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**Analysis of International Development Cooperation Image
in Media Outputs of Selected Donor States**

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Master Thesis

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Declaration of Authorship

I do solemnly declare that I have written the presented master's thesis *Analysis of international development cooperation image in media outputs of selected donor states* independently and that I have correctly acknowledged all bibliographical references and quotations.

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Zásady pro vypracování

Pojetí zahraniční rozvojové spolupráce se v jednotlivých donorských státech liší. Liší se také výše přispívaných částek a celkový obraz, který rozvojová spolupráce má. Analýza mediálního obrazu určitých témat je v sociálních vědách využívána v čím dál tím větší míře, většinou se však zabývá analýzou zpravodajství či pokrytí určitých témat. Samotné mediální výstupy představitelů států nejsou předmětem analýzy příliš často. Cílem diplomové práce je porovnání vybraných států v oblasti těchto mediálních výstupů pokrytí témat rozvojové spolupráce a rozdílů v jejich zpracování.

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Abstract

The aim of this Master thesis is to analyze and compare foreign aid discourse presented in ten remarks delivered by former United States Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama, between the years 2001-2017. Special focus is given to the analysis of stated goals of development assistance, themes associated with the topic, conditionality of aid, and the justifications for aid given by these Presidents. Linguistic aspects of the remarks were also broken down and scrutinized. Both the discourse presented by George W. Bush and Barack Obama were analyzed separately before being compared to form deeper understanding of the United States' rhetoric surrounding international development and foreign aid assistance between the years 2001-2017.

Key words: *foreign aid, development assistance, development cooperation, discourse, USA, United State, Obama, Bush, remarks*

Abstrakt

Cílem této diplomové práce je analýza a porovnání diskurzu asociovaného se zahraniční rozvojovou spoluprací na základě deseti projevů pronesených prezidenty Georgem W. Bushem a Barackem Obamou v letech 2001-2017. Zvláštní pozornost je věnována analýze cílům rozvojové spolupráce, tématům spojeným s rozvojovou spoluprací, podmíněnosti rozvojové pomoci a důvodům pro poskytování zahraniční rozvojové pomoci. Část analýzy se zabývá jazykovou stránkou projevů. Nejdříve byly provedena analýza projevů pro každého z prezidentů individuálně a následně byly výsledky těchto analýz podrobeny srovnání. Závěry této práce zprostředkovávají bližší pohled na diskurz spojený se zahraniční rozvojovou spoluprací během let 2001-2007 and dávají ho do souvislosti s oficiálními daty týkající se zahraniční rozvojové spolupráce.

Klíčová slova: *zahraniční rozvojová spolupráce, ZRS, rozvojová pomoc, diskurz, USA, Spojené Státy Americké, Obama, Bush, projevy*

Table of Content

List of Abbreviations.....	7
List of Figures	8
List of Tables.....	8
Introduction	9
Aims of the thesis.....	10
1. Foreign Assistance.....	12
1.1. History of Foreign Assistance	12
1.2. Definition of Foreign Assistance	13
1.3. Donors of Foreign Assistance.....	14
1.4. US Development Assistance.....	15
2. Language and discourse.....	20
2.1. Introduction to Language and Discourse	20
2.2. Discourse	21
2.3. Political discourse and speeches	23
2.4. Critical Discourse Analysis	24
3. Methodology	26
4. Discourse Analysis of the Remarks by Presidents G. W. Bush and B. Obama and its results.....	29
4.1. Analysis of the Remarks by President George W. Bush	30
4.1.1. Reasoning Behind Aid.....	31
4.1.2. Goal of Development Assistance.....	33
4.1.3. Aid Conditionality	34
4.1.4. Areas Supported by Aid.....	37
4.1.5. Analysis of Language Aspects of the Remarks	38
4.2. Analysis of the Remarks by President Barack Obama	44
4.2.1. Reasoning Behind Aid.....	44
4.2.2. Goal of Development Assistance.....	47
4.2.3. Aid Conditionality	47
4.2.4. Areas Supported by Aid.....	49
4.2.5. Context of Foreign Aid.....	50
4.2.6. Analysis of Language Aspects of the Remarks	50
4.3. Comparison of the remarks delivered by Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama.....	54
4.3.1. General Overview	54

4.3.2.	Reasoning Behind Aid	55
4.3.3.	Goal of Development Assistance.....	56
4.3.4.	Aid Conditionality	56
4.3.5.	Areas supported by aid	57
4.3.6.	The Language Aspects of the Remarks	58
	Conclusion	61
	References.....	63
	Attachments.....	68

List of Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development)
GNI	Gross National Income
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECD DAC	Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency
US	United States
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
USD	U.S. dollar
WB	World Bank

List of Figures

Figure 1: Net ODA – Trends in volume and as a share of GNI, 1999-2015, United States	16
Figure 2: ODA by Sector (Social Infrastructure, 2001-2016).....	17
Figure 3: ODA by Sector (Production, 2001-2016).....	17
Figure 4: Allocation of Economic Aid (2005)	19
Figure 5: Allocation of Economic Aid (2016)	19

List of Tables

Table 1: List of Remarks Delivered by President George W. Bush (listed chronologically)	29
Table 2: List of Remarks Delivered by President Barack Obama (listed chronologically)	30

Introduction

International development cooperation, sometimes referred to as foreign (development) assistance or aid, has had a central place in the foreign politics of Western states for more than 60 years, essentially since the end of World War II in 1945 (Lancaster, 2008). The conceptualization of foreign aid and topics associated with it have changed over time, as have the international relations and the needs of the world population. Initially, foreign assistance referred to economic aid provided by the United States of America (referred as the United States in the rest of the thesis) to the countries of Europe that were destroyed by the previous war, in order to restore order and infrastructure and to help Europe recover economically. In the decades following this time period, the targets of foreign aid shifted from European powers to less-developed regions of the world, usually referred to as developing countries, Third World countries, or the Global South. Foreign aid itself can come in many different forms, though predominantly it takes one of two forms: strictly economic aid, usually a transfer of financial resources or commodities such as food, medicine, and sanitary equipment; or, technical advice and training (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2018). The Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD DAC) further recognizes so called “official development assistance” (ODA), which refers to flows provided by official agencies that promote economic development and welfare of developing countries (OECD, 2017b)¹ that are according to Nielsen (2011) defined by per capita income level, diversification of exports, and other unfixed criteria.²

There are several ways to measure the amount of foreign aid provided to developing countries and there are numerous reports published on this topic every year. Many of the publications further analyze and summarize where the aid goes, who the main recipients are, and in which areas and regions, the aid is being concentrated. Given that others are already doing this type of analysis, it is not necessary or groundbreaking to focus on that type of data in this research, so attention will instead be given to analyzing themes and patterns connected to foreign aid from a different perspective. More specifically, this research will focus on soft data and the discourse which surrounds development assistance.

¹ More precise definition in the chapter on Foreign Assistance

² In this regard it is important to note that “developing countries” is a term used by important global institutions such as United Nations, International Monetary Fund or (until recently) by the World Bank, without any fixed definition by any of these institutions. This term was first coined by UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) in 1964. (Dušková, 2011)

It is the stance of this research that there are two interconnected dimensions of development cooperation – the overall amount of resources spent on foreign aid, usually measured as the volume of ODA, and the discourse which surrounds those resources and their distribution. That discourse includes public statements, remarks, interviews, reports and other media outputs produced by donors, recipients, or by external parties. These materials not only explain how the resources are spent and why, but they also influence and produce public opinion, as does any kind of discourse used in the public sector (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter, 2000). At the same time, these materials don't just influence public opinion, they also reflect it, as foreign assistance provided by every donor state is always aligned with its foreign political beliefs and political identity. As politics go in general, foreign policy usually represents the interest of the citizens and, in a more abstract way, also represents their opinions and beliefs.

In this thesis, we claim that what foreign aid actors say not only represents the prevailing discourse in the society, but it also shapes and creates the discourse. Therefore, political remarks not only reflect the trends and issues in international development cooperation, but they also strongly influence how the public perceives development cooperation, how the public perceives developing countries in general, and what constitutes the existing narrative around development assistance.

Aims of the thesis

The aim of this master's thesis is to analyze and compare distinct approaches, themes and goals associated with development cooperation and the concept of foreign assistance itself. For that purpose, this thesis compares media outputs (in particular, political remarks) made by two different US administrations in the last four complete presidential election periods. Specifically, it analyses public remarks made by the Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama between the years 2001 and 2017.

The core of the methodology is discourse analysis, mainly inspired by the principles of critical discourse analysis by Teun van Dijk and Norman Fairclough, which has a rather qualitative character. Some features of content analysis are also applied in order to extract quantitative data regarding topics and themes reproduced in the remarks.³

The study is divided into four main sections: a theoretical introduction on international development cooperation and foreign aid, including specific data on the US foreign assistance

³ More on methodology in Chapter 3 - Methodology

during the examined years; a theoretical introduction on discourse analysis with focus on different approaches; a description of the methodology used for this thesis; and the discourse analysis comparing the two administrations views and attitudes regarding development aid.

1. Foreign Assistance

The first chapter of this thesis focuses on foreign assistance, itself. It provides a brief summary of its history, overview of definitions and different understandings, major donors of foreign aid, and an overview of American foreign aid corresponding with the years focused upon in this thesis.

1.1. History of Foreign Assistance

Foreign aid is nowadays an integral part of the international relations and foreign politics of nearly every single state in the world. It is actually so natural that many would be surprised at how young the concept of foreign aid is in reality.

According to Lancaster (2008), the actual modern history of foreign assistance begins after World War II, with Europe destroyed by war and United States helping the “old continent” with its own resources that had remained unscathed during the war, however, we can find foreign policies with similar features even before the War (e.g. President Roosevelt’s *good neighbor policy* in the 1930’s) (Helleiner, 2006). Despite that, Lancaster (2008) claims that it was the so called “Marshall plan”, which aimed to put Europe back on its feet, which is considered to be the first example of systematic, economic support from one country to another. This seemingly apolitical help and support was not as apolitical as it initially seemed. According to Hyeon-Jae Seo (2017) it was during the Cold War when foreign aid became a diplomatic tool, and the real purpose of the aid provided to mainly Western Europe was to stop or minimize Soviet influence which was spreading across the continent at the time and seen as a major threat to democracy and capitalism (Lancaster, 2008).

In the 1950’s, shortly after the War ended, another important chapter of foreign aid history began. It was again the United States who started to provide aid, but this time to non-European nations. Empowered by the victory in World War II, economically, politically and military, the United States started to use aid to expand their economic and political power (Williams, 2013). President Truman (1949) summarized this in his famous inaugural speech known as the “Four Point” speech by saying:

“We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.” ... “All countries, including our own, will greatly benefit

from a constructive program for the better use of the world's human and natural resources.”

By introducing the so-called Truman Doctrine, of which the main aim was to stop communism from spreading across Europe and the rest of the world and allocating aid to countries that were considered under risk, Truman also admitted the political background of foreign aid (Williams, 2013). These new foreign aid efforts began first in Eastern Europe (Greece and Turkey) and South-East Asia before moving to other Asian regions, and, subsequently, Latin American and African states. In the late 1950's and mainly during 1960's, with massive decolonization taking place in Africa and Asia, European nations who were now reaping the benefits of post-war economic stabilization started to provide development aid to their former colonial holdings.

In the meanwhile, some important international bodies were being built. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) was established before World War II even ended, and while it ended its activities between 1946 and 1947, it was followed shortly after by two major international relief organizations: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (later known as the World Bank) which started its mission in 1946, and the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), established in 1948, which later became the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

1.2. Definition of Foreign Assistance

Now that the history of the development of foreign assistance in international relations has been introduced, this next section will define it even further. Most sources define foreign aid as a transfer of resources from one country to another, which aim to benefit the recipient country (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2018; Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2018; Lancaster, 2008). Lancaster (2008, pg. 9) further specifies foreign assistance as:

“a voluntary transfer of public resources, from a government to another independent government, to an NGO, or to an international organization (such as the World Bank or the UN Development Program) with at least a 25 percent grant element, one goal of which is to better the human condition in the country receiving the aid”.

This definition is very much in line with the OECD definition for official development assistance (ODA), which is defined as such:

“those flows to countries and territories on the DAC List of ODA Recipients and to multilateral institutions which are: i. provided by official agencies, including state and local governments, or by their executive agencies; and ii. each transaction of which: a) is administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective; and b) is concessional in character and conveys a grant element of at least 25 per cent (calculated at a rate of discount of 10 per cent)” (OECD, 2017).

The final definition of development assistance is by the largest donor in the field and the country this thesis focuses on – the United States of America. The United States Government defines foreign assistance as:

“...any tangible or intangible item provided by the United States Government to a foreign country or international organization under this or any other Act, including but not limited to any training, service, or technical advice, any item of real, personal, or mixed property, any agricultural commodity, United States dollars, and any currencies of any foreign country which are owned by the United States Government...” (USAID, 2017b).

As we can see above, there are three important elements in the definition of foreign aid – its international character, the notion of giving/helping, and the fact that at least one of the objectives should be to benefit/develop the recipient country. All of these can be achieved through a variation of different means. The most common forms of development assistance are cash, debt relief, and material aid (Lancaster, 2008), however, foreign aid can also take the form of technical assistance, usually defined as

“non-financial assistance provided by local or international specialists [in the form of] sharing information and expertise, instruction, skills training, transmission of working knowledge...” (UNESCO, 2017).

1.3. Donors of Foreign Assistance

As mentioned previously, the United States have been the frontrunners of development assistance throughout its history. The United States are not just the leading proponents or vocal supporters of foreign aid, they have also been the greatest financial contributors to foreign aid. The only time the amount of aid spent by the US was exceeded by foreign assistance provided by another country was in 1990's when Japan became the donor number one (OECD, 2017a).

There are also other OECD DAC (OECD's Development Assistance Committee) members listed among the biggest global donors such as Germany, United Kingdom or France (see Attachment n. 1 – OECD DAC donors – billions USD), however, these countries are nowadays followed by other donor states which are beyond OECD DAC, e.g. United Arab Emirates (UAE), Saudi Arabia, Kuwait (OECD, 2017a).

Simply looking at the absolute numbers won't provide us with the full picture. Another important element in measuring development assistance is the gross national income (GNI). If we compare all the donor states not only by the total amount of aid spent, but also by the percentage of GNI the aid constitutes, we'll get a very different picture. From this perspective, the United States is only ranked 22nd out of 29 OECD DAC members according to the Development Co-operation Report 2017 (OECD, 2017a). Norway, which was ranked number one in 2016, followed by Luxembourg, Sweden, Germany, and the United Kingdom (see Attachment n. 2 – OECD DAC donors - % of GNI), was on the contrary ranked only 9th, based on total billion USD spent on aid, with the total amount seven times smaller than the US.

But OECD DAC members are not the only donor states. As mentioned above, we can see growing importance of non-DAC donors, though the accessibility of their foreign aid figures is very limited. Some of them (e.g. UAE, Russia, Turkey) report their spending to OECD DAC, which provide us with some data, but others (e.g. China, India) do not, and therefore any assessment or comparison is difficult (Gulrajani, 2017). For better overview on the accessible data, you can see Attachment n. 3 - ODA as % of GNI by donor category, 2010-2014.

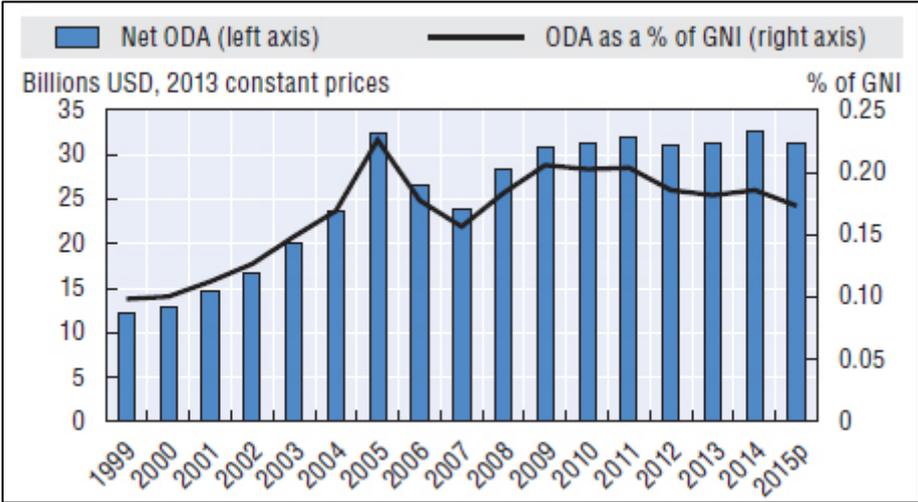
1.4. US Development Assistance

As described in the previous chapters, the United States has established itself as the largest donor of foreign aid over the past 60 years. In 2017 the United States provided aid worth 33,6 billion USD (ranked number one in total amount of ODA provided), which represented 0,18% of their GNI (corresponding to number 22 out of 29 OECD DAC members). What is also worth noticing, is that around 85% of US ODA in 2015 was provided bilaterally (OECD, 2017a), while for example Norway (world n. 1 in aid/% GNI) provided only 77,4% of ODA bilaterally. On the other hand, *“The United States allocated [only] 13,7% of total ODA as core contributions to multilateral organisations, compared with DAC country average of 26,2%.”* (OECD 2017a, pg. 281). This could be explained by most of the DAC members being also member of the European Union and contributing to its common development funds and

therefore increasing the average of DAC countries or by strong ties between the United States and its recipient countries.

If we look at the period covered by this study (2001 – 2017), we’ll see that the total amount of aid grew from 15 billion USD in 2001 to 33 billion USD in 2016 (OECD, 2017c⁴), while most of the increase was made between the years 2001 and 2008 during President Bush’s Administration (from 15 billion USD to 29,30 billion USD). On the contrary, during President Obama’s Administration the aid provided increased only slightly from 31,71 billion USD in 2009 to 33 billion USD in 2016. We’ll get a similar picture if we look at the figures of ODA as a percentage of US GNI. There was an increase from 0,11% in 2001 to 0,23% in 2005, followed by a sharp decline in 2006 and 2007, when it reached only 0,16%, before it grew again to 0,21% in 2009. From 2010 onwards, the trend was mainly decreasing and by the end of Obama’s administration the proportion ended at 0,18% (OECD, 2017c).

Figure 1: Net ODA – Trends in volume and as a share of GNI, 1999-2015, United States (OECD, 2016)



Distribution of ODA by sector is another dataset worth looking at – this indicator is measured in millions of USD and represents the distribution of bilateral ODA commitments by economic sector. OECD DAC distinguish between the following sectors: social infrastructure, economic infrastructure, production, multisector, program assistance, debt relief, humanitarian aid, and the category of unspecified. Some sectors show rather prevailing trends – decrease in aid going to economic infrastructure, or on the other hand increase in humanitarian aid over the whole examined time; yet, if we take a closer look at the foreign aid spent within the years 2001 and 2016, we’ll see a steady rise in the expenditures in social infrastructure and production during

⁴ The last accessible data

the Bush's years, while during Obama's tenure these spending amounts were actually decreasing (see Figures 2 and 3 below) (OECD, 2018).

Figure 2: ODA by Sector (Social Infrastructure, 2001-2016) (OECD, 2018)



Figure 3: ODA by Sector (Production, 2001-2016) (OECD, 2018)



Foreign Aid Explorer by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID, 2017a) provides a little different perspective on sector expenditures. It divides aid on so called “military

aid” and “economic aid”⁵, which are further broken down into several sectors, also based on classification by OECD DAC (USAID, 2017b; OECD DAC, 2018b). Among those sectors, the one with biggest amount of USD contributions over the past 16 years was the one focused on *Conflict, Peace and Security*, which is classified by the US Government as military aid. That classification is something that Bush’s and Obama’s administrations had in common. Another sector both administrations supported heavily was the *Emergency Response* sector which ranked among the top three most-funded sectors in a majority of the years across both Presidencies (the only exceptions being the years 2004, 2009, 2011 and 2012 when it ranked as fourth).⁶

What differs between the administrations is the attention paid to the other sectors. For example, between the years 2002 and 2012, *Government and Civil Society* sector ranked among the first three in 9 out of 11 years, while after 2012 it didn’t appear in the top three at all (showing also decreasing volume of funding). An opposite example is *HIV/AIDS* sector, which appeared in the top three every year since 2007, while before 2007 it had significantly lower budget than the other mentioned sectors (USAID, 2017a).

Another interesting indicator is the allocation of aid by region. According to OECD DAC (2018a) and the data from USAID (2017c), foreign assistance to Asia grew over the years 2001-2005, but after this period saw an immediate decline and never grew again significantly. This can be probably attributed to the allocation of funds on war torn Afghanistan and Iraq, increased humanitarian aid to countries affected by the tsunami wave in late 2004, or to Pakistan after the devastating earthquake in 2005. On the other hand, what is also clear from USAID (2017c) charts is that the distribution of development assistance over the time became more equally allocated (compare Figures 4 and 5 below) with growing emphasis on the aid to countries in Africa and Latin America.

⁵ Here is important to note that OECD DAC doesn’t recognize military aid as part of ODA and the classification described in this chapter is only valid for the United States.

⁶ For better overview on the sector see Attachment n. 4

Figure 4: Allocation of Economic Aid (2005) (USAID, 2017a)

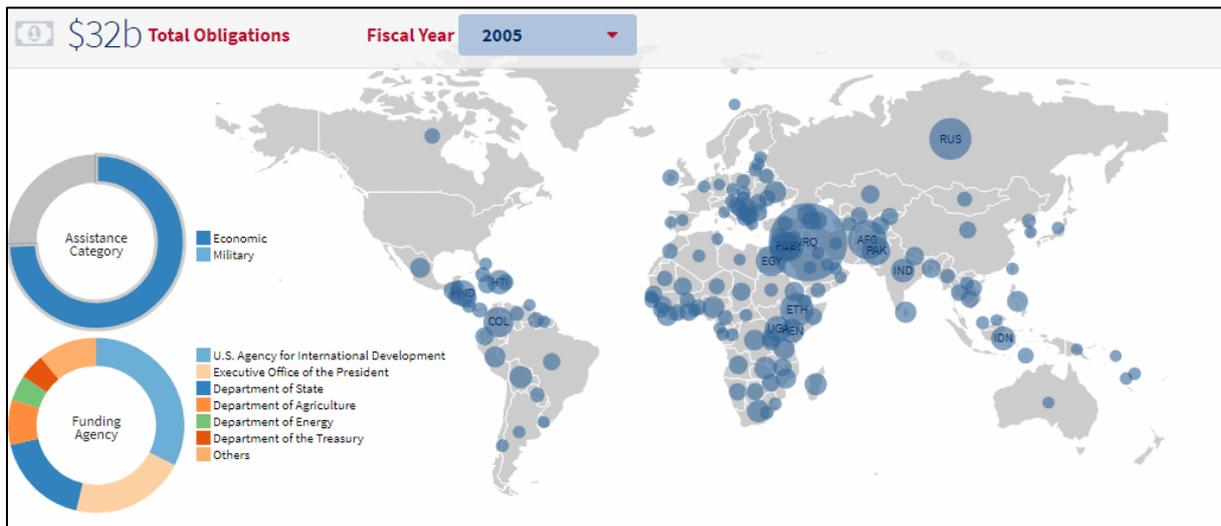
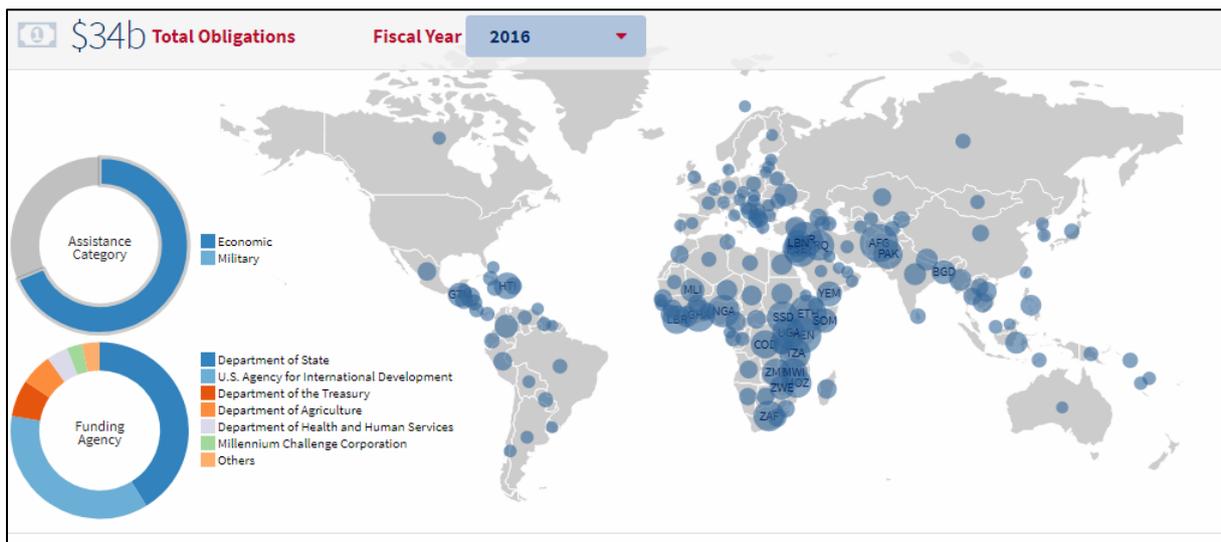


Figure 5: Allocation of Economic Aid (2016) (USAID, 2017a)



2. Language and discourse

This chapter focuses on different approaches towards the study of language and discourse. First, an introduction is given to the use of language itself and its link to power. The second part of this chapter provides a short overview of discourse and its definitions. In the third section the focus lies on political discourse in particular, and its connection to political speeches. The conclusion of this chapter introduces critical discourse analysis as a research method and as a tool for the analysis of political remarks.

2.1. Introduction to Language and Discourse

Language and the ability to talk is what some philosophers considered a defining characteristic of humanity (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002). It is a means of expressing our understanding of the reality and of the world which surrounds us, but it's also a way how to reproduce and shape reality. According to Fairclough (1997) language even plays a significant role in exercising power nowadays, which is more and more executed by ideologies and discourses rather than by physical power and violence.

Thus, the concept of narratives plays a crucial role. Political science narrative “*refers to the ways in which we construct disparate facts in our own worlds and weave them together cognitively in order to make sense of our reality*” (Patterson and Monroe, 1998). Narratives help us to understand the world around us, interpret history, or simply make sense of our place in the world. As Patterson and Monroe (1998) puts it in their article, according to some authors (e.g. Somers & Gibson, 1994) there is a whole system of narratives – ontological narratives, which provide us with understanding of our own identity; public narratives that cover social formations; conceptual narratives which focus on social concepts and forces like economic growth; and finally, so called meta-narratives, which are sometimes referred to as the “grand narratives” that give us a sense of civilization, humankind, and the concept of sharing common ideals and goals, such as economic development or the expansion of human rights.

Nayak and Jeffrey (2011) elaborate on narratives further, while saying that according to some post-modernist authors (e.g. Lyotard or Foucault) these meta-narratives, which are usually presented as the truth, don't represent some given reality, but they are rather a representation of meta-discursive constructs – a textual representation of our world.

2.2. Discourse

According to Fairclough (1997), for some authors *discourse* is more related to conceptual structures such as narratives described above, while for others discourse might be more linked to language form, represented for example by vocabularies, grammatical features or structures of dialogues. In one of his books Fairclough (1995, pg. 54) describes discourse as the following:

“Discourse is a concept used by both social theorists and analysts and linguists ... [discourse] refer[s] to spoken or written language use ... visual images (photography, film, video, diagrams) and non-verbal communication (e.g. gestures)”.

In “Critical Discourse Analysis: the critical study of language” Fairclough (1997) adds that treating discourse and language as a part of social practice means to treat it as a mode of action, which is always socially and historically situated. Therefore, it means that text and talk are always somehow embedded within the context and never exist alone, which Fairclough summarizes as a “three-dimensional conception of discourse” – discourse as “(i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice” (Fairclough, 1997, pg. 97).

According to Chilton and Schäffner (2002, pg. 18), who provide more a linguistic approach, discourse in language is usually used in three different ways:

“First, it can refer to the phenomenon of contextualized real-time utterances in general, as opposed to sentences, which are decontextualized syntactic constructs. Second, it is often used in linguistics to refer to a stretch of real-time utterances perceived as a single event ... Third, it is also used to refer to the totality of utterances in a society viewed as an autonomous evolving entity ... Discourse in this sense may also be seen as particular sets of utterances and practices...”

The latter definition, based on the work of Michel Foucault (2001), describes discourse also as a set of words or phrases (usually used by a particular social group), which “give meaning to a host of historically generated ideas about society” (Nayak and Jeffrey, 2011, pg. 209). Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter (2000), however, point out that discourse does not only give us an understanding of society, but it actually shapes society and culture. In their point of view discourse is related to society in a dialectical way – society and culture are being shaped by discourse, but discourse is also being shaped by them, which further corresponds to the constitutive character of discourse described by Fairclough (1997).

From Foucault's point of view, discourse is not a permanent understanding of the reality, but rather changes over time as we accumulate and improve our knowledge. Truth is seen as a discursive construct constituted by conflicting knowledges, usually produced by different institutions (family, education, law, or even media), and constructed through power relations. From his point of view discourses allow us to understand the world and generate "values and particular ways of being" (Nayak and Jeffrey, 2011).

On the other hand, Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (1997) provide more linguistic perspective. They draw attention to the common practice of showing the terms "text" and "discourse" as synonyms or interchangeable concepts, rather than different elements, while pointing out that some scholars see them as two different units of the speech – text referring to written units, and discourse to spoken ones. Finally, they provide their own understanding of discourse – discourse as an "*umbrella term for either spoken or written communication beyond the sentence*" (Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, 1997, pg. 4).

The concept of discourse in this thesis corresponds the most with the definition and understanding by Norman Fairclough (1997) described above – discourse as a set of words (written text or spoken language); discourse practice (mainly text interpretation); discourse as a sociocultural practice – partially represented in the set of sociocultural narratives within the grand narrative system described by Patterson and Monroe (1998). The author of this thesis, together with Titscher et al. (2000) believe that discourse not only reflects the society, but it actually shapes opinions and narratives within the society. Both intentionally and unconsciously, which can be illustrated for example by analyzing political speech (see in chapters below).

2.3. Political discourse and speeches

In accordance to analyze political speeches, which are part of politics as well as rhetorics, we need to analyze political discourse first. The areas of politics and political discourse analysis are obviously highly interconnected, but how exactly should we conceptualize them? According to Dočekalová and Švec (2010) there are different approaches towards what politics are and how to define them; however, the widely acknowledged practice among scholars is to distinguish between polity, policy and politics, where each of these areas has its specific dimension and framework. Polity represents an institutional part of political environment, policy as the means of implementing specific content, and politics as the processional element. In all those dimensions, language plays a crucial role, but it's mainly in politics where is its role the most prominent. Chilton and Schäffner (2002, pg. 3) support this claim, stating “... *political activity does not exist without the use of language ... [and] doing of politics is predominantly constituted in language.*” According to them, political text (or talk) can also serve as a source of empirical data about politics, equal to other data sources as voting figures, economic statistics or political agreements, which are usually considered as the only “hard evidence” in political science. Teun van Dijk (1997, pg. 12) puts it in a more direct way by talking about the importance of actors in defining what exactly political discourse is about:

“political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels”.

Given the importance of language for both politics and discourse analysis, discourse analysis naturally became a common practice in political science, which is demonstrated by the long list of scholars interested in political discourse – besides the scholars already mentioned we can name for example Ruth Wodak, John Wilson, Stephan Elspaß, Teun van Dijk, Michael L. Geis, Paul Chilton, or Christina Schäffner. As evident from the list above, most of the scholars come from a linguistic background; however, despite their shared background, there are still many differences between them and the methodologies they use (Van Dijk, 1985; Van Dijk, 1997; Chilton and Schäffner, 2002).

Looking at discourse analysis of public speeches in particular, it seems a common practice in political sciences given the character of politics itself. Usually, the discourse analysis is being used while analyzing speeches which occurred during a particular event (e.g. parliamentary

discussion) in order to document and analyze opinions on particular subject (Chilton and Schäffner 2002).

On the contrary, in the field of development assistance, discourse analysis of speeches occurs very rarely. One of the first in the field to analyze political speeches on sustainable development were Jennifer Hadden and Lucia A. Seybert, who focused on the evolution of the term *sustainable development* over the past decades. In their study “What’s in a Norm? Mapping the Norm Definition Process in the Debate on Sustainable Development” (Hadden and Seybert, 2016) they describe the shift in understanding sustainable development as a concept and the topics and themes associated with it. What is interesting about their work is the focus on political speech. In their study, they focus on “*high-profile public statements made by states at international conferences on sustainable development*” (Hadden and Seybert, 2016, pg. 254), which they put through a qualitative discourse analysis as well as quantitative measurement of frequency with which particular topics occur in the speeches.

2.4. Critical Discourse Analysis

The concepts of discourse, power, and knowledge are also present in the work of Teun van Dijk, who’s one of the most well-known scholars in the field of (critical) discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis, which is his specialization, is primarily interested in social issues. Teun van Dijk claims that one of the major presuppositions of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is to understand the nature of social power and dominance, which is now often executed by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, and that “*dominance of groups are measured by their control over (access to) discourse*” (van Dijk, 1993). Van Dijk perceives critical discourse analysis as a multidisciplinary method embedded equally in social and political science, while using linguistic tools to deconstruct speech units and messages they share (van Dijk, 1993). He treats language and its units as a result of purposeful action taken by a human in a specific role and within specific context, and therefore claims that while we analyze any utterance we should also pay attention to elements like the situation and the role of the person (hierarchy). He sees discourse as both an active and passive element, and he further describes language as a social trigger and as a tool of power (van Dijk, 1985), which is an understanding he shares with another critical discourse analysis scholar Norman Fairclough. Both of them put in the center of their interest the question of power and power relations transformed into language and its structures (van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1997). According to Fairclough (1997, pg. 132) critical discourse analysis can be described as that kind of discourse analysis which analyze

“opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practice, 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”.

Critical discourse analysis attempts to reveal those initial hidden relations between text and context; it interprets texts while taking into account social background and structures as well as other aspects which can influence the language unit. As described above, Fairclough sees discourse as three-dimensional, distinguishing between the text itself, the text production and text interpretation, and the social practice (Fairclough, 1997). Based on this division, he proposes also specific stages of discourse analysis, which he describes in his book called *Language and Power* (Fairclough, 2013, pg. 22):

- *Description is the stage which is concerned with the formal properties of the text.*
- *Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction – with seeing the text as a product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation; ...*
- *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.*

Van Dijk (1993) also chose a similar approach, suggesting that researchers should analyze different layers of the examined language unit, specifically access (of the speaker), setting of the speech event, participant positions and roles, specific speech acts, topics or arguments.

3. Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to describe the methodology and process of analysis carried out over the course of constructing this thesis. It defines the analytical framework as well as provides the overview of all the steps taken to collect, narrow down, and categorize the remarks.

As stated above the aim of this master's thesis is to analyze and compare distinct approaches, themes and goals associated with development cooperation and the concept of foreign assistance itself.

As described above, focusing on the way development cooperation is being discussed in public can give us some additional perspectives on trends and issues in that field. According to Titscher, et al. (2000, pg. 32) the first decision to be made when conducting discourse analysis is how to obtain and select the material for the analysis. Since our assumption, based on the work of Chilton and Schäffner (2002) and van Dijk (1997) described above, was that political speeches represent broader perspective on the topics rather than personal opinions of politicians, we've decided to focus on particular speech events (public remarks/speeches) conducted by relevant representatives who can represent the trends and patterns of the prevailing point of view.

The United States was selected as the focus of this analysis for several reasons. Firstly, the United States of America are the biggest donor of foreign assistance in absolute numbers (OECD DAC, 2018a), which makes them a key player in the development cooperation field. Secondly, they are also a global superpower, which increases the gravity of their global impacts even more. Finally, they have an extensive public archive database of presidential remarks and statements which makes it possible to have consistent, reliable sources for this analysis

To ensure that the analysis can be conducted reasonably, it was necessary to narrow down the number of remarks that would be scrutinized. The speeches were narrowed down systematically. Only remarks that were made by the President of the United States, as the highest representative of the nation, were taken into consideration. To specify even further, the focus was narrowed to analyze public remarks and political speeches given by successive Presidents George W. Bush (for the years 2001-2009) and Barack Obama (between the years of 2009 and 2017). The reason why this period was chosen was rather simple – it was a time when development cooperation experienced a new boom (Lancaster, 2008) and when global transition towards development goals took place, like the shift from Millennium Development

Goals (MDGs) to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). What was also really important while selecting this time period was that all the remarks were still available on the corresponding White House website⁷.

As recommended by Titscher, et al. (2000, pg. 35), the decision was made to analyze the full length of the speeches and not only fragments, since it was the only way to ensure that the full picture regarding the attention given to foreign aid topics and all the necessary context can be brought to light.

When selecting the final speeches to focus on, five key words were selected to filter out those remarks which were not covering the topic of development cooperation. The key words selected for that purpose were – *development cooperation*, *development assistance*, *foreign aid*, *foreign assistance*, and *USAID* (U.S. Agency for International Development). The first four key words were chosen because of their common alternation when referring to flows of resources from developed to developing countries. Based on that initial 20 speeches were pre-selected, which resulted in identification of the fifth key word by using the inductive method. Other key words were considered, such as *help* or *support*. However, the range of use of these words was so wide, that it would require much deeper analysis that would not fit within the capacity of this thesis. In order to identify as many remarks as possible and to eliminate the risk of not including other relevant speeches, the words were inserted individually into the search, meaning that the words *development*, *cooperation*, *assistance*, *foreign*, *aid* and *USAID*⁸ were the ones inserted into the search field. Once the search engine found one or more of these words in the text, the author of this thesis identified the context and the words used together with the words highlighted by the search engine. That's when the key words played important role – those remarks that contained any of the key words were automatically selected for further analysis. Those remarks that contained only parts of the key words such as *aid* or *assistance* in unclear context were marked down as well, included in the selection sheet (see Attachments n. 5 and 6 – Speech selection sheets) and together with all the other remarks went through further analysis (see below). It is important to mention that during the identification phase of analysis, some of the remarks were already not allowed for further examination – it was those speeches where the

⁷ Speeches delivered by President George W. Bush accessible at: <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/>

Speeches delivered by President Obama accessible at: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/speeches-and-remarks>

⁸ The full name of USAID - U.S. Agency for International Development would be identified through other search words such as *development*.

words used for search appeared in obviously wrong context – e.g. *federal aid* in a speeches regarding domestic issues in the United States.

Through this process, 378 remarks by President George W. Bush and 322 remarks delivered by Barack Obama were selected based on the presence of the chosen keywords. After selection of the initial remarks, the pre-selected material was reviewed again, this time in accordance with a narrowing process that involved eliminating interviews, comments made by the representatives of other states (in case of joint public appearance), or material which was not relevant for our study, which left us with a list of 177 speeches delivered by President Bush and 118 remarks delivered by President Obama (see Attachments n. 5 and 6 – Speech selection sheets). In order to identify a smaller sample that would undergo a further analysis, the speeches were analyzed with the focus placed on the contextual use of the key words, which resulted in the elimination of 25 remarks by President Bush and 19 remarks by President Obama, that weren't used in the context of foreign development assistance.⁹ Finally, the pool was narrowed down further by placing emphasis on those remarks which featured the highest frequency and rate of prevalence for the selected keywords, leading to the selection of five remarks by each President. Once the final speeches were selected, the real intensive analysis began.

For the purposes of our discourse analysis, we've decided to combine the structure introduced by Van Dijk (1993) and Fairclough (2013). First, the focus will be broadly placed upon the context of the speech units – speech event itself and broader context. Second, the analysis and comparison of the character of the text itself – its topics, style and specific rhetoric.

Each of the remarks was printed and the analysis was conducted on the printed transcripts of the texts. Each of the speeches was a subject to multiple readings and deeper analysis focusing on thematic content and linguistic aspects of the speech. First, the key topics addressed by the presidents were identified and a coding system was developed in order to analyze the content of the speeches. Later, key language figures were identified by using an inductive approach for analysis, which resulted in 8 different language figures used across the remarks. Based on this analysis, a short summary for each of the remarks individually was developed, serving as a basis for the main summary below. Finally, the results were compared for each of the presidents.

⁹ The 46 remarks which were eliminated in this stage of the sample identification were mostly referring to domestic assistance, which didn't occur during the first stage of the sample selection.

4. Discourse Analysis of the Remarks by Presidents G. W. Bush and B. Obama and its results

The fourth chapter presents the overview of the remarks analyzed, as well as the actual analysis of the political speeches delivered by Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama between the years 2001 and 2017. The remarks delivered by President Bush were analyzed first, then the remarks by President Obama, and last a comparison was made. Each analysis (comparison) is further divided into sections based on the codes identified during the initial analysis of the texts. The sections present in all three sub-chapters are the following: Reasoning Behind Aid, Goal of Development Assistance, Aid Conditionality, Areas Supported by Aid, and Analysis of Language Aspects of the Remarks. Due to the character of the remarks delivered by President Obama, the analysis of his speeches contains also section on Context of Foreign Aid.

Table 1: List of Remarks Delivered by President George W. Bush (listed chronologically)

Speaker	Title	Date	Reference	Word Count	Code
George W. Bush	President Proposes \$5 Billion Plan to Help Developing Nations	14/03/2002	Bush (2002b)	2624	B1
George W. Bush	President Outlines U.S. Plan to Help World's Poor	22/03/2002	Bush (2002a)	1336	B2
George W. Bush	President Discusses G8 Summit, Progress in Africa	30/06/2005	Bush (2005)	3575	B3
George W. Bush	President Attends Initiative for Global Development's 2006 National Summit	15/06/2006	Bush (2006)	4734	B4
George W. Bush	President Bush Attends White House Summit on International Development	21/10/2008	Bush (2008)	5076	B5

Table 2: List of Remarks Delivered by President Barack Obama (listed chronologically)

Speaker	Title	Date	Reference	Word Count	Code
Barack Obama	President Proposes \$5 Billion Plan to Help Developing Nations	27/03/2009	Obama (2009a)	3348	O1
Barack Obama	President Outlines U.S. Plan to Help World's Poor	11/07/2009	Obama (2009b)	4099	O2
Barack Obama	President Discusses G8 Summit, Progress in Africa	18/05/2012	Obama (2012)	2651	O3
Barack Obama	President Attends Initiative for Global Development's 2006 National Summit	23/05/2013	Obama (2013)	6470	O4
Barack Obama	President Bush Attends White House Summit on International Development	20/09/2016	Obama (2016)	5654	O5

4.1. Analysis of the Remarks by President George W. Bush

The selected remarks for this analysis were delivered between the years 2002 and 2008, usually during national and international summits in Washington, D.C. (the exception being speech B2). All of these speeches address the issue of international development and development aid, in some cases (speech B3) with a specific focus on the problem of extreme poverty.

In terms of geography, President Bush directed his remarks primarily on the continent of Africa, with a few occasional remarks focusing on the development of nations in Latin America.

The topic of development assistance can be found across the whole length of these remarks. The key words pertinent to this analysis are found consistently throughout the five speeches, with the rate of occurrence ranging from 10 to 15 key words per speech. At first glance this may not seem like a significant rate of use, particularly when you consider that the length of these speeches vary between 1500 and 5000 words; however, context is key, and the words are always surrounded by or replaced by synonymous terms and content related to their focus. In multiple occurrences Bush opts not use the words 'development assistance' or 'foreign aid' explicitly, he does use, instead, words like *help* or *support*; similarly, he focuses on particular topics and direct actions undertaken by the United States (e.g. poverty, abolition of debts for

developing nations, etc.) to demonstrate his support of international development and foreign aid, even if he calls them by a different name.

The most important sections of the remarks are the justification given by President Bush for providing development assistance (see section *Reasoning Behind Aid* below) and conditions which need to be fulfilled by the developing nations receiving aid (see section *Aid Conditionality* below), while the explicit *Goal(s) of Development Assistance* (see below) as well as examples of areas supported by foreign aid (see section *Areas Supported by Aid* below) are more minor but still important to understanding Bush's stance on international development and foreign aid.

4.1.1. Reasoning Behind Aid

In all the analyzed remarks delivered by President Bush we can find a few paragraphs addressing the reasons behind foreign aid and the explanation of American interest in spending money on the development of other nations. These paragraphs can be grouped into three distinct categories based on the justification used by the President. The categories were identified as follows: *Moral obligation and American values*, *Security Reasons*, and *Economic Benefits for the US*. All three justifications are present in the last two analyzed speeches (B4 and B5), while the other three analyzed texts contain two (B1 and B3) or one (B2) of these rationalizations. The number of justifications used corresponds with the actual length of the remarks, where speeches B4 and B5 are the longest and go more in depth into Bush's rationalization of foreign aid and development than speech B2, for example, which is by far the shortest (approximately half the length of speech B1, the second shortest speech).

The categorization of the justifications as outlined above can be better understood below, where some specific remarks from President Bush's speeches have been extracted and sorted accordingly based on the aforementioned themes:

a) *Moral obligation and American values*

“The advance of development is a central commitment of American foreign policy. As a nation founded on the dignity and value of every life, America's heart breaks because of the suffering and senseless death we see in our world. We work for prosperity and opportunity because they're right. It's the right thing to do.” (lines 56-59, speech B1)

“We seek progress in Africa and throughout the developing world because conscience demands it. Americans believe that human rights and the worth of human lives are not determined by race or nationality, or diminished by distance. We believe that every life matters and every person counts.” (lines 39-41, speech B3)

“I believe to whom much is given, much is required. This country has been given a lot.” (lines 60-61, speech B4) ... “I also believe that with prosperity comes an enormous responsibility. We have a moral duty to care for those who hurt here at home, and we have a moral duty to care for those as best as we can for those abroad. That's part of the foreign policy of our country.” (lines 65-67, speech B4)

b) Security Reasons

“We seek progress in Africa and throughout the developing world because our interests are directly at stake. September the 11th, 2001, Americans found that instability and lawlessness in a distant country can bring danger to our own. In this new century, we are less threatened by fleets and armies than by small cells of men who operate in the shadows and exploit weakness and despair. The ultimate answer to those threats is to encourage prosperous, democratic and lawful societies that join us in overcoming the forces of terror -- allies that we're finding across the continent of Africa. We fight the war on terror with our power; we will win the war on terror with freedom and justice and hope.” (lines 31-38, speech B3)

“America is committed -- and America must stay committed -- to international development for reasons that remain true regardless of the ebb and flow of the markets. We believe that development is in America's security interests. We face an enemy that can't stand freedom. And the only way they can recruit to their hateful ideology is by exploiting despair -- and the best way to respond is to spread hope.” (lines 34-38, speech B5)

“It's in our security interests that we fight global poverty, because weakened, impoverished states are attractive safe havens for terrorists and tyrants and international criminals.” (lines 74-76, speech B4)

c) *Economic Benefits for the US*

“Fighting global poverty reflects this country's values. It serves our nation's interests, as well. It's the country's economic interest that we fight global poverty, because as developing nations grow in prosperity, they create better lives for their citizens and markets for U.S. products.” (lines 72-74, speech B4)

“We believe that we ought to remain committed to development because it's in our long-term economic interests. When America helps developing nations rise out of poverty, we create new markets for our goods and services, and better jobs for American workers.” (lines 39-41, speech B5)

We can see from these justifications that most of the reasoning behind American development assistance is rather pragmatic and directly tackles potential counter-arguments by people who would lobby for domestic investments only. *It's in America's interests, we will have benefits from it* – those are often the arguments politicians use to push for increase in funding in areas which are not always perceived as a priority or which are not viewed positively by the populace. President Bush goes even further when it comes to the security argument (in speech B3) where he references the very emotionally-charged 9/11 attacks. He explains his call for aid as vital to prevent any future attacks on American soil, and cites aid as a direct mean to tackle the threat of foreign enemies. What is interesting about the security narrative is how closely it's linked to the concepts of democracy and freedom. President Bush is basically using the *democratic peace theory* described e.g. by Miriam F. Elman that claims that two states with a democratic political system are not going to start a war with each other. He is also indirectly implying, from his Western point of view, that democracy is the best possible political system, or the only legitimate political system, which corresponds to a common Western belief described by multiple scholars for example as Philippe C. Schmitter (2008) describing this phenomenon in his text “Dangers and Dilemmas of Democracy”. President Bush is also associating democracy with hope as a direct foil to despair. Hope and Despair are both very emotionally charged words that don't quite illustrate the realities of the living conditions and livelihoods of the people involved, and the ambiguity and use of dichotomy by Bush is very much a common attribute of his speech syntax which will be explored further on in this analysis.

4.1.2. Goal of Development Assistance

Three of the remarks delivered by President Bush explicitly mention the goal of development assistance (speeches B2, B3 a B4), which in most of the remarks is defined as the ability of

developing nations to progress to the point that they no longer need foreign assistance. In other words, President Bush states clearly that the ultimate goal for the developing nations is to not rely on foreign aid forever, but to develop past dependency on foreign powers through sound policy choices and reform.

This excerpt from speech B2 illustrates this goal clearly:

“The goal of our development aid will be for nations to grow and prosper beyond the need for any aid. When nations adopt reforms, each dollar of aid attracts two dollars of private investments. When aid is linked to good policy, four times as many people are lifted out of poverty compared to old aid practices.” (lines 39-42)

In speech B4, President Bush talks about measuring the impacts of developing aid and about the need for clear and reliable indicators. In that context he defines the goal of development aid as *real improvement*:

“We decided that our foreign policy ought to recognize true compassion as measured by real improvements, not just by the amount of money spent. And real improvement is the goal of our assistance.” (lines 215-217, B4)

While these are the official and explicit goals of development assistance, based on the previous section we can say that there are also other, rather hidden, goals of US development assistance – to eliminate threats to American security, to establish new markets for American goods and more abstractly to assuage their guilt. The common belief is that the donor states may provide aid also in order to gain some political support from developing countries during international negotiations, however, this reason or goal was not identified in any of the text analyzed.

4.1.3. Aid Conditionality

Despite the fact President Bush presents development assistance as much more than just charity for people who are living in unfortunate conditions, he’s also clarifying to all audiences that the aid itself is not free. President Bush typically spends a lot of time clarifying which states are eligible to receive US foreign assistance and under which conditions that assistance will be given, usually including the reasonings behind these limitations. These conditions are usually linked to the Millennium Challenge Account, an initiative launched by President Bush aiming to support developing countries in their development, supported by both parties in the congress and linked to the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which is an independent foreign aid agency of the United States. In some of the remarks he also includes particular examples of

states that are already receiving some aid under the conditions of Millennium Challenge Account to illustrate that the conditions required are not only manageable but also bring results to the nations who are already working on fulfilling them.

In general, we can also divide the conditions for aid into three categories *Political and Economic Reforms*, *Shared Responsibility* and *Accountability*. The requirement for political and economic reforms in the neoliberal sense is the only topic present in all five speeches delivered by President Bush. The reforms themselves are usually focused on areas like corruption, rule of law, human rights, state protectionism and opening market for foreign investment. When it comes to the developing nations sharing part of the responsibility for their own development, it is a requirement addressed mainly in the first three remarks delivered within the years 2002 and 2005. Later on, it is rather the requirement for accountability which is more prevalent in the remarks.

a) *Political and Economic Reforms*

“Yet many of the old models of economic development assistance are outdated. Money that is not accompanied by legal and economic reform are oftentimes wasted. In many poor nations, corruption runs deep. Private property is unprotected. Markets are closed. Monetary and fiscal policies are unsustainable. Private contracts are unenforceable. ... When nations refuse to enact sound policies, progress against poverty is nearly impossible. In these situations, more aid money can actually be counterproductive, because it subsidizes bad policies, delays reform, and crowds out private investment.” (lines 89-95, B1)

“Over the decades, we've learned that without economic and social freedom, without the rule of law and effective, honest government, international aid has little impact or value. But where there's freedom and the rule of law, every dollar of aid, trade, charitable giving, and foreign and local investment can rapidly improve people's lives.” (lines 65-68, B3) ... “Through the Millennium Challenge Corporation, established a year-and-a-half ago, America has begun awarding generous financial aid to countries that fight corruption, embrace democratic government, encourage free markets, and invest in the health and education of their people.” (lines 70-73, B3)

b) *Shared Responsibility*

“First, overcoming extreme poverty requires partnership, not paternalism. Economic development is not something we do for countries, it is something they achieve with us. (Applause.) Their leaders, by definition, must play the main role as agents of reform and progress, instead of passive recipients of money.” (lines 61-64, B3)

c) *Accountability*

“Most of all, we're insisting on accountability in return for our assistance, so we can assure that our generosity leads to measurable results.” (lines 57-58, B5)

“We're going to insist upon transparency and performance and accountability. We're going to ensure that every American aid dollar encourages developing nations to build institutions necessary for long-term success.” (lines 245-247, B4)

We can see that the aid developed conditionally over time and changed focus from neoliberal reforms and shared responsibility to neoliberal reforms and accountability. This actually corresponds to the global trend at that time – from the 1990’s international organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) insisted on structural reforms as a precondition to any aid being provided. This was a reflection of the failure of some of the previous approaches towards international development and the changing political situation after the Cold War. Institutions like IMF or the World Bank, as well as some of the bigger donor states (like the United States), started to put more pressure on developing states and had strict guidelines regarding which countries they would support. The requirements for political and economic reforms were closely linked to debt relief initiatives (such as Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative by the IMF and WB) and to so-called Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), that were required as a proposal plan of structural changes and poverty reduction by the developing nations as a precondition to any foreign assistance from IMF and WB.

The shift towards accountability in President Bush’s remarks can be linked to a high increase of funding for foreign aid in the early 2000’s linked to the United Nations initiative called Millennium Development Goals and a general shift in the international development community towards bigger transparency and better allocation of funds.

4.1.4. Areas Supported by Aid

According to the analyzed remarks delivered by President Bush, the main focus area of development assistance during his term in the White House was the eradication of extreme poverty. In every speech the President addresses the issue of poverty, and also provides possible solutions while emphasizing the importance of American help. Speech B3 focuses entirely on the issue of extreme poverty and the necessary steps to overcome it.

Other areas explicitly mentioned by President Bush are: food/agriculture, water/sanitation, education, health (malaria, HIV/AIDS), freedom/democracy, and conflict and debt relief.

The areas mentioned implicitly usually copy the explicitly mentioned areas in his remarks, while the main focus seems to be put on freedom and civil capacity.

Here is an illustration of how those topics are addressed in the remarks:

Freedom and democracy:

“As more people gain their freedom, they will also gain the opportunity to build a better life.” (line 166, B4) ... “And so we're helping new democracies build free institutions that are responsive to the people's needs. And we're doing so through organizations like the National Endowment for Democracy. We've worked to double its budget over the past five years. Those funds support programs that will help form civic organizations. We're helping dissidents become legislators. We're helping businesses in new market economies organize trade associations and chambers of commerce. It's the things we take for granted here in America, these funds are meant to do.” (lines 175-181, B4)

Extreme poverty:

“Third, overcoming extreme poverty will require lifting a burden of debt that we know poor nations cannot repay. Unending debt payments have fewer resources for governments to spend on the needs of their people and make it impossible to join the global economy as a full participant.” (lines 98-100, B3)

“Fourth, overcoming extreme poverty will require greater trade. While aid and debt relief can create better conditions for development, it is trade that provides the engine for development.” (lines 112-113, B3)

“Fifth, overcoming extreme poverty will require an atmosphere of peace, achieved in some cases by effective active military forces that can end terrible conflicts.”
(lines 130-131, B3)

4.1.5. Analysis of Language Aspects of the Remarks

In general, the speeches have a rather formal character typical of a political speech. The language and form correspond with the role of the speaker (the President of the United States), and the audience (diplomats, state officials, members of President’s administration).

The speeches are characterized by short introductions full of formalities and official welcomes to significant members of the audience, as well as short examples and stories about his experiences while traveling around the globe with the First Lady, which seems appropriate to the speech event itself and to the position of the speaker. The speaker seems to be aware of his role and position and he often includes personal links to members of the audience in relation to the topic addressed at the moment, which could be interpreted as a mean to express his authority and power over the others. Most of the remarks end with the President’s blessings, e.g. *“God bless your efforts, and may God bless our country.”* (lines 285-286, B4), which is another attribute of the political position of the President of the United States and to certain level it adds credibility and expresses power of the speaker.

The following figures and their examples, first identified by inductive research method and later divided into categories, were found:

Metaphors

President Bush uses metaphors in two ways: in the forms of common expressions, e.g. *“lifting a burden of debt”* (line 98, B3) or *“we weren’t moving money out the door”* (line 53, B4); and as a form of more “poetic” language that targets people’s emotions, e.g. *“America’s heart breaks”* (line 57, B1) or *“History has called us to a titanic struggle ...”* (lines 78-79, B2) or, even more characteristically, *“a combined effort by a lot of compassionate hearts”* (line 16, B4). The latter case is often times used to emphasize the importance of the message he’s trying to send or to bring more attention to the topic.

This use of metaphors and expressions not only corresponds to the commonly used language regarding the topic of development assistance, but it also further reinforces the discourse the assistance itself. In other words, President Bush reflects the development assistance discourse and uses the common expressions, which could mean that he either wants to intentionally fit

into the narrative, or he is subconsciously influence by the narrative, and at the same time, he also reinforce the narrative, because, as the highest political representative of the United States, he has large authority with a global impact.

Emotionally charged words/expressions

Metaphors are closely linked to another common feature of President's speech - emotionally charged words and expressions. Not only is this style of speech a rather common aspect of American culture, but it is also a very common feature of political speeches in general mainly because of the nature of politics - the necessity to get society and your audience on your side and create justifications for the solutions they're offering. The same applies for the remarks we've analyzed. Emotionally charged words and expressions are one of the most frequent language features of the speeches delivered by President Bush, partially because of the nature of the topics (underdevelopment, poverty, diseases, hunger, etc.) but partially also because it's President's Bush aim to bring attention to these topics and mobilize the public in order to take an action, or eventually support the action his administration is taking. To illustrate this, here are a few specific examples of emotionally charged words and expressions used by the President in his speeches: "...*hopelessness and despair*" (line 63, B1),

"In the long run, the tragedy in western Sudan requires a settlement between the government and the rebels. And our message is clear: All sides must control their forces, end the killing, and negotiate the peace of a suffering land." (lines 146-148, B3),

or "*lift the burden of deadly disease*" (lines 149-150, B5).

Rule of three

The third commonly used linguistic feature of his remarks is the rule of three. This linguistic figure is usually used for emphasis, or in some cases for clarification of the information. It is commonly used while President Bush talks about the conditions for aid, which is a consequence of him listing the conditions explicitly, or when he's talking about the future prospects of the regions in case the provided aid brings success. The rule of three helps to trigger audience's imagination, provides more specific picture, and creates the idea that the President has an actual plan. This can again get him some positive points from the audience.

Here are some examples of the rule of three:

“Countries that live by these three broad standards -- ruling justly, investing in their people, and encouraging economic freedom -- will receive more aid from America.” (lines 130-131, B1)

“...new technology, new ideas and new habits, ...” (line 53, B2)

“That struggle ought to inspire us here in America. It's inspired you. It ought to inspire all our citizens.” (lines 12-13, B4)

Contrasts

Another tool for emphasis in President's Bush speeches is contrast, usually presenting his arguments in a binary. He often uses two words with opposite meaning just next to each other in order to showcase the alternative and to emphasize the positive value of his proposal. In the case of contrasts, he also often uses very vague and quite emotional words, e.g. “...to replace despair with opportunity...” (lines 52-53, B2) – it doesn't say a lot about his actual actions, but the basic emotional message is clear – opportunity is much better than despair. The use of this dichotomy oversimplifies the issues at hand but is indicative of his agenda to portray the actions and intentions of his administration as the only viable means of providing development aid. This tactic doesn't give much space to oppose what he's saying, and that's intentional. This pattern can be found in the following fragment: “... replacing disease with health, dependency with self-reliance, and despair with hope.” (lines 7-8, B5).

Repetition/Emphasis

Apart of the indirect tools for emphasis, President Bush uses also a more direct form of it, which often has the character of repetition as we can see below:

“That's what we want. That's all we want. We want to be able to tell...” (line 24, B4)

“For example, this February President Kikwete of Tanzania and I signed a five-year, nearly \$700 million compact to improve the country's transportation, energy, and water supply. It's pretty basic needs, isn't it? Transportation, energy and water supply.” (lines 76-78, B5)

“...no amount – no amount – of development” (line 21, B2)

This figure is not very common as President Bush uses also other forms of emphasis during his speeches, however, it's an important tool when it comes to pointing out certain information.

Direct emphasis, or repetition, is usually used to emphasize short, brief type of information, which doesn't require a lot of explanation, or where President Bush doesn't want to include explanation for various reasons. The immediate repetition in particular (see excerpt from speech B2 above) is often used when the President indirectly addresses other actors in the field. For example, in this context (speech B2, lines 20 to 23) it seems that the President is targeting developing nations while saying that no amount of aid is enough if the states close their markets to foreign investors. Without the repetition this paragraph could be viewed as a threat or as a recommendation, however, when the repetition is present it adds more dramatic tone to the sentence and to the paragraph itself, so that reader is given the impression that it is more an indirect threat rather than recommendation.

Modal verbs

From listener's or reader's point of view President Bush drives attention to certain topics through the use of modal verbs. Some topics are clearly emphasized by the use of verbs like *must* or *have to*, which create an imperative and strengthen the importance of the following statement of the topic discussed. The same can be said about the verb *need*, which creates a particular sense of urgency.

"All of us here must focus on real benefits to the poor, instead of debating arbitrary levels of inputs from the rich." (lines 43-44, B2)

"If you're genuinely serious about reducing poverty, you need to help us make sure this nation does not become a protectionist nation." (line 124, B4)

Numbers and proportions

Numbers and proportions are a very particular element of President's Bush speeches. Most of the time they illustrate the topic he's talking about, giving precise information about the issue or the efforts taken, however, they seem to be used for the purpose of showcasing his country's financial aid efforts in a positive light. If we take a closer look, we'll see that in most of the cases we are talking about huge numbers, which seek to either illustrate how big the issue at hand is or how much effort is being undertaken by President's Bush administration. That, again, demonstrates his efforts to portray himself and his administration positively, as they are taking on the roll of the heroes by spending a lot of money on development assistance.

Here are some demonstrative examples of the way the President uses numbers in this way:

“In Malawi, thousands of teachers die each year from AIDS, and life expectancy has fallen to only 38 years. In Sierra Leone, nearly one-third of all babies born today will not reach the age of five. And in Sudan, only half the children attend school.” (lines 50-52, B1)

“Since 2002, the United States has provided more than \$16 billion in food assistance -- helping to ensure that tens of millions of people around the world do not go hungry. In response to the current global food crisis, we've committed \$5.5 billion to address global hunger over the next two years.” (lines 88-91, B5)

Rhetorical questions

The last purely linguistic category analyzed is the use of rhetorical questions. Even though president Bush doesn't use them very frequently, they are indicative of the style of his remarks and complement the other figurative language strategies he uses to emphasize certain topics. The rhetorical questions, along with his practice of addressing and mentioning people he knows personally, do give the remarks a bit of an informal character; however, they also serve as a tool to get the listener or reader's attention and to drive focus, eventually emphasizing particular points as we can see in the following fragment:

“... transportation, energy, and water supply. It's pretty basic needs, isn't it?” (lines 77-78, B5)

Examples

Real-world examples are a vital element of President Bush's speeches. They are often used as a rhetorical tool with three major objectives: to get people's attention, to present the issues as real and relatable to the audience, and to appeal more to people's emotions. What differentiates examples from other forms of rhetorical speech is that the content woven through these stories matters much more than the linguistics used.

President Bush is basically using three categories of examples for emphasis – examples of previous successes, where he draws historical parallels or talks about previously conducted projects (see for example excerpt from speech B4 about South Korea); explanatory examples, where he breaks down particular issues so they are more understandable for the audience (e.g. example from speech B5 about aid programs in agriculture sector); and personal experience, where he shares his (and his wife's) own personal experiences from travels or the stories of particular individuals from developing countries (see excerpt from speech B3).

Previous successes:

“History has shown what I'm talking about. Take the example of South Korea. It's probably hard for some to remember back in the '50s, particularly if you were born in the '60s -- (laughter) -- but South Korea was one of the poorest nations in Asia. South Korea reformed its economy and opened its markets to the world. And today, export growth -- the capacity for people to find work in South Korea for products that are sold elsewhere -- has made this country the 10th largest economy in the world.” (lines 91-96, B4)

Explanatory example:

“The best long-term policy for the United States is to help nations develop their own agricultural industry, so we don't have to deal with global food crisis year in and year out. And so we supply poor and rural farmers with fertilizer and water-management systems. We distribute better seeds that will boost yields, and invest in research that will make crops like rice and wheat more resistant to drought and pests...” (lines 96-101, B5)

Personal experience

„A few years ago, a little girl in Namibia was born to a mother and father who both had HIV; she had the disease, as well. The name her parents gave her translates as the phrase, "There is no good in the world." Months ago, the girl was very sick and losing weight and close to death. But today, she and her entire family are receiving lifesaving medicine. Now she's a beautiful, shy, thriving six-year-old, with a new life ahead of her, and there's a little more good in the world. Across Africa, people who were preparing to die are now preparing to live. (Applause.) And America is playing a role in so many of those miracles.” (lines 229-235, B3)

The use of previous successes is clearly linked to support for President Bush's arguments and proposals for development assistance programs and the conditionality of aid. They usually concern economic development and free trade, supporting America's demand for open market and economic reforms in the states receiving aid. The explanatory examples of how aid programs function are just a simplification of how things work and where American money is being invested, which may make development aid more tangible to the audience, in return making them more likely to support such programs. The personal stories examples serve a similar purpose as the explanatory examples, usually serving to bring the situation in developing

countries closer to the audience and create an environment where the audience feels emotionally invested in supporting the expenditures for development aid. The reference by the President of his own personal experiences in these areas also give him more credibility and portray him as experienced, informed, and passionate about these issues.

4.2. Analysis of the Remarks by President Barack Obama

The speeches analyzed in the thesis were delivered between the years 2009 and 2016 at a variety of different formal occasions such as press conferences at the White House, official state visits, and remarks delivered at the United Nations General Assembly. They cover a broad-range of topics, usually not focusing solely on the topic of development assistance. With President Obama's speeches, foreign aid is usually just a complementary topic mentioned as one of the strategic tools or as a relevant tangent attached to a larger topic.

Geographically, President Obama focuses his foreign aid remarks predominantly on African and South Asian nations (remarks O1, O2 and O3) or he opts not to specify the geographic area and talks about aid in general terms.

As mentioned previously, development assistance is not usually the main topic of Obama's remarks, which corresponds with a lower prevalence of the key words across his speeches (6 to 11 per speech); this lower rate of use is even more noticeable when you consider that the length of President Obama's speeches are quite lengthier than his predecessors, ranging between 2500 to nearly 6500 words per speech.

Given the character of the speeches and the lessened attention that development aid receives in remarks delivered by President Obama, the focus will be placed more on providing the context of the speeches and the links between foreign aid and the other topics appearing in his remarks (see *Context* and *Reasoning Behind Aid* below). Other topics such as *Aid Conditionality*, *Goal of Development Assistance* or *Areas Supported by Aid* are not part of all the remarks and therefore will be analyzed depending on availability of the material.

4.2.1. Reasoning Behind Aid

Reasoning Behind Aid is one of the themes present in all the speeches delivered by President Obama. Similarly, to the remarks given by President Bush, there are clear distinguishing characteristics given for the justification of foreign aid that are divided into three different categories – *Security Reasons*, *Values (Moral Obligation)* and *Economic Reasons*. The most commonly used reasoning by President Obama is the economic argument, which is used in all

five remarks analyzed, followed closely by the security argument which is present in speeches O1, O2, O3 and O4. The moral reasoning behind aid is somewhat present in four speeches, however, in the last speech (O5) this categorization does not quite fit, and it should be interpreted instead as a value based reasoning; this is because President Obama does not explicitly talk about moral obligation to provide aid, but instead talks about aid as a necessary complement of war conflicts which cannot be won quickly or without pain, which could be interpreted as an attempt to help people who were affected by those wars. Before we proceed to the examples below, it is important to note that most of the categories are not clearly distinguished in the remarks, meaning that President Obama often talks for example about the security and moral reasons at the same time. This is most likely connected to the smaller proportion of the speeches that development aid actually constitutes as a topic in the remarks.

Examples of the reasons stated in the remarks delivered by President Obama:

a) *Economic reasons*

“So food security is a moral imperative, but it’s also an economic imperative. History teaches us that one of the most effective ways to pull people and entire nations out of poverty is to invest in their agriculture. And as we’ve seen from Latin America to Africa to Asia, a growing middle class also means growing markets, including more customers for American exports that support American jobs. So we have a self interest in this.” (lines 58-62, O3)

“Moreover, foreign assistance is a tiny fraction of what we spend fighting wars that our assistance might ultimately prevent. For what we spent in a month in Iraq at the height of the war, we could be training security forces in Libya, maintaining peace agreements between Israel and its neighbors, feeding the hungry in Yemen, building schools in Pakistan, and creating reservoirs of goodwill that marginalize extremists.” (lines 315-320, O5)

b) *Security reasons*

“But the American people must understand that this is a down payment on our own future -- because the security of America and Pakistan is shared.” (lines 98-101, O1)

c) Security and moral reasons

“America will support these efforts through a comprehensive, global health strategy, because in the 21st century, we are called to act by our conscience but also by our common interest, because when a child dies of a preventable disease in Accra, that diminishes us everywhere. And when disease goes unchecked in any corner of the world, we know that it can spread across oceans and continents.” (lines 187-190, O2)

“We must be humble in our expectation that we can quickly resolve deep rooted problems like poverty and sectarian hatred. Moreover, no two countries are alike, and some will undergo chaotic change before things get better. But our security and values demand that we make the effort.” (lines 298-301, O4)

d) Moral reasons

“As the wealthiest nation on Earth, I believe the United States has a moral obligation to lead the fight against hunger and malnutrition, and to partner with others.” (lines 49-51, O3)

e) Values (war complement)

“But it also means that in a place like Syria, where there’s no ultimate military victory to be won, we’re going to have to pursue the hard work of diplomacy that aims to stop the violence, and deliver aid to those in need, and support those who pursue a political settlement and can see those who are not like themselves as worthy of dignity and respect.” (243-247, O5)

It is clear that President Obama’s reasonings and justifications behind aid reflect the global issues of his time: the development of Afghanistan and Pakistan amid growing disapproval by the American public with the ongoing warfare in the Middle East, the war in Syria and President Obama’s unwillingness to get more involved in the regional civil war, and major international health emergencies that required mass mobilization of funds and capital to minimize or prevent the spread of epidemics across the globe. While these issues were distinct from the issues of President Bush’s Presidency, many of the reasons for supporting foreign aid remained similar to what was seen in the previous Administration such as economic reasons, particularly associated with open markets, and values and moral obligation connected to human suffering. This all reflects the situation in the United States at time of his administration as well as global

threats. It is also clear from the previous quotations that one of the prevailing motives is self-interest, which is something what can be found also in the speeches by President Bush.

4.2.2. Goal of Development Assistance

Two of the speeches delivered by President Obama cover the goal of foreign aid explicitly: the speech made to the Ghanaian parliament (O2) and the speech given at the Symposium on Global Agriculture and Food Security (O3). In both remarks, President Obama states that the ultimate goal of foreign aid is to eliminate the need for aid in the future:

“Aid is not an end in itself. The purpose of foreign assistance must be creating the conditions where it's no longer needed.” (lines 146-147, O2) and “The whole purpose of development is to create the conditions where assistance is no longer needed, where people have the dignity and the pride of being self-sufficient.” (lines 35-36, O3)

However, in the speech to Ghanaian parliament, President Obama also emphasizes the importance of nations, donors and beneficiaries alike, to be partners in the process of development to increase the likelihood of success:

“But the true sign of success is not whether we are a source of perpetual aid that helps people scrape by -- it's whether we are partners in building the capacity for transformational change.” (lines 72-74, O2)

4.2.3. Aid Conditionality

The main lynchpin for President Obama when it comes to the conditionality of aid is accountability. According to President Obama this usually refers to curtailing corruption and encouraging good governance, which is linked to the requirement for beneficiary nations to institute better policies and rule of law as a condition of aid. Obama does not talk about aid conditionality a lot, which is partially given by the small share the topic of development assistance has in the speeches, but it's also in part due to the character of the speeches – they are more general and reflect more on global issues rather than focusing on particular initiatives for foreign aid.

The three passages of the text where he talks about aid conditionality are the following:

a) *Accountability and corruption*

“As we provide these resources, the days of unaccountable spending, no-bid contracts, and wasteful reconstruction must end.” (lines 155-156, O1) ... “And I want to be clear: We cannot turn a blind eye to the corruption that causes Afghans to lose faith in their own leaders. Instead, we will seek a new compact with the Afghan government that cracks down on corrupt behavior, and sets clear benchmarks, clear metrics for international assistance so that it is used to provide for the needs of the Afghan people.” (lines 159-162, O1)

b) *Political reforms, accountability & good governance*

“But what America will do is increase assistance for responsible individuals and responsible institutions, with a focus on supporting good governance -- on parliaments, which check abuses of power and ensure that opposition voices are heard -- (applause); on the rule of law, which ensures the equal administration of justice; on civic participation, so that young people get involved; and on concrete solutions to corruption like forensic accounting and automating services -- (applause) -- strengthening hotlines, protecting whistle-blowers to advance transparency and accountability.” (lines 114-121, O2)

c) *Shared responsibility*

“So I do not see the countries and peoples of Africa as a world apart; I see Africa as a fundamental part of our interconnected world -- (applause) -- as partners with America on behalf of the future we want for all of our children. That partnership must be grounded in mutual responsibility and mutual respect.” (lines 21-24, O2)

As explained above, President Obama doesn't put the aid conditionality directly in connection to allocation of funds. However, from his speech it's clear that mutual responsibility and accountability are the two key elements when it comes to a relationship between the United States and developing nations. This is in a sharp contrast to the narrative of last century, when developing nations weren't seen as independent actors in the world politics and they were often under some sort of patronage of the states that ruled the colonies in the past or under patronage of the United States and the Soviet Union that provide the biggest share of financial resources in the second half of 20th century.

4.2.4. Areas Supported by Aid

Similarly, to the previous categories, President Obama does not directly mention areas supported by foreign aid in his remarks; however, he does use some examples of issues foreign aid should tackle and he mentions areas the United States should support in general. Among the direct mentions of things supported by aid are topics such as education, infrastructure, health systems, democracy, and food security. In a more indirect way, he also refers to entrepreneurship and refugees. For better understanding, take a look at the fragments of the speeches below:

“So today, I am calling upon Congress to pass a bipartisan bill co-sponsored by John Kerry and Richard Lugar that authorizes \$1.5 billion in direct support to the Pakistani people every year over the next five years -- resources that will build schools and roads and hospitals, and strengthen Pakistan's democracy.” (lines 90-93, O1)

“By cutting costs that go to Western consultants and administration, we want to put more resources in the hands of those who need it, while training people to do more for themselves. (Applause.) That's why our \$3.5 billion food security initiative is focused on new methods and technologies for farmers -- not simply sending American producers or goods to Africa.” (lines 142-146, O2)

“This means patiently supporting transitions to democracy in places like Egypt, Tunisia and Libya – because the peaceful realization of individual aspirations will serve as a rebuke to violent extremists.” (lines 303-304, O4) ... “And we must help countries modernize economies, upgrade education, and encourage entrepreneurship – because American leadership has always been elevated by our ability to connect with peoples’ hopes, and not simply their fears.” (lines 308-310, O4)

“We should all welcome the pledges of increased assistance that have been made at this General Assembly gathering.” ... “And we should all understand that, ultimately, our world will be more secure if we are prepared to help those in need and the nations who are carrying the largest burden with respect to accommodating these refugees.” (lines 316-317 and 321-323, O5)

With a closer look at the remarks analyzed, it becomes clear that most of the areas supported by aid and mentioned in the remarks are particularly linked to the main events in international

relations – post-war reconstruction of Afghanistan, eliminating the terrorist threat in the region of South and South-Central Asia, stabilizing situations in the region of Northern Africa and Middle East after the Arab Spring, and supporting countries affected by the so called refugee crisis. None of the speeches analyzed in this paper talk directly about the priorities of American foreign aid.

4.2.5. Context of Foreign Aid

If we take a closer look at the themes and topics associated with development assistance, or at the topics of the speeches in general, it becomes evident that in most of the cases development assistance appears as a tool to complement or combat warfare especially in regards to the War on Terror (speeches O1, O4 and O5). In other cases, President Obama talks about democracy, good governance, and the role of development aid when it comes to supporting these values (O2). In general, democracy and development are closely linked in President Obama’s speeches – either he’s presenting democracy as a precondition to development, or he’s stressing the need to support democracy via foreign aid rather than any other means. Foreign aid is a central part of his counter-terrorist strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan (speech O1) and part of his comments on the solution for global conflicts and other global issues (O4). To illustrate this, here is an excerpt from speech O4:

“So the next element of our strategy involves addressing the underlying grievances and conflicts that feed extremism, from North Africa to South Asia. As we’ve learned this past decade, this is a vast and complex undertaking. We must be humble in our expectation that we can quickly resolve deep rooted problems like poverty and sectarian hatred. Moreover, no two countries are alike, and some will undergo chaotic change before things get better. But our security and values demand that we make the effort. This means patiently supporting transitions to democracy in places like Egypt, Tunisia and Libya – because the peaceful realization of individual aspirations will serve as a rebuke to violent extremists.” (lines 296-303, O4)

4.2.6. Analysis of Language Aspects of the Remarks

Looking at the linguistic style of the speeches, it can be seen that all the remarks have a rather formal character matching the characteristics of the speech events – official press conferences of the President of the United States, bilateral meetings with representatives of other states, or international conferences on particular global topics. Each of them has a formal introduction,

where the President welcomes everyone to the speech event, introduction to the topic, elaboration on the topic, and a formal conclusion. Four out of five remarks analyzed in this paper end with the “mandatory” phrase blessing the audience and the United States, e.g. *“Thank very much. (Applause.) God bless you. Thank you. God bless America.” (lines 173-174, O3)*

The most common figures and their examples are the following:

Metaphors

Opposed to the formal character of the remarks is the use of metaphors in President Obama’s speeches. Most of the metaphors used are actually common English expressions used in colloquial language, which might serve as a tool to bring the President closer to the “normal” people and portray him in a more casual way. Additionally, some of the metaphors have a rather poetic character, and are used to make Obama’s points sound more empathetic and, in a way, dramatic, to the listener, which engages the audience’s attention in a more effective way, which means capturing people’s attention more effectively. Some examples of this can be found below:

“We will never erase the evil that lies in the hearts of some human beings, nor stamp out every danger to our open society.” (lines 58-59, O4)

“Thousands were taken from us, as clouds of fire and metal and ash descended upon a sun-filled morning.” (lines 14-15, O4)

“This has to be all hands on deck” (line 118, O3)

Emotionally charged words/expressions

Emotionally charged words and expressions are very common features in President Obama’s speeches. Often times he uses them to describe the nature of the issue at hand or to create contrast between what could be categorized as *the good* and *the bad*.

“... Taliban rule would condemn their country to brutal governance...” (line 40, O1)

“In many places, the hope of my father's generation gave way to cynicism, even despair.” (line 43, O2)

Rule of three

The third linguistic figure we've identified in the speeches is the rule of three. It's a very common feature helping the audience or reader to remember the point the speaker made, to understand the problem, and to help the speaker outline the key message of the speech. President Obama uses this figure mainly while listing examples, but there are passages of the text where he's clearly using the combination of repetition and the rule of three to link different kinds of information and to emphasize certain words (see e.g. excerpt from speech O3 below).

"We all share common aspirations -- to live in peace and security; to access education and opportunity; to love our families and our communities and our faith." (lines 207-208, O2)

"It's a moral imperative, it's an economic imperative, and it is a security imperative." (line 63, O3)

Contrasts

In President Obama's conception, contrasts work more as alternatives in the form of opposite words that usually don't have as much of a dramatic form and are much less emotional than in President Bush's conception. They illustrate different scenarios, choices, and options, and they present a multitude of different possibilities and outcomes, though all naturally trend toward positive or negative connotations. In many cases President Obama introduces them by using the words "instead of" followed by option A and later on option B. In some other cases he simply puts two opposite concepts next to each as shown below. This tool is giving the audience the chance to compare different scenarios, while the options are carefully built in a way that the most reasonable option is the one presented by the President, which gets the audience on his side. In some cases it might also affect the audience's emotions, which could be something the President would benefit from as well.

"instead of just delivering medicine is also helping to build a stronger health system" (line 43, O3)

"development rather than dependence" (line 10, O5)

Repetition/Emphasis

Repetition and emphasis do not play such a big role in President Obama's rhetoric, at least not in the analyzed speeches. We can essentially distinguish between two different ways he utilizes

this tactic – repetition of a short fragment of a text (usually word or a number) right after the first emergence of the information and repetition of certain words over longer passages of text (usually a paragraph or a few sentences). Each of these forms has a different purpose. The first one serves as a simple emphasis of the information and singles out the one point which is important in the speaker’s eyes. E.g. *“And that’s why my administration has committed \$63 billion to meet these challenges -- \$63 billion.” (line 191, O2)*. The latter serves as a link between different information and creates connections between sentences in a way that creates a focused, vivid picture and gives the topic more conceptual space for the audience:

“Look at the Green Revolution, which pulled hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. (Applause.) Look at microfinance, which has empowered so many rural poor -- something my mother was involved with. Look at the huge expansion of education, especially for girls. Look at the progress we’ve made with vaccines -- from smallpox to measles to pneumonia to diarrhea -- which have saved the lives of hundreds of millions. And of course, look at the global fight against HIV/AIDS, which has brought us to the point where we can imagine what was once unthinkable -- and that is the real possibility of an AIDS-free generation.” (lines 155-161, O3)

Modal verbs

Modal verbs such as *need to* or *must to* usually illustrate urgency, imperative and necessity, which means that in political speeches like the ones analyzed in this paper they attract the audience’s attention, especially if they are combined with other rhetorical tools. This allows the speaker to bring the attention to certain topics and emphasize different parts of the speech.

“As we provide these resources, the days of unaccountable spending, no-bid contracts, and wasteful reconstruction must end.” (lines 155-156, O1)

“Wealthy nations must open our doors to goods and services from Africa in a meaningful way.” (lines 150-151, O2)

Examples

Even though the use of examples is a very common part of speeches in general, based on the remarks analyzed in this paper it is intriguing that President Obama does not use them very often. While several different, often vague, types of examples were identified across the five speeches, only one speech (O3- Remarks by the President at Symposium on Global Agriculture and Food Security) utilizes clear, specific examples. The types of examples he does use are the

following – examples of success, personal link to the topic, and explanation. The examples of success serve as an illustration of previous successes and as supporting arguments for his proposals. Personal link examples provide the President with more credibility and creates an impression that he knows what he’s talking about while also creating a useful linkage to the audience. Examples which serve as an explanation are typically used by the President to break down certain topics and illustrate the problem to make it easier and more understandable.

Here are some fragments of the referenced parts of the text illustrating the use of examples:

d) *Examples of success*

„There are millions of farmers and families whose lives are being transformed right now because of some of the strategies that we’re talking about. And that includes a farmer in Ethiopia who got a new loan, increased production, hired more workers.” (lines 164-167, O3)

e) *Personal link to the topic*

„I’ve spoken before about relatives I have in Kenya, who live in villages where hunger is sometimes a reality -- despite the fact that African farmers can be some of the hardest-working people on Earth.” (lines 81-82, O3)

f) *Explanation*

“On the other hand, we see an Africa that still faces huge hurdles: stark inequalities; most Africans still living on less than \$2 a day; climate change that increases the risk of drought and famine. All of which perpetuates stubborn barriers in agriculture, in the agricultural sector -- from bottlenecks in infrastructure that prevent food from getting to market, to the lack of credit, especially for small farmers, most of whom are women.” (lines 76-80, O3)

4.3. Comparison of the remarks delivered by Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama

4.3.1. General Overview

One of the main differences between the remarks on development assistance by Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama lies in the general focus of the speeches. While President Bush delivered speeches that focused specifically on foreign aid and other closely linked topics (extreme poverty, global development, food security, etc.), the speeches where President

Obama talks about development assistance have rather general character and each of them cover a broader spectrum of topics (war on terror, freedom and democracy, global economy, climate change, etc.). This creates the impression that President Bush gives much more attention to the topic of development assistance than President Obama, which is substantiated by the prevalence of the key words in the analyzed remarks – ranging between 10 to 15 key words per speech in President Bush’s speeches and 6 to 11 key words per speech in the remarks delivered by President Obama – as well as by the distribution of the key words across the analyzed speeches – where in President Bush’s remarks the key words usually appear across the whole length of the speech and President Obama’s remarks mostly concentrate the key words within a few paragraphs focusing on the topic.

4.3.2. Reasoning Behind Aid

Looking at the reasoning behind the allocation of foreign aid to developing countries, it can be said that even though the actual justifications are similar for both Presidents, particularly when it comes to the reasonings of moral obligation, economic interest, and security reasons, there are significant differences when it comes to the prioritization of these. While the prevailing narrative of President Bush is the moral obligation to help those in need, expressed as the “demand of conscience” and as the responsibility of every wealthy nation (see section 4.1.1. *Reasoning Behind Aid* above), in the case of President Obama the most repeated argument are the economic benefits for the United States, in particular as a cheaper alternative to war expenses (see section 4.2.1. *Reasoning Behind Aid; a) Economic reasons* above). This could be interpreted as a consequence of the topics covered by the presidents – while President Bush pays more attention to helping people out of extreme poverty or to providing assistance to nations affected by food scarcity, President Obama elaborates on foreign aid while he is addressing the issues of global security, terrorism and War on Terror. The argument for aid as a mutually beneficial practice in regards to economic benefits is even more interesting when we analyze it a bit further. While for President Obama economic benefits are associated with both emerging markets for American exports and a cheaper alternative to military intervention (with three speeches focusing on new markets and two on war costs), President Bush focuses strictly on new markets for American exports without ever mentioning the distribution of development aid as an alternative to the cost of war.

The final shared reasoning for both Presidents is the security narrative, in both cases linking development aid as the means to bring an end to terrorist threats and radicalism. In this sense

aid is being seen as a tool to tackle those threats in the areas outside of the United States and as an investment in the security of the United States. For both of the presidents this reasoning is the second most prevalent across the remarks analyzed in this research.

4.3.3. Goal of Development Assistance

In terms of the development assistance aims, both of the presidents use very similar wording. For both of them the ultimate goal of development assistance is the end of dependence on foreign aid; the coordinated creation of a world where development assistance is no longer needed and where all the states are self-sufficient and completely independent of any foreign help. This can be illustrated by the two short excerpts below:

“The goal of our development aid will be for nations to grow and prosper beyond the need for any aid.” (George W. Bush, in speech B2, line 39)

“The purpose of foreign assistance must be creating the conditions where it's no longer needed.” (Barack Obama, in speech O2, lines 146-147)

4.3.4. Aid Conditionality

The third category in regard to content analysis is the discourse around requirements of aid allocation expressed by each President. While President Bush pays a lot of attention to this subject and elaborates terms of aid in each remark that has been analyzed for this study, President Obama mentions conditions or requirements for allocation of aid sporadically and only in two of the analyzed speeches. So, while the topic of aid conditionality seems to have a great importance for President Bush, it seems to be only a minor issue for President Obama, particularly he failed to discuss the topic in a majority of his analyzed speeches and based on the speech selections sheet (see Attachment n. 6), did not seem to deliver any speech that focused explicitly on conditions of foreign aid over the entire duration of his Presidency.

Other differences can be found when it comes to the conditions itself. President Bush refers to three different types of conditions, such as Accountability, Political and Economic Reforms, and Shared Responsibility, but he discusses these conditions broadly and in regards to all developing nations. President Obama, on the other hand, treats Accountability (together with corruption) as a topic which is in particularly linked to Afghanistan and any future aid to its government. Additionally, the conditions of Political and Economic Reforms are mentioned only vaguely by President Obama as something that should be supported but not necessarily required – *“But what America will do is increase assistance for responsible individuals and*

responsible institutions, with a focus on supporting good governance...” (O2, 114-115). In the case of Shared Responsibility, President Obama gives it only a short mention at the end of a rather general paragraph, where he shares his relationship to African nations (see excerpt of the speech above in section 4.4.3. *Aid Conditionality*). All this is in a sharp contrast to President Bush who puts the Aid Conditionality at the front of his speeches and gives the topic a very high importance, documented by repetitions of the conditions multiple times in some of the speeches.

4.3.5. Areas supported by aid

There are two ways how to look at areas supported by aid – geographically and by sectors, and both of them provide us with different data for each of the presidents.

Geographically, each of the presidents focuses on different areas. While President Bush seems to focus clearly on Africa, and eventually the region of Middle East, in his speeches, President Obama is either not specifically mentioning any geographic area, or talks predominantly about Afghanistan and Pakistan in the case of speech O1, and Africa in the case of speech O2. Interestingly, this is in sharp contrast to the data provided by USAID (2017c), according to which it was foreign aid to South and South-Central Asia which was growing over the years 2001-2005, meaning that it should have been President Bush who would cover the development assistance allocated to Asia rather than President Obama, under whose administration development assistance became more equally distributed (USAID, 2017c).

Analyzing the sectors that have been supported by foreign aid is a bit more complicated. None of the speeches provides us with a very clear list of areas supported and we can only assume that the areas mentioned across the remarks are not the full list of areas supported by foreign aid. It is also the rather generic character of President Obama’s speeches which prevents us from deeper comparison, however, from the data collected the following picture can be drawn. The sector getting most of the attention of President Bush is definitely extreme poverty. Extreme poverty and poverty in general appear in four out of five remarks analyzed in this study. As mentioned previously, there is a whole speech focusing on that topic as well. On the contrary, President Obama does cover the topic of extreme poverty only marginally, and gives much more attention to military aid, good governance, and democracy. Additionally, President Bush gives attention to a larger variety of sectors, including topics such as democracy and freedom, chronic hunger, HIV/AIDS and other deadly diseases such as malaria. It is especially the contrast between the attention paid by each president to military aid which is striking given

the data from USAID (2017a). According to this data, the sector with the largest allocated funding for both Administrations was the same – Conflict, Peace and Security. It's also interesting to observe how little attention HIV/AIDS was given by President Barack Obama in his speeches, given that it was the sector with the second largest funds (USAID 2017a).

The reasons leading to President Bush stressing the issue of extreme poverty are twofold – the global campaign to end extreme poverty associated with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and an attempt to drive attention away from a highly unpopular war in Afghanistan and Iraq later on. The eradication of extreme poverty was set as a goal number one in the Millennium Development Goals agenda, and it was also the topic which served as a symbol of the whole initiative (United Nations, 2019). Considering that the United States were part of the initiative and that they are and were one of the largest donors of foreign aid, it makes sense that they would support the narrative presented by the United Nations, especially since the initiative was rather new and needed more promotion. It also seems logical that President Bush would try to stress other areas of foreign aid investment rather than focusing on Conflict, Peace and Security since public opinion was slowly shifting against the war in Afghanistan (CNN, 2009). On the contrary, for President Obama, winning the war in Afghanistan and reducing the number of troops was one of the key points of his first presidential campaign (ICPSR, 2019), which makes it logical that he puts more emphasis on the strategy following these events.

4.3.6. The Language Aspects of the Remarks

When it comes to language aspects of the remarks, both of the presidents share a very similar settings for the speech events – formal events either at the White House, international summits, thematic conferences, bilateral meetings, or at the United Nations General Assembly.

Regarding the structure of the remarks, there are similar features between the speeches delivered by both of the presidents. Both Presidents began their remarks with a formal introduction, where they welcome everyone at the speech event and outline the topics of the remark. This is followed by the main body of the speech, which naturally has a very formal character typical of a political speech. Every speech ends with the presidents giving blessings to the nation and to the audience, which is how American Presidents close their remarks by unwritten tradition.

As any other politicians, both of the presidents adjust their language in order to get the public on their side and to gain either sympathy or support for their agendas. In the case of Presidents Bush and Obama talking about development aid, the main tool serving this purpose is their

appeal to emotions. In order to affect people's emotions, the Presidents use a wide variety of linguistic tools such as metaphors, emotionally charged words and expressions, contrasts, modal verbs or even choose particular emotionally moving examples.

Most of the metaphors appear in the form of common English expressions or some sort of poetic language, which allows the Presidents to seem more relatable to their audience. By using more informal almost colloquial language and poetic, emotionally charged expressions, the Presidents could easily affect people's emotions and portray given subject in more vivid colors and as an issue of higher importance and urgency. The same applies for contrast and modal verbs, which are heavily used across the speeches. Comparing the Presidents, it is especially President Bush who is a frequent user of metaphors, emotionally charged words and contrasts, however, it is President Obama who uses more poetic language in general.

Another interesting linguistic feature in the analyzed remarks is the use of numbers and proportions. Regarding the character of the speeches, it is President Bush who uses this linguistic feature far more than his successor, though it is still a feature which can be found in some form in all the remarks. President Bush takes the opportunity to cite dollar amounts as much as possible – using the figures to showcase previous successes of his administration, to announce increases in funding, or express the urgent need for American intervention. In the speeches delivered by President Obama, which mention development aid only on a tertiary basis, the specificity of dollar amounts is not as important.

In order to point out certain messages and to navigate through critical passages of the speech, both of the Presidents use the tool of repetition, either by pausing and repeating the short and most important fragment of the sentence for emphasis, or by using the same introductory wording at the beginnings or ends of the sentences. In the written versions of the remarks most of the repetitions are divided from the text by dashes; in spoken version of the speeches they are mostly emphasized by a short pause and by articulation of the exact same words again. This creates a dramatic moment, which draws even more attention to the information told by the President.

Both of the Presidents use examples for particular reasons in different sections of their speeches. Some of the examples are linked to the use of numbers and serve clearly as a presentation of previous successfully conducted projects and historical developments by other nations. Other examples and personal anecdotes aim to portray the president as more relatable and, similarly to other linguistic tools used, affect people's emotions and create the sense of urgency and

desire to help. Finally, a few examples are used simply to provide detailed explanation of certain issues or development programs. There is no distinct difference regarding how the Presidents work with examples in their remarks.

Conclusion

The aim of the research was to analyze and compare two distinct approaches towards development assistance by using the methods of discourse analysis. In order to conduct this analysis, it was necessary to first introduce the theoretical concepts of foreign assistance and discourse analysis and select the material which will undergo the analysis itself.

In the study it was shown that for many scholars (e.g. Chilton and Schäffner) language is not only a defining sign of humanity but also an inevitable part of politics and described how our understanding of reality and the subject of rhetoric are linked and interconnected. Based on that it has been argued that in order to fully understand development assistance it is important not only to look at the absolute numbers and amount of dollars spent on projects, but also to focus on the discourse surrounding foreign aid, shaped by the main actors in the field. Because of that, this study focused on two different presidents of the United States, as representatives of the nations with the largest volumes of aid allocated, and as important figures of global scale who command the power to influence the mindset of the rest of the world. At the end it was the administrations of Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama that were analyzed, meaning that the analysis focused on their respective presidencies between the years 2001 and 2017.

The study is comprised by a discourse analysis of five remarks given by each president on the topic of development aid. The analysis itself had a qualitative character with minor quantitative features typical of content analysis and was based on the framework of critical discourse analysis by Teun van Dijk and Norman Fairclough, which was adjusted for the needs of this research.

The outcomes of the study appear to be twofold – from a linguistic point of view it seems there were not any major changes in the discourse of development assistance between the years 2001 and 2007. The language and linguistic tools used by both President's in the analyzed remarks are quite similar; what differs is the content. There are significant differences between the topics addressed by each of the Presidents and the characters of the speeches. While President Bush addressed the issue of foreign aid directly on a frequent basis, President Obama addressed development assistance sporadically, and usually treated it as a minor side-topic in his long, generalized speeches or in speeches addressing other issues presumably deemed more important by the president. President Bush clearly focused more on the region of Africa and on the issue of poverty, while President Obama usually linked development aid to his strategy for

South and South-Central Asia (namely Afghanistan and Pakistan) and focused more on development aid's function as an alternative to costly war expenses.

To provide a full picture regarding the outcomes, it is necessary to say that these are the results of the speech analysis conducted on speeches with monologue character only. It is highly possible that the results would differ if speeches including other speakers, or public press conferences including transcripts of questions would be involved.

The author of this study believes there is a need for further research on this topic. An eventual comparison of representatives for different states could lead to some interesting analysis of how other actors approach the topic of foreign aid and development assistance; though, it is the opinion of this researcher that a comparison between the discourse provided by representatives and the actual volumes and sectors of foreign aid could lead to some interesting insights on whether the sentiments towards aid actually correlate with the allocation of development funding.

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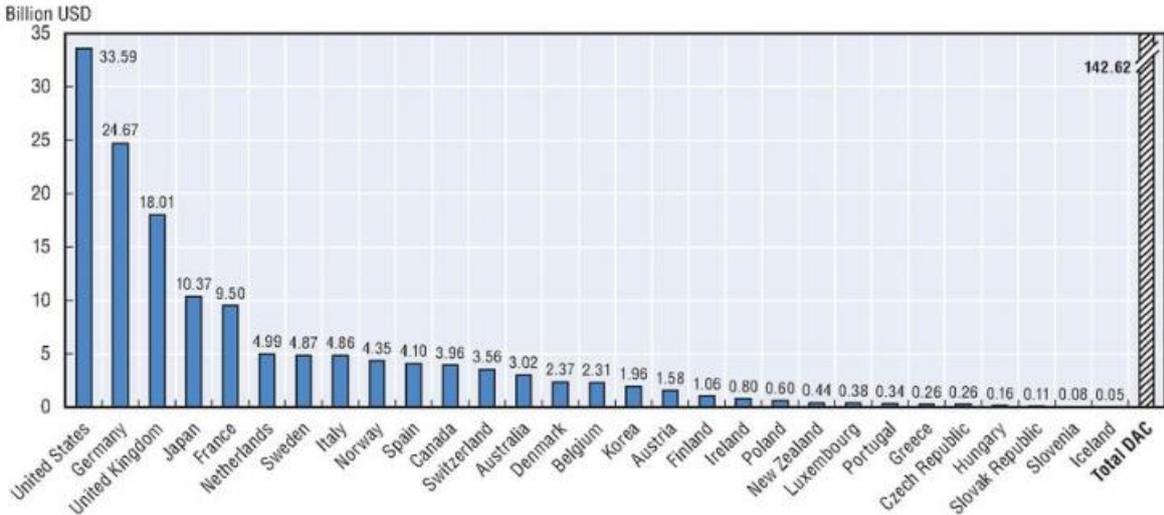
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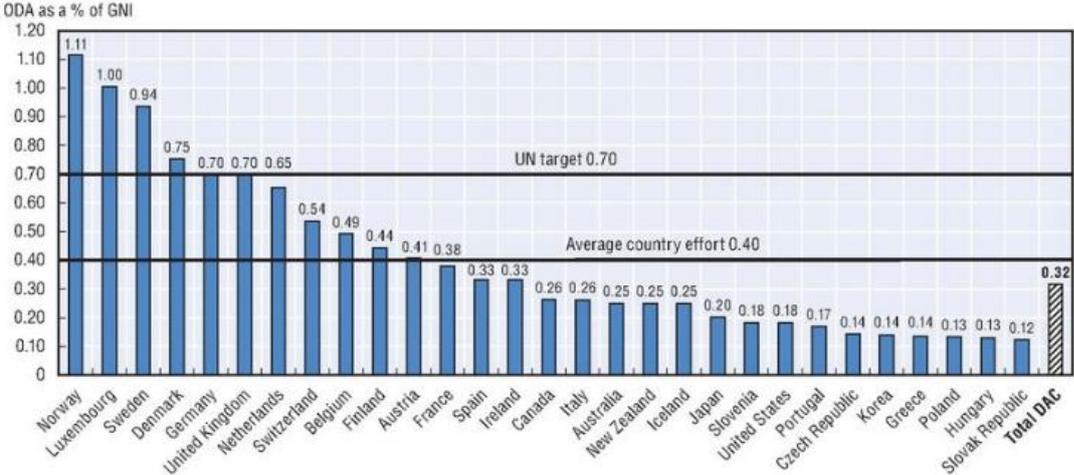
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Attachments

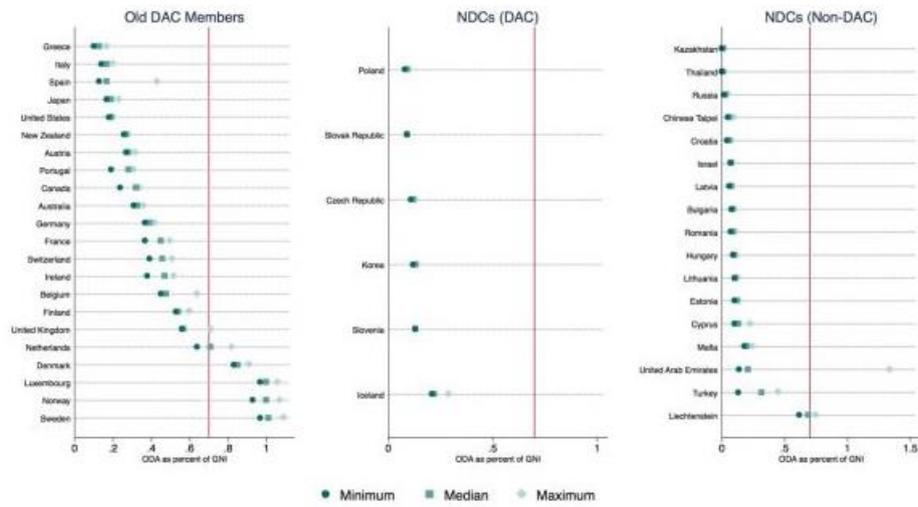
Attachment n. 1 – Net ODA from DAC donors in total volume 2016 (OECD, 2016)



Attachment n. 2 – Net ODA from DAC donors as a share of GNI 2016 (OECD, 2016)

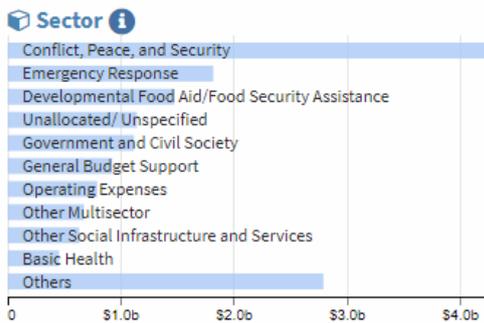


Attachment n. 3 – ODA as % of GNI by donor category, 2010 - 2014



Attachment n. 4 – Foreign aid by Sectors (2001-2017) (USAID, 2017a)

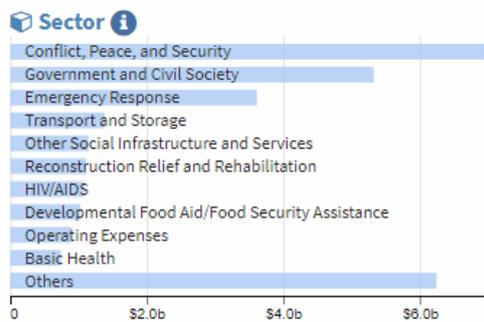
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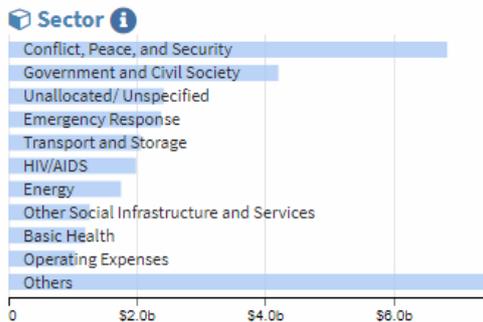
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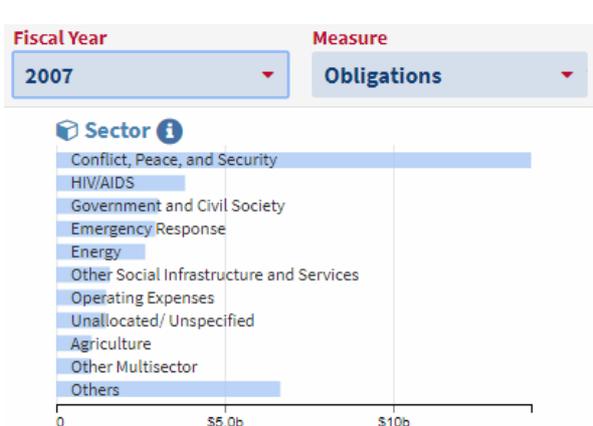


Fiscal Year: 2003 | Measure: Obligations



Fiscal Year: 2004 | Measure: Obligations







Attachment n. 5 – Speeches Selection Sheet (President G. W. Bush)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	GEORGE W. BUSH						
2	Link	Words (total)	Key words	Relevance	Notes		Reference
3	President Proposes \$5 Billion Plan to Help Developing Nation	2624	15	Yes	done	analysis 2S	B1
4	President Outlines U.S. Plan to Help World's Poor	1336	14	Yes	done	analysis 3	B2
5	President Attends Initiative for Global Development's 2006 National Summit	4734	13	Yes		analysis 4	B4
6	President Discusses G8 Summit, Progress in Africa	3575	12	Yes	done	analysis 1	B3
7	President Bush Discusses United States International Development Agenda	5572	10	Maybe			
8	President Bush Attends White House Summit on International Development	5076	10	Yes		analysis 5	B5
9	President Addresses United Nations High-Level Plenary Meeting	3293	9	Yes			
10	President Bush Discusses Food Aid	856	9	Yes			
11	President Promotes Compassionate Conservatism	2990	8	Yes			
12	President Bush Outlines his Agenda for U.S. - African Relations	3200	7	Yes			
13	Remarks by the President at Ceremony Celebrating Countries Selected for the Millennium Challenge	1099	7	Yes			
14	President Discusses American and European Alliance in Belgium	3830	7	Yes			
15	President Bush Discusses Western Hemisphere Policy	5214	7	Yes			
16	President and Mrs. Bush Discuss Africa Policy, Trip to Africa	5597	7	Yes			
17	President Bush Discusses Democracy in the Western Hemisphere	2973	6	Yes			
18	President Bush Visits National University of Singapore	3854	6	Yes			
19	President Bush Visits the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum	2898	6	Maybe			
20	Remarks by the President to the American Jewish Committee	1830	5	Yes			
21	President Announces Step to Expand Trade & Create Jobs	2164	5	Maybe			
22	President Bush Remarks at Summit of the Americas Ceremony	910	5	Yes			
23	President Speaks to the United Nations General Assembly	3077	5	Maybe			
24	President Addresses Nation, Discusses Iraq, War on Terror	3789	5	Maybe			
25	President Bush Addresses The United Nations General Assembly	2697	5	Maybe			
26	President Bush Visits Bucharest, Romania, Discusses NATO	4176	5	Maybe			
27	President Bush Visits Paris, Speaks to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development	3185	5	Maybe			
28	President Bush Discusses Freedom Agenda	2451	5	Maybe			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
29	Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People	3185	4	Maybe			
30	Radio Address of the President to the Nation	556	4	Yes			
31	President Bush Signs African Growth and Opportunity Act	1510	4	Yes			
32	President Discusses Strong Relationship with Canada	3332	4	Maybe	humanitarian, reconstruction		
33	President Attends International Republican Institute Dinner	3549	4	Maybe			
34	President Discusses War on Terror and Upcoming Iraqi Elections	8578	4	Yes			
35	President Addresses Veterans of Foreign Wars on the War on Terror	5544	4	Maybe			
36	President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly	2933	4	Maybe			
37	President Bush Attends APEC Business Summit	4786	4	Yes			
38	President Bush Delivers State of the Union Address	6332	4	Maybe			
39	President's Radio Address	712	4	Yes			
40	President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly	3189	4	Maybe			
41	U.S., Africa Strengthen Counter-Terrorism and Economic Ties	1827	3	Yes			
42	Remarks by the President at Cuban Independence Day Event	2604	3	Maybe			
43	President Highlights Humanitarian Efforts in Afghanistan	2839	3	Yes			
44	President Addresses African Growth and Opportunity Act Forum	1089	3	Yes			
45	Remarks by the President to the People of Poland	2566	3	Maybe			
46	Remarks by the President to the Philippine Congress	1787	3	Maybe			
47	President Bush Discusses Democracy, Freedom From Turkey	3098	3	Maybe			
48	President Signs Defense Bill	1509	3	Maybe	humanitarian		
49	President Discusses Trade, CAFTA at Organization of American States	2012	3	Maybe			
50	President Outlines Strategy for Victory in Iraq	5883	3	Maybe			
51	President Discusses Freedom and Democracy in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia	1602	3	Maybe			
52	President Discusses Freedom and Democracy in Kyoto, Japan	3917	3	Maybe			
53	President Discusses South Asia Earthquake Relief Efforts	702	3	Maybe			
54	President Discusses Progress in War on Terror to National Guard	5118	3	Maybe			
55	President Bush Welcomes Prime Minister Howard of Australia in Arrival Ceremony at the White	1848	3	Maybe			
56	President's Radio Address	805	3	Maybe			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
57	President Bush Discusses Global War on Terror	5317	3	Maybe			
58	President's Address to the Nation	3000	3	Maybe			
59	President Bush Discusses Progress in Afghanistan, Global War on Terror	6443	3	Maybe			
60	President Bush Addresses the 89th Annual National Convention of the American Legion	5787	3	Maybe			
61	President Bush Participates in United Nations Security Council Meeting on Africa	728	3	Maybe			
62	President Bush Discusses Cuba Policy	3427	3	Maybe			
63	President Bush Discusses Cuba	1423	3	Maybe			
64	President Bush Attends Council of the Americas	3381	3	Maybe			
65	President's Radio Address	689	3	Maybe			
66	President Asks American Children to Help Afghan Children	1887	2	Maybe			
67	President Directs Humanitarian Aid to Afghanistan	1688	2	Maybe	humanitarian		
68	President Bush Speaks to United Nations	2555	2	Maybe			
69	President Signs Afghan Women and Children Relief Act	1174	2	Maybe	humanitarian		
70	President Discusses Unity Between the U.S. & Japan	1792	2	Maybe			
71	President Bush Delivers Graduation Speech at West Point	2926	2	Yes			
72	President Delivers "State of the Union"	5764	2	Maybe			
73	President Discusses Operation Iraqi Freedom at Camp Lejeune	2031	2	Maybe	humanitarian		
74	President Bush Concludes Week Long Trip to Africa	1838	2	Yes			
75	President Condemns Bombing in Baghdad, Iraq	547	2	Maybe			
76	President's Radio Address	501	2	Maybe			
77	President Bush Reaffirms Resolve to War on Terror, Iraq and Afghanistan	2494	2	Maybe			
78	Remarks by the President at the Sons of Italy Foundation 16th Annual National Education and Leadership Conference	1373	2	Maybe			
79	President's Remarks at CEO Summit Closing Session	3303	2	Maybe			
80	President Discusses Tsunami Relief in Radio Address	640	2	Maybe			
81	President Commemorates Veterans Day, Discusses War on Terror	5972	2	Maybe			
82	President Discusses War on Terror and Rebuilding Iraq	4833	2	Maybe			
83	President Bush Delivers State of the Union Address	5649	2	Maybe			
84	President Addresses Asia Society, Discusses India and Pakistan	4521	2	Maybe			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
85	President Delivers Commencement Address at the United States Military Academy at West Point	4440	2	Maybe			
86	President Delivers Commencement Address at the United States Merchant Marine Academy	4083	2	Maybe			
87	President and Mrs. Bush Attend White House Conference on Global Literacy	2164	2	Maybe			
88	President Bush Greets Troops in Charleston, South Carolina	1702	2	Maybe	humanitarian		
89	President Bush Attends White House Summit on Malaria	2906	2	Maybe			
90	President Bush Discusses Care for America's Returning Wounded Warriors, War on Terror at Army	4616	2	Maybe			
91	President Bush Addresses CENTCOM Coalition Conference	2875	2	Maybe			
92	President's Radio Address	739	2	Maybe			
93	President Bush Attends Iftaar Dinner at the White House	603	2	Maybe			
94	President Bush Attends Annapolis Conference	2708	2	Maybe			
95	President Bush Discusses Trip to Africa at Leon H. Sullivan Foundation	4889	2	Maybe			
96	President's Radio Address	608	2	Maybe			
97	President Bush Attends Ceremonial Groundbreaking of United States Institute of Peace	2444	2	Maybe			
98	President Bush Attends Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention, Discusses Global War on	3210	2	Maybe			
99	President Bush Discusses Situation in Georgia, Urges Russia to Cease Military Operations	650	2	Maybe			
100	President Bush Meets with Cuban American Community Leaders	451	2	Maybe			
101	President Bush Meets with Darfur Human Rights Activist Dr. Halima Bashir	536	2	Maybe			
102	America's Youth Respond to Afghan Children's Fund	1381	1	Maybe	USAID		
103	President Unveils Back to Work Plan	2124	1	Maybe	humanitarian		
104	President Discusses War on Terrorism	3012	1	Maybe			
105	President Blocks More Assets in Financial War On Terrorism	1038	1	No			
106	President Meets with African Leaders	285	1	Yes			
107	President Announces Clear Skies & Global Climate Change Initiatives	2814	1	Maybe			
108	President Thanks World Coalition for Anti-Terrorism Efforts	1997	1	Maybe			
109	President Bush Calls for New Palestinian Leadership	1964	1	Maybe			
110	President Discusses the Fight Against Global and Domestic HIV/AIDS	2749	1	No			
111	President Updates America on Operations Liberty Shield and Iraqi Freedom	2234	1	Maybe	humanitarian		
112	President Discusses Iraqi Freedom Progress in Radio Address	585	1	Maybe	humanitarian		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
113	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	633	1	Maybe			
114	<u>Operation Iraqi Freedom</u>	623	1	Maybe			
115	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	645	1	Maybe	humanitarian		
116	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	646	1	Maybe			
117	<u>President Bush Discusses Faith-Based Initiative with Urban Leaders</u>	3848	1	Maybe			
118	<u>President Bush Discusses Cuba Policy in Rose Garden Speech</u>	1552	1	Maybe			
119	<u>President Bush Discusses Iraq in Veterans Day Address</u>	2477	1	No			
120	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	634	1	Maybe			
121	<u>President Thanks Red Cross, DC Schoolchildren for Helping Russian Terror Victims</u>	517	1	Maybe			
122	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	680	1	Yes	foreign aid		
123	<u>President's Remarks in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania</u>	4603	1	No			
124	<u>President Bush Honors Veterans at Arlington National Cemetery</u>	1241	1	Maybe			
125	<u>President Commits \$350 Million for Tsunami Relief Efforts</u>	350	1	Maybe			
126	<u>President Thanks USAID Employees and NGO Presidents</u>	2068	1	Maybe			
127	<u>President Discusses ongoing Tsunami Relief in Radio Address</u>	646	1	Maybe			
128	<u>State of the Union Address</u>	5526	1	No			
129	<u>President Discusses Freedom and Democracy</u>	1154	1	Maybe			
130	<u>President Honors Veterans of Foreign Wars at National Convention</u>	3693	1	Maybe			
131	<u>President and Mrs. Bush Discuss HIV/AIDS Initiatives on World AIDS Day</u>	2311	1	Maybe			
132	<u>President Discusses the American Competitiveness Initiative</u>	7795	1	Maybe			
133	<u>President's Remarks to the People of Hungary</u>	1660	1	Maybe			
134	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	777	1	No			
135	<u>President Bush Discusses the Economy in Florida</u>	3740	1	Maybe	Humanitarian		
136	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	988	1	Maybe	Humanitarian		
137	<u>President Bush Addresses American Legion National Convention</u>	805	1	Maybe			
138	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	913	1	Maybe			
139	<u>President Bush Visits with Troops at Hickam AFB in Hawaii</u>	1112	1	Maybe	humanitarian		
140	<u>President Bush Delivers State of the Union Address</u>	6374	1	Maybe			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
141	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	842	1	Maybe			
142	<u>President Bush Discusses Economy, War on Terror During Remarks to the National Cattlemen's F</u>	5876	1	Maybe			
143	<u>President Bush Visits East Grand Rapids, Discusses Global War on Terror</u>	11715	1	Maybe			
144	<u>President Bush Announces Five-Year, \$30 Billion HIV/AIDS Plan</u>	1378	1	Maybe			
145	<u>President Bush Discusses Genocide in Darfur, Implements Sanctions</u>	905	1	Maybe			
146	<u>President Bush Rededicates Islamic Center of Washington</u>	1714	1	Maybe			
147	<u>President Bush Visits National Defense University, Discusses Global War on Terror</u>	4445	1	Maybe			
148	<u>President Bush Discusses Sanctions on Burma</u>	769	1	Maybe			
149	<u>President Bush Visits Dayton, Ohio, Discusses Global War on Terror</u>	5122	1	Yes			
150	<u>President Bush Meets with U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, Discusses Trade</u>	4349	1	Maybe			
151	<u>President Bush Discusses Iraq</u>	1423	1	Maybe			
152	<u>President Bush Discusses Situation in Georgia</u>	684	1	Maybe			
153	<u>President Bush Hosts Dinner with Summit on Financial Markets and World Economy Participant</u>	777	1	Maybe			
154	<u>President Bush Attends United Nations High-Level Debate on Interfaith Dialogue</u>	861	1	Maybe			
155	<u>Remarks by the President in Address to Faculty and Students of Warsaw University</u>	2926	0	Maybe			
156	<u>President Sends Off Relief Supplies for Afghan Children</u>	1309	0	Maybe			
157	<u>President Announces Plan to Strengthen Peace Corps</u>	1478	0	Maybe			
158	<u>President, First Lady Announce Partnership to Help Afghan Children Prepare for School</u>	1857	0	Maybe			
159	<u>President Speaks to Community Leaders in Los Angeles</u>	1763	0	Maybe			
160	<u>President Promotes New Mother and Child HIV Prevention Initiative</u>	1105	0	Maybe			
161	<u>President Commemorates 1st Anniversary of Freedom Corps</u>	3057	0	No			
162	<u>President Urges Congress to Act Quickly on Global HIV/AIDS Initiative</u>	1920	0	No			
163	<u>President Bush Presses for Peace in the Middle East</u>	2511	0	No			
164	<u>President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly</u>	3017	0	Maybe			
165	<u>State of the Union Address</u>	5563	0	No			
166	<u>President Bush Signs U.S.-Australia Free Trade Agreement</u>	1179	0	Maybe			
167	<u>President's Remarks in Saginaw, Michigan</u>	5152	0	No			
168	<u>President's Remarks in Lititz, Pennsylvania</u>	4763	0	No			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
169	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	543	0	Maybe			
170	<u>President Discusses Freedom and Democracy in Latvia</u>	3247	0	Maybe			
171	<u>President Discusses Democracy, AGOA with African Leaders</u>	1424	0	Maybe			
172	<u>President Expresses Condolences to Pakistan, Offers Assistance After Earthquake</u>	333	0	Maybe			
173	<u>President's Radio Address</u>	639	0	Maybe			
174	<u>President Discusses American Competitiveness Agenda in Minnesota</u>	6263	0	Maybe			
175	<u>President Bush Signs the Tax Relief and Health Care Act of 2006</u>	1757	0	Maybe			
176	<u>President Bush Attends Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention, Discusses War on Terror</u>	5454	0	Maybe			
177	<u>President Bush Discusses Health Care, Economic Growth and Free Trade at 2007 Grocery Manufa</u>	5168	0	Maybe			
178	<u>President Bush Discusses Volunteerism</u>	3307	0	Maybe			
179	<u>President Bush Attends APEC CEO Summit 2008</u>	2999	0	Maybe			

Attachment n. 6 – Speeches Selection Sheet (President B. Obama)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
BARACK OBAMA						
2	Link	Words (total)	Key words	Relevance	Notes	Reference
3	Remarks by the President at Symposium on Global Agriculture and Food Security	2651	11	Yes	done	O3
4	Address by President Obama to the 71st Session of the United Nations General Assembly	5654	8	Yes	foreign aid	done O5
5	Statement by the President on Iraq	596	6	No	humanitarian, assistance	
6	Remarks by the President to the Ghanaian Parliament	4099	6	Yes		pre-done O2
7	Remarks by the President on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan	3348	6	Yes		pre-done O1
8	Remarks of President Barack Obama	6470	6	Yes	foreign aid	printed O4
9	Remarks by the President on the Middle East and North Africa	5687	5	Yes		
10	Remarks by the President on the Situation in Haiti	856	5	Yes		
11	Remarks by the President at the Clinton global initiative	2189	5	Yes		
12	Statement by the President on ISIL	2017	4	Maybe	humanitarian, military	
13	Remarks by President Obama at NATO Summit Press Conference	3479	4	Maybe		
14	Remarks by President Obama After Food Security Expo	1027	4	Yes	foreign aid	
15	Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on Libya	3429	4	Maybe		
16	Remarks by the President on the Administration's Approach to Counterterrorism	5257	3	No		
17	Remarks by President Obama after Bilateral meeting with President Muhammadu Buhari of Nige	559	3	Maybe		
18	Remarks by President Obama at Luncheon for Heads of State and Government	580	3	Yes		
19	Remarks by the President at the White House Summit on Global Development	3804	3	Yes	foreign aid	
20	Remarks by President Obama in Address to the United Nations General Assembly	5116	3	Yes		
21	Remarks by the President on the Economy -- Cleveland, OH	6399	3	Maybe		
22	Remarks by the President on the Situation in Libya	1271	3	Maybe	humanitarian assistance	
23	Remarks by the President on the Situation in Japan	1175	3	Maybe		
24	Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakis	4665	3	Maybe		
25	Remarks of President Barack Obama - Responsibly Ending the War in Iraq	3618	3	Maybe		
26	Opening Remarks by the President in Call with Rabbis for Rosh Hashanah	559	2	Maybe	military assistance	
27	Remarks by the President in Commencement Address to the United States Air Force Academy	4533	2	Yes	foreign assistance	
28	Remarks by President Obama to U.S. and Japanese Forces	1003	2	Maybe	humanitarian aid	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
29	Remarks by President Obama in Address to the People of Europe	5858	2	Yes	economic assistance	
30	Statement by the President on Iran	1926	2	No		
31	Remarks by President Obama at ASEM Business and Investment Summit	4088	2	Maybe		
32	Remarks by the President at U.N. Climate Change Summit	1679	2	Yes	climate change	
33	Weekly Address: We Will Degrade and Destroy ISIL	740	2	Maybe	humanitarian aid	
34	Statement by the President	1385	2	Maybe	humanitarian, military	
35	Statement by the President on Ukraine	750	2	Maybe		
36	Remarks by President Obama at Civil Society Roundtable	2416	2	Maybe		
37	Remarks by President Obama at the University of Cape Town	5190	2	Yes	foreign aid	
38	Remarks by President Obama at the University of Yangon	4003	2	Maybe		
39	Remarks by the President to the UN General Assembly	4074	2	Maybe		
40	Weekly Address: President Obama Says the Mission in Libya is Succeeding	759	2	Maybe	humanitarian assistance	
41	Remarks by the President During Fort Bliss Army Base Visit	1259	2	Maybe		
42	Remarks by President Obama and President Preval of the Republic of Haiti	2005	2	Maybe		
43	Remarks by the President on Recovery Efforts in Haiti	1150	2	Maybe		
44	Remarks by the President on Rescue Efforts in Haiti	696	2	Maybe		
45	Remarks by the President at the Morning Plenary Session of the United Nations Climate Change C	1257	2	Yes		
46	Remarks by President Barack Obama at Suntory Hall	4502	2	Yes		
47	Remarks by the President to the United Nations General Assembly	5231	2	Maybe		
48	Remarks by John Brennan at the Center for Strategic and International Studies	5158	2	Yes		
49	Remarks By President Obama On Major Economies Forum Declaration	1497	2	Yes		
50	Remarks by the President at the Summit of the Americas Opening Ceremony	2273	2	Maybe		
51	Remarks by the President on the Economy at Georgetown University	6666	2	Maybe		
52	Remarks by President Obama at Call to Action CEO Roundtable	668	1	Maybe		
53	Remarks by President Obama Before U.S.-ASEAN Meeting	449	1	Maybe		
54	Remarks by President Obama at the Cooperative Orthotic and Prosthetic Enterprise (COPE) Centre	1252	1	Maybe		
55	Remarks by President Obama Before Bilateral Meeting with President Xi Jinping of China at the C	409	1	Maybe		
56	Remarks by President Obama in Address to the Parliament of Canada	5132	1	Yes	humanitarian aid	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
57	Remarks by the President After Counter-ISIL Meeting	3063	1	Maybe		
58	Remarks by President Obama in Address to the People of Vietnam	4215	1	Maybe	humanitarian aid	
59	Statement by the President on Progress in the Fight Against ISIL	1995	1	Maybe	humanitarian aid	
60	Remarks by President Obama at Opening Session of the U.S.-ASEAN Summit	1002	1	Maybe		
61	Remarks by the President at the University of Nebraska-Omaha	5281	1	Maybe		
62	Remarks by President Obama in Mission Innovation Announcement	1037	1	Yes	development assistance	
63	Remarks by President Obama at the Dignity for Children Foundation	916	1	Maybe	humanitarian aid	
64	Statement by the President on Afghanistan	2448	1	Maybe		
65	Remarks by President Obama to the United Nations General Assembly	4792	1	Yes	donor of assistance	
66	Remarks by the President at Global Entrepreneurship Event	2309	1	Maybe	aid agencies	
67	Remarks at the Arab American Institute's Annual Kahlil Gibran Gala	1524	1	Yes	humanitarian assistance	
68	Remarks by the President at the Summit on Countering Violent Extremism February 19, 2015	2525	1	Maybe		
69	Remarks by the President on Request to Congress for Authorization of Force Against ISIL	1232	1	Maybe	humanitarian assistance	
70	Remarks by President Obama at U.S.-India Business Council Summit	2254	1	Maybe	usaid	
71	Remarks by the President to Senior Leaders of the Federal Workforce	2394	1	Maybe	aid workers	
72	Remarks by the President at College Opportunity Summit	3507	1	Maybe		
73	Remarks by President Obama at the University of Queensland	5513	1	Maybe	not really key words	
74	Remarks by the President on Ebola	1550	1	Maybe		
75	Remarks by the President After Meeting with Chiefs of Defense	1465	1	Maybe	humanitarian assistance	
76	Weekly Address: America is Leading the World	557	1	Maybe		
77	Remarks by the President on the Ebola Outbreak	1979	1	Yes		
78	Remarks by the President to the American Legion National Convention	4957	1	Maybe	military assistance	
79	Statement by the President	1342	1	Yes		
80	Remarks by President Obama at 25th Anniversary of Freedom Day	2359	1	Maybe	transformation	
81	Remarks by the President to the Troops at Bagram Air Base, Afghanistan	2869	1	Maybe	transition	
82	Remarks by the President in Address to European Youth	3984	1	Maybe		
83	Remarks by the President at the Business Roundtable	2654	1	Maybe		
84	Remarks by President Obama at Business Leaders Forum	2546	1	Yes	development assistance	

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
85	Remarks By The President At Cinco De Mayo Reception	898		1 Maybe			
86	Remarks by President Obama at Hankuk University	3739		1 No			
87	Remarks By President Obama to the Australian Parliament	3782		1 Maybe			
88	Remarks by President Obama in Address to the United Nations General Assembly	4567		1 Maybe			
89	Remarks by the President at White House Independence Day Celebration	871		1 Maybe			
90	Remarks by the President at Dedication of the Ronald H. Brown United States Mission to the Uni	1975		1 Maybe			
91	Remarks by President Obama on Latin America in Santiago, Chile	4173		1 Maybe			
92	Remarks by the President to the People of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	2616		1 Maybe			
93	Remarks by the President on Education in Arlington, Virginia	3585		1 Maybe			
94	Remarks by the President to the Joint Session of the Indian Parliament in New Delhi, India	4339		1 Yes	developing assistance		
95	Remarks by the President to the United Nations General Assembly	4116		1 Maybe			
96	Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation on the End of Combat Operations in Iraq	2598		1 Maybe			
97	Remarks by the President in State of the Union Address	7461		1 Maybe	state of union		
98	Remarks by the President at the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention	4631		1 Maybe	aid workers		
99	Remarks by the President after trilateral meeting with President Karzai of Afghanistan and Presi	1281		1 Maybe			
100	Weekly Address: President Obama Hails Unprecedented G-20 Action to Address Global Economic	999		1 Maybe			
101	Remarks by the President After Meeting with Sudan Special Envoy Scott Gratton, Sudan Advocates	582		1 Maybe			
102	Remarks of President Obama to the People of Laos	4192		0 Maybe			
103	Remarks by the President at the 2016 SelectUSA Investment Summit	2005		0 Maybe	development		
104	Remarks by the President on New Cybersecurity Initiatives	1268		0 No			
105	Remarks by President Obama at the First Session of COP21	1762		0 Maybe	COP21		
106	Remarks by the President at an Organizing for Action Dinner	1178		0 Maybe			
107	Remarks by President Obama to the Kenyan People	5480		0 Maybe			
108	Statement by the President on the Re-Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with Cuba	1116		0 Maybe			
109	Remarks by the President at the Catholic Health Association Conference	3686		0 No			
110	Remarks by the President in State of the Union Address January 20, 2015	6862		0 Maybe	state of union		
111	Statement by the President on Cuba Policy Changes	2298		0 Maybe			
112	Remarks by President Obama at APEC Plenary Session One	681		0 Maybe			

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
113	Remarks by President Obama at Open Government Partnership Meeting	1576		0 Maybe			
114	Remarks by President Obama in Address to the United Nations General Assembly	4556		0 Maybe			
115	Remarks As Prepared for Delivery by President Barack Obama, Address to the United Nations Ger	4284		0 Yes			
116	Remarks by the President at Opening Session of the U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit	851		0 Maybe			
117	Remarks by President Obama at a Luncheon Hosted by U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon	420		0 Maybe			
118	Remarks by the President to the Clinton Global Initiative	2946		0 Maybe			
119	Remarks by the President at Reception for the Diplomatic Corps	860		0 Maybe			
120	Remarks by the President at the Acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize	4307		0 Maybe			