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Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign Rhetoric: Making America Whole Again			
	Samuel Gunawan Petra Christian University samgun@petra.ac.id 1   Abstract This article seeks to 1		

investigate Hillary Rodham Clinton's 2016 campaign rhetoric for the U.S. President as found in her South Carolina Primary Victory Speech and Super Tuesday Victory Speech. The qualitative content analysis was used through Leanne's concepts of rhetorical strategies to deconstruct the texts. It gave way to new analytical narratives to decipher the core meaning as expressed in the

central ideas and the main ideas of the two speeches. In this

way, access was easily made to studying the four components of Clinton's campaign rhetoric. The article shows that both speeches share similar theme in the four components of the campaign rhetoric, spelling out

consistently Clinton's lines of thought and political goals. She succinctly spelled out her agenda to make America whole again; thus, providing opportunity, dignity and justice for every American. She frames her determination to break down barriers that drive the nation apart. She presents herself as a strong leader capable of advancing American economy that works for every America, breaking all barriers and restoring their common faith for a better America. She evokes hopes on the part of her prospective voters for their common better future and urges to realize more love and kindness in their lives, and anger against barriers that divide them apart. Key words: Campaign rhetoric, Campaign speeches, Victory speeches, political goal, Strategic positioning INTRODUCTION Consideration of the problem Theodore Otto Windt Junior identified that presidential rhetoric emerged as a distint subfield within rhetorical studies in 1984. It is within this subfield that a study of campaign rhetoric seeks to know, understand and interprete campaign speeches as public affairs and public culture (Medhurst, 2008, pp. 3, 4). Campaign speech of a presidential hopeful is an important part of his/her strategy to win the presidency seat. This study was focused on the campaign rhetoric of Hillary Rodham Clinton (henceforth Clinton) in her two campaign speeches (Clinton, 2016a,b,c,d) to see whether these speeches are powerful or not to showcase her as the most likely candidate to vote. Presidential election involves offering competing narratives, i.e. competing visions of the present and the future. The vision of the present identifies the existing problems, and that of the future is concerned with offering the possible solution to those problems (cf. Bowers and Daniels, 2011, pp. 34, 35). Those competing narratives attempt to persuade voters to see why a particular candidate would be the most likely candidate to vote. As this research was being prepared, it was obvious that Clinton applied a strategic positioning as a continuation of Obama's policy. Therefore, there was no doubt that this could result in her encouraging victory over Senator Bernie Sanders in southern states that historically had supported Obama to win the ticket to the White House (Przybyla, 2016). Along side with the Republican presidential hopeful Donald Trump who won seven states across the nation and indicated the strength of his anti-establishment movement, as a presumptuous Democratic nominee Clinton also won seven states indicating her broad support among minorities in the south (Collinson, 2016). Studying Clinton's campaign rhetoric is part of the broader inquiries in studying the great speakers-those who affected the course of history (cf. Charteris-Black, 2011, pp. 13-15). As a mode of inquiry, this offers the benefit for those who wish to advance their political career that are closely related to the quality of their rhetorical skills. Such an inquiry also provides knowledge and skills for those who need to upgrade the quality of their leadership that are related to public speaking. As this article was being prepared, election polls indicate that both Clinton and Donald Trump would become the most likely nominee from their respective parties (Hartig et al, 2016; The race for..., 2016). Therefore the two candidates would most likely compete head to head. A question lingers, whether Clinton's campaign rhetoric would contribute to her success to win the Democratic Party's nomination and then whether she would be able to defeat the Republican nominee to win the ticket to the White House. However, irrespective of whatever result of the U.S 2016 presidential election, Clinton's rhetoric speech would still become part of the important resources in the study of the American campaign rhetoric, especially in relation with her role as a female politician having had an outstanding record of achievement. Review of literature Rhetorically, preparation of a campaign speech as a public speaking starts with the first of the five classical canons, i.e. "invention"

(Beebe & Beebe, 2009, p.447; cf. Hesford & Brueggemann, 2007, pp. 36-40).

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In preparing the text of a speech, this is concerned with the concept of central idea and main idea(s). The former is understood as the very essence of the speeches that could be grasped and then summed up in

one sentence (cf. Beebe and Beebe, 2009, p. 31). Meanwhile, the latter is understood as the topic sentences or the key points of the text as further elaboration of a given central idea (cf. Beebe & Beebe, 2009, pp. 30-32). These two concepts were used as points of departure to get into the main object of investigation of this article, i.e. Clinton's campaign rhetoric. The reason why this was done was that the texts of Clinton's campaign speeches—the prepared written texts and their accompanied videos—were authentic texts which were originally prepared and intended for native speakers (cf. Bacon & Finnemann 1990). The study as undertaken in this article gave room to studying both speeches

### in the contexts of English as a foreign language.

Medhurst (2005, cited in Basten 2016; cf. Culotta, 2016; cf. Barrett, 2016) states that the campaign rhetoric of the presidential hopeful usually contains four components:

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agenda- setting, framing, character construction, and emotional resonance.

Agenda-setting is understood as the choice of a given issue which is then foregrounded to become more salient than any other issue. Meanwhile, framing deals with a selection a particular aspect of perceived reality which could be delivered as something salient within a text (Bernhard, 2012, p.125). Character construction is concerned with a candidate's representation of himself/herself as a stronger leader who is able to overcome the problem(s) he/she has framed (cf. Barret, 2016; cf. Basten, 2016; cf. Cullota, 2016). Finally, emotional resonance is concerned with a candidate's evocation of audience's emotions such as some sense of urgency (cf. Cullota, 2016), emotions of insecurity and excitement (Barret, 2016), feeling anger towards injustice, and/or hope for rewarded economy (cf. Basten, 2016), etc. The four components of campaign rhetoric were well illustrated in Mueller (2016) of Christ Christie's bid for the U.S. 2016 presidency. Agenda-setting, for instance, when announcing his bid, Chris Christie set the agenda that America was lacking in strong leadership. He framed that the the country's problems were due to this lack of strong leadership. By constructing his character as a strong and experienced leader and evoking the emotion of the audience, he urged people's support. Meanwhile, Basten (2016) also succintly illustrated Clinton's campaign rhetoric in her Presidential Campaign Launch Speech (Clinton, 2015a,b) in terms of the four components of campaign rhetoric. Clinton's agenda-setting was economic reform that would works for every American, giving them fair treatment and equal opportunity. She framed the unfair existing system of economy that needed to be reformed. By constructing her character as a champion to reform the economy for every American and evoking hope and anger on the part of her audience, she enlisted their support. Objectives of the work The research undertaken in this article is to investigate Clinton's campaign rhetoric in her two presidential campaign speeches: South Carolina Primary Victory Speech and Super Tuesday Victory Speech (henceforth, respectively referred to as SCPVS and STVS). Questions were raised as whether the two campaign speeches shared things in common in terms of the components of campaign rhetoric and whether she was also consistent with her earlier campaign rhetoric as declared in her Presidential Campaign Launch Speech (Clinton 2015a,b). MATERIALS AND METHODS Sources of the data and the data The sources of the data for this article were both the prepared texts and the video clips of Clinton's SCPVS (2016a,b) and STVS (2016c,d). The first prepared text was delivered in February 28, in Columbia, South Carolina. Meanwhile, the second was delivered in March, 2016, in Miami, Florida, after

she won several state primaries on Super Tuesday. The data were respectively Clinton's central ideas, lists of the main ideas, and utterances in the two speeches containing the four components of campaign rhetoric in both speeches. Methods The research employed qualitative content analysis

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# (cf. Krippendorff, 2004, pp. 16-30; cf. Schreier, 2013, pp. 1-8, 30)

as it deconstructs the texts in terms of their rhetorical styles as found both in the prepared texts as well as in their related video clips to give way to the new narrative analysis to derive the very essence of the speeches-their central ideas. Leanne (2010, pp. 22, 56, 59) provides a list of analytical tools of some rhetorical strategies such: (a) establishing common ground with the audience, (b) using transcendence in order to gain a wider audience , (c) expressing vision by personalized examples, (d) using events or iconic characters in history familiar to a wider audience, (e) borrowing sounding political lexicons from iconic figures, (f) using a crescendo to appeal audience's determination and support. From there, then : "the central idea" could be deduced, and then the list of "the main ideas" of each speech could also be identified by re-examining closely the texts with the help of the new analytical narrative. Finally, the campaign rhetoric could be grasped and discussed. For the data analysis, through the new analytical narratives, the size of the data was reduced to focus both on the central ideas and the identification the list of the main ideas of each text

# (cf. Schreier, 2013, pp. 4, 30). With the aids of the

broader context of American politics that the researcher had access through the internet, some interpretation of the deeper layers of meaning of the texts was made to arrive at the essentials elements of Clinton's campaign rhetoric (cf. Krippendorff, 2004, pp. 29, 30). To avoid bias of the result of the analysis, important comments were gathered from other scholars through a focus group discussion on American Studies and American presidential rhetoric. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS The central idea and the main ideas of Clinton's South Carolina Primary Victory Speech Clinton established her common ground with her audience in Columbia, South Carolina, as she praised their support that sent the transcendent message to a wider audience throughout the country that as they stood together, nothing would become a barrier for their common effort to move forward. Clinton's expression of thanks to various local leaders showed her familiarity and strong long-lasting ties with the community begun by her husband, former president Bill Clinton. As this electorate was instrumental in bringing Obama's to the White house, she borrowed the iconic figure's legacy to enlist their continued support to continue her predecesor's succesful policy. She was appreciative of the grass-root support of South Carolina voters. She was achieving a transendence of her message to gain a wider audience as she further pleaded Americans to join hands together to overcome whatever barriers in the way, enabling every American to live up to their full potential. Clinton drove home openly her political agenda covering education, business, bonds of families and communities. Her victory would bring about better education in the rural areas and throughout the country; reviving enterpreneurs to realize their dreams of growing business of their own, especially for colored people and women; working together to strengthen love, kindness, and mutual respect despite everybody's differences. She used the occasion to back- fire the Republican president hopeful Trump's campaign slogan to "make America great again". She urged that

## America never stopped being great.

Instead, she undescored the need to make "America whole again". She undescored the need to break down whatever existing barriers that drove the nation apart. She underscored her political position to fight against corporations that denied the truth that made America great: companies that collected unreasonable profit at the expense of lay people, companies that shifted their offices overseas to avoid their fair share of taxation. She was determined to move forward the economy built on the progress that her predecessor, President Obama, had made. She splendidly sounded her faith in the power of the rhetorical device of the tricolons of "breaking the barriers" highlighting attempts to do away with women's social inequality, supporting better education for younger generation, and creating better economy to support better life for younger generation. She was determined to support historical black higher institutions. She was going to fight against racism in order to forward opportunity, dignity, and justice for every American, especially for colored people. She exemplified the experience of the five women who were brought together as they lost their beloved children by tragedy, events familiar to most people to extend her message to wider common people. She exemplified them as Americans who channeled their catastrophe to become greater spirit to make things better. She reminded Americans to join hands to make things better for their country. She ended her speech in a crescendo calling for her voters' determination and support to keep fighting against inequality and discrimination. She promised to fight for the availability of more good jobs and better retirement, honored hard work, family support, strong communities, mutual trust and respects. Based on the new analytic narrative above, the central idea of Clinton's SCPVS can be deduced: "Clinton sounded her political stand to make America whole again and keep breaking barriers that impede every American to live up to their potential". Meanwhile, the result of the analysis of the main ideas of Clinton's SCPVS yields the following list of the main ideas: Table 1: Clinton's main ideas in South Carolina Primary Victory Speech OPENING 1 Greeting 2 Expression of gratitude and plea for further support to move on BODY 3 Expression of gratitude and plea for further support to move on 4 Fight against those that turned their back on America 5 Together to break down all the bariers 6 Opportunity, dignity, and justice for every American 7 Plea to work together for a better tomorrow 8 More love and kindness in America CLOSING 9 Move on together for a common better future The central idea and the main ideas of Clinton's Super Tuesday Victory Speech Clinton was appreciative of the people's support to establish her common ground with her supporters for their determination to back her up to break down barriers and stand together. She pleaded for their continued support. She spelled out her transcendent message as she underscored her political stand to "make America whole"; not as her opponent's soaring slogan to "make America great". She convinced her audience that America never stopped being great. She, therefore, urged their stand that America needed love and kindness to amend everything broken. America should be one people and each played their contributing parts for their common good. She was determined to fight against those corporations that turned their back on American as they denied their fair share of taxation and forgot that they had been bailed out before. She called for American unity to work together to break down barriers that impeded the nation and families. She promised to create more good job that gave decent pay

for families to live on. She promised to keep fighting for the middle-class

economy. She promised to keep breaking down barriers impeding families and minorities. Using her familiarity with the voices from the common people, she expressed her vision by using personalized examples to call people to work together to restore their common faith for a better future. She called them to

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keep fighting against forces that drove them apart. She sent a message of the high value of love and kindness in the example of the kind of social services received by a less fortunate community in Flint as they were made possible by voluntary social services of other communities across the country. She ended her speech using a crescendo to call for the people's support to continue the progress that her preceding Democratic president, Barack Obama, had made. By mentioning the iconic figure in the region that supported him to go to the White House, she undoubtedly was capable of enlisting their support. She called every American to keep moving forward together to enable every American to live up to their potential. Based on the new analytic narrative above, the central idea of Clinton's STVS can be summed up as follows: "Clinton was determined to make America whole again, breaking all barriers that divided the people apart and restoring their common faith for a better future". Meanwhile the result of the analyis of the main ideas of Clinton's STVS yields the following list of the main ideas: Table 2 Clinton's Maind ideas in Super Tuesday Victory Speech OPENING 1 Greeting 2 Expression of gratitude for Hillary's victory BODY 3 The job of making America whole 4 Fighting those that turned their back on America 5 A call to work together to break down barriers 6 Restoring a common faith in American common future 7 Building on the progress that America has made CLOSING 8 A call to keep working together The essential components of the campaign rhetoric in Clinton's South Carolina Primary Victory Speech The following is the result of the analysis of the four components of Clinton's campaign rhetoric in her SCPVS. Agenda-setting Clinton seeks to make America whole again. She promises to create more good jobs that give decent lives to the people and continue the progress that her predecessor, President Obama, had made in moving forward the middleclass economy Framing Clinton frames her political stand to improve the American economy to provide opportunity, dignity and justice for every American. She underscores the need to do away with whatever existing barriers. Character construction Clinton presents herself as a strong leader who has strong ties with the common people and, therefore, she will be capable of working together with them for their common good. Emotional resonance. Clinton evokes the hopes on the part of her prospective voters for their common better future and urges to realize more love and kindness in the lives of the nation, and the emotion of anger against all barriers that impede the lives of the common people, especially minorities. The essential components of the campaign rhetoric in Clinton's Super Tuesday Victory Speech The following is the result of the analysis on the four components of Clinton's campaign rhetoric in her STVS. Agendasetting Clinton underscores her political goal to make America whole again. She promises her agenda to create more new jobs and industries of the future. Framing Clinton frames her political goal to continue the economic advancement that had been made by her Democratic predecessor, Barack Obama. Character construction Clinton presents herself as a strong leader capable of advancing American economy that works for every America, breaking all barriers and restoring the people's common faith for a better America. Emotional resonance. Clinton evokes the hope on the part of her prospective voters such as creating more love and kindness in their lives and the anger against barriers that impede families and minorities. DISCUSSION The central ideas of Clinton's two campaign speeches underscore her political goals to continue the economic progress that has been made by her preceding Democratic president's administration. Quite important is her strong political stand to make America whole again. Although she does not mention the name of her Republican rival, the message is clear to indicate that she is attacking Donald Trump who spells out the slogan to make America great again (cf. Trump, 2015a,b). Instead, Clinton states that America never stops being great. Therefore, she underscores her political stand to make America whole. Contrary to Trump's political stand to build walls, Clinton underscores her determination to break down existing barriers that divide the lives of the people and the nation and to break down barriers that cause injustice and inequality. Only by doing these can America restore their faith in their common better future

#### to live up to their God-given potential. The

### central ideas and their elaboration into the main ideas

of the two speeches are saliently spelled out and spread out in the four components of the campaign rhetoric. In other words, the four components of the campaign rhetorics in both her SCPVS and STVS consistently spell out her political lines of thought and goals as they are expressed in the

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## central ideas and the main ideas of the two speeches

(see Table 1 and Table 2). In both SCPVS and STVS, Clinton spells out her agenda to make America whole. Obviously, she takes aim at the presumptive Republican nominee Donald Trump whose slogan is to make America great. She plans to move forward the middle-class economy by creating more good jobs that provide more people with decent lives, an economy built on the progress having been made by her predecessor, president Barack Obama. She promises to fight for the availability of more good jobs and better retirement, honored hard work, family support, strong communities, mutual trust and respects. In SCPVS, she repeats eight times the slogan to break down barriers, instead of building walls, to underscore the importance of the message so that every American can live up to their potential. She promises to improve education and business. She underscores that America needs more love, kindness, and mutual respect to strengthen the bond of families and communities. She mentions President Obama twice in SCPVS and three times in STVS to show her high respect of the president and his legacy so as to convince her voters that she is guite determined to continue the progress having been made under Obama's administration, to mention some, such as manufacturing, small business, scientific research, and clean energy. In her STVS, she spells out again the political stand to continue her predecessor's Democratic success and accomplishment by improving the health care system and creating more decent jobs. She underscores the importance of the Democratic voices throughout the country as she uses the stylistic device of repetition of the slogan to "break down barriers" seven times in STVS. Clinton frames her political stand in both her SCPVS and STVS to improve the American economy as succinctly stated in the slogan "make America whole" and "break down all barriers". The slogans drive home the message to provide opportunity, dignity and justice for every American so that every American can live up to their potential. In SCPVS she frames the massive power that supports her among local leaders and grass-root donor/voters that they will be capable of working together to make changes and continue the progress having been made by President Barack Obama. Together with the people, she is determined to break down barriers that drive their lives apart. In STVS this determination to break down all barriers was underscored so that America can rise together. The slogans "make America whole" does not only involve improving the economy, but also strengthening the basic value of America as one people with more love and kindness. She frames the spirit of her campaign as the power of working together as one people to restore their common faith in their common better future. She frames her position to continue Obama's progress like what Obama did in his first announcement speech, i.e. she places herself as part of the long procession in the course of history to perfect the country (cf. Obama, 2007). In both SCPVS and STVS, Clinton presents herself as a strong leader who knows the common people very well; therefore, she is capable of advancing the American economy that really works for every American. For most of her prospective voters, this sounds as an echo

of her earlier presentation of herself in her campaign launch speech as "a champion for every American" (cf. Clinton, 2015a,b). In SCPVS, she mentions her ties with local leaders, grass- root support, and her familarity with the voices of the common people. With them as one people, she convinces that they can accomplish their political goals. In STVS, she convinces the people as a leader who is able to continue her predecessor's accomplishment. She presents herself as a leader who makes things right. In both SCPVS and STVS, Clinton evokes the emotion of her prospective voters to realize more love and kindness, more mutual respect and trust. Her mention of the names of civil right activists in SCPVS is to arouse the emotion of her voters to support her determination to fight against racism. In STVS the spirit of the campaign is empowered by slogans such as making America whole, breaking down barriers, and restoring common faith in common better future. In STVS, She arouses anger towards forces that try to divide America, and calls the people to resist. She arouses anger towards those having the most wealth and power who have forgotten American basic truth; anger to those that move their corporations overseas to deny their fair share of taxes; anger to those who cause injustice to minorities. Instead, she offers hope as she promises to create good jobs and restore people's common faith in their common better future. The four components of Clinton's campaign rhetorics in her two campaign speeches undertaken in this study echoe her previous Presidential Campaign Lauch Speech (cf. Clinton, 2015a,b; cf. Basten, 2016). In her Presidential Campaign Launch Speech she underscores economic reforms that would work for every American. She frames the unfair system that causes inequality, and therefore it needs to be reformed. She presents herself as a strong leader- a champion for everyday American-to reform the economy. She arouses anger toward injustice and inequality and hope for a better future on the part of her prospective supporters. Therefore it could be said that she is guite consistent in delivering her

lines of thought and political goals as spelled out in the four components of

the two campaign speeches. CONCLUSION Following the analysis and the discussion of Clinton's two campaign speeches, a conclusion could be drawn as follows: a) Clinton spells out succintly her political goal to make America whole. She takes aim at the Republican presidential hopeful Donald Trump when she highlights the message that America does not need to be great. She urges

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America never stops being great. They need to make America whole.

b) Attacking the Republican presidential hopeful again, Clinton underscores that, instead of building walls, America has to keep breaking down barriers that impede the nation apart. c) She consistently echoes her high regards of her predecessor's Democratic president, Barack Obama, and spells out her determination to continue the progress he has made. This strategic positioning to be on good terms with the iconic figure Barack Obama yields supports from southern states that historically had brought him to the White House. d) Her campaign speeches succinctly spell out her line of thought and political goals. e) Her four components of the campaign rhetorics, are strong enough to showcase her as the most likely candidate to vote. f) Her two campaign speeches undertaken in this study also consistently echo the campaign rhetoric as expressed in her previous First Campaign Launch Speech. Therefore, it can be concluded that Clinton demonstrates her rhetorical prowess in her two campaign speeches undertaken in this research. As stated in ealier part of this article, irrespective of whatever result of the U.S. 2016 presidential election, Clinton's rhetoric speech would still become part of the important resources in the study of the American campaign rhetoric, especially in relation with her role as a female politician having had a long record of accomplishments. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS \* I wish to express my thanks for my colleagues who have given their valuable remarks on the earlier drafts of this paper in the focus group discussion. \*\*My thank also goes to my editor who edited the language of this article. REFERENCES Bacon, S. M., & Finnemann, M. D. (1990). A study of the attitudes, motives, and strategies of university foreign language students and their disposition to authentic oral and written input. The Modern Language Journal, 74(4), 459-473. Barrett, M.A. (2016). Jeb Bush candidate announcement speech analysis. In Rhetorical Analyses of the Announcement Speeches of Presidential Hopefuls. Paper 8 http://digitalcommons.augustana.edu/rapres/8 Basten, Anna R. (2016). Clinton frames her campaign. Rhetorical Analyses of the Announcement Speeches of Presidential Hopefuls. Paper 8 http://digitalcommons.augustana.edu/rapres/8 Basten, Anna R. (2016). Clinton frames her campaign. Rhetorical Analyses of the Announcement Speeches of Presidential Hopefuls. http://digitalcommons.augustana.edu/rapres/10 Beebe, S.A. & Beebe, S.J. (2009). Public speaking handbook. (7th ed.). Boston: Pearson Bernhard, L.(2012). Campaign Strategy in Direct Democracy.Basingstoke: Palgrave Mcmillan. Bowers, J.R. & Daniels, S. (Eds), (2011). Inside Political Campaigns. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Charteris-Black, J. (2011). Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor, 2nd edn. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Collinson, S. (2016, March 1). Super Tuesday: Clinton, Trump win big; Cruz takes Texas; Rubio scores first win.

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