

Persuasive Strategies in Presidential Election Speeches

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Abstract: *Politics is a process of making decisions by the distribution of power and resources in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice. For political messages to be delivered to the target community through political discourse, many strategies have been employed to fulfill the purpose of persuading to the audience. The study investigates the persuasive strategies utilized in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's 2016 presidential election speeches. Adopting the persuasion theory by Aristotle (1984), the study aims to uncover the kinds of persuasive strategies used by the two politicians. The data was analyzed using descriptive qualitative method basing on quantitative information. The findings showed that the process of manipulation of the two politicians was fostered by multiple persuasive strategies; in which they reflected different distribution of persuasive strategies to serve their political stands and ideologies. While Donald Trump spread his persuasion with the priority of pathos arousing the audience's fear and anger, Hillary Clinton was more inclined to make full use of ethos and logos in her presidential election speeches.*

Keywords: presidential election speeches, persuasive strategies, ideology, political discourse

1. Introduction

In communication in general and politics in particular, apart from the information exchanged, the attitude, the opinions and messages of the speaker are also put at the spot light. Intrinsically, the interactants are expected to arrive at the message by decoding the speaker's utterances to the full. Such endeavor of the speaker in calling for support, taking sides or initiating zeal of the listeners is an art of rhetorical devices of persuasion being identified as human communication designed to influence the autonomous judgments and actions of (Simon, J., 2001). In political sphere, politicians has taken advantage of persuasion, especially persuasive strategies with a view to pull listeners to advocate them, simultaneously strengthening their political stances and position as well as gaining shouts of triumph over their opponent. As a matter of fact, various persuasive strategies would, more or less, be employed as advantageous tools of these politicians.

Political discourse primarily aims to create consensus among citizens as to which course of action can be adopted to solve problems such as poverty, crime, social inequality and racism. Without much understanding of these messages, the politicians' ideologies could hardly be communicated and ultimate political goals be achieved, urging the necessity of a research to provide relevant knowledge in terms of political persuasion via ideologies and power as well as persuasive strategies employed. Persuasion used by politicians not only reveals potential distinctive language features need discovering to reach an in-depth insight into language functions and meanings in the field of politics but is also treated as prolific authentic discourse resources for learners in general and language learners in particular to study and draw useful lessons. Seeing the importance and benefits of the study both in terms of language and discourse realizations, the researcher thrives on pursuing the study on *Persuasive Strategies in Presidential Election Speeches*. On the ground of the established theories and methodologies, the study attempts to build up the

comprehensive and adequate picture of persuasion strategies in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's 2016 presidential election speeches

2. Literature Review

2.1. Previous studies

Political discourse has been the prolific research land on account of their great significance. According to Dijk (1997), political discourse analysis could potentially make much contribution to the political science in giving genuine answer towards political questions. Chilton (2004) presented a discussion of political actions as verbal action by virtue of speech act demonstration, while barely took view of politics as action into account but spotlighted mainly on the ways in which speakers represent reasons, seeing political discourse not as fundamental argumentative and deliberative in nature. Prominently, Fairclough, I. & Fairclough S. (2012) demonstrated an approach to consider political discourse as a contribution to the development of critical discourse analysis, highlighting political discourse as essentially a form of argumentation entailing more practical argumentation to come up with eventual political decisions. By that sense, the ultimate purpose of political speech would strikingly outstand to convince an audience the appropriateness of a certain course of action or the truth of a particular view point that is intrinsically associated with the act of argumentation and persuasiveness, and nurtures the constructed political strategies.

Regarding the area of persuasion in political discourse, Ghazani, A. Z. (2018) conducted a study on the persuasive strategies in selected American Presidential speeches with a view to making a comparison between Obama and Bush's speeches, utilizing Aristotle's persuasion appeals and Searle's speech acts in the light of Fairclough's (1995) assumption in Critical Discourse Analysis. However, the study's analysis was restricted to qualitative analysis with few instances and failed to touch the specific realizations of

the sub-divisions of each persuasive strategy (ethos, logos, pathos). Al-Trawneh, M. (2019) carried out research aiming to provide a critical discourse analysis of persuasion tactics, power distribution and the ideologies in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's presidential discourse but focusing on debates, instead of utterances from their political speeches. Besides, there has been research on each individual politician's discourse. Particularly, Darweesh, A. D. (2019) investigated the persuasive strategies in Hillary Clinton's presidential election speeches focusing on three particular speeches, utilizing Barbra Johnstone's work (2008) on persuasive strategies. Donald Trump's non-verbal and verbal expression featuring dominance was put at spotlight in a study by Kleijn (2017) to portray Trump's manner of communication and somehow an interpretation of how rhetoric and non-verbal communicative efforts can be applied to manifest higher power positions within social context.

The study differentiates from other previous studies in the attempt to make a contrastive analysis on the features of persuasive strategies utilized by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's presidential election speeches, taking advantages of Aristotle's theory of persuasion (1984) and elucidating the specific realizations of ethos, logos and pathos and their sub-divisions which were quantitatively analyzed to generate qualitative outcomes. The study highlighted the way in which Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump established their reputation (ethos), expressed his reasoning (logos), and seek the emotional connection with the audience (pathos), all of these are the adaptation to the rhetorical situation.

2.5.2. Aristotelian Rhetoric and Persuasive Strategies

Aristotle's (1984) rhetoric has had an enormous influence on the development of the art of rhetoric and provided the foundation for rhetoric analysis. Ethos, logos, pathos were Aristotle's three forms of rhetorical proof for persuasion.

2.5.2.1. Ethos

In rhetoric, ethos can be classified into three sub-divisions highlighting the speaker's high credibility: *intelligence*, *virtuous character* and *good intentions* (Griffin, 2012). The speaker's *perceived intelligence* reflects his capability and competence or experiences. To reinforce these pieces of information, proofs from actual information are added to make the utterances more convincing. *Virtuous character* relates to the speaker's image as a trustworthy person with good motives and intentions for his actions with a view to building trust among the listeners. *Goodwill* is considered to be positive judgement of the speaker's intention toward the audience.

2.5.2.2. Logos

Logos refers to the reasoning or logic of an argument (Aho, 1985; Green, 2004). Aristotle emphasized two forms of logical proofs – *enthymeme* and *example*, in which *enthymeme* is the proofs, leaving out a premise that is normally accepted by the audience, then utilize deductive logic-moving from global principle to specific truth; while *example* uses inductive reasoning-drawing a final conclusion from specific examples.

2.5.2.3. Pathos

Pathos refers to the audience's feelings and create persuasive effect on triggering audience emotions. Aristotle introduced a series of opposing feelings and explains the condition under which each mood is experienced (Griffin, 2012). Pairs of opposing feelings are classified as follows;

- Anger versus Calmness
- Fear versus Confidence
- Admiration versus Envy
- Love or Friendship versus Hatred

3. Research and methodologies

The study was designed as the descriptive research using qualitative method since the collected data was targeted to yield the semantic features of persuasive strategies employed by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's presidential election speeches in general and their sub-divisions in particular. It was also descriptive in nature in the sense that this study was intended to describe how the language used in the political speeches of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in their presidential campaign manifested with quantitative information, namely, the frequency of the linguistic units that occur in the texts collected.

3.1 Data Collection

Among many political speeches of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, a certain number of speeches were reached. The researcher sourced the data for this research from an online source: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/2016_election.php which is a repertoire of speeches, statements, and press releases of American public office holders, both past and present. The politicians' speeches were narrowed to 35 thanks to the aid of computer software, the Research Randomizer.

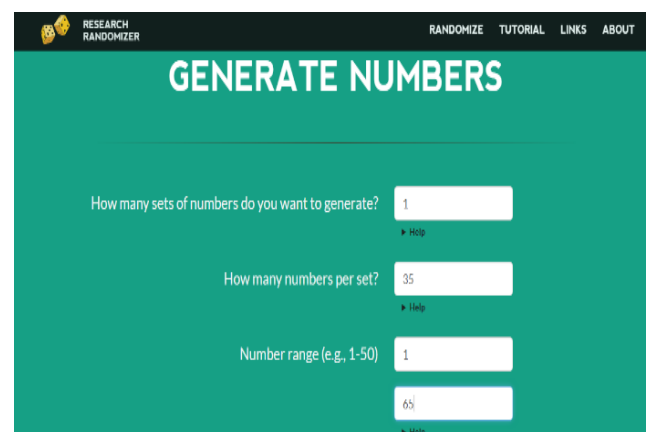


Figure I: A snapshot of Research Randomizer Software)

All of the speeches chosen for the analysis were coded for the ease of analysis and classification. Speeches belonging to Donald Trump were coded as T, being arranged orderly from *T1* to *T35*. Likewise, *H1* to *H35* were the coded speeches of Hillary Clinton. Besides, to clearly indicate the specific categories to which the persuasive strategies belong to, more information was added to the code. The coded instances according to each sub-division can be illustrated as in Table I. To exemplify the first logos persuasive strategies

taken from speech H1 which belong to the sub-division of enthymeme, the instance would be coded as: *H1.1-Logos-Enth*.

Table I: Codes of rhetorical proofs of persuasion

Types	Sub-divisions	Codes
Ethos	Perceived intelligence	Pin
	Virtuous character	VCh
	Goodwill	Gw
Logos	Enthymeme	Enth
	Example	Ex
Pathos	Friendship	Fr
	Hatred	Ha
	Fear	Fe
	Confidence	Conf
	admiration	Adm
	Envy	En
	Anger	An
Calmness	Cal	

3.2 Data analysis

In this section, utterances collected from the speeches are analyzed and classified in accordance with Aristotelian rhetoric strategies highlighting persuasion: ethos, logos, pathos. The oratorical speeches of the two politicians make it possible to apply these persuasive strategies.

4. Persuasive strategies in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump’s Political Speeches

According to the figure, Donald Trump seemed to employ more persuasive strategies than Hillary Clinton with the total persuasive of strategies of 3600 and 3132 instances respectively. The dominating persuasive strategies used by Hillary Clinton are ethos constituting 52 %, logos 42% and finally pathos 6% with the prominent proportion falls into Hillary’s use of ethos with a view to building up solid credibility among the audience. Whereas, Donald Trump’s statistics regarding the persuasive strategies employed in his campaign speeches presented the lion’s share held by pathos (48%), followed by ethos (38%) and logos (14%) (Table II)

Table II: Persuasive strategies in Hillary and Donald Trump’s political speeches

Persuasive strategies	Hillary Clinton		Donald Trump	
	Instances	Percentages	Instances	Percentages
Ethos	1628	52 %	1368	38 %
Logos	1315	42 %	504	14 %
Pathos	189	6 %	1728	48 %
Total	3132	100%	3600	100%

4.1. Ethos in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump’s Political Speeches

The factors entailing the realization of ethos strategy in discourse as highlighted by Aristotle (Aristotle in Griffin, 2011) are *perceived intelligence*, *virtuous character*, and *goodwill*. Table III clearly presents the percentage of each category.

Table III: Ethos in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump’s presidential election speeches

Ethos	Hillary Clinton (%)	Donald Trump (%)
Perceived intelligence	39%	37%
Virtuous character	34%	42%
Goodwill	27%	21%
Total	100%	100%

4.1.1 Perceived intelligence

Both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump’s discourse exhibited the proofs of ethos characterizing intelligence to persuade the audience to believe in the fact that they were competent future presidential candidate of the U. S. Hillary Clinton showed her intelligence during her campaign speeches as many as 39% of her total ethos presented, while Donald Trump’s counterparts were 20%. Both Hillary Clinton’s intelligence, character outweighed her expression of goodwill, with the percentages of each proof of 39%, 34% and 27% respectively. Donald Trump, on the other hand, stretched out his virtuous character with very high percentage (42%), followed by intelligence (37%), and goodwill (21%). Some typical instances can be discussed as follows.

(H1– Ethos-PIn) Well, I’ve had the privilege to work closely with our troops and our veterans for many years, including as a senator on the Armed Services Committee, and I know how wrong he is. I have to tell you, as your secretary of state I went to 112 countries. So, we gathered facts, we built a coalition and our work helped convince Congress to ensure access to education for all students with disabilities.

(T3-Ethos-PIn) I’ve done great business with China; I’ve done really well with China. I have these tenants, I sell condos, I own the Bank of America building in San Francisco with a group, a great group, thank you ma’am. We have the most loyal people. We have the smartest people.

(T6-Ethos-PIn) As you know, I am not a politician. I have worked in business, creating jobs and rebuilding neighborhoods my entire adult life.

(T6-Ethos-PIn) In my Administration, I am going to enforce all laws concerning the protection of classified information. I am going to forbid senior officials from trading favors for cash by preventing them from collecting lavish speaking fees through their spouses when they serve. I am going to ask my senior officials to sign an agreement not to accept speaking fees from corporations with a registered lobbyist for five years after leaving office, or from any entity tied to a foreign government

From the data above, Hillary Clinton, while presenting her campaign speech, impressed the voters with her strong experience in service thanks to many years working closely with the American military or her diplomatic capacity throughout cooperating with numerous countries all over the world in many different critical areas such as education, medical field or pharmaceuticals... to serve the beneficiaries (*H1-Ethos-PIn*). Prominently, to powerfully reinforce her utterances highlighting intelligence, she also presented actual figures or giving specific example (*the number of countries or a proper name of a particular State*). This

strategically helped Clinton create an image leverage to shine herself as a dedicated, experienced and knowledgeable woman in politics and leadership, sharpening the belief in a genuinely capable American president to be engraved in the audience's mind.

Although boosting his image and credibility regarding intelligence and experience, Trump approached the audience in a different way. In (T3-Ethos-PIn), instead of confidently stating his achievements in politics, Trump especially highlighted his capacity in the areas of doing business. Trump's expertise was none of politics as in his honest confession. However, he proved his comprehensive understanding towards the existing economic and political fraud, making a connection between successful business experience and political expertise when he would bring improvements to the country thanks to his reform plan. He proposed the solution of signed agreements from senior officials towards cooperation with corporation or foreign government to prevent them from "collecting lavish speaking fees through their spouses when they serve" (T6-Ethos-PIn). Undeniably, the economy is considered fundamental pillar in a nation as it serves the needs of the citizens. Therefore, by means of giving his viewpoint about the economic situation in America and putting forward solutions, Trump deliberately convinced people about his intelligence in the area of economics as he had spent throughout his lifetime in business (T6-Ethos-PIn).

4.1.2. Virtuous Character

(H8-Ethos-Vch) *So I want us to have an economy that works for everyone, to grow the economy, to create more jobs, but I also want a fairer economy...*

(H9-Ethos-Vch) *Standing on that debate stage the other night; I was especially thinking about that. And, look, I have been very clear about what I want to do if I'm fortunate enough to be elected president. That's why I could go to work for the Children's Defense Fund.*

(T7-Ethos-Vch) *In my Administration, every American will be treated equally, protected equally, and honored equally. We will reject bigotry and hatred and oppression in all of its forms, and seek a new future built on our common culture and values as one American people.*

(T8-Ethos-Vch) *Crumbling roads, bridges and airports will be replaced with the infrastructure our country needs and deserves. Children stuck in failing government schools will be able to attend the school of their choice.*

In the journey of making the audience believe in their words, both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump performed themselves as leaders with excellent character. Both showed their values and motives as proofs to their virtuous character with a view to building the audience's trust. In example (H8-Ethos-Vch), Hillary Clinton demonstrated her good intentions for her nation, by promises to establish a "fairer economy" and lift people out of poverty. Or she continued showing her sympathy towards disadvantageous people due to the smolderingly existing race discrimination, color discrimination, and gender discrimination in the society. Hillary Clinton also saw herself "fortunate enough" if she

was eventually elected as the president of the U. S., considering this as a precious chance for her to keep on with all the plans which she nurtured to do for the nation (H8-Ethos-Vch). Bringing "opportunities for kids and fairness for families" were some among the commitments which she would actualize in her new position as a president.

Donald Trump, likewise, sharpened his character to purposefully gain trust from the audience. In example (T7-Ethos-Vch), by uttering a list of intentions relating to plentiful issues, from social ones such as establishing equality, avoiding "hatred and oppression", or the economic concerns in building the needed infrastructure for the American population, in education, politics and national security as in (T8-Ethos-Vch), Trump portrayed himself to be a caring leader which characterizes him to be closely attached with virtuous character.

4.1.3 Goodwill

(H32-Ethos-Gw) *I want to be a really strong partner. I'll compete a little with them. I want to be a really strong partner with Detroit and other cities that are on the way back up to make sure you get the investment and the support, the housing, and the jobs that you need.*

(H1-Ethos-Gw) **Thank you** all for the great convention that we've had. And Chelsea, **thank you**. I am so to be your mother and so proud of the woman you've become.

(T15-Ethos-Gw) **Thank you**. *It is so great to be back in Iowa. Spending time in your state has been one of the great joys of this campaign. Together, we are going to win Iowa in November--and we are going to win the White House, and Make America Great Again*

Reflecting goodwill and relating beneficence with the audience are the strategies highlighting Clinton and Trump's ethos. Both politicians shared similarities in expressing their gratitude towards the voters who came for them, listened to their speeches and contributed to their parties. Hillary Clinton was so thankful for the contribution of the local officials, the volunteers and campaign organizers. However, by stressing "I want to be a strong partner", she meant to be the American's dedicated companion and cooperating with them in any circumstances (H32-Ethos-Gw). Dragging herself to ally with them could entail the triumph in persuading the audience to her side and wining their advocacy towards her presidential campaign. Trump, similarly, apart from giving thanks to participants and advocators, by sincerely pledging the audience to vote for him, he elevated the important role of the audience in assisting him to pursue his goals, uniting himself and the audience to be in one team sailing on the same boat. Both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump had stretched out their sincerity to draw enormous attention and interest from the audience to their values to persuade the audience to vote for them.

4.2 Logos in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's Political Speeches

Logos is the other persuasive strategy concerning the techniques to persuade the audience through giving logical

argument, facts, and so on. According to Aristotle's theory of persuasion, the speaker can use enthymeme or/and example to give logical reasoning. While Hillary used 42% of logos instances for her speeches, the percentage of Donald Trump's was much lower with 14% (Table IV). Both had applied enthymemes and examples in their speeches to present relevant proofs for their reasoning and argumentation

Table IV: Logos in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's Presidential Election Speeches

Logos	Hillary Clinton (%)	Donald Trump (%)
Enthymemes	55	67
Examples	45	33
Total	100	100

4.2.1 Enthymeme

It is not a coincidence what frequently appear in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's campaign speeches are rhetorical proofs describing enthymeme. Giving logical argument via premises to entail temporary conclusion is treated as an efficient persuasive strategy by the two politicians in order to advance their qualities and values over their competitors.

(H31-Logos-Enth) And I think it's fair to say that my opponent has already revealed who he is. So think about it, if he wants to keep exonerated people in jail, how can we trust him to fight for the rule of justice and fairness and criminal justice reform in America? Well, I've said many times, he has shown us who he is, now it is up to us to decide who we are.

(H29-Logos-Enth) And look, I've had my disagreements with Republicans. Because I have a very different vision of America. Instead of dark and divisive, it's hopeful and inclusive. It's big-hearted, not small-minded. It is about lifting people up, not putting them down. It's a vision that says, and I believe this with all my heart, we are stronger together.

(T8-Logos-Enth) This is the result of the policy agenda embraced by crooked Hillary Clinton. 33, 000 e-mails gone. The only way to change results is to change leadership. We can never fix our problems by relying on the same politicians who created our problems in the first place. A new future requires brand new leadership

(T13-Logos-Enth) When politicians talk about immigration reform, they usually mean the following, amnesty, open borders, lower wages. Countless innocent American lives have been stolen because our politicians have failed in their duty to secure our borders and enforce our laws like they have to be enforced. Countless Americans who have died in recent years would be alive today if not for the open border policies of this administration and the administration that causes this horrible, horrible thought process, called Hillary Clinton.

In H31-Logos-Enth, Hillary Clinton took advantage of two possible premises to yield one final conclusion. The first premise referred to her revelation of Trump's true essence while the second moved on concretizing the former with a

bad example of her opponent. Hillary Clinton tried to convince the Americans to believe in the fact that Donald Trump was by no means a representative of **"justice and fairness"** or **"criminal justice reform"** for America. On the other hand, in H29-Logos-Enth, to highlight the vital role of herself in leading America to a new chapter of optimism and brightness, Hillary Clinton utilized enthymeme as an effective tool for her persuasion. Indispensable clashes with the Republicans were presented as the first premise; a strong declaration of Clinton's different vision for America was the second. Both were then put in the logical reasoning to eventually come up with the conclusion that the Americans would be stronger only within Clinton's presidency.

Trump was also taking the counter-attack towards Clinton when he emphasized the premise illustrated by a common sense that politicians often gave their words regarding their responsibilities to the nation and people, to such issues as **amnesty, open borders, lower wages**. However, the consequence was a paradox of the reality which was witnessed by the failure of Clinton's administration in implementing **"their duty to secure the borders"** or in **enforcing the law**, pushing both the nation and its people into pessimistic prospect and leading to the death of countless Americans (as in T13-Logos-Enth). In addition, in T8-Logos-Enth, Donald Trump purposely dug up his rival's wrongdoings. Mentioning Clinton's scandal of the mysterious disappearance of confidential emails as a premise, Trump proceeded his arguments by asserting that America could hardly avoid problems if the nation still relied on a problem-maker like Clinton as a president. Trump finally concluded that changing leadership would be the only way out for America and the Americans. He stated confidently **"A new future require brand new leadership"**, thriving to convince the listeners to a new mindset of changing the existing administration and longing for the better with new brighter expectations.

4.2.2. Examples

(H1-Logos-Ex) But just look for a minute at the strengths we bring as Americans to meet these challenges. We have the most dynamic and diverse people in the world. We have the most tolerant and generous young people we've ever had. We have the most powerful military, the most innovative entrepreneurs, the most enduring values, freedom and equality, justice and opportunity, we should be so proud that those words are associated with us.

(H2-Logos-Ex) Think of what we've achieved these last eight years. American businesses have created 15 million new jobs since the recession. Twenty million Americans have health coverage – and no one has seen a bigger drop in uninsured rates under the Affordable Care Act than Latino Americans. We got more good news this week.

(T3-Logos-Ex) Look at what the democratic party has done to the city as an example and there are many others, of Detroit. 40 percent of Detroit's residents, 40 percent, live in poverty. Half of all Detroit residents do not work, and cannot work, and can't get a job. Detroit tops the list of most dangerous cities in terms of violent crime, number one. This is the legacy of the democratic politicians who have run this city.

(T8-Logos-Ex) Hillary Clinton, is a throwback to an ugly past where politicians preyed on our poorest citizens while selling them out for personal gain. According to the Bureau of the Labor of Statistics, before NAFTA went into effect, there were 285, 000 auto workers in Michigan. . Today, that number is down to only 160, 000 and it is going to be a lot lower because if you look at the massive plants being built right now in Mexico, car plants, folks, you can kiss these jobs goodbye. .

(H1-Logos-Ex) I remember meeting a young girl in a wheelchair on the small back porch of her house. She told me how badly she wanted to go to school. It just didn't seem possible in those days. And I couldn't stop thinking of my mother and what she'd gone through as a child. It became clear to me that simply caring is not enough.

To enforce the reasoning, examples are inevitable. Taking advantage of giving examples to make convincing speeches, Hillary Clinton resorted to many examples for elaboration and illustration to strengthen her logical argument. Particularly, with a view to highlighting the strengths of the Americans especially in confronting obstacles and outside storms, she mentioned their good outstanding pride-worthy qualities by using many positive descriptive adjectives such as **“the most dynamic and diverse”, “the most tolerant and generous”, “the most powerful”, “the most innovative”** (H1-Logos-Ex) ...Or not letting her statements blank with just mere words, Hillary Clinton exemplified the achievements obtained by the American citizens over a period of time. Facts and figures as in H2-Logos-Ex were utilized to make the examples more credible. Hillary Clinton especially included the technique of story-telling to bring about some examples to strengthen her logical reasoning. In H1-Logos-Ex, she mentioned the story in which she met a young girl in a wheelchair by chance, which triggered her initiative to offer health insurance for kids as well as educational programs for the disadvantaged.

Donald Trump, also gave a large number of examples in his speeches. These examples followed the stated enthymemes to reinforce the effect of witnessing the evidence presentation. In T3-Logos-Ex, to depict the consequences of a failed Democracy ruling the city of Detroit, Donald Trump brought up specific figures of its residents in poverty, or unemployment, or the level of violence... Whereas, in T8-Logos-Ex, Trump exemplified Clinton as one of greedy politicians working for their immense greed and sacrificing their citizens' benefits. Particularly, he emphasized the failure of NAFTA economic policy in particular and Clinton in general. Besides, stories were also included in Trump's election speeches to convey the intended message. These are the subsequent supplementary evidence to support Trump's enthymeme of criticizing his opponent, persuading the audience to advocate him in his presidential campaign.

4.3 Pathos in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's Presidential Election Speeches

Another strategy of persuasion employed by the two politicians in their presidential election speeches relating to the attempt of touching and controlling the emotion of their audience is pathos. According to the data collected, emotion

arousing is designed with two main purposes: to raise up the emotion of the audience or to be calm the emotion of the audience. Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump both took advantage of pathos in their presidential campaign utterances. However, while Hillary mostly aroused the emotion of *hatred, admiration and confidence*, Donald Trump generated *fear and anger* (Table V).

Table V: Pathos in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's Political Speeches

Pathos	Codes	Hillary Clinton (%)	Donald Trump (%)
Friendship	Fr	6	5
Hatred	Ha	25	14
Fear	Fe	5	27
Confidence	Conf	26	14
Admiration	Adm	28	10
Envy	En	0	0
Anger	An	5	25
Calmness	Cal	5	5

Regarding Hillary Clinton, when talking about American people, about the long-lasting tradition of the U. S., the contribution of supporters, she becalmed the audience when showing her great admiration towards the mentioned characters. Besides, she was so compassionate about and admired those who appeared in her stories. They were such small individuals but could uphold such different and admirable values (H34-Pathos-Ha)

However, Hillary Clinton intentionally aroused the hatred emotion among the audience so that they could own the same feeling. Clinton focused all of the hatred she had to her opponent, Donald Trump, by using many negative words such as **“brag”, “hasn't paid a penny”, “how insulting”, “how dead wrong”** (H8-Pathos-Ha). . . . Under Clinton's subjective lens, Trump was characterized as a person who merely **“bragged”** about his finance while he actually sneaked away from his responsibility of contributing to the fair share of taxes, a mocking person who always looked down on the military, or institutions from health care to education with criticism (H2-Pathos-Ha). In another circumstance, Clinton spread her deep hatred towards Trump when she brought about a contrast between the traditional true quality of the Americans to be highlighted as **“indivisible with liberty and justice”** and what outsiders saw such an American like Trump to be so entitled with **“extreme policies and divisive rhetoric”**. Clinton labeled Trump as **“the racist lie about Mexican immigrants”** with **“racist attacks on a federal judge”**. (H2-Pathos-Ha)

As experienced politicians upholding various important responsibilities and position in the federal political system, Clinton presented herself to be a very confident person. Therefore, in her presidential campaign, she frequently aroused the confidence of the audience in giving trust to her and her administration as she would successfully lead them to the brighter paths full of positive expectations and ambitions.

(H2-Pathos-Ha) Everywhere I go, people tell me how concerned they are by **the extreme policies and divisive rhetoric** they've heard from my opponent – from the **racist lie about Mexican immigrants** that launched his presidential campaign to his **racist attacks on a federal judge**.

(H34-Pathos-Ad) Throughout our history, generations of Americans have risen together to meet the tests of their time. They defended democracy.

(H8-Pathos-Ha) He actually bragged about gaming the system to get out of paying his fair share of taxes. In fact, I think there's a strong probability he hasn't paid federal taxes a lot of years. And this is a man who goes around calling our military a disaster; who goes around criticizing every institution, from health care to education, our vets.

(T27-Pathos-An) There are more than 2 million criminal aliens with criminal convictions in the country right now, and more who have escaped the law entirely – **when I am President, we are getting them out, and we are getting them out quickly. At the same time, our country is being infiltrated by terrorists.**

(T1-Pathos-Ha) When you look at the world and what's happened--so we have the queen of corruption, she's the queen of corruption. She is a disaster. I said before, if crooked Hillary Clinton becomes president, terrorism will destroy the inner workings of our country.

(T8-Pathos-Fe) And many people right now in this audience that think you have jobs, you're gonna find out very soon that your company is leaving from Mexico or some other place and you're not going to have your job for very long. We end up with devastation. ...We end up with nothing.

Donald Trump, on the other hand, had an inclination of choosing fear and anger appeals as persuasive strategies in his speeches. In T27-Pathos-Anger, employing word repetition, stressing the same words orders with progressing climax, Trump presented himself to be the hater of terrorism or immigration. That explains why with the infiltration of terrorists into the nation, Trump angrily stated that **“we are getting them out, and we are getting them out quickly”**, or **“We have enough problems in our country. We don't need more”**.

Nevertheless, in order to provoke the feeling of annoyance among the audience towards horrifying things possibly happening in the future, fear appeals were employed by Trump. He cast the gloomy destiny of the nation in which **“terrorism will destroy the inner workings of our country”** if in the hands of Democratic administration ruled by Hillary Clinton (T1-Pathos-Fear) or the inevitable situation of accelerating number of unemployment rate or complete **“devastation”** (T8-Pathos-Fear) due to Hillary's economic policies. Foreseeing the terrible things to be probably occur and relating that bad incident to his opponent was the strategy to be used by Trump to raise up the emotion of fear among the audience to the other side to take his side instead.

4.2 Summary

According to the result of the findings, both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump had utilized all persuasive strategies proposed by Aristotle to persuade their audience through various ways. They are ethos highlighting good image through language, pathos stimulating emotion and logos describing evidence and logical reasoning for the audience.

However, the frequency of different persuasive strategies employed differs speaker to speakers. While Donald Trump spread his persuasion with the priority of pathos, Hillary Clinton was more inclined to make full use of ethos and logos in her presidential campaign speeches. The subdivisions of each persuasive strategy used by the two politicians also generate more specific figures and results. Much as Trump preferred to using pathos which aroused audience's fear and anger, Hillary Clinton tried to persuade people to vote for her using rhetorical proofs of hatred, admiration and confidence. The interpretation of their persuasive strategies revealed the contrastive ideological dichotomy between two presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in the 2016 American presidential campaign. Particularly, such ideologies regarding the message of American being **“great again”** was communicated by Trump while **“stronger together”** was Clinton's ambition. Although Clinton and Trump deeply reflected their deep love, patriotism and loyalty for their country through their campaign speeches, the two politicians showed conflicting political stands on such issues as terrorism, immigration, health system, gun policy and economy. Obviously, these contrasts play a vital part assisting Clinton and Trump to establish social relationship and determine social order, manipulating the audience and persuading them to vote for them as a will-be president of the United States.

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