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A Neo-Aristotelian Criticism on the Language of Persuasion of the 2016 Presidential Debates

Kenneth Johnson S. Corpuz¹, Andre Philip C. Tacderas²

¹Instructor I, Ilocos Sur Polytechnic State College-Tagudin Campus ²English Teacher, Saint Augustine School, Tagudin Ilocos Sur

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore how the five presidential aspirants employed rhetoric during the presidential debates held last February 21, 2016 in Cagayan de Oro for the first leg, and April 26, 2016 in Pangasinan for the third leg. The study employed the neo-Aristotelian Approach which is a dominant approach to criticism for examining rhetoric in public speech. In addition, three canons of rhetoric, including invention (ethos, pathos, logos), organization, and style were applied. The findings revealed that the analyses of the five presidential candidates using the three among the five canons of rhetoric, is useful to evaluate their speeches. Ethos is gravely used by most of the presidentiables to persuade their constituent voters. The functions of political speeches in the context of presidential debate were achieved.

Keywords: rhetoric, neo-Aristotelian criticism, presidential debates, canons of rhetoric, artistic and inartistic proofs

Introduction

The televised presidential debate was a new political practice in the Philippines, leading them to speak for their advocacies and platforms and highlight their exemplary profiles to a broader audience. It opens opportunities for presidential aspirants to influence people's electoral preferences. Each candidate utilizes rhetorical strategies to persuade the populace, deliver their messages effectively, and evoke inspiration.

During the 2016 National Election, 5 (five) Philippine presidential candidates take full advantage of their rhetoric to convince Filipinos to comprehend their main points or ideas in every argument presented. Nevertheless, a good speaker does not only need to be fluent and persuasive but also have a proper speech craft where a set of skills is needed. One way of making discourses more alluding and encouraging is the use of proper rhetoric (Li, Ren & Zhang, 2016). Furthermore, it creates politicians to use political rhetorical moves to create new beliefs, identities, and preferences, influencing their audiences (Jackson & Krebs, 2003). Political leaders have used the spoken word to influence others on "the benefits that arise from their political leadership." (Charteris-Black, 2016). On the other hand, the great use of rhetoric is highly observed during the presidential debates, which induced the viewers to reconsider their final choice for the presidency. This is then to identify various rhetorical techniques applied that will help new leaders or aspiring political candidates deliver their speeches.



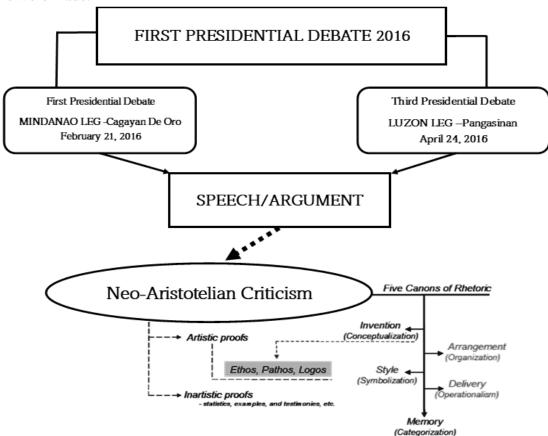
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The neo-Aristotelian criticism is applied in this study since the neo-Aristotelian method of rhetorical criticism dwells on analyzing speeches with single speakers (Foss, 2017). The application of classical cannons of rhetoric; invention, organization, style, memory, and delivery will become the unit of analysis for each presidential debate speeches. This will be employed to analyze the effectiveness, strategies, and desired effect and to examine the elements and their key role in strengthening their speeches through Neo-Aristotelian Criticism.

And with the aforementioned artifact and theory, this paper aims to determine the presidential candidates' way of utilizing available means of persuasion, both artistic and inartistic proof, to enhance rhetoric in their speeches. The result will give comprehensive ideologies for making effective speeches and provide strategies to maximize the use of persuasion in political speeches. Thus, provide considerable perception to leaders or public servants on the use of rhetoric in their speeches to effectively persuade their people.

Framework of the Study

The study is framed on various concepts and theories on Aristotle's Rhetoric. These concepts and theories help the researcher in understanding the context of the study. As such, the succeeding discussions were made.



Neo-Aristotelian Criticism. The neo-Aristotelian criticism, named after Aristotle, is one of the original methods of rhetorical criticism. It is a process of analyzing an artifact (political speeches or advertisements, etc.) using the traditional rhetorical concepts as initially posed by Aristotle (Dues & Brown, 2004). The ultimate goal of this criticism is to learn about how the context and construction of a



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document or speech affect the audience. In other words, the effect of the persuasive act upon the audience (Allen, 2017 pp. 1128).

Foss (2018) wrote in her book, "Rhetorical Criticism, Exploration and Practice," which regarded Neo-Aristotelian Criticism as a standard methodology for analyzing speeches. This criticism is rooted in the use of classical canons to make judgments about the effectiveness of a speech. (pp. 28). According to the classic Cicero, as an effective speaker, one must attend to five key matters or the classical canons of rhetoric while preparing a speech—invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. These five canons form the basis of speech preparation to this day (Fraleigh & Tuman, 2017). Neo-Aristotelian criticism reviews the artifact with a strict focus on how it was crafted and presented before the audience (Newbold, 2017).

Combs (1995 cited Rybacki & Rybacki 1991 p. 40-41) presented a method in which the canons are used to analyze works like essays and speeches. (a) Invention (Conceptualization) refers to the speaker's way of choosing an appropriate topic and discovering the ideas and proof to use (artistic & inartistic proofs). The use of invention in constructing speeches can refer to the use of artistic proofs- ethos, pathos, and logos. (b) Arrangement (Organization) or the rhetor's adaptation of units of argument to the situation, or the sequence these ideas and proof consisting both the message structure and the relationships among rhetor, audience, and context. (c) Style (Symbolization) assesses the speaker's grammatical usage, choice of language, and the expressive devices used to present ideas. (d) Delivery (Operationalism) describes the speaker's use of voice and body movement in the oral presentation. Memory (Categorization) applies in the codes and mnemonic devices the speaker relied on to recall lengthy speeches.

Herrick (1998) mentioned that one of the main functions of rhetoric is to discover the available means of persuasion, including artistic or inartistic proofs.

In Littlejohn and Foss's (2009) "Encyclopedia of Communication Theory," there was a notion that in artistic rhetoric that there are three kinds of artistic proofs: ethos, or ethical proof, which depends on the credibility of the speaker, knowledge of the subject, and goodwill for the audience; logos, or logical proof, which relies on enthymemes and syllogisms; and pathos, or emotional proof, depending on appeals to the audience's emotions, such as friendsship, joy, anger, or sorrow (pp.106). Inartistic proofs or extrinsic or artless proofs, according to Nordquist (2020), are means of persuasion that are not created by a rhetor; that is, proofs that are applied rather than invented. These proofs, such as statistics, examples, and testimonies, enhance a speaker's credibility by strengthening the speaker's intellect, dependability, and authoritativeness (Benjamin, 1997). These concepts can be used to assess the speaker's artistic use of rhetoric with regard to artistic and inartistic proofs.

In this section, the neo-Aristotelian approach has been discussed. The following section will discuss the next concept utilized as the artifact of this study.

First Presidential Debates. The Philippine Constitution, Article III, Section 7 recognizes the right of the people to information on matters of public concern. This right reinforces the equally imperative right to suffrage. A well-informed electorate would be able to choose their future leaders carefully. During the 14th Congress, the late senator Miriam Defensor-Santiago drafted Senate Bill no. 1499, otherwise named as Presidential Debate Reform Act, that aims to establish the Presidential Debate Commission that recognizes Article III, Section 7 of the Philippine Constitution. Currently, the bill is still pending in the committee up to this day.



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Cheng (2015) asserts that a presidential debate is an integral part of political debate as it acts as a formal contest of argumentation in which opposing teams defend and attack a given proposition. Furthermore, she discussed that these debates serve as a platform for the candidates to address the same issues at the same time and make their election manifestoes. Nestadt (1960 cited by Cheng, 2015) highlights that the power of persuasion is a critical means to the power of the presidency; thus, the presidency is a rhetorical and persuasive institution. Grose and Husser (2008) supplement that voters tend to choose candidates with valence traits, and candidates with better presidential oratorical skills will be favored.

In the Philippines, the Commission on Elections organized presidential debates, the first of its kind since 1992, that aims to provide the electorate 'an overview of the candidates' stand on pressing national issues, as well as those hounding their own candidacies for the highest position in the land (Inquirer.net, 2016).

The first of the three presidential debates were held in Cagayan de Oro City (Mindanao leg) last February 21, 2016, attended by all Philippine presidential aspirants, namely Vice President Jejomar Binay, Davao City Mayor Rodrigo Duterte, Sen. Miriam Defensor-Santiago, Sen. Grace Poe, and former Interior secretary Mar Roxas. The second presidential debate was held at the University of the Philippines Cebu (Visayas leg), dated March 20, 2016. It was attended by the same presidential aspirants, excluding Sen. Miriam Defensor-Santiago, as she had undergone a clinical trial related to her health issue. The last presidential debate was held at the PHINMA University of Pangasinan in Dagupan City (Luzon leg) last April 24, 2016. All the presidential aspirants were present during the third presidential debate.

The presidential debate was divided into several segments: the opening statements; question and answer; and closing statements (Inquirer.net, 2016).

The analysis Philippines's first presidential debate and relating it to neo-Aristotelian criticism unravels the language of persuasion used by the presidential candidates. Oldenburg (2015) asserts that the main aim of campaign rhetoric was to gain votes by presenting a favorable image of the candidate. This is supported by Leff and Mohrmann (1974), stating the ultimate goal of the campaign orator is to promote himself as a candidate.

Moreover, Sparks et al. (1998) state that speakers exhibiting powerful styles of speech are evaluated more favorably than those using powerless styles and critics of presidential rhetoric have noted the shift in electoral preference from substantive issues to style, image, credibility, likeability, electability, and character.

Methods

This rhetorical research used qualitative method designed to investigate and explain rhetorical process and effect of rhetoric on an immediate audience (Foss 2009). Specifically, discourse analysis was employed with the aim to examine the language of persuasion and to understand the functions of political speeches in the context of presidential debate.

The study gathered corpora from the political speeches during the 2016 presidential debate organized by the Commission on Election and KBL (Kapisanan ng mg Brodkaster ng Pilipinas) covering the 1st leg of debates which was presented by GMA-7 and Daily Inquirer and the final leg of debates which was presented by ABS-CBN, and Manila Bulletin. The artifacts -- the transcripts of political speeches of the following presidential candidates: Jejomar Binay, Grace Poe, Miriam Defensor Santiago, Rodrigo



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Duterte, and Mar Roxas, were gathered from the website of Rappler and Inquirer. Full Transcript of 1st Presidential Debate held at the Capital University in Cagayan de Oro on February 21, 2016 (Rappler, 2016) and full Transcript of Presidential Debate held at PHINMA University of Pangasinan in Dagupan on April 24, 2016 (Inquirer, 2016).

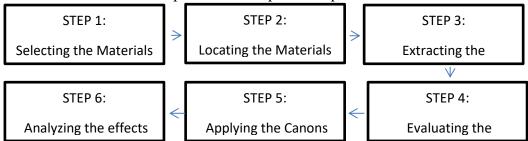
Taking into consideration the artifacts which are susceptible for the examination, excerpts, specifically the question and answer portions and closing speeches of the candidates in the presidential debate, were extracted for the rhetorical analysis since the study focused on the important features, including the speaker's personality and character, the audience's identity, the speaker's ideas, the means of persuasion, the messages, the speaker's arrangement, and style, and the effect on a certain audience (Brock, Scott, and Chesebro, 1990). The rebuttals in the debates were not included since they are dialectical rather than rhetorical.

To examine the persuasive discourses in the context of political debate, a neo-Aristotelian procedure was utilized as the prime tool in this study. According to Foss (2009)," the neo-Aristotelian approach was based on Aristotle's concepts of rhetoric, and critics should apply five canons of rhetoric, including invention, organization, style, delivery, and memory for investigation." Howbeit, since the artifacts are in written form, three of the canons which are invention, organization, and style were employed for the analysis.

The first step done was to select the artifacts subject for the neo-Aristotelian criticism. The transcripts of the two legs of presidential debates of the 2016 elections were selected with the aim to discover the rhetorical aspects of political speeches. Subsequently, the researchers locate and gather the artifacts from the websites of Rappler and Inquirer.

Since not all parts are susceptible for the analyses, the researchers extracted the transcripts and considered the question-and-answer portions and closing speeches as subjects for the rhetorical criticism.

After identifying the susceptible parts of the presidential speeches for examination, the evaluation of the context of the political speeches was employed to investigate the rhetor, the occasion, and the audience. Thereafter, the researchers reviewed the artifacts by applying the canons and analyzed the effects by assessing the effectiveness of the components of the political speeches.



Rhetorical analysis was used in which the data were analyzed and theoretically mused using the features of Foss' neo-Aristotelian criticism (2009). Since this research utilized the transcripts of speeches of the presidential candidates, three of the five canons of rhetoric, which are invention, organization, and style, were employed in the analyses.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section of the paper will present and discuss the findings made by the researchers regarding the rhetoric utilized by the five presidential candidates in the 2016 First Presidential Debates. The conclusio-



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ns and recommendations of the study are also manifested in this chapter.

Findings

The analyses of the five presidential candidates were extracted from excerpts from the transcript of two presidential debates: Mindanao leg, which was held in Cagayan de Oro City last March 20, 2016, and Luzon leg, which happened at Dagupan City last April 24, 2016. These were the two presidential debates where all the presidential aspirants were present. The researchers were guided by the Neo-Aristotelian criticism developed by Sonya K. Foss that aims to uncover the rhetoric behind speeches through the analysis of the canons of invention, organization, and style.

Rhetoric of Senator Grace Llamanzares Poe

Senator Grace L. Poe is the daughter of National Artist Fernando Poe Jr., veteran actress Susan Roces, and the first lady senator to serve as chair of the committee on public order and dangerous drugs. She is the chairperson of the Committee on Public Information and Mass Media, where she championed the passage of the Freedom of Information (FOI) Act. Currently, she is seated as the chair of the Movie and Television Regulation and Classification Board (MTRCB), where she advocated "intelligent media viewership" (Senate of the Philippines, 2022). She was one of the electoral candidates who vied for the presidency in the 2016 presidential election, making her one of the subjects of this rhetorical analysis.

Applying the canon of invention to Grace Poe's political speeches will uncover both artistic and inartistic proofs she infused in her speeches. Invention, as defined by Fraleigh and Tuman (2017), is the generation of ideas for use in a speech that includes both the speaker's thoughts on the topic and ideas from other sources. The analysis of Grace Poe's political speeches in both the first and third legs of the presidential debates revealed the utilization of inartistic and artistic proofs with the favor on the latter.

Poe's political speeches were mostly backed up by minimal use of inartistic proofs. Her responses to what actions she would undertake in certain situations were mostly hypothetical, offering actions without concrete ways of executing it as seen on the lines,

"Ang una talaga para sa akin ay dapat magkaroon ng libreng pananghalian sa ating mga public schools dahil 'yan ay diretso sa tiyan ng mga bata. . . Pangalawa po, Kailangan talaga ay bigyan ng tamang subsidiya at least sa paumpisa man lang, sa irigasyon at iba pa, para naman mas maging competitive sila."

On the other hand, Poe's use of artistic proofs, particularly in the use of pathos in her political speeches, was evident.

First, Poe's ethos was particularly challenged considering her context in the election and political status as a fledgling in the government service. It was furthermore challenged when a question was thrown to her credibility as a public servant,

"Sa tingin nyo ba ay may napatunayan na kayo sa larangan ng serbisyo publiko para maging pangulo ng ating republika?"

This question was answered by a rich use of artistic and inartistic proof. Poe referenced the song "Upuan" by Gloc 9 to justify her point that it is time to have a new perspective on the face of politics. She then backed up her claim with an analogy to appeal to pathos. ". . ako nga ang may pinakamaikli na karanasan, pero nakikita ko bilang isang nanay kung anong pangangailangan ng isang pamilya". Furthermore, logos was applied in the lines, "ako po ay nakapaghawak ng isang executive position…ako po ay nabigyan ng prebilehiyo na maka debate si Senator Miriam kaya nga napasa namin sa Senado ang



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Freedom of Information.", which added to her credibility as a public servant, and redeemed her position in the presidential debates.

Second, Poe's use of logos to validate and justify her claims is evident and effective in winning the logical appeal of the general audience. Although statements are logical, offering solutions to proposed problems, most lack the inartistic proof to substantiate her claims, as seen in the example given in the earlier analysis. This may be because of her inexperience in the government system.

Third, Poe's use of pathos is particularly solid and consistent. It builds the foundation of her entire political speeches during the presidential debates, emphasizing it at the beginning and end of her speeches. This is one of the most notable features and most utilized rhetorical appeal uncovered in this analysis. Poe uses sympathetic language to evoke the audience's emotion, particularly to the minority group, as deduced in her response when asked what she can do for the OFW,

"Talagang bagong bayani ang ating mga kababayan na OFW at ako'y taos-puso nagpapasalamat sa kanila sapagkat talagang sinalba ninyo ang ating bayan at ekonomiya nang ilang dekada." And her closing line, "Maraming nililikha na problema dahil nawawalay sa pamilya. Bilang isang nanay, bilang isang babae, gusto ko magsama- sama na tayo. At maraming salamat."

Poe knows her target audience on what specific member of the electorate to whom she addressed her solutions to the imposed problems. In this case, the underprivileged, minority groups make up most of the Philippine population.

The organization of Poe's political speeches had been consistent and similar to the other presidential candidates who followed the problem- solution format. This format is particularly beneficial in eliciting direct responses to problems from the candidates. Although it is expected in a question-and-answer format or debate, Poe particularly interleaved sympathetical statements that evoke the feeling of intimacy and catch the audience's attention. This can be observed in Poe's opening line, "Alam mo naintindihan ko ang problema mo. Hindi ko papayagin rin yan. And the closing line, "Pasensiya na po Mang Jun."

Lastly, analyzing Poe's Style in the presidential debate gives an overview of how she utilizes rhetoric to appeal to the audience. Fraleigh and Tuman (2017) asserted that speakers could clearly state their ideas and make them memorable through effective style. In this case, Poe's use of sympathetic language consistently throughout her speeches and her notable use of the vernacular language to address the questions marked her rhetorical style. Her statements' consistent use of pathos evokes an emotional connection to the audience, demonstrating goodwill and good character that could earn the electorate's trust. Additionally, for most of her political speeches, Poe's closing statements also leave a powerful impact that appeals to pathos to the audience supported by the lines,

"Sabay-sabay po tayo sa kinabukasan na maipagmamalaki natin, sa isang bansang maipagmamalaki natin, sa isang bansa kung saan hindi lamang iilan ang mayaman, kung saan hindi lamang iilan ang maligaya, kung saan lahat tayo ay sama-sama. Puti ka man, pula, dilaw o kung anumang kulay. Pagkatapos ng halalan, tayo ay iisa. Pilipinong nagmamahal sa bansa. Maraming salamat po."

Additionally, the analysis of Poe's rhetorical style shows strong empowerment to women, emphasizing her role as a woman and as a mother, which was repeated in most of her political speeches as observed in her closing statement,

"Sabi ng iba, kaya ba ng isang babae ang mamuno sa gitna ng lahat ng hinaharap ng ating bansa? . . . Ang mga babae ay mapagmahal. Pero 'pag nilagay mo sa alanganin ang mga mahal nito sa buhay, ang mga babae ay hindi sumusuko. Ang mga babae ipinaglalaban ang mga asawang inaagaw sa kanila."



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Poe used the language of the mass, the vernacular language, to explain her points. She used this to reach out to the majority of the people for easier access to communication and the delivery of her rhetorical message. It implies that emotional appeal is a key rhetorical tool Poe utilized in her presidential debate speeches. She employed pathos as her method to achieve the intended responses from the audience.

Rhetoric of Mayor Rodrigo Roa Duterte

Mayor Rodrigo Roa Duterte is among the longest-serving mayors in the Philippines who had been Mayor of Davao City for seven terms, totaling more than 22 years. On May 9, 2016, Duterte won a landslide victory as the 16th President of the Philippines. He is the first President from Mindanao and the first local chief executive to get elected straight to the Office of the President (Senate of the Philippines, 2022). As one of the presidential candidates in the 2016 elections, he is subjected to rhetorical analysis, which uncovers the overall effect of his political speeches that led him to his victory. The analysis of Duterte's political speeches as subjected to the canon of invention reveals a fair use of artistic and inartistic proofs. Inartistic proof substantiates Duterte's logical reasoning that reflects his extensive experience in the government office. His adept knowledge in the government system aids his use of inartistic proofs as seen in the lines,

"I will have to tell you that 65% or 64% of the infrastructure projects are here in Manila. . . I also want you to know that 19% lang ang binigay sa Region 19. . . Remember that Mindanao contributes to the country's coffers 54% of the total export earnings in dollars."

Duterte's use of inartistic proofs like statistics and anecdotes substantiate most of his speeches, therefore offering logical reasoning to his practical questions. On the other hand, his use of artistic proofs was dominated more by his ethos his credibility as a government official. His ethos was built even before the context of presidential debates as he was known to be the Mayor of Davao City for 22 years. The latter earned the reputation for turning Davao City into the most peaceful city in South- East Asia, as declared by Time Magazine. His character was renowned for his strong, firm, and bold way of governance in his city, lowering the crime rate and banishing drug-related offenses. Although he was linked to unlawful killings, this did not degrade his persona rather built his identity as a bold government leader. His straightforward manner of speaking and responding to questions as a daring politician added to his overall ethos. It is implied in these lines,

"Criminals, well, I go after them, as long as I do it in accordance with the rules of law, I will kill...continue to kill criminals. Any president can order the killing as long as it is, I said, in the guise of performance of duty in accordance with the law."

Duterte's straightforward manner of speaking developed an emotional appeal to the audience. His pathos was hidden behind his use of vulgar language. Although discourteous, the audience was left with a sense of hope, especially on the lines,

"You know, galit talaga ako. Sabi nila na mamamatay-tao ako, baka talaga. Ang hinihingi ko lang, stop and I will fix government. Corruption must stop."

Furthermore, Duterte's bold demeanor greatly influences his ethos, strengthening Duterte's pathos towards the electorate, as exemplified in the response he gave when asked about the issue of the West Philippine Sea,

"... then I will ask the navy to bring me to the nearest boundary dyan sa Spratly – Scarborough. Bababa ako, sasakay ako ng jetski, dala-dala ko yung flag ng Pilipino at pupunta ako doon sa airport ila tapos itnaim ko, then I would say, "This is pour and do what you want with me," Bahala na kayo. . . matagl ko



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ng ambisyon yan na maging hero rin ako. Pag pinatay nila ako doon, bahala na kayong umiyak dito sa Pilipinas."

Logos mostly filled Duterte's speeches, offering inartistic proofs to substantiate his claims. One feature of Duterte's logos is his use of timeframes on the duration by which he can give solutions to pressing problems. An example of this can be seen in the lines,

"As president, naku, sabi ko nga 3-6 months, tapos lahat 'to eh. No, really. I am willing to stake my honor, my position, and my life. 3-6 months, malinis itong bayan na ito." Although the statement seems to be an empty promise, his conviction made the statement reasonable to the audience.

On the canon of organization, similar to other presidential candidates, Duterte's method of presenting claims is through the problem-solution method. As mentioned in the earlier analysis, he used logos and inartistic proofs amply in the formulation of his ideas, reflecting his prolonged experience as a government official. The manner he presented himself and responded to pressing issues before the electorate marked his unique style as a presidential candidate. Duterte was bold, straightforward, fearless, and firm with a hint of sarcasm throughout his speeches, as seen in these lines,

"Wala naman akong nakitang Tuwid na Daan. Puro kulobot naman iyan. . . You do not cont the accounts that was given us over the last five years. Ah baubos 'yon sa corruption at incompetence."

The repetition of the concept of eliminating the problems on drugs and corruption was evident in his speech, and in doing so, Duterte alternated the use of English and Tagalog in his political speeches. This way, he can reach out to the members of the electorate in both extremes.

Finally, Duterte's effective usage of artistic and inartistic proofs, particularly his ethos, is his key rhetorical tool in his presidential debate speeches. Specifically, he employed ethos as her method to achieve the intended responses from the audience. This may be because the electorate looks for a daring, bold, and fearless leader that can help them fight the country's issue of poverty and corruption to achieve the utopia that every citizen hopes.

Rhetoric of Vice President Jejomar Cabauatan Binay

From 2010 to 2016, Filipino lawyer and politician Jejomar "Jojo" Cabauatan Binay Sr. was the 13th vice president of the Philippines under President Benigno Aquino III. Binay, a human rights attorney during Ferdinand Marcos' martial dictatorship, represented political detainees for free before being imprisoned and incarcerated at the Ipil Rehabilitation Center. He founded the Movement for Brotherhood, Integrity, and Nationalism, Inc. alongside other human rights attorneys (MABINI). From 1986 until 1987, President Corazon Aquino nominated Binay Makati mayor. He served six terms as Makati mayor from 1988 to 2010. He was Metropolitan Manila Development Authority chairman from 1990 to 1991. (MMDA). On October 21, 2009, Binay announced his vice-presidential candidacy with Joseph Estrada. Binay defeated Mar Roxas for the vice presidency with 41.65% of the vote. He headed the Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council and advised the president on overseas Filipino workers as vice president. He resigned June 22, 2015. On July 1, 2015, at the Makati Coliseum, Jejomar Binay declared his 2016 presidential campaign and founded the United Nationalist Alliance. Binay ran for president a year after becoming vice president in September 2011.

Using the canon of invention, an examination of Jojo Binay's political speeches reveals a healthy mix of artistic and non-artistic elements. Non-artistic data backs up Jojo Binay's logical thinking, which is a reflection of his extensive experience in government service. Since he is familiar with the system, he can use somewhat crude arguments to prove his point as seen in the lines,



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"Mula noon hanggang ngayon, kahirapan pa rin ang problema ng ating bayan. Laki po ako sa hirap. Nag nakaranas po ako ng kahirapan. Kaya naman noong ako ay manungkulan sa pamahalaan, tinuunan ko po ang problema ng kahirapan. Sa makati, napababa ko ang bilang ng mahihirap. Maraming nagkatrabaho at nakatikim at nakatamasa ng dilikadi ay ng magandang serbisyo. Nagawa kong pinakamayaman ang lungsod ng Makati sa buong bansa."

Analysis of this speech by Jojo Binay revealed that he used pathos to persuade the audience that he would provide excellent service to the people. He pledged to deliver the best administration for the foreseeable future in order to maintain the straight course. It may be inferred from his lines,

"Batay po sa aking karanasan at tamang pamamahala at pagmamalasakit sa ating kapwa lalong lalo na sa mahirap. Yan hong pagharap sa problema ng kahirapan ay dapat ho nating harapin sapagkat problema pa rin po iyan. Kaya po baunan tigilan na po natin yang underspending. Ang sinasabi ko pagka underspending, underperformance. Hindi nagagamit yong dapat paggamitan. Pagka maraming namamatay kasi hindi nabibigyan ng tamang gamot. Hindi makapagpa pasok sa ospital. Underspending nakaka apekto ho yan, nadi delay ang performance. Yong mga infrastracture requirements ho natin na makakatulong ho yan dahil sa napapadami ang kabuhayan e hindi po nagagawa kaya ho kailangan, kailangan po tayo na magdagdag at gastusin ang pera para mabago ho ang ating buhay."

In his opening remarks, Jojo Binay promised a bright future for the Filipino people and detailed many of the ways in which he plans to help them. According to his vision, the Philippines will be successful by 2022, given that he will be elected as the next president of the country. With the presentation of all his potential projects that will undoubtedly benefit the Filipino people, he gave them confidence in a bright future.

"Pagdating po ng twenty-twenty two, nakaranas po ang ating bansa sa Binay administration. Ang bansang Pilipinas ay umunlad, ang mamamayang Pilipino ay angat po ang buhay. Bakit? Sa bahagi po ng pamilya, halos lahat ng pilipino ay magkakaroon ng sariling disente na pama pamamahay. Diyan po naman sa kalusugan, ang mga pilipino ay magiging naging malusog at malayo sa a sa sakit. Ang ating pong mga ospital ay delikalidad at makapagbibi nagbibigay ng libreng pagamot at a pag confine sa mga mahirap. Sa bahagi po naman ng edukasyon, sa edukasyon, aah ang buong Pilipinas po e nakaranas ng may computer ang lahat ng eskwela at ang mga pangengeylangan ng ating mga bata sa eskwelahan, libreng lahat."

The use of pathos by Jojo Binay to persuade people to look outside the box about how to solve the situation is admirable. His presentation was well-received since he was able to identify challenges and provide possible solutions.

"Sa bahagi po naman ng hanapbuhay, yung employment ang employment po wow halos lahat ng Pilipino ay may trabaho. Bakit? Kasi dadagsa po ang mga foreign investors. Gaganda ho ang ating a mga patrabaho sa agriculture, sa manufacturing, sa export, sa tourism at sa BPO. At sa pagkain po naman, sa Binay administration lahat po ng pi pamilyang Pilipino ay nakaka kain ng tatlong beses. Sa bahagi ho ng pamal pamahalaan, aah wala na hong kapalpakan. Hindi na ho nangyari yung analysis by paralysis, sapagkat ang akin pong mga kasamang mamumuno e may competence at merong integrity. Yan po ang mangyayari at sa bandang huli ang pilipino ay maipagmamalaking siya ay pilipino."

The Vice President used to be in the lead in the polls, but that changed after he took a battering in a Senate investigation that lasted for more than a year. Given the circumstances of the election and Jojo Binay's political situation particularly allegations of corruption and unexplained wealth leveled against him during his time serving as mayor of Makati, Jojo Binay's ethos was put through a particularly



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difficult test. Additionally, it was called into doubt when it was brought up that his trustworthiness as a public servant was in question.

"Narinig na rin ninyo na laman e yung lumang issue na puros bintang. Bintang, bintang, bintang na wala namang kinahihinatnan na ako ay nahatulan ha? Sabi ko nga e mahirap yung bintang sa'kin e hindi raw ako nagpapaliwanag e yung mga taong yan e sabi ko e kung ayaw tignan, nagbubulag-bulagan, e kung ayaw pakinggan yung paliwanag, e nagbibingi-bingihan. Ano pa't a itong mga pangakong ito balewala pong lahat yan."

Jojo Binay's ability to persuade his audience of the authenticity of his thoughts of leadership is substantially enhanced by the habit he has of continually repeating optimistic words and promises for the future.

"Ang importante, ang importante po e ang magiging pangulo po ba e may kakayahang ipatupad ha, yung kanyang ipinapangako. Meron bang track record, may karanasan ba ho? Kung may karanasan naman, e baka naman puros kapalpakan ha? Ito ho, si Jojo Binay, sa lawak ng karanasan e wala na hong makakapantay sa aking karanasan bilang nanungkulan sa executive department, executive department ng ating bansa. Dalawampu't isang taon po akong naging mayor, at nung akin pong madatnan yong Makati, e yong problema na haharapin ng pangulo naharap ko po iyan. Inabutan ko sa Makati, yun hong mga tiga Makati kumakain pa ho ng kanin at bagoong lang. Kanin at toyo't kalamansi lang. O sa tamang pamamahala ni Jojo Binay, angat ang naging buhay ng mga mamamayan ng Makati. Kahit na sino ho ang tanungin ninyo, yan ho ang buhay na masarap, buhay na matira sa Makati."

Analysis of Jojo Binay's rhetoric reveals his commitment to giving a voice to the voiceless, his role as a good and proactive leader attested by his extensive experience in government service, and the fact that these themes were present in virtually every one of his political speeches, including his concluding remarks.

"Naging chairman po ako tatlong beses. MMC, MMA, MMDA, naging chairman po ako ng development authority at ako ho ay naging chairman ng mga si shelter sector. Lalong-lalo na ho dito sa shelter sector, marami ho akong naibigay na lupa, marami akong napabahay bilang chairman ng MHE. Pero, ang aking pong pinagmamalaki lagi nagawa ko po ang pag-ibig na one of the best, one of the best government agencies. Ako ho eh inihalal ninyo sa pagka pangalawang pangulo at hindi naman ho kayo nagsisi sa pagkakaboto sa akin kasi ginampanan ko ho lahat ng mga ipinagawa sa akin. Ang pagkaka gampanan ko ho eh ayos-ayos lang. Pinakita ko ho na ako is a man of executive, I'm an administrator, I am a leader that makes decisive decisions. Ngayon, ito ho e yun hong kailangan pa e yung galing sa kahirapan. Galing po ako sa kahirapan, marunong po akong maglaba, marunong po akong mamalengke, marunong po akong ma-mlantsa. Pero, tatapusin ko ho munang lahat ito at sa pagsasabi bilang pangulo lagi kong iisipin kung pano ko mai-aangat ang buhay ng bawat pilipino."

Throughout the entirety of the conversation, Jojo Binay spoke in the vernacular of the average Filipino. He did this so that the vast majority of people would have an easier time communicating with him and understanding the rhetorical meaning he was trying to convey.

"Bilang pagtapos, gusto ko hong magpasalamat sa aking pamilya. Na dahil po sa aking pagkakandidato e kung anu-anong paninira anf inabot nila, e hindi naman po nila ako iniwanan. Nagpapasalamat din po ako sa taga Makati dahil sa binigyan nila ako ng pagkakataong ipakita kung ano ang leadership ni Jojo Binay. Nagpapasalamat ako sa ahensyang aking natulungan at tsaka doon ho sa lugar na nasiraan si Jojo Binay pinakita na sila ay kasama ko tungkulin ng isang namumuno na laging kasama sa hirap at ginhawa



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ang kanyang pinamumunuan. Ako po si Jojo Binay, kung sa ABS-CBN merong bff, e meron din naman pong Binay for Filipino Forever. Jojo Binay sa pagka-pangulo, number one sa balota."

This lends credence to the idea that Binay largely relied on emotional appeals in his speeches during the presidential debates. Pathos was the strategy he deployed to elicit the emotional responses he desired.

Rhetoric of Miriam Palma Defensor-Santiago

Filipino scholar, academic, lawyer, judge, author, and stateswoman Miriam Palma Defensor-Santiago (née Defensor; June 15, 1945 – September 29, 2016) worked in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of government. The Australian named Defensor Santiago one of the world's 100 most influential women in 1997. Long-serving senator of the Philippines, elected judge of the International Criminal Court, and the first and only woman to receive the Philippines' highest honor, the Quezon Service Cross. She studied law in the United States and graduated with a PhD in the field. Dr. Miriam Defensor Santiago's legal acumen and bold stance against corruption have made her a household name around the world. Her integrity stands out like a beacon in a country where many government personnel are accused or suspected of theft. Miriam Defensor Santiago, a then-incumbent senator of the Philippines, declared her 2016 presidential campaign at a book signing on October 13, 2015. On October 16, 2015, Miriam Defensor-Santiago presented her certificate of candidacy (COC). She finished fifth in the race and was defeated by Rodrigo Duterte. Five months later, Santiago succumbed to lung cancer.

Recognized for her distinctive sense of humor, she began her opening speech by explaining why she came in late for the debate in a mix of bisaya and tagalog with the lines,

"Maayong hapon sa inyong tanan. Bisan na-late ako kay ang eroplano ko kaina – malipayon gid ako na nakalabot akon dire, kay gusto ko na kanina mag-swimming na lang ako from Laguna Bay hanggang dito."

Analysis of Santiago's political speeches through the lens of the canon of invention finds an even distribution of artistic and inartistic proofs. Santiago's rationale, which is a reflection of her considerable work experience in government, is supported by inartistic evidence. Her government expertise allows her to exploit unimaginative evidence as visible in her opening speech,

"There are many many things we are rich in the in this country. We are rich in natural resources. We are rich in people resources and yet, year after year we hear the same doleful dote from our analysts and economists. We are one of the poorest countries in the ten asian member community. Why are we so poor? The answer is because everybody wants to have the money of the government in his own pocket. Tanan yan sila, lahat sila. Pag nag presidente ako carcel ang aabutin nila. So, what our country needs really is a sense of shared destiny."

Furthermore, the honesty with which Santiago spoke resounded with her audience. Her pathos was evident in the lines of her remarks. The audience was left feeling optimistic, particularly regarding the lines,

"We are here looking for a real leader of the Philippines who will implement all the valuable suggestions that were made here in this evening. But this is not a personality contest. This is not a show for entertainment. This is a show to educate the Filipino voter on what is own responsibilities are in addition to those being assumed by the presidential candidates."

During the course of her delivery of the lines, she highlighted a number of qualities that must be had by a good and effective leader who aspires to lead a nation.



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"One, there should be academic excellence, dapat naging head of the class or at least naging honor student dahil kung di marunong iyon, ano ngayon ang ibibigay niyang dunong sa atin? Pangalawa, may professional excellence. Kung naging professional yon, dapat binigyan siya ng mga award ng mga kapwa professional niya dahil sa hanga sila sa kanya. But third and most important, be sure to have moral excellence. Dapat ang binoboto natin walang bahid sa kanyang record o kung may inembento man masyadong hindi kapani paniwala. So goodluck to you and goodluck to all of us. I hope this country will deserve to be what God meant it to be. A happy prosperous nation."

Santiago's speech demonstrated that she used pathos to persuade the public that she would provide excellent service to the people. She pledged to deliver the most effective administration for the upcoming years in order to maintain excellent governance, which are on the lines,

"Republic of the Philippines, come hold my hand and I will fly you to the future. There will be a uniformed rule of law, not the rule of men or of people who bribe judges and of other arbitrators in litigation. Our economy will be devoted to construction and reconstruction and will always im and will always be able to depend on five to seven percent of the GDP. However, despite all these frenzied activities, we will keep the budget at three percent of GDP."

Santiago also uses logos to corroborate and defend her claims, and it is this use of logos that ultimately wins over the majority of the audience. Her claims were supported by inartistic proof, such as the logical assertions she made in response to the problems she raised. It is probable that her history of government service explains this. Dr. Santiago's record of excellence in all three levels of government — judicial, executive, and legislative — is remarkable. She has served as the presiding judge of the Quezon City Regional Trial Court in the judicial branch. She has served as immigration commissioner and secretary of agricultural reform in the executive branch. In the legislative branch, she has now served three terms as a senator. This are seen on the lines,

"In agriculture, we will modernized with irrigation, water impounding facilities, infrastructure, credit available for poor farmers and other technological advances in agriculture that other countries have already adapted. In the field of the peace and order, the police and the military will have bigger budgets and will have better training and will have a better equipment. And finally, most exciting of all, we shall have a new alternative city somewhere near Clark area where we shall have at last freedom from congestion."

Her soft spot for the youth was evident in the final lines of her concluding remarks with the use of pathos. The young feel familial respect for the feisty senator because she knew how to communicate with them on a personal level and was genuinely interested in hearing their opinions as shown whenever the lady senator visited and guested to the different schools in the Philippines.

"But finally, my emphasis will be on the youth, the young people of this country. I've always loved the young people and I will never fail them in the next six years. Thank you."

Many anticipated that the late senator, who was renowned for her eloquence, strong opinions, and vast knowledge on a variety of topics, would distinguish herself during the debates. Many, however, believed that she was not her typical self during the debate, as she generated considerably less steam. Santiago then addressed the subsequent rumors over her inability to lead the country owing to her illness.

"There have been a lot of black propaganda against me most recently in the recent months that I have been down because of my cancer. I already have shown you that I am what I am now, I am what I was today, and what I will be tomorrow."



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The late senator, through the use of ethos further reaffirmed that she is still capable of guiding the nation to glory and that her disease has been under control for quite some time; consequently, she has no intention of withdrawing her campaign.

"At for those who think that I should withdraw, because I have once been a cancer patient. This is what I say, I am now normal, I can think and I can act, like I'd pray. Ngayon, gusto niyo akong mag-urong? Sinasabi na nga ninyong nag-urong na si Miriam. Biro mo ang lakas pati sa radyo. Ang sagot ko sa kanila, I will never quit, I will never stop, I will never withdraw."

She used pathos effectively in her final statements to get the reaction she was hoping for.

"We all want to change the world for the better. But the person who prayed should be emulated, he said, "God, preserve this country, and begin with me. Thank you."

During the presidential debates, it was clear that Santiago had a good understanding and analysis of the current challenges facing the country, as well as a good grasp of the applicable practical solutions. This was evident in the fact that Santiago had a great understanding and analysis of the current difficulties facing the country.

Rhetoric of Manuel "Mar" Roxas II

Manuel "Mar" Roxas II is the son of former Senator Gerry Roxas and a grandson and namesake of former Philippine President Manuel Roxas. He served in the Cabinet of the Philippines as Secretary of the Interior and Local Government from 2012 to 2015. Previously, he was the Secretary of Trade and Industry from 2000 to 2003 and Secretary of Transportation and Communications from 2011 to 2012.

At an event dubbed as "A Gathering of Friends", Mar Roxas formally accepted his party's nomination as the Liberal Party standard bearer after he was officially endorsed by President Benigno Aquino III in the presence of their political allies at the Club Filipino. "The best is yet to come" was administration standard bearer Manuel "Mar" Roxas II's promise to the estimated crowd of 75,000 that had gathered at the Quezon Memorial Circle for the Liberal Party's (LP) miting de avance. Roxas said that electing him president would mean supporting another six years of honest and clean government, much like what the Aquino administration has started. "Alam n'yo, itong nakaraang anim na taon, pundasyon pa lang ito. Kung magpatuloy po tayo--anim na taon pa ng tapat, ng malinis, ng maayos na pamamahala. Mas malayo pa ang mararating natin, at totoo, the best is yet to come," Roxas said.

The analysis of this speech by Roxas presented that he used pathos to persuade the public about his assurance of providing good service for the people. He promised to provide the best administration for the years to come to continue the straight path. It is evident in his speech telling,

"At hindi tayo susuko! Dahil itong laban na ito ay dapat lang na ipaglaban. This is a good fight. This is the fight of our lives. This is the fight that defines us as a generation. This is the fight that bring us a better future. kaya alam ko po, lahat tayo dito, kasama ng ating mga kababayan sa buong Pilipinas, ipaglaban natin ang ating magandang bukas".

In an opening statement presented by Mar Roxas, he provided assurance of successful future to the Filipino people by presenting all his possible projects that will surely benefits the people. In his speech, he sees prosperous and descent Philippines in 2022. He provided assurance of successful future to the Filipino people by presenting all his possible projects that will surely benefits the people.

"By 2022 nakikita ko ang ating bansa, maunlad at desente. Isang bansa na puno ng pagkakataon. Sampung milyong trabaho ang malilikha sa anim na taon ng ating termino. Itong mga trabaho sa pagawaan, pabrika, call centers, sa turismo, construction, sa small and microenterprises, lahat ito ay



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uusbong dahil magiging malago ang ating ekonomiya. Nakikita ko ang isang bansa na malaya sa takot. Kung mahirap ka, may tiyak kang tinitirhan. Kung ika'y tinamaan ng sakit, lindol, bagyo o kahit anong sakuna, ang gobyerno mo ang sasagot sa iyo."

Roxas' effective using of pathos to influence the audience is effective to provide possible solutions to presented problem. His method of using problem-solution strategy truly made his speech true and effective.

"Our unemployment is at its lowest level in 10 years. Ang classrooms, we have built more classrooms and hired more teachers in the last five years than all the previous five administrations combined. May naiahon tayo mahigit dalawang milyon nang ating mga kababayan mula sa kahirapan. Wala na sila sa kategoryang mahihirap. Lumago ang ating kapaligiran at marami pang iba."

The repetition of the positive statements and plans for the coming years is a great help for Roxas in explaining his vision for the people that will surely change the belief and making the audience feel the sincerity of his thoughts towards leadership.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the aforementioned analyses, the following conclusions were hereby drawn:

The analyses of the five presidential candidates using the three among the five canons of rhetoric, is useful to evaluate their speech.

The discourse analysis employed with the aim to examine the language of persuasion and to understand the functions of political speeches in the context of presidential debate is being achieved.

Full Transcript of Presidential Debate is helpful for the researchers to evaluate speeches of the presidential candidates.

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are hereby presented;

Researchers should employ the five cannons of rhetoric in evaluating artifacts in written form.

Neo-Aristotelian criticism should introduce to future researchers and critic to help them uncover the rhetoric behind speeches.

The use of the neo-Aristotelian method, which is the main instrument for examining rhetorical tactics in public speeches, is the study's main strength. However, the manner the presidentials delivered their speeches was not fully analyzed because this study only looked at rhetorical devices from the texts and only used three canons of rhetoric—invention, organization, and style. Additionally, the reaction of the audience has not been studied. The audience's reaction has not been looked at because the study solely focused on the speeches from the texts and just three canons of rhetoric. Therefore, few recommendations can be considered for further studies. A speech's delivery is an important factor in determining how an audience will respond to it, therefore the researchers may start by looking at how the speech is given as well as presented. Additionally, delivery is a crucial source in the study of pathos. In order to assess the speech's efficacy, it is also possible to look at the immediate audience response. Thirdly, it's important to research and compare the Presidential debates of other nations in order to obtain more precise findings.

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