Media and Crisis as Perceived in the U.S. Political Communication Discourse

Dr. Wail Ismail A. Barry
College of Communication – University of Sharjah
Sharjah - U.A.E.

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Abstract

Indeed, the media play a crucial role in the course of change in wider processes of social, cultural, political, and ideological transformations in society. In light of this, one can critically discuss the impact of media discourse on inducing a state of change. Arguably, media have a substantial effect during the time of a given crisis that may stem from the processes of change. Therefore, some communication scholars use the “critical discourse analysis” to empirically study the causality between media and the crisis.

The aim of this article is to identify the core issues that may lead to the existence of a given crisis. Remarkably, the scope of the study focuses on the political communication discourse in the USA. To this end, it can be said that several core issues were raised by the USA President, Barak Obama, during and after being in office. Some of these issues led to a sort of a harsh debate between the President and his opponents, mainly in the US Congress. For example, the medical insurance coverage plan, energy, climate, and the US involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq are possible issues that affect the mainstream media discourse in the USA.

Surveying the literature revealed the need for considering the socio-economic and political contexts in which the audience members can understand the political communication discourse.
Possible research questions are formulated as following:
1- How and why is the political communication discourse designed?
2- In what way can the media discourse be interpreted to avoid inducing a crisis?
3- How can this discourse serve the political communication messages?
4- Do the variables of socio-cultural and political/economic dimensions affect the media discourse during the time of a given crisis?

A meta-research theoretical framework has been developed to tackle the current topic. The researcher tries to utilize theories of: Critical Discourse Analysis and the Framing Analysis. Based on this, two major hypotheses have been developed:

H1: socio-cultural and political/economic variables seem likely to be affecting the causal relationship between media and crisis.

H2: political communication messages are positively correlated with induced effects resulting from the mainstream media discourse.

Finally, the researcher is going to use the critical discourse analysis method. This is carried out by analyzing seven and half hours of audio materials. The scope of discourse entails the analysis of the below items of the political communication discourse: schematic, thematic, rhetoric, and text. Results revealed that there is a need for considering the socio-economic and political contexts in which the audience members can understand the political communication discourse.

Overview
In the beginning, one can maintain that there is a kind of a relationship between discourse analysis and political communication. Scholars and theorists started to substantially consider the discourse analysis as a post-structuralist methodology to be used in the genre of political communication studies. Furthermore, the wide expansion of new media platforms offered communication scholars a chance to develop the research methods and techniques in the field. Coincidentally, authors of media studies proclaimed that there is currently a dire need for introducing new theoretical approaches and paradigms that work on developing the scholarly literature.
Indeed, the impact of global communication led to many repercussions in media organizations. Remarkably, one of the advantages of the diffusion of new media is its impact on creating a new type of audience. Members of the new audience are content consumers and producers equally. For example, during the time of elections, it was found that new media played a viable role in shaping the ideas and attitudes of the public. This was done via websites, blogs, online newspapers, and other user-generated content.

Based on the previous, the idea of discourse seems suitable for scholars who study political communication and sociological impact of the media. Possibly, using discourse analysis appears important because it enables scholars to understand people’s argument and language. Furthermore, the discourse analysis can give an insight into the era of new media that brought different societal issues like: networking, social movements, and political freedom and power. However, the pace of logistic development in the information and communication technology is far beyond the development of theorization and methodology in media studies. That is why communication scholars seek for exploring the new possible methods and techniques that could best explain the social phenomena taking place now. For example, the latest 2008 USA presidential elections were marked by the wide and extensive use of different new media platforms like: the Facebook and the You-tube.

One may need to ask about the potential impact of these new platforms in reaching a wide scale of the public; and how can communicators design their messages to address millions of electorates of different socio-cultural and demographic backgrounds. Therefore, the media discourse would seem a viable method to tackle the topic of the current study due to the inclusion of thematic, textual, and rhetorical dimensions in the content of new media and the messages of political communication.

The aim of this article is to identify the core issues that may lead to the existence of a given crisis. Remarkably, the scope of the study focuses on the political communication discourse in the USA. To this end, it can be said that several core issues were raised by the USA President, Barak Obama, during and after being in office. It is argued in the current study that political communication messages are designed in a way that copes with socio-political and cultural correlations.
Literature

Actually, different studies dealt with media discourse and political communication. Jones and Collins (2006) discussed the implications for the study of language and communication of the use of political analysis and critical discourse analysis in the treatment of ideology. They try to examine how critical discourse analysis can be used in political and ideological analysis by supporters of critical discourse analysis (CDA), including the work of Norman Fairclough. They referred to two articles: the first article focuses on the theoretical shortcomings of CDA. The second article concentrates on the method of discourse critique and uses empirical study of oppositional discourse in the understanding of ideological roots and orientation of CDA.

Meanwhile, Simon and Jerit (2007) used the content analysis to examine the politicians’ messages by analysing the media frames. They found that opposing political elites employed almost exclusive vocabularies in attempts to justify their views and shape attitudes. They concluded that a kind of public reason can emerge from the interaction of citizens’ judgment processes and elite communication.

With special focus on political communication, it can be argued that shaping the attitudes of the audience is a quasi-dimensional process due to the various actors who are involved in. For example, politicians coin the message and communicate it to the public according to the frame set by media experts who set the agenda for politicians.

Chouliaraki (2000) considered the influential social theoretical argument that relates the proliferation of mediated knowledge and information with the emergence of ‘mediated’ democracy, a new form of democracy based on non-dialogical deliberation rather than collective decision making.

Drawing on sociological theory, media studies and discourse analysis, the paper uses empirical material to argue that the facilitation of deliberative processes among audiences is a matter not only of changing institutional arrangements (towards a regulation of marketized media) but also of changing the mode of articulation of media discourse itself. The author added that the social theory, which engages centrally with information flows and structures, should also incorporate a theoretical account of the discursive
aspects of information, and of the symbolic resources that constitute aspects of the social world in the field of media.

Wolfson (2004) discussed the idea of social discourse from a different paradigm. She said that there is much attention towards the systematization of meanings and channels of communication of power in society. This attention focused on the role of Internet and mass-media. The author singled out the crisis of political engagement as one of the main processes of modernization in contemporary Russia. She tackled her topic from a sociological point of view. To this effect, she maintains that there is a need for understanding the behaviour of the small groups engaged in power, who use language to control and manipulate those, who deny using language. Actually, the possible significance of the previous point of view is the importance of the thematic aspect of the political discourse. Coincidently, the thematic aspects correlate with the rhetoric and textual ones. Krone (2005) found that studying communication discourse is one part of the new trends in organization communication research. The researcher, here, wanted to add this point that may reflect the possible importance of the current study.

Likewise, Mosco (2008) studied the new trends in political communication. I referred to this to show the correlative aspect between the importance of discourse and the political communication. Mosco sorted five new trends in the field of political economy of communication. The most important ones included the role of new media and globalization effects in the current media research. Indeed, some communication scholars figured out the importance of communication discourse after the 9/11 events. Romagnuolo (2009) paid attention to the US presidential rhetoric after the catastrophic events. He related the presidential discourse to the political communication in the USA.

Guillem conducted a study that may contribute to a multidisciplinary approach to communication phenomena that emphasizes the interplay among cognition, discourse and society. She proposed an examination of the role that these three elements play in argumentation and meta-discourse as a useful starting point for understanding. The author presented core points: first, how arguments are formed and second dealt with the role that meta-discursive devices play in this process. In the first two sections she
conducted a brief review of literature on the concepts of argumentation and meta-discourse to show how a socio-cognitive approach can enlighten our understanding of both. Her point of view seems substantial in a sense that offers communication scholars with new epistemological horizons in discussing the idea of discourse. She conducted a socio-cognitive discourse analysis, based on which she identified different relevant paths followed by speakers when constructing arguments: (re)framings, (re)definitions, quotations and references to previous events. In conclusion, she came up with different levels of meta-discourse: intra-textual, inter-textual and contextual. They proved to be equally relevant for argumentative communication. She added that through meta-discourse, speakers invoke knowledge about both the ongoing interaction and other past or future communicative events. However, these other discourses are not only constituted by the actual words uttered, but they encompass the context and situation models.

So, the socio-cognitive approach can’t be overlooked in any critical media discourse. The reason for this may, possibly, stem from the different political and cultural backgrounds of both the audience and the communicators.

Graham and George (1989) realized in their article the importance of conceptual tools for studying the persuasive power of rhetoric within political arenas. They maintained that words being used in a political context influence and affect different individuals severally. They argued that to be able to persuade, one must recognize the different audiences affected by the discourse. Furthermore, cultural norms must also be identified to comprehend the potential power of persuasion in the arena. Structure and modes of discourse must be studied and identified to become effective in arguments and achieve public acceptability.

Critically, what the two authors presented reveals that discourse analysis offers epistemological horizons to the media studies genre. It is evident that it seems to be a comprehensive research method that takes into consideration the persuasive elements of the media messages, the socio-cultural characteristics of the audience. This may sound indicative due to the power of the mode of speech. Media campaigns during the time of elections depend heavily on setting the mode of messages in a way that hits the nucleus of the realization and cognitive aspects of the mass audience.
For example, the USA 2008 presidential campaign of Mr. Barak Obama revolved around the concept of change. Indeed, there is a growing interest in the use of discourse analysis in studying some phenomena. My core of discussion is the political communication discourse. Sawyer (2010) maintains that there are two kinds of levels of structures in the discourse analysis. The first is the surface structure which is reflected in the use of the language and the second is the deep structure which is reflected in the deep meanings. Based on this, the semantic analysis would be a core asset in the process discourse analysis.

Myles (2010) said that Bourdieu’s social and cultural writings on media and society demonstrate how the ideas can be applied in media analysis. This can be applied to drawing on press reports, talk radio, internet polls and photojournalism. This may help the researcher when he delves into analyzing the audio speech of Mr. Obama during his presidential campaign. Critically, there seems to be a need for weaving the qualitative research methods with the current genre of media studies. That is why the current study aims to utilize the discourse analysis in the field of political communication that was subjected to extensive quantitative methods.

Van Dijk (2001) argues that discourse analysis would sound suitable to be used in discussing social and political issues because it is explanatory and interpretative (p: 353). He lists many techniques that enable researchers to conduct discourse analysis. What I presume suitable for the current study is the use of context-social structure approach.

Bednarek (2006) used discourse analysis in evaluating the role of the media. Her main objective was to analyze the news’ discourse in the UK. She traced some approaches to media discourse like: non-linguistic, mediation, and the popular cultural approach (p: 11).

**Theory**

Kaufer and Hariman (2008) referred to the study of Hariman and Fairclough that produced major theoretical statements about political language and style. Their work grew out of different intellectual traditions and took on different subject matters. Hariman, drawing on the textual criticism model of American rhetorical studies, defined style as a cultural repertoire of
persuasive techniques that can work across texts, media, institutions, and other modes of communication. He analyzed four major styles—realist, republican, courtly, and bureaucratic—that have had significant literary exposition and political effect. Fairclough, writing from the tradition of critical discourse analysis, focused more narrowly on the political style of Tony Blair and New Labour, and studied whether New Labour represented an emergent new language distinct from older instantiations of Labour Party rhetoric. Important for this analysis is Fairclough’s distinction between political style and genre, which motivated a methodology combining theoretical analysis and corpus analysis. We show how the same combination of methods can illuminate Hariman’s theory, particularly in respect to the problem its theoretical sophistication presents for application through close reading of individual texts. The corpus study validates or refines many of Hariman’s central claims, and provides one model for better coordination of two important programs of research on political discourse.

Fairclough (2000) stated that there are some theoretical categories for the social analysis of texts. It includes: text, texture, genre, discourse, style, intertextuality, and order of discourse. This leads at the end to the political analysis. He insists on the importance of the said elements. Coincidently, he relates the importance of genre to the concept of framing. What Fairclough wants to convey also is that discourse is a sort of social practice. One may need to refer to the translated work of George Kennedy (1991) who talked about the civic discourse theory. He refereed to the importance of rhetoric in addressing the audience. Critically, the status of the society and the transformational stages govern the nature of the rhetoric. The focus of the study is the role of the political discourse during the time of crisis; and how does affect the political campaigns. To this effect, Lewis (2010) theorizes human society changed dramatically with the rise of agriculture, the apocalypse religions and new forms of economy. These historically grounded conditions have been radically amplified through the emergence of the modern media and the global economy of pleasure. S, Lewis offers an original and probing perspective of crisis and contemporary cultural transformation, located in terms of global financial crisis, economy, ecology, human relationships, global inequality, war and terrorism.

McNair (2007) contends that understanding the effects of media messages
requires an understanding of the social semiotics of a given communication situation. It also needs the decoding of the messages and the sorting out of the meanings formulated among the groups.

Notably, Scheufele (1999) maintains that there is a relationship between framing and political communication. He figured out four essential approaches of framing that asks communication scholars to utilize in future research. They are the frame building, frame setting, the frame process, and feedback of the audience (p: 103). Critically, this may be incorporated in a model that the researcher in the current study wants to set up. This model is supposed to use discourse analysis and political communication.

Method
Discourse analysis is said to be offering more insightful and realistic perspectives if it is formatted according to multi-layers of analysis. Sherratt (2007) maintains that discourse analysis offers researchers the chance to study the detailed information in a systematic way. Indeed, the discourse analysis can be of many types: conversation analysis, social semiotic analysis, and cultural analysis.

Thus, it is aimed in this study to highlight various parts of what Mr. Obama said in his presidential campaign titled “change.” Indeed, the audio material comprises seven and half hours of speech. Supposedly, I am going to use the below chart that I developed to explain how Mr. Obama utilized his discourse to relate it to the crises that US citizens face. Also, I tried to stick to the social context approach that leads in the end to a state of social action on the part of the audience.

The passages that follow the discourse analysis pyramid have been taken from the overall seven hours and a half audio material. It is based on the different speeches of Mr. Barak Obama that he delivered during his presidential campaign.

In the discourse pyramid, I tried to highlight the core aspects that produce and disseminate the discourse. It has the linguistic variable, the rhetorical element, the message, the communicator who organizes all these elements, the audience, and finally the intended effect that may result from the exposure to the discourse. Later, I developed an analysis sheet based on:
linguistic, textual, contextual, and thematic dimensions. In the below pyramid, I presume that the linguistic and rhetorical selection of the words builds the discourse that the audience may be affected by it in different schemes due to the formulation of meanings.

McNair (2007) once mentioned that studying the effect of political communication messages can be conducted on the micro level and the macro level. Furthermore, he affirms on studying the historical context in which the messages of the political communication are produced. Thus, the current article endeavours to incorporate certain core factors that are shown below in Fig (1) to explain the relationship between the political communication discourse and the utilization of the crisis to shape the attitude of the audience.

**Fig. (1)**

Carlson and Hyde (2003) pose three questions pertaining to the discourse analysis. How can the discussion be framed? What does characterize the presidential discourse? What is the direction of emphasis of this discourse? The researcher took these questions into consideration while he was conducting the discourse analysis of the current study. Based on this, there was a need for figuring out and identifying the core elements of Mr. Obama’s speech. These items were sorted out to be stated into brackets. Then, the researcher developed the analysis sheet that reflects the items of
categorizations: thematic, contextual, textual, and linguistic. Indeed, Berger (2005) and Elliott (2005) laid much importance on using qualitative analysis in media studies. The first discussed the importance of semantic analysis; meanwhile, the latter discussed the use of narratives social science research.

**Presidential core audio items:**
1-(… it was the liberation of Europe and the rebuilding of America that offered unrivalled opportunity and mobility of the middle class).
2-(… men and women from all walks of life marched and struggled and sacrificed for civil rights, women rights, and worker’s rights).
3-(… the revolutions in communications and technology that followed have reduced global barriers to prosperity and cooperation).
4-(Our nation is in two wars…).
5-(Our planet is in the midst of a climate crisis…).
6-(… our economy is in a downward spiral that is costing millions of Americans their homes, their jobs, and their faith in that fundamental promise of America).
7-(It is shared by Democrats, independents, and even Republicans from all walks of life who are tired of being disappointed by the challenges like health care, energy, and education…).
8-(I have a vision for America rooted in the values that have always our nation the best hope of Earth- values that have been expressed to me on front porches and family farms…).
9-(… they believe in personal responsibility, hard work, and self-reliance… they believe in fairness and opportunity…).
10-(… we’ll need the kind of politics and policies in Washington that finally reflect the best values of America).
11-(The choice is ours).
(We faced hard days and our share of failure, but I learned then that no matter how great the challenge of how difficult the circumstance, change is always possible if are willing to work for it, and fight for it, and, above all believe in it).
12-(I. Hope for America)
(... a chorus of voices is swelling in demand for change).
13-(... politics that focuses on bringing people together across party lines to work for the common good).
14- (Yet today our nation is at war, our economy is in turmoil, and our planet is in peril).
15-(... these past eight years will be remembered for their rigid and ideological adherence to discredited ideas).
16-(The past eight years have been a failure of American leadership, not a failure of the American people).
17-(... and one of the biggest challenges is jump starting our economy and ensuring that its opportunities are widely shared).

Discourse analysis Scheme

Results
F=forward, I=introduction, P=plan, E=economy, P=prosperity, L=leadership, V=values,

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Results showed that the political discourse of Mr. Obama dealt with many core essential issues that are at the forefront of the US voters’ priorities. The mode below shows and lists these core issues.

Lately, the US Republican Party won the midterm elections in the USA. The “Republicans” won control of the House of Representatives. Two of the major issues that the “Republicans” said that they are going to go after President Obama in the Congress are the British Petroleum (BP) oil spill and the healthcare legislations. The first issue represented one of the worst environmental catastrophes that challenged the USA. Meanwhile, the second issue represents one of the inner challenges within the social classes in the USA.

**Fig (2).**
The chart of the results showed different categorizations that the researcher developed to reflect on the idea of media and crisis. In light of the BP and healthcare issues, one can contend that two major fields that Mr. Obama put in his presidential agenda and campaign appeared to be agents of change. The course of change moved towards an induced crisis. The first one represented a global crisis but the second led to a sort of crack in the US society.

The analysis sheet highlights the tone of his discourse. Analytically, he addressed the issues of direct concerns to each US citizen. For instance, he talked about the prosperity of the US citizens that he wants to intensify. Furthermore, he addressed the medical care system to include up to 50 million who are not covered by the medical insurance.

The socio-economic and political contexts in which the audience members can understand the political communication discourse were evident in the audio materials in the current study. The essence of designing a socio-economic and political discourse resides in addressing the cognitive realization of the public. Therefore, the media strategist tailors the messages in accordance with objectives and goals that s/he wants to maintain.

The different clips that were cited before reflect the governing variables
that determine nature of the message. For example, the selection of the following words that exist in the seven and half hours of the audio materials reflects the eloquent rhetorical aspects of the political discourse:

- **rebuilding of America/mobility of the middle class**
- civil rights
- communications and technology
- two wars
- climate crisis
- home/ jobs
- health care/energy/education
- vision for America/values
- opportunity
- the best values of America
- I learned  how great  how difficult/ change
- Hope for America
- change
- common good
- our nation  economy is in turmoil
- ideological adherence to discredited ideas
- failure of American leadership
- jump starting our economy

The end result of addressing the audience with rhetorical language is to move the public towards definite behaviour. And this matches with the hypothesis that maintains the correlation between the induced effects and the mainstream media discourse. It is included in the analysis sheet that various variables played a major role in Obama’s speech. He stressed on the values, economy, and leadership. They are core variables that any US policy maker should be aware of and clever in using them in his/her presidential campaign. Critically, the economic issues played a major role in getting the “Republicans” once again to the forefront of the US House of Representative.

Results of the current study revealed that the discourse of Mr. Obama focused on one major theme called the “change” plan. The discourse addressed the
status of: US economy, the global economy, the US leadership in the world, and the inner state of the union in America. Thus, this may lead the researcher to examine the relationship between political communication and the significance of the political discourse. Esser and Pfetsch (2004) raise a crucial question that may have some connections with the argument in the current study. They asked if scholars underestimated the importance of the social, economic, and political contexts in which citizens receive and understand messages about politics (p: 56). Indeed, the author’s argument matched with my hypothesis that considers the socio-economic variables that govern the political discourse. They maintain that political communication in the public sphere can be understood as a process of agenda building in which the political actors, the media and the audience citizens mutually influence each other by presenting information, demands, appeals, and arguments. In light of the previous, it was evident from the audio materials that the discourse entailed all the said items above. Mr. Obama’s discourse conveyed messages of different types to address the wide social classes of the US society. In the mean time, he referred to paradoxical issues related to the energy, economy, and international affairs to appeal for the voters. Results of this study matches with what Oliver Boyd-Barrett (2007) argues for the importance of framing. He pinpoints that framing depends on: the communicator, the test, the receivers, and the culture. In addition, he believes that the construction of framing is done through: syntactical, thematic, rhetorical, and lexical structures (p: 204). Indeed, the research evidence in the current study reflected many of the structures as shown in figure (2). The arguments in both of the two studies meet in many of the common outcomes. For instance, the selection of the language and the persuasive contextualization help in constructing the meanings in the minds of the audience citizens. This is clear in the current study in light of using the crises as the catalysts that move the audience. Political communication can arguably be in close relationship with the induced effects of the mass media. Not only, it deals with the image, but also it lays much importance on the rhetoric itself. In light of this, McNair (2007) believes that political communication disseminated via politicians serve definite objectives; and these objectives reflect the values of the
system and the ideological orientations. This point of view matches with what the researcher found in the results sections. For instance, Mr. Obama used the crises topics to serve his presidential agenda. McNair maintains that purposeful communicative behaviour of political actors can influence the attitudes and behaviour of the intended audience on two levels: micro and macro ones.

Fairclough (1995) offered communication scholars a chance to trace the development of discourse analysis. It may include conversational analysis. Actually, the current study depends on studying and analysing seven and half hours of audio speech. The conversational analysis can come under the categorical ethno-methodological approach. In this type of analysis, it is important to thoroughly consider the power relations, ideologies, and cultural values (p: 23).

It is evident from the current study’s results that all the said values have been tackled in Mr. Obama’s speech. If we refer to the items of the discourse and the list of core crises issues we come up with:
- Mentioning the issues of the US freedom and democratic values.
- Highlighting the environmental crisis of the BP that hit the US.
- Considering the global economic crisis.
- Maintaining the US leadership.
- Overcoming the past ideologies.

Thus, these issues that were uttered in the political discourse of Mr. Obama required a system of reception (the audience) whose social cognition varies. Hence, the thematic order of the discourse sounds of optimum importance to the communicator to maintain a positive interactive feedback from the audience. Possibly, the discourse analysis may be advantageous in the sense that it reflects the social reality of the society in absorbing the messages of the politicians. This may be refuted by other scholars but it is evident in this study. Critically, discourse analysis needs communication scholars to consider the socio-cultural elements in the political discourse.

Results showed many of the quotes that Mr. Obama used. The textual analysis revealed a rhetorical tone on the part of the president himself. And this differentiates the textual and contextual analysis from the semiotic analysis. In light of this, Ruiz (2009) identified the key elements of the
textual analysis as being: rhetorical figures, certain verbs, and metaphors. This in turn leads to forming and shaping meanings in the mind of the audience. Ruiz asserted on the importance of using discourse analysis as a tool that explains the social reality through systems of meaning, knowledge, and textuality. Similarly, Horsbol (2010) studied political communication in TV news. He found that qualitative methods entitle him to study political communication in a broader scope. His theoretical approach was the public sphere.
Based on Fig (3), it can be argued that the results of the current study coincide with the findings of the scholarly literature in political communication. Impacting the public with important messages of direct concern has been one viable action used by policy makers. It was evident from the audio materials and the information included in the charts that many sequential steps are inherent in the political communication discourse. For instance, any induced change in the mind and behaviour of the audience requires hitting the cognitive perception of the audience members. This has been effectively done in the current study. The charts showed that the use of clauses, phrases, and articulate speeches led to a sort of intended action on the part of the audience by rejecting or accepting the political messages. In addition, the patterns of discourse reflected the importance of the quasi-dimensional aspects of the discourse analysis that included: textual, thematic, schematic and linguistic connotations.
**Conclusion**

This article tried to identify the core issues that may lead to the existence of a given crisis. Remarkably, the scope of the study focused on the political communication discourse in the USA. To this end, it can be said that several core issues were raised by the USA President, Barak Obama, during and after being in office. Some of these issues led to a sort of a harsh debate between the President and his opponents, mainly in the US Congress. For example, the medical insurance coverage plan, energy, climate. Survey revealed the need for considering the socio-economic and political contexts in which the audience members can understand the political communication discourse. Some research questions have been answered like:

- How and why is the political communication discourse designed?
- In what way can the media discourse be interpreted to avoid inducing a crisis?
- How can this discourse serve the political communication messages?
- Do the variables of socio-cultural and political/economic dimensions affect the media discourse during the time of a given crisis?

In the mean time, the following hypothesis was proved.

Political communication messages are positively correlated with induced effects resulting from the mainstream media discourse.
References


