

**PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES USED IN HILLARY CLINTON'S  
POLITICAL CAMPAIGN SPEECH**

**THESIS**

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**ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LETTERS DEPARTMENT**

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

**STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM  
MALANG**

**2016**

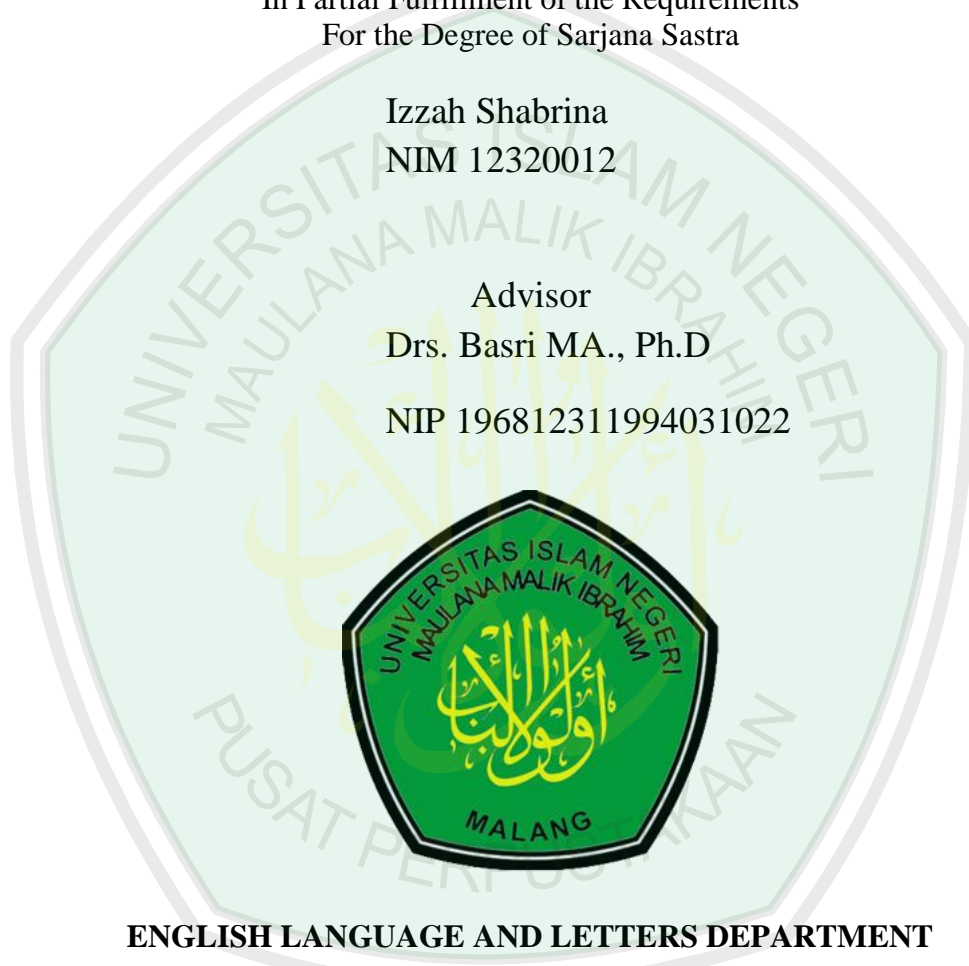
# **PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES USED IN HILLARY CLINTON'S POLITICAL CAMPAIGN SPEECH**

## **THESIS**

Presented to  
Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, Malang  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Sarjana Sastra

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**ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LETTERS DEPARTMENT**

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

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MALANG**

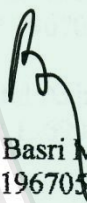
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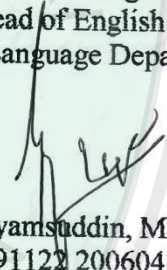
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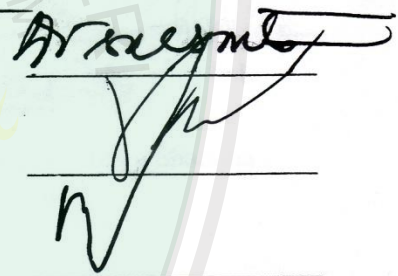
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## STATEMENT OF THESIS AUTHORSHIP

Hereby, I state that the thesis I wrote to fulfill the requirement for the Degree of SarjanaSastra (S.S) entitled “Persuasive Strategies used in Hillary Clinton’s Political Campaign Speech” is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by other persons, except those indicated in quotation and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, July 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016



Izzah Shabrina

MOTTO

إِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا

***There is an ease after every difficulty***

***(Q.S. Al-Insyirah: 6)***



## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my endless love, my father Rodliyuddin, my mother Lilik Choiriyah, and my sister Aalin Azzahroh, “I love them so much.”





## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, the writer would like to extend my gratitude to the Lord of the Universe, for blessing me every time until this thesis can be finished. In this occasion, the writer would like to deliver my sincerest gratitude to the following people likes my great parents Rodliyuddin and Lilik Choiriyah, also my sister Alin Azzahroh, for their love, pray, support, and guidance during my study.

This thesis cannot be completed without full motivation of Drs. Basri, M.A., Ph.D., as my thesis advisor. You have already approved this research and given a lot of guidance, advice, and suggestion in the completion of this study. All of lecturer of English Department of Humanities Faculty Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University Malang especially Djoko Susanto, M.Ed., Ph.D. who has give me many critical comments, correction, and suggestions after doing my thesis examination. My beloved best friends Santika Priyantini, Umi Mufidatul Izzah, Maulida Nur Fatmala, Siti Ilifdiani, Robiatul Adawiyah, Sylvia Mufarrohah, Rodiya Ulfa, Eggi Febri, Arendra Abdur Rahman, Arif Angga Putra, and Hamzah Arribath, for their support, help, pray, motivation and togetherness.

Finally, I truly realize that this thesis still needs some criticism and suggestions from the readers in order to make it perfect. The researcher hopes that her thesis can be more useful for the readers, especially for the students of English Letters and Language Department of Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang.

Malang, July 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016

Izzah Shabrina



## ABSTRAK

**Shabrina, Izzah. 2016.** Strategi persuasif yang Digunakan dalam Pidato Kampanye Politiknya Hillary Clinton. Tesis. Bahasa Inggris dan Jurusan Sastra, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya. Maulana Malik Ibrahim Sate Universitas Islam Malang.

Penasehat: Drs. Basri, M.A, Ph.D

**Kata kunci:** *persuasi, strategi persuasif, pidato, pidato kampanye politik.*

---

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki strategi persuasif yang digunakan oleh Hillary Clinton dalam pidato kampanye politiknya. Umumnya, pidato didefinisikan sebagai amanat yang diberikan kepada penonton dalam berbagai kesempatan dan untuk berbagai keperluan yang berfungsi untuk mencapai tujuan tertentu. Persuasi merupakan aspek penting dari komunikasi yang digunakan di banyak wilayah. Persuasi adalah pentingnya seni dari proses komunikasi untuk membujuk orang lain dengan rangsangan untuk mendapatkan respon dari para pendengar. Hal ini tidak dalam pidato saja, tetapi juga dalam konteks lain seperti iklan, ruang sidang, dan sebagainya. Salah satu wilayah yang mempergunakan persuasi adalah pidato kampanye politik. Pidato kampanye politik menggunakan bahasa persuasif untuk mempromosikan dan membujuk penonton untuk memilih calon dari pemilihan presiden.

Model penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif. Peneliti menganalisis data yang berupa kata-kata dan ucapan-ucapan dengan menjelaskan dan melakukan interpretasi yang didukung oleh konteks masing-masing datum. Selain itu, ia menggunakan teori Aristoteles persuasi untuk membantunya memahami dan menganalisis data yang diperoleh dari pidato. Penelitian ini menggunakan Analisis Wacana karena peneliti ingin tahu apa jenis strategi persuasif yang digunakan dan bagaimana bahasa yang digunakan untuk membujuk lain dalam pidatonya.

Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa penulis menemukan semua strategi persuasif yang digunakan dalam pidato kampanye Hillary Clinton seperti yang diusulkan oleh Aristoteles. Terdiri dari Ethos, Pathos, dan Logos. Hillary Clinton menerapkan Logos Strategi melalui bahasa dengan menyebutkan nama-nama orang yang terkait dengan pokok yang sedang dibahas, menjelaskan momen berdasarkan urutan waktu. Dia juga menunjukkan Ethos melalui pesan dengan memberikan beberapa motivasi, menjelaskan proyek masa depan, menggunakan kata ganti dengan menganggap penonton sebagai bagian dari dirinya, menyatakan dengan kata-kata perintah dan menyentuh emosi penonton untuk mengambil perhatiannya, menunjukkan kepeduliannya, menyatakan Tuhan untuk menunjukkan konsistensi, dan menggambarkan peristiwa yang menakutkan. Kemudian, untuk strategi logos, Hillary Clinton menekankan melalui bahasa. Dia memberi contoh fenomena yang nyata, memberikan kesaksian, menunjukkan dia

konsisten, menunjukkan dia ambisius, memberi janji dan kata ganti yang digunakan untuk menganggap penonton sebagai bagian dari dirinya, menunjukkan perhatiannya, dan memberi kepastian untuk meyakinkan penonton. Melalui strategi tersebut, Hillary Clinton meyakinkan pendengarnya. Oleh karena itu, mereka percaya bahwa memilih dia dalam pilpres (pemilihan presiden) adalah sesuatu yang benar. Untuk para peneliti selanjutnya disarankan untuk memilih konteks yang berbeda dari penelitian ini, seperti di ruang kelas, pidato nasional, iklan dan sebagainya. Namun, jika mereka ingin melakukan analisis dalam konteks yang sama, pidato kampanye politik, mereka dapat menganalisis penggunaan pidato teori lain kecuali teori Aristoteles.



## ABSTRACT

**Shabrina, Izzah. 2016.** *Persuasive Strategies Used in Hillary Clinton's Political campaign Speech.* Thesis. English Language and Letters Department, Faculty of Humanities. Maulana Malik Ibrahim Sate Islamic University of Malang.

The Advisor: Drs. Basri, M.A, Ph.D.

**Key Word:** *persuasion, persuasive strategy, speech, Political campaign speech.*

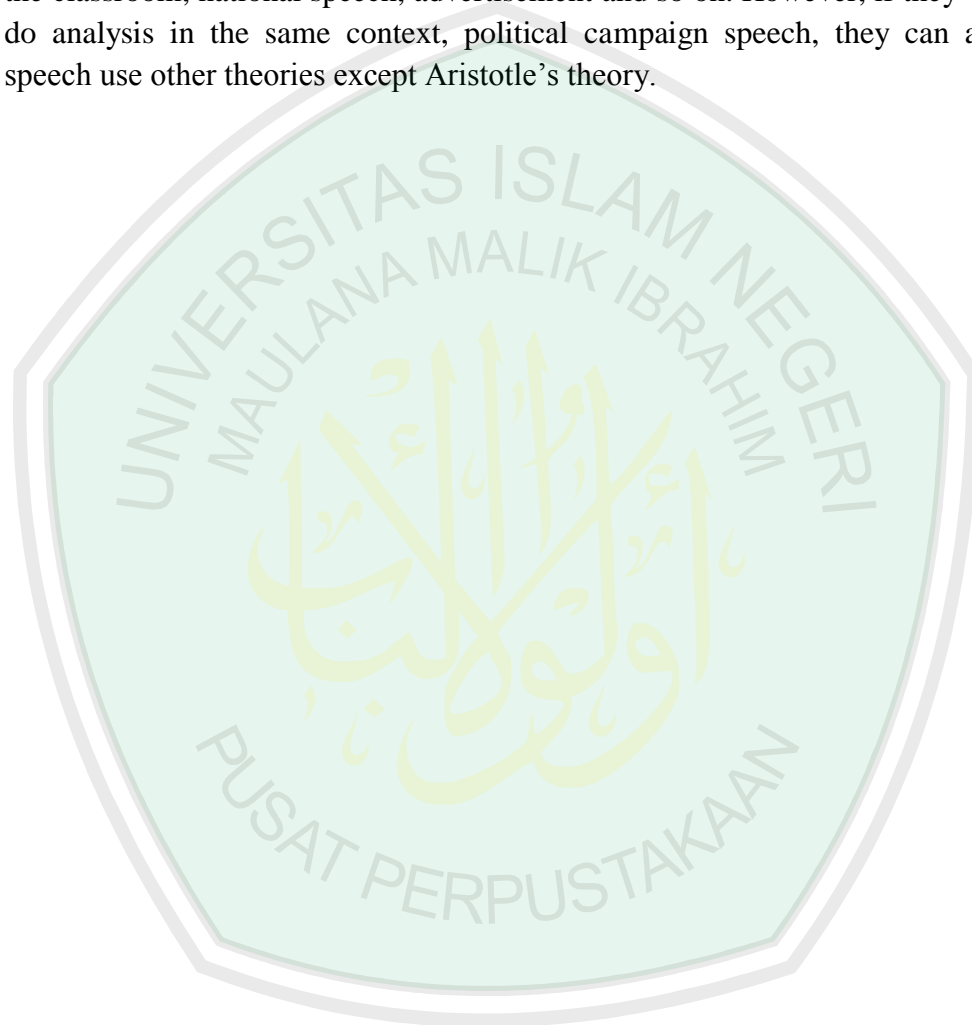
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This research aims at investigating persuasive strategy used by Hillary Clinton in his political campaign speech. Speech is defined as an address given to audience on a variety of occasions and for a variety of purposes that functions to attain certain goal. Persuasion is an important aspect of communication that is used in many areas. It is an important art of communication process to persuade other using stimulation to get the response from listener. It is not in speech only, but also in other context such as advertisement, classroom, and so on. One of the areas that apply persuasion is a political campaign speech. It uses persuasive language to promote and persuade the audience to vote the candidate of president's election.

The research design of this study used qualitative method. The researcher analyzed the data which are in the form of words and utterances by describing and doing interpretation supported by the context of each datum. In addition, she used Aristotle's theory of persuasion to help her understand and analyze the data found from the speech. This research used Discourse Analysis because the researcher wanted to know what kind of persuasive strategy used and how language used to persuade another in speech.

The result of this study shows that the writer found all persuasive strategies used in Hillary Clinton's campaign speech as proposed by Aristotle. They are Ethos, Pathos, and Logos. Hillary Clinton applied Logos Strategy through the language mentioning names of people related to the point being discussed, describing moment by sequence of time. She also showed Ethos through the message by giving some motivations, describing the future project, using pronoun to regard the audience as part of her, stating by the command words and touch the emotion to take the audience's emotion, showing her care, stating God to show consistency, and portraying the frightening event. Then, for

logos strategy, Hillary Clinton emphasized it through the language. She gave example of real phenomena, gave testimony, showed her consistent, showed her ambitious, gave promise and used pronoun to regard the audience as part of her, showed her attention, and gave certainty for convincing her audience. Through those strategies, Hillary Clinton convinced his audience. Therefore, they could believe that voting her in president election is something right. From the further researcher suggests them to choose different context from this study, such as in the classroom, national speech, advertisement and so on. However, if they want to do analysis in the same context, political campaign speech, they can analyze speech use other theories except Aristotle's theory.



## الملخص

صبرنا، عزة. 2016. الاستراتيجية الإقناعية المستخدمة في خطاب حملة سياسة هيلاري كلينتون . الرسالة العلمية . اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها، كلية الآداب والعلوم الانسانية. الجامعة الاسلامية الحكومية مولانا مالك إبراهيم مالانج .  
المشرف: الدكتور البصري الماجستير  
كلمات البحث: الإقناع، الاستراتيجية الإقناعية ، خطاب , خطاب حملة السياسة.

ويهدف هذا البحث لتحليل الاستراتيجية الإقناعية التي يستخدمها هيلاري كلينتون في خطاب حملة سياستها . كان الخطاب يتعرف عامة باسم التفويض الممنوح للجمهور في مناسبة مختلفة وأغراض مختلفة لتحقيق أهداف معينة . والإقناع هو من أحد الكيفيات المهمات من الاتصالات المستخدمة في العديد من المجالات . والإقناع أهم من الاتصال لإقناع الآخرين مع التحفيز للحصول على استجابة المستمعين . وهذا ليس في الخطاب فقط ، بل الإقناع يحتاج في سياقات أخرى مثل الإعلانات، وقاعات المحاكم، وغيرها . وكذلك خطاب حملة السياسة تستخدم لغة الإقناع لترقية وإقناع التظاهرة لاختيار مرشح الانتخابات الرئاسية .  
تصميم هذا البحث باستخدام الطرق التوعوية . وحلل الباحث البيانات من الكلمات والأقوال ببيان و تفسير البيانات . وبالإضافة إلى ذلك، يستخدم الباحث نظرية اقناعية لأرسطوتيليس في فهم وتحليل البيانات التي تحصل من الخطاب . استخدم هذا البحث تحليل الخطاب لأن الباحث يربط معرفة أي نوع من الاستراتيجية الإقناعية المستخدمة وكيفية استخدام اللغة لإقناع الآخرين في الخطاب .  
يدل هذا البحث على أن جميع الاستراتيجية الإقناعية المستخدمة في خطاب حملة هيلاري كلينتون موافقا على المقترح من قبل أرسطوتيليس التي تتكون من أخلاقيات ، شفقة، والشعارات. كان هيلاري كلينتون ينقذ الشعارات من خلال اللغة بذكر أسماء الأشخاص المرتبطين للموضوع المبحوث، واضحا حظا ترتيبا زمنيا . وخطاب هيلاري كلينتون يشير أخلاقيات من رسالة بتوفير بعض الدوافع ، توضيح المشاريع المستقبلية، باستخدام الصّميم لتولي التظاهرة كجزء من نفسه . والاعراب بكلمات الأمر وتلمس التظاهرة لجذب انتباههم، وتبين الاهتمام، والاعراب لإظهار التماسك، ويصف الحادثة المفردة .  
وأكد هيلاري كلينتون الاستراتيجية الشعارية من خلال اللغة . يمثل الحادثة الواقعية، وإعطاء شهادة، وتبين أنه ثابت، يشير إلى أنه طموح وواعد . والضمان التي تستخدم لافتراض التظاهرة كجزء من نفسه . بهذه الاستراتيجية، أكد هيلاري كلينتون المستمعين أنهم يعتقدون أن اختاره في الانتخابات الرئاسية (الانتخابات الرئاسية) هو أمر صحيح . والباحث يحد الباحثين الآخرين لاختيار سيا ق مختلف من هذا البحث، كما هو الحال في الفصول الدراسية، وخطاب متلفز، والإعلان، وغيرها . ومع ذلك، إذا كان الباحثون الآخرون يريدون التحليل في نفس سياق البحث يعني خطاب حملة السياسة ، فإنهم يمكنون التحليل باستخدام النظرية دون نظرية أرسطوتيليس .

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study, significant of the study, scope and limitation, research methodology, and definition of the key terms.

#### **1.1 Background of study**

This research aims at investigating persuasive strategy used by Hillary Clinton in his campaign speech. The researcher chooses Hillary Clinton becomes her object because she is the famous woman in US and she is the one president's candidate in US from democrate party. Generally, speech is defined as an address given to audience on a variety of occasion and for a variety of purposes that functions to attain certain goal. Depending on the occasion and purpose, a speaker may aim to inspire or to motivate, to amuse, or to inform the audience. In this research, the writer will try to analyze the persuasive strategies which are intended to sway the audience to agree with the speaker.

Language is what the members of particular society speak (Wardagh. 1986: 1). It means that when people talk to each other, people need a language as a tool of communication. Related to this explanation, we can conclude that persuasive language is a language or tool to persuade other people. Thus, persuasive is applied in many areas, like in commercial, politic, also in the social advertisement. Therefore, persuasion uses language for communication because



the purpose in persuasion process is to persuade other people to interpret and follow the message. Moreover, persuasion is called as a part of discourse analysis, and discourse analysis concerned with the language used for communication and how addressee worked in linguistic message in order to interpret them (Brown and Yule, 1983: 1)

People need strategies to influence and persuade the interlocutors. A speaker should have ability of speaking and way to induce they interlocutors (Sari, 2012). The speaker should be able to make people agree with speakers so that she/he must not talk effortless. For instance, while campaign, people use some proves and argumentations to persuade the society for choosing their selves. The use of words choice or dictions also supports for campaign speech, moreover influencing or persuading the society to choose her. This explanation makes the researcher realize the importance of persuasive strategies.

Communication process usually contains persuasion to make the hearer interested in receiving the information. Nevertheless, there is no violence or coercion in persuasion. The speaker must stimulate the interlocutor to get response in persuasion. Communication is the process to transmit stimuli (usually verbal) that people do by people to modify the behavior of other people (Hovland and friends quoted by Arni , 1992:2). Meanwhile, some aspects of our lives such us religious, sermon, social, political, parenting, and advertisement have strong unit with persuasion.

Persuasion is art of verbal with the intention to convince people for this moment or the present time (Keraf, 2010). Aristotle as one of persuasive theorist has divided persuasive strategies becomes three categories. Those are Ethos, Pathos, and Logos. Ethos is the speaker's nature and credibility, Pathos is the speaker's ability to control interlocutor's emotion), and Logos is the speaker's arguments or fact give.

In this research, the researcher uses Aristotle's theory because of some reasons. First this theory can adapt the persuasive phenomena. Second, Aristotle's theory provides complete description to analyze the utterance involves the political speech. Therefore, the theory proposed by Aristotle is important to be reference for analyzing the data.

Moreover, persuasive speech tends to be used by public speaker which has powerful position such as the presidential candidate. Thus, there are some reasons that make the researcher uses political campaign speech. First, Hillary Clinton's campaign speech contains the persuasion in getting audience's vote in presidential election. Second, she raise up the minor community such LGBT many times as the main argumentation for persuading people especially LGBT people. Hence, through her campaign speech, she try to persuade and influence interlocutor's emotion.

There has been some researchers that analyzed persuasion in some area. "Persuasive Strategies used by Prophet Muhammad in his Religious Sermon" that conducted by Sari (2012). She found that persuasive strategy used by Prophet

Muhammad can be divided into three categories namely Ethos, Pathos, and Logos. Another researcher was Umi Fadhillah (2010). Her title was a Discourse Analysis on the Persuasive Technique Used in DRTV Advertisement. She found that the presenters of DRTV Advertisement used several techniques of Gorys Keraf's theory (rationalization, identification, suggestion, conformity, compensation, and displacement) to persuade the audiences. The difference between those previous researches and this research is on the speech which takes political campaign as the source of persuasive technique used by the speaker, Hillary Clinton. This study explores about type of the persuasive strategies and how the persuasive strategies are used in political campaign speech.

Furthermore, the researcher uses Aristotle's theory which provides three kinds of persuasive strategies to help the researcher get comprehensive understanding on Hillary's campaign speech. Her campaign speech must be interesting for my research. This research investigates the types of persuasive strategy used by Hillary Clinton in her political campaign speeches. The purposes of the research are to find out the types and the implementation processes of persuasive strategy used by Hillary Clinton to the audience.

## **1.2 Research Questions**

Based on the preceding background the researcher needs to answer the following questions:

1. What kind of persuasive strategies are used in Hillary Clinton's speech?
2. How the persuasive strategies occurred in Hillary Clinton's speech?

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

This study is mainly aimed to achieve the following objectives:

1. To identify the kinds of persuasive strategies used in Hillary Clinton's speech.
2. To describe the persuasive strategies occurred in Hillary Clinton's speech.

### **1.4 Research Significance**

This study gives both theoretical and practical contribution. Theoretically, the result of this study is expected to expand the theoretical of persuasive strategy used especially in the context of speech. Besides that, it is expected to give information about persuasive strategies includes in the form of word, sentence, and phrase. Practically, this study is also expected to give more understanding about persuasive strategy and its role in linguistics, for the readers and the students, especially English department students in linguistics class. It is also supposed to be reference of persuasive strategy for future researcher.

### **1.5 Research Scope and Limitation**

The scope of this study, it analyses the selected transcript of Hillary's Speeches that consist of persuasive strategy. I focus my research on her campaign speech that launched as the first major rally of her campaign as a presidential candidate on a sunny Saturday afternoon on New York's Roosevelt Island. I discuss the Aristotle's Theory as the main of my research. Due to my limited time,

I only investigate how Hillary Clinton uses persuasive strategy in her political campaign speech. This may prevent me to obtain more complete data on more various type of question.

## **1.6 Research Method**

There are some points in terms of the research method in this study. They are research design, research subject, data sources, research instrument, data collection and data analysis.

### **a. Research design**

This research classified as a descriptive qualitative method because the data of this research are in the form of utterances and words, which are not statistically analyzed. The researcher analyzes the utterance in video of you tube and transcript of speech. The researcher analyzes through describing and explaining the data based on Aristotle's theory of persuasive strategy. This analyzes about persuasive strategies that focused on political campaign speech.

### **b. Research subject**

The data in this research is the one of president's candidate in US from democate party. She is Hillary Clinton, who is selected as the subject because she has an interesting way in extending her campaign speech to manipulate and influence the people. Hillary Clinton has

launched the first major rally of her campaign as a presidential candidate on a sunny Saturday afternoon on New York's Roosevelt Island.

Almost seven years to the day since Mrs. Clinton conceded defeat to Barack Obama in 2008, she addressed supporters as the overwhelming favourite to be the Democratic candidate for president in 2016.

**c. Data sources**

The data of this research is video in youtube that contains many kinds of persuasive strategy. The researcher takes the transcript of the video as the data source that is taken from <http://time.com/3920332/transcript-full-text-hillary-clinton-campaign-launch/>.

**d. Research instrument**

Qualitative research studies human experiences and any situations. Researchers need an instrument flexible enough to capture the complexity of human experience. Only human instrument is capable of this task ( Bogdan, 1998:p 76). In this research, I myself as instrument since I have explore my research to find deep understanding of the use of persuasive strategies used in political campaign speech.

**e. Data Collection and Analysis**

The data of this research are from the utterances or word in Hillary Clinton political campaign speech. In gathering the data, some steps were done. First, I do the observation from downloading the video of her

campaign speech. Second, I watch the video and also searching for the transcript. After that, I read the data several times to get deep understanding, so it help the researcher to figure out and identify the data which potentially contains persuasive strategies that used in this speech. Third, when I analyze the transcript, I classified by underline the words in her utterance that refers to persuasive strategy.

### 1.7 Definition of Key Terms

The definition of the key terms is used to avoid ambiguity and uncertainty in comprehending content of this research.

**Political speech:** ubiquitous and seemingly indispensable term in the discussion of human affairs. People use it to speak of quite different kinds of things- institutions, actions, conflicts, expenditures, a type of discourse, abrance of science, and such. People apply it to the life and thought of modern nations, ancient cities, and primitive tribes.

**Campaign:** A series of military operations intended to achieve a goal, confined to a particular area, or involving a specified type of fighting.

**Hillary Clinton:** She is one of famous persons in US. She has served many roles in US politics (first lady), senator, secretary of state. Now, she turns for a second time to her long-held ambition to fill the ultimate role (US president).



**Persuasive strategy:** a process aimed at changing a person's (or a group's) attitude or behavior toward some event, idea, object, or other person(s), by using written or spoken words to convey information, feelings, or reasoning.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

This chapter consists of two parts, theoretical framework and previous studies. The theoretical framework contains of persuasion, in which the researcher supplies the persuasion, persuasive elements, persuasive strategies, political speech, and campaign. The last parts is previous studies, which provide some related studies done by other people and convey the difference of the study from previous study.

#### **2.1 Persuasion**

Most of people do persuasive strategies in their daily life because persuasion becomes an important aspect of communication. It becomes an important aspect because people can influence other people without violence or coercion with persuasion. Mastering persuasion theoretically and practically is a necessity that cannot be postponed any longer. Some people called that study about persuasion comes from the ancient Greek Era, or even before (Malik, 1994). To start understanding the persuasion usually people try to see the definition.

Persuasion is derived from Latin “persuasion” means to “persuade”. Bloom (2004) said that persuasion is derived from Latin that used for urging and advising. Robert Cialdini, in his book on persuasion stated that persuasion is the influence of beliefs, attitudes, intentions, motivations, or behaviors. Persuasion is a process aimed at changing a person’s (or a group’s) attitude or behavior toward

some event, idea, object, or other person(s), by using written or spoken words to convey information, feelings, and reasoning.

Furthermore, Applbaum and Anatol add that persuasion is complex process of communication by which individual or group elicit (intentionally or unintentionally) by verbal and or nonverbal means a specific response from another individual or group (in Malik, 1994). Keraf (2004) confirms persuasion as an art of verbal with the intention to assure someone to do something appropriate with the speaker's purpose for this moment or the present time. Brembeck and Howel stated that persuasion communication intended to influence choice. Persuasion become the art of influence and convinces others. From some of the above understanding, researcher knows very well how important as persuasion in life. Moreover, in terms of business, almost all business areas have direct interest with persuasion. For example: most of campaign speech use persuasive strategies to influence people.

## **2.2 Persuasive elements**

Knowing and understanding the persuasive elements are must for a persuader in order to be successful in doing persuasion. It relates to what should exist in persuasive process. Renkema in Zainuddin (2010) explained source, message, channel, and receiver as process of persuasive elements.

### **2.2.1 Source**

The first element is source. Source can be showed in two ways; source credibility or believability and source attractiveness to the receivers. Demand of

source has to be done with credibility and feelings as the result that evokes the source. A president would trustworthy person to tell people how to be good leader. People would be easily influence by his comment or persuasion

### **2.2.2 Message**

Message is another element which relates to persuasion process. It also one of the major factors in persuasion process. The campaign speech should transfer the message whether it is in the beginning, in the middle, or in the end of speech. The organization of the message is also very crucial. Which arguments should the speaker choose and which style would be most effective.

### **2.2.3 Channel**

Another element while doing persuasion process is channel. The speaker can promote the products by various channels. It can be in the form of television, radio, newspaper, magazine, ballyhoo, etc. those kinds of media are used to convince the audiences or listeners. In this case, the researcher takes the campaign speech in youtube.

### **2.2.4 Receiver**

The last persuasive element process is receiver. It is a person that receives the message. Receiver is the target of persuasion that is expected to do or to change their mind as the idea on the campaign speech.

## 2.3 Persuasive Strategies

To reach the goal, persuasive strategies become an important part in communication. Aristotle created ethos, pathos and logos as the three pillars of persuasive strategies (Keraf,2010). The three are different from each other in their respective methods of convincing an audience. Those are Ethos ( the speaker's nature and credibility). (Pathos) the speakers ability to control interlocutor's emotion, and Logos (the speakers arguments or facts given). In addition, Aristotle in Perloff (2013) recognized that speaker must adapt to thir audiences using those factors which are most persuasive in the speeches delivered.

### 2.3.1 The Speaker's Nature and Credibility (Ethos)

Aristotle in Perloff (2003) argued that Ethos is the nature of the communicator. It refers to the speakers character in front of the audience. Good image also important in this point. Aristotle said that to build credibility, you have to persuade others that you are of good character, that you are trustworthy, and that you are an authority on the topic of you talk. Keraf (2004) recommended that in human relationship, character is one of the factors that should always be considered. Persuasion will run well audiences recognize the speaker has good character and has high credibility. Keraf (2004) added that unfamiliar people will get difficulty to get intention than a well known speaker who has good image. People can believe to the speaker by looking at the speaker's image.

### **2.3.2 The Speaker's Ability to Control Interlocutor's Emotion (Pathos)**

Pathos relates to the emotion of the audience, Aristotle in Perloff (2003). He added that the speaker should be able to raise up the audience's emotion. Most of people think that the people make their decisions based on rational thought. However, Aristotle in Zainuddin (2010) points out that emotion such as anger, pity, and fears, and their opposites, powerfully influence the rational judgment. Emotion is needed to get sympathy of the people. The speaker should be able to touch the people's emotion, that the people will be influenced to the speech.

Persuasion process will be successful when the speakers are able to control the audience's emotion. Keraf (2010) added that this aspect does not only focus on rising up emotion, but also on falling down the emotion. In addition, the speaker should prepare the content of the persuasion that is suitable with the purpose intended. Although the speakers control audiences emotion, the audiences must be given the opportunity in making decision.

### **2.3.3 The speaker's Argument or Fact Give (Logos)**

Logos is the proofs to support the argument, Aristotle in Charteris- Black (2005). Keraf (2010) stated that speaker is highly recommended to provide the proofs or evidence to persuade interlocutors. Most of people will believe in what speaker said when the speaker can give proofs or evidence and can give logical reason. The advertiser/ the speaker needs to use logical reasoning to make people believe. In the society, logic and rationally are highly valued and this type of

persuasive strategy is usually privileged over appeals to the character of the speaker or to the emotions of the audience, Zainuddin (2010).

## **2.4 Previous study**

There are several previous studies which are relevant with this topic that have been analyzed in the same field. The first is Sari (2012) who conducted the research entitled *Persuasive Strategies used by Prophet Muhammad in his religious sermon*. She used Aristotle's Theory. The result of her study, she found that persuasive strategy used by Prophet Muhammad can be divided into three categories namely Ethos, Pathos, and Logos.

Umi Nurul Fadhilah (2010) "A Discourse Analysis on the Persuasive Technique Used in DRTV Advertisement". She discovered that the presenters of DRTV Advertisement used several techniques of Gorys Keraf's theory to persuade the audiences. These techniques are: rationalization, identification, suggestion, conformity, compensation, and displacement. The persuasive techniques in the advertisement are presented by justifying their problem first and make statements as a proof to justify quality of the products, second taking same condition also adjust their condition and giving positive influence in their mind, then showing the other products are unacceptable and persuade them that presenter's products are suitable to choose as selection, also showing the other products are not suitable to be used before, and showing the result of the products in order to displace audiences' emotion from using other products to presenters' products, furthermore showing the fact of some problems first then persuade the



audiences to choose the product with high intonation in order to make them do not think twice to choose the products, and the last is making statement to tell the audiences that the product is acceptable for everyone.

The different between this research and those previous researches is the utterances which are derived from the speech in political occasion using the persuasive theory proposed by Aristotle.



## **CHAPTER III**

### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

The researcher presents two parts in this chapter. Those are findings and discussion. In finding section, the researcher presents the data analysis and its interpretation based on the theory of Aristotle. Then the second part is discussion, in which the researcher provides the explanation based on analysis result, which covers the answer of problem statements.

#### **3.1 Findings**

The researcher uses political campaign speech that delivered by Hillary Clinton (2015). This speech text is taken from <http://time.com/3920332/transcript-full-text-hillary-clinton-campaign-launch/>. This speech is chosen because of the variation of types and ways of applying persuasive strategies.

Furthermore, from the speech text the researcher found many data containing persuasive strategies. This data is in the form of words and utterances produced by Hillary Clinton while delivering the speech. Then, the researcher classified the data analysis based on Aristotle theory of persuasion. They are Ethos, Pathos, and Logos strategy. Here is the table of data containing persuasive strategies.

The researcher takes data that analyzed and presented in this chapter.

There are (11) data provided as the analysis example based on their classifications. There are also the contexts of each datum, which add information about the speech. Therefore, the reader can get comprehensive understanding and fresh knowledge. The findings and collected data are presented as the following.

### 3.1.1 Datum 1

#### LOGOS

Context:

The utterances above are in the beginning of the speech that spoken by Hillary Clinton. When explaining this speech, she was told about two former of president America as the main characters in this datum. Those are Barrack Obama and her husband Bill Clinton. In this situation Hillary looks detail in explaining the fact about her country. She also looks wise in describing both former of president on doing their job.

***When President Clinton honored the bargain, we had the longest peacetime expansion in history, a balanced budget, and the first time in decades we all grew together, with the bottom 20 percent of workers increasing their incomes by the same percentage as the top 5 percent.***

***When President Obama honored the bargain, we pulled back from the brink of Depression, saved the auto industry, provided health care to 16 million working people, and replaced the jobs we lost faster than after a financial crash.***

***But, it's not 1941, or 1993, or even 2009. We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy.***

Analysis:

Through uttering about economy and democracy, she shows her credibility by showing that she has comprehensive about development her country by year to year. She states several results of Barrack Obama and Bill Clinton.

Based the analysis process, these utterances are placed into Logos types because of some cases. Firstly, Hillary's utterance cites the facts. Secondly, she shows some statistics, historical and literal analogies. It mentions names of people related to the point being discussed and it describes moment by sequence of time.

### 3.1.2 Datum 2

#### **PATHOS**

Context:

In this situation, Hillary Clinton conveys her speech by feeling thoughtfulness.

***We're still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were replaced by false promises.***

Analysis:

In inquiry, the utterance above is proposed as Pathos. It is classified as Pathos because utterance of this speech generally shows that cases about crisis and false promises can rises up audience's emotion. It convinces an audience by the reason and also she was portraying a frightening event.

### 3.1.3 Datum 3

Context:

In this situation she looks confident for describing the America condition in detail.

### **LOGOS:**

*As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning. You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs... you figured out how to make it work. And now people are beginning to think about their future again – going to college, starting a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement.*

*So we're standing again. But, we all know we're not yet running the way America should.*

Analysis:

She cites the fact of America and raise up the society's spirit. That is way this utterance contains logos. It describes moment such as; Americans made a new beginning or new life with worked extra shift, took second jobs, and postponed home repairs.

#### **3.1.4 Datum 4**

### **ETHOS**

Context:

She showed her spirit to bring their country back.

*You brought our country back. Now it's time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead. And, you know what?*

Analysis:

The utterance “You brought our country back. Now it’s time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead.” It contains ethos strategy. It gives some motivations.

### 3.1.5 Datum 5

#### **PATHOS**

Context:

She shows some project of economic work for the next decade.

*America can’t succeed unless you succeed.*

*That is why I am running for President of the United States.*

...

*I’m running to make our economy work,*

*1. For you and for every American.*

*2. For the successful and the struggling.*

*3. For the innovators and inventors.*

*4. For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases.*

*5. For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day.*

*6. For the nurses who work the night shift.*

*7. For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us.*

*8. For the veterans who served our country.*

*9. For the small business owners who took a risk.*

*10. For everyone who’s ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.*

...

***I'm not running for some Americans, but for all Americans***

Analysis:

These utterances: "America can't succeed unless you succeed" contains pathos strategy. It gives example of real phenomena. The utterance "That is why I am running for President of the United States" contains pathos strategy. It gives example of real phenomena. Then, the utterances "I am running for President of the United States. I'm running to make our economy work, for you and for every American., for the successful and the struggling, For the innovators and inventors, For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases, for the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day, for the nurses who work the night shift, for the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us, For the veterans who served our country, For the small business owners who took a risk, For everyone who's ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out, I'm not running for some Americans, but for all Americans" it contains pathos strategy. It gives testimony. The utterance "I'm not running for some Americans, but for all Americans" contains pathos strategy. It describes the future project.

**3.1.6 Datum 6**

**ETHOS**

Context:

She looks sad in the economic policies that failed before.

*Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we've made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role.*

*Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire country. And I will do just that — to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than against us.*

....

*At our best, that's what Americans do. We're problem solvers, not deniers. We don't hide from change, we harness it.*

**But we can't do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before.**



Analysis:

In these utterances "Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we've made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role"... contains ethos strategy. It describes the future object. The utterance "At our best, that's what Americans do. We're problem solvers, not deniers. We don't hide from change, we harness it "It strengthen the use of ethos strategy. It portrays the frightening event.

### 3.1.7 Datum 7

#### PATHOS

Context:

Hillary shows her spirit become the next president. She looks ambitious become the champion of this election.

**I want to be her (mother) champion and your champion.**

...

**In the coming weeks, I'll propose specific policies to:**

**Reward businesses who invest in long term value rather than the quick buck – because that leads to higher growth for the economy, higher wages for workers, and yes, bigger profits, everybody will have a better time.**

**I will rewrite the tax code so it rewards hard work and investments here at home, not quick trades or stashing profits overseas.**

**I will give new incentives to companies that give their employees a fair share of the profits their hard work earns.**

**We will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs and small business owners by providing tax relief, cutting red tape, and making it easier to get a small business loan.**

**We will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation, science, and research by increasing both public and private investments.**

**And we will make America the clean energy superpower of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.**

**Developing renewable power – wind, solar, advanced biofuels...**

**Building cleaner power plants, smarter electric grids, greener buildings...**

**Using additional fees and royalties from fossil fuel extraction to protect the environment...**

**And ease the transition for distressed communities to a more diverse and sustainable economic future from coal country to Indian country, from small towns in the Mississippi Delta to the Rio Grande Valley to our inner cities, we have to help our fellow Americans.**

**Now, this will create millions of jobs and countless new businesses, and enable America to lead the global fight against climate change.**

**We will also connect workers to their jobs and businesses.**

**Customers will have a better chance to actually get where they need and get what they desire with roads, railways, bridges, airports, ports, and broadband brought up to global standards for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.**

**We will establish an infrastructure bank and sell bonds to pay for some of these improvements.**

**Now, building an economy for tomorrow also requires investing in our most important asset, our people, beginning with our youngest.**

**That's why I will propose that we make preschool and quality childcare available to every child in America.**

Analysis:

The utterance "I want to be her (mother) champion and your champion" contains pathos strategy. It shows her ambitious. Then, the utterance "In the coming weeks, I'll propose specific policies to:".... contains pathos strategy for convey the audience. She gives promise by making some policies for her country and uses pronoun to regard audience as part of her.

### 3.1.8 Datum 8

#### **ETHOS**

Context:

In this situation she looks so confident to support the minority likes LGBT to be legal in her country. It seems that is her way to take the audience's attention.

**And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else.**

Analysis:

This utterance contains ethos because she use her ethic to support LGBT and against the discrimination of LGBT. She also shows her care and tolerance to LGBT by raises up them although they are minor in their country.

### 3.1.9 Datum 9

#### **PATHOS**

Context:

She delivered her speech by high intonation and she really hope the audiences for voting her in the election.

**As your President, I'll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe.**

...

**As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today's threats and tomorrow's.**

...

**I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That's why I've proposed universal, automatic registration and expanded early voting.**

...

**No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting for.**

Analysis:

The utterances "As your President, I'll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe" contains pathos strategy. It gives promise to the audience. The utterance As a Senator from New York, I dedicate myself to getting our country ..... contains pathos strategy. It gives testimony. The utterance "I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That's why I've proposed universal, automatic registration and expanded early voting" contains pathos strategy. It shows her attention. The utterance "No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting for" contains pathos strategy. It gives certainty for convincing her audience.

### **3.1.10 Datum 10**

#### **LOGOS**

Context:

She shows her comprehensive knowledge in this situation.

**Government is never going to have all the answers – but it has to be smarter, simpler, more efficient, and a better partner.**

**That means access to advanced technology so government agencies can more effectively serve their customers, the American people.**

Analysis:

This utterance “Government is never going to have all the answers – but it has to be smarter, simpler, more efficient, and a better partner” .... contains logos strategy. It mentions names of occupation related to the point being discussed.

### **3.1.11 Datum 11**

#### **ETHOS**

Context:

In this situation she promises to renew the democracy.

***With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights.***

- 1. We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded.***
- 2. We can strengthen our families.***
- 3. We can defend our country and increase our opportunities all over the world.***

***We can renew the promise of our democracy***

...

*I want you to join me in this effort. Help me build this campaign and make it your own.*

*Talk to your friends, your family, and your neighbors.*

...

*Thank you all. God bless you. And may God bless America*

Analysis:

The utterance “With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights” ..... is strengthen the use of ethos strategy. It uses pronoun to regard the audience as part of her. The utterance” I want you to join me in this effort. Help me build this campaign and make it your own. Talk to your friends, your family, and your neighbors” is strengthen the use of ethos strategy. It states by the command words and touch the emotion to take the audience’s attention. The utterance “Thank you all. God bless you. And may God bless America” is strengthen the use of ethos strategy. It states God to show consistency.

### 3.2 Discussions

In this session, the researcher provides the discussions of findings. It relates to the explanation about two points mentioned in the statements of the problems. They are kinds of persuasive strategies used by Hillary Clinton in her political campaign speech and how the persuasive strategies occurred in her speech.

#### 3.2.1 The kinds of Persuasive Strategies in the Speech

Persuasion as the speaker’s effort applied to persuade the audience can takes significant benefit in communication. The using of the persuasion cannot be denied, especially in promoting herself become the next president. This also occurred in the speech delivered by Hillary Clinton. It can be discovered through

the analysis which has been done based on Aristotle's theory. They are Ethos, Pathos, and Logos.

After analyzing the data, the writer found types of persuasion or persuasive strategies in Hillary Clinton utterance in her speech. All kinds of persuasive strategies revealed were ethos, pathos, and logos. Ethos is persuasive strategy used by Hillary Clinton to persuade his followers through showing his good image and his credibility as the candidate of president. Pathos is another strategy of persuasion used by Hillary Clinton to control the audience's emotion. Then, Logos is also the other persuasive strategy through giving the logical arguments, facts, promise, and so on. Those types of persuasion are used by Hillary Clinton in her political campaign speech that located in New York City.

### **3.2.2 The Strategies for Applying Persuasion in the Speech**

The second research problem of this study is how the persuasive strategies are used in political campaign speech by Hillary Clinton. It is very important to discuss about the use of each persuasive strategies in political campaign speech. Ethos, Pathos, and Logos were some persuasive strategies used by political campaign speech.

The following were some strategies used by Hillary Clinton through Ethos, Pathos, Logos.

#### **a. Ethos**

Ethos is the strategy of persuasion which relates to the effort of showing good image of the speaker. This effort can be known from any aspect. The way of showing good image can also be variety. In this case, the writer categorizes the ways or strategies of the Hillary Clinton applying ethos strategy based on the language and the message. These strategies can be seen in the categorization of ethos strategy.

#### 1. Ethos by the Language

Ethos by the language means the effort for showing good image to persuade the audience by the language. Hillary Clinton applied this strategy in her speech. She showed that she was good person by regarding the audience as a part of her. It appears in datum 4, 6, 8, and 11.

##### a. Pathos

Pathos is the strategy of persuasion used by Hillary Clinton which relates to the effort to touching and controlling the emotion of his audience while delivering speech. So they can believe in herself and her speech. From the speech, some words or utterances are used to affect and control the emotion of her audience. Controlling the emotion done by Hillary Clinton can be divided by two points. She raising up and becalming the emotion.

#### 1. Raising up the emotion of audience

Hillary Clinton has some strategies to persuade the audience by raising up the audience.

#### 2. Becalming the emotion of audience



b. Logos

Logos is the other persuasive strategy. It concerned to the strategy to persuade the audience through giving logical argument, facts, and so on. In this case, Hillary Clinton persuaded them by emphasizing through the language. It can be known from the way she spoken in datum 1, 3 and 10.

From those explanations above, it can be identified that speakers can apply many strategies to persuade the audience. They should not directly force the audience to do such they expect. They need to convince the interlocutors that they are good and credible. Then they can touch and control the emotion of the audience. Controlling the emotion is not always by raising up the emotion, but how the speaker can reduce it to make them feel calm with her. Furthermore, they persuade the audience by providing the proof or promise. The speakers should utilize the power of language. Convince them through language

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION**

This chapter provides conclusion of the study and suggestion. Conclusion is to answer the statement of the problems, while suggestions are given to the next researcher, and the English Department students, and English lecturer.

#### **4.2 Conclusion**

Based on the result of the findings, the writer concludes that Hillary Clinton used persuasive strategies while delivering speech. She used all persuasive strategies as proposed by Aristotle's theory to persuade her audiences. These strategies were obtained in her speech even though not all of them revealed in every speech. They are Ethos, Pathos, and Logos strategies.

Hillary Clinton applied these strategies to persuade the audience through some ways. She showed her good image (Ethos) through the language; using pronoun we to regard the audience as part of her, stating name of God to show his consistency as a good leader, showing that her comprehensive knowledge by describing or explaining something. She also applied pathos strategy to touch the audience's emotion. She used command word and she drove audiences a part of them. She gives evidence and logical reason for the audiences.

## 4.2 Suggestion

After doing the research, the researcher acknowledges that there are some weakness and limitation of this study that should be covered by the next researchers. Besides that, this research is based on the researcher's interpretation and description that has still superficial knowledge; as a result, it is far from the perfection.

Therefore, the researcher provides suggestions for the next researchers and the readers. First, many researchers did analysis in politic speech and advertisement. If the next researchers want to do analysis in persuasive strategies, they can analyze persuasion in different areas, such as in the classroom, and so on. Second, they can also used other theory because some previous used Gorys Keraf's theory and Aristotle's theory of persuasion. Therefore, they can used the latest theory of persuasion to help them understanding the data and to be able doing analysis. Because of those, the research will have novelty in state of the art of a research.

For the readers, persuasion takes very important part in our daily life. It can be used in verbal and non verbal communication. Especially for the student of English department, the researcher suggests them to concern studying persuasion as part of discourse subject. It is because persuasion takes important part in communication and relates to the using of language to convince the interlocutors or audiences. Finally, it can be art of convincing the interlocutors or audiences.

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# **APPENDIX**

## CURRICULUM VITAE

### I. Personal Details



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## **II. Education Details**

1. (1999- 2005), Yayasan Pupuk Kaltim (YPK) First Elementary School, Bontang.
2. (2005 – 2008), Darussalam Gontor For Girl 3 Ngawi, Jatim.
3. (2008 – 2001), Islamic Senior High School of Alma'rif Singosari, Malang.
4. (2012 – 2016), State Islamic University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, Humanities Faculty/English Language and Letters Department

## **III. Organization Experiences**

1. (2007-2008) Forum Pemuda Remaja Masjid Fathul Khoir, Bontang as a treasurer
2. (2005-2011) Forum Pemuda Remaja Masjid Fathul Khoir, Bontang as a member.
3. (2012-2013) HIMAKAL (Himpunan Mahasiswa Kalimantan) Malang as secretary
4. (2012-2015) PMII Rayon Aqil, Malang as a member and manager in sportsmanship.
5. (2014-2015) DEMA-F



6. (2014-2016) Part of Srikandi (Traditional Dance community in Humanities Faculty.
7. (2014-2016) Part of Hijabers Maliki Sisterhood as a founder.

**1. Table of Persuasive Strategies used by Hillary Clinton**

No	Type	Word or Utterance	Strategy
1.	Logos	When <b>President Clinton</b> honored the bargain, we had the longest peacetime expansion in history, a balanced budget, and the first time in decades we all grew together, with the bottom 20 percent of workers increasing their incomes by the same percentage as the top 5 percent.	Mentioning names of people related to the point being discussed
2.	Logos	When <b>President Obama</b> honored the bargain, we pulled back from the brink of Depression, saved the auto industry, provided health care to 16 million working people, and replaced the jobs we lost faster than	Mentioning names of people related to the point being discussed

			after a financial crash.	
3.	Logos		But, it's not 1941, or 1993, or even 2009. We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy.	Describing moment by sequence of time.
4.	Pathos		We're still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were replaced by false promises	Portraying the frightening event
5.	Logos		<p>As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning.</p> <p>You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs... you figured out how to make it work.</p> <p>And now people are beginning to think about their future again – going to college, starting a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement.</p>	Describing moment

			<p>So we're standing again. But, we all know we're not yet running the way America should.</p>	
6.	Ethos		<p>You brought our country back.</p> <p>Now it's time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead.</p> <p>And, you know what?</p>	Giving some motivations
7.	Pathos		<p>America can't succeed unless you succeed.</p> <p>That is why I am running for President of the United States.</p>	Giving example of real phenomena
8.	Pathos		<p>I'm running to make our economy work,</p> <p>1. For you and for every American.</p> <p>2. For the successful and the</p>	Giving testimony

			<p>struggling.</p> <p>3. For the innovators and inventors.</p> <p>4. For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases.</p> <p>5. For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day.</p> <p>6. For the nurses who work the night shift.</p> <p>7. For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us.</p> <p>8. For the veterans who served our country.</p> <p>9. For the small business owners who took a risk.</p> <p>10. For everyone who's ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.</p>	
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9.	Pathos		I'm not running for some Americans, but for all Americans.	Showing her consistent
10.	Ethos		<p>Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we've made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role.</p> <p>Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire country.</p> <p>And I will do just that — to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than against us.</p>	Describing the future project
11.	Ethos		At our best, that's what Americans do. We're problem solvers, not deniers. We don't hide from change, we harness it.	Portraying the frightening event

			But we can't do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before.	
12.	Pathos		I want to be her (mother) champion and your champion.	Showing her ambitious
13.	Pathos		<p>In the coming weeks, I'll propose specific policies to:</p> <p>Reward businesses who invest in long term value rather than the quick buck – because that leads to higher growth for the economy, higher wages for workers, and yes, bigger profits, everybody will have a better time.</p> <p>I will rewrite the tax code so it rewards hard work and investments</p>	Giving promise and Using pronoun to regard the audience as part of her.

			<p>here at home, not quick trades or stashing profits overseas.</p> <p>I will give new incentives to companies that give their employees a fair share of the profits their hard work earns.</p> <p>We will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs and small business owners by providing tax relief, cutting red tape, and making it easier to get a small business loan.</p> <p>We will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation, science, and research by increasing both public and private investments.</p> <p>And we will make America the clean</p>	
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			<p>energy superpower of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.</p> <p>Developing renewable power – wind, solar, advanced biofuels...</p> <p>Building cleaner power plants, smarter electric grids, greener buildings...</p> <p>Using additional fees and royalties from fossil fuel extraction to protect the environment...</p> <p>And ease the transition for distressed communities to a more diverse and sustainable economic future from coal country to Indian country, from small towns in the Mississippi Delta to the Rio Grande Valley to our inner cities, we have to help our</p>	
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			<p>fellow Americans.</p> <p>Now, this will create millions of jobs and countless new businesses, and enable America to lead the global fight against climate change.</p> <p>We will also connect workers to their jobs and businesses.</p> <p>Customers will have a better chance to actually get where they need and get what they desire with roads, railways, bridges, airports, ports, and broadband brought up to global standards for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.</p> <p>We will establish an infrastructure bank and sell bonds to pay for some of these improvements.</p>	
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			<p>Now, building an economy for tomorrow also requires investing in our most important asset, our people, beginning with our youngest.</p> <p>That's why I will propose that we make preschool and quality childcare available to every child in America.</p>	
14.	Ethos		<p>And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else.</p>	<p>Showing her care and tolerance to LGBT by rising up them that minor in her country.</p>
15.	Pathos		<p>As your President, I'll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe.</p>	<p>Giving promise to the audience</p>

16.	Pathos		<p>As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today's threats and tomorrow's.</p>	Giving testimony
17.	Pathos		<p>I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That's why I've proposed universal, automatic registration and expanded early voting.</p>	Showing her attention
18.	Pathos		<p>No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting for.</p>	Giving certainty for convincing her audience

19.	Logos		<p><b>Government</b> is never going to have all the answers – but it has to be smarter, simpler, more efficient, and a better partner.</p> <p>That means access to advanced technology so government agencies can more effectively serve their customers, the American people.</p>	<p>Mentioning names of occupation related to the point being discussed</p>
20.	Ethos		<p>With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>We</b> can build an economy where hard work is rewarded.</li> <li>2. We can strengthen our families.</li> <li>3. We can defend our country and increase our</li> </ol>	<p>Using pronoun to regard the audience as part of her.</p>

			opportunities all over the world.  4. We can renew the promise of our democracy	
21.	Ethos		I want you to join me in this effort.  Help me build this campaign and make it your own.  Talk to your friends, your family, and your neighbors.	Stating by the command words and touch the emotion to take the audience's attention.
22.	Ethos		Thank you all. <b>God</b> bless you. And may <b>God</b> bless America.	Stating God to show consistency

## 2. The Script of Speech

### Hillary Clinton held the first major rally of her campaign on Saturday

Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton [launched her campaign](#) with a large rally in New York City on Saturday after two months of small events in the early primary states.

Here is a transcript of the full remarks, as prepared for delivery:

Thank you! Oh, thank you all! Thank you so very, very much.

It is wonderful to be here with all of you.

To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.

To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, where I represented our country many times.

To be here in this beautiful park dedicated to Franklin Roosevelt's enduring vision of America, the nation we want to be.

And in a place... with absolutely no ceilings.

You know, President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms are a testament to our nation's unmatched aspirations and a reminder of our unfinished work at home and abroad. His legacy lifted up a nation and inspired presidents who followed. One is the man I served as Secretary of State, Barack Obama, and another is my husband, Bill Clinton.

Two Democrats guided by the — Oh, that will make him so happy. They were and are two Democrats guided by the fundamental American belief that real and lasting prosperity must be built by all and shared by all.

President Roosevelt called on every American to do his or her part, and every American answered. He said there's no mystery about what it takes to build a strong and prosperous America: "Equality of opportunity... Jobs for those who can work... Security for those who need it... The ending of special privilege for the few... The preservation of civil liberties for all... a wider and constantly rising standard of living."

That still sounds good to me.

It's America's basic bargain. If you do your part you ought to be able to get ahead. And when everybody does their part, America gets ahead too.

That bargain inspired generations of families, including my own.

It's what kept my grandfather going to work in the same Scranton lace mill every day for 50 years.

It's what led my father to believe that if he scrimped and saved, his small business printing drapery fabric in Chicago could provide us with a middle-class life. And it did.

When President Clinton honored the bargain, we had the longest peacetime expansion in history, a balanced budget, and the first time in decades we all grew together, with the bottom 20 percent of workers increasing their incomes by the same percentage as the top 5 percent.

When President Obama honored the bargain, we pulled back from the brink of Depression, saved the auto industry, provided health care to 16 million working people, and replaced the jobs we lost faster than after a financial crash.

But, it's not 1941, or 1993, or even 2009. We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy.

We're still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were replaced by false promises.

Instead of an economy built by every American, for every American, we were told that if we let those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone else.

What happened?

Well, instead of a balanced budget with surpluses that could have eventually paid off our national debt, the Republicans twice cut taxes for the wealthiest, borrowed money from other countries to pay for two wars, and family incomes dropped. You know where we ended up.

Except it wasn't the end.

As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning.

You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs... you figured out how to make it work. And now people are beginning to think about their future again – going to college, starting a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement.

So we're standing again. But, we all know we're not yet running the way America should.

You see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay, but your paychecks have barely budged.

While many of you are working multiple jobs to make ends meet, you see the top 25 hedge fund managers making more than all of America's kindergarten teachers combined. And, often paying a lower tax rate.

So, you have to wonder: "When does my hard work pay off? When does my family get ahead?"

"When?"

I say now.

Prosperity can't be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers.

Democracy can't be just for billionaires and corporations.

Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too.

You brought our country back.

Now it's time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead.

And, you know what?

America can't succeed unless you succeed.

That is why I am running for President of the United States.



Here, on Roosevelt Island, I believe we have a continuing rendezvous with destiny. Each American and the country we cherish.

I'm running to make our economy work for you and for every American.

For the successful and the struggling.

For the innovators and inventors.

For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases.

For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day.

For the nurses who work the night shift.

For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us.

For the veterans who served our country.

For the small business owners who took a risk.

For everyone who's ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.

I'm not running for some Americans, but for all Americans.

Our country's challenges didn't begin with the Great Recession and they won't end with the recovery.

For decades, Americans have been buffeted by powerful currents.

Advances in technology and the rise of global trade have created whole new areas of economic activity and opened new markets for our exports, but they have also displaced jobs and undercut wages for millions of Americans.

The financial industry and many multi-national corporations have created huge wealth for a few by focusing too much on short-term profit and too little on long-term value... too much on complex trading schemes and stock buybacks, too little on investments in new businesses, jobs, and fair compensation.

Our political system is so paralyzed by gridlock and dysfunction that most Americans have lost confidence that anything can actually get done. And they've lost trust in the ability of both government and Big Business to change course.

Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we've made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role.

Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire country. And I will do just that — to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than against us.

At our best, that's what Americans do. We're problem solvers, not deniers. We don't hide from change, we harness it.

But we can't do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before.

Americans have come too far to see our progress ripped away.

Now, there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they're all singing the same old song...

A song called "Yesterday."

You know the one — all our troubles look as though they're here to stay... and we need a place to hide away... They believe in yesterday.

And you're lucky I didn't try singing that, too, I'll tell you!

These Republicans trip over themselves promising lower taxes for the wealthy and fewer rules for the biggest corporations without regard for how that will make income inequality even worse.

We've heard this tune before. And we know how it turns out.

Ask many of these candidates about climate change, one of the defining threats of our time, and they'll say: "I'm not a scientist." Well, then, why don't they start listening to those who are?

They pledge to wipe out tough rules on Wall Street, rather than rein in the banks that are still too risky, courting future failures. In a case that can only be considered mass amnesia.

They want to take away health insurance from more than 16 million Americans without offering any credible alternative.

They shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions.

They want to put immigrants, who work hard and pay taxes, at risk of deportation. And they turn their backs on gay people who love each other.

Fundamentally, they reject what it takes to build an inclusive economy. It takes an inclusive society. What I once called "a village" that has a place for everyone.

Now, my values and a lifetime of experiences have given me a different vision for America.

I believe that success isn't measured by how much the wealthiest Americans have, but by how many children climb out of poverty...

How many start-ups and small businesses open and thrive...

How many young people go to college without drowning in debt...

How many people find a good job...

How many families get ahead and stay ahead.

I didn't learn this from politics. I learned it from my own family.

My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like not to have either one.

Her own parents abandoned her, and by 14 she was out on her own, working as a housemaid. Years later, when I was old enough to understand, I asked what kept her going.

You know what her answer was? Something very simple: Kindness from someone who believed she mattered.

The 1<sup>st</sup> grade teacher who saw she had nothing to eat at lunch and, without embarrassing her, brought extra food to share.

The woman whose house she cleaned letting her go to high school so long as her work got done. That was a bargain she leapt to accept.

And, because some people believed in her, she believed in me.

That's why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American.

To meet every challenge.

To be resilient... no matter what the world throws at you.

To solve the toughest problems.

I believe we can do all these things because I've seen it happen.

As a young girl, I signed up at my Methodist Church to babysit the children of Mexican farmworkers, while their parents worked in the fields on the weekends. And later, as a law student, I advocated for Congress to require better working and living conditions for farm workers whose children deserved better opportunities.

My first job out of law school was for the Children's Defense Fund. I walked door-to-door to find out how many children with disabilities couldn't go to school, and to help build the case for a law guaranteeing them access to education.

As a leader of the Legal Services Corporation, I defended the right of poor people to have a lawyer. And saw lives changed because an abusive marriage ended or an illegal eviction stopped.

In Arkansas, I supervised law students who represented clients in courts and prisons, organized scholarships for single parents going to college, led efforts for better schools and health care, and personally knew the people whose lives were improved.

As Senator, I had the honor of representing brave firefighters, police officers, EMTs, construction workers, and volunteers who ran toward danger on 9/11 and stayed there, becoming sick themselves.

It took years of effort, but Congress finally approved the health care they needed.

There are so many faces and stories that I carry with me of people who gave their best and then needed help themselves.

Just weeks ago, I met another person like that, a single mom juggling a job and classes at community college, while raising three kids.

She doesn't expect anything to come easy. But she did ask me: What more can be done so it isn't quite so hard for families like hers?

I want to be her champion and your champion.

If you'll give me the chance, I'll wage and win Four Fights for you.

The first is to make the economy work for everyday Americans, not just those at the top.

To make the middle class mean something again, with rising incomes and broader horizons. And to give the poor a chance to work their way into it.

The middle class needs more growth and more fairness. Growth and fairness go together. For lasting prosperity, you can't have one without the other.

Is this possible in today's world?

I believe it is or I wouldn't be standing here.

Do I think it will be easy? Of course not.

But, here's the good news: There are allies for change everywhere who know we can't stand by while inequality increases, wages stagnate, and the promise of America dims. We should welcome the support of all Americans who want to go forward together with us.

There are public officials who know Americans need a better deal.

Business leaders who want higher pay for employees, equal pay for women and no discrimination against the LGBT community either.

There are leaders of finance who want less short-term trading and more long-term investing.

There are union leaders who are investing their own pension funds in putting people to work to build tomorrow's economy. We need everyone to come to the table and work with us.

In the coming weeks, I'll propose specific policies to:

Reward businesses who invest in long term value rather than the quick buck – because that leads to higher growth for the economy, higher wages for workers, and yes, bigger profits, everybody will have a better time.

I will rewrite the tax code so it rewards hard work and investments here at home, not quick trades or stashing profits overseas.

I will give new incentives to companies that give their employees a fair share of the profits their hard work earns.

We will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs and small business owners by providing tax relief, cutting red tape, and making it easier to get a small business loan.

We will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation, science, and research by increasing both public and private investments.

And we will make America the clean energy superpower of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Developing renewable power – wind, solar, advanced biofuels...

Building cleaner power plants, smarter electric grids, greener buildings...

Using additional fees and royalties from fossil fuel extraction to protect the environment...

And ease the transition for distressed communities to a more diverse and sustainable economic future from coal country to Indian country, from small towns in the Mississippi Delta to the Rio Grande Valley to our inner cities, we have to help our fellow Americans.

Now, this will create millions of jobs and countless new businesses, and enable America to lead the global fight against climate change.

We will also connect workers to their jobs and businesses. Customers will have a better chance to actually get where they need and get what they desire with roads, railways, bridges, airports, ports, and broadband brought up to global standards for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We will establish an infrastructure bank and sell bonds to pay for some of these improvements.

Now, building an economy for tomorrow also requires investing in our most important asset, our people, beginning with our youngest.

That's why I will propose that we make preschool and quality childcare available to every child in America.



And I want you to remember this, because to me, this is absolutely the most-compelling argument why we should do this. Research tells us how much early learning in the first five years of life can impact lifelong success. In fact, 80 percent of the brain is developed by age three.

One thing I've learned is that talent is universal – you can find it anywhere – but opportunity is not. Too many of our kids never have the chance to learn and thrive as they should and as we need them to.

Our country won't be competitive or fair if we don't help more families give their kids the best possible start in life.

So let's staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child.

Let's make college affordable and available to all ...and lift the crushing burden of student debt.

Let's provide lifelong learning for workers to gain or improve skills the economy requires, setting up many more Americans for success.

Now, the second fight is to strengthen America's families, because when our families are strong, America is strong.

And today's families face new and unique pressures. Parents need more support and flexibility to do their job at work and at home.

I believe you should have the right to earn paid sick days.

I believe you should receive your work schedule with enough notice to arrange childcare or take college courses to get ahead.

I believe you should look forward to retirement with confidence, not anxiety.

That you should have the peace of mind that your health care will be there when you need it, without breaking the bank.



I believe we should offer paid family leave so no one has to choose between keeping a paycheck and caring for a new baby or a sick relative.

And it is way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job — and women of color often making even less.

This isn't a women's issue. It's a family issue. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue. Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health problem get help is a family issue.

In America, every family should feel like they belong.

So we should offer hard-working, law-abiding immigrant families a path to citizenship. Not second-class status.

And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else.

You know, America's diversity, our openness, our devotion to human rights and freedom is what's drawn so many to our shores. What's inspired people all over the world. I know. I've seen it with my own eyes.

And these are also qualities that prepare us well for the demands of a world that is more interconnected than ever before.

So we have a third fight: to harness all of America's power, smarts, and values to maintain our leadership for peace, security, and prosperity.

No other country on Earth is better positioned to thrive in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. No other country is better equipped to meet traditional threats from countries like Russia, North Korea, and Iran — and to deal with the rise of new powers like China.

No other country is better prepared to meet emerging threats from cyber attacks, transnational terror networks like ISIS, and diseases that spread across oceans and continents.

As your President, I'll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe.

And if you look over my left shoulder you can see the new World Trade Center soaring skyward.

As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today's threats and tomorrow's.

And when our brave men and women come home from war or finish their service, I'll see to it that they get not just the thanks of a grateful nation, but the care and benefits they've earned.

I've stood up to adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel. I was in the Situation Room on the day we got bin Laden.

But, I know — I know we have to be smart as well as strong.

Meeting today's global challenges requires every element of America's power, including skillful diplomacy, economic influence, and building partnerships to improve lives around the world with people, not just their governments.

There are a lot of trouble spots in the world, but there's a lot of good news out there too.

I believe the future holds far more opportunities than threats if we exercise creative and confident leadership that enables us to shape global events rather than be shaped by them.

And we all know that in order to be strong in the world, though, we first have to be strong at home. That's why we have to win the fourth fight – reforming our

government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans.

We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people.

We need Justices on the Supreme Court who will protect every citizen's right to vote, rather than every corporation's right to buy elections.

If necessary, I will support a constitutional amendment to undo the Supreme Court's decision in Citizens United.

I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That's why I've proposed universal, automatic registration and expanded early voting.

I'll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color.

What part of democracy are they afraid of?

No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting for.

Government is never going to have all the answers – but it has to be smarter, simpler, more efficient, and a better partner.

That means access to advanced technology so government agencies can more effectively serve their customers, the American people.

We need expertise and innovation from the private sector to help cut waste and streamline services.

There's so much that works in America. For every problem we face, someone somewhere in America is solving it. Silicon Valley cracked the code on sharing and scaling a while ago. Many states are pioneering new ways to deliver services. I want to help Washington catch up.

To do that, we need a political system that produces results by solving problems that hold us back, not one overwhelmed by extreme partisanship and inflexibility.

Now, I'll always seek common ground with friend and opponent alike. But I'll also stand my ground when I must.

That's something I did as Senator and Secretary of State — whether it was working with Republicans to expand health care for children and for our National Guard, or improve our foster care and adoption system, or pass a treaty to reduce the number of Russian nuclear warheads that could threaten our cities — and it's something I will always do as your President.

We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other's back.

Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart.

People all over the world have asked me: "How could you and President Obama work together after you fought so hard against each other in that long campaign?"

Now, that is an understandable question considering that in many places, if you lose an election you could get imprisoned or exiled – even killed – not hired as Secretary of State.

But President Obama asked me to serve, and I accepted because we both love our country. That's how we do it in America.

With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights.

We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded.

We can strengthen our families.

We can defend our country and increase our opportunities all over the world.

And we can renew the promise of our democracy.

If we all do our part. In our families, in our businesses, unions, houses of worship, schools, and, yes, in the voting booth.

I want you to join me in this effort. Help me build this campaign and make it your own.

Talk to your friends, your family, your neighbors.

Text “JOIN” J-O-I-N to 4-7-2-4-6.

Go to [hillaryclinton.com](http://hillaryclinton.com) and sign up to make calls and knock on doors.

It’s no secret that we’re going up against some pretty powerful forces that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different vision for America. But I’ve spent my life fighting for children, families, and our country. And I’m not stopping now.

You know, I know how hard this job is. I’ve seen it up close and personal.

All our Presidents come into office looking so vigorous. And then we watch their hair grow grayer and grayer.

Well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But I will be the youngest woman President in the history of the United States!

And the first grandmother as well.

And one additional advantage: You’re won’t see my hair turn white in the White House. I’ve been coloring it for years!

So I’m looking forward to a great debate among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. I’m not running to be a President only for those Americans who already agree with me. I want to be a President for all Americans.

And along the way, I’ll just let you in on this little secret. I won’t get everything right. Lord knows I’ve made my share of mistakes. Well, there’s no shortage of people pointing them out!

And I certainly haven't won every battle I've fought. But leadership means perseverance and hard choices. You have to push through the setbacks and disappointments and keep at it.

I think you know by now that I've been called many things by many people — “quitter” is not one of them.

Like so much else in my life, I got this from my mother.

When I was a girl, she never let me back down from any bully or barrier. In her later years, Mom lived with us, and she was still teaching me the same lessons. I'd come home from a hard day at the Senate or the State Department, sit down with her at the small table in our breakfast nook, and just let everything pour out. And she would remind me why we keep fighting, even when the odds are long and the opposition is fierce.

I can still hear her saying: “Life's not about what happens to you, it's about what you do with what happens to you – so get back out there.”

She lived to be 92 years old, and I often think about all the battles she witnessed over the course of the last century — all the progress that was won because Americans refused to give up or back down.

She was born on June 4, 1919 — before women in America had the right to vote. But on that very day, after years of struggle, Congress passed the Constitutional Amendment that would change that forever.

The story of America is a story of hard-fought, hard-won progress. And it continues today. New chapters are being written by men and women who believe that all of us – not just some, but all – should have the chance to live up to our God-given potential.

Not only because we're a tolerant country, or a generous country, or a compassionate country, but because we're a better, stronger, more prosperous

country when we harness the talent, hard work, and ingenuity of every single American.

I wish my mother could have been with us longer. I wish she could have seen Chelsea become a mother herself. I wish she could have met Charlotte.

I wish she could have seen the America we're going to build together.

An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards.

Where we don't leave anyone out, or anyone behind.

An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States.

Thank you all. God bless you. And may God bless America.

