, few volunteers, political campaign, licking envelopes & knocking on doors, speeches & big thoughts, political workers, voter lists, for Democrats- unions, environmental groups, prochoice groups, for Republicans-religious right, local chambers of commerce, the NRA, antitax organizations

Special interests, Exxon Mobil, bricklayers, pharmaceutical lobby, parents of special-ed kids, political scientists, corporate lobby, money, group of like-minded people, textile workers, gun aficionados, veterans, family farmers, interests, economic power, magnify political influence-beyond their numbers- subvert idea of democracy pool votes-sway representativeness- essence of democracy

Groups-own ax to grind

<p>Primary campaign-questionnaires</p> <p>Questionnaires, organizations, difficult questions</p> <p>Two-faced politician</p> <p>Endorsements-answers</p> <p>Questionnaires-sometimes didn't matter depending on opponent</p> <p>Endorsements-odd things</p> <p>Nothing personal-same neighborhood, Danny- watched grow up</p> <p>Several largest unions' endorsements</p> <p>Unions- owe them, not corrupting</p> <p>Other obligations</p> <p>Union leaders-betrayal &amp; anger</p> <p>Loss- critical constituency, "special interests", yes-check box</p> <p>Politicians: big-money contributors, party apparatus, make &amp; break, media-force today</p> <p>Media coverage, novelty as black &amp; exotic background, communication style, literary class</p> <p>Media-criticism</p>
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Table 144 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Four pages 121-130 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Pages: 121-130</p> <p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p>
<p>Can't ignore press/media</p> <p>Town hall meetings &amp; contact with 95-100 thousand constituents</p> <p>Media-constituents &amp; my statements, media presentation/moulding/identity</p> <p>Media kinds &amp; influence on politics, after WWII</p> <p>Media-role in making tempers flare &amp; distrust</p> <p>Lincoln- poverty, language &amp; law, American character, remaking, lager dreams</p> <p>Time magazine/media, Lincoln &amp; Obama</p> <p>Wall Street Journal/media, opponent's essay</p> <p>Potshots from press/media</p>

Statement-scrutiny, TV ad, sounding like a politician

Cyberspace, lodge in our brain, time to examine

Parties, “weak” & “strong”, publicity, calculating, partisan, maverick camp

PR machinery, media, pressures, spin

Objectivity, analysts, parties, reader, numbers

Press releases/media, politics & civility

Media men’s provoking questions

Spin, amplification of conflict, indiscriminate search for scandal & miscues

Contradictory claims, splintered media, splintered nation, global climatic change, budget deficit

Newsweek/media report, religious sentiments, treatment of prisoners, White House/government, Fox News/media

Facts alone- no political settlement, abortion, science, Iraq/war, probabilities, more & less accurate answers, agreement, opinion, compromise, reward-arguments loudly , frequently & obstinately

Politician, truth & reward, media, positioning, publicity, personal integrity

Politicians, hurdles, integrity, campaign contributions-without being corrupted, special interests, media, Washington-legislative process

Legislator, votes, legislation-so obviously right, debate, torture, government, bill, straight face & debate

Legislation, compromises, policy, political grandstanding, jerry-rigged, pork barrels, bills, Senate, vote, fuel production, foreign oil, Clean Air Act, regulations, pollution, clean coal technology, jobs, impoverished part of Illinois

Mail & phone calls, interest groups, Senator, call of the roll, decision, equivocate & delay, constituency, Raven in Poe’s poem, Senate, vote, political future

Legislator, state, federal, party, power, majority, bill, committee chairman, language, constituents, majority leader, compromise

Minority party, vote, bill, compromise, supporters, logrolling, omnibus spending bills, body armor for troops, veterans, painful opposition

Politician/Bush/president, White House, legislative gamesmanship, negotiations, tax, Democratic senator, President’s package, election, wealthy people

Senator, vote, bill, Senate

White House, bill, policy, political winner, vote, President’s program, election

Table 145 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Four pages 131-135 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Pages: 131-135</p> <p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p>
<p>Senator, Democrats, vote, tax, state, minority party, “ bipartisan” media, Capitol Hill</p> <p>Partisanship, compromise, school, deficits, majority, press corps/media, electorate, negotiate, Washington/capital, bill, tax, phony accounting &amp; trillion dollars, majority party, minority party, “obstructionist”, “bipartisanship”, senators, political rewards, “ moderate” , “centrist”</p> <p>Democratic, Republican initiative, merit &amp; principle, public office, money, negative TV ads, senator, vote, legislation, TV commercial, single term-several thousand votes, election</p> <p>Senate campaign, negative TV ad, legislature, minority, votes, National Republican Senatorial Committee, fat binder, research team</p> <p>Votes, context, media consultant, poll, criminal law bill, drug dealing in schools, ineffective &amp; unconstitutional, penalties, antiabortion &amp; premature babies, “personhood”, previable fetuses, lifesaving treatment, state legislature, children &amp; sex offenders</p> <p>Accident-bill, wrong button, aye, official record</p> <p>Official record, Republican/party, poll, sex offender vote</p> <p>Ads/media, primaries, Republican opponent, voters, Senate, goodwill, Republican &amp; Democrat- mistakes, words distortion, motives questioned, baptized in the fire, vote, press release &amp; statement, political race, Washington, great hopes</p> <p>Technical fixes, democracy, politicians, structural links between voters &amp; representatives, nonpartisan districting, same-day registration, weekend elections, competitiveness of race, participation, electorate, integrity, Public financing of campaign, free media(tv&amp; radio) time, money &amp; influence of special interests, House &amp; Senate, legislators, minority, transparency, probing reporting</p> <p>Changes, attitude, power, politicians, existing order, incumbency, fight with friends &amp;enemies, abstract ideas, public-little interest, risk-what already have</p> <p>JFK/politician/president, surgery, heroism, war, challenges, quality of courage, politics &amp;mustering courage, liberation, what you do-someone angry, political attacks, vote,</p>



judgment-cowardice & courage-calculation, longer in politics-less nourishing popularity, power, rank & fame, poverty of ambition, answerable to gaze of conscience  
 Constituents, town hall meeting, older gentleman-Iraq War, no call for full withdrawal of troops, precipitous withdrawal-civil war, conflict-Middle East,  
 Still wrong, would disappoint me if agreed with me all the time, Justice Louis Brandes/judiciary, democracy- most important office is the office of the citizen

**Chapter Five**

**Title: Opportunity**

Table 146 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Five pages 137-147 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 137-147
Topics: Words/phrases/sentences
<p>Senator &amp; flights                  Commercial flights, aisles or window seat                  Senator, candidate, private jets                  Private jet-different experience                  Nice planes, facilities, pilots' attitude                  The flight-TV monitor, information, people might get used to it                  Trip- election fund raising, L.A., San Diego, San Francisco, Stanford University, CA, Google                  Google's history, Ph.D. candidates, Internet, economy transformation                  California, Silicon Valley residents, Google, visit                  Larry &amp; Sergey-smart guys, start-up ideas                  Tour of Google building, people, activities &amp; facilities                  Google mission-world's information, site index, email, voice search over telephone,</p>

Book Project, virtual library, entirety of human knowledge

Three-dimensional image of earth, American Indian engineer

Lights & searches, Internet system & traffic patterns

Mesmerizing image, boundaries of nationality, race, religion & wealth invisible, physicist in Cambridge, bond trader in Tokyo, student in Indian village, manager of a Mexico City department store, time & space-light, Africa, South Asia, U.S., discrete strands

TGIF assembly, throngs of young people, PDA's& Laptops, new hires-50% Asians, large portion of Whites Easter Europeans, no black or Latino

Problem, Google's scholarships for minority & female math and science students, Google-competitive, top graduates, top math, engineering, computer science programs in the country- MIT, Caltech, Stanford, Berkeley, little number of black & Latino kids in those programs

American-born engineers & any race harder, Silicon Valley-foreign students, high-tech employers' worries, 9/11-student visas difficulty, no need to come to Silicon Valley-job & financing for start-up, High-tech firms' operation in India & China, venture funds-global, investment- Mumbai, Shanghai as in California, over the long term-trouble for U.S. economy

Talent, well branded, the next Google?, somebody in Washington to understand-dominance not inevitable

Other visit by car-economy, Iowa & Illinois

Galesburg-college town, Presbyterian & Congregational ministers, New York, social reforms, practical education, abolitionist, Civil War, Underground Railroad, Hiram Revels-first black senator, Mississippi, rail & commerce boom, Lincoln-Douglas debates, Lincoln-opposition to slavery as a moral issue

Union leaders, manufacturing shift & unemployment

Union, contacts-press, shareholders, officials, Maytag management unmoved

Profit, workers' complaints, cuts in pay, benefits & layoffs, tax break, CEO, stock price, shift, 1/6th payment

Retraining-a joke, cruel story

Tax code amendment, eliminate tax breaks for shifting companies, retraining funding, union head, health-care

Son, liver transplant, health-care benefits used up, Medicaid, sell everything, debt, wife's

grief

Tim-no job, ailing son, savings running out, stories missed-private jet at 40 thousand feet  
 Left or right, economic transformation, digital technology, fiber optics, the Internet, satellites, transportation, pools of capital, best returns, trillions of dollars-few keystrokes, USSR, market-based reforms in India & China, lowering trade barriers, big-box realities: Wal-Mart, direct competition with American companies & American workers, World-flat, Thomas Friedman-world getting flatter every day

Benefits of globalization, American consumers, purchasing power, inflation check, boost in returns, stock market, new markets for U.S. goods & services, China & India- reduced poverty, stable world

Globalization & economic instability, companies-automation, downsizing, outsourcing, offshoring, workers- health & retirement plans

“Winner-take-all”, rising tide-not all boats lifted, economic & job growth, productivity & wages, corporate profits & workers’ share, knowledge workers, workers whose skills can be automated or digitized, shifted to cheaper wages countries-dire effects, ever-growing pool of low-wage service work & few benefits, illness & financial ruin, no saving for retirement & child’s college education

1990’s, Democratic Party’s wing, Bill Clinton, new economy, free trade, fiscal discipline, reforms in education & training, workers-high value, high-wage jobs, blue-collar union workers’ resistance, free trade-Wall Street but little for good-paying American jobs

Republican Party-tensions, illegal immigration, Pat Buchanan’s “America first”, conservatism, resurgence in GOP, Bush’s free trade policy, campaign, legitimate role for government, White House, Medicare plan, educational reform, No Child Left Behind

Republican economic agenda, tax cuts, reduced regulation, privatization, Ownership Society, laissez- faire, since 1930s, tax reduction & greater economic growth, government regulation inhibits & distorts efficient working of market-place, affects individual responsibility, initiative & choice

Ronald Reagan: government-the problem

Republican –controlled Congress, tax cuts, spending- special interest appropriations, Democratic lawmakers, investments, privatize social security, Administration, budget deficit, national debt, economic challenges, globalization, social safety net

Table 147 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Five pages 148-158 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 148-158
Topics: Words/phrases/sentences
<p>Globalization &amp; U.S. economy, American GDP- China &amp; India, knowledge-based sectors, software design &amp; pharmaceutical research, universities &amp; colleges-envy of the world</p> <p>Long term, stratified economy, residence &amp; purchase power, private &amp; public sector services, jobs, health, retirement, education</p> <p>American economy-political, social, environmental effects, scientific research</p> <p>Future, economic growth &amp; shared prosperity, national commitment, competitiveness, appropriate role of government</p> <p>Business, rich, hard work, virtuous life</p> <p>Business culture, unmatched prosperity, poor-goods &amp; services, real estate, social organization, innovation, initiative, allocation of resources</p> <p>Free-market system given, supply &amp; demand, Adam Smith's invisible hand, government intrusion, taxation, regulation, lawsuits, tariffs, labor protections, spending on entitlements, inhibits economic growth, communism &amp; socialism, political debates, laissez-faire: default rule</p> <p>Free-market system- trial &amp; error, individual efforts &amp; government action in economic upheavals</p> <p>Infrastructure national government &amp; economy, private property &amp; liberty, agrarian past, commercial &amp; industrial future, Revolutionary War debt, credit &amp; fluid capital markets, manufacturing</p> <p>National government &amp; egalitarian democracy, liberation of capital, American people, social mobility, American capitalism, meritocracy-hereditary aristocracy, government-financed university</p> <p>Investment in infrastructure &amp; people, Lincoln &amp; Republican Party, opportunity, capitalism, transition-disrupting lives &amp; destroying communities</p> <p>Lincoln-national economy, opportunity &amp; people, transcontinental railroad, National Academy of Sciences, Homestead Act, 1862, settlers &amp; immigrants, latest agricultural</p>

techniques, liberal education  
 National government-facilitating role, different projects  
 Active national government-protection acts  
 Stock market crash 1929, Depression, New Deal, Security and Exchange Commission,  
 FDIC insurance  
 Government: business & American worker, no protection before  
 Great Depression and government's role  
 Workers, people, government & government systems  
 Capitalism & activist government  
 Capitalism, OPEC, cheap imports  
 Globalization & brutal acts  
 Welfare state, bureaucracy, slicing pie, tax  
 Government program-not worked as advertised  
 Reagan-reducing government  
 Clinton's aggressive government action  
 Capitalism, global competition & technological revolution, jobs  
 Governing philosophy-Republicans & Democrats  
 America, China & India, American living standards  
 History, government, economy, Lincoln

Table 148 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Five pages 159-169 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 159-169

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

New economic consensus, infrastructure & people  
Investments, competitiveness, education, science & technology, energy independence  
School, predominantly black, school district, students' problems, teachers-no full school day, More school, Poor black & Latino children, highest dropout rate, math & science  
Government & parents' responsibility, hard work & educational achievement  
Education & money bureaucracy & teachers' union  
Money matters, teachers, public school management- a problem  
Education system reforms, curriculum, assessment-reforms, effective teachers  
skin color or region no role but good teacher  
Interest in teaching not problem but pay, educational bureaucracy & feeling of isolation  
21st century, teaching profession, certification process, teachers-give more control of classrooms  
Teachers' salary  
Money & teachers' performance  
Teachers' pay & performance, unions' resistance, principal's whim, scores' dependence on various factors  
Good & bad teachers, children  
"These Kids Syndrome"  
Our kids  
Economy & wisdom about vital matters like education  
Government, education & future jobs, 21st century realities  
Network of universities & community colleges, higher education-its importance  
Cost of college  
Steps to control costs  
Direct help to students  
Higher learning & research  
Wrong policies & research  
Research & federal grants  
Science & engineering, China & U.S.  
Innovation economy & federal funding  
Missing-national sense of urgency, not money  
Energy, education, technology, science  
Energy & addiction to oil

<p>Oil, our money, volatile regimes</p> <p>Oil, Al Qaeda, U.S. economy</p> <p>Environment change &amp; its effects</p> <p>Energy policy, alternative fuels, oil reserves &amp; use</p> <p>Oil industries, tax break, 1% for research &amp; infrastructure, vehicle for new developments</p> <p>Brazil-regulations, biofuel, ethanol, U.S.- regulations with flexibility</p> <p>Fuel-efficiency standards, automakers, competitors</p>
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Table 149 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Five pages 170--180 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Pages: 170-180</p> <p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p>
<p>Fuel-efficient cars, alternative fuels, health-care costs of automakers</p> <p>Alternative fuel sources, new jobs, world-class education</p> <p>Dependence on foreign energy-consequences</p> <p>Democratic liberalization &amp; economic reforms, total dependence on Russia for oil &amp; gas</p> <p>Energy sources &amp; a nation's future</p> <p>Education, science &amp; technology, energy</p> <p>Means, debate, competitive position, American worker &amp; global economy</p> <p>U.S. economy, globalization &amp; American workers</p> <p>CAFTA &amp; U.S. economy</p> <p>NAFTA &amp; CAFTA-disastrous for U.S. economy, protections for American companies</p> <p>Globalization &amp; measures- no change in realities, worker conditions, gap between U.S. workers' wages &amp; poor countries' workers' wages, economic ladder</p> <p>Currency rise, labor</p> <p>Trade</p> <p>Union, CAFTA</p> <p>Free trade, economy</p> <p>Globalization, U.S. workers, India, China &amp; other countries' economies</p> <p>Workers' education, computer programmers, salary</p> <p>Economic pie</p>

Globalization, cheaper labor
Challenges
Fiscal house, educational system
Globalization, protectionists
CAFTA, workers, protectionism
President, my ideas, vote
CAFTA, workers, globalization
Bargain between Government, business & workers
New Deal, social solidarity
Risks & rewards, economy, protection
Social Security
Automation, downsizing & offshoring
Severe impact on families
New Deal & Ownership Society
Freeing of obligations, global economy
Social Security , Ownership Society
Health-care plans, Health Savings Accounts
Ownership Society, winner-take-all economy
Alternative to FDR's social compact
wages
Low-skilled workers

Table 150 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Five pages 181-190 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 181-190
Topics: Words/phrases/sentences



Government policies & wages, The Earned Income Tax Credit  
Unemployment insurance, wage insurance  
Wages, labor & employers, National Labor Relations Board  
Business groups, unionized workforce, economy  
Wages, competitiveness of firms, Social Security trust fund  
Retirement system  
Universal 401(k), Social Security  
Health-care system, Medicare, Medicaid  
Universal coverage, Health Savings Accounts  
Health-care system  
Frequent job change & health care  
Market & health-care  
Quality, prevention, efficient care  
Health-care reform plan, IOM  
Selling health-care plan to private insurers  
Costs, insurers & records  
Saved money-subsidy, tax break  
Fixing health-care system-not easy  
Health care  
Globalization, child's illness  
Child-in the hospital  
Illness of children, job & insurance  
Americans-hard work, risks & government investments  
Investments, competitiveness, payment for it-a question  
Budget surplus, national debt, dot-com, 9/11, economy  
Two wars, protect homeland, Education & prescription drug plan for seniors, tax, revenue & cutting out government waste and fraud  
Budget deficit, national debt  
Debt-justification, investments, tax cuts  
Ran up national credit card, global economy, bigger share  
Huge debt, foreign central banks, particularly China's central bank, lending & paying back  
Future measures, tax, revenue

<p>Difficult fiscal situation, investments, competitive position, priorities</p> <p>Budgets &amp; tax policy</p> <p>Class warfare</p> <p>The second richest man &amp; simplicity of tastes</p> <p>Buffet &amp; his office</p> <p>Tax policy, cutting taxes</p> <p>Lower effective tax rate</p> <p>Income from dividends and capital gains, discrepancy unconscionable</p> <p>Free market, wealth to be plowed back into education, benefited most -pay bigger share</p> <p>Globalization, executive compensation, trade deficit, national debt, tax, aristocracy of wealth, merit</p> <p>Estate tax, command of country's resources, views shared ?</p>
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Table 151 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Five pages 191-194 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Pages: 191-194</p> <p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p>
<p>Not many share these ideas, talent, dependence on society</p> <p>Talent valued, education, laws, financial system, money, pay for all that</p> <p>Capitalist, globalization, right policies, expediency</p> <p>Cuts, spending, President, Congress, lobbyist, conservative commentators, tax-poor &amp; rich</p> <p>Estate tax</p> <p>Death tax, estate tax</p> <p>Inequality in wealth, Clinton's tax policies &amp; Bush's tax cuts</p> <p>Wealthy- many through hard work, having enough, tax</p> <p>Difference in wealth, to be together, balance-self-interest &amp; community, markets &amp; democracy, wealth &amp; power, opportunity</p> <p>Bribery scandal, cheap private flights, self- imposed ban</p>

Commercial flight-regret

A man with Parkinson's disease

Stories of people on commercial flights, one misses the stories on a private jet

## Chapter Six

### Title: Faith

Table: 152 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Six pages 195-205 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 195-205

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Democratic nomination, doctor's email, voting for me

Abortion, gay marriage, free market, militarism, foreign policy

Entry, website, right-wing: woman's right to choose

Champion of voiceless, fair-minded person, abortion

Antiabortion & weakness

Antiabortion, bullying, intimidation & violence

Antiabortion protestors

Coming through the front

Antiabortion protestors, you're a Christian

Ban on abortion-unsafe abortions

Unborn children sacrificed, change of heart

Prochoice position

Religion

Religiosity, political movements, abolition & civil rights, prairie populism

Religion, science & education, technology, modernity, economy & foreign policy

Religion-relevance, accommodation to science, social gospel, economy, inequality, racism, sexism, militarism

Revival of religion

Religion & politics- salvation, dismantling segregation, gays, lesbians, marriage,

sexuality, proper roles of men & women

Religion, politics, tradition, order, family values, liberal orthodoxy

Religion, politics- Republican- abortion, gay marriage, prayer in schools, intelligent design, Terri Schiavo, Ten commandments in courts, Supreme Court, Democrats-secular Christian right, Moral Majority, Christian Coalition, evangelical Christianity, high-tech America, Protestant church-membership

Success of evangelicals, marketing religion, daily rounds & purpose, loneliness, care from outside, not to travel toward nothingness

Religious commitment, road I traveled

Not raised in religious household, grandparents religious environment, Great Depression

Grandparents' migration, religion not rooted in hearts, refuge in religious belief

Flinty rationalism, joviality & incapacity of judging strictly-passed on to mother, preachers, afterlife, earth & the heaven-7 days, geologic & astrophysical evidence

Organized religion: closed –mindedness in the garb of piety, cruelty, oppression in shape of righteousness

Working knowledge of great regions, mythologies, religion-expression of human culture

Religion- anthropologist, father-Muslim/atheist, childhood & parents' divorce

Mother's remarriage, Indonesian with skeptical bent, Catholic & Muslim schools, muezzin's call to prayer-multiplication table

Mother-spiritually awakened, kindness, charity, love, honesty, empathy, discipline, delayed gratification, hard work, poverty, injustice

Sense of wonder, reverence for life, painting, poetry, music, moon & rustle of leaves, children, mysteries, strangeness of life

Mother's influence, goodness of people, ambitions, political philosophy, community organizer for churches, joblessness, drugs, hopelessness

Table 153 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Six pages 206-215 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 206-215
Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Ordinary people, racial identity, no community/shared traditions, Christians, part of me remained removed, without unequivocal commitment, free but alone

Mother-citizen of the world, black church-Skepticism & Christian faith

African American religious tradition, social change, whole person, salvation, politics, economy, social & spiritual life, hunger, nakedness, challenge power & principalities, faith-more than comfort to weary or hedge against death, religion-active agent, men & women in church-“make a way out of no way”, hope & dignity-direst circumstances, Word-made manifest

Faith- doubts, almost everything like common people

Religious commitment- no effect on critical thinking, struggle for economic & social justice, choice & not epiphany, God’s spirit

Faith & Senate & politics

Religion’s role in politics, Obama & Christ’s vote

Keyes, Republican Party, Harvard-educated blacks

A Ph.D, electoral failure, conservative principles

Keyes- talks, emotions, faithful & forces of evil

Candidate- intellect & eloquence but defects

Self-assuredness & self-censorship, homosexuals, anti-marriage, anti-life, abortion, academic Marxist, health care, social programs, descendant of slaves, Republicans, tax, blacks & whites

Ideal opponent, tongue-tied, distress to my supporters

Religion, Christian church

God-given liberty & Christian faith, liberal administration, regulation, socialistic welfare programs, compulsory attendance at public schools, income tax, individual liberty, traditional values, First Amendment- separation of church & state, abortion & homosexuals, nuclear family, Constitution & God’s commandments

Religious right

Christianity, Bible, innocent & sacred life, Roman Catholic, senator, true Christian, Liberalism, religious right, tolerance

Religion-public affair, secularism & religious beliefs

Religious & liberals, abortion & school prayers, conservatives, public morality, poverty & corporate malfeasance

Progressives, avoidance, power of faith, faith & pluralistic democracy

<p>America-religious people, Democrats, religious discourse, good Christian, Muslim or Jew, obligations, vacuum, cynical use of religion</p> <p>Progressives &amp; religiosity, language of religious content, personal morality &amp; social justice, Lincoln &amp; King, moral claims &amp; common good, avoidance- offense</p> <p>Progressives' failure-not just rhetorical, preachy, values &amp; culture-social problems, Poverty, racism, uninsured, unemployed, societal indifference, top &amp; bottom of social ladder</p> <p>Government policy, minds &amp; hearts, guns, disrespect, morality, nondiscrimination laws, tax dollars &amp; education, contraception, pregnancy &amp; abortion, sexual intimacy</p> <p>Religious terminology, inauthentic expression of faith, black church, gospel choir, biblical citations, policy speech</p>
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Table 154 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Six pages 216-226 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Pages: 216-226</p> <p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p>
<p>Shedding biases, thou &amp; I, engagement of all persons of faith, American renewal</p> <p>AIDS, Third World debt, genocide in Darfur, biblical injunction, churches role</p> <p>Religious &amp; secular worlds, ground rules</p> <p>Evangelical Christians, democracy &amp; religious practice, church &amp; state, liberal sixties judges, Bill of Rights</p> <p>Revolution, deists, dogmas, Christ's divinity, separation between church &amp; state, individual liberty, sectarian strife, state's encroachment</p> <p>Arm of state &amp; religion, First Amendment's religious clauses, Enlightenment, state &amp; church<sup>21</sup></p> <p>Evangelization of all, Anglican Church, Congregationalist orders, religious minorities, religion-state support</p> <p>No religious strife, absence of state- sponsored church, religious experimentation &amp; volunteerism, diversity of population, sectarianism, America-religiously diverse nation now</p> <p>Whose Christianity &amp; passages, slavery, shellfish, Defense Department</p>

Religion-public debate & elected officials, secularists & believers' religion, great reformers-religious language, personal morality & public-policy debates, our law-codification of morality much of it grounded in Judeo-Christian tradition

Pluralistic democracy, religiously motivated-universal values

Faith & reason/science

Politics & science/reason, pluralistic democracy, persuasion, reality, compromise, the art of possible/impossible, God's edicts, policy-commitments, dangerous thing

God's test of devotion, Abraham & Isaac-21st century, possible for all to know, truth for us alone

Reconciliation between faith & democratic pluralism

Church & state, context, school Republican Club & Democrats, faith-based programs in schools

Faith within democracy, values-coercion, conscience, evolving norms

Steadfast principles, pregnancy & abortion-various views

Christians-compromise, gay marriage, Adam & Eve not Adam & Steve, civil penalty, civil union

Lesbian, monogamous relationship

Gays & lesbians, radio interview, religion, bad people

Pluralistic society, Living Word, revelations from different people

Faith, Golden Rule-the need to battle cruelty in all forms, the value of love, charity, humility & grace

Civil Rights Institute, church, 1963, bomb, white supremacist, four girls

Immeasurable loss, mourners from everywhere, Civil Rights Act 1964, burst of dam of justice, righteousness like a mighty stream, child- gone to better place

Mother's cancer & her reaction, fear, loneliness of death, pain, absurdity of life

Family, daughters, death, Big Bang, my mother & the four girls, Daughters & grasp of heaven

## Chapter Seven

### Title: Race

Table 155 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Seven pages 227-237 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 227-237

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Funeral, church-grand building, modern facilities

Around 4000 mourners/African Americans, professionals & on stage politicians, gray-haired woman in casket

Bill Clinton, white Southern boy, segregated buses, civil rights movement, Rosa Park, liberation from bigotry, Clinton & black audience, affection, reconciliation, forgiveness & partial mending of grievous wounds

Leader of free world, tribute to Rosa Park, prosperity of blacks & Obama as senator, December 1955, seat on bus/refusal, Rosa Park- honored other people & helped liberate a people

Former President's speech, scenes of devastation, Hurricane Katrina, people's helplessness & young people grabbing things

Hurricane, government & Democrats

Relief work-impressive job, black poverty, devastation, discrimination/racism

Flood, federal government, legacy of racial injustice

After flood- no zeal, war on poverty-died away

Rosa Parks-honoring her memory, something more

Woman's words & levee

Black, white, Latino & Asian-United States of America, Jim Crow, slavery, Japanese internment camps, Mexican braceros, workplace tensions, cultural conflicts, Dr. King, skin color & content of character

Racially diverse family, race & tribe

Ability to absorb newcomers, Constitution, slavery, equality, economic system-opportunity to all comers, racism, nativist sentiment, powerful & privileged, reforms, unique multicultural nation

Demographic change- economic, political & cultural consequences

Postracial politics?-no

African Americans' bumps & bruises, TV, music, friends & streets

race



<p>Race, politics &amp; changes in black and white communities</p> <p>Conventional wisdom, endorsement by white colleagues</p> <p>Four, Springfield, poker game, “sell”, independence</p> <p>Race relation &amp; experienced politicians</p> <p>Constituents, white mothers, vets, race, people’s judgment</p> <p>Prejudice, stereotypes, black- criminality, intelligence &amp; work ethics, assimilation, negative assumptions, internalization of antidiscrimination, race, cumulative impact-hiring, promoting, arresting, prosecuting, customers in a store &amp; demographics of children’s school</p> <p>Prejudice-loosely held, black teenage boy, black man, fear, son’s friend, software engineer</p> <p>Race, black, white, interview, company, school</p> <p>Minorities, efforts, race, disabuse whites of ignorance about blacks</p> <p>Surrender</p> <p>60’s &amp; 70’s, tension between blacks &amp; whites</p> <p>Crowd: a quarter black, rest white</p> <p>Obama’s supporters</p> <p>Manger-Laborers’ International Union</p>
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Table 156 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Seven pages 238-248 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

<p>Pages: 238-248</p> <p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p>
<p>People’s concerns, economy, more money for schools, sons &amp; daughters on the way to Iraq, hospital, trust built</p> <p>Trust between races tentative, minorities-quiescent, silent to injustices, negative ads, police shooting of black or Latino youth</p> <p>All races-moments like Cairo, isolation-hatred &amp; suspicion</p> <p>River, settlements, free &amp; enslaved, Huck &amp; Jim</p> <p>Meeting with health department, 2006, social club-no black allowed</p>

Whites' hostility towards blacks, it no longer possesses a power

Robert-cross the currents of habit & fear, help him onto shore

White voters, change in African American community

Changes- half of \$500000 from blacks, black support- radio, magazine & jet

A handful of black wealthy me in 60's & 70's

Blacks-good jobs & businesses, neighborhood, private schools, charities

Race & roadblocks

Blacks-their own businesses

Black America- freedom, children, slavery, Jim Crow, civil rights movement, African Americans' heroism

Blacks & Latinos- upward mobility, middle class, black poverty rate, hard work & commitment like whites, economy, democracy

Difference of wage and net worth among blacks, Latinos & whites

Politics- gap, nondiscrimination, employment, housing, education

Republican Administration, Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, nondiscrimination laws, "reverse discrimination", underrepresentation of minority, incidental impact on white students

Affirmative action, black & Latino Ph.D candidates, discrimination, minority hiring-remedy

Race & institutions, white- preference, government-make things right

Gap, not government's alone but also minorities' responsibilities, too much TV, poison & fast food consumption, lack of emphasis on educational achievement

Two-parent black household, casualness towards sex & child rearing, black children-more , vulnerable, no excuse for this

Progress impeded, supermarket chains, eating habits, reverence for educational achievement, lifestyles, social norms-joy & obligations of fatherhood

Gap-little to do with race, same problems-downsizing, outsourcing, automation, wage stagnation, health care, pension, education & training, labor & tax laws, wealth, health-care, child care, retirement systems, working people

Minority rise, opportunity, growing economy, whites' sense of security, equality

Blacks' rise-economy boom, government measures for the spread of wealth

Political capital, affirmative action, minorities, investments, health disparities

Policy & politics, John, making feel more white

Black politicians-right tone, white guilt, inequality, poverty, racial victimization, race-specific claims, race discrimination

Conservatives-politics of resentment, national debt & deficit

“us” & “them”, universal appeals, help all Americans, schools, jobs, health care, government & flood, civil rights laws, disproportionate help to minorities

Shift in emphasis, Old habits die hard, racial discrimination, history moves in straight lines-not ordained, economic difficulty- emphasis of racial equality shunted aside

Opportunity ladder-slippery for blacks, Latinos-firehouses & corporate suites, upward mobility, nondiscrimination, socioeconomic mainstream

Table 157 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Seven pages 249-259 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk’s model of PDA

Pages: 249-259

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Failure & success against the odds, anger & bitterness transmitted to children, emotions ebbed, more progress can be made

Universal strategies, gap, racial conflict & undermining progress, African American-inner-city poor, Latinos-undocumented workers, immigration

Restaurant, food

MacArthur’s owner-army vet, loss of leg in war, shift to Chicago with wife, business courses, Mac’s Records, Westside Business Improvement Association

Success, business growth, restaurant, buying & rehabbing buildings, efforts of men & women like Mac-development & beautification

Dark side of Mac’s world, virus-people wasting away

Crime, black neighborhood, police, trouble-spill into white area-police serious, store-8 to 9 break-ins

Police’s action & young guys’ behavior

Kids’ behavior changed, nothing at home, mothers children themselves, father in jail, children raise themselves on streets, gangs their home, good families try to move out, that leaves things worst

Hopeless situation

Blacks- infant mortality & male unemployment

Personal stories, teacher, public defender, pediatrician, teenage parents

Black community, poorest of the poor, slavery, violence, Jim Crow, rage, ignorance, families, children, wouldn't amount to anything

Intergenerational poverty, underclass- blacks

Underclass, war on poverty, welfare state, cultural pathologies, racism, structural inequalities, economy, black poverty, liberal judges, black maid & "welfare queens", police, prisons, personal responsibility, black ghetto, taxpayers' good money after bad

White public opinion, "deserving" & "undeserving" poor, racially & ethnically tinged, economy, historical racism, intergenerational poverty, out-of-wedlock births-black poor, values, workin-class whites, liberal policy makers, urban disorder

Frustration, inner city, law-abiding, hardworking blacks- police protection, work ethic, inadequate parenting, sexual mores, Heritage Foundation

Black attitudes towards poverty, "predator", "underclass", mothers on welfare, color of skin, larger society

Blacks-inner city dysfunction, blacks in Chicago-past events

Culture & circumstances, self-destructive behaviors, those behaviors not innate, inner-city trap, change

Inner-city poverty, teenage girls-high school, avoid children out of wedlock, teen pregnancy, parents, clergy & community leaders to play role

Poverty, work, welfare, dignity

Poverty, welfare, public dole, working poor, women, labor market, living wage, child care, housing, health care, food bill, gas bill, baby's new coat

Intergenerational poverty, police, health, education

Effective parents & inner-city children

Unemployment & crime

Second chance, ex-felons, adaptation, enrollment

Macs, ex-felons & employment

Government, ex-felons & private-sector contractors

Lawful work, crime, economy, marriage rates & children's stable world

Low crime, children cared for, cities reborn, black poverty, changes

Inner-city poverty, immigration, uncertain future, demographics, black-and-white paradigm of discrimination, black and white new comers, racial dynamics

Table 158 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Seven pages 260-269 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Pages: 260-269</p> <p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p> <p>New America, demographic change, movement to suburbs</p> <p>Immigrant story, newest Americans, foreign policy, Cyprus &amp; Taiwan, policy concerns, changes in tax code</p> <p>New Americans-want affirmation</p> <p>9/11, Arab &amp; Pakistani Americans, detentions, hard stares, Japanese internments, World War II, political winds-ugly direction</p> <p>Latinos, meaning of America &amp; citizenship, changes taking place</p> <p>Latinos &amp; African Americans collaboration/mutual support</p> <p>Black &amp; brown ties</p> <p>Tensions between blacks &amp; browns</p> <p>No exaggeration of schism-both have challenges, admiration for Latino immigrants</p> <p>Illegal immigration, young labor force as compared to geriatric Europe &amp; Japan, burden on safety net, culturally too different, political power</p> <p>Illegal immigrants, today- not only economy &amp; racism, past-America's terms, skill, color &amp; needs of industry, harsh restraints, rules not of his own making</p> <p>No systematic immigration, porous borders, not jobs but sovereignty, avian flu, computer viruses, factories to China, America unable to control</p> <p>Senate-immigration reform bill, protests, defend Southern border, Democrats, Republicans &amp; the President</p> <p>Compromise bill, tougher borders, deportation difficult, eleven-year process for citizenship, guest worker program</p> <p>Legislation worth supporting, guest worker provision-troubling, immigrants, citizenship rights, U.S. workers, foreign workers-labor shortage</p> <p>Help American workers, attacks by conservatives</p> <p>Opposition to Obama, Mexicans &amp; American workers</p> <p>Immigration bill, cynicism &amp; hypocrisy, bill stalled in the House</p> <p>Nativist sentiments, Mexican flags in proimmigration demonstration, frustration</p>
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Immigration debate, activists, deportees, activist agitated, borders & justice, Latino  
 Angry & frustrated at the group's behavior, American citizenship-privilege not right,  
 borders, law, opportunities & protections, abusing my staff, championed their cause  
 Naturalization workshop  
 Obama met different people in the workshop, Iraq  
 Cristina-no fear from newcomers, 150 years ago-Europe's famines, wars & unyielding  
 hierarchies, hope for better life  
 Right & duty, borders, citizenship & obligations, common language, loyalties, purpose &  
 destiny, danger: non-recognition of humanity, rights & opportunities, hypocrisy of  
 servant class, inequality, racial strife, country more black and brown, democracy,  
 economy  
 Future, America-more dizzying in diversity, culture-more polyglot, my daughters-  
 Spanish, Cristina-Rosa Parks, moral clarity-segregated bus, tests- as Rosa Parks,  
 Freedom Riders were tested, we all tested by those voices-that would divide us & have  
 us turn on each other  
 Tested, read history of this country, they have been given something precious, America-  
 big enough to accommodate all their dreams

**Chapter Eight**

**Title: The World Beyond Our Borders**

Table 159 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Eight pages 271-281 of the text of  
*Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

EXTRA SPACE????????????????????

Pages: 271-281  
 Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Indonesia, islands, people, geography, climate, exotic species, tigers  
 Indonesia- population, languages, religion, ethnic groups, oil, capital, currency, location  
 on map & Americans  
 Indonesia & U.S. foreign policy, sultanates & kingdoms, Dutch colony-1600's, Dutch  
 East Indies, Japanese expansion and occupation, Pearl Harbor

Japanese surrender-1945, Dutch, Indonesian independence & international pressure, U.S. government, Marshall Plan, communism, anticolonialism, Sukarno

Sukarno, Nehru & Nasser-nonaligned movement, West & Soviet bloc, Indonesia's Communist Party, anti-Western, nationalization, rejecting U.S. aid, ties with Soviets & China, U.S. & Vietnam, domino theory, U.S. foreign policy, CIA in Indonesia, military, 1965-General Suharto, purge of communists, 500000- 1 million slaughtered, imprisonment & exile

Mother's remarriage & arrival in Indonesia

Jakarta- sleepy backwater, colonial elegance, murky rivers, Ganges

Family in Indonesia, modest living, local Indonesian schools

Joyous time, adventure, sweets, enough food

Family status- wealth & ties to the West, condescension towards Indonesians, American protection

Indonesia-USAID, growth of per capita income, Western goods, anti-communism

Indonesia-newfound prosperity, education-Hawaii, grandparents, mother-specialist women's development issues, my visits to Indonesia but life & attention elsewhere

Indonesia's subsequent history, Asian tiger, globalizing world

Politics, human rights, Saddam Hussein, Pinochet, Shah of Iran, repressive rule, press, elections, secessionists, Aceh, guerillas & civilians, murder, rape, villages set afire, 70's & 80's, all this with the knowledge if not outright approval of U.S. administration

Cold War ended, Washington's attitude changed, military excesses, Dili & East Timor, Indonesian reformists, free & fair elections

Corruption, Economy collapse, IMF, price hike, demonstrations, Suharto's resignation, elections, parties, votes

Financial meltdown & democratization, stock market, election, transfer of power, corruption, military, independent newspapers, political parties

Democracy- no prosperity, gap between rich & poor, deprivation-Internet & satellite New York, Hong Kong & Paris, anti-American sentiments, New York speculators & IMF-financial crisis, Osama bin Laden & George W. Bush

Rise of militancy & fundamentalism

Indonesia-memories, to take family there

Travelling with children-difficult, worry-situation, shrunk world-direct flights, cell phone, CNN, internet cafes, Indonesia more distant, becoming land of strangers

History, geography, culture & conflicts-each country unique, Indonesia-metaphor for world beyond our borders, world in which globalization, sectarianism, poverty, plenty, modernity & antiquity collide

Indonesia-American foreign policy, liberating former colonies, international institutions, post-World War II order, nations & conflicts-prism of Cold War, American style of capitalism & multinational corporations, American tolerance & encouragement of-tyranny, corruption & environmental degradation, Big Macs, Internet, historical conflicts, growing economic power of Asia-resentment of United States as sole superpower, democratization-ethnic hatreds & religious divisions, wonders of globalization-economic volatility, pandemics & terrorism

Mixed global record, foreign policy-sometimes farsighted & misguided, credibility & dangerous world

American foreign policy-warring impulses, isolationism, wariness of foreign intrigues, war of independence, America's peace & prosperity & European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor or caprice, detached & distant, geographic separation & external annoyance

Revolution, republican form of government, freedom, America- not abroad & dictatress, new world, no reform in the old, protection by ocean, bounty of continent, development & freedom, hope for others around the globe

Expansion-geographically, commercially & ideologically, Louisiana Purchase, continental expansion, Monroe Doctrine, European powers, Western Hemisphere, "manifest destiny", God's plan, "the areas of freedom"

Bloody & violent conquest, Native American tribes, army, slavery, contradiction, racist terms, American mythology, exercise in raw power, Civil War, continental United States, power, expanding market, goods, raw materials, sea lanes, commerce, overseas, Hawaii annexed, Pacific, the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines-U.S. control, U.S. military & Philippine in independent movement, China market, trade, wealth & power, colonization & meddling, European colonization, strategically important countries, America's liking, America to play a part-to decide well or badly

Table 160 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Eight pages 282-292 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA



Pages: 282-292

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Foreign policy-realpolitik & commercial interests, great powers, isolationism, conflicts in Europe, technology & trade-shrinking globe, World War I, German U-boats, American vessels, collapse of European continent, neutrality, America-dominant power, peace & prosperity in faraway lands

America's manifest destiny, "the world safe for democracy", self-determination, legal framework, conflicts, Treaty of Versailles, German surrender, League of Nations, international court, international laws, weak & strong bound, Democracy

The Senate's refusal for ratification, encroachment on America's sovereignty

American isolationism, world court, Axis powers, & mistake, security, gangsterism

World War II, United States' foreign policy, Europe & Japan, Soviet Union, totalitarian communism, unilateral foreign policy, invasion of the Soviet Union, isolationism, Allied victory, Stalin-to accommodate

America's postwar leadership, combining idealism & realism, America's power & ability to control events around the globe, world-dangerous place, soviet threat, America's military dominance, use of force across the globe, battle against communism- a battle of ideas, long-term prosperity & security-not military might alone

Stable allies, freedom, democracy & rule of law, mutual consent, international institutions, norms, laws & treaties, fewer conflicts & legitimacy of military actions

New world order, containment of communist expansion, NATO, japan, Marshall Plan, Bretton Woods agreement for world financial markets, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, IMF, World Bank, United Nations, international security & cooperation

Postwar undertaking's results: Cold War's outcome, nuclear catastrophe avoided, end of conflicts between great military powers, unprecedented economic growth-at home & abroad

Greatest Generation's greatest gift, victory over fascism, distortions of politics, sins of hubris, corrupting effects of fear, communist takeover-China & North Korea, policy makers, nationalist movements, ethnic struggles, reform efforts, left-leaning policies, lens of the Cold War, potential threats-freedom & democracy, tolerate and aid-thieves & thugs like Mobutu & Noriega-as far as they opposed communism, removal of democratically elected leaders-Iran, seismic repercussions-haunt us to this day

Containment, military buildup, Soviet & Chinese arsenals, “iron triangle”, Pentagon, defense contractors & congressmen, defense expenditure, foreign policy, nuclear war, direct military confrontation, superpower rivals, military-not diplomacy

Politics, professionals, White House, Pentagon, State Department, CIA, ideology, electioneering, Marshall Plan, tax dollars, sons-war

American politics & communism, Cold War-secrecy, snooping, misinformation against foreign governments & populations, questionable politics

Vietnam war, conflict, credibility & prestige, American government & people-trust, foreign policy, “military industrial complex”, international institutions & American arrogance, jingoism, racism, capitalism & imperialism, “blame America first”, the protestors, hippies, Jane Fonda, Ivy League intellectuals, liberal media-patriotism, relativistic worldview & confront godless communism

Caricatures, communism & American casualties, 70’s & 80’s, Democrats & Republicans-hawks & doves, election, defense, military & covert action, political home Division, foreign policy, domestic policies, Cambodian bombing, morally rudderless, human rights, moral concerns & strong defense, oil shocks, Iranian hostage crisis-humiliation, Soviet Union’s invasion of Afghanistan, Jimmy Carter-Democrat, seemed naïve & ineffective

Reagan, communism, misery in the world, Democrats, Third World, Apartheid in South Africa, El Salvador death squad, invasion of Grenada, nuclear arms policy, Star Wars, rhetoric, Iran-Contra deal

Reagan’s worldview, Iron Curtain, Chile, U.S. multinationals, international trade terms, poverty, corrupt leaders in Third World, military buildup, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pride, respect, armed services, dangers beyond our borders, equivalence between East & West, Berlin Wall, old man-due if not vote

Democrats & Republican, vote, presidency, foreign policy, war against communism, proxies, deficit spending, Cold War, new world, George H. W. Bush, “realist” foreign policy, steady management of the Soviet Union’s dissolution, First Gulf War, domestic economy, international coalition, American power

Clinton, conventional wisdom, post-Cold War foreign policy, trade, tanks, copyrights & American lives, globalization- economic challenges & security challenges, free trade, international financial system, conflicts-Balkans & Northern Ireland, democratization-Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa & former Soviet Union, public, foreign policy-

overreaching themes & grand imperatives, military action-choice, not necessity, rogue states, humanitarian calculations, moral obligations, Somalis, Haitians, Bosnians or other unlucky souls, September 11

Trip to Iraq

World Trade Center/September 11

Thinking about 9/11's victims, exercise, seatbelts jobs & neighborhoods, families

Chaos, understand the world differently, Senate: voted 98-0, House: voted 420-1, President, use of force, youth & CIA, Paris-Le Monde, Cairo-mosques, NATO- Article 5, justice, Taliban, Al Qaeda

Administration, casualties, Al Qaeda forces, bin Ladin's escape, U.S. foreign policy-21st century, military planning, intelligence operations, homeland defenses, international consensus, transnational threats

Outdated policies-new labels, "Evil Empire", "the Axis of Evil", Monroe Doctrine- Bush Doctrine, preemption, Western Hemisphere-globe, firepower & resolve, "coalition of the willing"

Table 161 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Eight pages 293-303 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 293-303

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Bush Administration, politics, Saddam Hussein, preventive war, rationale for invasion, "soft on terrorism", "un-American", military campaign, public relations offensive, intelligence reports, costs, manpower requirements

PR worked, weapons of mass destruction, false-beliefs, invasion of Iraq, elections, Republicans, vote, use of force, Senate, Democrats, Bush-power

Vote-disappointment, Democrats, pressures, Senate, Iraq war, antiwar rally, invasion, chemical & biological weapons, nuclear arms, UN resolutions, weapons inspectors, Saddam-people, Iraqi people & the world-better off without Saddam

Saddam's threat-not imminent, rationales-flimsy & ideologically driven, war, Afghanistan, military action, diplomacy, coercive inspections, sanctions, broad base of

support for policies

Not opposed to all wars, grandfather-Pearl Harbor, army, carnage & destruction, slaughter innocents in the name of intolerance, take up arms, tragedy

Against war- dumb, rash, not based on reason but passion, not on principle but politics, against Iraq war, without rationale & international support, Middle East, Arab world, recruitment arm of Al Qaeda

Speech, Internet, hard issues, tough Democratic primary, Iraq war/invasion, President, “Mission Accomplished”, American casualties

American deaths & casualties, billions of dollars spending, Iraqi national elections & constitutional referendum, tens of thousands of Iraqi deaths, anti-American sentiment, Baghdad, member of Senate, figure out mess

Baghdad- C-130, State Department officer, Black Hawk helicopters, Green Zone, security briefing & blood types, helmets & Kevlar vests, muddy & barren fields, sand-colored metropolis, Tigris River, city-worn & battered, satellite dishes, cell phone, successes of the reconstruction

Green Zone, electrical power & oil production difficulties, intelligence officers, sectarian militias & infiltration into Iraqi security forces, sabotage, Election Commission, U.S. ambassador Khalilzad, shuttle diplomacy- Shi’ite, Sunni & Kurdish factions, workable unity government

Lunch with troops, Saddam’s presidential palace, regular forces, reservists, National Guard, big cities & small towns-blacks, whites & Latinos, pride, schools, electrical facilities, Iraqi soldiers, supply lines, press, bombings & killings, progress, work not in vain

Men & women, frustration, dedication & skill, American ingenuity, wealth & technical know-how, Green Zone, operating bases, Iraq & Kuwait, ability of our government, hostile territory, construction & facilities, American optimism, no cynicism, danger, sacrifice, setbacks, better life for a nation we barely know

Quixotic efforts, American blood, treasure & best intentions, houses on quicksand, delegation-press conference, foreign correspondents/reporters, informal & off-the-record conversation, life outside Green Zone, no late stay & travelling

Mostly young journalists, stress, journalists killed, journalist’s abduction & driver killed, violence, Shi’ites & Sunnis-fight, elections & security situation, U.S. withdrawal-ease tensions?

Civil war, deaths, we- holding the place together

Dinner, Ambassador-Khalilzad, President-Jalal Talabani, security, troops, vests & helmets

Iraqi president's home & interim government's members, Ahmed Chalabi & Iraqi National Congress, Shi'ite, intelligence agencies, Bush policy makers, information, invasion, dollars for information, bogus information, U.S. patrons & Chalabi, U.S. classified information, Chalabi & Iran, Jordan-Chalabi's arrest, embezzlement, theft, misuse of depositor funds, currency speculation, immaculately dressed, grown daughter, interim government oil minister

Chalabi-not spoke much to him, finance minister-impressive, knowledgeable, economy, transparency, legal framework, foreign investment, favorable impression, embassy staff Smart, leader, SCIRI party, Interior Ministry, police, militia infiltration, accusations, grabbing Sunni leaders, bodies found

Difficulty in sleep, game, satellite, Saddam & guests, muted TV, mortar fire, Black Hawk, Marine base, Fallujah, Anbar Province, fiercest fight, insurgency, Sunni dominated Anbar, grim atmosphere, bombs & small fires-Marines killed, troops-rarer & young

General, briefing, camp, dilemma-U.S. forces, improved capabilities, insurgent leaders' arrest, street gangs-Chicago, one arrested-two to take place, economics & not just politics-insurgency, central government-neglect of Anbar, male unemployment-70 percent

Two or three dollars- a lot of money for a kid to plant a bomb

Briefing, flight, foreign policy, military, counterinsurgency, strategy, teacher, Philippines, Peace Corps, Arabic-speakers, cultural sensitivity, U.S. forces, relationships, leaders, security forces, reconstruction, benefits, changes for better, military-practices, Officer, chopper, best to deal with the situation-"Leave"

Iraq-American involvement, analysis, story being written, deteriorated situation, civil war, original decision, invasion, decent outcome, pessimism-Iraq's short-term prospects

American troops & stability in Iraq

National security policy, nuclear proliferation, China-economy & politics, United Nations

American people, world, legitimacy, use of force, American people-consensus

Isolationism

Liberals-Iraq: a mistake, Iraq, AIDS, allies
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Table 162 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Eight pages 304-314 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 304-314
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Topics: Words/phrases/sentences
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<p>Globalization, liberals: freedom, personal safety, economy</p> <p>Security environment, Truman, Acheson, Kennan &amp; Marshall, post-world war II order, great powers, nineteenth &amp; early twentieth centuries, expansionist states, Nazi Germany, Soviet Russia, large armies, invasion, access to critical resources, world trade</p> <p>Germany &amp; Japan, liberal democracy, free- market economies, great power, conflicts, free world, nuclear weapons, “mutual assured destruction”, war, United States &amp; Soviet Union, Berlin Wall, powerful nations, China, people, set of international rules, trade, economic policy, legal &amp; diplomatic resolutions of disputes, liberty &amp; democracy</p> <p>Threat, margins of global economy, international “rules of the road”, weak or failing states, arbitrary rules, corruption, violence, poor, uneducated, cut off-global information grid, rulers' fear of globalization, power, traditional cultures, indigenous institutions</p> <p>America, ignore nations, disconnected regions, hostile, our worldview, nationalize U.S. business, prices, Soviet, Communist Chinese orbit, attack U.S. embassies or military personnel overseas, September 11-no longer the case, interconnectivity, empowered-tear the world down, terrorist networks, their doctrines, world economic system, links, London or Tokyo- New York or Hong Kong, weapons &amp; technology, nation-states, black market, designs downloaded off Internet, free travel of people &amp; goods across borders, global economy, exploited for murderous ends</p> <p>Nation-states, mass violence, fixed address, transnational threats, terrorist networks, globalization, pandemic diseases, avian flu, climate, security</p> <p>Defense, Cold War, nation-to-nation aggression, security, international rules &amp; norms, blue-water navy-entire globe, nuclear umbrella-Europe &amp; Japan, arms race, Russia &amp;</p>
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China, military, rogue states, attack, sovereign nations, Saddam-Kuwait attack 1991, world's reluctant sheriff-no change

Defense budget, force structure, world war III, military, defense budget: \$522-more than next 35 countries combined, United States GDP-larger than China & India combined, fastest growing economies-China & India, strategic force posture, threats, rogue states-North Korea & Iran, potential rival-China, depletion of our force, wars, Iraq, Afghanistan, readiness & replacement equipment

Military challenge-China, economic challenge, putting boots on the ground, ungoverned or hostile regions, terrorists, balance, fancy hardware, spend on men & women in uniform, armed forces, troops properly equipped, training, language, reconstruction, intelligence-gathering, peacekeeping skills, succeed, complex & difficult missions

Military, terrorist networks, states, armed forces, United States, Cold War, outgunned the Soviet Union, American values, court of international public opinion, communist regimes, Islamic-based terrorism, military campaign, public opinion, Islamic world, allies, Osama bin Laden, cannot defeat or incapacitate United States, conventional war, Iraq: botched & ill-advised incursion in a Muslim country, insurgencies, religious sentiment, national pride, U.S. occupation, death toll, U.S. troops, local civilian population, anti-American sentiment-among Muslim, pool of potential terrorist recruits, American public, war-policies, Islamic world-project us in the first place

War from a cave, script, American military power, terrorist networks, global battle of ideas

United States, sovereign nations, unilateral right, defense, attack, Al Qaeda, Taliban, justification, legitimacy, Islamic countries, support, allies, military campaign, international consensus, alone, American people, pay price, protect country

Unilateral military action, imminent threat, security, nation, group, individual, strike U.S. targets, allies, United States, mutual defense agreements, Al Qaeda, preemptive strikes, Iraq, Saddam Hussein, invasion-blunder, goods on our targets

Self-defense, unilateral action, UN Security council, Cold War-era time warp, veto, United Kingdom, Togo, multilateral action, George Bush, first Gulf War, diplomatic work, world's support, international norms

Observance of international "rules of the road", everyone but us, sole superpower, internationally agreed-upon standards of conduct, rules worth following, terrorists, dictators, American imperialism

Global buy-in, United States, load, military action, success, modest defense budgets, military burden, Balkans, Afghanistan, NATO partners, risks and costs, conflicts, military operation, training police forces, electricity, water services, building a working judicial system, independent media, public health infrastructure, planning elections, allies-pay freight & provide expertise, international support, front end, military parlance, legitimacy, “force multiplier”

Coalition, looking before leap, threat, benefit of time, military power, influence events, advance interests, access to- energy sources, financial markets stable, respect international boundaries, preventing genocide, other tools of influence

Cheap oil, cost, blood & treasure, war, political settlement, indefinite commitment of U.S. forces, dispute, diplomacy, sanctions, battle of ideas, world opinion, anti-American posture from European allies, blanket of protection, speeches in the UN General Assembly, obfuscate, distract or excuse- inaction, better strategic decisions

Allies, ownership, terrorists’ capacity, shutting down terrorists’ financial networks, intelligence, infiltrate their cells, U.S. agencies, intelligence capacity, weapons of mass destruction-terrorists’ hands

Collaboration, Republican & Democratic Senators, crises, nuclear proliferation, Nunn-Lugar program, Soviet Union-biggest threat to the United States, accidental launch, Gorbachev, Yeltsin, migration of nuclear material or know-how: into the hands of terrorists or rogue states, Russia’s economic tailspin, corruption in military, impoverishments of Russian scientists, security & control, resources to fix up systems, Cold War thinking, investments-to protect ourselves from catastrophe

Trip to Russia & Ukraine, Saratov, Russian generals, security systems, lunch-borscht, vodka, potato stew, troubling fish Jell-O mold, Perm: SS-24 & SS-25 missiles, eighty-foot-high empty missile casings, massive , sleek, still-active missiles, once aimed at cities of Europe

Residential neighborhood of Kiev, Center for Disease Control, modest facility, door jambs, mice, freezer, middle aged woman in a lab coat & surgical mask, test tubes

Anthrax, plague, “Been there, done that”

Cold War days reminded, Perm-plane search, detained, Telephone calls-U.S. embassy & Russia’s foreign affairs ministry in Moscow, Calvin Klein, Maserati showroom, Red Square Mall, motorcade of SUVs, restaurant, burly men, ill-fitting suits, Kremlin officials, security detail, Russia’s billionaire oligarchs, sullen teenagers, T-shirts, low-



riding jeans, cigarettes, music on iPods, Kiev's boulevards, economic if not political integration of East & West

Warm welcome at military installations, money, they mattered, careers, honored, perfecting tools of war, presiding over remnants of the past, institutions-barely relevant to nations, turning a quick buck

Destruction of conventional weapons, director- rotund, cheerful man, Chicago superintendent, disrepair, U.S. help, money, Cold War, Afghanistan, pace-sixty years, weapons scattered & exposed, shacks without padlocks, warlords in Somalia, Tamil fighters in Sri Lanka, insurgents in Iraq

Women in surgical masks, hexogen: military-grade explosive, wheezing old boiler, flicking ashes into orange-tinted water, yellowing poster taped to the wall, Afghan war, hide explosives in toys, unsuspecting children, madness of men, how empires destroy themselves

Foreign policy, avoiding war & promoting peace, President Kennedy, huts & villages of half globe, mass misery, help themselves, not because of Communists or their votes, right, free society, many poor, few rich, long-term security interests, beyond more prudent use of military force, reduce spheres of insecurity, poverty & violence, people-stake in global order that served us

Table 163 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Eight pages 315-323 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 315-323

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Global system-America's image, alleviate misery in poorer countries, America's notion of international system-free trade, open markets, the unfettered flow of information, the rule of law, democratic elections, expression of American imperialism, exploit cheap labor, natural resources of other countries, infect non-Western cultures with decadent beliefs, America's rule, resist American hegemony, own path to development, left-leaning populists, Hugo Chavez, traditional principles of social organization like Islamic law

Current international system-America & its Western partners, our way of doing things,

Our-accounting standards, language, dollar, copyright laws, technology, popular culture, world-to adapt over the past fifty years, international system-produced great prosperity in the world's most developed countries, left many people behind, fact-Western policy makers ignored and occasionally made worse

Free market, liberal democracy, human rights activists, jailed for beliefs, agents of American power, cousin in Kenya, bribe for job, ruling party, not brainwashed by Western ideas, North Korea-South Korea, Cuba-Miami

Culture, no person likes to be: bullied, poor, hungry & unrewarded labor, free markets, liberal democracy, powerful-powerless, openness to change, liberal democracy-best chance at a better life

U.S policies, equity, justice, prosperity, rules, interests of all, basic principles, single-handedly, liberate from tyranny, universal desire to be free, freedom-outside intervention, successful social movement, Gandhi-British rule, Solidarity movement-Poland, antiapartheid movement-South Africa, democracy-result of local awakening

Freedoms, international forums & agreements, democracies, fair election system, journalists, civic participation, leaders' rights violated, economic & diplomatic pressure, violate-rights of own people

Democracy-gun, funnel money, economic policies, friendlier to Washington, exiles, Chalabi, local support, oppressive regimes, democratic activists-tools of foreign powers, genuine, homegrown democracy

Freedom-more than elections, four freedoms: speech, worship, want & fear, want & fear-prerequisite for others, 3 billion people-less than 2 dollars, elections-means not end, starting point not deliverance, "electocracy", decent life-food, shelter, electricity, health care, education, ability to make way in life without endure corruption, violence or arbitrary power, Caracas, Jakarta, Nairobi & Tehran-ballot box not enough, international rules, material & personal security

Trade barriers, competition, protect our own constituencies, poverty, patents of American drug companies, Brazil-AIDS, International Monetary Fund, World War II, lender of last resort, Indonesia, painful readjustments, interest rates, cutting social spending, eliminate subsidies to key industries, harsh medicine

International financial system-IMF & World Bank, elites, ordinary people, ignored Washington's prescriptions, nascent industries, no single formula, development

"tough love", archaic, poor countries, feudal, property & banking laws, foreign aid, local

elites, Swiss bank accounts, international aid policies, rule of law-critical role, transparency-nation's development, international financial transaction, contracts, global business, legal reforms, India, Nigeria & China-two legal systems, one for foreigners & elites, one for ordinary people to get ahead

Somalia, Sierra Leone, the Congo-barely any law, plight of Africa, AIDS, droughts, famines, dictatorships, corruption, 12 years old guerillas-brutality, wielding machetes, AK-47s, cynicism & despair, mosquito net & HIV testing-modest attention, international show of force, civilian protection zones, slaughter in Rwanda, Mozambique-reform

FDR, softhearted: soft-headed, U.S.-Africa & self-help, Africa-positive trends & despair, democracy, economies, hope, committed leaders & citizens, better future

Watch, die with equanimity, consequences, disorder, callousness, United States & allies, failed states, no control over territories, epidemics, civil war, atrocity, lawlessness, Taliban, Afghanistan, Sudan, slow-rolling genocide, bin Laden, camp, unnamed slum, killer virus

Africa, problems, time & money, capacity- international institutions, work for us, conservatives, United States, political hay, UN, hypocrisy: resolutions-Israel, condemnation, Kafkaesque election: Zimbabwe & Libya-UN Commission on Human Rights, kickbacks-oil-for-food program

Critics, UN agency, UNICEF-well, other-only conferences, reports, sinecures for third-rate international civil servants, failures, involvement in international organizations, no excuse for U.S. unilateralism, UN peacekeeping forces, civil wars, sectarian conflicts, less global policing, stability, credible information-International Atomic Energy Agency, mobilize allies, rogue states, nuclear weapons, World Health Organization-capacity, flu pandemic, bigger stake in international institutions- creation & improvement

Allies, global challenges, unilateral action, standing in the world, democracy, dollars on weapons, vulnerable chemical plants, other countries-safeguard nuclear power plants, detain suspects indefinitely without trial, ship them in night-countries where they will be tortured, weaken ability-human rights, rule of law, despotic regimes, richest country on earth, consumer of 25 percent world's fossil fuels, fuel-efficiency standards, dependence on Saudi oil fields, global warming, China- not to deal with oil suppliers like Iran & Sudan, cooperation, environmental problems, our shores

Hard choices, ideals, U.S. credibility, U.S. government-American people, American people & self-government, Founders, foreign policy, world-dangerous & complex,

world: remaking- long & hard, sacrifices, confidence-democracy, FDR, Pearl Harbor, stamina-American people, Truman, Dean Acheson, Committee for the Marshall plan, CEO's, academics, labor leaders, clergymen & others, American leadership- lesson to relearn

Men & women, learning from history, progress, upward course, boom & bust, war, peace, ascent & decline, Israel, West Bank, officials, strife, Jews, lost parents in Holocaust, brothers in suicide bombings, Palestinians, indignities of checkpoints, land-lost, separation line, two peoples, Jewish & Arab towns, outposts, green & stony hills, Jerusalem, Old City, Dome of the Rock, Western Wall, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, 2000 years of war & rumors of war, plot of land, conflict, end in our time, America-power, lasting say over the course of the world

Thoughts, peace in the Middle East, benefit of the people of the region-safety & security of our children

World's fate, battlefields, our work- helping hand, news reports, tsunami, East Asia, Indonesia, people, sea, pride- America's more than a billion dollars aid, U.S. warships, troops, relief & reconstruction, newspaper, 65 percent of Indonesians- favorable view of the United States, one episode-decades of mistrust, it's a start

## Chapter Nine

### Title: Family

Table 164 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Nine pages 325-335 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 325-335

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Senate, life, manageable rhythm, Chicago, voting schedule, gym, lunch or dinner with a friend, tasks-committee markups, votes, caucus lunches, floor statements, speeches, photos with interns, fund-raisers, phone calls, correspondence, reviewing legislation, op-eds, podcasts, policy briefings, constituent coffees, meetings, cloakroom, last vote, Capitol, catching a flight, before girls went to bed

Hectic schedule-fascinating, occasionally frustrating, bills, vote, Senate, member,

minority party, initiatives, public school innovation districts, automakers, retiree, health-care costs, fuel economy standards, Pell Grant program: low-income students, college tuition costs, languished in committee

Staff, amendment, funds, homeless veterans, tax credits, gas stations, E85 fuel pumps, World Health Organization, avian flu pandemic, Senate, no-bid contracts, post-Katrina reconstruction, tragedy's victim, amendments, transform the country, law-economical, responsible, just

Legislation, Dick Lugar, weapons proliferation, black-market arms trade, Senate, proliferation issues, chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, bill, missiles, threat, commercial air travel, wrong hands, small-arms stockpiles, Cold War, ants, girls, doctor's appointment, Ted Kennedy & McCain, ant traps, home from work

Wife, remarkable, smart, funny & charming, beautiful, intimidating, off-putting, lived-in beauty, mother, professional, touched-up image, cover-glossy magazine, wife-wow!, she-public office, would beat me

Michelle, politics, patience, telling the truth

Meeting Michelle, 1988, Sidley & Austin, corporate law firm-Chicago, she-three years younger than me, lawyer, Harvard Law, college, law school, summer associate

Transitional period, law school, community organizer, studies, decision, youthful ideas, money & power, world-as it is, world-as it should be

Corporate law firm, poor neighborhoods, friends-laboring, fears, student loans, salary-Sidley, cheapest apartment, three suits, pair of shoes, half size too small, cripple me, firm, drizzly morning, office, young attorney, summer advisor

First conversation-Michelle, tall-my height in heels, lovely, professional manner, tailored suit & blouse, she explained how work assigned, firm, practice groups, billable hours, -office, library, handed off to one of the partners, meet me for lunch

Michelle, office, drugstore snapshot, nose-big, skeptical-cute, secretaries, impressed with-black man with a suit & a job, South Side, small bungalow, neighborhoods, organized, father-pump operator, city, mother-housewife, until kids grown, secretary at a bank, Bryn Mawr Public Elementary School, Whitney Young Magnet School, Princeton, brother, star-basketball team, Sidley, intellectual property group, specialization-environmental law, career-to move to Los Angeles or New York

Michelle, plans, fast track, no time: distraction & men, laugh, brightly & easily, no hurry, back office, glimmer, dark eyes, slightest hint of uncertainty, things-fragile, plans

unravel, that touched me, trace of vulnerability, that part of her

Several weeks-saw each other, law library, cafeteria, outings, law firms, summer associates, life in the law, endless hours, poring through documents, she-parties, tactfully overlooking my limited wardrobe, set up with friends, refused: proper date-since she was my advisor

Poor excuse, advice, copy machine, restaurants, one date-not serious breach of firm policy

Wore her down, she drove, apartment, offered to buy ice cream cone, Baskin-Robbins, sticky afternoon heat, teenager-working at Baskin-Robbins, look cool-brown apron & cap, two or three years as a child-anything except peanut butter & jelly, I'd like to meet her family-she would like that, kiss, tasted of chocolate

Summer together, organizing, Indonesia, bodysurf, childhood friends, trip to Paris, high school, Stevie Wonder songs

Michelle's family, understand her, Robinson household, Leave It to Beaver, kindly, good-humored father, never missed work & son's ball games, pretty, sensible mother, baked birthday cakes, order in house, volunteered at school, children behavior, teachers-what they were supposed to be doing, basketball-star brother: tall, friendly, courteous & funny, investment banker, coaching, uncles, aunts & cousins, eating & telling stories, Grandpa's jazz collection, laugh deep into night

No dog in the house

Domestic bliss, hardships, prime-time TV, race, limited opportunities, parents-fifties & sixties, panic peddling, white families, neighborhood, black parents-extra energy, small incomes, violent streets, indifferent schools

Tragedy, at thirty-prime of life, multiple sclerosis, twenty-five years-responsibilities without self-pity, extra hour-to get to work, physical act, driving car & buttoning shirt, smiling & joking, limp & two canes, balding head, watch son, living room- to give daughter a kiss

Marriage, father's illness, toll, family, burden on mother, circumscribed lives, careful planning, terrifying random life-beneath smiles & laughter

Joy-Robinson house, father-barely known, life-traveling, blood lines- scattered to four winds, stability, sense of place, life of- adventure, risk, ravel to exotic lands, wider horizon

Michelle's father's death, kidney operation, becoming family

Decline of American family, social conservatives, Hollywood movies, gay parades, liberals, economic factors, stagnating wages, inadequate day care, families under duress, popular culture, alarm, women-permanent singlehood, men-unwilling to make lasting commitments, teens-sexual escapades, nothing settled, as in the past, roles & relationships-fell up for grabs

Institution of marriage, marriage rate declined since 1950's, delaying marriage-education & career, by forty-five: 89 percent women & 83 percent men tied the knot, at least once, married couples-head 67 percent of American families, majority-marriage foundation for personal intimacy, stability & child rearing

Family-fifty years, divorce rate-21 percent decline, peak in seventies & eighties, half of first marriages-divorce, grandparents, we-more tolerant of premarital sex, cohabit, live alone, children raising-nontraditional households, 60 percent marriages-children, 33 percent of children-born out of wedlock, 34 percent children-don't live with biological fathers

African American-nuclear family on the verge of collapse, since 1950's:black women marriage rate- 62 percent to 36 percent, 1960-1995: African American children with two married parents-dropped by more than half, 54 percent African American children: single-parent households, 23 percent of all white children

Adults, changes, mixed bag, research: married couples-healthier & happier, bad or abusive marriages, delay marriage-make sense, information economy, more time in school, studies: couples-late twenties & thirties likely to stay married than those who marry young

Adults, not good for children, including one who raised me-single moms- heroic job, kids, children: single mothers- five times more likely to be poor, children in two-parent households, single-parent children: drop out of school, teen parents, income factored out, children with biological mother & father-better than those who live in stepfamilies or with cohabiting partners

Policies, marriage, unintended births, federal welfare programs, tax code, married couples, welfare reform, Clinton, Bush, marriage penalty, bipartisan support

Teen pregnancy, mother & child, risk, teens-quarter of out-of-wedlock births, teen mothers-more out-of-wedlock births as they get older, community-based programs, unwanted pregnancies, abstinence & use of contraception

Marriage education workshop, married couples-stay, unmarried couples-lasting bond,

<p>low-income couples, job training &amp; placement, medical coverage</p> <p>Social conservative, sexuality, outside of marriage, punishment &amp; shame, divorce, marriage-personal fulfillment &amp; social roles, government policy, immoral behavior, birth control-young people, abortion-women, welfare support-unwed mothers, legal recognition: same-sex unions, marital bond, gender difference-erased, sex-recreational, marriage-disposable, motherhood-inconvenience, civilization-shifting sands</p> <p>Sense of order, culture, flux, parents, shield children, values-unwholesome, lyrics of songs, radio</p> <p>Government, sexual morality, Americans, sex, marriage, divorce, childbearing, highly personal, system-individual liberty, child abuse, incest, bigamy, domestic violence, failure-pay child support, society-right &amp; duty, personhood of fetus, abortion, president, Congress, government bureaucracy, America's bedrooms</p> <p>Family, relationship, coercing people, punishing, standards, sexual propriety, young people-reverence toward sex &amp; intimacy, parents, congregations, community programs, teenage girl-struggle, birth control, couples, commitment &amp; sacrifices, marriage, force of law, personal circumstances</p>
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Table 165 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Nine pages 336-346 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

<p>Pages: 336-346</p> <p>Topics: Words/phrases/sentences</p>
<p>Human heart, my life-imperfect, moral arbiter, marriage, Michelle, argument: other people-personal lives</p> <p>Work &amp; family-balance, equitable to &amp; good for- Michelle &amp; children, sixties &amp; early seventies household-norm, 70 percent plus families-Mom at home &amp; Dad bread winner 70% families with children-two working parents or single working parent, policy director, work family expert, "the juggler family", parents-bills, children, household, relationship, toll on family, Work &amp; Family Program, New America Foundation, Senate Subcommittee, Children &amp; Family, 22 fewer hours-kids, 1969, children-unlicensed day</p>



care, home: TV-babysitter, Employed mothers-lose 1 hour sleep a day, parents: school age children-stress, stress-impact on productivity & work, inflexible jobs, unstable after-school care

Social conservatives, women-out of home, workplace, feminist ideology, women-come to senses, home-making roles, equality, critical role, transformation-workplace, careers, economic independence, equal footing, men, achievements-modern life

Average American woman, work, changing attitudes, making ends meet

30 years, earnings: American men-less than 1%, inflation, cost, housing, health care, education, families-middle class & Mom's paycheck, book-Two-Income Trap, additional income-mothers, no luxury items, investments-children future, preschool education, college tuition, homes-safe neighborhoods, good public school, fixed costs, expenses-working mother, day care & second car, two-income family, discretionary income, less-financially secure, single-earner-30 years ago

Life, single income, family, two incomes, prices, homes, schools, college tuition, single-earner family, middle class, lifestyle, 60%-less discretionary income, 1970's, Mom-at home, less-safe neighborhood, children: less-competitive schools

Choice-most Americans not willing, household, harder- to sustain

Men, women, adjust-new realities, Michelle: burdens, modern family & woman

Marriage, adjustments, couples, read-moods, quirks & habits, stranger underfoot, wake up-early, barely eyes open-ten o'clock, night owl, grumpy, mean, first half hour-out of bed, book, only child, evening-office, Michelle-lonely, butter, breakfast & bread bag, Michelle-tickets, nobody's business

Pleasure, movies, dinner-with friends, concert, working hard, practicing law, civil rights firm, teaching, University of Chicago Law School, law practice, work, Chicago's Department of Planning, Chicago arm-national service program, Public Allies, time-squeezed, state legislature, lengthy absences, dislike-of politics, talk & laugh-over the phone, humor, frustrations, days apart, fall asleep, knowledge-of our love

Malia-born, 4th of July baby, read-the world, out of-session, teach, ever evening-at home, Michelle, part-time job, University of Chicago, time-with the baby, baby, biorhythms, well-earned sleep, stay up, rocked her-to sleep

Classes, legislature, work, strain-relationship, evening meeting, papers-to grade, briefs-to write, part-time job, in-home babysitter, full-time employee, payroll, money-got tight

Tired & stressed, little time, less romance, ill-fated: congressional run, pretense-of being

happy, failure, clean-kitchen, less endearing, kiss Michelle: good-bye, peck-on cheek, Sasha-born, wife's anger,

Stung, accusations, carousing-with boys, darn-socks, dinner-waiting for me, kids, little tenderness, negotiations, managing-house, long lists-things, sour attitude, families, incredibly lucky, my flaws, loved-her & girls, love-enough, I was concerned-nothing to complain about

Kids, school, working mother, equal partners, children, necessary adjustments, my terms, my schedule, kids, Malia and Sasha-sick, babysitter, phone, cancel-meeting

Work, children, Michelle: situation-tough, either job-not so well, employers-loved her, good mother, two visions-at war, woman- like her mother, solid, dependable & making a home, always-there for kids, excel-in profession, mark-on the world, realize: plans-first day we met

Michelle's strength, willingness-manage tensions, sacrifices, myself & girls, resources, American families, starters, Michelle's & my status, professionals, rework-our schedules, emergency, day off, without risk-losing job, fifty-seven percent-workers-not this luxury, day off-child, losing job, using-vacations days, parents, flexibility, work: part-time or temporary, career ladder-no, few or no benefits

Enough income, ease: two-earner parenthood, child care, babysitting, take-out dinners, time & energy-to cook, clean the house, private preschool, summer day camp, kids, American families, financially-out of reach, cost, day care, Western nations, government- subsidized, high-quality: day care services, workers

Mother-in-law, fifteen minutes-away, Marian, late-sixties, ten years-younger, full-time work, girls, school, American families, families, family, aging parent, family responsibilities

Federal government, family, wonderful, healthy & semiretired- mother-in-law, live-close by, family values, policies, juggling, work & parenting, day care, European countries, day care: haphazard affair-United States, day-care licensing & training, federal & state: child tax-credits, families, middle-class, low-income parents, peace-of mind, workday, employers, reduced absenteeism

Redesign-our schools, working parents, prepare-our children, competitive world, studies, educational benefits, preschool programs, families, parent-at home, longer-school days, summer school, after-school programs, cost-money, school reform, cost: society-willing to beat

Employers, flexibility-work schedules, Clinton Administration, Family & Medical Leave Act-FMLA, unpaid leave, companies, more than fifty-employees, American workers-advantage, wealthy nations, paid-parental leave, business community-resistance, mandated-paid leave, small businesses

Creativity, California, paid leave, disability insurance-fund, costs, employers-alone

Parents, flexibility, day-to-day needs, companies, flextime programs, employee morale, employee turnover, Great Britain, novel approach, Work-Life Balance Campaign, parents: children under the age of six, right: file written request-change in schedule, Employers-not required to grant request, meet & consider, one-quarter eligible parents: successfully negotiated, family-friendly hours, productivity, innovative policy-making, technical assistance, public awareness, government, businesses, employees, nominal expense

Policies, discourage families, parent-at home, financial sacrifices, families, material comforts, home schooling, community, cost-of living, families, father-stays at home, most families: mother-primary caregiver

Decisions-honored, social conservatives, modern culture, emotional & financial contribution, sacrifices, plain hard work, stay-at-home mom, traditional role, model-of motherhood, daughters, families, efforts & attitudes, Michelle- taught me, depend-on men, American society, respecting & accommodating-choices

DADDY, sweetie-pie, home, girls, hairdresser, hug, blond girl, kitchen, playdate, Sam-offer my hand, no handshake-with kids, twenty-first century, your-sister

Sasha, can't-find shorts

Sasha-frowns, shorts-not comfortable

Pair of shorts, how-about these?

Sasha-frowns, three-foot version: of her mother, Sasha: doesn't like- either of those shorts, Pink & blue-don't go together

Malia & Sam-giggle, indulging me

Daughters, buying: my-tough guy routine

House-without a father, mother, father-divorced, two years old, letters, mother & grandparents-stories, stepfather, grandfather, grandmother, good men, affection, relationships, partial, incomplete, stepfather, limited duration, natural reserve, grandfather, too old, too troubled-direction

Women, ballast-in my life, grandmother, practicality, family-afloat, mother, clarity-of

spirit, sister's & my world, values-guide me

Getting older, recognize, mother, grandmother, strong male-presence, mark on child-father's absence, stepfather-remoteness, grandfather-failures, object lessons-for me, my children, father-count on

Marriage, family, parent-teacher conferences, dance recitals, daughters, bask-in my adoration, areas-of my life, capacities- as husband & father, doubt

Conflicting emotions, fathers-experience, economy-in flux, social norms, 1950s father, supporting-family, nine-to-five job, wife prepares- dinner, Little League, power tools, culture, stay-at-home mom, family-breadwinner, frustration & shame, economic determinist, unemployment, low wages, parental involvement, low marriage rates, African American-men

Table 166 Words/phrases/sentences in Chapter Nine pages 347-352 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 347-352

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

Working men, working women, terms: of employment-changed, high paid-professional, worker, assembly line, fathers, longer hours, job, work schedules, fathers, lives of children, own fathers

Gap, parenthood, compromised reality, family, Father's Day, Salem Baptist Church, South Side-Chicago, text, theme, full-grown man, men- in general, black men-in particular, excuses, families, being-a father, fathering-a child, physically present: in the home, emotionally absent, fathers-in the house, high expectations, children

Men, two jobs, night shift, food-on the table, job, paid-more money, job, long hours-justified, benefit, family, Michelle-cut her hours, fat trust fund-kids

Ridiculous schedule, be gone-Michelle & girls, long stretch-time, stress, politics, Malia & Sasha: world- a better place, rationalizations, feeble & abstract, girls' school-potluck, vote, session-extended, success-in politics, guilt, dad's picture-in the newspaper, happens-all the time, embarrassing

Accusation, selfish, ego, fill-a void in my heart, town-home for dinner, Malia & Sasha-their day, read-to them, tuck-into bed, appearances-on Sundays, girls-to zoo or pool, winter-museum or aquarium, scold: daughters gently-misbehave, intake of-television & junk food, encouraged-by Michelle, encroaching-on her space, absences, forfeited: certain rights, interference-in the world she built

Girls, frequent disappearances, parenting skills-perfect touch, firm boundaries, without being-stifling, Senate-girls' routines, middle class: childhood- America, parenting, parents, child-outside, park, back-before dinner, abductions, suspicion, spontaneous, tiny bit-slothful, schedule of-children, rival of-parents, playdates, ballet classes, gymnastic classes, tennis lessons, piano lessons, soccer leagues, birthday parties, entire time, two birthday parties- five or six kids, cake, grandfather, Depression-stories, fascination & incredulity

Michelle-to coordinate, children's activities, general's efficiency, volunteer-to help, Michelle-appreciates, limit-my responsibilities, Sasha's-birthday party, twenty balloons, cheese pizza, twenty kids & ice-manageable, goody bags, She-laughed

Can't handle-goody bags, party store, choose-the bags, choose-what to put in the bags, boys' bags, girls' bags, walk & wander-aisles for an hour, head-explode

Internet, balloons, gymnastic studio, party, pizza place, delivery, guests, balloons, juice boxes, on ice, parents, twenty or so: five-years-olds, band of-merry elves, pizzas, ten minutes before, children-scheduled to eat, Michelle's brother-Craig, pressure, high five, Michele: pizza on paper plates-smiled

Pizza, juice boxes, "Happy Birthday", cake, gymnastics, kids, parachute, Sasha: at its center- hoisted, billowing sail-she laughed, pure joy

Sasha-remember, grown, fragments: of memory-at five, happiness-parachute registers permanently, such moments: child's character, part-of soul, Michelle-father, joy, love, respect, Frasier Robinson, not fame & spectacular deeds, small, ordinary acts, love-by being there, daughters, speak-of me, that same way

Window: memories-closes, Malia-different phase, curious-about boys, relationships, self-conscious: what she wears, older-than her years, uncannily wise, six years-old, lake, family-rich, not really-rich, a lot more-than other people, why-she wanted to know

Thinking, really rich-I don't want, simple life

Words, unexpected, laughed, smiled, eyes-meant what she said

Conversation, not-so-simple life, fathers, soccer games, more often-than I do, upsets her,

protective-of other people's feelings, see-best in every situation, small comfort, eight-year old: daughter-loves me, overlook-my shortcomings

Malia's games, session, summer afternoon, families, blacks, whites, Latinos, Asians, city, women-lawn chairs, men: practicing kicks-with their sons, grandparents-helping babies, Michelle: sat down on the grass-besides her, Sasha-in my lap, Malia-on the field, players, the ball, soccer-not her natural sport, taller-than her friends, plays-with enthusiasm, competitiveness, cheer loudly

Sport, Daddy, get-a dog?, mother, wearing her down, Michelle-smiled & offered shrug, Malia-kissed me on the cheek, glad-you're home

Field, older daughter, woman-she would become, growing taller, shape-filling out, long legs-life of her own

Sasha: squeezed tighter-in my lap, Michelle-took my hand, Michelle: reporter-campaign, political wife

Hard, reporter, sly smile: Barack-grateful man, wife-right

### Epilogue

Table 167 Words/phrases/sentences in Epilogue pages 353-362 of the text of *Audacity of Hope* related to categories/headings in Van Dijk's model of PDA

Pages: 353-362

Topics: Words/phrases/sentences

U.S. Senate, 2005, candidacy, anonymous life, very public one

Family, home in Chicago, Hyde Park-barbershop, Michelle & I: same friends to our house, before election, daughters, same-playgrounds

World-changed, words, actions, travel plans, tax returns-morning papers or nightly news broadcast, daughters, interruptions, well-meaning strangers, father-to zoo, harder: to walk unnoticed-airports

Difficult to take attention-seriously, walk-out of the house, suit jacket-doesn't match pants, thoughts-less tidy, days-less organized, image of me-projects into the world, comic moments, day before-sworn in, staff, press conference, office, ninety-ninth in seniority, tiny-transition office, Dirksen Office Building-basement, hall, Senate supply store, first day-in the building, my-desk, reporter, Senator Obama-place in history,

reporters-laugh

Speech, 2004: Democratic Convention-Boston, national attention, keynote speaker, mystery, John Kerry, Illinois primary, fund-raiser, campaign, job training program, Kerry people, speak: at the convention- pretty big

Democratic convention, 2000 Convention-Los Angeles, defeat: Democratic primary, Illinois First Congressional-seat, law practice, campaign, neglect- more or less broke, lost time, wife & daughter, far too little: of me-six months

Friends, supporters, national contacts, convention, useful therapy, thrown off-a horse, get back-right away

Flight, LA, shuttle-Hertz Rent A Car, American Express, map-for direction, cheap hotel, Venice Beach, Hertz woman, embarrassment, Obama, card-rejected

Half an hour, phone, kindhearted supervisor, authorized-car rental, episode-omen of things, delegate, floor pass, Illinois party chairman- requests, pass-convention site, speeches-television screen, Staples Center, friends or acquaintances, skyboxes, didn't belong, presence-serving neither me nor the Democratic Party, first flight-back to Chicago

Previous role-convention gate-crasher, convention keynoter, worry: appearance-in Boston, outlandish things-campaign, not particularly nervous, call from-Ms. Cahill, hotel room, notes-rough draft of the speech, basketball game, themes, campaign, willingness of people: to work-if given chance, government: help-opportunity, Americans-mutual obligation, issues, health care, education, war-in Iraq

Voices-of all people, campaign trail, Tim Wheeler & his wife, teenage son, liver transplant, young man, Iraq, serve-his country, pride & apprehension-face of his father, young black woman, efforts-to attend college, no one in family-graduated from high school

Struggle for-these men & women, moved me, determination, self-reliance, optimism, hardship, pastor, Rev. Jeremiah A. Wright Jr.-sermon, audacity-of hope

American spirit, audacity, believe-evidence to the contrary, restore-sense of community, nation-torn by conflict, personal setbacks, loss-of job, illness, family, childhood-mired in poverty, control & responsibility, our own fate

Audacity, one people, pervasive spirit-of hope, own family's story, larger American story, my-own story, voters, represent, basketball game, started to write

Boston, three hours-sleep, hotel, Fleet Center, first appearance-Meet the Press, Tim

Russert, excerpt-on screen, 1996 interview, Cleveland Plain-Dealer, reporter, politics, candidate, Illinois-state senate, Democratic Convention-in Chicago, convention-for sale, \$10,000-a-plate dinners, Golden Circle Clubs, average voter-locked out, process, \$10,000 breakfast, access-they can't imagine

Quote-screen, hundred and fifty: donors- \$40 million, convention, worse than-Chicago, offended, message to-average voter

Politics & money-problem, parties, John Kerry-voting record, my own, voted for: what was best for- the country, convention, change, Democrats, encourage: participation-from people, locked out-of the process, true to origins, party-of the average Joe, stronger-as party, original 1996 quote-better

Political conventions, urgency & drama-of politics, nominations-floor managers, head counts, side deals, arm-twisting, passions or miscalculations, round of balloting, binding primaries, dominance-of party bosses, backroom deals, smoke-filled rooms, today's convention-bereft of surprises, weeklong: infomercial-for the party & nominee, rewarding-party faithful & major contributors, four days-food, drink, entertainment & shoptalk

Convention, Democratic donors, delegates, breakfast-with delegates, fifty states, speech, video monitor, walk-through, how- would be staged, instruction, where-to stand, to wave, microphones- how to best use, communication director, Fleet Center, two minutes apart, ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN, Fox News, NPR, talking points, Kerry Edwards-team, each word-tested, battalion of-polls, panoply-of focus groups

Breakneck pace-of days, worry-my speech, staff & Michelle-tie, Robert Gibbs' tie, Fleet Center, "Good luck", "Give 'em hell, Obama!", gracious & funny-Teresa Heinz Kerry, hotel room, Michelle & me, backstage, watching-broadcast, a tad bit-nervous, stomach grumbly, Michelle-hugged me, looked-into my eyes, don't screw it up-buddy

Laughed, production managers, hold room, time-to take position, black curtain, Dick Durbin-introduce me, mother, father, grandfather-to be in audience, grandmother-Hawaii, convention: on TV-back deteriorated, travel, volunteers & supporters-Illinois, worked hard-on my behalf, Lord: let me tell their stories- right, stage

Positive reaction, Boston convention, letters, crowds-rallies, Illinois, personally-gratifying, politics, influence-public debate, something-to say, direction-to go as a countryPublicity, speech, fame-fleeting, matters- of chance, events, not smarter-than six years ago, stranded-at LAX, health care, education, foreign policy, labored in: obscurity-



as community organizer, wiser: traveled a little farther-path chosen, path of-politics, glimpse of: where it may lead-for good or for ill

Conversation, twenty years-ago, older man, civil rights, Chicago, teaching, urban studies, Northwestern University, three years-organizing, law school, academics, recommendation Law degree, civil rights, running for office, path, Law Review, get elected, move-up the ranks, law & politics-compromise, values, ideals, fact, unwillingness-to compromise, politics-declinedCompromise, satisfying, to do-what is satisfying, old age-advantages, what-matters to you, twenty-six, nobody-answer, you-figure out Twenty years-later, conversation, appreciate-friends words, age, what-satisfies me, compromise, satisfaction-not television cameras, applause of- crowd, people: live their lives-dignity, Benjamin Franklin-mother, devoted: time-to public service, lived usefully-than died rich

Being useful: to family & people who elected me- satisfies me, legacy, children's lives-more hopeful, working-in Washington, goal, hearings, speeches, press conferences & position papers-useful to no one

Moods-the Mall, early evening, summer & fall, Washington: air- warm, homeless men-possessions, Washington Monument, National World War II Memorial, Reflecting Pool, Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Lincoln Memorial

Great shrine-lit but empty, marble columns, Gettysburg Address, Second Inaugural Address, Reflecting Pool, Dr. King's cadence, floodlit obelisk & shining Capitol dome America, those-who built it, nation's founders, petty ambitions, nation unfurling-across continent, Lincoln, King, lives, perfecting- imperfect union, faceless & nameless, slaves, soldiers, tailors, butchers, collective dreams, process-wish to be part of, heart: love-this country