ABSTRACT

This dissertation is concerned with the analysis of political speeches in the current unstable and polarized world. How can politicians produce trust in themselves and their views? How can diplomats produce understanding for their countries' positions? It is not surprising that there has been a revival of interest in rhetoric (Garsten, 2011) and its place in deliberate democracy, the idea of which has roots in ancient Greece, but continues to be ardently discussed. This rhetorical tradition can not only be traced back to Aristotle and democracy in Athens in the ancient Greece (Bohman, 1998, p.400; Elster, 1999, p.1) but can also be seen in ardent discussions by many political theorists since the 1980s. This revival of interest in rhetoric has produced renewed interest in Aristotle, the first and foremost authority on the art of rhetoric. Aristotle defined rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (1355b). I pay close attention to this definition in my discussion of the renewed interest in Aristotle, pointing out that it does not define rhetoric as "the art of persuasion," but rather as "the art of observing . . . the available means of persuasion."

The first chapter of this dissertation reviews previous research reflecting this renewed interest in rhetoric in political speeches. I summarize some important pieces of work, comment upon key contributions, and work toward identifying and analyzing what I call "the rhetorical tool" which I employ to analyze some current political and diplomatic speeches. I focus on describing two aspects of the function of rhetoric in political speeches identified by Garsten (2011): the production of trust in the speaker through Aristotelian threefold rhetorical elements of ethos, pathos, and logos and the function of bonding rhetoric and bridging rhetoric.

The second chapter reviews how some previous researchers examined the use of the Aristotelian rhetorical elements of ethos, pathos, and logos in political discourses. In addition, in an attempt to put together a "bottom-up" analysis of "intuitive reactions" of the general public, I present a unique method applied in this dissertation which utilizes "intuitive perceptions" of educated but non-specialist coders. While utilizing the descriptive analysis of identifying the elements of ethos, pathos, and logos as well as the functions of bonding and bridging rhetoric in political speeches, this dissertation employs the data from non-trained coders' "intuitive perceptions" of rhetorical elements embedded in political speeches.

The third chapter analyzes the target texts and discusses the data from the coders' perceptions of rhetorical elements in four addresses consisting of two addresses at the

UN General Assembly and Inaugural addresses by two American presidents. Specifically the target texts are an address delivered by Hassan Rouhani, the president of Islamic republic of Iran, on September 29, 2015; an address by Benjamin Netanyahu, the prime minister of the state of Israel, on October 1, 2015; an inaugural address by Barack Obama on January 20, 2009; and an inaugural address by Donald Trump on January 20, 2017.

To summarize, the aims of this study are as follows:(1) To review the renewed interest/revival of Aristotelian rhetoric in political speeches as well as the function of bonding or bridging rhetoric; (2) To discover and describe the intuitive recognition of rhetorical elements on the part of educated, but non-trained coders; and (3) To discover and describe the features of the target speeches from the perspective of how the speaker employs these rhetorical elements.

This dissertation conducts qualitative descriptive and interpretative analyses utilizing the data of non-trained coders' perceptions of rhetorical elements in target speeches. This researcher conducts the analysis according to the following procedure: (1) addresses are examined to identify the themes delivered by speakers; (2) based on the itemized themes, addresses are coded through a line-by-line analysis to identify the elements of ethos, pathos, logos as well as bonding or bridging rhetoric utilized by speakers; (3) by employing the data in which six non-trained coders intuitively identify these rhetorical elements in target addresses based on the definition of the target rhetorical elements, the conceivable features of perceptions of the coders are examined; and (4) some elements of rhetorical strategy missed by many coders despite an objective presence of such element are examined.

The typical features of coders' intuitive perceptions of five targeted rhetorical elements are identified in the theme-based analysis of four addresses. First, coders tend to miss ethos despite its objective existence. Second, coders tend to identify pathos more than other rhetorical elements when they are moved by the speakers' words. Third, coders identify logos when the speakers deliver the following words: showing a logical connection such as "because" and "consequently," presenting the facts, or depicting scenes which present examples. Furthermore, even when the speakers do not use these words which are apparently associated with logical thought or reasoning, coders sometimes identify logos. Fourth, it seems easy for the coders to identify bridging rhetoric when the speaker calls to "particular people," which shows the speaker's target audience. On the other hand, it seems challenging for the coders to distinguish between bonding rhetoric and bridging rhetoric in particular in US presidential inaugural address, in which both elements of bonding and bridging rhetoric are mixed and blended. Fifth,

coders tend to identify bonding rhetoric when pathos exists. In particular, coders tend to identify bonding rhetoric when the speakers emphasize that the countries of the speakers have suffered unfair disadvantages.

Finally, the outstanding features of rhetorical strategy used by each speaker provide us with some implications. First, the speakers' overly emphasized use of pathos aiming to evoke the emotions of fear or hatred tends to impair the trustworthiness of the speaker. Second, the defective use of logos such as a lack of logical connections, a manipulative shift of the issues, or unreasonable demands casts a negative impact on the trustworthiness of the speakers. Third, although as Aristotle says, ethos is the most persuasive element of his threefold rhetorical elements, at the same time, it is challenging to check if the speaker's use of ethos is genuine and authentic.