



College of Graduate Studies

English Department

Social Media as a Tool of Persuasion in Political Marketing:  
Analyzing the discourse of Trump's Tweets during his Presidential Campaign

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**Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work. It was accomplished under the supervision of Professor Ahmad Atawneh at Hebron University and it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree in any other University.

**Signature: Bayan Natsheh**

In my capacity as a supervisor of the candidate's thesis, I certify that the above statements are true to the best of my knowledge.

**Signature: Prof. Ahmad Atawneh**

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## Abstract

In 2016, Trump had taken the world by storm in a surprising turn of events and won the U.S. presidential elections against Hillary Clinton. Despite the widespread criticism against this controversial man, his victory is a fact that cannot be denied. Therefore, the reason behind Trump's victory has become an urgent issue that needs to be investigated. Trump used Twitter during his campaign as a basic tool to talk to the people. Thus, the current study explored how persuasion through twitter managed the success of Trump's election campaign. This goal was accomplished by identifying the illocutionary point of 470 tweets that were selected from the verified account of Donald Trump according to their themes. After that, the way that the different illocutionary points were exploited in shaping the modes and techniques of persuasion to fulfill the perlocutionary object of persuasion and influence the voters was clarified. Two developed taxonomies were used for analyzing the tweets. The first one was an integration between the taxonomies of Searle's classification of illocutionary acts and Bach and Harnish's taxonomy of communicative and non-communicative illocutionary acts. The second one was a development of Aristotle modes, Cialdini's principles and Shabo's techniques of persuasion. The results showed that Trump focused on using the expressive and representative acts to gain the trust of the audience mainly by attacking Hillary Clinton and triggering the audience emotions by evoking their feelings of anger, fear, hope, enthusiasm...etc. Finally, it is recommended to study the different types of discourse that are presented on social media platforms considering social media discourse as a new genre of discourse that has specific characteristics.

## Abstract in Arabic

**موقع التواصل الاجتماعي كأداة إقناع في التسويق السياسي: تحليل لغة تغريدات ترامب خلال حملته الانتخابية**

### ملخص الدراسة

أضحت قضية فوز ذاك الرجل المثير للجدل "دونالد ترامب" في الانتخابات الرئاسية الأمريكية عام 2016 حقيقة لا يمكن إنكارها، بسبب ميل كفة ميزان الانتخابات لصالحه ضد هيلاري كلينتون آنذاك، مما جعل البحث في أسباب فوزه رغم الانتقادات الموجهة له قضية ملحة يجب البحث في حيثياتها، إذا كشفت الدراسة الحالية الدور المحوري الذي لعبته وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي من خلال توجيهها للخطاب الإقناعي صوب الهدف المراد تحقيقه. ومن خلال انتقاء 470 تغريدة كانت قد ظهرت على الحساب الرسمي لدونالد ترامب عبر توينتر والتي تم اختيارها وفقاً لموضوعاتها، تم تحديد التباين في تصنيف أنواع الفعل الخطابي وكيفية استغلال هذا التباين في تشكيل الأساليب والتقنيات الهدافلة إلى التأثير على الناخبين. وقد تم استخدام اثنين من التصنيفات المحدثة في تحليل تلك التغريدات؛ الأول كان عبارة عن مزيج بين تصنيف سيرل للأفعال (ذات الدلالة المعنية) وبين تصنيف باخ وهارنيش (للأفعال التواصلية وغير التواصلية)، أما التصنيف الثاني المستخدم فقد كان عبارة عن تطوير لكل من أنماط أرسطو ومبادئ تشالدينبي وتقنيات شابوا في الإقناع، حيث اتضح أن ترامب استخدم الأفعال التعبيرية، والتمثيلية بشكل أساسي لكسب ثقة جمهور الناخبين من خلال مهاجمة هيلاري كلينتون، وإثارة مشاعرهم من خلال بث مشاعر الغضب والخوف والأمل والحماس في نفوسهم. أخيراً، يوصى بدراسة أنواع الخطاب المختلفة التي يتم تقديمها على منصات وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي باعتبار خطاب وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي نوعاً جديداً من الخطاب الذي يمتلك خصائص محددة.

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### **Definition of Key Terms**

**1- Political marketing:** It is a designed process that aims to influence target audiences to vote for a particular person or party by satisfying their needs and thus gain their support.

**2-Social media marketing:** It is a new form of using social media platforms for businesses to reach prospects and customers. It involves creating and sharing content on social media networks in order to achieve marketing and branding goals.

**3- Persuasion:** It is a cumulative and planned process in which politicians try to shape, reinforce, or change the autonomous judgments of the public in order to achieve a desired response from them

**4- Speech act theory:** It is a subfield of pragmatics concerned with the ways in which words can be used not only to present information but also to carry out actions.

**5- Illocutionary act:** It is a term that refers to the use of a sentence to express an attitude with a certain function or force, for example, the act of promising.

**4- Perlocutionary act:** It is a term that refers to the consequence or result of the illocutionary act, for example, the act of persuading.

**5- Representative act:** The statements that can be verified as true or false.

**6- Commisive act:** The statements that commit the speaker to do a course of action.

**7- Expressive act:** The statements that express the psychological reaction about a state of affairs.

**8- Directive act:** The statements that call upon the listener to do something.

**9- Image polishing:** It is a persuasive mode that appeals to convince the audience of the speaker's credibility or character to gain their trust.

**10- Logical appealing:** It is a persuasive mode that appeals to convince the audience by using logic and strong evidence.

**11- Emotional triggering:** It is a persuasive mode that appeals to persuade the audience by appealing to their emotions.

**12- Mudslinging:** It is the technique of saying insulting or unfair things about someone, especially to try to damage their reputation.

**13- Card stalking:** It is the technique of false-reasoning propaganda that focuses on one aspect of an incident and ignores the others to achieve specific goals.

**14- Glittering generalities:** It is the technique that takes advantage of appealing words with positive connotations but vague meaning.

**15- Retweeting:** It is the technique of sharing original tweets.

**16- Virality:** It is the quality of circulating images, videos, or tweets rapidly and widely from one Internet user to another.

## **Chapter one**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

If we dig up the roots of politics and business, we will find that both of them feed from the same soil and ground of marketing. These two fields are closely linked. For each, the general objectives are alike even if they have different titles and names. It's just that people in politics complicate things and use the same strategies and principles of business marketing but with more embellished names. Since Trump is businessman and politician, he took the track of business marketing in his presidential campaign. He followed the basic strategies of marketing in his battle of connecting with voters and used social media platforms as one of his influential political marketing tools.

In 2016, the republican presidential nominee, Donald Trump, won the U.S. presidential elections against the democrat presidential nominee Hillary Clinton. Since most pre-election polling had predicted a Clinton win, Trump's victory was a shock for many people. Trump is considered as the first American president without any prior military or governmental services. In addition, the republican nominee “spent about half of what Clinton did on his way to the presidency” (Pramuk, 2016). Thus, exploring the reasons behind Trump's victory has become an urgent necessity. Many people have indicated that social media platforms helped Trump to win, which was confirmed by Trump himself. When FOX Business Network's Maria Bartiromo interviewed Trump and asked him if his unscripted Tweets were getting in the way of his agenda, he answered: “But I doubt I would be here if it were not for social media, to be honest with you” (FoxBusinessNetwork, 2017).

Considering Trump's social media discourse as a political marketing tool places it under the umbrella of political discourse analysis. Since Twitter is considered as Trump's mouthpiece, it becomes essential to analyze his tweets. This study aims at revealing the hidden reason of the effectiveness of using Twitter as a political marketing tool in Trump's presidential campaign. It is suggested that the effective and varied use of the speech act of persuasion is one of the main reasons behind swinging the elections in favor of Trump.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

Due to his controversial personality, Trump's victory was highly unexpected. Therefore, revealing the reasons behind his victory has become an urgent issue that needs to be investigated. In the 2016 presidential campaign of Trump, the king of real estate utilized his success as a businessman in persuading people to win the elections. He used Twitter, which is one of the most popular social media sites, as a basic tool "to talk to the people" (as cited in Beckett, 2017). Thus, since discourse analysis may be extended to cover social media discourse, exploring the persuasion strategies in the tweets of Trump has set up a model for such discourse, which has rarely been investigated. Through his tweets, Trump prominently used simple language to communicate with his followers where they were able to hear his views, voice, and vision. Although many articles and blogs have discussed the role of the 'Bluebird' in Trump's victory, no one of them has identified the linguistic behavior of these tweets. Therefore, the current study will explore the unexplored but focal role of the speech act of persuasion on the effectiveness of social media discourse as a political marketing tool.

### **1.3. Purpose of the Study**

The main purpose of this study is to present a model of a new type of discourse (Tweets analysis). This kind of discourse has become the fashion in the media to talk about political views and even making decisions from the side of politicians. In this special case, there is a kind of persuasive technique followed in the tweets of Trump that could be taken as a model for other politicians. Moreover, since there is nothing explicit in politics and people see only half of the truth; the half that the politicians want them to see, this study aims at revealing how the speech act theory can help us to examine utterances from the perspective of their function rather than their form in order to make people more aware of the manipulative games of politics and marketing. This goal is going to be accomplished by revealing how Trump has implemented the speech act of persuasion into his short and frequent tweets and used these tweets as a basic persuasive strategy during his presidential campaign. It is worthy to mention that this study has been designed to present analysis of the tweets as a linguistic text. No intention has been made to judge the credibility of the tweets as this is outside the domain of the study.

### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

What makes the current study distinctive is the type of the new manifestation of discourse that will be analyzed and how it will be analyzed. Firstly, this study will analyze the speech act of persuasion in Trump's tweets. To present his political discourse, Trump has utilized Twitter, which is a social media platform. Such integration between a political and a social media discourse is what makes this study different. Moreover, what is emphasized in social media discourse is the ability of politicians to build a two-way relationship with the public, where the politicians can monitor the reaction of their followers directly and immediately. Secondly, a distinct combination of frameworks is adopted to analyze the tweets. Different frameworks have

been developed to fit the data of this study. Thirdly, as this type of discourse has rarely been investigated, this study is expected to benefit those in the field at two levels:

- 1- present a model for analysis of speech acts.
- 2- enhance teachers awareness of using this method in handling texts designed for teaching.

### **1.5. Objectives of the Study**

The study aims at examining the following goals:

1. To place social media discourse in the context of political discourse analysis.
2. To critically analyze the speech act of persuasion used in Trump's tweets.

### **1.6. Questions of the Study**

The main question for the present study is: How did persuasion through twitter manage the success of Trump's election campaign?

- 1) What are the variations in the classification of the illocutionary point according to the thematic categorization of the tweets?
- 2) How did the variation in the illocutionary point lead to the fulfillment of the perlocutionary object of persuasion?
  - a) Which of the investigated persuasion modes and techniques appear in the tweets?
  - b) How was the variation in the illocutionary point exploited in shaping the modes and techniques of persuasion to influence the voters?

## Chapter Two

### Literature Review

#### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the linguistic theories as a background of the analysis of this study. Different illocutionary act taxonomies are handled to smooth the path for a detailed explanation of the new adapted taxonomy. After that, the definition of persuasion and its relation to political marketing are tackled. In addition, Aristotle's modes, Cialdini's principles and Shabo's techniques of persuasion are clarified to draw a triple relationship between the speech act theory, political marketing and persuasion. Finally, a brief summary of the American presidential campaign of 2016 and the elected president Donald Trump are presented. As well, a brief discussion about social media marketing and Twitter is outlined. To begin with this review, it is important to introduce pragmatics as an umbrella to the topic.

#### 2.2. Pragmatics

The main purpose of all political campaigns is to influence the process of decision making within a certain group. In 2016, The American political arena witnessed a tightly contested presidential campaign. Each one of the candidates strived to become the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the USA. Every single poster, picture or word they used, had one meaning: vote for me. In the case of Trump's digital campaign, especially in his tweets, Trump never used the explicit request: VOTE FOR ME; however, he meant that in every tweet. Therefore, what Trump intended to tell is far richer than what he directly expressed. In fact, the contrast between the said and the implicated is the core of pragmatics (Horn & Ward, 2005, p. 1).

As the topic of this paper is basically related to what is beyond the literal content of Trump's tweets, it becomes essential to talk about this field of linguistics. Pragmatics is comprehended, at the simplest level, as the study of "language use" (Verschueren, 1999, p. 1). To employ somewhat clearer phrasing, pragmatics is defined as "the study of how language is affected by the situation in which it is used, of how language is used to get things or perform actions, and of how words can express things that are different from what they appear to mean" (Pragmatics, n.d.).

Unlike the focus of the traditional disciplines of linguistics (semantics, morphology, phonology, syntax, phonetics) on language systems, the focus of pragmatics takes a totally different level. The question of how language resources are used is what pragmatics tries to answer. Under the scope of pragmatics, there are many discussed theories, such as Grice's (1975) four cooperative maxims and Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness strategies. In addition, one of the most popular pragmatic theories is the speech act theory with its different taxonomies and interpretations.

### **2.2.1 The Speech Act Theory**

Half a century ago, Austin delivered some lectures as *The William James Lectures* at Harvard University. After Austin's death, these lectures were published as a book entitled *How to Do Things with Words*. Through these lectures, Austin developed a new realization of meaning analysis. He indicated that the study of meaning should exceed straight statements taken out of contexts. Furthermore, he confirmed that speakers usually contribute more information than just what is said and they use speech to perform actions (Austin, 1962). In order to prove his claims,

Austin argued against the reductive theorists who claimed that the utterances always "constate" something and are thus always true or false.

Austin's major concern was around "the oversimplifying complexities of meaning," particularly, by reducing meaning to descriptive meaning. His analysis of meaning was different and away from the forms of reduction. According to Oishi (2006, p. 1), in reductive theories of meaning, "complexities of meaning expressed by a sentence are reduced by a single criterion to something else, and this is claimed to be the process of explaining the meaning of the sentence." This reductive explanation of meaning is typically found in Russell. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Russell's logical atomism had a clear influence on analytic philosophy in all of its aspects. According to logical atomism: "all truths are ultimately dependent upon a layer of atomic facts, which consist either of a simple particular exhibiting a quality, or multiple simple particulars standing in a relation" (Klemnet, 2013).

On the one hand, the reductive theorists claim that the function of language is describing reality, representing states of affairs and making assertions about the world far afield from any complexities of meaning. On the other hand, Austin confirms that our utterances have a variety of different uses. Language in speech is utilized for many functions such as promising, inviting, and so on. It is worthy to mention that Austin shares the similar point that was made in philosophical investigations by the Austrian-British philosopher Wittgenstein, who underlines the "countless" uses we may put our sentences to (Berdini & Bianchi, n.d.).

In the first lecture of the William James Lectures, Austin (1962) began by saying that what he would talk about is "neither difficult nor contentious." In fact, the case is not related to difficulty or contentiousness, but to Austin's most celebrated contribution to contemporary philosophy of

his theory of speech acts. Back to the last part of his first lecture, Austin, for the very first time, proposed a theory that describes the utterances that disguise as statements. He called such utterances ‘Performatives.’

### **2.2.1.1 Performatives**

The performatives, or the masqueraders as Austin described them, are a set of English verbs that enable the speaker to perform an act by using one of them in the first person singular present indicative active. Austin surely derived the name of performatives from the verb *perform*, which is the usual verb that we use before the noun ‘action’. In other words, some actions won’t be performed without issuing particular utterances first.

Austin’s description and examples of performatives were sufficient to prove that there is a distinction to be drawn between them and constatives. He, on the one hand, described the performatives in two points: a) they do not ‘describe’ or ‘report’ anything at all. They are assessed as ‘happy’ or ‘felicitous’, rather than as ‘true’ or ‘false’. b) The uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not normally be described as only saying something (Austin, 1962, p.5). On the other hand, constatives were distinguished as the statements that are subject to the truth/falsity conditions of propositional knowledge.

In his sixth lecture, and after he tried to draw a distinction between performatives and constatives, Austin presented the two general types of the performatives: the primary and the explicit. According to Lyons, the explicit performative is the one in which the utterance includes a performative verb that makes what kind of act is being performed. While, the implicit performative is the performative utterance in which there is no such verb (1981, p. 175).

Although the common view that Austin contended is that the only way to do things with words is by uttering the performative verbs explicitly (Bach & Harnish, 1992), there are lots of clear passages in which Austin showed the difference between explicit and inexplicit performatives. Over and above, there is no singular passage that shows the contrary. As a matter of fact, in his last lecture, Austin admitted that the performatives can be uttered inexplicitly. Moreover, he suggested that even when explicit performative verbs are absent, all speaking should be seen as doing.

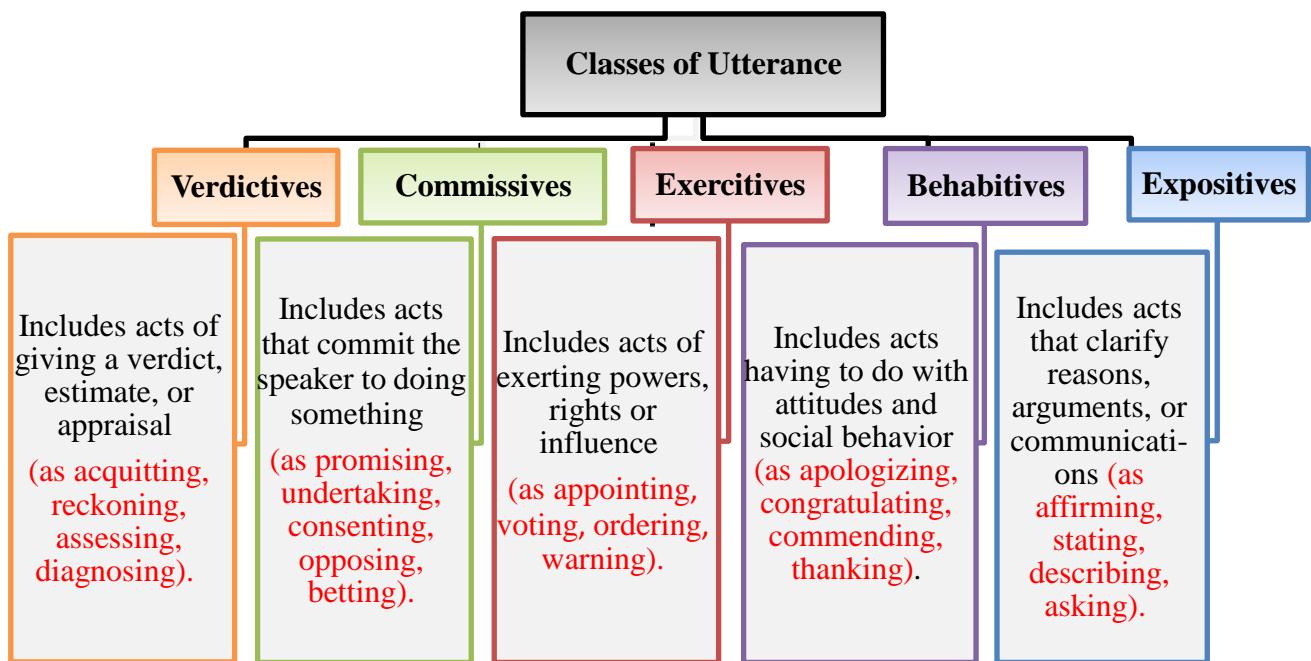
Basically, Austin's distinction between the two types of performatives was an attempt to remove some of the troubles in his search for a list of explicit performative verbs. In his eighth lecture, when he "embarked" on a programme to find this list, he found that it is not always easy to distinguish performative utterances from constative utterances. In order to overcome this obstacle, he suggested making a "fresh start on the problem." He took advantage of the distinction between performative utterances and constatives and improved this distinction to reach a more general theory of 'illocutionary forces' of utterances.

Austin went back to the "fundamentals" of speech to find the different dimensions or senses of the "use of a sentence." He continued by considering the different senses in which the "issuance of a sentence is part of the doing of an action." As a result of his general considerations, Austin presented a doctrine of three acts which are assumed to be involved when someone utters sentences: (1) the locutionary act, which is the act of saying something in the full normal sense. According to Austin, the full normal sense includes the following three aspects of the act: phonetic act, phatic act, and rhetic act. The phonetic act which is simply the act of issuing sounds. The phatic act and the rhetic act require issuing sounds according to certain grammar and sounds which have meaning. (2) The illocutionary act, which is the real intended

meaning of the utterance. (3) The perlocutionary act, which is the effect that the speech act has on the listener. Austin summed the definitions of these acts by saying: "the locutionary act which has a meaning; the illocutionary act which has a certain force in saying something; the perlocutionary act which is the achieving of certain effects by saying something" (1962, p.120).

### 2.2.1.2 The Classification of Illocutionary Acts

Austin introduced the new terms of the locutionary, the illocutionary, and the perlocutionary acts, which soon became the center of the famous "speech act theory". In his last lecture, he focused mainly on the illocutionary act. As a starting point of his list of explicit performative verbs, he identified five classes of utterances. He classified them according to their illocutionary force as: Verdictives, Exercitives, Commissives, Behabitives, Expositives (1962, p.150). A brief explanation of Austin's five classes and some examples of each are shown in Figure 1.



**Figure 1:** Austin's five classes of utterance

Since *How to Do Things with Words* is a series of lectures, we, as readers, can clearly observe the development of Austin's ideas from the first lecture to the last. We can also detect the changes in his outcomes and how he rebelled against his former conclusions. Nonetheless, this doesn't mean that reading Austin's lectures doesn't leave that kind of satisfaction and admiration for Austin and his ideas. Austin is one of the pioneers who introduced the basic terms and areas in pragmatics for study. He also came up with the new category of utterances; the performatives. There is no doubt that Austin seeded the main gist of the Speech Act Theory (not the first, but among the first ones), and become a cornerstone for his followers. However, his lectures have left controversial bearings on a wide variety of philosophical problems.

Many questions have been raised and many and many linguists, linguistic anthropologists and sociologists, cognitive psychologists, and speech communication theorists tried to answer them. One of Austin's most known students, John R. Searle, the American philosopher and linguist, has received a broad attention for his research in the philosophy of language especially the speech act theory. Searle worked on refining Austin's conceptions in a great number of works, such as: *Speech Acts* (1969), *Expression and Meaning* (1979), "Austin on Locutionary and Illocutionary Acts" (1968), *How Performatives Work* (1989) and others.

Before any of his popular texts on the speech act theory, in 1968, Searle wrote "Austin on Locutionary and Illocutionary Acts" as an attempt to explore the notion of the illocutionary act of Austin. From this point, the conceptions of Searle and his ideas started to clash with Austin's. Searle found that Austin's corresponding notion of a locutionary act is "very unhelpful." Searle was unsure about Austin's distinction between locutionary and illocutionary acts. Although he admitted that the concepts of the locutionary and illocutionary acts are different, he considered that the difference between these two concepts is not enough to set a distinction between separate

classes of acts. In addition, he counted that all the members of the class of locutionary acts are members of the class of illocutionary acts. Searle encountered that Austin's distinction cannot be completely general. Furthermore, he considered that "the locutionary meaning of sentences always contains some illocutionary force potential, and hence the locutionary meaning of utterances determines (at least some) illocutionary force of utterances." (1968, p. 414). So far so good, but in fact, Austin hadn't mentioned anything that contradicts with Searle. Contrarily, Austin provided a chance for any possible changes in the whole matter of his lectures. Actually, the one who contradicted Searle was Searle himself.

Austin reached the conclusion that all utterances are "in any case performative in nature", and there is a performative dimension in any use of language (As cited in Smith, 2003, p.6). Later, Bach and Harish (1992) contended that performatives are literally and directly statements and only indirectly promises, orders, requests, etc. From his side, Searle rejected Austin's conclusion and Bach and Harish's contention, considering that their assumptions mean that the "special case of utterances (performatives) swallows the general case (constatives)" (1968, p: 413).

In 1976, Searle presented taxonomy of illocutionary acts where the notion of 'performative' played no part in that taxonomy. He eliminated any theory of performatives in establishing his new taxonomy. Few years later, in his *Expression and Meaning* book, Searle confirmed, as Austin did, that there is no standardized and basic distinction between performatives and constatives. After years of refusing and denying this distinction, he developed a whole account of performatives in his paper *How Performatives Work*. Moreover, Searle confirmed that the only performatives are what Austin called 'explicit performatives' (as cited in Adams, 2006). Based on his "brand-new theory" of performatives, Searle shifted many utterances from where they

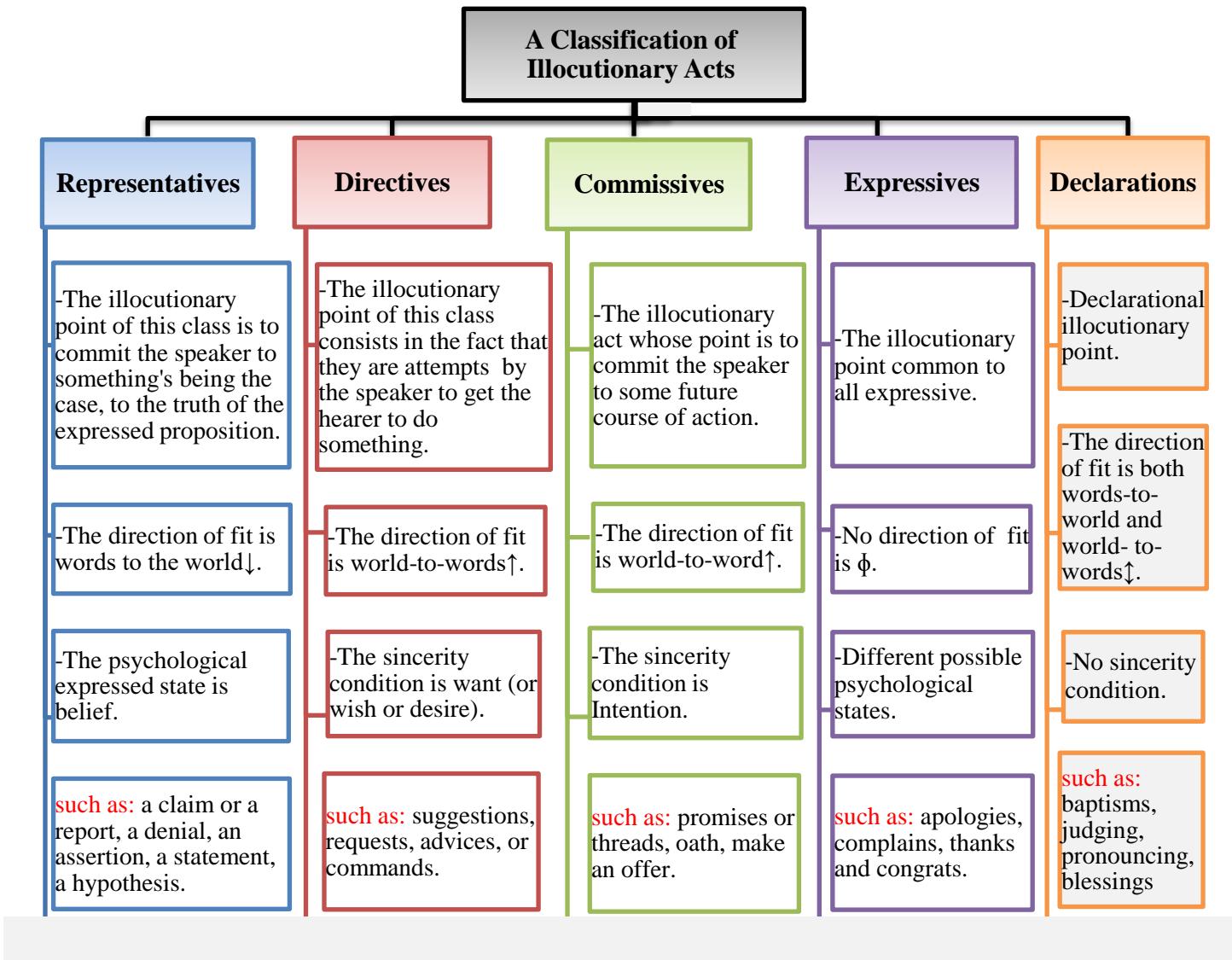
logically ought to be into the category of declarations. This shifting was a great strike that deformed his taxonomy of illocutionary acts (Register, 1997).

According to Searle's view, Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* is divided in two parts: firstly, the performative/constative distinction; and secondly the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. However, the second part is nothing other than a logical development of the first part. Based on that, the reason why Austin did not mention the performative/constative distinction does not mean that he neglected or abandoned it, but he dissolved it in a way that fits the development of the second part. Moreover, in the second part, the “fresh start” of the illocutionary act was nothing but what Austin had been calling “the Austin-act” in the first part of the lectures. Therefore, developing the theory of performatives by Searle was nothing but a step backwards, especially because of the negative effect of the theory on his taxonomy of illocutionary acts.

Back to 1976, the time when Searle's texts were distinguished by their coherent ground and content, Searle developed a reasoned classification of illocutionary acts into certain categories. Due to the overlapping and unclarity of Austin's classification of utterances, Searle attempted to improve on his teacher's taxonomy, which-Austin- himself was not satisfied with.

Searle distinguished one kind of illocutionary act from another based on a number of parameters and criteria. In his paper “A classification of illocutionary acts” (1976), he presented twelve dimensions of variation in which illocutionary acts differ one from another and he listed them briskly. However, most of his taxonomy was built around three dimensions only: the illocutionary point, the direction of fit, and the sincerity condition. The most important one for this research is the illocutionary point or the purpose of a type of illocution (e.g.: the point or

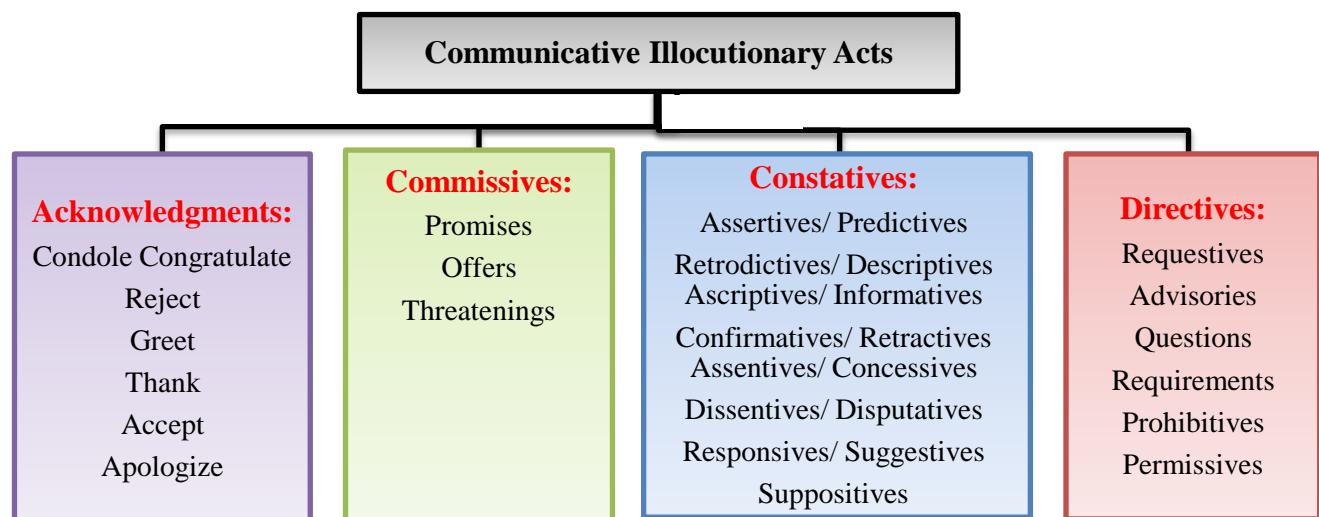
purpose of an order can be specified by saying that it is an attempt to get the hearer to do something). After presenting the twelve dimensions of variation in the first section of the paper, and the weaknesses in Austin's taxonomy in the second section, in the third section, he presented a list of what he regarded as the basic categories of illocutionary acts: the Representatives, the Directives, the Commissives, the Expressives, and the Declarations (As shown in Figure 2).



**Figure 2:** Searle's classification of illocutionary acts

The efforts to classify the illocutionary acts have been continuing apace. However, there is no resolute agreement on a final taxonomic system for illocutionary acts. Many taxonomies have been submitted but this study will just discuss -in addition to Austin's and Searle's taxonomies- Bach & Harnish's one.

According to Bach and Harnish (1989), after Austin's classification, all the subsequent taxonomies attempted to improve on Austin's; Searle was the only one who tried to reach a general theory of illocutionary acts. Bach & Harnish confirmed, as Searle did, that a scheme of classification should be principled and its categories should not overlap. However, they completely rejected Searle's assumption that the connection between the linguistic structure and the speech act of an utterance is mostly semantic. In 1989, they published *Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts*. In this book, they distinguished between communicative and conventional illocutionary acts. In the third chapter of the book, Bach & Harnish presented a taxonomy of the four major categories of the communicative illocutionary acts. Each one of the categories was subdivided into smaller and very specified classes as shown in Figure 3.



**Figure 3:** Bach & Harnish's Taxonomy of Communicative Illocutionary Acts

As it is clear, the four major categories of Bach and Harnish's taxonomy are in somewhat close to Searle's ones (Acknowledgments= Expressives, Commissives= Commesives, Constitutives= Representatives, Directives= Directives). However, what seems missing is the class of Searle's declaratives. After three chapters from the same book, we find a relegated two extra classes called the Effectives and Verdictives. These two classes are not subdivided and claimed to be "conventional not communicative" (Bach & Harnish, 1989, p.40). On the one hand, the Effectives are very similar to Searle's declaratives and could be defined as "the utterances that, when issued by the right person under the right circumstances, make it the case that such and such." (Bach & Harnish, 1989, p.113). On the other hand, the Verdictives are all "officially acknowledged assertions which have a special status in some (legal) interaction" (Eckardt, 2009, p.14).

### **2.2.1.3 The Perlocutionary Act**

As humans, we do not utter sentences and communicate with each other for no purpose. We ask, complain, demand, invite and do lots of actions by saying things. Our utterances have different illocutionary forces that seek to reach specific effects. According to Austin (1962), when a speaker says something, certain "consequential effects" will often be produced upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the hearers. These effects are called the Perlocutionary Acts. As mentioned before, Austin defined the perlocutionary act as the achieving of certain effects by saying something, such as: convincing, persuading, deterring, surprising or misleading.

Eventually, the main goal of any speech act is to reach a certain intended effect. However, a perlocutionary act may include intended or unintended, and often indeterminate effects (Levinson, 1983). According to Austin, the perlocutionary act may achieve a perlocutionary

object (the intended effect of surprising, persuading...etc.) or the production of a perlocutionary sequel(an unintended effect). For example, the act of threatening may achieve its perlocutionary object of frightening the hearer or may have the perlocutionary sequel and fail to achieve its object. Strawson confirmed that having successful communication requires a fulfilment of the intended perlocutionary act (the perlocutionary object) (as cited in Bach & Harnish, 1989).

As this research basically investigates the speech act in a political discourse that took a place in a presidential campaign, conceptually, the perlocutionary object that was intended to be achieved through all this discourse was persuasion. Despite the fact that persuasion may fail or succeed, in this study we are sure that trump succeeded in persuading the people who liked his tweets and voted for him. Since Trump won the elections, and became the president of the United States, then, his tweets fulfilled the perlocutionary object of persuasion and persuaded the largest segment of voter to elect him!

### **2.3 Persuasion**

First and foremost, let's look at the following examples and think about the shared feature between them:

1- “Here I am myself— / you all know me, the world knows my fame: / I am Oedipus” (Oedipus the King, Section 1. Lines 6-9)

2- (سورة لقمان,٨) ”إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ أَلَّهُمْ جَنَّاتُ النَّعِيمِ“ . The translation: “Verily, those who attain to faith and do righteous deeds shall have gardens of bliss” (8, lokman)

3- “Petruchio is my name; Antonio’s son. A man well known throughout all Italy” (The Taming of the Shrew, Act 2/scene1)

4- “Coca-Cola refresh yourself!” (Coca-Cola’s commercial slogan,)

##### 5- “Stronger Together” (Hillary Clinton’s campaign slogan, 2016)

The previous examples are widely different. The first example is a line taken from Sophocles’ tragedy *Oedipus the King*. At the beginning of the tragedy, after Oedipus saved Thebes from the curse of the Sphinx, he proclaimed his name with the pride, confidence, and power of a leader. The second example is a verse translated from the Holly Quran in which God promises to reward the faithful people with gardens and heavens. The third example is a line taken from Shakespeare’s popular comedy *The Taming of the Shrew*. Petruchio, the protagonist of the comedy, introduced himself to Baptista (the father of the bride) by mentioning that he’s the son of a well-known man. The fourth example is Coca-Cola’s commercial slogan of 1929. Finally, the last example is Hillary’s slogan in the presidential campaign of 2016. However, the question remains: what do these examples have in common?

At first glance, the five examples seem very different in terms of chronology, genre and even subject! One of which is in the Greek era and the other is in the era of technology. The fields are also far apart, one is political and the other is religious! Nevertheless, if we look at the examples from a pragmatic perspective, we find out that all the speakers have a clear intent to persuade. Petruchio seeks to persuade Baptista to marry his daughter. Both, Coca-Cola and Hillary, used ‘commercial’ slogans to serve the purpose of persuasion. Moreover, the Quranic verse is a clear method of persuasion to worship God in order to obtain paradise. As for Oedipus, he showed his strength and authority to persuade people of his suitability for his position as a king of Thebes. Based on this, we conclude that we are surrounded by persuasion wherever we turn. So, what is persuasion? Is it related only to commercials? Is it a new term or an old one?

### **2.3.1 Defining persuasion**

Persuasion has been defined in different ways. Different researchers handled this term from different aspects and views as following:

- 1- According to Bettinghaus and Cody: “persuasion involves a conscious effort at influencing the thoughts or actions of a receiver.” (As cited in Cameron, 2009, p.309).
- 2- Miller has defined persuasion as “any message that is intended to shape, reinforce, or change the responses of another, or others.” (As cited in Cameron, 2009, p.309).
- 2- Andersen described persuasion as “a communication process in which the communicator seeks to elicit a desired response from his receiver.” (As cited in Perloff, 2003, p. 8).
- 5- Perloff collected a set of definitions to come up with this definition: “ a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behavior regarding an issue through the transmission of a message, in an atmosphere of free choice” (Perloff, 2003, p. 8 ).
- 6- Simons, Jones, and Gronbeck defined Persuasion as a designed process that aims at influencing “the autonomous judgments and actions of others” (2011, p.7).

As this research deals with persuasion in politics, the definition of persuasion is going to be as: a cumulative and planned process in which politicians try to shape, reinforce, or change the autonomous judgments of the public in order to achieve a desired response from them.

### 2.3.2 Roots of Persuasion

In Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, the funeral oration of Caesar's supporter Marc Antony is considered as one of the crucial issues in the play. Through his well-known oration, Antony wanted to seek revenge on Caesar's killers and gain power for himself. And to reach his two goals, he tried to turn the crowd against Brutus by persuading them that Caesar's murder was unfair. In a few minutes, with his great skill and knowledge, Antony succeeded in changing the minds of the people "from believing 'This Caesar was a tyrant' (3.2.69) to seeing him as 'noble Caesar' once again. The 'honorable' Brutus, however, has become a traitor in their eyes" (Ballard, 2016). Antony's speech is considered as one of the most powerful examples of persuasion in public speaking. Despite the fact that persuasion was a much-valued skill in Shakespeare's era of time, but to be very clear and precise, the Greeks were the first to talk and analyze persuasion in a systematic way (Qutteineh, 2017).

Over two millennia ago, the art of rhetoric was popular in Athens. In that period of time, rhetoric and persuasion where two sides of the same coin. Plato, the ancient Greek philosopher who had influential discussions about rhetoric, denounced the art of rhetoric in his dialogue *Gorgias* and considered it as a synonymous with deception. Nevertheless, the Greeks loved public speech and they were interested in having rhetoric training (or what was known as the art of public persuasion). So, to meet their interest, a group of teachers decided to offer courses in rhetoric. The teachers were called Sophists. In Plato's view, "the Sophists sacrificed truth at the altar of persuasion" (Perloff, 2003, p. 21). From their side, the Sophists believed that teaching rhetoric is very useful for people since they like it. However, despite the fact that Plato had many acrimonious argumentations against rhetoric, he had sparked an intellectual affair to study and

discuss this art. (For more information about the history of persuasion go to Perloff's dynamics of persuasion/historical review of persuasion scholarship/ p20-26)

Aristotle, Plato's well-known student, saw that both; his teacher and the Sophists had a point. On the one hand, Aristotle agreed on Plato's view about the importance of truth. On the other hand, he saw that the Sophists were correct about the fact that persuasion is a very useful communication tool. Therefore, he took the best from both views and came out with the result that "rhetoric is not designed to persuade people but to discover scientific principles of persuasion" (Perloff, 2003, p. 22). Based on that, and to prove that rhetoric could be viewed in scientific terms, he wrote many books on the subject.

*Rhetoric* consists of three books that handled rhetoric from all of its sides. In the first pages of the first book, Aristotle defined rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (350 BC /1998, p. 2). In addition, he proposed that there are three main modes of artistic means of persuasion (Jamar, 2008). The three modes are:

- 1- Ethos: it deals with the reliability and credibility of the speaker.
- 2- Pathos: it deals with the emotional appeals that evoke the feelings of the public.
- 3- Logos: it deals with the logical and rational argumentation of a speech.

For example, MBC Group, before two years, presented a series of commercials for Sensodyne (a toothpaste for sensitive teeth). The main goal of that commercial was to persuade people to buy the product. Thus, the series contained the three key rhetorical elements as following:

- 1- Logos: "Sensodyne creates repairing layer over and within sensitive areas of teeth." This sentence presents a logical expert explanation about how the product works and protects the teeth.

2- Pathos: “one of the best moments of my life when I go to the cinema and eat ice-cream. With Sensodyne enjoy your ice-cream and beat Sensitivity pain fast”. These two sentences were said by a model who played a role of a normal woman. The normal look worked on engaging the customers more to the product. Moreover, by talking about the cinema and the ice-cream, she was trying to evoke the customers’ enthusiasm feelings to have such enjoyable moments.

1- Ethos: the first sentence was said by Dr. Majd Naji, who is known as the dentist of the celebrities in the Arab world. The opinion of such popular and expert person added more reliability, and credibility to the commercial.

As a result, and based on the example, we conclude that the persuasive power of each of these three modes derives from the effect it has on the customers. In other words, to be persuasive, you should be able to influence the mind and the heart of your audience.

### **2.3.3 Principles and techniques of Persuasion<sup>1</sup>**

**Cialdini’s principles of persuasion.** One of the most eminent names who has studied persuasion in this century is Dr. Robert Cialdini. Cialdini’s name has shined as an expert in the field of persuasion. Moreover, due to Dr. Cialdini’s hard and influential research in this field, he is regarded as the “Godfather of persuasion.” His book, *Influence: The Psychology of Persuasion* (2007), has been listed on the New York Times Best Seller list. The book explains the psychology of why people say ‘yes’ and how to make them say it. In addition it discusses six key psychological techniques-or weapons as Cialdini called them- used by salesman, waiters, etc. to influence the hearers to say yes to what they want. The six principles are:

1) Reciprocity: this principle relies on the psychological fact which says that if you do something nice for someone, they’ll do something nice for you. People want to pay back the

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<sup>1</sup> Note: all the presented examples in this section have been added by the researcher.

person who gives them a favor somehow. So, if your sister wants to travel to France and you offer to take care of her kids, she'll bring you a big present from there; Eifel tower maybe!

2) Commitment and Consistency: people like to be consistent with the things they have previously said or done. For example, when you ask your students to choose the deadline to submit their assignments, they would show a high level of commitment.

3) Social Proof: simply, it's the idea that people will do what other people around them are doing. You hear the people around you praise Apple phones. What are you going to do? You're going to buy an Apple phone too (if you have enough money of course!).

4) Liking: the more the people like you, the more they likely to agree with you. We do not support people we do not like. On the contrary, we may reject an idea only because someone we do not like has presented it.

5) Authority: people respect authority figures who have an important message, an effective style, a charismatic and powerful character, and tons of money (rich man's joke is always funny).

6) Scarcity: if people think that something is going to run out, they will rush to buy it. People, everywhere, usually buy a lot of bread if they hear of a coming snow storm. They feel very concerned about being running out of bread.

Since this research is analyzing a political discourse, not all of Cialdini's principles can cover and match the aims of this research. Not all of the principles are very flexible to be applied to other domains other than business. The scarcity principle, for instance, is not applicable in any way to a political campaign! Moreover, when it comes to talk about principles of persuasion it means the general rules that explain or control how persuasion happens or works. So, to solve this problem, there was a must to look for more specific and clear techniques that has more to do with politics.

**Shabo's Techniques of Persuasion.** In 2008, Shabo's published a book called *Techniques of Propaganda and Persuasion*. This book explains how the political language is utilized to present ideas and manipulate brains. The first chapter of the book features the following eleven techniques of persuasion:

- 1) Assertion: to state debatable ideas as if they area facts. For Example: "Women are bad drivers"/ "head and shoulders UK's No.1 shampoo."
- 2) The bandwagon effect: this technique refers to any situation in which people attempt to fit in, do what everyone is doing, and be part of a majority group. For Example: The Ice Bucket Challenge, which is an activity of emptying a bucket of ice and water over a person's head, was created to promote awareness of the disease amyotrophic lateral and encourage donations to research. The challenge went viral on social media and become a trend. Some people did the challenge just because everyone was doing it not because of the main purpose of the challenge!
- 3) Card staking: to focus on one aspect of an incident, view, fact, etc. and ignore the others. Information may be presented out of context and important facts can be obscured. For example: on October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2018, Apple released iPhone XR, which is the twelfth generation of the iPhone. Before the time of the launch, Apple announced that the greatest feature of iPhone XR is its very long battery life. However, apple announced just half of the truth! Apple focused on the large battery life of the RX but it did not mention anything about the fact that all Samsung galaxy phones and Hawaii have larger battery life than the RX or any of its iPhones. They manipulated the fact, but at the end, they marketed their new product in a good way by telling a fact and ignoring the other. Another example, after two days from the launching of iPhone 5, Samsung presented a commercial that compared between Galaxy S3 and iPhone 5. The comparison was certainly in favor of Samsung. The commercial presented two lists. The first list was longer than

the second one and it contained some of the distinguished features of Galaxy S3. The second list contained the comparative features of iPhone5 (which were obviously much less than the features of Galaxy S3). Clearly, the commercial totally ignored the good features of iPhone 5 and focused on the good features of Galaxy S3. In this way, Samsung Clarified the strengths of its product and attracted the costumers of the competitor's product. Moreover, Samsung might have broken the trust between iPhone and their customers.

4) Glittering generalities: these are colourful, vague, and positive words that are not explained and meant to appeal to the emotions of the audience. They are common in political campaigns and advertising. For example, these are some slogans of different presidential campaigns of U.S:

- “Union, liberty, peace”—Abraham Lincoln, 1892.
- “National Unity. Prosperity. Advancement.” – Theodore Roosevelt, 1904
- “It’s Time to Change America”— Bill Clinton, 1992.
- “A Safer World and a More Hopeful America”— George W. Bush, 2004.
- “Yes We Can” – Barack Obama, 2008.

5) False dilemma: “Either you agree with us, or you are a fool.” For example, in an interview with the late President Saddam Hussein, he attacked Iran and Turkey saying: “Those who do not respect the Arabs do not respect or believe in Allah.” He considered that those who are not with Arabs are all infidels.

6) The lesser of the two evils: this is a type that offers two bad alternatives and the audience should choose the less bad choice. For example, imagine that you are supposed to vote for your next president and the only options are Thanos from the Avengers movie, and lord Voldemort from Harry potter. If Thanos wins, he will wipe out half the universe and leave the other alive to

bring stability to the world. If the Dark Lord wins, he will kill most of “the muggles” and leave the “purebloods” as long as they don’t threaten him. For whom would you vote?

7) Name-calling: the use of negative words, derogatory connotation, and labels in describing a person, group, idea, etc. The basic aim of this technique is to dispraise and disparage the opponents. Former Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi described the demonstrator Libyans as rats and mice jumping in the streets and that he would chase them from “a house to a house.”

8) Pinpointing the enemy: this technique is also known as scapegoating. The form of this technique takes place when an enemy is blamed for something that is someone else’s fault. Syrian refugees suffer from severe persecution by some groups in Lebanon. The head of the Internal Relations Division in the Internal Security Forces in Lebanon, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Musalam, accused the Syrians of the traffic crisis and the large number of accidents in the Lebanese streets. He attributed the reason to the ignorance of the Syrians who came from the countryside (Farah, 2014). The funny thing is that the street crisis in Lebanon started even before the war in Syria!

9) Plain folks: by this technique, the speaker tries to present himself or herself as a common person who is just like you. One of the most prominent examples on this technique is the excessive use of inclusive language by Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, the president of Egypt. In most of his interviews and conferences he uses the pronouns “we, us, our” to get closer to the audience.

10) Testimonials: in politics and advertising, people try to show the written or spoken endorsements about them or about their product that stated by popular people. For example, Cristiano Ronaldo, the handsome Portuguese professional footballer, was the face for advertisement campaign of Clear shampoo. He advised to use the shampoo by saying “stay fresh

and show your power move by Clear” to promote the shampoo. In addition, politicians may use ‘plain folk’ testimonials where people like us tell us why we should vote for someone.

11) Transfer: This technique is often done in a symbolic manner by sending unspoken emotional messages. For example, Trump took a picture wearing the Jewish cap next to al-Buraq wall to send the message that he supports Israel and Jewish people.

Eventually, when the previous techniques and principles of persuasion are translated on the ground, they turn into activities. These activities are carried out from politicians, producers, or sellers to customers or audience. Based on Kinnear & Bernhardt, these activities are considered as one of the basic components of marketing, which corresponds to the marketing definition of Maynard, Weilder, and Beckman (as cited in Brunswick, 2014). Therefore, reviewing literature related to marketing becomes essential. However, since the field of marketing is certainly ramified, this research is concerned with political marketing only.

## **2.4 Political marketing**

Despite the fact that the term ‘marketing’ is basically related to commerce, politics has a direct relation with this term too. In commercial marketing, producers offer the customers products and services in return for something of value. The same process happens in political marketing, through which the candidates offer the voters promises or ideas in return for their votes. According to Shama (1975) “Political marketing is the process by which political candidates and ideas are directed at the voters in order to satisfy their political needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question.” Shama’s definition is clearly an attempt to represent political marketing throughout the inspiration of commercial marketing. Although this definition seems to be good at the first sight, it could not separate the concept of political marketing from the commercial one. However, with the increased attention towards the

study of campaigns and political marketing, the concept of political marketing has been developed to take a more independent form.

Lock and Harris defined political marketing as both a discipline and an activity (as cited in Ormrod, Henneberg, & OShaughnessy, 2013). On the one hand, political marketing as a discipline is a planned process that focuses on the relationship between the candidates and the environment (the voters and the opponent candidates). On the other hand, political marketing as an activity deals with the strategies and tools that help the candidate to communicate with the audience in order to influence their attitudes. In fact, the two parts of the definition complete each other. The strategies and tools of marketing would not be effective if they are not build on a strong ground of information about the voters' behavior.

Defining the voters' behavior is one of the most substantial and complex parts of marketing. If the candidates can decide what, when, where, and how to direct their campaigns, they will 'shape, reinforce, or change' the behavior and judgments of the voters easily. In other words, by examining and analyzing the needs, values, emotions, orientations and even the external factors that affect the behavior of the voters, the candidates will become able to offer what the voters need to guarantee their votes and achieve the desired response.

O' Cass (as cited in Kolovos & Harris, 2005) suggests that political marketing "offers political parties the ability to address diverse voter concerns and needs through marketing analyses, planning, implementation and control of political and electoral campaigns." During 2016 presidential campaign, Trump used Cambridge Analytica, which is a British political consulting firm that provides consumer research that targets advertising and other data-related services to both political and corporate clients (Ingram, 2018). The company claims that it can "develop psychological profiles" of consumers and voters to affect them more effectively than

traditional advertising could (as cited in Ingram, 2018). By Facebook, Twitter, Google, Snapchat, and some other applications, Cambridge Analytica gathered data about the voters and data about their friends (Lewis & Hilder, 2018). Cambridge Analytica claimed that it was the reason behind the victory of Donald Trump by using the technique of micro-target US voters that tailored messages about the Republican nominee across digital channels (as cited in Lewis & Hilder, 2018).

The theory of ‘cognitive dissonance’ is one of the physiological theories that politicians can make use of after defining the voters’ behavior. This theory is defined by Miller (2015) as “the uncomfortable experience caused by holding inconsistent cognitions (e.g., beliefs, knowledge, opinions, and memories) simultaneously”. For example, when people eat junk food (behavior) and they know that it will cause them obesity (cognition), they are in a state of cognitive dissonance. In this situation, cognitive dissonance occurred because these people realized that there is a contradiction between their behavior and cognition. So, when a situation involves conflicting attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors, a feeling of mental discomfort leads to an alteration in one of the attitudes, beliefs or behaviors to restore balance (Mcleod, 2018).

The power of creating or reducing cognitive dissonance between the voters’ beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors is able to affect their decision-making process (Malhotra, 2014). For instance, after studying the voters’ behavior, the time comes to shake up their existing beliefs values, and attitudes! To do so, the candidate can give a compelling evidence to create dissonance in the voters’ minds.

#### **2.4.1 The Relation between Political Marketing and Persuasion**

With regard to the relationship between persuasion and political marketing, we will find political marketing as a medium and an instrument of persuasion. By going back to the previous

paragraphs, the definition of persuasion is going to be found looming between the lines.

According to the American Marketing Association, political marketing is “designed to influence target audiences to vote for a particular person, party, proposition” (As cited in Ormrod, Henneberg, & OShaughnessy, 2013). Based on this description, the main goal of political marketing is influencing the public (The verbs influence and persuade are synonyms according to dictionary.com) and to reach the goal of persuasion, there should be a set of strategies and tools to trace, study, and communicate with the public opinion during the campaigns and before the elections.

These strategies and tools are shape-shifters and they continue to develop (Owen, 2019). With the time, new concepts of communication and persuasion arise and others disapproved. Technology has brought change to bear on the practice of political marketing. After decades of using public speeches, songs, flags, badges, printed posters, road advertising, and television interviews, social media have become a major part of political marketing especially in running campaigns.

#### **2.4.2 Social Media as a Tool of Political Marketing**

Technology is considered as one of the environmental factors that directly influences the practice of marketing (Brunswick, 2014). On the level of political marketing, the tremendous growth of technology has dramatically changed the way campaigns are run. A major success factor for the victory of Barak Obama, the 44th president of the United States, was integrating the old ways of campaigning with the use of technology (Aaker & Chang, 2010). In 2007, Obama was one of the first politicians who took full advantage and used technology in his campaign successfully. He had an interactive website that allowed his constituents to be involved and engaged in the whole process of the presidential campaign. As a result of the great influence

of technology on political marketing (whether positively or negatively), the theory of E-politics (short for Electronic Politics) has emerged. This new theory examines the interactivity between the public and the political sphere based on the use of technology as a communication channel for political parties (Lahdo, 2006).

As time passes on, E-politics has been no longer limited to websites, blogs and videos to communicate with the public. Social media sites have formed entirely new platforms for campaigning. These sites are defined as “web-based services that allow individuals to construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and to view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system” (as cited in Kushin & Kitchener, 2009).

Through the use of social media, millions of people can share information and news from all over the world. Recently, sites are increasingly used in political contexts. For example, Twitter and Facebook, in addition to YouTube, played a huge role in the Egyptian Revolution of 2011. The Egyptians used social media as a means to communicate and organize demonstrations to overthrow President Hosni Mubarak (Hempel, 2017). In addition to the direct relation between social media and the Arab Spring, many studies have shown that social media sites have become an important and distinguished political communication channel (Stieglitz, 2012).

Moreover, with millions joining the conversation from all over the world, social media sites became as an effective way for politicians to reach their constituents. Murse (2019) suggests that social media have altered political campaigns. He mentioned ten points; some of them are pros and the others are cons that distinguish social media sites from other technological communication tools. The following positive five points were selected and modified:-

1- Direct contact with voters: social media sites enable politicians and voters to directly interact with each other. Therefore, in this way, political activities gain more transparency and the voters feel more involved into political decision-making processes (Kumar, 2016).

2- Cheap and effective advertising: advertising consists of three different types of media (Prasanna, 2018): a) bought media: which is media that is paid for (e.g. YouTube advertisements). b) Earned media: it refers to the coverage of the news, or the sharing of the comments on social media and other activities. c) Owned media: includes web properties owned by the politician (website, Facebook page and other outlets that are controlled by the politician).

3- Viral campaigns: the "Share" function on Facebook and the "Retweet" feature of Twitter are for allowing voters and activists to easily share news and information with each other. The concept of "going viral" is used to describe any content or media that becomes widely shared through social networks and online.

4- Tailoring the Message to the Audience: One of the jobs of political marketing is collecting information or analytics about the people who are following the candidates on social media, and customize the posts or tweets based on selected demographics.

5- Weighing Public Opinion by having direct feedback: Twitter and Facebook allow the candidates to measure how the public is responding to an issue or controversy and then adjust their campaigns accordingly without the use of polling.

## **2.5 Twitter**

"Twitter is what's happening in the world and what people are talking about right now." By this sentence twitter presents itself. The micro-blogging social networking service Twitter has millions of members who communicate in short messages called tweets (Golbeck, Rogers, & Grimes, 2010). Since Twitter began in March 2006, the design of its brand logo has evolved over

time but it remained as a blue bird. To understand the main features of twitter, follow up these lines (Green, 2016):-

- 1) Tweets: until 2017, Twitter limited Tweet length to 140 characters. After that time, Twitter doubled the character count from 140 to 280.
- 2) Liking: you like a Tweet by clicking the small heart icon. Liking a Tweet is a way to acknowledge that you agree on and like the message of the tweet. If your followers like the content of your tweets, they'll retweet you and spread your messages.
- 3) Retweeting: it means sharing of an original Tweet by clicking on the small cycle icon next to the liking one. Retweeting is a way to express the acceptance of another user's idea or message. It pretty much says: I agree with you and I think that more people should see this your tweet. This feature is the power behind Twitter's virality.
- 4) Mentioning: a Mention or a Reply (@ sign followed by a user ID) is used as a marker that indicates that the message is intended for or somehow relevant to a specific user.
- 5) Hashtging: the # character is used in conjunction with a word or phrase in order to connect the tweet to a particular theme. This use of the # sign allows users to search the 'Twitter sphere' for specific topics of interest and to "follow threads of discussion."
- 6) WRITING IN ALL CAPS: the act of typing in all capital letters. This act expresses different functions but most of the time writing in all caps comes across as shouting.

### **2.5.1 Twitter Political Use**

Twitter has played an enormous role in politics. Researchers have studied the notion of 'Twitter revolutions' in the totalitarian countries. For example, Gaffney studied Twitter use during the 2009 Iran elections by tracking the use of the IranElection hashtag (as cited in Larsson

& Moe, 2011). Twitter underpins political campaigns and politicians by offering some features not found in any other social media site. The features, according to Vonderschmitt, (2012) are:-

- 1) Candidates can keep up-to-date with their communities and campaigns.
- 2) Twitter is useful to help humanize the candidate. They can talk about what they are doing and what they are thinking of. This allows candidates to keep in touch with their constituents more often
- 3) Twitter has vast options of replying on followers, sending direct messages, and retweeting tweets from others.
- 4) Twitter has even created a specific function for political marketing. Political ads are purchased by campaigns to engage a wider audience and will say Promoted by the candidate.

## **2.6 The 2016 USA Presidential Election**

The 2016 United States presidential election was held on Tuesday, November 8, 2016. It was the 58<sup>th</sup> quadrennial American presidential election. The Republican businessman Donald Trump and Indiana Governor Mike Pence defeated the Democratic former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and U.S. Senator from Virginia Tim Kaine. The polls universally predicted that Hillary Clinton will win the popular vote (Fiorina, 2017). However, contrary to universally held expectations, on January 20, 2017, Trump took office as the 45th president, and Pence as the 48th vice president. Despite the fact that all of the numerous election forecasts failed to predict Trump's victory (Stoetzer, Gerlich, & Koesters, 2017), he received 304 electoral votes compared to 227 for Clinton (State Elections Offices, 2017). By the victory of Trump, the Republican party occupied the presidential chair of the United States for the second time during the 2000s.

The modern political party system in the U.S. is dominated by the Democratic Party and the Republican one (Lause, 2015). Since 1852, these two parties have won all the United States presidential elections. On the one hand, the Grand Old Party, or what is known as Republican party, is the white party that Trump entered the 2016 presidential race as a representative of it. Most of the people who gather under the Republican tent are Protestants and Catholics, older voters and those living in rural areas, business interests, anti-tax activists, religious conservatives, as well as gun rights supporters. On the other hand, the Democratic Party, the party represented by Clinton, is the party of the waning labour unions, and racial, religious and sexual minorities. Most of the people who vote for this party are from women, young and residents of metropolitan areas. Un-churched and non-believing also are found in the Democratic Party (Karol, 2015). In addition, to the main two parties, there were Third parties (Libertarian Party, Green Party, and Constitution Party) and independent candidates (Evan McMullin, Mindy Finn, Mike Smith, Kyle Kopitke, etc.)

As representatives of the two main political parties in the United States, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton were considered as the worst image of any major-party presidential candidates that the country has ever witnessed (as cited in Fiorina, 2017). Trump's campaign promised to "Make America Great Again" and opposed illegal immigration, ObamaCare and some of the free-trade agreements. However, Trump was accused of racism, lying, and harassment. Clinton, in contrary, emphasized on the necessity of the expansion of President Obama's policies by supporting racial and women's rights. However, she faced the scandal of the FBI's investigation of her improper use of a private email server (Zurcher, 2016). Moreover, both sides have insulted each other on social media sites by using despicable descriptions and accusations during their presidential campaigns.

## 2.6.1 Donald Trump 2016 Presidential Campaign

Before entering politics, the 45<sup>th</sup> and current president of the United States, was a Billionaire real estate mogul and former reality television personality. In 2000, Donald Trump turned his attention to politics. He showed interest in running for President outside the two major parties. He ran in a few Reform Party presidential primaries. In 2012, he suggested that he might run for president as an independent (Winger, 2011). Hence, Trump's declaration of candidacy was not a surprising news.

On June 16, 2015, his campaign was lunched formally at Trump Tower in New York City. The campaign of the real estate mogul attracted large crowds and was described as a “populist”. However, Trump did not pay a lot in marketing his campaign. He won primary after primary with a small budget (compared to other campaigns’ budgets). Some people claimed that by reason of the public controversy around his campaign, Trump benefited a lot from the earned media (Confessore & Yourish, 2016). Moore argued that Trump “is both a creature and a creation of the media” (As cited in Mazzoleni, 2016). In other words, Donald Trump helped the media to help him in reaching his goals.

Although he tweeted against blacks, Muslims, Mexicans and insulted politicians, he was a newsmaker which gave him more fame and spread. By this, it becomes clear that media contributed to the buildup of Trump's political persona (Mazzoleni, 2016). As for the resource that the media derived its information from, Twitter was the fertile ground that CNN, CBS, and other networks were feeding from. Trump used twitter for almost every day which is considered as an unprecedeted campaign tool. Many of his tweets made headlines especially that most of them were an extension of his campaign promises. Then, the question remains: What are his campaign promises?

## 2.6.2 Trump's Campaign Promises

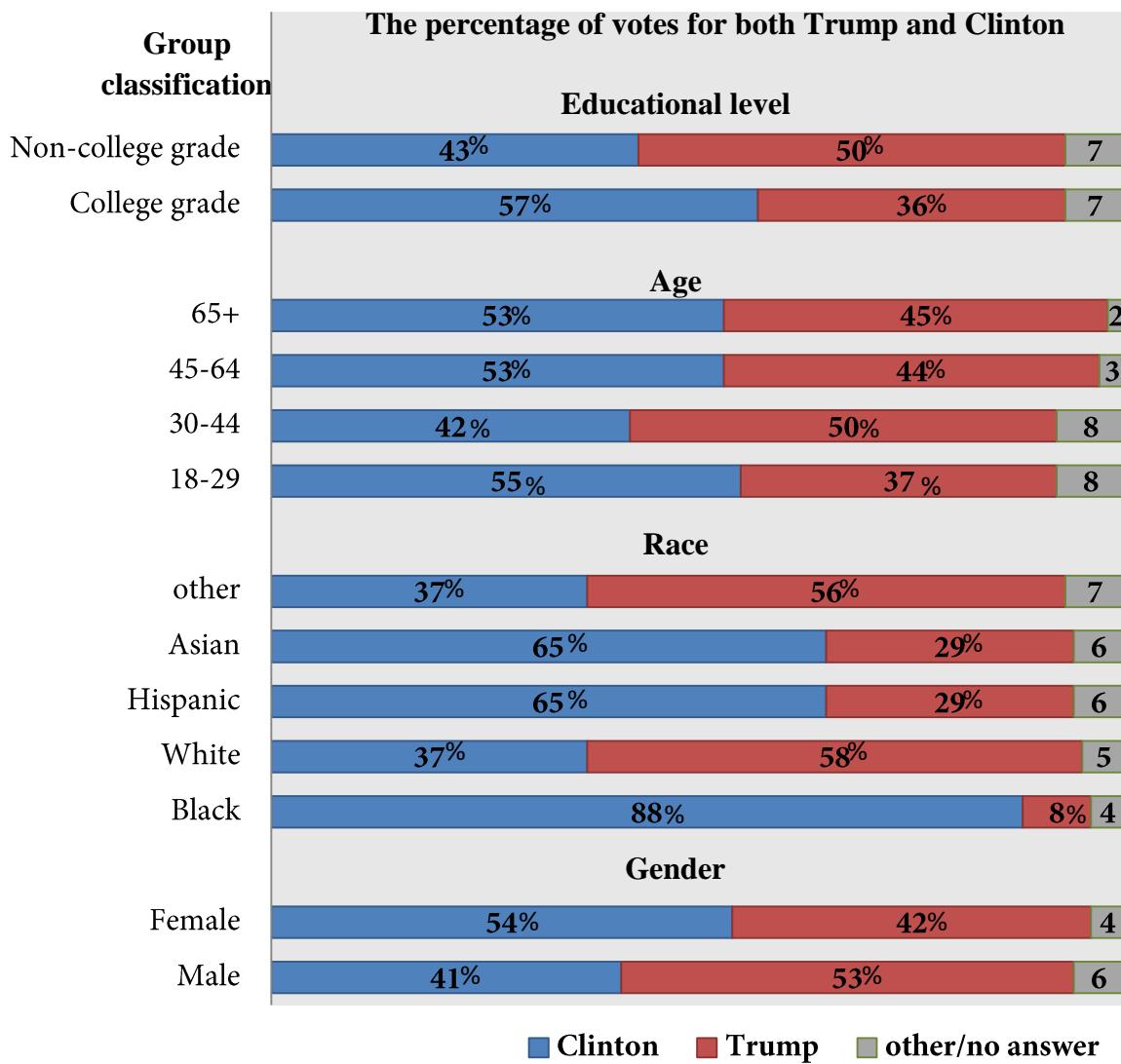
Trump belongs to a group called evangelicals who believes in the coming back of Christ to spread justice in the world. That is why they hate Muslims, developing the ideology of supremacists who consider themselves better than other religion and race. Therefore, his tweets were geared towards achieving this ideology. According to BBC News (2018), Donald Trump made seventeen promises during his long campaign to become a president of the United States. The following are the main five promises that distinguished his campaign:

- 1) Prosecuting Hillary Clinton: Trump wanted to see Hillary Clinton in prison over the use of her private email server.
- 2) Obamacare: Trump promised to repeal and replace Obamacare. Obamacare is defined as “the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010. It makes health care more affordable for everyone by lowering costs for those who can't afford them” (Amadeo, 2019). It's named for President Barack Obama.
- 3) Build a wall on the U.S.–Mexico border: Trump promised to build a wall along the US–Mexican border. He also insisted that Mexico would pay for it.
- 4) Ban on Muslims and Bombing the Islamic State(IS): Trump promised to ban all Muslims entering the US and warned that he would eliminate (IS) group.
- 5) Suspending immigration from terror-prone places: Trump repeatedly told his supporters that he is going to stop the tens of thousands of people coming in from Countries like Syria and Libya. In addition, he insisted that all undocumented people “have to go.”

## 2.6.3 Who Voted for Trump?

All in all, after Trump's victory, many questions have been raised; one of them was about the groups who actually voted for Donald Trump. The relation between the demographic traits and

the characteristics of the voters and their different choices is a necessity to understand U.S. elections. Analyzing and comparing the different age, gender, religion, educational level, and race groups of the voters helps in explaining how Americans voted in the 2016 elections. To get an insight into which groups actually voted for Trump, look at Figure 4. This Figure presents the exit poll that Edison Research conducted across the country by for the National Election Pool (BBC News, 2016).



**Figure 4:** How Groups Voted in 2016.

As it's clear, race was strongly correlated with voting preference in the elections. In addition to the previous groups who voted for trump, 81% of US evangelicals voted for Trump in the 2016 US presidential election (Miller, 2018). The fundamentalist movement of evangelism believes in the coming back of Christ to spread justice in the world and herald the necessity of salvation (Sutton, 2019). Trump appeals to the evangelicals because of his focus on the decline of America, which fits into the evangelical moral aspects and faith about the end times (Butler, 2019).

Moreover, the history of evangelicals' support for racism in America explains why the white evangelicals support the banning Muslims from entering the United States, building a wall along the Mexican border, and suspending immigration (Butler, 2019). Drawing together the threads from the preceding discussion, we can conclude that the promises of Trump's campaign reflect the ideology of this movement as supremacists who consider themselves better than any other religion and race. Therefore, his tweets were geared towards achieving this ideology.

## 2.7 Conclusion

This chapter covered the linguistic theories, definition of persuasion and its principles and techniques, a summary of the presidential campaign, and social media and Twitter. Overall, by linking the threads of this section, a solid ground for the methodology of this research was formed. The comparisons between the different taxonomies of the speech act theory and the principles and techniques of persuasion enabled the researcher to come up with developed taxonomies that served the purpose of the research.

Before moving up to chapter three, it's worthy to mention that to the best of the researcher knowledge, there were no previous studies that talked about the topic of this study since it is

considered as a modern and new topic. However, some subsequent studies have emerged after submitting the thesis and before the defense day. Many of these studies tried to analyze the style of Trump's tweets. However, they have tended to focus on superficial features, such as misspellings, insults, and non-standard grammar (Clarke & Grieve, 2019). This research attempted to dive into a deeper issue of knowing the rhetorical strategies used on this account.

## Chapter Three

### Methodology

#### 3.1 Introduction

The current study aims at placing social media discourse within the scope of political discourse analysis. As a case study, the tweets of Trump were chosen to be analyzed in the context of political discourse analysis. The researcher has considered these tweets as an adequate model of the social media discourse used as a persuasive tool in political marketing.

Since descriptive research is defined as the research in which characteristics and facts are being observed, described and documented to discover new meanings (Dulock, 1993), this study has utilized the descriptive analysis. The speech act of persuasion is going to be explored to reveal the hidden weapon that was used in Trump's campaign. The following paragraphs present the methods implemented to collect and analyze the data in detail. The first section answers why and how the tweets were chosen. While the second section talks, in details, about the way of analyzing the chosen tweets.

#### 3.2 Data Collection

In order to have a clear idea about how the research data have been collected, this section demonstrates some information about the chosen source and material. In addition, the reason behind choosing them is going to be justified.

Initially, Trump has utilized Facebook, Instagram and Twitter as political marketing tools. He used the persuasive political discourse in his posts on Facebook, tweets on Twitter and captions on Instagram. However, for this study, the researcher has chosen Twitter to be the only source of

social media discourse for four reasons. Firstly, based on active users, Twitter ranks as one of the leading social media sites in the world . At the end of 2017, the amount of monthly active Twitter users (MATU) worldwide had reached over than 330 MATU (Twitter, 2017). By over 48 million Twitter users follow Donald Trump's official account, he was ranked the second most influential and active world leader on social media in 2017 (Marsteller, 2017). Secondly, Twitter is considered as a powerful marketing tool. In 2016, about 76% of marketers worldwide stated using Twitter to market their business (Statista, 2017). Substantially, Trump used Twitter to market and spread his political ideology just like the way business marketers market their products and services. Thirdly, the social media site is known for its 140-character limit messages. The small size of these tweets, contrary to the no- character limit posts of Facebook, has made the process of coding, analyzing and classifying the tweets a smoother and a more precise process. Finally, the frequent and unfiltered tweets of Trump has established a reliable, rich, and varied source of information. Based on the previous points, as mentioned before, the current study is going to analyze 470 tweets selected according to their themes from the verified account of President Trump and were tweeted during the presidential campaign of 2016.

### **3.3 Data Analysis**

The current study has used the mixed method in data collection and analysis. This method has provided a thorough and synergistic comprehension of data. The quantitative data was used to explore and schedule the findings of the qualitative data, in which the quantitative representation was built directly on the results from the qualitative analysis. The collected qualitative data was coded based on thematic categorization. This kind of coding has been chosen due to the clear relationship between Trump's tweets and the themes of his campaign promises. The topics of the vast majority of Trump's tweets that were tweeted after the formal launching of his presidential

campaign were directly related to the themes of his main five promises (see Trump's Campaign Promises, p.36) that aimed at influencing and persuading the audience. The tweets that talked about Hillary Clinton were classified under the promise of persecuting Hillary. After collecting and coding the data, the following steps were followed: a) tabulating the tweets, b) reading the tweets several times, c) identifying the speech act of persuasion if found, d) classifying the illocutionary points whether they are representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, or declarations. e) Deciding to which of the persuasive modes then techniques these illocutionary acts depend. f) Turning all the previous data into graphs and tables. g) Explaining the results.

The classification of the illocutionary acts is an integration between two taxonomies: Searle's (1969) classification of illocutionary acts and Bach and Harnish's (1984) taxonomy of communicative and non-communicative illocutionary acts (as shown in Appendix A). What distinguishes Bach and Harnish's taxonomy is the detailed classification of many types of illocutionary acts. They did not only label the illocutionary acts but specified what distinguishes them. However, the researcher noted that their classification has focused only on the sincerity condition. On the other hand, Searle's taxonomy was built around three dimensions: the illocutionary point, the direction of fit, and the sincerity condition. Based on the data of this research, which is, as mentioned earlier, closely related to the themes of Trump's campaign promises, the dimension of direction of fit becomes very important.

According to Lakoff (2017), persuasion is defined as the nonreciprocal "attempt or intention of one party to change the behavior, feelings, intentions, or viewpoint of another by communicative means." In other words, persuasion has the world-to-word direction of fit. Its main goal is to get the world to match the words by doing requests, commands, vows, promises, etc. Moreover, Bach and Harnish divided the illocutionary acts into two general categories;

communicative and non-communicative. They considered effectives and verdictives as non-communicatives. The other four main kinds of communicative illocutionary acts were categorized as constatives, directives, commissives, and acknowledgments. For the analysis of the current study, the researcher supposes that there is no need to separate the six kinds into two general categories. In addition, it's suggested that Searle had used more general and comprehensive labels than Bach and Harnish had used. To have a taxonomy that serves the research data, the researcher has integrated Searle's and Bach and Harnish's taxonomies. The phatic expression, and the expressive acts of challenging, criticizing (it is considered as a representative and expressive), boasting, mocking, and complaining categories were added to the expressive act due to their importance.

The former taxonomies are considered as classics. However, the current study deals with social media discourse, which is a modern type of discourse that has different characteristics than those found in the traditional written or spoken discourse. Based on that, the researcher has developed the integrated taxonomy in a way that fits the characteristics of the modern discourse. The following four points have been added: a) capitalizing letters indicates asserting, b) retweeting indicates reporting, c) mentioning indicates recommending, d) hashtagging indicates requesting (see Appendix A). After classifying the illocutionary acts, defining which of the modes and techniques of persuasion were used throughout these illocutionary acts becomes the next and final step. The perlocutionary effect that Trump intended to achieve is to persuade the public. Based on that, the researcher has chosen to define the modes and techniques of persuasion to be the link between the illocutionary acts and their perlocutionary effect. To do so, there was a need to find a clear taxonomy to build on, but, unfortunately, there was no such thing.

After reviewing a number of political and commercial handouts, articles, and books; modern and old ones, that are related to the persuasion techniques, it turned out that they are very interrelated. Moreover, all of them end up in the sea of Aristotle's modes of persuasion. For instance, if we analyze each of Cialdini's principles we will find that they are just an extension to Aristotle modes. To be more specific, Cialdini's principles are the smaller branches of Aristotle's modes of persuasion. For example, the authority and liking principles fall under the ethos mode; to gain the trust of your audience, you should be a powerful, knowledgeable and charismatic person. In addition, Cialdini's principles can be reached by using the techniques of persuasion of Shabo's and others. For example, Cialdini's liking principle depends on how to make people like you as a candidate. One way to make them like you is by using Shabo's technique of plain folks. In other words, if people feel that you are one of them, they would absolutely like you! All in all, Shabo's technique and Cialdini's principle are ways to refine the image of the persuader (ethos).

Eventually, many have tried to contribute to the study of persuasion, but their contributions were only a development of Aristotle's theories and terms. Even in our recent time, the study of persuasion has just expanded from the ancient time to serve the different domains of politics, economy, religion, education, etc. Thereby, since Aristotle's modes of persuasion have proven that they are able to adapt to any context in any time, the new taxonomy of this research was built based on these modes. However, the original names of the modes have been replaced by new names and specific features that fit the purpose of the study (Pathos: emotional triggering, Ethos: self-image polishing, Logos: logical appealing). In addition, some of Cialdini's, Shabo's, and others' techniques and principles of persuasion were selected to be the subcategories that help the three basic modes to be achieved (see Appendix B). The two adopted taxonomies were developed under the supervision of Professor Ahmad Atawneh.

## Chapter Four

### Results and discussion

#### **4.1 Introduction**

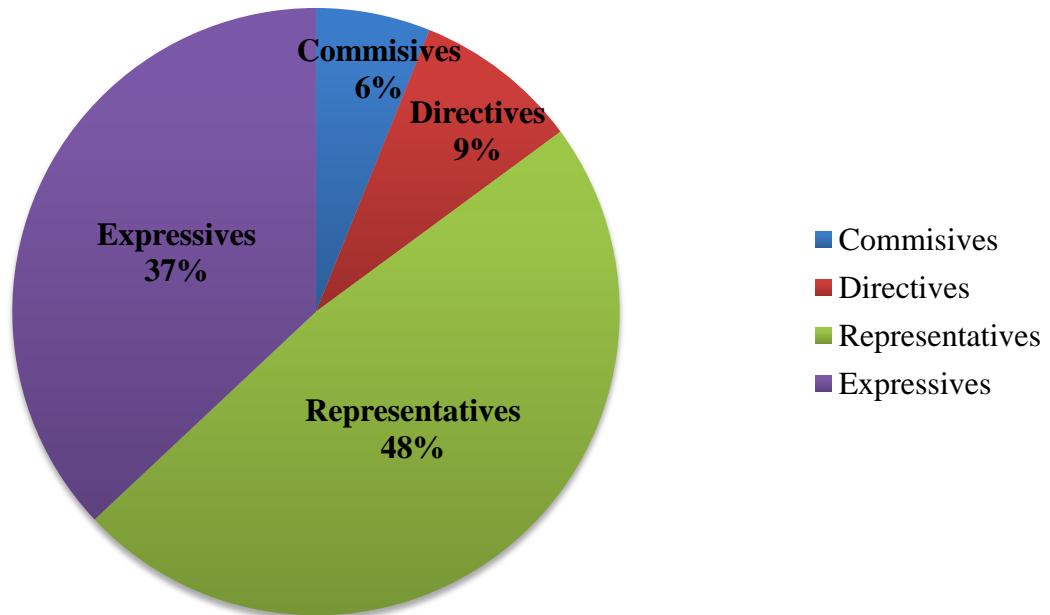
Trump's opponents considered that his win was a victory for racism, sexism, ethnocentrism, and other social pathologies (Fiorina, 2017). Indirectly, their accusation also affected those who voted for Trump. In other words, Trump's supporters have been considered as supporters of the racist and immoral ideas that were presented by their elected president through the media platforms. Although these charges may carry some truthfulness, they were exaggerated. Trump would not have won the elections without convincing the majority of a democratic country that is characterized by being one of the world's most diverse countries in terms of race and culture. Persuading this diverse audience certainly was not a random process. The persuasive language used in every interview, declaration, tweet, and post was not absurd. So, this section provides an analysis of the language used by Trump to convince the public via one of the most important platforms that were used in his campaign. This analysis is going to be presented through answering the four sub-questions of the research to clarify how the speech act of persuasion played a basic role in Trump's digital campaign.

#### **4.2 The Illocutionary Acts in the Tweets**

This research deals with persuasion from a pragmatic perspective. In pragmatics, specifically in political discourse analysis, the term persuasion refers to the effect that the politicians intend to accomplish upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience. In Trump's case, the intended effect of persuasion (or the perlocutionary act of persuasion) could not have been achieved without having a successful presentation of the other two involved acts (the

Locutionary and illocutionary acts). Therefore, since the Locutionary act of each tweet is meaningful and clear, and the main Perlocutionary act is identified, then what remains to be done is analyzing the illocutionary acts.

As mentioned before, the classification of the integrated illocutionary acts taxonomy contains five basic categories; commisives, representatives, expressives, directives, and declarations. The results of analyzing the 470 tweets show the diversity of the illocutionary act types in the tweets. The following pie chart illustrates the relative frequencies of the commisive, representative, expressive, and directive categories that appear in all the selected tweets. The declaration category, which appeared once or twice, is overlooked. From the pie chart, it is clear that the representatives and expressives represent the largest portion of the acts, whereas the commisives and directives are undoubtedly the smallest. The directives and commisives represent less than the fifth of the acts. For more explanation, each of these four acts will be discussed separately, in detail, and supported by examples.



**Figure 5:** Illocutionary acts in Trump's tweets.

#### **4.2.1 The Representative Act**

The Washington Post has tallied all the “falsehoods” that Trump spoke or wrote since January 20, 2017, to April 27, 2019 (Levin, 2019). The results show that he lied 10,111 in 828 days. Based on that, if we assume that Trump lies 12 times a day, it means that he lied 6144 times during the 512 days of his campaign. However, this assumption is just a statement that it could be true or false; actually, it's just a representative!

In this research, 989 illocutionary acts were found in 470 tweets, 476 of them are representatives. According to Searle, the act of representing expresses the speaker's intention to assert his/her belief (1969). Back to Figure 5, it is obvious that Trump intended to tell the American people about what he believes through 48% of the illocutionary acts. Regardless of his credibility, he tried to represent the world to the audience as he believes. He conveyed information that represents his belief that can be evaluated to be true or false. For example, the illocutionary act of the following four tweets is categorized as a representative but the question of their credibility is what we will define later.

1- “Just remember, the birther movement was started by Hillary Clinton in 2008. She was all in!”

2- “Now that African-Americans are seeing what a bad job Hillary type policy and management has done to the inner-cities, they want TRUMP!”

3-“I LIVE IN NEW JERSEY & @realDonaldTrump IS RIGHT: MUSLIMS DID CELEBRATE ON 9/11 HERE! WE SAW IT!”

4- “Does anyone know that Crooked Hillary, who tried so hard, was unable to pass the Bar Exams in Washington D.C. She was forced to go elsewhere”

As most of politicians, Trump certainly did make false or misleading claims just to get elected. However, it's fair to say that he did this more than anybody in his position. Moreover, Trump lied about obvious and verifiable events witnessed by multiple people (Farhi, 2019). One of his big lies was about the birther movement (Obama Birth Certificate). This movement denied the legitimacy of Barack Obama's presidency of the United States because, as the movement claimed, he was not a natural-born citizen of the U.S. In September 2015, Trump tweeted and claimed falsely that Hillary Clinton was the first person who started the birther conspiracy in 2008. According to the BBC, it was revealed that although some Clinton supporters spread rumors about Obama's citizenship, the campaign and Clinton herself never were part of it (Zurcher, 2016). Thus, the first tweet is considered as an untrue representative.

In The second tweet, Trump confirmed that the African-Americans wanted him to be their president, but the reality was so different! Many comments on his tweet refuted his claims. One of the comments said: "No Donald, no they don't. You're still at 2% support." Unlike Trump's tweet, this comment was correct! Back to Figure 4, the exit polls show divisions across racial groups. The African-Americans voted overwhelmingly (80%) for the Democratic candidate. So, it seems that Trump's tweet is untrue and inaccurate again!

Let's move to the third tweet, which is a reported representative. In September 2015, Trump claimed that he had watched "thousands and thousands" of Muslims cheering in New Jersey during the 9/11 attacks. At that time, his claim, which has never substantiated, has been widely discredited. To prove his credibility, Trump retweeted anyone who supported his claim. Carmine Sabia's (2015) statement was among the very few people who asserted that Trump was right about New Jersey Muslims cheering. So, Trump retweeted her statement and mentioned her basic source. However, Trump's lie appeared from an article published a few days after the

attacks, reporting that “law enforcement officials had investigated a number of people who were allegedly seen celebrating the attacks and holding tailgate-style parties on rooftops while they watched the devastation on the other side of the river” (as cited in Fang, 2018). Based on this, we conclude that Trump this time was right but he exaggerated the claim!

Finally, the fourth tweet which represents an information about Clinton’s failing in the Washington, D.C., bar exam. Carl Bernstein, in his biography of Hillary Clinton, noted that in the summer of 1973, 266 people from who took the exam did not pass; Hillary Rodham was one of them (Farley, 2008). Eventually, we find that there are two false representative tweets, an exaggerated one, and a right one. Determining the credibility of all Trump’s representative tweets is difficult, but at least we became aware that Trump’s tweets and statements may be false, exaggerated, and sometimes true!

To go deeper into the representative act, we should talk about its detailed functions in the tweets. As clarified in the illocutionary acts taxonomy, there are various specific kinds of each of the five illocutionary acts (Bach& Harnish, 1982). The representative act has 15 kinds, in this research, 9 kinds were used in the tweets. The relative frequency of the used types is tabulated according to their thematic categorization as shown in Table 1.

At first, let’s start to talk about the confirmatives and informatives that ranked first and second among the other representative acts. The informative type is about providing the hearer a new piece of information that the speaker believes in. This piece of information has no deal with the opinion of the speaker, unlike the confirmative type. The confirmative type is directly related to the judgment and validation of the speaker. The speaker confirms the information based on his/her personal assessment.

**Table 1<sup>2</sup>**

*The Representative act in Trump's tweets.*

| The act<br>Theme \                       | Assertive | Predictive | Retrodictive | Descriptive | Informative | Confirmative | Retractive | Assentive | Dissentive | Total        |
|--|-----------|------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| Building a wall along the Mexican border | 12%       |            | 17%          | 5%          | 20%         | 13%          | -          | 5%        | 28%        | 100 %        |
| Ban on Muslims/bombing ISIS              | -         | -          | 4%           | 9%          | 35%         | 26%          | -          |           | 26%        | 100 %        |
| Suspending immigration                   | 3%        | -          | 29%          | -           | 29%         | 26%          | -          | 3%        | 10%        | 100 %        |
| Persecuting Hillary Clinton              | 5%        | 1%         | 20%          | 15%         | 17%         | 25%          | -          | 6%        | 11%        | 100 %        |
| Repealing Obama care                     | 11%       | -          | 11%          | 6%          | 39%         | 6%           | 4%         | 6%        | 17%        | 100 %        |
| Average                                  | <b>6%</b> | -          | <b>19%</b>   | <b>12%</b>  | <b>20%</b>  | <b>23%</b>   | -          | <b>6%</b> | <b>14%</b> | <b>100 %</b> |

According to Table 1, it is clear that Trump preferred the confirmatives. He used the confirmative type 111 times; 86 of them were used against Hillary Clinton. He used to tweet information that distort Hillary's image and beautify his. Trump considerably hit Hillary Clinton with criticisms throughout all the presidential campaign. One of his criticisms was the

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<sup>2</sup> The average in Table 1, Table 3 and Table 6 is the central value of each specific kind of act from the overall number of the tweets.

controversy of Hillary's email. Hillary Clinton used her family's private email server for official communications rather than using official State Department email accounts during her tenure as United States Secretary of State. An FBI examination of Clinton's server found a number of emails containing classified information (BBC News, 2017). Trump took advantage of this controversy to bombard Hillary by tons of judgments and tweets (see Appendix C: 203, 208, 262, and 28,287,313). In June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2016, Trump tweeted that "One of the reasons Hillary hid her emails was so the public wouldn't see how she got rich- selling out America". Based on his personal judgment, Trump confirmed that Hillary got her fortune through betraying the American people and putting their entire nation at risk. Hillary indeed brought to legal liability but no one has proven that her fortune was from the source that Trump mentioned.

Despite the fact that there is no conclusive evidence of his conclusions, he used this type of representatives mostly. In many of his tweets, Trump claimed that "Mexico is killing the United States economically." He asserted that the Mexican leaders and negotiators are "FAR smarter" than the American ones. Trump, based on his personal assessment, confirmed that Mexico is responsible for the US economic decline. He affirmed that the reason is due to the lack of ingenuity and intelligence of the leaders of the United States (see Appendix C: 389,392,402,403).

As shown in Table 1, the use of the informative type is slightly less than the confirmative type. This type was used significantly in the tweets that specifically talked about immigration, Obamacare and Muslims. Some of these informative tweets gave statistics, numbers, and reliable resources to support Trump's promises of deporting all illegal immigrants, bombing ISIS, and repealing Obama care. Tweets like: "Five people killed in Washington State by a Middle Eastern immigrant" and "many as 5000 ISIS fighters have infiltrated Europe" are examples of the

informative type. These informative tweets get positive replies like: “Truth! My friend!”, “Vote Trump, and keep going”; and negative replies like: “Stop spreading fear you Demagogue, are you a racist or a bigot?”, and “please stop the snakes! Send them all back!”

It is worth noting that the informative type is very similar to the retrodictive type and it's difficult to differentiate between them. Both types provide the hearer with information, however, there is a fine line separating between them. The retrodictive type, which ranked third, expresses the act of reporting a piece of information and referring to the creator of the report while the informative type doesn't. Trump used the retrodictive type in his tweets intensively. The retrodictive type in this research is represented in the shape of retweeting. Trump used to retweet the tweets that support him and attack his opponents. He retweeted celebrities, public figures, politicians and even ordinary people. Andrew Wagner, one of Trump's followers, tweeted: “Its pretty clear that @realDonaldTrump would absolutely destroy HillaryClinton in a debate & i really wanna see it happen.” Although Andrew is only an ordinary young man, Trump re-tweeted his tweet to report the young man's opinion.

Retweeting the supportive tweets, indirectly, reflects the acceptance of the content of the tweet. This acceptance is represented by the assentive type. The opposite of the assentive type is the disputative type. This type expresses the speaker's inclination to dispute or disagree. Table 1 shows the disparity in the relative frequencies between the assentives and disputatives. On the one hand, Trump protested and objected 67 times against his opponents' ideas, attitudes, and principles. On the other hand, he showed his acceptance for them only 23 times (excepting the retweets). To express his refusal or acceptance of a particular person or idea he used the descriptive type.

The descriptive type presents the speaker's observations about the characteristics of someone or something. This observation could be negative or positive. Trump used the positive description to talk about himself and the negative one to talk about his opponents. He used to describe himself as the populist and skillful leader who wants to make America great again. On the other side, Trump described his political opponents and critics negatively. Table 2 contains examples of the 9 types of the representative act.

**Table 2**

*Examples of the 9 types of the representative act.*

| Type                       | Example  |
|----------------------------|--|
| <b>1. Assertive act</b>    | “From day one I said that I was going to build a great wall on the SOUTHERN BORDER, and much more. Stop illegal immigration. Watch Wednesday!” |
| <b>2. Predictive act</b>   | “A massive tax increase will be necessary to fund Crooked Hillary Clinton's agenda. What a terrible (and boring) rollout that was yesterday!”  |
| <b>3. Retrodictive act</b> | “@TedCruz on @RealDonaldTrump: “I don't think you should apologize for speaking out against...illegal immigration”                             |
| <b>4. Descriptive act</b>  | “#CrookedHillary is nothing more than a Wall Street PUPPET!”   |
| <b>5. Informative act</b>  | “Another radical Islamic attack, this time in Pakistan, targeting Christian women & children. At least 67 dead,400 injured. I alone can solve” |
| <b>6. Confirmative act</b> | “In my speech on protecting America I spoke about a temporary ban,   |

|                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
|                           | which includes suspending immigration from nations tied to Islamic terror.”   |
| <b>7. Retractive act</b>  | “And finally, Cruz strongly told thousands of caucusgoers (voters) that Trump was strongly in favor of ObamaCare and "choice" - a total lie!” |
| <b>8. Assentive act</b>   | “A great article by @NolteNC spelling out the truth on Mexico, trade, the border & illegals. Thank you @BreitbartNews”                        |
| <b>9. Disputative act</b> | “Hillary, when you complain about "a penchant for sexism," who are you referring to. I have great respect for women. BE CAREFUL!              |

#### 4.2.2 The Expressive Act

According to Cambridge dictionary, the adjective expressive means showing your feelings in your voice, behavior, or appearance. Though, in this research, the adjective expressive means the act of showing Trump's feelings in his tweets! Twitter is Trump's best friend which has been credited as contributing to his victory. He uses it for expressing his feelings of criticizing, thanking, insulting, and challenging. Trump and his feelings are constantly ‘trending’ on social media, which continuously reinforces his strong online influence. Most of the time, he expresses these feelings explicitly with no filters depending on his value judgment rather than the factual one.

During his campaign, Trump used the expressive act approximately in the same range in the tweets of the five campaign promises . However, the contrast appeared in the use of various specific kinds of the expressive act as shown in Table 3.

**Table 3**

*The expressive act in Trump's tweets.*

| Expressive act \ Theme                          | criticize  | disapprove | mock       | complain   | boast      | challenge  | Phatic expression | Total       |
|---|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------------|-------------|
| <b>Building a wall along the Mexican border</b> | 40%        | 2%         | -          | 24%        | 20%        | 6%         | 8%                | 100%        |
| <b>Ban on Muslims/bombing ISIS</b>              | 33%        | -          | -          | 43%        | 19%        | 5%         | -                 | 100%        |
| <b>Suspending immigration</b>                   | 18%        | 11%        | -          | 6%         | 53%        |            | 12%               | 100%        |
| <b>Persecuting Hillary Clinton</b>              | 36%        | 10%        | 15%        | 7%         | 15%        | 15%        | 2%                | 100%        |
| <b>Repealing ObamaCare</b>                      | 23%        | 46%        | -          | 23%        | -          | -          | 8%                | 100%        |
| <b>Average</b>                                  | <b>36%</b> | <b>10%</b> | <b>11%</b> | <b>12%</b> | <b>18%</b> | <b>10%</b> | <b>3%</b>         | <b>100%</b> |

The vast majority of Trump's expressives were negative. 36% of the expressives criticized everything and everyone Trump doesn't like. He criticized Hillary Clinton 97 times. Every related thing to the former first lady was under Trump's gavel of criticism. Moreover, he insisted to go after Hillary's personal life. In November 2015, Clinton called Trump a "sexist", Trump responded that he wasn't. In addition, as a revenge, in his tweets (see Appendix C: 40, 42,115,120), he reminded her that she's living with a sexist with a "terrible record of women abuse." In 1998, Bill Clinton, the 42<sup>nd</sup> president of the United States and Hillary's husband,

faced a thunderous political sex scandal with the White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Trump attempted to tie Hillary to her husband's dirty past (Tani, 2016). Hillary and Bill were victims of Trump and his endless criticisms in his tweets during the campaign. Despite Trump's pressing attempts of criticizing the Democratic candidate to drop the charge of sexism against himself (he used to say that he has tremendous support from women), the exit polls (see Figure 4) showed that Hillary received the larger share of the female vote.

During the campaign, Trump did not leave a chance to criticize the increasing in the premiums of Obamacare. Furthermore, he criticized John Roberts, the chief Justice of the United States, because he negotiated to save Obamacare (see Appendix C: 335). In 2012, the republicans in Congress fought to repeal Obamacare. Hillary, the democratic nominee of 2016, was a supporter of Obamacare, so she took her share of Trump's criticism. However, criticizing others was not the only kind of expressives that Trump loved to use, he loved to boast too; he was a master of boasting!

Through 18% of the expressives, Trump expressed his excessive pride in himself. Trump's tweets, or actually retweets, about suspending immigration witnessed the highest portion of the boasting expressive (53%). Trump is known as an egoist and arrogant person. Moreover, some in the media raise questions about whether Trump is suffering from self-aggrandizement (Krakauer, 2019). For example, Trump retweeted 9 tweets that talked about his power and long vision in solving the problem of the illegal immigration. Some of the retweets were for legal immigrants who thanked him for standing up for them against the "millions" of the illegal immigrants who earn the place of the legal ones in America. Table 4 contains examples of the 7 types of the expressive act.

**Table 4**

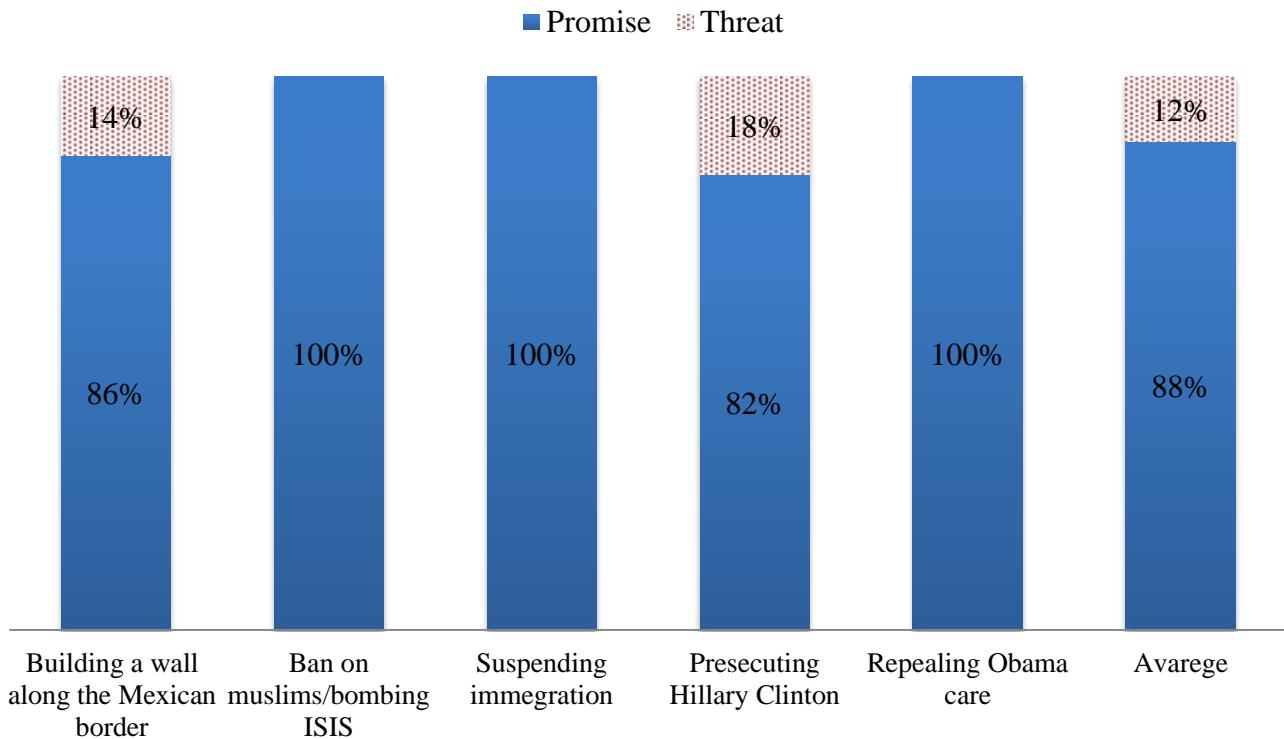
*Examples of the types of the expressive act.*

| Type                       | Example  |
|----------------------------|--|
| <b>1. Criticizing act</b>  | “Crooked Hillary wants to get rid of all guns and yet she is surrounded by bodyguards who are fully armed. No more guns to protect Hillary!”   |
| <b>2. Mocking act</b>      | “Hillary Clinton made a speech today using the biggest teleprompter I have ever seen. In fact, it wasn't even see through glass, it was black” |
| <b>3. Boasting act</b>     | “I have proven to be far more correct about terrorism than anybody- and it's not even close.”  |
| <b>4. Disapproving act</b> | “How can Crooked Hillary say she cares about women when she is silent on radical Islam, which horribly oppresses women?”                       |
| <b>5. Challenging act</b>  | “Mexican gov doesn't want me talking about terrible border situation & horrible trade deals. Forcing Univision to get me to stop- no way!”     |
| <b>6. Complaining act</b>  | “The leader and negotiators representing Mexico are far smarter and more cunning than the leader and negotiators representing the U.S.!”       |
| <b>7. Phatic act</b>       | “I like Mexico and love the spirit of Mexican people”  |

#### **4.2.3 The Commisive Act**

Usually, political candidates make strings of promises or guarantees to the public. They present and differentiate themselves from the other candidates by making “proposals” on how they will perform if they get the chair (Schmidt, 2019). Making such commitments to the future action is the function of the commisive act. However, contrary to what was expected in this research, the commisive act was the least used act in Trump's tweets. From 470 tweets, Trump

made about 9 promises to repeal and replace Obamacare, 22 to beat, defeat and persecute Hillary, 6 to handle the threat of terrorism, 4 to suspend immigration from terror-prone places, and 7 to establish strong borders. In addition, as shown in Figure 6, 18% of the commisives were threats to Hillary.



**Figure 6:** The commisive act in Trump's tweets

Making a slight number of commitments to the future was a very intelligent plan by Trump. In our recent time, all what is said by the politicians is documented and fast-spreading. The videos, tweets, and posts of Trump could have been used against him. However, he was smart and did not make a lot of promises. So tracking him by the fact-checkers has been very difficult. Despite all of that, PolitiFact, a website that reports on the accuracy of statements made by candidates and political parties involved in U.S. politics, tracked all Trump's campaign promises. Some of his promises have been delivered and the others have not been. The following table

presents some examples of kept, broken, in the works, and stalled promises of Trump according to PolitiFact (n.d.) and the Guardians (Smith, 2019).

**Table 5**

*Examples of Trump's promises.*

| The promise   | What has Trump done on his promises?  |
|---|---|
| 1. "Crooked Hillary Clinton lied to the FBI and to the people of our country. She is sooooo guilty. But watch, her time will come!" | <b>Broken</b><br>Trump promised to imprison Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton over her email controversy. After he became the president, he has not taken any action against her.  |
| 3. "We will win and establish strong borders, we will build a WALL and Mexico will pay. We will be great again!"                    | <b>Stalled</b><br>Trump promised that he will build a great wall, and he'll make Mexico pay for that wall. However, he has been stalling his promise till now.  |
| 4. "I will end illegal immigration and protect our borders! We need to MAKE AMERICA SAFE & GREAT AGAIN! #Trump2016"                 | <b>In the works</b><br>Trump promised to stop illegal immigration and deport all criminal aliens. Indeed, after he became the president, a significant number of the criminals who are in the country illegally are deported. |
| 2. "We're going to cut taxes BIG LEAGUE for the middle class. She's raising your taxes and I'm lowering your taxes!"                | <b>Kept</b><br>Trump promised to reform tax. In December 2017, "Republicans passed the most sweeping tax rewrite in decades. Trump has claimed it was the largest tax cut in history" (Smith, 2019).                          |

#### 4.2.4 The Directive Act

The function of the directive act is getting the hearer to do what the speaker wants. In this research, Trump is the speaker who advised, ordered, requested, and prevented the public. However, despite Trump's narcissistic personality, he did not use the directives directly all of the time. He used the directives in direct and indirect ways.

Starting with the direct directives, Trump used this type to get the public to perform what he wants in a direct way with no introductions or covers. These directives hold the imposition of doing different things that serve the interests of Trump. As shown in Table 6, Trump used five various specific kinds of directives. The requirements were the most used kind. Half of the direct directives were requirements. Trump used the explicit forms of "we must" and "we need" to express the urgent need to do specific things like: "We must stop the crime and killing machine that is illegal immigration. Rampant problems will only get worse. Take back our country!"

**Table 6**

*The directive act in Trump's tweets.*

| Directive acts<br>Theme                                 | Requestive | Advisory | Question | Requirement | Prohibitive | Total |
|---|------------|----------|----------|-------------|-------------|-------|
| <b>Building a wall<br/>along the<br/>Mexican border</b> | -          | -        | 5%       | 95%         | -           | 100%  |
| <b>Ban on<br/>Muslims/bombing<br/>ISIS</b>              | -          | 8%       | 15%      | 77%         | -           | 100%  |
| <b>Suspending<br/>immigration</b>                       | -          | 54%      | -        | 46%         | -           | 100%  |

|                                    |            |            |           |            |           |      |
|------------------------------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------|
| <b>Persecuting Hillary Clinton</b> | 36%        | 27%        | 6%        | 20%        | 11%       | 100% |
| <b>Repealing Obama care</b>        | 29%        | 14%        | -         | 57%        | -         | 100% |
| <b>Average</b>                     | <b>13%</b> | <b>25%</b> | <b>6%</b> | <b>51%</b> | <b>5%</b> | 100% |

The requirement act was followed by the advisory act (25% of the direct directives were advisories). Trump used the advisories to give information, advices, or warnings and often recommend action to be taken. His advices, as he claimed, were to ensure having better future, more jobs, and less terrorism. 59% of the advisories were about Hillary Clinton. He used to warn the American people from the “corrupt”, “incompetent”, and “weak” Hillary Clinton running the presidency of their country. His warnings were so clear and direct like this one: “Want access to Crooked Hillary? Don't forget - it's going to cost you!” The following table presents examples of the other used kinds of the direct directives.

**Table 7**

*Examples of the 5 types of the direct directive act.*

| Type               | Example   |
|--------------------|---|
| <b>Requulsive</b>  | Make our borders strong and stop illegal immigration.   |
| <b>Advisory</b>    | Bernie should pull his endorsement of Crooked Hillary after she deceived him and then attacked him and his supporters.                      |
| <b>Question</b>    | Looks like yet another terrorist attack. Airplane departed from Paris. When will we get tough, smart and vigilant? Great hate and sickness! |
| <b>Prohibitive</b> | DON'T LET HILLARY CLINTON DO IT AGAIN!  |

**Requirement** Boycott all Apple products until such time as Apple gives cellphone info to authorities regarding radical Islamic terrorist couple from Cal

\*Note: all the Tweets were taken from Trump's official account directly. The Spelling mistakes in the tweets are made by Trump!

Now let's move to talk about the indirect directive act. We have talked about the main objective of marketing in general and political marketing in particular. Any political campaign seeks to persuade the public to vote for a specific candidate. Strictly speaking, all the promises, images, speeches and logos of the candidates are only a mask that covers the directive utterance of: vote for me! Thus, all Trump's tweets during his campaign are classified as indirect directives. Accordingly, his tweets are double-faced.

The expressive, representative, commisive, and even the direct directives are just the other face of the indirect directives. In every tweet he criticized, mocked or challenged Hillary and her bad judgment he was indirectly saying: Hillary is incompetent; do not vote for her. And certainly if they do not vote for Hillary, they will vote for him. Every time he represented information about ISIS and Muslims he was telling his people indirectly: I'm with you, I will protect you, so vote for me. Every time he promised to repeal Obamacare and make America great again, he meant: I will do this and this for you if you vote for me. In other words, the four types of the illocutionary act worked together to achieve the goal of the indirect directive act.

#### 4.2.5 Conclusion

This section answered the first question and presented the variation in the classification of the illocutionary act in Trump's tweets. This variation shows that Trump in his campaign did not adopt the traditional method of marketing. Trump did not focus on the commisive act of

promising. However, he focused more on the expressive and representative acts. These two acts were only a polite cover of the directive act of requesting. Therefore, the following two sections will illustrate how this variation led to the fulfillment of the object of persuasion.

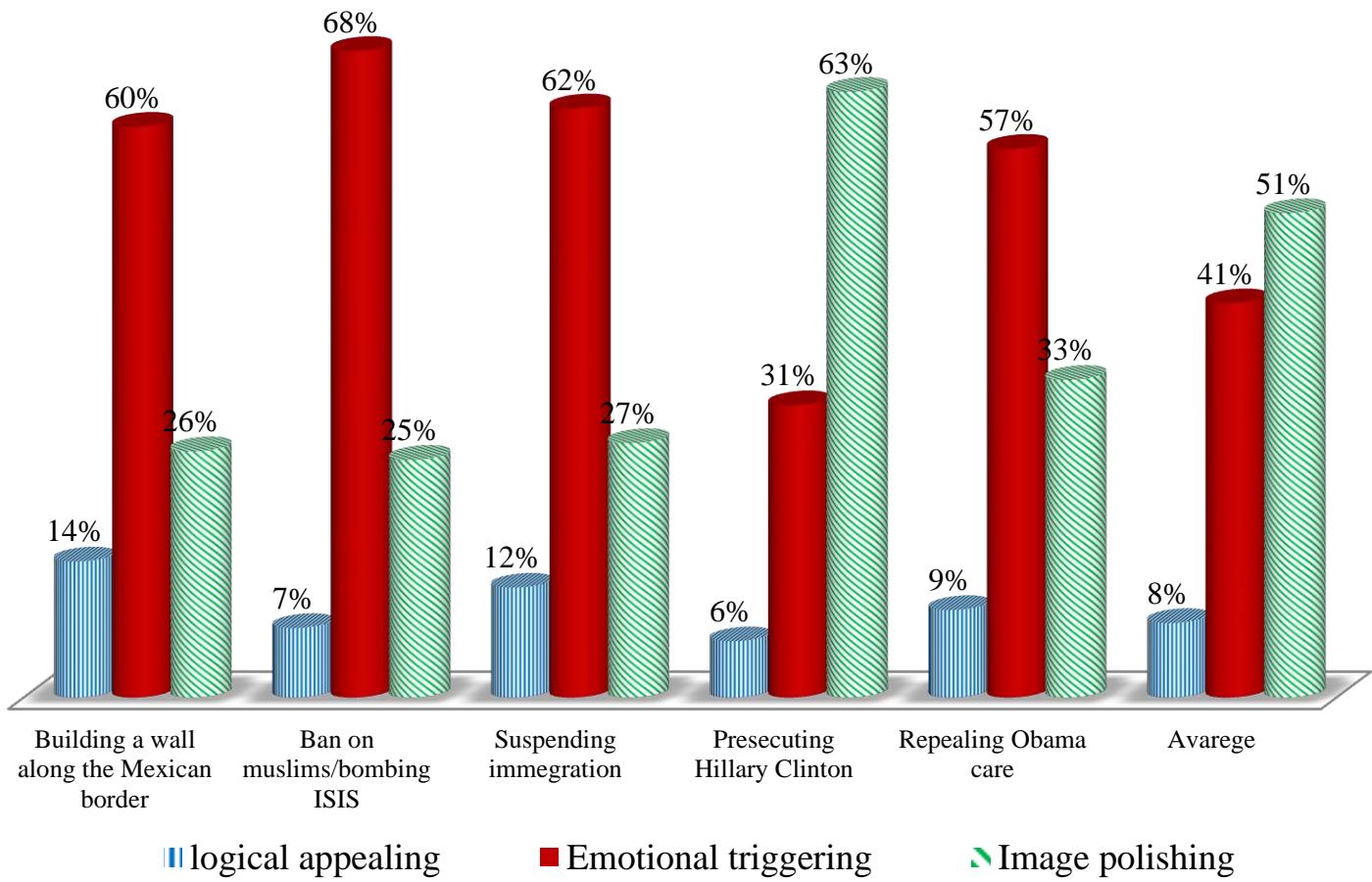
#### **4.3The Persuasion Modes and Techniques in the Tweets**

In order to reach the USA presidency chair, the trip is long and tiring. Persuading the people of a multicultural country like the USA is very complex. The election campaigns need high levels of experience and full-fledged plans. Therefore, Trump exploited a variety of persuasion modes and techniques to get his people from where they were to where he wanted them to be. His modes and techniques were at the heart of all his tweets. They appealed to logic, triggered emotions, and polished his image.

Figure 7 shows the percentage distribution of the use of the three modes of persuasion in the 470 tweets categorized by their themes. The last three pillars show that Trump's focus was mainly on polishing his image. This was followed by simulating the emotions of the public. As for the logical appealing, it seems that Trump did not use this mode significantly.

As it's clear from Figure 7, Trump used the mode of emotional triggering considerably in the tweets that talked about Building a wall along the Mexican border, banning Muslims from entering the USA, suspending illegal immigration, and repealing Obama care. Trump was very smart to present all these sensitive and thorny topics from an emotional perspective. He tried to relate these topics with terrorism, killing, drugs, disasters, unsafety, and employment to provoke the fear and empathy feelings of the audience. He used glittering generalities, storytelling, specific choice of pronouns, and sensory words as techniques to fulfill the goal of this mode.

Although the use of the mode of emotional triggering appears to be the most used one, the use of the image polishing mode was greater. 334 tweets talked about Hillary, 63% of them used image polishing as a basic mode to persuade the American people. Trump used this mode in a totally new way by using 6 modern techniques. These techniques are card stacking, retweeting anti-opponents tweets, mudslinging, retweeting e supportive tweets, showing authority, and contrasting.



**Figure 7:** The modes of persuasion in Trump's tweets.

The mode of logical appealing was neglected in a way or another. Trump did not present strong evidences on most of his tweets but when he did, he presented them by using statistics,

citing facts, and presenting expert opinions. In addition, he used syllogistic reasoning and cause and effect arguments.

Last but not least, it is important to mention that there was a significant overlapping between the three modes of persuasion. Most of the analyzed tweets included more than one mode. There was no quite clear dividing line between them. For example, in one of his tweets, Trump retweeted: "@PressTV: Poll: Trump beats Clinton head-to-head matchup". On the one hand, Trump quoted a headline news from press TV, the first Iranian international news network, as a reliable resource to present a strong evidence on the news and appeal to logic. On the other hand he used this quotation as a testimonial to gain the trust of the audience and polish his image. Thus, he used two modes in a very short tweet to reach his goal of persuasion! There are other many and many examples that illustrate the overlapping between the three modes of persuasion.

#### **4.4 The Relation between the Illocutionary Acts and the Modes and Techniques of Persuasion**

What distinguishes this research is the extraordinary interaction between pragmatics and political and social media marketing to reach the indirect object of persuasion. Thus, after discussing the variation in the classification of the illocutionary point and presenting the modes and techniques of persuasion that appeared in the tweets, this section will identify the relation between the two aspects by illustrating how the different illocutionary acts were exploited in shaping the modes and techniques of persuasion to influence the voters.

##### **4.4.1Image Polishing**

In 2000, Simpsons, the popular American animated show, had an episode titled "Bart to the Future" in which it predicted Trump's presidency. When Trump won the 2016 elections, people

considered that the Simpsons' prediction was a prophecy. However, that episode certainly was not prophecy at all! Al Jean, one of the show's original writers, said that this prediction is very logical because Trump was talking about running for president in 2000 but people forgot that. So, as Al Jean says "it wasn't somebody totally out of the blue. It was a guy who was a punch-line name and had presidential aspirations" (as cited in Salam, 2018). Accordingly, Trump, the man who puts his name on everything from ice and meat to airlines and resorts, had been trying to involve himself in politics for several years.

In one of his interviews in 1988 with Oprah Winfrey, she asked him if he would run for president, Trump answered that he probably wouldn't do it but he will win if he does. He also confirmed that he is a person who doesn't loose. He added "I would have a hell of a chance of winning, because I think people — I don't know how your audience feels, but I think people are tired of seeing the United States ripped off" (as cited in Gonyea & Montanaro, 2017). Thus, Trump's getting into politics did not take place overnight. He has worked very long to spread his name and make himself the perfect image of a successful businessman who cares a lot about his country.

Since Trump's attempt to build a good image of himself is deep-rooted in his biography, his focus on polishing his image during his campaign was not a new thing. As mentioned earlier, he used card stacking, retweeting anti-opponents tweets, mudslinging, retweeting supportive tweets, showing authority, and contrasting as basic techniques to achieve two things. In the one hand, he used the first three techniques to achieve negative-opponents representation. On the other hand, the techniques of retweeting supportive tweets and showing authority were used to achieve positive-self representation. The contrasting technique was used to achieve both negative-opponents and positive-self representation.

48% of the tweets that tried to polish Trump's image were representatives, 34% of them were expressives, and the rest 18% were commisives and directives. Although politicians and candidates often like to show lots of promises for change, bringing happiness, pride, and economic and physical security to gain their audience's trust, Trump did not. He used the commisive act of promising significantly to the purpose of polishing his image in the tweets that talked about his intention to protect the American people from ISIS and the Islamic terrorism. He did so to appear as the superhero and protector. The distribution of the commisive, directive, representative, and expressive acts will be clarified by illustrating how they were used in shaping the six techniques of the image polishing mode.

#### **4.4.1.1 Mudslinging**

Although mudslinging has been a part of the American presidential elections for more than 200 years, Allan Lichtman, a political historian who teaches at the American University in Washington, described the American presidential elections of 2016 as "the dirtiest race we've seen in modern American history" (as cited in Schreck, 2016). Mutual insults between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump reached an unprecedeted level of political mudslinging. Trump used to blitz Clinton with a nearly daily series of offensive tweets. From her side, Clinton had not hesitated to respond to Trump's attacks. She used to describe him as a person with a long history of racial discrimination and conspiracy theories who absolutely unfit to run presidency. However, how could mudslinging be a technique of persuasion?

Trump used the political mudslinging to spread negative information about the opponents to worsen their image. Spreading such negative information appeared to be a warning to the public against real dangers of the described, but the fact was to smash the image of Trump's opponents

regardless of the credibility of the information. 63% of the image polishing mode appeared in the tweets that talked about Hillary, 37% of them contained mudslinging phrases. Trump pulled no punches whenever he talked about her. He used the mudslinging technique about 154 times to represent his image nicely by crushing hers.

To apply the political mudslinging technique, Trump used the descriptive act to present all his negative observations about Obamacare, Obama, ISIS, Mexican illegal immigrants, the system and everyone and everything he doesn't like. He used to describe ObamaCare as a "dummy disaster" and the system as "rigged." However, his big focus was on his opponent Hillary. Trump's descriptive mudslinging against the former first lady took two forms:

- 1) **Name-calling:** Trump loved to use negative nicknames and insults to brand and taunt Hillary. These insults and nicknames were not random. They were used to rub salt into the wound and inflate the negative characteristics of his opponent. Throughout the campaign, he referred to Hillary Clinton as "Crooked Hillary" 176 times in reference to her use of the private email server. Sometimes Trump switched the description up and called her "weak", "Liar", "Lyn", "Not fit!", "unfit to run/to serve/to lead", "incompetent", "dishonest", "dangerous", "Wall Street PUPPET!", and "rattled Hillary." In one of his tweets, he described her as a "PATHOLOGICAL LIAR!" and he added "Watch that nose grow!" Referring to Pinocchio the fictional character who is notably characterized for his frequent tendency to lie, which causes his nose to grow. It does not matter if she was really crooked or liar, what matters is that these nicknames stuck well in the minds of the voters.
- 2) **Negative campaigning:** Trump used the expressive act beside the descriptive one to criticize, mock and describe Hillary's flaws and problems. He did not leave a chance to

slap Hillary and express his apprehension of what will happen to the country if she became the president of the USA. He also took every opportunity to present the former first lady in a bad and deceitful image. For example, in Jun 16, 2015, Vocativ, which is an American media and technology company, published that “Hillary Clinton Dominates the Pack … In Fake Twitter Followers.” After six days, Trump quoted the same title in one of his tweets with the link of the online article. Trump did not write any comment on that tweet. He just retweeted the title to ensure wider spread of the scandal.

#### **4.4.1.2 Card Stalking**

Trump used to highlight Hillary’s political and personal problems, rumors, and scandals shrewdly. Moreover, he used her weapons and promises against her by turning the facts upside-down to plant seeds of doubt about her. He used to turn what is in her favor to become against her by focusing on one aspect of the fact and ignoring the other or taking the information out of its context. This clever technique was used in 26% of the tweets which proves that Trump had never tweeted randomly. The card stalking technique is like magic games, it needs smart planning, intensive preparation and lightness of performance.

To play the game of card stalking well, Trump used the confirmative act in particular. He used to manipulate and present the information based on his personal judgment with no clue or clear evidence in a way that serves his purposes. A good example on this is Trump's persistent attempts to ruin the relations between Hillary and the American people by addressing her support for Muslims in a distorted image.

Clinton was a Democratic Party nominee, which means that she represented the ideology of her party. As mentioned in the literature review, the Democratic Party is the party that embrace

labor unions and religious and ethnic minorities. Thus, in The Second Presidential Debate with Trump, Hillary opposed Trump's "demagogic" accusations against Muslims. She responded that her "vision of America is an America where everyone has a place" (NBC News, 2016). Her response presented the core of the Democratic Party ideology. She supported the minor religious group of Muslims which reflected positively on her. Trump did not like that! He started to play his dirty game of card stalking. He tweeted that "despite the horrible attack in Brussels", Hillary wants to open-and let the Muslims flow in America. Thus, Trump brought Hillary's support for Muslims from the context of supporting minorities to the context of supporting terrorism. In doing so, he used her weapon of "Stronger Together" against her depending on his own personal evaluation.

Furthermore, he did get enough from involving Hillary's name in the terrorism context, but he also tried to irritate the women rights movements against her. In many of his tweets, he accused Hillary with the charge of taking money and doing favors for regimes (referring to Islamic countries) that "enslave women" and "horribly oppresses" them. By doing so, he did not only hurt Hillary's image but also emphasized his "great respect for women."

At last, as a final example, when Trump saw that only 15 percent of Muslims (In New York, nearly 400,000 Muslims and in Michigan, nearly another 120,000 Muslims (Abdelaziz, 2019)) wanted him to win over Hillary (Green, 2017), he tweeted that Hillary Clinton's Top Hollywood Donor Haim Saban "demands racial profiling of Muslims." Through this tweet, Trump tried to shake the confidence of Muslims in her by fishing in troubled waters and confirming that Hillary may sell even her own values for money.

#### 4.4.1.3 Showing authority

People trust powerful, charismatic, confident, and successful leaders. As humans, we automatically tend to respect and obey people with successful resume and superior knowledge (Eisenhauer, 2018). Robert Cialdini discusses how human beings have a natural tendency to obey without question when authority factors are presented. He refers to the concept of “blind obedience” and the fact that “we are trained from birth to believe that obedience to proper authority is right and disobedience is wrong” (p. 180). Moreover, we believe what the people who we believe that they know more than us without question. However, the question is: what authority factors did Trump use in the campaign?

During his campaign, Trump worked to prove that he is a man of authority. He used to deal with people as a president even before he ran for presidency. Trump worked hard on using the descriptive, expressive and commisive acts to present himself as:

- 1) A self-funding candidate: in September 2015 Trump tweeted: “By self-funding my campaign, I am not controlled by my donors, special interests or lobbyists. I am only working for the people of the U.S!” Unlike most of political candidates, Trump used \$66.1 million of his personal fortune to fuel the 2016 presidential campaign (Levinthal, 2018). Because he is “really rich”, he insured that he would not use the lobbyists nor the donors’ money. People may think that political candidates are the only ones who benefit from the contributions of donors; however, the donors are the greatest beneficiaries from these contributions. The big contributions lead the politicians to become more worried about the general concerns of their rich donors. In other words, the rich donors, indirectly, control politics and politicians. So, it becomes a corollary that the self-funding

candidates are free self-representing who do not face any kind of control or restrictions.

Trump wanted to convey this idea to present himself as a free-willed, rich and powerful person who doesn't need others' money.

- 2) A caring leader: Trump always tried to appear as a caring and tough person who keeps his eyes on the needs of the Americans. He immersed them with tweets that used the commisive act of promising, such like: "I am fighting for you!", "#Imwithyou", "I will protect America", "I will never let you down!", "I will rebuild the military", "take care of vets and make the world respect the US again!", "I am going to keep our jobs in the U.S."
- 3) A man of vision: great leaders have a vision. Trump always considered himself as visionary leader who has a clear idea of where he is going and has the skill of expecting the future by analyzing the incidents logically and wisely. During the campaign, he used the expressive act of boasting in every time his expectations got true by saying "I told you so!" to prove that he has a vision and to gain the trust of the people (see Appendix C:343, 367, 401, 427, 464).
- 4) A Confident competitor: "I like thinking big. I always have. To me it's very simple: if you're going to be thinking anyway, you might as well think big. Most people think small, because most people are afraid of success, afraid of making decisions, afraid of winning. And that gives people like me a great advantage." quoted from Trump's book *The Art of Deal* (1987, p. 32). Despite all the negative criticism of Trump's personality, the fact that he is so confident is a reality that we cannot deny. He has always had that kind of unshakeable faith in himself. High self-confidence is one of the characteristics of the charismatic personality and a main factor of authority. Although most predictions confirmed her victory and his loss, Trump had the confidence to challenge Hillary all of

the time. In 26 tweets, he used the commisive act of promising in addition to the expressive act of challenging to show his ability to defeat and beat her by saying “I will beat Hillary!”

#### **4.4.1.4 Contrasting**

In general, when people experience similar things in position, they evaluate the lesser or greater value of the second through comparing it with the first. Thus, the contrast leads to evaluate the second thing depending on how we viewed the first. In presidential campaigns, when the voters make judgments, they evaluate a candidate in comparison with other candidates. When they say this candidate is powerful or smart, they actually mean he/she is more powerful or smarter than the other candidates. Trump used to hand the American voters these contrasts on silver platters so there become no need for them to make any evaluations or contrasts (for sure, all the contrasts were in his favor).

As mentioned before, the contrasting technique has a dual-function. By using this technique, Trump killed two birds with one stone, he presented his good qualities and contrasted them with his opponents’ to polish his image and deform theirs’ at the same time. Trump used this technique about 40 times by using assertive, confirmative, and informative representatives to create attention on the negative sides of Hillary and the positive sides of himself. He selectively amplified those sides that would support his position and downplayed those which would not.

Trump enjoyed making contrasts between the big numbers of his supporters in New Hampshire, West Virginia and Nebraska and Hillary’s small numbers as a kind of showing himself as the populist candidate. He made this kind of contrast to influence the people to do what the others do and belong to the majority who supports him (The bandwagon technique).

Moreover, in several tweets, Trump attacked Hillary because, as he claimed, she is a person who doesn't want to make any changes unlike him. He built his contrast on one of the most important values that the American people live by. He made use of this point in his favor against Hillary; especially that he knows well that the Americans see that change is strongly linked to development, improvement, progress, and growth. By making such contrasts, he tried to influence the voters' perceptions of Hillary and him and therefore affect their judgment and evaluation.

#### **4.4.1.5 Retweeting Supportive and Anti-opponents Tweets**

Retweeting supportive and anti-opponents tweets in Trump's campaign has been a revolutionary technique in political marketing, and a totally new representation of a representative act. On the one hand, one of Shabo's Techniques of Persuasion is presenting the customers or celebrities' testimonials of a certain product. This technique is also used in politics where the politicians show the written or spoken endorsements about them. To fit with the new ways of political marketing, Trump improved this technique to take the new shape of Retweeting. Trump's retweets were not only endorsements but a mixture between supportive and anti-Hillary's retweets. On the other hand, as mentioned in the answer of the first question, the retweeting technique has become the modern presentation of the retrodictive and the assentive acts.

Retweeting other's tweets was an essential part of building up Trump's image and destroying Hillary's. Trump retweeted so many tweets that endorsed and supported him to build and boost voters trust by representing the endorsements from a third-party. People feel more comfortable voting for a candidate if they know that other people support him. Online reviews and personal

recommendations add authenticity to the candidate and make people more willing to vote for him. Trump retweeted the endorsements of American actors (such as James Woods), political figures (such as Ted Cruz), social bloggers (such as Diamond and Silk), and even ordinary people to make use of Cialdini's Social Proof principle of persuasion (The tendency of people to align their beliefs and behaviors with those of a group).

According to Persily, from August 2015 to the election day, the number of Trump's followers raised to reach thirteen-million followers. Moreover, during that time, more than a billion tweets related to the presidential elections appeared on Twitter. Trump's tweets were retweeted three times more than Hillary Clinton's (2017). Retweeting Trump's tweets gave his words the power of viral widespread, through which he achieved free political marketing. His skill in arousing twitter storms was one of his assets as a candidate and a media darling.

Since Trump is the man of change and development as he claims, he couldn't get enough from the traditional way of presenting the endorsements about him. He retweeted 31 tweets that talked about Hillary in a negative way. The function of these retweets was to shake people's confidence and make them less sure about Hillary. He represented the view of a third party to be a witness on Hillary's slips and flaws. The following table presents some examples of retweeted endorsements and anti-Hillary retweets:

**Table 8**

*Examples of Trump's retweets*

| Type of the retweet | Example   |
|---------------------|---|
| Supportive retweets | "@SandraOpines: @realDonaldTrump I LOVE watching Donald Trump in action. Free education. Just watch and learn. LOVE IT. |

|   |   |
|---|---|
|   | <p>#TrumpTrain" Nice.</p> <p>"@BornToBeGOP: @realDonaldTrump you are always many steps ahead of the game!" Thank you.</p> <p>"@danlifting: @realDonaldTrump Get a life George Will. USA doesn't make anything anymore. TRUMP will bring manufacturing Back to USA!"</p>   |
| <b>Anti-Hillary's<br/>retweets</b>          | <p>"Hillary Clinton Dominates the Pack in Fake Twitter Followers"</p> <p>"@jp_sitles: @ RealDonaldTrump HillaryClinton: She Compared To Republicans Terrorist But Not Call is on Terrorists, Terrorists. # OhMe "</p> <p>"@brazosboys: Hillary read "sigh" off the Teleprompter, She's so fake she has to be told how to feel: <a href="https://youtu.be/iYUQtxXZPsk">https://youtu.be/iYUQtxXZPsk</a> @FoxNews</p> |
| <b>Supportive and anti-Hillary's tweets</b> | <p>"@dcexaminer: Rasmussen: @realDonaldTrump now beats @HillaryClinton 38%-36% nationally</p> <p>"@Tony_Leers: Hillary Clinton is a deceitful career politician, Donald Trump is a no-nonsense billionaire businesses man...pick one.."</p> <p>"@DonaldTrumpFink: .@GovMikeHuckabee: If Donald becomes president, he will do a whole lot more to protect us than Hillary will." #GOPDebate</p>                      |

#### 4.4.2 Emotional triggering

*Fire and Fury: Inside the Trump White House* is a book by Michael Wolff that provides a wealth of details about what President Trump's staff really thinks of him. According to the book, Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin and former Chief of Staff Reince Priebus refer to Trump as an "idiot." Rupert Murdoch says Trump is a "f\*\*\*ng idiot" (as cited in Reich, 2018). However, despite all that, Trump thinks that he is a very intelligent person. Love him or loathe him, he is right! Intelligence has different forms; one of them is the emotional intelligence which is Trump's field.

The concept of Emotional intelligence was firstly developed by the two psychologists, John Mayer and Peter Salovey. They defined this concept as the ability to do two things: "understand and manage our own emotions", and "recognize and influence the emotions of others." (As cited in Reich, 2018). On the one hand, for sure, Trump has nothing to do with the first part because he has no ability to manage and control his emotions. On the other hand, he is skillful in the second part. He knows how to discover the fears, anxieties, dreams, and desires of his people and use them for his own purposes.

Most of the time, Trump used the expressive act to express his feelings explicitly with no filters depending on his value judgment rather than the factual one. the value judgment is the judgment of the rightness or wrongness or of the usefulness of something or someone. this value can refer to a judgment based upon a particular value system. This value system contains the fundamental beliefs of a person or a group of people. Trump is one of the American people who understands their values and knows what they want precisely. He benefited from his good

knowledge of the value judgment of the American people to achieve his goal of reaching presidency.

According to L. Robert Kohls (1984) there are thirteen values that the Americans live by. Trump focused on nine of these values and expressed his feelings based on them. These values are: equality, privacy, change, competition, action and work orientation, informality, and materialism. In addition, Tracy & Feulner (2012) classifies the value of patriotism as one of the important values that the American nation have too. For example, the action and work orientation is sacred in the American people value system. They believe in doing rather than saying. According to the Washington post, in 2008, Hillary Clinton made job creation a centerpiece of her presidential programme. She promised that she would put more Americans to work. However, after eight years from senate exit, there was no significant evidence prove that her economic development programs had an impact on employment (Markon, 2016). Trump took advantage of this point and hit two birds with one stone. Through ten tweets (see Appendix C: 362,305,295,197,179, 162,157,149, 138,128), Trump expressed his feelings of mockery and criticism against Hillary and her failure. From the one hand, he criticized her for saying things without actions. On the other hand, he compared her failure with his achievements and ability to bring jobs.

Thus, depending on the expressive act, Trump employed his emotional intelligence in a systematized and shrewd way to convince people with his arguments by triggering their emotions. According to Dowd-Arrow (2017) Trump tried to influence the emotions of the American people by: a) Orienting the audiences towards feeling shame or fear as a nation. b) Reorienting them towards feeling anger at the elites he blamed. c) Promising they would feel safe and proud if he was elected.

In his tweets, he accomplished the three goals by evoking the audience emotions of anger, hope, enthusiasm, fear and pity, telling real stories and examples, selecting vivid and sensory words, using glittering generalities and personal pronouns.

#### **4.4.2.1 Glittering generalities**

Trump promised the voters to feel hopeful that he would restore the American pride and protect them from the evil of the illegal immigrants and the threats of Muslims. He packed his tweets with a variety of commisive acts of promising and direct acts of urging in the shape of glittering generalities. He used them in an attempt to portray the perfect image of America's future if he became the president. In addition to the traditional political clichés of safety, change, and strength in his speeches and interviews, Trump used some glittering generalities in a modern way. He took advantage of one of twitter's most popular features: the Hashtging.

He used the # character followed by vogue words and phrases to connect all of his followers and their followers to the theme of his campaign. One of his most echoing hashtags was #MakeAmericaGreatAgain (often abbreviated as #MAGA). This hashtag was a clever combination between an order and a promise. It was a clear call to action to provoke a response from the audience. Trump wanted to point out that America isn't great right now, vote for me to do this mission together! In addition, he promised the Americans to transform their emotions to a new era of pride and happiness. He used to use this hashtag in every time he talked about bringing jobs back, building the wall, and draining the swamp of corruption. In doing so, he emotionally persuaded the audience to feel hopeful for their economic, safety and collective national pride in the future.

Moreover, despite the fact that this slogan was used in the successful presidential campaigns of Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton, Trump's use of the slogan "was probably the most resonant campaign slogan in recent history" (Schoen, 2016). Many politicians have used the same formula of this slogan after Trump's 2016 campaign. For example, MAKE ISRAEL NORMAL AGAIN! is the current campaign slogan for the Israeli political party Liberman, which is a clear nod to Trump's slogan.

The huge widespread of #MAGA is due to Using this slogan as a hashtag by a popular person who has millions of followers like Trump. Trump's hashtags used to be trending on twitter in which the topics of his hashtags were the most breaking and the hottest news from across the world. Between June 16<sup>th</sup> to July 10<sup>th</sup>, 2015, Trump's hashtags, #makeamericagreatagain, #donaldTrumpforpresident, and #wakeupamerica have been used 678,811 times by Americans and others (Parsons, 2015). However, #makeamericagreatagain, ranked first between all of his hashtags.

#### **4.4.2.2 The Pronominal Choices: First Personal Pronouns *we* and *I***

In politics, every single word matters. Even the pronouns that contain one or two letters have special powers. In English, there are eight types of pronouns, Trump's favourite ones were the subjective first personal pronouns 'we' and 'I'. He used them in the selected tweets excessively. Trump used the inclusive 'we' (which refers to Trump and the American people) 67 times and the pronoun 'I' 134 times. To express the persuasive messages behind the excessive use of the individual and group identities, the different and deliberate functions of each of the two pronouns will be discussed.

#### **4.4.2.2.1 The first personal *I***

Perhaps one of the most important reasons why people describe Trump as a narcissist person is his enormous use of the first personal ‘I’. According to the analysis of the tweets, it turned out that Trump extremely used the pronoun ‘I’ in the tweets that talked about his high fitness to become the president of the United States. Most of the time, these tweets were falling under the theme of Hillary Clinton. He used this pronoun 91 times in 334 tweets that talked about her. Each I in the following five tweets had a different hidden function:-

- 1) “I have proven to be far more correct about terrorism than anybody- and it’s not even close.”
- 2) “Next year will be an interesting one. I look forward to running against Hillary Clinton, a totally flawed candidate, and beating her soundly”
- 3) “Just out: Neera Tanden, Hillary Clinton adviser said, “Israel is depressing.” I think Israel is inspiring!”
- 4) From day one I said that I was going to build a great wall on the SOUTHERN BORDER, and much more. Stop illegal immigration. Watch Wednesday!
- 5) “Another radical Islamic attack, this time in Pakistan, targeting Christian women & children. At least 67 dead, 400 injured. I alone can solve”

As it’s clear, the first person singular pronoun ‘I’ was used in the utterances that used the confirmative act (as in the third example), informative act (as in the fourth example), assertive act (as in the fifth example, and the expressive acts of challenging and boasting (as in the first and second examples). In the first tweet, Trump used the pronoun ‘I’ as a tool to boast of his unique vision that no one of the candidates has. He used the singular pronoun to present himself

as an unbeatable individual. He tried to gain the trust of the voters by triggering their feelings and making them believe that he is their one and only future leader. In the second example, Trump used the ‘I’ to present his power and ability to challenge Hillary. Since people prefer the powerful leaders and refuse the “flawed” ones, this tweet was a good way to make them like Trump and hate Hillary. The ‘I’ in The third example clearly was used to convey Trump’s opinion. Firstly he reported what Hillary’s adviser said about Israel. Then, he gave his personal point of view to make the tweet more subjective. By doing so, he evoked the voters’ anger feeling against Hillary and her advisor, and the feelings of satisfaction towards him.

Another function of the first person singular pronoun ‘I’ is to show commitment to the audience and personal involvement in issues as shown in the fourth example. Trump tweeted that he “was going to build a wall” as if he would personally do it! In fact he said that to convey the message of being a responsible president who won’t be afraid to take action when necessary. Finally, the I in the fifth tweet was used to create a relationship with the voters and make them feel that he feels their pain and give them the warm and fuzzy feelings of protection and safety by affirming that he is the only one who can solve their problems.

#### **4.4.2.2 The inclusive first-person plural “We”**

Trump’s usual tone in using pronouns is self-focused. So, moving from the ‘I’ pronoun to the inclusive ‘we’ is something extraordinary. In the tweets that discussed Islam, the Mexican wall, Obamacare, and illegal immigration, Trump used the pronoun ‘we’ more often than ‘I’. The inclusive ‘we’ has several functions that tried to trigger the emotion of the voters in a certain way as shown in the following examples:-.

- 1) We need a #POTUS with great strength & stamina.

- 2) We must defeat Islamic terrorism & have surveillance, including a watch list, to protect America
- 3) Crooked Hillary promised 200k jobs in NY and FAILED. We'll create 25M jobs when I'm president, and I will DELIVER!
- 4) We are suffering through the worst long-term unemployment in the last 70 years. I want change - Crooked Hillary Clinton does not.

The inclusive first-person plural ‘we’ was used obviously in the utterances that used the directive act (as in the second example), informative act (as in the fourth example), assertive act (as in the first example), and the commisive act of promising (as in the third example). In the first example, Trump used the inclusive ‘we’ as an attempt to give the feeling of banding the American people together with all their diversities to make every citizen feel included, valued and empowered. The second and third examples show how Trump evoked the nationalistic and patriotic emotions of the Americans. He used the inclusive ‘we’ as a technique to unite himself with his people and show them that he and all the Americans should work together to fight for the safety of the USA and make it great again. In the third example, as demonstration of solidarity, Trump used the pronoun ‘we’ to reflect that he shares his people’s needs and sufferings. Thereby, he evoked a sense of commonality and rapport between him and every single citizen in his country.

#### **4.4.2.3 Selecting Sensory Words**

Poets and novelists use sensory and vivid words in their works to take the readers from the reality to the fantasy. Politicians also use this kind of language for the same purpose. The only difference appears after the fantasy level when the readers can close their books and the voters

cannot. The Sensory words in the field of politics are used basically to leave a powerful, memorable, and influential effect in the minds of the voters. Trump used a small number of visual, motions, tactile, smell, and taste words in his tweets (such as: soft, crooked, swamp and waving). His focus was on the use of the auditory words as a basic technique to stimulate his audience's sense of hearing and trigger their memories and feelings.

In the world of social media, typing words completely in capital letters (TYPING IN ALL CAPS) makes words look louder (Robb, 2014). Based on this, Trump's tweets were loud enough to wake the dead. He wrote a plenty of words in capital letters to make his voters hear his words rather than reading them. He made sounds and sensations by his tweets for the following purposes:-

- 1) To gain attention (expressive act of challenging and boasting): as the newspaper headlines, Trump used to type the breaking news that serves his purposes in all caps case to grab the attention of his followers. Moreover, he used to capitalize the letters of his name (TRUMP) to keep the focus always around him. For example, in the tweets that contrasted between him and Hillary, he deliberately capitalized his name as in this example: "While in politics it is often smart to send out false messages, one thing is clear: That Hillary does not want to run against TRUMP." In this way, he magnified and glorified his name in the voters' audio-visual memory.
- 2) To emphasize and assert (representative act of asserting): Trump used all caps case to stress his opinion and give extra weight to some issues. For instance, "RADICAL ISLAMIC TERROR" is a controversial phrase that was used 12 times unashamedly in Trump's tweets. Although this phrase was a source of controversy throughout his campaign, Trump used it repeatedly. Moreover, he capitalized its letters as an attempt to assert on his opinion that

contradicted with the opinions of the former President Barack Obama and the Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton. He used the capital letters as a weapon to attack them for refusing to utter the phrase, considering them as weak and ineffective people.

- 3) To make objections and warnings (directive act of advising): as typing in all caps is a code of shouting, Trump used this technique to express his feelings of anger and opposition or dislike of something or someone. ISIS, CHINA, and RUSSIA are all names that Trump doesn't like. Each one of them, according to Trump, poses a major threat to the USA, so, he tried to emphasize their names by capitalizing them. In addition, as red is a warning color, words in all caps are also warnings (in many cases) as in the following examples: "BE CAREFUL!", "DON'T LET HILLARY CLINTON DO IT AGAIN!", and "HILLARY PRESIDENCY WILL CAUSE CRIME WAVE LIKE YOU'VE NEVER SEEN". Most of the warnings were used as a basic way to make the American people feel that their nation will be in a trouble if Hillary becomes their president. Furthermore, some of the warnings oriented people towards believing that they should feel afraid from the present and the future of their country. Thus, they should carefully think of their upcoming president.
- 4) To raise requirements (directive act of requesting): "FIGHT!", "WAKE UP!", "build a WALL!", "VOTE", and "REPEAL AND REPLACE!" are all examples of the requirements that were raised by Trump. Most of them were used to encourage the American people and trigger their feelings of enthusiasm to have a better country and a better president.

#### **4.4.2.4 Telling real stories and examples**

Because stories are deeply wired into our minds, Humans have been telling each other stories from the stone age to spread their ideas. When we listen to stories, we use our imagination and

picture what we read. The stories come alive in our brains which makes us part of the story, we remember better and “feel” more close to the story. In politics, effective and real stories can serve the politicians who seek to persuade others of their point of view. So, blending rhetoric and real facts, and waving them into the right story, can effectively change minds (Baldoni, 2017).

Although twitter limits Tweet length to a specific number of characters, Trump used to write micro stories that are usually attached with a link to reach the full versions of them. He used such technique in the tweets that discussed the issues of Islam, the Mexican wall, Obamacare, and illegal immigration. He chose to tell real stories about these sensitive issues to justify his claims and evoke the emotions of anger, hope, enthusiasm, fear and pity of the American people.

As most stories, Trump’s ones had messages behind them. The protagonists of his micro stories were always beloved priests, Christian children, or beautiful young women whom were killed by radical Islamic attacks or Mexican and illegal immigrants. He used the expressive acts of deplored and condoling to show his heartfelt sympathies on the loss of the families of the victims. On July 1, 2015, Kathryn Steinle, a 32-year-old woman, shot dead in San Francisco by an illegal immigrant (Sanchez, 2015). After three days of the murder, Trump tweeted: “What about the undocumented immigrant with a record who killed the beautiful young women (in front of her father) in San Fran. Get smart!” The story of the murdered Kathryn was utilized by Trump as proof that he was right all along about the Mexican “rapist” and “criminal” immigrants who entered the United States illegally from the weak borders. He described her as a beautiful young woman to stir up the Americans’ feelings of empathy, especially, because she was a lady in the prime of her life. Moreover, he mentioned that she was killed in front of the eyes of her father to provoke the Americans’ anger feelings and make everyone imagine himself in the place of Kathryn’s father.

At the end, it's worthy to mention that Trump did not always succeed in achieving his goal of provoking the emotions of the Americans. To the contrary, some of his tweets achieved opposite results of the intended ones. For example, after reading the first 70 comments on Trump's tweet on the murder of Kathryn Steinle, it turned out that only three of them supported Trump and the other 67 mocked the content of the tweet. Some comments reminded Trump of Dylann Storm, the supremacist white American who killed 9 African Americans in a church in front of their family's on June 17, 2015. Other comments corrected the spelling of the word "woman." One of the people commented: "you use the tragedies of others when it is convenient for your personal snidey political goals. But you don't really care" pointing out that Trump's exploitation of people's stories and problems to serve his goals has become a clear hoax that people won't believe anymore.

#### **4.4.3 Logical appealing**

Logical appealing is the mode of persuasion that aims to convince the audience relaying on factual evidence and reasoning. Usually, to convince an educated audience, you need to pack your argument with solid facts to support your claims and ideas. Trump presented a number of informative facts by using statistics, citing facts, presenting expert opinions, and using syllogism and cause and effect arguments.

Trump, in his campaign, offered broad generalizations and generic claims with little evidence and depended on the logical appealing mode insignificantly. Only 8% of the tweets used logical appealing as a mean of persuasion (as shown in in Figure 7). According to the post-election survey reports of 2016 vote preferences, Americans with college degree or more education made up 30% of all validated voters. Back to Figure 4, 57% of the college degree holders said they

voted for Clinton than for Trump (36%). Among the much larger group of voters who had not completed college, Trump won by the half (50% to 43%). Strictly speaking, Trump's campaign appealed to the voters' emotions and confidence rather than their minds, so, it makes sense that only 36% of the voters with college degree or more education voted for Trump.

To be realistic, Trump and logic can be antonyms; they are very far from each other. Logic often is associated with credibility and Trump, as mentioned earlier, is not famous for being a credible person at all. However, we cannot deny the fact that he has his own and very special logic. His logic is characterized by the conspicuous absence of facts. Thus, the discussion around the mode of logical appealing is going to be very brief. The syllogistic reasoning, which was used only eight times, is overlooked.

#### **4.4.3.1 Expert opinion**

Expert opinion, which often referred to as 'expert power', is a message delivered by an expert to the audience about something or someone. In politics, expert opinion is frequently used in the campaigns of the candidates for persuasion goals. When the campaign presents the opinion of an experts about crucial issues based on their specialized knowledge or skills, it does not provide information only, but it also comforts the voters in making their decision in choosing their future president (Neal & Kovera, 2015). Moreover, the general persuasive effect of expert opinion leads to a long-lasting positive effect on memory for and attitude towards the candidate (Klucharev, Smidts, & Fernández, 2008).

Trump used the views of some political experts to support his claims and views. Additionally, he retweeted some of their opinions instead of articulating his personal view on issues. For instance, despite his strong hostility to Bernie Sanders, he represented some of his

views against Hillary. In six different tweets, Trump insisted to present Sanders' opinion on Clinton's bad judgment (see appendix C: 91, 127, 135, 155, 154, and 224). Against the backdrop of her initial support for the invasion of Iraq, Sander questioned Hillary's judgment and qualifications. From his side, Trump took advantage of Sanders' opinion and informed a third party expert opinion. But it's funny that Trump stuck to Sanders' opinion on Clinton and totally ignored that Sander, in many interviews, called Trump a "pathological" liar. However, at least, he did not lie about Sander's opinion on Clinton, contrary to what he did with Michelle Obama!

In one of his tweets, Trump claimed that, in her husband campaign of 2008, Michelle Obama stated "If you can't run your own house you certainly can't run the White House" about Hillary. From his side, Trump wanted to use an expert opinion to persuade people that Hillary is unfit to govern. Michelle never used Clinton's name. Moreover, Barack Obama defended his wife saying that Michelle was talking about the importance of family in general without referring to the Clintons or anyone else (Moller, 2016). Despite all this, Trump asserted that Michelle made the comment referring to Clinton and her marriage. Thus, Trump used an incredible expert opinion to show the audience his credibility!

#### **4.4.3.2 Citing Facts and Statistics**

Citing a source means to give credit for the original source of information. In politics, citing facts leads to establishing a candidate's credibility and reliability which helps in supporting his/her argument. Trump did not use this technique considerably. Although his Twitter account worked as a news platform that reports the latest news and facts, most of the time, he did not cite sources. However, he used this technique in citing statistics and numbers.

Trump used to show the polls results by using reliable statistics to add factual weight to his argument and strengthen the impact of the information the tweet provide. Most of the time, Trump used high credibility sources to be more persuasive. Using cited statistics and numbers helped Trump in drawing reasonable contrasts between him and Hillary. Sometimes he mentioned the source (The Washington Post, ABC News, USA TODAY, etc.), other times he attached the source itself whether it's a video, an article, or a photo (see the pictures).

 Donald J. Trump   
@realDonaldTrump

"@curtismuddog: @ByronYork Latest Poll shows Donald Trump winning 70% of Electoral Vote Against Hillary Clinton! [powderedwigisociety.com/trump-kills-hi...](http://powderedwigisociety.com/trump-kills-hi...)"



Latest presidential poll shows Donald Trump beating Hillary Clinton in head-to-he...  
By Thomas Madison The latest 2016 presidential poll has Donald Trump destroying Hillary Clinton in a head-to-head matchup, 375 electoral votes to Hillary's 163. Th...  


12:21 PM · Oct 25, 2015 · Twitter for Android

1.6K Retweets 2.6K Likes

 Donald J. Trump   
@realDonaldTrump

.@USATODAY Poll and @QuinnipiacPoll say that I beat both Hillary and Bernie, and I havn't even started on them yet!

8:12 AM · Feb 24, 2016 · Twitter for Android

3.4K Retweets 8.9K Likes

 Donald J. Trump   
@realDonaldTrump

'Donald Trump leads Hillary Clinton by 19 points among military, veteran voters: poll' #AmericaFirst #MAGA

ترجمة التغريدة

Donald Trump leads Hillary Clinton by 19 points among military...  
Donald Trump has a 19-point lead over Hillary Clinton among military and veteran voters, according to polling released ...  
  
[m.washingtontimes.com](http://m.washingtontimes.com)

Philadelphia, PA · Twitter for iPhone ٢٠١٦ سپتامبر ٧، ٤:١١ ص

٥,٧ إعادة تغريد ١٩,٨ ألف إعجاباً

#### **4.4.3.3 Using the Cause and Effect Arguments**

According to Trump's logic, generalization is essential. All Muslims are terrorists, all illegal immigrant Mexicans are rapists and criminals, all the Americans love him, and everyone agrees

with him. Therefore, usually, he talks about his generalized personal opinions as if they are facts that no one can argue or deny. Furthermore, he builds conclusions based on his own logic to persuade people that he is true and not debatable. The Cause and effect technique is one of his logical appealing persuasive techniques that fully depend on the “Trump Logic”.

Trump used this technique basically to confirm the relationship between some of the American nation problems and their causes based on his logic and regardless of the real reasons. Despite the fact that more than one cause may be responsible for any given effect and the cause and effect discussions are often complicated, Trump used to present sophisticated and national problems and found their reasons in the 140 character tweets.

This technique was mainly used in the tweets that attempted to accuse Muslims, Mexicans and illegal immigrants of all the problems that threaten the security of the American people. By doing so, Trump tried to achieve two goals. The first one was to prove his claims of the necessity of banning Muslims from entering the U.S. (1.6 billion members of an entire religion), suspending all illegal immigrants, and building a wall. He pinned the problems of terrorism, drugs, and murder to all Muslims and all Mexican and non-Mexican illegal immigrants. The second goal was to implicate Hillary’s name indirectly.

Hillary, in her campaign, expressed her refusal of building a wall between the USA and Mexico (regardless of the fact that she voted for fencing along certain stretches of land between the border of the United States and Mexico in 2006). In one of her tweets, she described the idea of building the wall as a racist lie and “a bad idea from an even worse negotiator.” Moreover, in one of her interviews, she criticized Trump for accusing the Mexican government of actively sending the Mexican immigrants across the borders. In addition, she warned the American

people that Mexico did not and will not pay for the wall and only the American taxpayer will pay for it. After all that, Trump considered that any murder case by an illegal Mexican is because of the weakness of the borders that Hillary refuses to strengthen. The following table contains some examples about this technique.

**Table 9**

*Examples about the cause and effect technique.*

| The tweet   | The cause  | The effect                               | What should we do?   |
|---|--|--|--|
| 1) "Now that the Mexican drug lord escaped from prison, everyone is saying that most of the etc. coming into the US comes over border!"           | → We don't have strong borders.                        | → Cocaine and drugs come from Mexico.    | → We should build a strong wall to stop smuggling drugs from Mexico. |
| 2) "Hillary Clinton's open borders immigration policies will drive down wages for all Americans - and make everyone less safe."                   | → Hillary Clinton's open borders immigration policies. | → We won't be safe.                      | → We should build a strong wall to be safe.                          |
| 3) "We MUST have strong borders and stop illegal immigration. Without that we do not have a country. Also, Mexico is killing U.S. on trade. WIN!" | → Mexico and the illegal immigration.                  | → We won't have a country or good trade. | → We should build a strong wall to save our trade.                   |

#### **4.4.4 Conclusion**

Eventually, as mentioned in the literature review, social media marketing provides the direct feedback of the followers which helps the candidates to know where they are by passing journalists, whom they always distrust and dislike. Trump was able to monitor what the people are saying about him and track their interactions by offering the ability to find how many people like his tweet, mention his user name, or retweet him. The high numbers of likes means that his followers are convinced with the content of his tweets. Thus, liking Trump's tweets indicates that he succeeded in fulfilling the perlocutionary object of persuading the people who liked his tweets. In other words, proving that Trump persuaded his followers is a possible mission.

After counting the likes of all the analyzed tweets, it turned out that the average of the likes on the tweets that talked about banning Muslims (28780 likes for each tweet) and Hillary (24218 likes for each tweet) were, respectively, the highest between all the other themes. Since Trump's main goals in his campaign were to polish his image (at the expense of Hillary) and trigger the emotions of the American people, the average of the likes corresponded exactly to Trump's goals.

The tweets that talked about Muslims had the highest average of the likes, at the same time, and back to Figure 7, the emotional triggering mode appeared in 67.7% of these tweets. Moreover, 63, 3 % of the tweets that talked about tried to polish Trump's image by destroying Hillary's. Therefore, the biggest number of the likes went to the tweets that presented Trump's basic goals. In contrast, he used the logical appealing mostly in the tweets that talked about building the wall between the USA and Mexico, and these tweets got the lowest average (4213 likes for each tweet).

In addition, the tweets that got the highest numbers of likes used the representative and expressive acts. With 75% of Americans online, the American public had got most of their news from social media during the presidential campaign of 2016. Trump's representatives and expressives worked together to provide the public with tons of modified news. Most of his representatives have been endless chains of lies. One is linked to the next and goes viral to achieve the pure marketing theory of cognitive dissonance.

He had the power of creating and reducing cognitive dissonance between the Americans' beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviors to affect their decision-making process (Malhotra, 2014). For instance, after studying the Americans' behavior, the time came to shake up their existing beliefs values, and attitudes! To do so, he tweeted his unsubstantiated representatives over and over to create dissonance in the voters' minds. For example, he accused Clinton of supporting ISIS. By this accusation, Trump created a cognitive dissonance between the cognition of Hillary's supporters (Hillary supports ISIS) and their values (ISIS is a terrorist militant group that threatens the security of the USA). Thus, the decision to vote for Hillary became indecisive for her supporters.

Finally, as a confirmation of the success of Trump's marketing plan, according to a Gallup Poll tracking, "the words Americans mentioned hearing most in relation to Clinton were "email" followed by "lie," "health," "speech," "scandal" and "foundation." For Trump, "the top substantive words Americans use when reporting on Trump include 'speech,' 'president,' 'immigration,' 'Mexico,' 'convention,' 'campaign' and 'Obama.'" (As cited in Taveira, 2016).

## Chapter Five

### Conclusion and Recommendations

By using the social media platforms as a political marketing tool in the presidential campaign of 2016, Trump played a trump! He dominated twitter with his tweets against the politicians from both parties, illegal immigrants, government corruption, the press, and ISIS. His campaign proved that social media is now the best platform for campaigning. The virality feature alone helped him tremendously to spread widely with no effort or money. However, many politicians use twitter as a campaign asset but they do not succeed as Trump did! What uniquely privileged Trump campaign above all else is the pragmatic aspect.

After analyzing the tweets and answering the questions of the research, the final results reflect that Trump is just the archetypical of a white racist American: uncouth, violent, bumptious, and boastful. However, he was smart enough to gain the trust of the majority of the American people by stirring their national feelings and turning their minds to his merits and Hillary's drawbacks. He did so by using different techniques, most importantly: mudslinging, card stalking, retweeting, and using glittering generalities. To apply these techniques, he used a variety of illocutionary acts.

Trump used the directive, representative, expressive, and commissive acts. He did not adopt the traditional method of marketing and focused on the commissives. However, he focused more on the expressive and representative acts. These two acts were only a polite cover of the directive act of: vote for me. And to achieve his goal, he depended on the principle of “the ends justify the lies.” It was proven that many of his tweets were just lies. Most of them were based on his personal judgment and logic as a kind of fact. They lacked association with strong evidence. He

fabricated them just for the sake of persuasion. But after all, he succeeded in shaping the election agenda by his lies!

Despite that his victory was widely described as a "stunning upset"(Tumulty, Rucker, & Gearan, 2016), the fact that the majority of the American people voted for him is still an undeniable fact. By linking things together, we conclude that the people who voted for Trump can be divided into two groups. The first group represents the Americans who are like Trump and like Trump. The Americans who voted for Trump reflected that they share Trump the same values and dreams. They hate Muslims, want to build a wall, live the hope of the American dream, and think they are the elite of society. The second group represents the Americans who voted for Trump because he is the lesser of the two evils. Millions of Americans faced a hard choice between Hillary and Trump who were considered as unappealing candidates. Thereby, Americans voted for Trump believing that the alternative was worse (Fiorina, 2017). In either case, Trump is the winner! On the one hand, he persuaded the first group that he is the person who represents the typical values of the white Americans. On the other hand, he persuaded the second group that Clinton's resume is full of dirty scandals to avoid choosing her and choosing him instead.

Most importantly, it should be noted that the importance of this study lies in the fact that it analyzed a new type of discourse. The world of social media has become the parallel world of reality. This world is no longer limited to social entertaining discourse, but also educational, political, commercial, and other types of discourse that has new features worth of studying and analyzing. Therefore, it is recommended to study and analyze the different types of discourse that are presented on social media platforms. Nowadays, these platforms are considered as a main source of knowledge for many people. Thus, studying the social media discourse can raise

awareness among these people, especially with the raised spreading of rumors and false information on these platforms.

In addition, it would be recommended to study the characteristics of social media discourse since it has different characteristics than those found in the traditional written or spoken discourse. In other words, social media discourse should be recognized as a new genre with specific features. This The hashtagging, mentioning, retweeting, liking, reflecting, commenting, and many other features, that have specific meanings and indications, need to be studied. All of them present a direct response from the hearer or reader. This kind of response cannot be achieved in the traditional types of discourse.

Finally, the main objective of this research was to investigate how persuasion through twitter managed the success of Trump's election campaign of 2016. A highly recommended study that could be looked at in the future would be analyzing Trumps' tweets in his 2020 campaign and make a comparison between the results of the two campaigns. The aim of this comparison will be to find the fundamental differences and developments on the persuasion language and principles, if any.

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## Appendix A

### Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts

| Illocutionary acts  | Description   | Specific verbs      |   |
|---------------------|---|---------------------|---|
| <b>Commissives</b>  | statements that commit to a course of action.           | <b>Promises</b>     | Promise, swear, vow guarantee, contract<br>surrender  |
|                     |   | <b>Offers</b>       | offer, propose, volunteer, bid  |
|                     |   | <b>Threatening</b>  | threaten, menace, intimidate, impend, bluster, frighten   |
| <b>Directives</b>   | Statements that call upon the listener to do something. | <b>Requestives</b>  | Insist, ask, urge, <b>hashtagging</b><br>Invite, tell<br>Beg, beseech, implore, petition, plead, pray, request, solicit, summon, supplicate |
|                     |   | <b>Advisories</b>   | urge, warn caution admonish<br>Advise, propose recommend suggest, counsel <b>mentioning</b>   |
|                     |   | <b>Questions</b>    | ask, inquire, interrogate, query, question, quiz  |
|                     |   | <b>Requirements</b> | Charge, command, demand, direct, dictate, enjoin, instruct order, prescribe, require<br>bid   |
|                     |   | <b>Prohibitives</b> | enjoin, forbid, prohibit, proscribe, restrict)  |
|                     |   | <b>Permissives</b>  | agree to, allow, authorize, bless, consent to, dismiss, excuse, exempt, forgive, grant, license, pardon, release, sanction                  |
|                     |   | <b>Veridictives</b> | assessing, appraising, condoning  |
| <b>Declarations</b> | Statements that through their utterance perform an act. | <b>Effectives</b>   | resigning, bidding, vetoing, seconding, exempting, or bequeathing   |

|                        |   |                            |  |
|------------------------|---|----------------------------|--|
| <b>Representatives</b> | Statements that can be verified as true or false.   | <b>Assertives</b>          | affirm, allege, assert, aver, avow, deny, claim, <u>capitalization</u>   |
|                        |   |                            | Indicate, maintain, say, state, submit, propound   |
|                        |   | <b>Predictives</b>         | forecast, predict, prophesy  |
|                        |   | <b>Retrodictives</b>       | recount, report  |
|                        |   | <b>Descriptives</b>        | appraise, assess, call, categorize, characterize, classify, date, describe, diagnose, evaluate, grade, identify, portray, rank             |
|                        |   | <b>Ascriptives</b>         | ascribe, attribute, predicate  |
|                        |   | <b>Informatics</b>         | advise, apprise, disclose, inform, notify, point out, reveal, tell, testify  |
|                        |   | <b>Confirmatives</b>       | Assess, bear witness, certify<br>confirm corroborate judge<br>substantiate testify, validate verify<br>conclude diagnose, find<br>appraise |
|                        |   | <b>Concessives</b>         | acknowledge, admit, agree, allow, assent, concede, concur, confess, grant, own   |
|                        |   | <b>Retractives</b>         | deny, disavow disclaim, disown, repudiate<br>abjure, correct<br>recant, renounce, retract, take back, withdraw                             |
|                        |   | <b>Assentives</b>          | accept, agree, assent, concur  |
|                        |   | <b>Dissentives</b>         | Disagree, dissent, reject<br>differ  |
|                        |   | <b>Disputatives</b>        | Object, protest<br>question<br>Demur, dispute  |
|                        |   | <b>Responsives</b>         | answer, reply, respond, retort   |
|                        |   | <b>Suggestives</b>         | conjecture, guess, hypothesize, speculate, suggest   |
|                        |   | <b>Suppositives</b>        | assume, hypothesize, postulate, stipulate, suppose, theorize   |
| <b>Expressives</b>     | Statements that express the speaker's reactions and | <b>Challenging</b>         |  |
|                        |   | <b>Bidding</b> (bid, wish) |  |

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
|  | feelings about themselves or the world. | <b>Disapproving</b>   |
|  |   | <b>Mocking</b>  |
|  |   | <b>Deploring</b>  |
|  |   | <b>Boasting</b>   |
|  |   | <b>Complaining</b>  |
|  |   | <b>Criticizing:</b> is combination between a representative act and an expressive act.  |
|  | <b>Phatic act/expression</b>            | polite formulas, Statements that greetings, farewells, condoles, apologizes. etc. that commit to establish a rapport and a sense of solidarity between the interlocutors. |

## Appendix B

### Modes and techniques of persuasion

| <b>Mode of persuasion</b> | <b>Persuasive Techniques</b>                         | <b>How Technique Is Used</b>  | <b>Intended Effect on voters</b>  |
|---------------------------|--|---|---|
| <b>logical appealing</b>  | Citing facts (O'Hair, Stewart, & Rubenstein, 2010)   | To give credit for the original source of information or an idea.   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Having reliable and credible information leads to establishing a candidate's credibility and reliability.</li> <li>- Citing a source helps in supporting the argument of the candidate.</li> </ul> |
|                           | Statistics (O'Hair, Stewart, & Rubenstein, 2010)     | Expressing results or information in numbers (statistically based).   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Producing reliable data.</li> <li>-Drawing reasonable conclusions and arguments.</li> <li>- Using numbers provides an air of credibility.</li> </ul>  |
|                           | Examples (O'Hair, Stewart, & Rubenstein, 2010)       | Examples include specific situations or stories to help providing more general ideas.                             | -Giving good examples helps the candidates to communicate with their audience by providing them with unavoidable arguments.   |
|                           | Expert opinion                                       | A belief or judgment about something given by an expert on a subject.   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Giving further weight to their argument.</li> <li>-Adding value and trust.</li> </ul>  |
|                           | Repetition (The LDN Team,2016)                       | Using specific words, phrases, or images that are spoken over and over again.                                     | -Repetition create a kind of familiarity with the candidate's messages and leads to 'gradual agreement.'  |
|                           | Syllogism (OConnor & Seymour, 1993)                  | A deductive logical argument that joins two or more premises to have a conclusion.                                | - Syllogism provides the audience with statements or conclusions that can be true, but not valid or valid but not true.   |
|                           | Cause and effect reasoning (OConnor & Seymour, 1993) | A deductive logical argument that tends to find the relationship between two statements; one of them is the cause | - Cause and effect reasoning helps the candidate to answer the question 'why' for the audience.   |

|                             |   |  |   |
|-----------------------------|---|--|---|
|                             |   | of the other.  |   |
| <b>Emotional triggering</b> | Glittering Generalities                               | Emotionally appealing phrases that use vague words.  | -Such phrases attract general approval without questioning.   |
|                             | Engaging More   | “always on” candidates are in constant dialogue with audience.   | - Involving the audience in a deep relationship with the message of the candidate helps in building an emotional connection with the candidate.                             |
|                             | Evoking emotions                                      | Evoking certain emotions such as happiness, sadness, excitement, pity, fear, and security these are words. | - Words like love, happiness, wealth and good health make the audience feel good. Other words, such as killing, drugs, poverty and raping can make them feel very negative. |
|                             | Telling stories (Mauet, 2005)                         | These are short accounts of a real event told in the form of stories.                                      | -To give a human face to a specific issue.<br>-Their effect is often to create an emotional or sympathetic response.  |
|                             | Inclusive /exclusive language (Alidina, et al., 2018) | Using different pronouns.  | - Often used to get the audience and the candidate onside.  |
|                             | Selecting vivid, sensory words (Zimmerman, 2015)      | Using words such as: gloomy, dazzling, bright, foggy, gigantic, vibrating, soaring...etc.                  | -The words make the message seem more real.<br>-The words appeal to audience's emotions.<br>-Sensory words add flavor to any content.                                       |
| <b>Image polishing</b>      | Card Stacking   | This technique seeks to emphasizing one side of the story and repressing another.                          | -The technique is commonly used to discredit opponents and to make themselves seem more worthy.   |
|                             | Retweeting supportive and anti-opponents tweets       | Candidates retweet a popular celebrity, politician, writer, magazine...etc.,                               | -Audience transfer their respect for the celebrity, politician, writer, magazine...etc. to the candidate.   |

|                   |  |  |  |
|-------------------|--|--|--|
|                   |  | endorsing them or attacking their opponents.   |  |
| Mudslinging       | Negative campaigning that directly or indirectly accuses other candidates of bad things.                       | -Negative messages are able to capture the audience attention.   |  |
| Contrasting       | This is a comparison of two things.  | -By showing the different viewpoints, the candidate is showing that he/she is fair honest and trustworthy. |  |
| Showing Authority | This is the idea that people follow the lead of credible, knowledgeable experts that has confidence and power. | - People in positions of authority are people that others tend to respect and obey.                        |  |

## Appendix C

### List of Trump's tweets

| Numb | The tweet   | likes | retweets |
|------|---|-------|----------|
| 1.   | "Hillary Clinton Dominates the Pack in Fake Twitter Followers"  | 317   | 229      |
| 2.   | "@andrewwagner29: Its pretty clear that @realDonaldTrump would absolutely destroy HillaryClinton in a debate & i really wanna see it happen."   | 534   | 232      |
| 3.   | Who would you rather have negotiating for the U.S. against Putin, Iran, China, etc., Donald Trump or Hillary? Is there even a little doubt?   | 2.0 k | 1.2k     |
| 4.   | " @ Insuraider : @ RealDonaldTrump Is Going To Make Hillary's HEAD a spin Tomorrow Morning. The Presidential Debate? Ja, Please. # Trump2016 "  | 63    | 30       |
| 5.   | I had thousands joined me in New Hampshire last night! @ HillaryClinton had 68. The # SilentMajority is fed up with what is going on in America!  | 1.0 k | 1.7k     |
| 6.   | " @ Britinnv @ RealDonaldTrump Would The People Of ... US Prefer of a Liar @ HillaryClinton Or of a man 's That Speaks The Truth And Facts !! No. Brainer Hey!"                               | 1.3 k | 813      |
| 7.   | HILLARY PRESIDENCY WILL CAUSE CRIME WAVE LIKE YOU'VE NEVER SEEN   | 716   | 411      |
| 8.   | "@jp_sitles: @ RealDonaldTrump HillaryClinton: She Compared To Republicans Terrorist But Not Call is on Terrorists, Terrorists. # OhMe "  | 4.2 k | 2.7k     |
| 9.   | Do you notice that Hillary spews out Jeb's name as often as possible in order to give him status? She knows Trump is her worst nightmare.   | 2.6 k | 1.1 k    |
| 10.  | Many of Hillary's donors are the same donors as Jeb Bush's—all rich, will have total control—know them well.  | 1.4 k | 1.4 k    |
| 11.  | "@jimlibertarian: @Dan__Crocker @foxandfriends Donald Trump is full of honesty and sincerity on the other hand Hillary is a total liar "  | 922   | 416      |
| 12.  | "@Dan__Crocker: @foxandfriends Trump opens his mouth, his numbers go up. When Hillary does it, hers go down. Must be something to it."  | 3.8 k | 708      |
| 13.  | It came out that Huma Abedin knows all about Hillary's private illegal emails. Huma's PR husband, Anthony Weiner, will tell the world.  | 1.4 k | 7.1 k    |
| 14.  | Just remember, the birther movement was started by Hillary Clinton in 2008. She was all in!   | 3.1 k | 2.4 k    |
| 15.  | "@Dis_labeledVet: @realDonaldTrump here is a Clinton insider who admitted Hillary started the whole Obama's a Muslim Heilemann Confirms: It Was Hillary Who Started Rumor Obama Not Christian | 2.1 k | 1.1 k    |

|     |   |       |       |
|-----|---|-------|-------|
| 16. | Our country needs a president with great leadership skills and vision, not someone like Hillary or Barack, neither of which has a clue!   | 3.2 k | 3.2 k |
| 17. | Remember that I am self-funding my campaign. Hillary, Jeb and the rest are spending special interest and lobbyist money.100% CONTROLLED   | 4.1 k | 1.9 k |
| 18. | Hillary said such nasty things about me, read directly off her teleprompter...but there was no emotion, no truth. Just can't read speeches!   | 5.9 k | 2.6 k |
| 19. | Hillary Clinton made a speech today using the biggest teleprompter I have ever seen. In fact, it wasn't even see through glass, it was black  | 6.8 k | 2.1 k |
| 20. | "@PressTV: Poll: Trump beats Clinton head-to-head matchup<br>Thank you!"  | 2.0 k | 1.6 k |
| 21. | Black Lives Matter protesters totally disrupt Hillary Clinton event. She looked lost. This is not what we need with ISIS, CHINA, RUSSIA etc.  | 1.7 k | 2.1 k |
| 22. | "@JackDix03868724: Arizona polls for Democrats only say they would prefer Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton 60%"  | 1.3 k | 868   |
| 23. | "@hoosierclinger: Good job @realDonaldTrump for badgering Ford. Why didnt POTUS or Hillary care about those UAW jobs in Ohio?"  | 2.9 k | 1.1 k |
| 24. | "@curtismuddog: @ByronYork Latest Poll shows Donald Trump winning 70% of Electoral Vote Against Hillary Clinton!<br><a href="http://powderedwigisociety.com/Trump-kills-hitlery-in-head-to-head-matchup/# ...">http://powderedwigisociety.com/Trump-kills-hitlery-in-head-to-head-matchup/# ...</a> " | 4.4 k | 1.7 k |
| 25. | "@HankCampbell: Democrats seem to be more interested in Donald Trump than Hillary Clinton."   | 1.2 k | 1.1 k |
| 26. | "@toddinwichita<br>Hillary is doing a HORRIBLE job at #BenghaziHearings reading from the script. #pathetic . She is no leader"  | 2.1k  | 2.4 k |
| 27. | I think Joe Biden made correct decision for him & his family. Personally, I would rather run against Hillary because her record is so bad.  | 2.6 k | 5.2 k |
| 28. | "@dce examiner: Rasmussen: @realDonaldTrump now beats @HillaryClinton 38%-36% nationally  | 2.4 k | 1.1 k |
| 29. | @HillaryClinton is on the front page of the @nytimes waving to 200 people in New Hampshire. My crowd next door was 5,000 people – no pic!   | 2.0 k | 2.9 k |
| 30. | The debate last night proved that Hillary is running against the "B" team. She won't be so lucky when it comes to me!   | 9.9 k | 2.7 k |
| 31. | Like her or not, Hillary did what she had to do in the debate last night—get through it. Her opponents were very gentle and soft!   | 3.1 k | 1.1 k |
| 32. | Hillary, there is nothing to laugh about- <a href="https://instagram.com/p/-bz5HWGhXZ/">https://instagram.com/p/-bz5HWGhXZ/</a>   | 3.6 k | 1.8 k |
| 33. | Hillary Clinton is weak on illegal immigration, among many  | 12 k  | 6.1 k |

|     |  |       |       |
|-----|--|-------|-------|
|     | other things. She is strong on corruption - corruption is what she's best at!  |       |       |
| 34. | Great poll numbers all over and beating Hillary Clinton one on one. Thank you!   | 6.9 k | 2.3 k |
| 35. | @HillaryClinton is weak on illegal immigration & totally incompetent as a manager and leader - no strength or stamina to be #POTUS!          | 4.6 k | 2.1 k |
| 36. | "@davenorthYV: Does anybody ever realize that HillaryClinton doesn't make eye contact with anyone, even the camera. That's a sign of lying"  | 5.2 k | 2.0 k |
| 37. | "@curtismuddog: @limbaugh @seanhannity @realDonaldTrump is Hillary's worst nightmare! Just take a look at Illinois rally last night."        | 2.9 k | 880   |
| 38. | "@NickEgoroff: BREAKING: Latest poll of Florida voters shows enormous lead for Trump! He'd beat Hillary!"                                    | 2.0 k | 1.0 k |
| 39. | While in politics it is often smart to send out false messages, one thing is clear: That Hillary does not want to run against TRUMP.         | 1.2 k | 2.1 k |
| 40. | If Hillary thinks she can unleash her husband, with his terrible record of women abuse, while playing the women's card on me, she's wrong!   | 14 k  | 6.2 k |
| 41. | I will do far more for women than Hillary, and I will keep our country safe, something which she will not be able to do-no strength/stamina! | 10 k  | 3.8 k |
| 42. | Hillary Clinton has announced that she is letting her husband out to campaign but HE'S DEMONSTRATED A PENCHANT FOR SEXISM, so inappropriate! | 9.6 k | 4.1 k |
| 43. | I will beat Hillary!   | 5.6 k | 1.6 k |
| 44. | Next year will be an interesting one. I look forward to running against Hillary Clinton, a totally flawed candidate, and beating her soundly | 18 k  | 8.8 k |
| 45. | "@ihatematt: @realDonaldTrump why is Hillary even allowed to run... She's a criminal."   | 7.4 k | 2.8 k |
| 46. | Hillary said "I really deplore the tone and inflammatory rhetoric of his campaign." I deplore the death and destruction she caused-stupidity | 12 k  | 5.4 k |
| 47. | Hillary, when you complain about "a penchant for sexism," who are you referring to. I have great respect for women. BE CAREFUL!              | 10 k  | 4.5 k |
| 48. | The Hillary Clinton staged event yesterday was pathetic. Be careful Hillary as you play the war on women or women being degraded card.       | 6.9 k | 3.1 k |
| 49. | Do you think that Hillary Clinton will apologize to me for the lie she told about "the video" of me being used by ISIS. There is no video.   | 7.7 k | 2.9 k |
| 50. | Hillary said with respect to ISIS, "we are finally where we need to be." Do we want 4 more years of incompetent leadership?                  | 6.4 k | 2.7 k |

|     |  |       |       |
|-----|--|-------|-------|
|     | MAGA!  |       |       |
| 51. | It was really strange when Hillary was missing from the podium last night. Not very presidential!  | 7.2 k | 2.6 k |
| 52. | Hillary Clinton spokesperson admitted that their was no ISIS video of me. Therefore, Hillary LIED at the debate last night. SAD!             | 11 k  | 5.4 k |
| 53. | We need a #POTUS with great strength & stamina. Hillary does not have that. #Trump2016   | 5.2 k | 2.5 k |
| 54. | Hillary Clinton lied when she said that "ISIS is using video of Donald Trump as a recruiting tool." This was fact checked by @FoxNews: FALSE | 8.7 k | 4.3 k |
| 55. | @jonkarl was totally misled, and he fell for it, that Hillary wants to run against me. She knows that I am her worst nightmare-Jon doesn't!  | 3.2 k | 1.1 k |
| 56. | Hillary Clinton is weak and ineffective - no strength, no stamina.   | 12 k  | 5.5 k |
| 57. | "@DonaldTrumpFink: .@GovMikeHuckabee: If Donald becomes president, he will do a whole lot more to protect us than Hillary will." #GOPDebate  | 4.1 k | 1.5 k |
| 58. | @Peggynoonannyc Interesting article, but I will beat Hillary easily. People that have given up on the system will come out to vote for me!   | 3.6 k | 1.3 k |
| 59. | " Haim Saban: Hillary Clinton's Top Hollywood Donor Demands Racial Profiling of Muslims"   | 3.2 k | 2.0 k |
| 60. | Hillary Clinton does not have the STRENGTH or STAMINA to be President. We need strong and super smart for our next leader - or trouble!      | 10 k  | 3.5 k |
| 61. | The last person corrupt Hillary Clinton wants to run against is Donald J. Trump. I'll end up beating her in every state. New Fox Poll-Trump! | 8.5 k | 2.4 k |
| 62. | Hillary won't call out radical Islam! She will be soundly defeated.  | 6.8 k | 2.4 k |
| 63. | I beat Hillary in the new @FoxNews Poll head to head. SHE HAS NO STRENGTH OR STAMINA, both of which are needed to MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!  | 1.6 k | 2.1 k |
| 64. | Hillary Clinton is a major national security risk. Not presidential material!  | 18 k  | 8.3 k |
| 65. | The new e-mail release is a disaster for Hillary Clinton. At a minimum, how can someone with such bad judgement be our next president?       | 12 k  | 5.0 k |
| 66. | "@Tuggers56: @PMgeezer Hillary is so afraid of him. The GOP is afraid of him. The American people embrace him! Let's elect him, DonaldTrump  | 3.7 k | 1.2 k |
| 67. | Numerous polls have me beating Hillary Clinton. In a race with her, voter turnout will be the highest in U.S. history-I get most new voters! | 8.0 k | 2.6 k |
| 68. | I easily beat Hillary Clinton - and I havn't even focused on her   | 7.7 k | 2.9 k |

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|     | yet. On our way: MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!  |       |       |
| 69. | @realDonaldTrump Women make up the fastest growing market in gun sales. And Hillary wants to take those rights away from women!"            | 6.1 k | 2.9 k |
| 70. | By the way, Hillary & the MSM forgot to mention that Hillary is in the Al-Shabaab terror video.   | 6.3 k | 3.8 k |
| 71. | Hillary said that guns don't keep you safe. If she really believes that she should demand that her heavily armed bodyguards quickly disarm! | 30 k  | 16 k  |
| 72. | Al-Shabbab, not ISIS, just made a video on me - they all will as front-runner & if I speak out against them, which I must. Hillary lied!    | 6.0 k | 2.5 k |
| 73. | Hillary Clinton lied last week when she said ISIS made a D.T. video. The video that ISIS made was about her husband being a degenerate.     | 9.2 k | 4.2 k |
| 74. | Hillary Clinton doesn't have the strength or stamina to be president. Jeb Bush is a low energy individual, but Hillary is not much better!  | 6.1 k | 2.2 k |
| 75. | Hillary Clinton said that it is O.K. to ban Muslims from Israel by building a WALL, but not O.K. to do so in the U.S. We must be vigilant!  | 13 k  | 7.2 k |
| 76. | The person that Hillary Clinton least wants to run against is, by far, me. It will be the largest voter turnout ever - she will be swamped! | 9.4 k | 3.5 k |
| 77. | "@jallenaip: Hillary said she was in a "Fog of War" as explanation for the lies about Benghazi. No fog allowed in WH. Vote Trump POTUS!"    | 6.9 k | 2.5 k |
| 78. | "Hillary could lose to Trump in Democratic New York"  | 9.7 k | 4.0 k |
| 79. | @USATODAY Poll and @QuinnipiacPoll say that I beat both Hillary and Bernie, and I havn't even started on them yet!                          | 9.3 k | 3.6 k |
| 80. | The just out USA Today National Poll, where I lead by big numbers, shows that in a head to head matchup, I beat both Hillary and Bernie.    | 9.7 k | 3.9 k |
| 81. | Don't believe the @FoxNews Polls, they are just another phony hit job on me. I will beat Hillary Clinton easily in the General Election.    | 12 k  | 8.4 k |
| 82. | Just watched Hillary deliver a prepackaged speech on terror. She's been in office fighting terror for 20 years- and look where we are!      | 28 k  | 10 k  |
| 83. | Incompetent Hillary, despite the horrible attack in Brussels today, wants borders to be weak and open-and let the Muslims flow in. No way!  | 23 k  | 12 k  |
| 84. | Hillary Clinton has been involved in corruption for most of her professional life!  | 17 k  | 13 k  |
| 85. | In presidential voting so far, John Kasich is ZERO for 22. So why would he be a good candidate? Hillary would beat him, I will beat         | 18 k  | 4.3 k |

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|      | Hillary!   |      |       |
| 86.  | The last person that Hillary or Bernie want to run against is Donald Trump --- and that is fact!   | 27 k | 6.8 k |
| 87.  | I am the only one who can beat Hillary Clinton. I am not a Mitt Romney, who doesn't know how to win. Hillary wants no part of "Trump"        | 11 k | 8.8 k |
| 88.  | Crooked Hillary Clinton, perhaps the most dishonest person to have ever run for the presidency, is also one of the all time great enablers!  | 24 k | 9.4 k |
| 89.  | Ted Cruz is mathematically out of winning the race. Now all he can do is be a spoiler, never a nice thing to do. <u>I will beat Hillary!</u> | 23 k | 9.2 k |
| 90.  | Crooked Hillary Clinton is spending a fortune on ads against me. I am the one person she doesn't want to run against. Will be such fun!      | 16 k | 8.6 k |
| 91.  | Bernie Sanders says that Hillary Clinton is unqualified to be president. Based on her decision making ability, I can go along with that!     | 15 k | 9.6 k |
| 92.  | I would have had millions of votes more in the primaries (than Crooked Hillary) if I only had one opponent, instead of sixteen. Broke record | 17 k | 4.6 k |
| 93.  | The failing @nytimes wrote a story about my management style & that I don't have many people. I have 73, Hillary has 800- & I'm beating her. | 15 k | 4.8 k |
| 94.  | The Inspector General's report on Crooked Hillary Clinton is a disaster. Such bad judgement and temperament cannot be allowed in the W.H.    | 20 k | 7.2 k |
| 95.  | Crooked Hillary Clinton just can't close the deal with Bernie. I had to knock out 16 very good and smart candidates. Hillary doesn't have it | 22 k | 7.0 k |
| 96.  | A great new book has been written about Crooked Hillary. Read it & you will never be able to vote for her. @Ed_Klein                         | 12 k | 6.0 k |
| 97.  | Crooked Hillary Clinton overregulates, overtaxes and doesn't care about jobs. Most importantly, she suffers from plain old bad judgement!    | 18 k | 6.3 k |
| 98.  | Hillary says VA problems are not 'widespread.' I will take care of our vets!   | 20 k | 6.9 k |
| 99.  | Crooked Hillary wants a radical 500% increase in Syrian refugees. We can't allow this. Time to get smart and protect America!                | 22 k | 9.0 k |
| 100. | How can Crooked Hillary say she cares about women when she is silent on radical Islam, which horribly oppresses women?                       | 26 k | 12 k  |
| 101. | Hillary Clinton is not qualified to be president because her judgement has been proven to be so bad! Would be four more years of stupidity!  | 29 k | 10 k  |
| 102. | Crooked Hillary wants to get rid of all guns and yet she is surrounded by bodyguards who are fully armed. No more guns to                    | 37 k | 15 k  |

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|      | protect Hillary!  |      |       |
| 103. | Crooked Hillary is spending tremendous amounts of Wall Street money on false ads against me. She is a very dishonest person!                    | 19 k | 6.4 k |
| 104. | Crooked Hillary Clinton wants to essentially abolish the 2nd Amendment. No gun owner can ever vote for Clinton!                                 | 19 k | 7.7 k |
| 105. | Crooked Hillary can't even close the deal with Bernie - and the Dems have it rigged in favor of Hillary. Four more years of this? No way!       | 19 k | 5.8 k |
| 106. | Crooked Hillary Clinton looks presidential? I don't think so! Four more years of Obama and our country will never come back. ISIS LAUGHS!       | 17 k | 5.7 k |
| 107. | Look where the world is today, a total mess, and ISIS is still running around wild. I can fix it fast, Hillary has no chance!                   | 16 k | 5.5 k |
| 108. | Crooked Hillary has zero imagination and even less stamina. ISIS, China, Russia and all would love for her to be president. 4 more years!       | 13 k | 4.4 k |
| 109. | I said that Crooked Hillary Clinton is "not qualified" to be president because she has "very bad judgement" - Bernie said the same thing!       | 16 k | 5.0 k |
| 110. | I look so forward to debating Crooked Hillary Clinton!  | 20 k | 7.3 k |
| 111. | Do you think Crooked Hillary will finally close the deal? If she can't win Kentucky, she should drop out of race. System rigged!                | 11 k | 3.4 k |
| 112. | How can Crooked Hillary put her husband in charge of the economy when he was responsible for NAFTA, the worst economic deal in U.S. history?    | 21 k | 7.8 k |
| 113. | Crooked Hillary said her husband is going to be in charge of the economy. If so, he should run, not her. Will he bring the "energizer" to D.C.? | 13 k | 4.9 k |
| 114. | Crooked Hillary can't close the deal with Bernie Sanders. Will be another bad day for her!  | 11 k | 3.4 k |
| 115. | Amazing that Crooked Hillary can do a hit ad on me concerning women when her husband was the WORST abuser of woman in U.S. political history    | 34 k | 14 k  |
| 116. | Crooked Hillary Clinton put out an ad where I am misquoted on women. Can't believe she would misrepresent the facts! My hit was on China        | 11 k | 3.4 k |
| 117. | Wow, 30,000 e-mails were deleted by Crooked Hillary Clinton. She said they had to do with a wedding reception. Liar! How can she run?           | 20 k | 7.8 k |
| 118. | If Crooked Hillary Clinton can't close the deal on Crazy Bernie, how is she going to take on China, Russia, ISIS and all of the others?         | 30 k | 11 k  |
| 119. | Big wins in West Virginia and Nebraska. Get ready for November - Crooked Hillary, who is looking very bad against Crazy Bernie, will lose!      | 17 k | 5.2 k |

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| 120. | The Clintons spend millions on negative ads on me & I can't tell the truth about her husband? Don't feel sorry for crooked Hillary!  | 27 k | 9.9 k |
| 121. | If I only had 1 person running against me in the primaries like Hillary Clinton, I would have gotten 10 million more votes than she did!   | 15 k | 4.5 k |
| 122. | Crooked Hillary Clinton says that she got more primary votes than Donald Trump. But I had 17 people to beat—she had one!   | 17 k | 5.5 k |
| 123. | Crooked Hillary just can't close the deal with Bernie. It will be the same way with ISIS, and China on trade, and Mexico at the border. Bad!   | 23 k | 8.2 k |
| 124. | I am going to keep our jobs in the U.S., and totally rebuild our crumbling infrastructure. Crooked Hillary has no clue!<br>@Teamsters  | 18 k | 6.2 k |
| 125. | Crooked Hillary Clinton wants completely open borders. Millions of Democrats will run from her over this and support me.   | 21 k | 7.8 k |
| 126. | I hope corrupt Hillary Clinton chooses goofy Elizabeth Warren as her running mate. I will defeat them both.  | 23 k | 7.7 k |
| 127. | Crooked Hillary has ZERO leadership ability. As Bernie Sanders says, she has bad judgement. Constantly playing the women's card - it is sad!   | 27 k | 9.4 k |
| 128. | Unlike crooked Hillary Clinton, who wants to destroy all miners, I want wages to go up in America. We will do so by bringing back jobs!  | 20 k | 6.6 k |
| 129. | Can you believe Crooked Hillary said, "We are going to put a whole lot of coal miners&coal companies out of business." She then apologized.  | 25 k | 9.2 k |
| 130. | What a great evening we had. So interesting that Sanders beat Crooked Hillary. The dysfunctional system is totally rigged against him!   | 23 k | 7.3 k |
| 131. | I will defeat Crooked Hillary Clinton on 11/8/2016.  | 26 k | 10 k  |
| 132. | One of the reasons Hillary hid her emails was so the public wouldn't see how she got rich- selling out America.<br><a href="http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/U/US_CLINTON_EMAILS?SITE=AP&amp;SECTION=HOME&amp;TEMPLATE=DEFAULT&amp;CTIME=2016-06-29-17-38-07 ...">http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/U/US_CLINTON_EMAILS?SITE=AP&amp;SECTION=HOME&amp;TEMPLATE=DEFAULT&amp;CTIME=2016-06-29-17-38-07 ...</a> | 16 k | 7.2 k |
| 133. | Why would college graduates want Crooked Hillary as their President? She will destroy them!  | 11 k | 4.6 k |
| 134. | ISIS exploded on Hillary Clinton's watch- she's done nothing about it and never will. Not capable!   | 24 k | 9.2 k |
| 135. | Hillary Clinton's Presidency would be catastrophic for the future of our country. She is ill-fit with bad judgment.  | 24 k | 8.5 k |
| 136. | "@brazosboys: Hillary read "sigh" off the Teleprompter, She's so fake she has to be told how to feel:<br><a href="https://youtu.be/iYUQtxXZPsk">https://youtu.be/iYUQtxXZPsk</a> @FoxNews  | 18 k | 8.4 k |
| 137. | Hillary Clinton is not a change agent, just the same old status quo! She is spending a fortune, I am spending very little. Close in  | 16 k | 5.4 k |

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|      | polls!  |      |       |
| 138. | People in our country want borders, and without them the old line pols like Crooked Hillary will not win. It is time for CHANGE -- and JOBS!  | 17 k | 6.1 k |
| 139. | The story with Hillary will never change.   | 15 k | 5.5 k |
| 140. | "@Gengm7: @jakeda @realDonaldTrump As of April this year, Hillary had spent \$264,000,000 on her campaign Mr.Trump \$55,000,000. self funding"  | 13 k | 5.5 k |
| 141. | Crooked Hillary Attacks Foreign Government Donations - While Ignoring Her Own:<br><a href="https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump/posts/10157225458500725:0">https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump/posts/10157225458500725:0 ...</a> | 14 k | 4.0 k |
| 142. | Crooked Hillary just took a major ad of me playing golf at Turnberry. Shows me hitting shot, but I never did = lie! Was there to support son  | 13 k | 6.7 k |
| 143. | Crooked Hillary Clinton, who called BREXIT 100% wrong (along with Obama), is now spending Wall Street money on an ad on my correct call.  | 16 k | 6.9 k |
| 144. | So funny, Crooked Hillary called BREXIT so incorrectly, and now she says that she is the one to deal with the U.K. All talk, no action!   | 31 k | 7.8 k |
| 145. | Crooked Hillary called it totally wrong on BREXIT - she went with Obama - and now she is saying we need her to lead. She would be a disaster  | 26 k | 9.5 k |
| 146. | ISIS threatens us today because of the decisions Hillary Clinton has made along with President Obama." -- Donald J. Trump   | 22 k | 8.5 k |
| 147. | "Hillary Clinton may be the most corrupt person ever to seek the presidency." -- Donald J. Trump  | 23 k | 9.0 k |
| 148. | Hillary says things can't change. I say they have to change. It's a choice between Americanism and her corrupt globalism.<br>#Imwithyou   | 25 k | 14 k  |
| 149. | Crooked Hillary refuses to say that she will be raising taxes beyond belief! She will be a disaster for jobs and the economy!   | 33 k | 9.0 k |
| 150. | Hillary defrauded America as Secy of State. She used it as a personal hedge fund to get herself rich! Corrupt, dangerous, dishonest.  | 26 k | 13 k  |
| 151. | Hillary took money and did favors for regimes that enslave women and murder gays.   | 23 k | 13 k  |
| 152. | Hillary Clinton's open borders immigration policies will drive down wages for all Americans - and make everyone less safe.  | 14 k | 8.2 k |
| 153. | How can Hillary run the economy when she can't even send emails without putting entire nation at risk?  | 21 k | 17 k  |
| 154. | Hillary says this election is about judgment. She's right. Her judgement has killed thousands, unleashed ISIS and wrecked the economy.  | 36 k | 16 k  |
| 155. | I will be making a big speech tomorrow to discuss the failed  | 36 k | 8.3 k |

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|      | policies and bad judgment of Crooked Hillary Clinton.  |       |       |
| 156. | Crooked Hillary Clinton is totally unfit to be our president-really bad judgement and a temperament, according to new book, which is a mess! | 25 k  | 7.6 k |
| 157. | People very unhappy with Crooked Hillary and Obama on JOBS and SAFETY! Biggest trade deficit in many years! More attacks will follow Orlando | 23 k  | 6.7 k |
| 158. | Thank you to the LGBT community! I will fight for you while Hillary brings in more people that will threaten your freedoms and beliefs.      | 13 k  | 33 k  |
| 159. | I have been hitting Crooked Hillary hard on not using the term Radical Islamic Terror. Hillary just broke-said she would now use!            | 39 k  | 8.8 k |
| 160. | "@WandaWalls20: @realDonaldTrump Please make us safe. We cannot have Hillary as president. We will be in so much trouble.                    | 29 k  | 8.6 k |
| 161. | I rarely agree with President Obama- however he is 100% correct about Crooked Hillary Clinton. Great ad!                                     | 31 k  | 23 k  |
| 162. | Crooked Hillary Clinton will be a disaster on jobs, the economy, trade, healthcare, the military, guns and just about all else. Obama plus!  | 275 k | 11 k  |
| 163. | Bernie Sanders must really dislike Crooked Hillary after the way she played him. Many of his supporters, because of trade, will come to me.  | 77 k  | 6.6 k |
| 164. | I would have had many millions of votes more than Crooked Hillary Clinton except for the fact that I had 16 opponents, she had one!          | 31 k  | 5.4 k |
| 165. | In just out book, Secret Service Agent Gary Byrne doesn't believe that Crooked Hillary has the temperament or integrity to be the president! | 20 k  | 7.4 k |
| 166. | A former Secret Service Agent for President Clinton excoriates Crooked Hillary describing her as ERRATIC & VIOLENT. Bad temperament for pres | 17 k  | 8.1 k |
| 167. | Crooked Hillary is being badly criticized (for a Wall Street paid for ad) by PolitiFact for a false ad on me on women. She is a total fraud! | 12 k  | 4.4 k |
| 168. | Crooked Hillary Clinton has not held a news conference in more than 7 months. Her record is so bad she is unable to answer tough questions!  | 34 k  | 7.3 k |
| 169. | Hillary Clinton is unfit to be president. She has bad judgement, poor leadership skills and a very bad and destructive track record. Change! | 13 k  | 10 k  |
| 170. | In Crooked Hillary's teleprompter speech yesterday, she made up things that I said or believe but have no basis in fact. Not honest!         | 43 k  | 5.0 k |
| 171. | Bad performance by Crooked Hillary Clinton! Reading poorly from the teleprompter! She doesn't even look presidential!                        | 12 k  | 7.2 k |
| 172. | Crooked Hillary no longer has credibility - too much failure in  | 12 k  | 6.3 k |

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|      | office. People will not allow another four years of incompetence!  |      |       |
| 173. | With all of the Crooked Hillary Clinton's foreign policy experience, she has made so many mistakes - and I mean real monsters!                 | 22 k | 3.7 k |
| 174. | Bernie Sanders was right when he said that Crooked Hillary Clinton was not qualified to be president because she suffers from BAD judgement!   | 14 k | 4.9 k |
| 175. | Crooked Hillary Clinton has zero natural talent - she should not be president. Her temperament is bad and her decision making ability-zilch!   | 11 k | 4.9 k |
| 176. | Crooked Hillary Clinton is a fraud who has put the public and country at risk by her illegal and very stupid use of e-mails. Many missing!     | 16 k | 9.0 k |
| 177. | I was viciously attacked by Mr. Khan at the Democratic Convention. Am I not allowed to respond? <u>Hillary voted for the Iraq war, not me!</u> | 52 k | 17 k  |
| 178. | Crooked Hillary Clinton is soft on crime, supports open borders, and wants massive tax hikes. A formula for disaster!                          | 26 k | 8.8 k |
| 179. | We are suffering through the worst long-term unemployment in the last 70 years. I want change - Crooked Hillary Clinton does not.              | 26 k | 8.6 k |
| 180. | "@RealJamesWoods: Without absolutely OWNING the liberal media, HillaryClinton wouldn't stand a chance. #VoterFraud and #MSM her only hope."    | 33 k | 13 k  |
| 181. | Word is that Crooked Hillary has very small and unenthusiastic crowds in Pennsylvania. Perhaps it is because her husband signed NAFTA?         | 25 k | 7.8 k |
| 182. | Hillary can never win over Bernie supporters. Her foreign wars, NAFTA/TPP support & Wall Street ties are driving away millions of votes.       | 23 k | 7.5 k |
| 183. | I am watching Crooked Hillary speak. Same old stuff, our country needs change!   | 23 k | 6.2 k |
| 184. | In Hillary Clinton's America - things get worse. #TrumpPence16   | 24 k | 12 k  |
| 185. | Crooked Hillary said that I "couldn't handle the rough and tumble of a political campaign." Really, I just beat 16 people and am beating her!  | 50 k | 16 k  |
| 186. | Crooked Hillary Clinton mentioned me 22 times in her very long and very boring speech. Many of her statements were lies and fabrications!      | 31 k | 8.8 k |
| 187. | No one has worse judgement than Hillary Clinton - corruption and devastation follows her wherever she goes.                                    | 46 k | 16 k  |
| 188. | Hillary's vision is a borderless world where working people have no power, no jobs, no safety.   | 40 k | 15 k  |
| 189. | Hillary will never reform Wall Street. She is owned by Wall Street!  | 40 k | 15 k  |
| 190. | Our way of life is under threat by Radical Islam and Hillary   | 40 k | 14 k  |

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|      | Clinton cannot even bring herself to say the words.  |      |       |
| 191. | Hillary's refusal to mention Radical Islam, as she pushes a 550% increase in refugees, is more proof that she is unfit to lead the country.  | 48 k | 18 k  |
| 192. | If Russia or any other country or person has Hillary Clinton's 33,000 illegally deleted emails, perhaps they should share them with the FBI! | 58 k | 23 k  |
| 193. | Crooked Hillary Clinton wants to flood our country with Syrian immigrants that we know little or nothing about. The danger is massive. NO!   | 49 k | 15 k  |
| 194. | Great POLL numbers are coming out all over. People don't want another four years of Obama, and Crooked Hillary would be even worse. #MAGA    | 33 k | 9.5 k |
| 195. | Here we go again with another Clinton scandal, and e-mails yet (can you believe). Crooked Hillary knew the fix was in, B never had a chance! | 28 k | 8.6 k |
| 196. | Watched Crooked Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine on 60 Minutes. No way they are going to fix America's problems. ISIS & all others laughing!    | 30 k | 9.1 k |
| 197. | Crooked Hillary Clinton has destroyed jobs and manufacturing in Pennsylvania. Against steelworkers and miners. Husband signed NAFTA.         | 24 k | 8.3 k |
| 198. | It doesn't matter that Crooked Hillary has experience, look at all of the bad decisions she has made. Bernie said she has bad judgement!     | 20 k | 5.8 k |
| 199. | Crooked Hillary Clinton is bought and paid for by Wall Street, lobbyists and special interests. She will sell our country down the tubes!    | 25 k | 8.4 k |
| 200. | Crooked Hillary, who embarrassed herself and the country with her e-mail lies, has been a DISASTER on foreign policy. Look what's happening! | 23 k | 7.5 k |
| 201. | Crooked Hillary is spending big Wall Street money on ads saying I don't have foreign policy experience, yet look what her policies have done | 24 k | 8.3 k |
| 202. | Four more years of weakness with a Crooked Hillary Administration is not acceptable. Look what has happened to the world with O & Hillary!   | 29 k | 10 k  |
| 203. | Voters understand that Crooked Hillary's negative ads are not true- just like her email lies and her other fraudulent activity.              | 22 k | 7.4 k |
| 204. | Thank you Florida, Ohio, and Pennsylvania! #CrookedHillary is not qualified. #ImWithYou  | 27 k | 10 k  |
| 205. | The American people agree. No free pass for #CrookedHillary!   | 22 k | 9.9 k |
| 206. | Bernie Sanders endorsing Crooked Hillary Clinton is like Occupy Wall Street endorsing Goldman Sachs.   | 45 k | 32 k  |
| 207. | Look what is happening to our country under the WEAK leadership of Obama and people like Crooked Hillary Clinton.                            | 50 k | 17 k  |

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|      | We are a divided nation!   |      |       |
| 208. | Isn't it sad that on a day of national tragedy Hillary Clinton is answering softball questions about her email lies on @CNN?                 | 38 k | 12 k  |
| 209. | After today, Crooked Hillary can officially be called Lyin' Crooked Hillary.   | 49 k | 18 k  |
| 210. | To all of my twitter followers, please contribute whatever you can to the campaign. We must beat Crooked Hillary.                            | 22 k | 8.8 k |
| 211. | Crooked Hillary Clinton lied to the FBI and to the people of our country. She is sooooo guilty. But watch, her time will come!               | 28 k | 11 k  |
| 212. | Crooked Hillary has once again been proven to be a person who is dishonest, incompetent and of very bad judgement.                           | 22 k | 7.8 k |
| 213. | Crooked Hillary Clinton and her team "were extremely careless in their handling of very sensitive, highly classified information." Not fit!  | 24 k | 13 k  |
| 214. | Crooked Hillary Clinton is unfit to serve as President of the U.S. Her temperament is weak and her opponents are strong. BAD JUDGEMENT!      | 24 k | 7.7 k |
| 215. | I don't think the voters will forget the rigged system that allowed Crooked Hillary to get away with "murder." Come November 8, she's out!   | 34 k | 12 k  |
| 216. | FBI director said Crooked Hillary compromised our national security. No charges. Wow! #RiggedSystem  | 71 k | 36 k  |
| 217. | Why is President Obama allowed to use Air Force One on the campaign trail with Crooked Hillary? She is flying with him tomorrow. Who pays?   | 51 k | 20 k  |
| 218. | With Hillary and Obama, the terrorist attacks will only get worse. Politically correct fools, won't even call it what it is - RADICAL ISLAM! | 30 k | 11 k  |
| 219. | Crooked Hillary Clinton is "guilty as hell" but the system is totally rigged and corrupt!  | 26 k | 9.8 k |
| 220. | Crooked Hillary Clinton knew that her husband wanted to meet with the U.S.A.G. to work out a deal. The system is totally rigged & corrupt!   | 22 k | 8.0 k |
| 221. | Only a fool would believe that the meeting between Bill Clinton and the U.S.A.G. was not arranged or that Crooked Hillary did not know.      | 26 k | 9.3 k |
| 222. | It was just announced-by sources-that no charges will be brought against Crooked Hillary Clinton. Like I said, the system is totally rigged! | 45 k | 19 k  |
| 223. | It is impossible for the FBI not to recommend criminal charges against Hillary Clinton. What she did was wrong! What Bill did was stupid!    | 33 k | 12 k  |
| 224. | As Bernie Sanders said, Hillary Clinton has bad judgement. Bill's meeting was probably initiated and demanded by Hillary!                    | 16 k | 5.5 k |
| 225. | Now that African-Americans are seeing what a bad job Hillary type policy and management has done to the inner-cities, they                   | 25 k | 8.2 k |

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|      | want TRUMP!   |      |       |
| 226. | Crooked Hillary's brainpower is highly overrated. Probably why her decision making is so bad or, as stated by Bernie S, she has BAD JUDGEMENT | 20 k | 6.5 k |
| 227. | Does anyone know that Crooked Hillary, who tried so hard, was unable to pass the Bar Exams in Washington D.C. She was forced to go elsewhere  | 28 k | 9.9 k |
| 228. | I think that both candidates, Crooked Hillary and myself, should release detailed medical records. I have no problem in doing so! Hillary?    | 47 k | 18 k  |
| 229. | "@DiamondandSilk: Crooked Hillary getting desperate. On TV bashing Trump. @CNN, she forgot how she said a KKK member was her mentor.          | 19 k | 8.4 k |
| 230. | Meet the 'Trumpocrats': Lifelong Democrats Breaking w/ Party Over Hillary to Support Donald Trump for President.                              | 14k  | 7.3 k |
| 231. | "Hillary Clinton Deleted Emails Using Program Intended To Prevent Recovery" #CrookedHillary   | 15 k | 7.7 k |
| 232. | How quickly people forget that Crooked Hillary called African-American youth "SUPER PREDATORS" - Has she apologized?                          | 17 k | 15 k  |
| 233. | Crooked Hillary will NEVER be able to solve the problems of poverty, education and safety within the African-American & Hispanic communities  | 14 k | 8.3 k |
| 234. | "Hillary Clinton needs to address the racist undertones of her 2008 campaign." #FlashbackFriday   | 16 k | 15 k  |
| 235. | Hillary Clinton only knows how to make a speech when it is a hit on me. No policy, and always very short (stamina). Media gives her a pass!   | 16 k | 8.6 k |
| 236. | Hillary Clinton is using race-baiting to try to get African-American voters- but they know she is all talk and NO ACTION!                     | 25 k | 9.2 k |
| 237. | Hillary Clinton's short speech is pandering to the worst instincts in our society. She should be ashamed of herself!                          | 21 k | 8.7 k |
| 238. | Crooked Hillary is flooding the airwaves with false and misleading ads - all paid for by her bosses on Wall Street. Media is protecting her!  | 23 k | 13 k  |
| 239. | #WheresHillary? Sleeping!!!!  | 20 k | 25 k  |
| 240. | A vote for Hillary Clinton is a vote for another generation of poverty, high crime, & lost opportunities.                                     | 36 k | 15 k  |
| 241. | I am not only fighting Crooked Hillary, I am fighting the dishonest and corrupt media and her government protection process. People get it!   | 34 k | 17 k  |
| 242. | Crooked Hillary Clinton is being protected by the media. She is not a talented person or politician. The dishonest media refuses to expose!   | 38 k | 13 k  |
| 243. | If the disgusting and corrupt media covered me honestly and didn't put false meaning into the words I say, I would be beating Hillary by 20%  | 48 k | 15 k  |

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| 244. | ISIS gained tremendous strength during Hillary Clinton's term as Secretary of State. When will the dishonest media report the facts!        | 27 k | 14 k  |
| 245. | A massive tax increase will be necessary to fund Crooked Hillary Clinton's agenda. What a terrible (and boring) rollout that was yesterday! | 22 k | 9.4 k |
| 246. | "@elsolarverde: THE CORRUPT MEDIA CREATES CONTROVERSY AGAINST @realDonaldTrump TO AVOID ISSUES ABOUT HillaryClinton "                       | 38 k | 11 k  |
| 247. | When is the media going to talk about Hillary's policies that have gotten people killed, like Libya, open borders, and maybe her emails?    | 29 k | 19 k  |
| 248. | Many people are saying that the Iranians killed the scientist who helped the U.S. because of Hillary Clinton's hacked emails.               | 48 k | 12 k  |
| 249. | I am not just running against Crooked Hillary Clinton, I am running against the very dishonest and totally biased media - but I will win!   | 23 k | 26 k  |
| 250. | Heading to New Hampshire - will be talking about Hillary saying her brain SHORT CIRCUITED, and other things!                                | 13k  | 8.2 k |
| 251. | Crooked Hillary said loudly, and for the world to see, that she "SHORT CIRCUITED" when answering a question on her e-mails. Very dangerous! | 31 k | 13 k  |
| 252. | Hillary Clinton is being badly criticized for her poor performance in answering questions. Let us all see what happens!                     | 80 k | 8.8 k |
| 253. | DON'T LET HILLARY CLINTON DO IT AGAIN!<br>#TrumpPence16   | 33 k | 17 k  |
| 254. | Our incompetent Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, was the one who started talks to give 400 million dollars, in cash, to Iran. Scandal!  | 34 k | 19 k  |
| 255. | The Washington Post calls out #CrookedHillary for what she REALLY is. A PATHOLOGICAL LIAR! Watch that nose grow!                            | 44 k | 25 k  |
| 256. | When will CNN do a segment on Hillary's plan to increase Syrian refugees 550% and how much it will cost?                                    | 46 k | 11 k  |
| 257. | Hillary Clinton raked in money from regimes that horribly oppress women and gays & refuses to speak out against Radical Islam.              | 58 k | 10 k  |
| 258. | Crooked Hillary Clinton is 100% owned by her donors.<br>#ImWithYou #MAGA  | 25 k | 15 k  |
| 259. | Will CNN send its cameras to the border to show the massive unreported crisis now unfolding -- or are they worried it will hurt Hillary?    | 25 k | 11 k  |
| 260. | When will we see stories from CNN on Clinton Foundation corruption and Hillary's pay-for-play at State Department?                          | 22 k | 12 k  |
| 261. | CNN will soon be the least trusted name in news if they continue to be the press shop for Hillary Clinton.                                  | 24 k | 8.9 k |
| 262. | Why isn't Hillary 50 points ahead? Maybe it's the email scandal,  | 49 k | 24 k  |

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|      | policies that spread ISIS, or calling millions of Americans<br>deplorables!  |      |       |
| 263. | Using Alicia M in the debate as a paragon of virtue just shows that Crooked Hillary suffers from BAD JUDGEMENT! Hillary was set up by a con.   | 26 k | 11 k  |
| 264. | While Hillary profits off the rigged system, I am fighting for you! Remember the simple phrase: #FollowTheMoney  | 28 k | 16 k  |
| 265. | Hillary's been failing for 30 years in not getting the job done - it will never change.  | 36 k | 15 k  |
| 266. | I really enjoyed the debate last night.Crooked Hillary says she is going to do so many things.Why hasn't she done them in her last 30 years?   | 67 k | 24 k  |
| 267. | Wow, Crooked Hillary was duped and used by my worst Miss U. Hillary floated her as an "angel" without checking her past, which is terrible!  | 26 k | 10 k  |
| 268. | Hillary Clinton's Campaign Continues To Make False Claims About Foundation Disclosure: <a href="http://bit.ly/2d4cDe8">http://bit.ly/2d4cDe8</a>   | 15 k | 6.7 k |
| 269. | 'True blue-collar billionaire Donald Trump shows Hillary Clinton is out of touch'  | 15 k | 7.0 k |
| 270. | Hillary Clinton is the only candidate on stage who voted for the Iraq War. #Debates2016 #MAGA ...  | 19 k | 8.3 k |
| 271. | Why isn't Hillary Clinton 50 points ahead? #DebateNight  | 31 k | 17 k  |
| 272. | Many on the team and staff of Bernie Sanders have been treated badly by the Hillary Clinton campaign - and they like Trump on trade, a lot!  | 26 k | 7.9 k |
| 273. | Hillary Clinton just lost every Republican she ever had, including Never Trump, all farmers & sm. biz, by saying she'll tax estates at 65%.  | 36 k | 18 k  |
| 274. | Hillary Clinton is taking the day off again, she needs the rest. Sleep well Hillary - see you at the debate!   | 68 k | 27 k  |
| 275. | Do people notice Hillary is copying my airplane rallies - she puts the plane behind her like I have been doing from the beginning.   | 36 k | 11 k  |
| 276. | Hillary Clinton's weakness while she was Secretary of State has emboldened terrorists all over the world to attack the US, even on our own soil. They are hoping and praying that Hillary Clinton becomes president, that they can continue their savagery and murder. | 23 k | 9.6 k |
| 277. | The failing @nytimes has gone nuts that Crooked Hillary is doing so badly. They are willing to say anything, has become a laughingstock rag!   | 28 k | 9.2 k |
| 278. | Crooked Hillary wants to take your 2nd Amendment rights away. Will guns be taken from her heavily armed Secret Service detail? Maybe not!  | 36 k | 13 k  |
| 279. | While Hillary said horrible things about my supporters, and while many of her supporters will never vote for me, I still respect them all!   | 64 k | 23 k  |

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| 280. | Wow, Hillary Clinton was SO INSULTING to my supporters, millions of amazing, hard working people. I think it will cost her at the Polls!      | 56 k | 20 k  |
| 281. | Hillary Clinton answered email questions differently last night than she has in the past. She is totally confused. Unfit to serve as #POTUS.  | 28 k | 9.7 k |
| 282. | "A rough night for Hillary Clinton" ABC News.   | 27 k | 8.1 k |
| 283. | 'Donald Trump leads Hillary Clinton by 19 points among military, veteran voters: poll' #AmericaFirst #MAGA                                    | 21 k | 7.9 k |
| 284. | The polls are close so Crooked Hillary is getting out of bed and will campaign tomorrow. Why did she hammer 13 devices and acid-wash e-mails? | 33 k | 13 k  |
| 285. | .@CNN is so disgusting in their bias, but they are having a hard time promoting Crooked Hillary in light of the new e-mail scandals.          | 37 k | 13 k  |
| 286. | 'Hillary's Two Official Favors To Morocco Resulted In \$28 Million For Clinton Foundation'  | 20 k | 13 k  |
| 287. | "@piersmorgan: BOMBSHELL: FBI reopening its investigation into HillaryClinton's email server after new discovery!"                            | 38 k | 14 k  |
| 288. | We must not let #CrookedHillary take her CRIMINAL SCHEME into the Oval Office. #DrainTheSwamp   | 50 k | 24 k  |
| 289. | Just out: Neera Tanden, Hillary Clinton adviser said, "Israel is depressing." I think Israel is inspiring!                                    | 34 k | 14 k  |
| 290. | Crooked Hillary launched her political career by letting terrorists off the hook. #DrainTheSwamp  | 25 k | 15 k  |
| 291. | Hillary said she was under sniper fire (while surrounded by USSS.) Turned out to be a total lie. She is not fit to lead our country.          | 64 k | 35 k  |
| 292. | 'Democratic operative caught on camera: Hillary PERSONALLY ordered 'Donald Duck' troll campaign that broke the law'                           | 26 k | 18 k  |
| 293. | Wow, just came out on secret tape that Crooked Hillary wants to take in as many Syrians as possible. We cannot let this happen - ISIS!        | 49 k | 24 k  |
| 294. | "If you can't run your own house you certainly can't run the White House" A statement made by Mrs. Obama about Crooked Hillary Clinton        | 54 k | 24 k  |
| 295. | Crooked Hillary promised 200k jobs in NY and FAILED. We'll create 25M jobs when I'm president, and I will DELIVER!                            | 22 k | 11 k  |
| 296. | Want access to Crooked Hillary? Don't forget - it's going to cost you! #DrainTheSwamp #PayToPlay  | 22 k | 14 k  |
| 297. | Why didn't Hillary Clinton announce that she was inappropriately given the debate questions - she secretly used them! Crooked Hillary.        | 35 k | 18 k  |
| 298. | Thank you America! #MAGA Rasmussen National Poll Donald Trump 43% Hillary Clinton 40%   | 46 k | 19 k  |
| 299. | We cannot take four more years of Barack Obama and that's what  | 66 k | 17 k  |

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|      | you'll get if you vote for Hillary. #BigLeagueTruth   |      |       |
| 300. | ISIS has infiltrated countries all over Europe by posing as refugees, and @HillaryClinton will allow it to happen here, too! #BigLeagueTruth  | 33 k | 15 k  |
| 301. | After Crooked @HillaryClinton allowed ISIS to rise, she now claims she'll defeat them? LAUGHABLE! Here's my plan: <a href="https://www.donaldjTrump.com/policies/foreign-policy-and-defeating-isis/">https://www.donaldjTrump.com/policies/foreign-policy-and-defeating-isis/ ...</a> | 22 k | 6.6 k |
| 302. | I opposed going into Iraq. Hillary voted for it. As with everything else she's supported, it was a DISASTER.  | 31 k | 6.1 k |
| 303. | HILLARY FAILED ALL OVER THE WORLD.<br>#BigLeagueTruth LIBYA SYRIA IRAN IRAQ ASIA PIVOT RUSSIAN RESET BENGHAZI   | 13 k | 11 k  |
| 304. | #CrookedHillary is nothing more than a Wall Street PUPPET!<br>#BigLeagueTruth #Debate   | 19 k | 12 k  |
| 305. | Crooked Hillary has never created a job in her life. We will create 25 million jobs. Think she can do that? Not a chance.<br>#BigLeagueTruth  | 14 k | 7.4 k |
| 306. | Hillary has called for 550% more Syrian immigrants, but won't even mention "radical Islamic terrorists." #Debate<br>#BigLeagueTruth   | 22 k | 8.0 k |
| 307. | Moderator: Hillary paid \$225,000 by a Brazilian bank for a speech that called for "open borders." That's a quote! #Debate<br>#BigLeagueTruth   | 15 k | 10 k  |
| 308. | Hillary is the most corrupt person to ever run for the presidency of the United States. #DrainTheSwamp  | 19 k | 24 k  |
| 309. | Crooked Hillary colluded w/FBI and DOJ and media is covering up to protect her. It's a #RiggedSystem! Our country deserves better! Crooked Hillary State Department Collusion With FBI/DOJ Media Fails To Cover: System Is RIGGED   | 63 k | 26 k  |
| 310. | Voter fraud! Crooked Hillary Clinton even got the questions to a debate, and nobody says a word. Can you imagine if I got the questions?  | 27 k | 18 k  |
| 311. | Animals representing Hillary Clinton and Dems in North Carolina just firebombed our office in Orange County because we are winning @NCGOP   | 23 k | 21 k  |
| 312. | The election is absolutely being rigged by the dishonest and distorted media pushing Crooked Hillary - but also at many polling places - SAD  | 44 k | 20 k  |
| 313. | Hillary's staff thought her email scandal might just blow over. Who would trust these people with national security?  | 12 k | 41 k  |
| 314. | Hillary Clinton should have been prosecuted and should be in jail. Instead she is running for president in what looks like a rigged election  | 35 k | 33 k  |
| 315. | This election is being rigged by the media pushing false and unsubstantiated charges, and outright lies, in order to elect  | 55 k | 28 k  |

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|      | Crooked Hillary!   |      |       |
| 316. | PAY TO PLAY POLITICS. #CrookedHillary  | 44 k | 24 k  |
| 317. | Crooked Hillary Clinton likes to talk about the things she will do but she has been there for 30 years - why didn't she do them?   | 38 k | 17 k  |
| 318. | Wow, @CNN Town Hall questions were given to Crooked Hillary Clinton in advance of big debates against Bernie Sanders. Hillary & CNN FRAUD!   | 50 k | 27 k  |
| 319. | I hope people are looking at the disgraceful behavior of Hillary Clinton as exposed by WikiLeaks. She is unfit to run.   | 45 k | 22 k  |
| 320. | Wow, @CNN got caught fixing their "focus group" in order to make Crooked Hillary look better. Really pathetic and totally dishonest!   | 39 k | 27 k  |
| 321. | History lesson: There's a big difference between Hillary Clinton and Abraham Lincoln. For one, his nickname is Honest Abe. #RattledHillary<br><b>Stop begging for black votes Trump, we aren't voting for you.</b> | 51 k | 28 k  |
| 322. | @HillaryClinton is NOT above the law! #Debates2016   | 25 k | 14k   |
| 323. | Hillary's 33,000 deleted emails about her daughter's wedding. That's a lot of wedding emails. #debate  | 21 k | 12 k  |
| 324. | LA Times- USC Dornsife Sunday Poll: Donald Trump Retains 2 Point Lead Over Hillary:  | 35 k | 9.2 k |
| 325. | Bernie should pull his endorsement of Crooked Hillary after she deceived him and then attacked him and his supporters.   | 19 k | 15 k  |
| 326. | I have created tens of thousands of jobs and will bring back great American prosperity. Hillary has only created jobs at the FBI and DOJ!  | 34 k | 18 k  |
| 327. | Wow, just saw the really bad @CNN ratings. People don't want to watch bad product that only builds up Crooked Hillary.   | 25 k | 10 k  |
| 328. | Hey Missouri let's defeat Crooked Hillary & @koster4missouri! Koster supports Obamacare & amnesty! Vote outsider Navy SEAL @EricGreitens!  | 29 k | 12 k  |
| 329. | 'ICE OFFICERS WARN HILLARY IMMIGRATION PLAN WILL UNLEASH GANGS, CARTELS & DRUG VIOLENCE NATIONWIDE'  | 61 k | 16 k  |
| 330. | Crooked Hillary Clinton deleted 33,000 e-mails AFTER they were subpoenaed by the United States Congress. Guilty - cannot run. Rigged system!   | 42 k | 17 k  |
| 331. | You can change your vote in six states. So, now that you see that Hillary was a big mistake, change your vote to MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!   | 82 k | 23 k  |
| 332. | Crooked Hillary should not be allowed to run for president. She deleted 33,000 e-mails AFTER getting a subpoena from U.S. Congress. RIGGED!  | 47 k | 22 k  |
| 333. | Wow, now leading in @ABC /@washingtonpost Poll 46 to 45. Gone up 12 points in two weeks, mostly before the Crooked Hillary blow-up!  | 54 k | 15 k  |

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| 334. | Look at the way Crooked Hillary is handling the e-mail case and the total mess she is in. She is unfit to be president. Bad judgement!  | 74 k  | 20 k  |
| 335. | If I win the presidency, my judicial appointments will do the right thing unlike Bush's appointee John Roberts on <b>ObamaCare</b> .  | 1.6K  | 772   |
| 336. | Going to Ohio, home of one of the worst presidential candidates in history--Kasich. Can't debate, loves #ObamaCare--dummy!  | 5.8 k | 2.3 k |
| 337. | John Kasich fell right into President Obama's trap on ObamaCare, and the people of Ohio are suffering for it. Shame!  | 3.3 k | 1.4 k |
| 338. | And finally, Cruz strongly told thousands of caucusgoers (voters) that Trump was strongly in favor of ObamaCare and "choice" - a total lie!   | 8.4 k | 3.4 k |
| 339. | We will immediately repeal and replace ObamaCare - and nobody can do that like me. We will save \$'s and have much better healthcare!   | 19 k  | 13 k  |
| 340. | I will bring our jobs back to America, fix our military and take care of our vets, end Common Core and ObamaCare, protect 2nd A, build WALL   | 13 k  | 7.4 k |
| 341. | Do you believe that Hillary Clinton now wants Obamacare for illegal immigrants? She should spend more time taking care of our great Vets!   | 14 k  | 11 k  |
| 342. | I am going to repeal and replace ObamaCare! Read more about my positions on healthcare reform here:<br><a href="https://www.donaldjTrump.com/positions">https://www.donaldjTrump.com/positions</a>  | 13 k  | 4.5 k |
| 343. | A 60% increase in Texas Blue Cross/Blue Shield through ObamaCare. I told you so, there is panic and anger as healthcare costs explode!  | 11 k  | 5.1 k |
| 344. | We will repeal and replace the horrible disaster known as #Obamacare!   | 23 k  | 9.7 k |
| 345. | We will repeal & replace #Obamacare, which has caused soaring double-digit premium increases. It is a disaster!   | 43 k  | 9.3 k |
| 346. | ObamaCare is a total disaster. Hillary Clinton wants to save it by making it even more expensive. Doesn't work, I will REPEAL AND REPLACE!  | 34 k  | 14 k  |
| 347. | I am going to repeal and replace ObamaCare. We will have MUCH less expensive and MUCH better healthcare. With Hillary, costs will triple!   | 45 k  | 16 k  |
| 348. | Thank you Ohio! VOTE so we can replace Obamacare and save healthcare for every family in the United States! Watch:<br><a href="https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump/posts/10158057072840725">https://www.facebook.com/DonaldTrump/posts/10158057072840725 ...</a> | 108 k | 9.0 k |
| 349. | Looking at Air Force One @ MIA. Why is he campaigning instead of creating jobs & fixing Obamacare? Get back to work for the American people!  | 30 k  | 28 k  |
| 350. | REPEAL AND REPLACE OBAMACARE!   | 32k   | 12k   |

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| 351. | Bill Clinton is right: Obamacare is 'crazy', 'doesn't work' and 'doesn't make sense'. Thanks Bill for telling the truth.                     | 36k   | 15    |
| 352. | Dem Gov. of MN. just announced that the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare) is no longer affordable. I've been saying this for years- disaster!  | 38k   | 15 k  |
| 353. | Obamacare is a disaster. Rates going through the sky - ready to explode. I will fix it. Hillary can't!<br>#ObamacareFailed                   | 29k   | 12k   |
| 354. | REPEAL AND REPLACE OBAMACARE!  | 48k   | 18k   |
| 355. | "@KeithRowland: People in Arizona just got a taste of Obamacare with a 116% increase in premiums.<br>@realDonaldTrump" Repeal and replace!   | 35k   | 13k   |
| 356. | Notice that illegal immigrants will be given ObamaCare and free college tuition but nothing has been mentioned about our VETERANS #DemDebate | 16 k  | 4.4 k |
| 357. | Obamacare is a disaster - as I've been saying from the beginning. Time to repeal & replace!<br>#ObamacareFail                                | 27k   | 15k   |
| 358. | "I LIVE IN NEW JERSEY & @realDonaldTrump IS RIGHT:<br><b>MUSLIMS DID CELEBRATE ON 9/11 HERE! WE SAW IT!</b> "                                | 5.1 k | 2.3 k |
| 359. | We must defeat Islamic terrorism & have surveillance, including a watch list, to protect America   | 6.2 k | 3.8 k |
| 360. | There is no question who will handle the threat of terrorism best as #POTUS. #Trump2016  | 5.9 k | 2.9 k |
| 361. | Our country is facing a major threat from radical Islamic terrorism. We better get very smart, and very tough, FAST, before it is too late!  | 12 k  | 7.0 k |
| 362. | Far more killed than anticipated in radical Islamic terror attack yesterday. Get tough and smart U.S., or we won't have a country anymore!   | 9.3 k | 3.8 k |
| 363. | More radical Islam attacks today - it never ends! Strengthen the borders, we must be vigilant and smart. No more being politically correct.  | 15 k  | 6.8 k |
| 364. | Boycott all Apple products until such time as Apple gives cellphone info to authorities regarding radical Islamic terrorist couple from Cal  | 9.8 k | 4.0 k |
| 365. | Time & time again I have been right about terrorism. It's time to get tough!   | 27 k  | 6.8 k |
| 366. | I have proven to be far more correct about terrorism than anybody- and it's not even close.  | 42 k  | 7.5 k |
| 367. | Just announced that as many as 5000 ISIS fighters have infiltrated Europe. Also, many in U.S. I TOLD YOU SO! I alone can fix this problem!   | 25 k  | 8.7 k |
| 368. | USSS did an excellent job stopping the maniac running to the stage. He has ties to ISIS. Should be in jail!                                  | 12 k  | 9.9 k |
| 369. | Another radical Islamic attack, this time in Pakistan, targeting   | 25 k  | 10 k  |

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|      | Christian women & children. At least 67 dead,400 injured. I alone can solve  |       |       |
| 370. | Looks like yet another terrorist attack. Airplane departed from Paris. When will we get tough, smart and vigilant? Great hate and sickness!  | 33 k  | 12 k  |
| 371. | In my speech on protecting America I spoke about a temporary ban, which includes suspending immigration from nations tied to Islamic terror. | 43 k  | 12 k  |
| 372. | Is President Obama going to finally mention the words radical Islamic terrorism? If he doesn't he should immediately resign in disgrace!     | 28 k  | 36 k  |
| 373. | Appreciate the congrats for being right on radical Islamic terrorism, I don't want congrats, I want toughness & vigilance. We must be smart! | 31 k  | 25 k  |
| 374. | Hopefully the violent and vicious killing by ISIS of a beloved French priest is causing people to start thinking rationally. Get tough!      | 37 k  | 12 k  |
| 375. | We are TRYING to fight ISIS, and now our own people are killing our police. Our country is divided and out of control. The world is watching | 80 k  | 33 k  |
| 376. | Captain Khan, killed 12 years ago, was a hero, but this is about RADICAL ISLAMIC TERROR and the weakness of our "leaders" to eradicate it!   | 41 k  | 14 k  |
| 377. | Yet another terrorist attack today in Israel -- a father, shot at by a Palestinian terrorist, was killed                                     | 8.5 k | 3.8 k |
| 378. | Horrible killing of a 13 year old American girl at her home in Israel by a Palestinian terrorist. We must get tough.                         | 12 k  | 5.1 k |
| 379. | This story is not about Mr. Khan, who is all over the place doing interviews, but rather RADICAL ISLAMIC TERRORISM and the U.S. Get smart!   | 29 k  | 11 k  |
| 380. | ISIS has infiltrated countries all over Europe by posing as refugees, and @HillaryClinton will allow it to happen here, too! #BigLeagueTruth | 33 k  | 15 k  |
| 381. | Thank you Colorado Springs. If I'm elected President I am going to keep Radical Islamic Terrorists out of our country!                       | 38 k  | 12 k  |
| 382. | Thank you Geneva, Ohio. If I am elected President, I am going to keep RADICAL ISLAMIC TERRORISTS OUT of our country!                         | 39 k  | 16 k  |
| 383. | If elected POTUS - I will stop RADICAL ISLAMIC TERRORISM in this country!  | 25 k  | 15 k  |
| 384. | Via @THESHARKTANK1: "Donald Trump's Controversial Mexican Comments Are Accurate"   | 653   | 471   |
| 385. | I love the Mexican people, but Mexico is not our friend. They're killing us at the border and they're killing us on jobs and trade. FIGHT!   | 3.9 k | 3.9 k |
| 386. | We MUST have strong borders and stop illegal immigration. Without that we do not have a country. Also, Mexico is killing                     | 2.1K  | 1.2K  |

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|      | U.S. on trade. WIN!   |       |       |
| 387. | "@KEEMSTARx: Mexican criminals coming into USA? YES Did Trump say we need to stop them? YES Did he say Mexicans are good? YES Racism? NO"   | 892   | 476   |
| 388. | A great article by @NolteNC spelling out the truth on Mexico, trade, the border & illegals. Thank you @BreitbartNews                        | 389   | 325   |
| 389. | The leader and negotiators representing Mexico are far smarter and more cunning than the leader and negotiators representing the U.S.!      | 634   | 396   |
| 390. | I love Mexico but not the unfair trade deals that the US so stupidly makes with them. Really  | 1.7K  | 1.2K  |
| 391. | Mexican gov doesn't want me talking about terrible border situation & horrible trade deals. Forcing Univision to get me to stop- no way!    | 1.5 k | 1.1K  |
| 392. | Mexico is killing the United States economically because their leaders and negotiators are FAR smarter than ours. But nobody beats Trump!   | 1.6 k | 979   |
| 393. | I like Mexico and love the spirit of Mexican people, but we must protect our borders from people, from all over, pouring into the U.S.      | 2.0 k | 1.2K  |
| 394. | Ford is MOVING jobs from Michigan to Mexico AGAIN! As President, this will stop on Day One! Jobs will stay here.                            | 2.3 k | 1.2K  |
| 395. | Mexico's totally corrupt gov't looks horrible with El Chapo's escape-totally corrupt. US paid them \$ 3 billion.                            | 1.6 k | 1.9K  |
| 396. | When will people, and the media, start to apologize to me for my statement, "Mexico is sending ....", which turned out to be true? El Chapo | 1.6 k | 2.1K  |
| 397. | likewise, billions of dollars gets brought into Mexico through the border. We get the killers, drugs & crime, they get the money!           | 2.2 k | 638   |
| 398. | Build a wall! Let's Make America Great Again!   | 1.6 k | 978 k |
| 399. | The US will invite El Chapo, the Mexican drug lord who just escaped prison, to become a US citizen because our "leaders" can not say no!    | 2.9 k | 4.2 k |
| 400. | Now that the Mexican drug lord escaped from prison, everyone is saying that most of the cocaine etc. coming into the US comes over border!  | 2.5 k | 1.6K  |
| 401. | Mexico's biggest drug lord escapes from jail. Unbelievable corruption and USA is paying the price. I told you so!                           | 5.0 k | 6.6 k |
| 402. | I said simply that the Mexican leaders and negotiators are smarter than ours and that the Mexican gov't is pushing their hard core to US    | 4.2 k | 692   |
| 403. | Mexican leaders and negotiators are much tougher and smarter than those of the US Mexico is killing us on jobs and trade. WAKE UP!          | 677   | 1.5 K |
| 404. | We will win and establish strong borders, we will build a WALL  | 5.7 k | 2.1 k |

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|      | and Mexico will pay. We will be great again!  |       |       |
| 405. | Now an additional 600-700 jobs in America (2,000) being eliminated for move to Mexico- via Hartford Courant.                                | 5.2 k | 3.2 k |
| 406. | Ohio is losing jobs to Mexico, now losing Ford (and many others). Kasich is weak on illegal immigration. We need strong borders now!        | 16 k  | 5.0 k |
| 407. | North Carolina lost 300,000 manufacturing jobs and Ohio lost 400,000 since 2000. Going to Mexico etc. NO MORE IF I WIN, WE WILL BRING BACK! | 14 k  | 5.6 k |
| 408. | We must build a great wall between Mexico and the United States!  | 18 k  | 6.8 k |
| 409. | Everybody is talking about the protesters burning the American flags and proudly waving Mexican flags. I want America First - so do voters! | 26 k  | 9.8 k |
| 410. | I have accepted the invitation of President Enrique Pena Nieto, of Mexico, and look very much forward to meeting him tomorrow.              | 51 k  | 19 k  |
| 411. | Vast numbers of manufacturing jobs in Pennsylvania have moved to Mexico and other countries. That will end when I win!                      | 82 k  | 7.9 k |
| 412. | Mexico will pay for the wall!   | 59k   | 36 k  |
| 413. | A nation WITHOUT BORDERS is not a nation at all. We must have a wall. The rule of law matters.  | 5.2 k | 2.8 k |
| 414. | Build a wall! Let's Make America Great Again!   | 1.6 k | 1.0 k |
| 415. | Legal immigrants want border security. It is common sense. We must build a wall! Let's Make America Great Again!                            | 4.0 k | 3.2 k |
| 416. | Today I am standing with patriots in Arizona for border security! Build a wall! Let's Make America Great Again!                             | 7.4 k | 903   |
| 417. | " @ Retrogirl01 : @ AP Mr. Trump is right! BUILD THE WALL! @ RealDonaldTrump "  | 899   | 366   |
| 418. | " @ RoniSeale : The American people deserve a wall to protect our jobs, economy and our safety.   | 466   | 485   |
| 419. | Where are the other candidates now that this tragic murder has taken place b / c of our unsafe border. We need a wall!                      | 667   | 1.3K  |
| 420. | A country must enforce its borders. Respect for the rule of law is at our country's core. We must build a wall!                             | 641   | 360   |
| 421. | "@RealEstateMOKS: @realDonaldTrump Build the wall! Everywhere I go, immigrants have our jobs! #MakeAmericaGreatAgain #voteDonaldTrump"      | 1.8 k | 1.4 k |
| 422. | For those that do not think a wall (fence) works, why do not they suggest taking down the fence around the White House? Foolish people!     | 14k   | 8.2 k |
| 423. | Jeb Bush just talked about my border proposal to build a "fence." It's not a fence, Jeb, it's a WALL, and there's a BIG difference!         | 2.3 k | 6.1 k |
| 424. | Again, illegal immigrant is charged with the fatal bludgeoning of a wonderful and loved 64 year old woman. Get them out and build a WALL!   | 6.9 k | 4.8 k |

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| 425. | "@Kathlee08380944: @WSJ @hookjan Trump is the only cand talking about building a wall on the border That's getting great attention Go Trump   | 1.1 k | 399   |
| 426. | 13 Syrian refugees were caught trying to get into the U.S. through the Southern Border. How many made it? WE NEED THE WALL!                   | 11 k  | 5.2 k |
| 427. | Eight Syrians were just caught on the southern border trying to get into the U.S. ISIS maybe? I told you so. WE NEED A BIG & BEAUTIFUL WALL!  | 27 k  | 15 k  |
| 428. | Everyone is now saying how right I was with illegal immigration & the wall. After Paris, they're all on the bandwagon.                        | 8.6 k | 3.7 k |
| 429. | We will stop heroin and other drugs from coming into New Hampshire from our open southern border. We will build a WALL and have security.     | 16 k  | 5.5 k |
| 430. | In getting the endorsement of the 16,500 Border Patrol Agents (thank you), the statement was made that the WALL was very necessary!           | 13 k  | 3.9 k |
| 431. | Obama says a WALL at our southern border won't enhance our security (wrong) and yet he now wants to build a much bigger wall (fence) at W.H.  | 16 k  | 5.9 k |
| 432. | Heroin overdoses are taking over our children and others in the MIDWEST. Coming in from our southern border. We need strong border & WALL!    | 32 k  | 11 k  |
| 433. | @TedCruz on @RealDonaldTrump: I don't think you should apologize for speaking out against...illegal immigration                               | 1.4K  | 1.0K  |
| 434. | "@imprimis310: @NBC is the bigot. @realDonaldTrump and @SenTedCruz only speaking the truth about ILLEGAL immigrants"                          | 472   | 236   |
| 435. | "@TheHolyBreadcat: @realDonaldTrump Vote for Trump, he's making America to where we won't worry about illegal immigrant problems."            | 312   | 121   |
| 436. | Is not it amazing that @ Macys paid a massive fine for profiling African Americans - & then criticized me for discussing illegal immigration! | 1.4 k | 2.2 k |
| 437. | Good luck to my new friends on your testimony in DC. You are amazing people doing something so important --- stopping illegal immigration!    | 2.8 k | 532   |
| 438. | " @ amit_ @ realdonaldTrump I agree 100%. McCain is fighting for illegal immigrant but never did anything for our Vets."                      | 760   | 538   |
| 439. | " @ RTMatador Trump says things that no one else would even consider saying, I agree with him on the immigration situation, i love honesty"   | 1.7 k | 307   |
| 440. | We will soon be at a point with our incompetent politicians where we will be treating illegal immigrants better than our veterans.            | 769   | 2.0 k |

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| 441. | John McCain called thousands of people "crazies" when they came to seek help on illegal immigration last week in Phoenix. He owes apology!   | 1.2 k | 2.1 k |
| 442. | It's a national embarrassment that an illegal immigrant can walk across the border and receive free health care and one of our Veterans that has served our country is put on a waiting list and gets no care! | 3.9 k | 4.7 k |
| 443. | " @ danforc as a legal immigrant I'm so glad someone standing up for us, the millions who do things by the book to earn our place here" Thx  | 1.9 k | 414   |
| 444. | Legal immigrants want border security. It is common sense. We will build a wall! Let's Make America Great Again!   | 4.0 k | 3.2 k |
| 445. | Thx to all the people who called to say they are cutting their @ Macys credit card as a protest against illegal immigrants pouring into US   | 1.3 k | 1.4 k |
| 446. | Flashback - Jeb Bush says illegal immigrants breaking our laws is an "act of love". He will never secure the border!   | 1.0 k | 1.2 k |
| 447. | What about the undocumented immigrant with a record who killed the beautiful young women (in front of her father) in San Fran. Get smart!  | 603   | 507   |
| 448. | "@ babylissa : Obama calls immigrants gang bangers & criminals but Trump gets attacked for calling SOME illegals from SOME countries bad people  | 3.5 k | 324   |
| 449. | Make our borders strong and stop illegal immigration.  | 550   | 644   |
| 450. | For all of those who want to # MakeAmericaGreatAgain , boycott @ Macys . They are weak on border security & stopping illegal immigration.  | 1.0 k | 2.1 k |
| 451. | Those who believe in tight border security, stopping illegal immigration & SMART trade deals w / other countries should boycott @ Macys .  | 676   | 1.4 k |
| 452. | "@RealEstateMOKS: @realDonaldTrump Build the wall! Everywhere I go, immigrants have our jobs! #MakeAmericaGreatAgain #voteDonaldTrump"   | 1.8 k | 1.4 k |
| 453. | Now that I started my war on illegal immigration and securing the border, most other candidates are finally speaking up. Just politicians!   | 4.3 k | 3.5 k |
| 454. | We must stop the crime and killing machine that is illegal immigration. Rampant problems will only get worse. Take back our country!   | 3.7 k | 3.3 k |
| 455. | Again, illegal immigrant is charged with the fatal bludgeoning of a wonderful and loved 64 year old woman. Get them out and build a WALL!  | 6.9 k | 4.8 k |
| 456. | I watched lightweight Senator Marco Rubio, who is all talk and no action, defend his WEAK position on illegal immigration. Pathetic!   | 3.0 k | 2.5 k |
| 457. | Marco Rubio is a member of the Gang Of Eight or, very weak on  | 2.9 k | 2.8 k |

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|      | stopping illegal immigration. Only changed when poll numbers crashed.  |       |       |
| 458. | Remember that Carson, Bush and Rubio are VERY weak on illegal immigration. They will do NOTHING to stop it. Our country will be overrun!     | 2.8 k | 1.9 k |
| 459. | "@wakeupfla: Please stand up for American Hispanic families and fight illegal immigration it is destroying USA! "                            | 3.1 k | 2.1 k |
| 460. | "@Blacks4Trump16: Legal & illegal immigration drive down American wages. Only DonaldTrump can fix this. @AnnCoulter #Trump2016 #TeamTrump"   | 7.2 k | 1.1 k |
| 461. | Illegal immigrant children, non-Mexicans surge across border at record rate  | 3.3 k | 1.5 k |
| 462. | Jamiel Shaw was incredible on @foxandfriends this morning. His son, who was viciously killed by an illegal immigrant, is so proud of pop!    | 2.5 k | 895   |
| 463. | I will end illegal immigration and protect our borders! We need to <b>MAKE AMERICA SAFE &amp; GREAT AGAIN! #Trump2016</b>                    | 12 k  | 6.0 k |
| 464. | I told you so. Our country totally lost control of illegal immigration, even with criminals.   | 5.6 k | 2.9 k |
| 465. | Just met with courageous family of Sarah Root in Nebraska. Sarah was horribly killed by illegal immigrant, but leaves behind amazing legacy. | 19 k  | 6.8 k |
| 466. | We must suspend immigration from regions linked with terrorism until a proven vetting method is in place.                                    | 21 k  | 11 k  |
| 467. | From day one I said that I was going to build a great wall on the SOUTHERN BORDER, and much more. Stop illegal immigration. Watch Wednesday! | 31 k  | 10 k  |
| 468. | I am very proud to have brought the subject of illegal immigration back into the discussion. Such a big problem for our country-I will solve | 15 k  | 8.3 k |
| 469. | Five people killed in Washington State by a Middle Eastern immigrant. Many people died this weekend in Ohio from drug overdoses. N.C. riots! | 27 k  | 10 k  |
| 470. | Thank you to @foxandfriends for the great review of the speech on immigration last night. Thank you also to the great people of Arizona!     | 27 k  | 6.6 k |