

**Tribhuvan University**

**Switching Rhetoric: A Rhetorical Analysis in David Cameron's Selected Speeches**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Central Department of English, T.U.**

**In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the**

**Degree of Masters of Arts in English**

**By**

**Dipendra Thapa**

**Roll No.: 00006055**

**T.U. Regd. No.: 9-2-9-0107-2011**

**Central Department of English**

**Kirtipur, Kathmandu**

**February, 2021**

## Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my thesis supervisor Prof. Dr. Komal Phuyal of Central Department of English, for his continual co-operation, proper suggestion, genuine inspiration, insightful comment and motivation to accomplish this thesis. No expression of thanks can adequately carry out my deep felt appreciation for his cherished advice and splendid guidance during the course of this research work.

I am beholden to the Head of Central Department of English, Prof. Dr. Jivalal Sapkota for his encouraging advices. Similarly, I would be delighted to extend my gratefulness to respected Lecturers, Raj Kumar Baral, Hemlal Pandey, Laxman Bhatta, Pradip Raj Giri, Badri Prasad Acharya, Dinesh Bhandari and other lecturers as they contributed enormously to my understanding of the subjects. The knowledge on the related theories gained from their classes filled me with confidence which inspired me to do this thesis.

I am rejoiced to grab this occasion to record my immense gratitude to my parents, Yam Bahadur Thapa and Devi Maya Thapa, for their constant encouragement, grandiose suggestions and profound dedication. I owe them a great deal for what they have done. I am equally thankful to my dear wife, Manju Raut for her support and encouragement. Meanwhile, my friends Sunil Dahal, Ashish Pokhrel, Prakash Singh Bist, Dinesh Sharma, Rom Nath Nepal, Purna Poudel, Amir Kumar Timsina, Kaushal Ghimire, and Shankar Sanjal deserve a great share of thanks from the depth of my heart for their help.

February, 2021

Dipendra Thapa

## Switching Rhetoric: A Rhetorical Analysis in David Cameron's Selected Speeches

Abstract:

*The paper analyzes rhetorical shift in Cameron's speeches and claims that he brings rhetorical variations to create a persuasive environment while conveying his ideas. The speeches are analyzed through the theoretical framework of rhetorical analysis. Aristotle's definitions of rhetoric and rhetorical tools have been the major theoretical ideas; Jeffrey Walker and Mark Garrett Longaker's idea of rhetoric has been used as supporting theoretical weapons for this research. It evaluates the language usage of David Cameron at first and analyzes the rhetorical shifts in the speeches. The research paper concludes that Cameron's rhetorical variations in his speeches have been his weapon to be persuasive and therefore are significant in the modern political arena. In this way, the paper helps the readers in understanding how the politicians manipulate the audience by using and switching their rhetoric to create the persuasive atmosphere.*

Keywords: Logos, Pathos, Ethos, Kairos, Referendum, Election, Politics, Rhetoric.

The paper analyzes David Cameron's five different speeches given at different time periods. Speeches this paper makes the area of study are: the speeches given on 16 September, 2014; 21 June, 2016 speech of a day before of EU referendum, the Manifesto speech given On 14 April , 2015, speech given at Street before General Election on 5 May, 2010 and a farewell speech of July 13, 2016. These speeches consist the appealing language delivered by Cameron and are therefore selected as the primary text of this research.

The paper attempts to evaluate rhetorical variation or shift in Cameron's speeches and this variation, when analyzed through the lens of rhetorical analysis, results in a finding that he does so intentionally to persuade his variety of audience.

Rhetorical tools facilitate the rhetor to be trustworthy to share ideas and s/he can give more priority to particular tool regarding the situation. Politics and rhetorics have been the food for thought for scholars since the era of Greek and it has been widely discussed by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* too. In modern era too, rhetoric has been inevitable tool in the countries where democracy has been flourished. Cameron is one of the prominent figures of modern politics and this paper has made his speeches as a primary text to make research in the rhetorical field in order to observe the significance of rhetoric in modern political arena.

David Cameron is the former prime Minister of United Kingdom. Cameron was the member of the parliament from 2001 to 2016 for Witney and leader of Conservative party from 2005 to 2016. He identifies him with the ideology of one-nation conservatism and is associated with economically liberal and socially liberal policy. He tried his best to identify conservative party to rebrand with increasingly socially liberal policy. The 2010 general election led to becoming Prime Minister as the head of coalition government with liberal Democrats. Cameron made his presence internationally as his government intervened militarily and later authorized bombing of the Islamic State of Iraq. On 2016, he introduced a referendum on the UK's continuing membership of the EU. Cameron supported continued membership following the success of the Leave vote he resigned to make way for a new Prime Minister and was succeeded by Theresa May.

Rhetorical Analysis is a theoretical framework which is used to evaluate Cameron's words in respective speeches and it helps us to understand how the rhetor conveys his ideas to his audience. The rhetor endeavors to inform, persuade and motivate his audience through appealing languages with the help of rhetorical tools. It is believed that Aristotle- twenty five hundred years ago proposed three devices:

logos, pathos and ethos as means of effective communication. While analyzing David Cameron's speeches, above mentioned tools help me to find out his uses of rhetoric. In the book *Rhetoric*, mainly in the book II, three rhetorical tools i.e. logos, pathos and ethos have been broadly discussed by Aristotle. Logos is a device used in argument based on reasons and facts. The use of logos means to cite the facts and statistics by using logical arguments. Another means of rhetoric is ethos or ethical appeal. It is used to show his audience that the rhetor is credible, trustworthy and worth listening to. And another one is pathos which is an emotional appeal which is used to make feel the audience what author thinks of by using emotional language. Kairos is an occasional or circumstantial appeal where audience gets the feeling of appeal from particular situation.

The word 'Rhetoric' is derived from Greek work *Rhetorike*, which means 'the art of speaking'. Teaching and practicing of rhetoric began as early as the time of the Sophists who were largely criticized by Plato and later Aristotle developed it into true doctrine or theory. As such the Sophist, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates and Quintilian were the early Greco-Roman philosophers to teach and practice rhetoric. Since then, the teaching and practice of rhetoric was not the concern of philosophers and scholars until philosophers like I. A. Richards, Kenneth Burke, Chaim Perelman started revisiting Aristotle's ideas.

Aristotle was positively as well as negatively read by critics. Those who read him from positive lights claimed about the impossibility of society and rhetoric itself was considered to be an important aspect of democratic society. Although the practice of rhetoric is the important aspect of democratic society, it has its place in authoritarian dictatorship, for the suppression of uprising. Detractors attack the same concept of using rhetoric as a way of making people believe in something despite

their proficiency in any field. Therefore, it is sometimes paralleled to a confidence game of deception. This idea is presented in Maria Konnikova's *The Confidence Game: Why We Fall For It... Every Time*. The very idea is what Plato opposes in the text like Phaedrus and Gorgias there he equates rhetoric as mere knack, a branch of flattery, aiming to please and gratify. During the age of the Renaissance and middle age, rhetoric would be criticized putting more emphasis on observation, experimentation and demonstration.

Mark Longaker and Jeffrey Walker, in line with Aristotle divide style, another area that is studied under rhetorical analysis, into five major concerns which is discussed in *Rhetorical Analysis: A Brief Guide for writers*. They are virtue of styles, dictions, figures of speech and thoughts, rhythms and type of styles. These different concerns finally add up to the idea that discourse should be clear, correct, appropriate to the occasion and audience—have proper word choices, and with colloquialism because of which the speaker can connect with the audiences—and appropriate figures of speech. The idea of Longaker and Walker has been used as the supporting theoretical framework to analyze Cameron's speeches and the ideas of Aristotle from the book *Rhetoric* are taken as the major theoretical weapon.

Cameron becomes selective and wise while choosing words whenever he makes his argument. The paper takes five speeches which are full of rhetoric given at different time and places. Speeches are analyzed later in the following chronological order. Scotland speech is delivered two days earlier of referendum where Cameron requests his audience not to be separated from Britain. Extreme nationalist party was leading the mass to split Scotland pointing that they were not getting equal treatment from British society. Cameron on the counter attack to that argument says that they are better together and they should enjoy the greatness of Great Britain together.

Likewise, in the speech of EU referendum, Cameron focuses to continue the membership of EU claiming that British economy and future are secure enough inside EU economic zone.

Britain's general election of 2010 gives an opportunity to Cameron to be a Prime Minister. In the speech related to this election, he promises to reform all the aspects of Britain to make better society. He presents the slogan of 'change' in every aspect to uplift the economy of Britain. Likewise in the speech of general election of 2015, his words are more powerful as he proudly mentions his previously accomplished deeds. Cameron also asks for five years to substantiate ongoing projects in the country which he says are in favor of upcoming generations. Fifth speech which this paper analyzes is related to Cameron's farewell from politics. In this speech, he emotionally tries to give justice to his journey as a politician and he also declares that Britain is better than before.

Different leading media houses like BBC, CNN and *The New York Times*, and scholars have analyzed about David Cameron, his political career and language of his speeches. The previously made researches are focused on EU and Scotland referendums, Cameron's standpoint on 2010 and 2015 general elections relating with who David Cameron is, how successful his political career remained and how his language is as a Prime Minister. Cameron's words are gathered to create an emotional attachment between speaker and audience tactfully which is not identified and mentioned by previous researchers. Nevertheless, researches are made in this primary text from different perspective.

Cameron's tenure starts as a Prime Minister from 2010 and ends at 2016. During this six years period how his political career remained is the major concern here. After the Britain voted to leave EU, Cameron ended his political life. Reporting

to the *CNN*, Robin Oakley summarizes, “The overall grade for Cameron's time as Prime Minister has to be a "fail." True, he was probably the one Conservative who could have successfully led a coalition government, as he did with the Liberal Democrats. And he then brought his own party back to power -- but look what he has left” (Oakley). Through this reporting, Oakley depicts Cameron’s career as a failure as his ideologies he posed during EU referendum did not win. His tenure also gave some hopes to Britain as it gained economic prosperity in his primer ship but Cameron could not stand as a successful leader according to Oakley.

Helia Ebrahimi, *CNBC*’s reporter, analyzes Cameron’s speech which is related to Scottish referendum regarding his uses of words. She states: “Cameron uses the word Britain for seven times and Scotland for three times” (Ebrahimi). It shows that how careful he should be while delivering his speeches and his less uses of the word Scotland has provided the issue to criticize for the people of ‘Yes’ campaign. A person who is in leading position means he is in under the surveillance at any time and so is David Cameron and his position.

Leala Padmanabhan a reporter of *BBC* radio highlights Cameron’s major ten tasks in his career, while reporting to his media house. It is questioned why Cameron suddenly fixed the date of EU referendum but he went as per the wishes of people. Leala States, “David Cameron’s close allies insist there was no way he could have avoided holding an in-out referendum on Europe. His former communications director Craig Oliver told us Cameron was under intense pressure from Eurosceptics” (Padmanabhan). As a state head of Britain which is taken as old democratic country, he went along with democratic values and norms holding referendum.

Issue of immigration is prominent one in EU referendum and voters paid very closer look to this issue. Cameron’s insight of not leaving UK was meant polishing



free immigrant policy for the people of UK. In his speeches during EU referendum campaign over a month which were observed by political analyst of BBC. Nick Robinson shows that Cameron is in against the favor of immigration policy but the outcome of these points are different. Nick mentions, “What is revealing is not just what has stayed in but what has come out... the centre piece of the prime minister’s proposals to cut EU immigration” (Robinson). Observing Cameron’s speeches, Nick finds the differences in what he includes in his speeches and the reality. Cameron declares to stop increasing immigration problems but the policy he exposes during referendum is opposite to what he argues about immigration policy.

Cameron became Prime Minister after winning the general election of 2010. A good leader should be always aware of the feelings of people or voters and to address their feeling and language and leader should be wise while choosing words. During election campaign Cameron made various speeches in which he uses words which are helpful to arouse hope of prosperity, national unity, and national security. Cameron repeats the word "people 58 times” and he brings references like "people power, supporting people and people like you” (Collins). Using the word people he tries to prove that his party is to work for people and indirectly attract to join him in the election. Language of the leader has significant role to communicate party’s agendas to voters and so Cameron does during 2010 election using words and phrases which are in favor of voters.

Cameron made ‘No’ vote campaign to appeal Scottish people not to leave Britain in the Scotland referendum. During campaign he exposes the drawbacks of leaving UK and attracts the attention of Scotland to the national unity. In the contrary ‘Yes’ campaign supporters makes arguments against Cameron’s statements. Reporting to *The New York Times*, Neal Ascherson States, “I shall vote yes this

September. The campaign has already taught me that if we don't make it with this third referendum, there will be a fourth" (Neal). Here, Ascherson's focus in this editorial gives opposite sense of what David Cameron appeals for on a month long campaign.

Manifesto speech of David Cameron given during 2015 general election campaign shows ample of hopes. Regarding these purposed agendas Conservative party gained two third majorities. He provides space for burning problems like gender and immigration issues in this speech. Scholars assume that Cameron's concern on these issues has helped as a brick in his success. Brumfield mentions: "Immigrants from strife-torn nations have looked to Europe, including the U.K. for a second chance at life. But the Cameron's government has made them feel less welcome in recent years" (Brumfield). Brumfield, while writing editorial on CNN mentions that immigration policy which Cameron includes in his manifesto has distracted to those who want Britain as their second home. Acceptance of same sex marriage policy through his manifesto speech is another instance of his success. Stanley argues, "By supporting the legalization of gay marriage, for instance, Cameron effectively laid to rest any associations between this party and homophobic prejudice. The move wasn't uncontroversial" (Stanley). Though this issue of gay marriage created matter of criticism of Cameron but people from urban area voted him. Though, Cameron seems modern and liberal regarding the controversial issues like gay marriage which future generation may applaud his decisions.

In this way, previous researchers have done their research on David Cameron's political life, campaigns of general election 2010 and 2015 and referendums of EU and Scotland. So, their research basically constrains to prove who David Cameron is, providing references from his political career. The paper with the

aid of logos, pathos and logos studies Cameron's implication of rhetorical strategies and their appropriateness, to find out the uses of rhetoric in the modern political discourse. So, the study of rhetorical analysis of Cameron's five speeches is different than what previous researchers have done. There are several reasons that provoke me to work on Cameron's speeches. His use of language is organized where choices of words and phrases and organization of sentences attract to go through his speeches. So, to find the purpose of using such words and phrases I decided to work in Cameron's speeches along with the theoretical framework of Rhetorical Analysis.

The paper basically evaluates Cameron's speeches from theoretical framework of rhetorical analysis where the language of the speaker is observed to evaluate his ideas of creating persuasive discourse. This project may give benefit to the people who are part of academics to build up persuasive tone in speaking and writing dimension. Rhetoric facilitates speaker to create persuasive environment and it also helps to make strong argument.

The paper analyses different five speeches which were given at different time and places. David Cameron, former Prime minister of Britain, uses rhetorical tools to make his speeches persuasive. The paper first, evaluates two speeches related to (Scotland and EU) referendums regarding the usage of rhetorical tools. Likewise, other speeches related to election are analyzed and compared regarding the dominant use of rhetorical tools subsequently.

Scotland referendum is one of the significant events of Cameron's political life. The speech which was given on 16<sup>th</sup> of September 2014 during Scotland referendum is full of rhetorical tools where Cameron delivers powerful words related to negative consequences of leaving UK. He encompasses all possible rhetorical tools to win the heart of people and he sounds as if this is the historical chance to prove his

capability. Cameron attempts to persuade his audience from the very first line of his speech. He states:

We meet in a week that could change the United Kingdom forever.

Indeed, it could end the United Kingdom as we know it.

On Thursday, Scotland votes, and the future of our country is at stake.

On Friday, people could be living in a different country, with a different place in the world and a different future ahead of it. This is a decision that could break up our family of nations, and rip Scotland from the rest of the UK.

(Cameron)

The first line of speech is very powerful to attract the attention of audience as it is linked with the issue of nation. Nationalism ties people with the feeling of togetherness. Next thing to be considered here is who delivers the message. So, Cameron, the speaker using the benefit of his character, attempts to convey the possible result of leaving UK. He as a Prime Minister has the authority to warn his people about negative consequences which may result from people's negative voting [voting for Yes]., According to Dai Zhinyong, "Ethos is a method of persuasion in which the speaker or writer attempts to persuade the audience by demonstrating his own credibility or authority" (3). The appeal to credibility is known as ethos. Cameron, in this speech suggests people not to vote against the national integrity. He believes if they support 'Yes Campaign', Britain's existence and aura won't be as it was before. It means, splitting families and living separately for ever which he thinks is the worst incident in the history of Britain.

Rhetorical tool, ethos provides authority to make appeal from the character of particular person. Cameron's character as a Prime Minister of Britain gives authority to speak these lines, "The United Kingdom would be no more. No UK pensions, no

UK passports, no UK pound Alex Salmond and the nationalists reject claims that Scotland's economy would suffer if the UK broke up" (Cameron). He warns the Scottish people, if they vote for separation, the result is their out of imagination. Federal government of UK has the authority to dismiss the facilities which people are enjoying now. People do not get pension in the old age and moreover the glory of UK passport will be no more on their hand while travelling all over the world. He further more warns that even the monetary system will be different as Scotland should print different notes if this state gets separated.

Pathos is another prominently used rhetorical tool in this speech. Cameron brings references of various veterans who contributed in the history and did their job neither being the people of Scotland nor other states but as a citizen of Britain. He states, "It's only become Great Britain because of the greatness of Scotland. Because of the thinkers, writers, artists, leaders, soldiers, inventors who have made this country what it is" (Cameron). He brings references of various scholars who belong to Scotland to make feel Scottish people are the proud of Britain. Pathos is according to Mark Garrett Longaker and Jeffrey Walker, "the emotion of the audience. This mood or feeling motivates the audience to believe or do something. It is often said that pathos— desire, fear, love, and so on— moves a person to take action. (46). Cameron attempts to create the sense of belonging by bringing the references of those Scottish people who have significant role in the process of nation building. He gives their deserving respect in order to involve them in support his argument.

Cameron talks about the significance of British values in all over the world and appeals emotionally not to neglect this identity. He states, "And you know what makes us truly great? It's not our economic might or military prowess – it's our values. British values. Fairness. The glory of particular nation touches the heart of

each and every person living on that particular country” (Cameron). When Cameron feels the necessity to make his people feel united, he brings the matter of nationality, British value, British culture and the democratic practice which Britain is enjoying for centuries. Emotional appeal connects heart of the speaker and audience. Cameron roars, “Scotland’s identity is already strong, strong Scottish culture, strong Scottish arts, a strong Church of Scotland and in the last 15 years you have built a strong Scottish Parliament not a fleeting institution but a permanent one. So the vote on Thursday is not about whether Scotland is a nation” (Cameron). He shows the freedom that Scottish people have; he suggests to neglect the argument of the people who are claiming for the separate and independent Scotland.

Ethos and pathos have supported fully to Cameron in order to share his political message. Cameron tries on the fullest volume of his oral capacity, making a balance of all tiers of rhetorical tools. The Scholar, SZYMON WRÓBEL, mentions the ideas of Aristotle: “rhetoric is the very art of politics. It is in his work that we find three modes of persuasion: the first kind depending on the character of the speaker, the second kind on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind, and only the third kind being that of providing proof”(409). Aristotle shows the significance of three tools in the arena of rhetoric and his ideas of persuasion are all implemented in the speech of Scotland referendum.

Cameron has used these all possible tools of rhetoric to persuade his audience. At first, he has used power of ethos assimilating with nationalism. His powerful words, together with the feeling of patriotism encourage people of Scotland to vote in the side of ‘stay.’ He expresses that voting for separation means country is going to be separated, and it means marking a separate future destination having a separate future path. Likewise, his use of a word ‘family’ provokes the sense of belonging towards

the people who has prepared the mindset to leave UK. Children are the pillar of nation. When, Cameron shows his concern towards the future generation of his country, it has helped to create an emotional attachment between ruler and common people of country.

Successful politicians are always capable of combining rhetoric with spoken words to convey their political opinions and persuade their audience to accept their ideas. As one of the most renowned politicians in the contemporary world, the British Prime Minister David Cameron is by no means an exception. His language of leadership enjoys worldwide reputation for its powerful communication of political ideology. His oral capability and his rhetorical tone are accepted by the people of Scotland as People gave majority vote for 'No'. It means Cameron became successful to stop his country from being split and he receives the credibility of it as he was the then Prime Minister.

EU referendum is another prominent political event during Cameron's tenure. There are two major arguments that this referendum has offered i.e. continuing EU membership or leaving it. The paper analyzes the speech which was given on June 21, 2016, a day before of EU referendum. This referendum remains important to protect his legacy to continue his position as a Prime Minister and to discard the possible financial loss he observes as a Country head. So, he tries his best to persuade his people to support his side [continuing the membership of EU]. In this speech, he begins with ethical appeal:

"For six years, I've had the responsibility and the honour of being your Prime Minister. And I want to tell you why, doing this job, I feel so strongly that Britain should remain in Europe. "Above all, it's about our economy."It will be stronger if we stay. "It will be weaker if we leave."That's a huge risk to

Britain – to British families; to British jobs – and it's irreversible."There is no going back."And it's also about our national security too. "My first responsibility is to keep you safe. (Cameron)

Cameron attempts to be more credible when he takes the side among two options [continuing membership or withdrawing it]. EU is the economic zone of different twenty- seven countries where there is financial collaboration and mutual co-operation among one another. There is the practice of free trade and free people's movement within the member countries. This provision gives the benefit to any single person or company to perform financial activities within the territory of EU. This provision, on the one hand has provided the assistant to the relatively weak country. On the other hand, country with sound economy has to be suffered with increasing flow of migrants. Britain remains at no exception from this problem. Nevertheless, Cameron claims that Britain is better safer within the EU and he sees financial security within it.

Cameron uses ethical appeal to make understand the consequences of leaving EU. As a head of country, he excavates the financial doom because of voters' wrong decision. Tamar Mshvenieradze illustrates the essence of ethos to persuade audience, "As to the Ethos, it means convincing by the character of an orator (speaker), which leads to persuasion" (9). The presence of available ethical power helps rhetor to persuade the audience. Tamar's words are implemented on Cameron's appeal to his people. Cameron excavates the possible economic predicament of Britain if they remain outside European Union. He warns them that there is chance of losing job opportunity and it increases the rate of unemployment. This condition of unemployment ultimately disturbs the income source of particular family which is



directly related with labor market, trade, tourism, infrastructure development and GDP rate of country.

Cameron believes that EU has provided more security psychologically, economically, and culturally while tackling with different hardships in the history. He mentions the benefit of being a member of EU, "I've seen first-hand, in these dangerous times, how we can better cooperate with our friends and neighbours. How we can share information, track terrorists down and bring them to justice. How, alongside key allies like the French and the Germans, we're more effective at facing down threats and keeping people safe" (Cameron). Terrorism is one of the burning issues as well as the threats to the world and to get rid of this increasing threat, unity among the neighboring countries is the most, according to Cameron.

The significance of Ethos to make rhetorical use is inevitable. Tamar Mshvenieradze emphasizes, "Ethos creates the responsibility and credibility of speaker's lines. Ethos is a style of a speaker by help of which he or she appeals to and tries to attract the attention of audience to earn their faith. Ethos refers to the trustworthiness or credibility of the writer or speaker" (11). Cameron's words are also similar with Tamar's views of ethos. He has a experience of six-year as Prime Minister and he claims that Britain is more powerful and better safer inside the lap of EU. These countries have an experience of hardships like terrorism, economic crisis, wars and epidemics. So, he shows the clear path to his citizen that they can do progress moving together along with surrounding countries not being split. He states: "When we're in these organizations, we become an even bigger force in the world, with a bigger influence in the world. "And in the European Union, with twenty-seven countries behind us, we can take a stronger lead in tackling climate change...fighting disease and povert standing up to Russian aggression" (Cameron). According to

Cameron, Britain has its own impact on the rest of the world and staying within EU, their presence in the world can be even better. Britain can fight with climate change which is one of Significant burning issues, according to Cameron. He is worth to share this message and he is credible to appeal his audience.

Britain has the largest economy among the EU countries. When Cameron feels Britain only can extend market for goods and flourish for that EU is the best option, he advocates to stay applying all possible rhetorical tools. As mentioned already, he at first ethically appeals and he searches for emotional attachment with his audience. According to Christian Kock, “Rhetoric involves persuasion in the variety of its forms. For Aristotle, those forms were *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*: respectively, argument, the virtue of the speaker, and emotion” (320). Kock illustrates that logos, pathos and ethos are prominent forms of persuasion and emotional appeal is the virtue. Cameron has an emotional deliberation too. He breaks an emotional appeal: “These are risks to our families and we shouldn’t take them. In particular, it will be future generations – the apprentices and the graduates starting out in life, the children learning in our schools, those yet to be born – who will be hit hardest” (Cameron). He shows concern towards the family member, children and future generation which help him to make emotional attachment with his audience.

When a leader or executive of the country, expresses the concern towards family member and their future, it definitely creates attachment between two parties [orator and audience]. Cameron believes that upcoming generation feels more secure and should not be worried for job opportunity. Likewise, logos helps rhetor to persuade his audience with reason which makes the argument more strong. Tamer Mshvenieradze states, “Logos is a very important for argumentative judgment as one of the dimensions of persuasion. Logos means persuading by the use of reasoning

which includes critical cognition, analytical skills, good memory, and purposeful behavior, which is the most important argumentation” (1). Appeal with critical analysis and with statistics is more plausible. Cameron applies this technique while delivering his speech. He mentions: “At the heart of that is the Single Market – 500 million customers on our doorstep...a source of so many jobs, so much trade, and such a wealth of opportunity for our young people” (Cameron). The statistical appearance of Cameron in this speech, has worked as another break to make appeal on his side.

In the speech of referendum, we can see a variation in the use of rhetorical tools. Ethos and pathos are dominantly used tools which are safeguard for his words and are weapon to create persuasive tone. Cameron, knowing these facts of leaving the EU heavily sticks on not to leave its membership. Céline-Agathe Caro and et al, analyzing the Cameron’s position of EU referendum mention: “Cameron is well aware that economically Great Britain has no viable alternative to the EU, which is its biggest market. As well as facing decreased access to the EU single market, the rules of which the UK would no longer hold sway over,<sup>5</sup> it would also lose out on the EU’s international economic relations”(3). Cameron does not seem to leave EU and with this he wants to preserve UK’s single market in the arena of EU and its international partnership. So, he requests to gain benefit from EU where he makes several appeals using his rhetorical understanding.

Cameron’s tenureship has witnessed various hardships and both referendums are the major part of them. In those hard times, he tries his best to co-operate with people and he uses his best possible oral skills to make them stand in his side on the both referendums. Ethical and emotional appeals are dominant in his speeches among other types of rhetorical tools. If we analyze more deeply, pathos is more dominantly

used in Scotland speech and Ethos is more in EU speech. He creates the sentiment of nationalism, deeds of veteran national figures and British values which connect audience emotionally in Scotland speech. Cameron's experience of being the Prime Minister is highly dominant to make feel them his words are in country's favor in EU speech. It means ethical appeal is more dominantly used in speech related to EU referendum.

This paper also analyzes speech which was given during election campaign of 2010 general election. Elections are more like examinations for representatives and they are evaluated regarding their performances including their ideology and their capacity to make people understand who really they are. Leader should sound even more persuasive during election and to do so their selection of words should be wise which help to make their argument strong. Cameron, in this speech uses the language which is decorated with sense of hopefulness. Emotional appeal is dominant in the speech which is mixed up with the feeling of hope and change. This speech became one of the weapons to make Cameron win the election and it opened the door for him to be a Prime Minister.

Politicians always need to be wise while choosing words especially in election; it is because their language is the medium to share their ideas and plans. Cameron, from the beginning asserts that his party is different than other's and it works for people's welfare if it wins. He states:

We can start Friday with a new Government that deals with the difficult decisions but takes people with us. We can be a Government that doesn't duck tough choices but always remembers we're all in this together. We can be a Government that always remembers we serve the people, we're the servants of the people we are never their masters and this if we are elected we will never,

ever forget. I want a Government that acts in the national interest, we've had so much of partisan political interest under this Government. I want us to be different. (Cameron)

Cameron imagines about the new government under his leadership if people support him in the election. He also gives a space of ownership where he uses the term togetherness. He searches for emotional appeal and says his team always remembers if they give the chance to serve them. If they get elected they work as a servant not as masters. He uses appealing discourse to persuade them. According to Tamar, "Pre-election campaign discourse differs from other discourses by the following: during pre-election periods the discourses of politicians and the disposition of their personality are the subjects of the greatest attention... Politician has as more chance to win elections as argumentative and persuasive is his/her discourse" (2). During election periods, Cameron's concern towards the daily life of people is his attempt of persuasion.

Here, Tamar's words are similar in comparison with what Cameron says during 2010 general election campaign. Cameron draws himself as a package which is filled up the sense of 'change.' He discloses his further plans in front of them to make them aware that he is stood there with all necessary visions for next five years. Human being always fights for changes. Development means Positive and progressive changes in the society. There should be visionary and farsighted government to institutionalize the change in the particular country. Cameron believes that government should walk along with people and their needs which help to sustain democracy. His words which are delivered in this speech are emotional related with the day to day needs of people. He wants them to join in the journey of change and this change is going to last for generations to generations. He mentions that this

reformation is only possible if he gets an opportunity to lead the government. In election, representatives always attempt to prove that they are different than their opponent and for that they decorate themselves with various juicy dreams on the way to voters' doors'. Here, Cameron is no exception and he has taken a favor of emotional appeal to do so.

Cameron in the speech of 2010 general election campaign attempts to motivate them with his capacity to persuade people. He assures that Britain needs reformations in ruling system for this he is ready to take the responsibility. He mentions, "We need change tomorrow because if we don't get change we're stuck with more of the same. We need change tomorrow to get our economy moving, to mend our broken society, to clean up our messy politics. So let's tell everyone in our country what do we need tomorrow, change. That's what we need" (Cameron). He makes his argument strong by adding additional tools. He exaggerates the term 'change' where he repeatedly uses it. Cameron also takes the support of metaphor to make his argument strong. According to Christian Kock, "Rhetoric can also involve vivid metaphors, creative interpretation of evidence, arresting figures of speech, irony, humor, exaggeration, gestures, performance, and dramaturgy, not all of which fit neatly into the Aristotelian categories" (320). Kock, in the above mentioned lines, talks about additional issues which help to make rhetor's argument strong.

There should be strong argument to persuade people. Specially, in the time of election representatives seem wise to select the words to deliver their speeches. They promise their voters that they are ready to reform all the problems and malpractices of the society if they get the chance to be in decision making or main stream of the country. Cameron shows all the possible consequences if people choose another party i.e. Liberal Democrats. Cameron here sounds as if he is the best among other

representatives. So, he uses additional rhetorical tools. According to him, great reformation is necessary in the every aspects of British society for that he repeatedly uses the term ‘change’. Cameron elaborates the then political scenario and names it as a messy politics. Thus, Cameron also uses additional rhetorical tools to make his argument more strong which he ultimately needs to gain more votes to win the general election of 2010. Nevertheless, as Cameron bears emotional attachment dominantly in the speech, emotional appeal seems more dominantly used rhetorical tool in this speech.

Cameron became Prime Minister for two periods for Britain. The paper analyzes two speeches related to general election viz the speech related to 2010 election and the speech related to the election of 2015. In the second speech, we can find logical appeal as a major tool of persuasion for Cameron. As executive head of the country he also utilizes the benefit of his position. In the beginning of the speech, he uses ethical power in the speech of manifesto speech. He declares:

We are the party of working people, offering you security at every stage of your life. If you’re a young person looking for training. If you’re looking for a good job.If you want to buy your own home. If you’re raising a family and need help with childcare. Or a great school place for your child.If you fall ill, and need to rely on our NHS. If you are reaching retirement, and want real security...we are there for you – offering security at every stage of your life...yes, the Conservative Party – the real party of working people in our country today. (Cameron)

Cameron, as a leader of Conservative party and Prime Minister of country, is reliable person to show concern about the basic need and future of people of his country.

Political parties decorate their manifestos with various fantasies but how voters

perceive their agenda is the subject to concern. Regarding Cameron's promises in the manifesto, there are some bases to believe as he has used the benefits of his character of Prime Minister and leader of his party which we define as ethical appeal. It seems, he is focused to the desire of audience. M. Jimmie Killingsworth brings reference of kinneavy which recommends additional revised form of persuasion, "Every element (author, audience, world, and text) is engaged in every communication, he argues, but an emphasis on one element will produce a different kind of discourse" ( 251) .

Author can bring variation on different dimensions of rhetorical appeals regarding necessity of situations. Killingsworth further mentions that "Author-oriented discourse is expressive, audience-focused discourse is persuasive, reality-oriented discourse is objective, and text-oriented discourse is artistic" (251). Author gives focus on particular area of rhetorical while creating persuasive tone.

Cameron uses audience-focused discourse to make his speech more persuasive. He assures that his party is for each and every generation of British society to secure their future and help in the time of need. If people are jobless or are searching for training, he says, his government is always there to help. He requests them not to worry regarding the education of children and their future. He equally makes a promise to elderly people and ill people as there is the provision of National Health Service for them. There is not only provision of job and training for young people he says, his party also thinks after the retirement. In this way, he depicts his party as a life guard of British society and especially for working class family. So, Cameron attempts to win the heart of voters addressing the problems of their hearts. It means, Cameron here, uses audience oriented appeal which he finds easy way to persuade his voters.

As a Prime Minister or already elected representative Cameron, might have



thought that he should convey the achievements of his previous tenure, he takes the help of logical appeal. So, he gathers various evidences to make known his previously done deeds and to share his upcoming plans. Logical appeal is a form of reason which makes the argumentation more reliable. In the manifestation speech of 2015 general election, he logically appeals, “There’s £8billion more a year for our NHS – so it’s there for your family – and there 7 days a week. Rail fares are frozen for five years. 500 new Free Schools are delivered. And 200,000 Starter Homes are built... That’s 1.3 million extra families – a whole new generation given the security of a home (8). He makes his presence worthy in front of people by presenting factual evidence. According to Longaker and Walker, “Logos is the reasoning itself—in direct argumentation, it is the stated reason or reasons and /or evidence given in support of a conclusion” (47). Logos helps to draw the particular conclusion by providing data, facts and statics which are taken as reliable rhetorical tools.

During the election campaign of 2015 general election, Cameron tries to substantiate his plans and projects which he had generated during his first term as a Prime Minister to make improvements in the British society. He appeals logically his voters to give another opportunity to implement his previously formed plans. Conservative party has been depicted as a working class family in his words. The basic rights of human beings like education, shelter and health are given more priority. He declares that £8billion more is an estimated amount to spend for NHS which means there is great concern for human health in the mind of Conservatives. Education, too is in priority list, as it is said that 500 new schools are about to open. Likewise, Shelter is another opportunity to win voters’ heart where he states that two hundred thousand new houses are built for more than one millions family. With these factual evidences, Cameron directly advocates that his party and he personally have

great concern with real problems of people who desperately want it to implement. So, Cameron seems to win the heart of people at any cost and he dominantly uses logos in this speech.

The paper also analyzes the speech which is related to Cameron's farewell as a Prime Minister. His words, in the speech of farewell create emotional atmosphere. Emotional words are used deliberately to mention rhetor's achievements in his tenure. Cameron recalls his previous achievements, "I think of the hard-working families, paying lower taxes and getting higher wages because of the first ever National Living Wage." "I think of the children who were languishing in the care system and have now been adopted by loving families. "I think of the parents who are now able to send their children to Good and Outstanding school" (Cameron). Cameron's remembrance to various people, who are benefited from his services, bears an emotional appeal to believe him as successful Prime Minister. Rhetor can use emotional appeal to make people involve in action. Katrin Pahl states that, "Pathos clearly has two advantages over the figure of the heart: because it calls for action, it escapes Hegel's critique of mere interiority; and in that it takes a clear position, it integrates emotionality with rationality" (2). Pathos provides space to share our rational issues to audience.

In Cameron's speeches, particular rhetorical tool has been used dominantly with particular objective. Pathos is one of the dominantly used rhetorical tools in this speech. The major motto of using this rhetorical tool is to disseminate rhetor's rational idea mixing with emotional appeal. Cameron remembers hard-working families who now pay low tax because of the policy of his government. He also thinks of children who are benefited of child care system and children who are going schools and they previously had hardships to pay school's payment. By recalling these achievements, Cameron ultimately wants to prove that his journey from party leader to Prime

Minster has been successful and this is how he should be perceived by British society. Kairos is another tool which has been used by rhetor very wisely. In this emotional circumstance of farewell, he has mentioned a brief discourse of his achievement. Although, this speech is decorated with emotional appeal to make people understand Cameron's contribution as a Prime Minister.

Rhetor's language should be clear, correct and appropriate which creates more impact to audience and it helps speaker sound better persuasive as well. "Is the rhetor's language clear, correct, appropriate, and distinctive? In what ways and what effects?" Longaker and Walker question (138). These questions indirectly provoke the essence of rhetor's usage of words and phrases which should be clearly, mentioned to the audience. Longaker and Walker further mention, "The rhetor speaks efficiently to the audience in a language that they are likely to understand" (139). Cameron in the speech of Scotland referendum directly mentions the issues of pension, UK Passport, and the British Value and issues related to people's daily life. Cameron, by bringing the reference of these phrases, he clearly states with an emotional appeal, Scotland never can progress by living UK and the future of Scottish people is better inside the UK and they are better together. So, the clear proposition of Cameron's language has attachment with emotional appeal which is dominantly used in the speech.

Language of rhetor not only should be clear and correct but also should be appropriate to the rhetorical situation to sound persuasive. Longaker and Walker mention, "Formal language in an informal situation is usually inappropriate; so is informal language in a formal situation" (140). Rhetor always should be aware to choose the form of language by assessing the rhetorical situation. In the speech related to EU referendum, Cameron raises the negative consequence of leaving EU. In that speech, he uses formal language which gives the symbol of executive head and it

ultimately brings the ethical appeal. Cameron, as Prime Minister raises the issue of trade loss, loss of employment opportunity, fear of terrorism and climate change in the speech of EU referendum. In this speech, ethos is prevalent.

Cameron in the speech related to General election 2010, clearly mentions there is necessity of change it means change in the sector of education, health, security and employment generation. So Cameron provokes his ideas clearly and gives more priority to pathos where he directly links his upcoming plans with people's daily life and future generation. Likewise, in the speech of 2015 general election, Cameron sounds clear, appropriate and correct. In this election, he brings logical evidences of £8 billion more a year for our NHS, 200,000 starter homes and 500 new free schools. By bringing these references, Cameron makes more accurate argument to persuade his audience and hence, this paper claims that logos is dominant in the speech of general election 2015. Finally in the speech farewell, Cameron sounds confident to prove his tenureship successful by choosing clear and appropriate words. In the speech, he remembers, working class family, people who got benefit of NHS, children in Childcare home and old age people. Cameron by doing so, justifies his career as successful and his uses of ethical appeal assists to do so and thus pathos is dominant in the speech of farewell.

Rhetoric creates a persuasive tone which is inevitable for author or speaker to share their ideas. In this modern era too, the rhetoric has been used widely in the arena of literature and politics. Authors use this term to convey their ideas of particular subject in persuasive tone. In political arena, rhetorical tools always have been a weapon to political leaders to make their argument persuasive while dealing with different political hardships. In this century people are educated and they have more political consciousness, political leader should be wise while choosing the words and

particular rhetorical tool. As a prominent leader of this century, David Cameron uses the subject of nationalism, national integrity, concern of people's daily necessity and feeling of common of people to create persuasive environment. In this modern age, politicians should be able to understand people's feeling and they should apply particular rhetorical tool to create persuasive discourse to win the heart of people.

In the five different speeches, there are different situations which could have been the challenging task for Cameron to create persuasive environment if he had not brought different rhetorical tools. Wherever Cameron goes ethos automatically becomes the part of his argument but he very tactfully forms his discourse to win the heart of people. Cameron's speeches as the primary texts are related journey as the leader of the Conservative party, Prime Minister and farewell from political life. Cameron's language is the part of his success and failure in different hardships. So, rhetorical tools are significant tools to make discourse, to present ideas in front of people and are the weapons to sharpen the political career of Cameron. Hence, politics and rhetoric share very close relationship and influence each other in today's political world.

To sum up, either of the rhetorical tools is dominantly used based in the situation in Cameron's speeches. It means, there is shift or variation of rhetorical tools in his selected five speeches and he does so to create persuasive tone and ultimately to make people believe in his appeal. In the speech of Scotland referendum, he creates a feeling of nationalism and patriotism by using emotional words which are ultimately to protect Scotland being split from UK. Likewise, in the speech of EU referendum, ethos imparts Cameron's words to create a discourse which provokes to continue the membership of EU. During election, he brings new idea to persuade his voters. Cameron assimilates the slogan of change with emotional appeal in the speech of

general election of 2010. Logical appeal is widely used in the speech of general election of 2015. He comprises his significant achievements from the beginning as leader to Prime Minister and presents upcoming plans statistically. Finally, in the speech of farewell, Cameron uses emotional tone to make people perceive his political career as a successful journey in the history of British society.

## Works Cited

- Abizadeh, Arash. "The Passions of the Wise: 'Phronêsis', Rhetoric, and Aristotle's Passionate Practical Deliberation." *The Review of Metaphysics*, vol. 56, no. 2, 2002, pp. 267–296. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/20131817](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20131817).
- Aristotle. *Rhetoric*. Translated by W. Rhys Roberts. The Modern Library, 1954.
- Ascherson, Neal. "Scottish Independence Is Inevitable." *NEWYORK TIMES*, 18 July. 2014, [www.nytimes.com/2014/07/20/opinion/sunday/The-Independence-Referendum-Is-a-Test-of-Scotlands-Confidence.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/20/opinion/sunday/The-Independence-Referendum-Is-a-Test-of-Scotlands-Confidence.html).
- Bitzer, Lloyd F. "The Rhetorical Situation." *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, vol. 25, 1992, pp. 1–14. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/40237697](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40237697).
- Brumfield, Ben. "Why the Election Matters the Rest of the World." *CNN*, 8 May 2015, [www.edition.cnn.com/2015/05/08/europe/uk-elections-global-effects/index.html](http://www.edition.cnn.com/2015/05/08/europe/uk-elections-global-effects/index.html).
- Caro, Céline-Agathe, et al. "The UK'S EU Referendum What Can the EU Do to Prevent a Brexit?" Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2015, *JSTOR*. [www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10097](http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10097).
- Cameron, David. "EU referendum: Full transcript of David Cameron's last-ditch plea for Britain to Remain." *Independent*, 21 June 2016. [www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-brexit-latest-live-david-cameron-full-speech-remain-leave-a7093426.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-brexit-latest-live-david-cameron-full-speech-remain-leave-a7093426.html).
- - -. "Scottish independence: Full text of David Cameron's 'no going back' speech." *Independent*, 16 September 2014.

independence-full-text-of-david-camerons-no-going-back-speech-9735902.html.

- - -. “David Cameron manifesto speech in full.” Politics. Co. UK. 14 April 2015.

<https://www.politics.co.uk/comment-analysis/2015/04/14/david-cameron-manifesto-speech-in-full>.

- - -. “David Cameron’s farewell speech: full text.” *The Spectator*. 13 July 2016.

<https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/david-cameron-s-farewell-speech-full-text>

- - -. “David Cameron: We need change so together we can build a stronger, better country.” *SayIt*. 5 May 2010. <https://sayit.mysociety.org/about/community>

Connors, Robert J. “The Differences between Speech and Writing: Ethos, Pathos, and Logos.” *College Composition and Communication*, vol. 30, no. 3, 1979, pp. 285–290. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/356398](http://www.jstor.org/stable/356398).

Collins, Nick. “David Cameron Speech: the Prime Minister’s Language Analyzed.” *The Telegraph*, 6 Oct.2010,

[www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/davidcameron/8046692/DavidCameron-speech-the-Prime-Ministers-language-analysed.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/davidcameron/8046692/DavidCameron-speech-the-Prime-Ministers-language-analysed.html).

Ebrahimi, Helia. “David Cameron Speech: Analysis.” *CNBC*, 19 Sept. 2014, [www.cnb.com/video/2014/09/19/david-cameron-speech-analysis.html](http://www.cnb.com/video/2014/09/19/david-cameron-speech-analysis.html)

Killingsworth, M. Jimmie. “Rhetorical Appeals: A Revision.” *Rhetoric Review*, vol. 24, no. 3, 2005, pp. 249–263. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/20176660](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20176660).

Kock Christian. “Defining Rhetorical Argumentation.” *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, vol. 46, no. 4, 2013, pp. 437–464. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/phlrrhet.46.4.04](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/phlrrhet.46.4.04) 37.

Longaker, Mark Garrett and Jeffrey Walker. *Rhetorical Analysis: A Brief Guide for Writers*. Pearson Education, 2011.



- Mshvenieradze, Tamar. "Logos Ethos and Pathos in Political Discourse." *The Practice in Language Studies*, vol. 3, no. 11, pp. 9-11, November 2013.
- Oakly, Robin. "Opinion: Grading David Cameron's Time as Prime Minister." *CNN*, 13 July 2016, [www.edition.cnn.com/2016/07/12/opinions/uk-david-cameron-oakley/index.html](http://www.edition.cnn.com/2016/07/12/opinions/uk-david-cameron-oakley/index.html).
- Padmanabhan, Leala. "Ten Things we Learned about David Cameron." *BBC Radio*, [www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/1JVRhXh3QmVSYL48stwFBVQ/ten-things-we-learned-about-david-cameron](http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/1JVRhXh3QmVSYL48stwFBVQ/ten-things-we-learned-about-david-cameron).
- Robinson, Nick. "Analysis: David Cameron's 'Agonising Immigration Speech'" *BBC*, 28 Nov. 2014, [www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-30241251](http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-30241251).
- Senior, Jennifer. "Review: In 'The Confidence Game' by Maria Konikova, the Siren Call of the Swindler". *The New York Times*, 14 Jan. 2016, [www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/books/review-in-the-confidence-game-by-maria-konnikova-the-siren-call-of-the-swindler.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/15/books/review-in-the-confidence-game-by-maria-konnikova-the-siren-call-of-the-swindler.html). 17 Sep. 2020.
- Stanley, Timothy. "What U.S. Conservatives can learn from David Cameron." *CNN*, 11 May 2015, [www.edition.cnn.com/2015/05/10/opinions/stanley-lessons-us-cameron-victory/index.html](http://www.edition.cnn.com/2015/05/10/opinions/stanley-lessons-us-cameron-victory/index.html).
- WRÓBEL, SZYMON. "Logos, Ethos, Pathos. Classical Rhetoric Revisited." *Polish Sociological Review*, No. 191, 2015, pp. 40-421. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/44113896](http://www.jstor.org/stable/44113896).
- Yack, Bernard. "Rhetoric and Public Reasoning: An Aristotelian Understanding of Political Deliberation." *Political Theory*, vol. 34, no. 4, 2006, pp. 417–438. *JSTOR*, [www.jstor.org/stable/20452473](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20452473).

ZhiYong, Dai. "Logo, pathos and Ethos in David Cameron's Political Speech: A Rhetorical Analysis." *KKU International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 1-12, Aug. 2016. *KKU*, [tci.thaijo.org/index.php/KKUIJ/article/download/86082/68395/](http://tci.thaijo.org/index.php/KKUIJ/article/download/86082/68395/)