THE RHETORICAL STRATEGIES IN THE POLITICAL SPEECHES OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS DURING THE 21ST CENTURY

ARTICLE I

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

leadership should be analyzed. This model should provide leadership studies with a different way of looking at the leader-follower relationship through bi – directionality: downward toward followers and upward toward leaders, to whole picture - multilevel lens of leadership. The research could make contributions in the field of political psychology and persuasive behavior, on the one hand, and in the field of rhetoric and philosophy of language, on the other.

In this article we present the results of research question 1: **Which rhetorical strategies are the most common among American presidents in their political speeches?**

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

"… Americans have seen the unfolding of large events… We have known times of sorrow… and days of victory… we have seen threads of purpose that unite us."

(George W. Bush, Fourth Presidential State of the Union Address, February 2, 2005)

Political language is a powerful weapon in getting to the political visions, thoughts and ideologies of politicians. **Political discourse is identified by its actors or authors, viz., politicians.** Indeed, the vast bulk of studies of political discourse (Chilton, 2004; Chilton & Schaffner, 2002; Kirvalidze, 2016; Reyes, 2011; Stamou, 2018; van Dijk, 1997) is about the **text and talk** of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidenta (e.g., a Spanish word meaning president) and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or

political parties, both at the local, national and international levels (van Dijk, 1997, p. 12). In political texts and talk of politicians it is usually possible to differentiate at least two types of ideologies: professional and sociopolitical ones. The amount of ideologies the politicians present in their political discourse depends on the number of social roles they play.

To sum up, **political discourse can be effectively defined as text and talk produced in regard to concrete political issues (language in politics) or through the actual language use of institutional political actors, even in discussions of nonpolitical issues (language of politicians).** Thus, political discourse encompasses all types of public, institutional and private talk on political issues, all types of texts typical of politics as well as the lexical and stylistic linguistic instruments characterizing talk about political contexts. Besides political speeches, we find many genres of discourse in the political domain: parliamentary debates, bilis, laws, government or ministerial regulations, campaign speeches or a revolutionary slogan and also other institutional forms of text and talk, such as propaganda leaflets, political advertising, media interviews, political talk shows on TV, party programs, ballots, and so on (van Dijk, 1997, p. 18).

Political speech is considered as different from face-to-face communication because it is one-sided only, but politicians are not the only participants in the domain of politics. From the interactional point of view of discourse analysis, we therefore should also include the **various recipients** in political communicative events, such as **the public, the people, citizens, the "masses",** and other groups or categories. That is, once we locate politics and its discourses in the public sphere, many more participants in political communication appear on the stage (van Dijk, 1997, p. 13), All these groups and individuals, as well as their organizations and institutions, may take part in the political process, and many of them are actively involved in political discourse (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 25). So, speeches are not to be

seen as monological "discursive events", but as semiotic realisations of conventionalised, multi-ad-dressed activity patterns.

According to Aristotle (2010, p.12), a speech involves three parts: the speaker, the subject of the speech and the audience to whom the speech is addressed; and he further argued that it is this last part, namely, the audience, which determines the purpose of the speech. That is, if the audience is, for instance, a decision making body for past events, such as judging crimes, or for future events, such as voting, these conditions are the factors that will determine the purpose of the speech.

The President's effectiveness as a public communicator is one of the key qualities that bears on presidential performance. Windt (1986) described Presidential rhetoric as a study of how Presidents gain, maintain or lose support of the public. The presidential power coming from three areas; the Constitution, the role of party leader and amassing public support.

In political speeches, ideas and ideologies need to be conveyed through language so that they are agreed upon by the receivers as well as by others who may read or hear parts of the speech afterwards in the media. Persuasion is generally seen as an act involving two parties: **a persuader and a persuadee**, where, by using language, the persuader intentionally tries to influence and thereby change the persuadee's state of mind. According to Charteris-Black (2011, p. 13), persuasion is therefore characterized as a speech act, regarding an intention, an act and an effect on the persuadee's mind. Persuasion is the process, and motivation is the compelling stimulus that encourages the audience to change their beliefs or behavior, to adopt speaker's position, or to consider the arguments.

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

Charismatic leadership is one of the most influential types of leadership in society, establishing an unshakable bond between the charismatic leader and his followers, who will follow and go where he directs without question, in pursuit of a common desired goal. Charismatic leaders have and continue to have the ability to mobilize people (Sandberg & Moreman, 2015) according to the concept of socialized charismatic leadership (SCL) (Howell & Avolio, 1992; Varella et al., 2012). Charismatic leader theory focuses on exceptional leaders having extraordinary effects on their followers and their social system and makes their aspirations moves from self-interest to collective interests leading to be highly committed to their mission, provide followers with a sense of identity and a sense of efficiency resulting from membership in the collectivity (Conger & Kanungo,1987; House, 1977; Shamir, 1991; Shamir et al.,1994; Shamir et al.,1993).

Shamir and colleagues (1993) have sought to explain the process by which charismatic effects were achieved. They proposed **a self-concept based motivational theory to explain the process by which charismatic leader behaviors caused profound transformational follower effects.** Shamir (1991) noted that human beings are not only goal-oriented but also self-expressive and are motivated to maintain and enhance their self-esteem and self-worth.

According to Shamir and colleagues (1993) charismatic leaders recruit and engage the self-concept of followers by two principal methods: **role modeling, and frame alignment.** Role modelling leads to the personal identification of the follower with the leader. Frame alignment (Snow et al., 1986) refers to the linkage of interpretive orientations of audience and leaders. The term "frame" denotes "schemata of interpretation" (Goffman, 1974), that enable individuals to locate, perceive, and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large. By rendering events or occurrences at meaningful, frames function to organize experience and to guide action, whether individual or collective (Goffman, 1974, p.

464). The values, beliefs and interests of followers and leaders become congruent and complementary (House & Podsakoff, 1994).

One of the major ways in which charismatic leaders engage in frame alignment is through their speeches, which contain seven content categories (e.g., rhetorical strategies (Shamir et al.,1994, pp. 27-29; Shamir 1993, p.578). Theory and research on charismatic leadership theory suggests that charismatic leaders use a **multitude of rhetorical devices** in crafting their visionary messages (Bligh et al., 2004a; Conger, 1991; Holladay & Coombs, 1993; Shamir et al., 1994; Shamir et al., 1993).

The presidents of the United States present in their speeches their vision of the future in order to motivate the listeners to action (Dunmire, 2005). Political communication was often reduced to the study of "political rhetoric" and the speech of political leaders is one of the most popular research objects for discourse and rhetorical analysts (Campbell & Jamieson, 1990). In the U.S., especially studies of presidential rhetoric which refers to speeches namely, **presidential address-inaugural addresses** and **state of the union addresses (**SOTU), at nearly the same time each year (The Constitution, Article II Section III), are numerous (Campbell & Jamieson, 1990; Thompson, 1987; Windt, 1983).

Much of recent research on U.S. presidential discourse has focused on the nexus between language forms and their underlying social processes and psychological states. A brief overview of the literature suggests that two major lines of research have characterized the existing studies (Chen & Hu, 2019, pp. 28-30).

One line of research is primarily concerned with the rhetorical aspects of the presidents' language use, namely, how different language forms are presented and organized in presidential discourse at the lexical, syntactic, and discourse levels (Field, 2011; Savoy, 2017).

A second line of research concerns the social or psychological aspects of presidential discourse, wherein the functions of language, language users and language use contexts are emphasized rather than language itself. A particularly fruitful area of research on the social functions of presidential language has centered around the State of the Union Address, where presidential discourse studies have been related to the expression of diplomatic and geopolitical constructs (Flint et al., 2009). Studies on the psychology of language use has proceeded in a similar direction. For example, a series of studies based on SOTU messages have sought to measure the integrative complexity of U.S. presidents (Thoemmes et al., 2007) or the **characteristics of charismatic leadership** (Bligh et al., 2004a; Davis & Gardner, 2012; Schroedel et al., 2013; Seyranian & Bligh, 2008; Wasike, 2017).

Goals

This research has two folded goals divided into broad and narrow aspects. According to the broad one, **we provide a comprehensive view to analyze the rhetorical means used for effective and persuasive communication in political speeches, while contributing to the psychological understanding of how these means affect the leader - followers   interaction,** when used in their quality of political rhetoric. The narrow aspect is **to examine the specific characteristics of rhetorical political language of American presidents** over a relatively long period of time with affinity to **the dynamics of change** in the way it is used to successfully maintain power and ideological direction within the process of communication.

Accordingly, **this study combines two steps.** First, we specifically focus on revealing and mapping **five rhetorical strategies** used in the First Speech to a Joint Session of Congress and in the annual Addresses on the Presidential State of the Union Address (SOTU) (N=20), of George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump, the Presidents of the United States during the 21ST century, for studying the use of the rhetorical devices **and the changes that occurred.**

And second, we develop **a conceptual model (TPM)** that merges between three psychological models: **The Three Needs Theory, the Model of Convincing and Persuading and the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM),** for studying the influence of political statements on leader – followers   interaction. In this situation, two layers of research-analytical emphasis are outlined: theoretical-rhetorical and psychological. **The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the understanding of leadership by presenting a "balanced" approach that views both leaders and followers as co-producers of leadership.**

In this article we present the results of **research question 1: Which rhetorical strategies are the most common among American presidents in their political speeches?**

Methodology

In order to examine the research questions, a mixed-method design will be used   integrating both qualitative and quantitative research methods Specifically, speeches of American presidents will be gathered and analyzed qualitatively by extracting   main themes and categories of rhetorical strategies. Later on, each of the rhetorical   strategies will be scored by level of use in each speech. Finally, rhetorical strategies will be compared by presidents, conditions of under the speech tool place, speech's impact and other variables which could contribute to classifying president's leadership style.

The current research will use mixed-method by collecting speeches of American presidents, and analyze it both qualitatively (by extracting the most important aspects of rhetorical strategies and performing content analysis), and quantitatively (by scoring the rhetorical strategies and performing statistical analyses).

The sample will consist of all 20 speeches given in English by the Presidents of the United States during the 21ST century: George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump (see Appendix A).

Independent Variables

From each of the speeches, the following, a content analysis will be conducted in order to extract the rhetorical strategies that the president uses in his speech. The content-based constructs of the rhetorical strategies have been applied in a number of studies examining the extent and effects of charismatic leadership in political communication with statistically significant results. Therefore, I developed such dictionaries based on the propositions about the contents of charismatic leaders' speeches (Shamir et al., 1994, p.29; Shamir et al.,1993, p.586), the dictionaries from Diction 5.0 (Hart, 2000; 2001;2014; Karpowitz, 2014) and the constructs derived from previous charisma studies (Bligh & Robinson, 2010; Davis & Gardner, 2012 ; Schroedel et al., 2013 ; Seyranian & Bligh, 2008 ; Tan & Wee, 2002).

The independent variables consisted of the five rhetorical strategies: Collective Focus; Temporal Orientation; Follower's Worth; Similarity to Followers and Action. A brief description of each rhetorical strategy is included below.

1. **Collective Focus:** Leaders who are considered to be charismatic and have good rhetorical strategies refer most often to collective, includes social groupings, task groups, and geographical entities, rather than individual, interests and encourage collective actions and goals. Rhetoric emphasizes the building of common identity with followers. Followers tend to expect leaders who score highly on such rhetorical features to engage in selfless actions, such as risk-taking and personal sacrifice. This

aspect of charismatic leadership is reflected in a construct for Collective Focus. This aspect will be expressed in the following words (or similar):

Collectives: team, army, congress, county, world, nation, union, people, America, White House, workers, doctors, Democrats.

Peoples references: citizenry, civil, class, crowds, folk, group, gatherings, immigrants, individuals, majority.

2. Temporal Orientation: Charismatic leaders are expected to make more references to the continuity between past and present, references to history, tradition, leaders, famous and important people from the past. This way they help their listeners to feel a strong feeling of continuity which help them to feel high level of resilience specifically in times of crises and a feeling of belonging to the collective. This aspect of charismatic leadership is reflected in a construct for Temporal Orientation. This aspect will be expressed in the following words (or similar):

Present concern: build, make, touch, govern, need, work, desire.

Past concern: built, made, touched, governed, needed, worked, desired.

History, Tradition, Leaders: John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Pop Francis, founders, Federal Convention.

3. Follower's Worth: Charismatic leaders that have good rhetorical strategies are expected to express themselves in a way that shows confidence in their followers and bolsters a collective sense of self-efficacy to enable them to work towards institutional goals. A central component in the rhetoric of charismatic leaders is a reference to moral justifications and values. This aspect of charismatic leadership is reflected in a construct for Follower's Worth. This aspect will be expressed in the following words (or similar):

Praise: bright, vigilant, reasonable, dear, beautiful, successful, can, good, noble, brave, self-sacrifice.

Inspiration: faith, honesty, courage, dedication, wisdom, mercy, freedom, trust.

Satisfaction: celebrating, pride, auspicious, cheerful, passionate, happiness, welcome, secure, happiness, bless, thank.

4. Similarity to Followers: Charismatic leaders that have good rhetorical strategies tend to emphasize their identification with followers, which is measured through the construct, similarity to followers, created by emphasizing familiarity, leveling, rapport, inclusive language, and human interest in the followers. Words used to ignore individual differences and to build a sense of completeness and assurance, such as totalizing terms, adverbs of permanence and resolute adjectives, the most common words in the English language, includes common prepositions, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, particles, conjunctions, connectives and words denoting a shared social identity. This aspect will be expressed in the following words (or similar):

Levelling: always, completely, inevitably, consistently, unconditional, everybody, together, anyone, each, fully, all.

Familiarity: across, over, through this, that who, what a, for, so with, than, for.

Inclusion: we, us, our, ourselves.

Rapport: common, same, share, one, unity, consensus, equivalent.

Human interest: fellow, family, friends, children, relatives, parents.

5. Action: One of the most important abilities of charismatic leader is the ability to be proactive. Furthermore, charismatic leaders have to mobilize their followers to take action in order to achieve their goals. Hence, a leader that calls for action and succeed in bringing his followers to action, then he has higher odds in creating a positive change, and to give followers the feeling that they are not helpless. Use of assertive language denoting high levels of action, aggressive words such as human competition, goal directness, and accomplishment words expressing task-completion and organized human

behavior and may be less likely to use words denoting low levels of action (passivity, ambivalence). This aspect of charismatic leadership is reflected in a construct for Action. This aspect will be expressed in the following words (or similar):

Accomplishment: establish, finish, influence, light, proceed, strengthen, create, succeed, agenda, enacted, working, act, action, active, accomplish.

Aggression: blast, crash, explode, collide, prevent, reduce, defend, attack, challenging.

Dependent Variables

To assess the impact of the rhetorical strategies and charisma characteristics, level of popularity of each president will be collected using the results of national surveys of the presidents.

Data analysis

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

(1) **Content analysis** – for each speech, the rhetorical strategies and charisma characteristics will be extracted, that is in what specific tools the presidents used in order to deliver their messages. During this analysis, text citations will be given in order to exactly show in which words the speakers use, which main themes and topics they describe, and which ideas and phrases were repeated. This analysis would also enable to understand the main feelings, emotions and thoughts that are most empathized in the speeches.

(2) **Scoring the rhetorical strategies** - Following the content analysis, each of the rhetorical strategies will be scored regarding the level of use in the speech on a 1 (not used at all) to 10 (used very intensively). After scoring the rhetorical strategies, a descriptive statistics will be produced describing the use of rhetorical strategies by each of the presidents. Level of significance for all analyses is P-value < .05.

Results

1. Trend analysis of using rhetorical strategies across the years

To address this research question, we gathered information on 20 speeches (N=20) (see Appendix A), and analyze each speech according to content analysis yielding the levels of rhetorical strategies used in each speech (see Appendix B).

To assess the trends of using rhetorical strategies across the years, the following figures present the change of using each of the rhetorical strategies by year. The trends were assessed using Pearson correlations, because this statistical procedure examines how the use of each strategy is changed over the years. Pearson correlation (r) is ranged between -1 to +1.

1.1. Collective Focus

As shown in Figure 1, the average level of Collective Focus strategy is about 7% of speech. Higher use (9%) in Collective Focus strategy was found in 2002 and 2003 (Bush), and also at 2017 (Trump).

Examining the trend over the years, a general steady trend was found after 2002, meaning the level of using Collective Focus strategy has not significantly changed along the years (r=0.03, p=.29).
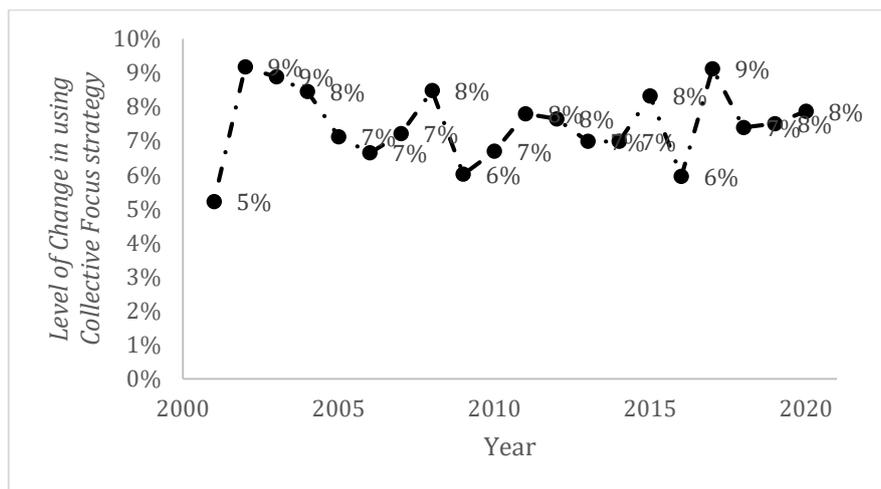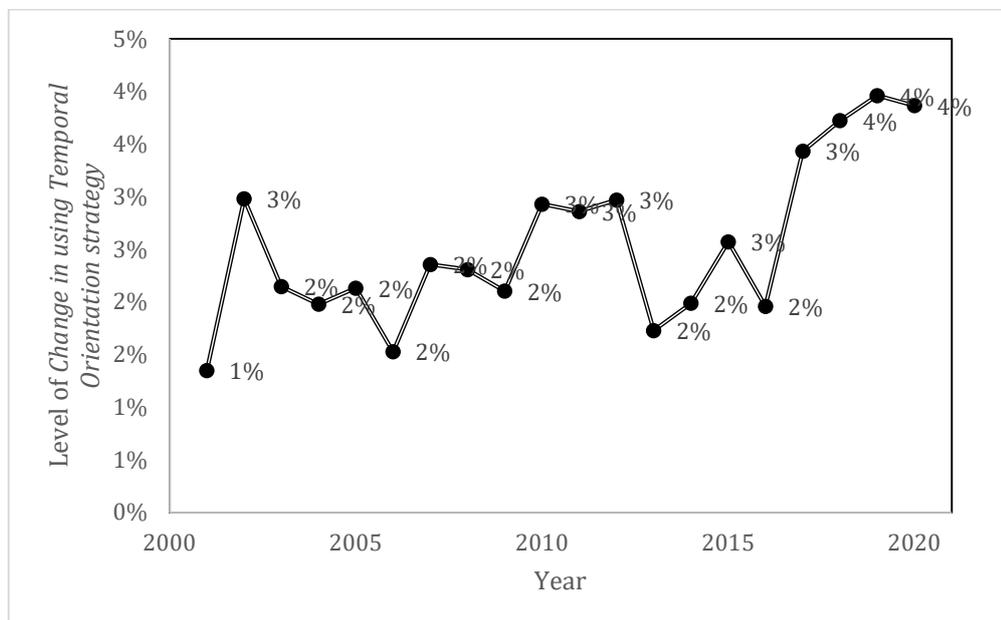

Figure 1: Change in using Collective Focus strategy between 2001 - 2020

For example, Barack Obama in his speech, namely, Final Presidential State of the Union Address:

"We the **People**": Our Constitution begins with those three simple words – words we've come to recognize mean all the **people,** not just some; words that insist we rise and fall together; that that's how we might perfect our **union"** (January 12, 2016).

1.2. Temporal Orientation

As shown in Figure 2, the average level of Temporal Orientation strategy is about 3% of speech. Higher use (4%) of Temporal Orientation strategy was found between 2018 and 2020 (Trump).

Examining the trend over the years, a general positive trend was found, meaning the level of using Temporal Orientation strategy has increased significantly along the years (r=0.64, p=.02).

Figure 2: Change in using Temporal Orientation strategy between 2001 - 2020

For example, Barack Obama in his speech, namely, Fourth Presidential State of the Union Address:

"Over the last few years, both parties **have worked** together to reduce the deficit by more than $2.5 trillion … mostly through spending cuts, but also by raising tax rates on the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans… And as we speak, bipartisan groups in both chambers are **working** diligently to draft a bill, and I applaud their efforts" (February 12, 2013).

Hereby is another example, George W. Bush in his speech, namely, Address to Joint Session of Congress:

"Forty years ago, and then 20 years ago, two **Presidents,** one Democrat, one Republican, **John F. Kennedy** and **Ronald Reagan, advocated** tax cuts to, in **President Kennedy**'s words, get this country moving again. They **knew** then what we must do now. To create economic growth…" (February 27, 2001).

1.3. Follower's Worth

As shown in Figure 3, the average level of Follower's Worth strategy is about 3.5% of speech. Higher use (4%) of Follower's Worth strategy was found between 2005 and 2006 (Bush), and also after 2018 (Trump).

Examining the trend over the years, a general steady trend was found, meaning the level of using Follower's Worth strategy has not significantly changed along the years ($r=0.18$, $p=.38$).
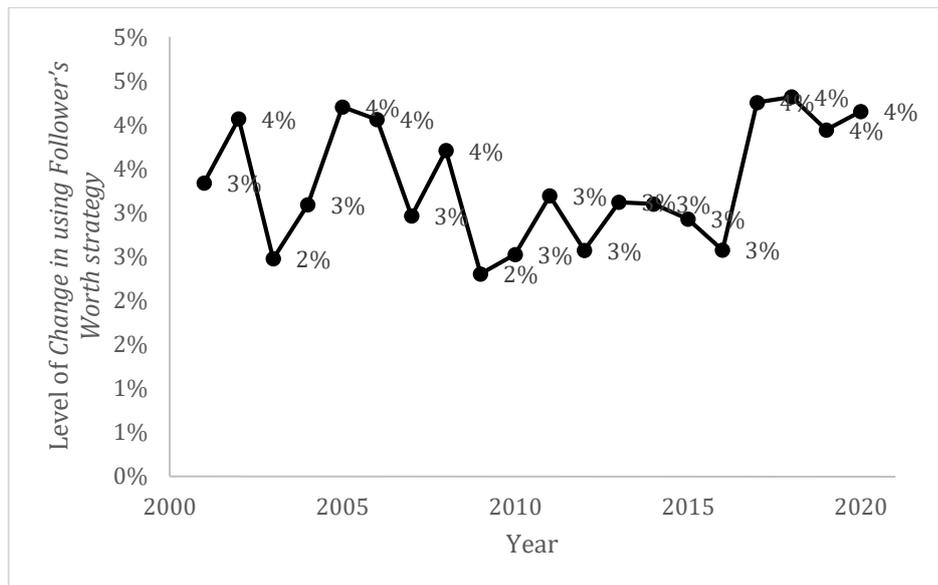
Figure 3: Change in using Follower's Worth strategy between 2001 - 2020

For example, George W. Bush in his speech, namely, Sixth Presidential State of the Union Address:

"When America serves others in this way, we show the **strength and generosity** of our country. These deeds reflect the character of our people. The **greatest strength** we have is the **heroic kindness, courage,** and **self-sacrifice** of the American people. You see this **spirit** often if you know where to look -- and tonight we need only look above to the gallery" (January 23, 2007).

1.4. Similarity to Followers

As shown in Figure 4, the average level of Similarity to Followers strategy is about 14% of speech. Higher use (above 18%) of Similarity to Followers strategy was found between 2011 (Obama), and also at 2017 (Trump).

Examining the trend over the years, a general positive trend was found, meaning the level of using Similarity to Followers strategy has increased significantly along the years (r=0.78, p=.01).
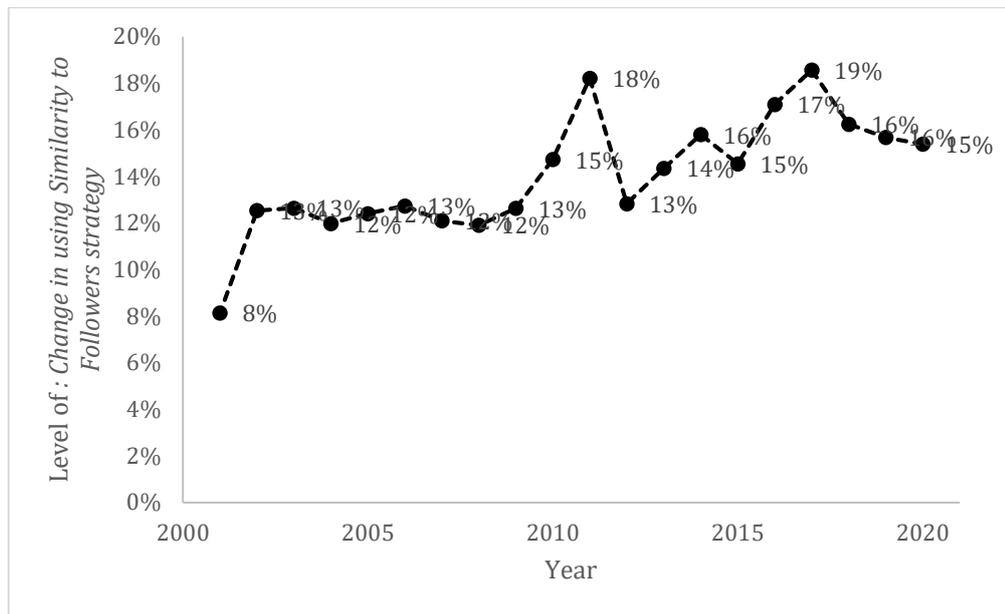
Figure 4: Change in using Similarity to Followers strategy between 2001 - 2020

For example, Donald J. Trump in his speech, namely, First Speech to a Joint Session of Congress:

" **… We** are **one** people, **with one** destiny. **We all** bleed the **same** blood. **We all** salute the **same** great American flag. And **we all** are made by the **same** God" (February 28, 2017).

1.5. Action

As shown in Figure 5, the average level of Action strategy is about 3.5% of speech. Higher use (5%) of Action strategy was found at 2001 and 2002 (Bush).

Examining the trend over the years, a general negative trend was found, meaning the level of using Action strategy has decreased significantly along the years (**r = - 0.70,** p=.02).
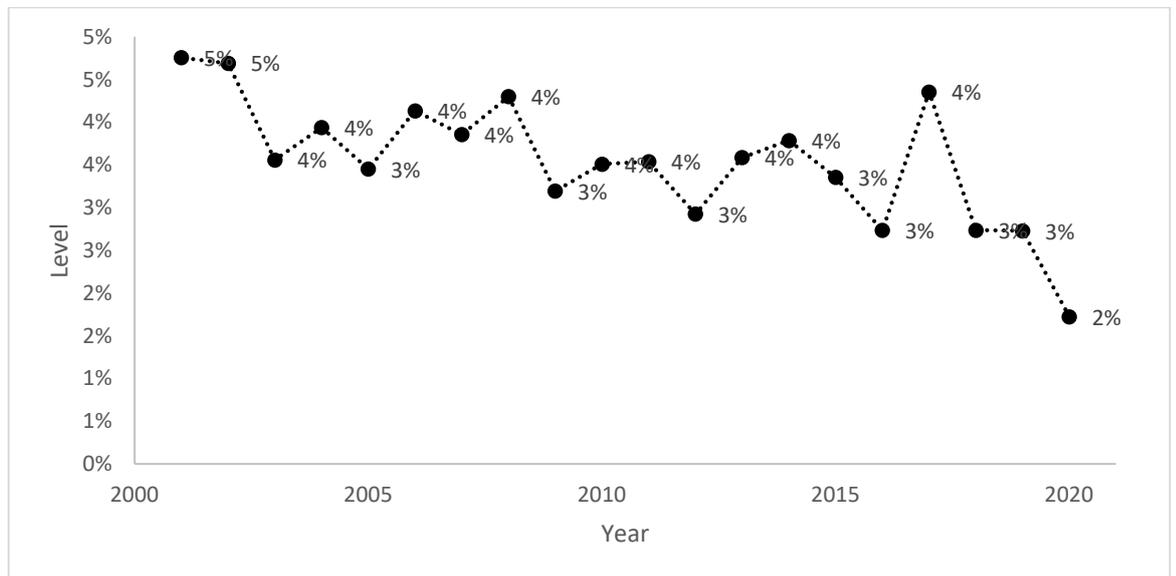
Figure 5: Change in using Action strategy between 2001 – 2020

For example, Donald J. Trump in his speech, namely, First State of the Union Address:

"Tonight, I call upon all of us **to set** aside our differences, **to seek** out common ground, and **to summon** the unity we **need to deliver** for the people. This is really the key. These are the people we were elected **to serve"** (January 30, 2018).

2. All   trends analysis of using rhetorical strategies across the years

Figure 6 presents the changes in all strategies between 2001 and 2020. As shown in this figure 6, the most dominant change occurs in Similarity to Followers. Specifically, the use in this strategy increased between 2000 to 2012, but then decreased to 2013. Following this decrease, the use in this strategy continued to increase in the following years.

In addition, as presented in Figure 6, **Similarity to Followers is the most used strategy along all years, and then Collective Focus. The other three strategies - Action, Temporal Orientation and Follower's Worth were – were less used.**
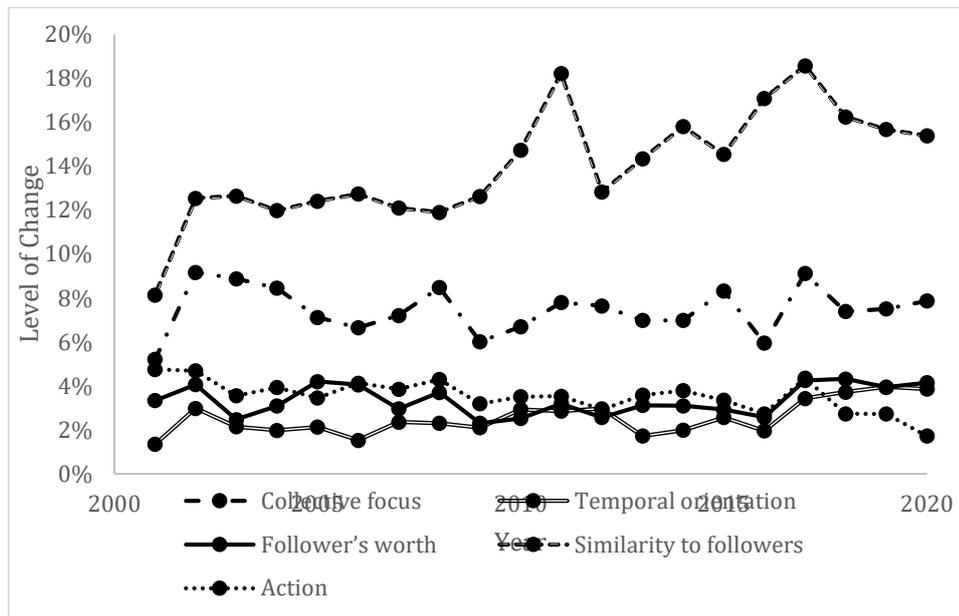
Figure 6: Change in all strategies between 2001 - 2020

The findings in our study indicate that the most common rhetorical strategies among American presidents in their political speeches are: Similarity to Followers, Collective Focus, Temporal Orientation, Follower's Worth, and Action. Similarity to Followers is the most used strategy along all years. According to the theory of Shamir et al. (1993), in order to be effective and charismatic leader it is not enough to emphasize collective identities. The leader has to point out similarities in background, experience, values and goals between him and potential followers in order to demonstrate his belonging to the same collectivity, and to posit himself as a "representative character" and a potential role model. This lays the ground for potential followers' identification with the leader, and for their emulation of the leader's beliefs and acceptance of the leader's mission.

The research could make contributions in the field of political psychology and persuasive behavior, on the one hand, and in the field of rhetoric and philosophy of language, on the other. We belief that if we are able to

analytically understand how influential leaders have used rhetorical language and how its use has affected the self- concept of their audience, we can pass this knowledge on to others by allowing them to use the language in a similar way.

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Appendix A. List of the speeches analyzed in this study

Date of the speech	American Presidents	Name of the speech	
February 4, 2020	Donald J. Trump	Third State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2020.htm
February 5, 2019	Donald J. Trump	Second State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2019.htm
January 30, 2018	Donald J. Trump	First State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2018.htm
February 28, 2017	Donald J. Trump	First Speech to a Joint Session of Congress	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2017.htm
January 12, 2016	Barack Obama	Final Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2016.htm
January 20, 2015	Barack Obama	Sixth Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2015.htm
January 28, 2014	Barack Obama	Fifth Presidential State of the Union	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2014.htm
February 12, 2013	Barack Obama	Fourth Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2013.htm
January 24, 2012	Barack Obama	Third Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2012.htm
January 25, 2011	Barack Obama	Second Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2011.htm
January 27, 2010	Barack Obama	First Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2010.htm
February 24, 2009	Barack Obama	First Speech to a Joint Session of Congress	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/barackobama/barackobamajointsession2009.htm
January 28, 2008	George W. Bush	Final Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2008.htm
January 23, 2007	George W. Bush	Sixth Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2007.htm

January 31, 2006	George W. Bush	Fifth Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2006.htm
February 2, 2005	George W. Bush	Fourth Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2005.htm
January 20, 2004	George W. Bush	Third Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2004.htm
January 28, 2003	George W. Bush	Second Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2003.html
January 29, 2002	George W. Bush	First Presidential State of the Union Address	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2002.htm
February 27, 2001	George W. Bush	Address to Joint Session of Congress	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/stateoftheunion2001.htm

Appendix B. Summary of rhetorical strategies in the speeches

Date of the speech	Strategies/ American Presidents	Collective Focus	Temporal Orientation	Follower's Worth	Similarity to Followers	Action
February 4, 2020	Donald J. Trump	493	242	260	964	108
February 5, 2019	Donald J. Trump	421	222	221	879	153
January 30, 2018	Donald J. Trump	435	219	254	956	161
February 28, 2017	Donald J. Trump	444	167	207	904	212
January 12, 2016	Barack Obama	368	121	159	1056	169
January 20, 2015	Barack Obama	563	174	198	984	227
January 28, 2014	Barack Obama	478	136	212	1081	259
February 12, 2013	Barack Obama	477	118	213	980	245
January 24, 2012	Barack Obama	541	210	182	908	207
January 25, 2011	Barack Obama	540	198	221	1262	245
January 27, 2010	Barack Obama	496	217	187	1091	260
February 24, 2009	Barack Obama	358	125	137	751	190
January 28, 2008	George W. Bush	485	132	212	681	246
January 23, 2007	George W. Bush	404	132	166	678	216
January 31, 2006	George W. Bush	357	82	218	684	222
February 2, 2005	George W. Bush	361	108	213	629	175
January 20, 2004	George W. Bush	440	103	161	624	205
January 28, 2003	George W. Bush	484	117	135	689	194
January 29, 2002	George W. Bush	354	115	157	484	181
February 27, 2001	George W. Bush	228	59	146	356	208