

**REFUSAL STRATEGIES REPRESENTING POWER
AND DISTANCE OF TRUMP & BIDEN: FINAL DEBATE**

THESIS

By:
Syafa Tasya Andini
NIM 19320024



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG
2023**

REFUSAL STRATEGIES REPRESENTING POWER AND DISTANCE OF TRUMP & BIDEN: FINAL DEBATE

THESIS

Presented to
Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)

By:
Syafa Tasya Andini
NIM 18320054

Advisor:
Dr. Agus Eko Cahyono, M. Pd.
NIP. 198208112011011008



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG
2023**

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled “**Refusal Strategies representing power and distance of Trump & Biden: Final debate**” is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those ones that are cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is an objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, 27 May 2023

the researcher



Syafa Tasya Andini

NIM 19320024

APPROVAL SHEET

This to certify that Syafa Tasya Andni's thesis entitled "**Refusal Strategies representing power and distance of Trump & Biden: Final Debate**" has been approved for thesis examination at Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S).

Malang, 04 December 2023

Approved by
Advisor,

Head of Department of English Literature,



Dr. Agus Eko Cahyono, M. Pd
NIP. 198208112011011008



Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed, Ph.D.
NIP 198112052011011007

Approved by

Dean of Faculty of Humanities



Dr. M. Faisol, M. Ag.
NIP. 197411012003121003

LEGITIMATION SHEET

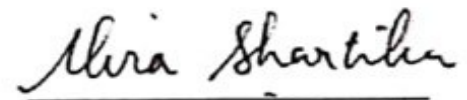
This to certify that Syafa Tasya Andini's thesis entitled **Refusal Strategies representing power and distance of Trump & Biden: Final Debate** has been approved for thesis examination at Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S).

Malang, 04 December 2022

The Board of Examiners



Signatures

1. Dr. Agus Eko Cahyono, M. Pd. (Chair)
NIP 198208112011011008
2. Deny Efita Nur Rakhmawati, M.Pd. (First Examiner)
NIP 198505302009122006
3. Mira Shartika, M.A (Second Examiner)
NIP 19790308201802012177

Approved by

Dean of Faculty of Humanities



Dr. M. Faisol, M.Ag.
NIP 197411012003121003

MOTTO

فَاصْبِرْ صَبْرًا جَمِيلًا

“So be patient with gracious patience”
(Q.S Al-ma’arij 5)

DEDICATION

This thesis is proudly dedicated to
My beloved parents,
father Abdul wakid and *Mother* Wiwik Suliyawati
My beloved siblings,
Zainul Nur Sugesti and Muhammad Farrel Maulana Abiyyu
And all My Family, Friends, Teachers
Who always give prays, motivation, and spirit.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of all the worlds. Let us express our gratitude to the mighty God, praising His goodness and mercy. The author can easily complete the thesis titled "Refusal Strategies Representing Power and Distance of Trump & Biden: Final Debate." Furthermore, we present our prayers and greetings to the Prophet Muhammad SAW, seeking his guidance. We have evolved from the dark ages to an era characterized by abundant scientific knowledge and firm faith. The author expresses sincere appreciation to all individuals and entities who have contributed their expertise, support, and valuable input throughout the thesis writing process. Their power, effort, guidance, and direction, as well as the outcomes of fruitful talks, have been instrumental in the completion of this work. The author sincerely extends his endless gratitude to:

1. Dr. M. Faisol, M. Ag. serves as the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.
2. Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed, Ph. D. serves as the Chair of the English Literature Study Program at the State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.
3. Dr. Agus Eko Cahyono, M. Pd. Served as the supervisor for this thesis, providing advice, direction, suggestions, solutions, motivation, and support from start to completion.
4. Nur Latifah M.A my academic advisor has provided guidance and motivation during lecture.
5. The author's family, father, mother, older siblings and younger siblings, always provide support, guide, direct and provide advice and motivation to complete the education that the author is currently studying.

6. All of the writer's friends whom the writer cannot mention. The author expresses his incomparable gratitude for being present in every process of this life's development, hopefully we will be reunited in the best versions of each of us.
7. Ashilah Putri Yulianti 19320064, thank you for always being there when the author needed help, and providing support when the author was in trouble. Thank you for being a good person to me and the people around me. Thank you for working together.
8. My friends Alsa, Sela, Ike, Kamal, Anis, Anisa, Shinta, Elisa, Niken, Hilda, and Ifatur who have accompanied me during the author's study period.
9. A young man with ID 19210183 who has supported, helped, prayed for and accompanied the author during the preparation of his thesis under any circumstances.
10. Last but not least, I wanna thank to myself, for doing all this hard work, for struggling, for never guilting, never giving up, and always being me at all times.

Moreover, I acknowledge that this undergraduate thesis is not great. Yet, it is intended that this will be beneficial for readers and make a valuable contribution to the field of linguistics research. Therefore, we encourage constructive suggestions and criticism.

Malang, 20 November 2022

Syafa Tasya Andini

ABSTRACT

Andini, Syafa Tasya (2023). Refusal Strategies representing power and distance of Trump & Biden: Final debate Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor Agus Eko Cahyono, M.Pd.

Keywords: Pragmatic, Refusal strategies, power and distance.

This research is a pragmatic field. This study aims to identify cases of rejection used by Donald Trump and Joe Biden in their recent debates. Researchers are interested in examining rejection based on social status. Researchers use the theory of the type of refusal strategies by Beebe (1990), and associated with the theory of politeness, specifically power and distance by Scollon and Scollon (1995). So, there are two main focuses that this study wants to reveal: (i) the type of rejection strategy used by Donald Trump and Joe Biden and (ii) how Donald Trump and Joe Biden's awareness of power and distance in the application of rejection strategy cases. Researchers analyzed the data using qualitative methods. This study obtained data from all conversations of Donald Trump and Joe Biden in their final debate. Researchers classified data into types of refusal strategies, then analyzed how refusal strategies are used to show awareness of power and distance. The results showed that direct refusal strategies are mainly non-performative. This shows that Donald Trump showed his power as president at that time. Joe Biden, on the other hand, uses indirect refusal to save face-threatening actions, so that communication can run smoothly without feeling offended.

ستخلص البحث

أنديني ، سيففا تاسيا (2023). استراتيجية الرفض: تمثيل القوة والمسافة ترامب وبايدن: المناظرة النهائية: أطروحة جامعية. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي ، كلية العلوم الثقافية ، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج. المشرف أجوس إيكو كاهيونو ، دكتوراه في الطب.
الكلمات المفتاحية: البراغماتية ، استراتيجية الإنكار ، القوة والمسافة .

هذا البحث هو مجال عملي. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحديد حالات الرفض التي استخدمها دونالد ترامب وجو بايدن في مناظراتهما الأخيرة. يهتم الباحثون بفحص الرفض على أساس الوضع الاجتماعي. يستخدم الباحثون نظرية نوع استراتيجيات الرفض من قبل Beebe (1990) ، والمرتبطة بنظرية الأدب ، وتحديد القوة والمسافة بواسطة Scollon and Scollon (1995). لذلك ، هناك محوران رئيسيان تريد هذه الدراسة الكشف عنهما: (i) نوع استراتيجية الرفض التي استخدمها دونالد ترامب وجو بايدن و (ii) كيف وعي دونالد ترامب وجو بايدن بالقوة والمسافة في تطبيق حالات استراتيجية الرفض. قام الباحثون بتحليل البيانات باستخدام الأساليب النوعية. حصلت هذه الدراسة على بيانات من جميع محادثات دونالد ترامب وجو بايدن في مناظرتهم النهائية. صنف الباحثون البيانات إلى أنواع من استراتيجيات الرفض ، ثم حللوا كيفية استخدام استراتيجيات الرفض لإظهار الوعي بالقوة والمسافة. أظهرت النتائج أن استراتيجيات الرفض المباشر غير أدائية بشكل أساسي. هذا يدل على أن دونالد ترامب أظهر قوته كرئيس في ذلك الوقت. من ناحية أخرى ، يستخدم جو بايدن الرفض غير المباشر لحفظ الإجراءات التي تهدد الوجه ، بحيث يمكن أن يعمل التواصل بسلاسة دون الشعور بالإهانة.

ABSTRAK

Andini, Syafa Tasya (2023). Strategi Penolakan: mewakili kekuasaan dan jarak Trump & Biden: Debat akhir: Tesis Sarjana. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing Agus Eko Cahyono, M.Pd.

Kata Kunci: Pragmatik, strategi penolakan, kekuasaan dan jarak

Penelitian ini adalah bidang pragmatik. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi kasus penolakan yang digunakan oleh Donald Trump dan Joe Biden dalam debate terakhirnya. Peneliti tertarik untuk meneliti tindak penolakan berdasarkan status social. Peneliti menggunakan teori jenis refusal strategies oleh Beebe (1990), Dan dikaitkan dengan teori kesopanan, khususnya daya dan jarak oleh Scollon dan Scollon (1995). Jadi, ada dua focus utama yang ingin diungkapkan oleh penelitian ini adalah : (i) jenis strategi penolakan yang digunakan oleh Donald Trump dan Joe Biden dan (ii) bagaimana kesadaran Donald Trump dan Joe Biden terhadap daya dan jarak dalam penerapan kasus strategi penolakan. Peneliti menganalisis data menggunakan metode qualitative methods. This study obtained data from all conversation of the Donald Trump and Joe Biden in their final debate. Peneliti mengklasifikasi data into types of refusal strategies, then analyzed how refusal strategies are used to show awareness of power and distance. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa direct refusal strategies terutama non-performative. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa Donald trump menunjukkan power nya sebagai presiden saat itu. Sedangkan Joe Biden, menggunakan indirect refusal untuk menyelamatkan tindakan yang mengancam mukanya, sehingga komunikasi dapat berjalan dengan lancar tanpa merasa tersinggung.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

REFUSAL STRATEGIES REPRESENTING POWER AND DISTANCE OF TRUMP & BIDEN: FINAL DEBATE.....	i
STATEMENT OF AUTORSHIP	ii
APPROVAL SHEET	iii
LEGITIMATION SHEET	iv
MOTTO	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	vii
ABSTRACT.....	ix
ستخلص البحث	x
ABSTRAK.....	xi
CHAPTER I.....	1
INTRODUCTION	1
A. Background of the Study	1
B. Research Question	9
C. Significance of the Study.....	9
D. Scope and Limitation	9
E. Definition of Keyterm.....	10
CHAPTER II.....	11
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	11
A. Pragmatics.....	11
B. Refusal strategies.....	12
1. Direct.....	12
2. Indirect	12
3. Adjuncts	18
C. Politeness System.....	19
a. The Different Politeness System.....	19
b. The Solidarity Politeness System.....	20
c. The Hierarchical Politeness System.....	20
D. Power and Distance.....	21
CHAPTER III.....	22
RESEARCH METHOD.....	22
A. Research Design.....	22
B. Data and Data Sources.....	22
C. Data Collection	23

D. Data Analysis	23
CHAPTER IV	24
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	24
A. Findings.....	24
1. Types of Refusal Strategies in Their Final Debate.	25
2. Refusal Strategies Represent Power and Distance.	69
B. Discussion	74
CHAPTER V	83
CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION	83
A. Conclusion	83
B. Suggestion.....	84
REFERENCES	86
CURRICULUM VITAE	88
APPENDIX.....	89

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents some essential points related to the area of research: the background of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope and limitation, and the definition of key terms.

A. Background of the Study

Pragmatics is a linguistics field, that specializes in the relationship between language and speech context. Rahardi, 2003:12 defines "*Pragmatics is the study of the conditions of human language uses as they're determined by the context of society*", that pragmatics is the study of the conditions in which human language determined by the context of society. Based on the opinion above it can be determined that Pragmatics is the study of meaning and aspects of human thought and action. The speakers connected with situations or contexts outside the language, and it could be seen as a means of interaction or communication in society. Therefore, it is concerned with the analyzed meaning spoken by someone in their utterances, word, or phrases. So, pragmatics is part of communication in daily life, which can help the listener understand what the speaker means, in an unclear or ambiguous context.

This study investigates refusal strategies used in Trump & Biden debate video: Final Debate in the United States presidential election in 2020. This debate is telling about president Joe Biden and former vice president Trump that cover six major topics. Former vice president Joe Biden and President Trump have struggled to gain power and distance each other. In the

pragmatics area, it can be analyzed the speech contained in the dialogue that carried out by both. The difference in social status in the relationship between interlocutors and listeners affected power and distance on refusal strategies. Therefore, this movie is analyzed through linguistics, which focuses on refusal strategies.

Trump vs Biden: The Final Debate, in this context can see how both candidates respond or reject question or demands from the moderator or debate opponent. Political debates often reflect power and distance dynamics, especially between presidential candidates. Understanding power and distance can be explored by looking at how candidates respond to questions or criticism, whether they put aside or maintain power, and how they interact with each other.

Refusal is also defined as “a major cross-cultural sticking point for many non-native speakers” (Beebe et al., p. 56). In everyday communication, people often say no used to refuse requests, solicitations, suggestions, offers and other speech acts in advance. However, all cultures and languages use refusal in everyday life communication. There are differences based on studies between cultures not only show how they present strategy, but also how polite they are culture used to play an important role in strategy selection. Refusal is one relatively few speech acts and no action initiated by the speaker” (Gass & Houck, 1999, p. 2). The spokesperson thinks it could be more complicated to perform acts of refusal in a foreign language for fear of being wrong and offending the interlocutor.

According to A.A. HILL (1958:9) *language as the primary and most*

highly elaborated form of human symbolic activity. Language and language users are not observed individually but always associated with activities in society. Language is seen as an individual phenomenon and a social phenomenon. Refusal strategies are part of a commissive speech act. Language has a significant role in human communication. language everyone can express their thought and ideas using gestures, symbols, and sounds. People can use language in daily communication, such as asking a question, giving thanks, making a request, making deals, and making refuse. People can also refuse when someone says impolite words.

Speech levels are variations of language whose differences are determined by the speaker's attitude to conversation partner or third person being discussed. Differences in age, social level, and distance. Familiarity between the speaker and the conversation partner will determine the variety of language chosen. Mistakes in choosing language variations when speaking will cause awkwardness and considered impolite. According to Thomas (1995: 157), *no may evaluate politeness without involving context; because it's not just a form linguistics that will indicate whether an utterance is polite or not polite, but "form." linguistics + context of speech + relationship between speaker and interlocutor, as well as the effect of the speech on interlocutor.* The concept of politeness in social communication is something that is absolutely owned by people speech participants. One of the variables that really determines the success of communication is the extent to which it is communicated. This concept can be applied

proportionally by the speech participants involved. Thus, politeness has several social functions in an interaction between individuals, including, creating interactions that harmony, showing respect, and so on. Thus, politeness is a thing effective communication strategies to avoid potential conflicts between individuals. Conflicts on a larger scale such as conflicts between groups, between villages and between ethnic groups (see Yassi 2016c, and 2016d).

In the concept of politeness, there are two social variables, namely Power (P), which refers to social status and Distance (D), which refers to the speaker's level of familiarity. The recipient of the rejection may feel less empowered if the rejection comes from someone with higher power, such as a government official or state leader. Rejection can create interpersonal distance, especially if it is accompanied by more personal or emotional reasons.

A firm refusal without providing sufficient reasons may create greater interpersonal distance, while a refusal with a more detailed explanation may provide greater understanding. The concepts of politeness, power, and interpersonal distance can depend greatly on the particular cultural and political context. In some cultures, refusal may be considered an act of impoliteness, while in others, it may be considered a necessary action in negotiations or diplomacy. In some contexts, rejection can be understood as an effort to maintain "face" or self-image, for both the rejecter and the rejected.

Attempts to mitigate the negative impact of rejection on the relationship can create an impression of politeness. In political or diplomatic situations, the balance between politeness, power, and interpersonal distance can be complex and requires tact in communication to achieve desired goals while maintaining relationships between parties. Therefore, sufficient knowledge of grammar or different vocabulary cannot guarantee the occurrence of misinterpretation if it is not stated pragmatic knowledge to be exact. Therefore, the interlocutor must know when to use the appropriate form and function. So refusing is not just saying no, it can also be said differently.

Power and distance in communication have an important role. Power is related to the social status position between the speaker and the listener. In contrast, distance is a form of closeness between two or more related individuals. With the existence of power and distance, the communication that does between two interlocutors will differ. *According to Organizational Psychology degrees, 2021*, power distance is related to a construct that refers to social relationships and power. Having power and distance means, the language used and the behavior can differ. In addition, power and distance can also determine the relation between two interlocutors. In interacting, two people that close can refuse in their dialogue. To find out, it can use refusal strategies in pragmatics to state power and distance more deeply. Refusal can happen in many ways depending on the situation of the person you are talking to. For example, the students refuse their teacher. This kind of refusal shows of the hierarchical politeness system. power.

Their way of refusing can be different. High power distance cultures, individuals may use more direct and explicit refusal strategies when communicating, as there may be less need to soften the impact of the refusal. People may feel more comfortable asserting their authority or position. In low power distance cultures, refusal strategies may involve more indirect communication to preserve harmony and avoid direct confrontation. People might be more likely to provide reasons or alternatives to decline a request politely.

Beebe's theory (1990) is used in analyzing refusal strategies. Power and distance use by Scollon and Scollon (1995). Beebe's theory (1990), divides 3 types of refusal strategies, First, direct, indirect, and adjunct. Then, refusal strategies will compare with the power and distance theory by Scollon and Scollon (1995). The researcher takes the object of debate because debates is utterances that are constructed by live action and they produce utterances constantly. The result there are power and distance and elements of refusal strategies that are interesting to analyze. Power distance and refusal strategies are social phenomena in society at this time. Therefore, the theory by the researcher has been widely used to analyze the topic of this study. There is some previous study conducted in terms of refusal.

The study that used theory by Beebe (1990) about refusal strategy, such as (Wardani, 2019), describe refusal strategies and sequences in 5th-semester students. The results showed that the students of the English department often use indirect refusal strategies to communicate with others.

Similarly, research (Kasih, 2020) analyzes refusal strategies and the reasoned refusal performed by EFL Learners. The results show EFL learners used regret in refusal strategies to show agreement forward the interlocutors and used politeness in refusals to preserve FTA. (Solihah, 2020) Investigate power relation in refusal strategies on different gender, Sundanese female and male students. The results of this study found that there is not much difference between the two genders, and this research shows that power relations influence refusal strategies. The last researcher used Beebe's (1990) theory by (Maula, 2021) to analyze awareness of power and distance in applying refusal strategies performed by English department students of UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya. The result found that indirect refusal excuses, reasons, and explanations are the most used.

The study that used theory by Brown and Levinson (1987). The first, (Hardjanto & Ghaziyah 2020), investigate politeness strategies that are used to express refusals. The result shows that most used by English Speakers use Positive Politeness Strategy and Indonesian Speakers use Negative Politeness Strategy. (Ansari, 2021), examined types of refusal strategies and politeness strategies in a home-alone movie showing that indirect refusal is the most used at 62,86%, following direct refusal at 37,14%. (Azwan, 2021) analyzed the social relationships between Ambonese and Americans in refusing requests. The results show that Ambonese frequently used bald on record (strangers), use positive politeness (intimate relationship), and use negative politeness (hierarchal relationship). They made solidarity to

responding and answering by local wisdom. While Americans have the freedom to express their feeling. Americans used negative politeness strategies (strangers), used off-record strategies, negative politeness strategies (intimate relationships), and used negative politeness strategies or off-record strategies (hierarchal relationships).

The study that used theory by Eslami (2010). (Suta, 2022), analyzed the classification of refusal strategies, main characters in Ice Age Continental Drift Movie. The result shows that the main character in the movie used an indirect refusal strategy. Following Eslami, Z., R. (2010), they divide refusal into three classifications. There are direct and indirect prohibitions on them. They also explain additions by name expressions related to refusal that cannot be used alone as a refusal. In this case, politeness is necessary to build and maintain good relationships and good social skills with others.

The study that used theory by Austin (1969). (Devi, 2020), analyzed the types and functions of commissive speech acts by the main characters in knives out the movie. The results show that direct commissive utterances are the most used and followed and performed indirectly. Furthermore (Larasati, 2021), analyzed refusal strategies that were suggestions by netizens found in CNN's post comments. The result shows that the indirect refusal strategy is the most used.

From the previous study, the researcher can conclude that there are similarities and differences between this study and the previous study. The similarity is the topic of refusals and the theory used for analysis is similar

to one of the previous researchers, Beebe (1990) and also theory of politeness system that showed awareness of power and distance, (Scollon and Scollon 1995). Based on several previous studies, refusal strategies not only analyze debate, but also movies, interviews, and virtual communication.

The difference from the previous study is the object of the study, this research focuses on utterances of the Trump & Biden debate. The researcher focused on refusal strategies and further analysis of refusal strategies using power and distance was also conducted.

B. Research Question

Considering the background of the research above, the researcher formulates the problems to be answered in this research as follows:

1. What are the types of refusal strategies used in Trump & Biden *Final Debate*?
2. How do Trump and Biden use refusal strategies to represent power and distance?

C. Significance of the Study

The researcher hopes his study will give contribute to the reader and the next researcher. The researcher will give practical significance, in which are expected to enrich the data of the previous studies. Furthermore, the findings of this present study can be useful for linguistics students who are interested in studying similar area.

D. Scope and Limitation

The scope of this research is to conduct the pragmatics area of refusal strategy of *Trump & Biden: Final Debate* on Sky News You Tube channel.

The goal of this study is to examine refusal strategies that represent power and distance. This research uses the theory by Beebe (1990) that focuses on the types of refusal strategies and the theory by Scollon and Scollon (1995) that focuses on analyzing power and distance related to refusal strategy in the debate.

The limitation of this study is the researcher only analyzes the dialogue on the debate Trump and Biden: Final Debate. The data is only obtained through a secondary source, video. The discussion of this research is limited to the topic of refusal and investigates power and distance that represent refusal strategies.

E. Definition of Keyterm

The researcher mentions some keywords used in the research based on the topic:

1. **Refusal strategies** are the kind of speech acts that show negative responses to the interlocutors that produced the *Trump v Biden: Final Debate*.
2. **Power ability** to control people or things based on social status that showed in *Trump v Biden: Final Debate* to show refusal on their debate.
3. **Distance relationship** between people in society. This research will show a refusal strategy that representing power and distance that shown by Trump & Biden in their final debate.
4. **Trump & Biden final debate** is the last debate between Donald Trump and Joe Biden in the United States Presidential election in 2020 took place on October 22, 2020 at Belmont University in Nashville.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter contains several major sub-chapters. In this chapter, the researcher discusses, pragmatics, speech acts, refusal strategies, power, and distance.

A. Pragmatics

Pragmatics is relative to a speaker or user of the language to study a meaning (Leech, 1983). Pragmatics also study the context in which an utterance is spoken. The contextual meaning behind an utterance or the meaning created when an utterance is spoken. meaning and language depend on speakers, recipients, and other features of the speech context. In pragmatics, there are aspects of linguistic context: addresser or address, the context of utterances, purpose of statement the utterances as a form of act or activity (speech act), and the utterances as a product of verbal action.

According to Yule (1996), pragmatics is one of the linguistics branches that focus on the meaning that acts. It can be understood, pragmatics is the study of a speaker's meaning. It means pragmatics focuses on the meaning communicated by the speaker and the listener. In addition, it is concerned with people's meaning through their utterances in communication and how theory interprets the meaning. Pragmatics also examines contextual meaning, and it is necessarily an interpretation of what people mean in a particular context and how that context affects what they said and with whom they are talking, where, when, and what circumstances.

B. Refusal strategies

Refusal is part of speech acts. Refusal show when people avoid the speaker's invitations. Refusal happens when someone gives negative responses to what the speaker said. It can be, demands, requests, commands, invites, offers, and suggestions. Refusal can be expressed directly and indirectly. This theory was used to analyze the three types of refusal strategies by Beebe (1990):

1. Direct

Interlocutors refuse an invitation, they can be refused without an explanation or reason. This condition is called **direct refusal**. Direct refusal has two types, which are performative and non-performative.

Performative use to reduce the negative response of the speaker. Example: I refuse, it seems I cannot come to your party. In this example, the refuse is expressed using good word choices that are used to reduce negative connotations to the speaker.

Non-performatives show a negative response directly. Example: I cannot, I won't, and I don't. The pronunciation of the words "no", and "I cannot" describe the word as negative for the speaker.

2. Indirect

Indirect refusals try to keep the face-threatening of the speaker. Indirect refusal aims to keep the speaker from negative responses. Furthermore, it gives a chance for the speaker avoid a negative response. The followings are the indirect refusals:

a. Statement of regret

Regrets appear when receiving an invitation. The interlocutors use this refusal when they cannot receive the invitations and by using the sentence that show a regret.

Example: *I'm sorry, I cannot attend to your party*

b. Wish

Communication strategy where a person declines a request but expresses good wishes or positive sentiments toward the requester. This approach is used to soften the impact of the refusal and maintain a positive tone in the interaction. This response is also known as a positive response. The interlocutors show an expression to respect for the speaker.

Example: *I wish I could help you.*

c. Reason.

Communication strategy where a person declines a request while providing a specific reason for the refusal. Instead of a direct and categorical "no," this approach offers an explanation to help the requester understand the constraints or limitations that prevent the acceptance of the request.

Example: *I do not know what the taste is because I never ate it before.*

d. Statement of alternative

Communication strategy where a person, while declining a request, suggests an alternative course of action. This approach aims to soften

the impact of the refusal by providing an alternative solution or compromise.

Example: *I prefer going to the beach rather than the mountains.*

e. Set condition for future

Involves declining a request in the present while setting conditions that, if met, might make acceptance possible in the future. This approach allows the person refusing to communicate that there are specific circumstances under which they would be willing to consider the request at a later time.

Example: *I will come to your birthday after I finish my work.*

f. Promise of future acceptance

Refers to a communication strategy where someone declines a request at the present moment but indicates a willingness to consider or accept a similar request in the future. This approach is often used to soften the impact of the refusal and maintain a positive relationship.

Example: *maybe next time.* This response gives a promise to receive another time. This response is a positive response, used to make the speaker feel calm.

g. Statement of principle

Typically outlines fundamental beliefs, values, or guiding principles that an individual or organization adheres to. The idea is to decline a request while framing the response in a way that aligns with these overarching beliefs. Refusals that claim or appeal “I don’t believe”.

Example:

“Only good people get a good ending” This response states appeal “I don’t believe”

“My friends do not accept a give” This response states a claim and gives information.

h. Statement of Philosophy

Usually refers to a declaration or expression of an individual's or an organization's guiding principles, beliefs, or values. It's a way to communicate the fundamental ideas that shape their actions and decisions.

Example: *help one, help all.*

i. Attempt to dissuade interlocutors

There are 3 ways:

1) Threat/ statement of negative consequence

Statement that contains mention of negative consequences, it highlights the potential undesirable results of the requested action. This can serve as a way to indirectly communicate rejection by making it clear that continuing with the request may result in an undesirable outcome.

Example: *I will not be any fun tonight.*

2) Criticize the request criticism

Involves rejecting a request while providing feedback or expressing concerns about the request in a tactful manner. The goal

is to communicate the rejection without outright rejecting the person making the request. This approach is often used to maintain positive relationships and minimize negative impacts on the applicant's feelings.

Example: *that is a terrible idea!*

3) **Let interlocutor off the hook**

Indirect refusal means diplomatically or tactfully refusing a request, suggestion or invitation without causing discomfort or offense to the person making the request. This involves clever conversation to convey rejection in a way that allows the other person to save face or maintain dignity. In other words, it's a way to say "no" gracefully without causing tension or embarrassment. This approach is often used in professional or social situations where maintaining positive relationships is important.

Example: *That is okay.*

j. Acceptance that functions as a refusal

1) **Unspecific reply**

Refers to a response that avoids providing a clear and direct answer to a request. Instead of explicitly saying "no" or refusing, the speaker offers a vague or ambiguous response. This can be a way to navigate a situation without causing discomfort or explicitly rejecting the other person.

Example: *I'll see what I can do. I have a lot on my plate right now,*

but let me check my schedule and get back to you.

2) **Lack of enthusiasm**

Involves responding to a request or proposal with a lack of excitement or genuine interest, making it clear that you are not eager to agree or participate.

Example: *Oh, well, I appreciate the offer, but I'm not sure I have the time right now. Committees can be quite time-consuming, you know."*

3) **Avoidance**

- **Non-verbal**

Involves communicating a negative response without using spoken words. Non-verbal communication can include facial expressions, body language, gestures, and other forms of expression. People may use non-verbal cues to convey reluctance, disapproval, or a lack of interest without explicitly stating a refusal verbally.

Example: *I'm not sure.*

- **Verbal**

Involves communicating a negative response or declining a request without explicitly stating "no." This approach often includes polite language, providing reasons, or suggesting alternatives to soften the impact of the refusal. The goal is to navigate the conversation tactfully while conveying the message that the request is not accepted.

Example: *Thank you for considering me, but I have to decline the offer at this time.*"

3. Adjuncts

Adjunct cannot be used for themselves, they cannot stand alone.

Adjunct must with refusal strategies. There are five types:

1) **Statement of positive opinion/feeling or agreement**

Involve acknowledging a valid point from the opposing side or expressing agreement with certain aspects of an argument.

Example: *I would love to.*

2) **Statement of empathy**

Involves acknowledging the other person's feelings or situation while still communicating a negative response. It's a way to show understanding and consideration.

Example: *I know what you feel.*

3) **Pause filters**

Example: *hmm, well, uhm.*

4) **Gratitude or appreciation**

Communication to combine a negative response with polite and appreciative language.

Example: *Thank you for your attention.*

5) **Alerts**

Typically refer to notifications or warnings, often in the context of technology or communication systems.

Example: *I can't commit to the full project, but I'd be happy to help with specific tasks.*

C. Politeness System

Scollon and Scollon's politeness system (1995). There are three kinds of politeness systems:

a. The Different Politeness System

It processes equal status in social society. This type has less power (P -) But increases the distance relationship (D +). It can reduce misunderstanding.

The features of the different politeness systems as follows:

- (P -), interlocutor has a similar level or status with another.

Example:

Two colleagues at the same organizational level discussing a project:

Colleague A: "I was thinking we could implement a new strategy for the next quarter."

Colleague B: "That sounds like a good idea. I was considering something similar. Let's discuss the details."

- (D +), interlocutor independently expresses opinions or ideas to others.

Example:

During a student club meeting, a member proposes a new initiative:

Student Member: "I've been thinking about organizing a series of workshops to promote sustainability on campus. What do you all think about starting this project?"

b. The Solidarity Politeness System

Interlocutors feel no power difference or social distance in their communication. Almost the same as the different politeness system, with a lack of power (P -) and quite close (D -).

The features of the solidarity politeness system as described below:

- (P -), the speaker's position as equal status with the other.

Example:

Two students planning a study group for an upcoming exam:

Student A: "I was thinking we could organize a study group for the final exam. What do you think?"

Student B: "Sure, that sounds like a great idea! I was actually going to suggest the same thing."

- (D -), the speaker implicates politeness strategy with the other.

Example:

A student discussing a potential change in the meeting schedule with a fellow student:

Student: "I hope this doesn't inconvenience you, but I was wondering if we could adjust the meeting time for our group project. I have another commitment during the current time."

c. The Hierarchical Politeness System

Interlocutors mostly use formal interaction where differences in power and social distance still exist. Power (P +) With a long-distance relationship (D +). That can be concluded, one individual acts as a

superordinate, while another acts as a subordinate. The characteristics of the hierarchical politeness system as following below:

- (P +), the interlocutor places themselves as different in social status.
- (D+), the higher status uses involvement strategy. Besides that, the lower status uses the independence strategy.

D. Power and Distance

Power and distance are defined as the extent to which members of an organization who are less powerful in a country expect and accept that power within their organization is distributed unequally (Hofstede, 2001). Power is related to the relationship between the speaker and listener in social status. Power determines what plans to do and the self-evaluation of the interlocutor and distance is a form of closeness between two or more people interacting and communicating (Brown & Levinson, 1987). With the use of Power and distance, the language used and the behavior that do can differ, depending on how close the two interlocutors are. state that power is related to the social context that is processed by individuals who are influenced by differences in status. So, someone has to refuse a particular action because of their status social.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This section discusses about research methods which consist of research design, data source, research instrument, data collection, and data analysis.

A. Research Design

This study used descriptive qualitative as the research design to describe linguistic phenomena that are depicted in Trump & Biden; Final Debate. The study focuses on Beebe's theory used to analyze the refusal strategy founds in the debate. the descriptive techniques collected the data in words or visuals to make it easier to understand. methods to describe all utterances of the two main characters. This method focuses on Trump & Biden in their debate utterances.

In this research, the researcher combines the data from a You tube videos and Transcript of the debate. To find out refusal strategies and power distance. Involving the You tube video of Biden vs Trump in the final debate as the objects, this study investigated how they performed refusal strategies and awareness of power and distance when showing refusals. The study examined the most common refusal strategies used.

B. Data and Data Sources

The data source is a video debate between Biden & Trump. The data are several sentences from the script contained in the debate video of Biden vs Trump in 22 October 2020 with duration 93 Minutes. The researcher downloaded the video from Sky News channel on You tube. The primary data was is video debate between Biden & Trump. Then, the secondary data was in

the video debate of the Biden & Trump transcript. The data are several words, phrases, and sentences of the script that contain refusal strategies.

The researcher looked for an English debate video that was suited to applied refusal strategies and power distance. Several utterances were produced by Trump & Biden which belong to refusal strategy. The data to be analyzed is the utterances of Trump & Biden.

C. Data Collection

In collecting data from the data source of the YouTube video *Trump and Biden: Final Debate*. The researcher took several steps in collecting data. The researcher watched a video debate on Sky News's YouTube channel. Then, downloaded the transcripts on blog transcript rev.com. next, read transcript and choose the data that belongs to types of refusal.

D. Data Analysis

After data collection, Data were analyzed using a qualitative method to know the types of refusal strategies produced by Trump & Biden. The researcher takes several steps to analyze the data in this study. First, the researcher classified the data into the types of refusal strategies by Beebe's theory (1990). Then, the researcher analyzed how refusal strategies are used to show awareness of power and distance by Scollon and Scollon (1995). Next, the final step is concluding the result of this study based on the findings and discussion.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the result and discussion based on the explanation of the previous chapter. The result includes the explanation of the data by the types of refusal strategies found in Trump vs Biden: The Final Debate, and representing power distance. In the discussion, the researcher will develop the analysis of the results using the theory of Beebe (1990) and Scollon and Scollon (1995).

A. Findings

The data in this study are the utterances of Trump and Biden in the Final Debate. The researcher found this data from the transcript and sub-scene in **Sky News YouTube channel**. This result is divided into two parts, the first part covers the classification of refusal strategies according to Beebe (1990). The second part analyzes the power and distance of Trump and Biden by refusing a conversation. Researcher hook this study to the theory of power and distance by Scollon and Scollon (1995).

In this chapter, the researcher found 38 data type of refusal strategies in Trump and Biden: Final Debate. To avoid data situation, similar types of refusal are classified as a datum. Beebe explained that there are three types of refusal strategies: direct refusal, indirect refusals, and adjunct.

1. Types of Refusal Strategies in Their Final Debate.

a. Direct refusals

Datum 1

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 1

Kristen Walker: “President Trump I'd like to follow up with you and your comments you talked about taking a therapeutic I assume you're referencing Regeneron you also said a vaccine will be coming within weeks is that a guarantee?”

Donald Trump: “**No it's not a guarantee but it will be** by the end of the year I think it is a good chance there are two companies I think within a matter of weeks and it will be distributed very quickly” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of Datum 1:

Kristen Walker asked President Trump about his statements regarding the use of the therapy and the expected arrival of a COVID-19 vaccine. Trump clarified that there is no absolute guarantee of a vaccine arriving within a few weeks, but he believes there is a "high probability" that two pharmaceutical companies will release vaccines in the coming weeks and that they will be distributed quickly. These remarks reflect President Trump's optimism about progress in developing a COVID-19 vaccine, although public health experts are often more cautious in providing firm timeline estimates regarding a vaccine's arrival.

Analysis Of datum 1:

It is found that non-performative refusals are used by Donald Trump, while based on Beebe's theory, it is found that the purpose of Donald Trump is to use direct refusal to minimize face-threatening acts to the listener. When Donald Trump said, “No, it's not a guarantee but it will be by the end of the year I think it is a good chance” he was using hedging to mitigate his

objections. He did not say with certainty that a vaccine would be available within weeks, but he expressed a more optimistic view. Donald Trump turned the focus on the future when he said that a vaccine "will be by the end of the year" and that there is "a good chance." This makes his denial feel less firm because he is talking about an uncertain future. In this situations. Donald Trump did not specifically provide an alternative to what Kristen Walker asked. However, he mentioned that there are "two companies" that are developing vaccines. This may have been thought to be a way to divert attention from the question he was rejecting. Direct refusal is used here because Kristen Walker gives a question that contains doubts, so to answer this question, Donald Trump answered it firmly and gave reasons so that the listener would believe and understand.

Datum 2

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 2

Kristen Walker: "Let me follow up with you because this is new information you have said a vaccine is coming soon within weeks now your own officials say it could take well into 2021 at the earliest for enough Americans to get Vaccinated and even then they say the country will be wearing masks and distancing into 2022. is your timeline realistic?"

Donald Trump: "**No I think** my timeline is going to be more accurate **I don't know that they're counting on the military** the way I do **but we** have our generals lined up one in particular that's the head of logistics and this is a very easy distribution for him he's ready to go as soon as we have the vaccine and we expect to have a hundred million vials as soon as we have the vaccine he's ready to go" (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 2:

Kristen Walker asked President Trump questions about his statements about a COVID-19 vaccine coming in a few weeks, while his administration officials suggested that vaccinating the United States population may not be sufficient until 2021, and even after that, mask use

and physical distancing it may still be needed until 2022.

Analysis of datum 2:

Donald Trump refused Kristen Walker's question directly and straightforward. Donald Trump used several forms of hedging in his response. When he says, "No I think my timeline is going to be more accurate," he is indicating his personal belief about scheduling time more quickly. However, using the words "I think" is a form of avoidance to avoid making very firm statements. He didn't reject the idea that his official timeline might be wrong.

Donald Trump has given an explanation as to why he thinks his official timeline is more accurate. He referred to the military's role and said he and the generals had plans ready for vaccine distribution. By giving these reasons, he is trying to convince that there is a basis for his belief. He said, "I don't know that they're counting on the military the way I do." This is an attempt to shift responsibility or differences of opinion to someone else (another policymaker). Donald Trump tried to smooth over differences by saying he and the military generals had similar plans, but perhaps with different emphases. This can be seen as an attempt to maintain harmony in the discussion. So, he used a direct refusal approach. Donald trump used "No. I think", which made his refusal sounds polite.

Datum 3

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 3

Kristen Walker: "Vice President Biden I want to talk broadly about strategy though you respond to that 30 seconds please and I have a question."

Joe: “**No number one he says that we're** uh you know we're learning to live with it people **are** learning to die with it you folks home will have an empty chair at the kitchen table this morning that man or wife going to bed tonight and reaching over to try to touch their out of habit where their wife or husband was is gone learning to live with it come on we're dying with it.” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 3:

Joe Biden categorically condemned Trump's statements about the pandemic. He described Trump's statement that "we are learning to live with it" as a gesture that appeared to ignore the serious impact of the pandemic on human lives. Biden said that people were “learning to live with it” and described the situation as very serious and tragic, citing images of people experiencing the loss of their family members to COVID-19.

Analysis of Datum 3:

Joe Biden’s statement directly refuses the idea that the response to the pandemic should be characterized as “**Learning to live with it**” by stating, “**No number one**”, he immediately counters this idea, suggesting that it’s not an acceptable or appropriate response. He added an emotional element to his response by describing the personal situations of people affected by the pandemic. This is an attempt to attract sympathy and influence public opinion. Biden used general statements and did not specifically comment on strategy. He avoided providing very specific details or statements, which would expose him to further questions. Biden uses rhetorical questions, such as "Come on we're dying with it," to express his disagreement with statements he considers inappropriate. This was a strategy to express his refuse without directly saying "no" to Kristen Walker. Joe Biden used the direct refusal approach to refusing a question by Kristen

Walker.

Datum 4

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 4

Kristen walker: "let me follow up with you president trump you've demanded schools open in person and insist they can do it safely but just yesterday Boston became the latest city to move public school system entirely online after a coronavirus spike what is your to parents who worry that sending their children to school will endanger not only their kids but also their teachers and families."

Donald Trump: "we're not going to have a country **you can't do this** we can't keep this country close this is a massive country with a massive economy people." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of Datum 4:

Kristen Walker asked President Trump questions about his administration's actions emphasizing the importance of physically opening schools amid the COVID-19 pandemic, even though some cities like Boston have decided to shift to online learning due to rising virus cases. Walker expressed the concern of parents who are concerned that sending their children to school could harm them, their teachers, and their families. President Trump expressed his belief that closing the country or its schools is not a viable solution. He considered that the United States was a large country with a large economy and emphasized that the country could not remain closed for long.

Analysis of Datum 4:

Donald Trump stated her refusal directly. Donald Trump used the argument that not opening schools would damage the country by saying, "We're not going to have a country you can't do this." This is an attempt to emphasize that opening schools is an unavoidable necessity and that completely shutting down the country is unacceptable. Trump appeared to

downplay parents' concerns by describing America as "a massive country with a massive economy." This could be seen as an attempt to downplay concerns for the health and safety of students, teachers, and their families. His statements indicate that he is leaning more towards reopening the economic and educational sectors to keep the country's economy running. Donald Trump use direct refusal and followed by a reason, as a sign of respect the act of inviting is given.

Datum 5

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 5

Kristen Walker: "Okay and we're going to talk about both of your records but your response to that vice president."

Joe Biden: "My response to that **as I never ever said what he accused me of saying the fact of the matter is in 2000 though after the crime bill** had been in in in in the law for a while this is the guy who said the problem at the crime bill there's not enough people in jail there's not enough people in jail." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 5:

Kristen Welker wanted to discuss criminal records and criminal law, including issues related to criminal laws that have been implemented in the past, such as "the crime bill" which likely refers to the 1994 Crime Control Act. Joe Biden responded by denying that he had ever said what he accused his opponents of doing. He also said that in 2000, there were people (whom he referred to as "this is the guy") who criticized the criminal law, saying that the problem was that not enough people were in prison. Joe Biden tried to clarify or defend himself against the criticism that he may have received in connection with criminal laws he has supported or been involved in the legislative process in the past. He appears to be trying to assert that he does

not fully agree with the views of the people he quoted in 2000.

Analysis of datum 5:

Joe Biden said clearly “**I never**”, he clarified the criticism made against him. Biden responded to the accusations by turning attention to President Trump himself, criticizing statements Trump had previously made about the Crime Act. This is a form of counterattack to show inequality in criticism. By referring to Trump's statement about "not enough people in prison," Biden tried to shift responsibility for problems with the Crime Bill proposed during his term. Joe Biden used non-performative direct refusal strategies. Joe Biden used this strategy, In the context of political debates, denial and counterattack are common strategies used by candidates to respond to accusations and try to defend their reputations. In this case, Biden is attempting to refute the allegations and create a more favorable narrative for himself.

Datum 6

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 6

Kristen Walker: “Let me know let me let me allow vice president.”

Joe Biden: “**Never said I oppose Frackie.**” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 6:

Appears to give Joe Biden an opportunity to answer or clarify his views on the Fracking issue, which may have been the subject of questions or criticism from Donald Trump. Joe Biden responded stating that he "Never said I opposed Fracking." He tried to explain or emphasize that he is not completely against fracking methods, which may be an attempt to assuage

any concerns or criticism he may have received regarding this issue.

Analysis of datum 6:

Joe Biden begins by directly refusing the accusation that they had opposed Frackie, but Joe Biden states “Never said I oppose Frackie “Joe Biden refuse very clear and straightforward refuse of the alleged statement. Joe firmly rejected the claim because Joe felt he never said that. Joe uses non-performative direct refusal, so that the listener believes. With this statement, Biden tried to clear himself of accusations that might harm his position in the political debate, especially in a context where fracking is a sensitive issue in some regions of the United States.

Datum 7

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 7

Kristen Walker: “President Trump, your reaction?”

Donald Trump: “**I didn’t say over soon.** I say we’re learning to live with it. We have no choice. We can’t lock ourselves up in a basement like Joe does. He has the ability to lock himself up” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 7:

Kristen Welker appears to be asking questions or starting conversations about how the United States government will handle the COVID-19 pandemic, which has had a major impact on society and the economy. Donald Trump tried to emphasize that although this pandemic is not over, society needs to learn to live with this situation. He stated that we are "learning to live with it" because according to him there is no other choice. Donald Trump also mentioned Joe Biden, his rival in the presidential election, and criticized him by saying that Joe Biden

often lives in the "basement" (basement) to avoid potential exposure to the virus, suggesting that Biden is not active in the campaign.

Analysis of datum 7:

Donald Trump uses non-performative direct refusal, he firmly says "I didn't say over soon" which can be seen as a direct refusal of a specific claim made about his previous statements. Then Donald Trump explains that we have to learn to live with him because we have no choice but to do that, we can't close down this entire nation. Trump tried to divert attention from statements that might benefit Joe Biden by stating, "We can't lock ourselves up in a basement like Joe does." This was an attempt to divert attention from his previous statements on the pandemic and direct it towards Joe Biden. This is a form of deflection to divert attention from his statements which may be unpopular.

Trump compared himself to Joe Biden, saying, "He has the ability to lock himself up." This is a form of comparison that may try to belittle or criticize Joe Biden's handling of the pandemic. This refusing is used so that the listener immediately understands the meaning of the refuse being said.

Datum 8

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 8

Kristen Walker: "Let me talk about your Tuesday--"

Donald Trump: "Excuse me. I take full responsibility. **It's not my fault that it came here. It's China's fault.** And you know what? It's not Joe's fault that it came here either. It's China's fault." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 8

Kristen Walker wants to ask a question or start a conversation

about the responsibilities and steps taken by the United States government in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic. Donald replied that he was not completely at fault and not responsible for this pandemic. He insisted that the pandemic was "China's fault" and that the spread of the virus could not be blamed on him or Joe Biden. Donald Trump is trying to shift responsibility from the United States government to China.

Analysis of datum 8:

Donald Trump used non-performative direct refusal. he rejected Joe Biden's statement. Trump used deflection to divert attention from a topic that Kristen Walker might be discussing. He immediately took the initiative and diverted attention by saying, "Excuse me. I take full responsibility. It's not my fault that it came here. It's China's fault." With this, he diverted attention from Tuesday's topic that Kristen Walker wanted to discuss. Also, he said that it wasn't Joe's fault either. He does not blame Joe Biden for the pandemic's arrival in US. He firmly uses non-performative so that the listener knows the meaning of the refuse. In the context of political debate, the use of refusal strategies like this is common. Trump tries to control the conversation and divert attention from topics that might harm him. By blaming others, he tries to maintain his own image.

Datum 9

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 9

Donald Trump: "Look, perhaps just to finish this, I was kidding on that, but just to finish this, when I close he said I shouldn't have closed. And that went on for months. Nancy Pelosi said the same thing. She was dancing on the streets in Chinatown, in San Francisco. But when I closed, he said, "This is a terrible thing, you xenophobic."

I think he called me racist even, because I was closing it to China. Now he says I should have closed it earlier. Joe, it doesn't."

Joe Biden: "**I didn't say either of those thing.**" (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 9:

Donald Trump stated that when he closed travel from China at the start of the pandemic, there was criticism from various parties, including Joe Biden and Nancy Pelosi, who opposed the closure policy. He tried to emphasize that initially there was criticism of this closure policy. Donald Trump claimed that Joe Biden, in the context of the pandemic, called him "xenophobic" or even racist for closing travel from China. He tried to criticize Joe Biden for statements he allegedly made. Joe Biden firmly denies this statement. He rejected claims made by Donald Trump and emphasized that he did not use the terms "xenophobic" or "racist" in the context of the travel shutdown from China.

Analysis of datum 9:

The core of Biden's statement is a direct refusal of the allegations or claims made against him. He clearly states, "I didn't say either of those things." This is a straightforward refusal to accept responsibility for the alleged statements. Joe Biden use this strategy to counter any accusations of his position that could harm his image. In this situation, Trump tried to divert attention from the decision to close the border with China and blamed others, while Biden rejected the accusations leveled against him.

Datum 10

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 10

Kristen Walker: “Vice President Biden”

Joe Biden: “Take a look at what New York has done in terms of turning the curve down, in terms of the number of people dying. And **I don’t look at this in terms of the way he does**, blue states and red states. They’re all in the United States.” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 10:

Kristen Walker asked to Joe Biden. Joe Biden refers to New York in overcoming the spread of the virus and finding the number of deaths due to Covid-19. Joe also emphasized that in his political view, there is no difference between “blue” and “red” states in the United States. All states are part of the United States.

Analysis of datum 10:

Biden tried to change Kristen Walker's point of view or way of understanding the pandemic issue. He stated that he did not see the issue in terms of differences between "blue states and red states" (Democratic and Republican parties), but as a national problem involving the entire United States. By doing this, he attempted to divert attention from Kristen Walker's initial question and change the context of the conversation.

Biden uses deflection to avoid confrontation or answer questions directly. Rather than detail or consider differing views on the pandemic response, he spoke about New York as a positive example and tried to defuse polarization. By using this refusal strategies, Biden is trying to influence the way Kristen Walker and the audience view the pandemic issue. He avoided direct questions about differences in pandemic approaches

among states and steered the conversation in a direction he deemed more favorable to his campaign. Joe Biden uses non-performative direct refusal.

Datum 11

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 11

Kristen Walker: "I'm going to give you 30 seconds to respond and then we're going to move on."

Donald Trump: "I don't know. Somebody went through Wall Street. You're the one that takes all the money from Wall Street. I don't take **it**."

Joe Biden: "**I haven't**" (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of Datum 11:

Kristen Walker gave Donald Trump 30 seconds to respond before moving on to the next topic. Donald Trump responds to accusations about his ties to Wall Street. He denied that he received much money from Wall Street, and accused Joe Biden of receiving financial support from there. However, Joe Biden also denied that he did not get any money from there.

Analysis of datum 11:

Joe Biden use direct refusal strategies, by stating "**I Haven't**", This is a straightforward refusal to accept the accusation that he has taken money from Wall Street. Joe Biden reiterates his refusal to accept the claim. In the context of political debate, refusal strategies such as denial are often used to avoid or respond to accusations or attacks from political opponents. In this case, Trump tried to attack Kristen Walker and Biden, while Biden denied the accusations.

Datum 12

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 12

Kristen Walker: “President Trump, same question to you. Let me ask the question. You’re going to have two minutes to respond. For two elections in a row now, there has been substantial interference from foreign adversaries. What would you do in your next term to put an end to this? Two minutes, uninterrupted.”

Donald Trump: “Well, let me respond to the first part, as Joe answered. Joe got \$3.5 million from Russia and it came through Putin because he was very friendly with the former mayor of Moscow and it was the mayor of Moscow’s wife. And you got \$3.5 million. Your family got \$3.5 million. And someday you’re going to have to explain, why did you get three and a half? **I never got any money from Russia. I don’t get money from Russia.**” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 12:

Kristen Walker asked Donald Trump the same question as Joe Biden in the previous section regarding how there has been substantial interference from foreign adversaries. What will Donald trump do to end this. However, Donald Trump answered Joe Biden's answer in the previous section.

Analysis of datum 12:

Donald Trump answered Kristen Walker's question by responding to Joe Biden's answer in the previous section. Donald responded that Joe was the one who got \$3.5 million from Russia. Trump is making a direct refusal against Joe Biden, claiming that he received \$3.5 million from Russia. He's challenging Biden to provide an explanation for this alleged transaction. This can be seen as a refusal strategy to put Biden on the defensive and question his financial integrity. Donald Trump used non-performative direct refusal to convince listeners that he did not get any money from Russia.

Datum 13

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 13

Kristen Walker: "All right. Let's talk about North Korea."

Donald Trump: "**No, no, no**"

Kristen Walker: "Let..."

Donald Trump: "Excuse me. No, I have to..." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 13:

Kristen Walker wants to talk about North Korea. But, Donald Trump interrupted her conversation. Then in this context, Kristen Walker gave Donald Trump the fastest possible time to respond to his previous discussion regarding China. Donald Trump accused Joe Biden of bringing a billion and a half dollars from China.

Analysis of datum 13:

Donald Trump interrupted Kristen Walker when she attempted to change the topic to North Korea. Donald Trump responds with a series of "**No, no, no**" and "**Excuse me.**" This can be seen that he doesn't want to change the topic and has a desire to maintain control over the discussion. And by saying "No, I have to" he tries to continue with the current topic of discussion. Trump tries to avoid talking about certain topics that might benefit his political opponents or carry political risks. So, he used non-performative direct refusal to show his means it clearly.

Datum 14

Non-Performative Direct Refusal 14

Joe Biden: "Tax payer's money."

Donald Trump: "it's what?"

Joe Biden: "Taxpayer's money. Didn't come from China."

Donald Trump: "**No, no.** You know who the taxpayer is? It's called China." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 14:

Joe Biden emphasized that the funds used came from taxes paid by United States citizens. He emphasized that this should be used for the benefit of United States citizens. However, Donald Trump tried to link the source of the funds to China and claimed that the money came from China.

Analysis of datum 14:

Donald Trump immediately rejects Biden's assertion by saying, "No, no." This is a direct refusal strategy where he disputes the accuracy of Biden's claim. Trump tried to divert attention by declaring that "the taxpayer" was China. This is a form of deflection and reinterpretation to change the meaning or context of the conversation. By calling China "the taxpayer," he is trying to make China the focus of attention.

These exchanges reflect each candidate's efforts to control the narrative and respond to claims or claims that may emerge in the conversation. Biden tried to explain that the funds came from taxpayers, while Trump tried to divert attention by claiming that China was "the taxpayer." This is an example of refusal strategies used in the context of political debate.

Datum 15**Non-performative direct refusal 15**

Kristen Welker: "Let's talk about schools, President Trump--"

Donald Trump: "I think we have to respond, if I might."

Kristen Welker: "Please. And then I have a follow-up."

Donald Trump: "Thank you, and I appreciate that. Look, all he does is talk about shut downs. But forget about him. His Democrat Governors, Cuomo in New York, you look at what's going on in California, you look at Pennsylvania, North Carolina,

Democrats, Democrats all, they're shut down so tight and they're dying. They're dying. And he supports all these people. All he talks about is shut downs. **No, we're not going to shut down.** And we have to open our schools. And it's like, as an example, I have a young son, he also tested positive. By the time I spoke to the doctor the second time, he was fine. It just went away. Young people, I guess, it's their immune system."

(blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 15:

Donald Trump reflects his view that there is no need for another shutdown and that schools must open. He also linked this statement to his personal experience where his young son had COVID-19 but recovered quickly. He suggested that it may be young people's immune systems that make them less affected by the virus.

Analysis of datum 15:

Trump firmly rejects the idea of shutting down, stating, "No, we're not going to shut down." This is a direct refusal strategy to assert his position against further shutdowns. Trump tried to divert attention from questions about his handling of the pandemic by blaming states governed by Democratic governors. He cited Cuomo's New York, California, Pennsylvania and North Carolina as examples of cases where Democratic governors have imposed strict shutdowns and pointed to problems in those states. This is a form of deflection used to divert the conversation from the main topic.

Trump downplayed the pandemic's impact on young people, saying that "it just went away" and "it's their immune system." This is an attempt to play down the seriousness of the pandemic and suggest that young people are less affected by it. This also creates assumptions about the extent to

which the pandemic affects different age groups So, the idea that open shutdown may be an idea that the virus might not be as severe for younger individuals.

Datum 16

Non-performative direct refusal 16

Donald Trump: “I am against fracking. Until he got the nomination, he went to Pennsylvania. Then he said, “But you know what Pennsylvania?” He’ll be against it very soon because his party is totally against it.”

Joe Biden: “Fracking on federal land. **I said, no fracking and/or oil on federal land.**” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 16:

Donald Trump claims that Joe Biden initially opposed Fracking in its entirety during the election. However, after that he changed his opinion that when he visited Pennsylvania, Joe Biden changed his mind because the Democratic party as a whole tended to oppose Frackie. However, Joe Biden clarified his position and said that he only opposes fracking on federal lands. He wants to limit fracking on federal lands, but does not reject fracking relatively.

Analysis of datum 16:

Joe Biden adopted a more specific refusal strategy by clarifying his position on Fracking. He stated that he only opposes Fracking on federal lands, but does not oppose Fracking overall. This Refusal strategy aims to detail his position and answer Donald Trump's accusations by clarifying that his denial of Fracking is limited to federal lands, not in general. Biden tried to explain that his opposition to fracking was limited to federal lands, while Trump tried to shift the meaning of Biden's position in an effort to reduce

its impact.

Datum 17

Non-performative direct refusal 17

Joe Biden: “Abraham Lincoln here I s one of the most racist presidents we’ve had in modern history, he pours fuel on every single racist fire, every single one. Started off his campaign coming down the escalator saying he’s getting rid of those Mexican rapists, he’s ban Muslims because they’re Muslims, he has moved around and made everything worse across the board. He says to... About the Proud Boys, last time we were on stage here he said, “I tell them to stand down and stand ready.” Come on, this guy has a dog whistle about as big as a foghorn.”

Donald Trump: “No, he made a reference to Abraham Lincoln, where did that come in? I mean” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 17:

Joe Biden lashed out at Donald Trump, claiming that Trump is one of the most racist presidents in the modern history of the United States. Biden mentioned a number of Trump's statements and actions that he said fueled negative racial sentiment, such as statements about Mexican immigrants and the Muslim ban.

Analysis of datum 17:

Trump did not appear to respond directly to Joe Biden's claims of racism and references to Abraham Lincoln. He used the question, "No, he made a reference to Abraham Lincoln, where did that come in?" with the intention of diverting attention from claims made by Biden. This is a form of deflection and confusion that may be aimed at shifting the conversation away from Biden's claims. Joe Biden used sharp claims about Trump, and Trump tried to divert attention with confusing questions.

Datum 18

Non-performative direct refusal 18

Joe Biden: “We got a lot of done it. We released 38,000-“

Donald Trump: “You **didn’t** get anything done.” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 18:

Joe Biden tried to claim that during Barack Obama's administration (of which Biden was Vice President), they had done a lot of work which included releasing a number of prisoners. He tried to convey that the Obama-Biden administration's actions had achieved positive results.

Analysis of datum 18:

By saying “You didn’t get anything done.” Donald Trump Directly challenges and refuse Biden’s Claim of accomplishment. He uses this strategy aims to undermine Biden’s credibility and portray his achievement as insignificant non-exist. In this case, Trump used denial and accusations to reject Biden's claims about achievements during the previous administration.

Datum 19

Non-performative direct refusal 19

Joe Biden: “The fact is that when we knew it was coming, when it hit, what happened? What did the President say? He said, “Don’t worry. It’s going to go away. It’ll be gone by Easter. Don’t worry. Warm weather. Don’t worry. Maybe inject bleach.” He said he was kidding when he said that, but a lot of people thought it was serious. A whole range of things the President has said, even today, he thinks we are in control. We’re about to lose 200,000 more people.”

Donald Trump: “Look, perhaps just to finish this, I was kidding on that, but just to finish this, when I closed he said I shouldn’t have closed. And that went on for months. Nancy Pelosi said the same thing. She was dancing on the streets in Chinatown, in San Francisco. But when I closed, he said, “This is a terrible thing, you xenophobic.” I think he called me racist even, because I was closing it to China. Now he says I

should have closed it earlier. **Joe, it doesn't.**" (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 19:

Joe Biden tried to criticize President Trump's initial response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Biden called out several controversial statements made by Trump, such as statements about the virus "going away" and talk about the use of chemicals such as bleach that some people take seriously. Biden also tried to highlight Trump's distrust of advice from health experts, saying Trump thinks they have the situation "under control."

Analysis of context 19:

Biden used refusal strategies by criticizing Trump's initial response to the pandemic and noting several deemed controversial statements made by Trump. This is a form of accusation against Trump and an assertion about Biden's views on how Trump handled the pandemic. Donald Trump utilizes a combination of "denial" and "counter-accusation" as refusal strategies. He refuses that his previous suggestion to inject bleach was serious, stating that he was kidding. Then, he counters Biden's claim by bringing up Nancy Pelosi's remarks and accusing Biden of calling him xenophobic and racist when he closed travel from China.

b. Indirect refusal

Datum 20

Reason 20

Kristen Walker: “Vice President you suggested you would support new shutdowns if scientists recommended it what do you say to Americans who are fearful that the cost of shutdowns the impact on the economy.”

Joe Biden: “What I would say is I'm going to shut down the virus, **not the country it's** his ineptitude that caused the violence and caused the country to have to shut down in large part why businesses have gone under why schools are closed why so many people have lost their living and why they're concerned those other concerns.” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of Datum 20:

One of the main issues in this debate is whether there should be shutdowns of the economy and society to control the spread of the virus, or should economic activity be maintained. Kristen Welker asked Joe Biden a question about his stance on new shutdowns if suggested by scientists. He also indicated public concerns about the costs of the economic shutdown and its impact. Joe Biden responded by saying that he would not “shut down the country,” but would “shut down the virus.” He blamed the administration at the time, led by President Donald Trump, for his ineffective handling of the pandemic. He argued that the then administration's incompetence in handling the pandemic had led to riots, business closures, school closures, job losses, and the worry that many people were experiencing.

Analysis of datum 20:

Joe Biden used refusal strategies by diverting attention from Kristen Walker's question about her support for a new shutdown. He tried to shift the focus of the conversation by blaming President Trump for actions taken

during the pandemic. Biden claimed that the shutdown was the result of Trump's "his ineptitude" which caused the country to face various problems. This is a form of deflection and attribution of blame to Trump. Joe Biden argued that he would "shut down the virus, not the country." This is an attempt to emphasize that the approach he will take will focus on containing the virus, not a complete shutdown of the country. He tried to allay concerns about the economic and social impact of the shutdown. He emphasizes their intent to prioritize public health measures over widespread economic shutdowns. This can be seen as a refusal to accept the idea that he would choose to shut down the country as a first resort. In this case, Biden tried to divert attention from questions about the shutdown by blaming Trump and emphasizing a different approach to dealing with the pandemic.

Datum 21

Reason 21

Kristen Walker: "I'm going to give you 30 seconds to respond and then..." Donald Trump: "I would blow away every record **but I don't want to do that because it puts me in a bad position** and then you bring up Wall Street you shouldn't be bringing up Wall Street because you're the one that takes the money from wall street not me." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of Datum 21:

Kristen Welker gives Donald Trump a short time to respond or provide responses to certain questions or topics that will be discussed. In this case, it seems Welker wanted to give Trump the opportunity to answer questions that might relate to the economy or his record. Donald Trump responded by stating that he could create an extraordinary economic record, but he doesn't want to do it because it would put him in a difficult position.

He also tried to divert attention from himself by stating that the moderator (Kristen Welker) should not discuss Wall Street, because in his opinion, his debate opponent was the one receiving money from Wall Street, not him.

Analysis of Datum 21:

Trump tried to divert attention from Kristen Walker's question by accusing Kristen of receiving money from Wall Street. He indirectly refused Kristen Walker's question. "**I would blow away every record but I don't want to do** that because it puts me in a bad position" sounds like "I can do it but I don't want to because it would harm me". He did indirectly answer Kristen's questions about economic achievements or records. This is a form of deflection and blame that aims to divert the conversation from the main topic.

In the context of political debate, refusal strategies such as deflection and blame are often used to avoid or respond to questions or issues that may benefit political opponents. In this case, Trump tried to divert attention from questions about economic achievements and accused Kristen Walker of receiving money from Wall Street. Therefore, Donald Trump used indirect refusal by stating the reason why he could not do that.

Datum 22

Reason 22

Kristen Walker: "Vice President your response please."

Joe Biden: "I beat all those other **people because I disagreed with them** Joe Biden he's running against the idea that we're in a situation that is going to destroy Medicare." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of Datum 22:

Kristen Walker asked Joe Biden his response to statements made by Donald Trump regarding the Medicare system during his administration. Joe Biden answered Kristen Walker's question without any negative words, like “No, I didn’t,” but he showed his disagreement with the opinion expressed by Donald Trump previously.

Analysis of Datum 22:

Joe Biden used an indirect refusal when he got a question from Kristen Walker. Joe Biden used refusal strategies by diverting attention from Christian questions about the Medicare issue. He tried to promote himself and emphasized that he beat other candidates in the presidential election. This is a form of deflection and an attempt to position itself as a strong option.

Biden stated, "I beat all those other people because I disagree with them." He tried to argue that he was a strong choice because of his differences with other candidates. This is a form of assertion to strengthen his image as a different candidate. It shows that he emphasizes his own stance as the correct one. Joe Biden appeared to avoid responding directly to the Medicare issue raised by Kristen Walker and focused more on promoting himself as a strong candidate.

Datum 23

Reason 23

Donald Trump: “You certainly did. You certainly did.”

Joe Biden: “I talked about his xenophobia in a different context. **It wasn’t about closing the border to Chinese coming to the United States.**” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 23:

Donald Trump stated that Joe Biden initially accused him of xenophobia regarding his actions to close the US border to the Chinese during the COVID-19 pandemic. Trump claims that Biden actually expressed this view. Joe Biden responded by stating that he did speak about xenophobia related to Trump's actions but in a different context. Biden tried to explain that his criticism was not related to closing the border to Chinese people, but may have been related to Trump's actions or rhetoric that he considered denigrating or discriminating against certain groups during the pandemic.

Analysis of datum 23:

Biden used refusal strategies by trying to clarify his statements that were previously seen as criticism of Trump's actions. He explained that the remarks about xenophobia he made were not related to closing the border to Chinese citizens coming to the United States. This is an attempt to change or clarify the meaning of a previous statement. In the context of political debate, refusal strategies are often used to respond to claims or criticism that may benefit or harm a candidate. In this case, Trump accused Biden of making false statements about xenophobia, while Biden tried to clarify them by explaining the context of his statements. He used indirect refusal by stating his reasons for what he meant in the previous section and arguing for other things.

Datum 24

Reason 24

Kristen Walker: "Vice President Biden, your response quickly, and then we're going to move on to the next section."

Joe Biden: "He went on record and said to one of your colleagues, recorded, that in fact, **he knew how dangerous it was but he didn't want to tell us because he didn't want us to panic.**" (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 24:

Kristen Welker gave Joe Biden the opportunity to provide a brief response regarding the issue of the COVID-19 pandemic before moving on to the next part of the debate. This issue became one of the main issues in the presidential election campaign because of the huge impact it had across the United States. Joe Biden responded by stating that President Trump previously admitted on record that he knew how dangerous this virus was, but he did not want to tell the public because he was worried will cause panic. Biden may cite this statement as a criticism of the Trump administration's handling of the pandemic, claiming that there was a lack of transparency in conveying important information to the public.

Analysis of datum 24:

Joe Biden referred to statements mentioned in Kristen Walker's question and provided a response that cited Trump's statements as reflecting Trump's behavior during the start of the pandemic. Joe Biden presented data that Donald Trump knew since January and had already reported it to his colleagues that this virus was very dangerous. However, he didn't tell the American people because he didn't want us to panic. Joe Biden mentioned that this statement was a recorded, emphasizing that it's a matter of record. Here, Joe Biden uses indirect refusal by giving the state the reason.

Datum 25

Promise of future 25

Kristen Walker: “All right. I want to”

Joe Biden: “By the way, **if I get elected, I’m not going to... I’m running as a proud Democrat, but I’m going to be an American president.** I don’t see red states and blue states. What I see is the American United States.” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 25:

Kristen Welker may ask questions or discuss topics related to the political divisions existing in the United States at that time. These issues include divisions between political parties, especially between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, as well as divisions between states (red states and blue states) that have different political orientations. Joe Biden responded by stating that if he is elected president, he will serve as an American president who unites the country. He tried to emphasize that he would not see differences between states with different political orientations (red states which tend to be conservative and blue states which tend to be liberal), but would seek to unite the entire country in one unified vision of United States.

Analysis of datum 25:

In the data above, Joe Biden uses a promise statement. Joe Biden used the phrase “if I am elected.” he used these words to express his goal if he is elected as the president of America. He conveyed his promise to all Americans if he was elected president of America. He promised to fulfill his promise to his interlocutor in the future, a statement of promise can also be used to express refusal. Joe Biden is trying to avoid rhetoric

that divides the country into "red states" and "blue states" (referring to the colors of political parties), and emphasizes his vision of being a united American president. In this context, Biden used this opportunity to convey a message of unity that is in line with his campaign vision.

Datum 26

past acceptance 26

Kristen walker: "Concerns that your healthcare plan, which includes a government insurance option, takes the country one step closer to a healthcare system run entirely by the government. What's your response to that?"

Joe Biden: "Look, the difference between the president and I... I think healthcare is not a privilege, it's a right. Everyone should have the right to have affordable healthcare, and I am very proud of my plan. It's gotten endorsed by all the major labor unions, as well as a whole range of other people who, in fact, are concerned in the medical field. This is something that's going to save people's lives. **We have to provide health insurance for people at an affordable rate, and that's what I do.**" (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 26:

Kristen Welker asked a question that highlighted some people's concerns that Joe Biden's health care plan, which includes a government insurance option, could move the United States closer to a fully government-run health care system. It reflects political issues related to the government's role in health care. Joe Biden responded by stating that health care should not be a privilege, but a right for everyone. He said he is most proud of his health care plan that includes government insurance options. He tried to emphasize the support he received from major labor unions and others involved in the medical field, as well as the importance of providing health insurance to everyone at an affordable price.

Analysis of datum 26:

Joe Biden used the words "that's what I do" which refers to his track record in improving the health system in the past. Joe Biden explained his position and argued that health is not a privilege, but a right. He expressed his belief in everyone's right to have access to affordable health care. Biden also promoted his health care plan and said that his plan had received support from various parties, including labor unions and those in the medical field. He uses his past achievements to convince voters. So, in this context Joe Biden uses a promise of past acceptance.

Datum 27

Set condition for future 27

Kristen Walker: "But you're the president."

Donald Trump: "I do. But I still have to get, unfortunately... That's one of the reasons I think we're going to take over the House, because of her. Nancy Pelosi doesn't want to approve anything because she'd love to have some victories on a date called November 3rd. Nancy Pelosi does not want to approve it. We are ready, willing, and able to do something. Don't forget, we've already approved three plans. And it's gone through, including the Democrats, in all fairness. This one, she doesn't want. **It's near the election. Because she thinks it helps her politically. I think it hurts her politically.**" (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 27:

He criticized Pelosi for her perceived unwillingness to approve an economic stimulus plan before the presidential election on November 3. Trump stated that his administration was ready to act, having approved three previous stimulus plans, and that Pelosi did not want to approve the latest stimulus plan because she thought it would benefit her politically. Donald Trump is trying to make it clear that he and his administration are ready to take economic action to help Americans

during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Analysis of datum 27:

Trump used refusal strategies by accusing Nancy Pelosi, the Democratic leader in the House, as the reason why several economic aid plans had not been approved. He stated that Pelosi did not want to approve the plan because she wanted to achieve a political victory on November 3 (the date of the presidential election). This is a form of abuse and misuse of others as an excuse for why something is not achieved.

Trump speculated that Pelosi rejected the economic relief plan because she believed it would be politically helpful. He tried to cast doubt on Pelosi's motives in rejecting the plan. This is a refusal strategy to position himself as the party willing to act and Pelosi as the obstacle. So, he uses the set condition for the future by saying **in the next selection**. Which indicates information about time in the future.

Datum 28

criticize the request 28

Kristen Walker: “Concerns that your healthcare plan, which includes a government insurance option, takes the country one step closer to a healthcare system run entirely by the government. What’s your response to that?”

Joe Biden: “**I say it’s ridiculous**. It’s like saying that the fact that there’s a public option that people can choose, makes it a socialist plan. Look, the difference between the president and I... I think healthcare is not a privilege, it’s a right. Everyone should have the right to have affordable healthcare, and I am very proud of my plan.” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of Datum 28:

Kristen Welker asked a question that expressed concerns some people have that Joe Biden's health care plan, which includes a public

option, might move the United States closer to a fully government-run health care system. Joe Biden responded by saying that the notion that his plan to make health care run entirely by the government was "ridiculous" or absurd. He called it a misrepresentation and stated that the existence of a public option in his plan did not make it a socialist plan. He then emphasized his view that health care is not a privilege, but a right for everyone and that everyone should have the right to affordable health care.

Analysis of Datum 28:

Joe Biden begins by rejecting the characterization of his healthcare plan as socialist, by stating "I Say It's Ridiculous" he uses this word to dismiss the label and distance himself from the socialist accusation. Joe says it's ridiculous for healthcare to become a people's choice. Joe says that everyone deserves affordable healthcare. He believes this will save the lives of many people. Joe Biden uses an indirect refusal strategy that indicates as a criticism to Kristen. Joe Biden refused a question and criticized that it was very ridiculous. In this case, Biden explained and promoted his health care plan without trying to avoid or dampen the issues raised by Kristen Walker.

It is a categorized **Attempt to criticize the request.**

Datum 29

criticize the request 29

Kristen Walker: "Let me ask Vice President Biden a question. You are the leader of the Democratic party. Why have you not pushed the Democrats to get a deal for the American people?."

Joe Biden: "I have, and they have pushed it. Look, they passed this act all the way back in the beginning of the summer. It's not new. It's been out there. This HEROES Act has been sitting there. And look at what's happening. When I was in charge of the recovery act with \$800 billion, I was able to get \$145 billion to local communities

that have to balance their budgets and states that have to balance their budgets. And then they have to fire firefighters, teachers, first responders, law enforcement officers, so they could keep their cities and counties running. He will not support that. They have not done a thing for them. And Mitch McConnell said, "Let them go bankrupt. Let them go bankrupt." Come on. What's the matter with these guys? "

Donald Trump: "**The bill that was passed in the house was a bailout of badly run** High-crime democrat all run by democrats in cities and states it was a way of getting a lot of money billions and billions of dollars to these states, **but it was really a big bailout for badly run.**" (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 29:

Joe Biden criticized Donald Trump and the Republican Party for their lack of support for the bill known as the "HEROES Act" which was passed in the DPR (House of Representatives). He stated that this bill has been around since early summer and claimed that the bill aims to provide financial assistance to local and state communities facing financial hardship due to the pandemic. Biden recalled that when he was under the administration that led the Recovery Act with a budget of \$800 billion, he managed to get \$145 billion to help local communities and states that had to keep their budgets balanced. He blamed Trump and the Republicans for not supporting the bill and said that Mitch McConnell (a Republican senator) said "Let them go bankrupt." Donald Trump responded by criticizing the bill that Joe Biden called a bailout. Trump called the bill an effort to give large amounts of money to cities and states run badly by the Democratic-led government. He claims that the bill is actually a bailout for poorly run entities.

Analysis of datum 29:

To show his power as the president of America, who holds the highest power in his country, Donald Trump used an Indirect refusal

strategy which indicates criticism of the bill that was created by DPR. Trump used refusal strategies by blaming the relief bill passed by the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives as a "bailout" for cities and states poorly managed by Democratic governments. He alleged that the bill aims to give a lot of money to states and cities that are poorly managed by Democratic governments. Trump also used the term "bailout" to water down the aid plan. At first, Joe Biden discussed a bill in effect since the summer. But the democrat passed his actions. However, Donald Trump refused Joe Biden's opinion and criticized him that the bill created by the DPR was a bailout of badly run. In this context, both Biden and Trump used refusal strategies to explain their positions on the economic relief bill and blame the opposing party for the failure to reach an agreement. It is a categorized **Attempt to criticize the request.**

Datum 30

criticize the request 30

Kristen Walker: "Vice President Biden I want to talk broadly about strategy though you respond to that 30 seconds please and I have a question."

Joe: "No number one he says that we're uh you know **we're learning to live with it people are learning to die with it** you folks home will have an empty chair at the kitchen table this morning that man or wife going to bed tonight and reaching over to try to touch their out of habit where their wife or husband was is gone learning to live with it come on we're dying with it." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 30:

In Kristen Walker's previous statement, she may have mentioned or referred to statements made by Donald Trump regarding the COVID-19 pandemic. Joe Biden, in his response, criticized Trump's statements related to the pandemic. He criticized Trump for claiming that people were

"learning to live with" the pandemic and even "learning to die with" the pandemic. Biden then dramatically explained the impact of the pandemic by describing someone who had lost their life partner and highlighting how serious the situation was.

Analysis of datum 30:

Joe challenges the opponent's position by contrasting it with the emotional reality of loss and grief. Joe Biden used refusal strategies to firmly express his disagreement with Trump's statement that people were "learning to live" with COVID-19. He stated that people are actually "learning to die" with the virus. Biden argued that the pandemic has caused significant loss and felt the need to highlight the true emotional and physical impact of the pandemic, especially for those who have lost loved ones. Joe Biden criticizes the idea that people are "learning to live with it" and "learning to die with it." This can be seen as a refuse of a complacent or fatalistic attitude towards the pandemic. He implies that such an attitude is leading to unnecessary deaths and suffering. In this context, Biden used refusal strategies to contrast his views on the pandemic with Trump's and underscore the real impact of the pandemic on individuals and families.

Datum 31

criticize the request 31

Kristen Welker: "Let's talk about schools, President Trump--"

Donald Trump: "I think we have to respond, if I might."

Kristen Welker: "Please. And then I have a follow-up."

Donald Trump: "Thank you, and I appreciate that. **Look, all he does is talk about shut downs. But forget about him. His Democrat Governors, Cuomo in New York, you look at what's going on in California, you look at Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Democrats, Democrats all, they're shut down so tight and they're dying.** They're dying. And he supports all these people. All he talks about is shut downs. No, we're not going to shut down. And we have to open our schools. And it's

like, as an example, I have a young son, he also tested positive. By the time I spoke to the doctor the second time, he was fine. It just went away. Young people, I guess, it's their immune system." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 31:

Kristen Welker asked questions about the president's approach to opening schools during the pandemic, which was an important issue at the time. Donald Trump responded by criticizing Joe Biden and accusing him of only talking about lockdowns during the pandemic. He also highlighted shutdown measures implemented by Democratic governors such as Andrew Cuomo in New York, as well as the situation in other states governed by Democrats. Trump stated that the strict shutdown was hurting the economy and causing many people to suffer.

Analysis of datum 31:

Donald Trump used refusal strategies by blaming his political opponents, especially Democratic governors (such as Cuomo in New York), for the strict shutdown and its negative impacts. He alleged that all Joe Biden does is talk about shutdowns, and he tries to undermine the credibility of those who support shutdowns. This is an attempt to blame others for policies that he considers ineffective or detrimental.

Trump used refusal strategies by trying to downplay the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on young people. He stated that young people, like his son who contracted COVID-19, appear to have strong immune systems and can recover quickly. This is an attempt to downplay the seriousness of the pandemic and divert attention from the debate over school closures. This is a refusal strategy to portray Biden as overly focused on shutdowns without offering alternative solutions.

Datum 32

criticize the request 32

Joe Biden: “My response is, people deserve to have affordable healthcare, period. Period, period, period. The Biden care proposal will in fact provide for that affordable healthcare and lower premiums. What we’re going to do is going to cost some money. It’s going to cost over \$750 billion over 10 years to do it. And they’re going to have lower premiums. You can buy into the better plans, and the cheaper plans, lower your premiums, deal with unexpected billing, and have your drug prices drop significantly. He keeps talking about it. **He hasn’t done a thing for anybody in healthcare.** Not a thing.

Donald Trump: “When he says public option, he’s talking about socialized medicine and healthcare. When he talks about a public option, he’s talking about destroying your Medicare, totally destroying” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 32:

Joe Biden laid out his plan to increase access to affordable health care by calling the proposal "Biden care." He talked about reducing health insurance premiums, dealing with unexpected billing problems, and lowering drug prices. Biden also accused Donald Trump of doing nothing to improve the healthcare system.

Analysis of datum 32:

Biden used refusal strategies by asserting his disagreement with Trump's views on a "public option" in health care. He clarified that his health care plan, which includes the “Biden care proposal,” would not lead to the socialization of health care. He also provided arguments claiming that his plan would provide affordable health care, reduce premiums, provide better choices, and significantly lower drug prices. Biden uses refusal strategies by alleging that Trump has not done anything on health care and has not done anything beneficial for society

in terms of health care. This is an attempt to cast doubt on Trump's performance on health care and to attack his credibility on the issue.

Datum 33

criticize the request 33

Joe Biden: "On the condition that he would agree that he would be drawing down his nuclear capacity. The Korean Peninsula should be a nuclear free zone."

Donald Trump: "They tried to meet with him. He wouldn't do it. **He didn't like Obama.** He didn't like him. He wouldn't do it." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 33:

Joe Biden put forward a condition or conditions that must be met for North Korea to agree to reduce their nuclear capacity, namely that the Korean Peninsula must become a nuclear-free zone.

Analysis of datum 33:

Donald Trump did not directly refer to or respond to the conditions proposed by Biden, namely the establishment of the Korean Peninsula as a nuclear-free zone. Instead, he diverted attention by saying that North Korea had tried to meet with Obama (former US President before Trump) but refused to do so because it did not like Obama. Trump used personal reasons to explain North Korea's actions, which he said were the result of the relationship between North Korea and the previous president (Obama). With this, he tried to show that North Korea's actions were not related to the offer proposed by Biden. In this case, Trump used refusal strategies to defuse his response to negotiating efforts with North Korea and blamed other parties for Kim Jong-un's refusal to meet.

Datum 34

criticize the request 34

Joe Biden: "I haven't"

Donald Trump: "**Joe, you have raised a lot of money, tremendous amounts of money.** And every time you raise money deals are made, Joe. I could raise so much more money. As President, and as somebody that knows most of those people, I could call the heads of Wall Street, the heads of every company in America. I would blow away every record. But I don't want to do that because it puts me in a bad position. And then you bring up Wall Street? You shouldn't be bringing up Wall Street, because you're the one that takes the money from Wall Street, not me. I could blow away your records like you wouldn't believe. We don't need money. We have plenty of money. In fact, we beat Hillary Clinton with a tiny fraction of the money that she was able to." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 34:

They were discussing the issue of campaign fundraising, which involves the large amounts of money raised by candidates and the way that money influences political decisions and policies. Joe Biden said, "I haven't," rejecting claims or insinuations that he was involved in the actions mentioned by Trump.

Analysis of datum 34:

Donald Trump responded by stating that Joe Biden had raised a huge amount of money for his campaign. He implied that every time money is raised, there is a deal done, highlighting the potential influence of money in politics. Trump then claimed that if he wanted to, as President and someone who knows most of the people on Wall Street and corporate heads in America, he could raise even more money and break fundraising records. However, he refused to do so because it would put him in a bad position.

He also blamed Biden for money received from Wall Street, claiming that Biden was the recipient of money from those financial

institutions, not him. It is shown that Donald Trump used refusal strategy to criticize the request to achieve his goals. In this context, Trump used refusal strategies to challenge Biden's claims about campaign fundraising and to portray himself as the more financially independent candidate.

c. Adjunct of refusal

Datum 35

Statement of Positive Opinion 35

Kristen Walker: “As of tonight, more than 12 million people are out of work. And as of tonight, 8 million more Americans have fallen into poverty, and more families are going hungry every day. Those hit hardest are women and people of color. They see Washington fighting over a relief bill. Mr. President, why haven’t you been able to get them the help they need? 30 seconds here.”

Donald Trump: “Because Nancy Pelosi doesn’t want to approve it. **I do.**”

Kristen Walker: “But you’re the president.”

Donald Trump: “**I do.** But I still have to get, unfortunately... That’s one of the reasons I think we’re going to take over the House, because of her. Nancy Pelosi doesn’t want to approve anything because she’d love to have some victories on a date called November 3rd. Nancy Pelosi does not want to approve it. We are ready, willing, and able to do something. Don’t forget, we’ve already approved three plans. And it’s gone through, including the Democrats, in all fairness. This one, she doesn’t want. It’s near the election. Because she thinks it helps her politically. I think it hurts her politically.” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 35:

Kristen Welker noted that more than 12 million people have lost their jobs and an additional 8 million people have fallen into poverty as a result of the pandemic. She highlighted that the most impacted groups were women and people of color, and that they saw disagreement in Washington regarding the relief bill. Donald Trump responded by blaming Nancy Pelosi, the speaker of the House of Representatives, who is a member of the Democratic Party, for the failure to approve an additional aid bill. Trump argued that Pelosi did not want to approve the bill because she wanted to score a political victory on November 3,

which is the date of the presidential election. He emphasized that he and Republicans were ready to take action and that they had agreed to three previous aid plans that had been agreed to by both parties, but Pelosi opposed this latest plan.

Analysis of datum 35:

Adjunct of refusal was used by Donald Trump in this section as it showed that Donald Trump has done it. Trump used refusal strategies by asserting his disagreement with the view that he could not provide necessary assistance to communities affected by the pandemic. He blamed Nancy Pelosi, a member of the Democratic Party and Speaker of the House of Representatives, for the failure to approve an economic relief plan. He claimed that he and his party were ready to provide assistance, but Pelosi rejected it for political reasons. At the same time, he refused the indirect question from Kristen. When Donald said, “**I do**” it sounded like “Yes, I’ve done it, but you know, Nancy Pelosi hasn’t agreed to it.”

Datum 36

Pause filter 36

Kristen Walker: “Vice President Biden I want to talk broadly about strategy though you respond to that 30 seconds please and I have a question.”

Joe Biden: “No number one he says **that we’re uh you know** we’re learning to live with it people are learning to die with it you folks home will have an empty chair at the kitchen table this morning that man or wife going to bed tonight and reaching over to try to touch their out of habit where their wife or husband was is gone learning to live with it come on we’re dying with it.” (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 36:

Joe Biden responded by criticizing Donald Trump's views regarding

his handling of the COVID-19 pandemic. Biden highlighted Trump's statements indicating that Americans must "learn to live with the pandemic" and that many people are "learning to die with the pandemic." Biden tried to illustrate the emotional and personal impact of the pandemic by describing a situation where someone loses their life partner due to COVID-19. He emphasized that the country has not only learned to live with the pandemic, but has also experienced many deaths as a result.

Analysis of datum 36:

Adjunct of refusal was used by Joe Biden in this section. It showed it is used as a pause for the next sentence, in the data above he says "uh" in the middle of a sentence, which means it expresses the act of muttering to show when someone thinking about something So before refusing, Participants think about which word would be appropriate to use next. The Participants may be familiar with using words in everyday life to create statement. In this context, Biden uses refusal strategies to criticize Trump's handling of the pandemic and to illustrate its impact on society.

Datum 37

Pause filter 37

Kristen Walker: "But you haven't ruled out more shut downs?"

Joe Biden: "Oh, well, no. I'm not shutting down today, but there are ... Look, you need standards. The standard is, if you have a reproduction rate in a community that's above a certain level, everybody says, "Slow up. More social distancing. Do not open bars and do not open gymnasiums. Do not open until you get this under control, under more control." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 37:

Kristen Welker asked Joe Biden if he had ruled out the possibility

of further closures or lockdowns in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. Joe Biden responded by explaining that he has no plans for an immediate shutdown at this time, but he underscored the importance of having clear standards in dealing with the pandemic. Biden spoke about the importance of having epidemiological standards that can be used as a guide in controlling the pandemic. He explained that if the virus reproduction rate in a community passes a certain level, then restrictive measures such as more social distancing, closing bars and gyms should be implemented until the situation is more under control.

Analysis of datum 37:

Adjunct of refusal was used by Joe Biden in this section. It showed it is used as a pause for the next sentence, in the data above he says “well” in the middle of a sentence, which means it indicates when he is going to explain something. Then Joe Biden explained the meaning of his refusal by saying “I’m not”. So before refusing, Participants think about which word would be appropriate to use next. The Participants may be familiar with using words in everyday life to create statements. In this context, Biden used refusal strategies to describe a standards-based approach that could trigger further action if necessary.

Datum 38

Gratitude or appreciation 38

Kristen Welker: “Let’s talk about schools, President Trump-“

Donald Trump: “I think we have to respond, if I might.”

Kristen Welker: “Please. And then I have a follow-up.”

Donald Trump: “**Thank you, and I appreciate that.** Look, all he does is talk about shut downs. But forget about him. His Democrat Governors, Cuomo in New York,

you look at what's going on in California, you look at Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Democrats, Democrats all, they're shut down so tight and they're dying. They're dying. And he supports all these people. All he talks about is shutdowns. No, we're not going to shut down. And we have to open our schools. And it's like, as an example, I have a young son, he also tested positive. By the time I spoke to the doctor the second time, he was fine. It just went away. Young people, I guess, it's their immune system." (blog transcript rev.com)

Context of datum 38:

In this exchange, Kristen Welker wants to discuss the issue of handling the COVID-19 pandemic in the context of education, especially the opening of schools. Donald Trump responded by criticizing Joe Biden, his competitor; because he felt Biden was always talking about closing or shutdown. Trump claimed that Democratic governors, such as Cuomo in New York, had implemented strict shutdowns and caused huge losses, while Biden supported such measures.

Analysis of datum 38:

Donald Trump uses refusal strategies by providing a counter positive to the opinion that schools should remain closed during the pandemic. He asserted that all Joe Biden does is talk about shutdowns, and he attacked Democratic governors, such as Andrew Cuomo in New York, as well as Democratic-led states that have imposed strict restrictions. He alleged that talk of closure was the wrong approach. Donald Trump prefers to use the words "Thank you" and "I appreciate". That statement made it easier for the interlocutor to understand the participant's reason for refusing the previous question. The phrase "thank you" is **used as gratitude to the interlocutors.**

No	Types of Refusal Strategies	Frequency	Percentage
1	Non-performative	19	50%
2	Reason	5	13%
3	Promise of future	1	3%
4	Past acceptance	1	3%
5	Set conditions for future	1	3%
6	Attempt to criticize the request	7	18%
7	Statement of positive	1	3%
8	Pause filter	2	4%
9	Gratitude or appreciation	1	3%
TOTAL		38	100%

Table 1. types of refusal strategies

2. Refusal Strategies Represent Power and Distance.

Scollon and Scollon (1995) divided power and distance into three categories: the difference politeness system, the solidarity politeness system. In this chapter, the researcher wants to explain how each stage Donald Trump and Joe Biden produce refusal strategies when refusing an initiation act. Then the results are obtained by presenting the stimulus in the form invitation from the interlocutors.

a. The Different Politeness System

Refusal Strategy	Type	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Refusal	Non-performative	4	50%
Indirect Refusal	Reason	2	25%
	Attempt to criticize	1	12,5%
Adjunct	Pause Filter	1	12,5%
Total	8		100%

Table 2. the difference politeness system

The difference politeness system involves interlocutors of equal qualities. Status in certain types of social environments. To get data the researcher analyzed a dialogue in their debate. The data was in the form of sentences, enabling participants to respond. Researchers saw how Joe Biden responded to the stimulus that had been previously given. Whether the refusal strategies represent the power and distance, that underlies communication or not, the result of the response will be the presented in table Simply, this type represents the characteristics of less power (-P) but an increased distance ratio (+D). That, can be seen in *datum 23 "I talked about his xenophobia in a different context. It wasn't about closing the border to Chinese coming to the United States"*.

(-P), show by addressing someone's xenophobia and specifying that it wasn't related to a specific policy decision (closing the border to Chinese individuals), the speaker may be attempting to assert a degree of independence or opposition to the individual in question. This clarification could be seen as a way of distancing oneself from a specific aspect of the other person's beliefs or actions, thereby reducing the perceived power or influence of that person over the speaker. In this way, the interlocutor can reduce the risk of misunderstanding. On the other hand, it can maintain face-threatening behavior.

More distance (+D) show from The statement, particularly the use of "in a different context" and the clarification about the specific issue (closing the border to Chinese individuals), suggests a desire to create

distance. This distancing may be both in terms of the specific policy issue discussed and, more broadly, in terms of the overall alignment with or endorsement of the other person's views. The statement may reduce the perceived power of the person being discussed, it also has the potential to create distance and possibly strain relations, as it suggests a divergence in views or values.

. The data presented above is the result of the responses of several participants. Donald Trump and Joe Biden have different social statuses, namely, lower to higher. Donald Trump asks a question or refuses the statement of the speaker's opponent. Then, Joe Biden's responses or answers are presented in the table above. The researcher demonstrates the results in two, in the form of frequency and percentage.

The Strategy most often used in the table above is the indirect refusal, especially reason, these statements appear in the 44,5% range. The participants use the sentence “because” to show their refusal. This statement of reason is followed by another statement, hoping to avoid a lack of face-threatening act. For example, in the sentence “I disagreed” Joe Biden unconsciously refuses a question, or refuses the statement of the speaker's opponent. by giving a reason. Besides, Joe Biden also chose to attempt to criticize. For example *“learning to live with it come on were dying with it”* Joe Biden criticized the idea of *“learning with it”*.

On the other hand, Joe Biden also chose direct refusal, non-performative. Joe Biden uses the words “no” as refusal, but it still follows a

statement of regret. an unspecific sentence. another partner chose the sentence “I didn’t say” as a non-performative statement. Then, the strategy that is rarely used is adjunct, there are types of adjunct used, and it is pause filter. 11,1% pause filter sentences used such as ‘that we’re uh you know’. To show a pause filter.

From the explanation above, the researcher concludes that situation I is lower to higher status. Joe Biden is aware of the power and distance that a conversation takes. They prefer to use an indirect strategy rather than a direct strategy. So, that the conversation goes smoothly, and no one feels pressured by each other.

b. The Hierarchical Politeness System.

Refusal Strategy	Type	Frequency	Percentage
Direct Refusal	Non-performative	7	53,9%
Indirect Refusal	Attempt to criticize	5	38,4%
Adjunct	Gratitude	1	7,7%
Total		13	100%

Table 3. The Hierarchical Politeness System

It deals with mostly formal interaction where the difference in power and social distance do exist. This system has high power (P+), in line with a long-distance relationship (D+). In other words, one individual acts as a superordinate, while another acts as a subordinate.

As it seen in datum 33 Donald Trump “*They tried to meet with him. He wouldn’t do it. He didn’t like Obama. He didn’t like him. He wouldn’t do it..*” (P+) showed from Phrases like "He wouldn’t do it" and "He didn’t like him" in

the passage suggests a strong stance of refusal and personal dislike. The refusal to meet with Barack Obama indicates a level of power or autonomy held by the individual who declined the meeting. It suggests that this person has the ability to make decisions independently, possibly without feeling obligated to engage in diplomatic or political interactions.

(D+), show from strong statement of personal dislike implies a significant interpersonal distance between the two individuals. “He didn’t like it” emphasis a certain emotional distance. In summary, the passage implies a significant power dynamic, with an individual refusing to meet with Barack Obama based on personal dislike. This refusal, combined with the expressed sentiment, suggests a notable interpersonal distance and potential implications for diplomatic or political relations.

Furthermore, the researcher performed an initiation act in the form of a conversation in the debate. The following were the questions, and offer. The question, offer, or refuse the statement of the speaker's opponent. Above is a form of initiation act between Donald Trump and Joe Biden. Then the researcher saw how Donald Trump responded to the question or refused the statement of the speaker's opponent that has been given previously. The results of the responses will then be presented in the table

The data presented above is the result of the responses of Donald Trump. Donald Trump and Joe Biden have different social statuses, namely higher to lower. Joe Biden give a question, or refused the statement of the speaker's opponent. Then Donald Trump’s responses are presented in the

table above. The researcher demonstrates the results in two, in the form of frequency and percentage.

In situation 3, which is higher to lower status, the most frequently used is non-performative. It goes into direct refusal with a presentation of 53.9%. Donald Trump avoids refusing directly by saying “*No*” or “*I never*”. The second position is then occupied by indirect refusal, especially criticizing the request statements with 38.4%. Donald Trump expressed by saying “*He hasn’t done for anybody*” or “*Joe, you have raised a lot of money*” Then, the strategy that is rarely used is adjunct. without reducing respect, Donald Trump does not forget to give gratitude, such as “*Thank you, and I appreciate that*”. From the data above, it concludes that the use of direct refusal is the most frequently seen, among others. This case proves that refusal strategies represent power and distance. This can be seen from the data above, higher to lower, mostly using direct refusal, showing that he has higher power. But lower to higher prefer to use an indirect strategy.

B. Discussion

This study found that the most common strategy that appears was direct refusal, with a range of 50% compared to other types. Meanwhile, the most frequent statement was a non-performative explanation 19 times. They were followed by indirect refusal. The second most frequent statement was the attempt to criticize 7 times or 18,4%. Meanwhile, the least used statement there are 3 types, set condition future, statement of positive, and gratitude with a percentage of only 2,6% or appearing only once. The use of

direct refusal explicitly shows expresses a strong level of disagreement with an action or request. This can be considered a strong affirmation of an opposing attitude or view. Donald Trump and Joe Biden use this strategy want to make it clear that they will not agree to or carry out an action. Joe Biden Mostly used indirect refusal strategies, by using indirect refusal strategies often creates the impression of politeness and diplomacy. People who use this approach may want to avoid direct confrontation and choose softer words or actions. Joe Biden may be considered interpersonal relationship and trying to avoid damaging them. That can be considered a form of emotional intelligence.

This study's findings elaborate (Ansari, 2021) and (Suta, 2022). Both studies found that the indirect strategy was the most commonly used by all characters in the movie. This statement proves that the refusal strategies represent power and distance through a save of face-threatening act. Avoiding the use of direct refusal aims to reduce the negative impact that occurs during conversation. Interlocutors prefer to use statements of regret "*I'm sorry*" or "*I cannot*".

However, (Devi, 2020) contradicts these findings. Her research revealed that, among movie characters, the most commonly employed strategy was direct refusal. The character in the movie prefers to use non-performative in every dialogue. Indicating a lack of assertiveness in power dynamics and reduced social distance, resulting in conversations that remained amicable and free from offense. In contrast to the present

researcher's findings, this study identified the most frequently strategy as indirect, particularly in situations characterized by equal social status. In such instances, the use of excuses, reasons, and explanations emerged as the most frequently employed statement types.

Furthermore, this study found differences in the refusal strategies used by Donald Trump and Joe Biden as participants. The refusal strategies used by Joe Biden are direct refusal strategy as many 7 times followed by indirect refusal 11 times and adjunct with appears 2 times. Meanwhile, Donald Trump, the most used strategies are direct, 12 times, followed by indirect and adjunct, as many 5 times and 2 times

There are power and distance that representations in Donald and Biden: the final debate using theory Scollon and Scollon (1995) when they use their power and distance speaking to the interlocutors, namely The Difference Politeness System, The solidarity politeness system, and The hierarchical politeness system. From the data above, it can be seen that from 38 data that contains of thus theory only 21 data which is included in the social system in Scollon's theory. Among them, The Difference Politeness System there are 8 data, it's indicate that lower to higher who is Joe Biden refuse Donald Trump's question, and statements.

While, Indirect refusal dominated by low power (-P). Low power places itself in the same position on the level but distance (+D), uses an independent strategy to talk with others. Joe Biden maintain a respectful distance from Donald Trump. It showed in the debate, he is more calmer

and more controlled. Joe Biden does not respond with aggressiveness to attacks Donald Trump. He speaks with a more respectful attitude. He also showed a cool head and calm when facing questions and criticism from Donald to avoid fact threatening-act. Joe reflected a stable image and experience in challenging situations. In this debate, Joe Biden as subordinate used an independent strategy in speaking to superordinate.

The hierarchical politeness system There are 13 data. It is show that direct refusal dominated by higher power (+P). Higher power places itself in a superior position (superordinate) and others below (subordinate). Where Trump shows his power through his conversations during this debate. He is more dominantly aggressive. He tried to describe Joe Biden as a weak and unsuitable politician. He often interrupts Joe Biden and Kristen Walker's conversations. Trump sometimes rejects criticism and question that are considered inappropriate. He used this strategies to avoid difficult or unfavorable question for him. Trump show his power as a president at the time and to convince his opinion to the viewers. Trump often use strong rhetoric to build narration. He also showed his confidence that reflected with him as a strong leader.

In this debate, Donald Trump as superordinate used an independent strategy in speaking to subordinate. As example in datum 34 “*Joe, you have raised a lot of money*”. The main characteristic of this system is the difference in status (power), for that need to use the +P sign. In such a face system, the existing relationships are asymmetric relationship. People who

are superordinate (superiors) or in high positions use engagement strategies in speaking “downward”. Person who has more power is more dominant to refuse, because power can influence how he acts and how the interlocutors will behave. While The solidarity politeness system (equal) there’s no included in this context, because between Donald Trump and Joe Biden is indicated that their social status is lower to higher (vice president) and higher to lower (president).

Theory of the refusal strategy in communication, as explained by Beebe (1990) in his book entitled "Turning-Taking, Power and Politeness in Refusals," Discusses how people use communication strategies to reject requests or offers in a polite manner. Beebe identifies several key elements that affect effectiveness in the refusal strategy: Communication Context: Effectiveness in the refusal strategy is very dependent on the context of communication. Factors such as the relationship between the speaker and the listener, the nature of requests or offers, and cultural norms can affect the way the refusal strategy is understood and accepted. Common interest: an effective refusal strategy must consider common interests. This means looking for ways to reject requests without damaging relationships or hurting the feelings of others. Therefore, the refusal strategy must try to maintain a balance between personal and social interests. Politeness Strategies: Beebe introduces the idea of "good strategy" related to refusal. There are two types of good strategies: "Positive Politeness" that focus on efforts to increase self-esteem and self-esteem people who are rejected, and

"negative politics" which focuses on efforts to avoid conflict or damage to relationships. Effective refusal strategies must include these elements to maintain the harmony of interaction.

Spending Speaker and Listener: Effectiveness in the refusal strategy is also related to the extent to which the speaker is satisfied with the way they express the refusal, and the extent to which the listener can accept the refusal. Understanding the feelings, desires, and expectations of others is the key in achieving effectiveness in communication of refusal. In Beebe's theory (1990), an effective refusal strategy is a strategy that achieves the goal of rejecting requests or offers without damaging social relations or hurting the feelings of others. This requires skills in the use of good strategies and appreciation for the context of communication.

In this context, Donald Trump is less effective in using refusal strategies, because it does not meet several keys that affect the effectiveness of the refusal strategy in the theory of Beebe (1990). Donald Trump often use Direct refusal, Donald Trump tends to directly refuse or refute questions that he considers not appropriate or does not want to answer. This can be seen as an effective tactic in responding to questions that he considers irrelevant to his campaign messages or agenda. Ablation (deflection): Trump sometimes uses ablation tactics by changing the subject of questions or criticism by bringing issues that they consider more important or profitable. This can divert attention from the questions he does not want or unable to answer. Criticism of the opponent: One of the refusal strategies

that is often used by Trump is to attack or criticize Joe Biden directly, sometimes without answering the questions raised to him. This can be used to divert attention from himself or attack the credibility of the opponent. Strengthening his own message: Trump often uses this debate as a platform to strengthen the message and achievement of his campaign, regardless of the questions or criticism he receives. This is a way to control the debate narrative. He often uses criticism of Joe Biden That not one of the key elements that affect effectiveness in Beebe's theory. However, the effectiveness of this refusal strategy depends on how viewers interpret it. Some viewers may see it as an effective tactic to protect themselves or to show strength in dealing with criticism, while others may see it as avoiding important questions or as non-transparent actions.

While in this context, Joe Biden is more effective in using refusal strategies, because it does not meet several keys that affect the effectiveness of the refusal strategy in the theory of Beebe (1990). Direct refusal: Biden sometimes directly refuses or refutes the questions or criticism he receives. This is a way to handle questions that he considers irrelevant or to explain its position directly. Ablation (deflection): Like Trump, Biden also sometimes uses ablation tactics by diverting attention from questions or criticism by discussing issues that are considered more important or more beneficial for their campaign. This can help him control the debate narrative. Strengthening his own message: Biden tries to use this debate as a platform to strengthen his campaign message, regardless of the questions or criticism

he received. This is a way to convey his message and vision. Focus on issues that are considered important: Biden tends to talk about issues that are considered important in the selection, such as handling the pandemic Covid-19, health care, climate, and other policies. With a focus on these issues, he tries to direct attention to things that he considers relevant. The effectiveness of refusal strategies in this debate, again, depends on the perspective of viewers and the opinions of each individual. Some viewers may see it as a way to manage questions or criticism well, while others may see it as an effort to avoid important questions or not answer directly.

This study acknowledges its limitation regarding the relatively small number of participants, which can't describe its ability to provide a comprehensive or entirely accurate comparison of the results. Understanding pragmatic competence is considered essential for effective communication, involving both the speaker conveying information and the listener receiving it. The concepts of power and distance are crucial, extending to encompass higher, equal, and lower social status dynamics. This approach fosters harmonious social environments where individuals can coexist harmoniously. Furthermore, it is important to emphasize the significance of selecting one's words carefully when communicating to avoid causing discomfort or offense to the listener. By doing so, a positive reciprocal communication process can be established.

An understanding of pragmatic competence is deemed necessary for smooth and efficient communication. From the speaker who conveys the

information and the listener as the recipient of the information. With power and distance, it will extend to higher status and cover all aspects, including equal and lower status. In this way, the social environment becomes harmonious and can be created without each other. Apart from that, you must pay attention to the choice of words when speaking correctly so as not to disturb the feelings of the person you are talking to.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter provides both the conclusion and recommendations derived from the study. The conclusion encapsulates a concise summary of the findings and the preceding discussions. In contrast, the suggestions put forward recommendations to serve as guidelines for future research endeavors.

A. Conclusion

This study delves into the analysis of refusal strategies employed by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during their final debate, categorizing participants into two distinct social statuses: President and Vice President. Additionally, the research draws connections to the concepts of power and social distance, with the primary objective of identifying the prevalent social status dynamics in the discourse. Upon a thorough examination of the analyzed data, the researcher has drawn conclusions regarding how each participant exhibits distinctive characteristics in their approach to refusing initiation acts, often influenced by their respective social statuses. Furthermore, the study has yielded additional findings that complement its original research objectives.

Furthermore, the result found that the Participants' use of refusal covered all refusal. Consisting of direct refusal 19 times (50%), then indirect strategies 15 times (39,4%), and adjunct 4 times (10,5%). So, it concludes that the most frequent strategy that appears is the direct strategy.

Meanwhile, the most frequent statement is non-performative, 50% or 19 times. It is followed by indirect refusal, an attempt to criticize the request with 18,4 % or 7 times. The second rank is Reason with 5 times or 13,1%. The use of indirect refusal illustrates the participants' commitment to maintaining politeness and a desire to mitigate potential negative impacts on communication.

In this study, all participants demonstrated awareness of politeness values and displayed sensitivity in their interactions, irrespective of the social status of their interlocutors, be they lower, higher, or equal. In cases involving equal status, participants typically use greeting statements when expressing refusal, likely owing to the established close rapport with their interlocutors, allowing them to directly convey their intentions. However, even in interactions among individuals of equal status, refusal was not immediate; participants often used an expression of regret, reasons, or well-wishes to their statements. It is important to note that this study involved a relatively small number of participants, which limits the extent to which it can accurately capture and compare the nuances of refusal strategies across different social statuses.

B. Suggestion

This chapter provides recommendations for future research, primarily focusing on practical aspects, particularly in the domain of resistance strategies. The researcher anticipates that there will be further

investigation into denial strategies, particularly those employed by linguistics students. Several suggestions are offered regarding this research.

It is hoped that this study can provide valuable insights and expand our knowledge in the field of linguistics, especially in the field of pragmatics regarding refusal strategies. It is hoped that this research will provide a deeper understanding of what is meant by refusal, various types of refusal, and how to refuse effectively while considering issues of power and social distance. Therefore, future researchers can consider exploring this topic using different subjects, because research in this area needs to be diversified. Many previous researchers have relied on the same research subjects and instruments, such as films, interviews and observations. Exploring alternative approaches can provide clearer and more specific results.

Furthermore, if future researchers opt to utilize the same research subjects as the current study, they could seek out fresh participants with similar status levels. In this research, the data collection primarily concentrated on interactions involving individuals with higher to lower status, as well as those with lower to higher status. Ultimately, the researcher envisions that this current research can serve as a benchmark for evaluation and comparison by subsequent researchers.

Moreover, this study is also relevant for readers and learners as it encourages them to consider their words before speaking. Additionally, it promotes the value of mutual respect.

REFERENCES

- Anjani, R., & Lilik Untari, D. (2020). Refusal strategies in thirteen reasons why season 1 tv-series (Doctoral dissertation, IAIN Surakarta).
- Anshari, M. M. S. (2021). Pragmatics Analysis on Refusal and Politeness Strategies in Home Alone Movie By John Hughes. *English Journal Literacy Utama*, 5(2), 398-409.
- Azizah, D. N., & Sudana, D. (2021). Refusal Strategies and Politeness In Virtual Communication: A Cyber Pragmatics Study. In *English Language and Literature International Conference (ELLiC) Proceedings (Vol. 4, pp. 250-257)*.
- Azwan, A. (2018). Politeness strategies of refusals to requests by Ambonese community. *LINGUA: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Pengajarannya*, 15(1), 1-6.
- Bahtiar, J. Y. (2022, September). International debater's politeness strategy in Interlanguage pragmatics of request. In *Annual International Conferences on Language, Literature, and Media (Vol. 4, pp. 98-112)*.
- Beebe, L.M., Takahashi, T. & Uliss-Weltz, R. (1990). Pragmatic transfer in ESL refusals. In R. C. Scarcella, E. S. Anderson, and S. D. Krashen (Eds.), *Developing communicative competence in a second language (pp. 55-94)*. New York: Newburry
- Chang, Y. (2008). How to say no: an analysis of cross-cultural difference and pragmatic transfer. *Language sciences*. Vol. 31. Pp. 93-447.
- Cutting, J. (2002). *Pragmatics and discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Gass, S. M., & Houck, N. (1999). *Interlanguage refusals: A cross-cultural study of Japanese-English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hardjanto, T. D. (2020). Politeness Strategies of Refusals to Higher Status Interlocutors by English and Indonesian Speakers. *ISoLEC Proceedings*, 4(1), 38-42.
- Kasih, L. (2020). *Refusal Strategies Made By Indonesian and International EFL*

- Learner. Thesis (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Islam Malang)
- Merriam-Webster (2023). "Language." Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, Merriam-Webster.
- Permatanigtyas, W. (2017). Refusal Strategies as Found in Harry Potter and The Philosopher's Stone and Harry Potter and The Chamber Of Secrets (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Gadjah Mada).
- Rifandi, D. R., Wahyu, K. S. F. & Wiyasukti, N. (2019). Refusal strategies in the movie the Walking Dead: A Pragmatic Study. Vol. 11 (2). Pp. 61-67.
- Rosdiana, Y. (2018). Refusal Strategies Used By Character In Despicable Me Movie (Doctoral dissertation).
- Scollon, R., Scollon, S. W., & Jones, R. H. (2012). Intercultural communication: A discourse approach. John Wiley & Sons.
- Solihah, R., & Imperiani, E. D. (2020, April). Refusal strategies among Sundanese students: An analysis of gender and power relation. In Twelfth Conference on Applied Linguistics (CONAPLIN 2019) (pp. 160-164). Atlantis Press.
- Suta, A. P. (2022). Refusal commissive speech act in Ice Age Continental Drift movie (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim).
- Takahashi, T., & Beebe, L. M. (1993). Cross-linguistic influence in the speech act of correction. *Interlanguage pragmatics*, 138, 158-169.
- Wardani, F. D. (2019). Refusal strategies used by 5th semester students of English Department in State Islamic University of Sunan Ampel Surabaya (Doctoral dissertation, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya).
- Yule, G. (1996). *Pragmatics*. New York: Oxford University Press

CURRICULUM VITAE



Syafa Tasya Andini was born in Sidoarjo, March 3, 2001. In 2019, she graduated from SMA ANTARTIKA with natural science. She entered Universitas Maulana Malik Ibrahim in the department of English literature and finished in 2023. During her studies at the university, she took part in Maliki English Festival as volunteer, and she also joined a regional student organization called Putra Delta Sidoarjo.

APPENDIX

No.	Utterances	Refusal Strategies			Datum
		Direct	Indirect	Adjunct	
		NP P	R POF PA SC ATC	SOP PF GOA	
1.	<p>Kristen Walker: “President Trump I'd like to follow up with you and your comments you talked about taking a therapeutic I assume you're referencing Regeneron you also said a vaccine will be coming within weeks is that a guarantee?”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “No it's not a guarantee but it will be by the end of the year I think it is a good chance there are two companies I think within a matter of weeks and it will be distributed very quickly”</p>	✓			Datum 1
2.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Let me follow up with you because this is new information you have said a vaccine is coming soon within weeks now your own officials say it could take well into 2021 at the earliest for enough Americans to get Vaccinated and even then they say the country will be wearing masks and distancing into 2022. is your timeline realistic?”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “No I think my timeline is going to be more accurate I don't know that they're counting on the military the way I do but we have our generals lined up one in particular that's the head of logistics and this is a very easy distribution for him he's ready to go as soon as we have the vaccine and we expect to have a hundred million vials as soon as we have the vaccine he's ready to go”</p>	✓			Datum 2

3.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Vice President Biden I want to talk broadly about strategy though you respond to that 30 seconds please and I have a question.”</p> <p>Joe: “No number one he says that we're uh you know we're learning to live with it people are learning to die with it you folks home will have an empty chair at the kitchen table this morning that man or wife going to bed tonight and reaching over to try to touch their out of habit where their wife or husband was is gone learning to live with it come on we're dying with it.”</p>	✓	Datum 3
4.	<p>Kristen walker: “let me follow up with you president trump you've demanded schools open in person and insist they can do it safely but just yesterday Boston became the latest city to move public school system entirely online after a coronavirus spike what is your to parents who worry that sending their children to school will endanger not only their kids but also their teachers and families.”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “we're not going to have a country you can't do this we can't keep this country close this is a massive country with a massive economy people.”</p>	✓	Datum 4

5.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Okay and we're going to talk about both of your records but your response to that vice president.”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “My response to that as I never ever said what he accused me of saying the fact of the matter is in 2000 though after the crime bill had been in in in in the law for a while this is the guy who said the problem at the crime bill there's not enough people in jail there's not enough people in jail.”</p>	✓	Datum 5
6.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Let me know let me let me allow vice president.”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “Never said I oppose Frackie.”</p>	✓	Datum 6
7.	<p>Kristen Walker: “President Trump, your reaction?”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “I didn't say over soon. I say we're learning to live with it. We have no choice. We can't lock ourselves up in a basement like Joe does. He has the ability to lock himself up”</p>	✓	Datum 7
8.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Let me talk about your Tuesday-“</p> <p>Donald Trump: “Excuse me. I take full responsibility. It's not my fault that it came here. It's China's fault. And you know what? It's not Joe's fault that it came here either. It's China's fault.”</p>	✓	Datum 8

9.	<p>Donald Trump: “Look, perhaps just to finish this, I was kidding on that, but just to finish this, when I close he said I shouldn’t have closed. And that went on for months. Nancy Pelosi said the same thing. She was dancing on the streets in Chinatown, in San Francisco. But when I closed, he said, “This is a terrible thing, you xenophobic.” I think he called me racist even, because I was closing it to China. Now he says I should have closed it earlier. Joe, it doesn’t.”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “I didn’t say either of those thing.”</p>	✓	Datum 9
10.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Vice President Biden”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “Take a look at what New York has done in terms of turning the curve down, in terms of the number of people dying. And I don’t look at this in terms of the way he does, blue states and red states. They’re all in the United States.”</p>	✓	Datum 10
11.	<p>Kristen Walker: “I’m going to give you 30 seconds to respond and then we’re going to move on.”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “I don’t know. Somebody went through Wall Street. You’re the one that takes all the money from Wall Street. I don’t take it.”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “I haven’t”</p>	✓	Datum 11

12.	<p>Kristen Walker: “President Trump, same question to you. Let me ask the question. You’re going to have two minutes to respond. For two elections in a row now, there has been substantial interference from foreign adversaries. What would you do in your next term to put an end to this? Two minutes, uninterrupted.”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “Well, let me respond to the first part, as Joe answered. Joe got \$3.5 million from Russia and it came through Putin because he was very friendly with the former mayor of Moscow and it was the mayor of Moscow’s wife. And you got \$3.5 million. Your family got \$3.5 million. And someday you’re going to have to explain, why did you get three and a half? I never got any money from Russia. I don’t get money from Russia.”</p>	✓	Datum 12
13.	<p>Kristen Walker: “All right. Let’s talk about North Korea.”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “No, no, no”</p> <p>Kristen Walker: “Let....”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “Excuse me. No, I have to....”</p>	✓	Datum 13
14.	<p>Joe Biden: “Tax payer’s money.”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “it’s what?”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “Taxpayer’s money. Didn’t come from China.</p> <p>Donald Trump: “No, no. You know who the taxpayer is? It’s called China.”</p>	✓	Datum 14

15.	<p>Kristen Welker: “Let’s talk about schools, President Trump-“</p> <p>Donald Trump: “I think we have to respond if I might.”</p> <p>Kristen Welker: “Please. And then I have a follow-up.”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “Thank you, and I appreciate that. Look, all he does is talk about shutdowns. But forget about him. His Democrat Governors, Cuomo in New York, you look at what’s going on in California, you look at Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Democrats, Democrats all, they’re shut down so tight and they’re dying. They’re dying. And he supports all these people. All he talks about is shut downs. No, we’re not going to shut down. And we have to open our schools. And it’s like, as an example, I have a young son, he also tested positive. By the time I spoke to the doctor the second time, he was fine. It just went away. Young people, I guess, it’s their immune system.”</p>	✓	Datum 15
16.	<p>Donald Trump: “I am against fracking. Until he got the nomination, he went to Pennsylvania. Then he said, “But you know what Pennsylvania?” He’ll be against it very soon because his party is totally against it.”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “Fracking on federal land. I said, no fracking and/or oil on federal land.”</p>	✓	Datum 16

17.	<p>Joe Biden: “Abraham Lincoln here is one of the most racist presidents we’ve had in modern history, he pours fuel on every single racist fire, every single one. Started off his campaign coming down the escalator saying he’s getting rid of those Mexican rapists, he’s banned Muslims because they’re Muslims, he has moved around and made everything worse across the board. He says to... About the Proud Boys, last time we were on stage here he said, “I tell them to stand down and stand ready.” Come on, this guy has a dog whistle about as big as a foghorn.”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “No, he made a reference to Abraham Lincoln, where did that come in? I mean”</p>	✓	Datum 17
18.	<p>Joe Biden: “We got a lot of done it. We released 38,000-“</p> <p>Donald Trump: “You didn’t get anything done.”</p>	✓	Datum 18

19.	<p>Joe Biden: “The fact is that when we knew it was coming, when it hit, what happened? What did the President say? He said, “Don’t worry. It’s going to go away. It’ll be gone by Easter. Don’t worry. Warm weather. Don’t worry. Maybe inject bleach.” He said he was kidding when he said that, but a lot of people thought it was serious. A whole range of things the President has said, even today, he thinks we are in control. We’re about to lose 200,000 more people.”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “Look, perhaps just to finish this, I was kidding on that, but just to finish this, when I closed he said I shouldn’t have closed. And that went on for months. Nancy Pelosi said the same thing. She was dancing on the streets in Chinatown, in San Francisco. But when I closed, he said, “This is a terrible thing, you xenophobic.” I think he called me racist even, because I was closing it to China. Now he says I should have closed it earlier. Joe, it doesn’t.”</p>	✓	Datum 19
-----	--	---	----------

20.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Vice President you suggested you would support new shutdowns if scientists recommended it what do you say to Americans who are fearful that the cost of shutdowns the impact on the economy.”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “What I would say is I'm going to shut down the virus, not the country it's his ineptitude that caused the violence and caused the country to have to shut down in large part why businesses have gone under why schools are closed why so many people have lost their living and why they're concerned those other concerns.”</p>	✓	Datum 20
21.	<p>Kristen Walker: “I'm going to give you 30 seconds to respond and then...” Donald Trump: “I would blow away every record but I don't want to do that because it puts me in a bad position and then you bring up Wall Street you shouldn't be bringing up Wall Street because you're the one that takes the money from wall street not me.”</p>	✓	Datum 21
22.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Vice President your response please.”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “I beat all those other people because I disagreed with them Joe Biden he's running against the idea that we're in a situation that is going to destroy Medicare.”</p>	✓	Datum 22
23.	<p>Donald Trump: “You certainly did. You certainly did.”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “I talked about his xenophobia in a different context. It wasn't about closing the border to Chinese coming to the United States.”</p>	✓	Datum 23

24.	<p>Kristen walker: “Vice President Biden, your response quickly, and then we’re going to move on to the next section.”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “He went on record and said to one of your colleagues, recorded, that in fact, he knew how dangerous it was but he didn’t want to tell us because he didn’t want us to panic.”</p>	✓	Datum 24
25.	<p>Kristen Walker: “All right. I want to”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “By the way, if I get elected, I’m not going to... I’m running as a proud Democrat, but I’m going to be an American president. I don’t see red states and blue states. What I see is the American United States.”</p>	✓	Datum 25
26.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Concerns that your healthcare plan, which includes a government insurance option, takes the country one step closer to a healthcare system run entirely by the government. What’s your response to that?”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “Look, the difference between the president and I... I think healthcare is not a privilege, it’s a right. Everyone should have the right to have affordable healthcare, and I am very proud of my plan. It’s gotten endorsed by all the major labor unions, as well as a whole range of other people who, in fact, are concerned in the medical field. This is something that’s going to save people’s lives. We have to provide health insurance for people at an affordable rate, and that’s what I do.”</p>	✓	Datum 26

27.	<p>Kristen Walker: “But you’re the president.”</p> <p>Donald Trump: “I do. But I still have to get, unfortunately... That’s one of the reasons I think we’re going to take over the House, because of her. Nancy Pelosi doesn’t want to approve anything because she’d love to have some victories on a date called November 3rd. Nancy Pelosi does not want to approve it. We are ready, willing, and able to do something. Don’t forget, we’ve already approved three plans. And it’s gone through, including the Democrats, in all fairness. This one, she doesn’t want. It’s near the election. Because she thinks it helps her politically. I think it hurts her politically.”</p>	✓	Datum 27
28.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Concerns that your healthcare plan, which includes a government insurance option, takes the country one step closer to a healthcare system run entirely by the government. What’s your response to that?”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “I say it’s ridiculous. It’s like saying that the fact that there’s a public option that people can choose, makes it a socialist plan. Look, the difference between the president and I... I think healthcare is not a privilege, it’s a right. Everyone should have the right to have affordable healthcare, and I am very proud of my plan.”</p>	✓	Datum 28
29.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Let me ask Vice President Biden a question. You are the leader of the Democratic</p>	✓	Datum 29

	<p>party. Why have you not pushed the Democrats to get a deal for the American people?.”</p> <p>Joe Biden: “I have, and they have pushed it. Look, they passed this act all the way back in the beginning of the summer. It’s not new. It’s been out there. This HEROES Act has been sitting there. And look at what’s happening. When I was in charge of the recovery act with \$800 billion, I was able to get \$145 billion to local communities that have to balance their budgets and states that have to balance their budgets. And then they have to fire firefighters, teachers, first responders, law enforcement officers, so they could keep their cities and counties running. He will not support that. They have not done a thing for them. And Mitch McConnell said, “Let them go bankrupt. Let them go bankrupt.” Come on. What’s the matter with these guys? “</p> <p>Donald Trump: “The bill that was passed in the house was a bailout of badly run High-crime democrat all run by democrats in cities and states it was a way of getting a lot of money billions and billions of dollars to these states, but it was really a big bailout for badly run.”</p>		
30.	<p>Kristen Walker: “Vice President Biden I want to talk broadly about strategy though you respond to that 30 seconds please and I have a question.”</p> <p>Joe: “No number one he says that we're uh you know we're</p>	✓	Datum 30

	<p>learning to live with it people are learning to die with it you folks home will have an empty chair at the kitchen table this morning that man or wife going to bed tonight and reaching over to try to touch their out of habit where their wife or husband was is gone learning to live with it come on we're dying with it."</p>		
31.	<p>Kristen Welker: "Let's talk about schools, President Trump-" Donald Trump: "I think we have to respond, if I might." Kristen Welker: "Please. And then I have a follow-up." Donald Trump: "Thank you, and I appreciate that. Look, all he does is talk about shut downs. But forget about him. His Democrat Governors, Cuomo in New York, you look at what's going on in California, you look at Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Democrats, Democrats all, they're shut down so tight and they're dying. They're dying. And he supports all these people. All he talks about is shut downs. No, we're not going to shut down. And we have to open our schools. And it's like, as an example, I have a young son, he also tested positive. By the time I spoke to the doctor the second time, he was fine. It just went away. Young people, I guess, it's their immune system."</p>	✓	Datum 31
32.	<p>Joe Biden: "My response is, people deserve to have affordable healthcare, period. Period, period, period. The Biden care proposal will in fact</p>	✓	Datum 32

	<p>provide for that affordable healthcare and lower premiums. What we're going to do is going to cost some money. It's going to cost over \$750 billion over 10 years to do it. And they're going to have lower premiums. You can buy into the better plans, and the cheaper plans, lower your premiums, deal with unexpected billing, and have your drug prices drop significantly. He keeps talking about it. He hasn't done a thing for anybody in healthcare. Not a thing. Donald Trump: "When he says public option, he's talking about socialized medicine and healthcare. When he talks about a public option, he's talking about destroying your Medicare, totally destroying</p>		
33.	<p>Joe Biden: "On the condition that he would agree that he would be drawing down his nuclear capacity. The Korean Peninsula should be a nuclear free zone." Donald Trump: "They tried to meet with him. He wouldn't do it. He didn't like Obama. He didn't like him. He wouldn't do it."</p>	✓	Datum 33
34.	<p>Joe Biden: "I haven't" Donald Trump: "Joe, you have raised a lot of money, tremendous amounts of money. And every time you raise money deals are made, Joe. I could raise so much more money. As President, and as somebody that knows most of those people, I could call the heads of Wall Street, the heads of every company in America. I would blow away every record. But I don't want to do that</p>	✓	Datum 34

	<p>because it puts me in a bad position. And then you bring up Wall Street? You shouldn't be bringing up Wall Street, because you're the one that takes the money from Wall Street, not me. I could blow away your records like you wouldn't believe. We don't need money. We have plenty of money. In fact, we beat Hillary Clinton with a tiny fraction of the money that she was able to."</p>		
35.	<p>Kristen Walker: "As of tonight, more than 12 million people are out of work. And as of tonight, 8 million more Americans have fallen into poverty, and more families are going hungry every day. Those hit hardest are women and people of color. They see Washington fighting over a relief bill. Mr. President, why haven't you been able to get them the help they need? 30 seconds here." Donald Trump: "Because Nancy Pelosi doesn't want to approve it. I do." Kristen Walker: "But you're the president." Donald Trump: "I do. But I still have to get, unfortunately... That's one of the reasons I think we're going to take over the House, because of her. Nancy Pelosi doesn't want to approve anything because she'd love to have some victories on a date called November 3rd. Nancy Pelosi does not want to approve it. We are ready, willing, and able to do something. Don't forget, we've already approved three plans. And it's gone through, including the Democrats, in all fairness.</p>	✓	Datum 35

	<p>This one, she doesn't want. It's near the election. Because she thinks it helps her politically. I think it hurts her politically."</p>		
36.	<p>Kristen Walker: "Vice President Biden I want to talk broadly about strategy though you respond to that 30 seconds please and I have a question." Joe Biden: "No number one he says that we're uh you know we're learning to live with it people are learning to die with it you folks home will have an empty chair at the kitchen table this morning that man or wife going to bed tonight and reaching over to try to touch their out of habit where their wife or husband was is gone learning to live with it come on we're dying with it."</p>	✓	Datum 36
37.	<p>Kristen Walker: "But you haven't ruled out more shut downs?" Joe Biden: "Oh, well, no. I'm not shutting down today, but there are ... Look, you need standards. The standard is, if you have a reproduction rate in a community that's above a certain level, everybody says, "Slow up. More social distancing. Do not open bars and do not open gymnasiums. Do not open until you get this under control, under more control."</p>	✓	Datum 37
38.	<p>Kristen Welker: "Let's talk about schools, President Trump-" Donald Trump: "I think we have to respond, if I might." Kristen Welker: "Please. And then I have a follow-up." Donald Trump: "Thank you, and I appreciate</p>	✓	Datum 38

	<p>that. Look, all he does is talk about shut downs. But forget about him. His Democrat Governors, Cuomo in New York, you look at what's going on in California, you look at Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Democrats, Democrats all, they're shut down so tight and they're dying. They're dying. And he supports all these people. All he talks about is shutdowns. No, we're not going to shut down. And we have to open our schools. And it's like, as an example, I have a young son, he also tested positive. By the time I spoke to the doctor the second time, he was fine. It just went away. Young people, I guess, it's their immune system."</p>		
--	--	--	--

Table 4. appendix

- Notes:** Non-performative : NP
 Performative : P
 Reason : R
 Past or future acceptance : POF
 Past acceptance : PA
 Set condition for future : SC
 Attempt to criticize the request : ATC
 Statement of Positive Opinion : SOP
 Pause filter : PF
 Gratitude or appreciation :GOA