

**MERGING THE LENSES – CHANGES IN THE USE OF RHETORIC
BY AMERICAN PRESIDENTS DURING THE 21ST CENTURY AND
THE EFFECT OF THESE CHANGES ON LEADER – FOLLOWERS
INTERACTIONS**

ARTICLE II

Arie Kegen

PhD student in Varna Free University "Chernorizets Hrabar"
at the Department of "Psychology" Bulgaria

ABSTRACT: Although research has long focused on the interrelationships between leader and followers, and the scholars, have learned a lot about the consequences of leaders' charismatic behavior on followers. Nevertheless, there is dichotomy in leadership area, between the "leader-centered perspectives"(e.g., the leaders' lens) and the "follower-centered perspectives" (e.g., the followers' lens) to date. Despite the call from numerous leadership scholars to examine the upward impact of follower behaviors on leadership, there has not been substantial progress in this area of research. Also, important gap remains within this developing line of inquiry. There has also been another call for promoting more integrative strategies for theory-building in the field of leadership. Leader and followers represent two sides of one dynamic interaction and a mutual influence process. This confirms the mutual need for both to synchronize for the full leadership process to entirely transpire. Therefore, to address this call we develop in this study a conceptual model (TPM) that merges between three psychological models: The Three Needs Theory regard the leader and the followers, the Model of Convincing and Persuading (e.g., follower-centric approach) and the Elaboration Likelihood Model (e.g., follower-centric approach). These three models are complex mechanisms underlying the development of the interaction between the leader and his followers. Due to the political orientation of this research, the models chosen to be discussed may take different stances when it comes to which angle charismatic leadership should be analyzed. This model should provide leadership studies with a different way of looking at the leader-follower relationship through bi – directionality: downward toward followers and upward toward leaders, to whole picture - multilevel lens of leadership. The research could make contributions in the field of political

psychology and persuasive behavior, on the one hand, and in the field of rhetoric and philosophy of language, on the other. In this article we present **the Model of Convincing and Persuading** and **the results of research question 2: Under which conditions (e.g. war, economic crisis) American presidents use rhetorical strategies?**

Keywords: Political communication, Leadership, Leader, Followers, Followership, charismatic leadership, self-concept, State of the Union Address, U.S. presidents.

Political activity does not exist without the use of language. The doing of politics is predominantly constituted in language... The use of language in politics, suggesting that **political actors themselves are well aware of the importance of how language is used** (Chilton, 2004, pp. 6-16).

Political speeches refer to discourses in the forms of public addresses or orations delivered by government heads or officials, other representatives of governments, or heads of a nation, to clarify their positions, opinions and policies of the governments. Van Dijk (1997) noticed that political activity and political process involves politicians and also people as citizens and voters, people as members of pressure and issue groups, demonstrators and dissidents, and so on.

Participants and actions are the core of such contexts, but we may further analyze such contexts broadly in tercets of political and communicative events and encounters, with their own settings (time, place, circumstances), occasions, intentions, functions, goals, and legal or political implications. That is, politicians talk politically also (or only) if they and their talk are contextualized in such communicative events such as cabinet meetings, parliamentary sessions, election campaigns, rallies, interviews with the media, bureaucratic practices, protest demonstrations, and so on (van Dijk, p.14).

The Model of Convincing and Persuading examines the variables that take into account the subtle difference between convincing and persuading. The studies on political speeches can be traced to the Ancient Greece (Chilton, 2004). In "Classical Rhetoric", the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) wrote that **the rhetoric method is the "art of persuasion"** (Aristotle, 1967, 2007). Aristotle articulated rhetoric as means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatsoever (Rapp, 2010).

Aristotle expounded in his book "On Rhetoric" on three appeals of ethos, logos and pathos, as tools for persuasive language. Ethos: Strategy of credibility or character. Appeals to ethos to demonstrate the authors trustworthiness, expertise and honesty and attempt to put the author in a more positive light to the audience. Pathos: Strategy of emotions and affect. Pathos appeals to an audience's sense of empathy, desire, anger, sorrow, or excitement. Logos: Strategy of reason, logic, or facts. Any type of argument which appeals to someone rational side is appealing to logos (Aristotle, 1967, 2007; O'Connell, 2017; Toye, 2013).

Politics and persuasion have been closely related since Ancient Greece, and the role of Aristotle's ethos, pathos and logos still remains central to political discourse.

In the modern era, in the 1950s and 1960s, an eclectic group of theorist in philosophy, speech communication, English, and composition revived principles from classical rhetoric theory, mainly those of Aristotle, and integrated them with insights from modern philosophy, linguistics, and psychology to develop what became known as the "New Rhetoric." Instead of focusing on the formal or aesthetic features of a spoken or written text, **"New Rhetoric" theory focuses on discourse as action: writing or speech is perceived in terms of its capacity to do something for people, inform them, convince them, persuade them, enlighten them, change them, amuse them, or inspire them** (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969).

In the "New Rhetoric"(20th century), the rhetorician Kenneth Burke(1897-1993) described rhetoric as being almost synonymous with persuasion. Furthermore, he describes **rhetoric as using words to move people or encourage action** (Burke, 1969, pp. 41-42). **Burke used identification as his key term** (Burke, 1969, p.55), that rhetoric deals with more than just persuasion. Instead of just persuasion, rhetoric is the set of methods people use to identify with each other and to encourage each other to understand things from one another's perspectives.

The difference between the "old" rhetoric and the "new" rhetoric may be summed up in this manner: whereas the key term for the "old" rhetoric was persuasion and its stress was upon deliberate design, the key term for the "new" rhetoric is identification and this may include partially "unconscious" factors in its

appeal. Identification, at its simplest level, maybe a deliberate device, or a means, as when a speaker identifies his interests with those of his audience. **Burke affirmed the significance of identification as a key concept, when a speaker identifies his interests with those of his audience.**

Schmidt & Kess (1986) defined "persuasion" as the process by which a voluntary change of behavior, attitude or beliefs is introduced through the transmission of a message.

Persuasion is defined also as "the process of trying to alter, modify or change the saliency of the values, wants, beliefs and action of others" (O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2004, p. 5).

Recently, Cattani (2020) proposed a distinction between two different ways of inducing a change of mind, persuading and convincing, based on historical, theoretical and linguistic considerations. Cattani (2020, p.1) noticed that in everyday language, the difference between the two terms appears clear, and it is a distinction developed theoretically by many authors from Plato (1953) to Perelman (1982). Cattani explained that (2020, pp. 4-5) **persuasion refers primarily to the realm of actions; conviction refers primarily to the realm of thoughts.** Persuasion is an act, which makes use of emotions (e.g., pathos), while conviction does not involve any pathos. Unlike "to persuade," the verb "to convince" is synonym for "to demonstrate," "to prove," "to verify," and "to induce someone to do/think something by means of verification"(e.g., appeal to logos).

Persuasion is centered chiefly on the speaker, it enhances his/her will and ability to modify other people's opinions and behavior; conviction is centered chiefly on the addressee, focuses on one's capacity of being convinced and evaluating rationally. This is where the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) comes in.

In other words, the verb "to convince" is used only in the sense of convincing someone of a fact, or to state "that a fact is what it is." If you aim to induce somebody to do something, you will better use the verb "to persuade." The verb "to convince" seems referring to the realm of thinking, not that of doing; it does not serve to induce somebody to act but to gain intellectual agreement and assent (Cattani, 2020, p.3.)

To summarize, political and presidential language played an important role in enhancing the power of persuasion. The word "persuasion" has been described in different ways, such as influencing, convincing, manipulating or tempting. A persuasive message can succeed through the principles of reciprocity, authority, commitment and consistency, consensus, and liking.

Shamir and colleagues (1993) proposed **a self-concept based motivational theory to explain the process by which charismatic leader behaviors caused profound transformational follower effects**. Self-concept, in its simplest form, represents a person's values and identities and how he views himself in relation to others. Self-concept based theory suggests that how a person views interest influences his or her behavior. If the leader has similar values, a follower will allow himself to be influenced by the leader. The follower's values also determine what will motivate him toward goal achievement.

Shamir et al. (1994, p. 29) suggested the following propositions about the contents of charismatic leaders' speeches (e.g., rhetorical strategies) concerning the self-concept theory (Shamir et al., 1993, p. 578):

- 1) "More references to collective history and to the continuity between the past and the present."
- 2) "More references to the collective and to collective identity, and fewer references to individual self-interest."
- 3) "More positive references to followers' worth and efficacy as individuals and as a collective."
- 4) "More references to the leader's similarity to followers and identification with followers."
- 5) "More references to values and moral justifications, and fewer references to tangible outcomes and instrumental justifications."
- 6) "More references to distal goals and the distant future, and fewer references to proximal goals and the near future."
- 7) "More references to hope and faith."

To sum up, rhetoric and persuasion are inseparable due to the fact that any definition of the first includes the concept of the second. Therefore, Political statements can be made to convince and persuade the public at the same time. It is

important to note that it depend on the leader /sender which communicate way to choose and on the follower/ recipient also.

Research Question 2: Under Which conditions (e.g. war, economic crisis) American presidents use rhetorical strategies?

Methodology

The sample will consist of all 20 speeches (N=20), given in English by the Presidents of the United States during the 21ST century: George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump. The speeches that will be selected by will be the ones that were carried out in prominent times and major events (such as war, economic crisis or other major national events). This inclusion criterion is chosen based on the assumption that in major national events, leaders tend to use their most important rhetorical strategies and charisma characteristics.

The independent variables consisted of the five rhetorical strategies: Collective Focus; Temporal Orientation; Follower's Worth; Similarity to Followers and Action.

Therefore, I developed such dictionaries based on the propositions about the contents of charismatic leaders' speeches (Shamir et al., 1994, p.29; Shamir et al.,1993, p.586), the dictionaries from Diction 5.0 (Hart, 2000, 2001, 2014; Karpowitz, 2014) and the constructs derived from previous charisma studies (Bligh & Robinson, 2010; Davis & Gardner, 2012; Schroedel et al., 2013; Seyranian & Bligh, 2008 ; Tan & Wee, 2002).

Data analysis

Each speech will be carefully read, and will be analyzed in the following two ways:

(1) **Content analysis** – for each speech, the rhetorical strategies and charisma characteristics will be extracted, that is in what specific tools the presidents used in order to deliver their messages. 2) **Scoring the rhetorical strategies** –Following the content analysis, each of the rhetorical strategies will be scored regarding the level of use in the speech on a 1 (not used at all) to 10 (used very intensively). After scoring the rhetorical strategies, descriptive statistics will be produced describing

the use of rhetorical strategies by each of the presidents. Level of significance for all analyses is P-value < .05.

In addition, rhetorical strategies will be examined for associations with type of major event (e.g. war, economic crisis, other), year of the speech, the political affiliation of the president (republican/ democratic) and other demographic variables of the president.

The events were collected for three main domains: Security, Domestic and Politics.

(1) Security domain: for example: foreign policy, counterterrorism, terrorist attacks, war, homeland security and global security.

(2) Domestic policy: for example: healthcare, education, energy, natural resources, social welfare, taxation, public safety, immigration personal freedoms, fighting illegal drug trade, natural disasters and economic crisis.

(3) Politics domain: for example: midterm elections, bipartisanship politics, budget approval, government shutdown, impeachment and re-election.

Results

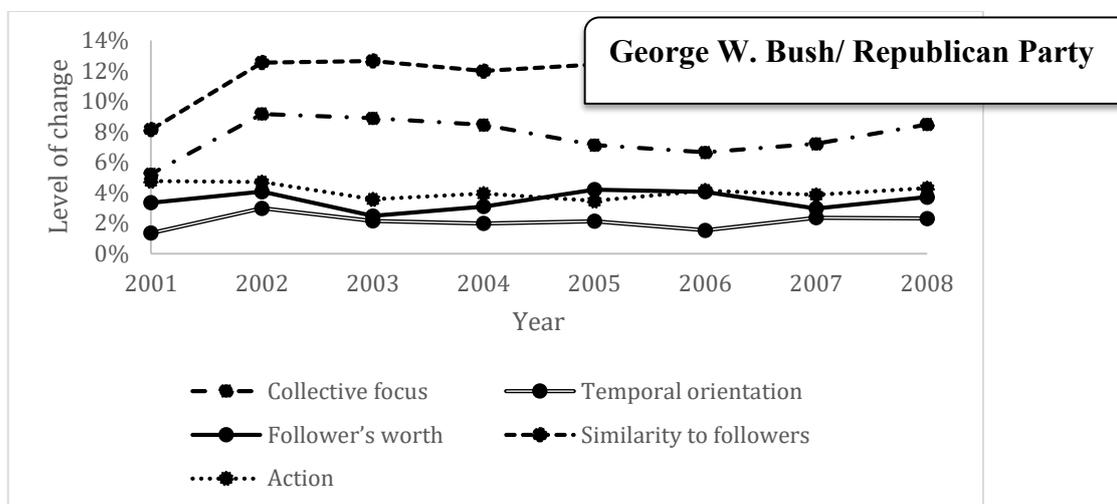
1. Major events and trends analysis of using rhetorical strategies across the years for each president

To examine this research question, the major events that occurred during the presidencies of Bush, Obama and Trump were collected. The trends were taken from Research Question 1(e.g., Figure 6). The trends were assessed using Pearson correlations, because this statistical procedure examines how the use of each strategy is changed over the years. Pearson correlation (r) is ranged between -1 to +1.

1.1. Summary of major events and change in all strategies between 2001 - 2008 for Bush

Figure 6a presents the summary of the major events during the presidency of President George W. Bush and the using of rhetorical strategies following these events across the years.

As shown in Figure 6a, Bush who belongs to the Republican party, used all the five rhetorical strategies, among them the most is Similarity to Followers strategy along all years, and then Collective Focus. However, Bush used the least in Temporal Orientation.



Domain / Year	2001 Major Events	2002 Major Events	2003 Major Events	2004 Major Events	2005 Major Events	2006 Major Events	2007 Major Events	2008 Major Events
Security	Attacking Iraq September 11 Military Action Afghanistan	Putin nuclear treaty	War with Iraq	Formal occupation of Iraq Retaking Fallujah	Persuading North Korea to end nuclear pursuit	"Offensive in Iraq"	U.S. attacks al-Qaeda in Somalia Iraq War	"We launched a surge of American forces into Iraq"
Domestic	Five year plan	Education law	Tax-cut plan Medicare	Hurricane Ivan Veterans Benefits Improvement Act	Hurricane Katrina strikes	World AIDS Day	Virginia Tech massacre	Bush proposes stimulus package
Political	The budget Attempt to assassinate President Bush	Mid-term election	Congress war funding	Apeal to congress tax code	Roberts appointed Chief Justice	Democrats gain seats Alito appointed to Supreme Court	Bush vetoes troop removal	"...ask Congress to... funding our troops."

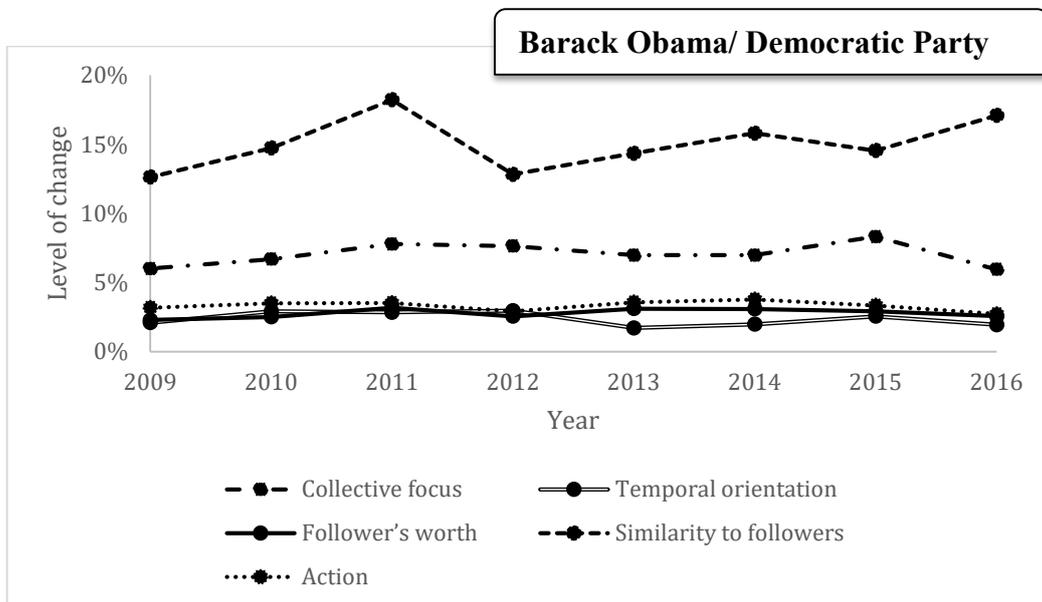
Figure 6a: Summary of major events and change in all strategies between 2001 - 2008 for Bush

Source: <https://millercenter.org/president/george-w-bush/key-events>

1.2. Summary of major events and change in all strategies between 2009 - 2016 for Obama

Figure 6b presents the summary of the major events during the presidency of President Barack Obama and the using of rhetorical strategies following these events across the years.

As shown in Figure 6b, similar to Bush, Obama who belongs to the Democratic party, used all the five rhetorical strategies, among them the most is Similarity to Followers strategy along all years, and then Collective Focus. However, Obama used the least in temporal orientation.



Domain / Year	2009 Major Events	2010 Major Events	2011 Major Events	2012 Major Events	2013 Major Events	2014 Major Events	2015 Major Events	2016 Major Events
Security	Additional troops to Afghanistan Obama renews economic sanctions against Iran. War with Afghanistan	Homeland Security Signs New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty	The death of Osama Bin Laden	Iranian sanctions Sandy Hook shooting	Boston Marathon Terrorist Attack	Russian sanctions	Nuclear agreement with Iran	"...we built a global coalition..."
Domestic	Recovery and Reinvestment Act Financial crisis Hurricane Katrina	Haiti recovery Affordable Care Act	Tucson shootings Hurricane Irene Budget Control Act	Hurricane Sandy	Relief Act Immigration reform	Child Care	Veterans Act	"...we delivered more care... to our veterans."
Political	Executive order to close Guantánamo Bay Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on Health Care Reform	Midterm elections	American Jobs Act	Re - elected	Republican Party Government shutdown	Midterm elections	50th anniversary of Selma marches Voting Rights Act	"...movements to expand civil rights."

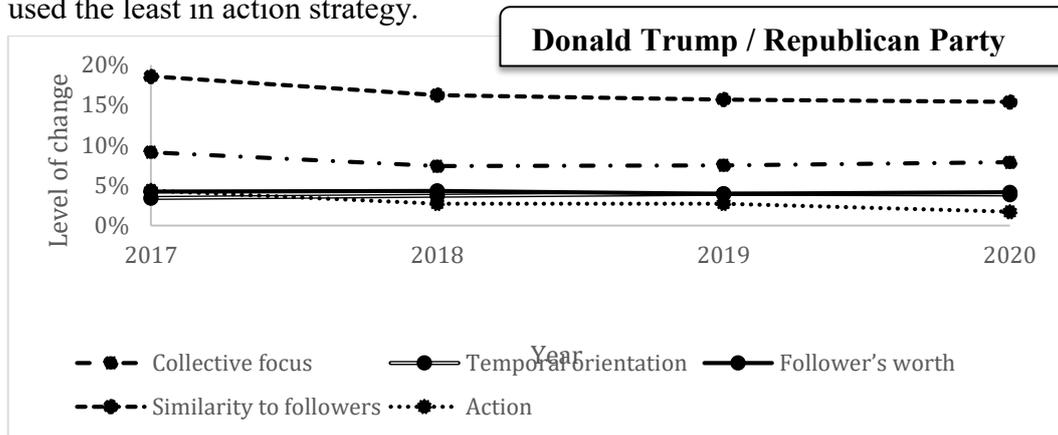
Figure 6b: Summary of major events and change in all strategies between 2009 - 2016 for Obama

Source: <https://millercenter.org/president/barack-obama/key-events>

1.3. Summary of major events and change in all strategies between 2017 - 2020 for Trump

Figure 6c presents the summary of the major events during the presidency of President Donald J. Trump and the using of rhetorical strategies following these events across the years.

As shown in Figure 6c, similar to previous Presidents Bush and Obama, Trump who belongs to the Republican party, used all the five rhetorical strategies, among them the most is Similarity to Followers strategy along all years. But, Trump used the least in action strategy.



Domain / Year	2017 Major Events	2018 Major Events	2019 Major Events	2020 Major Events
Security	Travel ban US Mexico wall US increases presence in Afghanistan	US withdraws from nuclear agreement with Iran	"I withdrew the United States from the disastrous Iran nuclear deal."	Soleimani drone strike Iran retaliates against the United States
Domestic	Withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership Tornado outbreak Hurricane Maria	Pandemic office closed Trade war with China	"...we are now working on a new trade deal with China."	NAFTA replaced Limits on travel from China
Political	Women's March Budget negotiations	Government shutdown begins Democratic Party regains majority in House of Representative	Budget approval Trump impeached	"My budget also contains an exciting vision for our nation's high schools."

Figure 6c: Summary of major events and change in all strategies between 2017 - 2020 for Trump

Source: <https://millercenter.org/president/donald-trump/donald-trump-key-events>

2. Comparison between rhetorical strategies

Although all presidents used all rhetorical strategies, the frequencies were different between strategies. To examine difference between strategies, repeated measures ANOVA was conducted. This method calculates differences between variables across time.

A significant difference was found ($F = 279.39, p < .001$). Specifically, the most frequent used rhetorical strategy is Similarity to Followers (14.0%), and next is Collective Focus (7.5%). Action (3.54%), Follower's worth (3.3%) and Temporal Orientation (2.5%), were the least, used strategies in average (See Figure 7).

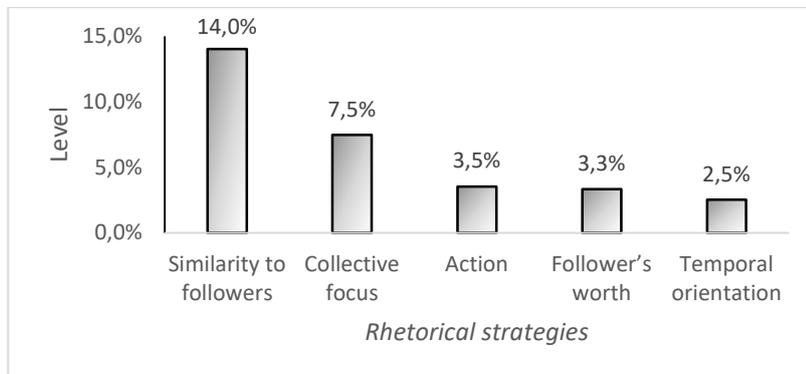


Figure 7: Comparison between rhetorical strategies

3. Comparison between presidents in using the rhetorical strategies

To examine differences between presidents in using the rhetorical strategies, one-way ANOVAs were conducted. This method calculates differences between variables across time. The presidents were George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump.

Table 1 and Figure 8 present the descriptive statistics of all comparisons between the presidents.

Regarding Collective Focus, results did not show a difference between the presidents ($F=1.17, p = .33$), meaning similar levels of collective focus were used by all presidents.

Regarding Temporal Orientation, results showed a significant difference between presidents ($F=17.35, p < .001$). Specifically, Trump has used temporal orientation more frequently in comparison with Obama or Bush.

Regarding Follower’s Worth, results showed a significant difference between presidents ($F=12.72, p < .001$). Specifically, Trump has used Follower’s Worth more frequently in comparison with Obama or Bush. In addition, Bush has used this tool more frequently in comparison with Obama.

Regarding Similarity to Followers, results showed a significant difference between presidents ($F=12.44, p < .001$). Specifically, Trump and Obama have used Similarity to Followers more frequently in comparison with Bush.

Regarding Action, results showed a significant difference between presidents ($F=6.24, p < .01$). Specifically, Bush has used Action more frequently in comparison with Obama or Trump, who uses in a lower frequency in this strategy.

Rhetorical strategies / President	Collective Focus		Temporal Orientation		Follower’s Worth		Similarity to Followers		Action	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
George W. Bush	7.65%	1.34%	2.10%	0.51%	3.49%	0.62%	11.81%	1.51%	4.09%	0.48%
Barack Obama	7.05%	0.84%	2.39%	0.50%	2.79%	0.33%	15.03%	1.94%	3.33%	0.36%
Donald J. Trump	7.97%	0.79%	3.74%	0.23%	4.17%	0.16%	16.47%	1.44%	2.89%	1.09%

Table 1: Comparison between presidents in using rhetorical strategies
 Note: M=Mean, SD=Standard Deviation

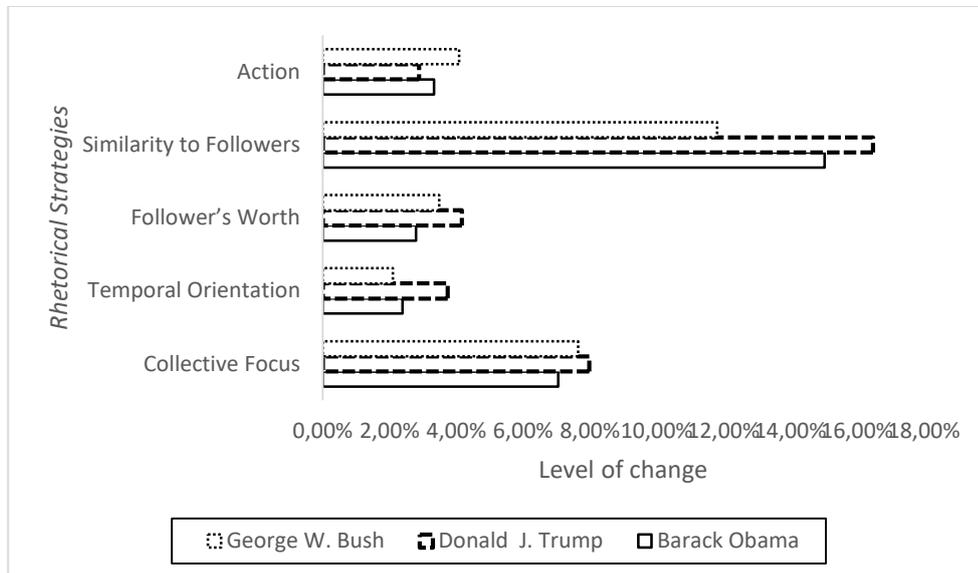


Figure 8: Comparison between presidents in using rhetorical strategies

According to Cattani’s conceptual analyses, **the Model of Convincing and Persuading, in the study, which refers to "leader-centered perspectives"(e.g., the leaders' lens) should provide leadership studies with an important way of looking at the leader-follower relationship through downward toward followers.**

An analysis of the data in our study shows three main finding:

First, the most common rhetorical strategies among American presidents in their political speeches are: Similarity to Followers, Collective Focus, Temporal Orientation, Follower’s Worth, and Action. Such findings are consistent with Shamir and colleagues’ (1994, p.29) propositions about the contents of charismatic leaders’ speeches and are essential to convince and to persuade listeners in the political arena, concerning the self-concept theory (Shamir et al.,1993).

These findings give us a more detailed insight into how presidents orate in the most important speech of the year, from the beginning of the presidency: frame-breaking, from the middle: frame-moving, and from the end: frame-realigning (Fiol et al., 1999). The presidential leaders fulfill their leadership roles with a unique set

of circumstances namely, wars, terrorism, natural disasters, economic crisis and pressures namely, re-election, approval ratings, midterm elections, bipartisanship politics, budget approval, impeachment and government shutdown. Hence the process of leadership rests both on attention to events as they unfold as well as to the larger implications of these events (Bathurst & Monin, 2010, p.127).

We argued that it's helpful not to think of the rhetoric dimensions in a linear way but more like five overlapping circles. Ultimately, the five rhetoric dimensions are interconnected.

Second, Trump had high variance in using Similarity to Followers and also used Collective Focus in a similar level like Bush and Obama **but unlike them demonstrated high use in Temporal Orientation (3.74%) and in addition high use in Follower's Worth (4.17%) together with low use of action (2.89%)** (see Table 1).

Third, Specifically, the most frequent used rhetorical strategy is Similarity to Followers (14.0%) for all president (See Figure 7). Importantly, this was the preferred strategy of Bush Obama and Trump in their speaker-audience interaction with no tie to their party affiliation.

Based on our results, **all of the three orators used of several rhetoric languages, in the rhetorical technique Similarity to Followers**, tier upon tier, which denote leveling, familiarity, human interest, rapport and inclusive language (e.g., words in bold in the quotations below), when they reported, every year, to their listeners about issues on the security, domestic and political domains of the country. According to one of the propositions about the contents of charismatic leaders' speeches in comparison with the speeches of non-charismatic leaders: "More references to the leader's similarity to followers and identification with followers" (Shamir et al.,1994, p.29) concerning the self-concept theory (Shamir et al.,1993).

Kenneth Burke, one of the most significant rhetorical theorists of the twentieth century, noticed: "Here is perhaps the simplest case of persuasion. **You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his**" (Burke, 1969, p.55). In this quote Burke assigned the same level of importance to

identification already assigned to speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, and idea in the practice of rhetoric.

For example, **George W. Bush**, the America's 43rd President (2001- 2009), a member of the **Republican Party**, emphasized this rhetorical tool, in his speech, regarding to the security domain of the country, during his second presidency (e.g., words in bold in the examples below):

"In the three and **a** half years since September the 11th, 2001, **we**'ve taken unprecedented actions to protect Americans... In these four years, Americans have seen the unfolding of large events. **We** have known times of sorrow and hours of uncertainty and days of victory. In all **this** history, even when **we** have disagreed, **we** have seen threads of purpose **that unite us**" (Fourth Presidential State of the Union Address, February 2, 2005).

In this speech, the president formed a bond of commonality with his target audience by effectively projecting himself as "primus inter pares" (e.g., a Latin phrase meaning "first among equals"). This notion is highlighted rhetorically by the repetition of the plural first person pronouns "**we**", and "**us**". The speaker did not distance himself from the American people; instead, everything the president proclaimed further seems to be issued by "us" – the followers. Thus, the speaker reflected solidarity with his followers in the political process (van Dijk, 1997, p. 34), by sharing experiences from the past. All the Americans, include the president himself, remember the terrorist attacks that took place in New York City on September 11, 2001, during his first presidency. Also Obama (January 25, 2011) and Trump (February 28, 2017) mentioned this national traumatic event.

In the year 2006, after Bush was re-elected for president for the second term (November 2, 2004), the president delivered this idea directly to his listeners, regarding to the domestic domain of the country. Ingratiation behaviors make oneself more attractive or likable to others:

"**This** year, the first of **about** 78 million **baby** boomers turns 60, **including** two of my **dad**'s favorite people: **me** and President Clinton. **This** milestone is more **than a** personal crisis. It is **a** national challenge. The retirement of the **baby** boom generation will put unprecedented strains on the federal government" (Fifth Presidential State of the Union Address, January 31, 2006).

Similarly, **Obama and Trump**, each of them included himself as "**one of the people.**" **In this way, the language of the leader portrays that he is representative of "one of us" and therefore, may be trusted and liked.**

To quote Barack Obama, who served as the 44th president of the United States (2009- 2017), a member of the **Democratic Party**, from his first speech, regarding to the domestic domain of the country:

"It reflects the stark reality of **what we've** inherited – **a trillion dollar deficit, a financial crisis, and a costly recession.** Given these realities, **everyone** in **this** chamber -- Democrats and Republicans -- will have to sacrifice some worthy priorities **for** which there are no dollars. And **that includes me.** But **that** does not mean **we** can afford to ignore **our** long-term challenges" (First Speech to a Joint Session of Congress, February 24, 2009).

To quote Donald Trump, the 45th president of the United States (2017-2021), a member of **Republican Party**, accentuated the main concept that he is "**one of the collective**", regarding to the political domain of the country:

"**We** meet tonight at a moment of unlimited potential. As **we** begin **a** new Congress, I stand here ready to work **with** you to achieve historic breakthroughs **for all** Americans. Millions of **our fellow** citizens are watching **us** now, gathered in **this** great chamber, hoping **that we** will govern not as two parties but as **one** nation. The agenda I will lay out **this** evening is not **a** Republican agenda or **a** Democrat agenda. It's the agenda of the American people" (Second State of the Union Address, February 5, 2019).

In **rhetoric**, the term **identification** refers to any of the wide variety of means by which a writer or speaker may establish a **shared sense of values, attitudes, and interests with an audience. Also known as consubstantiality.** Things are consubstantial if they share the same nature or substance. As Burke (1969, p. 21) put it,

"A doctrine of consubstantiality, either explicit or implicit, may be necessary to any way of life. For substance, in the old philosophies, was an act; and a way of life is an acting-together; and in acting together, men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes that make them consubstantial".

So, **consubstantiation** is the feeling of "**oneness**" or **unity** created by rhetorical language. As we have already mentioned about the use of **inclusive**

language, via personal pronouns plural deictic "**we**" and "**us**" and also the possessive pronoun plural deictic "**our**", are intensively used in presidents' discourse, instead of "I" and "my". Fairclough (1989, p.179) wrote that when a leader uses "we" inclusively as a section of a led, it assimilates him/her to the people. **It enables the leader to identify himself with the audience, to impact on their emotions, to develop his credible image in the minds of his listeners and to gain non-rational authority. Followers of charismatic leaders often end up developing strong emotional bonds with their leaders, which serve as a foundation for their willingness to be compliant and committed to their leaders' agendas.**

Thus, the great orators used two of Aristotle's pillars of persuasion: the ethos and the pathos (Aristotle, 1967). The ethos or the ethical appeal, means to convince an audience of the author's credibility or character (O'Connell, 2017). The pathos or the emotional appeal, means to convince an audience by appealing to their emotions (Toye, 2013).

Moreover, by using the personal pronoun plural deictic "**we**" the politician considers himself, the government, the population and the current audience as a whole body. In the speeches, the speakers presented themselves as embodiments of unity, tying their own well-being to the security and prosperity of the state. Inclusive language may also comprise less self-reference (e.g., I, mine, myself; Fiol et al., 1999), in order to be consistent with language that emphasizes group consensus and solidarity. To articulate the theme of unity in the presidents' rhetoric, Bush Obama and Trump used some rhetorical strategies, by the construct Similarity to Followers separately and also by a combination with the construct Collective Focus and other rhetorical constructs. We shall return to some of its other aspects below.

For example, words from the dictionary of the construct **Similarity to Followers**, such as: **unity, family, one, together, common, share, we, our, and us.**

As Trump announced in his first public address before a joint session of Congress, a month after he was inaugurated (January 20, 2017). His speech has become an appeal to both the establishment and the society to shift from confrontation to cooperation.

The first joint session speech is typically used to outline a new president's goals for his administration. In this day Inauguration Protesters and Police Clash occurred on Washington's Streets and thousands of peaceful protesters marched across the country as they voiced anti-Trump slogans. On the day after Trump's inauguration, millions of people around the world participated in the Women's March, the largest single-day march in U.S. history, to protest the Trump administration and its policies (source: <https://millercenter.org/president/trump/key-events>).

"I am here tonight to deliver a message of **unity** and strength, and it is a message deeply delivered from my heart ... **What we** are witnessing today is the renewal of the American spirit" (Trump, First Speech to a Joint Session of Congress, February 28, 2017).

In his second public address, a year later, Trump stated again:

"... to summon the **unity we** need to deliver **for** the people. This is really the key" (First State of the Union Address, January 30, 2018).

Similar to **Trump, Bush and Obama** articulated the **theme of unity**:

"September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in **this** Congress. And I **join** the American people in applauding your **unity** and resolve... Now Americans deserve to have **this** same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home" (Bush, First (Official) Presidential State of the Union Address, January 29, 2002).

"**We** find **unity** in **our** incredible diversity, drawing **on** the promise enshrined in **our** Constitution: the notion **that we're all** created equal... **We** must continually renew **this** promise" (Obama, First Presidential State of the Union Address, January 27, 2010).

Thus, **the central idea of "unity" goes throughout the speeches**, and that is done by a carefully generated lexical chain as well as repetition and also through phrases by a **combination between the construct Similarity to Followers** e.g., words in bold in the examples below) **and the construct Collective Focus**, words such as: country, nation, people, American people, people of Iran, allies and so on (e.g., words marked with a line).

Hereby are examples:

"**We** are part of the American family. **We** believe **that** in a country where **every** race and faith and point of view can be found, **we** are still **bound together**

as one people; **that we share common hopes and a common creed**" (Obama, Second Presidential State of the Union Address, January 25, 2011).

"**We the People**" (Bush, 2008; Obama, 2016).

"**we are one country**" (Bush, 2002).

"**All of us, together, as one team, one people, and one American family** can do anything" (Trump, 2018).

By using the strategy **Collective Focus**, the speakers included references to **collectives** (e.g., social groupings, task groups, geographical entities) and **people** (e.g., citizenry, population, residents) according to one of the propositions about the contents of charismatic leaders' speeches in comparison with the speeches of non-charismatic leaders: "More references to the collective" (Shamir et al., 1994, p.29). **This is a recognition that all the collectives exist, and are therefor important and are included in president's vision.** The leaders care about them because he is like them.

Indeed, given the contextual constraints on political discourse defined as functional political action in the political process, topical participants are all those actors who are able to contribute to the political process, viz., **elite groups** and organizations on the one hand, and the "**public**" (citizens, the people, etc.) on the other hand (van Dijk, 1997, p.26). When the address focused on security topics the speakers appealed to groups like army, men and women in uniform, world, allies, terrorists, ISIS, Afghanistan and Iran; When the address focused on domestic topics the speakers appealed to groups such as: boom generation, federal government, workers, businesses from Wall Street to Main Street, doctors, veterans and when the address focused on political topics the speakers appealed to groups like Congress, Chamber, White House, parties, Democrats and Republicans, etc.

The State of the Union Address generally includes reports on the nation's budget, economy, news, achievements and the president's priorities and legislative proposals. Dealing with a wide range of critical issues, such as foreign policy, terrorist attacks, global security, healthcare, taxation, education, energy, natural resources, social welfare, public safety, personal freedoms, budget approval and bipartisanship politics.

So, The State of the Union address is a communication from the President to Congress in which the chief executive reports on the current Condition of the United

States, highlights the major policy for the coming year and provides policy proposals for the upcoming legislative year (Hoffman & Howard, 2006, p.102).

The three branches of the federal government (e.g., legislative, executive and judicial) come together at the U.S. Capitol every year (except a president's first year in office) **to hear the president deliver the State of the Union address, with live audiences**, at the Chamber of the House of Representatives in the United States Capitol. Most people view the speech on television or via the internet (YouTube and other sites). This is a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser /sender to the addressee /receiver. In the modern presidency, presidential rhetoric is an important tool for leadership and is effective in setting the agenda, influence on media coverage, swaying public opinion, and changing the conversation among broader audiences (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2010). The idea is also known as **"going public"** (Kernell, 2007, p, 3). By "going public" the president is going above Congress's head to appeal to the public and force Congress to act.

A good politician must try to reach **as many different groups as possible**, and the message must reach **wide variety of multiple addressees**: members of the Congress, American citizens of the United States, those who inhabit in this country, audiences outside of America's borders. voters, potential voters, as well as **opponents**. To engage highly **diverse audiences with divergent** political orientations, the speeches included references to **collectives** and **people**, as noted above, that the leaders are talking to or about.

Many studies have shown how the use of pronouns and other deictic in political discourse includes the idea of political polarization about in-groups and outgroups, by the opposition between **positive evaluations of "us"** and **"our" good actions and negative evaluations of "them"** (e.g., ideological competitors, those who don't vote for the leader, opponents, previous presidents, governments or parliaments or even **enemies**) and **"their" bad actions** (Oktar, 2001; Petersoo, 2007; van Dijk, 1995; van Dijk, 1997p.28).

This semantic polarization of the evaluative dimension of semantic macro proposition is functional and effective in the political process, e.g., in the competition for votes, support, and the struggle for political survival and legitimation (van Dijk, 1997, p.28).

This idea of "us" and "them" is based on the general principle that whatever values and principles we share; they do not have them. Thus, the approach of "us against "them" appeals to **people's self -concept** by presenting a black-and-white world with a particular mission for a group to accomplish. Charismatic leader invites his followers to become part of a group and part of a larger vision by giving the listeners a **sense of belonging and meaning in life, in enhancing follower's level of self-esteem and self-worth**. People are motivated to maintain and enhance their self-esteem and self-worth (Shamir et al.,1993, p.580). Self- esteem is based on a sense of competence, power, achievement or ability to cope with and control one's environment. Self-worth is based on a sense of virtue and moral worth and is grounded in norms and values concerning conduct (Gecas 1982). Group memberships are important parts of a person's self-concept and how he values himself. This means that groups constitute an ideological image of themselves and others in a way where "us" are represented positively (**positive self-representation**) while "them" are negatively (negative other-representation). When people feel that they belong, they are more likely to blindly follow a leader and fight for a specific cause.

Charismatic leaders and their followers typically believe that they are fighting for a supreme cause and subsequently trust that they are defending good against evil (Sandberg & Moreman, 2015, p.9).

It is important to note that in the U.S. presidential discourse, **unity** is a central thesis but this does not mean **uniformity**. The rhetorician Kenneth Burke (1969) in his "Theory of Identification and Consubstantiality" stated that one can be "both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with one another" (Burke, 1969, p. 21). Thus, all the three politicians pointed out **differences** of races, backgrounds, opinions, attitudes, interests and beliefs, referring to the entire American population and to audiences in the global community, as may be seen in the three examples below ((e.g., words marked with a line):

"In a system of two parties, two chambers and two elected branches, there will always be differences and debate" (Bush, Fifth Presidential State of the Union Address, January 31, 2006).

"... we are a people who see our differences as a great gift, that we're a people who value the dignity and worth of every citizen -- man and woman, young and old, black and white, Latino, Asian, immigrant, Native American, gay, straight, Americans with mental illness or physical disability. Everybody matters... that we are still more than a collection of red states and blue states; that we are the United States of America" (Obama, Sixth Presidential State of the Union Address, January 20, 2015).

"We are advancing with unbridled optimism and lifting our citizens of every race, color, religion, and creed very, very high" (Trump, Third State of the Union Address, February 4, 2020).

These passages advocate unity despite all differences. Of note, there is no doubt, however, that **the goal of the leaders is not to convince to change personal identity**. Another clear example of how this is accomplished, when Bush declared:

"Each of us is guided by our own convictions -- and to these we must stay faithful... We went into this largely united, in our assumptions and in our convictions" (Sixth Presidential State of the Union Address, January 23, 2007)

Moreover, these expressions give them all a sense of oneness and singleness of being. As Follett (1918, p.108) wrote: "The true state has my devotion because it gathers up into itself the various sides of me, is the symbol of my multiple self, is my multiple self - brought to significance, to self-realization. If you leave me with my plural selves, you leave me in desolate places, my soul craving its meaning, its home. The home of my soul is in the state." When a speaker employs this strategy, the listeners are more easily persuaded. "In being identified with B, A is "substantially one" with a person other than himself. Yet at the same time he remains unique, an individual locus of motives" (Burke, 1969, p.21).

Connected with the previous ideas, in order to promote this goal of unity Trump (February 5, 2019) asked: "We **must choose** whether we are defined by our differences or whether we dare **to transcend** them?" In their interaction with their followers, all of them, in terms of calling the hearers to action, called to "**to bridge**"

old divides and divisions in their audiences. (Bush, 2001; Obama,2015; Trump, 2019). By using the rhetorical strategy **Action**, according to one of the propositions about the contents of charismatic leaders' speeches in comparison with the speeches of non-charismatic leaders: "More references to distal goals and the distant future " (Shamir et al.,1994, p.29) concerning the self-concept theory (Shamir et al.,1993).

Charismatic leaders encourage followers towards action, there seems to be both theoretical and empirical consensus that charismatic leaders engage in rhetoric to mobilize followers towards goals and action (Bligh et al., 2004a; 2004b; Shamir et al., 1993). As demonstrate in Bush's (2006) quote (e.g., words in bold in the quotation below):

"...And our differences cannot be allowed to harden into anger. **To confront** the great issues before us, we **must act** in a spirit of good will and respect for one another."

In this quote the orator made a combination between the construct Action (e.g., **to confront** and **must act**) and the construct Similarity to Followers (e.g., our; us; we; a, for and one another), as those shown in many examples.

Interestingly, each president suggested in this way, a method of conflict resolution: **to find, to build** and "**to seek** (e.g., Action) common ground"(e.g., Similarity to Followers) (Bush, 2001; Obama, 2009; Trump, 2017). **Persuasive rhetoric is more effective when it combines more than one rhetoric strategy.**

In the quote bellow, the orator made a combination between three constructs: Action (e.g., **to build**); Similarity to Followers (e.g., That, us, common ground) and Collective Focus (e.g., American people).

" That is the foundation on which the American people expect us **to build** common ground" (Obama, 2009).

There are three ways of dealing with difference: domination, compromise, and **integration**. By domination only one side gets what it wants; by compromise neither side gets what it wants; by integration we find a way by which both sides may get what they wish, as it considered all points and did not demand giving up ones individuality (Follet, 1918, p.25). **In this way, a common ground in**

perception is stressed between the leader and followers and within the collective itself.

From this standpoint, **the all- encompassing message of unity is equivalent of a collective identity.** In the literature, in various writings on the social identity theory, most sociological and social psychological writings on identity, **argued that the self-concept is comprised of two dimensions of identity, namely, a personal identity and a collective identity.** The main assumption of this approach is that every person has a distinct personal identity but also social identities that connect them to other people. A personal identity encompassing idiosyncratic characteristics, which make the people unique and special as individuals. A collective identity consisting of salient group classifications, which shared with a group of others who have, or are perceived to have, some characteristics in common (Haslam,2001; Monroe et al.,2000; Otkar,2001; Shamir et al.,1993; Steffens et al.,2017; Steffens et al.,2021; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1985; Turner & Haslam, 2001).

Social identity theory is rooted in social psychology, developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979) who wanted to understand the social psychological processes that underpin intergroup relations. Whereas sociology emphasizes structural influences on behavior, and psychology individual differences that affect action, social psychologists search for fundamentals of human nature that are then influenced by situational factors. But the individual self forms the basis for both personal and collective identity, which rely on an identification in relation to others (Dobert et al, 1987) in the particular social interactions and structures in which a person operates. Contemporary identity theory thus posits an interplay between cognitive processes and social or cultural influences (Monroe et al., 2000).

In light of the above, the composition of the speech has an overall aim to create this sense of unity between the speaker and his interlocutors in order to deliver the message, by developing a broader collective identity. This is a central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue. Historically, researchers have acknowledged the importance of shared social identity for group functioning (Shamir et al., 1993; van Knippenberg et al., 2004). A person must claim his or her identity for himself or herself and vis-a-vis others.

The social identity theory of leadership argues that leadership effectiveness centers on leaders and followers seeing themselves as part of a common group, as sharing a social identity. It argues that key to individuals' openness to each other's influence is seeing themselves and others not just in terms of **personal identities**, as a sense of "I" but also in terms of a shared **social identity**, as a sense of "we" and "us" (e.g., Similarity to Followers) (Steffens et al., 2021, pp.3-4). This type of language also implies that the leader and the followers are "on the same page." Thus, when action is proposed later on, followers may be more likely to emulate the leader's agenda.

Shamir et al. (1993) highlighted the role of the followers' self-concept in the motivational processes associated with charismatic leadership. Leader behavior emphasizing collective identities and collective efficacy leads to personal identification with the leader and to social identification and value internalization. Simply put, **followers develop social identification where they identify with the group following the leader.** Charismatic leaders engage followers, in their speeches, by mechanisms of role modeling and frame alignment (Shamir et al., 1994).

Gamson and Modigliani (1987, p. 143) defined "frame" as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them".

Communication scholars and political scientists generally use the term "**frame**" in two ways (Chong, 1996; Druckman, 2001; Nelson et al., 1997; Scheufele, 2000; Snow et al., 1986).

First, **a frame in thought or an individual frame refers to an individual's cognitive understanding of a given situation** (Goffman, 1974). Second, **a frame in communication refers to the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker** (e.g., a politician, a media outlet) uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, 1989). Unlike frames in communication, which reflect a speaker's emphasis, frames in thought refer to what an audience member believes to be the most salient aspect of an issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

Issue frames in policy discourse regularly influence citizens' political opinions. Issue framing effects on opinion were mediated through a dual-process: **the process of importance change**, by changing the relative importance of considerations as well as through **the process of content change**, by changing the content of considerations (Slothuus, 2008). Nelson (2004) remarked that by framing issues to emphasize one policy goal over another, politicians can affect the balance that citizens strike between competing values. This rearrangement in value priorities can subsequently affect policy opinions, even when beliefs about the issue remains unchanged.

From this viewpoint, a broader frame is an emphasis in salience of different aspects of a topic. So, the atmosphere of unity is even more boosted when the three American presidents emphasized, in the addresses, shared **experiences**, norms, beliefs, **values**, as well as shared aspirations, ambitions, and **goals**, that are relevant to the experience and values of followers.

All of the three orators used the rhetorical mean **Temporal Orientation**, according to one of the propositions about the contents of charismatic leaders' speeches in comparison with the speeches of non-charismatic leaders: "More references to collective history" (Shamir et al.,1994, p.29), concerning the self-concept theory (Shamir et al.,1993). In Bush's (2006) words (e.g., words in bold in the quotations below):

"Every time I'm **invited** to this rostrum, I **am humbled** by the privilege and mindful of the history we **have seen** together. We **have gathered** under this Capitol dome in moments of national mourning and national achievement."

The two following examples exhibit this notion of **Temporal Orientation**. In these examples the orator made a combination between the five constructs: **Temporal Orientation (e.g., words in bold in the quotations below)** Action, Similarity to Followers and Collective Focus (e.g., the strategy Follower's Worth: heroes, chance, optimism, strongly):

"At the end of **World War II**, when another generation (e.g., American citizens - Collective Focus) of heroes (e.g., the strategy Follower's Worth) **returned** home from combat... My grandfather (e.g., Similarity to Followers), a veteran of **Patton's Army**, **got** the chance to go to college... My grandmother, who **worked** on a bomber assembly line... The two of them **shared** the optimism of a

nation that **had triumphed** over a **depression** and **fascism...** Let's remember (e.g., Action) how we (e.g., Similarity to Followers) **got** here" (Obama, Third Presidential State of the Union Address, January 24, 2012).

"We strongly support NATO, (e.g., North Atlantic Treaty Organization - Collective Focus) an alliance **forged** through the bonds of **two world wars** that **dethroned fascism**, and a **Cold War**, and **defeated communism**" (Trump, 2017).

Based on our results, we can see that the components of the rhetorical dimension **Temporal Orientation** are reminders about common experiences from the past, and challenges America faced in the past, on the security, domestic and political domains, like events: **World War II**, **Patton's Army**, **fascism**, **Cold War**, **communism**, **recession**, **stock market declines**, **Federal Convention** and **September the 11th** (as mentioned before) and **Apollo 11**; like tradition: **Black History Month**; like famous and important people such as presidents: **Lincoln**, **Roosevelt**, **Truman** and **John F. Kennedy**; religious persona: **Pop Francis** and **Martin Luther King**, one of the most prominent leaders in the civil rights movement.

Another component is the theme of time with how the presidents represent and refer to the past, the present, and the future, by using words such as verb type: worked/working. For example,

"Our military is completely **rebuilt** ... Now we want to rebuild our country, and that's exactly what we're doing. We are **rebuilding** our country" (Trump, 2020).

Consequently, when the speakers recalled the past and speculated about the future while focusing on the present, **they help their listeners to feel a strong feeling of continuity between the past and the present** and to insure continuity and consistency under changing conditions, in order to make their vision stick in the minds of their audiences. Willner (1984) asserted that charismatic leaders link present behaviors to past events by citing historical examples. **People are motivated to retain and increase their sense of self-consistency** ((Shamir et al., 1993, p.580). Self-consistency refers to correspondence among components of the self-concept at a given time, to continuity of the self-concept over time (Turner 1968). People derive a sense of "meaning" from continuity between the past, the

present and the projected future (McHugh, 1968), and from the correspondence between their behavior and self-concept (Schlenker, 1985).

Thus, the great orators used another of Aristotle's pillars of persuasion: **the logos** (Aristotle, 1967). **The logos or the appeal to logic, means to convince an audience by use of logic or reason.** To use logos would be to cite facts and statistics, historical and literal analogies, and citing certain authorities on a subject (Toye, 2013). The appeal to authority or old wisdom is considered to be an effective tool to present a virtuous character, and justification for a point of view (Halmay, 2005).

Interestingly, all the three political leaders made a combination between the construct Temporal Orientation (e.g., **Founders**) and the construct Similarity to Followers (e.g., our) using the following pair of the words: our **Founders** (Bush, 2008; Obama, 2014, 2016; Trump, 2020), our **ancestors** (Trump, 2020) and our **forebears** (Obama, 2014).

The quotations below show the loyalty and the respect of the heads of states to American national forbearers, to the United States Constitution, to authorities and also to the American people. The founders of America asserted that all men are created equal (Obama, 2010) (e.g., created equal - the strategy Follower's Worth).

"We find unity in our incredible diversity, drawing on the promise **enshrined** in our Constitution: the notion that we're all created equal" (Obama, 2010); "... so that the words **set** to paper by our **founders** are made real for every citizen" (Obama, 2014).

"We must trust in the wisdom of our **founders** " (Bush, 2008).

At the same time, in terms of persuasive language, it is **an appeal to ethos, to strengthen the authority or credibility of the speaker or the credibility of the argument.** It is an important tool of persuasion because if you can get your audience to see you or your argument as credible and trustworthy, it will be much easier to persuade them.

Obviously, these three presidents hope a promising future, by so many references to historical events and values. Thus, all the three presidents also used the rhetorical mean **Follower's Worth**, according to one of the propositions about the contents of charismatic leaders' speeches in comparison with the speeches of non-charismatic leaders: "More references to values and moral

justifications...More positive references to followers' worth and efficacy as individuals and as a collective... " (Shamir et al.,1994, p.29), concerning the self-concept theory (Shamir et al.,1993). As Cockcroft (2004) claimed ethos is the strongest appeal since it expresses values.

More recent theorization suggests that leaders act as “entrepreneurs of identity” (Reicher & Hopkins, 1996, 2001; Seyranian & Bligh, 2008; Shamir et al.,1993; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Shamir et al. (1993, p. 584) argued that **charismatic leaders change the salience of hierarchy of values and identities within the follower's self-concept, thus increasing the probability that these values and identities will be implicated in action.** Since values and identities are socially based, their control of behavior is likely to represent a shift from the instrumental to the moral and from concern with individual gains to concerns with contributions of the collective.

Therefore, throughout the speeches, **the leader related the significance of values** for civilization, for all human beings, for the American citizens, for different nations such as: Iranian people, for all the world's great religions, in the global community such as: Christians, Muslims and Jews, as well as opponents and enemies, such as: Islamic world (e.g., Collective Focus), include him, in order to accomplish unity among the followers and to instill faith in a better future. Pathos is the way of creating a persuasive argument by evoking an emotional response in the audience. Each leader used pathos when trying to persuade, by appealing to an audience’s hopes and dreams, playing on their fears or worries, or appealing to their particular beliefs or ideals. People would follow leaders who provide vision and hope for a better future and faith in its attainment (Shamir et al.,1993, p.583). As shown below in the presidential oratory:

"In the end, it's our ideals, our (e.g., Similarity to Followers) **values** that built America ... **values** that drive our citizens still... These aren't Republican **values** or Democratic **values** that they're living by; business **values** or labor **values**. They're American **values**" (Obama, 2010).

"As long as we are proud of who we are and what we are fighting for, there is nothing we cannot achieve. As long as we have confidence in our (e.g., Similarity to Followers) **values**, faith in our citizens, and trust in our God, we will never fail" (Trump, 2018).

Based on our results, there are three components in the rhetorical dimension Follower's Worth in the presidential speeches: praise; inspiration and satisfaction language.

The praise language conveyed in words such as: **brave, heroic kindness, self-sacrifice, clear-eyed, big-hearted, can, strength and generosity**. Thus, so many positive references to Followers' Worth and efficacy as individuals like Sergeant Rieman and as a collective like Americans, country and, Islamic world;

For example (e.g., words in bold in the quotations below):

"For his exceptional **courage**, Sergeant Rieman was awarded the Silver Star. And like so many other Americans who have volunteered to defend us, he has earned the **respect** and the **gratitude** of our entire country" (Bush, 2007).

"That's the country we **love** -- **clear-eyed, big-hearted, undaunted** by challenge, **optimistic** that unarmed **truth** and unconditional **love** will have the final word" (Obama, 2016).

"America will take the side of **brave** men and women who advocate these **values** around the world, including the Islamic world" (Bush, 2002).

Interestingly, all the three presidents made a combination between the construct Follower's Worth and the construct Similarity to Followers by using the following pair of the words: we **can**. (Bush, 2008; Obama, 2014, 2016; Trump, 2020). In these phrases the persuader is intended to establish rapport with the persuadee, to share responsibility and to encourage for action, by using also the rhetorical strategy Action (e.g., fight, get, do).

This effect is achieved by showing confidence in the followers' ability to meet the leader's high expectations, increasing the meaningfulness of goal accomplishment, and making followers part of a larger vision (Shamir, 1991; Shamir, et al., 1993).

Hereby some examples:

"... we will fight... in every way we **can**" (Bush, 2003).

"We **can** do this. I know we **can**, because we've done it before" (Obama, 2012).

"We **can** get this done" (Obama, 2013).

"And we **can** do it" (Trump, 2018).

Self-efficacy is a strong source of motivation (Bandura 1986, p. 351).

Charismatic leaders increase support and self-efficacy of followers by using language that highlights the value of followers to the leader and the collective (House et al., 1991).

The inspiration language conveyed the common and collective values and moral justifications in words such as: **faith, truth, fairness, equality, liberty, dreams, justice, optimism**; regarding security topics: **democracy, freedom, peaceful**; regarding domestic topics: **open markets** and **rights, right to choose** regarding political topics. As may be seen in the quotations below (e.g., words in bold in the quotations below):

" Each American generation passes the torch of **truth, liberty** and **justice** in an unbroken chain all the way down to the present. That torch is now in our hands. And we will use it to light (e.g., rhetorical strategy Action) up the world... Our allies will find that America is once again **ready to lead**. All the nations of the world -- friend or foe -- will find that America is **strong**, America is **proud**, and America is **free**" (Trump, 2017).

"...we will advocate for those **values** that have served our own country so well... We will stand for the **rights** and **dignity** of all human beings -- men and women; Christians, Muslims and Jews. We will support policies that lead to **strong** and **stable democracies** and **open markets**, because tyranny is no match for **liberty**" (Obama, 2012).

"And to the Iranian people, I say tonight: As you stand for your own **liberty**, America stands with you" (Bush, 2005).

The satisfaction language conveyed in words such as: **pride, happiness, welcome, happiness, bless** and **thank**. This motivational language and praise enables leaders to inspire employees to strive for what may otherwise be perceived as impossible goals (Schroedel et al., 2013).

Finally, presidential leaders ended their addresses with the sentence:

"**Thank** you. And may God **bless** America" (Bush, 2004, 2005; Obama, 2016; Trump, 2020), by stating their faith in God.

Wherever there is persuasion, there is rhetoric. And wherever there is "meaning," there is "persuasion" (Burke, 1969, p.172). Thus, persuading a concrete society can only be done within the framework of their own cultural values and cognition, that is, their sociocultural context.

To sum up the discussion, by sharing experiences from the past and values, leadership takes place in the context of group membership that is shared between leaders and their followers. Leaders will be more effective to the extent that they are seen as prototypical of an in-group and hence embody what it means to be "one of us" (Hogg, 2001; Steffens, 2021, p.4).

Following this concept, the most common rhetorical strategies namely, Similarity to Followers, Collective Focus, Temporal Orientation, Follower's Worth, and Action were utilized by Bush, Obama and Trump, to stress a Shared collective identity, as well as the components of "Aristotelian rhetoric": ethos, pathos and logos. The present research focused on rhetorical strategies that affect leader– follower interaction. Based on what had been discussed above, it can be concluded that leadership communication plays an important role to increase empowerment and motivation among followers. These findings were also in line with the elements of charismatic leadership as suggested by previous studies (Bass, 1985; Bass, 2008; Conger & Kanungo, 1989; House & Shamir, 1993).

In this context, leadership effectiveness is generally conceptualized as leaders' capacity to motivate, mobilize, convince and persuade followers in ways that advance group and organizational goals (Haslam et al., 2001; Haslam et al., 2017; House et al., 2001; Steffens, 2021, p.3; van Vugt et al., 2008).

The research could make contributions in the field of political psychology and persuasive behavior, on the one hand, and in the field of rhetoric and philosophy of language, on the other.

Shamir and colleagues (1993, p.584) have argued that such leaders increase the intrinsic value of efforts and goals by linking them to valued aspects of the follower's self-concept, thus harnessing the motivational mechanisms of self-expression, self-consistency, self-esteem and self-worth. Howell and Shamir (2005, p. 99) stated that followers who share a charismatic relationship with a leader are willing to transcend self-interests for the sake of the collective interests ...to internalize the leader's values and goals, and to demonstrate strong personal or moral commitment.

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