



**UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA**

***PERSUASION IN THE USE OF FUNCTIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL  
STRATEGIES IN TRUMP AND CLINTON'S 2016 PRESIDENTIAL  
DEBATES***

**AHMED HASANI YASEEN**

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By

**AHMED HASANI YASEEN**

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia, in  
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**October 2020**

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Abstract of thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**PERSUASION IN THE USE OF FUNCTIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL STRATEGIES IN TRUMP AND CLINTON'S 2016 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES**

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**AHMED HASANI YASEEN**

**October 2020**

**Chairman : Afida Mohamad Ali, PhD**  
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Studies on political debates have mainly emphasised on critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a means of analysing the politicians' speeches. This study explores the functional and ideological strategies used by Hillary Clinton and her rival Donald Trump in the presidential debates (PDs) of the U.S. 2016. The study adopts Benoit's (2007) functional theory and van Dijk's (2000a) ideological strategies for its analytical framework.

However, rare previous studies have investigated PDs from the U.S. presidential election campaign using Benoit functional theory combined with van Dijk ideological strategies in addition to the Critical Discourse Analysis method. And scarce studies deal with ideology and/or persuasion in the U.S. 2016 PDs. Studies that exist paid no attention to how ideological and functional strategies could appeal and persuade the audience.

The current study is analysing functions and ideologies which the PCs used as ways to persuade the audience. Also, it looks at which of the ideological strategies used that overlap with the functional categories in order to further see the strategies within the functions. Hence, by looking at these overlaps and marking the types of strategies used in tandem with the functions, one can perhaps assume how each PC attempts to persuade and convince the audience.

The research objectives of this study aim to, first, determine the ideological strategies used under the functional strategies that are utilised by Trump and Clinton in the U.S. 2016 PDs; second, analyse the functional strategies (i.e. acclaim, attack, and defence that are based on topics) which are used by both presidential candidates (PCs) to persuade the voters. Third, it seeks to compare Trump and Clinton's use of ideological and functional strategies in relation to persuasion; fourth, explain the

prominent role of Trump and Clinton's presidential debates in shaping their preferability as best candidate for a president to the voters.

Data was collected from The Times New York website, and a qualitative approach is adopted in analysing the data using ATLAS.ti.7 software programme. The findings revealed, after drawing a comparison to the strategies used by both PCs, that the dominant ideological strategies are: interaction and context, negative other-presentation, vagueness, generalisation, polarisation, populism, actor description, number game, positive self-presentation, disclaimers, repetition, and norm expression. In addition, the functional strategies that are used by Trump and Clinton are attack, acclaim, and defence based on policy and character. In relation to the PCs, these strategies, according to Benoit (2007), represent one of the keys that can be used in winning the election campaign, because the voters may be persuaded by the PC who uses these strategies efficiently compared to the rival. The findings of the study show that the voters may be persuaded by the ideological and functional strategies used by both PCs, and they would vote for the most suitable PC. Also, the findings indicate that the sequence of using the functional strategies, which is attack, acclaim, defence, differ from that stated in Benoit's (2007) functional theory (acclaim, attack, defence). That is, the findings that concern with Benoit's functional theory reveal that this theory needs some improvements to address the use of the strategy of attack rather than acclaim as observed in the U.S. 2016 PDs.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk mendapatkan Ijazah Doktor Falsafah

**PERUNDINGAN DALAM PENGGUNAAN STRATEGI FUNGSI DAN  
IDEOLOGI DALAM PERDEBATAN PRESIDEN 2016 OLEH TRUMP DAN  
CLINTON**

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Kajian analisis wacana kritis (AWK) ini memberi tumpuan terhadap perdebatan politik sebagai kaedah untuk menganalisis ucapan dalam kalangan ahli politik. Fokus kajian ini terhadap strategi fungsional dan ideologi yang digunakan oleh Hillary Clinton dan pesaingnya, iaitu Donald Trump dalam perdebatan presiden Amerika Syarikat pada tahun 2016. Oleh itu, Strategi Fungsional Benoit (2007) dan Strategi Ideologi Van Dijk (2000a) diterapkan dalam kerangka analisis kajian ini. Hasil penelitian pengkaji, didapati bahawa kajian terdahulu berkaitan perdebatan presiden dalam kempen pilihanraya di Amerika Syarikat jarang menggunakan teori fungsional Benoit yang digabungkan dengan strategi ideologi Van Dijk sebagai ciri tambahan kepada kaedah Analisis Wacana Kritis. Oleh itu, pengkaji melakukan kajian strategi ideologi dan fungsional dalam perdebatan presiden yang bertujuan untuk menarik perhatian dan menyakinkan penyokong oleh Trump dan Clinton ini. Setelah kajian terdahulu, tidak banyak melakukan kajian berhubung dengan ideologi dan pujukan dalam perdebatan presiden.

Kajian semasa adalah menganalisis fungsi dan ideologi yang digunakan CP sebagai cara untuk meyakinkan khalayak. Juga, melihat strategi ideologi mana yang digunakan yang bertindih dengan kategori fungsional untuk melihat lebih jauh strategi dalam fungsi. Oleh itu, dengan melihat pertandingan ini dan menandai jenis strategi yang digunakan bersama dengan fungsi, seseorang mungkin dapat menganggap bagaimana setiap CP berusaha untuk meyakinkan dan meyakinkan penonton.

Objektif kajian kajian ini bertujuan, pertama, menentukan strategi ideologi yang digunakan di bawah strategi fungsional yang digunakan oleh Trump dan Clinton dalam perdebatan presiden Amerika Syarikat pada tahun 2016. kedua, menganalisis strategi fungsional (iaitu pujian, serangan, dan pertahanan yang berdasarkan topik) yang digunakan oleh kedua-dua calon presiden (CP) untuk meyakinkan para pengundi.

Ketiga, ia bertujuan untuk membandingkan penggunaan strategi ideologi dan fungsional Trump dan Clinton dalam kaitannya dengan pujukan; keempat, jelaskan peranan penting debat presiden Trump dan Clinton dalam membentuk keutamaan mereka sebagai calon presiden terbaik untuk pengundi.

Data kajian dikumpulkan daripada laman sesawang *The Times New York*, pendekatan kualitatif digunakan untuk menganalisis data kajian dan program perisian ATLAS.ti.7 turut diaplikasikan dalam menjalankan kajian ini. Hasil kajian menunjukkan setelah membuat perbandingan dengan strategi yang digunakan oleh kedua-dua CP, bahawa strategi ideologi yang dominan adalah interaksi dan konteks, persembahan negatif yang lain, samar-samar, generalisasi, polarisasi, populisme, keterangan pelakon, permainan nombor, persembahan diri positif, penafian, pengulangan, dan norma ekspresi. Selain itu, strategi fungsional yang digunakan oleh Trump dan Clinton adalah serangan, pujian, dan pertahanan berdasarkan ciri kebijaksanaan dan watak. Berkaitan dengan CP, strategi ini, menurut Benoit (2007), mewakili salah satu kunci yang dapat digunakan dalam memenangkan kempen pilihan raya, kerana para pengundi mungkin akan dipujuk oleh CP yang menggunakan strategi ini dengan cekap dibandingkan dengan saingan. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa para pemilih dapat dipujuk oleh strategi ideologi dan fungsional yang digunakan oleh kedua-dua CP, dan mereka akan mengundi untuk CP yang paling sesuai. Juga, penemuan menunjukkan bahawa urutan menggunakan strategi fungsional, iaitu, serangan, puji, pertahanan, berbeza dengan yang dinyatakan dalam teori fungsional Benoit (2007) (puji, serangan, pertahanan). Artinya, penemuan yang berkaitan dengan teori fungsional Benoit mendedahkan bahawa teori ini memerlukan beberapa penambahbaikan untuk menangani penggunaan strategi serang daripada memuji seperti yang diperhatikan dalam perdebatan presiden Amerika Syarikat pada tahun 2016.

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This dissertation was submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PD(s)	Presidential Debate(s)
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
PEC	Presidential Election Campaign
PC(s)	Presidential Candidate(s)



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This chapter states the problem statement and the gaps in the previous literature studies. The objectives of the study and relevant research questions for these objectives are explained as well. This chapter shows the theoretical framework, limitations, and significance of the current study. Further, some aspects that are associated with the current study have been presented in this chapter such as setting the study in context; the background of the study; the relation between the campaign and debates; and how the democratic process is affected by the presidential debates (henceforth PDs); in addition to definitions of basic terms used in this study.

This research studies the U.S. 2016 PDs, applying an eclectic model consisting of three main approaches, van Dijk's (2000a) ideological strategies, Benoit's (2007) functional theory, and Fairclough's (1989, 2015) critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA). The U.S. PDs are important as they are the most widely televised debates watched around the world. During U.S. PDs, candidates try to engage in diverse issues associated with many countries all over the world. Those candidates express their personal visions and draw on both the short-term and long-term strategies that the U.S. will follow. Therefore, the candidates' speeches are worth being studied.

The reason attributed to electing to use these specific approaches, i.e., Benoit's (2007) functional theory and van Dijk's (2000a) ideological strategies, is related to the aptness of these approaches in investigating a qualitative study of the entire texts of three PDs. These approaches are suitable in this study because they can reveal the strategies used by both presidential candidates (henceforth PCs) in the U.S. 2016 PDs that the present study looks for. The role of Fairclough's (1989, 2015) CDA lies in describing the whole texts of the three PDs, interpreting the speech of both candidates, and explaining the social relations involved in the text.

### 1.2 Background of the Study

At the very beginning of the 1960s, a modern radical campaign season tool was adopted by the United States. This tool is a televised debate. The PCs from the two major political parties, currently the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, engage in such debates. A number of facets may be taken into consideration when dealing with the U.S. presidential election campaign (henceforth PEC). These facets are illustrated in the subsequent sections.

### **1.2.1 Presidential (Political) Debate**

Debate is an essential aspect of recent studies on political events. This aspect may refer to a certain occasion, where the candidates share the same stage, offer their achievements (continuous, past deeds, or future plans); glorify themselves, their countries, their parties; or express victimization. It includes any argument or discussion that happens between two persons regarding a specific issue. A debate, comprises both an attack from one of the two speakers on his/her foe's ideology or idea that s/he offers, and a defence of the foe to his/her character or ideology, and vice versa. Though candidates can demonstrate their programmes or messages to a wide audience, the rivals' influencing skills will be shown in debates to expose his/her strategies in attacking and defending each other. Debates, in accordance with Dailey, Hinck, and Hinck (2008), "test candidates' ability to present and defend their image while attacking their opponents' image appropriately and effectively" (p. 277). However, there are many types of debate, for instance, religious, scientific, social, historical, presidential, in which each debate has its title (theme), subjects, and speakers, in addition to the way of preparing debates and their procedures. The foundation of this study is that PDs are exciting and challenging debates. In this study, the PDs differ from other kinds of debates in the aspect of preparation which involve slight particularity in association with policy, but the PDs and other kinds of debates have similarity in content such as candidate forums and panel discussions. The formatting of U.S. PDs includes the first format (domestic policy), the second format (town hall format), and the third format (foreign policy). For more details, see appendix (1).

Lara (2009) and Schafferer (2005) state that political campaigning has been described by using variety of concepts, such as Americanization, mediatization, modernization, or globalization in which all of these concepts accentuate the importance of numerous facets of the gradual progress. This progress involves tendencies like the skillfulness of political communication, developing news significance of elections, growth in the importance of the media (especially television), and growing of the entertaining aspects of politics. Many of these tendencies are seen as televised PDs and thus give emphasis to the goal of PDs, i.e., the role or task of PDs in campaigns.

### **1.2.2 The Context of the American Presidential Election**

The context of the American presidential election is founded on the Twenty-Second Amendment of the American Constitution, in which the President of the United States of America is chosen through election for a term of four years. This President is elected for no more than two successive terms in office. A direct vote is the process by which the President is elected, and, if needed in just two rounds. A candidate is elected President if s/he receives more than half of the votes cast in the election. A new election must be held between the two PCs receiving the most votes in the first election if no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast. In the second round, the candidate who receives the most votes is elected President (Kanovitz, 2012). For the electoral

vote versus the popular vote, Maisel (2012) clarifies that one candidate may win one of these votes, whereas another candidate may win another vote. This means that it is possible for a candidate to win the popular votes in many states, barely, while his/her opponent wins by huge margins in a few states. In such cases, the president will be the electoral vote winner who has received fewer votes than his rival.

The businessman Donald J. Trump from New York and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton from New York focused their campaigns in the states where they might have made a little difference in the voters' opinions or attitudes towards the candidates or their parties, spending maximum time in those states running ubiquitous campaigns for President. The states that Trump focused on in his campaign were Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Pennsylvania (Ben Kamisar, 2016). Through this process, Trump breached the Democrats' 'blue wall' in some states such as Wisconsin, Michigan, and Pennsylvania. For Clinton, the states that she mainly focused on were Virginia, Wisconsin, Colorado, Michigan, and New Mexico. In contrast, she devoted little attention to Ohio, North Carolina, and Florida (Brownstein, 2016). However, the PC must submit to an election process throughout the PEC, with PDs as one of the requirements.

### **1.2.3 The Election Campaign and the Political Debates**

A key aspect of the election campaign in the U.S. is the televised political debates, which are always presented between the two major party leaders, who are presently of the Democratic and Republican Parties. In comparison with the Republican Trump, the Democrat Clinton was anticipated to win in the debates owing to her background in public relations and greater ease in the spotlight. More details are illustrated regarding the presidential election campaigns in the U.S. in section 2.5, while section 2.5.1 presents more details about the PDs.

### **1.2.4 The Democratic Process and Debates**

Many studies have discovered that televised PDs improve voters' knowledge, even among less politically sophisticated spectators (Druckman, 2003; Lang & Lang, 1978). People have consistently cited a positive connection between public debate and issue-specific political knowledge (Benoit, Hansen, & Verser 2003; Holbrook, 1999; Miller & MacKuen, 1979). Public debate and issue-specific political knowledge, which involves most spectator demographics, are influences that are included in initial and general election political debates (Benoit & Hansen, 2004; Holbrook, 1999).

The properties of a particular campaign occurrence over time creates knowledge effects which happen at the top of the campaign, i.e., days before the voting for a political candidate. Cho and Choy (2011) comment that revealing such knowledge leads to the effects of both indirect knowledge and personal debate that present an understanding of campaign news. Moreover, campaigns are lessening the influence of

expanding missing knowledge, that is, the most information, which campaigns have, the most revealing information to voters to elect the proper candidate (Holbrook, 2002; Lanoue, 1992; McLeod, Bybee, & Durall, 1982).

### 1.3 Problem Statement

The speeches of the PCs have an effective role in changing voters' minds when electing the U.S. president. Various factors can influence voting and the election of a proper president. Such factors are modernization, technology, and development in a variety of traditional customs of a community that lead to some changes in a democratic way of life. Consequently, the societies in which we live are rapidly changing and fast moving as a result of several discursive trends (Fitzgerald & Young, 2006). Three trends have been identified as explained below:

**Conversationalisation:** This was identified by Fairclough (1992), who observed that “is not only the printed media that is becoming more conversational, it is also the broadcast media, radio and television” (p. 204) in addition to the widespread use of websites and means of communication via the internet, like Twitter, Skype, Facebook, which are considered new technologies used for transmitting and broadcasting various news.

**Marketisation:** This is regarded as one of the most influential factors in developing nations or countries' economies which can exchange a huge number of diverse commodities. It denotes “both to market ideologies and market-oriented reforms” (Djelic, 2006, p. 1).

**Globalization:** This indicates the manifestation of a universal or worldwide, modern lifestyle, and “refers to all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, a global society” (Albrow & King, 1990, p. 9). These factors may reflect the ways that the voters use to base their choice during the electing process. These ways are conversations on television, i.e. televised debates, marketing ideologies, and the global society.

Many factors in a society create some social problems as in CDA, which deals mainly with describing, interpreting, and explaining social issues, has been practiced in order to analyse such problems. Among the social issues that affect people are political events, i.e., presidential election campaigns. The process of electing a proper president may evoke some problems in societies. For instance, the unclear political speech on October 15, 2008 during the third PD at Hofstra University, New York, between Senator John McCain and Senator Barack Obama is an example of the vagueness of some political discourses. Through this debate, Schieffer, the moderator, asked McCain, “*Do you think Senator Biden is qualified?*” The latter answered “*I think that Joe Biden is qualified in many respects*”. McCain’s answer actually has more than one interpretation. It may mean that Biden is not qualified to be president based on

some aspects, but not on others. On the contrary, it may have another interpretation that Biden is qualified to be president for many reasons or aspects. Neither Obama nor Scheiffer asked McCain to elucidate his answer, which is a kind of evasion. Therefore, ambiguity was involved in McCain's statement (Denvil, 2015). This example shows that the political discourse (i.e., politicians' speeches) includes an assortment of intentions, vagueness, and complexity, as stated by Gruber (1993), which may be unfamiliar and incomprehensible to voters. So, the essence of politicians' speeches in the presidential election process is to persuade the audience clearly by the principles that may be relied on by a PC in the presidential term.

Many studies have investigated different aspects of the U.S. 2016 PDs. For example, in the foreign policy area, Clarke and Ricketts (2016) declare that the U.S. 2016 presidential election returned the American foreign policy to the Jacksonian tradition which is "a school of thought that takes a pessimistic view of the political elite, and promotes a federalist system that seeks to prevent the concentration of a power within a centralized government" (p. 368). They feel that the restraint constituency is raised during this election, especially in Trump's speech, "which directly questions the benefits of alliance relationships as well as U.S. underwriting of an open global economic system" (p. 1). On the area of healthcare policy, which is discussed in the U.S. 2016 PEC, Blendon, Benson, and Casey (2016) investigated the consequences of the U.S. 2016 election on the future of this issue. They conducted fourteen polls from different sources to view the results through voters' polarised lenses. Another area of study is the unexpected victory which is one of the considerably important supporting factors for Trump. In this study, the multifaceted Asian American population helped Trump to the unexpected victory in the U.S. 2016 PEC. As regards the study of the area of the gender gap, Huang (2017) tried to unravel the causes of Trump overcoming his rival, Clinton, among the Asian American population. It was found that before the election day, men voters had shifted away from Clinton towards Trump due to the fluctuating views on the honesty of Clinton during the campaign. This led to an unexpected gender gap in the result of the U.S. 2016 PEC (Burden, Crawford, & DeCrescenzo, 2016).

Previous studies have dealt with different areas such as the Jacksonian tradition, unexpected gender gap, health care policy, and unexpected victory. By reviewing past studies, which are displayed in chapter two, various gaps (as illustrated later on in this section) have been discovered. Such gaps can be shown in studies related to PDs which have been relatively scanty. In many languages such as Korean, France, Spanish, Chinese, etc., there are studies on PDs and not just PDs on Trump and Clinton but of other presidential candidates too, nevertheless there is rare study focusing on Benoit's (2007) functional theory that is used to analyse the U.S. 2016 PDs. This theory mainly consists of two terms: functions (acclaim, attack, and defence) and topics (policy and character). Benoit (1999) argues that

[p]olitical campaign discourse is instrumental, designed to persuade voters to perceive the candidate as preferable to the opponent. To appear preferable, candidates may acclaim (engage in self-praise) to make themselves appear better, they may attack the

opposition to make opponents seem worse, or they may defend against attacks from the opposition to restore lost desirability (p. 247).

Additionally, Benoit (2014b) assures that these functions, which are used by presidential candidates, are persuasive to the voters when they accept these functions. He (ibid.) mentions that acclaims can be persuasive (in case accepted by people) and may raise a rival apparent desirability and have no disadvantages. And "attacks, if persuasive, can increase a candidate's apparent net favorability by decreasing an opponent's preferability... defenses, if they are accepted by a voter, can help restore a candidate's lost preferability (p. 23).

On the other hand, a literature review associated with van Dijk's (2000a) ideological strategies has been addressed in this study. Under the concept of persuasion there are many theories, techniques, and strategies used by many linguists such as van Dijk (2006d) who states that people can differentiate between numerous ideological persuasions. He (ibid.) expresses that language "is used in many different situations and by many different people, also by people of different ideological persuasions. That is, the same discourse structures are used in persuasion, information, education and other legitimate forms of communication, as well as in various forms of dissent" (p. 375).

The present study, henceforth, attempts to deal with an ostensible point in previous studies concerning Trump and Clinton's PDs. This point is persuasive viewpoints, i.e., how do the two PCs attempt to persuade the audience (voters) through their beliefs (that are related to their own ideologies and their own parties' ideologies in doing what they think is true and suitable for their next administrative term)? The eclectic framework of this study, which consists of Benoit's (2007) functional theory and van Dijk's (2000a) ideological strategies, tries to bridge the gaps in the previous studies. The justification of the use of such an eclectic framework in this study is due to the incorporation (which is stated throughout the explanation in chapters 2 and 3) between the ideological strategies (van Dijk, 2000a) and the functional strategies (Benoit, 2007) that work together as persuasive strategies (the core of the current study) in association with looking for the linguistic realisations that function within these strategies. Thus, utilising the theory and approach may provide a reasonable rationale for this study rather than when they are used individually. To analyse the U.S. 2016 PDs, it is argued that using such a model can reveal some valuable facts that concern the persuasive rhetoric as used by the two PCs in the three PDs.

Since one of the two PCs has become the U.S. president, an argument is used to compare between Trump and Clinton's speeches in the U.S. 2016 PDs. The purpose of comparing the speeches of the two PCs is to expose the similarities and differences in using the ideological and functional strategies. The comparison of the two PCs is a necessity because the quality of a candidate in PDs is decisive. Additionally, Benoit's functional theory is more appropriate in a two-party system. And the key standard of this theory, which concerns with winning the election campaign, reveals that it is compatible to a two-party system (Isotalus and Arnio, 2006).

According to one of Benoit's (2007) axioms 'voting is a comparative act', he states that "voters choose between the competing candidates, and an increasing number do not do so exclusively by party loyalty, but according to their perceptions of the candidates' preferability (Ibid. p. 33)". For one PC to the other a similarity in using strategies may not create favouritism, but dissimilarity in using these strategies can reveal how a PC makes a difference in the minds of voters for his/her behalf. What is more, on behalf of the voters, to discover the most preferred strategies used by these two politicians, the PDs are analysed for their ideological and functional strategies that may be used to persuade the audience. These strategies may have persuaded the audience to vote for the PC who manipulates or uses them effectively.

The issues, which are looked for in this study, bring to light how do the PCs use van Dijk's (2000a) ideological strategies and which strategies are incorporated in the functions by Benoit's (2007). That is, what ideological strategies are used under the functional strategies utilised by Trump and Clinton in the U.S. 2016 PDs? The differences, which are worth comparing as assured by the axioms adopted by Benoit (2007), confirm that PCs have "to differentiate themselves by discussing character" or to "use policy" (ibid., p. 34). By comparing two opposing candidates' speeches, the researcher sheds light on the diverse use of functional strategies and which strategies are used by a PC compared to the other can be studied. Such a comparison, as stated by Benoit's (2007) axioms (explained in section 1.4.2), would help the readers understand the views of political figures by showing the candidate's attitudes, goals, and beliefs.

A number of strategies have been focused on in past studies as the strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation; and functional strategies. The current study uses van Dijk's ideological strategies (vagueness, populism, generalisation, negative other-presentation, interaction and context, norm expression, polarisation, disclaimers, repetition, actor description, number game, positive self-presentation) because they are the most recurrent strategies used by Trump and Clinton in the PDs as illustrated in section 3.5. Further, it uses Benoit's functional strategies (acclaim, attack, and defence) where both van Dijk's and Benoit's terms have been explained respectively in chapter two, sections (2.6.1 and 2.6.2).

In the present study, gaps in the past studies are approached with relevant objectives and questions which, in turn, are investigated to find proper answers throughout the process of the study.

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The research objectives of the present study are specified to Trump and Clinton's speeches in the U.S. 2016 PDs in relation to the eclectic framework. This study aims to:

1. Determine the ideological strategies used by the two PCs in the U.S. 2016 PDs.



2. Analyse the functional strategies (i.e. acclaim, attack, and defence that are based on topics) which are used by the two PCs in the U.S. 2016 PDs.
3. Compare Trump and Clinton's use of ideological and functional strategies in the U.S. 2016 PDs in relation to persuasion.
4. Explain the prominent role of Trump and Clinton's presidential debates in shaping their preferability as the best candidate for a president to the voters.

### 1.5 Research Questions

The study intends to analyse how the two PCs persuade voters via their PDs. In particular, this thesis discusses four main research questions:

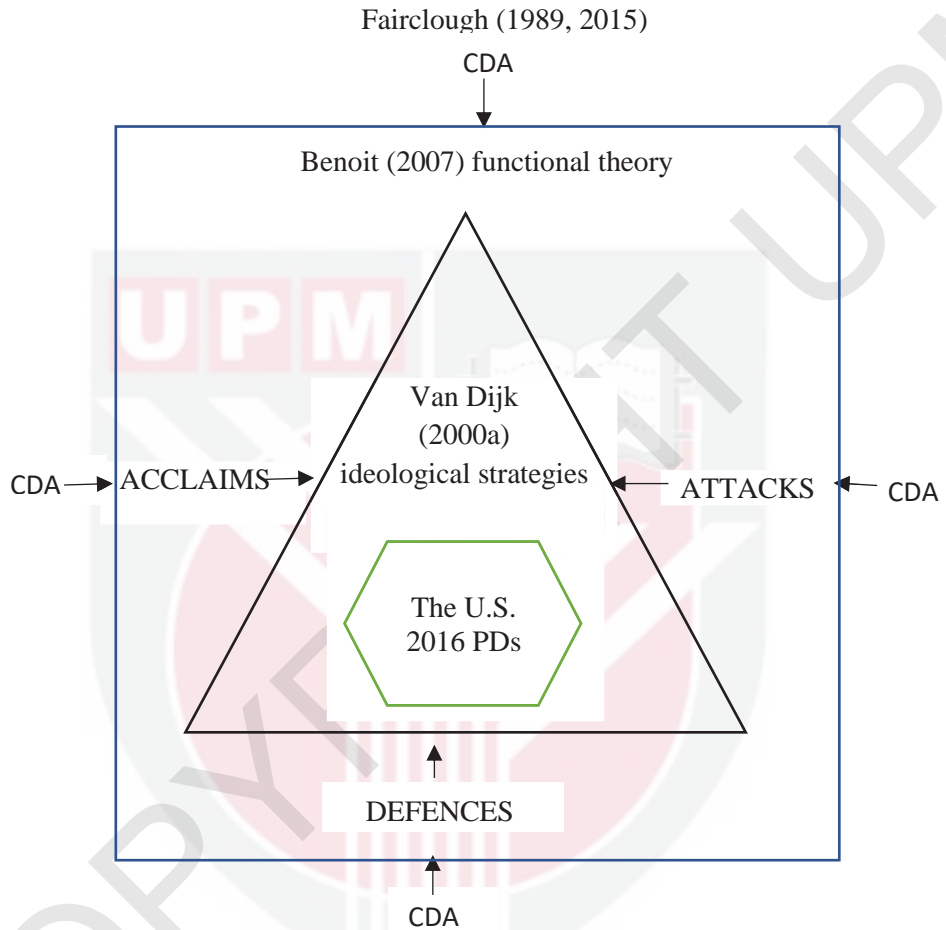
1. What are the ideological strategies used by the two PCs in the U.S. 2016 PDs?
2. To what extent the functional strategies, which are used by the two PCs in the U.S. 2016 PDs, are persuasive for voters?
3. How are Trump's and Clinton's use of the ideological and functional strategies in the U.S. presidential debates in relation to persuasion similar or different?
4. To what extent do Trump and Clinton's presidential debates play a prominent role in shaping their preferability as the best candidate for a president to the voters?

### 1.6 Theoretical Framework

To achieve the objectives of this study, the theoretical framework employed in this study must be described in detail. This framework is divided into three divisions: van Dijk's (2000a) ideological strategies, Benoit's (2007) functional theory, and Fairclough's (1989, 2015) CDA. Van Dijk's ideological strategies used under Benoit's functional strategies are analysed using Fairclough's CDA, which has three dimensions: description, interpretation, and explanation. The functional strategies are at the higher levels. Therefore, Benoit's functional strategies are the bigger that make use of van Dijk's ideological strategies. The study employs CDA because there is a gap (undiscovered correlation – stated in chapters 2 and 3 - between Benoit, van Dijk, and Fairclough's eclectic model) in the linguistic analysis in most studies which have been conducted using these theories and approaches as stated in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2. CDA is adopted to analyse the linguistic realisations by using the descriptive, interpretive, and explanatory processes. This is because many studies in political discourse make use of CDA due to the fact that CDA addresses ideological structures (Bayram, 2010; van Dijk, 2006a; Wodak, 1989). Figure 1.0 illustrates the theoretical framework of the current study. conceal

In figure 1.0, the theoretical framework of the study is represented by different shapes. Mainly, the hexagonal involves the speeches of the two PCs in the three U.S. 2016 PDs that are analysed by using van Dijk's (2000a) ideological strategies. These strategies are incorporated under the larger unit, i.e. Benoit's (2007) functional strategies, which are included within the triangle. Both the hexagon and the triangle are surrounded by a

square which represents Fairclough's (1989, 2015) CDA that focuses on description, interpretation, and explanation of the PCs' speeches.



**Figure 1.1: The theoretical framework of the study**

### **1.6.1 Van Dijk's (2000a) Ideological Strategies and Their Background**

Politics, in most of the democratic communities, depends on an agreement on several variant key concepts such as freedom, progress, democracy, welfare, solidarity, and on “disagreement when it comes to giving substance and content to these concepts” (Stråth, 2013, p. 3). Political discourse can involve many properties, such as power, equality; therefore, a lot of political ideologies can be expressed by a variety of strategies (van Dijk, 1997). Concerning the ideological elements, there are different ideological strategies used by the two PCs in the U.S. 2016 PDs, which are analysed in chapters 3 and 4 of this study. Section 2.6.1 has detailed illustrations about

these ideological strategies. With regards to ideology, van Dijk (2000a) defines it according to his understanding “as a system of beliefs” (p. 11), then he modifies this definition to be “ideologies are the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members” (ibid). Beliefs may variously refer to “personal vs. social, specific vs. general, concrete vs. abstract, simple vs. complex, rather fleeting or more permanent, about ourselves or about others, about the physical or the social world, and so on” (ibid). Van Dijk (1998) stresses that ideologies are the “basis of the social representations shared by members of a group” (p. 8). Later on, he (2000a) developed the concept of ideology to refer to the negative use of this notion. It assumes the social polarisation between ‘US’, i.e., in-group, and ‘THEM’, i.e., out-group. And he insists that sharing of social beliefs comprises ideologies but not of personal opinions. Such ideologies can represent distinctive features of a group, for instance, their interests, aims, natural environment, and identity in relation to other groups. For more explanations and details, see section 2.6.1. Still in the field of politics, van Dijk (1997) relates that voting and campaigning are considered as actions in the political domain. These actions involve functions, goals, purposes, and intentions within more complex processes of politics.

### **1.6.2 Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse (Benoit, 2007) and Its Background**

For more than two decades, some studies, such as Benoit and Wells (1996); Benoit and Harthcock (1999); Benoit, Pier, Brazeal, McHale, Klyukovski, and Arine (2002); Benoit (2003); Benoit (2007) and other researchers have researched and improved the functional theory of political campaign discourse. Benoit is the prominent figure among the scholars in this field. Hrbkova and Zagraban (2014) elucidated that the furthestmost effective “attempt at systematic analysis of political debates based on a specific theoretical construct is the functional theory” (p. 736). In the same vein, Benoit (2006) argues that this theory “is one approach worth considering” (p. 10). The political campaign discourse, as Benoit (1999) confirms, is functional. It is utilised as a means to an end, where “the end mind for serious contenders is winning the election by convincing enough citizens to cast votes for him or her” (Airne and Benoit, 2005a, p. 344-345). All winner presidents have persuaded many voters of their desirability.

According to Benoit, McHale, Hansen, Pier, and McGuire (2003), the reason that makes the functional theory more inclusive than other theories employed in studies on political campaign discourse is its applicability in addressing both aspects of function and topic. This theory argues that people vote for the candidate who has the preferable (desirable) categories that are regarded the most significant to each voter. Benoit (2019) insists that “all elected presidents persuaded many voters of their desirability” (p. 8). Preferability has three functions: acclaim, attack, and defend. These functions are applied on two topics: policy (issues) and character (images). Speeches that deal with policy address some of or all the issues of past achievements, future plans, and/or general goals, while speeches directed at images of character tackle personal qualities, leadership ability, and/or ideals. In accordance with Benoit (2007), the “three functions may not be equally common in discourse, [but] they are three options that every candidate has available for use” (p. 40). Furthermore, Glantz, Benoit, and Airne (2013) clarified that these three functional categories could demonstrate candidates’

desirability. In reference to these functions, the candidates, first, are able to slot in self-praise or acclaiming, which in turn expresses positive points that are more desirable to voters. Second, candidates are able to criticise or attack opponents, which in turn explores negative points, which seem to be a kind of mudslinging which is undesirable to voters. Third, candidates can refute or defend against opponent's attacks. As mentioned by Benoit and Airne (2005), the three functions work together "as an informal form of cost-benefit analysis: acclaims increase benefits, attacks increase an opponent's costs, and defences reduce a candidate's alleged costs" (p. 226). Besides, Benoit (2004) asserts that

These three functions operate as a simple form of cost-benefit analysis. Acclaims seek to increase *a candidate's benefits* (which should increase that candidate's desirability), attacks attempt to increase *an opponent's costs* (yielding a net increase in desirability or the attacking candidate as the opponent's desirability decreases), and defenses attempt to reduce *a candidate's perceived costs* (increasing the defending candidate's desirability by reducing costs) (p. 349).

Regarding the foundation of functional theory, Benoit (2007) has specified six axioms. These are:

1. Voting is a comparative act. This axiom means that voters are in need of making a comparison between the candidates in order to judge and then choose the candidate who appears to have the best qualities. Benoit (2007, p. 33) states that "voters choose between the competing candidates, and an increasing number do not do so exclusively by party loyalty, but according to their perceptions of the candidates' preferability".
2. Candidates must distinguish themselves from opponents. This axiom refers to a case that candidates try "to differentiate themselves by discussing character" or to "use policy" (ibid., p. 34). The candidates have to differentiate themselves from their opponents at least in one category to be the candidate who is distinguishable.
3. Political campaign messages allow candidates to distinguish themselves. In order to be distinguished, candidates have to persuade voters to elect them by sending messages to the voters that have plentiful information about the candidates through the political campaigns, which include the mediums of presidential TV spots, radio spots, direct mail, speeches, Web pages, Twitter, Facebook, and PDs. Candidates' significant political information can be explored in presidential TV spots, whereas "candidates' character and their policy position" (ibid., p. 35) can be shown in PDs.
4. Candidates establish preferability through acclaiming, attacking, and defending. In order to be a preferable candidate to the voters, candidates' three functions must be taken into consideration during PDs. First, acclaiming as a persuasive function, which is accepted by the voters (ibid., p. 43), indicates that the PCs explore their positive deeds, achievements, and successes on policy. Second, candidates' attacking the drawbacks and the negative features or achievements of the opponents. Third, defending has to be done when a candidate is attacked by the opponent to justify the attacked saying or deed or to clarify the truth to the audience (voters) in case the attack does not have validity (ibid., p. 36-39).

5. Campaign discourse occurs on two topics: policy and character. Candidates, especially in PDs, have to realise how to manipulate the topics of policy (e.g., education, economy, taxes) and character (e.g., empathy, sincerity, drive, morality). There are three sub-forms of policy: “past deeds, future plans, and general goals” (ibid., pp. 48, 52), whereas character's sub-forms, as Benoit (2014a) shows them, are personal qualities, leadership ability, and ideals.
6. A candidate must win a majority (or a popularity) of the votes cast in an election. This axiom, in accordance with Benoit (2007), suggests that candidates are neither in need of persuading all the voters, nor do they need to “win the votes of most citizens, but only of most citizens who actually vote on election day” (p. 49). In addition, in their election campaigns, candidates have to focus on certain states rather than others, that is, if a candidate wins the majority of votes, which is 270 votes, in enough states, s/he will win the presidency.

Benoit and Benoit-Bryan (2015) stressed that “The Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse (Benoit, 2007, 2014a) posits that candidates ... in political campaigns discuss two topics as they attempt to persuade voters of their preferability to other candidates: policy and character” (p. 2). Benoit’s functional theory, in its original form, creates the functional categories which are favourable to the audience that one nominee or candidate is better or more preferable than his/her opponent. Interestingly, Zarefsky (2016) points out that “campaign messages are ‘functional’ as they are designed to persuade voters that one candidate is more preferable than the opposition” (p. 6).

### 1.6.3 Fairclough’s (1989, 2015) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In reference to CDA, Fairclough (2015) stated that three dimensions have to be followed: “description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context” (p. 128). As regards description, three stages (i.e., vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure) must be the bases. Broadly speaking, Hart (2014) argues that grammar can play a significant role in exposing the ideological effects of texts in various contexts specially the political and social contexts. Further, he confirms that one aspect that CDA covers is “the relation between grammar and ideology” (p. 2). To move on interpretation, which is the second dimension of CDA, interpretation is a term concerned with a text’s interpretation. The elements of background knowledge (i.e., expectations or axioms) of an interpreter can be activated by cues, which are the linguistic signals of the text (Fairclough, 2015). The level of interpretation is allocated to an element of the interpreter’s background knowledge. An element indicates inputs such as vocabulary or pragmatics, resources, meaning of utterances. In general, interpretation relates to text and context. On the other hand, Fairclough (ibid) identifies four levels of text interpretation. These are as follows:

1. Surface of utterance: “interpreters convert strings of sounds or marks on paper into recognisable words, phrases, and sentences” (p. 156).

2. Meaning of utterance: refers to

“interpreters’ drawing upon semantic aspects of their MR [members’ resources] – representations of the meanings of words, their ability to combine word-meanings and grammatical information and work out implicit meanings... They also draw upon pragmatic conventions with their MR, which allow them to determine what speech act(s) in utterance is being used to ‘perform’” (ibid., p. 157).

3. Local coherence: deals with the “relations within a particular part of a text. [In addition,] interpreters draw upon that aspect of their ‘knowledge of language’ which has to do with cohesion” (ibid.) In this sense, implicit expectations or axioms can be inferred by interpreters throughout coherence relations between utterances. This process indicates a matter of pragmatics, which leads to an interpretive procedure.
4. Text structure and ‘point’: are a matter of global coherence for a whole text. This level “involves matching the text with one of repertoire of schemata, or representations of characteristic patterns of organisation associated with different types of discourse” (ibid.). An interpreter can arrive at a certain summary for a text. This summary is called the ‘point’, which can be stored in long-term memory to be readily recalled.

Moreover, Fairclough (2015) assures that the interpretation of context contains two levels:

- Situational context: depends partly on external cues, i.e., participants’ properties, characteristics of physical situation, and the speech said previously “but also partly on the basis of aspects of their MR in terms of which they interpret these cues – specifically, representations of social and institutional social orders which allow them to ascribe the situations they are actually in to particular situation types” (p. 158).
- Intertextual context: is where participants operate on the axioms of previous discourses which connect the present one. These axioms may represent a part of common experience (ibid.).

The third dimension of CDA is explanation. It is a term that concerns "with the social constitution and change of MR, including of course their representation in discourse practice" (ibid., p. 172). A certain viewpoint on members' resources is included in the stage of explanation where they "are seen specifically as ideologies" (ibid., p. 175). There are three aspects that have to check when a particular discourse is under investigation. These are:

1. Societal determinants: try to determine which level (situational, institutional, or societal) shape the discourse.
2. Ideologies: the ideological character that has elements of MR.

3. Effects: the role of struggles in shaping the discourse at situational, institutional, and societal levels. These struggles are either overt or covert. Another aspect, which is related to discourse, addresses whether discourse is normative concerning MR or creative. In addition, does the discourse contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them? (ibid.).

To sum up, the eclectic model applied in this study is very valuable, useful, and beneficial. The significance of this model lies in its economical, practical, and applicable use, and it can be followed and implemented in other PDs studies.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

The analysis of the U.S. 2016 PDs was conducted to demonstrate the potential of this eclectic model and its suitability for application in research. The value of this study lies overtly in producing knowledge that helps society realise persuasion through the ideological and functional strategies used by politicians, in general, and PCs of the U.S. 2016, in particular. In addition, it enhances knowledge of the benefits of using CDA in describing, interpreting, and explaining the political speeches used in the debates mentioned above. Moreover, it reveals the embedded impact of other discourses, i.e., in the debates and on the final results of the U.S. 2016 PEC.

Furthermore, the current study can be utilised in other countries in applying democratic political systems, especially in the Middle East after the events of the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003 and, then, the Arab spring. These countries can follow the same procedures of PEC which are followed in the U.S. Since any election campaign needs many procedures for preparing and organising in electing a president, various programmes and activities must be put in place as requirements for a successful PEC. One of these requirements is to implement PDs between the candidates. Moreover, the voters, who are the crucial factor in choosing the appropriate president need to have information and knowledge about the PCs and their ideologies to distinguish the ideologies they, i.e., the voters, prefer and favour to be achieved in specifying and determining the policy of their country in treating local and foreign issues and affairs.

There are many reasons as to why researchers study PDs. One of these reasons is that debates are an established and common component of the presidential campaign process. Benoit and Brazeal (2002) state that PDs provide beneficial information to voters. This shows that a vote is a choice between competing candidates to decide who is preferable. Another reason why debates are important to be studied is that debates provide citizens the chance to see candidates simultaneously talking about similar issues (Benoit & Wells, 1996; Carlin & McKinney, 1994; Hellweg, Pfau, & Brydon, 1992). Furthermore, Jamieson (1987) adds that as messages running an hour or longer, debates offer a level of contact with candidates clearly unmatched in some TV broadcasts such as spot advertisements and news segments. The debates offer the most extensive and serious views of the candidates available to the electorate.

In American election politics over the years, especially with presidential elections in the U.S., television has been increasingly the most noticeable actor (Youm, 1999). The televised political electoral debates are regarded as positive and significant for democracy for four main reasons identified by Coleman (2000). These reasons are as follows: Firstly, televised debates are the ideal method of achieving a huge mass of voters. Secondly, there is an impressive frame of data to point out that televised debates have an educational influence. Thirdly, televised debates make equal admission to the mass media. Fourthly, televised debates enable the ordinary people in general to be as close as they can to hearing the candidates for civil leadership. In addition, the television debates enable the rivals to be aware of each other's positions.

## 1.8 Setting the Study in Context

One of the most significant functions of political discourse is persuasion. The process of persuading and manipulating others has been taken as the main consideration of critical discourse analysts (Hart, 2014; van Dijk, 2006c). Political discourse represents the interaction, which can be verbal (direct or indirect) or non-verbal (gesture, posture, hints, gaze, facial expressions), between a speaker (politician) and the audience. The speaker tries to manipulate the audience to agree with and support his/her opinions and suggestions. Some discourse strategies and linguistic resources can be used by a speaker in manipulating the audience in order to achieve his/her communicative purpose. However, an attempt to persuade people to change their beliefs is a justifiable trait of political discourse. Such an attempt to attract people to one side or another is to persuade them with specific opinions. Since persuasion is the core of politics, Mutz, Sniderman, and Brody (1996) affirm that "persuasion is ubiquitous in the political process" (p. 1).

In politics, persuasive messages (i.e., ideologies, beliefs, ideas, behaviours, or opinions) can be indirectly effective through mass media. The effective messages in the persuasion process have significant implications, for instance, these messages can reveal the candidates' educational level, their level of interest in politics, or their general political standpoints (Mutz, Sniderman, & Brody, 1996). Persuasive efforts actually hinge on three factors: the mass media, which are "The mass media refers to all those forms of communication where large numbers of people are exposed to an identical message. The mass media refers to all those forms of communication where large numbers of people are exposed to an identical message" (Coxall, Robins, & Leach, 2003 p. 156); the political elite (people who have great experience and much power to affect political issues); and the mass public (large number of common people) (Mutz, Sniderman, & Brody, 1996, p. 5).

Different factors may contribute to persuasion, such as public opinion, which is "the preferences of the adult population on matters of relevance to government" (Erikson & Tedin 2015, p. 8). A further factor is the social psychology, which refers to "the scientific study of how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others" (Allport, 1998, p. 5). Propaganda is another factor, which signifies "the deliberate attempt to persuade public, through the



communication of narrative, that your particular idea is right” (Payne, 2009, p. 111). These factors lead to a variety of social changes, which in turn, make persuasion increasingly important in the field of political discourse.

Taken in a broad sense, political discourse, or political communication, has various ideologies to persuade the audience. Because of the different issues addressed in political discourse, a variety of strategies can be used differently in accordance with the basis of an issue (economic, social, foreign affairs, presidential elections). Political communication needs to be persuasive when it needs the audience to support the ideas or beliefs that it has. The venue of persuading people differs in conformity with the occasion or the situation, which can be throughout political speeches, advertising, campaign debates, news, and uses of digital media.

### 1.9 Definitions of Basic Terms

- **Presidential debate:** is "the joint appearance by two or more opposing candidates, who expand on their positions, with explicit and equitable provisions for refutation without interruption" (Martel, 1983, p. 2). A debate, as defined by Tuman (2008, p. 123), is "the interaction between persuasive arguments". Further, Snider and Schnurner (2002, p. 19) define debate as "a communication event where the mode of operation is oral or written communication and serves as performance as well as a method of transmitting ideas and arguments".
- **Persuasion:** various scholars have attempted to define persuasion. In this study, some scholars' definitions are presented, where O'Donnell and Kable (1982, p. 9) stress that persuasion is "a complex, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and a receiver are linked by symbols, verbal and nonverbal, through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuadee to adopt a change in a given attitude or behaviour because the persuader has had perceptions enlarged or changed". Bettinghaus and Cody (1987, p. 3) state that persuasion is a "conscious attempt by one individual to change the attitudes, beliefs, or behavior of another individual or group of individuals through the transmission of some message". While Zimbardo and Leippe (1991, p. 145) describe persuasion as "changing a person's behaviour, feelings or thoughts about an issue, object or action". Harjumaa and Oinas-Kukkonen (2007, p. 312) states that "since persuasion is defined as changing the attitudes and/or behaviour of others, the persuader is often trying to convince the persuadee of something". Deutsch, Coleman, and Marcus (2011, p. 455) illustrates that persuasion is "the principles and processes by which people's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are formed, modified, or resist change in the face of other's attempts at influence". On the same vein, persuasion is "the use of communication strategies to change the way someone thinks about an issue – the pictures that person has in his or her head – so that he or she changes behaviour in the directions that the communicator wants" (Parsons, 2013, p. 50). Another considerable definition of persuasion presented by O'Keefe (2016) is that persuasion is "a successful intentional effort at influencing another's mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the persuadee has some measure of freedom" (p. 4), whereas Wahl and Morris (2017, p. 3) define

persuasion as "the process of attempting to change or reinforce attitudes, values, beliefs or behavior".

- **Strategy:** It has been defined by Chandler (1990) who confirms that it is "the determination of the basic, long-term goals and objectives of an enterprise, and the adoption of courses of action and the allocation of resources necessary for carrying out those goals" (p. 13).
- **Ideology:** Various definitions of ideology have been offered by many scholars, in which one of these definitions is Eagleton's (1990) who states that ideology is "ideas and beliefs (whether true or false) which symbolize the conditions and life-experiences of a specific, socially significant group or class" (p. 28). Consequently, throughout van Dijk's (1998) outline of ideas, he assures that "ideologies are sets of specific ideas and hence 'mental' objects" (p. 17). Moreover, Mefalopulos and Kamlongera (2004) have defined ideology as "a systemic, well-planned series of actions, combining different methods, techniques and tools, to achieve an intended change or objective utilising the available resources within a specific time frame" (p. 8). Another definition of ideology is presented by Fairclough (2010) who announces that it is "a modality of power, a modality which constitutes and sustains relations of power through producing consent [...] power through hegemony rather than through violence and force" (p. 73). Mako, Lazar, & Blagojević (2014) articulate that "ideology is a relatively coherent and determined set of ideas, symbolic conceptions, values, beliefs and forms of thought, behaviours, expressions, presentations, and actions, shared by the members of a particular social group, political party, state institution, ethnic or gender group, or class of society" (p. 3). Moreover, ideology is defined as "the most fundamental belief systems in any social practice" (Mirhosseini, 2018, p. 2).

### 1.10 Limitations of the Study

In order to determine the constraints on the study, certain areas of the research to be covered must be principally identified. Theoretically, the area of addressing the theories and approaches is constrained to the eclectic model used in the current study. This model, which is drawn by the researcher, is an amalgamation of three approaches or theories. The eclectic model consists of van Dijk's (2000a) ideological strategies, Benoit's (2007) functional theory, and Fairclough's (1989, 2015) CDA.

Empirically, the study under investigation is exclusively limited to the U.S. 2016 PEC, particularly the three PDs, which are intended for a variety of locations around the United States. The three PDs occurred on 26<sup>th</sup> September, 9<sup>th</sup> October, and 19<sup>th</sup> October 2016, respectively. These debates involved the two main parties' presidential nominees (Republican Donald J. Trump of New York and Democrat Hillary Clinton also from New York). Due to its irrelevancy to the objectives of this study, the moderators' speeches and comments have been excluded from the analysis of the U.S. 2016 PDs, because this study focuses on Trump and Clinton's statements in these debates.

### 1.11 Summary

Considering all of the above sections and sub-sections, chapter one has shown the significance of the study, which mostly is related to the possibility of its application to other PDs or other countries that are in need of using such a model in analysing their PCs' speeches. This study has been restricted to a certain extent. It is theoretically limited to van Dijk's (2000a) ideological strategies and Benoit's (2007) functional theory. On the other hand, it is practically focused on the U.S. 2016 PDs. Additionally, the purpose of the study is to examine the persuasiveness that the two PCs have manipulated in the U.S. 2016 PDs. The main objectives of the current study have been established, and relevant questions have been drawn to be fulfilled through analysing the three PDs.

An assortment of gaps has been revealed by reviewing some past studies. A gap is characterised in the rare studies that deal with the persuasive and ideological strategies used by the two PCs in the U.S. 2016 PDs.

Furthermore, the background of the study, an overview explaining the PDs, the context of the American PDs, campaigns, debates, and the role of debates in the democratic process have been provided.

Chapter two presents a detailed literature review of the related studies that explored CDA, PDs, and political discourse and justifies the use of approach and theory that comprise the eclectic model of the current study.

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## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

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- Yaseen, A. Hasani, Ali, A. M. (2021). A fundamental analysis of the persuasive strategies used by trump and clinton the United States 2016 presidential debates, *Journal of social science and humnties*.





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