

BIP Kreativitätsgymnasium Leipzig
BESONDERE LERNLEISTUNG (BeLL)
Abiturjahrgang 2019/20

**US Election Campaigning in 2016-
A Systematic Analysis of the First Presidential Debate between
Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump**

Sina Alexa Laube

Innenbetreuung:

Anke Klitsch (Gymnasiallehrerin für Englisch und Spanisch)

Außenbetreuung:

Inge Bell (Menschenrechtsaktivistin und Medienunternehmerin)

Abgabedatum: 20.12.2019

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1 Introduction

"I'm sickened. I'm without words. I thought for sure that Hillary would win this election"¹. These are the words of a female Clinton supporter after the result of the 2016 US election becomes public. Shocked, excited, anxious, all of these reactions can be seen across America on November 9th of 2016- the day after the US presidential election.

The US election of 2016 is one that changes the political landscape of the US. Not only does it determine America's future but it also decides between long-term politician Hillary Clinton and entertainment giant Donald Trump. In addition, it changes the rhetoric of politics of recent years. Throughout the campaigns, opponents are being attacked, facts are being denied or concealed, and seemingly more scandals than ever are being broad to the surface. The populist policies and rhetoric of Donald Trump mark the beginning of an outbreak of similar parties and candidates all around the world. Global coverage of the entire electoral process draws people of almost every country into the battle of Clinton and Trump. Seldomly has a candidate for the presidency become so globally popular that seemingly everybody forms an opinion about them.

Not only the time leading up to the election is globally documented. Still to this day, numerous intelligence agencies are trying to reconstruct what exactly happens in 2016. The question of how Donald Trump rises to the presidency is still one of the most controversial and obscure issues in modern history.

This scientific essay will contribute its part to that main question. Its goal is to study the rhetoric of both presidential candidates to extrapolate the effect of their performance on the outcome of the 2016 US election. Thereby, the essay aims to explain the sudden change of the election outcome. To attain this coherence, the central focus of the rhetoric analysis is the first presidential debate on November 26th, 2016, as a representative for both candidates' overall rhetorical performance. By analyzing the debate and extracting the rhetorical strategies used, the central part of each campaign, the rhetoric, can be classified. After that, this essay combines the rhetorical performance and its potential influence on the voters with other influencing factors to reassess the thesis of this essay:

In the first presidential debate, Hillary Clinton appeals to a broad audience by using rhetoric that is conceptualized to address every citizen. Notwithstanding, her approach is to her disadvantage because of the socio-economic situation in 2016 and the Electoral College system. Donald Trump focuses his rhetoric strictly on his target audience and their beliefs, while excluding other peer groups. Thereby, he wins the 2016 US election because of his focus on specific socio-economic circumstances, the voter distribution, and the Electoral College system.

To scrutinize this issue, this essay firstly lays down the basis of selected factors possibly influencing the 2016 election. Primarily, this essay focuses on the Electoral College system and the Composition of the American Electorate. Then, this essay covers the biographies of the two main adversaries, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, as well as give some information about three other presidencies to provide a better understanding of the debate. Following that, it gives an outline of three main focuses of the Obama administration and the resulting reactions of the public, to understand the circumstances the 2016 campaigns build upon. To illustrate the point in time the debate is held, the following chapter comprises the most important events throughout

¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=For_WjPZ8qo [last checked 24.10.19]

the Trump and Clinton campaigns, before and after the debate. Lastly, the following chapter elaborates on the election outcome of the 2016 election and compares it to elections with similar outcomes. This essay affiliates the analysis of the debate and connects all of the covered factors to the speech analysis. Lastly, it discusses if there is a connection between the covered issues and if the US voting system, the American electorate, the socio-economic circumstances in 2016, the events during both campaigns, and mainly the debate performance, influence the election outcome of 2016.

2 The Electoral College System

To provide a general understanding of the political structure of the United States of America, this essay begins with explaining the voting system of the United States - the Electoral College system. Since this scheme differs significantly from, for example, the German voting system, it is important to recognize its qualities for later research. To require the fundamental information, the following chapter includes three topics: the requirements one has to meet to partake in an election, the Electoral College system, and its establishment and history. This chapter expounds the basis for further research and for the analysis of the 2016 election outcome and its characteristics.

2.1 Voting Requirements

As noted in the 36th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America, “[t]he right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of age.” (U. S. Const. amend. XXVI) Consequently, the required voting age is 18. However, in some states, pre-registration is available. For instance, in Colorado pre-registration is allowed with a certain procedure at age 16. One willing to register must carry some type of ID validation, preferably with a picture of one's face, as a photo ID validation is required in two-thirds of all US States. Driver's licenses, passports, and military and state-issued cards are various examples for valid photo ID cards. They need to be shown at local registration centers before voting. Another basic requirement for voting in a US election is being a US citizen, who is either living in the US or maintaining an address within the country. One cannot be registered in two or more different states. (Federal Voting Registration, 2018)

Registration can be done in local registration centers or town halls.

It shall not be forgotten that there is no law which unites all the application processes across the country. Therefore, one might experience slight differences in the requested personal information. For instance, the State of Michigan does not allow the specification of the voter's ethnicity, while other states do. Besides those smaller differences in how to apply, a US citizen will not get discriminated based on gender, ethnicity, age, or skin color while voting, as determined in several amendments to the US constitution. (cf. Parris 1970,7)

For example, Amendment 15 proclaims that “[t]he right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied [...] on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude[.]” Amendment 19 states that “[t]he right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied[...] on account of sex[.]” ((U.S. Const. amend. XIX)."

2.2 Structure and Function of the Electoral College System

Every single election that has been carried out within the United States of America since 1786 has used the same system, the Electoral College system. The final election takes place in November of every 4th year (cf. Parris 1970,7) on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November (cf. Unger Jr. 2008, 278). The process leading up to this election starts about one and a half, sometimes even two years in advance. The underlying process of the election and campaigning process can be structured into four stages.

The first stage is called the “invisible primary”. During this time, each party of the dualistic system, so Republicans and Democrats, have several participants, who are volunteering to become president of the United States. (cf. Smith 2010, 11)

The participants build up an image and a reputation through commercials, interviews, and public relations at this time. The presentation of themselves in front of future potential voters is of utmost importance. To promote the ideas of the candidates and highlight their similarities and differences, public televised debates are being held. Aspiring candidates can set themselves apart from other candidates of their party and win the sympathy of the voters.

After this stage, the electoral process transitions to the second stage. During this period, the State Primaries and Caucuses choose the State Delegates to guarantee equal state representation within the parties for the upcoming nomination of the best party candidate (cf. Smith 2011, 11).

After the delegates, who vote on the nomination of one candidate have been chosen, stage three, the “major party nomination”, commences. In this stage, the state delegates of, for example the Republican party’s national convention, choose one of the Republican candidates as the nominee for the party. This nomination takes place in the summer of the election year. (cf. Smith 2011, 12)

With Democratic and Republican parties undergoing this process once, the US voters have two nominees (one of each party) in the end. Those nominees are also the two candidates for presidency (excluding third party candidates).

The fourth and last stage of the electoral process is the general election of the president of the United States of America. In this election, all registered voters are enabled to vote for a slate of electors provided by the political parties of each state. (cf. Smith 2011, 12)

The slate of electors that gets the most votes by the registered voters is now in possession of all elector spots affiliated to the state and is referred to as “duly elected” (cf. Parris 1970, 7). The number of electors supervised to one state depends on their census.

Every state is allocated a certain number of votes equal to the number of senators and representatives in its U.S. Congressional delegation—two votes for its senators in the U.S. Senate plus a number of votes equal to the number of its members in the U. S. House of Representatives.²

On Election Day, electors of all 50 states gather and cast separate ballots for President and Vice President. There is not a law obligating the electors to vote how the population of a state did previously, as it is not found in the constitution. In the majority of cases, the vote of the elector resembles the voting behavior of the citizens. (cf. Parris 1970, 7)

The so-called “Unit-rule” can be applied in 48 out of the 50 states. The rule is set to allocate “all of the state’s electors to the candidate winning the most votes in the state [...]” (Steger 2008, 92). To exemplify, if 51 percent of the electors in one state vote for Trump, these votes hold the majority. Therefore, Trump receives all the votes allocated to the state.

The votes of the electors are then transmitted to the House of Representatives and the Senate, both located in Washington D.C. There, they are counted by so-called “tellers”. (cf. Parris 1970, 7)

² <https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/allocation.html> [last checked. 18.11.2019]

"[...]T]he results are announced [on January 6th of the following year, A.L.] by the president of the Senate in a joint session of the new Congress [...]" (Parris 1970, 7). If there happens to be a majority of electoral college votes for both, future President and Vice President, they are declared "elected". The same issue is noted in the American constitution the following way:

*The person having the greatest Number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed[...]
(U.S. const. amend. XII)*

In the unlikely incident that there is no vast majority for either President or Vice President, the event leads to a so-called "contingent election". In that case, the President is chosen by the House of Representatives and the Vice President is chosen by the Senate (cf. Parris 1970, 7). Notwithstanding, the last time there was no majority for the President was in the election of 1824/25. As none of the four candidates, Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William Harris Crawford, and Henry Clay received the clear majority in electoral votes in 1824, it led to a contingent election in 1825. For alike situations the constitution defines the rules the following way:

No person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States (U.S. Const. Amend. XII)

Therefore, Henry Clay was repudiated for already being Speaker of the House of Representatives. In the end, John Quincy Adams won the election with 13 states casting the majority of the votes of all states with 54 percent.³ Following that, he became the 6th president of the United States of America, after having been Vice President of the 4-year term before that⁴.

The last time a Vice President had to be chosen by the Senate was in 1836/37 under President Martin Van Buren. The Vice President candidates were Richard Mentor Johnson, Francis Granger, John Tyler, and William Smith. Again, due to the 12th Amendment, John Tyler and William Smith, both members of the Senate themselves, could not be declared Vice President. In a contingent election, Richard Mentor Johnson received the majority of the Senate votes. Following that, Johnson was declared Vice President and also President of the House of Representatives⁵. (cf. Parris 1970, 9)

2.3 The History of the Electoral College System

The roots of the United States Voting System date back to the year 1786. In April 1786, representatives of the states Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York gather in Annapolis, Maryland to formally form one extensive government for all states. After the meeting, all states are called to a convention in May. One delegate for, at the time, each of the 13 states (DE, NY, NJ, CT, GA, MD, MA, NH, PA, NC, SC, VA, RI) is sent to Philadelphia in May 1786. The goal of the convention is the "[...] creation of a national government consisting of a supreme

³ <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/the-early-republic/age-of-jackson/v/jacksonian-democracy-part-2> (26.11.2018)

⁴ <https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/presidents/adams/memory.html> (26.11.2018)

⁵ https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/The_Senate_Elects_A_Vice_President.htm (26.11.2018)

legislature, executive, and judiciary” (Parris 1970, 22). As the phrase “United States of the America” already implies, every state had and still has, the desire of its representation, making it challenging to form an extensive government ruling over all of the states. In May 1786 a document, which established the overall government was passed with a six to one vote. The document was ratified once by all 13 states and over time adapted by all other 37 states. The declaration of the US constitutions marks the beginning of the still existing Electoral College system. Definite equal state representation was insured with “The Great Compromise”; a deal, which promised all states equal representation and power with electors proportionally to the size and population of the state. It also included the current legislature system with the two houses: Senate and House of Representatives. The only difference to the present form of election is that in former times, the candidate with the majority of the votes was declared President and the candidate with the second most votes was declared Vice President. Nowadays, the Vice President is chosen separately. (cf. Parris 1970, 22)

3 The Electorate of the US

To reconstruct voting behavior and thereby understand election outcomes, the main factor to look at is the crowd, who votes for their desired candidate. Being a democracy, the different ideals and values of every eligible voter in the US are a key factor influencing every election. Over the years, social scientists have managed to categorize groups of people voting for one candidate into voter demographics. Whether people were allocated by factors they could not change, such as ethnicity and age, or by similar values and views - different groups with somewhat similar lives and opinions formed. Consequently, certain demographic and sociological groups hold the same core values and attitudes towards life. This chapter focuses on the different parts of the American electorate. By categorizing the US population into nine different clusters with the research results of the Pew Foundation’s Typology of American Voters, this chapter systematically illustrates the division within the American society and portraying each side’s key values. It therefore helps to reenact the voting behavior of the crowd in 2016.

3.1 Introduction to the Pew Research Project

To provide insight into the American electorate, this chapter will work with a study carried out by the Pew Research Center. The so-called “Pew Research Foundation’s Typology of American Voters” is a detailed study on the political groupage to the public in 2010. Contrasting to other studies made on the electorate, the Pew Research center uses different aspects to structure their results. Rather than age, gender, or origin, the analyzed crowds are grouped by interest and political opinions. Thereby, no political candidate is allocated all the white or male votes, because that investigative approach does not exist. The study still provides information about this distribution regarding gender or ethnicity within the different groups of like-thinking people. However, it mainly focuses on key values and the people’s attitudes towards, for instance, immigration or governmental interference in the economy. By using this study, this chapter creates an overview of the American electorate. Thereby, it aids to reenact the election outcome and the effects of the rhetorical devices in the first presidential debate.

3.2 Results of the Pew Research Project

The results of the “Pew Foundation’s Typology of American Voters” published by the Pew Research Center classify the American electorate into three different groups. The division into the Political Right, the Political Left, and the Political Middle aligns with the global sectioning of right-, left-, and middle-wing politics. These three parties are divided again into three clusters each. Thereby, the “Pew Foundation’s Typology of American Voters” considers nine sociological clusters. Those clusters can form proto-coalitions between each other, which lastly merge to the large coalitions of Republicans, Democrats and undecided voters. The following tables combine the results of the Times-Mirror study first published in 1987 and the following studies of 1995, 1999, and 2005. (cf. Smith 2010, 19)

The following tables each portrays one of the groups with its three clusters. It commences with the Political Right, subsequently the Political Left, and lastly the Political Middle.

3.2.1 The Political Right

The Political Right is made up of three clusters: Enterprisers, Social Conservatives, and Pro-Government Conservatives. In total, the members of the right cluster count 29 percent of the adult population and 33 percent of registered voters. Overall, the Political Right supports Republican values and policies.

Category	Enterprisers	Social Conservatives	Pro-Government Conservatives
Percentage	9% of adult population 10% of registered voters	11% of adult population 13% of registered voters	9% of adult population 10% of registered voters
Political tendency	98% leaning Republican	97% leaning Republican	86% leaning Republican
Reported values	Patriotism; View Patriot Act as essential to counteract terrorism (cf. Smith 2010, 23) free enterprise system assertive foreign policy (e.g. support of anti-terrorism efforts) Opposition of healthcare and raising national minimum wage 50% own a gun	Against abortion and gay marriage Opposition of governmental interference to help the needy Worried about the impact of immigration >50% own a gun	Strong religious beliefs Mistrust market In favor of government guidance to provide safety against financial ruin
Ethnicity, residence, and religion	>90% White 75% heterosexually married 50% attend church once a week	90% White >50% attends church and bible study Female portion over the age of 50 → Oldest of all 9 clusters Majorly live in southern states	10% Black 12% Hispanic Largest minority cluster in political-right field Mainly young females
Financial status and education	Owners of trade stocks 60% own a household over \$50,000 33% own a small business	Satisfied with income Income equals average national wage	Financial insecurities, highest risk of unemployment in political-right field 60% no more than high-school diploma 50% have children Own a less than \$30,000 household
News preferences	Globally informed Preferred television channel: Fox News	Newspapers	Generic news broadcasters
References	cf. Smith 2010, 22 Pew Foundation's Typology of American Voters	cf. Smith 2010, 22 Pew Foundation's Typology of American Voters	cf. Smith 2010, 23 Pew Foundation's Typology of American Voters

3.2.2 The Political Left

The Political Left consists of the three clusters: Liberals, Conservative Democrats, and Disadvantaged Democrats. They make up 41 percent of the adult population and 44 percent of the electorate. They identify mostly with Democratic values and policies.

Category	Liberals	Conservative Democrats	Disadvantaged Democrats
Percentage	17% of adult population 19% of voters	14% of adult population 15% of registered voters	10% of adult population 10% of registered voters
Political tendency	92% leaning Democratic	98% leaning Democratic >50% strong Democrats	99% leaning Democratic
Reported values	In favor of: Pro-choice regarding abortion gay rights and gay marriage environmental protection diplomacy rather than military action to solve conflicts immigration and labor unions Opposition of Patriot Act Least likely to own a gun	Religious and conservative Personal responsibility → little need for governmental assistance Opposition of gay marriage and homosexuality Moderate stance on abortion, foreign policy (e.g. War in Iraq), and regulation of the environment	Skeptical of ability to succeed alone → anti-business In favor of governmental guidance and labor unions
Ethnicity, residence, and religion	>80% white Least religious 2 nd youngest cluster Live in urban areas in the west of the US	Older females 27% African Americans 30% Almost 50% attend church, bible study or practice religious rituals ≈ 1/3 owns a weapon	Major part consists of minorities ≈60% female 32% African American 14% Hispanic 50% have a child ≈1/4 owns a weapon
Financial status and education	wealthiest cluster in political-left 50% have a college degree	Less educated Poorer than national average	Economically insecure 2/3 no more than high-school degree >50%: one member of household unemployed within past year ≈1/3 of household income less than \$20,000
News preferences	online news-broadcasters; 2 nd most likely to follow the news	Network television, newspapers	Newspapers, CNN
References	cf. Smith 2010, 24 Pew Foundation's Typology of American Voters	cf. Smith 2010, 24 Pew Foundation's Typology of American Voters	cf. Smith 2010, 24f Pew Foundation's Typology of American Voters

3.2.3 The Political Middle

The Political Middle consists of three clusters: The Upbeats, the Disaffecteds, and the Bystanders. They mostly refrain from identifying with a certain party, many identify as independent or no preference. The Political Middle also has the lowest voting participation because of the cluster of the Bystanders, with zero percent registered voters.

Category	Upbeats	Disaffecteds	Bystanders
Percentage	11% of adult population 13% of registered voters	9% of adult population, 10% of registered voters	10% of adult population 0% of registered voters
Political tendency	73% leaning Republican	2/3 independent or no preference 60% leaning Republican	96% non-voters in 2004 56% no preference/ independent 22% Republican 22% Democratic
Reported values/beliefs	Generally positive about the state of the nation Satisfied with nation-wide political direction Belief possible individual success Positive effect of business on society In favor of immigration Support of military actions against possible dangers against US religions	Individual success mainly not under one's control Opposition of immigration and governmental regulations; seen as a threat to jobs Moderate support of governmental assistance Dissatisfied with own and nation-wide economic status	Uninterested in political participation
Ethnicity, residence, and religion	Majority white, Married, suburban, Moderately religious Rather young <50% attend church weekly Highest percentage of white-protestants	>50% male Rural and suburban areas Little above average gun ownership	≈25% Hispanic 2 nd least religious (after Liberals) ¼ attends church weekly 1/3 attends prayer meetings and owns a gun Mostly resident in south and west of US
Financial status and education	Satisfied with financial situation Wealthier than most other clusters 2 nd highest stock-ownership Well-educated	Under financial strain 70% never attended college Little about average unemployment rate within the past year	Lowest education 24% are still in high-school
News preferences	Newspapers, internet	Little political or day-to-day news interest → no main news preference	Uninterested in news; receive news only as a part of another desire (e.g. through commercials during TV shows)
References	cf. Smith 2010, 25f Pew Foundation's Typology of American Voters, 2005	cf. Smith 2010, 26 Pew Foundation's Typology of American Voters, 2005	cf. Smith 2010, 26f Pew Foundation's Typology of American Voters, 2005

4 Biographies of Relevant Presidential Candidates

After months of campaigning, giving interviews, and promoting one's ideas, the two final candidates for the 2016 election are announced. Hillary Clinton as the nominee of the Democratic Party and Donald Trump as the nominee of the Republican Party. From this point on, the final decision has to be made between these two candidates of the two major parties. It is important to the American public to find out something about the lives of their two potential presidents. To give an overview of both of the main candidates' lives and political careers, this chapter outlines both of their biographies separately. Because both candidates refer to their lives in the first presidential debate, it is even further important to showcase their understanding of the socio-economic structure of the US.

4.1 Hillary Clinton

Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton is born on October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois. She grows up establishing a strong bond to her family, which primarily entrenches her focus on family politics. During high school, Clinton volunteers at the National Honor Society and becomes a member of the Girl Scouts of America at her high school. After graduation, she attends Wellesley College until 1969. She then pursues her interest in law and goes to Yale Law School. At that time, she meets her future husband William (Bill) Clinton. After she graduates, she moves to Fayetteville in Arkansas (the state of birth of Bill Clinton) and joins the faculty of the University of Arkansas Law School there (cf. Patrick 2016). In 1975 she marries Bill Clinton; five years later she gives birth to their daughter Chelsea. In total,



Fig 1: Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton

Hillary Clinton spends twelve years as the First Lady of Arkansas. During this period, she is eager to improve the situation of women and families and therefore introduces the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. In 1993 her husband, Bill Clinton, becomes president of the United States. Hillary, therefore, becomes First Lady of the United States of America. Whilst Bill Clinton's presidency, Hillary assists in reforming and improving the healthcare system. With initiatives such as increasing immunization rates for kindergarten and preschool age children and raising awareness for the dangers of cigarettes and tobacco, she contributes her share to the healthcare reforms of her husband.⁶ She also espouses the Children's Health Insurance Program in 1997. Besides assisting her husband during his presidency, Hillary Clinton expands her political reach even further in 2000 when she decides to run for the Senate of New York. She gets approved by 52% of the voters. While holding that office, she focuses on Education, Labor, and Environment. Because of her service, she gets re-elected in 2006. (cf. Patrick 2016)

In 2008 she decides to run for the US presidency. The focal point of her campaign remains women and families. Later that year she loses the final primary election of the Democratic party against Barack Obama, who then goes on to become the 44th president of the United States. (cf. Lemke 2011, 15)

⁶ If not noted differently, all references to:

https://clintonwhitehouse3.archives.gov/WH/EOP/First_Lady/html/HILLARY_Bio.html [last checked 23.10.19]

By making it to the Primary Stage Clinton writes history as the first woman coming thus far. Notwithstanding her loss, Obama employs Clinton as Secretary of State during the time of his administration. The rationale of her policies includes the focus on “smart power”, a combination of soft power (diplomacy, communication) and hard power (military forces) (cf. Lemke 2011, 119). Reasoning on this mindset, she aims for closer transnational dialog regarding global issues like overcoming the Great Recession, nuclear disarmament, war triggers in Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran, and climate change. At the end of the Obama administration, Clinton plans to remain in the White House and launches her second presidential campaign for the 2016 presidency on April 12, 2015.

4.2 Donald Trump

Donald John Trump is born on June 14, 1946, in New York City, New York (cf. Thunert 2018, 497). He grows up in the city being one of five children of his parents Frederick Trump and his mother Mary MacLeod. His father works as a real-estate developer who specializes in middle-income apartments.⁷ His mother is a former immigrant from Scotland. She immigrated when she was 18 years old.⁸ As a teen, Trump attends the New Yorker Military academy from 1959-1964 and receives his high school degree. Thereafter, he directly continues his education at the New York Fordham University of Pennsylvania, where he studies economics until 1966. Although, later that year, Trump transfers to the Wharton School of Finance of the University of Pennsylvania, from where he graduates with a bachelor's degree in 1968. (cf. Thunert 2018, 497)



Fig 2: Donald John Trump

After graduating from finance school, Trump starts his business career at his father's company "Elizabeth Trump & Sons" with a starting capital of approximately 2 million dollars. Later as he becomes chairman and president of his father's company, Trump legally changes the name to "The Trump Organization". The company starts to profit by buying houses in New York and by making use of tax abatements and bank loans. When the business begins to stagnate, Trump enters the entertainment industry and becomes a TV producer of shows like "Miss USA" and "Miss Universe". Later, he becomes producer and co-moderator of "The Apprentice" - a show where people have to solve investment problems to get a job from Donald Trump himself. (cf. Thunert 2018, 499)

By stepping in front of the camera, Trump gains major popularity in a short period of time. All the while, Trump is still active in the business market with investing into golf-clubs, traveling-agencies, and financial service providers. All this business success leads him to his self-proclaimed income of 10 billion dollars. "So I have a total net worth, and now with the increase, it'll be well-over \$10 billion." (Trump 2015)⁹

Donald John Trump is a father of 5 children. His children Donald Jr. (born 1977), Ivanka (born 1981), and Eric (born 1984) he carries out of the first marriage. His second wife Marla Maples gives birth to his fourth child Tiffany in 1993. His last child, Barron William Trump, is born in 2006. His mother is Melania Trump. The majority of Trump's children is currently working for the Trump

⁷ <https://www.biography.com/us-president/donald-trump> [last checked on 30.11.2019]

⁸ <https://www.scotsman.com/arts-and-culture/film-and-tv/donald-trump-s-mother-the-story-of-mary-anne-macleod-trump-as-bbc-documentary-uncovers-the-us-president-s-scottish-roots-1-5006117> [last checked on 01.11.19]

⁹ <https://time.com/3923128/donald-trump-announcement-speech/> [last checked on 09.11.19]

Organization. For instance, Eric and Donald Jr. fulfill the function of executive vice presidents, whereas Ivanka filled that position beforehand.

Due to his popularity, Trump thinks about running for president the first time in 2000, when he considers running for president in Ross Perot's just established "Reform Party". Trump later lays down his mandate. In 2012 he, again, is close to running for president against Barack Obama but withdraws himself out of the not yet released Republican agenda. During Obama's presidency, Trump is the most famous devotee of the controversial theory of "Birtherism"- a conspiracy theory claiming that Obama was not born in the US and therefore is legally not allowed to run for president of the United States. (cf. Thunert 2018, 499)

This foundation of voters he also utilizes in the 2016 election, as he only distances himself from the theory one week before the first presidential campaign, so one and a half months before the election (cf. Stracqualursi 2016).

4.3 Noteworthy Presidential Biographies

For a better understanding of the arguments and claims made during the debate, it is important to require some basic information of three further presidents, who are mentioned frequently throughout the debate. The short biographies of each of the three presidents help to understand the references made during debates to e.g. their business success as a president, their groundbreaking reforms or also problematic deals they have signed in the past. This chapter covers the three presidents Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama. Reagan is mainly used as an important role model for a successful American economy. References to Bill Clinton get drawn positively by his wife Hillary Clinton but simultaneously negatively by Trump. The biography of Obama acts as a foundation for the following chapter talking about the US under the Obama administration.

4.3.1 Ronald Reagan

Ronald Wilson Reagan is born on February 6, 1911, in Tampico, Illinois (cf. Lösche 2018, 435). Being the son of Jack and Nelle Reagan, he moves to Dixon with his family in 1920. He attends Dixon High School from where he graduates after eight years. After another four years, he graduates from Eureka College in 1932. He then moves out to California to become an actor and works for Warner Brothers. In 1966, Clinton gets elected governor of California. Four years later he gets re-elected. Another ten years later Bill Clinton gets elected as the 40th president of the United States. (cf. Woodward 2012, 8)

From 1981 until 1989, Reagan serves two terms as the 40th US president. His presidency is characterized by a lot of reforms triggering growth in the economy. No president since Franklin Delano Roosevelt had passed that many reforms. (cf. Lösche 2018, 422)

His slogan "Make America Great Again" makes it easy to filter out the type of policy Reagan strives for. The purpose of the total amount of reforms is a matter of improving the status of the US population and economy. Therefore, Reagan signs the Economy Recovery Tax Act into law



Fig 3: Ronald Wilson Reagan

in 1981. This act passes a 35 percent tax cut, starting with five percent in the first year (1981) and additional ten percent every following year of his first presidential term. He further focused on canceling state-run regulations, which inhibited large investments, to provoke the growth of the economy. In other words, Reagan is an advocate for free trade and a conservative. In his point of view, the loss of income caused by smaller economic recessions shall be covered short-term by economizing social programs, not by long-term interference of the government. (cf. Lösche 2018, 430)

Besides that, he manages to create about 18 million jobs, especially focused on the middle class. Over the time-span of his two terms Reagan also lowers the inflation rate from 12,5% at the end of 1980 to 4,5% in 1988. (cf. Lösche 2018, 431)

To achieve all of these reforms and improvements for the American society, the Reagan administration has to loan a lot of money. Therefore, it is logical that the Reagan administration creates the highest US debt in history up to this point in time (cf. Lösche 2018, 444). Nevertheless, as a result of all of these events and reforms, Ronald Reagan is remembered as a successful president still to this day. Especially regarding the economy, Reagan carries through major improvements and helps America grow. Thereby, he aids the US to remain competitive with other nations in the global market. After Reagan gets diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease in 1994, he sets himself to rest. He dies ten years later in 2004 (cf. Woodward 2012, 9).

4.3.2 Bill Clinton

William Jefferson ("Bill") Clinton is born August, 19, 1946 in Hope, Arkansas. Because his father passes away in a car accident a few months before Clinton is born, his mother gives him to his grandparents, who raise him the first couple of months. Four years later his mother marries Roger Clinton. After high school, Clinton begins to study International Relationships and graduates in 1968. The same year he receives a stipend for the University of Oxford, which he leaves unfinished in 1970 to go back to the US.¹⁰ There he studies law at Yale University, where he also meets his future wife, Hillary Rodham (cf. Felken 2018, 442). In 1975 he marries Hillary Rodham Clinton and receives his daughter Chelsea Clinton. After becoming minister of Arkansas, he serves as Governor of Arkansas from 1978 until 1992.



Fig 4: William Jefferson („Bill“) Clinton

Clinton serves two terms as the president of the United States of America. Therefore, he is the 42nd president from 1993-2001. (cf. Felken 2018, 442)

Politically, his main goal is introducing a universal health insurance and generally reforming the health system (cf. Felken 2018, 445). Clinton can, therefore, be seen as an advocate of liberalism- so the interference of the government in some aspects of life, like for example health and social security, and creating a somewhat welfare-state. Therefore, he raises taxes on the wealthy, for receiving financial matters to reform the health system (cf. Felken 2018, 442). By introducing the Welfare system in the 90's he promotes the incorporation of social benefit claimants in the workforce (cf. Lemke 2011, 70).

¹⁰ <https://www.hdg.de/lemo/biografie/bill-clinton.html>

Clinton also approves the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993, against strong objections of the labor force (cf. Francia 2008, 358). NAFTA has the goal of strengthening world trade and improve competitive conditions for American products (cf. Felken 2018, 445).

4.3.3 Barack Obama

Barack Hussein Obama Jr. is born on August 4, 1961, in Honolulu, Hawaii (cf. Waldschidt-Nelson 2018, 471). He is the son of his white mother from Kansas and his father, who is a guest-student from Kenia (cf. Lemke 2011,18). After spending his childhood mainly in Jakarta, Indonesia (cf. Waldschidt-Nelson 2018, 502) Obama gets sent back to Honolulu to experience a better education. He then graduates from Punahou academy with a distinction (cf. Waldschidt-Nelson 2018, 472). Later he studies constitutional law at Harvard University (cf. Lemke 2011, 18). In 1992 he marries his wife Michelle Robinson, who later also becomes First Lady of the White House due to Obama's presidency (cf. Waldschidt-Nelson 2018, 474). Four years after Obama graduated college he decides to run for Senate in Illinois. He wins the election and gets re-elected to his own surprise in 2004. Obama gains nationwide attention with his speech in 2004 in Boston. Because of his popularity he establishes himself as an up-and-coming politician of the Democratic Party. (cf. Lemke 2011, 19) The overall public reaction is positive which can be explained with Obama's skill of presenting himself.



Fig 5: Barack Hussein Obama Jr.

*For Obama, his path from Jakarta to Harvard and then on to the senate was a reflection of the promise of the American Dream. His soft-spoken eloquence and promise to bridge gaps appealed to the public, while his race, politics, and ambitions appealed to his party.
(Renshon 2008)*

In 2008 Obama decides to run for president under his slogan "change we can believe in" (Lemke 2011, 1). He manages to become one of the last two nominees of the Democratic Party in this election, with his opponent being Hillary Clinton. No matter the outcome, this nomination of 2008 is one including "firsts". Either an African American person gets the chance to become the first African American president or a woman to be the first female president of the US. Clinton focuses mainly on women as her voter demographic. Nevertheless, not only the partaking of African American voters help Obama win the nominee. It is more because of Caucasian voters, who see Obama as a post-racial candidate, so a candidate who is not running solely because of his race. While rhetorically alluding to Abraham Lincoln, Obama also makes sure to not focus on "black-and-white issues" like racism and America's past. (cf. Lemke 2011, 19) He, moreover, focuses on general societal tasks, which align with the American ideals of freedom and equality (cf. Obama 2008). With these goals representing his candidacy, he wins the election of 2008 with 365 electoral votes against John McCain with 173 votes.¹¹ Thereby, Barack Obama serves as the 44th and first African American president of the United States of America from 2009 until 2017. (cf. Waldschidt-Nelson 2018, 470)

¹¹ <https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/2008/election-results.html> [last checked on 30.11.2019]

5 The US under the Obama Administration

The past chapter just provided the necessary information about the life of the former president Barack Obama and his political career until his inauguration. To now understand the current social, economic, and educational situation of the year 2016, one has to look at his presidency. By understanding the strategies and plans put forward by the Obama administration over its eight years of reign, one can analyze the publics' reaction and thereby conclude the beliefs of the voters at the end of the administration. Acknowledging the positive and negative aspects of the administration provides further insight into the financial and daily experiences that motivate people to vote a certain way in the 2016 US Election. Additionally, the amount of consent with former president Obama will inevitably provoke different reactions to the candidate's politics, regardless of their image they portray of themselves. Therefore, this chapter covers three main aspects of the Obama administration: Overcoming the Great Recession, reforming the healthcare system and improving the US' education, foreign policy, and renewable energy. Lastly, this chapter includes criticism of the Obama reforms and showcase their consequences on the political climate prior to the US election in 2016.

5.1 Overcoming the Great Recession

In advance of the presidency of Obama, the US faced the second worst economic downfall in US history- the Great Recession¹². For that reason, it was of utmost importance to overcome this financial crisis as fast as possible. To achieve that, Obama makes use of the so-called "Big Band approach"- implying to target all center problems at once rather than one after the other. To ensure success while targeting all sources, the government has to play an active role in the economy. This conception differs drastically from the previous Bush administration, which expresses its stance in favor of the free enterprise system without governmental interference. The interfering action carries through with emergency packets for banks and immediate actions to fuel the economy. Further, it includes investments to strengthen the middle-class. (cf. Lemke 2011, 55)

In general, the economic stimuli shall help to weaken the Recession short-term but mainly substantiate the long-term reconstruction of the middle-class.

There are three main economic strategies to overcome the Great Recession of 2008: governmental funding of the labor market, of renewable energy, and a stronger regulation of banks and financial concerns to avoid the uncontrolled trade with stocks based on speculations which provoke fluctuations in the stock market. Economically speaking, Obama is in favor of tamed capitalism with a tendency to liberalism. Out of the perspective of the Republican Party and the banks, there is a lot of criticism uttered, comparing the plan of President Obama to socialism. (cf. Lemke 2011, 56)

In January 2009, the Obama administration distributes 350 billion dollars among banks and companies under the so-called "Troubled Assets Relief Program" (cf. Lemke 2011, 60). In the next two months these corporations have time to rebuild their financial status and restart businesses with lent money. In March 2009, Obama puts a 90% tax on all bonus payments to top-entrepreneurs working in companies, which have received over 5 million dollars bailout

¹² See terminology

money¹³ (cf. Lemke 2011, 61). Further, Obama passes the “American Recovery and Reinvestment Act” in 2009 consisting of an economic stimulus program of over 800 billion dollars. The purpose of these investments is preventing the still ongoing Great Recession to turn into another Great Depression, like in 1929.

Obama furthermore stabilizes the housing crisis after enduring a high short-term indebtedness of households. The long-term goal is the consolidation of the household. (cf. Lemke 2011, 129). By curing the aftereffects of the Great Recession, Obama also lowers the unemployment rate by three percent from 7,8% to 4,8% (cf. Waldschidt-Nelson 480, 2018).

To summarize, Obama politically positions himself in favor of governmental interference to control the economy and help it recover from the financial crisis, the Great Recession, in 2008. With loads of stimuli packets, he helps companies rebuild their economic strength, even though Obama has to take on several loans to receive the needed money. For the economy generally, his goal is to overcome the Recession and, after that, transforming the global economy to be compatible with the American domestic market. Further, balancing out high budget deficit due to low tax revenues plus the financing of the Iraq and Afghanistan war is a major focus. (cf. Lemke 2011, 129)

5.2 Healthcare Reforms

Regarding the system of a welfare state, Obama views the interference of the government in aspects like health-care, traffic, education and environment as a central responsibility to the public (cf. Lemke 2011, 55). That is why Obama can be seen as an advocate of the Medicaid system introduced with the Social Security Act of 1965 as a part of the “Great Society”. According to Obama, the intended results of the social reform in 1965 were honorable thus the implementation ultimately did not work out (cf. Obama 2008). For that reason, a plan of the Obama administration is expanding the Medicaid program in three aspects.

First, all families with an income of \$88,000 dollars per year and under qualify for governmental support. This financial aid shall help to provide basic assurances such as having money for a health provider. Second, all children under the age of 26 need to be insured at their parent’s insurance and connected to their insurance ID. Lastly, a higher financial support for others is expected from individuals making \$200,000 dollars a year and couples making 250,000\$ dollars a year. (cf. Lemke 2011, 85)

These three aspects are already the narrowed- down version of the original healthcare plan. The plan portrays a compromise of multiple objections against the original reforms planned. In the end, even after compromising the deal, no Republican representative votes for the health reform. (cf. Lemke 2011, 86) Nevertheless, the “Patient Program and Affordable Care Act”, also known as “Obamacare” is introduced in January 2014 and functions as a universal healthcare system. Thereby, the amount of people without any health insurance declines from sixteen percent to 8.8%, so nearly cut in half. (cf. Waldschidt-Nelson 2018, 480)

¹³ emergency money given from the government after the Great Recession 2008

5.3 Education, Renewable Energy, and Foreign Policy

„In a global economy where the most valuable skill you can sell is your knowledge, a good education is no longer just a pathway to opportunity - it is a prerequisite.” (Obama 2009) Being under pressure to adapt to international high education standards, Obama sets himself the goal to enhance the education system. Just as his plan for overcoming the recession, his education reform also consisted of a three-part proposal:

The first focus is infantile education. To provide better supervision, replenishment of financial matters for Early Head Start Programs (EHS) is necessary (cf. Lemke 2011, 101). Thus, this part of his reform includes more money for pre-K education and care. The K-12 plan contains a reform of the “No child left behind” plan which was introduced by George W. Bush in mid-December of 2002. The additions to the plan include the facilitation of different ideas to make the school visits more enjoyable. (cf. Lemke 2011, 101f.)

These strategies shall contribute to a retrenchment of the number of high-school dropouts. Moreover, parents and teachers shall work as a synergy and not against each other. (cf. Lemke 2011, 102). The third part of Obama’s education reform consists of the “American Opportunity Tax Credit” which functions to finance \$4,000 of one’s college tuition. By doing so, equal opportunities for further education shall be enabled. (cf. Lemke 2011, 103f.)

The “Every Student Succeeds Act” passes in 2015 and financially supports states, which invest in their state-wide education system with a yearly donation. Because of all these plans, the high-school graduation rate rises to a record high of 83,2 percent in 2015. (cf. Waldschidt-Nelson 2018, 481)

Regarding foreign policies, the Obama administration changes the stance of the US on global politics completely. It contrasts with the unilateral treatment of George W. Bush and rather focuses on a multilateral and open-minded attitude, especially towards Europe (cf. Lemke 2011, 115). Obama orders the withdrawal of US troops out of the crisis of Iran and Afghanistan (cf. Lemke 2011, 118). The war in Iraq, on the other hand, is a major source of spending during the Obama administration. Much so, that the US debt rises from 10.6 to 19.9 billion dollars (cf. Waldschidt-Nelson 2018, 485). Lastly, the “Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minorities” Act, also known as the DREAM Act, describes the most discussed achievement of this administration. This act is meant to prevent outsourcing illegal students from deportation. By putting forth this act, Obama hopes to find a compromise between rejecting immigrants and their families and furthermore, creating opportunities in the American education system. (cf. Waldschidt-Nelson 2018, 485)

Obama is also one of the first presidents setting clear climate goals having to be met by the American population to combat the ongoing climate change. His idea of an energy reform includes three main targets, just as the education reform does. Primarily, 20 percent of the used energy shall be renewable or geothermal by 2020 (cf. Lemke 2011, 93). This shall be triggered by the second proposal which includes governmental subventions of renewable energy (cf. Lemke 2011, 92). The third point proclaims an 80 percent reduction of harmful emissions like carbon-dioxide, greenhouse gasses, and methane until the year 2050 (cf. Lemke 2011, 93). This set of ideas was enforced against critique expressed by conservative-religious groups, arguing about a lack of scientific proof for global warming, and the chamber of commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers (cf. Lemke 2011, 94). Notwithstanding all goals, Obama can lastly only achieve his climate goals for a short period of time because Trump cancels a majority of climate contracts, including the Treaty of Paris. Therefore, the reduction of emissions may not be met.

5.4 Criticism of the Obama Administration and the Social Situation in 2016

With the inauguration of Barack Obama, Democrats and Liberals achieve a major goal. The first African American president representing equality, inclusivity, and freedom. But even though, the Obama administration contrasts drastically with the unilateral Bush administration beforehand, there are still some downsides to the more multilateral and liberal form of governing.

Due to the economic crisis in 2008, the number of jobless and homeless is a lot higher than at the beginning of other presidencies (cf. Lemke 2011, 68). Because oftentimes, the issues of the population oftentimes seem to be pushed onto the president currently ruling, this current state back then can be a contributing factor to disbelieve in the Obama administration. After the economic crisis politicians and experts have to resolve the profound consequences. Processing has to start at the roots of the financial and economic system of the US. For that reason, strengthening the working- and middle class is not the primary focus of the administration and is based a lot on self-initiative (cf. Lemke 2011, 69). Indirectly Obama helps the middle class with economic stimuli and by curing the housing crisis. Nevertheless, the direct focus on the middle-class is barely expressed. Thus, the middle class feels left out. Moreover, curing the financial crisis requires immediate action. Obama's other goals, such as introducing a healthcare system, an education reform, and subventions for renewable sources of energy cannot be made a main priority. Additionally, these reforms have to be approved by the Senate and the House of Representatives, depending on the situation. Therefore, they take a long time to get debated on and eventually passed. The progressive ideas for the American society face a lot of opposition from within the government. The reason can be found in the discordance within the Republican Party and further within his party- the Democratic Party. With his ideas Obama enforces the different opinions on topics within the two parties. Consequently, passing acts is difficult.

In public, President Obama always portrays the image of equality and grasping opportunities. However, the gap between rich and poor widens over the course of the Obama administration and becomes the widest since the 1960s. Besides, the richest five percent of the American population gained another 4,9 percent of income, while the middle class lost 1,5 percent. (cf. Waldschidt- Nelson 2018, 482)

With every change of the government and every new idea on how to rule the country, there is an unconsciously automatic reluctance towards the new ideas (cf. Lemke 2011, 69). They often appear strange and not socially implementable. That paves the way for extremely embedded or populist parties. Right-wing parties like the "Tea Party" and also controversial figures like Donald Trump profit from this situation. Studies have shown that congestion to white-supremacy sharply increase during that time. Advocates of such parties' state that Obama cares too much for the "black, homosexual, and unemployed" rather than the "hard-working, honest, white citizen" (cf. Waldschidt- Nelson 2011, 487). The dissatisfaction about the policy of Obama paves the way for the next presidential candidates in different ways. Mainly whites who feel forgotten and left out by the Obama administration turn towards populist candidates like Donald Trump, who puts his main focus onto the middle class and improving their status. On the other hand, the supporters of Obama can orient themselves at the cooperation of Obama and Clinton as president and Secretary of State. Therefore, it is likely that supporters of Obama vote for Clinton in the beginning and discontent voters for Trump.

6 Incidents up to the Election of 2016

The most important time for every campaign to develop is after the announcement of running for president. The possibilities to get one's political message across are endless, reaching from political commercials to memorable behavior in public. Events such as public speeches, rallies, and televised debates are extremely important to bring the candidates' ideas to the public. The main part of this essay analyzes the first presidential debate in a rhetorical manner. However, to have a general understanding of what both candidates are referring to, the following chapter covers all the memorable moments happening before and after the debate. First, to comprehend the content of the debate and second, to recognize the outcome of the election. Although this chapter also covers some controversial scandals that took place, it refrains from talking about the Russia collusion and the Facebook fake bots' scandal because that would exceed the dimensions of this research paper.

6.1 Incidents Leading up to the Debate

On April 12, 2015, the former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton launches her second presidential campaign by publishing a video on her campaign website (cf. Stracqualursi 2016). "Americans have fought their way back from tough economic times but the deck is still stacked in favor of those at the top" (Clinton, 2015). With that message, she expounds the foundation for her campaign. Early on, her main foci are America's families and women.

Later that month, on April 30, another Democrat called Bernie Sanders announces his presidential campaign in a speech held in Burlington, Vermont (cf. Gambino and Pankhania 2016). In his speech, he addresses the inequality of incomes within the United States and promises a revolution against the current governing system.

Today [...] we begin a political revolution to transform our country economically, politically, socially and environmentally. Today, we stand here and say loudly and clearly that: Enough is enough [...] (Sanders 2015)

One and a half months later another potential candidate for the presidency launches his campaign, Jeb Bush. The son of George HW Bush and thereby brother of erstwhile president George W Bush announces his participation in Miami at a rally. With a budget of 100 million dollars solely for military means, he promises to "shock and awe" (Bush 2015). (cf. Gambino and Pankhania 2016)

The most distinctive candidate of the US election, Donald Trump, launches his campaign on June 16, 2015 (cf. Stracqualursi 2016) from within the Trump tower. Already in his announcement speech, Trump targets Mexican immigrants as a mode of



Fig 6. Hillary Clinton launching her campaign "Stronger Together"



Fig 7. Trump's 2016 campaign slogan

transport for drugs and crime (cf. Trump 2015). He promises to build a wall and “have Mexico pay for it” (Trump 2016).

The electoral process begins August 6, 2015, with the first Republican primary debate. Ten out of the sixteen candidates discuss their stances on gun laws and the American society. But besides all of the discussions all the attention is on Trump. With statements about not wanting to support other Republican nominees and not excluding running as a third-party candidate, he makes controversial statements, which put him into the spotlight of the debate. (cf. Stracqualursi 2016) Trump further defends misogynistic comments he has made in the past like calling women “fat pigs” or “slobs” (cf. Kelly 2015). Throughout the entire campaigning timespan, Clinton as well as Trump have to face accusations and controversies. The central accuse regarding Trump is sexual harassment and commentaries. Whereas, for Clinton it is the use of a private email to accomplish deals while being Secretary of State. On September 8, 2015, Clinton apologizes for the use of a private email server in an interview with ABC News (cf. Stracqualursi 2016). In hopes that her actions will be forgiven over time, she states: “Even though it was allowed, I should have used two accounts. One for personal, one for work-related emails” (Clinton 2015). But even with her apology, the stigma of being untrustworthy and secretive still accompanies her throughout her entire campaign and up until the election.

The first Democratic debate takes place at the Wynn in Las Vegas on October 13, 2015. Clinton is joined on stage by four other democrats, O’Malley, Chafee, Webb, and Senator Sanders (cf. Stracqualursi 2016). Highlights of the debate include Sanders cutting off Clinton from apologizing about her emails, stating that the American people were tired of hearing about her emails. He uses this situation for alluding to an American society in which everyone does well. (cf. Sanders 2015) The controversies about Clinton caused by actions as a Secretary of State do not end at her email dilemma. She has to testify before the Benghazi committee on October 22nd regarding the question if she could have prevented an attack against government facilities that killed four Americans. After 11 hours she gets released without any charges. (cf. Gambino and Pankhania 2016)

On December 7, 2015, Trump releases a statement calling for a “total and complete shutdown” of Muslims entering the United States (cf. Trump 2015). This call comes as a reaction to the San Bernardino Shooting, where fourteen people lost their lives and 22 got injured in a mass shooting and bomb threat in the Inland Regional Center, San Bernardino (cf. Diamond 2015). He declares the situation out of control and in need of a change. His statement faces major criticism by Liberals and fellow Republicans for being divisive and Islamophobic.

During the winter months, both Clinton and Trump face their colleagues in a number of Democratic and Republican debates. It is not until May 26, 2016, until Trump surpasses the needed delegate votes of 1,237 to secure his nomination. Thereby he becomes the Republican nomination for the presidency. He later accepts that offer on July 21, 2016. (cf. Stracqualursi 2016)

Only a few days later on June 6, 2016, Clinton also secures enough delegates to receive the Democratic nomination. The overall reactions differ. Sanders presages that he will keep on campaigning. (cf. Stracqualursi 2016) Meanwhile, Obama congratulates and endorses Clinton (cf. Gambino and Pankhania 2016). In a video published by the “Hillary Clinton for America” campaigning team on Facebook and YouTube, Obama expresses his firm belief in Clinton.

I don't think there's ever been someone so qualified to hold this office. She's got the courage, the compassion, and the heart to get the job done. [...] I want those of you who've been with me from the beginning of this incredible journey to be the first to know that I'm with her. (Obama, 2016)

Ten days after Obama expresses his stance, Sanders also expresses his obedience with Clinton, opting to help her to prevent Trump from becoming president (cf. Stracqualursi 2016).

Beginning of July, the FBI gives relief in the Clinton investigation, releasing that it will not put out nor recommend criminal charges against Clinton. James Comey states that they did not find evidence of an intended violation while handling classified information (cf. Comey 2016). In response, Donald Trump criticizes the ruling juridical system as "rigged". A few weeks later, on July 16, 2016, Donald Trump introduces Governor of Indiana Mike Pence as his running mate and thereby as the potential vice president in case of a successful election.

Trump finally accepts the Republican nomination of being the party's candidate on July 21, 2016. The ceremony, which is held at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, features the longest acceptance speech in US history of 75 minutes. (cf. Stracqualursi 2016) Within these minutes Trump thanks the Republican Party and the voters for their support and promises a comeback of the American strength, order, and society.

I have visited the laid-off factory workers, and the communities crushed by our horrible and unfair trade deals. These are forgotten men and women of our country. People who work hard but no longer have a voice. I am your voice. (Trump 2016)

At the end of his speech, he delivers a message that substantiates his goals for the upcoming months of campaigning and the presidency. "I make this promise. We will make America strong again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again. And we will make America great again." (Trump 2016)

The following day, Hillary Clinton announces Virginia Senator Tim Kaine to be her running mate. On July 28, 2016, she accepts the Democratic nomination and becomes the second candidate for the upcoming presidency. Being the first woman to accept a nomination like this one, the occasion was especially celebrated with speeches from her husband Bill Clinton, President Obama, the first lady Michelle Obama, and former Democratic opponent Bernie Sanders. (cf. Gambino and Pankhania 2016) In his speech, Sanders addresses the current state that Hillary Clinton is the only candidate left to defeat Donald Trump. "It is easy to boo, but it is harder to look your kids in the face who would be living under a Donald Trump presidency." (Sanders, 2016)

President Obama also expresses his support for Hillary Clinton and calls for action against the increased probability of Trump becoming president.

[...] We're not all frightful people. Our power does not come from some self-declared savior promising that he alone can restore order as long as we do things his way. We don't look to be ruled. (Obama 2016)

Experts argue that the decision of the Democratic National Committee in favor of Clinton puts forward a more traditional worldview and policies, while Sanders would have proposed an alternative governing system to benefit the average American (cf. Kowalski 2019, 4).

On August 17, 2016, Trump changes important positions within his campaigning team to the public's surprise. Campaign manager Lewandowski and campaign chairman Manafort leave the team. The new three assistants are his son-in-law and spouse of Ivanka Trump Jared Kushner,

leader of the right-wing populist-motivated newspaper “Breitbart News” Stephen V. Bannon, and the specialist for survey techniques Kellyanne Conway. (Thunert 2018, 501)

On September 6, 2016 Clinton expresses her opinion about the probable Trump electorate. In response to a comment made by Republican Mitt Romney made during the 2012 election (cf. Stracqualursi 2016) she states:

You know, to just be grossly generalistic, you could put half of Trump’s supporters into what I call the basket of deplorables, right? The racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, islamophobic- you name it. And unfortunately, there are people like that. And he has lifted them up. (Clinton 2016)

With that statement expressed in public, she must be aware of losing potential voters. However, she also fulfills the wish of many Democrat voters to finally hear a statement against the acceptance towards the discriminating comments made by Trump. Still, this statement receives a lot of mixed news coverage, strongly depending on the news channels' general alignment. After Trump tries to bring Clinton to apologize, she issues that she only regrets categorizing “half” of Trump voters (cf. Stracqualursi 2016), implicating that she still stands behind what she has said about Trump’s supporters.

Two days after Clinton has shown such mental strength and has faced lots of hate, she visits the 9/11 memorial. To her detriment, she has to leave the event earlier than expected. In a video published by ABC News, Clinton can be seen trembling while trying to get into the car. Security rushes to help her. Shortly after, her doctor responds that she was diagnosed with pneumonia on September 9th. This situation describes only one of her public appearances, where she seems to suffer with her health. In 2012, while being Secretary of State, she had a clot located “in the vein that is situated between the brain and the skull right behind her right ear [...]” (Haskell, 2016). However, she suffers no long-term effects.

Also, during her campaigns, Clinton can be found coughing and shaking sometimes. While she handles it humorously and claims that every time, she thought about Trump, she got allergic (cf. Clinton 2016), detractors and especially Trump oftentimes use her health issues against her as a potential candidate. Trump inter alia comments on Clinton not having the stamina multiple times (cf. Trump 2016).

Ten days before the first presidential debate, September 16, 2016, Trump distances himself from the theory of Birtherism¹⁴. During the time of the Obama administration, Trump is the most famous advocate of this theory, objecting the legality of Obama being president based on his origin. He now distances himself from this theory by claiming Clinton initiated this theory with her campaign back in 2008 and he solely finished it (cf. Trump 2016).

6.2 Incidents in-between Debates and Election

The beginning of October is probably the most influential time for the voter turnout of the US election of 2016. On August 3, the New York Times publishes an article illustrating that Trump might have not paid federal income tax in 18 years. This grand scale of tax evasion becomes one of the three topics that are talked about over again until the election. (cf. Gambino and Pankhania 2016)

¹⁴ See terminology

On October 7, the two most drastic and defining events of both entire campaigns happen. Early in the day, the Washington Post releases a video of Trump describing sexual action and justifying them with his fame (cf. Gambino and Pankhania 2016). In the video from 2005, Trump holds a conversation with former “Access Hollywood” host Billy Bush onset of the “Days of our Lives” (cf. Makela, 2016). This video goes viral under the name “Access Hollywood Tape”. The tape shows clear evidence of Trump using degrading and objectifying language referring to women.

Trump: Just kiss. I don't even wait. And when you're a star, they let you do it. You can do anything.

Bush: Whatever you want.

Trump: Grab 'em by the pussy. You can do anything.

(Trump 2005)

Midnight the same day, Trump issues an apology video. He apologizes by stating that he has never been perfect and his actions were wrong. Nevertheless, those words did not reflect who he was anymore (cf. Trump, 2016). The “Access Hollywood Tape” damages Trump's reputation tremendously, especially because the Metoo-Movement¹⁵ is active in politics simultaneously.

The same day, Wikileaks publishes a number of Democratic National Committee emails regarding the Clinton campaign (cf. Kowalski 2019, 2). Following this commence, daily batches of John Podesta's emails leak. These emails include ideas and plans for future policies (cf. Stracqualursi, 2016), such as Clinton's “dream [of an, A.L.] hemispheric common market, with open trade and open borders” (Clinton 2016). The letter of James Comey to the white house re-opens the Clinton Email investigation (cf. Kowalski 2019, 2). This is yet another email scandal damaging her reputation, decreasing her credibility.

The second presidential debate on October 9, 2016, in St. Louis, Missouri is overshadowed by the events of the past days. The main focus of the debate includes the “Access Hollywood Tape”, Clinton's email investigations and other accusations of sexual harassment towards Trump.

The final presidential debate held on October 19, 2016, is filled with controversial topics. While Clinton is opting for women's rights, Trump focuses once more on the issue of immigration from Mexico. At the end of the debate, Trump refuses to concede a possible loss of the election (cf. Gambino and Pankhania 2016). Additionally, Trump calls the election “rigged” and Clinton a “nasty woman”. Meanwhile, Clinton responds to one of his debate comments with “horrificing”. (cf. Stracqualursi 2016).

About a week before the election, the FBI confirms that there might be a connection between the private email server used by Clinton and the leaked Wikileaks emails by Podesta. The importance of the emails was not published on that day. (cf. Stracqualursi 2016)

One day before the election on November 7, 2016, the FBI finally comes out with the result that they did not find any wrongdoing in Clinton's emails. With that release regarding Clinton, both candidates face each other on November 8, 2016, in the presidential election. None of them has a clear record. On the one hand, Clinton struggles with two email scandals, which costs her credibility. In addition, her health turns from a private to a public issue over time, making some people unsure of her mental and physical fitness. Trump, on the other hand, faces a lot of critique based on Xeno- and Islamophobic comments, sexual harassment accusations, and provocative political claims. By the time of the election, it was visibly hard for a lot of US American citizens to decide on the better candidate.

¹⁵ See terminology

7 The Outcome of the 2016 US Election

The 58th presidential election of the United States of America takes place on November 8, 2016. The nominee of each of the Democratic and the Republican Party is eligible for election. Hillary Clinton as the nominee of the Democratic party and Donald Trump as the nominee of the Republican party. Just as in every election, a number of “third-parties” participate in the election of 2016 as well. Two of the most prominent representatives are Gary Johnson of the Libertarian Party and Jill Stein of the Green Party. The outcome of the presidential election of 2016 turns out to be the following:

Election	2016		
President	Donald J. Trump [R]		
Main Opponent	Hillary Clinton [D]		
Electoral Vote*	Winner: 304	Main Opponent: 227	Total/Majority: 538/270
Popular Vote**	Winner: 62,955,202	Main Opponent: 65,794,39	
Vice President	Michael R. Pence (305)		
V.P. Opponent:	Timothy Kaine (227)		
Notes	<p>*Maine distributes its electoral votes proportionally, with two at-large electors representing the statewide winning presidential and vice-presidential candidates and one elector each representing the winners from its two Congressional districts. For the first time since adopting this system, Maine's four electoral votes were split between the two major party tickets. [...]</p> <p>**Popular vote totals are derived from the states' Certificates of Ascertainment. Donald J. Trump received fewer popular votes than Hillary Clinton, but received a majority of electoral votes.</p>		

¹⁶

As portrayed in this table, Trump wins the election with 304 electors. Thereby he receives 34 votes more than necessary. Clinton gathers 227 of the 538 votes.

The voter participation in the election 2016 amounts to 54,0%¹⁷. This means that 54 percent of the people eligible to vote actually did.

¹⁶ <https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/2016/election-results.html>

¹⁷ Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

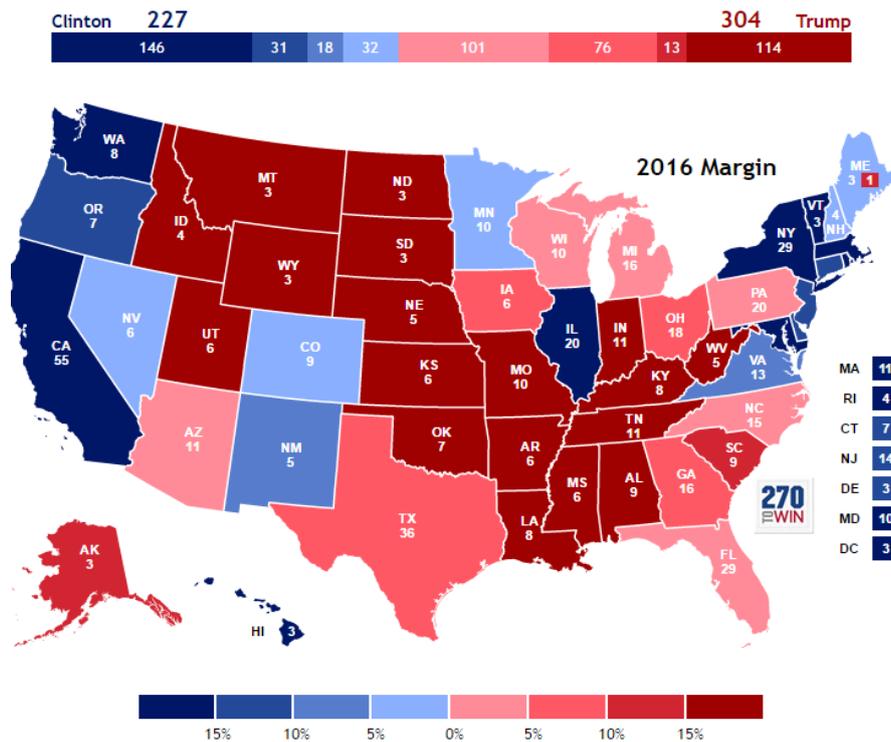


Fig 8. The Electoral College Outcome in 2016 divided by states

7.1 Sociological Analysis of the Outcome

To hence illustrate the result, the election outcome is portrayed here in the map.

One can witness that Trump receives definite support from the center states like Kansas, Montana, Tennessee or Arkansas. Furthermore, he gathers the votes of the mid-western states (Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Indiana) and the southern states (Florida, Texas, Mississippi). Meanwhile, Clinton can be seen mainly winning the coastal areas. She gathers a lot of votes from the west-coast with states such as California, Wyoming, and Nevada. She also receives strong support on the east coast in states such as New York, Maryland, and New Jersey.

What is further recognizable, is the number of states which are characterized by an almost indefinite decision (here colored in light blue and coral). Of the sum of 133 electoral votes to receive from within these states, Clinton merely manages to receive 32, whereas Trump receives 101 of the votes of these states. The majority of these states are known for being “swing-states” or “battleground states”¹⁸. Clearly, Trump succeeds to gather a number of important votes from these battleground states such as Michigan, Arizona and Wisconsin.

¹⁸ See terminology

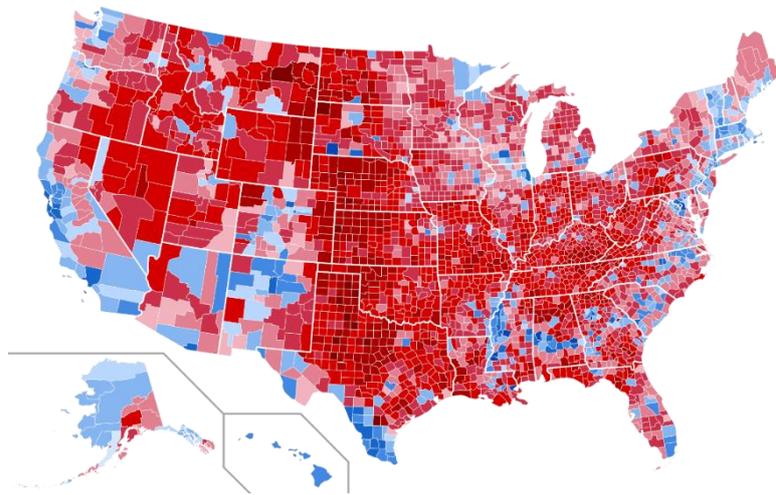


Fig 9. Electoral College Outcome structured by counties

This more detailed map hence correlates with the fact that Clinton notches up success in urban areas, whereas Trump achieved major successes in rural and suburban areas (cf. Walton-Roberts 2019, 16).

For further elaboration, the state of Michigan is utilized as an example. The biggest city, Detroit, is located in the south-east of the state of Michigan, right where the majority of medium and light blue squares are also placed. Another light blue square in the is located close to Grand Rapids and another one in Kalamazoo, both of them being decent-sized cities. The rest of the landscape is still quite rural and kept natural. Houses are spread and usually not connected to a big city. The lower- and upper peninsula of the state is meant to provide living and housing space, where there is no big city necessary. In these areas, Trump's campaigning does unfold its potential.

The generalization of Walton-Roberts can be confirmed in most cases. The voter turnout in cities mainly gravitates towards Democratic, whereas suburban and rural areas gravitate towards Republican governance. However, individual aspects always play a role in voting behavior. To give one example for a discrepancy between Walton-Roberts and the reality of 2016, one can look at the city of Flint in Michigan. Even though, generally speaking, cities rather vote for the Democratic nominee, in this election that is not the case. The Flint water crisis¹⁹ is an event that can be a factor contributing to the support of Trump. Obama, a president of the Democratic Party did not make the people feel understood and supported when they were struggling to receive clear water. For that reason, an aversion towards the Democratic Party might have formed. In further inquiry, Trump visits Flint during his campaign and promises to help the city. Clinton on the other hand does not. This situation portrays a possible individual influencing event that might have changed the voting behavior of certain people.

Generally speaking, it has become clear that the voting behavior of each individual is shaped by different experiences, opinions and personal stories. For that reason, discrepancies between the general trend and individual voting behavior, like for example with Flint, can occur and have occurred. Nevertheless, to understand the outcome of the election, even more, further categorization is required to figure out the target audiences of both candidates and later use these to analyze the rhetoric of Trump and Clinton.

¹⁹ See terminology

Divergences occur of the norm occur in every election. However, the 2016 election reveals an extreme larger percentage of traditionally Democratic voters gravitating towards Trump than Republicans voting for Clinton.

In the graph on the right one can see all the counties changing their vote to Republican in the 2016 election colored in red, and counties voting aberrantly democrat in blue. Counties with no voting change appear grey. As one can see, there are far more people turning against their traditional voting behavior to cast their vote for Trump than the other way around. Clinton thereby loses a number of votes, mainly in the Midwest and in Maine. Atypical voting behavior must play a role in the outcome of the 2016 election. As just explained along the example of the Flint Water Crisis, individual sympathy for Trump could be the cause of this recorded change in voting behavior.

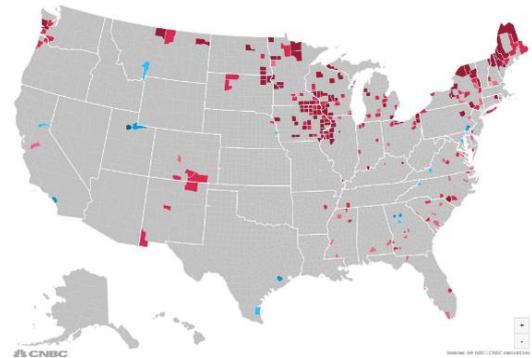
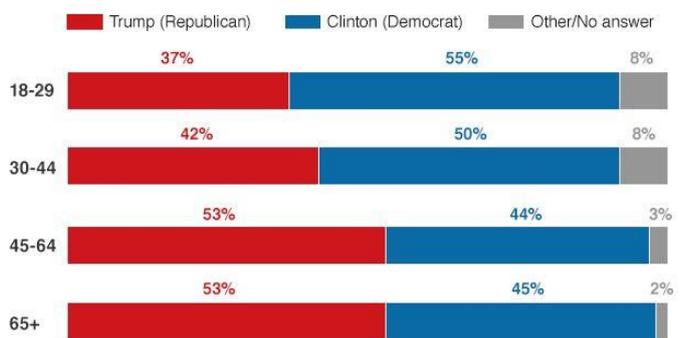


Fig 10. Change of voting behavior in the 2016 US election

It is clear to see that regarding the voting behavior of individual states, this election of 2016 is dividing American society. But it does not end at geographical borders. These three statistics, released as a corporation of America’s most present television newscasters, illustrate an even further divide in voting behavior when considering age, race, and gender.

On the one hand, Trump has more success addressing the older generations with his policies with 37% of voters under the age of 30 and each 53% of voters over 45 and over 65. As a general tendency, one can see that the older the voters get, the higher the percentage of Trump voters become. The discrepancy of his lowest and highest voting result is at 16%. His voting turnouts are more extreme than Clintons, especially because he loses votes from the younger generations.

How the different age groups voted



Source: Edison Research for ABC News, AP, CBS News, CNN, Fox News, NBC News



Fig 11. Voter turnout for both candidates divided by age

Clinton, on the other hand, achieves roughly the opposite. Her highest voting results can be found in the generation of over 18 but under 30 years old while her second-highest result directly follows with the age group of 30 to 44. Overall, Clinton seems to attract rather young voters. The discrepancy of her highest and lowest results is 6% lower than Trump’s. Nevertheless, Clinton roughly attracts 50% of each age group, casting votes broader than her opponent.

To summarize, the voting results based on the age group turn out to be approximately split in half. The only major outcome can be seen in the age group of 18 to 29, with a higher Democratic tendency. Other than that, Trump could triumph a little within the older generations. As a result, one can conclude that the age of the voters plays a role in voting behavior but is not a determining factor for the outcome of the election.

A rather drastic contrast can be seen in the voting results differentiated based on race and ethnicity.

With 58%, Trump gained the majority of the votes of the white, or Caucasian American population. This percentage is important for him since he does not focus on getting other ethnicities to vote for him. Based on further commentaries on for example gun laws, Mexican immigrants, and the theory of Birtherism²⁰, it also comes as no surprise that Trump barely manages to receive one third of Hispanic and Asian voters and not even ten percent of African American voters. Regarding the main target group of Trump's campaigns: the average middle-class working family, this result is understandable.

In contrast, Clinton mainly manages to gather these votes. Except for her performance regarding Caucasian voters, Clinton receives more than half of the votes of Asian, Hispanic, African American voters and voters of other ethnicities. Her outstanding voting result alongside African American voters can likely be a result of the close partnership of president Obama and Clinton as a secretary of state under the Obama administration. Besides that, the comments of Trump referring to Hawaii (the place of birth of Obama) as not being a part of the United States, might have unsettled a lot of African American citizens, who still to this day face difficulties integrating into the American society and for whom Obama was a symbol of becoming one society. Clinton's aim for a multicultural nation does not do her harm regarding her voting outcomes. To summarize it is obvious that the ethnicity of the voters plays a tremendous role in the voting behavior of the individual. Especially with so much hate expressed by Donald Trump towards the faceted multicultural side of the American culture, non-white people drastically gravitate towards Hilary Clinton, whereas Trump received a small majority of white voters.

In this chart, the division is made between male and female voters. The graph shows that Trump and Clinton almost share the exact same percentages, only regarding the opposite genders. Trump receives the votes of over 50% of male voters and a little over 40% of female voters. The same can be accounted for Clinton, only the other way around. She gathers over half of the female votes and a little over 40% of the male voters. Just as the age criteria, the gender does not drastically influence the voting outcome. A small tendency to vote for the individual's own gender is recognizable. A slightly higher percentage of males vote for Trump whereas a higher percentage of females vote for Clinton.

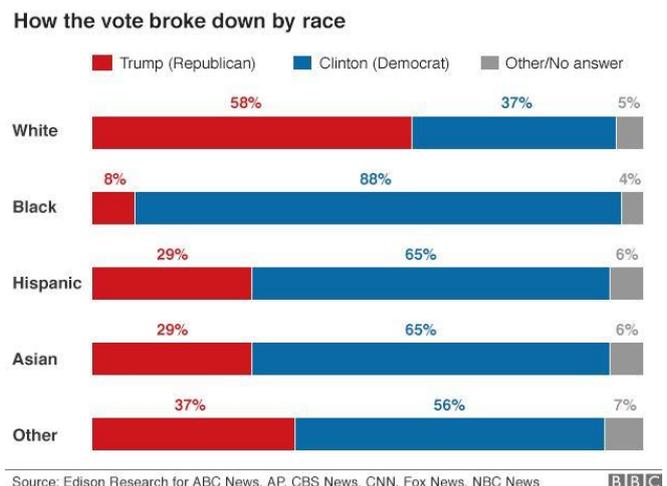


Fig 12. Voter turnout of both candidates divided by race

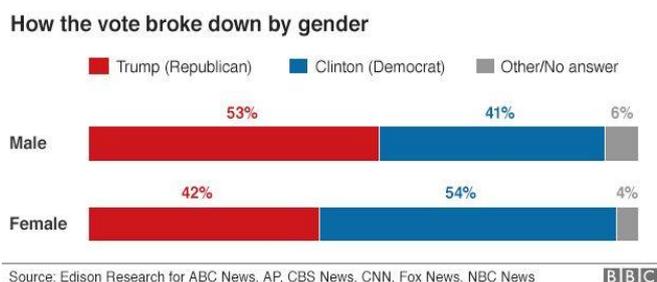


Fig 13. Voter turnout for each candidate divided by gender

²⁰ see terminology

Presidential vote by religious affiliation and race

	2000		2004		2008		2012		2016		Dem change '12-'16
	Gore %	Bush %	Kerry %	Bush %	Obama %	McCain %	Obama %	Romney %	Clinton %	Trump %	
Protestant/other Christian	42	56	40	59	45	54	42	57	39	58	-3
Catholic	50	47	47	52	54	45	50	48	45	52	-5
White Catholic	45	52	43	56	47	52	40	59	37	60	-3
Hispanic Catholic	65	33	65	33	72	26	75	21	67	26	-8
Jewish	79	19	74	25	78	21	69	30	71	24	+2
Other faiths	62	28	74	23	73	22	74	23	62	29	-12
Religiously unaffiliated	61	38	67	31	75	23	70	26	68	26	-2
White, born-again/evangelical Christian	n/a	n/a	21	78	24	74	21	78	16	81	-5
Mormon	n/a	n/a	19	80	n/a	n/a	21	78	25	61	+4

Note: "Protestant" refers to people who described themselves as "Protestant," "Mormon" or "other Christian" in exit polls; this categorization most closely approximates the exit poll data reported immediately after the election by media sources. The "white, born-again/evangelical Christian" row includes both Protestants and non-Protestants (e.g., Catholics, Mormons, etc.) who self-identify as born-again or evangelical Christians.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of exit poll data. 2004 Hispanic Catholic estimates come from aggregated state exit polls conducted by the National Election Pool. Other estimates come from Voter News Service/National Election Pool national exit polls. 2012 data come from reports at NBCNews.com and National Public Radio. 2016 data come from reports at NBCNews.com and CNN.com.

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Fig 14. Voter turnout of both candidates based on religious affiliation from 2000- 2016

Religious beliefs and tendencies furthermore illustrate a major divide within the electorate. The statistic provides data that Trump mainly appeals to Christians in the 2016 election. With 81 percent of Evangelical, white born Christians, 61 percent of Mormons, 58 percent of Protestants and another 60 percent of white Catholics, the majority of the voters of Donald Trump is made up out of religious people. Only about one fourth of religiously unaffiliated participants of the 2016 election use their vote for Trump. The majority of religiously unaffiliated, as well as Jewish, Hispanic Catholic people and people of other faiths vote for Clinton. According to the data about the change of percentage of the election in 2012 to the election in 2016 one can still see that the Democratic Party lost voters in those four categories. The biggest voter decrease can be found in the people of other faiths.

Lastly, the degree of education also plays a deciding role in the voting behavior of American citizens according to this graph published by the British newspaper "Telegraph" and according to other graphs released by "USA Today". This graph is divided into four categories from which Trump receives more percentage in the first two and Clinton in the last two. High school graduates, who then did not move on to college, and people who attended but later dropped out of college are more likely to vote for Trump than college graduates and especially post

Education: Clinton enjoys the support of graduates while Trump "loves the poorly educated"

Registered voters' voting intention across four-way choice

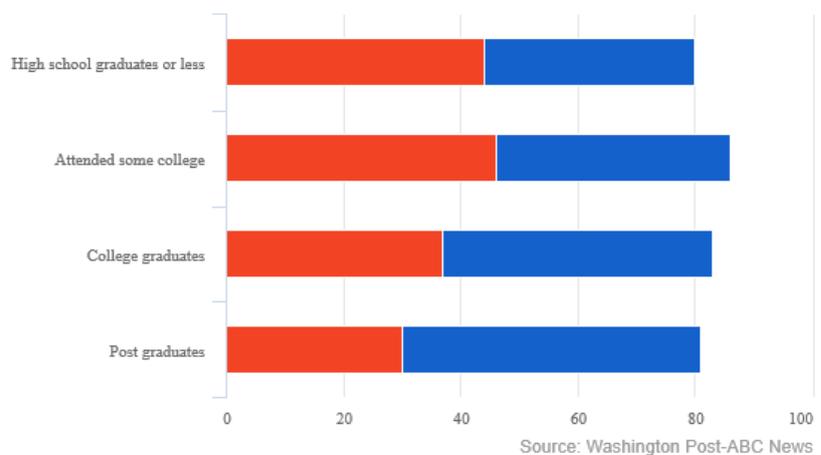


Fig 15: The election outcome divided by level of education

graduates. While Trump receives 44% of high school graduates and 46 percent of college drop-outs, he experiences a 9 percent decrease to the number of votes in the category of college graduates and another 7 percent decrease as in the voter turnout of post graduates. Clinton on the other hand has an increasing percentage the higher the educational level gets. About 36 percent of high school graduates vote for Clinton whereas half of post graduates voted for her.

To summarize, one can say that the profile of Trump voters in the 2016 election consists of slightly more male, Caucasian, religious to strongly religious people living in suburban and rural areas. Additionally, the support of Trump increases with a higher age and lower educational degrees.

Clinton’s voting demographic consists slightly more of females, people of all sorts of ethnicities, but mainly younger non-white voters in urban areas. Moreover, the support for Clinton’s policies rises the higher the educational status and the less religious the voters are.

The outcome of the 2016 also turns out to be against all predictions. The media and many specialists were sure that Clinton would win the election of 2016.

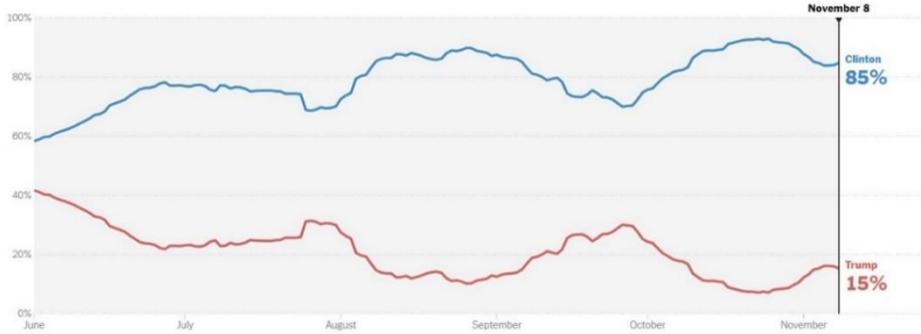


Fig 16. Election outcome predictions from June until November 2016

“Hillary Clinton has an 85% chance to win[.]” (Katz, 2016) can still be seen on the website of the NY Times on November 8th, Election Day. The prognosis was unequivocal. Notwithstanding, Trump wins the election clearly. The predicted triumph over Trump, Clinton achieves in the national popular vote. She gathers around 65,7 million votes and thus about 2,8 million more votes than Trump. According to this result, Clinton would have become the first female president of the United States. The discrepancy between these two²¹ electoral results fuels the debate over the United States' electoral system once again, as the 2016 election already outlines the 5th election, in which the results of direct choice and the official result part.

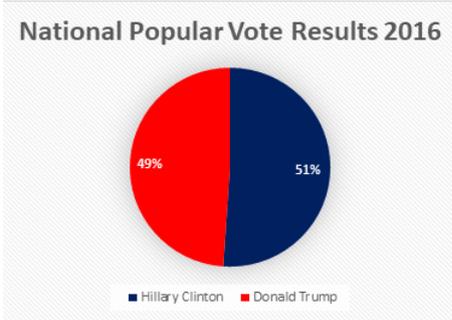


Fig 17. The National Popular vote in 2016 in percentages

²¹ numbers taken from <https://edition.cnn.com/election/2016/results/president>

7.2 Past Elections with Similar Outcomes

As mentioned earlier, the election of 2016 already describes the 5th election in US History, which put a candidate into office, who was technically not voted into office by the majority of the population. To examine the scale of how often this issue occurs and if consequences are drastic, the following part of this chapter gives a short overview about the past four times, this discrepancy occurred as well. It includes the presidential elections of 1824, 1876, 1888, and 2000. Other types of elections such as elections for becoming a member of the US Senate are not included because this essay has its main focus on presidential elections.

7.2.1 Election of 1824

The first time this discrepancy occurred was in 1824 in the election between Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William Harris Crawford and Henry Clay, who were all considered to be Democratic Republicans. With a voter participation of 26,9 percent²², the election ended up to be a “contingent election” - meaning that no candidate achieved the majority of the votes.

Presidential candidate	Popular votes	Electoral votes
Andrew Jackson	155.544	99
John Quincy Adams	108.740	84
William Harris Crawford	40.856	41
Henry Clay	37	37

²³

For that reason, the House of Representatives was in charge of choosing the president.

[...] If no person has such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. (Amend. XII, US Constitution)

Because the number of possible candidates could not exceed the number three, Henry Clay was eliminated first, based on him getting the least Electoral College and popular votes (cf. Levy 2013). According to the original election result, Andrew Jackson should have become president of the USA. Owing to the power of decision having been laid on the House of Representatives, the election was decided in favor of John Quincy Adams, making him the president for the next term. In this first case, Electoral College vote and National Popular vote did not differentiate. Nevertheless, Adams, the candidate who received the second most votes in both systems, was elected president.

²² Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

²³ numbers based on <https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1824>

7.2.2 Election of 1876

In the election of 1876 was the public faced with the decision between Rutherford Birchard Hayes and Samuel Jones Tilden. At that time, Hayes was representing the Republican party while Tilden was the nominee of the Democratic Party. The voter turnout amounted to 81,8 percent ²⁴.

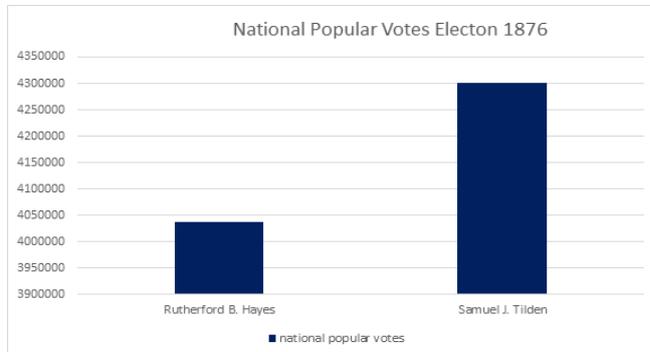


Fig 18. The National Popular Vote of Hayes and Tilden in the 1876 election

25

In the graph above, one can see that Tilden received almost 300.000 more popular votes than his opponent Hayes. Nevertheless, did Hayes win the election in 1876 due to 185 electoral college votes, while his favored opponent only managed to receive one vote less, so 184 through the Electoral College system. To sum up: Tilden lost the election by one electoral vote, even though he did have 300.000 more votes in the National Popular vote. This event can be seen as the beginning of the ever-ongoing discussion about the Electoral College system and its right to be executed.

7.2.3 Election of 1888

The discussion about the way of voting within the US was encouraged anew twelve years later. In 1888 Republican nominee Benjamin Harrison and Democratic nominee Grover Cleveland were facing each other for the presidency. The voting participation amounted to 79,3%, according to the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. Harrison inevitably won the Electoral College vote with 233 votes, while his Democratic opponent Cleveland only received 188 votes (as illustrated in chart one)²⁶. Following the Electoral College vote, Harrison was inaugurated the following year. The National popular vote on the other hand, turned out to be almost equal (as seen in diagram 2).

²⁴ Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

²⁵ numbers based on https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/votes/1877_1881.html#1876

²⁶ the fixed number of 538 electoral college votes was established in 1964, resulting in divergences of the sum of electoral votes in here listed elections of 1876 and 1888

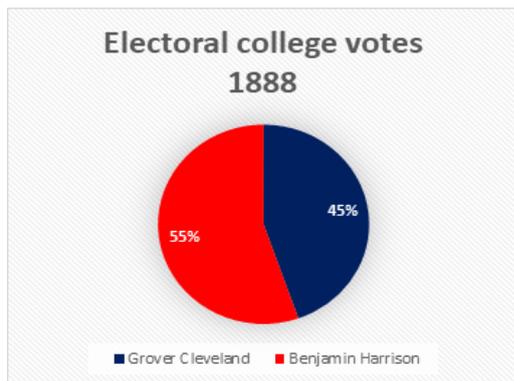


Fig 19. Electoral college votes in the election of 1888 in percentage terms

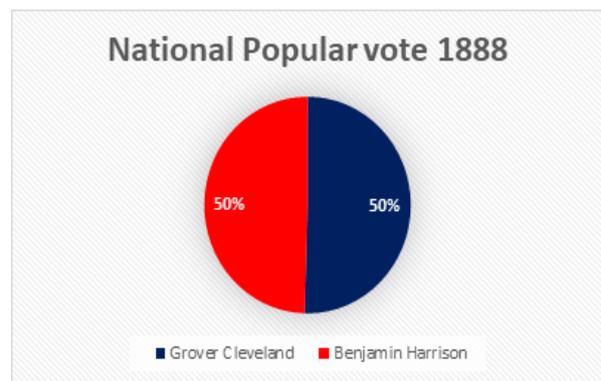


Fig 20. National Popular Vote in the election of 1888 in percentage terms

27

Nevertheless, had Cleveland won the National Popular vote with 5,540,309 votes and thereby gathered 100,456 more votes than Harrison. This occurrence only twelve years after the previous one in 1876 intensified the debate about replacing the voting system and its right remain in force.

7.2.4 Election of 2000

After over 100 years of the Electoral College system and the National Popular vote correlating, the most recent discrepancy, besides 2016, happens in the year 2000. The decision that year had to be made between Republican George Walker Bush and Democrat Al Gore. With a voter turnout of roughly 51%, the election 2000 illustrates one of the lowest voting turnouts in recent years²⁸. The Electoral College vote resulted to be close. George W. Bush ends up winning the election with 271 votes. Al Gore places second with 266 votes²⁹. (Washington D.C., abstained from casting one of their Electoral votes.) Hence, Al Gore manages to receive 50,996,582 votes, which is about half a million more direct votes than his opponent. Bush receives 50,456,062 votes. Nevertheless, because of his win of the Electoral College system, Bush becomes president from 2001 until 2009.

7.3 Derived Tendencies

To analyze if the Electoral College system has a distinct tendency in regards to preferring one party or specific regions, this summary will include two diagrams. The first one illustrates the Electoral College outcomes and the second one the National Popular Vote Outcomes, of the years 1876, 1888, 2000, and 2016. The first discrepancy of the year 1824 is being left out because the diverging result was not provoked by a difference between popular and Electoral College vote result, moreover because of a contingent election. The two following diagrams summarize the statistics created about every single election.

²⁷ Numbers based on https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/votes/1877_1881.html#1888

²⁸ Committee for the Study of the American Electorate

²⁹ https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/votes/2000_2005.html#2000

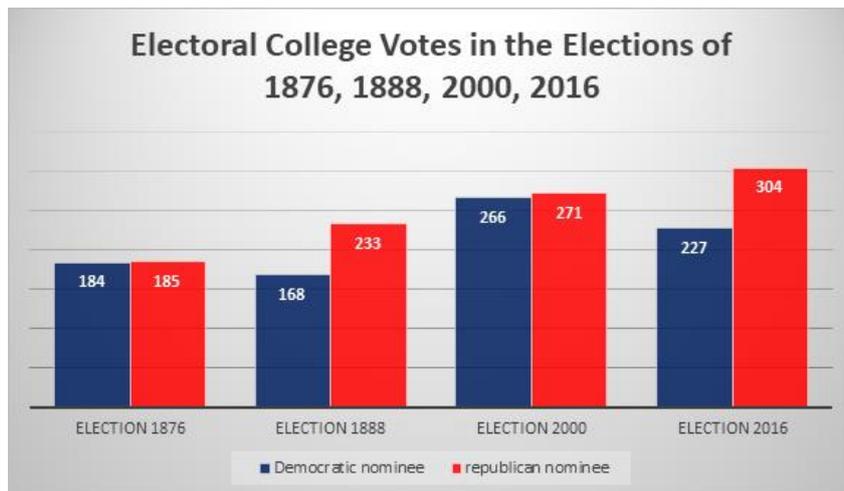


Fig 21. Comparison of the Electoral College Votes for the Republican and Democratic Candidate in the elections of 1876, 1888, 2000, 2016

In the first diagram it becomes clear that in all four elections, the Republican nominee so, Hayes, Harrison, Bush and Trump, wins the Electoral College vote against their Democratic opponent. Compared to the second diagram, one can furthermore recognize that in all four elections the Democratic nominee received more votes than the Republican nominee.

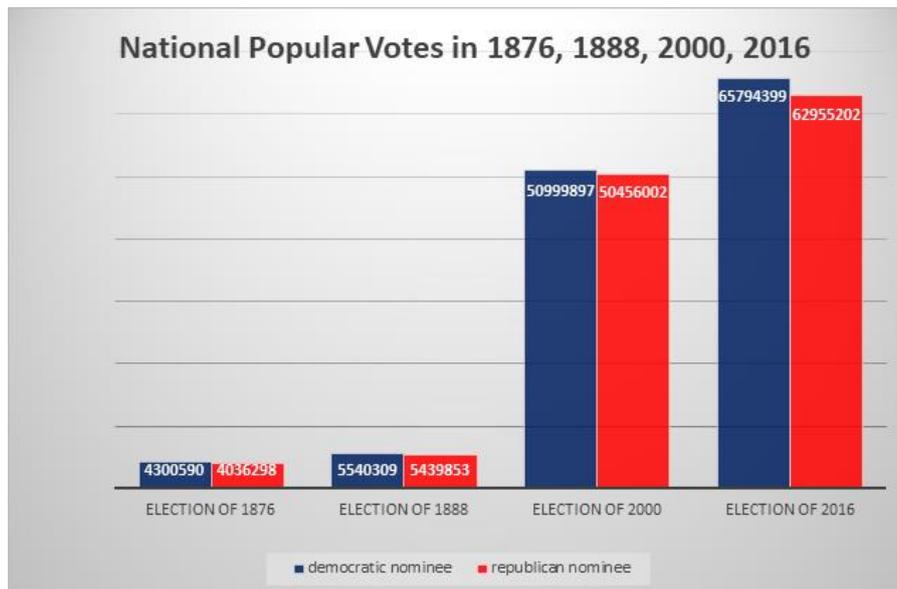


Fig 22. Comparison of the National Popular Votes for the Republican and Democratic Candidate in the elections of 1876, 1888, 2000, 2016

The discrepancy of votes has a minimum of around 100.000 votes (election 1888) and its maximum in 2016 with around 2,8 million votes.

To derive, one can say that if the results of the Electoral College and the popular vote differentiate. In all four cases they were decided in favor of the Republican candidate. Even though, the Democratic candidates has more direct votes in all four election, the official result of the Electoral College system decides against them. With the 2016 being the election with the largest discrepancy of direct votes (2.8 million), the ongoing debate about introducing a direct voting

system ignites again, especially among the Democratic Party and voters. One can derive that Republican Candidates have a statistically higher chance of winning the election when targeting the valuable states.

8 Method Development for Analyzing a Presidential Debate

Analyzing a debate has a lot of similarities to analyzing a speech. In both cases, a person has to hold an official talk in the public eye. The presentation of oneself and one's values is the key to these sorts of public appearances. Nevertheless, it is just as, if not more important, how the content is presented to the audience. Over the years, recurrent techniques and ways of presenting oneself have been proven to be successful over the years of campaigning.

To analyze the debate, strategies that are typical for probing a speech are utilized. The goal of the debate is to appeal to the listener and present oneself with eloquence and authenticity. Reaching out emotionally and intellectually is of utmost importance³⁰. Analyzing a speech is typically done with certain aspects in mind. For instance, rhetoric or rhetorical devices, intonation, body language, occasion, and historical context.

Body language has a special effect on the visual seen by the viewer. This category usually includes subcategories, such as facial expressions, gestures, and eye-contact. Engaging posture and emphasizing gestures and facial expressions can drastically strengthen the persuasiveness of an argument. Furthermore, the overall charisma portrayed through these three aspects can influence the people's sympathy and therefore their opinions.

Especially in debates, speeches, and public events, it is just as important what is said as how it is said. The way someone presents themselves in front of others always delivers a subliminal message such as being suited to take on a certain function.

The central part of this scientific paper is the analysis of the first presidential debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump held at Hofstra University on November 26, 2016. Therefore, for this specific debate, the goal of both candidates, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, is to convince the American population that they are the best choice for the upcoming presidency. By looking into the used devices, the goal is to figure out the effects these devices have on the audience and figure out a strategy behind the usage. The specific aspects have certain effects on the viewer. Therefore, they are fundamental to the effect of the presentation.

8.1 Importance of the First Presidential Debate

In the following part of this essay the First Presidential Debate, scheduled during the election in 2016 in the United States of America, will be the main focus. There are numerous reasons to be found, for why this debate can be considered to be the best one to analyze. Considering that the first presidential debate is the first event where the two final candidates campaign right next to each other, it is a very important part of the electoral process. During the debates, both candidates compete against each other in convincing as many viewers as possible with their plans and personality. Therefore, it is crucial to appeal to a large amount of people in quite a short time.

³⁰ cf. Green Line Oberstufe Skills and Exam Trainer Sachsen, Klett 2009

Their strategies have to be tailored to attract and connect the audience to the candidates' ideas and the candidates themselves. For that reason, the first segment will be the focus since it "tends to be the most-watched portion [of the debate]" (Tory Newmyer, 2016)

Due to its importance in the election process, the debates are usually one of the most-watched television events of the entire year. As a matter of fact, the first presidential debate between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton was the most-watched debate in the United States' history. Even though a higher number of viewers was expected, still about 83 million Americans watch the debate on September 26, 2016. These audience ratings outscore the record of Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan in 1980, when, according to the National Public Radio "just under 81 million people tuned in". (Kennedy, 2016) Because the transmission of the debate happens about two months before the actual election, "a lot of viewers [are, A.L] still trying to make up their mind" (Brocha, 2016). With "the polls being tight" (Gouthery,2016), this debate was prone to have a massive impact on voting predictions and consequently the actual voting results of the American population. Because of all of those reasons, this presidential debate is more appropriate to analyze in the context of this scientific essay than the other two.

8.2 Criteria for the Analysis

To understand the techniques of both Candidates that are used to appeal to the audience, this essay evaluates one of the most appropriate events to speak to the population of the United States of America - the First Presidential Debate. All of the following aspects are proven to be essential for political speeches and, because of that, essential for political debates as well.

Besides scrutinizing the rhetorical and stylistic devices being used by both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, this essay studies their choice of words under the aspect of their connotation and implied mental reactions. Furthermore, this essay examines the candidates' intonation and stressing of specific words or aspects. Moreover, their gestures and body language are also an important focal point. All of these aspects can be accounted for strategies to appeal to the audience. The aspects have been chosen exclusively for this essay. After observing the entire 90-minute debate numerous times, it was best to decide on focusing on the first segment called "Achieving Prosperity" representing the entire debate, since the rhetoric devices used in the beginning do not differ grandly from the ones in the middle or at the end. Moreover, the first segment is realistically the one most people pay attention to since it is right at the beginning. Hence, it is the segment when both candidates have to amplify their strategies to attract the people's attention. For the analysis, this essay utilizes both, the transcript of the debate, published by Aaron Blake under command of "The Washington Post" on September 26, 2016, and the recording of the presidential debate, published on the video platform YouTube by NBC News on September 27, 2016. Even though, both sources are being used, the analysis uses the timer of the YouTube video as a measurement and reference. The reason for that is that gestures and body language can hardly be retraced from the transcripts, leading to a disadvantage in only analyzing the transcript. Moreover, because the official clock the candidates have been seeing during their debate is not visible in most of the camera angles, it is even more useful to use the YouTube timer to create apparent and structured results.

9 Analysis of the First Presidential Debate

9.1 Chronological Analysis

The electoral process leading up to the US election in November 2016 has been one of the most broadcasted, dichotomous, and omnipresent battles of election campaigning in the history of the United States. On September 26, 2016 the two remaining candidates running for president, Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton and Donald John Trump, are facing each other in the long-anticipated first presidential debate – a 90-minute television debate in which both candidates have to answer unknown questions to earn the vote of the American population on Voting Day. Because a lot of the viewers “are still trying to make up their mind” (Brokaw, 2016) and the ever-tight polls (Gouthery, 2016) at the time of the debate, both candidates have to convince as many people as possible with their plans and values. In the first presidential debate held at Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York on September 26, 2016, both, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, try to persuade the audience into voting for them on Election Day, November 8, 2016. While Clinton focuses on appealing to a broad audience, Trump narrows down his target audience to only the people, who are already agreeing to his political agenda.

The presidential debate commences after a short introduction by Lester Holt, the anchor of “NBC Nightly News “. Holt explains the rules of the upcoming debate. The debate lasts for 90 minutes and is divided into six fifteen-minute segments (3:34-3:40 min). The candidates cover three topics: achieving prosperity (3:44 min), America’s direction (3:46 min), and securing America (3:48 min). Each segment starts with a question to both candidates, to which they each have a maximum of two minutes to respond (3:45-3:49 min). The remaining eleven minutes are provided for an open discussion (3:49-3:55 min).

Lester Holt welcomes both of the candidates on stage with the applause of the audience. Right when Trump and Clinton walk on stage, one can spot the first difference. As Clinton walks towards Trump to shake his hand, she has a generally approachable and curious look on her face. Her question “How are you, Donald?” (04:32 min) acknowledges him as a fair and respected opponent. She then waves at the crowd (04:35 min) and even interacts with an individual in the crowd for a short time (04:36 min). One can notice that she tries to create a bond between her and the audience within the first couple of seconds. Then, she walks towards the Host autonomously to shake his hand (4:37-4:40 min), which further portrays her sense of politeness and respect. All of these small actions create a great first impression of her personality and values in the viewer's mind. The associations of politeness, respect, being organized, and friendliness are now closely connected to her personality.



Fig 23. Clinton waving at the crowd

Trump, on the other hand, maintains a much more taciturn attitude. While walking in, he solely mouths “Hello” towards the audience (04:27-04:29 min) and follows Clinton to shake the host’s hand. Within the first seconds, Trump has not portrayed himself as sympathetic as Clinton, with little interaction with the crowd nor his opponent. This can seem quite abhorrent to some people, but might also show power and strength.

The debate is then opened by Holt (4:50 min). The general question of the first segment relates to the creation of jobs to help the American population to earn more money (5:20-5:46 min). The first two minutes of speaking time is given to Clinton (5:46-5:54 min).

Clinton firstly takes time to thank the host and the location provider, Hofstra University (05:54-05:58 min), which again illustrates her sense of politeness and respect. She then begins explaining her ideas. Throughout the two minutes assigned to her, Clinton endeavors to create an atmosphere of togetherness. With phrases like “what kind of country we want to be” (06:02-06:04 min) and “what kind of future we’ll build” (06:05 min) she strengthens the bond between her and the audience. The incorporation of a personal story of her granddaughter (06:07-06:11 min) right at the beginning, early on illustrates a personal connection to the discussed topics and her policies. With aimed repetition and correctio such as “new jobs, good jobs” (06:18-06:20 min), she structures her sentences. Underlined with raised eyebrows, stressing of important words, and parallel sentence structure like “I want us to invest in you, I want us to invest in your future [...]” (06:23-06:26 min), Clinton forms vivid sentences that are pleasant to listen to and keep the viewers interest. While maintaining eye contact with the camera for most of the time (06:01-06:11 min), she continues by enumerating her goals for the presidency. The eye-contact makes her address the issues to the viewers and hence the entirety of the voters. The viewers hence feel like Clinton is directly talking to them.

Structured, Clinton then explains her plans for jobs in, for example, infrastructure and clean energy. Similarly, she expresses the need for equal pay for women’s work (06:27-06:49 min) and thereby acknowledges the very topical Metoo-Movement, a public movement against sexual harassment and the oppression of the modern woman. Strategically thought-out, she sympathizes with the devotees of that very topical movement at that time. They make up a source of a lot of potential voters, knowing that Trump has had some controversies with his treatment of women. For instance, the recently released “Access Hollywood Tape”, where Trump can be heard making objectifying and disrespecting comments about women. The video has circulated through the internet for the majority of the campaigning time-span, making it omnipresent in the voters’ minds.

Clinton draws her attention back to the viewers. Turning her body to the audience once again, she mentions the complaints she has heard from “so many of [the voters]” (07:06 min). By publicly addressing these complaints, stressing that part of the sentence, and emphasizing it with hand gestures, she points out that she seriously takes notice of the voters. It suggests that Clinton hears and cares for the population of her country, which is the desired impression to have as a future president. The last part of her two minutes is now fully dedicated to the viewer. By leading away from herself and reminding the viewer of his task, she sums up the purpose of the debate and of being president. She skillfully ends her speaking time with a purposely stressed reminder to vote for her on November 8, 2016 (07:53-07:57 min).

After Lester Holt leads over to Trump, Trump also thanks to the host, which likewise shows respect (08:05 min). In contrary to Clinton, Trump does not start his speech by strengthening solidarity but much more with extremely visual and personified language. The jobs are “fleeing the country” (08:07 min) and are “going to Mexico and many other countries” (08:10-08:12 min). In order to make business matters easier to understand by personifying the processes, Trump uses these expressions. What is further conspicuous is the extreme use of “they”. Instead of delineating what “we” can do to strengthen the economy (cf. Clinton 2016), Trump describes that “they”- referring to Mexico, China, and “many other countries” (08:30 min) are stealing the US’ jobs (cf. 09:19 min). With very colloquial language, Trump compares the relationship between the

US and other countries as them using the US as a “piggyback”, a common colloquial way to describe exploitation.

Rhetorically compelling he advances with repeating the word “leaving” in numerous different constellations (08:51-09:00 min). Thereby, Trump portrays the US strategically effective as a country that is being manipulated and deceived by multiple other countries. It makes the United States sound weak and in need of a new, strong leading figure like Trump himself, who will “stop the countries from stealing [the US] companies and [...] jobs” (10:10-10:13 min).

Similar intentions can also be found in the tone of his voice, which tends to be crestfallen (08:07-08:18 min), illustrating his disappointment about that exploitation. To prove his point, even more, Donald introduces the example of “Carrier Air Conditioning” (09:30 min). By then using this example to lead over to other “hundreds and hundreds of companies” (09:27-09:29 min), he generalizes the economic circumstances of the US and creates a vision of extreme discrimination towards the US once more. In the final segment of his two minutes, he introduces a fraction of his tax plan, which is supposed to create jobs just as well as Ronald Reagan did (cf. 09:55 min). In other words, through his tax plan, more companies will stay inside the US and offer more new jobs. The comparison Ronald Reagan is quite influential, due to the extreme exemplary function Reagan still has to this day.

The Host leads over to Clinton again. The former Secretary of State only takes the first eight seconds (10:16-10:24 min) of her speaking time to respond to what Trump has just said. She much rather focuses on Trump's tax plan itself and on Trump as a person, which is the topic she remains on for the entire two minutes. At first, she categorizes Trump's tax plan as trickle-down economics (10:38 min), an economic theory where the accrued income of the rich caused by low taxes gets donated to the poor class. Immediately she adds the phrase “all over again”. (10:39 min). Thereby, she gives the system of trickle-down economics an additional negative connotation and makes it seem not revolutionary and non-efficient. By building up a further delineation of Trump having the most extreme version of trickle-down economics and adding in a break right before she continues to speak (10:49 min), she creates a perfect rhetorical pathway for her long-remembered pun “trumped-up trickle-down” (10:50f min). Clinton then progresses with a well-intonated and well-gestured phrase. By emphasizing every word with her voice and dragging her hand down on every word as well (10:54-10:56 min), she unequivocally underlines the importance of Trump's plan not being the way to grow the economy. With further disclosure, she unveils the background behind her and Trump's perspective towards the economy and jobs. By claiming that he got a massive loan of money from his father to start his business (11:17-11:21 min), she is enigmatically implying that Trump might not know what “real work” is and because of that, eventually has a distorted vision for improvement strategies for the economy. Clinton, on the other hand, puts herself in a good light now, by emphasizing that her father had a common middle-class job. With detailed descriptions and visualizing gestures of his work (11:34-11:44 min), she accentuates her experience being different from Trump's. Connecting the experience of her father with the focus she has already expressed, Clinton declares the middle-class as one of her main political focal points. In the last seconds of her two-minute segment she again summarizes her vision of the economy, where she includes this focus on middle-class families, a focus Trump has often used as a signature feature. Lastly, Clinton, once more, talks to the audience and the viewers directly, by enumerating



Fig 24. Clinton using repeating gestures to emphasize her sayings

investments she wants to achieve for “you, your education, your skills, your future” (11:50-11:53 min). With strengthening the sense of togetherness one last time, with for example “we’ll grow” (11:56 min), she finishes her segment.

Host Holt is now specifying the question for Trump and asks him how he will specifically convince American manufacturers to come back to the United States (12:12-12:16 min). Trump starts his presentation by firstly responding to the claims Hillary has just made about him. He reverses the personal story that Clinton has just used from a 14-million-dollar loan (11:18f min) to a very small loan (12:21 min). He strategically leads over to one of his competences to be president. He adapts his outstanding success in business to success the country needs as well (12:28-12:31 min). By using a familiar strategy, Trump repeatedly mentions the worrying situation the US is in, e.g. (12:31-12:34 min). Furthermore, he is using a lot of “they’re” which, anew, creates the vision of multiple active countries purposely deceiving the US. To substantiate his thesis, Trump uses Mexico as an example. With assisting gestures, he demonstrates the VAT³¹. By explaining the system of this tax quick and in colloquial language, he makes sure the audience understands the facts and most importantly, recognizes the problem Trump is trying to point out (13:00-13:09 min). By repeating, and emphasizing the word “defective” twice after explaining the situation (13:10 min & 13:12 min), he is demonstrating the extent of this problem. He then carries on by criticizing the passiveness of former politicians (13:14f min) regarding this issue. With now using her long experience against her, Trump is connecting the issue of political passiveness with his opponent and is further reproaching that Clinton has not been able to fight those defective agreements within her 30 years of working in politics (13:31-13:35 min).

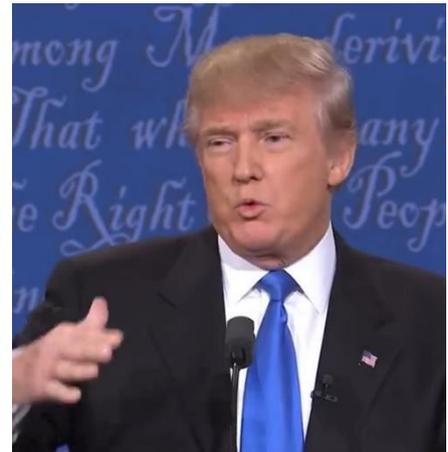


Fig 25. Trump explaining the VAT

This accusation does not only downgrade her image but it simultaneously also elaborates him as the only person, who firstly recognizes those issues and lastly is able to fix them. Combined with his business success, this gives him an untouched unique position feature. After further inquire of Host Holt, Trump uses the repetition of the word “leaving” to accentuate the situation (14:13-14:21 min). The following description of introducing a tax on imports into the US is done with very simple and colloquial language, which makes it more visual, easier to understand and almost entertaining. After digressing a little from the original question, Trump then ends his segment with the repeated repetition of the word “leaving” (14:50-14:53 min) to make a lasting impression on the viewer's conscious.

To disrupt the image building up in the viewer's mind and also defend herself against Trump's accusations, Clinton now makes the audience focus on the progress that has been made, instead of the accusation of progress not having been made. With mentioning the Great Recession, she carries the people back into the mindset they had during the financial crisis in 2008. By triggering those emotions within the viewers, she then has the foundation to showcase the reasons for the Great Recession, which are most of the fundamental plans she has already been describing Trump's Policy with (15:11-15:17 min). The connection between Trump's Tax Plans and the Great Recession is building up subliminally. Clinton then draws a direct correlation of Trump and all the unconscious sorrow brought up by the Great Recession by citing Trump from the year 2006 (15:29-15:34 min). By choosing that quote, which portrays him as not emphatic and cold-hearted, she sets off an aversion to Trump. His interruption of “That's called business by the way” (15:35f min) seems determined and rude at the same time, to which Clinton raises her voice. With a

³¹ See terminology

repetition of “nine million people” (15:38f min) followed by a numeral climaxing enumeration (15:40-15:47 min), she emphasizes the drastic consequences of the financial crisis in 2008. By immediately adding the progress the United States has made once again, she emphasizes the importance of the Recession for her tax plans and policies. Continuing with the research results of “independent experts” (16:06 min) Clinton then compares her tax plan to Trump’s again, considering the Great Recession. With the results predicting that under Trump’s tax plan another recession might happen, the study is a piece of phenomenal evidence to support her tax plan. By bringing up the emotions connected to the Great Recession once again, she puts the viewer in fear of reliving another financial crisis. The unconscious connection between Trump and the Great Recession has been drawn and will be hard to destroy again. But Hillary leads over to clean energy, which is strategically clever for pointing out another one of Trump’s controversies. By claiming that Trump thinks that “climate change is a hoax” (16:52- 16:58 min), she connects multiple evidential elements. This whole claim of Trump not believing in climate change is referring to a tweet of Trump from 2012.

The concept of global warming was created by and for the Chinese in order to make US manufacturing non-competitive [...].”(Trump 2012)

He later declared this tweet as a joke. She also delineates her own opinion right after that statement. Even though, Trump is denying these accusations (16:59-17:01 min) she is quick to not only state that in her opinion that climate change is real, but moreover that science is real, implying that climate change is a part of science, so Trump not believing in climate change would equal him not believing in science, which is an unpleasant stigma to have. After mentioning the chances of clean, renewable energy she, once again, stresses that the United States should keep progressing (17:33-17:36 min). To end her statement, she anew seizes the image of the economic downfall connected to the Great Recession in 2008. With that example, she portrays the economic growth that has happened and that she wants to continue building up (17:30-17:35 min). The last sentence includes another remedy to the tax policies that caused the economic downfall in 2008 and her aversion towards them (17:35-17:37 min).

After Holt leads over to Trump, he is quick to criticize Hillary’s plans. With a repetition of the negatively connotated word “disaster” (17:41f min), he disrupts her proposals of further developing the clean energy industry within seconds. By leading the conversation to the topic of creating jobs again, he reminds the audience of his main goal before heading towards the topic of the debt of the US (18:00-18:02 min). Trump then explains his method to reduce debt and improve the economy. With parallel sentence structure and emphasizing hand gestures, like dragging his hand down on every word, he enumerates and emphasizes the importance of keeping the jobs inside the country and giving the companies more financial resources to further develop (18:20-18:30 min). Underlining this claim with the example of Michigan and Ohio, he focuses on two swing-states at that time, which leads to the feeling of acknowledgment and care within people from these states. By bringing this example, he attracts mid-western voters, knowing that these states can make a huge impact on the voting outcome. Trump then leads over by addressing Clinton directly. By pointing out that she has worked in politics for 30 years (18:45-18:48 min), he is clever to use her long political experience against her. The amount of experience Clinton has can only be seen as a reason to vote for her on voting day. By being a senator (20:30



Fig 26. Trump criticizing Clinton

min) and a secretary of state (20:33 min) she has earned a lot of knowledge she could profit from if being President of the United States. But Trump contorts that experience by saying she has not thought of any solutions within those 30 years (18:49-18:51 min).

By repeating the same content with a different sentence structure right after that first claim, he emphasizes his statement rhetorically. It is now Clinton to interrupt Donald Trump (18:56 min), showing her adaptations of some of Trump's strategies. He is quick to get the word back by using a parallel sentence structure to compare him and her within two sentences (18:57-19:00 min). At this moment something interesting can be spotted. While Trump appears to be very focused and almost becomes a little heated Clinton suddenly focuses on creating contrast. Firstly, she starts smirking (18:54 min) and then develops her smirk into an actual smile (18:58 min), which is quite confusing due to no correlation to the actual content of the current section of the debate. But because both candidates are presenting themselves on camera, emotional appeal is especially important. She is putting herself into an approachable position to convey a certain attitude. Her face gestures suddenly become way more expressive (18:56 min) and her self-expression becomes more friendly. In comparison to Trump, she stands out in the camera frame, which makes the attention of the viewer gravitate towards her instead of Trump, even though he is the one trying to argument at this very moment. To no surprise, one can see the effects of Clinton changing the atmosphere within only a few seconds. The audience, who was advised and has agreed to remain silent during the debate, starts to laugh after Trump draws the attention to Clinton's work time of 30 years once again (19:05 min). Clinton is then continuing within that friendly, almost comedic environment she has just established.

During the sentence "Well not quite that long. [...]" (19:06-19:08 min) she does not only continue to smile. Further, she looks directly into the audience and lastly winks towards them.

That wink triggers another wave of quiet laughter (19:08 min). Winking makes someone approachable and almost seem a little bit witty. Clinton herself can only benefit from that sympathetic counter to Trump's accusations. Not only has it made her seem more likable, it also is a strategic way to invalidate Trump's strategy of using her long experience against her. Clinton then leads over to her Husband Bill Clinton, which portrays her involvement in politics once more. By scrutinizing his plans, she delivers an orientation for the viewer, about how her plans for the presidency will be likely to look.



Fig 27. Clinton winking at the audience

Trump uses that topic change to point out one of Bill Clinton's agreement NAFTA, which Trump himself does not support. By calling it the "worst trade deal ever approved" (19:19-19:21 min), he plays with superlatives to plant some doubts about Bill Clinton's plans and through that also on Hillary Clinton's plans, since she has just said she will orientate herself on the plans of her husband. To draw attention to something else, Hillary is quick to enumerate the goals her husband's plans have achieved (19:16.19:24 min). Then, it does not take long for Clinton to take the same approach she has just taken a couple of seconds ago to deal with Trump's strategy. While Trump is constantly trying to drown out Clinton's sentences by raising his voice and using repetition and parallel structure (e.g. 19:14-19:16 min), Clinton is now trying to draw in the sympathy of the audience again. By adding a controversial if-clause (19:24-19:26 min) she is alluding to the subject of discussion that Trump may not always draw his claims from facts. One will notice the popularity of that rumor because of the quiet laughter of the audience (19:27 min). She is insinuating these controversies about Trump because she has found out by now that most

of the audience is on her side, based on earlier laughter following her comments. Now that she has all the attention, she starts to indicate another skill of hers which makes her suitable for being president. She whisks the viewer with a personal story of hers. Clinton explains her procedure as a Senator to discuss different kinds of proposed trade deal. By itemizing the three tests she uses to examine those trade deals, she demonstrates the audience her structured and objective perspective. In addition, the content of these three tests demonstrates her care and spirit for her country, the United States of America, as all three tests deal with the well-being of the country (19:34-19:40 min). By repeating the phrase “same standards” again (19:49 f. min), she very much emphasizes her objectivity. In the last segment of her argumentation, she accentuates her achievements as a Secretary of State. As an example, she claims that exports increased, both globally and to China (20:11-20:17 min). Leading over to the topic of jobs once again, she takes the example of global exports and applies it to the general (20:18-20:26). By repeating the word “jobs” in different verb combination, like “get new jobs” (20:21f. min) and “create new jobs” (20:24-20:26 min) and underlining it with the variation of her voice, she targets the main topic of this debate once again.

Crosstalk characterizes the following part of the debate. Trump is using the strategy of constant repetition of the phrase “you haven’t done it” (20:27 min; 20:31 min; 20:32 min), to underline the proclaimed unproductiveness of Clinton. Alongside Trump, the viewer can see Clinton enumerating her professions during the breaks of Trump’s claims. By conveying that she has been a Senator (20:30 min), a Secretary of State (20:33 min) and has done a lot for the American country (20:34 min), she invalidates his accusations of having done nothing. Trump then leads over to her husband Bill Clinton again, because it is giving him some foundation to criticize. Because Hillary Clinton herself has drawn the connection between her and her husband’s policies (20:19 min), Trump can now build up his criticism on the foundation of that connection. The negatively connoted word “devastation” (20:47 min) he braces the viewers for negative accusations. By then using a climax when talking about the ratios of the manufacturing industry decreasing (20:49-20:51 min), he accentuates the drastic of this problem. Trump is then accusing Clinton of changing her original policies to adapt to the omnipresence of Trump’s personality (21:00-21:06 min). By framing these claims with very colloquial language such as “and you said, I can’t win that debate” (21:04f. min), he makes the idea of Hilary not standing behind her original plans and values accessible to all age-groups and potential voters. Naturally, an accusation of untruthfulness regarding her plans, will not make Clinton look like an appealing candidate in the light of being the future president of the United States. Clinton is quick to debunk these theories with a simple claim that all of what has been said is not true (21:13-21:15 min). As a proof for her claim, Clinton is referring humorously to her own written book. Trump is then trying to interrupt with a repeated assertion of Clinton calling the trade deal NAFTA the “gold standard” (21:24 min; 21:26 min), implying that Clinton was all in favor of the corruption being done. She takes over the situation by appealing to the audience with a humoristic approach again. After stating that he lives in his reality (21:34-21:36 min) the audience responds with laughter. She also adds that she was not responsible for any sort of negotiation (21:42-21:45 min). With her rejecting the debt of this controversially discussed deal she strategically takes Trump’s foundation of argumentation. Shortly later Trump then repeats the question “Is it President Obama’s fault?” three times (21:48-21:50 min, 21:51f. min, 21:54-21:56 min). With that, he is trying to make her testify against former Democratic President Barack Obama, which would lose her potential traditional Democratic voters. But Clinton does not even acknowledge his questions, which is a strategic thing to do. After all of the crosstalk she is now stating her main plan regarding jobs again. Not only does that structure the current debate situation but it also reminds the viewer of her policies, which may have been going under in all of the touched-on discussion topics.

By contrasting her plan with Trump's, she is underlining the benefits of her plan. Furthermore, she is starting to maintain eye-contact with the camera, so the viewer again, to directly speak to potential voters. (22:11-22:17 min) Trump is then interrupting her twice by stating that she has no plan (22:17f.; 22:19- 22:22 min). He makes sure to stress the syllables on his second repetition and additionally raises his voice to make sure his intonation is supporting the content of his claim. But again, Hilary does not continue with a heated attitude, instead, she focuses on promoting her policies since Trump is currently not doing so- leading to increased chances that the viewers will remember. With a smile on her face, she refers to her own-written book "Stronger Together" as a source of further information about her policies. Whilst she is adding the direction of where to find the book, she makes the information accessible to the viewer. People are more likely to do something, once they get instructions on how to do it, increasing the chances of people picking up her book. Besides that, Hilary simultaneously triggers laughter in the audience, by leading the conversation into another direction so abruptly (22:22-22:29 min). All in all, Clinton has found out by now, how to sympathize with the audience, making it easy for her to approach with a bit of humor. This does not only make it easier to convey ideas it also creates contrast between her and Trump, who has portrayed himself as very determined and has not been that witty. Clinton then unknowingly talks over the host, to enumerate once again her goals for the presidency. With climaxing adjectives like "strong", "fair", and "sustained growth" (22:33-22:35 min) she illustrates her plans as solely positive and enumerates important moral factors for her decisions. In general, in this part of the debate she is repeating some of her arguments from the ongoing debate. She touches on the balance of home and business again (22:39-22:43 min) and delineates the aftereffects of her and Trump's tax plan. By calling her plans "robust" (22:46 min) she triggers the feeling of comfort and safety just by the implied connotation. Finally, she marks out the connection of Trump's plans to the Great Recession again, which brings up fear in the audience once and for all (22:50-23:00 min).



Fig 28. Clinton smiling at the audience

Trump then interrupts Clinton, so her reference to the Great Recession cannot be heard that clearly. After correcting himself, he uses a parallel sentence structure and numerous anaphors to structure his argumentation (23:00-23:12 min). By using a lot of negatively connoted words like "disaster" (23:09 min), he is associating Clinton's plans with something negative. Contrastingly, he is then adapting to her strategy, by also repeating one of his key arguments from the debate. By underlining that his tax cuts are the biggest since Reagan (23:14-23:16 min), he emphasizes the positive effect his tax cuts will have on the economy³². He then goes further to criticize Clinton's regulation policy by implying that he has been all over, which underlines his international and global knowledge, and has asked several people. According to Trump, those people were all complaining about regulations, making it the perfect example to devalue Clinton's tax plans. He delineates that companies cannot form or stop forming because of regulations like Clinton would introduce (23:41-23:49 min). In the end, Trump summarizes the two contrasting plans by stating that his ideas will cut taxes and hers will increase taxes (23:52-23:57 min). After this sentence, Lester Holt tries to end the first segment. But Clinton interrupts him, making it sound urgent that she has something to say before the topic is changed.

³² See chapter Ronald Reagan

The host grants her permission and she makes use of the last seconds to speak, knowing that Trump will not have the opportunity to respond again. She starts by calling Trump's statements "charges and claims" (24:06-24:08 min) and underlining it with hand gestures, to which Trump replies to "facts" (24:09 min). Following that, she refers to her website, which has been turned into a real-time fact-checker (24:10-24:22 min). Not only is she guiding potential voters to her website through that, but she also implies that some things that have been said are not facts, which is degrading Trump's believability immensely. Trump then interrupts and advises to look at his website too (24:24f. min), but without saying the name of his website. This again applies to the strategy that people are more likely to act when they are given a plan. Clinton gives them a plan and the name of her website while Trump does not. To end this entire segment, Clinton is portraying both plans in contrast. She refers to the advantages of her plan regarding the debt of the United States of America, small businesses and the middle-class (24:27- 24:48 min). She ends the segment by speaking out in favor of the middle- and lower-class and against the upper-class. She delineates that if wealthy pay rising taxes, they will fairly support this country (24:49-24:53 min). With this thought of her vision of the US as a fair and supported country, she lets Holt lead over to the second segment.

9.2 Comparison of the Candidates' Appearance

Aspect of concern	Hillary Clinton	Effect	Donald Trump	Effect
Gestures	Moving head towards crowd and camera on certain phrases	Emphasizes impact the things said will have on the public	Lots and Repeating gestures	Emphasizing rhetorical devices to convey message
	Repeating gestures	Emphasizing rhetorical devices to convey message	Broad gestures outside of rhetoric frame	Demanding the stage, drawing attention towards him
	Gestures to visualize correlations and stories	Make context easier to understand	Gestures to visualize correlations and stories	Make context easier to understand
	Deliberate usage of hand gestures	Strengthen impact of certain phrases		

Facial expressions	<p>Raising eyebrows on certain phrases</p> <p>Oftentimes widened eyes</p> <p>Smirking and winking at audience</p>	<p>Drawing attention of the viewer to content of these phrases</p> <p>Expressive face</p> <p>Makes her more approachable, sympathetic</p>	<p>Raises eyebrows</p> <p>Expressive mimics</p> <p>taciturn facial expressions</p>	<p>Showcase doubt about what Clinton says</p> <p>show passion, draw viewers' attention</p> <p>Abhorrent, also portrays strength</p>
Focus on the audience	<p>Waving at the crowd, interaction with individual individuals</p> <p>provokes laughter in audience</p> <p>eye-contact focuses on live audience and camera</p> <p>referring to own literature like Book or website</p> <p>shares stories out of her life in the middle class</p>	<p>Shows interest in the crowd</p> <p>Make her sympathetic</p> <p>Makes both audiences feel included and noticed</p> <p>Gives audience guidance on where to look for further information</p> <p>Provide relatability, counter-action to Trump's image of having the main focus on the middle class</p>	<p>Directly addressing battleground states (like MI, OH)</p> <p>Establishes feeling of a movement rather than "just" a party preference</p> <p>Oftentimes focus on the host</p> <p>Incorporating expert opinions of acquaintances</p>	<p>Establish personal connection to people living there</p> <p>Utilizes human need to belong to groups, tribal tendencies</p> <p>Losing close connection to viewer</p> <p>Make stated numbers and examples more believable</p>

Rhetorical devices	Expressing thankfulness	Shows sense of respect	Recurrent usage of “they”	Blaming others e.g. countries for nationwide deficiency
	Recurring usage of “we”	Establishes sense of togetherness	Personifications	Make sentences more pictorial
	Repetition & climaxing tricolons	Increasing imprinting of information	Lots of Repetitions	Increasing imprinting of information
	Neutral and colloquial language	Provide easy access to the given information	Bringing one example, adapting it to a broader context	Generalizing ideas to make them applicable to different scenarios
	Self-made puns	Closer bond to audience, makes her sympathetic	Negatively connoted words	Illustrating bad circumstances
	Mainly neutral language	Language that is easy and seems professional at the same time	referring to other countries negatively	Creates feeling of exploitation, distrust
	usage of “you”, “your”	Directly addressing viewers, establish connection	Mainly simple and colloquial language	Makes content easy to understand
Intonation	Planned usage of stressed vocals on keywords	Appears professional and presidential	Lots of stressed vocals	Emphasizes the importance of things being said, overwhelming in the long term
	Stressing on positively connoted words	Focus on positive progress or plans	Stressing on negatively connoted words	emphasize negative aspects of situations
	No significant change in volume	Appears calm and non-irritable	Noticeable volume changes	Appears irritable but passionate
	Speaking slow	guarantees good understanding at all times and processing of information		

Incorporation of historical events and biographies	Illustrating extremity of Great Recession	Emphasizing progress that has been made	Adapting Reagan's slogan "Make America Great Again"	Referring to extreme progress that job creation
	Connecting Trump's tax plans to recession	Subconsciously provoking negative emotions	incorporating his own business success as an aspiration for the direction of the US	Bringing example for his own success and credibility
	Referring to a tweet made by Trump about climate change	Taking advantage of opponent's position	using Hillary's long-term experience	Portraying her inaction over the years, Showcasing unproductivity
	Referring to political improvements during Obama administration	Emphasizing own deeds for the country	Expressing aversion towards Bill Clinton NAFTA Agreement	Agreeing with correlation of NAFTA and job loss → sympathizing with target audience

9.3 Findings of the Analysis

After watching the entire debate, one can come to the conclusion that Clinton's performance is generally more appealing to the broad audience than Trump's. According to multiple surveys conducted after the debate, more people see Clinton as the better performer of the evening. This survey conducted by CNN and ORC International shows one of the studies conducted after the debate. The effect of the rhetoric of both candidates can be seen clearly within these studies.

101. Regardless of which candidate you happen to support, who do you think did the best job in the debate – Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump?

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Trump</u>	<u>Both Equally (vol.)</u>	<u>Neither (vol.)</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Sept. 26, 2016	62%	27%	6%	4%	1%

Fig 29. CNN and ORC survey on both candidates' performance after the 1st presidential debate

During the debate, Trump focuses on being true to the image he has built up over the course of campaigning and on making the current status of the US in need of a change. Using big gestures and raising his voice constantly he does not surprise the viewer with something new. He portrays his involvement in the discussed issues and the disadvantage of the US in comparison to other countries vividly and puts these issues into the people's minds by repeating this idea rigidly. Demanding the stage, interrupting and not appearing approachable all combine and lead to the feeling of him being superior to the host and his opponent Clinton, which is a quality many people

strive for in their head of state. Nevertheless, his temper can also be interpreted as heated and unprofessional, as he struggles to remain calm and polite. During this specific debate, his attacks launched at Clinton are tough, nevertheless his defenses to her attacks are weak. One could see him solely denying accusations, for example, "I did not say that." (16:59-17:01 min) He does not give evidence or explanations for the actions he did, to the contrary, he tries to debilitate the attacks launched at him with allegations, which makes his line or arguments seem ill-conceived sometimes.

Meanwhile, Clinton's main rhetorical focus is being put on appealing to the entire audience. She aims to sympathize with everyone during the debate and tries to make everything. By smiling, making jokes and involving a part of her personal life in her performance she establishes a close bond to the viewer. Moreover, her vocabulary consists of a lot of positively connoted words, focusing on the progress the country can achieve rather than the miserable position the US is according to her opponent. Strategically thought-out, she knows exactly when to use hand gestures to emphasize and which syllables are best to intonate. Thus, seeming somewhat robotic because of that, every rhetoric device accomplishes the effect it is supposed to have because of well-prepared and structured sentences. Every counter-argument against Trump's attacks is well prepared and strong, proving authority to the audience. The debate was the chance for Clinton to show her stamina to the audience after here have been doubts about her physical health because of her visit at the 9/11 memorial. Not considering the events after the debate, this performance would have increased her chance of winning the election immensely.

10 Discussion of the Influencing Factors on the Election Outcome

To now conclude the actual outcome of the US Election, one must consider the influence of all five aspects this scientific essay has previously covered. The composition of the American society, the social and economic situation of the US in 2016, the events after the debate until the election, and lastly the election outcome substantiated by the Electoral College system. By combining the findings of these categories, one can picture what finally influenced the outcome of the 2016 presidential election.

As the results of the "Pew Foundation's Typology of American Voters" have shown, two out of the three political clusters have set voting preferences. All three subcategories of the political Left tend to vote mostly Democratic and the political Right mainly votes Republican. Their votes for their preferred party stay the same because candidates usually will not risk losing those secured votes. Therefore, the candidates aim to appeal to the typical values in every election. To now reconstruct the election outcome, one can, therefore, rely on the group of the political Middle to be the most important group to gather votes from. However, when focusing on the key values and needs of each cluster of the political Middle, one can witness that they each hold different key values. This makes the political Middle hard to unite under one party's ideas. To exemplify, a key value of the Upbeats is being content with the current economic situation. They believe in the possibility of independent economic success and generally connote the economy as something positive to society. People belonging to this category could now be influenced by the rhetoric of Clinton the following way: Because people in this cluster take pride in the nation-wide political direction the country is heading and do not see the need of a drastic change, Clinton could gather votes by aiming for a similar political system as Obama did before her. Expressing sympathy for the former president could help to bring that message across. Furthermore, because Upbeats are generally in favor of immigration, the harsh immigration policy of Trump, including the Muslim Ban

and a wall to Mexico, does not create sympathy for him. The overall percentage of the Upbeats could thus be accounted to Clinton. Regarding the cluster of Bystanders, it is unlikely to expect a change in voting behavior. Since they make up zero percent of the registered voters and their voter participation in 2004 turned out to be four percent, one can conclude that this cluster is affected by neither of both campaigns. The cluster of the Disaffected holds key values like the opposition on immigration and governmental interference in the economy. Therefore, these 10 percent of registered voters are likely to vote for Trump in the 2016 election, since immigration is one of the main topics Trump built his campaign on. Trump aims against governmental business regulations which he expresses clearly in the debate. Also, his profession as a multi-millionaire businessman underlines his stanza.

All of these hypotheses could explain how the political Middle reacted in this election. The votes of the political Left go to the Democratic Party, the votes of the political Right to the Republican party, and the political Middle splits its votes between Democrats (Upbeats) and Republicans (Disaffected). Roughly, this distribution would conclude in 43% of the registered voters voting for the Republican Party with Trump as their candidate. 47% of registered voters would vote for the Democratic party and thereby for Clinton.

Nevertheless, the idea of the political Left and Right remaining voters of their typical party is not a reality in this election. The fragmentation of traditional voters and the gravitation towards atypical parties becomes visible in the 2016 election. Because the crowd is disappointed in the political elite, they get drawn towards candidates like Donald Trump, who promises to connect more to the voters. That can be a reason for the phenomenon, that a large number of traditionally Democratic voters cast their vote for Trump.

The unstable and dichotomous political situation can be explained by the events that happen under the Obama administration leading up to 2016. As already mentioned in this essay, the Obama administration marks a period of eight years in which a lot of fundamental change has happened. The Obama policy is characterized by the extent of governmental interference, for example, the introduction of a new healthcare system. Generally speaking, the efforts describe a hubris to a social market economy. The attempts made are meant to profit the entire American society in the long-term by replacing private health insurance with governmental insurance. Nevertheless, because of long reconciliations and lavish procedures, the effects of the ideas do not reach the surface immediately. Overcoming the Great Recession is of utmost importance, whereas other political projects like improving schools and introducing a new healthcare system have to be postponed. However, the general public cannot feel their economic situation changing, even if economists say that the circumstances would improve. Furthermore, the gap between poor and rich widens up to the widest it has ever been since the 1960s. The portrayed message of equality and diversity stands in contrary to the actual living reality. This dissatisfaction and uncertainty pave the way for political changes in 2016. The people out of the working-middle class feel the need to show resistance; a gravitation towards populist parties becomes visible. Candidates like Trump promise the middle-class numerous times that they will fight for the importance of the middle class. Since the middle-class makes up the majority of the American population, it is a large target audience he addresses with his words.

In the debate, Clinton also focuses on the working class, especially on families and single-moms. But because of her strong bond to former president Obama, the working middle-class was figuratively fearing a third term of Obama ruling the country. Clinton does not set herself apart enough from Obama, from which she profits regarding Obama supporters. Notwithstanding, people who are disappointed about the achievements of the Obama administration will gravitate towards Trump.

Throughout the entirety of Trump's campaign, the white middle-class voters, exactly the group that felt left out under the Obama administration, is the target. Therefore, the percentage of votes out of this category can be expected to be above average.

Throughout the electoral process, both candidates have to respond to numerous scandals and accusations, which makes this election one of the most controversial and also covered by the media. Until Election Day, the American population is divided and unsure about whom to vote for because neither of the two candidates is completely clean and comes across as one hundred percent trustworthy. The more controversial candidate at the beginning of the electoral process is Donald Trump. Especially Liberals condemn a great number of his public statements as islamophobic and xenophobic. Another accusation concerning Trump is the misogyny he utters numerous times. However, Trump voters do not seem to bother this much since 42% of women still cast their vote for Trump on Election Day. One can conclude that he manages to redirect the crowd to a different scandal, for example on the ones for Hillary as Secretary of State. As a good companion of Obama and the wife of ex-president Bill Clinton, Hillary Clinton has loads of political experience. Yet she cannot benefit of that often. All of those years in power have stressed her mentally and physically, which can be seen in her appearance in front of the 9/11 memorial. Moments like this have been used by Trump perpetually to underline that Clinton does not have the stamina to become president of the United States because of her age and sudden illnesses. Still, she manages to show the US a different side of her by being up to date and connecting with young voters.

To summarize, one can say that both candidates have heavy scandals. Thereby, prognoses of the election outcome remain hard until the end. The entire situation is unpredictable. From first-hand experience, one can conclude that a lot of American voters are torn between both candidates but at the same time not completely satisfied with neither of them.

The main focus of this essay, the first presidential debate in the election process of 2016 is likely to affect the following election. With the highest views in US history, the performance of both candidates presumably influences the opinions of the viewers. This essay has found out that Trump mainly focuses on the target audience of his policy. His rhetoric applies to the middle-class and working people, who have not seen improvements of their personal situations in a long time. One could argue that he loses votes by not trying to appeal to everyone who is watching the debate. This strict focus on his target audience could explain why more people vote for Clinton in the 2016 election. Her overall approachable and professional performance in this debate helps her to re-establish her image. After the airing the surveys show a clear sympathy of the viewers for Clinton. However, it can somewhat be proven that Trump focuses on swing-states like Michigan in his debate, among others by mentioning them. Consequently, the people out of these states feel heard and may be more likely to vote for Trump. This could explain why a great number of traditionally Democratic voters vote for Trump in the 2016 elections. Trump focuses on areas and topics that Clinton does not.

The past four aspects are likely to influence the outcome of the 2016 election. The composition of the American society, the economic and social situation in 2016, and the events during the electoral campaign process are three factors that usually influence every election. Yet, the three just stated factors are hypotheses aiming to reason the outcome of the election. Still to this day, even political scientists are still working to figure out all the reasons behind the 2016 election outcome. To name all the events and political ties that influence the 2016 unequivocally, more research and sources from within the White House would be necessary.

However, what is certain to influence the election outcome, is the Electoral College system and its discrepancy to the National Popular vote. The Electoral College system was designed to guarantee equal state representation for all of the 50 member states of the US.

Consequently, it also means that one vote in a more populated state has to be relatively less worth than a vote from a less populated state to guarantee that the states are represented equally in the voting results. For instance, Wyoming has 3 electoral votes assigned. With a population of about half a million people, the votes of 167,000 people make up one Electoral College Vote. In the state of Florida, there are 29 electoral votes to gather. However, with a population of nearly 18 million people, one electoral college vote can be accounted for about 620,000 people (based on the 2000 US Census). It is obvious that the distribution of Electoral votes in relation to the inhabitants of these states are not proportional. Therefore, states with a lower population have a relatively greater weight in an election than high populated states.

Additionally, Clinton can be seen attracting people living in cities. However, the amount of people that vote for her in the city become close to irrelevant in comparison to other voting districts. Because of the density of people voting within the one or two voting districts of the city, all the support for Clinton concentrates on the districts of the city. Therefore, all the rural areas with a lower population density receive a relatively greater weight to influence the election.

As furthermore concluded from past elections, the disproportionate distribution of votes has always worked in favor of the Republican candidate. Since traditionally Republicans gather votes from rural areas in the middle of the country and these states get a further advantage because of the US Voting system, it is logical that these states can have a relatively greater impact on the election outcome than high populous coastal states. The election outcome is inevitable- Hillary Clinton receives about 2,8 million more votes than Donald Trump, notwithstanding Trump wins the 2016 election. With direct democracy, Hillary Clinton would win the election.

11 Final Conclusion and Verification of Thesis

If gathering 2,8 million more votes in the US presidential election of 2016 would declare Clinton as the new president of the United States, it would be logical to scrutiny why. Her political experience functions as a trustworthy basis while she holds rallies all across America. Especially in the analyzed debate, she endeavors to appeal to a broad audience and to make herself likable. Her arguments are well structured, convincing, and rhetorically thought-out; her presence is greatly professional. In the end, the first presidential debate is a success for her and the polls afterwards prove her far better performance. The events before and after the debate, however, weaken her campaign. Especially the email scandal, where the FBI has to investigate in the end, damages her image extremely. Besides that, Clinton evermore portrays herself as a competent and knowledgeable politician. Her policies focus on moral topics such as families and people trying to balance free time and work. Her campaign wants to establish ties between different nationalities and keep the unity Obama had created between them.

Whereas, Trump's policies fund on separation. Stopping the immigration, xenophobic comments, misogyny, and tempered arguments- if phrased like that, the success of Clinton would be inevitable. Until the release of the election outcomes, the vast majority of predictions are certain of the loss of Trump. But the results turn out differently. Donald Trump wins the election unambiguously with 304 electoral votes, whereas Clinton only receives 227. Even though, about

2,8 million more people support and vote for Clinton (based on the National Popular Vote), the determining result (the Electoral College Vote) declares Donald Trump as the future US president. To achieve that vital majority, one could argue that Trump does not reach the majority of the voters but, more importantly, the voters that were crucial to winning the election.

For instance, voters in states that hold a relatively greater weight to the Electoral College Outcome like Wyoming or North Dakota. By appealing to their issues and values he manages to gather enough votes to receive the majority of electoral votes.

Trump also adapts to the prevailing circumstances of 2016. His anti-establishment policies thrive off the discontent of the middle-class because of the Obama administration. His promise of cutting taxes stands in contrast to the former expansion of governmental insurance, which consequently demands a raise of taxes. His promise of a completely new politician, who will address problems differently than any other president before, excites the middle-class to vote and stimulates on an individual basis. This can be the reason why a lot of traditionally Democratic voters ended up voting for Trump. Trump uses the feeling of needing a change rhetorically and emotionally.

The scandals both candidates have to face worsen the political reputation of both of them. The email scandal as well as the "Access Hollywood Tape" provoke mistrust in both candidates' honesty and candor. The influence on the voting behavior of the electorate is mostly based on individual values and experiences. For some people xenophobic comments are a less- deciding factor than the good relationship to Obama of Clinton. Therefore, one can conclude that the number of scandals damaged the image of both candidates equally.

This essay elaborates on the stage presence of both presidential candidates and substantiates a differing performance, correlating to the thesis. Clinton appeals to a broader audience than Trump, which can be comprehended by their performance and the survey held after the debate. Clinton's rhetoric performance promotes the establishment of her image positively. She underlines her political experience and professionalism, which is usually a core competency to have as a politician. However, because Trump is recruiting people all over the US to vote against the traditional politicians, Clinton's experience is not to her advantage. Trump focuses on a certain audience that has been supporting him ever since. With that, he achieves the majority of electoral votes by appealing to special states that hold a great weight in the Electoral College System.

This inequality of the power of states results in a discrepancy of the Electoral College System and the National Popular vote. This discrepancy results in a tendency for Republican candidates to win the election when the result of the National Popular Vote is speaking against them. Therefore, the influence of the Electoral College system on the election of 2016 can be proven as well. After learning about the socio-economic situation in 2016, one can understand why the rhetoric of Trump polarizes and mobilizes people to vote for him.

To summarize, one can say that the correlation between rhetoric performance in the first presidential debate and the official election outcome mentioned in the thesis, can be verified. This essay portrays four different causes for the election outcome, with one of them (the Electoral College system) being proven to affect the election outcome. The other three aspects of research (the composition of the American electorate, the circumstances in 2016, the events leading up to the election, the performance in the first presidential debate) are placed in context hypothetically without one-hundred percent proof of their effect on the American society. The effects described in this essay are likely to have occurred, nevertheless, no definite data is proving the correlation between the rhetoric of the candidates and electoral outcome. The extent to which these circumstances influence the election cannot be assessed in this paper. This essay proves the

opposition of the level of rhetoric performance and the official election outcome. Besides that, this essay portrays very likely correlations between for example prevailing circumstances in 2016 and the election outcome.

12 Further Areas of Investigation

To finally prove the influence of social, economic and cultural factors on the election outcome, such as the effect of the situation in 2016 on the election, this essay would have to go far more in-depth into the structure of the American society and its history. More information about former administrations that might have affected the voting behavior of the American Electorate would have to be included in this essay.

The essay would have to elaborate more on individual reasons that cause different voting behavior, for instance through first-hand interviews with US citizens. In addition, one must acknowledge that all of the explanations made in this essay are hypotheses. To finally verify the connection between the American electorate, the situation of 2016, the events before the 2016 election and the outcome of the 2016 election, more investigation to find further proof would be necessary. Moreover, not all of the possible factors that may influence the election can be ruled out. For instance, this essay does not cover the effect of illegal actions such as the Cambridge Analytica scandal, which correlates with fake Facebook accounts propagating Trump's statements. The essay further does not cover a possible Russian interference in the election.

In addition, the analysis of multiple public speaking events of each candidate would be necessary to substantiate the conclusion this essay draws. To generalize the claims, this essay would also have to consider past appearances of both candidates that may be remembered until today. The method to analyze the rhetoric of both candidates would have to be more complex and take appearances on multiple medias into consideration.

All the while this essay was written, different sources and investigation teams came out with new information regarding both presidential candidates' and eventual influences on the 2016 election. This information is also not included in this essay because the essay is meant to cover the timespan right around the election. Additionally, eventual reasons for impeachment are not included in this essay. The focus is meant to be on reconstructing the American voting behavior based on rhetoric strategies and public events to understand the outcome of the 2016 election. To incorporate every aspect that influenced the 2016 election outcome, including eventual corruption or illegal actions in any form, detailed investigation in cooperation with state interns or even intelligence agencies would be necessary.

Declaration of Originality

I certify that I am the only author of this essay. The thesis has not been submitted by anyone nor for any other scientific essay at this school.

To my best knowledge, my thesis does not include parts of other essays or literature. All the material used for this essay is referenced. Any conclusions of the findings, however, were made by myself. No part of the analysis references other literature, it was entirely written by myself.

Alexa Laube

Terminology

Access Hollywood Tape: video leaked on October 7, 2016, which shows a conversation between Trump and "Access Hollywood" Host Billy Bush containing graphic language about sexual actions

Battleground state: U.S. state which has no set political preference (on Republican or Democrat), therefore crucial for elections

Birtherrism: conspiracy theory during the Obama administration proclaiming the illegality of Obama's presidency because of him apparently not being born within the United States

Flint Water Crisis: During the process of building a new water pipeline from Lake Huron, the water supply for Flint had to be switched to Flint river. The switch resulted in an extreme downfall of the water quality and a dangerously high lead percentage in the water.

Great Recession of 2008: financial crisis before the first term of Obama; roots lie in borrowing lots of money short-term to refinance purchases of riskier stocks and shares which lead to a spiral of refinancing

Me-Too Movement: founded in 2006 to support survivors of sexual violence; gone viral in October 2017 because of the Harvey Weinstein scandal (on October 5 the NY Times releases article with accusations of sexual harassment towards Weinstein; until October 10, thirteen women speak up and share their experiences under the "Metoo" hashtag

NAFTA: (abbreviation of) North American Free Treaty Agreement passed in 1993, creates uniform trade conditions between Mexico, Canada, and the US (cf. Niederberger 2016, 221)

National Popular Vote: result of a polling method, where every vote gets counted individually without the transmission to Electors or the unit-rule

Patriot Act: governmental act to better equip the government to interfere and obstruct terrorism, passed 45 days after 9/11 (cf. Mitchell 2018, 489)

VAT- value added tax; is added onto the price of a product, every time when value is added to a product

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Speech Transcript

Published by Aaron Blake under command of "The Washington Post" on September 26, 2016; <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/09/26/the-first-trump-clinton-presidential-debate-transcript-annotated/> [last checked 10.11.2019]

LESTER HOLT: Good evening from Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York. I'm Lester Holt, anchor of "NBC Nightly News." I want to welcome you to the first presidential debate.

The participants tonight are Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. This debate is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization. The commission drafted tonight's format, and the rules have been agreed to by the campaigns.

The 90-minute debate is divided into six segments, each 15 minutes long. We'll explore three topic areas tonight: Achieving prosperity; America's direction; and securing America. At the start of each segment, I will ask the same lead-off question to both candidates, and they will each have up to two minutes to respond. From that point until the end of the segment, we'll have an open discussion.

The questions are mine and have not been shared with the commission or the campaigns. The audience here in the room has agreed to remain silent so that we can focus on what the candidates are saying.

I will invite you to applaud, however, at this moment, as we welcome the candidates: Democratic nominee for president of the United States, Hillary Clinton, and Republican nominee for president of the United States, Donald J. Trump.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: How are you, Donald?

(APPLAUSE)

HOLT: Good luck to you.

(APPLAUSE)

Well, I don't expect us to cover all the issues of this campaign tonight, but I remind everyone, there are two more presidential debates scheduled. We are going to focus on many of the issues that voters tell us are most important, and we're going to press for specifics. I am honored to have this role, but this evening belongs to the candidates and, just as important, to the American people.

Candidates, we look forward to hearing you articulate your policies and your positions, as well as your visions and your values. So, let's begin.

We're calling this opening segment "Achieving Prosperity." And central to that is jobs. There are two economic realities in America today. There's been a record six straight years of job growth, and new census numbers show incomes have increased at a record rate after years of

stagnation. However, income inequality remains significant, and nearly half of Americans are living paycheck to paycheck.

Beginning with you, Secretary Clinton, why are you a better choice than your opponent to create the kinds of jobs that will put more money into the pockets of American workers?

CLINTON: Well, thank you, Lester, and thanks to Hofstra for hosting us.

The central question in this election is really what kind of country we want to be and what kind of future we'll build together. Today is my granddaughter's second birthday, so I think about this a lot. First, we have to build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top. That means we need new jobs, good jobs, with rising incomes.

I want us to invest in you. I want us to invest in your future. That means jobs in infrastructure, in advanced manufacturing, innovation and technology, clean, renewable energy, and small business, because most of the new jobs will come from small business. We also have to make the economy fairer. That starts with raising the national minimum wage and also guarantee, finally, equal pay for women's work.

CLINTON: I also want to see more companies do profit-sharing. If you help create the profits, you should be able to share in them, not just the executives at the top.

And I want us to do more to support people who are struggling to balance family and work. I've heard from so many of you about the difficult choices you face and the stresses that you're under. So let's have paid family leave, earned sick days. Let's be sure we have affordable child care and debt-free college.

How are we going to do it? We're going to do it by having the wealthy pay their fair share and close the corporate loopholes.

Finally, we tonight are on the stage together, Donald Trump and I. Donald, it's good to be with you. We're going to have a debate where we are talking about the important issues facing our country. You have to judge us, who can shoulder the immense, awesome responsibilities of the presidency, who can put into action the plans that will make your life better. I hope that I will be able to earn your vote on November 8th.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton, thank you.

Mr. Trump, the same question to you. It's about putting money -- more money into the pockets of American workers. You have up to two minutes.

TRUMP: Thank you, Lester. Our jobs are fleeing the country. They're going to Mexico. They're going to many other countries. You look at what China is doing to our country in terms of making our product. They're devaluing their currency, and there's nobody in our government to fight them. And we have a very good fight. And we have a winning fight. Because they're using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China, and many other countries are doing the same thing.

So we're losing our good jobs, so many of them. When you look at what's happening in Mexico, a friend of mine who builds plants said it's the eighth wonder of the world. They're building some of the biggest plants anywhere in the world, some of the most sophisticated, some of the best plants. With the United States, as he said, not so much.

So Ford is leaving. You see that, their small car division leaving. Thousands of jobs leaving Michigan, leaving Ohio. They're all leaving. And we can't allow it to happen anymore. As far as child care is concerned and so many other things, I think Hillary and I agree on that. We

probably disagree a little bit as to numbers and amounts and what we're going to do, but perhaps we'll be talking about that later.

But we have to stop our jobs from being stolen from us. We have to stop our companies from leaving the United States and, with it, firing all of their people. All you have to do is take a look at Carrier air conditioning in Indianapolis. They left -- fired 1,400 people. They're going to Mexico. So many hundreds and hundreds of companies are doing this.

TRUMP: We cannot let it happen. Under my plan, I'll be reducing taxes tremendously, from 35 percent to 15 percent for companies, small and big businesses. That's going to be a job creator like we haven't seen since Ronald Reagan. It's going to be a beautiful thing to watch.

Companies will come. They will build. They will expand. New companies will start. And I look very, very much forward to doing it. We have to renegotiate our trade deals, and we have to stop these countries from stealing our companies and our jobs.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton, would you like to respond?

CLINTON: Well, I think that trade is an important issue. Of course, we are 5 percent of the world's population; we have to trade with the other 95 percent. And we need to have smart, fair trade deals.

We also, though, need to have a tax system that rewards work and not just financial transactions. And the kind of plan that Donald has put forth would be trickle-down economics all over again. In fact, it would be the most extreme version, the biggest tax cuts for the top percent of the people in this country than we've ever had.

I call it trumped-up trickle-down, because that's exactly what it would be. That is not how we grow the economy.

We just have a different view about what's best for growing the economy, how we make investments that will actually produce jobs and rising incomes.

I think we come at it from somewhat different perspectives. I understand that. You know, Donald was very fortunate in his life, and that's all to his benefit. He started his business with \$14 million, borrowed from his father, and he really believes that the more you help wealthy people, the better off we'll be and that everything will work out from there.

I don't buy that. I have a different experience. My father was a small-businessman. He worked really hard. He printed drapery fabrics on long tables, where he pulled out those fabrics and he went down with a silkscreen and dumped the paint in and took the squeegee and kept going.

And so what I believe is the more we can do for the middle class, the more we can invest in you, your education, your skills, your future, the better we will be off and the better we'll grow. That's the kind of economy I want us to see again.

HOLT: Let me follow up with Mr. Trump, if you can. You've talked about creating 25 million jobs, and you've promised to bring back millions of jobs for Americans. How are you going to bring back the industries that have left this country for cheaper labor overseas? How, specifically, are you going to tell American manufacturers that you have to come back?

TRUMP: Well, for one thing -- and before we start on that -- my father gave me a very small loan in 1975, and I built it into a company that's worth many, many billions of dollars, with some of the greatest assets in the world, and I say that only because that's the kind of thinking that our country needs.

Our country's in deep trouble. We don't know what we're doing when it comes to devaluations and all of these countries all over the world, especially China. They're the best, the best ever at it. What they're doing to us is a very, very sad thing.

So we have to do that. We have to renegotiate our trade deals. And, Lester, they're taking our jobs, they're giving incentives, they're doing things that, frankly, we don't do.

Let me give you the example of Mexico. They have a VAT tax. We're on a different system. When we sell into Mexico, there's a tax. When they sell in -- automatic, 16 percent, approximately. When they sell into us, there's no tax. It's a defective agreement. It's been defective for a long time, many years, but the politicians haven't done anything about it.

Now, in all fairness to Secretary Clinton -- yes, is that OK? Good. I want you to be very happy. It's very important to me.

But in all fairness to Secretary Clinton, when she started talking about this, it was really very recently. She's been doing this for 30 years. And why hasn't she made the agreements better? The NAFTA agreement is defective. Just because of the tax and many other reasons, but just because of the fact...

HOLT: Let me interrupt just a moment, but...

TRUMP: Secretary Clinton and others, politicians, should have been doing this for years, not right now, because of the fact that we've created a movement. They should have been doing this for years. What's happened to our jobs and our country and our economy generally is -- look, we owe \$20 trillion. We cannot do it any longer, Lester. HOLT: Back to the question, though. How do you bring back -- specifically bring back jobs, American manufacturers? How do you make them bring the jobs back?

TRUMP: Well, the first thing you do is don't let the jobs leave. The companies are leaving. I could name, I mean, there are thousands of them. They're leaving, and they're leaving in bigger numbers than ever.

And what you do is you say, fine, you want to go to Mexico or some other country, good luck. We wish you a lot of luck. But if you think you're going to make your air conditioners or your cars or your cookies or whatever you make and bring them into our country without a tax, you're wrong.

And once you say you're going to have to tax them coming in, and our politicians never do this, because they have special interests and the special interests want those companies to leave, because in many cases, they own the companies. So what I'm saying is, we can stop them from leaving. We have to stop them from leaving. And that's a big, big factor.

HOLT: Let me let Secretary Clinton get in here.

CLINTON: Well, let's stop for a second and remember where we were eight years ago. We had the worst financial crisis, the Great Recession, the worst since the 1930s. That was in large part because of tax policies that slashed taxes on the wealthy, failed to invest in the middle class, took their eyes off of Wall Street, and created a perfect storm.

In fact, Donald was one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis. He said, back in 2006, "Gee, I hope it does collapse, because then I can go in and buy some and make some money." Well, it did collapse.

TRUMP: That's called business, by the way.

CLINTON: Nine million people -- nine million people lost their jobs. Five million people lost their homes. And \$13 trillion in family wealth was wiped out.

Now, we have come back from that abyss. And it has not been easy. So we're now on the precipice of having a potentially much better economy, but the last thing we need to do is to go back to the policies that failed us in the first place.

Independent experts have looked at what I've proposed and looked at what Donald's proposed, and basically they've said this, that if his tax plan, which would blow up the debt by over \$5 trillion and would in some instances disadvantage middle-class families compared to the wealthy, were to go into effect, we would lose 3.5 million jobs and maybe have another recession.

They've looked at my plans and they've said, OK, if we can do this, and I intend to get it done, we will have 10 million more new jobs, because we will be making investments where we can grow the economy. Take clean energy. Some country is going to be the clean- energy superpower of the 21st century. Donald thinks that climate change is a hoax perpetrated by the Chinese. I think it's real.

TRUMP: I did not. I did not. I do not say that.

CLINTON: I think science is real.

TRUMP: I do not say that.

CLINTON: And I think it's important that we grip this and deal with it, both at home and abroad. And here's what we can do. We can deploy a half a billion more solar panels. We can have enough clean energy to power every home. We can build a new modern electric grid. That's a lot of jobs; that's a lot of new economic activity.

So I've tried to be very specific about what we can and should do, and I am determined that we're going to get the economy really moving again, building on the progress we've made over the last eight years, but never going back to what got us in trouble in the first place.

HOLT: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: She talks about solar panels. We invested in a solar company, our country. That was a disaster. They lost plenty of money on that one.

Now, look, I'm a great believer in all forms of energy, but we're putting a lot of people out of work. Our energy policies are a disaster. Our country is losing so much in terms of energy, in terms of paying off our debt. You can't do what you're looking to do with \$20 trillion in debt.

The Obama administration, from the time they've come in, is over 230 years' worth of debt, and he's topped it. He's doubled it in a course of almost eight years, seven-and-a-half years, to be semi- exact.

So I will tell you this. We have to do a much better job at keeping our jobs. And we have to do a much better job at giving companies incentives to build new companies or to expand, because they're not doing it.

And all you have to do is look at Michigan and look at Ohio and look at all of these places where so many of their jobs and their companies are just leaving, they're gone.

And, Hillary, I'd just ask you this. You've been doing this for 30 years. Why are you just thinking about these solutions right now? For 30 years, you've been doing it, and now you're just starting to think of solutions.

CLINTON: Well, actually...

TRUMP: I will bring -- excuse me. I will bring back jobs. You can't bring back jobs.

CLINTON: Well, actually, I have thought about this quite a bit.

TRUMP: Yeah, for 30 years.

CLINTON: And I have -- well, not quite that long. I think my husband did a pretty good job in the 1990s. I think a lot about what worked and how we can make it work again...

TRUMP: Well, he approved NAFTA...

(CROSSTALK)

CLINTON: ... million new jobs, a balanced budget...

TRUMP: He approved NAFTA, which is the single worst trade deal ever approved in this country.

CLINTON: Incomes went up for everybody. Manufacturing jobs went up also in the 1990s, if we're actually going to look at the facts.

When I was in the Senate, I had a number of trade deals that came before me, and I held them all to the same test. Will they create jobs in America? Will they raise incomes in America? And are they good for our national security? Some of them I voted for. The biggest one, a multinational one known as CAFTA, I voted against. And because I hold the same standards as I look at all of these trade deals.

But let's not assume that trade is the only challenge we have in the economy. I think it is a part of it, and I've said what I'm going to do. I'm going to have a special prosecutor. We're going to enforce the trade deals we have, and we're going to hold people accountable.

When I was secretary of state, we actually increased American exports globally 30 percent. We increased them to China 50 percent. So I know how to really work to get new jobs and to get exports that helped to create more new jobs.

HOLT: Very quickly...

TRUMP: But you haven't done it in 30 years or 26 years or any number you want to...

CLINTON: Well, I've been a senator, Donald...

TRUMP: You haven't done it. You haven't done it.

CLINTON: And I have been a secretary of state...

TRUMP: Excuse me.

CLINTON: And I have done a lot...

TRUMP: Your husband signed NAFTA, which was one of the worst things that ever happened to the manufacturing industry.

CLINTON: Well, that's your opinion. That is your opinion.

TRUMP: You go to New England, you go to Ohio, Pennsylvania, you go anywhere you want, Secretary Clinton, and you will see devastation where manufacture is down 30, 40, sometimes

50 percent. NAFTA is the worst trade deal maybe ever signed anywhere, but certainly ever signed in this country.

And now you want to approve Trans-Pacific Partnership. You were totally in favor of it. Then you heard what I was saying, how bad it is, and you said, I can't win that debate. But you know that if you did win, you would approve that, and that will be almost as bad as NAFTA. Nothing will ever top NAFTA.

CLINTON: Well, that is just not accurate. I was against it once it was finally negotiated and the terms were laid out. I wrote about that in...

TRUMP: You called it the gold standard.

(CROSSTALK)

TRUMP: You called it the gold standard of trade deals. You said it's the finest deal you've ever seen.

CLINTON: No.

TRUMP: And then you heard what I said about it, and all of a sudden you were against it.

CLINTON: Well, Donald, I know you live in your own reality, but that is not the facts. The facts are -- I did say I hoped it would be a good deal, but when it was negotiated...

TRUMP: Not.

CLINTON: ... which I was not responsible for, I concluded it wasn't. I wrote about that in my book...

TRUMP: So is it President Obama's fault?

CLINTON: ... before you even announced.

TRUMP: Is it President Obama's fault?

CLINTON: Look, there are differences...

TRUMP: Secretary, is it President Obama's fault?

CLINTON: There are...

TRUMP: Because he's pushing it.

CLINTON: There are different views about what's good for our country, our economy, and our leadership in the world. And I think it's important to look at what we need to do to get the economy going again. That's why I said new jobs with rising incomes, investments, not in more tax cuts that would add \$5 trillion to the debt.

TRUMP: But you have no plan.

CLINTON: But in -- oh, but I do.

TRUMP: Secretary, you have no plan.

CLINTON: In fact, I have written a book about it. It's called "Stronger Together." You can pick it up tomorrow at a bookstore...

TRUMP: That's about all you've...

(CROSSTALK)

HOLT: Folks, we're going to...

CLINTON: ... or at an airport near you.

HOLT: We're going to move to...

CLINTON: But it's because I see this -- we need to have strong growth, fair growth, sustained growth. We also have to look at how we help families balance the responsibilities at home and the responsibilities at business.

So we have a very robust set of plans. And people have looked at both of our plans, have concluded that mine would create 10 million jobs and yours would lose us 3.5 million jobs, and explode the debt which would have a recession.

TRUMP: You are going to approve one of the biggest tax cuts in history. You are going to approve one of the biggest tax increases in history. You are going to drive business out. Your regulations are a disaster, and you're going to increase regulations all over the place.

And by the way, my tax cut is the biggest since Ronald Reagan. I'm very proud of it. It will create tremendous numbers of new jobs. But regulations, you are going to regulate these businesses out of existence.

When I go around -- Lester, I tell you this, I've been all over. And when I go around, despite the tax cut, the thing -- the things that business as in people like the most is the fact that I'm cutting regulation. You have regulations on top of regulations, and new companies cannot form and old companies are going out of business. And you want to increase the regulations and make them even worse.

I'm going to cut regulations. I'm going to cut taxes big league, and you're going to raise taxes big league, end of story.

HOLT: Let me get you to pause right there, because we're going to move into -- we're going to move into the next segment. We're going to talk taxes...

CLINTON: That can't -- that can't be left to stand.

HOLT: Please just take 30 seconds and then we're going to go on.

CLINTON: I kind of assumed that there would be a lot of these charges and claims, and so...

TRUMP: Facts.

CLINTON: So we have taken the home page of my website, HillaryClinton.com, and we've turned it into a fact-checker. So if you want to see in real-time what the facts are, please go and take a look. Because what I have proposed...

TRUMP: And take a look at mine, also, and you'll see.

CLINTON: ... would not add a penny to the debt, and your plans would add \$5 trillion to the debt. What I have proposed would cut regulations and streamline them for small businesses. What I have proposed would be paid for by raising taxes on the wealthy, because they have made all the gains in the economy. And I think it's time that the wealthy and corporations paid their fair share to support this country.

HOLT: Well, you just opened the next segment.

TRUMP: Well, could I just finish -- I think I...

(CROSSTALK)

HOLT: I'm going to give you a chance right here...

TRUMP: I think I should -- you go to her website, and you take a look at her website.

HOLT: ... with a new 15-minute segment...

TRUMP: She's going to raise taxes \$1.3 trillion.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, I'm going to...

TRUMP: And look at her website. You know what? It's no difference than this. She's telling us how to fight ISIS. Just go to her website. She tells you how to fight ISIS on her website. I don't think General Douglas MacArthur would like that too much.

HOLT: The next segment, we're continuing...

CLINTON: Well, at least I have a plan to fight ISIS.

HOLT: ... achieving prosperity...

TRUMP: No, no, you're telling the enemy everything you want to do.

CLINTON: No, we're not. No, we're not.

TRUMP: See, you're telling the enemy everything you want to do. No wonder you've been fighting -- no wonder you've been fighting ISIS your entire adult life.

CLINTON: That's a -- that's -- go to the -- please, fact checkers, get to work.

HOLT: OK, you are unpacking a lot here. And we're still on the issue of achieving prosperity. And I want to talk about taxes. The fundamental difference between the two of you concerns the wealthy.