

TALKING TRUMP:
HOW THE TRUMP RALLY EFFECTIVELY SECURED DONALD J. TRUMP THE
PRESIDENCY

by

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ABSTRACT

Research question:

Was candidate Donald J. Trump's rhetoric an effective factor in securing him the 2016 Presidency?

In 2016 the world was stunned as the political outsider, Donald J. Trump, secured the White House in a stunning victory over Hillary Clinton. This victory was particularly unsettling for those in the Communication Studies field. Trump by no means embraced conventional public address etiquette, yet he still won. How? This research sought to answer if his brash rhetoric was an effective method for securing him the Presidency. Ultimately research focused on three elements: 1) Trump's use of rhetorical devices, 2) Trump's use of nonverbal communication, and 3) Trump's repeated themes and frequency of messages.

A delimited data set of 14 hours of Trump speeches was reviewed on multiple passes. This study resulted in two conclusions: that Trump's rhetoric, in the form of the "Trump Rally" was effective because it excited his audience base and rallied voters to the polls.

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REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Speaker: Donald J. Trump

Born and raised in Queens in 1946, Donald Trump, is an American case study in and of himself. Trump lived an upper-middle class life growing up, first attending military prep school before going to Fordham College and finally ending up at Wharton Business School with a B.S. in Economics. His story from here is well documented. Trump takes his father's real-estate business to new heights by investing and renovating properties in Manhattan, including the Plaza hotel. Trump's wealth and rugged "consider-it-done" mentality propelled him to national fame in the 1980s, despite many failures including investments in Atlantic City, Trump Airlines, and Trump University. "The Donald" continued to expand not only his wealth, but his brand image. Early on it became apparent that Trump was a much savvier marketer than real estate mogul or businessman.

In 1987 Trump wrote his often referred to book, *The Art of the Deal* which stayed on the New York Times Best Seller list for 48 weeks. Later in 2002, Trump, along with Mark Burnett, created the famous NBC show "The Apprentice." Trump's catchphrase "you're fired" became part of the American lexicon.

Politically, Trump has been all over the spectrum. He first registered as a Republican in 1987, switched to the independent "Reform Party" in 1999, the Democratic Party in 2001, and finally to the Republican Party in 2009.

Aristotle's Proofs and Rhetorical Devices

One of the most basic tenets of Communication Studies is the understanding and implication of Aristotle's Rhetorical Proofs. As Keith and Lundberg (2008) point out in their book *The Essential Guide to Rhetoric*, logos (logical appeal), ethos (credibility appeal), and

pathos (passion/emotional appeal) are the foundation of any persuasive address. “Proofs are the ways we can make speech persuasive” (Keith & Lundberg, 2008, p. 29). Throughout Trump’s speeches, whether known or unknown to the speaker, he uses some form of these proofs as a means to reach his audience. Given the focus on rhetorical proofs, research also focused on the rhetorical situation, which is again defined by Keith and Lundberg (2008) as “the context, time, audience, and circumstances that surround a speech” (p. 77).

Additionally, other rhetorical devices were constantly used by Trump and evaluated by the researcher. Perhaps most significant in Trump’s case is the fallacy of the “*ad hominem* attack.” This is defined by Keith and Lundberg (2008) as “instead of focusing on the argument, the speaker makes judgements or personal attacks about the person advancing the opposite side of the argument” (p. 48). Trump is notorious for his *ad hominem* attacks in the form of nicknames such as “Crooked Hillary” or “Lying Ted.”

Trump’s use of *ad hominem* attacks and other fallacies have not been without questioning of his effectiveness. One of the foremost is from Orly Kayam in her piece “Donald Trump’s Rhetoric” (2016). Kayam (2016) claims that Trump used typically anti-political themes such as “negativity, simplicity, repetition and hyperbole” to paint himself as an outsider. Kayam (2016) makes a point to say that Trump promotes the message of anti-intellectualism. This article takes a markedly pessimistic view of the President’s then campaign, going as far as calling him a deceptive communicator.

Nonverbal communication

Just as important as one’s language is one’s use of the body to convey a message. Nonverbals can make or break a political candidate as Knapp, Hall, and Horgan (2014) point out in their work *Nonverbal Communication in Human Interaction*. With regards to

political nonverbals the researchers refer back to the 1960 Presidential debate where candidate John F. Kennedy put much more time into his appearance, posture, gesture, and tone than Richard Nixon. In one of the closest elections in history many researchers, like Knapp, Hall, and Horgan (2014), argue that Nixon's sweaty upper lip may have cost him the White House.

Trump knows the importance of image. From his very first speech where he descended from the escalator in Trump Tower, candidate Trump constantly alters his environment and his body to appeal to his audience. His gestures using emblems and his frequent repeating of gestures, make him a daunting candidate to study from a nonverbal perspective (Knapp, Hall, Horgan, 2014).

Trump's deliberate use of nonverbal communication illustrates that he does give a substantial amount of thought to the field of communication performance. In fact, in his 2004 book *How to get Rich* Trump dedicates two chapters of the book to "The Art of Public Speaking." On page 61, the American billionaire describes how much he enjoys rhetoric, "I know some people dread the thought of having to give a presentation... Not me. I get so much energy from audiences that it's always fun." Trump is a natural performer. The man does not shy away from the spotlight. While, he may not be the most eloquent speaker, his performances are "must-see-TV." Trump gives perhaps his most important tool to understand his delivery on page 64: "Think about your audience first. The rest will fall into place...Involve your audience. They will appreciate being included."

At the conclusion of his two chapters on public address Trump gives the reader 11 points which he had expanded in the aforementioned pages:

1. Think about your audience first
2. Get your audience involved

3. Be prepared
4. Be a good storyteller
5. Be aware of the common denominator
6. Be an entertainer
7. Be able to laugh at yourself
8. Think on your feet
9. Listen
10. Have a good time
11. Study Regis Philbin (68).

Trump emphasizes tenants 1, 2, 4, 6, and 10 in his campaign speeches. Trump frequently refers to Regis Philbin, host of daytime talk show *Live with Regis & Kathie Lee*, as an inspiration for his demeanor and speaking style.

METHOD

In answering this daunting research question, the researcher set certain strict guidelines to ensure that the research could be manageable. The method for this data collection focused on seven speeches looking for three aspects of analysis from each address. This section will describe why the speeches were chosen and the three aspects of rhetorical data examined in each.

An overwhelming number of speeches to potentially draw from exist. Hence, a substantial part of the methodological process was narrowing down sources in order to get meaningful qualitative data from the future President. The first constraint to delimit the study was establishing that this thesis would focus only on President Trump's rhetorical performances

between his announcement on June 15, 2015 to his victory on November 8, 2016. In keeping with the spirit of our discipline, the goal is to focus only on the spoken word. This means that, despite their probable effectiveness in swaying voters, candidate Trump's social media Twitter tweets were not analyzed. Looking at Trump's speaking engagements, it became apparent that his rallies were the most well-attended and electric of his public addresses. With that in mind, the focus was mainly on "Trump Rallies." This means that Trump's performances in debates with other Republicans and/or (potential) Democratic nominee Secretary Clinton, no matter how effective they may have been, were not analyzed.

SPEECH SELECTION

The following is the list of seven speeches chosen to analyze with a brief description of why each was chosen. A common theme with each is *location* and *timing*. "Why did Trump and his campaign choose to speak here at this time?"

1. June 15, 2015, New York, NY, Campaign Announcement Speech

Rationale: This speech from the Trump Tower in New York City, NY lays framework for campaign. However, it is largely an outlier from the other speeches. It is scripted at times and there is not a lot of audience engagement. It begins Trump's attacks on the media.

2. March 12, 2016, Cleveland, Ohio- Campaign Rally

Rationale: One of the first Trump speeches to have his trademark rally-like atmosphere. Largest crowd at a primary event with 20,000 people.

3. June 07, 2016, New York, NY- Remarks after Winning Primaries in Montana, South Dakota, New Mexico, New Jersey and California

Rationale: First speech after becoming the presumptive Republican nominee. Areas where Trump would struggle in the general election; western states.

4. July 21, 2016- Cleveland, Ohio-Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention

Rationale: Again, a small outlier amongst Trump speeches. It has more of a scripted and traditional feel. Very different when compared to other speech in Cleveland four months earlier.

5. August 19, 2016, Dimondale, MI- Remarks at the Summit Sports and Ice Complex

Rationale: Here, the geographic location is an interesting one. With a population of only 60,000, it is one of the smallest towns Trump held a rally in. The largest major town is Lansing, an hour and a half drive away.

6. November 01, 2016, Valley Forge, PA- Remarks on Obamacare

Rationale: This speech occurred the week of election in a crucial swing state. Here Trump only speaks on Health Care issues, particularly Obamacare. Part of Trump's famous "PA Push" to flip the state. Ironically, this speech would feature an ill/low energy candidate Trump.

7. November 07, 2016, Raleigh, North Carolina- Remarks at J.S Dorton Arena

Rationale: Trump's final speech before election. Held in a state Trump won by a very narrow margin.

DATA COLLECTION

Another crucial aspect of method collection was determining what type of data to collect from these speeches. Obviously, quantitative data would be extremely difficult to collect given that many of these speeches would be longer than an hour in length. Therefore, three aspects of our discipline, which are deemed crucial to effective communication, were identified as the focus: 1) Aristotle's proofs, 2) nonverbal communication, and 3) frequency/repetition.

ARISTOTLE'S PROOFS AND RHETORICAL DEVICES

First, a search for rhetorical elements was conducted. The foundation of communication studies relies on Aristotle's proofs of logos, ethos, and pathos. In many ways Trump's communication challenged traditional notions of "effective communication" that rely on these three core tenets. The researcher gained prior experience via conducting rhetorical analysis on speeches from Winston Churchill's speeches in the 1940s. On this first pass through the videos, observations focused heavily on the elements of the rhetorical situation. Whenever a moment which held significant rhetorical weight was observed, the time and line was marked in a document and analysis was also added.

NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

Next, research focused on the non-verbal component of candidate Trump's presentation. Nonverbal communication offers important aspects of effective communication, and candidate Trump was known and often parodied for his frequent and over-the-top gestures. To analyze this, the researcher watched all the listed Trump speeches *muted*, noting the type and frequency of the gesture. Within four speeches, candidate Trump's usage of gestures and emblems became very

clear and apparent. A decision was then made to cease further analysis of the remaining four speeches because the researcher believed he reached saturation of data by this point.

STRATEGIC MESSAGE USE

Finally, the researcher looked for overall repetition, overlapping messages, and tone. To conduct this, an Excel spreadsheet was utilized to note the frequency *within* individual speeches and also frequency of messages *across* the collection of the campaign. Type of messages were broken down into seven categories: 1) Immigration/The Wall, 2) Black America, 3) Ad Hominem Attacks, 4) Jobs, 5) Trade, 6) “Classic Conservatism,” and 7) Make American Great Again (MAGA). The “Classic Conservatism” category referred to messages which had also been used during Presidents Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon’s campaign. Elements such as “the silent majority” or “government is the problem” would fall into this category (Whitney, 2004). As many speeches were listened to for the third time, tally marks were kept for each speech in their respective categories when a message was heard. This pass marked more than 14 hours of listening to candidate Donald Trump.

RESULTS

The following represents the data collected by the researcher. This section contains the results of three passes of seven Trump addresses. The first is a finding of rhetorical devices, the second on nonverbal communication through three speeches, and finally an excel table which illustrates repetition.

First Pass – Rhetorical Devices

Speech #1- Presidential Campaign Announcement

6/15/2015

Trump Tower, New York, NY

Time	Remark	Rhetorical Device
00:17	“ARE WE GOING TO WIN OHIO?”	Rhetorical Question. Audience engagement.
00:30	“I wish they (points to media) could be honest.”	Creates common enemy, pathos
3:30	“I love you. I love you too.”	Pathos.
4:45	“All over the world they are talking about the momentum we have. They are calling it a movement. Not me, they are calling it that. A movement. It’s you, I’m just the messenger.”	Pathos.
5:12	“We are losing our jobs, and our factories.”	Logos.
5:40	“On the left (in this building) we have Ford. Moving to Mexico. And to the right, you have Eaton. Moving to Mexico...”	Logos.
6:50-7:55	Another protestor. Trump imitates Bernie for a second time. He spends a whole min make fun of protestor.	Ad Hominem
8:50	“We are going to...We are going to”	Repetition.
9:54	“Think about it, we have a 5-billion-dollar trade deficit to China, and every direction I point to in this arena we are losing plants to China. How are we going to make that up? It’s not going to happen.”	Logos.
10:30	“You’ve got a governor who has abandoned his state. And everywhere he’s gone to campaign, I’ve won.”	Ethos.
11:00	“Did you know your governor was a managing director of Lehman Brothers?”	Logos.

	It almost destroyed the world in 2008.”	
13:03	Another protestor. This time Trump responds “Let’s do a U-S-A chant. USA!”	Pathos.
14:02	“Your gov is letting your steel industry is going to hell.”	Ad hominem. Ethos
16:20	“Little Marco has the worst voting record in the Senate in the last century, who THE HELL wants him to represent you?!”	Ad hominem. Logos
22:02	“I have a store worth more than Mitt Romney.”	Logos. Humor.
25:40-26:05	New Hampshire heroine story.	Pathos. Narrative.
27:14	Ivanka story. “Daddy will you act Presidential in the debate?” IMPORTANT. Trump comments on his own rhetoric style. Admits he was too harsh in previous debates. However, concedes he won’t act presidential when companies take advantage of America	Pathos. Narrative.
28:00-30:02	“I hope you make a lot of air conditioning units but here's the story, every unit you make that crosses the border - - and now we're going have a real border remember that. We're going to have a real border. We are charging you 35% tax on that unit, and you know what they're going to say, they're going to call up their lobbyist but the lobbyists can't get to me because I haven't taken any of their money.”	Logos. Narrative.
35:03	First time voter story	Ethos. Narrative.
37:52	“So here's the story. We're going to win and we're going to win	Repetition. Humor.

	<p>everywhere. We're going to knock the hell out of ISIS. We're going to win with trade. We're going to win with trade. We're going to win with health. We're going to win at so many levels. We're going to, win, win, win. You're going to get so tired of winning. You're going to say, Mr. President, please, we don't want to win anymore. It's too much. And I'm going to say, I'm sorry, we're going to keep winning because we're going to Make America Great Again. I love you. Thank you. Thank you. Go and vote on Tuesday. Thank you. Thank you.”</p>	
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Speech #2 Cleveland, Ohio Rally

03/12/2016

Three days before Trump loses Republican primary to John Kasich (46% to 35%)

I-X Center

Attendance: roughly 20,000

Time	Remark	Rhetorical Device
00:17	“ARE WE GOING TO WIN OHIO?”	Rhetorical Question. Audience engagement.
00:30	“I wish they (points to media) could be honest.”	Creates common enemy, pathos
3:30	“I love you. I love you too.”	Pathos.
4:45	“All over the world they are talking about the momentum we have. They are calling it a movement. Not me, they are calling it that. A movement. It’s you, I’m just the messenger.”	Pathos.
5:12	“We are losing our jobs, and our factories.”	Logos.
5:40	“On the left (in this building) we have Ford. Moving to Mexico. And to the right, you have Eaton. Moving to Mexico...”	Logos.

6:50-7:55	Another protestor. Trump imitates Bernie for a second time. He spends a whole min make fun of protestor.	Ad Hominem
8:50	“We are going to...We are going to”	Repetition.
9:54	“Think about it, we have a 5-billion-dollar trade deficit to China, and every direction I point to in this arena we are losing plants to China. How are we going to make that up? It’s not going to happen.”	Logos.
10:30	“You’ve got a governor who has abandoned his state. And everywhere he’s gone to campaign, I’ve won.”	Ethos.
11:00	“Did you know your governor was a managing director of Lehman Brothers? It almost destroyed the world in 2008.”	Logos.
13:03	Another protestor. This time Trump responds “Let’s do a U-S-A chant. USA!”	Pathos.
14:02	“Your gov is letting your steel industry is going to hell.”	Ad hominem. Ethos
16:20	“Little Marco has the worst voting record in the Senate in the last century, who THE HELL wants him to represent you?!”	Ad hominem. Logos
22:02	“I have a store worth more than Mitt Romney.”	Logos. Humor.
25:40-26:05	New Hampshire heroine story.	Pathos. Narrative.
27:14	Ivanka story. “Daddy will you act Presidential in the debate?” IMPORTANT. Trump comments on his own rhetoric style. Admits he was too harsh in previous debates. However, concedes he won’t act presidential when companies take advantage of America	Pathos. Narrative.
28:00-30:02	“I hope you make a lot of air conditioning units but here's the story, every unit you make that	Logos. Narrative.

	crosses the border -- and now we're going have a real border remember that. We're going to have a real border. We are charging you 35% tax on that unit, and you know what they're going to say, they're going to call up their lobbyist but the lobbyists can't get to me because I haven't taken any of their money.”	
35:03	First time voter story	Ethos. Narrative.
37:52	“So here's the story. We're going to win and we're going to win everywhere. We're going to knock the hell out of ISIS. We're going to win with trade. We're going to win with trade. We're going to win with health. We're going to win at so many levels. We're going to, win, win, win. You're going to get so tired of winning. You're going to say, Mr. President, please, we don't want to win anymore. It's too much. And I'm going to say, I'm sorry, we're going to keep winning because we're going to Make America Great Again. I love you. Thank you. Thank you. Go and vote on Tuesday. Thank you. Thank you.”	Repetition. Humor.

Speech # 3- Remarks after winning Primaries in Montana, South Dakota, New Mexico, New Jersey and California (Nomination secured.)

06/07/ 2016

Trump National Golf Club, Westchester, New York

Attendance: 500 people

Time	Remark	Rhetorical Device
1:27	“You know what this means? We are only getting started and it's gonna be beautiful.”	Rhetorical Question
1:45	It becomes obvious Trump is reading off a scripted teleprompter for this smaller	Speech prep.

	crowd. However, after each sentence in the speech Trump adds his own comments. Great example here.	
2:27	“I will never never ever ever let you down.”	Repetition
4:10	“And by the way, the terrible trade deals that Bernie was so vehemently against and he's right on that will be taken care of far better than anyone ever thought possible and that's what I do. We are going to have fantastic trade deals. We're going to start making money and bringing in jobs.”	Ethos
4:31	“I built an extraordinary business on relationships and deals that benefit all parties involved, always. My goal is always again to bring people together.”	Ethos.
4:45	“I'm going to be your champion. I'm going to be America's champion because you see this election isn't about Republican or Democrat; it's about who runs this country - the special interests or the people and I mean the American people.”	Pathos.
6:30	“landslides all over the country with every demographic on track to win; 37 primary caucus victories in a field that began with 17 very talented people.”	Logos.
7:12	“The Clintons have turned the politics of personal enrichment into an art form for themselves. They've made hundreds of millions of dollars selling access, selling favors, selling government contracts, and I mean hundreds of millions of	Ad hominem.

	dollars. Secretary Clinton even did all of the work on a totally illegal private server. Something about how she's getting away with this folk nobody understands.”	
9:09	“I did not have to do this...but I felt I needed to give back to this country.”	Ethos
16:20	“We are gonna take care of our African American people who have been mistreated for so long.”	Pathos.

Speech #4- Trump's Acceptance of the Nomination- Cleveland, Ohio

Time	Remark	Rhetorical Device
1:33	Leads crowd in “U-S-A”	Pathos.
1:54	“We and I say WE, because we are a team.”	Pathos.
2:07	“14 million votes, the most in the history of the Republican party. And that the republican party would receive 60% more votes than eight years ago. The Democrats on the other hand received 20% less votes than four years ago.”	Logos
5:36	“We cannot afford to be politically correct anymore.”	Logos
6:16	“If you want lies, the Democratic Convention is next week. Here there will be no lies.”	Ad hominem.
7:53	“That’s the largest increase (in crime) in 25 years”	Logos
9:16	Sarah Rute story	Narrative. Pathos.
11:18	“Billions and billions and billions.”	Repetition
12:00-13:48	Trump lists foreign policy failures and then asks who is responsible	Logos. Rhetorical Q.
20:33	“She will keep a rigged system in place.”	Pathos.
20:45	“She is the puppet and they (DNC) are pulling the strings.”	Metaphor.

21:00	“Never, ever”	Humor.
22:22	“I am your voice.”	Metaphor.
25:22	“Corruption has reached a level we’ve never ever seen before.”	
45:29	“These families have no special interests to represent them. There are no demonstrators to protest on their behalf. My opponent will never meet with them, or share in their pain. Instead, my opponent wants Sanctuary Cities. But where was sanctuary for Kate Steinle? Where was Sanctuary for the children of Mary Ann, Sabine and Jamiel? Where was sanctuary for all the other Americans who have been so brutally murdered, and who have suffered so horribly?”	Rhetorical Q. Narrative.
53:09	“I have made billions of dollars in business making deals – now I’m going to make our country rich again.”	Ethos.
59:57	“America is one of the highest-taxed nations in the world. Reducing taxes will cause new companies and new jobs to come roaring back into our country. Then we are going to deal with the issue of regulation, one of the greatest job-killers of them all. Excessive regulation is costing our country as much as \$2 trillion a year, and we will end it. We are going to lift the restrictions on the production of American energy. This will produce more than \$20 trillion in job creating economic activity over the next four decades.”	Logos

1:10-1:12	<p>“My Dad, Fred Trump, was the smartest and hardest working man I ever knew. I wonder sometimes what he’d say if he were here to see this tonight.</p> <p>It’s because of him that I learned, from my youngest age, to respect the dignity of work and the dignity of working people. He was a guy most comfortable in the company of bricklayers, carpenters, and electricians and I have a lot of that in me also. Then there’s my mother, Mary. She was strong, but also warm and fair-minded. She was a truly great mother. She was also one of the most honest and charitable people I have ever known, and a great judge of character.”</p>	Influence. First mention of this on campaign trail.
1:15	MAGA	

Speech #5- Campaign Rally
Dimondale, Michigan
(08/12/2016)
14,000 estimated capacity

Time	Remark	Rhetorical Device
2:03	“We are going to bring jobs back to our country, and we are going to bring jobs back to Michigan.” First line of the speech is about job creation.	
2:29	“Remember this, a big, big victory for the factory worker. They haven't had those victories for a long time. A victory for every citizen and for all of the people whose voices have not been heard for many, many years. They're going to be heard again.”	Pathos. Reoccurring theme.

3:03	“It is going to be YOUR victory.”	Pathos.
9:22	“The inner cities of our country have been run by the Democratic party for more than 50 years. Their policies have produced only poverty, joblessness, failing schools, and broken homes. It's time to hold democratic politicians accountable for what they have done to these communities. At what point do we say enough?”	Logos. Rhetorical Question.
9:45	“It is time to hold failed leaders accountable for their results, not just their empty words over and over again. Look at what the democratic party has done to the city -- as an example and there are many others, -- of Detroit. 40 percent of Detroit's residents, 40 percent, live in poverty. Half of all Detroit residents do not work, and cannot work, and can't get a job. Detroit tops the list of the most dangerous cities. Number 1. This is the legacy of the Democratic leaders who have run this city. Crooked Hillary.”	Logos. Pathos. Ad Hominem.
12:02	“To those people (African American) I say ‘what do you have to lose by trying someone new?’	Rhetorical question. Logos.
16:03	America must reject the bigotry of Hillary Clinton, who sees communities of color only as votes, not as human beings worthy of a better future. Hillary Clinton would rather provide a job to a refugee from overseas, than to give that job to	Pathos.

	unemployed African-American youth in cities like Detroit, who have become refugees in their own country.”	
18:22	<p>“We will invest a portion of the money saved in the jobs program for inner-city youth. The African-American community has given so much to this country. They fought and died in every war since the Revolution. They've lifted up the conscience of our nation in the long march towards civil rights. They've sacrificed so much for the national good. Yet nearly four in 10 African-American children still live in poverty and 58 percent, as I said, of young African-Americans are not working. They cannot find a job. We must do better as a country. I refuse to believe that the future must be like the past. It won't be. Our future is going to be a great future for everyone. For everyone.”</p>	Logos.
26:02	<p>And when we tell them that there will be a substantial tax on the cars that they make in Mexico and other places, number one, they're not going to move in the first place, and number two, if they do, our country will make one heck of a lot of money.”</p>	Logos
30:22	<p>“I'm not in any way, shape or form an isolationist. I don't believe in it, but we have to make great deals for our country. We're losing in our whole trade negotiation with</p>	Ethos.

	oil countries over \$800 billion a year. That's our trade deficit. Who negotiates these deals? We want great trade deals and we will have them.”	
37:50	“I’m funding my campaign.”	Ethos.

Speech #6- Remarks on “Obamacare”

Valley Forge, PA

11/01/2016

2,000 estimated capacity

Time	Remark	Rhetorical Device
31:22	“While he was an amazing competitor, he’s an even better physician. So amazing. I can only hope he will play a major part in my administration.”	Ethos.
34:30	“Premiums will increase by 60%”	Very low energy Trump. He sounds sick.
44:16	“The spirit of the people in the inner cities is beyond the spirit of anybody. And it's gonna work. It's gonna work. You watch. Americans are tired of being told to defer their dreams to another day. But politicians for the most part really mean another decade, because that's what they're talking about. Enough waiting. Time is now.”	Trump does not deviate from teleprompter. Wraps up speech very early, almost earlier than intended.

Speech #7- Final Day Rally

Raleigh, North Carolina J.S. Dorton Arena

11/07/2016

8,000 estimated capacity.

Time	Remark	Rhetorical Device
2:34	“It's time to reject the media and political elite that has bled our country dry... They rarely give you the truth. You know it. And they know it.	Pathos. Plays of fear.

	That's the scary part. They know it.”	
3:30	“We're going to bring back the jobs that have been stolen from you. We're going to bring back the wealth that has been taken from our country. We're going to bring back the miners and the factory workers and the steel workers. We're going to put them back to work.”	Anaphora
4:20	“But she lied during the debate. She lied during the debate. She said it's the gold standard. And then she said she never said it.”	Repetition.
6:02	“Sadly, it's just been announced that the residents of North Carolina are going to experience massive double-digit premium hikes. Ninety-five of the 100 North Carolina counties will only have one insurer in the Obamacare exchange next year. Lots of luck negotiating.”	Logos.
	“By the way, doctors, they're leaving. They're quitting. I have a friend who's a doctor. He said that I have more accountants than I have nurses, it's so complicated.”	Narrative. Pathos.

Second Pass – Nonverbal Communication

Speech #1- Presidential Campaign Announcement

6/15/2015

Trump Tower, New York, NY

00:00- Trump descends from the top of Trump tower on elevator with wife by his side. He has a red tie on and repeatedly gives two thumbs up. Ivanka, the only other family member there, is waiting by the podium. The media is on the ground floor, while supporters are above him. It is an interesting venue layout, ironically one Trump will never use again.

2:00- Appearance: Trump is wearing a large, long silk tie. No watches. White shirt, no collar buttons. Navy blazer with American flag pin on the left chest. Trump is very tan, even for June in NY. Perhaps spray tan and I wouldn't be surprised if he dyed his hair.

2:24- It becomes apparent when Trump wants to make a point, he uses a downward slicing motion with his right hand.

2:27- Trump makes his often-parodied right hand "ok" sign.

3:17- He looks up and acknowledges the crowd for the first time. Thanks them for cheering. It is the only time he smiles in the speech.

4:28- Another favorite gesture of Trump is using a gun like emblem with his right hand. He comes down on the beat of his cadence.

4:28- Another note here is that Trump is using notes, something that will change as time goes on in later speeches.

6:40- When Trump asks a mocking rhetorical question he hikes his left eyebrow up.

7:14- Trump finally engages his left hand. He asks a question and leaves both hands out and upward.

9:58- Trump using both hands pushes them together, almost swatting at the air. Making a rhetorical question.

16:36- The man's hand gestures are absolutely non-stop. Hand slashing, pointing, palms up... right hand dominates.

16:55- After he announces his running for president. The DJ plays rocking in the Free world. Trump just stands there and bobs his head. Pretty comical. Then he points to the DJ and tells them to cut the song.

21:45- It is interesting to see that as Trump gets more relaxed in his speech, his frequency using his left-hand increases.

26:25- Trump by this point has hardly referenced his notes since the 15min mark. He has become increasing more comfortable ad-libbing.

28:29- Whenever Trump changes a talking point, he will change gestures.

32:52- Points and acknowledges family, in the corner, oddly camera does not pan.

36:00- parodied shoulder shrug.

41:24- Trump has very dead-pan humor delivery. Doesn't smile or laugh at his own jokes.

Speech #2 Cleveland, Ohio Rally

03/12/2016

Three days before Trump loses Republican primary to John Kasich (46% to 35%)

I-X Center

00:00- Trump is wearing a silk solid blue tie. White shirt. Black blazer. Almost everyone behind him is white, but the age range is quite varied. One man is wearing a "Built Trump Tough" shirt, obviously a play on Ford's motto "Built Ford Tough." There are many signs saying, "the silent majority stand with Trump." A reference to Nixon's silent majority. Surprisingly not as many MAGA hats.

00:12- Trump begins his speech smiling much more than the previous one.

00:07- He shakes his head in disbelief at the crowd.

00:38- Points directly at media and mocks them. Scrunches up his nose. People behind him start laughing.

1:10- Protestor interrupts. Trump points and makes a joke. Then does not watch security remove them. Just shakes his head and smiles.

3:32- shakes the hand of Ohio politician, something Trump hates to do.

4:06- Trump's tone is a lot more boisterous in front of the bigger crowd. His volume is amplified. He speaks very quickly. In a drumbeat-marching band like cadence.

4:21- Trump does not stop with the hand gestures. Almost every word or phrase has an accompanying describing hand gesture.

5:01- Trump is much more comfortable with pauses for audience clapping. His timing has improved.

6:32- Trump uses almost exclusively his right hand.

6:40- Something I've noticed is how Trump likes to man-handle his lecturers. He grips the podium almost as if it has a tendency to get away from him. He leans forward into the mic, but sometimes will bounce away from it.

7:12- Trump does an imitation of Bernie Sanders, portraying him as weak and scared.

9:53- Trump is a big user of the finger up pointing gesture in this speech.

13:03- Trump walks around as the crowd does a USA chant and security escorts protestor out.

Trump becomes more comfortable leaving the podium.

15:24- Camera pans to show crowd. Lots of red. Only Trump approved signs allowed.

16:14- Trump illustrates Marco Rubio's height. Rubio is 5'9.

17:20- Every time he refers to Rubio, he makes a hand gesture referencing his height, even though he doesn't also talk about it.

19:23- Hand flick gesture. Commonly used when dismissing an idea.

Speech # 3- Remarks after winning Primaries in Montana, South Dakota, New Mexico, New Jersey and California.

(Nomination secured.)

06/07/ 2016

Trump National Golf Club, Westchester, New York

Attendance: 500 people

00:00- Trump enters with family. Queen's "We are the Champions" is playing. When not surrounded by people, he always lines up American flags behind him. Entire family is behind him, but he is flanked by Melania and Ivanka. Also, first time Trump is wearing a non-solid color tie. Smaller venue, Trump National Golf Club.

1:28- Huge smile. Laughing.

- 1:41- Sweeping motion with both hands. “More votes than any campaign in history.”
- 2:00- Trump’s signature “okay” point emblem.
- 2:14- Facial expression- lip pursed in approval.
- 4:00- “Fantastic trade deals.” Trump uses both hands, palms facing toward the crowd, and chops up and down.
- 5:31- First time Trump makes a gesture with left hand only.
- 7:20- Undercut chop from Trump. First gesture that is not the “ok” or the point.
- 7:41- Trump make a wiping motion to try and show Hillary Clinton cleaning her emails.
- 8:58- Flares hand up and down. “I didn’t need to do this.”
- 9:14- Long grim. Head bobbing.
- 10:33- “We’re broke.” Hand makes an explosion gesture.
- 12:30- Side note here, Melania and Ivanka have been doing a great job actively listening. They are both in the frame the whole 20 min speech and keep engaged, head nodding, ect.
- 13:41- Trump interrupted by supporter. Handles it well. Acknowledges and moves on.
- 16:20- As Trump concludes his speech, he speaks quicker, and louder. Ends with MAGA.

Third Pass- Message Frequency

	Speech 1	Speech 2	Speech 3	Speech 4	Speech 5	Speech 6	Speech 7
Third Pass Themes							
Running Time	47min 8sec	38min 59sec	17min 24sec	1 hr 15min 3sec	43min 05sec	50min 51sec	50min 59sec
Immigration/The Wall	2	1	1	9	3	1	5
Jobs	4	3	3	6	10	3	4
Ad Hominem Attack	5	5	1	2	6	0	8
Black America	0	1	2	1	9	1	2
Trade	7	1	3	5	4	1	3
Reagn/Nixon "Classical Conservatism"	1	1	1	2	3	1	5
MAGA	6	1	3	6	3	2	4
Obamacare	3	0	0	1	2	5	3

DISCUSSION

At the microphone, Trump as a speaker is unlike any politician of the modern age. He is unafraid of the consequences of his words. One of the most frowned upon strategies and rhetorical fallacies in the communication studies community, the *ad hominem* attack, is empathetically embraced by Trump. He is expressive, using so many nonverbals that it reached research saturation by the fourth message. Trump is unafraid to be loud, boisterous, and uses a teleprompter only as a suggestion. The message candidate Trump delivered is one fed by two distinct themes: disruption-based populism and nostalgia.

Disruption-based Populism: America First, the Wall, and Winning

Every political candidate in history has had an element of populism to their speeches. However, Trump's wave of populism brought an element of disruption to the political and social systems which had been accepted as the norm for decades. Since the end of World War II American foreign policy was built upon the need to be a shepherd of the world. It was generally accepted that with great power in the world comes great responsibility. Republican and Democratic administrations supported this notion. However, Trump frequently and empathetically adopted an "America first" message. He used the unpopular wars in Afghanistan

and Iraq, generous trade deals, and global organizations dependency on U.S. assistance to illustrate the idea that America was being taken advantage of by the global community.

From an immigration stand-point Trump's message again disrupted a social norm which has been accepted since the founding of this nation. Immigration has been feverishly encouraged. Themes such as Kennedy's "a nation of immigrants," Truman's "immigration is the greatest form of flattery," and the Statue of Liberty's "bring me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free" were all challenged in Trump's frequent messages about "The Wall." He quietly supported legal immigration, however, he feverishly bashed on illegal immigration, promising to strip rights afforded to illegals in this country.

Economically, Trump's message used logos and ethos to show he could bring greater fiscal prosperity. What Trump admittedly lacked in military and political experience, he made up for by frequently bragging about his business successes. As an appeal to ethos, he mentioned his net worth five times in the seven speeches observed. Perhaps the greatest use of the President's logos argument was in Dimondale, Michigan where he physically pointed to a closed down Ford plant in his speech. In a speech targeting the economic suffering of African American communities, he used logos via a rhetorical question asking black voters "After all these horrible truths, I wonder, what do you have to lose by voting for me?"

Nostalgia: Make America Great Again

A discussion of Trump's message would be remiss if it did not look at his use of American nostalgia. Perhaps most prominent is his use of the slogan "Make America Great Again." Ironically, this is not a new political rally cry. This was used by the Reagan campaign in the 1980's. It is not the only recycled message from days of old. Frequently at Trump rallies, the

sign “The Silent Majority Stand with Trump” was handed out. This harkens back to President Richard Nixon who used the term “silent majority” to describe how a majority of Americans supported the Vietnam War, but they were not the most vocal. Trump indirectly referenced classical conservative notions used by Ronald Reagan, Barry Goldwater, and Richard Nixon 14 times throughout eight speeches. Trump ended every speech with the MAGA slogan, and the marketing guru funded \$45 million of his campaign off sales of the Make America Great Again hats.

Audience Impact: Excite, not Pander

Despite Trump’s consistent deviation from what academia believes is the proper way to deliver and write a public address, Trump does follow one major conventional tenet of our discipline: a speech is only as effective as well as the audience receives it.

Trump knew his audience. Geographically, the eight speeches observed targeted key swing voters in Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Florida, and Nevada. Each speech highlighted slightly different themes which addressed specific voters in those states. An example comes from Trump’s address in Valley Forge, PA. Pennsylvania was one of the most aggressive states to embrace the Affordable Care Act. Candidate Trump dedicated an entire speech to those in rural Pennsylvania who felt like their health needs were being dictated by Democratic legislators in Harrisburg. It worked. Those rural Pennsylvanians showed up as 70.11% of registered voters participated in the 2016 election. The highest turnout since 1992.

While many campaigners for the Democrats focused on young, diverse, educated individuals. Trump defied many pundits and pollsters by believing he could rally older, white, rural voters to outnumber the new target demographic of the Democratic Party.

When analyzing Trump's audience, it becomes apparent that he used pathos masterfully. Trump embodied what his audience craved: an angry outsider willing to fight for them. To quote from his Republican National Convention, speech he was "their voice." Trump understood and promoted his role as messenger. From his storytelling to the conversational structure Trump used in his rallies, he connected with his audience and gave them a feeling of empowerment. He excited the Republican base in every state he went to and caused voter turnout to rise to a greater level than ever seen before.

Ultimately in a democratic-republic, such as the United States of America, the answer to the research question lies in the hands of the people and the final outcome of a Presidential Election. However, in this case the answer is not clear. On November 9, 2016 the popular vote overwhelmingly sided with candidate Hillary Clinton, but the electoral college handily elected Trump. However, from a communication perspective, Trump used central tenets such as Aristotle's proofs, unique nonverbal communication, and repetition to highlight his message. He also used *ad hominem* attacks and a brash delivery to shock the world into listening and his rhetoric was a major factor in securing his victory.

Perhaps what was most effective about Trump's rhetoric is not that he tried to "sway" voters, as most political candidates have done, instead he focused on exciting his base. He and his campaigned believed that there were enough voters out there to get him elected, they just had to give them a performance worth going to the polls for, the Trump rallies did just that. More than the tweets or the debates was the Trump Rally. It was the catalyst for the campaign. It was not just a speech, but a performance. For many of these small, rural towns it was the biggest performance to happen in their cities in years. It was televised and covered like no other political event during that election season. Trump knew the people wanted a show, and he gave them one.

He captured his audience via humor, storytelling, anger, and hope in the span of an hour and a half production. Ultimately, Donald J. Trump's rhetoric was a key factor in allowing him to secure the presidency.

CONCLUSION

Key takeaway for Communication Studies

Ultimately, this research is only as useful as it can be applied to the communication studies discipline. Perhaps the biggest takeaway for the discipline from this research is distinguishing between what is appropriate communication and what is effective communication. For example, it has long been taught that the *ad hominem* attack was inappropriate in a public address. However, that does not mean it is not effective. Donald J. Trump's campaign was clear evidence that when an audience has a known common enemy (i.e. Hillary Clinton) the use of the *ad hominem* attack was effective in connecting with them.

Further research

This study was delimited for several reasons, including that the sheer amount of data points was enormous. Future research should consider factors such as Trump's Twitter and his debate performances. Additionally, while seven speeches returned a vast amount of data given the time constraints of this project, the researcher would suggest a greater sample and variety of speeches to further add to this research.

Furthermore, Donald Trump's performance in the 2016 electoral season is only one side of the reason he won the election. Further analysis should be conducted to see if Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton's rhetoric was ineffective. A comparative study using this research could help paint a more thorough and balanced picture of the rhetoric of the 2016 election.

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