

# A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF HILLARY CLINTON'S SPEECH "WOMEN'S RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS"

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**Abstract:** In the research, the speech "Women's rights are human rights" by Hillary Clinton will be analyzed in the light of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as both theory and method to reveal how power and ideology are embedded in language in particular and the relation between language and society in general. Initially, the theoretical framework of CDA, the concepts of power and ideology are presented. The social context of women's position including women's position in the past and women's position nowadays is also revealed. The research then briefs on Hillary Clinton's role in struggling for women's rights. In terms of methodology, the importance of Systemic Functional Grammar to CDA and a framework of CDA procedure, which set the basis for the analysis of the speech "Women's rights are human rights", will be introduced and explained. Thirdly, the article analyzes the speech in the light of CDA. The analysis consists of three stages namely description, interpretation and explanation. The last part summarizes the major findings, provides concluding remarks, gives implication to teaching and learning translation and makes recommendations for further studies.

*Keywords:* critical discourse analysis, translation of political discourses, women's rights, human rights

## 1. Introduction

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a new linguistic research area in Viet Nam. However, for the past few years, more and more linguists find interest in this field and are making efforts to enhance the consciousness of how power and ideology are embedded in language in particular and the relation between language and society in general.

It is common that language learners usually find authentic discourses, especially political ones difficult to comprehend fully.

This is mainly due to their failure to interpret the author's underlying assumptions. The awareness of the ideological meanings of the discourse will enable the comprehensive understanding of authentic discourses in general and political ones particularly.

Regarding the sustainable development of a country, gender equality is considered one of the most important goals that a country should always strive for. Numerous forums and conferences on this issue where a lot of brave and responsible people have raised their voice for women and women's rights have been held

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worldwide. However, the fourth world conference on women in Beijing in 1995 marked a significant turning point for the global agenda for gender equality and at the conference, Hillary Clinton, the then - First Lady of the United States leading the U.S delegation delivered a historic speech “Women’s rights are human rights” that still echoes to the present: *“I believe that, on the eve of a new millennium, it is time to break our silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women’s rights as separate from human rights.”* Hillary Clinton wants to use this speech to speak for women and call for joint efforts to protect women’s rights. However, in order to fully understand the speech, to see how effective language can be in expressing the author’s ideologies and to find out the relationship between language and power, thorough analysis of the speech should be performed.

For all the above reasons, the writer conducts the research titled ‘*A critical discourse analysis of “Women’s rights are human rights”*’ by Hillary Clinton at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in China, 5 September 1995. The writer also expects to raise a voice in approval of applying and advancing critical discourse analysis in doing linguistics research.

## **2. What is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)?**

### **2.1. Definitions of CDA**

A lot of CDA practitioners like Chouliaraki and Fairclough, Gee, Luke, VanDijk, Wodak,... treated social practices not only in terms of social relationships but also in terms of their implications for things like status, power,... from critical approaches.

According to Van Dijk (1998), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal

the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts.

In a similar vein, Fairclough (1993, p. 135) defines CDA as discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

In *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education* (Rogers, 2002, p. 33), James Paul Gee emphasizes that *“in fact critical discourse analysis argues that language in use is always part and parcel of, and partially constitutive of, specific social practices, and that social practices always have implications for inherently political things like status, solidarity distribution of social goods, and power.”*

From these statements, it can be seen that CDA mainly focuses on the question of language and power, aiming at making transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, connections that might be opaque to people who are not specialized in this field.

### **2.2. Key Concepts in CDA**

In understanding CDA, it is also essential to get used to some key concepts of CDA like ideology and power since the notion of ideology and power were seen as relevant for an interpretation and explanation of text.

### 2.2.1. Ideology

According to Thompson (1990, p. 12), “ideology refers to social forms and processes within which, and by means of which, symbolic forms circulate in the social world. Ideology is an important aspect of establishing and maintaining unequal power relation.”

For Thompson, the study of ideology is the study of the way in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds. This study also investigates the social contexts within which symbolic forms are used and not used.

### 2.2.2. Power

The relationship between language and power is of great importance, especially in modern times with a lot of significant social and economic changes.

For CDA, language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use of powerful make of it. Wodak explains why CDA often chooses the perspective of those who suffer and critically analyses the language use of those in power, those who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means and the opportunity to improve conditions.

*CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power.*

Power is about relations of differences, particularly about the effects of differences in social structures. Language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power.

## 2.3. Principles of CDA

In CDA, there are certain principles outlined by CDA practitioners (Fairclough,

1995; Kress, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Van Dijk, 1998; Wodak, 1996). They can be summarized as follows:

1. Language is a social practice through which the world is represented.

2. Discourse/language use as a form of social practice in itself not only represents and signifies other social practices but it also constitutes other social practices such as the exercise of power, domination, prejudice, resistance and so forth.

3. Texts acquire their meanings by the dialectical relationship between texts and the social subjects: writers and the readers, who always operate with various degrees of choice and access to texts and means of interpretation.

4. Linguistic features and structures are not arbitrary. They are purposeful whether or not the choices are conscious or unconscious.

5. Power relations are produced, exercised, and reproduced through discourse.

6. All speakers and writers operate from specific discursive practices originating in special interests and aims which involve inclusions and exclusions.

7. Discourse is historical in the sense that texts acquire their meanings by being situated in specific social, cultural and ideological contexts, and time and space.

8. CDA does not solely interpret texts, but also explains them.

What is remarkably notable from these principles is the important role of context. In CDA, not only do we have to analyze the text but also the process of making such a text, the socio-political and economical condition of the society, which are integrated under the label of context.

## 3. Social Context of Women’s Position

### 3.1. Women’s Position in the Past

It was long ago when women were

looked upon as slaves to the “hard-working” men. In today's society, women are more respected and are acceptable for many jobs as men are. Yet, long before our time, during World War II, American women were thought to be many different things that they could only imagine. During wartime, women had to do men's work. Women were encouraged to take these jobs for the first time in history. Many of them also became war nurses and helped many of the men recover. It would seem that women's interests in occupational equality were directly linked to the nation's state of distress. During the war, women received many different opportunities and advancements in their lives. After the war, the men returned home and began to take place with the women. Women continued working during the postwar period and grew stronger.

In Vietnam, during wartime, especially during the wars against French and American troops, women also had to do men's job. They were seen transporting ammunition, equipment and other supplies from Viet-China border areas and from sea harbors to the military units operating below the 17th Parallel in the South, especially on the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trails,...

It is true that women in the Anti-American War contributed a significant part to the country's victory in 1975. However, gender equality is still a problem in many parts of the country.

In the past few decades, due to the globalization and renewal policies of Vietnam, foreign cultural habits have been introduced into our country, which has had great influences on our social morality and lifestyles. Opinions, thoughts and sexual behaviours of young people are more open. However, due to the lack of knowledge of safe sex, unexpected pregnancies and

sexually transmitted diseases are increasing. Meanwhile, abortion is still allowed at public hospitals and private medical centers as a population-controlling method, which puts a lot of women under pressure and at a disadvantage in terms of thoughts, morality, position as well as psychophysiology.

### 3.2. *Women's Position Nowadays*

The United Nations (n.d.) defines: “human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other status. Human rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and many more. Everyone is entitled to these rights, without discrimination.”

Women's rights or gender equality was made part of international human rights law by the Universal Declaration of Human rights and was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948: “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” and that “everyone is entitled to the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion,... birth or other status” (United Nations, n.d.).

During the nineteenth century, the women suffrage movement was coming out in full force to demand the equal rights for women in the United States and Europe. The movement not only was striving for equal rights for women but also for voting privileges. In the writings of John Stuart Mill, one of the earliest and strongest supporters of ever greater rights for women, he supported women's rights in *The Subjection of Women*. His book is one of the earliest written on this subject by a male author.

In Vietnam, after August 1945, the new government and leaders focused on women liberation besides fighting French aggressors. The parties contributed a lot to the better life of women, initiating their awareness of women's rights and their equality with men. Vietnamese women saw a sharp turning point in their life. More and more women were present in the national workforce.

Nowadays, on the occasion of International Women's Day (March 8<sup>th</sup>), ceremonies honoring women's roles in society are organized nationwide in our country.

Women in the 21st century have come a long way. They can now hold their heads up high and be proud of who and what they are, although they will always be fighting for the equal rights of women. In many parts of the world, a lot of women are still suffering from discriminatory treatment. These women do not even know that they deserve being equally treated or accept their fate and do not dare to speak for themselves for the sake of their children. It is high time something should be done by responsible people to better our world.

### ***3.3. Hillary Clinton With Women's Rights***

Hillary Diane Rodham is the 67th United States Secretary of State, serving in the administration of President Barack Obama.

Clinton is not the first female secretary of state, but neither of her predecessors had her impact abroad as a pop feminist icon. On nearly every foreign trip, she has met with women - South Korean students, Israeli entrepreneurs, Iraqi war widows, Chinese civic activists. Clinton mentioned "women" or "woman" at least 450 times in public comments in her first

five months in the position, twice as often as her predecessor, Condoleezza Rice. She was one of the most prominent international figures during the late 1990s to speak out against the ill-treatment towards women around the world.

Clinton's interest in global women's issues is deeply personal, a mission she adopted as first lady after the stinging defeat of her healthcare reform effort in 1994. For months, she kept a low profile. Then, in September 1995, she addressed the U.N. women's conference in Beijing and argued very forcefully against practices that abused women around the world and in the People's Republic of China itself, declaring "that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights" and resisting Chinese pressure to soften her remarks. Delegates jumped to their feet in applause. "It was a transformational moment for her," said Melanne Verwee, who has worked closely with Clinton since her White House days.

From the above, it can be easily seen that Hillary Clinton plays an active role in protecting and demanding equal rights for women all over the world. As the Secretary of the US, she wants to use her power and influence to call for actions to help women.

## **4. Methodology**

As this research is a CDA and qualitative research, the writer applies the three stages in the framework of CDA proposed by Fairclough and systemic functional grammar (SFG) to analyze the speech of Hillary Clinton.

### ***4.1. Critical Discourse Analysis in Practice: A Framework of CDA***

The framework of CDA proposed by Fairclough is a three-stage procedure. This is

one of his most successful achievements in CDA in which he distinguishes three dimensions (description, interpretation and explanation) corresponding to the three dimensions of discourse (text, interaction and context) respectively.

#### **4.1.1. Description**

Description is the stage which is concerned with the formal properties of the text. This stage focuses on linguistic features by answering ten questions divided into three main sections: vocabulary, grammar and textual structures:

##### **a. Vocabulary**

1. What experiential values do words have?  
What classification schemes are drawn upon?  
Are there words which are ideologically contested?  
Is there rewording or over-rewording?  
What ideologically significant meaning relations are there between words?
2. What relational values do words have?  
Are there euphemistic expressions?  
Are there markedly formal or informal words?
3. What expressive values do words have?
4. What metaphors are used?

##### **b. Grammar**

5. What expressive values do grammatical features have?  
What types of process and participant predominate?  
Is agency unclear?  
Are processes what they seem?  
Are nominalizations used?  
Are sentences active or passive?  
Are sentences positive or negative?

6. What relational values do grammatical features have?

What modes (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used?

Are there important features of relational modality?

Are the pronouns we and you used? And if so, how?

7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?

Are these important features of expressive modality?

8. How are sentences linked together?

What logical connectors are used?

Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or subordination?

What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

##### **c. Textual structures**

9. What interaction conventions are used?  
Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?
10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?

#### **4.1.2. Interpretation**

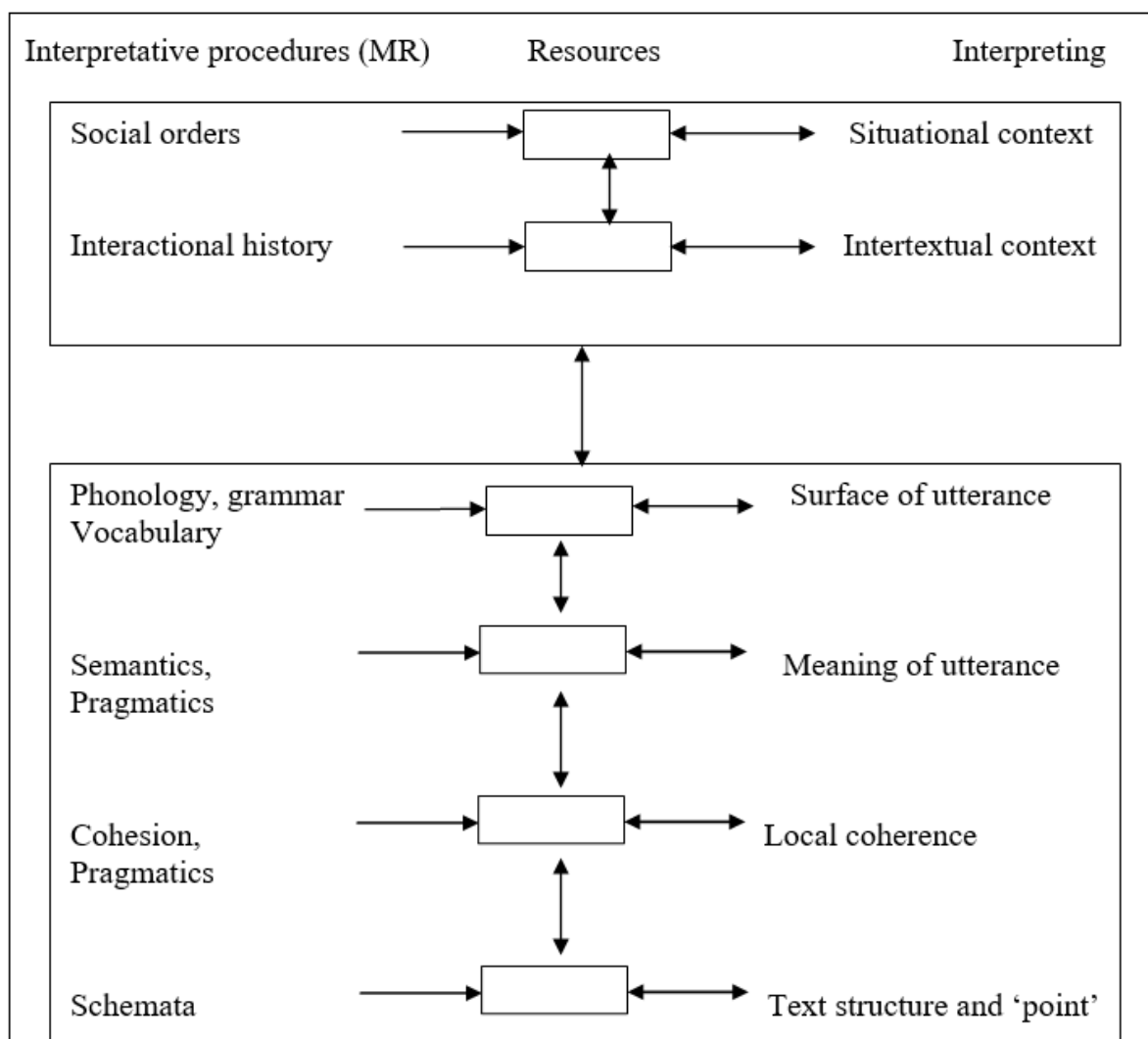
Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction - with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation.

According to Fairclough (2001, p. 118), '*interpretations are generated through a combination of what is in the text and what is "in" the interpreter in the sense of the members' resources (MR) which the latter brings to interpretation*'.

The process of interpretation is summed up in the following figure.

**Figure 1**

*Interpretation (Fairclough, 2001, p. 119)*



**4.1.3. Explanation**

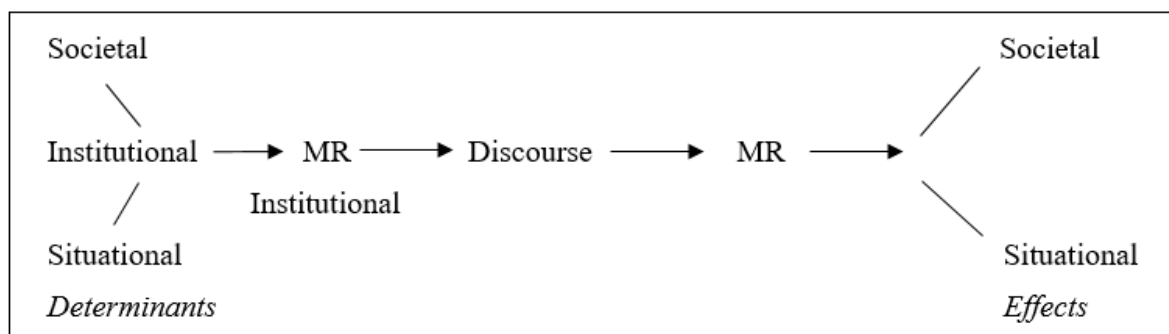
Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context – with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects.

According to Fairclough, the objective of this stage is to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice. It tries to show how

discourses are determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them. These social determinations and effects are mediated by MR: that is social structures shape MR while MR in turn shape discourses, and discourses sustain or change MR, which in turn sustain or change structures. These processes can be summarized in the following figure.

**Figure 2**

*Explanation (Fairclough, 2001, p. 136)*



**4.2. Analytical Framework: Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)**

Systemic functional grammar (SFG) or systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is a model of grammar that was developed by Michael Halliday in the 1960s. It is part of a broad social semiotic approach to language called systemic linguistics. The term "systemic" refers to the view of language as "a network of systems, or interrelated sets of options for making meaning". The term "functional" indicates that the approach is concerned with meaning, as opposed to formal grammar, which focuses on word classes such as nouns and verbs, typically without reference beyond the individual clause.

Systemic functional grammar is concerned primarily with the choices that the grammar makes available to speakers and writers. These choices relate speakers' and writers' intentions to the concrete forms of a language. In SFG, language is analyzed in three different ways, or strata: semantics, phonology, and lexicogrammar. SFG presents a view of language in terms of both structure (grammar) and words (lexis). The term "lexicogrammar" describes this combined approach.

According to Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999, p. 139), "...specifically the linguistic theory which we believe has the most common with CDA and most to offer CDA, systemic functional linguistics

(SFL)" and "the version of CDA which we work with ourselves has used SFL as its main resource for textual analysis".

Thompson (1996, p. 28) identifies these three kinds of meanings (functions): Experiential meaning, Interpersonal meaning, Textual meaning.

*The Experiential meaning* is realized through the Transitivity system which consists of different process types, participants and circumstances. In English, six process types are recognized: material process, behavior process, mental process, verbal process, relational process, and existential process (Halliday, 1994, p. 143).

*The Interpersonal meaning* is realized through the Mood structure. Through Interpersonal meaning, we answer the question "How do we use language to exchange?"

In terms of *Textual meaning*, thematic structure is under investigation. The textual meaning deals with creating relevance between parts of what is being said and between the text and context. It asks "How is the context of the text organized?" Lexico-grammatically, it is expressed through the system of theme and information focus. Relevant to the realization of the system of theme are two elements: the Theme and the Rheme. The Rheme serves as the point of departure of the message, which in English is the initial element of the clause; and the Rheme is the remainder of the



message. By analyzing the thematic structure of the clauses in a text we can find out the text's mode of development, i.e. how speakers construct their messages in a way which makes them smoothly fit into the unfolding language event.

## 5. The Analysis

### 5.1. Textual Description and Analysis

#### 5.1.1. Vocabulary Used

Clinton emphasizes her right to be at this conference in Beijing to speak for women who cannot be there. She and other women at the conference are the representatives of women around the world, who have the "responsibility" to struggle for "issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families: access to education, health care, jobs and credit, ..."

Hillary Clinton knows that there are some people who doubt the contribution of women to society's progress: "there are some who wonder whether the lives of women and girls matter to economic and political progress around the globe." However, she then stresses the importance of women's contribution to the development of families and then society: "at this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries." Moreover, "what we are learning around the world is that if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish."

Despite women's contribution, there is still much inequality in every part of the world: "women comprise more than half the

*world's population. Women are 70% percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write... Yet much of the work we do is not valued - not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders."*

In addition, "women also are dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated; they are watching their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty and economic deprivation;..."

More seriously, human rights, the things which are considered the most important things in a person's life, are not respected by many people around the world: "tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated."

Clinton points out that women themselves should no longer keep silent, "it is time to break our silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights." She calls for joint effort and action of women throughout the world. She also insists that "there is no formula for how women should lead their lives. That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her God-given potential. We also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected."

Women like anyone else should be given the right to enjoy freedom, which is defined as "the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions."

Hilary Clinton wants to emphasize women's role both in the home and in society, and that women themselves should be aware of their importance and struggle for their own rights. She also encourages women at the conference, who have chances to raise their voice, to speak up for those who are not lucky enough to be here. Not only women, but Clinton also wants to address people of all ages, all races around the globe. They should make joint efforts to build a better world without inequality.

### 5.1.2. Grammatical Features

#### 5.1.2.1. The Use of Personal Pronoun

In the speech, pronouns like "I", "we" are both used to serve different purposes of the speaker. When sharing her personal experience or expressing her own ideas, Clinton uses the pronoun "I", which makes the speech more convincing: "*Over the past 25 years, I have worked persistently on issues relating to women, children and families. Over the past two-and-a-half years, I have had the opportunity to learn more about the challenges facing women in my own country and around the world.*

*I have met new mothers in Indonesia,...*

*I have met working parents in Denmark...*

*I have met women in South Africa...*

*I have met with the leading women of the Western Hemisphere...*

*I have met women in India and Bangladesh...*

*I have met doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine..."*

Clinton had a lot of opportunities to work and meet women from many parts of the world, talk to them, learn about their challenges and difficulties then feel sympathetic with them. She thinks that she and people around the world have the responsibility to speak up for them.

*"As an American, I want to speak*

**up for women in my own country, ...**

**I want to speak up for mothers** *who are fighting for good schools, safe neighborhoods,...*

Speaking to you today, **I speak for them**, just as each of us speaks for women around the world..."

"**I** believe that, on the eve of a new millennium, it is time to break our silence..."

The pronoun "we" is used when the speaker wants to attract the attention of the audience and to call for joint effort and the responsibility to cooperate in fighting for women's rights:

**"We** come together in fields and in factories..."

..., **we** come together and talk about our aspirations and concerns... However different **we** may be, there is far more that unites us than divides us. **We** share a common future. And **we** are here to find common ground so that **we** may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world... By gathering in Beijing, **we** are focusing world attention on issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families:..."

"What **we** are learning around the world is that if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish..."

"At this very moment, as **we** sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, ...,

**We** need to understand that there is no formula for how women should lead their lives. That is why **we** must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family..."

**"We** also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected."

"But **we** have not solved older, deeply-rooted problems that continue to diminish the potential of half the world's population.

...If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too.”

#### 5.1.2.2. *The Use of Voice*

The use of voice also contributes to the expression of the speaker's ideology when delivering the speech. In the text, 24 out of 104 sentences are passive ones, which makes up 23% while 80 sentences are active ones accounting for 77%. The high percentage of active sentences makes it easier for the speaker to access the audience and express her ideology. The speech is clearly stated thus misunderstanding and ambiguity are limited for the audience.

The speaker's use of active sentences also suggests that she wants to emphasize the importance of women in families and societies: “families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care; families rely on women for labor in the home; and increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives” and their active role in struggling for their own rights in every field: “women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure.”

#### 5.1.2.3. *Modes of the Sentences*

In the speech, three kinds of modes – declarative, imperative and grammatical questions are found, which differently contribute to the ideology expression. According to Fairclough (2001, p. 105), “these three modes position subjects differently. In the case of a typical declarative, the subject position of the speaker/writer is that of a giver (of information), and the addressee's position is that of a receiver. In the case of the imperative, the speaker is in the position of asking something of the addressee, while the addressee is a compliant actor. In a

*grammatical question, the speaker/writer is again asking something of the addressee, in this case information, and the addressee is in the position of a provider of information.”*

It can be easily seen that the speaker focuses on giving information as declarative sentences are mainly used in the speech (98 sentences out of 104 sentences accounting for 94.2%). Using a large number of declarative sentences, the speaker wants to confirm that it is she who has the right to include or exclude in giving such information and the addressee's position is that of a receiver.

Besides giving information, by using imperatives, the speaker also tries to make clear and emphasize that women around the world have equal rights to everyone else as they can do everything like anyone else and that they should be respected: “let them look at the women gathered here and at Huairou - the homemakers, nurses, teachers, lawyers, policymakers, and women who run their own businesses.” The speaker then gives an explanation: “if there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights - and women's rights are human rights...” and a clear definition of freedom: “let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions.”

Hillary also expresses her desire to make this conference a start for a global campaign for women's rights and calls for joint efforts to protect them. Only when the campaign is successful can a bright future for families and societies be ensured: “let this Conference be our - and the world's - call to action. And let us heed the call so that

*we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future.*”

#### 5.1.2.4. Modality

Fairclough (2001, p. 105) states that modality is to do with the speaker or writer’s authority, and there are two dimensions of modality: relational and expressive modality. By relational modality, we mean it is a matter of the authority of one participant in relation to others. By expressive modality, we mean it is the matter of the speaker or writer’s authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality.

The use of “**must**” reveals the power and the authoritative position of the speaker. The power is exerted on the audience – the addressee, and the addressee is required to perform the action she asks them to do:

*“We need to understand that there is no formula for how women should lead their lives. That is why we **must** respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family...”*

*“We also **must** recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected.”*

*“The voices of this conference and of the women at Huairou **must** be heard loud and clear...”*

*“Women **must** enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure.”*

*“We **must** move beyond rhetoric. We **must** move beyond recognition of problems to working together to have the common efforts to build that common ground we hope to see.”*

The speaker then emphasizes that “those of us who have the opportunity to be here have the responsibility to speak for those who could not.”

In the text, “**need**” is also used as an ordinary verb equivalent to “**have to**” telling what is necessary in the situation:

*“We **need to** understand that there is no formula for how women should lead their lives.”*

According to the speaker, no one should tell women what they should do. Let them lead their own lives; let us “*respect their own choices that each woman makes for herself and her families*”.

“**Should**” is also found in the speech conveying the obligation meaning:

*“We need to understand that there is no formula for how women **should** lead their lives.”*

*“No one **should** be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture.”*

#### 5.1.2.5. Connective Values of the Text

Fairclough (2001, p. 108) reveals that connective values are the values formal features have when connecting together parts of texts. It is to do with the relationship between texts and contexts. Formal items with connective values have other values at the same time.

Cohesion can involve vocabulary links between sentences – repetition of words, or the use of related words and connectors which mark various temporal, spatial and logical relationships between sentences.

#### Repetition

The repetition of words in the speech contributes to the expression of the speaker’s ideology. In this speech, there are some phrases that appear with a high degree of frequency, which helps us recognize some important points that the speaker wants to convey:

*“I have met new mothers in Indonesia,...*

*I have met working parents in Denmark...”*

*I have met women in South Africa...*

*I have met with the leading women of the Western Hemisphere...*

*I have met women in India and Bangladesh...*

*I have met doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine..."*

The speaker wants to show the audience that all the things that she is mentioning today are based on what she has experienced herself in real life. She has been to many parts of the world and met a lot of women. She has opportunities to learn about their lives and the challenges facing them every day. They even know nothing about the so-called "human rights" or "women's rights". Clinton shows her sympathy with them and realizes that something should be done very soon to help those women.

Then Clinton continues to make clear what "human rights" is by contrasting it with the real things that women themselves have been suffering. All the arguments begin with "**it is a violation of human rights**", which expresses the speaker's great sympathy with women receiving such unequal treatment.

*"The voices of this conference and of the women at Huairou must be heard loud and clear: It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food,... simply because they are born girls.*

*It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.*

*It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death...*

*It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.*

*It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44...*

*It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.*

*It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families,..."*

Clinton also stresses the vital role of women in families as mothers and wives by repeating the phrase "**families rely on women/mothers and wives**" in her speech:

*"Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care; families rely on women for labor in the home; and increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives."*

For those things above, Clinton realizes that she herself and the women in this conference should act right here and right now to protect women's rights, to have a better world for everyone. She says: "*I believe that, on the eve of a new millennium, it is time to break our silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights.*"

*"Now it is time to act on behalf of women everywhere. If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too."*

### Connectors

In the speech, logical connectors "can cue the ideology assumption". We will discover the ideology of Hillary Clinton through the connectors used in the text.

Using "yet", the speaker presents a paradox about the truth about women around the world:

*"Women comprise more than half the world's population. Women are 70% percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and*

*write... Yet much of the work we do is not valued - not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders."*

The number of women in the world is *"more than half the world's population"* and they also make great contributions to the development of families and societies by doing lots of things such as *"giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries."* However, their contributions are not recognized, which creates a sense of unfairness in society and it also leads to the struggle of a number of courageous women in the world in general and in America in particular.

The speaker also points out the reality that it was not too difficult to avoid another world war but to solve discrimination against women is really difficult.

*"We have seen peace prevail in most places for a half century. We have avoided another world war. But we have not solved older, deeply-rooted problems that continue to diminish the potential of half the world's population."*

"And" is also used after the speaker has mentioned the benefits that women can bring to their families to emphasize the close relationship between families and society or nations. The families' prosperity will certainly lead to the nations' prosperity.

*"What we are learning around the world is that if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish."*

### 5.1.3. Transitivity

The speech is divided into 158 simple clauses: 48 Relational, 110 Material. The participants and process types are presented in the appendix. Here is the summary of transitivity analysis data:

**Table 1**

*Summary of Transitivity Analysis Data*

Types of process	Times appeared	Percentage (%)
Material	110	69.6
Relational	48	30.4

In terms of transitivity, the material process, which is the process of doing and narrating things, accounts for the largest percentage: 69.6% while the relational process makes up only 30.4%. The high percentage of the material process indicates that the speaker focuses on describing the actions and events.

**Table 2**

*Summary of Thematic Analysis*

Types of theme	Times appeared	Percentage
Topical	66	76.8%
Textual	16	18.6%
Interpersonal	4	4.6%
Total	86	100%

	Times appeared	Percentage
Marked	21	24.4%
Unmarked	65	75.6%
Total	86	100%

Types of topical themes	Times appeared	Percentage
Marked topical themes	9	13.7%
Unmarked topical themes	57	86.3%
Total	66	100%

#### 5.1.4. *Thematization*

It is easily seen from the tables that topical themes and unmarked types account for a high percentage of the total themes in the speech. The topical themes create the focus on the conference and its goal; the women at the conference, women in general and their role in struggling for women's rights.

In the speech, little use of interpersonal themes is seen (only 4.6%) in comparison with topical themes (76.8%) and textual themes (18.6%). This is due to the fact that the type of discourse is giving a speech so there is almost no interaction between the speaker and the audience.

#### 5.1.5. *Macro-Structure of the Text*

In the previous parts, the study tries to uncover the speaker's ideology hidden behind words from the microstructure perspective by breaking the speech into small units like vocabulary, grammar, cohesive devices and grammatical features. This part will look at the macro-structure of the text to understand the communicative purpose of the speaker.

Women's rights have only been paid attention to in recent years. Realizing that something must be done to help women around the world gain their legitimate rights, first, the speaker tries to raise the awareness of people about women's roles in families and societies. She then makes herself convinced by giving her personal experience working with women in many parts of the world. A lively picture of how women live and earn their livings, which is filled with great sympathy of the speaker, is drawn through words:

*"I have met new mothers in Indonesia, who come together regularly in their village to discuss nutrition, family planning, and baby care. I have met working parents in Denmark who talk about the comfort they feel in knowing that their*

*children can be cared for in safe, and nurturing after-school centers. I have met women in South Africa who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid and are now helping to build a new democracy... I have met the doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are trying to keep children alive in the aftermath of Chernobyl."*

Hillary Clinton then calls for action from the women at the conference to raise their voice for other women who do not have the opportunity to be there. Women's rights should be taken into consideration seriously in order to make a better world for everyone on earth. Human rights in general and women's rights in particular are also made clear in the speech:

*"It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls."*

*It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution for human greed...*

*It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.*

*It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will."*

It can be said that this is a good chance for the speaker to share her emotions with women here at the conference and women all over the world. She emphasizes that it is her responsibility to protect women's rights and ask for joint efforts from other women to create a bright world without unfairness.

#### 5.2. *Interpretation of the Relationship Between the Productive and Interpretative Processes*

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, p. 67) state, "despite the fact that ideology

resides in the text, we cannot “read off” ideologies from text because what we want to get from the text is based on the interpretation and the interpretation is also diverse depending on the position of the interpreter”. That is why this part will help readers to uncover the ideology of the speaker when delivering the speech.

### **Interpretation of situational context**

The interpretation of situational context is based partly on external cues such as features of the physical situation, properties of participant, what has previously said, but also partly based on the basis of aspects of their MR in terms of which they interpret these cues.

In terms of situational context, the following questions are taken into consideration: “What’s going on?”, “Who’s involved?”, “What relationships are at issue?” and “What’s the role of language in what’s going on?”

#### ***What’s going on?***

The question is sub-classified into activity, topic and purpose. The activity here is delivering a speech. The central topic is women and their roles in families and societies. The speech is aimed at calling for actions to struggle for women’s rights, and for a better world, which needs joint efforts of women themselves and people of all ages around the world.

#### ***Who’s involved?***

This is a speech so the subject positions are the speaker, Hillary Clinton and the audience including Mrs. Gertrude Mongella - the founding president of the Pan-African Parliament, UN Assistant Secretary General and Secretary General of 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing, China (1995).

#### ***In what relation?***

Hillary Clinton is the main speaker

of the conference, in which gather leaders of many countries in the world. Therefore, there seems to be no social distance and the position of the speaker and others are the same.

#### ***What’s the role of language?***

Language has been used in an instrumental way to give information, to persuade people and to call for cooperation. It is informative, directive, expressive and commissive.

### ***5.3. Explanation of the Relationship Between Discourse Processes and Social Processes***

According to Fairclough (2001, p. 135), “the objective of the stage of explanation is to portray a discourse as part of social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them”.

At the institutional level, as the main speaker of the World Conference on Women, Hillary Clinton wants to portray a picture of how women all over the world live and work. At the same time, she emphasizes the significant roles of women in families and societies. The speaker stresses that it is high time for people at this conference and people everywhere especially women themselves to raise their voice to protect women’s rights, which is a basis for a better world without sex discrimination.

At the societal level, the relationship in the discourse is the one between the political leader and the public. So far in society, the roles of women have not been fully recognized by the majority of people. Women themselves do not have chances or dare to speak for themselves for many reasons. The speaker tries to raise awareness of women themselves and other people about women’s remarkable contributions to the society, thus they deserve to be respected



and have their legitimate rights like others. Therefore, the speaker is in a controlling and authoritative status.

## 6. Implication and Recommendations for Teaching and Learning Translation

According to Fairclough and Chouliraki (1999, p. 4), “the basic motivation for critical social science is to contribute to an awareness of what it is, how it has come to be, and what it might become, on the basis of which may be able to make and remake their lives. And this is also the motivation for CDA.”

Analyzing the discourse critically in general and analyzing the discourse in translation in particular plays an important role in raising the awareness of learners of English of the word choice as well as the implicature of the text by the speaker or writer in order to deeply understand the message that the writer or the speaker wants to convey.

In terms of the relationship between translation and CDA, it can be said that CDA is an important step in translation. When translating a word or a sentence, the translator has to ask himself the question “*What does this word/sentence mean?*” and concentrate on answering it by reference, in the main, to the code itself, the elements of which it is composed and the arrangements of those elements which it permits. However, according to Bell (1991, p. 117), another question should also be asked: “*What resources does the code possess for the transmission and reception of particular kinds of meaning?*”, i.e. a question about the functions of language as a system of communication.” In the translation process as well as in CDA, three macrofunctions should be considered: the ideational (experiential) function (meaning), the interpersonal function and the textual function. Correspondingly to these three macro functions are three major networks of

the grammatical system which are *transitivity, mood and modality, and information – including theme – rheme*. Considering these three kinds of meaning helps uncover the writer or the speaker’s implication or ideology hidden behind words.

As a new discipline in linguistic research, CDA proves to be a useful tool in discerning a discourse’s ideologies and power. It is highly recommended that this approach is introduced to language learners and researchers.

This study only focuses on the speech on women’s rights by Hillary Clinton; however, it is highly recommended that it can broaden and connect the analysis to other discourses on women’s rights in particular and human rights in general.

Hereafter is the Vietnamese version of several typical excerpts of the speech, which emphasize the ideology of the writer, translated by the writer. Before translating the speech, the writer has analyzed the three functions of the language (as done in the previous parts) in order to uncover what is implied in the text and the speaker’s ideology. That is what learners of English should do or teachers should tell their students to do before beginning their translation work. The bold expressions in the translation are those which are carefully chosen by the writer. The writer is fully aware that there may be several Vietnamese versions of the original speech but this translation is believed to have best captured and reflected all the analyses, explanations and findings in the study so far.

“...Đây cũng là dịp chúng ta gặp gỡ, cũng giống như cách mà những người phụ nữ ở mọi đất nước gặp gỡ nhau hàng ngày... Cho dù là đang chơi với con trong công viên hay đang giặt giũ quần áo ở sông,... chúng ta cũng gặp nhau và nói với nhau về **những khát vọng và những lo toan** của chúng ta. Và lần nào cũng vậy, những câu chuyện của

chúng ta lại xoay quanh con cái và gia đình. **Cho dù chúng ta khác nhau như thế nào, chúng ta cũng có nhiều điểm tương đồng hơn là điểm khác biệt...**

Bằng việc quy tụ ở Bắc Kinh này, chúng ta đang hướng sự chú ý của thế giới vào **các vấn đề cốt yếu nhất** trong cuộc đời chúng ta...

Vào sớm ngày hôm nay, tôi đã tham dự một diễn đàn của Tổ chức Y tế Thế giới,... Ở đó, **các chương trình rất thành công ở quy mô địa phương** sẽ được đưa ra bàn bạc nhằm giúp các chị em phụ nữ cần cù được tiếp cận tín dụng để cải thiện đời sống của bản thân và gia đình.

...

Thách thức lớn của hội nghị này là lên tiếng cho phụ nữ ở khắp nơi, những người mà những gì họ phải chịu đựng cứ diễn ra không ai biết, lời nói của họ chẳng ai hay.

Phụ nữ chiếm hơn một nửa dân số thế giới, chiếm 70% người nghèo trên thế giới, và chiếm hai phần ba số người không được dạy đọc dạy viết.

Chúng ta là người chăm sóc chủ yếu cho hầu hết trẻ em và người già trên thế giới. Thế mà phần lớn công việc chúng ta làm lại không được lượng giá – nhà kinh tế không, nhà sử học không, người dân bình thường không, mà lãnh đạo chính phủ cũng không.

...

Phát biểu với quý vị ngày hôm nay, tôi nói hộ cho họ, như mỗi chúng ta nói hộ cho phụ nữ khắp nơi trên thế giới, những người bị tước đoạt quyền được đến trường hay đến bác sĩ,... Sự thực là hầu hết phụ nữ trên thế giới phải làm việc cả trong nhà và ngoài trời, thường là do túng thiếu quần bách.

Chúng ta cần hiểu rằng không có một công thức duy nhất nào về việc người phụ nữ phải sống ra sao. Đó là lí do chúng ta phải tôn trọng những quyết định mà họ đưa ra cho bản thân và gia đình họ. Mọi người phụ nữ xứng đáng có cơ hội phát huy khả năng thiên

bẩm của mình. Chúng ta cũng phải thừa nhận rằng phụ nữ sẽ không thể có được phẩm giá thực sự cho tới khi quyền con người của họ được tôn trọng và bảo vệ.

...Không ai đáng bị bắt buộc phải giữ im lặng vì lo sợ sẽ bị truy tố về tôn giáo hay chính trị, bị bắt giữ, lạm dụng hay tra tấn.

...đã đến lúc không thể tách rời khái niệm quyền của phụ nữ khỏi khái niệm nhân quyền.

...

Đó là một sự vi phạm nhân quyền khi phụ nữ không được quyền lên kế hoạch cho chính gia đình của mình, và điều đó bao gồm cả việc bị bắt nạt phá thai hoặc bị làm cho không thể sinh đẻ được nữa mà họ không hề mong muốn

Nếu như có một thông điệp vang động lại từ Hội nghị này thì đó là nhân quyền chính là nữ quyền và nữ quyền chính là nhân quyền. Chúng ta hãy đừng quên rằng trong số những quyền đó có bao gồm cả quyền tự do ngôn luận và quyền được lắng nghe.

...

Ở đất nước tôi, chúng tôi vừa mới tổ chức lễ kỉ niệm lần thứ 75 phụ nữ được quyền bầu cử. Phải mất đến 150 năm sau khi Tuyên ngôn độc lập được ký kết phụ nữ mới giành được quyền bầu cử. Phải mất 72 năm đấu tranh có tổ chức của rất nhiều những người đàn ông và phụ nữ quả cảm mới đạt được điều đó. Đó là một trong những cuộc chiến tranh tư tưởng gay gắt nhất của nước Mỹ. Nhưng đó cũng là cuộc chiến tranh không đổ máu. Quyền bầu cử đạt được mà không phải tổn một viên đạn nào.

...

Hãy để cho cuộc hội thảo này là lời kêu gọi hành động của chúng ta và của thế giới. Và chúng ta hãy quan tâm đến lời kêu gọi đó để xây dựng một thế giới mà ở đó mọi phụ nữ được tôn trọng, mọi bé trai và bé gái được yêu thương và chăm sóc một cách bình đẳng và mọi gia đình đều có thể hi vọng về một tương lai vững mạnh và ổn định..."

## 7. Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the speech in the light of CDA, what is said and inferred from the language can be summarized as follows:

In terms of vocabulary, the discourse has a clear classification scheme presented by the speaker's understanding about women's contributions to families and society as well as their challenges in life and the speaker's efforts to protect women's rights. The structure of vocabulary is ideologically based.

In terms of grammatical features, the power and ideology of the speaker can also be uncovered. Thanks to the use of personal pronouns "I" and "we", the speaker would like to create solidarity and call for joint efforts of all people including her to help women in their struggle to achieve equality. Based on the use of mood and voice, the speaker exerts her power on others in an indirect way.

The high percentage of material process in transitivity and topical theme in thematization serve the speaker's aim of describing actions and events and creating reliability.

From the macro-structure, the ideology of the speaker can also be seen. The development of the discourse is organized in the structure of arguments followed by evidences which are personal experience.

In short, the speech is an effective tool for Hillary Clinton to express her power and ideology in the sense that she is sympathetic with women around the world and stresses the important role of women in the home as well as in society. She would

like to call for greater awareness and urgent actions to improve women's position and bring them the rights that they deserve to have.

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## PHÂN TÍCH DIỄN NGÔN PHÊ PHÁN BÀI PHÁT BIỂU “QUYỀN CỦA PHỤ NỮ LÀ QUYỀN CON NGƯỜI” CỦA HILLARY CLINTON

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**Tóm tắt:** Trong nghiên cứu này, bài phát biểu “Quyền của phụ nữ là quyền con người” của Hillary Clinton sẽ được phân tích dưới góc độ phân tích diễn ngôn phê phán để cho thấy cách thức quyền lực và hệ tư tưởng được lồng vào ngôn ngữ nói riêng và mối quan hệ giữa ngôn ngữ và xã hội nói chung. Trước hết, khung lý thuyết phân tích diễn ngôn phê phán và các khái niệm về quyền lực và hệ tư tưởng sẽ được trình bày. Nghiên cứu cũng sẽ tóm tắt bối cảnh xã hội về vai trò của người phụ nữ trong cả xã hội xưa và nay. Vai trò của Hillary Clinton trong việc đấu tranh cho quyền của phụ nữ sẽ được trình bày một cách vắn tắt. Về phương pháp, ngữ pháp chức năng hệ thống cũng như quy trình phân tích trong phân tích diễn ngôn phê phán làm cơ sở cho việc phân tích bài phát biểu “Quyền của phụ nữ là quyền con người” được trình bày chi tiết trong bài nghiên cứu. Tiếp đó, toàn bộ bài phát biểu sẽ được phân tích qua lăng kính phân tích diễn ngôn phê phán. Ba giai đoạn của quá trình phân tích bao gồm: mô tả, diễn giải và giải thích. Phần cuối tóm tắt các phát hiện chính, đưa ra các nhận xét kết luận, các hàm ý cho việc dạy và học dịch thuật, đồng thời đưa ra các khuyến nghị cho các nghiên cứu tiếp theo.

**Từ khoá:** phân tích diễn ngôn phê phán, dịch các diễn ngôn chính trị, quyền của phụ nữ, quyền con người