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## The Effect of Gender on the Persuasion Process in Political Discourse

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### Abstract

The current study aims at speculating the notion of persuasion in relation to gender. Persuasion as a technical term is a process of convincing others rationally to change their state of minds in accordance with a specific purpose.

The study hypothesizes that persuasion is a process rather than a state of affairs. Also, it hypothesizes that female speakers are more successful in following the persuasion techniques to convince their audience of their points of view than men. Also, it is hypothesized that women rely more on the mode of pathos than the other three modes; logos, ethos and kairos, while men rely more on the logos mode of persuasion.

The study comes with some conclusions the most important of which is that men use more persuasion techniques than women with the preference of the techniques of evidence, repetition and analogy. Women prefers to use the techniques of inclusion and repletion. It is also found that women rely heavily on the pathos mode of persuasion while men rely on the modes of logos, ethos and kairos. Furthermore, it is found that

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there is a strong relation between the mode of persuasion the speaker prefers and the techniques followed. Finally, it is found that the technique of repetition is relative to the notion of relativity since it use is successful when it is rational and unsuccessful when used frequently.

**Key Word** : persuasion, gender, modes, techniques, political discourse.

## تأثير نوع الجنس على عملية الإقناع في الخطاب السياسي

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### المستخلص

تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى التأمل في مفهوم الإقناع وعلاقته بالجنس. الإقناع كمصطلح تقني هو عملية إقناع الآخرين بشكل عقلائي بتغيير حالتهم الذهنية وفقاً لغرض محدد. تقترض الدراسة أن الإقناع هو عملية وليس حالة. كما تقترض أن المتحدثات من النساء هن أكثر نجاحاً في اتباع تقنيات الإقناع لإقناع جمهورهن بوجهات نظرهن من الرجال. كما يُقترض أن النساء يعتمدن على نمط الشفقة أكثر من الأنماط الثلاثة الأخرى؛ الشعارات والروح والوقت المناسب، بينما يعتمد الرجال أكثر على أسلوب الشعارات في الإقناع. وتوصلت الدراسة إلى بعض الاستنتاجات أهمها أن الرجال يستخدمون أساليب الإقناع أكثر من النساء مع تفضيل أساليب الدليل والتكرار والتشبيه. تفضل النساء استخدام تقنيات التضمين والامتلاء. وقد وجد أيضاً أن النساء يعتمدن بشكل كبير على أسلوب الإقناع الرثائي بينما يعتمد الرجال على أساليب الشعارات والروح والوقت المناسب. كما وجد أن هناك علاقة قوية بين أسلوب الإقناع الذي يفضلهُ المتحدث والتقنيات المتبعة. وأخيراً تبين أن أسلوب التكرار يرتبط بمفهوم النسبية، إذ إن استخدامه يكون ناجحاً عندما يكون عقلائياً، وغير ناجح عندما يكون متكرراً.

**الكلمات الدالة:** الإقناع، الجنس، الأساليب، التقنيات، الخطاب السياسي.

## 1. Introduction

Etymologically speaking, persuasion is defined as the act or process of an instance of persuading or convincing ( Merriam Webster, 2023:1). It is the power to convince; the ability to affect other people's ideas, ideologies, thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, intensions, motivations and thus behaviors (1 :1) by the use of specific techniques and strategies. Persuasion helps people to find other choices and options when not adhere to those they hold.

Persuasion has been studied under different disciplines including rhetoric, psychology, political sciences, and discourse analysis. It is "the communicative process through which a message promotes a change in an individual or group's beliefs, attitudes or behaviors" (3:1). Perloff (2016) thinks that persuasion relies on the process of "free choice", defining it as a "symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their own attitudes and behaviors through the transmission of a message in an atmosphere of free choice". Accordingly the persuasion process has four components: transmission of the message, the attempt to influence, helping others to persuade themselves and free choice (ibid).

Persuasion can take different forms. It takes the form of a propaganda which is a "form of persuasion used to indoctrinate a population towards an individual or a particular agenda" (Wikipedia, 2022 :2). Another form of persuasion is coercion which is defined as a "form of persuasion that uses aggressive threats and the provocation of fear and/or shame to influence a person's behavior" (Ibid: 2). When attitudes and beliefs are "leveraged by appeals to logic and reason" (ibid) , systematic persuasion as a process appears. The last form of persuasion is the heuristic persuasion when speakers appeal to emotions and habits to change others' behaviors. The current study is concerned with the third form of persuasion; the systematic persuasion.

## **2. A Historic Background of the Process of Persuasion**

Historically speaking, persuasion as an academic study evolved with the Greeks, Aristotle, Plato, Socrates , the Sophists and Immanuel Kant who all associated persuasion with rhetoric persuasion ( as an important field of rhetoric ) ( Wikipedia , 2022 and 3). Persuasion was considered then as one of the standards of excellent rhetoricians and politicians, as rhetoric is defined as the art of powerful and "effective persuasive speaking " through the use of language. Accordingly, persuasion is first an art then a science. Aristotle believes that speakers should learn persuasive techniques in cases of justice, teaching, argumentation, and most importantly in cases of defend.

Still, persuasion as a science needs logical reasoning as a tool through the use of linguistic or non-linguistic medium. According to (1:1), for communicators to be good persuaders, they need communicative skills of high values ; they need emotional intelligence, and active listening skills. So, they should find the cognitive path which relates the incoming information with those already stored ones ( see section 3 in this study) in their minds in a logical way to make use of later on in his argumentation.

The persuasive note could be a word, a sentence, a paragraph, or a whole book or interview. It could be conducted via a metaphor, a simile, an analogy or simply via a claim rationally transferred. What really matters here is where, when how, and to whom such a note is delivered.

## **3. Theories of Persuasion**

Theories of persuasion are a set of theories proposed by many scholars to study scientifically the way persuaders succeed in affecting their persuadees positively by the use of rational means. Most of these theories ( if not all) are related deeply to the

psychological theories of individuals' behaviors since in essence persuasion process deals with how to change people's behaviors for a specific purpose rationally. So, if we figure out how theories of how people's behaviors get changed, then we can understand how they have been urged or persuaded to do so. Six theories can be realized here:

### **1. Cognitive Dissonance Theory**

People according to the proponents of this theory work hard to achieve cognitive consistency. Beliefs, attitudes, thoughts, and ideologies could or could not be cognitively in agreement with each other. When they are not in agreement with each other, people try to approach mental consistency by making a cognitive balance between these components, either by changing the conflicting components, reducing its importance or re-evaluating the cost-reward ratio (O'Keefe, 2015).

### **2. Theory of Reasoned Action**

This theory relates behavior change to intentionality; i.e. people are persuaded only when they intend to do so to change their behaviors and state of mind willingly (O'Keefe, 2015).

### **3. Social Judgment Theory**

People usually evaluate persuasive information in accordance with their "ego-involvement" which differs from one person to another depending on their **repertoire** they have in their minds. Specific points of view are relatively easily transferred to some people, and thus got persuaded by, than others.

### **4. Elaboration Likelihood Theory**

O'Keefe (2015) believes that persuasion is relevant to individuals and context. It is affected by the persuadees' needs and desires; i.e. people are affected by ideas that have mental representations in their minds more than those which are new to them.

### **5. Inclusion Theory**

This theory emulates the process of vaccines when getting into the patients' bodies to activate their immune systems. A weak argument when delivered to people for the purpose of persuasion, accordingly, is rejected but its opposite strong counterpart is successfully welcomed (Floyd, 2017).

### **6. Narrative Paradigm**

People usually are more persuaded when listening to stories touching their feelings and provoke their empathy specifically if they have a special connection to their own experiences (Fisher, 1984, 1989 and Burns, 2015).

In the current study, we believe that a theory of persuasion should cover the best means of persuasion and the cognitive process of persuasion. So, we take into consideration that people are more likely to be persuaded if the note of persuasion is freely received, and mentally and emotionally shared and effective. This means that when

people find this note has no conflict with what is there in their minds , has an emotional touch in their hearts and they have the option to accept or reject , they are likely to be persuaded . Furthermore, persuaders should use the specific and relative means and techniques in their attempts to persuade others of a specific point of view. Not all techniques are useful for everybody, so, the dichotomy of when, where and to whom should be taken into consideration to cope with the previous point referred to above; i.e. the components of freedom , mentality conflict and emotional involvement.

#### **4. Modes of Persuasion**

Modes of persuasion are the ways persuaders used to convince their persuadee of a specific point of view. These modes are proposed by Aristotle two thousand years ago and still used today in the same sense of meaning. They are the rhetorical appeals that persuaders rely upon basically to convince their hearers. Aristotle proposed three modes : ethos, logos and pathos ( to use Aristotle terminology) and (3) proposed another fourth mode ; kairos.

##### **1. Ethos**

Ethos can be defined as the " appeal to authority or credibility of the presenter" ( Wikipedia, 2022 : 2). It is the speaker's / writer's ability to convince others of his authority to do so. Authority here means the power the persuader may have in the context of speech; whether a power of knowledge , political power, physical power , psychological power, social power, or etc. In the case of knowledge power , for instance, those persuaders who are qualified in the subject matter they are dealing with and try to convince others of the issue related are more likely to be more persuasive than those who are not. Also, mastering of terminologies in that field enhances the chances of persuasion to a large extent.

##### **2. Pathos**

Pathos is the " appeal to the audience's emotions". Audience's sorrow, happiness, desires, hopes, emotions, needs, attitudes, and etc. are a good card to play with when persuaders need to oppose their points of view. Pathos gives persuaders the tools to let their hearers get involved in the subject matter under discussion.

##### **3. Logos**

Logos is the " appeal to our logical [ or rational ] side". It is a matter of facts and logic in the way persuaders present their premises and conclusions. Reasonable premises are more likely to be successful in persuading others.

##### **4. Kairos**

A fourth mode of persuasion is proposed by some scholars (see 3) is kairos. It is defined as the correct time and/or place, opportunity or context in which the process of persuasion is taking place. It well matters when, where, , to whom and by whom the persuasive process is conducted.

## **5. Persuasion Techniques**

When speakers try to convince their audience of a specific point, they try to use some specific techniques to do so. However, these techniques are relative from one person to another and from one context to another in the sense of whom, where and when dichotomy

Yamboo (2020: 1-13) ( among many others ) proposes the following common techniques:

### **1. Claim**

Claim is the main point of the persuasion process which should be stated at first clearly and directly to alienate any other different and possible interpretation. Stating the claim firstly ensures what exactly the persuader wants from his audience and highlighted its value.

### **2. Repetition**

Repetition is a rhetorical and strategic technique used by persuaders to reinforce a piece of information in hearers' minds. Repeating the key words of the claim (i.e. subject matter) makes the claim itself familiar to the audience later on and turn it to be a state of fact. However, overuse of repetition irrationally may cause redundancy. So, such a technique should used rationally and logically and differently; i.e. by the use of different presentation of the same piece of information.

### **3. Colloquial Language**

The use of colloquial variety of language reinforce the relationship between the persuader and the persuadee due to the fact that it sounds informal and friendly.

### **4. Jargon**

Complex terminologies in the field related to the claim is a powerful technique to use specifically if the persuadee is , thus, qualified turning , thus, the claim to be logically and rationally determined. It more turns the claim , of whatever type, to be a state of fact rather than a claim.

### **5. Appeals**

It is the matter of appealing to the persuadee's desire, needs, fears, emotions, sorrow and feelings by evoking such emotions into the scene.

### **6. Inclusiveness**

The use of US/THEM dichotomy ( to use Van Dijk 2001 terminology) is a strategic technique in the persuasion process to create a bridge of involvement with the persuadee.

### **7. Rhetorical Questions**

Rhetorical questions are questions of no answers and those which turn the claim to be ultimately true because it has been conducted by the persuadee himself not the persuader. They direct the persuadee's attention to a specific point where the attempt to answer these questions to be the responsibility of the receiver rather than the sender.

### **8. Hyperbole**

Hyperbole or exaggeration is a technique used widely to persuade people. However, it has to be provided by proofs.

**9. Evidence** to reinforce the position of the persuader as a knowledgeable, rational and reliable evidence like statistics, expert opinions, research findings, and anecdotal evidence (like real short stories) can be used.

### **10. Bias:**

Representing a partial issue may influence others positively and to reject other opposing points of view.

### **11. Generalization:**

When an effect is experienced by many, then it turns to be true for all the others specifically if the generalizations are appropriate.

### **12. Analogy:**

Comparing two things together to make a specific point of view and highlight a specific issue is the essence of analogy and is effective in the persuasion process.

### **13. Humor:**

Using jokes and puns is effective in persuasion because the persuader is going to be sound like friendly.

### **14. Clichés:**

Clichés like proverbs are effective since it evokes the persuadee's minds to understand the claim's main point.

### **15. Connotations:**

Some words are similar in their meaning but have different connotations and the persuader should be careful to choose the words that suits the contest: e.g. Negro, the black man, the slave.

### **16. Figurative language:**

The use of rhetorical devices like metaphor, similes and symbolism, is an effective persuasion technique which gives the persuader the power of knowledge and sophistication.

## **7. Methodology and Data Analysis**

In the current study, one speech of the former president of the United State and two speeches of the candidate Hillary Clinton have been selected to be the data. The selection of such speeches is not random since one of them is of a male and the other two are of a female. Gender is highlighted in the selection of the data because the main aim of this study is to see practically how gender affects the process of persuasion. The data are analyzed according to the modes and techniques of persuasion to see which one of the speakers is more persuasive according to the use of modes and techniques of persuasion.

This study, to be noted, is ultimately discursive and linguistic and has nothing to do with the issues being conducted behind the curtain. Donald Trump's speech has been broadcasted on 22/7/2022 in Arizona and it is retrieved from (<https://www.nev.com/blog/transcripts/trumps-speech-in-arizona-7-22-22>). Due to the differences of length, two speeches of Clinton have been selected for the objectivity of the statistical analysis conducted. Accordingly, Clinton's speeches delivered on August, 20, 2020 and on Wednesday, 9 Nov. 2016 are selected. The first is retrieved from (<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/09/Hillary-clinton-concession-speech-full-transcript>) and the other is retrieved from (<https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/19/politics/hillary-clinton-speech-transcript/index.htm>).

Trump was calling on audience to vote for Republican candidates Kari Lake and Blake Masters for the USA senate. Trump starts with criticizing the current administration of J. Biden and his policy in USA in contrast to his own previous presidency. Clinton in her speeches congratulate Trump for the president-election and share sorrow with her campaign to lose the election persuading her audience not to lose faith in their case to fight for USA and to elect J. Biden in the coming election of the presidency.

### **7.1. Trump's Speech**

Reading Trump's speech critically, we can realize that Trump has made use of three modes of persuasion, ethos, logos and kairos, but not pathos. Trump has convinced his audience (including the researcher) as being qualified in his position to be a good leader of USA. In the case of ethos, Trump is well qualified in economics and politics since he knows what he is talking about professionally. His speech is full of statistical studies, and political maneuvers which prove that he is well qualified as an economic and political person. Consider the following example from his speech:

1 "It's costing families nearly \$6,000 a year, bigger than any tax increase ever proposed other than the tax increase that they want to propose right now."

2. “Under the Trump administration, we had the greatest economy in the history of the world with no inflation. No inflation. Biden created the worst inflation in 47 years. We’re at 9.1%, but the actual number is much, much higher than that. 3. It’s costing families”.

The use of these statistical conclusions proves that Donald Trump is well qualified that he uses scientific evidence to prove his claims.

Furthermore, Trump has used a lot of political and economic terminologies in his speech like ICE, MS-13 gaggle. Trump is aware of the meaning of these items to the extent that he starts explaining them and their consequences on people. He made use of strategic political maneuvers. Look at the following example:

3. “And I said to Mexico, “We need your help. We need your people on the border. They can’t come into our country.” And they said, “No, I’m sorry. We can’t do that.” I said, “Good. Then, I’m going to charge you 25% tariffs on all of the things that you make, including cars that are pouring into our country.” And they said, “On the other hand,” they said, “We would love to help you. We would really love to do it.” So, they gave us 28,000 soldiers. They were great”.

If this proves something it proves that Trump is aware of political maneuvering with Mexico and he can get his purposes being conducted peacefully.

Furthermore, Trump has made use of the mode of logos largely in his speech, what is said is always logically handled in a list of topos (to use Wodak's term 2001) of rational premises and conclusions. Consider the followings:

4. “Under the Trump administration, we had the greatest economy in the history of the world with no inflation. No inflation. Biden created the worst inflation in 47 years. We’re at 9.1%, but the actual number is much, much higher than that”.

5. “We created seven million new jobs with the lowest unemployment rates for American, and we had the best rates ever”.

6. “We created the safest border in the history of our country. And now we have the most unsafe border in the history of our country and I believe in the history of the world, because I really believe that no country, a third world country doesn’t have a border like we have”.

7. “Under Joe Biden last year, murders hit their highest rate we think ever in the history of our country”.

In example 4 above, Trump is saying that (premise) under his administration, there is no inflation but under J. Biden's administration, it is much higher, 9.1% which means that Biden fails as a leader but Trump succeeded. So, (conclusion) Trump (rather than Biden) should lead USA. In example 5 above, Trump says that he has succeeded in finding millions of jobs for all groups of people unlike Biden who burdens the American families of taxes. In example 6 above, Trump convinces the audience that he prevents the immigrants from getting into USA by building the safest border unlike Biden who

let them in causing many crimes. In example 7 above, Trump accused Biden of letting criminals in and causing higher rates of criminal deeds in USA (premise) and thus Trump is needed to get back to lessen this rate (conclusion). In this way of proposing topos and conclusions, Trump tries to convince his audience of J. Biden's failure in USA as a leader and as a president. Most of his speech relies on this mode of persuasion; logos.

Furthermore, Trump has made use of the kairos mode of persuasion since he made use of the contextual variables available in the scene. Arizona is on the board and surely such a position is going to affect the state by the immigrants. It is notable to say that Trump during his presidency prevented the immigrants from getting into USA because he believes that those immigrants cause many criminals in USA and they come to destroy rather than support the state. Even if the truth is exaggerated by Trump describing the deeds of the immigrants, still any state is affected negatively by immigrants socially, politically and economically. However, Trump wants to use this card to convince his audience that his decision to deprive immigrants from getting into USA is those people that Trump wants his audience to elect are originally from Arizona, so he tries to persuade his hearers to elect them and thus he

Notably, Trump in his speech never made use of the pathos mode of persuasion. He never tries to draw the sympathy of his audience to do something. On the contrary, he tries to draw their attention to use their minds critically and rationally to see the truth away from their feelings and emotions.

Furthermore, Trump uses many techniques to persuade his hearers to elect the two candidates in the USA senate directly and to have their votes in the next presidency election indirectly. First of all, Trump has proposed his main claim at the very beginning of his speech; i.e. he starts his speech declaring the purpose of his speech as shown in the following example:

8. "The people of Arizona are going to fire the radical left Democrats. You are going to elect a truly great woman who I've gotten to know very well, Kari Lake, as your next governor. You're going to send a brilliant guy who I have also gotten to know very well, Blake Masters, to the US Senate".

Then, Trump has made use of the technique of humor numerously. This technique is used to mock some people working with Joe Biden and to mock radical situations. Consider the followings:

9. "And we are going to end **crazy** Nancy Pelosi. She is **crazy**".

10. "It's costing families nearly \$6,000 a year, bigger than any tax increase ever proposed other than the tax increase that they want to propose right now. **Good luck with that**".

11. "They love knives. They like knives much better than guns".

12. "Every day, criminals, murderers, and sexual predators are pouring across our border and ending up right here, **congratulations**".

Furthermore, in his way to persuade his audience, Trump has used the technique of rhetorical questions to urge his hearers to use their minds and think of the facts critically and rationally themselves and deduce the truth. Consider again the following examples:

13. “We’ll have a depression. 1929, they had a thing called the Depression. You know that, right? They wish they could have had a recession only”.

14. “You know that, right?”

15. “You saw that, right?”

In addition, Trump used the technique of repetition rationally in a way which does not make audience feel boring and to attract their attention to something which is important to be a state of fact:

16. “but the media is so unfair to them and the radical left. The radical left”.

17. “they want to defund the police, police defund, how about defund the police?”

18. “it has to be stopped, it has to be stopped quickly”.

19. “no masks, no masks”.

20. “and they’re tough. Many of these people, they’re tough”.

21. “it is not good, it is not good”.

Trump, further, uses the technique of inclusive language. He has been using the pronoun " we", " our" and "us" about sixty eight times in the data analyzed. He has been using this technique to let his hearers feel involved in the issue and to feel the responsibility of changing the state of reality.

Also, the speaker used the technique of analogy directly and indirectly. He always makes use of comparisons between his and Biden's achievements. His achievements were rich and Biden's were poor. Indirectly, the whole speech is composed of a huge comparison Trump makes between him and Biden in the fields of politics, economics, immigrants, foreign affairs, space and etc. He has used this technique to urge his audience to think of the difference he made and that of Biden's. Consider the followings:

22. “Hundreds of thousands of people, and they have no intention of stopping it. It’s not even believable”.

23. “And instead of being proudly energy independent, which we were. Just two years ago, we were energy independent. We were even energy dominant. The United States is now a beggar for energy. We’re a beggar for energy”.

24. “he is all talk no action”

In addition, Trump exploits the technique of colloquial language here and there in his speech to give the audience the impression of his involvement and to melt the distance between him and his audience. Consider the following examples:

25. “who the hell knows?”

26. “they call it gaggle”.

However, except for these two cases, Trump has never used colloquial language which gives the impression that he is intelligible and educated and using these two examples are strategic rather random.

Further, Trump has used the technique of hyperbole exhaustively. He exaggerates issues to a higher extent to raise the audience's sense of responsibility of changing the state of fact in the future when a new election of presidency takes place. Look at the followings:

27. “They like knives much better than guns because a knife kills you slower and it inflicts great pain. And they’ve used them many times to kill people and ICE will walk in there and they’ll walk in swinging”.

28. “It’s a humanitarian and national security disaster”.

29. “Every day, criminals, murderers, and sexual predators are pouring across our border and ending up right here, congratulations, in the state of Arizona, right in your wonderful Arizona. Wasn’t supposed to be like that”.

30. “Under Joe Biden last year, murders hit their highest rate we think ever in the history of our country”.

Trump in these examples de-emphasizes Biden's strategy to let the immigrants in and he highly exaggerated the deeds of those immigrants.

Figurative language as a technique is also used in Trump speech. However, those sentences containing such figurative language are easily grasped by the audience because Trump wants to be direct, simple, clear and comprehensive to a large extent. Still, the use of this technique proves Trump to be a well-aware person of his own language. These figurative language cases sound to be strategic rather than random.

31. “The only ones that don’t have to wear masks are if you come across the Southern border”.

Here, the mask is used symbolically to refer to the fact that those criminals are unlike those whom people know to wear masks when they do their crimes, because they fear the consequences of their deeds. Those new criminals coming from abroad are not afraid of Biden and his government, they dare enter USA and do their crimes publically.

32. “they love knives”

The word "Knives" , here, has been used figuratively to refer to the huge source of pain and dying brutally.

33. "he is all talk and no action".

In the above example, Trump makes a comparison between Dong Ducey ( Biden's man) and Kari Lake (Trump's man), just like the difference between night and day respectively.

Trump has used , lastly, the technique of evidence exhaustively. He has used statistics , and anecdotal evidence. Anecdotal evidence is clear in his selection of the stories and deeds related to the immigrants which the following extract from his speech shows:

34. "And, as everyone knows, just this month, an illegal alien criminal in Ohio was charged with repeatedly raping a 10-year-old girl".

In this series of actions conducted by the immigrants , Trump persuades his hearers to consider the issue of immigrants in a rational way ( see appendix 1 for the examples in this section).

## **7.2. Hillary Clinton's Speeches**

Astonishingly, Clinton's speeches are clear from the use of any mode of persuasion but the pathos. She has not made use of logos, ethos or kairos. There is no appeal to authority in the sense that Clinton does not show any knowledge in politics or economy. She has not made use of statistics , terminologies related to these fields or even strategic maneuverings. Furthermore, Clinton does not made use of logos in the sense that her two speeches constitute only calling for voting for someone ( other than even herself). The premises used (if any) are very weak in the sense that she chooses individual deeds to make generalizations about a huge issue. Kairos as the fourth mode of persuasion has not been also used at all in the two selected speeches.

Still, Clinton used the mode of pathos when she tries her best to affect the audience emotively. She tries to touch their humanity by referring to individual cases like the story of Tyrone Gayle and Dr. Jill Biden's decision to keep her teaching job after her husband 's election as a president (see Appendix 2). Her speeches are full of words of love and regret.

Furthermore, the techniques used by Clinton in the two speeches are relatively few ( in comparison to Trump). First, the claims that Clinton adopts in the two speeches are not represented clearly till the end of the speeches. The claim in the two speeches is the same which is to vote for Joe Biden and the democratic party in the next election. However, in none of the speeches , she states this at the very beginning. Although she starts congratulating Trump for his election as a president, she tried her best to persuade and beg people to elect her party's member in the next election.

The most salient technique Clinton used are : repetition, inclusive language , generalization and appealing. Repetition is one the most prominent techniques Clinton has used in the two speeches. However, her repetition was not rational at all because

when requests are repeated exhaustively, they turn to be begging. The word "vote" has been repeated fourteen times in only fourteen lines (see appendix 2), which turns her request to a begging. Inclusive language is the other technique used by Clinton since she has used the pronouns "we, our, us" about eighty seven times in her two speeches in contrast to forty one use of the exclusive pronoun "me/I" dichotomy. Still, her two speeches do not contain a sense of involvement since she was so formal all the time and using the pronouns of inclusion does not help her much to be inclusive but shows her at a higher level than those she is speaking with due to the high rate of the use of "I / me" dichotomy.

Clinton, further, used another technique; generalization. She wanted to prove huge issues by individual cases. She wanted to persuade her audience to adopt the immigration issue by having a sample of those immigrants that she knows; Kamala Harris' parents as shown in the following example :

35. "Tonight I am thinking of the girls and boys who see themselves in America's future because of Kamala Harris—a Black woman, the daughter of Jamaican and Indian immigrants, and our nominee for Vice President of the United States. This is our country's story: breaking down barriers and expanding the circle of possibility".

Also, in the following example, Clinton picks a single situation to make a generalization that Kamala deserves to be elected:

36. "When her press secretary Tyrone Gayle, a remarkable young man who had also worked on my campaign, was dying of cancer, she dropped everything to be with him in his final moments. Because that's who she is".

Clinton seems to be unaware of the techniques of persuasion. Her speeches were full of statements of encouraging her audience to fight for what they believe in. If her speeches continue in this way, we believe that none would be persuaded of what she is talking about. Even she was not bias neither to Trump nor to Biden or Kamala, once she congratulates Trump for the election and evoke the listerns to give him a chance.

37. "We owe Donald Trump an open mind and the chance to lead." I really meant it. Every president deserves that. And Trump walked into the Oval Office with so much set up for him: A strong economy. Plans for managing crises".

38. "I hope that he will be a successful president for all Americans".

Then she starts attacking him :

39. "Remember in 2016 when Trump asked: "What do you have to lose?" Well, now we know: our health, our jobs, even our lives. Our leadership in the world and, yes, our post office. As Michelle Obama and Bernie Sanders warned us on Monday: If Trump is re-elected, it will get even worse".

Then she starts defending Biden and Kamala:

40. “Remember: Joe and Kamala can win 3 million more votes and still lose. Take. It. From. Me. We need numbers so overwhelming Trump can’t sneak or steal his way to victory. So text VOTE to 30330 and let’s go win”.

So, Clinton was not even bias to any party. She made no use of humor, jargon, colloquial language, no use of rhetorical questions, no hyperboles, no evidence, no cliché, no figurative language, no analogy and no connotations.

Still, Clinton uses the technique of appealing to her hearers' emotions, desires, needs and pride. She tries to affect them emotionally to persuade them of her objectives. So, she directed her speeches to the weakest circle; to the young people because she feels that this is the group that can be affected emotively easily.

41. “Tonight I am thinking of the girls and boys who see themselves in America’s future because of Kamala Harris—a Black woman, the daughter of Jamaican and Indian immigrants, and our nominee for Vice President of the United States”.

42. “vote for parents struggling to balance their children's' education and their safety”.

43. “Let’s vote for the jobs Joe will create, and for emergency relief that lifts small businesses and hardworking people. Because it’s wrong that the wealthiest Americans got \$400 billion richer during the pandemic while 40 million people lost their jobs”.

44. “Vote for parents struggling to balance their child’s education and their safety. And for health care workers fighting COVID-19 with no help from the White House. Vote for paid family leave and health care for everyone. Vote to protect Social Security, Medicare, reproductive rights, and our planet”.

45. “Vote for Dreamers and their families. For law enforcement that serves and respects communities of color. Vote for justice for George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Ahmaud Arbery, because Black Lives Matter”.

46. “Vote to make sure we—not a foreign adversary—choose our president”.

47. “Vote for the America we saw in the roll call last night: diverse, compassionate, full of energy and hope. Vote like our lives and livelihoods are on the line, because they are”.

The following table ( table 1) shows the use of the modes and techniques of persuasion by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton.

Table (1) : The Speakers' Use of Modes and Techniques of Persuasion

Speakers	Modes of Persuasion				Techniques of Persuasion																
	Ethos	Pathos	Logos	Kairos	repetition	Colloquial language	jargon	appeal	Inclusive language	Rhetorical question	Hyperbole	Evidence	biases	generalization	analogy	Humor	cliches	connotation	Figurative language	evidence	
Donald Trump	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
Hillary Clinton	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

**8. Conclusion :**

According to the analysis conducted above, Trump seems to be more successful than Clinton in persuading his hearers to change the state of affairs. He seems to be successful in following three out of four of the modes of persuasion and twelve out of the sixteen technique of persuasion. Still, he has never used the mode of pathos and the techniques of appeal. In other words, Trump never touches the audience's hearts but mind. As an economist , Trump believes in the mind rather than emotions. He has made use of every single variable he has including the content of situation... and the Linguistic tools to persuade his audience. If this proves something, it proves that Trump is a man of thoughts not feelings.

Clinton, on the other hand has made use of the mode of pathos missing thus most of the techniques related to the other modes. She was passionate feeling depressed sometimes and her speeches were full of emotive and encouraging. However, her language was free of most of the techniques of persuasion. Being a woman, it is expected that Clinton would choose the pathos mode of persuasion. But, what is unexpected that the mode of pathos is only related to some techniques of persuasion. So, Clinton was deprived from those techniques related to the other modes of persuasion.

Accordingly, there seems to be a strong relation between the modes of persuasion and the persuasions' techniques. Logos mode is related to the techniques of repetition, Jargon, hyperbole, evidence, bias, generalization, analogy, connotation, cliché and humor. The ethos mode is related to the :claim, jargon, rhetorical questions and figurative language. The mode of pathos is related to the techniques of appeal, inclusion, and repetition. The mode of kairos is related to : colloquial language, inclusion, bias, cliché and connotation.

These relations are realized when the discourse is analyzed since for instance logos mode is related to any rational way of expressing opinions including repetition, jargon (the use of technical terms), connotation which is logically oriented (when rational), humor which is a philosophical way of representing issues (when conducted rationally) and cliché. When repetition is irrational then it is related to the mode of pathos when it is used to affect others emotionally. Accordingly, when Clinton choose to use the pathos mode, she was deprived from the other techniques which pushes her to a narrow path of few options and thus she was unsuccessful.

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Appendix (1) : Trump’s Speech in Arizona 7/22/22 ,Jul 24, 2022

Donald J. Trump:

Thank you very much. very much. Wow! Thank you very much and a very, very big hello to an incredible place. It’s called Arizona. Thank you. It’s great to be back in this beautiful state with thousands of proud, hardworking American patriots, which is what you are four months from now. The people of Arizona are going to fire the radical left Democrats. You are going to elect a truly great woman who I’ve gotten to know very well, Kari Lake, as your next governor. You’re going to send a brilliant guy who I have also gotten to know very well, Blake Masters, to the US Senate. You’re going to elect an incredible slate of America First Republicans up and down the ballot.

And we are going to end crazy Nancy Pelosi. She is crazy. Her political career once and for all ended. You could take the five worst presidents in American history and put them together and they would not have done the damage Joe Biden has done to our country in less than two short years. The contrast between the Trump administration’s amazing success and Joe Biden’s breathtaking failure could not be more stark. You see it right here in your state. You see hundreds of thousands of people pouring into your state. Hundreds of thousands of people, and they have no intention of stopping it. It’s not even believable.

Let’s look at some of the facts. Less than two years ago when I was in office, gas, gasoline, that thing called gasoline, now nobody wants to even talk about it, was \$1.87 cents a gallon. And now it’s five, six, seven, and even in some places, eight and \$9 a gallon. Only going to get worse. We gave you the largest tax cuts and

regulation cuts in American history, even larger than the Reagan tax cuts that once held the record by a lot, actually. The radical Democrats intend to impose the largest tax hike in American history. That's what they want to do. They think raising taxes is a wonderful thing so they can waste it on things like the Green New Deal. You know what that is? In 300 years from now, the ocean will be one-eighth of an inch higher according to that or maybe lower, too. Who the hell knows? Who knows? And they're working feverishly to pile on more regulations at levels never seen before. Nobody's ever seen anything like what they're trying to do.

Under the Trump administration, we had the greatest economy in the history of the world with no inflation. No inflation. Biden created the worst inflation in 47 years. We're at 9.1%, but the actual number is much, much higher than that. And it's going higher and higher all the time. It's costing families nearly \$6,000 a year, bigger than any tax increase ever proposed other than the tax increase that they want to propose right now. Good luck with that.

We created seven million new jobs with the lowest unemployment rates for American, and we had the best rates ever. We had the lowest rates, unemployment for Americans and for African Americans, we had the best numbers, and for Hispanic Americans, we had the best numbers. And for Asian Americans, we had the best numbers ever in recorded history. We had the best numbers for every group, women, men, high school diploma, no diploma, MIT diplomas, doctors. We had the best numbers for every group. There wasn't one group, one group that had worse numbers than what they had. Nobody's ever done anything like it. And we were beating China so badly, so badly. We had a record 164 million people working, far more than we have today. We achieved the largest poverty reduction in 50 years. We lifted seven million people off of food stamps and we lifted 10 million people off of welfare, 10 million people off of welfare. And they were happy because they got a great job and they were making more money than they'd ever seen before. Under Biden, there are still 4 million people who have not returned to the labor force. Real wages are collapsing and we're on the verge of a devastating, and this is devastating. It's called stagflation. Look it up. It's not good. It's not good. And what I'm concerned about, they keep talking about having some reversals.

I don't want people mentioning the word depression because where we're going now could be a very bad place. We got to get this act in order, we have to get this country going, or we're going to have a serious problem. Not recession. Not recession. Recession's a nice word. We're going to have a much bigger problem than recession. We'll have a depression. 1929, they had a thing called the Depression. You know that, right? They wish they could have had a recession only.

I rebuilt our military, including our nuclear capability and creation of Space Force. Space Force. Not since the Air Force 80 years ago had anything taken place like Space Force. And we're lucky we have it. And a lot of it comes out of the state of Arizona. You know that, right? A lot of it. A lot of it. A lot of it's here.

They surrendered our strength and turned Afghanistan into the greatest humiliation our country has ever seen. And not the fact that we were leaving because I was getting him way down. I had us down to a number that we hadn't seen in many, many years, but the way we were leaving, a total surrender.

We created the safest border. Think of it. We created the safest border in the history of our country. And now we have the most unsafe border in the history of our country and I believe in the history of the world, because I really believe that no country, a third world country doesn't have a border like we have. There's never been anything like it. And you're talking about millions and millions of people coming in unvetted, coming in from jails from 141 different countries. What they're doing to our country is ruining it. They're poisoning our country. We ended catch and release. We deported record numbers of illegal aliens and gang members.

And we built hundreds of miles of border wall. In fact, we completely finished our original plan, despite two-and-a-half years of Democrat-inspired lawsuits. They sued me from day one on the wall, two-and-a-half years in court. We won every one of them. We finished the wall and then we added much wall. We added a lot of additional wall. They said, "We could use some wall over here." Remember they said, "Walls don't work." "Walls and wheels," I used to say. They have all sorts of computers and technology. Two things that always happen, a wall and a wheel. They're never going to be replaced, I don't think. I don't know. When you find something better than a wheel, let me know, please. Three weeks was all they would've taken to complete the remaining portion of the wall. We had this thing going like nobody's ever seen it. It had a huge impact. And I want to thank the president of Mexico. He gave us 28,000 soldiers free of charge. 28,000 soldiers free of charge. And we had a great relationship on the border with Mexico for the first time.

Now you see what's happened. That whole relationship has gone and people are flooding us. Never happened like this. Never. Nothing like this has ever happened. And I said to Mexico, "We need your help. We need your people on the border. They can't come into our country." And they said, "No, I'm sorry. We can't do that." I said, "Good. Then, I'm going to charge you 25% tariffs on all of the things that you make, including cars that are pouring into our country." And they said, "On the other hand," they said, "We would love to help you. We would really love to do it." So, they gave us 28,000 soldiers. They were great. Actually, they did a very, very good job. We had the best numbers we've ever had.

The border was the best and the safest in US history and they've turned it into the worst in US history, maybe of any country. So, I mean, think of it. And instead of being proudly energy independent, which we were. Just two years ago, we were energy independent. We were even energy dominant. The United States is now a beggar for energy. We're a beggar for energy.

It's crazy. It's crazy. Think of it. Energy, the border, Afghanistan, the way we got out. Do you know in Afghanistan, I spoke to Abdul, the leader of the Taliban and I said, "Abdul, you can't kill our people anymore. You kill our people, we're going to hit you so hard. You can't do it, Abdul." And you know what? And actually Biden acknowledged this. I didn't think he realized it, to be honest. I was very impressed, but 18 months, not one American soldier was killed. And then they did a surrender.

Then the United States did a surrender, leaving all of that equipment, leaving many American citizens behind. Right now, you have many people living in Afghanistan that don't want to be there and who knows what's even happening to them. And think of all of those soldiers that were hurt, killed. We lost 13, but some were horrifically injured, no legs, no arms and worse. You've never seen anything like it. And we had it just where we wanted it. We could have gotten out with dignity and strength. Instead we did something that was, I think in my opinion, the greatest embarrassment that we've ever had in the history of our country. Biden and the radical left have turned calm into chaos, competence into incompetence, stability into anarchy, prosperity into poverty, and security into a total catastrophe. The election was rigged and stolen and now our country is being systematically destroyed because of it.

And I appreciate your state and others. You saw what's going on in Wisconsin with the nursing homes, thousands and thousands and thousands of crooked votes. You saw that, right? Where almost everybody voted, almost everybody voted, but historically only a very small portion voted. I guess they voted because they had such a great enthusiasm for a person that campaigned from the basement, but it's nursing homes and many other things. And I have to hand it to the people of Wisconsin and so do you. And I want to hand the people of Arizona because you don't stop. You know what happened.

And in many ways, and I can say that truly in your state, in many ways, the RINOs are worse than the Democrats. Let me tell you that. I ran twice, I won twice and did much better the second time than I did the first, getting millions more votes in 2020 than we got in 2016. And likewise getting more votes than any sitting president in the history of our country by far. And now, we may have to do it again. Might have to do it again.

I mean, look at what has happened to our country in less than two years. Our country, it's like a different place. It's so sad to see. But first we have to win a historic victory for the Republican Party this November when we retake Congress among our highest priorities, must be to end the nightmare Joe Biden has created on our Southern border and your governor, Doug Ducey has done absolutely nothing to help. Talk about RINOs.

He's all talk and no action and you'll see what can happen when Kari Lake becomes your governor. It'll be like day and night. Day and night.

It'll be like day and night, it will, and she'll get it done quickly. She knows what has to be done and she's tough and smart and a very good person. This year alone, right here in Arizona, Border Patrol has reported 732% increase. You believe this? Seven. Not a hundred, not 50, not 25, a 700, and this comes from Border Patrol, who are great people. By the way. Brandon, we love you, Brandon, great people.

And ICE. Would anybody here like a job in ICE, where you walk into an MS-13 gaggle. They call it a gaggle. You walk into a group of people, MS-13, and they love knives. They like knives much better than guns because a knife kills you slower and it inflicts great pain. And they've used them many times to kill people and ICE will walk in there and they'll walk in swinging.

And I know if some of the people in the first row, some of you are actually mentally tough, but you know what? Couple of you are very financially tough. You're not going to be in ICE. I tell you right now. These guys are really patriots. They're incredible people. And they get it from the people, but the media is so unfair to them and the radical left. The radical left, without them, you wouldn't even have a country without ICE and the Border Patrol and the police step, police defund. How about defund the police? Think of it. They want open borders. They want no voter ID. They want to defund the police. They don't believe in God. They don't believe in oil. They don't believe in the Second Amendment. And then they're supposed to win elections. I don't think so. I don't think so.

Border patrollers reported a 732% increase in illegal crossings at your border compared to when I ran it, which is 2020, we had numbers the likes of which, in the low side, and that included drugs and human trafficking. Hadn't been so low in 34 years, including over 19,000 unaccompanied minor youth being dumped by coyotes and smugglers with no parents or no supervision, just dumped on our land. It's a humanitarian and national security disaster and it has to be stopped and it has to be stopped quickly. Every day, criminals, murderers, and sexual predators are pouring across our border and ending up right here, congratulations, in the state of Arizona, right in your wonderful Arizona. Wasn't supposed to be like that. Nobody's ever seen anything like it. Other countries are emptying out their prisons and sending the worst criminals the world has ever known right into the United States.

Last month, 141 different countries were represented by people coming in. Can you imagine? Most people don't even know we have 141 countries on this planet. We actually have a lot more than that, but we have 141 countries represented last month. Recently, an illegal alien was sentenced for brutally stabbing to death a 33-year-old man at a hotel in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, a great place. Horrible thing.

Last year, an illegal alien in Pennsylvania, viciously murdered a 23-year-old woman, beautiful, tremendous woman with a lifetime ahead of her like few people could have, incredible person, with a knife, stabbing her repeatedly and throwing her body under a pile of trees. In April, an illegal alien in Georgia was arrested after allegedly going on a rampage of sexual assaults, attacking more than 20 different women and

then hurting them all very badly. And, as everyone knows, just this month, an illegal alien criminal in Ohio was charged with repeatedly raping a 10-year-old girl.

These are just a few of the tens of thousands of violent acts being perpetrated by these criminals pouring into our country. We have no idea who they are. We have no idea where they come from. No tests, no nothing, no masks, no mask. The only ones that don't have to wear masks are if you come across the Southern border. They're going back to a mask policy now. You heard that.

The radical Democrats have turned our country into one giant sanctuary for dangerous criminal aliens. In the Republican Party, we believe our country should be a sanctuary for law abiding citizens who love America. We're going to make America great again. Our first task is to make America safe again. Under Joe Biden last year, murders hit their highest rate we think ever in the history of our country. Under a Republican Congress, we should pass emergency funding to hire thousands more police officers, which we'll be doing nationwide to put violent criminals behind bars and keep them behind bars. Leave our police alone. Let them do their job and give them back with the respect they deserve. They know what to do. They can solve the problem. We have to allow them to do what they can do best.

Instead of targeting Republicans, conservatives, Christians, and patriotic parents, the Biden administration should try going and dismantling the street gangs, MS-13, most vicious gang of all, and these horrible criminal cartels the likes of which we've never seen to the extent that we have now. The caravans are getting bigger, better, more powerful. 25, 30,000 people sometimes now. See, I worked with Mexico and Mexico allowed them to come when I first came in. By the time a couple of years went by, Mexico wanted no part of them because they knew there'd be retribution from the United States and Mexico would break them up. But now they're coming in like nobody has ever seen before and they're tough. Many of these people, they're tough. Instead of taking guns away from law abiding Americans, we should try taking them away from the violent felons and career criminals for a change, enforcing existing laws, to get them in jail after the carnage that they've caused.

Appendix (2) Transcript: Hillary Clinton's DNC speech Updated 1:19 AM EDT, Thu August 20, 2020 Video Ad Feedback Hillary Clinton offers cautionary tale about this election 06:34 - Source: [CNN](#)

Good evening. After the last election, I said, "We owe Donald Trump an open mind and the chance to lead." I really meant it. Every president deserves that. And Trump walked into the Oval Office with so much set up for him: A strong economy. Plans for managing crises—like a pandemic.

Yes, we Democrats would have disagreed with him on many, many things. But if he had put his own interests and ego aside—if he could have seen the humanity in a child ripped from her parents at the border or a protester calling for justice or a family whose home was destroyed by a wildfire who happened to live in a blue

state—if he had even tried to govern well and lead us all—he might have proved us wrong. And that would have been a good thing, for America and the world.

I wish Donald Trump had been a better president. Because America needs a better president than this.

America needs a president who shows the same compassion, determination, and leadership in the White House that we see in our communities. Throughout this crisis, Americans have kept going—checking on neighbors, showing up to jobs at grocery stores and nursing homes. Because it still takes a village.

#### Ad Feedback

We need leaders equal to this moment. We need Joe Biden and Kamala Harris.

Everyone has a story about Joe’s thoughtfulness and empathy. I remember him calling after my mother, Dorothy, died. We talked about being raised by strong, no-nonsense women. When I walked with him through the house where he grew up in Scranton, he remembered every detail—about the house, the neighborhood, the people who lived there, and the values they shared. There is no better testament to Joe’s character than his family—including his wife, Dr. Jill Biden, who has said she will keep her teaching job as First Lady. That’s outstanding.

And boy, did Joe, pick the right partner in Kamala Harris—another daughter of an extraordinary mother. Kamala is relentless in the pursuit of justice, and uncommonly kind. When her press secretary Tyrone Gayle, a remarkable young man who had also worked on my campaign, was dying of cancer, she dropped everything to be with him in his final moments. Because that’s who she is.

I know a thing or two about the slings and arrows coming her way. Kamala can handle them all.

This is the team to pull our nation back from the brink and build back better. But they can’t do it without all of us.

For four years, people have said to me, “I didn’t realize how dangerous he was.” “I wish I could go back and do it over.” “I should have voted.” This can’t be another woulda-coulda-shoulda election. If you’re voting by mail, request your ballot now, and send it back as soon as you can. If you vote in person, do it early. Bring a friend and wear a mask. Become a poll worker.

Most of all, no matter what, vote. And convince everyone you know to vote.

Remember in 2016 when Trump asked: “What do you have to lose?” Well, now we know: our health, our jobs, even our lives. Our leadership in the world and, yes, our post office. As Michelle Obama and Bernie Sanders warned us on Monday: If Trump is re-elected, it will get even worse. My friends, we need unity now more than ever.

But let's set our sights higher than getting one man out of the White House. Let's vote for the jobs Joe will create, and for emergency relief that lifts small businesses and hardworking people. Because it's wrong that the wealthiest Americans got \$400 billion richer during the pandemic while 40 million people lost their jobs.

Vote for parents struggling to balance their child's education and their safety. And for health care workers fighting COVID-19 with no help from the White House. Vote for paid family leave and health care for everyone. Vote to protect Social Security, Medicare, reproductive rights, and our planet.

Vote for DREAMers and their families. For law enforcement that serves and respects communities of color. Vote for justice for George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Ahmaud Arbery, because Black Lives Matter.

Vote to make sure we—not a foreign adversary—choose our president.

Vote for the America we saw in the roll call last night: diverse, compassionate, full of energy and hope. Vote like our lives and livelihoods are on the line, because they are.

Remember: Joe and Kamala can win 3 million more votes and still lose. Take. It. From. Me. We need numbers so overwhelming Trump can't sneak or steal his way to victory. So text VOTE to 30330 and let's go win.

One hundred years ago yesterday, the 19th Amendment was ratified. It took seven decades of suffragists marching, picketing, and going to jail to push us closer to that more perfect union. Fifty-five years ago, John Lewis marched and bled in Selma because that work was unfinished.

Tonight I am thinking of the girls and boys who see themselves in America's future because of Kamala Harris—a Black woman, the daughter of Jamaican and Indian immigrants, and our nominee for Vice President of the United States. This is our country's story: breaking down barriers and expanding the circle of possibility.

So to all the young people: Don't give up on America. Despite our flaws and problems, we have come so far. And we can still be a more just and equal country, full of opportunities previous generations could never have imagined.

There's a lot of heartbreak in America right now—and the truth is, many things were broken before the pandemic. But, as the saying goes, the world breaks everyone at one point or another, and afterward, many are stronger in the broken places. Joe Biden knows how to heal, because he's done it himself.

So come November, we will be strong together. We will heal together. We will redeem the soul and promise of this country together. We will elect Joe Biden and Kamala Harris—together.

Appendix (3) Hillary Clinton's concession speech (full text) Published 12:39 PM EST, Wed November 9, 2016

Thank you. Thank you all.

Thank you. Thank you all have much.

Thank you. Thank you all very much. Thank you so much. A very rowdy group. Thank you, my friends. Thank you. Thank you.

Thank you so very much for being here. I love you all, too. Last night I congratulated Donald Trump and offered to work with him on behalf of our country.

I hope that he will be a successful president for all Americans. This is not the outcome we wanted or we worked so hard for, and I'm sorry we did not win this election for the values we share and the vision we hold for our country.

But I feel pride and gratitude for this wonderful campaign that we built together. This vast, diverse, creative, unruly, energized campaign. You represent the best of America, and being your candidate has been one of the greatest honors of my life.

I know how disappointed you feel, because I feel it too. And so do tens of millions of Americans who invested their hopes and dreams in this effort. This is painful, and it will be for a long time. But I want you to remember this.

Our campaign was never about one person, or even one election. It was about the country we love and building an America that is hopeful, inclusive, and big-hearted. We have seen that our nation is more deeply divided than we thought. But I still believe in America, and I always will. And if you do, then we must accept this result and then look to the future. Donald Trump is going to be our president. We owe him an open mind and the chance to lead. Our constitutional democracy enshrines the peaceful transfer of power.

We don't just respect that. We cherish it. It also enshrines the rule of law; the principle we are all equal in rights and dignity; freedom of worship and expression. We respect and cherish these values, too, and we must defend them.

Let me add: Our constitutional democracy demands our participation, not just every four years, but all the time. So let's do all we can to keep advancing the causes and values we all hold dear. Making our economy work for everyone, not just those at the top, protecting our country and protecting our planet.

And breaking down all the barriers that hold any American back from achieving their dreams. We spent a year and a half bringing together millions of people from every corner of our country to say with one voice that we believe that the American dream is big enough for everyone.

For people of all races, and religions, for men and women, for immigrants, for LGBT people, and people with disabilities. For everyone.

I am so grateful to stand with all of you. I want to thank Tim Kaine and Anne Holton for being our partners on this journey.

It has been a joy get to go know them better and gives me great hope and comfort to know that Tim will remain on the front lines of our democracy representing Virginia in the Senate.

To Barack and Michelle Obama, our country owes you an enormous debt of gratitude.

We thank you for your graceful, determined leadership that has meant so much to so many Americans and people across the world. And to Bill and Chelsea, Mark, Charlotte, Aidan, our brothers and our entire family, my love for you means more than I can ever express.

You crisscrossed this country, even 4-month-old Aidan, who traveled with his mom. I will always be grateful to the talented, dedicated men and women at our headquarters in Brooklyn and across our country.

You poured your hearts into this campaign. To some of you who are veterans, it was a campaign after you had done other campaigns. Some of you, it was your first campaign. I want each of you to know that you were the best campaign anybody could have ever expected or wanted.

And to the millions of volunteers, community leaders, activists and union organizers who knocked on doors, talked to their neighbors, posted on Facebook — even in secret private Facebook sites.

I want everybody coming out from behind that and make sure your voices are heard going forward.

To anyone that sent contributions, even as small as \$5, that kept us going, thank you. To all of us, and to the young people in particular, I hope you will hear this — I have, as Tim said, I have spent my entire life fighting for what I believe in.

I've had successes and setbacks and sometimes painful ones. Many of you are at the beginning of your professional, public, and political careers — you will have successes and setbacks too.

This loss hurts, but please never stop believing that fighting for what's right is worth it.

It is, it is worth it. and so we need — we need you to keep up these fights now and for the rest of your lives. And to all the women, and especially the young women, who put their faith in this campaign and in me: I want you to know that nothing has made me prouder than to be your champion.

Now, I know we have still not shattered that highest and hardest glass ceiling, but someday someone will — and hopefully sooner than we might think right now.

And to all of the little girls who are watching this, never doubt that you are valuable and powerful and deserving of every chance and opportunity in the world to pursue and achieve your own dreams.

Finally, finally, I am so grateful for our country and for all it has given to me.

I count my blessings every single day that I am an American, and I still believe, as deeply as I ever have, that if we stand together and work together with respect for our differences, strengthen our convictions, and love for this nation, our best days are still ahead of us.

Because, you know, I believe we are stronger together and we will go forward together. And you should never, ever regret fighting for that. You know, scripture tells us, let us not grow weary of doing good, for in good season we shall reap. My friends, let us have faith in each other, let us not grow weary and lose heart, for there are more seasons to come and there is more work to do.

I am incredibly honored and grateful to have had this chance to represent all of you in this consequential election.

May God bless you and may God bless the United States of America