# PERSUADING SPEECH IN BOTH CLINTON AND TRUMP

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## الملخص:

يحاول هذا البحث الكشف عن استراتيجيات الإقناع المستخدمة في المناظرات السياسية. تم اعتماد المناظرة الثالثة بين كلينتون وترامب. من خلال هذه المناظرة، هناك أسئلة مطروحة ، مثل من هو الأكثر إقناعا (أي ترامب أم كلينتون)؟ ما هي استراتيجيات الإقناع التي يستخدمها كل منهما؟ وما هي الطرق التي يستخدمونها لإنتاج هذه الاستراتيجيات؟

يبدأ البحث بما هو الإقناع وما هي وسائل الإقناع. ثم يوضح الباحث ما هي المناقشات السياسية وكيف يمكن أن تكون هذه المناقشات مثالا جيدا للإقناع. بعد ذلك ، تم تحليل طريقة الإقناع في المناظرة حسب المقياس الذي استخدمه أرسطو ضمن ثلاث استراتيجيات مختلفة هي (الاخلاق والعاطفة و المنطق) الاستراتيجيات الثلاث الرئيسية التي يتم عرضها داخل بعض الأجزاء المختارة من المناظرة. ويستخدم المرشحان الطرق الثلاث للإقناع ولكن بنسب مختلفة. تستخدم كلينتون استراتيجية المنطق أكثر بينما يستخدم ترامب استراتيجية الاخلاق أكثر من كلينتون. يستخدم ترامب هذه الاستراتيجية بطريقة قاسية في التحدث عن طريق قطع خطاب الآخرين الذي على ما يبدو طريقة مقنعة للجمهور الأمريكي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: خطاب الإقناع, خطاب الاقناع السياسي, المنطق, العاطفة, الاخلاق

## Abstract

This research is trying to uncover the persuading strategies that are used in political debates. The presented debate is the third one between Clinton and Trump. Through this debate, there are questions asked, such as who is the most persuasive one (i.e., Trump or Clinton)? what are the persuasion strategies that are used by both of them? And what are the ways they use producing these strategies?

The research starts with what is persuasion and what are the means of persuasion. Then, the researcher shows what are political debates and how such debates could be a good example of persuasion. After that, presenting a way to analyze the persuasion used by Aristotle divided into three different strategies. Ethos, Pathos, and Logos are the main three strategies that are exposed inside some selected portions of the debate. The two candidates use the three ways of persuasion but in different ratios. Clinton uses logos more while Trump uses ethos more than Clinton. Trump use this strategy with a

harsh way of speaking by cutting others' speech that seems a persuasive way to the American audiences.

Keywords: Persuasion speech, Persuasive political speech, Logos, Pathos, Ethos.

## 1  INTRODUCTIO

The act of persuasion is an old act starting from a long time, from the birth of human beings for power, wealth, personal benefits, political elections, financial marketing …etc. Persuasion bounds with people's minds and is considered a key to changing others' attitudes towards something. Persuasion is defined as those linguistic choices that aim at changing or affecting the behavior of others or strengthening existing beliefs and behaviors of those who already agree, with the beliefs and behaviors of persuaders (Virtanen and Halmari, 2005: p3). Language use can be persuasive. The situational and socio-cultural context in which it occurs affects persuasive process Situational and socio-cultural context in which it occurs affects the persuasive process. It helps to construct that context, too.

Wijnand IJsselsteijn, et al; say that "Importantly, persuasion implies a voluntary change of behavior or attitude or both. If force (coercion) or misinformation (deception) are used, these would fall outside of the realm of persuasive technology" (2006: p1). Persuasion in politics can be shown by a candidate trying to uncover that he is the best at dragging the attention of others, playing with others' emotions, showing solidarity and belongingness, and being a representative of all by using different persuasion techniques. Different political candidates from different parties use either similar persuasion techniques in different portions, especially in their campaigns, depending on their party's ideology. Throughout debates, (as what happened between Clinton and Trump) use different strategies or focus on some to achieve their purpose. Their speeches on different

occasions show different persuasion to achieve the goals that they tried to reach to it.

In this research, the researcher gives a brief introduction to persuasion and its strategies and methods. Then, what are the means of persuasion that help anyone make others say yes to what he is saying. After that, what are the political debates, and how persuasion plays an important role in shaping it. Section four shows what are the persuading strategies that are used in this research depending on Aristotle's theory. Keeping on Hillary Clinton vs Donald Trump: The Most Persuasive Speech in a different view from Aristotle. Then the researcher comes to the last political debate and selects some parts of it for analysis and showing the setting. Then, the conclusion shows a summarized outcome.

## 2   MEANS OF PERSUASION

In the *Rhetoric* (1356a) Aristotle distinguishes three means of persuasion *(pisteis)* which can be produced by the rhetorician's art. The term, *pistis,* was translated as "proof". Its usage encompasses the related qualities of trustworthiness, credence, and credibility, which extend to objects and means used to secure trust or belief. (Kennedy, 2007, p. 111)

McManus (1998:8 cited in, Al-Bayati, 2011, p. 4) that language is a tool for communication and persuasion. She states that "one is trying to convince his audience to agree intellectually with his position to actuate them to take some physical activity on their conviction, and to inspire them by giving an emotional boost."

The origin of persuasion is from the Latin "***persuadere***" which shows two affixes, the affix "***per***" which means "*thought*", and "***suade***" which means to *"urge or advice"*. (Dictionary O. E., 2010, p. 53)

Persuasion is how to effect others to say 'yes' to whatever request that you ask. People with such a loaded life need shortcuts or a rule of thumb. As (Cialdini, 2015) states that six shortcuts could be universal to help anyone persuade others. These shortcuts are (reciprocity, scarcity, authority, consistency, liking, and consensus). These techniques and other ones are used by Trump and Clinton.

"Beyond the basic need for a hearing, the precise effects sought depend on the situation of the speaker" (Worthington, 1994, p. 29). This can tell us how politicians and party candidates try to seize the situation that people live in it. By raising different emblems and statements in their propaganda on social media, broadcast media, pamphlets, or in other different ways can contact people. They can persuade others as he/she is the superhero who helps them to solve their problems.

## 3   POLITICAL DEBATES

Political debates in the United States of America become so important as a type of preparation for the next president. It becomes a tradition that is used to show the strong point of a candidate and on the other side to show the weak points of his foe candidate. It starts as a meeting in TV programs then it will be developed into a complicated conference. The two candidates from different parties will have a long discussion by presenting different important issues which are really in need of a strong and immediate cure. Each candidate will present it in a persuasive way that he or she is the one.

"It is regarded as a major innovation in political campaign communication when two candidates met face to face in debates and networks broadcasted them"(Wore 2009: p.122 cited in,

Khuzae, 2011, p. 52). In such a way candidates can reach a wide range of audiences.

The news in the media provides clues to a voter. For instance, the media send clues about an important issue by placing a story to strengthen a side of a candidate. This also can show how important the role that media news plays during political campaigns which is largely used by Political parties to value their candidate and to disvalue the other (Smidt, 2008, p. 32) .

Candidates try to use different persuading strategies throughout their debates as a political plan and to define their position for winning (Khuzae, 2011, p. 53) Clinton and Trump didn't stick to one strategy or they have just one goal to achieve but rather they try to define different issues at the same time and the most persuasive one who will drag the attention of others.

## 4 PERSUADING STRATEGIES

Persuasion plays an important role throughout different strategies that are implied in the way we communicate with others. Aristotle presents three main persuasive strategies ethos, pathos, and logos. These three different persuading strategies have different effects on people. **Ethos** (the speaker's nature and credibility). Then **pathos** (can be defined as the speaker's ability to change the interlocutor's emotion) and **Logos** also (refer to arguments and facts). Those who want to be more persuasive in their speech may concentrate on these persuasive strategies. (Kennedy, 2007, p. 112)

### 4.1 ETHOS

It is the speaker's nature and credibility. Aristotle in his book Rhetoric (ibid) shows that ethos is a characteristic of the human nature of the communicator when he stands in front of the audience. In his standing and his speech, he will reflect the

audience that he is worthy of trust, deserve that authority was given to him, and that he has a good character. All of these are good points to build up credibility. He may persuade people in the sense of what he can reflect to them.

## 4.2 PATHOS

The speaker's ability to control Interlocutor's emotion is called pathos. Aristotle (ibid) shows that it is how the speaker can persuade the audience by touching their emotions and how he can control them by raising their anger, pity, and fear. The speaker, in his speech, raises the rational judgment of audiences if he can reach the emotional areas of people. This will make his speech more persuasive.

The speaker should have a goal in his speech. Within his goal, he either determine to raise the emotion of others or vis versa according to the target he made. The situation may determine the way of persuading and the direction of it.

## 4.3 LOGOS

It is the facts or the arguments that are given by the speaker. Aristotle shows in his book (ibid) that logos is the speaker's ability to persuade others through shreds of evidence or clarification he presents in his speech. This evidence can show a strong point of the speaker. He/she can change the mind of his audience. The speaker can provide logical proof to raise the value of his speech. People tend to align with those who provide more logical evidence.

## 5 HILLARY CLINTON VS DONALD TRUMP: THE MOST PERSUASIVE SPEECH

One of the most important references to show different strategies for persuading that is studied by both Clinton and

Trump is titled "pre-suasion" by Robert Cialdini. Cialdini is considered a sensei for how people can make their decision at a very elementary stage. " Trump knows how to play off their fears and desires" (Smith, 2016 , p. 1)

Influence attempts will be "successful" if it works in a suitable situation, and help to persuade people's minds towards the goal. The persuading effect that arises from Trumpian words like "winning", "great", "beautiful" and "terrific" persuades voters to feel good about him. Describe crime as a "beast" and it puts people in a conservative, punishment-oriented frame of mind. Call it a "virus," though, and people turn to the softer. Such means of propaganda with words that may directly change the mood of the hearer towards something and that is used by President Obama as "Yes We Can" effectively. (ibid)

"Studies have found that female politicians emphasize their masculine personality traits and feminine issues to counteract damaging gender stereotypes." (Lim, 2016, p. 1)As Twitter, Facebook, Myspace, YouTube, and other social media have shown that it is a major digital persuading tool for politics over the last decade. It can show a huge amount of data that could be analyzed to show persuading strategies that are used by politicians.

Clinton uses persuading words and emblems by raising "Stronger Together" to stick in the minds of voters. That phrase has unfortunate overtones of a mandate to shed individuality though, just as the dismal takeaway from her book, "It Takes a Village," was that politicians should be in charge of everything, right down to your parenting choices. (Smith, 2016 )

Focusing on the cases of the two then-front runners for the 2016 U.S. presidential election–Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, the present study examines differences in how they self-present and communicate with voters through persuading strategies.

## 6    ANALYZING PERSUADING EXAMPLES IN POLITICAL SPEECH

### 6.1  SETTING

The setting is taken from a final round: The third and last presidential debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump.

The two candidates faced off Wednesday, October 19, at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas for 90 minutes, in a debate moderated by Fox News anchor Chris Wallace. The debate covered debt and entitlements, immigration, the economy, the Supreme Court, foreign hot spots, and "fitness to be president".

After months of running on controversial positions on immigration, race relations, and foreign policy. The wager was high for both candidates, "Trump entered the third debate embroiled in multiple sexual assault allegations and trailing Clinton in the polls after two poor debate performances" (Dictionary n. E., 2016).

Fox News'–a TV channel- viewers would very much like to see Clinton pressed on whether her email scandal, Benghazi, the Clinton Foundation, leaked information from John Podesta's emails, her health, her "basket of deplorable" comment, and so on make her unfit to be president. (ibid)

## 6.2 DATA ANALYSIS

As we start to analyze the data that are taken from the third and the last debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, the researcher will try to analyze the data according to Aristotle's theory about persuasion. Ethos, Pathos, and Logos are the tool that helps us in this analysis. The total speech was last for about 90 minutes. Such a huge and long speech is not appropriate for this paper, so the researcher will take selected pieces from that speech. The selected ones will be analyzed according to the tools of analytical methods for persuasion.

The debate was commanded by Chris, - a TV program presenter - who direct the speech between Hillary and Trump. He starts the debate with a question about the Second Amendment of the Supreme Court, he directs it to Hillary and then to Trump. We start to analyze the speech that is made by both Hillary and Trump. First, with Hillary and after a short start, she said:

> [1] Clinton: Well, first of all, I support the Second Amendment. I lived in Arkansas for 18 wonderful years. I represented upstate New York. I understand and respect the tradition of gun ownership. It goes back to the founding of our country. But I also believe that there can be and must be reasonable regulation. Because I support the Second Amendment doesn't mean that I want people who shouldn't have guns to be able to

*threaten you, kill you, or members of your*
*family.*

This part of Hillary's speech shows a good image of herself and credibility when she talks about her living time in Arkansas. She uses the pronoun I a lot in her speech which shows a pathos strategy of persuading. Also, she uses Logos as a tool for persuading when she gives logical justifications about the case of the Second Amendment. She tries to raise the emotion of audiences with a short story and at the same time she reduces the tension in the audience by showing proof that she is not completely against her justification. She controls both sides of the audience to those who support and who do not. This shows the Pathos tool and how she tries to control the emotion of the audience.

Next is Donald Trump, who speaks such utterances after a brief start and welcoming others, He states as follows:

*[2] Trump: The DC v. Hillary decision was*
*very strongly and she was extremely*
*angry about it. I watched. She was very,*
*very angry when upheld. And Justice*
*Scalia was so involved, and it was a well-*

*crafted decision, but Hillary was extremely upset, extremely angry, and people that believe in the Second Amendment and believe in it very strongly were very upset with what she had to say.*

Then the turn was shifted to D. Trump to take his chance to show how a 'master persuader' can show his abilities to answer such questions and can convince the audience about what he can do. He starts by comparing the situation with the opponent. By that, he uses what can we call (anti-ethos) against his rival. That can show a reflecting idea he uses as an ethos towards himself at the same time. That he can do while his foe can't. He uses such a technique in his past political debates and at his companies, which helps him to strengthen his position and weaken others.

He also uses pathos when he tries to raise the emotional attitudes against Hillary by showing that her status upon that decision was not fully clear. That halo has another side that is hidden from others. With his comments and assurance made people shocked by others. Thus, we can call logos the third tool for persuasion in a hidden way. Here, Clinton is as if she was cornered, so she uses a long way of speech for persuasion to turn the table upon Trump. She justifies by words as such:

*[3] Clinton: Well, that is not what happens in these cases. And using that kind of scare rhetoric is just unfortunate. You should meet with some of the women that I've met with. Women I've known over the course of my life. This is one of the worst possible choices that any woman and her family has to make. I do not believe the government should be making it. I've been to countries where governments forced women to have abortions like they did in China or force women to bear children like they used to do in Romania. I can tell you the government has no business in the decisions that women make with their families in accordance with their faith, with medical advice, and I will stand up for that right.*

Clinton here turns the table on Trump. She shows as if Trump doesn't know the main things to judge on different matters. That makes him present in a good way. That's too clear to show logos strategy in both ways either by showing she can show other defects of Trump or by using both, her masculine personality and her tendency to show similarity in gender. This makes her special from the other candidate, and such an element of gender can be

considered under the strategy of pathos that can raise the emotion of others. She shows that throughout her story about the situation of women and their decision about making a family.

> *[4] Trump: First of all, she wants to give amnesty, which is a disaster and very unfair to all the people who are waiting in line for many years. We need strong borders. In the audience tonight we have four mothers of — I mean, these are unbelievable people that I've gotten to know over a period of years whose children have been killed, brutally killed by people who came into the country illegally. You have mothers, fathers, relatives all over the county. They're coming in illegally. Drugs are pouring in through the border. We have no country if we have no border. Hillary wants to give amnesty; she wants to have open borders.*

The nature of speech that is used by Trump shows his credibility as a man in charge. He uses an attacking strategy to help him to be more prominent than Hillary as well as she is not replying to him in the same tone and harassment of question type.

Also, he uses logos we he gives comments trying to persuade people that he is the most honest than his opponent.

> [5] Clinton: As he was talking, I was thinking about a young girl I met here in Las Vegas, Carla, who was very worried that her parents might be deported because she was born in this country but they were not. They work hard and do everything they can to give her a good life. And you're right, I don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending parents away from children. I don't want to see the deportation force that Donald has talked about in action in our country. We have 11 million undocumented people. They have 4 million American citizen children — 15 million people. He said as recently as a few weeks ago in Phoenix that every undocumented person would be subject to deportation.

As we see that Clinton always tries to support her speech with a story that helps her to control the emotions of the public by raising or reducing the pressure on audiences, by this she uses pathos. Also in this long justification, she shows logos with good

arguments help her to stand in front of Trump's questions. To support her speech and show that she knows much more than Trump she produces some percentages as fact matters help her to persuade people with new information.

> [6] Wallace: So that's the question. Please, quiet, everybody. Is that your dream, open borders?

> Clinton: Well, if you went on to read the rest of the sentence, I was talking about energy. You know, we trade more energy with our neighbors than we trade with the rest of the world combined. And I do want us to have an electric grid, energy system that crosses borders.

Here we can see from journalist Wallace that he wants to control on audiences, so she either succeeded in reaching her audience or she shocked them with her opinion. These words can be shown under the umbrella of pathos. She also tends to show some justification for what she said and that can be considered as logos she likes to use it as her main strategy.

> [7] Trump: She wants open borders. People are going to pour into our country. People are going to come in from Syria. She wants 550% more

people than Barack Obama, and he has thousands and thousands of people. They have no idea where they come from and you see, we are going to stop radical Islamic terrorism in this country. She won't even mention the words and neither will President Obama. So I just want to tell you, she wants open borders.

Getting back to Trump and his ways of a direct attack on his foe with his speech as he is more authorized and if he owns the power. He always wants to corner Clinton with a shamed question or give us something as opposed to what she said before, so he shows ethos. He wants to compare her with her party when he mentions Obama's name and their way to deal with Islam, or their weak way to punish terrorists. Such words can touch the feelings of US citizens, so he uses pathos and controls others' minds by raising their emotions when he mentions such matters.

[8] Clinton: Well, that's because he'd rather have a puppet as president.

Trump: No puppet, no puppet.

Clinton: And it's pretty clear --

Trump: You're the puppet.

Clinton: It's pretty clear you won't admit.

*Trump: No, you're the puppet.*

In this section of their debates, we see them both talking but with one long wind speaker and the other shamed speaker. Throughout this debate, we can see Trump uses such a strategy by cutting the speech of others with negate what the other member of the conversation is saying, mimicking, sarcastically sentences, and/or with repeated questions. He uses a speech cut strategy as if he is more powerful and he is of course the next president. That is what we call ethos by showing his credibility and he is worthy enough to be the next president.

> *[9] Clinton: I think when the middle class thrives, America thrives. And so my plan is based on growing the economy, giving middle class families many more opportunities. I want to raise the minimum wage because people who live in poverty, who work full-time should not still be in poverty. I want to make sure that women get equal pay for the work we do. I feel strongly we have to have an education system that starts with preschool and goes through college.*

Here, Hillary Clinton uses pathos, ethos, and logos as well. She shows her credibility and the nature of the president's personality when she talks about economic aspects. Also, she uses pathos when she uses the same gender strategy and when she talks about taxes and the economy of each individual and their family. This helps her to raise the emotions of others. While logos appears in her speech with different solutions for such a problem, (it helps her to persuade others).

> [10] Trump: Her plan is going to raise taxes and even double your taxes. Her tax plan is a disaster. And she can say all she wants about college tuition and I'm a big proponent, we're going to do a lot of things for college tuition, but the rest of the public's going be paying for it. We'll have a massive, massive tax increase under Hillary Clinton's plan.

Getting back with Trump, who overuses ethos persuading strategy by showing his credibility and effectiveness in his speech. He shows he can turn the matter worse upon Hillary by trying to impress her in front of others. He shows also that he uses pathos by saying 'taxes' which can reduce the emotions and relate it with

Hillary's name. Thus, he is trying to control and persuade others' minds of other.

> [11] Clinton: Well, I am encouraged that there is an effort led by the Iraqi army, supported by Kurdish forces and also given the help and advice from the number of special forces and Americans on the ground. I will not support putting American forces into Iraq as a force. I don't think that is in our interest and I don't think it would be smart to do. Chris, I think that would be a big red flag waving for ISIS to reconstitute itself. The goal here is to take back Mosul. It's going to be a hard fight. I've got no illusions about that. And then continue to press into Syria to begin to take back and move on Raqqa, which is the ISIS headquarters.

AS Hillary Clinton is part of Obama's ruling system, most people see that their ways of dealing with such matters are weak, and when Obama was the president of the USA. ISIS appears in their ruling time. So, it's an important issue to deal with. Thus, Hillary shows her logos strategy with a long way of justification and with long stories. She wants to persuade and prove to the

public when she tells us about her plans for the future of what's will going on after ISIS and the type of help, she will produce.

> *[12] Trump: Let me tell you, Mosul is so sad. We had Mosul. But when she left, she took everybody out, we lost Mosul. Now we're fight again to get Mosul. The problem with Mosul and what they wanted to do is they wanted to get the leaders of ISIS who they felt were in Mosul. About three months ago, I started reading that they want to get the leaders.*

Trump tries to use pathos in his speech and he succeeded in it. He uses words like sad to drag the emotions of people about what will happen in Mosul. He shows also a way of laughing at the strategy of fighting by (We had Mosul) and (we lost Mosul). As we can see, he is making laugh at waiting too much when they think that the head of ISIS is in Mosul. So, he shows that he is fitter than Hillary to be the next president because Hillary will not change anything with last-used strategies to deal with sensitive matters, and what ethos is.

> *[13] Clinton: Well, once again, Donald is implying that he didn't support the invasion of Iraq. I said it was a mistake. I said that years ago. He has consistently defined knight --*

*Trump: Wrong.*

*Clinton: What is a very clear fact.*

*Trump: Wrong.*

*Clinton: That before the invasion he supported it. I just want everybody to go Google it. Google Donald Trump in Iraq and you will see the dozens of sources which verify that he was for the invasion of Iraq.*

*Trump: Wrong.*

To cut the long story short getting the last selected portion from Hillary and Trump's speech. Hillary tries to use logos when she shows that Trump's speech is not true and he is one of the supporters of the invasion of Iraq. She proves that through 'Google it' or 'Google Donald Trump Iraq' and you will see the truth. Trump tries to show ethos by his part when he cuts her speech always to show his ability to uncover the truth in a way not to give any chance to his opposite candidate.

## CONCLUSION

The researcher's conclusions are built upon the analysis that is made of some selected pieces from the political debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. The researcher doesn't analyze the whole debate rather he selects some parts of their conversation. What is clear to say that both Hillary and Trump use all persuasion strategies as proposed by Aristotle's theory of

persuasion. They use all three strategies Ethos (the speaker's credibility and nature of having a good image), Pathos (relates the efforts to touch and control the emotions of the audience), and Logos (persuading audiences through giving logical arguments) in different matters and different portions.

Hillary uses the strategy of logos more than Trump. She uses long ways for expressing the situations attached to stories from her real life. So, she tries always to show her field experience by contacting people from different regions and classes. While Trump uses ethos more than Hillary. He used to show his abilities and power to others as a part of his personality as a great businessman. He reflects on his way of persuading in his speech by cutting Hillary's speech more than one time and using repeated words of negation with high intonation when Hillary tries to blame him for some situations. Then they share approximately the same amount for using pathos. They use different ways of speaking to audiences to reveal pathos strategy as they try to motivate the emotions of the audience and control them throughout sad stories or use emotional words that help them to either raise or reduce the feeling of the audience.

Trump looks more persuasive than Hillary. He uses different ways as Hillary for persuading but differently and harshly. He attacks Hillary on different occasions with his questions and sarcastic utterances. People like those who are showing more power than others and those who make them laugh. He shows more powerful persuading strategies than his rival, though they use the same ones but each one depends on his way. Trump's persuasion strategies helps him to win this race and to become the elected one.

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