

A CONTEMPORARY EXAMINATION OF DEMAGOGIC TECHNIQUES:
SELECTED SPEECHES FROM THE 2008 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Jack J. Valenti

School of Communication

University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

By

Morgan Ash

December 2010

**A CONTEMPORARY EXAMINATION OF DEMAGOGIC TECHNIQUES:
SELECTED SPEECHES FROM THE 2008 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN**

An Abstract of a Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Jack J. Valenti

School of Communication

University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

By

Morgan Ash

December 2010

A new media landscape exemplified by online political news media and the 24-hour news cycle has created a new context for political discourse, and the resurgence in demagoguery scholarship reflects a shared desire to characterize the effectiveness and evolution of demagoguery in this context. The purpose of the current study is to gather information on the presence of demagoguery in contemporary United States political campaigns, focusing on the 2008 presidential campaign between Republican candidate John McCain and Democratic candidate Barack Obama. The study will apply Martha Haun's (1971) theory of demagoguery, which builds a model in which to analyze the rhetoric of individuals based on their psychology, their historical context and the sociological factors characteristic of demagogues. Societal contexts which favored the rise of historically significant demagogues were compared with the context faced by the 2008 candidates, and several similarities were identified between past and present. A content analysis of the candidates' speeches showed that both candidates' speeches contained demagogic techniques, and distinct patterns of demagogic technique use by each candidate revealed very different rhetorical strategies.

This thesis would not, and could not, have been completed
Without my two generous, genius brothers, Ryan and Elliott
And, of course, Daddy, Mama, Emily and Bonnie
I hope someday I can repay you all.
And in loving memory of Annabelle.

Table of Contents

Chapter One – Introduction.....	1
Context.....	4
Haun’s Theory of Demagoguery.....	7
Significance/Justification.....	8
Chapter Two – Literature Review.....	10
Profile of a Demagogue.....	11
Lust for power.....	12
Violation of ethical standards.....	13
Hypocrisy & deceit.....	14
Fanaticism.....	15
Shrewdness.....	16
Disregard for democratic principles.....	17
Anti-intellectualism.....	18
Historical Manifestations.....	19
The democratic franchise.....	20
The campaign of the demagogue.....	21
The propaganda of the demagogue.....	25
Defining propaganda.....	25
Chapter Three – Methodology.....	28
Research Questions.....	29
Methodology.....	30
Table 1: Coding for Rubric for assessing Demagogic Techniques.....	33
Chapter Four – Results.....	38
Haun’s Theory of Demagoguery.....	38
Historical Manifestations.....	38
Demagogic Techniques.....	44
Chapter Five – Discussion.....	55
Implications.....	57
Limitations.....	59
Conclusion.....	60
Tables.....	61
Table 2: Demagogic Technique Codes.....	62
Table 3. Barack Obama Content Analysis Results.....	63
Table 4. John McCain Content Analysis Results.....	65
Table 5. Pie Chart.....	67
Table 6. Bar Graph.....	69
References.....	70

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Changes in ethical communication practices and evolving communication technologies have led researchers to acknowledge the pertinence of demagoguery—an historically significant but recently neglected concept in communications studies – to political campaigns in the modern era (Acter, 2004; Hogan & Tell, 2006; Roberts-Miller, 2005). Demagoguery specifically refers to a politician who rises to power by exploiting “popular prejudices and false claims and promises in order to gain power” (*Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, 2010). Luthin (1954) described a demagogue as:

A politician skilled in oratory, flattery, and invective; evasive in discussing vital issues; promising everything to everybody; appealing to the passions rather than the reason of the public; and arousing racial, religious, and class prejudices -- a man whose lust for power without recourse to principle leads him to seek to become a master of the masses. (p. 3).

Roberts-Miller (2005), Goldzwig (2006), and Hogan and Tell (2006) call for new investigations into demagoguery, as such investigations have languished for several decades outside of communications scholarship. Darsey (2006) describes the concept’s shifting academic fortunes: Demagoguery was once “hot and fresh in the fifties and sixties, but grew faint in the seventies, and is today nearly cold” (p. 463). Roberts-Miller (2005) urges a “renewed interest on the part of rhetoric teachers, theorists, and critics in the topic of demagoguery” (p. 460). By examining different conceptualizations of

demagoguery, both political and rhetorical, we can seek to distinguish and understand positive and negative political discourse; demagoguery becomes a technical communication-science term in addition to its vernacular usage as a political slur (Hogan and Tell, 2006). Reviewing such efforts, Goldzwig (2006) reports:

...current ongoing attempts to understand folks who have been labeled by scholars and publics alike as ‘demagogues’ are helping us realize new ways of interpreting such rhetors, advancing our knowledge of oppositional rhetorics and, ultimately, our understanding of the nuances of our emerging rhetorical democracy. (p. 471).

The resurgence in scholarly efforts to define and interpret demagoguery with respect to the current political context reflects a shared desire for advances in our understanding of political discourse in the digital age (Acter, 2004; Gunn, 2007; Hogan and Tell, 2006; Roberts-Miller, 2005).

Political campaigners of the digital age have completely different tools at their disposal (Davisson, 2009; Gordon-Murnane, 2008; Shannon, 2007). The internet, for example, has generated multiple avenues to reach vast international audiences in moments (Kaid, 2003). Websites like *YouTube* allow candidates to go around the sound bite-prone mainstream media news filter and connect directly with potential voters (Kaid, 2003). In previous decades, propagation of campaign messages depended on mainstream media outlets, which inevitably led to a distortion of those messages. “The internet has changed and is changing politics and policy” (Shannon, 2007).

Communication scholars have become particularly interested in the role of demagogues in what political scientists call “deliberative democracy” (Hogan & Tell, 2006; Nichols, 2004; Roberts-Miller, 2005). Deliberative democracy refers to a

government by enlightened consensus derived by rational public deliberation on social problems (Bessette, 1980). Nichols (2004) offers a more pragmatic conception, defining deliberative democracy as the effort to balance consensus decision-making with plurality of opinions in contemporary representative democracies (p. 67-68). Hogan and Tell (2006), meanwhile, identify deliberative democracy with those “rules of discursive engagement” that best facilitate “civil and productive” political discourse and decision-making (p. 479). The operative American democracy, in contrast, is based in “the assumption that individuals vote their private preferences and group interests and seek to maximize their individual utilities; in effect they act like economic agents removed to a different forum” (Freeman, 2000, p. 372). In this rational-choice theory of democracy, also known as public choice theory or pragmatic democracy (Posner, 2003), legislation is passed by simple plurality of votes, with deliberation playing a limited or nonexistent role. In a deliberative democracy, legislation is passed after “public deliberation of the citizenry” (Nichols, 2004, p. 68).

If democratic processes are susceptible to manipulation by demagogues, then the long-term health of deliberative democracies may be endangered (Nichols, 2004). Patricia Roberts-Miller (2005) fears that deliberative democracy is likely to invite demagogic discourse for two reasons: first, any rules defining effective, fair discourse are insufficient, and second, any rules in place often “exclude already marginalized groups” (p. 459). Hogan and Tell (2006) agree that a deliberative democracy opens the door to demagoguery as it attempts to acknowledge activist discourse. This fear is far from new, however: Alexander Hamilton expressed fears that “too much ‘populism’ [was]

vulnerable to demagoguery” (Nichols, 2004, p. 67). These fears are behind the renewed interest in demagoguery.

Goldzwig (2006) uses African American rhetoric as an example of marginalized groups whose discourse can be described as demagogic by white audiences, although “those judgments are not necessarily shared by black audiences” (p. 472). Accounting for what Goldzwig (2006) calls “culture-specific address,” political communication scholars should identify “text, context, cultural contract, and norms for performance” when “determining the quality, value, and ethicality of discursive practices” (p. 472). Still, it is important to keep in mind the cultural differences and norms in audiences of demagogic rhetoric. For example, Williams (1960) critiques the widespread description of former Louisiana governor Huey P. Long as a demagogue, since Louisiana citizens “seem to accept [corruption] as a necessary concomitant of political life, and, on occasion, even to delight in it” (p. 4).

Context

Today, candidates' words and actions can be recorded on a cell phone, replayed on *YouTube*, critiqued by bloggers, and forwarded to the masses with a single click of a mouse. Nichols (2004) writes that “[n]ew technical and administrative politics, evident in the new disciplines of advertising, public relations, and the reflexive sound bite opinions proffered by political spin machines have come to subsume elements of genuine civic discourse” (p. 74). One example of the substantial reach a politician can gain through digital media emerged during the 2008 presidential election, in which the *YouTube* video of Obama’s March 18, 2008 speech on race had been viewed more than four million

times (Talbot, 2008). The multi-channelled context of the internet modifies the way politicians interact with constituents.

The rapid adoption of broadband internet technology has enabled widespread access to media-rich online content, opening the door to online political campaigning (Talbot 2008, p. 78). As the digital age matures, political campaigns have had to step away from the “broadcast-TV model that has dominated American politics since the early 1960s” (Dickinson, 2008, p.36). During the 2008 presidential election, politicians’ success depended on their relationship with new media technologies. The 2008 presidential campaign made history for its amount of televised coverage, and was referred to by some as “the nation’s first two-year election campaign” (Wenger & MacManus, 2009). A record number of candidates from both parties battled for America’s top political post in the primaries that year. Televised debates began airing in 2007, but audience viewership never diminished. The final two Democratic candidates, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, “yielded many more nationally-covered candidate debates during the nomination stage than in the past” (Wenger & MacManus, 2009). Yet, a more drastic growth in political exchange occurred online. The Pew Internet & American Life Project survey reports that online political activities during the 2008 election hit a historic milestone. The 2008 election cycle marked the first time “more than half the voting-age population used the internet to connect to the political process during an election cycle” (Smith, 2009, p. 3). The internet “has been hailed as a tool to reinvigorate the democratic process ... allow[ing] citizens to directly connect with each other and to contact government officials” (Kaye & Johnson, 2002, p. 55). It has become the liaison between government and its citizens; facilitating “transparency and

accountability in our government leaders and our government institutions” (Gordon-Murnane, 2008, p. 41).

Historically, researchers have had to reevaluate communication theories when new media technologies become the norm. New communication technologies have traditionally been the subject of both positive and negative mythologies (Achter, 2004). During the mid-20th century, television was applauded for bringing the audience closer to the political arena. On the other hand, it was feared for being too “invasive;” plus, television’s audiences craved what is considered entertaining rather than political programming (Achter, 2004, p. 308). Today, the need to reevaluate preexisting theories has become necessary as the internet replaces older media.

For a demagogue, the arrival of the modern media age and the internet implies easier access to a national audience. Achter (2004) compares this to Senator Joe McCarthy’s rise during the early days of television. As many of the Army-McCarthy hearings were televised, “discussions about ‘proper journalism’... helped to establish norms and parameters for news coverage” (p. 309). An outcome of those discussions included the equal time doctrine, which intended to cut down the amount of air-time demagogues like McCarthy had to influence the public. Technological advancement and the 24-hour news cycle have provided new tools for the demagogue to win over his or her constituents. This situation explains the need for further investigation into the role of demagoguery in modern political campaigns. As any technology has been introduced to society it has also come with implications for the society. The impact of digital technologies has been both positive and negative (Davisson, 2009).

Haun's Theory of Demagoguery

Haun's (1971) theory of demagoguery addresses the psychological nature, historical manifestations, and sociological factors perceived as demagogic. Demagogues are politicians who understand and use the prejudices of the masses to gain power (Neumann, 1938). This paper addresses the place of the demagogue in the modern media age by applying Haun's theory of demagoguery to contemporary political candidates, specifically to the speeches of the 2008 Republican and Democratic candidates for president.

Sigmund Neumann (1938) believed that research pertaining to “a catalogue of the propaganda methods is a food guide to an understanding of the modern demagogue, of his driving forces, his appeal and his real danger” (p. 492). Haun (1971) developed “a workable theory of demagoguery containing a set of criteria against which any speaker may be evaluated” (p. 4). The theory she contributed is based on the “psychological nature of the demagogue,” the historical context surrounding past demagogues, and “affective sociological factors pertaining to demagoguery” (Haun, 1971, p. 8). Based on the theory's proposed criteria, Haun developed and implemented a content-based measurement instrument to evaluate selected political speeches by George Wallace during his 1968 presidential campaign, and to compare the context in which Wallace worked to that of historically significant instances of demagogues.

By utilizing Haun's (1971) theory of demagoguery and its “workable set of criteria” to analyze digital-age political discourse during the 2008 presidential campaign, this thesis will address the theory's relevance to modern-era rhetoric and offer ideas for how the theory may be used in future demagoguery research.

Significance/Justification

Political candidates must adapt their communication styles based on the media context of their era. Their ability to evolve their communication approach determines their effectiveness in speaking to their constituents. Demagoguery, once a pertinent topic of political communication scholars during the 20th century, has become less prominent in recent decades. Goldzwig (2006), nevertheless, believes “in the long run... such studies [concerning demagoguery] enrich our understanding of the complexity for democratic discourse in the United States” (p. 474).

Examining the 2008 presidential campaign as a setting for the adapted political communication techniques is the starting point for the present research. “Contemporary technology is capable of instantaneous transmission of messages around the world” and this suggests an avenue for which demagogues can find new audiences (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2005, p. 14). Presidential candidates in the digital age must tailor every speech to a national audience. Even when the campaign trail leads them to smaller towns, candidates know their face, voice and words can be heard worldwide in a matter of seconds, thanks to YouTube, CNN News, and their own campaign websites. Voters interested in the candidate's latest campaign stop can check their favorite website to find up-to-date content.

With the advent of the digital age, citizens have instantaneous access to politics and government (Kaid, 2003). Demagogues are especially successful “when [they] have a foundation of democracy upon which to build,” and our growing deliberative democracy may be the fertile ground they need to grow (Gustainis, 1989, p. 156). The objective of a digital-age application of Haun's (1971) theory of demagoguery is to

understand whether older methods of political communication are still relevant despite drastic changes in the media context. See chapter three for an expanded method section.

In the past, the label “demagogue” was often treated as a judgment, usually pejorative (Clark, 1983; Darsey, 2006; Gustainis, 1989). According to Clark (1983), the term demagogue is a label “applied by one group operating from certain ideological assumptions to leading advocates of another group differently disposed” (p. 423). Goldzwig (2006) encourages “giving voice to new dimensions of rhetorical activity that have been written off as inappropriate or anathema” (p. 476). By looking at demagoguery through a different lens, we might borrow the tools of the demagogue in less harmful sections of the public, or at least become more proficient in identifying digital-age demagoguery and taking steps to neutralize it. Scholars have struggled in just defining demagoguery, but as Jowett & O’Donnell (2006) suggest: “resistance to definitions is troublesome because we believe that to analyze propaganda, one needs to identify it” (p. 4). This analysis is also true for demagoguery. By reexamining Haun’s (1971) theory we can contribute to a better-defined approach for identifying and analyzing demagogues and demagoguery.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of demagoguery has changed since it was first recognized in the early days of rhetorical philosophy. “Since Aristotle, the demagogue has been described as *a leader of the people* who wins the masses” (Neumann, 1938, p. 487). Over the years, interest in the subject has ebbed and flowed, but defining demagoguery has challenged communication scholars for decades. Gustainis (1989) defines a demagogue as someone who “habitually uses the hallmarks of demagoguery” (p. 155). It is up to communication scholars to define those hallmarks. Twentieth century scholars began to identify demagoguery with the use of propaganda. Lomas (1961), for example, defined a demagogue as one who “seeks to influence public opinion by employing traditional tools of rhetoric with complete indifference to truth... [The demagogue’s] primary motivation is personal gain” (p. 161).

Ethics, morals, and truth do not fare well in the path of a demagogue intent on becoming the leader of the masses. If rights are infringed in the process, it matters little if the demagogic politician stays in power.

Other investigators portray the demagogue as selfish manipulator; according to Luthin (1951), “the people, the mob, are regarded by the demagogue, the ‘man of the people,’ not as citizens but as ciphers, numbers of votes to be won or lost by whatever strategy” (p. 46). Little matters, including rational thought, when a demagogue is

pushing for power. The individual seeks to “whip and intensify emotions, the prejudices and the passions, of the voting public” (Luthin, 1951, p. 22). Gilbert (1955) provides a definition emphasizing their manipulation of the public’s fears: “A demagogue is a person who seeks notoriety and power by exploiting the fears and desires of the people, offering scapegoats and dogmatic panaceas in an unscrupulous attempt to hold [him or herself] forth as the champion of their values, needs and institutions” (p. 51). The demagogue will appear to be the answer to the common man’s problems without providing a real solution to the voter grievances.

Communications concepts must adapt alongside a society’s new technologies, audiences, and ideas. In recent years, Goldzwig (2006) asserts that “what has passed for demagoguery in the past is now being reinterpreted, reconfigured, and recast” (p. 476). The context of our political discourse has changed and so should our definitions. Taking another look at Haun’s (1968) theory of demagoguery provides a foundation for adapting the study of demagoguery to the digital age.

Profile of a Demagogue

According to Haun’s (1971) theory of demagoguery, demagogic politicians have similar personality traits and motivations. Doob (1948) discusses this phenomenon in terms of political propaganda: “Since relatively few citizens have political ambitions, it follows that those who do must be unusual or not typical in respect to whatever psychological drives are reduced by being elected to public office” (p. 210). The psychological nature of a demagogue is the motivating force behind their quest for political power. Doob (1948) suggests that two factors lie behind a politician’s ambition:

one, their intelligence, wealth, and influences contribute to “a more advantageous position to envision the results of political decisions.” and second, “the judgments of representatives are certain to be affected by their own unrepresentative personalities or by their own not necessarily typical social-class interests” (p. 211). Haun (1971) summarized the psyche of a demagogue by compiling a list of characteristics, which include: **lust for power, violation of ethical standards, hypocrisy and deceit, fanaticism, and shrewdness** (p. 14). Each characteristic will be examined in turn.

LUST FOR POWER

For a demagogue, power is everything. They will do almost anything to obtain it. Southern demagogues provide an illustration of this lust for power. Following the Civil War, “poverty, one-crop farming, landlordism, and the evils of ‘sharecropping,’ a democratic one-party system” and racial tension left southern farmers ripe to support an “opportunistic, office-hungry demagogue” (Luthin, 1954, p. 11). Clark (1983) described southern demagogues’ supporters as “a group of men... left powerless by the powerless” (Clark, 1983, p. 424). The antebellum demagogues took advantage of a hopeless situation rife with fear and isolation. Williams (1960) describes that after the demagogues obtained power, they did not come through for the people who elected them since they “were most interested in place than in programs” (p. 8).

The growing industrial sect encouraged the movement of southerners to cities and towns creating “a real divergence between the economic interests of farm and town” (Robison, 1937, p. 294). These differences would carry over into the social and political scene of the antebellum South; as the rural residents lost their wealth they also lost their political influence. Leaders like Ben Tillman, who became governor of South Carolina,

rose to power on the backs of farmers. Once in office, some actually passed pro-farm legislation. Tillman, for example, attempted to “modify the crop mortgage system to the benefit of the debtor class, to limit the hours of labors in cotton mills, and to insure against the sale of impure fertilizers” (Robison, 1937, p. 299). Former Louisiana governor Huey P. Long embarked on an extensive road building and paving project, increased funding for higher education and state hospitals and updated social services (Williams, 1960, p. 14). However, most southern demagogues did more to sustain the political machine and ultimately stay in power (Luthin, 1951; Williams, 1960). From entertaining with a fiddle to exploiting racism in the region, the legacy of southern demagogues involves more a building of their fan base than a building up of their district.

VIOLATION OF ETHICAL STANDARDS

The demagogue uses rhetorical devices proven successful and effective but in unethical, self-serving ways. “Rather than inventing new demagogic techniques, he distorts rhetorical devices taught by rhetoricians, practiced by orators, and praised by rhetorical critics from ancient times to present day” (Lomas, 1961, p. 162). Oftentimes, even the well-versed listeners, knowledgeable in areas of political discourse find it difficult to discern whether such discourse contains demagoguery because their methods are generally considered acceptable rhetorical strategies” (Lomas, 1961). Speech techniques such as repetition, simplification and showmanship are useful tactics in persuading others for support; yet, demagogues use them without ethical aims.

Demagogic campaigns are carefully crafted to show that the candidate shares the interests of the common citizen they represent. “Rather than possessing fixed convictions, they may choose to stand for whatever issue is burning in the hearts of the people”

(Gustainis, 1989, p. 157). Once in office and their coveted power attained, the demagogue uses said power to stay in office rather than live up to campaign promises (Luthin, 1951; Neumann, 1938). Former U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy successfully exploited fears of communism by “increas[ing] fear to panic proportions” instead of rationally addressing fears and “direct[ing] the fear into constructive channels” (Baskerville, 1954, p. 8). Voters inherently believe the person they elect to office will make things better, but Clark (1983) explains that demagogues know their power of “reform was not a matter of devising programs but nursing grievances” (p. 427).

HYPOCRISY & DECEIT

A demagogue’s use of hypocrisy and untruths to forward their agendas may be the obvious target of negativity. A demagogue “may be indifferent to truth because he is too ignorant to find it, because his prejudices prevent him from distinguishing between his own and the public interest, or because he maliciously distorts the truth to gain his own ends” (Lomas, 1961, p. 161). Sometimes, these skilled orators only exaggerate the facts; other times according to Lomas (1968) “he maliciously distorts facts to gain his own ends” (p. 19). Lomas is stating that whether exaggerated or outright deceitful, demagogues’ moral compasses are usually not involved. Baskerville (1954) puts it simply: “in short, the demagogue misleads the people for personal advantage” (p. 9). He or she ultimately chooses rhetoric based on whether their statements are instrumental to their goals. In the case of Henry Harmon Spalding, a 19th century reverend whose outrage at his enemies was heard in Congress, “interpreted events to suit his own interests at the expense of harming others” (Thompson, 1966, p. 229).

In fact, in *A Handbook for Demagogues* (1952), Redlich advises prospective demagogues to “create [their] own ethical standards and then point out how rigidly [they] adhere to them” (p. 290). Although the demagogue strives to be a man of the people, at times their private lives - away from the masses - are a very different picture. Luthin (1951) depicts an early demagogue in the newly independent America as one whom “liv[ed] luxuriously, powdered his hair, wore ultrafashionable dress, and sprayed himself with perfume He nevertheless convinced the humble ones that he was one of them – and landed in the United States Senate” (p. 23). During the 2008 presidential campaign and election, a similar dynamic may be seen in the media’s highly publicized reports of vice-presidential nominee Sarah Palin’s extravagant shopping sprees and Democratic candidate hopeful John Edwards’s \$400 haircuts.

FANATICISM

Demagogues become the saviors of audiences in uncertain times; their personal devotion to held beliefs and steadfast resolve to further the cause create the persona of a hero (Neumann, 1938). Their utter conviction, confidence and complete lack of self-doubt keeps listeners hanging on their every word (Neumann, 1938).

Louisiana Governor Huey Long was said to “dazzle with his oratory” and “captivate crowds [that] left political observers at a loss for words to describe” his power over the masses (Hogan and Williams, 2004, p. 150). Fanaticism also refers to their sometimes god-like influence among their supporters. As propagandists, demagogues “tend to believe that words can accomplish anything, including miracles” (Doob, 1948, p. 274). Sigmund Neumann (1938) regards the fanatical following of some demagogic

figures as a substitute for religion; their god-like following “ministers to the human yearning for worship” (p. 490).

Long’s oratory was so spellbinding that Hogan and Williams (2004) write that he “was much more than an effective speaker; he was a larger-than-life symbol of alienation and discontent” (p. 150). He spoke directly to his depression-era constituents unlike anyone from Washington could begin to match. “Long depicted himself as possessing almost magical powers of persuasion” (Hogan & Williams, 2004, p. 164). In fact, Sigmund Neumann (1938) notes that “the most powerful modern demagogues are sincere and fanatic believers in their mission as ‘saviors’ of their people” (p. 487). So intent on being the answer to their followers’ prayers, demagogues begin to believe they really are the answer. Their passionate orations arouse audience members’ emotions in a frantic, energetic way. The sincerity of their orations is why Neumann (1938) believed they are so powerful in the first place: “The real demagogue gives them faith and security because he is so sure of himself” (p. 487). Doob (1948) asserts that “almost every propagandist [or demagogue]... is convinced that his Ideas are sanctified by experience, science, or some divine being” (p. 268).

SHREWDNESS

The ability of many demagogues to be shrewd in their political dealings also increases their effectiveness. Gustainis (1989) conceptualizes the demagogue as an “opportunist,” taking advantage of systems in place to achieve his goals – which are often a far cry from democratic principles (p. 157). Astute demagogues will find the right setting, a suggestible audience and the right answers to problems to advance their power-acquiring agenda. Even demagogues from the 19th century were aware of the importance

of targeting regular citizens in the eventual election. One such figure “spent hours every night in smoke-filled taverns listening to and storing his memory with anecdotes which he could use on the stump” (Luthin, 1951, p. 29).

To excite voters, these politicians make decisions that will grab and retain the support of the masses without regard to principle. For many demagogues this means changing sides, “flitt[ing] from one party or cause to another, ever ready to drop one issue and adopt the one which ephemerally excite[s] voters” (Luthin, 1951, p. 32). For Southern demagogues, often the mouthpiece for poor farmers during the post-reconstruction era, this meant artfully mastering their persona as a common man even though most of these politicians were a part of the educated, middle class (Hogan and Williams, 2004.)

In Hogan and William’s (2004) account of former Louisiana governor Huey Long’s rhetorical appeal, they discuss his “carefully crafted political persona” (p. 152). He “used colloquial, even ungrammatical language, along with folksy anecdotes and analogues, to cast himself as the voice of the ‘common man’” (Hogan and Williams, 2004, p. 152). His shrewdness paid off and his followers believed Long was one of them. “Long cultivated his comic image as carefully as other politicians strove to appear intelligent and refined” (Hogan and Williams, 2004, p. 158).

Disregard for Democratic Principles

For demagogues, democracies create opportunities, but demagogues often reject the democratic principles that have allowed them the outlet for success. These aspiring politicians use the “working machinery” of the democratic system to be elected, then

those same “democratic institutions are used, abused and undermined” by the demagogue (Neumann, 1938, p. 492).

Democratic elections are based in the belief that voters listen to candidates’ plans, ideas and answers to significant issues relating to their constituents. However, as Luthin (1951) points out such is not the case for a demagogue. He illustrated with the campaign of the Whig party during the first half of the 19th century: “Whig orators and editors made no attempt to discuss the policy of the respective candidates or the principles of government. With their cider barrels and coonskin caps and log cabins and noise they overrode all issues” the Whigs could “see that by such a strategy they could win” (p. 30).

ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM

Haun (1971) identifies “anti-intellectualism” as an example of demagogues’ lack of interest in democratic principles. This technique is displayed in their disdain for persons already in power, educated individuals and the news media. In this respect, Gilbert (1955) compared modern demagogues to medieval dictators “who used their authority and power to eliminate any challenges to that authority and power” (p. 51). He studied their personality traits and techniques by analyzing their behavior, psychology and rhetoric. Gilbert (1955) focused on the demagogue’s “*intimidation of intellectuals* who see through [their] false façade” which relies on citizens’ need to “resolve [their] anxieties through the uncritical acceptance of positive propaganda symbols” (p. 52). During the 2008 campaign, McCain’s vice presidential running mate, Sarah Palin, “made the elite’s persecution of Middle America her own special cause” (Frank, Oct. 2008).

Once in office, a demagogue often does not live up to the expectations set forth during their campaign. Although the democratic duty should be to satisfy constituents

who elected him or her for their solutions to problems, the candidate fails “to live up to campaign promises” (Haun, 1971, p. 21). However, a successful demagogue creates new promises to retain their new position and power.

Historical Manifestations

Demagogues of historical interest have come to power in similar societal contexts. “When an economic system becomes questionable, when a social code is shattered, when religious ties are loosened, people look for new authorities, for substitutes” (Neumann, 1938, p. 488). Demagogues come to power in times of struggle and crisis; for example, after the civil war, the southern way of life completely crumbled. The value of industry shot up while the value of farming and agriculture stagnated. These agriculture depressions “impressed upon [southern farmers] the need for new leaders, and made them resentful of those whom they had formerly trusted” (Robison, 1937, p. 294). Ultimately it is the specific needs and issues of their audiences that keep a demagogue popular (Lomas, 1955).

Historically, the demagogue has come into power as a “*substitute for institutions in a time of transition*” (Neumann, 1938, p. 488). Citizens look to these individuals as the answer to their questions in times of confusion and chaos. Historically, it is in periods of uncertainty and discontent that the demagogue successfully unmask the culprit (most likely someone in a position of authority) behind audience members’ struggles (Lomas, 1955).

Haun (1971) explains that it is in these contexts that demagogues gain support. She finds that examining specific aspects of the context surrounding a potential

demagogue is vital to understanding those ecologies which are most likely to breed demagogues. Three areas of analyses are “(1) the effect of the democratic franchise on the setting of the demagogue; (2) the nature of the demagogue campaign in this setting; and (3) specifically, the demagogic message of propaganda within the campaign” (Haun, 1971, p. 23).

THE DEMOCRATIC FRANCHISE

No form of government, institution or religion is immune to the eternal demagogue’s rise to power —monarchies, totalitarian states, and democracies have all succumbed to demagoguery (Gustainis, 1989; Neumann, 1938). Yet, as Haun (1971) points out, a democratic institution seems to be the most susceptible. “The freedom and wide franchise of a democracy also facilitate the flagrant disregard for the proper processes of law in the demagogue’s lust for political power” (p. 25). More specifically, liberal freedoms of speech and assembly, like those enshrined in the First Amendment, can also serve as cover for demagogic abuses (Lomas, 1960, p. 80). As an agitator, the demagogue relies on these freedoms “to reach the man on the street” (Lomas, 1960, p. 80). The freedom to assemble and the freedom of speech provide the opportunity “by nature or design... [for him to be] a man of the people” (Lomas, 1960, p. 80).

In 1776, Pennsylvania was the first state which adopted a constitution allowing non-property-owning males to vote. This paved the way for a new type of leader that spoke to the ‘average Joe,’ leaders that became known as “captains of the people” (Luthin, 1951, p. 11). These Antifederalists were the first American demagogues and employed “the traditional tools of rhetoric with complete indifference to truth” (Lomas, 1961, p. 161). Demagogues utilize democratic principles, ideas and institutions, but with

antidemocratic results. Demagogues appeal to the public's "nationalism, their conservatism, their socialism, and their slogans of an 'ennobled democracy', but [these concepts] completely lose their original meaning in the hands of the demagogue" (Neumann, 1938, p. 498).

Access to the media has led to a rise in demagoguery. Neumann (1938) notes that "the spoken word" is vital for a demagogue to spread his or her gospel. Democracies tend to exercise less control over the media compared to other forms of government. This situation is beneficial for demagogues, who are therefore unfettered in their ability to respond to any threats against their will to power. In a communist state or dictatorship, in contrast, those who own and/or control the media can use it to criticize the demagogue, but the demagogue cannot use it for counter-propaganda (Haun, 1971, p. 26).

THE CAMPAIGN OF THE DEMAGOGUE

Many scholars consider a demagogue's campaign to be aimed at expanding their audience. Luthin (1954) states that "as candidates and office-holders they recognized that the public might prefer to be entertained rather than informed, and ... people's love of display and fanfare could be turned into votes at the ballot box" (p. 303). Louder, more exciting, and more aggressive than the standard politician's approach to campaigning, the demagogue stops at nothing to win the masses' hearts and minds. Luthin (1951) illustrates an early demagogic campaign: "by vigorous personality and noisy appeal to the crowd, made gross political capital by waging warfare against the affluent minority – a prime characteristic of the demagogue" (p. 25).

The campaign methods of a demagogue are based in their uncanny sense of showmanship and charismatic manner with audiences. Robison (1937) states that

demagogic campaigns “seem to be necessary to the success of anyone who happens to oppose ‘the powers that be’” (p. 297-298). These almost pageant-like events were not used as vehicles to explain the politician’s views on issues or their potential policies once in power. Rather, these loud, “intense performances” excited and entertained audiences (Luthin, 1954, p. 303). In his *Handbook*, Redlich (1952) encourages the demagogue to appeal to people’s emotions and to do this “over and over again so they won’t notice the important things you have left unsaid” (p. 290). The infamous Louisiana Governor Huey Long passionately aroused his audiences with polarizing speeches, with little rationality involved (Gunn, 2007).

In Robison’s (1937) examination of some of the most famous southern demagogues, the volume of campaigns is highlighted. The southern demagogues “were compelled to gain their publicity by individual effort and by appeals that would be heard above the many powerful voices supporting the conservatives” (Robison, 1937, p. 297). These appeals sometimes included loud, attention-getting stunts.

Haun (1971) emphasizes the forcefulness of delivery as an integral characteristic of a demagogic oration. The wilder the gestures and grander the statements a demagogue used, the more excited and transformed his audience became. Such style in delivery is an extension of the “elocutionary style” of the 1800s. Jeansonne (1983) described his first meeting with demagogue Gerald L. K. Smith as impressive: “he radiated confidence, vigor, and magnetism... it was possible to understand the emotion which he could communicate to his audiences” (p. 97). Former Governor Huey Long “would pace back and forth, arms flailing and dripping with sweat, his ‘contortions’ shocking some observers but mesmerizing his rural audiences” (Hogan & Williams, 2004, p. 156).

Clothing is also a distinctive part of the demagogue's campaign. Many famous demagogic candidates' choices in clothing depended on what voters were wearing. By choosing garments that were similar to their audience's, the demagogue confirmed that he or she was a man of the people. A common strategy of replicating manners of dress, speaking styles and hairdos of their audiences promotes the in group and further differentiates them from the out group or enemy (Gustainis, 1989; Luthin, 1951). Huey Long disregarded this tradition by donning "outrageously flamboyant clothes, strutting in front of the Louisiana State University marching band, drinking to excess in public and generally flouting the rules of 'polite' society" (Hogan & Williams, 2004, p. 158). By deliberately dressing and behaving exactly the opposite of his political peers he became more like his common man supporters.

"American demagogues have known the vote-catching value of slogans or phrases" in their campaigns (Luthin, 1954, p. 304). Simple, easy-to-remember catch-phrases are the hallmark of a demagogue. Bumper stickers are an example. Doob and Robinson (1935) note that these short, simplified messages are psychologically ideal for effective transmission, as they "fit into the range of perception" at which humans can optimize attention (p. 90). This effect is especially important in the age of television, where the forces of concision make short and snappy sound bites that much more effective. Studies in fact show that broadcast news sound bites are on average becoming shorter (Smith, 1989). During the 2008 presidential election, the Obama campaign sent campaign messages using the social networking website *Twitter*, in which the maximum message length is only 140 characters (Talbot, 2008). Obama's even shorter, "Yes, We

Can” slogan with only three words provided an easy to remember and easy to repeat phrase for all kinds of news media.

The audience itself becomes part of the demagogic campaign. The mass meeting is vital for the success of a highly emotional and energetic campaign stop. Humans like to be in group settings to worship, to learn and to support their leaders. The masses are unified by shared symbols and rites and contribute to the demagogues’ wide appeal (Neumann, 1938, p. 496). Mass meetings create positive feelings of inclusion, and when the demagogue defines the meeting’s members against an outsider, the speaker promotes these warm feelings. Huey Long, for example, swept people up in his meetings by using severe invective against his enemies. “Long’s penchant for name-calling and vituperation set him apart from main stream politicians” (Hogan & Williams, 2004, p. 156). Although critics of Long’s felt his actions were in poor taste, his audiences reacted affirmatively to his cries.

Kelly and Troeste’s (1989, November) study on Bush’s 1988 presidential campaign looked at his effective combination of one-message-per-day and sound bite strategies in the media. The messages being disseminated daily were considered an offensive strategy that kept their opponent on the defensive. The authors assert that the structure of modern media encourages campaigns to use demagoguery. “Instead of demanding accountability... and deal[ing] with substantive issues, the media played into the negative agenda and contributed [to]... a demagogic campaign” (Kelly & Troeste, 1989, November, p. 17).

“Described at times as bare-knuckled, ferocious, dishonest and devastatingly effective”, the campaign tactics of demagogues are often calculated (Stone, 2005, p.

1394). Senator Joe McCarthy, in fact, disseminated his own press release referring to himself as “Tail Gunner Joe” before he initiated a run for the senate (Stone, 2005, p. 1494), despite the fact that during his tour of duty in the Marines he had never acted as tail gunner. In classic demagogic fashion, he misrepresented himself to parasitize on Americans’ patriotism. In fact, “audiences were swept away by his certitude and patriotism” (p. 1396). According to Luthin (1951), rather than speak seriously of the relevant issues, one early American demagogue’s campaign used “a gallimaufry of processions, songs, emblems, slang, cider barrels, miniature log cabins, coon skin caps, and meaningless, long-winded oratory – all in lieu of the discussion of issues” (p. 28).

THE PROPAGANDA OF THE DEMAGOGUE

Demagogy involves strategic use of propaganda in message dissemination. “The demagogue’s basic tool for communication is propaganda” (Haun, 1971, p. 34). In academic jargon, propaganda refers to “persuasive strategies” as a “means to disseminate or promote particular ideas,” but in the vernacular the term is extremely value-laden (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2005, p. 2). According to Ellul (1965), propaganda is often referred to as negative. However, Ellul and fellow propaganda specialist, Doob (1935) promote a more nonjudgmental approach to the subject. Doob (1935) and Robinson (1935) encourage society to refrain from condemning all propaganda and its disseminators as “vicious” (p. 88) and to look at the subject objectively.

Defining Propaganda

Communications scholars define propaganda neutrally. Ellul (1965) offers a partial definition of propaganda:

Propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization. (p. 61).

Jowett and O'Donnell (2005) assess the need to go beyond Doob and Ellul's definitions, "because [the authors] believe to analyze propaganda, one needs to be able to identify it" (p. 4). Their definition "identif[ies] its characteristics and... place[s] it within communication studies to examine the qualities of context, audience, and response" (p. 7). By focusing on the communication process, their definition not only defines propaganda, but also aids in identifying it: "Propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" (p. 7).

Ellul (1962) distinguishes between two main categories of propaganda: political and sociological. Sociological propaganda is total, breeds conformity and "progressively allow[s] an ideology to penetrate individuals or masses" (p. 63). This category molds a person's behavior, self-concept, and core beliefs, and permeates an individual's life. Demagogic propaganda falls under the political category, which involves "techniques of influence employed by a government, a party, an administration, a pressure group, with a view to changing the behavior of the public" (p. 62).

Demagogues also use propaganda considered vertical as compared to horizontal according to Ellul (1962). The difference between the two depends on where the propaganda begins. A socialist government where there is no leader and "each individual helps to form the opinion of the group" illustrates horizontal propaganda (p. 81). Vertical

propaganda starts with a leader of a “passive [audience]... they are seized, they are manipulated, they are committed” (p. 80). Demagogues use vertical propaganda to persuade voters they should be in power.

Distinct patterns emerge in the behavior of demagogues throughout history. These behaviors are most comprehensively codified in Haun’s *A Study in Demagoguery: A Critical Analysis of the Speaking of George Corley Wallace in the 1968 Presidential Campaign* (1971). Although the media context has dramatically changed in recent years (as discussed above), it is probable that contemporary demagogues behave in similar ways. In the next chapter, a description of the analysis of this possibility, in which speeches from the 2008 presidential campaign are evaluated for these historically-identified demagogic techniques is provided.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Scholarly analysis of political demagoguery has a long history (Carter, 1821; Luthin, 1951; Morse, 1886). A dearth of research in recent years, however, calls into question the relevance of existing theories for the digital media age. The emergence of digital media technologies has led to a fundamental change in the way that public figures communicate to the masses, but communications scholars continue to base their analyses on decades-old theories (Robert-Miller, 2005). An effort should be made, therefore, to validate theories of demagoguery in light of these changes.

In this paper this process begins by considering the applicability of Haun's 1971 theory of demagoguery to the 2008 presidential campaign. It is difficult to ignore the effect of the internet on politics and campaigning (Shannon, 2007). The degree to which demagogic discourse prospers in digital media avenues is a central question in demagoguery research (Gordon-Murnane, 2008; Kaid, 2003; Lictman, 2008). Characterizing the specific tactics used by the candidates to rally support is an attempt to elucidate the political behavior of twenty-first century politicians, to gain insight into how these behaviors have evolved, and to verify the extent to which these theories are explicated by examining behaviors of twentieth-century demagoguery.

Research Questions

In this primary analysis, Haun's (1971) study of demagoguery in George C. Wallace's 1968 presidential campaign serves as a model for the investigation of demagogic techniques used by Republican candidate John McCain and Democratic candidate Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential campaign. In a line-by-line close reading of the candidates' speeches, a specific characterization of the candidates' statements within Haun's theoretical framework was devised. These data were used for an assessment of the relevance of 60's era demagogic theory for contemporary presidential campaigns.

Generalized from a review of the literature, periodicals, and polling data, and an assessment whether the historical context described by Haun which favors the success of demagogic techniques is analogous to that faced by candidates in 2008, and whether it in turn predicted the success of demagoguery in the 2008 campaign.

The following research questions and hypotheses guided the research:

RQ1: Is Haun's (1968) theory of demagoguery applicable to the speechmaking of the 2008 Presidential candidates?

RQ2: Was the 2008 Presidential campaign scene a context consistent with Haun's (1971) historical manifestations of demagoguery?

RQ3: Do Barack Obama and John McCain use the demagogic techniques outlined by Haun (1971) in their campaign speeches?

Methodology

The first research question asks whether Haun's (1971) theory of demagoguery is still a relevant factor in contemporary political discourse. A consideration of the 2008 candidates' speech statements in light of Haun's (1971) theory answered RQ1. In 2008, America's next president would share the same goal as a demagogue; namely, both McCain and Obama were motivated to become a leader of American citizens. Mack and Chen (2004) describe how the former Illinois Senator Barack Obama pursued this end even before he was nominated as the Democratic choice for president: "Barack Obama was catapulted into national prominence, in part, because of his skill building bonds of empathy with supporters from a seemingly impossibly broad political base" (p. 99). Brownstein (2008) states that the objective of the John McCain campaign was to gain the support of independents and undecided voters. During the Republican national convention where McCain accepted his party's nomination, Brownstein (2008) notes a "relentless focus on painting McCain as a maverick who elevates the national interest over partisan interest" (p. 1). This rhetorical strategy is explained by a demagogic desire to be a leader of the masses. Much of the McCain campaign sought to differentiate the nominee from the previous Republican President and largely unpopular George W. Bush, a strategy which also attempted to show that McCain led the masses. In his speech delivered in Columbus, OH, McCain (Oct. 31, 2008) put it this way: "I will fight to shake up Washington and take America in a new direction."

The second research question asks if Haun's theory predicts that 2008's historical context provided a backdrop which favored demagoguery. By comparing the societal situation of the 2008 campaign with the situations faced by historically significant demagogues, the aptness of Haun's (1971) theory for modern political behavior is assessed. Haun (1971) listed three observations significant to the history of demagogues: "(1) the effect of the democratic franchise on the setting of the demagogue; (2) the nature of the demagogic campaign in this setting; and (3) ... the

demagogic message of propaganda within the campaign” (p. 23). Neumann (1938) concluded that “when an economic system becomes questionable, when a social code is shattered, or when religious ties are loosened, people look for new authorities, for substitutes” (p. 488); often times a demagogue emerges to fill the gap. Newspaper and communications journal articles are cited to point out the similarities and differences of the 2008 Presidential campaign context to Haun’s (1971) historical contexts which favored demagoguery.

The Democratic Franchise: Democracies enable demagogic activity to the extent they allow freedoms of communication that other types of governments do not (Haun, 1971). One such freedom is the ease of access to the media, and the media coverage of the 2008 campaign was record-breaking. The media were used by both candidates to communicate to audiences, and digital avenues were utilized en masse for the first time. Ready access to mass media is a hallmark of the demagogue and will provide the focus for this part of the research question.

A literature review aided to elucidate the candidates' relationship with the media. For example, a scholarly literature and periodical search using the terms 'Obama,' 'McCain,' 'media,' 'media manipulation,' and 'message dissemination,' are included. The search was conducted to understand if and how much the candidates accessed the free press.

The Campaign of the Demagogue: Investigating how the candidates campaigned leading up to the election in November illustrated whether or not they exploited campaign tactics consistent with Haun’s (1971) theory. Sources were examined that describe the way each candidate managed their campaign. For example, type of campaign meetings, use of slogans, communication style with audiences and even unique clothing illustrate if such tactics were used. A search of newspaper articles that focused on the campaigns of both candidates provided the information for comparison. National newspapers in the top five circulations were used: *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, the *Las Angeles Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*.

Demagogic Techniques: The third research question targets Haun's (1971) demagogic techniques and whether the candidates utilized them in their campaign speeches. Haun's (1971) study provides a taxonomy which will guide the identification and understanding of demagogic techniques in the digital era. Political messages disseminated by the 2008 presidential candidates during their campaign speeches will be used in an updated content analysis. Haun's taxonomy of techniques will aid in determining whether, and by how much, demagogic techniques have evolved in response to technological changes in mass media.

A total of 18 speeches delivered by the Republican candidate John McCain and the Democratic candidate Barack Obama will be analyzed. The quantitative content analysis technique was used so that the measurement itself does not "confound the data" (Weber, 1990, p. 10). Three speeches were selected from each of the last three months (August, September, and October) of the 2008 Presidential Campaign totaling nine speeches per candidate. If there were more than three speeches delivered in a particular month, the first, middle and last speeches were selected, excluding party nominee convention speeches. The candidates' identities were concealed from all speeches to reduce personal bias of coders.

The content analysis was performed with help from two other graduate peers to minimize coder bias. The coding assistants analyzed at most three speeches from both candidates before all eighteen speeches have been coded by the primary author to help ensure that my judgments are accurate and consistent. The coders will use Table 1 for technique classification.

The unit for the analysis was one sentence and will be analyzed for each of the demagogic techniques. The technique of *Hypocrisy* was omitted because of the shared historical background needed for consistent coding. Techniques used in content analysis included: (1) simplicity, (2) repetition, (3) verbal perpetuation of problems, (4) evasion of issues, (5) invective, (6) emotionalism, (7) scapegoating, (8) attacking a corporate enemy, (9) appeals to religious, class, and race hatreds, (10) exploitation of men and issues, (11) common-man appeal, and (12)

anti-intellectualism. The first and last paragraph of each speech was also be omitted from the analysis because they often contain introductions, generalities and content non-related to the study. Table 1 below provides both a brief and full definition, plus, examples of the techniques to be coded.

Table 1: Coding Rubric for Assessing Demagogic Techniques

Technique:	Simplicity
Code:	SIMP
Brief Definition:	Oversimplification; simple and direct
Full Definition:	Folksy, earthy colloquialisms; simple solutions to complex problems; offering only two options – one ridiculous , the other is their solutions
Example:	It's easy to fix, just do this. Health care reform.

Technique:	Repetition
Code:	REP
Brief Definition:	Repeated themes, words, pronouns, word structure
Full Definition:	Reiterating the same points; repeated use of pronoun for the same thing; special phrases; key terms
Example:	Yes We Can Yes We Can Yes We Can

Technique:	Verbal Perpetuation of Problems
Code:	PERP
Brief Definition:	Ambiguous solutions to declared issues and problems; describes problem extensively
Full Definition:	Describing problems in detail with no concrete, direct solutions; Unclear

	answers; Unspecified solutions; Leaves strategy, logistics and mechanics to someone else; Fails to give a course of action
Example:	Describing the economic situation in great detail without a plan to fix it

Technique:	Evasion of Issues
Code:	EVA
Brief Definition:	Refusing to bring up certain larger, important issues
Full Definition:	Vague, ambiguous discussion of key issues; only target certain parts of an issues – not the whole; no specific stance on issue
Example:	Evading the abortion issue; Changing the subject

Technique:	Invective
Code:	INV
Brief Definition:	The derogatory and belittling labeling of opponents
Full Definition:	Used for its effect rather than expressing actual animosity; highly emotional terminology; negative; warning, threatening enemies; implied use of force against enemies; lashing out; making fun of others; mean, hurtful labels
Example:	Calling someone stupid or ignorant

Technique:	Emotionalism
Code:	EMO
Brief Definition:	Non-specific, emotionally connotative appeals to the audience
Full Definition:	Emotionally loaded language; Unsupported assertions; Appeals to fear; Emotional pleas; Familial bonds among audience members; Threat appeals;

	Emotionally charged words that stir up pain
Example:	Very sad stories about people living in horrific conditions

Technique:	Scapegoating
Code:	SCA
Brief Definition:	Direct attacks at the shared enemy
Full Definition:	Identifying individuals or specific enemies like ‘The Supreme Court’ or The Department of Health; Blaming the enemy for problems; Someone specific is at fault
Example:	Blaming Bush for the current economic distress

Technique:	Attacking a Corporate Enemy
Code:	CORP
Brief Definition:	Generalized attacks against the federal government, the news media or political party
Full Definition:	Broader form of scapegoating; generalized attack at corporate America; Popular and ambiguous enemy; Ambiguous blame of some uncertain but apparently present cause for disorder in the country
Example:	“The Left”; Referring to corporate enemy as “They”

Technique:	Appeals to Religious, Class and Race Hatreds
Code:	APP
Brief Definition:	Appeals to religion, social class, and racism
Full Definition:	Attacks against communists; appeals to prejudice against other races;

	Appeals to Christianity
Example:	Hate speech; Far right Christian Fundamentalism

Technique:	Exploitation of Men and Issues
Code:	EXP
Brief Definition:	Exploiting positions held by his audience to garner favor
Full Definition:	Exploiting men's fears of others to grab their support and votes
Example:	Exploiting the race card; It's time for a black president; It's time for a black couple in the Whitehouse; Foreclosures

Technique:	Common-man Appeal
Code:	COMM
Brief Definition:	I'm just like you, a regular guy
Full Definition:	Creating rapport with the working class; stressing the "working man" background; Reminding audiences of helping needy, farmers, senior citizens; Show campaigns grassroots nature; Illustrate that their supporters are made up of regular citizens; Praising everyday people and things; States that the regular guy should be consulted more often; Brings sense of belonging and hope
Example:	MAIN STREET vs. WALL STREET; Increasing unemployment benefits, teachers salaries, and other pay scales; Praising local institutions like the local newspaper; Joe the Plumber,

Technique:	Anti-intellectualism
-------------------	----------------------

Code:	ANTI
Brief Definition:	Strikes against the highly educated, higher learning institutions; Used to make audience feel important
Full Definition:	Referring to the “elite, highly educated” in a negative way; Humorously referring to them; Prime targets can be Judges, Professors, Preachers, Newspaper Editors; Contempt for the press; Cite past errors of intellectuals and the media
Example:	The view held by some conservative Christians that the current form of public education subverts religious belief; In the U.S. 2000 Presidential Election, the media (particularly late night comics) portrayed Candidate Al Gore as a boring "brainiac" who spoke in a monotonous voice and jabbered on about numbers and figures that no one could understand

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Haun's Theory of Demagoguery (RQ1)

RQ1 sought to determine whether or not Haun's (1971) theory of demagoguery was still useful for the characterization of contemporary political behavior, by applying the theory's taxonomy to a set of campaign speeches of the 2008 presidential candidates John McCain and Barack Obama. Examples of all twelve demagogic techniques were identified in speeches from both candidates. RQ1 asks if Haun's taxonomy as a whole is still applicable in contemporary political campaigns. RQ2 targets each technique on a deeper level to understand which ones were used more frequently/infrequently in the 2008 Presidential campaign.

Historical Manifestations (RQ2)

Haun's (1971) theory distinguished three contextual hallmarks that encourage success of demagoguery: the democratic franchise, the demagogic campaign and the use of propaganda. This study focused on the democratic franchise and demagogic campaign. The results for RQ2 were based on contextual features of the 2008 campaign that were similar or dissimilar to the contextual features which abetted George Wallace's rise to power as described in Haun (1971). Despite (Or perhaps in part due to) revolutionary advances in digital media, the research suggests that demagoguery is present in contemporary political campaigns. Many facets of historically significant

demagogues highlighted by Haun (1971) were identified in both 2008 presidential candidate campaigns.

The Democratic Franchise: In democratic systems, public access to media is unhindered relative to other systems of government. For the demagogue this context is a great advantage, as it grants him unfettered access to the hearts and minds of his/her countrymen. This is emphasized in Haun's (1971) dissertation: "newspapers, radio, and television serve to enhance the power of the demagogue and to facilitate his rise in power," (p. 27). The 2008 candidates used not only traditional media forms such as TV, radio and print, but also, more than ever before, myriad digital media forms.

Achter (2004) discussed the importance Americans have placed on communication technology advances in national progress. He explained how these advances would improve areas where "mechanization had promised but failed to deliver – freedom, ecological harmony, and decentralization" (p. 308). When television was introduced communication scholars believed it would bring citizens and their political representatives closer together creating a "democratic renaissance through television" (Achter, 2004, p. 308). However, the rise of demagogic figures such as former Senator Joseph McCarthy whose infamy arose during the red scare, unnerved critics who believed the media could just as easily be exploited for political gain. This critique is also being used against the development of digital media outlets.

Just as former Senator Joseph McCarthy did during the 1950s, arousing fear in the minds of Americans, McCain and Obama did in 2008. McCarthy used every available media resource at the time to spout his anti-communist message (Baskerville, 1954).

Whereas McCarthy used only radio and public meetings, McCain and Obama took advantage of the internet and TV to persuade listeners, watchers, and internet-users to put them in power. Both candidates created websites for their campaigns which included texts of their speeches, pictures, and ways to donate to the campaign. However, “Obama’s team put such technologies at the center of its campaign” (Talbot, 2008, p. 79). This included bringing on the cofounder of Facebook as an advisor for navigating social media avenues like Twitter and blogs.

The Campaign of the Demagogue: Aspects of both Obama’s and McCain’s campaigns during the 2008 election were investigated through a search of nationally recognized newspaper articles. Campaign tactics analyzed were: meeting type, slogans used, communication style, and uniqueness of clothing or accessories. Haun’s (1971) theory outlined how demagogues’ campaigns were characterized by these tactics.

Both candidates spoke in varied settings, with differences in venue, number of people, and atmosphere. Barack Obama started his campaign in stadium-sized venues with thousands of supporters. A *Washington Post* article depicts one such stop in Wilmington, Delaware as “the largest gathering that city officials could remember [...] a campaign rally in the town square” (Stewart & Ruane, 2008). These mass meetings fostered unity among Obama supporters. Many scholars of demagoguery relate this element to Louisiana Governor Huey Long’s campaigns (Gunn, 2007; Hogan & Williams, 2004; Williams, 1960). Long’s emotional speeches provoked intense responses in audiences rendering them compliant to his message (Hogan & Williams, 2004). Obama’s meetings were often described in similar terms. As Election Day neared, he adopted the town hall-style meetings of the McCain camp; he wanted to be “seen talking with people not at them” (Zeleny & Nagourney, 2008). It may also have been a

strategic initiative to distance Obama from his celebrity status, which was continually harped upon by the McCain campaign.

McCain focused on intimate town hall-style gatherings in which he directly answered questions from attendees. A *New York Times* article described people chanting, “Drill, baby, drill!” whenever he talked about off-shore drilling as an energy solution (Nagourney, 2008). This campaign tactic, invoking chants during campaign speeches, emotionally connected McCain’s audiences with him and with each other. McCain’s ability to conjure public demonstrations of positive feeling bears the hallmark of the demagogue.

Slogans are still as vital to campaigning now as they ever were. They appear on t-shirts, banners, and websites and are repeated ad nauseam during campaign stops. Their repetitive nature helps voter recall of the candidate, and hopefully, a snippet of their platform. Lomas (1960) described late 19th century pro-labor politician Dennis Kearney’s slogan as doing just that. With “The Chinese must go”, Kearney blamed the high number of Chinese immigrants for the problems facing San Francisco laborers in a succinct, memorable, slogan.

In Obama’s slogans, the word ‘we’ was prevalent. This attempted created a united front with voters. This is similar to an early 19th century campaign, when politician Franklin E. Plummer conveyed his image as being ‘one of you’ with “Plummer for the people and the people for Plummer!” (Luthin, 1951). In 2008, Obama’s “Change we can believe in” was repeated throughout the campaign. The slogan referred to his opponents as being “too deeply imbedded in the Washington establishment” (Bosman, 2007). This slogan is an example of symbolic convergence as it creates a figurative relationship between the candidate and the masses.

McCain’s slogan ‘Country First’ symbolically linked his military service to his love of country. Rutenberg and Nagourney at *The New York Times* believe it went

further, also comprising the subtle jab that “Mr. McCain puts it there, Mr. Obama does not” (Rutenberg & Nagourney, 2008). Another line reiterated by McCain, although most likely not meant to be a slogan, was, “I am not George Bush,” as he continued to distance himself from the outgoing, unpopular president (Abramowitz & Shear, 2008).

The candidates’ style of communication also hints at the atmosphere of their campaign stops. A demagogue wants to arouse audience members with emotionally-instigating language. He or she is motivated to convince their audience that they are the answer to society’s current problems. In the 2008 campaign both candidates found ways to inspire passion among their supporters.

During the latter part of his campaign, a *New York Times* article noted that McCain began “speaking louder and repeating statements that he thinks might be overlooked” (Nagourney, 2008). By repeating statements, the McCain campaign hoped to keep key messages fresh in voters’ minds (Repetition). A *Washington Post* article highlights an example of McCain using the demagogic technique of evading the issues: “McCain hopscotched from the war to pork-barrel spending” (Eilperin & Barnes, 2008). As the election grew closer, McCain’s style at campaign stops became harsher. According to the same article he began “adopting the aggressive, take-no-prisoners style of Karl Rove.” Karl Rove being George W. Bush’s Senior Advisor and Deputy Chief – of-Staff. According to Haun (1971) this would be successful demagoguery as “force in delivery is important” (p. 29).

Obama took a different demagogic approach. Rather than becoming more strident in his message, he employed emotional and common man appeals to connect with voters. Southern demagogues were known for their efforts in creating a less intimidating atmosphere for voters. Gustainis (1989) characterized them as standing “foursquare in defense of God, country, and especially Southern womanhood” (p. 158). During the 2008 presidential election, Obama portrayed this when he played basketball, went to

church, and talked about knocking on doors (Zeleny & Nagourney, 2008). His style and message “remind[ed] voters of his biography, including his modest upbringing by a single mother” (Zeleny & Nagourney, 2008). This, however, ignores that fact that he attended to an exclusive prep school in Hawaii (Hypocrisy).

Distinctive clothing worn by candidates and their family members attempts to convey a message to voters (Luthin, 1951). Historically, demagogues have worn clothing that brings them to the level of the audience to evoke feelings of solidarity. Former Louisiana Governor Huey Long dressed in outfits to set him apart from his political opponents. Hogan and Williams (2004) describe his clothing as purposefully “unsophisticated, unrefined and apparently unconcerned with his public image” (p. 158). A contemporary example of this may be a candidate wearing jeans to appear less intimidating to less sophisticated voters. This strategic approach to constructing a persuasive persona, especially a persona who appears not to be strategic, is key to the demagogue’s success.

Barack Obama used this tactic to foster an image of himself as a regular guy. A *New York Times* article describes him campaigning with his “sleeves[...] rolled up, his suit jacket left behind stage” (Zeleny & Nagourney, 2008). The more laid-back style was employed on many campaign stops to validate his Washington-outsider persona.

The McCain camp struggled with clothing to the point where it became a battle with the media. Vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin’s wardrobe became a top story when it was discovered the Republican Party had spent thousands of dollars at expensive stores. McCain had been reaching out to blue-collar workers by employing “Joe the Plumber” in his speeches. Palin was supposed to help this endeavor as an Alaskan “Hockey mom.” “When families are experiencing economic pain, and when the image applies to a candidate, like Ms. Palin...such an image is unhelpful” to the campaign (Healy & Luo, 2008). This episode exemplifies the importance of dress for

connecting with voters: While a politician must be attractive (as voters associate attractiveness with status and leadership), frugal and economically-disadvantaged voters feel that it is possible to look attractive without spending thousands of dollars in campaign funds.

The context and tried and true methods of historically significant demagogues were represented in both candidates' campaigns. This supports the relevancy of applying Haun's (1971) theory of demagoguery to contemporary political candidates regardless of a completely different media and cultural context than her study of George Wallace.

Demagogic Techniques (RQ3)

The twelve demagogic techniques taken from Haun's (1971) theory (hypocrisy excluded) were found in the 2008 presidential candidates' speeches (Table 2 in the appendix). Some techniques were used much more than others, but all were identified during the content analysis. A break down of the techniques and examples from the speeches follows.

Simplicity: The content analysis identified several instances of candidates oversimplifying issues. Obama used the technique 36 times or 10% of time techniques used (Table 3. A and C). McCain used it 65 times representing 16% of the time techniques were used (Table 4. A and C).

Presenting only two options as solutions to a complex problem was an especially common rhetorical strategy. McCain, in reference to expanded healthcare for veterans, for example, stated that, "This is, very simply, an effort to expand care to a group of eligible veterans who are not now receiving care" (2008, Aug. C). Obama used the technique in a different way, employing simple vocabulary and uncomplicated sentence

structure when describing an issue. For example, in an October speech he says, “As for the programs we do need, I will make them work better and cost less” (Obama, 2008, Oct. A). The government bureaucracy is a dizzyingly complex system of agencies and sub-agencies; Obama successfully reduced this complexity to ‘better’ and ‘cost[s] less,’ which audience members, no matter their education or level of sophistication can easily understand.

Repetition: Repetition was Obama’s second-most used technique; the candidate expertly applied this rhetorical technique in a multitude of ways. It was coded 54 times in his speeches and made up 15% of all demagogic sentences (Table 3. A and C).

For example, he would repeat words in a sentence: “I will not pretend we can achieve them without cost, or without sacrifice, or without the contribution of almost every American citizen,” (Obama, 2008, Aug. B). He frequently began multiple sentences in a row with the same phrase to emphasize certain ideas. Listing ideas or concepts in ‘three’s’ is a very common technique historically. Abraham Lincoln famously used listing in his rhetoric (Hurt, 1980). Another instance where Obama uses repetition for emphasis occurs in one of his October speeches in Iowa. “That’s how we’ve won great struggles for civil rights and women’s rights and workers’ rights” the term ‘rights’ appeals to Americans’ love of their freedom and liberty (Obama, 2008. Oct. C).

Repetition was McCain’s most-utilized demagogic technique being coded for 75 times and 19% of all demagogic sentences (Table 4. A and B). In a speech delivered in Independence, Missouri, McCain repeated the word ‘fight’ to begin three consecutive sentences. “Fight to clean up the mess of corruption, infighting and selfishness in Washington. Fight to get our economy out of the ditch and back in the lead. Fight for the

ideals and character of a free people,” (McCain, Oct. 2008 C). As a demagogic technique the repetition was meant to emphasize what his administration would do to end the problems plaguing Washington, Wall Street and Americans, while also reminding voters of his background as a Vietnam veteran.

Verbal Perpetuation of Problems: Listing the current problems plaguing Americans was a hallmark technique of both candidates. From the economic situation to health care costs, the candidates consistently began speeches by reminding their audiences how bad the economic situation was. Obama: “It's gotten harder and harder to make the mortgage, or fill up your gas tank, or even keep the electricity on at the end of the month,” (Obama, Oct. C). This listing of the problems facing so many Americans reminds them of their suffering with the hopes of translating those negative feelings to the current party in power – the Republicans. Obama was coded for verbal perpetuation of problems 47 times or 13% of the time techniques were identified (Table 3. A and B).

McCain gave a classic example of this technique in a Scranton, Pennsylvania speech: “We won't solve a problem caused by poor oversight with a plan that has no oversight,” (Sept. 2008 B). Instead of focusing on the answer to troubles with a large spending bill which intended to kick-start the fledgling economy, McCain only describes why it's a problem to begin with. By targeting a current plan being executed, he distances himself from the establishment. He also shows voters that he understands how serious the society's problems are. McCain used this technique 35 times or 9% of the time a technique was used (Table 4. A and B).

Evasion of Issues: Evasion was Obama's least-used technique, only appearing once in the content analysis (Table 3. A). McCain, on the other hand, applied the

technique five times in the coded speeches or 1% of all techniques used (Table 4. A and B). In one unsubtle instance, McCain states that “There are other problems as well that have not received as much media attention,” (McCain, 2008, Aug. C) without further discussion of these supposed problems. It is either self-evident to him and the audience what “they” are or else McCain purposely hopes to just allude to the other issues without having to address them specifically. This, again, distances him from those who are potentially contributing to these so-called problems.

Invective: Invective was not a prominent rhetorical device in the 2008 campaign. This is contrary to Haun’s (1971) analysis of George Wallace where invective of his opponents and enemies was commonplace. Since part of invective is the harshness of tone when speaking, this demagogic technique could have been used by the candidates without being detected by the coders using the textual speech.

Obama’s speeches were coded for invective only three times, making this his second-least used technique (Table 3. A). McCain’s sentences were categorized as invective eight times as often (25 times), but were still among his less-used techniques only accounting for 6% of techniques used (Table 4. A and B). For example, McCain vituperated, “Not content to merely predict failure in Iraq, my opponent tried to legislate failure,” (2008, Aug. B). His use of the technique usually involved an insult of how his opponent handled a conflict like in the previous example.

Emotionalism: Both candidates successfully employed dramatic emotional appeals in their speeches. Obama: “And as someone who watched his own mother spend the final months of her life arguing with insurance companies because they claimed her cancer was a pre-existing condition and didn't want to pay for treatment, I will stop

insurance companies from discriminating against those who are sick and need care most,” (Obama, Oct. C). During his campaign, he not only used personal experiences, but also the testimony of ‘regular Americans’ to speak to voters’ hearts. In one speech he described a woman he met during an event in Ft. Lauderdale. “Sometime after our event, her son nearly went into cardiac arrest, and was diagnosed with a heart condition that could only be treated with a procedure that cost tens of thousands of dollars” (Obama, 2008, Oct. C). He goes on to explain how the woman’s insurance company refused to pay their medical bills. Obama was coded for 19 times or 5% of the time techniques were used (Table 3. A and B).

McCain almost goes to the point of an appeal to fear in one speech: “If the financial rescue bill fails in Congress yet again, the present crisis will turn into a disaster” (McCain, Oct. 2008 A). The sentence is a statement to voters that there is only one direction to go if the bill is not voted for and that direction is not a good one. Part of the emotionalism used in this sentence is its ambiguity: the uncertain extent of the disaster that Obama predicts makes it that much scarier. McCain used emotionalism 19 times or 8% of all techniques used (Table 4. A and B).

Scapegoating: Scapegoating was identified more than 30 times in both candidates’ speeches. Blaming “Washington” and “Wall Street” were common refrains in the candidates’ aim to engender an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ mentality. For example, McCain stated that, “If Governor Palin and I are elected in 46 days, we are not going to waste a moment in changing the way Washington does business,” (McCain, 2008, Sept. A). Similarly, Obama uses an even more direct route to blame both evils. “This financial

crisis is a direct result of the greed and irresponsibility that has dominated Washington and Wall Street for years” (Obama, Sept. 2008 C).

Obama was coded for scapegoating 45 times or 13% of the time techniques were used (Table 3. A and B). McCain used it less often, only 32 times or 8% of the time a technique was identified (Table 4. A and B).

Scapegoating is a defining technique of demagoguery (Roberts-Miller, 2005). Affiliating blame to another party for the current problems plaguing voters is integral to their political success (Neumann, 1938). In Gustainis’ (1989) review of demagoguery and political discourse he discusses this point stating, “Historically, demagogues have only been successful in times of turmoil, division and anxiety” (p. 157). The difficult economic situation for many Americans in the months leading up to the 2008 election created a contextual climate ripe for demagogic scapegoating. Blaming entities like ‘Washington’ and ‘Wall Street’ for the economic stress was coded in almost every one of the candidates’ speeches.

Attacking a Corporate Enemy: This technique was seen by the coders as a more specific type of scapegoating. An interesting finding from the analysis showed very little use of this technique from either candidate in August. As the election date grew closer, however, and the realities of the economy became more apparent, both candidates blamed Wall Street. In fact, this technique was only coded for six times in Obama’s August speeches, but in October it was coded 15 times. Overall, Obama used it 40 times or 11% of the time a technique was coded (Table 3. A and B).

For McCain, the difference is even more pronounced, in August ‘Attacking a Corporate Enemy’ was not used at all. Yet, just two months later, it was found eight

times. In total, McCain used attacking a corporate enemy 34 times or 9% of the time a technique was used (Table 4. A and B).

In September, an Obama speech targets Wall Street almost to the point of invective. "... I said that I would not allow this plan to become a welfare program for the Wall Street executives whose greed and irresponsibility got us into this mess" (Obama, 2008, Sept. C). Obama's last speech in October, an urgent tone is expressed, "In four days, you can turn the page on policies that have put the greed and irresponsibility of Wall Street before the hard work and sacrifice of folks on Main Street," (Oct. C). Here, he tries to push the blame of regular Americans' economic suffering onto the wealthy corporate executives. These statements may be considered significantly more demagogic with two year's hindsight, as even after two years of Obama's governance the policies and people that led to the economic crisis are for unpunished and for the most part still in place.

McCain proves his populist credentials in expression of frustration at Wall Street and Washington, the two institutions he claims are behind the hardships of Americans. "I'm going to make sure we take care of the working people who were devastated by the excesses of Wall Street and Washington," (McCain, Oct. C), a refrain quite similar to Obama's.

Appeals to Religious, Class and Race Hatreds: This rhetorical technique was, along with simplification, McCain's second-most used, being coded for 65 times or 9% of the time a technique was identified (Table 4. A and B). For example, McCain revealed: "Now I missed a few years of the Cold War, as the guest of one of our adversaries, but as I recall the world was deeply divided during the Cold War -- between the side of freedom

and the side of tyranny,” (McCain, 2008, C). Studies show this technique, of conjuring an us-versus-them mentality with the speaker and the audience as ‘us’, is strongly associated with southern demagogues (Clark, 1983; Lomas, 1961). He used audience member’s values relating to the communism and his involvement to capture their interest and support. A demagogic politician uses his own experiences to illustrate he shares the same view of the world and its “hardships” (Neumann, 1938, p. 493).

McCain uses this technique again when he brings up the wars in the Middle East: “You saw the blowing up of the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad just in the last couple of days” (McCain, 2008, C). This appeal to the radical and religious views associated with images of Muslim extremist bombing an American hotel in Iraq. After 9/11, appealing to voters’ biases of people and places associated with terrorists like Al Qaeda could evoke strong emotional reactions in Americans.

During the campaign, Republicans spread fear and confusion by questioning Obama’s citizenship and religious views (Weigel, 2009). A national study showed that about nine out of ten Americans had heard that Obama was a Muslim. Although only a quarter of them reported that they believed the rumor, it shows the wide-reach these of these stories (Grabmeier, 2009). This type of exploitation was not found in any McCain speeches, however, showing he was above sinking this low. Yet, when lawsuits surfaced in the final months of the presidential campaign against Obama’s citizenship eligibility to run for President, the McCain camp looked into their validity (Weigel, 2009).

Obama was coded for this technique only 14 times or 4% of the time a technique was coded (Table 3. A and B).

Exploitation of Men and Issues: McCain never exploited issues in the coded speeches. Obama, in contrast, employed the rhetorical device 18 times or 5% of the demagogic sentences (Table 3. A and B). For example: “This is the central front in the war on terrorism,” (Obama, Aug. C). Obama used the war in Iraq and Afghanistan to evoke shared feelings about a hot-button issue. When Obama refers to emotionally-arousing issues, he is hoping to capture the feelings invoked by the audience and then transfer them to his campaign. As a relative neophyte to public policy compared to his seasoned rival, especially international policy, discussing national security issues with grace and candor also served to make people more comfortable with the concept of Obama as commander-in-chief.

Common-man Appeal: The essence of demagoguery is rising to power as a leader of the masses. It is remarkable, then, the extent to which candidates in the 2008 presidential campaign tried to appeal to the average American. McCain, for example, testified, “I’m sure many of you will also recall from your experiences in war, as I do from mine, that when you’re somewhere on the other side of the world in the service of America you pay attention to the news from back home,” (McCain, 2008, Aug. B). McCain’s military background forged a common bond with millions of Americans. Even more exceptional was the McCain campaign’s exploitation of ‘Joe the plumber’. ‘Joe the Plumber’ became a euphemism for the common man during the months leading up to the election. As the economic situation’s reality became apparent, regular guy ‘Joe the Plumber’ represented the prize demographic of undecided voters for both campaigns. Accordingly, both campaigns made great efforts to demonstrate their populist credentials, to show that they represented “the little guy.” McCain points this out in a speech: “Joe

[the Plumber] can actually claim an achievement that few can top: he's the only person to get a real answer out of Senator Obama about his plans for our country,” (2008, Oct. B).

McCain used the common-man appeal technique 38 times or 10% of the demagogic sentences (Table 4. A and B).

For Obama, appeals to the common-man were the most commonly-used demagogic technique being coded for 66 times or 19% of the sentences identified as demagogic (Table 3. A and B). He relentlessly played the common-man card, both in his slogan “Yes we can” and in his many speeches emphasizing the word ‘we’. With statements such as, “As Americans, we know the answers to these questions,” (Obama, 2008, Aug. B), Obama affirms that he is an average American who shares voters’ points-of-view.

Anti-intellectualism: Anti-intellectualism was employed more often by the Obama campaign than the McCain campaign. This was surprising since Obama is known to have had years of higher education in Ivy League schools, whereas McCain was more of a jock in college and notoriously lackadaisical in his studies. Obama only used this technique 11 times or 3% of all demagogic sentences (Table 3. A and B). In one speech, Obama blames upper echelons of society for blue and white collar workers’ problems: “For eight years, we've seen what happens when we put the extremely wealthy and well-connected ahead of working people,” Obama, 2008, Oct. B). This compares to Wall Street versus Main Street issue that both campaigns had to capitalize on. By talking about the issue in this way he puts more importance and value on regular working-class people. This tactic is seen again by Obama: “Bottom-up growth that will create opportunity for every American,” (Obama, 2008, Sept. C). Historically, anti-

intellectualism condemned highly-educated persons because it was difficult for the working class to identify with them and who they were often intimidated by. However, given his highly privileged educational background Obama could not use the technique in this way.

McCain used anti-intellectualism only once (Table 4. A) as a way to disregard scholars in democratic discussion: “All of this is more than an academic debate,” (Aug. C). It attempts to show that just arguing about philosophical points will not move anything forward or solve any problems.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The results of the study provide evidence that contemporary political rhetoric is saturated with demagogic techniques. Despite the putative increase in candidates' accountability for their speeches due to new digital media, demagogic techniques as taxonomized by Haun (1971) are still very much used and abused by presidential candidates. The fact that all of Haun's techniques emerged in the content analysis points illustrates the enduring power of these techniques. Despite the changes in media technologies during the past four decades, human nature and political entrepreneurs' ability to exploit that nature using constitutionally-protected rights to a free press and free assembly have allowed for the extensive and continued use of demagogic techniques in campaign rhetoric.

The amount of agreement in the coders was higher on the more obvious techniques such as scapegoating, simplicity and emotionalism. There was lesser agreement on the more abstract techniques like exploitation of men and issues and appeals to religious, class and race hatreds. Many of the issues that can be exploited by a demagogue are ones that pertain to religion, class and race. For example, the war in Iraq and Afghanistan can evoke strong feelings in voters, as young people they know and love are fighting and dying there for their country. In audiences who feel strongly about Muslims or Arabs, these wars may also provoke shared feelings of resentment of race or

religion. Coders have their own biases and beliefs, so what may be considered exploitive demagoguery by one may be considered honest argument by another.

Repetition, one of the more simple techniques, demonstrated significant disagreement across the coders. It appears that there was uncertainty about whether to code 'repetition' if a candidate used the same statement across different speeches, used the same statement in consecutive sentences, or used the same statement in the same sentence. Future studies using this rubric should define these rules in the coder's handbook prior to coding.

The specific techniques used and not used by a demagogue may reveal something about that demagogue's psychology and strategy. The use or omission of a demagogic technique could also unlock what kind of audience they are targeting in their discourse. For instance, southern demagogues historically exploited the racism of the region in their campaigns. Therefore, the absence or presence of a particular technique is worth discussing to better understand the rhetorical strategies of each candidate.

McCain, for example, used repetition most often, and employed simplification and appeals to religion, class, and race twice as often as the remaining techniques. His approach was that of a more emotional, patriotic demagogue. This approach was likely calculated to rally the Republican base, which in 2008 was noted for its emotional and patriotic tendencies (Meckler & Cooper, 2008). McCain also made liberal use of perpetuation of problems, scapegoating, corporate attacks, and common man appeals. His speeches were notable for a distinct lack of exploitation of issues and anti-intellectualism. This last finding may be surprising, as other national Republican candidates (e.g. Sarah Palin) have commonly applied the technique in recent elections (Hebel, Wiedeman &

Basken, 2008). McCain used invective and emotionalism much more than Obama. These strategies too would be predicted to rouse a patriotic, emotional base to increase voter turnout.

Obama, on the other hand, applied the common man appeal more than any other technique. This finding, especially combined with Obama's surprisingly common use of anti-intellectualism compared to McCain (11 vs 1), reveals a concerted strategy to combat Obama's image as an effete, professorial, Ivory Tower liberal. These rhetorical devices, alongside Obama's informal dress (See Ch. 4 The Campaign of the Demagogue) and effortless basketball three-pointers, invented a persona for Obama as a down-to-Earth, likable individual. Obama also made considerable use of simplification, repetition, and perpetuation of problems, scapegoating, and corporate attacks. Obama exploited issues much more often than McCain. This pattern likely reflected a concerted strategy to prove Obama's policy credentials. The McCain campaign contrasted their candidate's status as an elder statesman with Obama's relative inexperience; by actively exploiting important issues, Obama sought to minimize this disparity.

Implications

The results from this contemporary application of Haun's (1971) theory of demagoguery have introduced further questions and potential new avenues for future research on this topic. Since demagogic rhetoric does not seem to have faded with time, it will be useful for communication researchers to continue the investigation into the effects and consequences of demagoguery. Identifying its relevancy is only the first step

in determining how, when, why and where this rhetorical strategy will be used presently and in the future.

An interesting notion for further research would be to see if a successful candidate used more demagoguery in their campaigns and what aspects or techniques are the most successful in contemporary campaigns. Or do the issues like a downturn in the economy control what works and what does not? Gustainis' (1989) theory would agree with that angle. When he stated that demagoguery thrives when citizens are deeply unsatisfied could mean that it would take a crisis like an economic depression or recession for this type of rhetoric to be extremely successful. For instance, the common-man technique of attacking Wall Street was definitely a theme during the 2008 presidential election. The candidate who used it most (Obama) was the victor.

If the candidates with more demagoguery in their campaigns are more apt to win an election, does this mean it's an effective tactic for future campaigns? Determining what is effective about demagogic campaigns and why it works could provide campaign managers new methods to incorporate in their election tactic arsenal. Unfortunately, our analysis cannot comment directly on this question, as both candidates applied demagogic techniques at a remarkably similar frequency (44% of analyzed sentences for Obama, 43% for McCain).

The accessibility to politicians through the internet served as the context of the analysis. Another interesting avenue for research would be to discover if active internet users are affected as much as traditional media users by demagoguery. Studies have shown that high internet users take different things into account than lower internet or traditional media users. Uncovering what higher internet users are looking for could suggest more successful digital campaign maneuvers for political campaigns.

After Obama won the 2008 election his popular slogan “Yes we can” became “Yes we did.” His effective common-man technique slogan was so adopted by his supporters they still felt they were actually a part of his election victory. Further research on how to harness the power of transitioning together with the voters could be important in future campaigns as others try to master the same technique.

Limitations

Much of what makes a demagogue is their presence or charisma level; without inherent authoritativeness, the message would hold much less power (Gunn, 2007). However, as Gunn (2007) states, this “powerful, emotional field” cannot be “reduced to mere semantic effects” (p. 19). Modulation of vocal tone, tempo, and timbre can have spellbinding effects on audiences in the right setting. In Haun’s (1971) study, she describes George Wallace’s delivery as “forceful, energetic, lively, tireless” (p. 75). These terms cannot be captured by a content analysis, but would be a part of his demagogic devices and audience manipulation. Using more visual and audio recordings in future analysis could provide more information on this aspect of demagoguery.

In Roberts-Miller’s (2005) guide to understanding the relationship between the emerging deliberative democracy and demagoguery she poses another distinction for further study. She discusses whether or not demagogic discourse is always harmful, having negative consequences. She advances this notion asking, “Is it only harmful if the demagogue is powerful enough to effect policy changes?” (Roberts-Miller, 2005, p. 474). This question considers that the demagogue’s strategy could be neutral if they are ineffective. Goldzwig (2006) brings up another avenue of research using demagogic rhetoric as a backdrop for reinterpreting democratic discourse. “[A]ttempting to calibrate

how audiences interpret figurative language in everyday discourse” will increase our knowledge of how demagoguery affects audiences (p. 476). Analyzing the target audience’s understanding of the rhetoric will aid scholars in discovering the effectiveness of certain demagogic strategies.

Conclusion

This study investigated the relevancy of demagoguery in the 2008 contemporary political context. The studies answered each of the research questions in the affirmative: Haun’s taxonomy provided a useful classification system for the demagogic techniques used in the 2008 presidential candidates’ campaign speeches; the 2008 presidential campaign was a historical context compatible with Haun’s demagogic context. The 2008 presidential candidates applied all of Haun’s demagogic techniques in their speeches. This study reveals that demagoguery continues in political rhetoric and discourse, despite the revolution in digital media.

The 24-hours-a-day 7-days-a-week campaigns created by our mass media culture means that any and all of a candidate’s actions are fair game for media reporting and analysis. One could hope that this situation would lead to increased transparency and therefore less use of demagogic techniques. The current study reveals that this is not the case. In fact, it may allow easier access to targeted voting audiences.

One may also predict that this media situation would encourage a more precise management of candidates’ words and behaviors to engineer a politically-palatable persona. Indeed, the rhetorical analysis revealed robust and interesting patterns in the rhetorical strategies applied by each candidate. John McCain made disproportionate use

of repetition, simplification, appeals to religion, class, and race, invective, and emotionalism techniques which as one would be expected to appeal to an electorate sensitive to emotional agnatological argument. Obama disproportionately employed common-man appeals, anti-intellectualism, and exploitation of issues, a pattern which reveals a concerted strategy to make Obama into a more understandable, less exotic, and less suspicious candidate and downplay Obama's inexperience.

Despite new avenues to reach voters in the digital mass media culture, and despite the immediacy and increased transparency granted by the perpetual motion machine news cycle, social entrepreneurs seeking political power in our democratic free-speech society continue to employ the demagogic techniques perfected by George Wallace and taxonomized by Haun (1971). Even at the highest level of political debate, manipulations, distortions and deception are still used consistently and effectively to gain political power. The promise of a more enlightened political process mediated by vigilant observers and social critics on the internet has not yet and may never reach fruition.

Table 2. Demagogic Technique Codes

<u>Technique</u>	<u>CODE</u>
Simplicity	SIMP
Repetition	REP
Verbal Perpetuation of Problems	PERP
Evasion of Issues	EVA
Invective	INV
Emotionalism	EMO
Scapegoating	SCAP
Attacking a Corporate Enemy	CORP
Appeals to Religious, Class, and Race	
Hatreds	APP
Exploitation of Men and Issues	EXP
Common-man Appeal	COMM
Anti-intellectualism	ANTI

Table 3A. Barack Obama Content Analysis Results

Obama's Speeches

Month Delivered	Speech	# of Sentences per Speech	SIM	REP	PERP	EVA	INV	EMO	SCA	CORP	APP	EXP	COMM	ANTI	Total # Techniques per Speech
Aug.	A	104	8	7	10	0	0	2	4	10	0	1	6	0	48
	B	186	8	6	9	0	0	5	0	3	3	1	8	0	43
	C	184	4	12	4	0	2	2	5	1	8	11	9	0	58
Sept.	A	67	8	1	4	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	3	2	22
	B	148	0	4	4	0	0	4	4	5	0	0	15	1	37
	C	148	0	9	3	1	0	0	6	6	2	0	3	1	31
Oct.	A	182	3	5	0	0	0	0	9	7	1	3	6	0	34
	B	174	4	5	5	0	1	1	9	2	0	0	10	3	40
	C	163	1	5	6	0	0	4	6	6	0	1	12	4	45
Totals:	9	1252	36	54	47	1	3	19	45	40	14	18	66	11	354

Table 3B. Percent of sentences demonstrating each demagogic technique by Obama

Percentage	SI M	RE P	PER P	EV A	IN V	EM O	SC A	COR P	AP P	EX P	COM M	ANT I	All Techniques
Total Sentences:													
1252	3%	4%	4%	0%	0%	2%	4%	3%	1%	1%	5%	1%	28%

Table 3C. Relative proportions of demagogic techniques by Obama

Percentage	SIM	REP	PERP	EVA	INV	EMO	SCA	CORP	APP	EXP	COMM	ANTI
Total # of Techniques:												
354	10%	15%	13%	0%	1%	5%	13%	11%	4%	5%	19%	3%

Table 3D. Average demagogic techniques used by Obama

Obama Speeches	SIM	REP	PERP	EVA	INV	EMO	SCA	CORP	APP	EXP	COMM	ANTI
9	4	6	5.22	0	0.33	2.11	5	4.44	1.56	2	7.33	1.22

Table 4A. John McCain content analysis results

McCain Speeches

Month Delivered	Speech	# of Sentences per speech	SIM	REP	PERP	EVA	INV	EMO	SCA	CORP	APP	EXP	COMM	ANTI	Total # Techniques per Speech		
Aug.	A	33	3	5	6	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	18		
	B	108	4	7	6	2	6	11	2	0	0	0	2	0		40	
	C	131	7	16	2	1	2	3	0	0	14	0	8	1			54
Sept.	A	126	8	1	2	0	8	1	12	16	9	0	1	0	36		
	B	130	3	5	8	0	0	0	1	7	7	0	5	0		27	
	C	64	5	2	3	0	4	1	3	3	3	0	3	0			41
Oct.	A	108	7	11	6	1	0	2	3	4	4	0	3	0	61		
	B	131	11	11	2	1	3	0	4	2	17	0	10	0			
	C	124	17	17	0	2	1	0	6	2	11	0	5	0			
Totals:	9	955	65	75	35	5	25	19	32	34	65	0	38	1	394		

Table 4B. Percent sentences demonstrating each demagogic technique by McCain

Technique	SI M	RE P	PER P	EV A	IN V	EM O	SC A	COR P	AP P	EX P	COM M	ANT I	All Techniques
Total Sentences:													
955	7%	8%	4%	1%	3%	2%	3%	4%	7%	0%	4%	0%	41%

Table 4C. Relative proportions of demagogic techniques used by McCain

Technique	SIM	REP	PERP	EVA	INV	EMO	SCA	CORP	APP	EXP	COMM	ANTI
Total # of Techniques:												
394	16%	19%	9%	1%	6%	8%	8%	9%	16%	0%	10%	0%

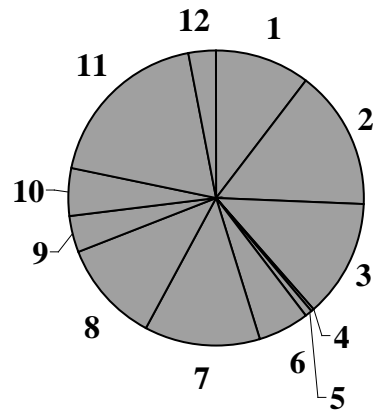
Table 4D. Average demagogic techniques use per speech by Obama

McCain Speeches	SIM	REP	PERP	EVA	INV	EMO	SCA	CORP	APP	EXP	COMM	ANTI
9	7.22	8.33	3.89	0.56	2.78	2.11	3.56	3.78	7.22	0.00	4.22	0.11

Table 5. Pie Chart

Proportions of demagogic techniques used by candidate

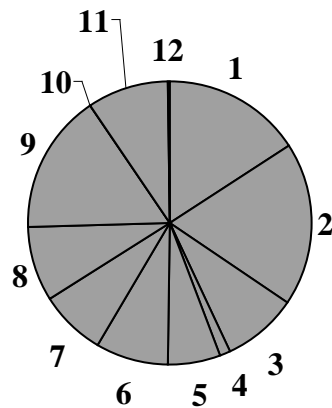
Proportions of demagogic techniques used by Obama



Legend:

1. Simplicity - 10%
2. Repetition - 15%
3. Verbal perpetuation of problems - 13%
4. Evasion of issues - 0%
5. Invective - 1%
6. Emotional appeals - 5%
7. Scapegoating - 13%
8. Attacking a corporate enemy - 11%
9. Appeals to religious, class and race hatreds - 14%
10. Exploitation of men and issues - 5%
11. Attacking a corporate enemy - 11%
12. Scapegoating - 13%

Proportions of demagogic techniques used by McCain

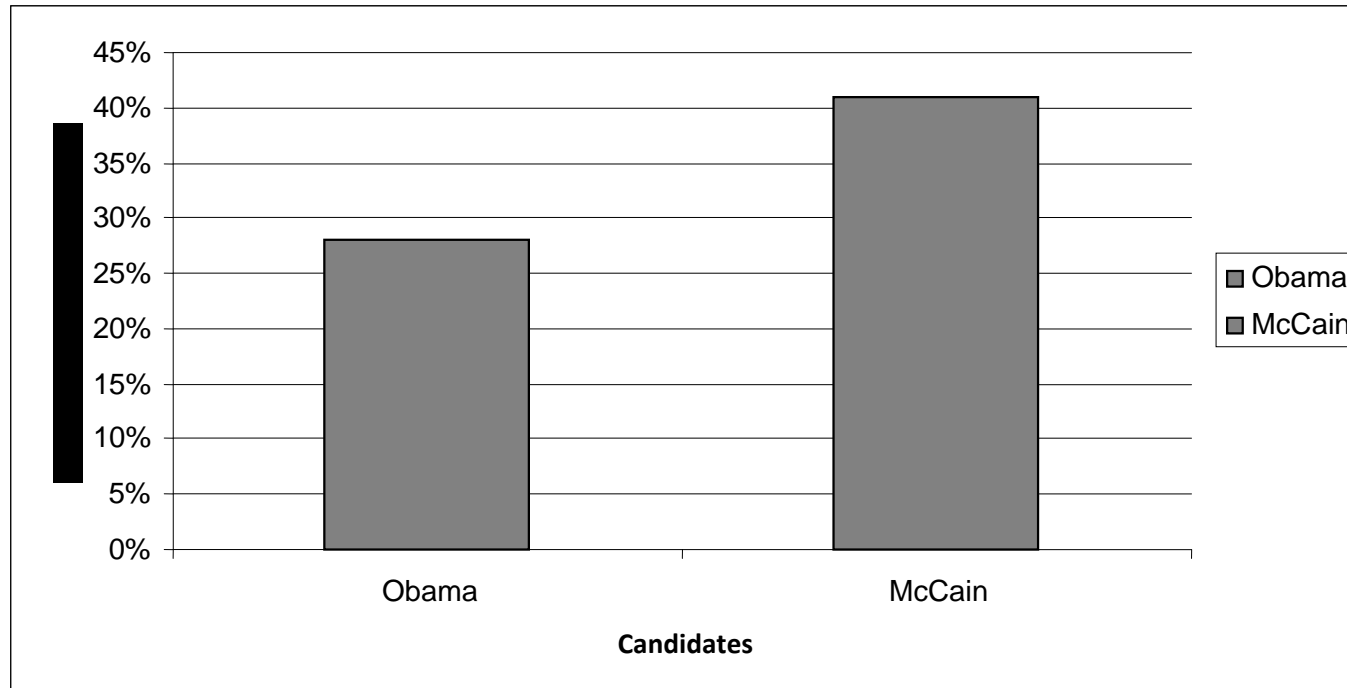


Legend:

1. Simplicity – 16%
2. Repetition – 19%
3. Verbal perpetuation of problems – 9%
4. Evasion of issues – 1%
5. Invective – 6%
6. Emotional appeals – 8%
7. Scapegoating – 8%
8. Attacking a corporate enemy – 8%
9. Appeals to religious, class and race hatreds – 16%
10. Exploitation of men and issues – 0%

Table 6. Bar graph

Percentage of speech sentences which were classified as demagogic: McCain vs. Obama



REFERENCES

- Abramowitz, M. & Shear, M. D. (2009, October 21). McCain emphasize distance from Bush. *The Washington Post*, A01.
- Achter, P. J. (2004). TV, technology, and McCarthyism: Crafting the democratic renaissance in an age of fear. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 90, 3, pp. 307-326.
- Baskerville, B. (1954). Joe McCarthy, brief-case demagogue. *Today's Speech*, pp. 8-15.
- Bessette, Joseph (1980) "Deliberative Democracy: The Majority Principle in Republican Government," in *How Democratic is the Constitution?*. Washington, D.C., AEI Press. pp. 102–116.
- Bossman, J. (2007, October 23). Obama says U.S. must reach out to ‘friend and foe alike’ to reclaim role. *The New York Times*.
- Burke, K. (1973). *The Philosophy of Literary Form* (3rd ed.). Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Carter, N. H. et al (1821). *Reports of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1821*. Albany, p. 362.
- Clark, E. C. (1983). Pitchfork Ben Tillman and the emergence of southern demagoguery. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 69, pp.423-433.
- Cooper, C. and Holmes, E. (2008, October 28). Campaign’08: Candidates zero in on economy; Obama sums up effort to ‘turn the page’; McCain warns against higher taxes. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. A.4.
- Craine, Nick (2008). The demagogue. *The New Republic*, 237, 4,828, pp. 1-2.
- Darsey, J. (2006). Patricia Roberts-Miller, demagoguery, and the troublesome case of Eugene Debs. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 9, 3, p. 463-488.

- Davisson, A. (2009). 'I'm in!': Hillary Clinton's 2008 Democratic Primary Campaign on YouTube. *Journal of Visual Literacy*, 28, 1, pp. 70-91.
- Demagogue. (2010). In *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*. Retrieved February 26, 2010, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/demagogue>
- Dickinson, T. (2008). The machinery of hope. *Rolling Stone*, issue 1048, 36-42.
- Donahue, B. F. (1975). The political use of religious symbols: A case study of the 1972 Presidential campaign. *The Review of Politics*, 37, 1, pp. 48-65.
- Doob, L. W. (1935). *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Doob, L. W. (1950). Goebbels' principles of propaganda. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, fall, 419-442.
- Doob, L. W. & Robinson, E. S. (1935). Psychology and propaganda. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 179, pp. 88-95.
- Ellsworth, J. W. (1965). Rationality and campaigning: A content analysis of the 1960 Presidential debates. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 18, 4, 794-802.
- Ellul, J. (1965). *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
- Eilperin, J. & Barnes, B. (2008, July 31). As aides map aggressive race, McCain often steers of course. *The Washington Post*.
- Evan, T., Bailey, H., Kliff, S., Isikoff, M., Wolffe, R. & Smalley, S. (2008). Candidates think flip-flopping is the only way to win elections. *Newsweek*, 152, 1/2, pp. 36-38.

- Frank, T. (2008, October 29). The tilting yard: Blessed are the persecuted. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. A. 15.
- Freeman, S. (2000). Deliberative democracy: A sympathetic comment. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 29, 4, pp. 371-418.
- Gilbert, G. M. (1955). Dictators and demagogues. *Journal of Social Issues*, 11, 3, pp. 51-56.
- Goldzwig, S. R. (2006). Demagoguery, democratic dissent, and “re-visioning” democracy. *Rhetorical and Public Affairs*, 9, 3, pp. 471-478.
- Gordon-Murnane, L. (2008). The 51st state: The state of online. *Searcher*, 16, 9, pp. 38-45.
- Grabmeier, J. (2009). Survey: Few people believed campaign rumors about Obama, McCain. This research is part of the POINT (People, Organizations, and Information Technology) project of the [Center for Research on Information Technology and Organizations \(CRITO\)](#) at the University of California, Irvine.
- Gustainis, J. J. (1989). Demagoguery and political rhetoric: A review of the literature. Presented at the annual meeting of the *Speech Communication Association*. San Francisco, CA.
- Gunn, J. (2007) Hystericizing Huey: Emotional appeals, desire, and the psychodynamics of demagoguery. *Western Journal of Communication*, 71, 1, pp. 1-27.
- Harper, T. (2008, October 3). Palin turns aggressive and avoids big gaffe. *Toronto Star*, p. A-1.

- Haun, M. W. *A study in demagoguery: A critical analysis of the speaking of George Corley Wallace in the 1968 presidential campaign. Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1971.*
- Healy, P. & Luo, M. (2008, October 23). \$150,000 Wardrobe for Palin may alter tailor-made image. *The New York Times*.
- Hebel, S., Wiedman, R. & Basken, P. (2008). Donors from academe favor Obama by a wide margin. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 55, 9, p.1.
- Hogan, J. M. & Williams, G. (2004). The rusticity and religiosity of Huey P. Long. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 7, 2, pp. 149-172.
- Hogan, J. M. & Tell, D. (2006). Demagoguery and democratic deliberation: The search for rules of discursive engagement. *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 9, 3, pp. 479-487.
- Hurt, J. (1980). All the living and the dead: Lincoln's imagery. *American Literature*, 52, 3, pp. 351-380.
- Jeansonne, G. (1983). Oral history, biography, and political demagoguery: The case of Gerald L. K. Smith. *The Oral History Review*, 11, pp. 87-102.
- Kaid, L. L. (2003). Effects of Political Information in the 2000 Presidential Campaign: Comparing Traditional Television and Internet Exposure. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 46, 5, pp. 677-691.
- Kaye, B. K & Johnson, T. J. (2002). Online and in the know: Uses and gratifications of the web for political information. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 46, 1, pp. 54 – 71.

- Kelly, C. E. & Troester, R. (1989, November). *Republican campaign rhetoric: Reflections of a meaner, tougher America*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association, San Francisco, CA.
- Lewis-Beck, M. S. (2009). The economy, Obama, and the 2008 election. *Political Science and Politics*, 42, 2, pp. 457-458.
- Lichtman, S. (2008). The no-boomerang effect: The absence of backlash to demagoguery. Paper presented at annual meeting of Northeastern Political Science Association, November 2008.
- Logue, C. M. & Dorgan H. (ed.) (1981). *The Oratory of Southern Demagogues*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Lomas, C. W. (1961). The rhetoric of demagoguery. *Western Speech*, 25, pp. 160-168.
- Lomas, C.W. (1968). *The Agitator in American Society*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Luthin, R. H. (1951). Some demagogues in American history. *The American Historical Review*, 57, 1, pp. 22-46.
- Luthin, R. H. (1954) *American Demagogues: Twentieth Century*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- McEdwards, M. G. (1968). Agitative rhetoric: Its nature and effect. *Western Speech*, 32, pp. 36-43.
- Meckler, L. & Cooper, C. (2008, October 30). Campaign '08: McCain to shift focus to security. *The Wall Street Journal*, p. A.4.
- Morse, A. D. (1886). The political influence of Andrew Jackson. *Political Science Quarterly*, 1, 2, pp. 153-1662.

- Nagourney, A. (2008, September 19). The new McCain: More aggressive and scripted on the campaign trail. *The New York Times*.
- Nichols, C. M. (2004). What would the public think? An experiment in deliberative democracy. *The Hedgehog Review*, 6, 3, pp. 67-76.
- Neumann, S. (1938). The rule of the demagogue. *American Sociological Review*, 3, 4, pp. 487-498.
- Poniewozik, J. (2008). What's wrong with celebrity?. *Time*, 172, 8, p. 21.
- Posner, R. A. (2003). *Law, Pragmatism, and Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Powell, M. (2008, February 24). On center stage, a candidate letting his confidence show. *The New York Times*, p. A-21.
- Redlich, N. (1952). A handbook for demagogues. *The Nation*, 175, 14, p. 290.
- Roberts-Miller, P. (2005). Democracy, demagoguery, and critical rhetoric. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 8, 3, pp. 459-476.
- Robison, D. M. (1937). From Tillman to Long: Striking leaders of the rural south. *The Journal of Southern History*, 3, 3, pp. 289-310.
- Rutenberg, J. & Nagourney, A. (2008, September 7). An advisor molds a tighter, more aggressive McCain campaign. *New York Times*.
- Shannon, M. M. (2007). Shaking hands, kissing babies, and... blogging? *Communications of the ACM*, 50, 9, pp. 21-24.
- Shiffman, G. (2002). Construing disagreement: Consensus and invective in "constitutional" debate. *Political Theory*, 30, 2, pp. 175-203.

- Smith, A. (2009). The internet's role in campaign 2008. *Pew Internet & American Life Project*. Retrieved June 2, 2009 from <http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2009/6--The-Internets-Role-in-Campaign-2008.aspx>
- Smith, W. E. (1989). The shrinking sound bite: Two decades of stylistic evolution in television news. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. Washington D.C.
- Stein, S. (2008, January 21). Short on Economic Understanding, McCain brings Phil Gramm to meeting. *The Huffington Post*.
- Stewart, N. & Ruane, M. E. (2008, December 16). Like Lincoln, Obama will ride the rails to D.C. *The Washington Post*.
- Stone, G. R. (2005). Free speech in the age of McCarthy: A cautionary tale. *California Law Review*, 93, 5, pp. 1387-1412.
- Talbot, D. (2008). How Obama really did it. *Technology Review*, 3, 5, pp. 78-83.
- Weigel, D. (2009). McCain campaign investigated, dismissed Obama citizenship rumors. *The Washington Independent*.
- Wenger, D. H. & MacManus, S. A. (2009). Watching history: TV Coverage of the 2008 campaign. *Journalism Studies*, 10, 3, pp. 427-435.
- Whillock, R.K. (1994). The subversion of argument: Lessons from the demagogic rhetoric of David Duke. *Political Communication*, 11, pp. 217-231.
- Williams, T. H. (1960). The gentleman from Louisiana: Demagogue or democrat. *The Journal of Southern History*, 26, 1, pp. 3-21.

Zeleny, J. & Nagourney, A. (2008, April 28). Eyes on blue-collar voters, Obama shifts style. *New York Times*.

Candidates Speeches

www.barackobama.com (www.barackobama.com/speeches/index.php for speeches)

www.johnmccain.com (www.johnmccain.com/Informing/News/Speeches/ for speeches)

McCain, J. (2008, Aug. B). Remarks by John McCain to the 87th Annual Convention of the disabled American Veterans. Speech presented in Las Vegas, NV.

McCain, J. (2008, Aug. C). Remarks by John McCain at the 90th annual American Legion National Convention. Speech presented in Phoenix Arizona.

McCain, J. (2008, Sept. A). Sen. McCain speaks in Scranton, Pennsylvania.

McCain, J. (2008, Oct. B). Remarks By John McCain On The Economy. Speech delivered in Independence, Missouri.

McCain, J. (2008, Oct. B). Remarks by John McCain in Belton, Missouri.

McCain, J. (2008, Oct. C). Remarks by John McCain. Speech presented in Columbus, Ohio.

Obama, B. (2008, Aug. B). Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: New Energy for America. Speech presented in Lansing, Michigan.

Obama, B. (2008 Sept. C). Remarks of Senator Barack Obama. Speech delivered in Reno, Nevada.

Obama, B. (2008, Oct. B). Remarks of Senator Barack Obama. Speech presented in St. Louis, Missouri.

Obama, B. (2008, Oct. C). Remarks of Senator Barack Obama. Speech presented in Des Moines, Iowa.