



# CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON *THE COVID-19* TOPIC AT THE 2020 USA FINAL PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

Atiqah Elfannur Rahmah<sup>1\*</sup>, Mardliya Pratiwi Zamruddin<sup>2</sup>, dan Setya Ariani<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Mulawarman.

<sup>1,\*</sup>Email: atiqahaes@gmail.com <sup>2</sup>Email: mardliya.pratiwi@fib.unmul.ac.id <sup>3</sup>Email: setya.ariani@fib.unmul.ac.id

**Abstract:** This article analyzes the COVID-19 topic discussed at the 2020 USA final presidential debate. The purpose of this research is to describe the effect of the discourses on the socio-cultural practices. The approach employed in this research is the three-dimensional critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough consisting of text analysis, discursive practice analysis, and socio-cultural practice analysis of the discourses. The discourses of the COVID-19 topic are seen as important by the American citizens because they need clarity of how their future president would fight the pandemic in their term. The result of this research shows that the two discourses by the presidential candidates produced distinctive depictions of COVID-19. Discourse produced by Donald Trump offered a more optimistic view regarding the COVID-19 situation in the United States, while Joe Biden's discourse gave a more pessimistic view towards the COVID-19 situation. The presidential candidates provided different views of the COVID-19 situation in the United States in order to appeal and convince the American citizens into voting them. The different depictions of COVID-19 situation in the United States resulted in the American citizens expressing their disappointment over Donald Trump's optimism which also extend to the criticism towards the White House, while praised Joe Biden's pessimism on the topic. Ultimately, the discourses are seen as unsatisfactory by the American citizens due to their inability to give details and elaborations on the plan to fight against COVID-19 in the next four years. Lastly, these discourses might create and instill indecisiveness in the American citizens' voting decision.

**Keywords:** critical discourse analysis (CDA), covid-19, presidential debate, socio-cultural practices

Abstrak: Artikel ini menganalisis topik COVID-19 yang dibahas pada debat final capres AS 2020. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan pengaruh wacana terhadap praktik sosial budaya. Pendekatan yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah analisis wacana kritis tiga dimensi oleh Norman Fairclough yang terdiri dari analisis teks, analisis praktik diskursif, dan analisis praktik sosial budaya wacana. Wacana topik COVID-19 dipandang penting oleh warga Amerika karena mereka membutuhkan kejelasan bagaimana presiden masa depan mereka akan memerangi pandemi dalam masa jabatan mereka. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kedua wacana cawapres tersebut menghasilkan penggambaran yang khas tentang COVID-19. Wacana yang dihasilkan oleh Donald Trump menawarkan pandangan yang lebih optimis mengenai situasi COVID-19 di Amerika Serikat, sedangkan wacana Joe Biden memberikan pandangan yang lebih pesimistis terhadap situasi COVID-19.





Para kandidat presiden memberikan pandangan berbeda tentang situasi COVID-19 di Amerika Serikat untuk menarik dan meyakinkan warga Amerika agar memilih mereka. Penggambaran yang berbeda dari situasi COVID-19 di Amerika Serikat mengakibatkan warga Amerika mengungkapkan kekecewaan mereka atas optimisme Donald Trump yang juga meluas ke kritik terhadap Gedung Putih, sambil memuji pesimisme Joe Biden tentang topik tersebut. Pada akhirnya, wacana tersebut dipandang kurang memuaskan oleh warga Amerika karena ketidakmampuan mereka untuk memberikan rincian dan elaborasi tentang rencana memerangi COVID-19 dalam empat tahun ke depan. Terakhir, wacana-wacana ini dapat menciptakan dan menanamkan keragu-raguan dalam keputusan memilih warga negara

Kata kunci: analisis wacana kritis (cda), covid-19, debat presiden, praktik sosial budaya

## A. INTRODUCTION

In the late 2020, the United States held rounds of presidential debates during the election time. These debates posed as another way of campaigning for the presidential candidates and as a chance to assess the presidential candidates for the American citizens. Among the topics covered in the debate, the presidential candidates' answers to the question related to the issue of COVID-19 was possibly the part the citizens look forward to the most during the time of the debates; the United States was the country with the highest COVID-19 cases and deaths. The presidential candidates' answers were expected to show how they would lead the country on the next phase against COVID-19 if they become the president.

In the first month of quarantine, the United States' economy fell to its lowest rate since 2008 and millions of American citizens had filed for unemployment (BBC, 2020). All educational institutions were closed, mortgage rate was rising, and homelessness was exacerbated (Fessler, 2021). Not to mention that at the time of the final presidential debate, there were around 1.000 deaths per days caused by COVID-19 and total of one million cases (Yan & Maxouris, 2020). Therefore, the topic COVID-19 was seen as a most pressing and urgent matter to discuss about.

The candidates in the 2020 United States presidential election were Donald Trump and Joe Biden. Donald Trump was chosen from the Republican Party, while Joe Biden was chosen from the Democrats Party. At the time of the debates, Trump was the president of the United States, so it was very logical for him to defend his way of handling the COVID-19 situation by saying the country was faring well during the pandemic and he would continue to do so if he became the president. However, as the representative of the opposing party, Biden contrasted Trump's claim and stated that Trump's way of handling the COVID-19 situation had left the country in a bad condition and he could do better. The presidential candidates' contrasting opinions in the COVID-19 topic became one of the highlighted moments in the debate concluded by a few articles, such as CNBC who named the part of the debate as "Coronavirus contrast" (Breuninger, 2020) and NPR who stated that "The two candidates' approaches and attitudes could not have been more different on the pandemic" (Walsh, 2020).

To explain how the presidential candidates' discourses affects the sociocultural practice, the researcher applies a critical discourse analysis methodology that





aims to analyze how power is exercised through discourse so that a particular social practice can be maintained (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Critical discourse analysis employs both linguistic and social theory in its process of analysis and it has been the go-to approach in discovering the relationship between language used and how it affects society since its development in the 1970s. One of the exemplary researches done with critical discourse analysis was an article written by Putra and Triyono (2019) where they discovered the micro, mezzo, and macro dimensions of a discourse about a political movement called #2019GantiPresiden in Indonesia and how it might affect the presidency of Joko Widodo.

# B. METHOD

The approach used in this research is critical discourse analysis, but more specifically the three-dimensional critical discourse framework. The three-dimensional critical discourse analysis framework is a model introduced by Norman Fairclough in 1989 which splits discourses into three dimensions: the text, the discursive practice, and the socio-cultural practices. Different elements of the discourse are analyzed in every dimension. The text analysis examines the micro elements such as the linguistic items to discover the underlying ideologies in the discourse. The discursive practice investigates the mezzo element such as discourse producers, distributors, and consumers to reveal how the production, distribution, and consumption of the discourse affect the interpretation of the discourse. Lastly, the socio-cultural practice analyzes the macro element or the socio-cultural to uncover the effect discourse has on society (Fairclough, 1992).

The data in this research are the utterances from both presidential candidates, while the source of data itself is a clip of the final presidential debate of the 2020 United States presidential election broadcasted in NBC News Channel titled *Final 2020 Presidential Debate Between Donald Trump, Joe Biden*. The debate was aired on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of October 2020 through various cable television and was live streamed on news channel YouTube accounts. The duration of the debate in total is one hour and fiftynine minutes. However, the duration of the clip taken as the object is the first six minutes and three seconds of the debate.

After the data are collected, the researcher analyzes the data following the stages needed in three-dimensional critical discourse analysis. In the first stage, text analysis, the discourse is studied by taking apart all the linguistic properties and analyzing them accordingly to provide identities represented in the discourse. The second stage, the discursive practice, is done by identifying the producers of the discourse, the distribution of the discourse, and the consumption of the discourse. In this research, the speakers are analyzed respectively as the producers and distributors of the discourse (Fairclough, 1992). The third and last stage, the socio-cultural practice, are separated into three parts: situational level, institutional level, and societal level to be analyzed accordingly to know the effect of the discourse on the socio-cultural practice (Fairclough, 2010).





# C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This sub-chapter presents the discussion based on the findings of the research. The research is concerned about the effect of the discourses towards the socio-cultural practices in the United States.

# 1. Text Analysis

In this dimension, the discourse is studied by taking apart all the linguistic properties and analyzing them accordingly to provide identities represented in the discourse. Based on the observation, the researcher found regular linguistic properties used in each discourse. They are theme or discernable pattern in structuring the arguments, wording, word repetition, and referring expressions.

# a. Donald Trump's Discourse

This section presents the usage of the linguistic properties mentioned above in the discourse produced by Donald Trump. Below is the analysis of the findings.

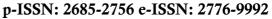
- (1) Donald Trump: "There is a spike. There was a spike in Florida and it's now gone. There was a very big spike in Texas. It's now gone. There was a very big spike in Arizona. It's now gone. And there was some spikes and surges and other places, they will soon be gone."
- (2) Donald Trump: "We have a problem that's a worldwide problem. This is a worldwide problem, but I've been congratulated by the heads of many countries on what we've been able to do."

From datum (1) and datum (2), it can be seen that Donald Trump has a theme when he acknowledges the COVID-19 situation in the United States. He begins his arguments by stating that, indeed, there are spikes in many states and the United States is affected by the pandemic problem but ends his arguments by giving accomplishments gotten from the initial part of the arguments. Donald Trump uses this recurring pattern to establish the notion that he does well on his handling of the COVID-19 situation as the current president at that time.

(3) Donald Trump: "You see the spikes in Europe and many other places right now. If you notice, the mortality rate is down 85%. The excess mortality rate is **way down** and **much lower** than almost any other country."

From the datum (3), Donald Trump uses different phrases to indicates the similar quality given to the COVID-19 situation which are *way down* and *much lower*. The way he worded his argument is to put emphasize and instil that the COVID-19 handling in the United States is in a better situation compared to other countries.

- (4) Donald Trump: "**We** have a vaccine that's coming. It's ready. It's going to be announced within weeks. And it's going to be delivered. **We** have Operation Warp Speed, which is the military is going to distribute the vaccine."
- (5) Donald Trump: "I can tell **you** from personal experience, I was in the hospital. I had it and I got better. And I will tell **you** that I had something that they gave me, a therapeutic, I guess they would call it. Some people could say it was a cure, but I was in for a short period of time. And I got better very fast or I wouldn't be here tonight. And now they say I'm immune. Whether it's





four months or a lifetime, nobody's been able to say that, but **I'm** immune. More and more people are getting better."

- (6) Donald Trump: "If **you** take a look at what **we've** done in terms of goggles and masks and gowns and everything else, and in particular ventilators **we're** now making ventilators all over the world, thousands and thousands a month distributing them all over the world."
- (7) Donald Trump: "It will go away. And as I say, **we're** rounding the turn. **We're** rounding the corner. **It's** going away."

Datum (4) shows the usage of referring expression we, it correlates the American citizens and the United States' government in order to give a more unified feeling in addressing the public. In datum (5), the referring expression dominantly used is I, and the expression used to refer to the public is you. Donald Trump used I and you to be more personal and intimate in his approach of reassuring the public. However, in datum (6), he slightly separates the American citizens by using you and we to refer himself in stating an achievement. It is done to display his plus in leading the country during the pandemic. Datum (7) uses the referring expressions I and we. Donald Trump uses the referring expression we to give more unified feeling for the public by addressing himself and the American citizens as one entity, while the I expression is aimed to give more credibility as the President of the United States to his statement that the pandemic is dwindling down.

From the analysis above, it can be concluded that Donald Trump presented COVID-19 through a more optimistic view in his discourse. Throughout his discourse, he continuously emphasizes and instills the idea that struggles caused by COVID-19 is handled and COVID-19 would soon be gone. Thus, the American citizens should choose him to be the president again for the next term.

# b. Joe Biden's Discourse

This section presents the usage of the linguistic properties in the discourse produced by Joe Biden. Below is the analysis of the findings.

- (1) Joe Biden: "220,000 Americans dead."
- (2) Joe Biden: "We're in a situation where there are a thousand **deaths** a day now. A thousand **deaths** a day. And there are over 70,000 new cases per day."
- (3) Joe Biden: "The expectation is we'll have another 200,000 Americans **dead** between now and the end of the year."
- (4) Joe Biden: "Compared to what's going on in Europe as the New England Medical Journal said, they're starting from a **very low rate**. We're starting from a **very high rate**."

From datum (1) to datum (3), there are reoccurring appearances of the adjective *dead* and noun *death*. While, in datum (4) *very high rate* is used to describe the situation in the United States compared to *very low rate* situation in the European countries. The wording and the repetition used in these data are influenced by Joe Biden's aim to stress the severity of the COVID-19 situation in the United States. Joe Biden uses the emphasis in acknowledging the COVID-19 situation and the comparison to gain the momentum for his discourse, and to instill the focus he is





presenting which is to state that the United States has suffered thousands of casualties caused by the COVID-19 and the situation at that moment is terrible.

- (5) Joe Biden: "If **we** just wore these masks, the president's own advisors have told him, **we** can save a 100,000 lives."
- (6) Joe Biden: "What I would do is make sure we have everyone encouraged to wear a mask all the time. I would make sure we move into the direction of rapid testing, investing in rapid testing. I would make sure that we set up national standards as to how to open up schools and open up businesses so they can be safe and give them the wherewithal, the financial resources to be able to do that."
- (7) Joe Biden: "And so **folks**, **I** will take care of this. **I** will end this. **I** will make sure we have a plan."
- (8) Joe Biden: "... Anyone is responsible for that many deaths should not remain as president of the United States of America."
- (9) Joe Biden: "And we're in a circumstance where the president thus far and still has no plan, no comprehensive plan."
- (10) Joe Biden: "...this president has responded to this crisis has been absolutely tragic."

The referring expressions used in the data above are we and I. Joe Biden uses a more unified referring expression we in datum (5) to encourage the participation of the American citizens in the fight against COVID-19. In datum (6) and (7), he separates himself from the American citizens by using I. He is using the referring expression I to put himself in charge of the actions as the future president of the United States. Datum (7) folks, however, is used to establish more intimate and closer relationship with the American citizens. From datum (8) to (10), there are variations of president used as referring expressions. They are used by Joe Biden to separate and alienate the current president, and to put blame on his disappointing handling of the COVID-19 in the United States.

From the analysis above, it can be concluded that Joe Biden presents COVID-19 through a more pessimistic view in his discourse. He endlessly stresses the severity of the COVID-19 situation in the United States. Furthermore, his arguments that expressed his dissatisfaction of the current handling of COVID-19 are done to encourage the American citizens to vote for him.

# 2. Discursive Practice Analysis

In this analysis, the presidential candidates are analyzed as the producers and distributors of the discourse to determine how their identity as the producers and distributors of the discourse affected the consumptions and the interpretation of the discourse (Fairclough, 1992).

Donald Trump and Joe Biden as the producers of the discourse fulfills all of three positions in term of producing the discourses. They are the animators as they produce the sounds, they are the authors because they choose the words and arrange the words, and they are the principal because they are represented by the uttered words. The presidential candidates are also the representative of the two political parties in the United States, namely the Republican Party and the Democratic Party.





The stances they took in depicting the COVID-19 situations in their discourses not only represent their personal view, but also their political parties' view.

Donald Trump was the President of the United States at the time of the debate happened, and his discourse aims to boost his presidency during the pandemic by focusing on the notion that COVID-19 is a passing matter and the United States is in a good condition. On the other hand, Joe Biden is the opponent of Donald Trump; hence, his goal is to attest that Donald Trump's presidency is lacking and he can do better by focusing on the severity of the pandemic situation. Therefore, it can be concluded that Donald Trump presents optimistic view on his COVID-19 discourse, while Joe Biden presents pessimistic view on his COVID-19 discourse.

The discourses are produced during the final presidential debate, one of the main events of the presidential election in the United States. The nature of this event is to give the presidential candidates a platform to appeal the public about their future plans and actions as the next president, it also acts as the last official opportunity for the presidential candidates to gain momentum before the election day. Thus, the discourses produced in this event can ultimately be seen as a way to promote the candidacy of these presidential candidates to the American citizens. Thus, the COVID-19 discourses that were produced to lay out the presidential candidates' plan on handling the COVID-19 situation in the United States are seeping into promotional discourses aimed towards the American citizens to vote for the presidential candidates.

# 3. Socio-cultural Practice Analysis

This analysis focuses on explaining the relationship between the discursive and the social process in the discourses which then result in affecting the socio-cultural practice. There are three levels within this analysis, they are situational, institutional, and societal. Situational level discovers the immediate situation in which the discourses take place. Institutional level unveils the organizations or institutions that are involved in the making of the discourse and how they affect the interpretative process. Lastly, societal level correlates to the social systems such as ideology, politics, and cultural in order to know what affected the discourse and what is the effect of the discourses (Fairclough, 2010).

## a. Situational level

The discourses are produced during the final presidential debate. The presidential debate, in general, is already an established part of the presidential election in the United States. Through this event, the candidates can lay out their future plans, and convince the American citizens to vote for them. The final presidential debate of the 2020 USA presidential election, however, has been anticipated more than usual by the American citizens. It is because the first debate is considered as unsatisfactory by the American citizens, and it was seen as the last chance of campaigning for the presidential candidates. The final debate is expected to answer the important topic such as the handling of COVID-19 by the voters and is expected to give the presidential candidates a momentum to gain more vote before the election day.





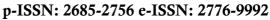
## b. Institutional level

The discourses produced during the debate involves two individuals, they are Donald Trump and Joe Biden. Donald Trump and Joe Biden as the presidential candidates are expected to present their plans to fight COVID-19 in the next term if they become the president of the United States. However, each of them has their own views in talking about COVID-19. Donald Trump seems to offer an optimistic view of the United States' COVID-19 situation by the noticeable theme he uses in structuring his arguments which is ending his statements with declarations of accomplishment and achievement. While, Joe Biden seems to propose a more pessimistic view by the word meaning he choose to emphasize in addressing the COVID-19 situation which are *death* and *dead*, and his continuous condemnations towards the president of the United States at that time for his handling of COVID-19. The difference in the depictions of COVID-19 can be inferred as a way to show different views to support their candidacies, moreover, it is done to influence the American citizens to lean their votes towards them.

#### c. Societal level

The linguistic aspects used in the discourses by Donald Trump and Joe Biden reflects their attempt to achieve their persuasive goal. Donald Trump wants to defend his term of presidency during the pandemic, while Joe Biden has specifically targeted on expressing his disappointment on the COVID-19 handling in the United States in his campaign. Donald Trump uses a theme of arguments that start as acknowledgement of the situation, but ending them with accomplishments. It illustrates that the COVID-19 in the United States is already handled. The referring expressions he dominantly uses, I and you, are used to establish more personal and intimate feelings between him and the American citizens, while the referring expression we is used to give more unified feeling when he addresses the American citizens. Joe Biden uses a repetition of word meaning such as dead and death to stress the severity of the COVID-19 situation in the United States. He addresses the Americans as we to give more unified feeling between them and encouraging their participances, the referring expression folks to establish more closer and friendly feeling, and I to put himself in charge as the future president in his discourse. Lastly, Joe Biden blatantly states that the response to the COVID-19 is disappointing and pins the blame to the current president at that time, Donald Trump.

The American citizens has high expectation on this final debate and especially in this topic because it is the last chance for the presidential candidates before the election day. The supporters of both presidential candidates defend and praise their arguments, while for the rest of the American citizens these discourses seem to be underwhelming and unsatisfactory. Donald Trump receives public outcry over his optimism on the COVID-19 that has impacted the United States gravely. Journalists in the USA Today states that Donald Trump fails to address the topic (USA TODAY, 2020), while a correspondent in the CNN News states that Donald Trump's COVID-19 handling is inexcusable (Mahtani, 2020). On the other hand, Joe Biden is praised for his pessimism on the topic. A journalist from DW even states that Joe Biden's best momentum happens when he condemns Donald Trump for his COVID-19 handling (Bleiker, 2020). The contents of opinion about the COVID-19





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Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Mulawarman

topic at the debate is predominantly criticizing Donald Trump and praising Joe Biden, some health experts also condemned Donald Trump and extend the criticism to the White House for their unwillingness to cooperate during the pandemic (Stone, 2020). However, the reason the American citizens thought the discourses are underwhelming and unsatisfactory is because they are seen as missed opportunity to inform the Americans about their plan. Both the presidential candidates fails to provide elaboration and details on their plans to fight against COVID-19 in the next term (Mahtani, 2020). Thus, rather than helping the American citizens to finalize their voting decision, theses discourses might create and instill indecisiveness in the American citizens' mind.

## D. CONCLUSION

The final presidential debate is a significant event for the campaign of Donald Trump and Joe Biden. It is seen as the last chance to deliver their plans and appeal to the American citizens. The COVID-19 topic discussed in the debate also play a significant part, because Donald Trump must defend his term of presidency during the pandemic and Joe Biden has specifically targeted the betterment of the COVID-19 handling in the United States in his campaign. Moreover, the American citizens are also anticipating to hear the plans the presidential candidates have in fighting the COVID-19 pandemic that has impacted the United States gravely.

The discourse produced by Donald Trump gives an optimistic view on the COVID-19 topic as he insists on instilling the idea that the pandemic situation in the United States is already handled and is dwindling down by the pattern, the wording, and the referring expressions he used in his discourses. Joe Biden's discourse, on the other hand, gives a pessimistic view about the response and handling to the COVID-19 situation in the United States and continuously criticizes the current system and president by the use of word repetition, and variations of referring expression *president* in expressing his disappointment.

After their different views on the topic are seen by the American citizens, Donald Trump receives the disapproval and disappointment from the public and Joe Biden receives praise. Donald Trump is criticized by his inability to address the COVID-19 seriously and his dismissal on the topic, moreover, the criticism also extends to the White House for their unwillingness to cooperate with institutions such as CDC in the COVID-19 prevention. Although Joe Biden is praised in his approach on the topic, he is also criticized by the lack of details in his plans (Medina & Buitrago, 2020). The discourses are unsatisfactory for the American citizens who anticipates the details and elaborations of the COVID-19 handling. The discourses are unable to give conclusiveness for the American citizens' voting decision, and instead might instill indecisiveness in their mind.

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