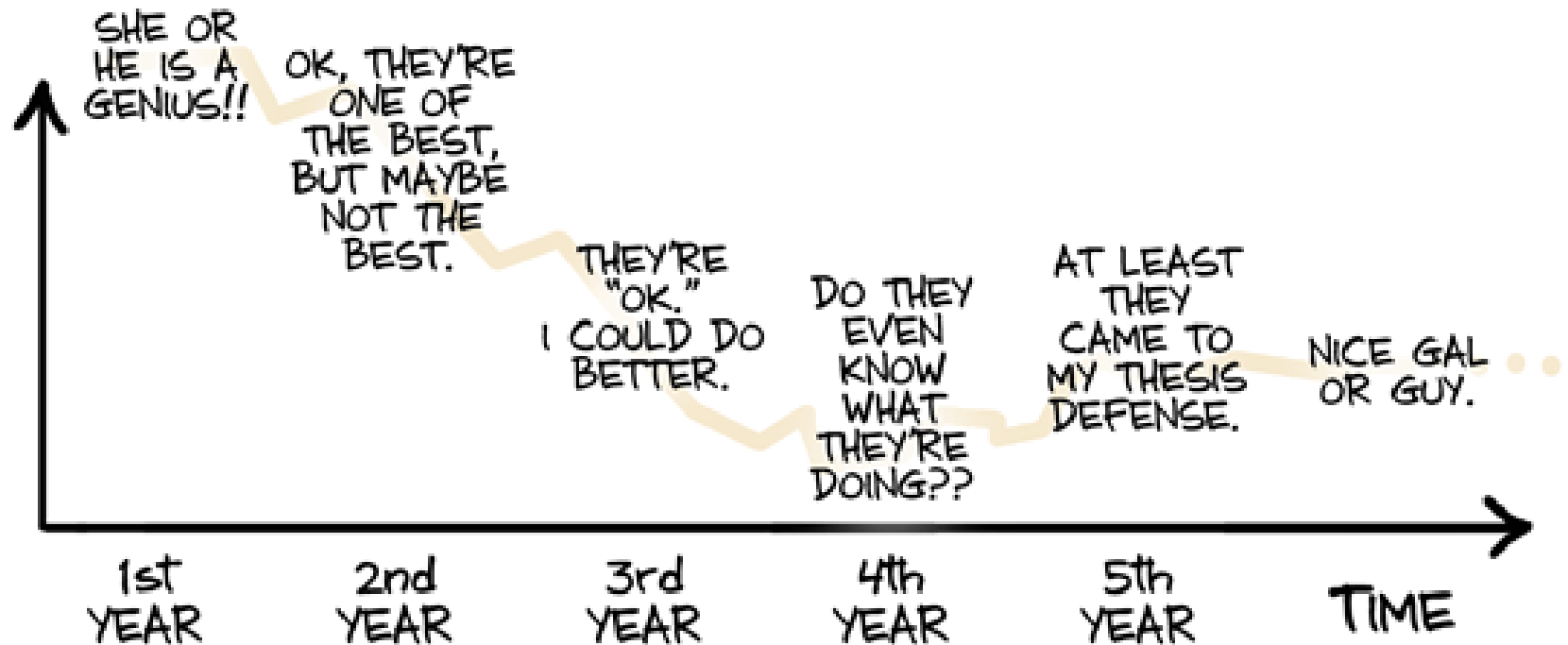


WHAT YOU THINK OF YOUR PROFESSOR vs. TIME



Who I am...and where this presentation comes from

- High school teacher (English and Dutch)
- Scientific collaborator at UCL
- PhD from the Centre for English Corpus Linguistics (October 2, 2014)
 - The Centre for English Corpus Linguistics (CECL) specializes in the collection and use of corpora for linguistic and pedagogical purposes. Its main areas of focus are learner and multilingual corpora. At the end of the 1980s, the CECL pioneered the study of learner corpora with the [International Corpus of Learner English](#) (ICLE).
 - CECL team: 21 members





C E C L



- (MA Germanic Languages, Supervisor: Fanny Meunier)
→ “advanced” MA in **American Studies** (and no previous background in corpus linguistics) → PhD at the CECL (Fanny Meunier)
- ~~Learner corpora, SLA,...~~
- American way of religion, political discourse, religious rhetoric, presidential rhetoric and presidential campaign rhetoric.
- Jury: Prof. Dr. Tony McEnery
(but also Prof. Dr. Marc Lits (communication, UCL), Prof. Dr. Min Reuchamps (political science, UCL), and Prof. Dr. John Dick (Theology/ American way of religion, KUL/Ugent))
- Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Fanny Meunier (UCL, CECL)
- Today: // oral defense (full-time job as a teacher → no addition yet)

A Corpus Linguistics Approach to the Rhetorical God Gap in U.S. Presidential Campaigns: Outline

1. Research question: Rhetorical God Gap?
2. Methodology
3. Corpora
4. **Some** findings (main lessons from the main analysis. ~~Limitations/is it OK to use religious rhetoric/American history/American way of religion/...~~)
5. Conclusion

Outline

1. Research question: Rhetorical God Gap?
2. Methodology
3. Corpora
4. Some findings (main lessons from the main analysis)
5. Conclusion

1. Research Question

The God Gap?

- “Gapology” literature
 - “electoral gaps” (Olson and Green, 2009: 1-9): racial and ethnic gaps, the marriage gap, the class gap, the rural-urban gap, the gender gap, the generation gap,...
 - How can these gaps explain how people cast their votes?
- God gap:
 - *[A] label used to describe the tendency of those who are highly religious to vote Republican and those who are less so to vote Democratic.*

(Smidt et al., 2010:4)
- Understanding the God gap: intricate business
 - Part of a much larger phenomenon: the American-style entanglement between politics and religion.
 - grass roots level (voting behavior)
 - Elite level (impact of faith/religious affiliation on political agenda? Exploitation of religion to garner votes? Distinction between genuine faith and political exploitation of religion? Religious rhetoric?...)

1. Research Question

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1. Research Question

The Rhetorical God Gap in Presidential Campaign Speeches

- Conventional wisdom based on two premises:
 - (A) For decades (exception: 2008?), the Republicans have played the religious rhetoric card with much more intensity and skill than their Democratic counterparts
 - (B) Religious rhetoric can influence the way people cast their votes and appeals to the more religious constituencies, which are believed to be influential and well organized.
- (A) + (B) → Eureka! For the Democrats to **close the electoral God gap**, they must engage in more and better religious rhetoric and **close the rhetorical God gap**.

1. Research Question

The Rhetorical God Gap in Presidential Campaign Speeches

- Conventional wisdom seems deeply ingrained in people's mind, and there might be some elements of truth in it. BUT the lack of supporting evidence is endemic.
 - Very little evidence for the influence of rhetoric on voting preferences (Edwards, 2003)
 - No research done on premise A, i.e. the existence of differences between the religious rhetoric produced by the GOP candidates and that produced by the Democratic Party candidates (although we can suppose that differences exist indeed)
- Literature produced so far?
 - Religion and politics have made much ink to flow.
 - The marriage between religion and politics has often been described as inherently linked to the electoral process and as a “God Strategy” to garner more votes (Domke and Coe, 2008).
 - Paradox: focus laid on fairly recent and quite specific presidential speeches (e.g.: SOTU, Inaugural addresses, “major” speeches) but **not on presidential campaign speeches.**
- This study → **Unprecedented effort** to study and describe (quantitatively and qualitatively) the religiously laden rhetoric produced by presidential candidates on both sides of the political spectrum and across time. (mainly 1952-2008 but the corpus data analyzed range from 1789 to 2009, while the earliest historical piece analyzed is Winthrop's 1630 sermon)

Outline

1. Research question: Rhetorical God Gap?
2. Methodology
3. Corpora
4. Some findings (main lessons from the main analysis)
5. Conclusion

2. Methodology

- Unprecedented → first step to take? Which is the best methodological course to take first?
- **Answer: list of methodological objectives to achieve:**
 - Avoid starting from preconceived assumptions as to which era or which side of the religious-cum-political spectrum uses religious rhetoric the most saliently or skillfully
 - Put each and every presidential candidate on equal footing rather than choose (or cherry-pick) the favorite ones, the most fashionable ones, or those who seem to offer the most promising outcomes.
 - But do not reject specific cases either if they contain important idiosyncratic features
 - Find a methodology that helps analyze SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES between the candidates
 - Do not reduce the rhetorical God gap to a precise set of arbitrarily chosen items to query and analyze (e.g.: queries *god/bless*)
 - Observation is key. Need for some distance first. Move along the macroscopic-microscopic line.
 - Let the data speak first (data-driven or “corpus-driven” approach (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001) rather than muzzle the data with top-down premises and preconceived intuitions.
 - What are we going to listen to? → try to consider every rhetorical signal that has been identified as connected to the American-style entanglement between religion and politics.
 - Quantitative approach and qualitative approach
 - Consideration for context

2. Methodology

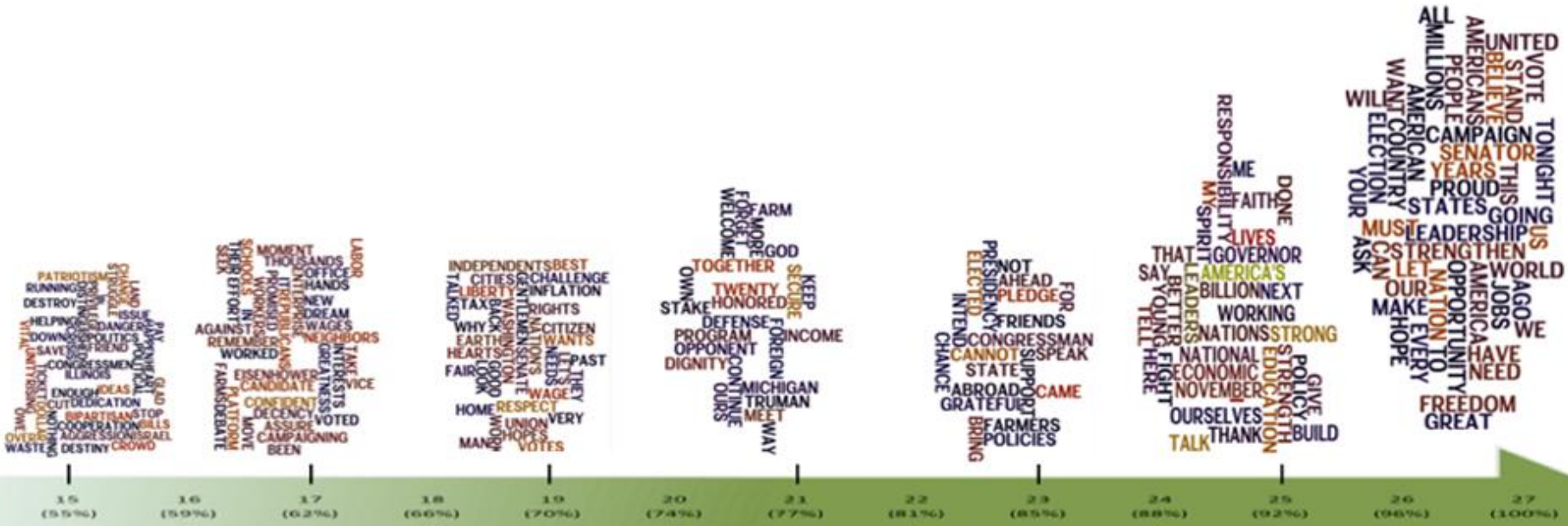
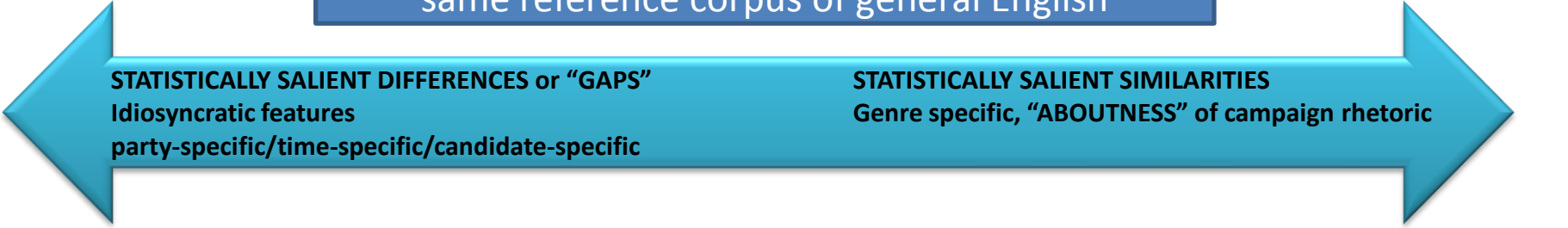
- Which tool in the corpus linguistics toolbox can help meet these objectives?
 - Mike Scott's *WordSmith Tools* (version 5.0)
 - Key keyword analysis:
 - compares the campaign rhetoric produced by each candidate against a same norm, i.e. a reference corpus of “general English” (American English)
 - For each candidate, extracts statistically significant items (here: “keywords”);
 - Sorts these significant keywords according to whether they are shared by other (and potentially all) candidates or whether they are specific to only a few of them or even totally candidate-specific.
 - Helps move along the case-specific genre-specific line and discover whether a specific pattern cuts through the time and party lines or else is located on very specific eras, is the product of a specific party, or else is totally candidate specific.

2. Methodology

- From the results returned from the key keyword analysis, other analyses have been launched:
 - concordance analyses (from concordance lines to source texts)
 - collocation analyses (traditional L5-R5 collocation patterns, collocation relationships (MI-score test and T-score test))
 - Bible-specific 7-gram analysis
 - slicing the bible into 7-word-long sequences
 - and searching for each one of them in the entire campaign speeches corpus in order to spot verbatim quotes from the Bible
- + illuminate these results with a historical/political/sociological/American studies perspective.

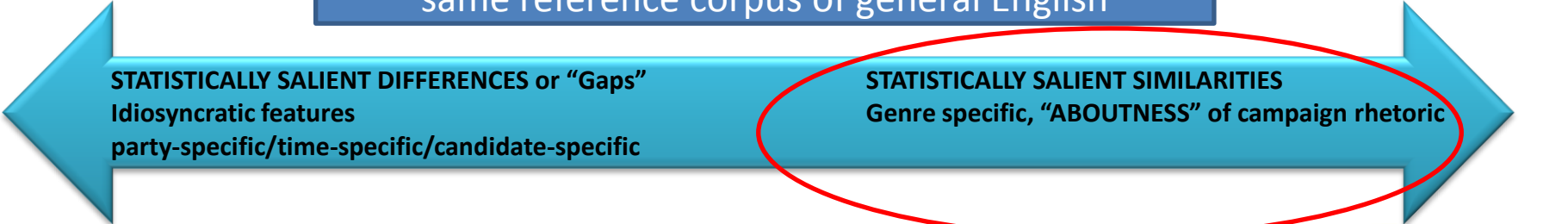
Key Keyword Analysis

Comparing each campaign speeches file against a same reference corpus of general English



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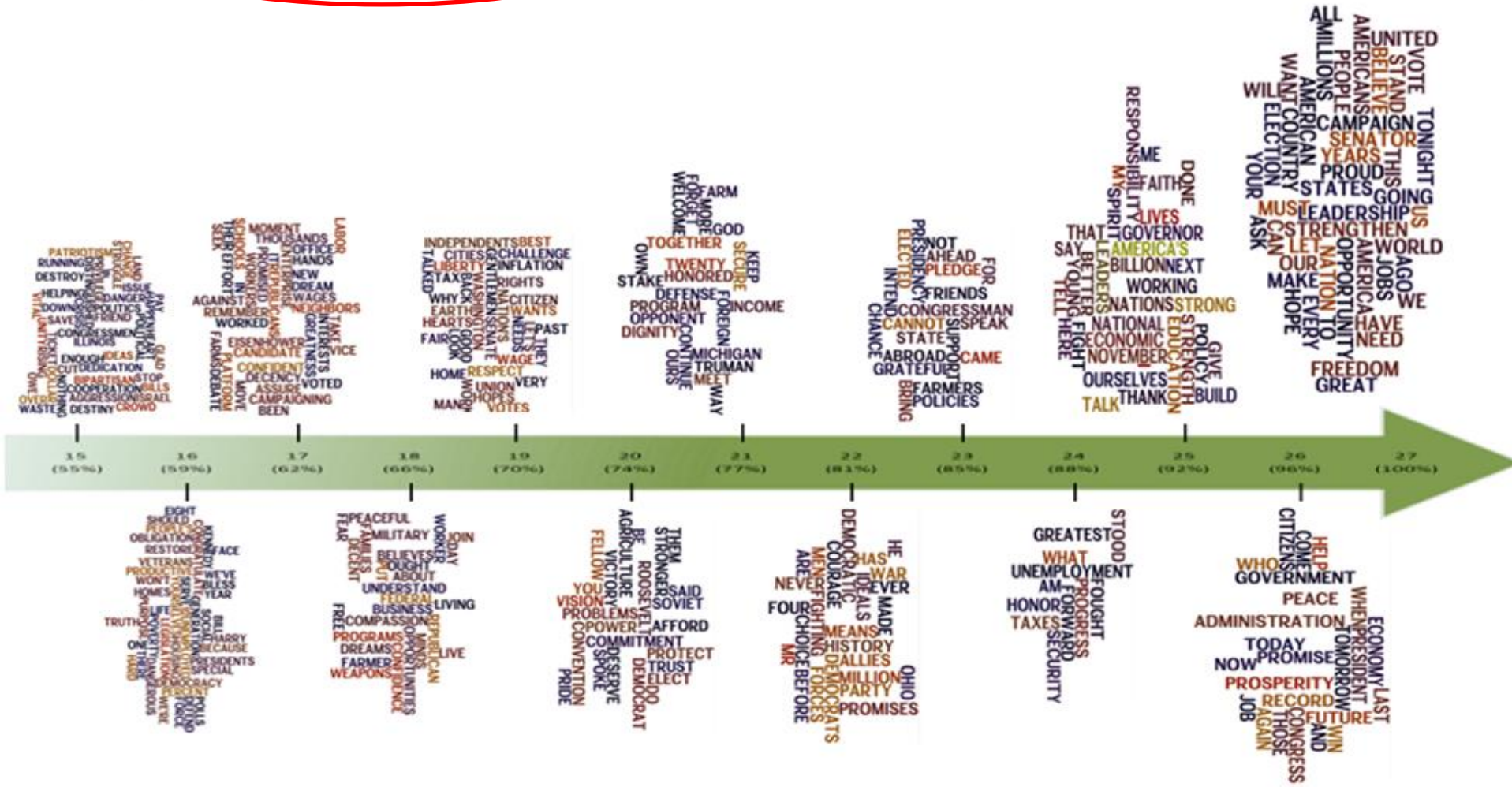


Key Keyword Analysis

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STATISTICALLY SALIENT DIFFERENCES or "Gaps"
 Idiosyncratic features
 party-specific/time-specific/candidate-specific

STATISTICALLY SALIENT SIMILARITIES
 Genre specific, "ABOUTNESS" of campaign rhetoric



Outline

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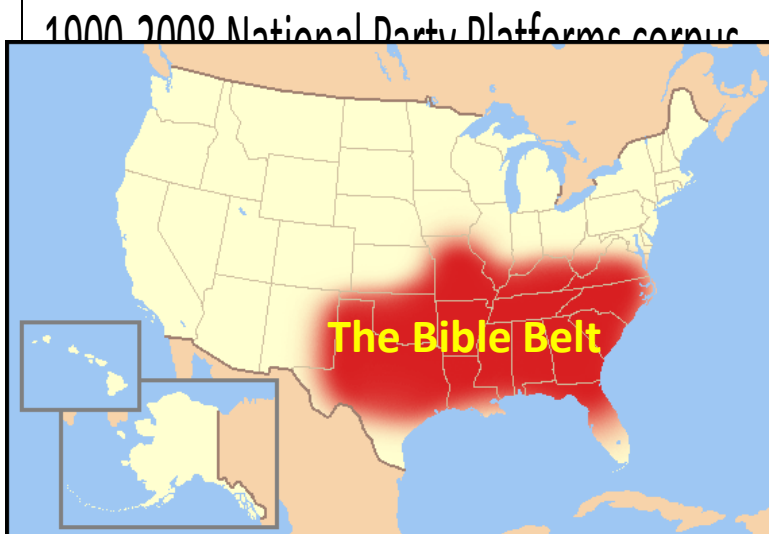
3. Corpora

- 5 Corpora, 2 subcorpora

corpus name	size (in words)
1952-2008 Presidential Campaign Speeches corpus	6,134,910
1952-1996 Bible Belt/Non Bible Belt subcorpus	1,563,529
1952-1996 Most Catholic States /Least Catholic States subcorpus	1,911,083
1952-1996 Campaign Ads corpus	153,618
1900-2008 National Party Platforms corpus	764,110
1789-2009 Presidential Rhetoric corpus	59,728,284
1933-2007 corpus of major presidential speeches (Domke and Coe, 2008)	1,090,312

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AUDIENCE-SPECIFIC
subcorpora.
e.g. Does a candidate adapt his rhetoric when addressing a Bible Belt audience?

ches (Domk

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MAIN CORPUS
27 Campaign Speeches files:
-14 Democratic Party files
-13 GOP files (1964 GOP
campaign speeches missing)

3. Corpora

- 5 Corpora, 2 subcorpora

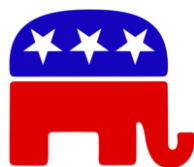
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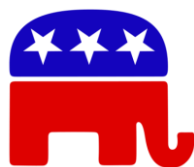
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1952	Stevenson (D-losing)	186	331,924
1956	Stevenson (D-losing)	75	149,483
1960	Kennedy (D-winning)	312	408,395
1964	Johnson (D-winning)	111	250,947
1968	Humphrey (D-losing)	153	442,530
1972	McGovern (D-losing)	98	164,279
1976	Carter (D-winning)	55	113,652
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1988	Dukakis (D-losing)	66	104,325
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2000	--	--	--
2004	Kerry (D-losing)	58	143,443
2008	Obama (D-winning)	176	468,841
TOTAL		1632	3,477,274 words



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1968	Nixon (GOP -winning)	58	206,172
1972	Nixon (GOP-winning)	59	112,782
1976	Ford (GOP- losing)	128	148,577
1980	Reagan (GOP-winning)	69	91,109
1984	Reagan (GOP-winning)	108	241,285
1988	Bush (GOP-winning)	41	86,675
1992	Bush (GOP-losing)	126	276,280
1996	Dole (GOP-losing)	78	192,396
2000	--	--	--
2004	Bush (GOP-winning)	39	182,312
2008	McCain (GOP-losing)	143	277,088
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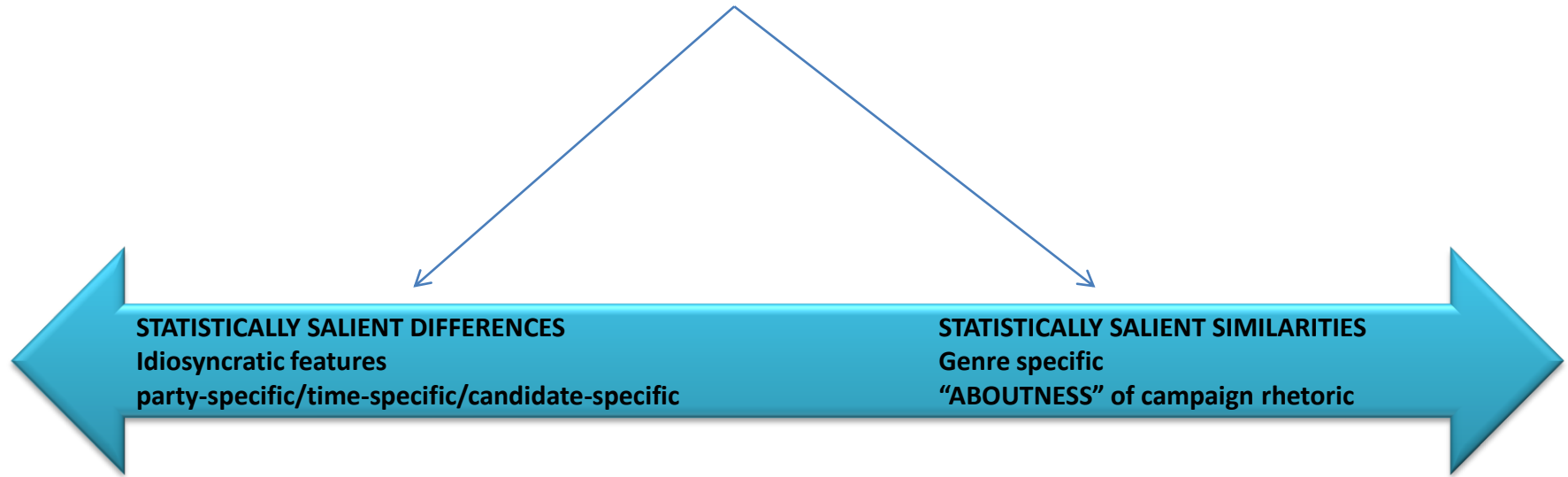
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- **Reference corpus:**
- OANC: open portion from the second release of the American National Corpus. This portion contains 14,801,441 running words (3,134,962 spoken and 11,666,479 written).

Outline

1. Research question: Rhetorical God Gap?
2. Methodology
3. Corpora
4. Some findings (main lessons from the main analysis)
5. Conclusion

4. Results and Findings



STATISTICALLY SALIENT DIFFERENCES

Idiosyncratic features

party-specific/time-specific/candidate-specific

STATISTICALLY SALIENT SIMILARITIES

Genre specific

"ABOUTNESS" of campaign rhetoric



STATISTICALLY SALIENT DIFFERENCES

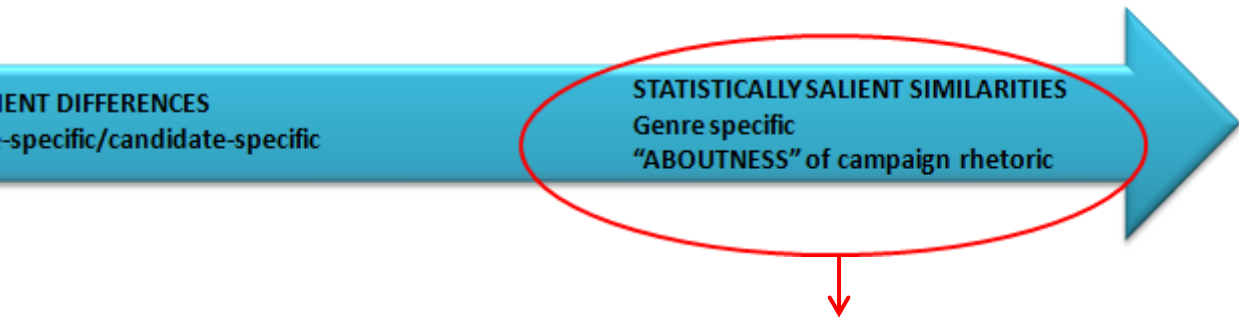
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STATISTICALLY SALIENT SIMILARITIES

Genre specific

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DIFFERENCES
-specific/candidate-specific

STATISTICALLY SALIENT SIMILARITIES
Genre specific
"ABOUTNESS" of campaign rhetoric

Ago Today Year Now
Past History Moment Day Tonight
Tomorrow Years
Future November

New Education
Restore Change Schools

Veterans Weapons
Military War

Vote Party Republican
Democrats Election
Democrat Independents Votes Polls
Campaign Platform Democratic
Convention Campaigning Candidate
Elected Elect Voted

Senator Washington Senate
Governor Congressmen
Government
Presidency Congressman
Congress Presidents Administration
Federal President

Help Support
Poverty Social Compassion
Helping

Save Income Pay
Tax Economy Taxes
Economic Wage
Afford Dollar Inflation
Wages

Work Worked
Jobs Workers
Unemployment
Working Unemployed
Business
Productive Labor Job

Challenge Fought
Struggle
Effort Fighting
Problems Hard
Fight

Forces Obligation
Leaders Power
Stronger Force Responsibility
Strengthen Leadership
Strong Strength

Housing Home
Homes

Dangerous Vital Fear
Destroy Crisis
Danger

Secure Peace
Defend Protect Security
Peaceful Defense

Bipartisan
We've Together
We're Cooperation

Our Ourselves
Join We Unity Ours
Us

You
Yourself
Your

Earth
Foreign Nations
World Israel
Soviet Abroad
Union

Am
My Me
I

Destiny
Believes
Believe Spirit
Bless Faith
God

Rights Dream Dreams
Enterprise Liberty
Patriotism Honored
Progress
Opportunities Democracy
Dignity Prosperity
Destiny
Opportunity Honor Promise
New
Freedom Free Commitment
Promises Courage Land Hope
Respect Proud Peace
Peaceful Promised Hopes Greatness
Ideals

Country States
United
National
Nation's
Nation's Americans
America's Americans
America

What is campaign rhetoric about?
→ Focus on the keywords that are statistically salient in at least 55.5% of the files (i.e. 15 files out of a total of 27 files)
Rearranging the key keywords into semantic categories

DIFFERENCES
-specific/candidate-specific

STATISTICALLY SALIENT SIMILARITIES
Genre specific
"ABOUTNESS" of campaign rhetoric

Ago Today Year Now
Past Moment Day Tonight
Tomorrow Years
Future November

Save Tax Income Pay
Economy Taxes Economic Wage
Afford Dollar Inflation
Wages

Housing Home
Homes

Dangerous Vital Fear
Destroy Crisis
Danger

New Restore Change
Education
Schools

Work Worked
Jobs Workers
Unemployment
Working Business
Unemployed
Job

Secure Peace
Defend Protect Security
Peaceful Defense

Rights Dream Dreams
Enterprise Liberty
Opportunities Democracy
Dignity Prosperity
Opportunity Honor Promise
Freedom Free Commitment
Promises Courage Land Hope
Respect Proud Peace
Peaceful Promised Hopes Greatness
Ideals

Country States
United
National
Nation's
America's Americans
America

Vote Party Republican
Democrats Election
Democrat Independents Votes Polls
Campaign Platform Democratic
Convention Campaigning Candidate
Elected Elect Voted

Veterans Weapons
Military War
Bipartisan
We've Together
We're Cooperation
Our Ourselves
Join We Unity Ours

Earth
Foreign Nations
World Israel
Soviet Abroad
Union

Senator Washington Senate
Governor Congressmen
Government
Presidency Congressman
Congress Presidents Administration
Federal President

Challenge Fought Struggle
Effort Fighting
Problems Hard
Fight

You Yourself
Your
Am My Me
I

Destiny
Believes
Believe Spirit
Bless Faith
God

Help Support
Social Compassion
Poverty Helping

Forces Obligation Power
Stronger Force Responsibility
Strengthen Leadership
Strong Strength

CONTENT DIFFERENCES
Candidate-specific/candidate-specific

STATISTICALLY SALIENT SIMILARITIES
Genre specific
"ABOUTNESS" of campaign rhetoric



In this analysis of the presidential campaign genre:
Focus on two sets of key keywords: "international category" and a set of potentially religiously laden words ("religious word cloud")

Earth
Foreign
Nations
World
Soviet Union
Abroad
Israel

Destiny
Believes
Believe
Bless
God
Spirit
Faith

CONTENT DIFFERENCES
Candidate-specific/candidate-specific

STATISTICALLY SALIENT SIMILARITIES
Genre specific
"ABOUTNESS" of campaign rhetoric

Earth
Foreign Nations
World
Soviet Union
Abroad

Destiny
Believes
Believe
Spirit
Bless
Faith
God

When talking about the *world* (salient in 100% of the files) and the *earth* (salient in 70% of the files), have the presidential candidates echoed the rhetoric supposedly employed by empires of old? Do they embark on a religiously laden rhetoric?

Other key keywords would certainly deserve being analyzed for what they might reveal about moral/religious justifications of actions on the international scene (e.g.: *soviet* and *union*; *israel*) → future research efforts?

CONTENT DIFFERENCES
Candidate-specific/candidate-specific

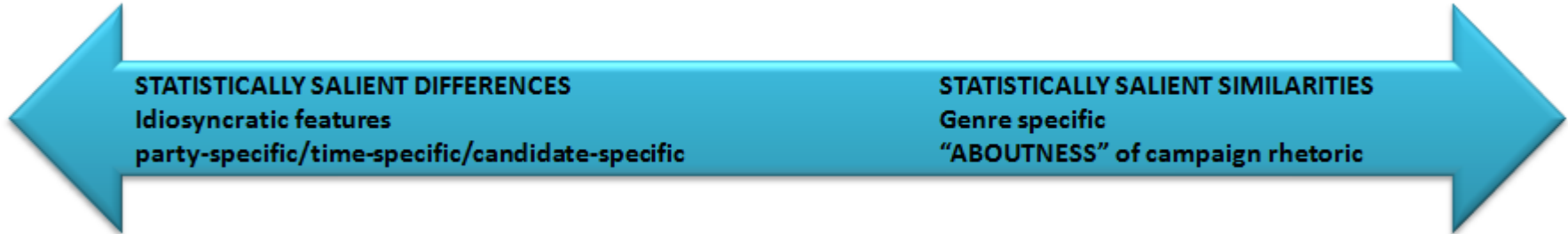
STATISTICALLY SALIENT SIMILARITIES
Genre specific
"ABOUTNESS" of campaign rhetoric

Earth
Foreign Nations
World Israel
Soviet Union Abroad

Destiny
Believes
Believe Spirit
Bless Faith
God

Religiously laden key keywords?

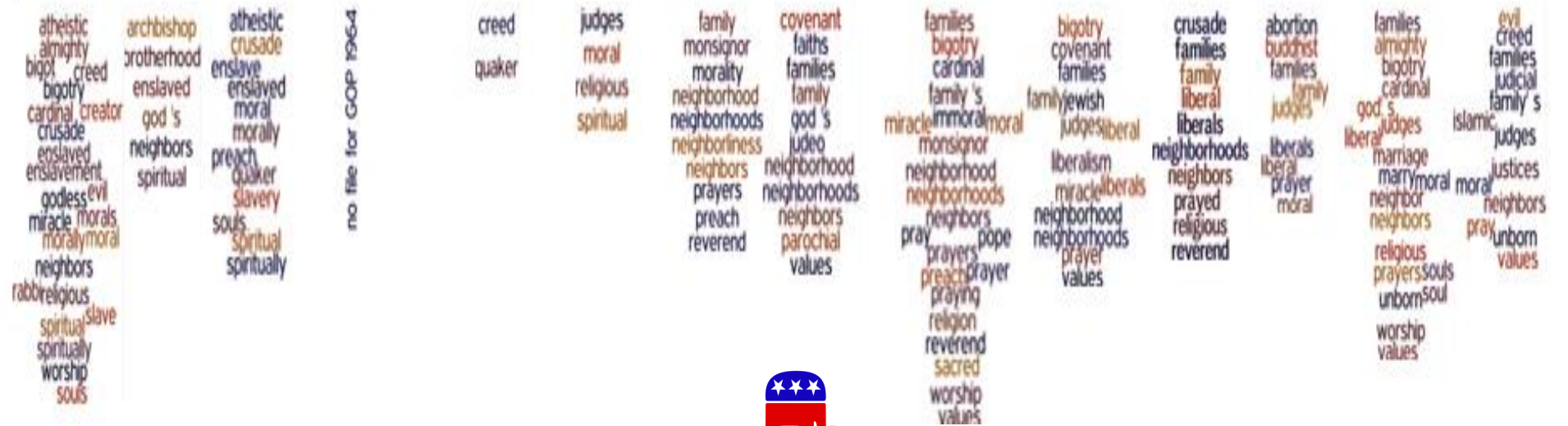
- **Campaign genre:**
- Place of religiously laden rhetoric is quite relative.
- Rhetoric of American civil religion. Main object: AMERICA, NOT GOD.
- Rhetoric that predates America's hegemonic status. Ingredients inscribed in the American DNA
- Yes, there are moral and even religiously laden ingredients used to justify actions on the international scene...
- But is there anything new under the sun? Not really...
 - Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric:
 - Criticize it? OK → CDA
 - See it as totally unprecedented? Not OK at all.





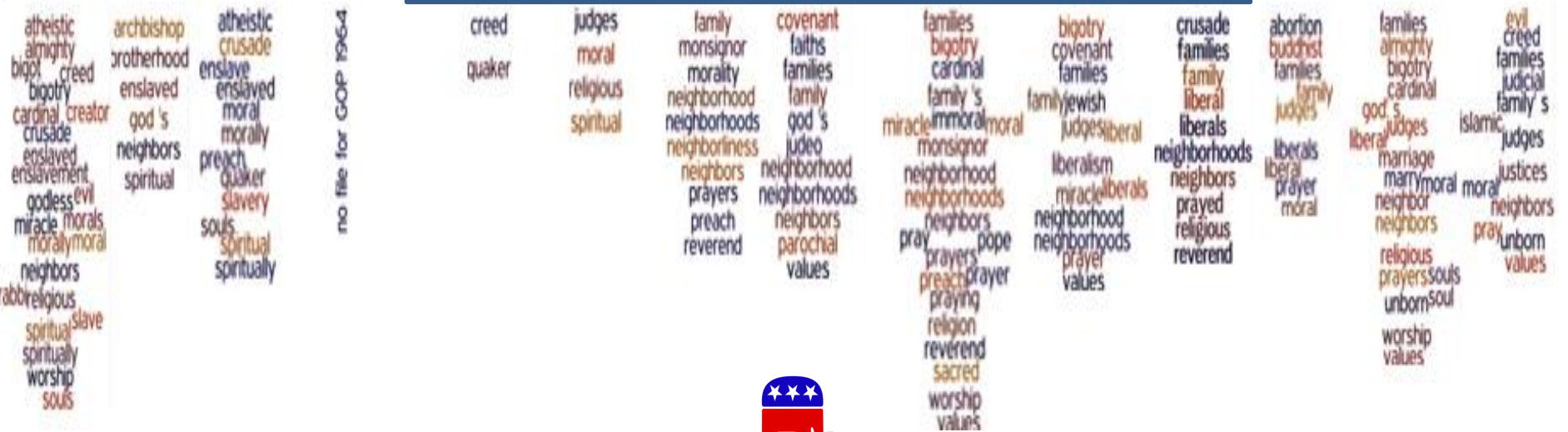


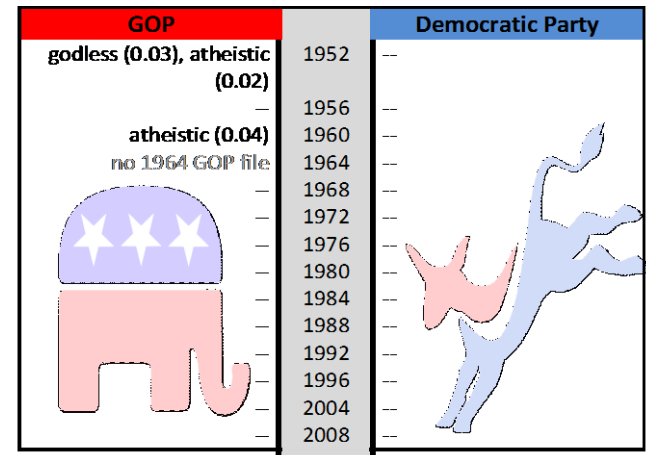
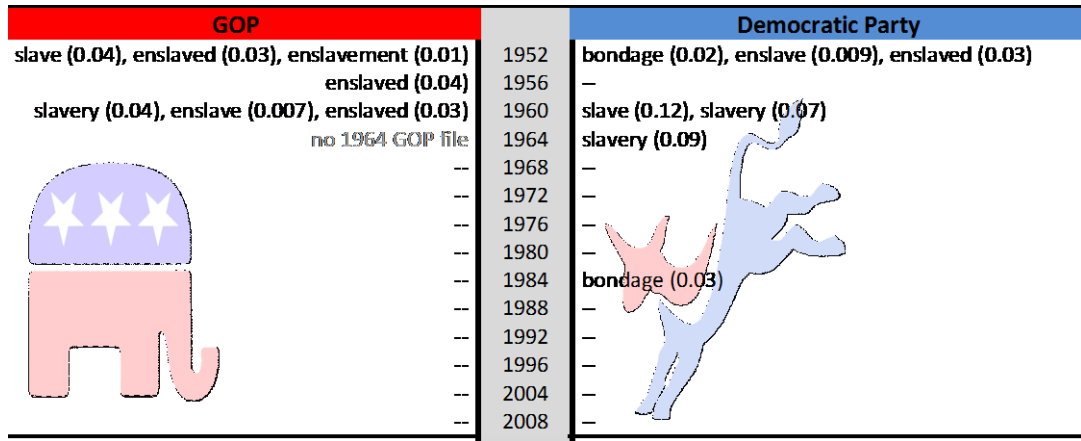
1952 1956 1960 1964 1968 1972 1976 1980 1984 1988 1992 1996 2004 2008





Religiously laden keywords
 → found on both sides of the political spectrum
 → Spread from 1952 to 2008

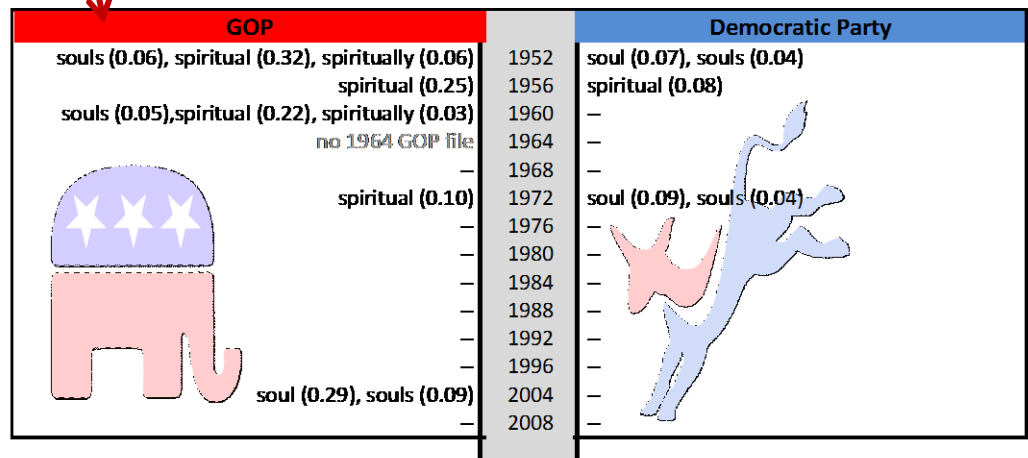
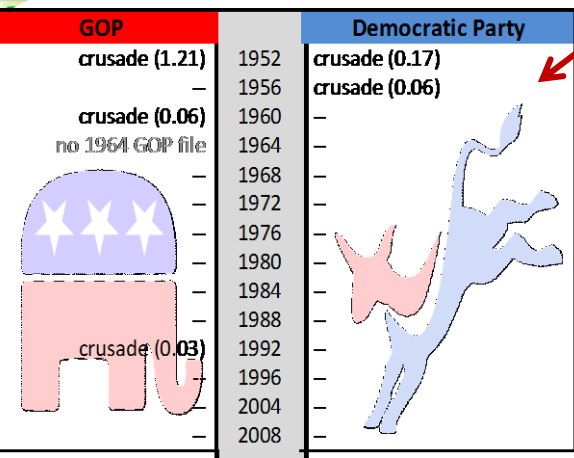


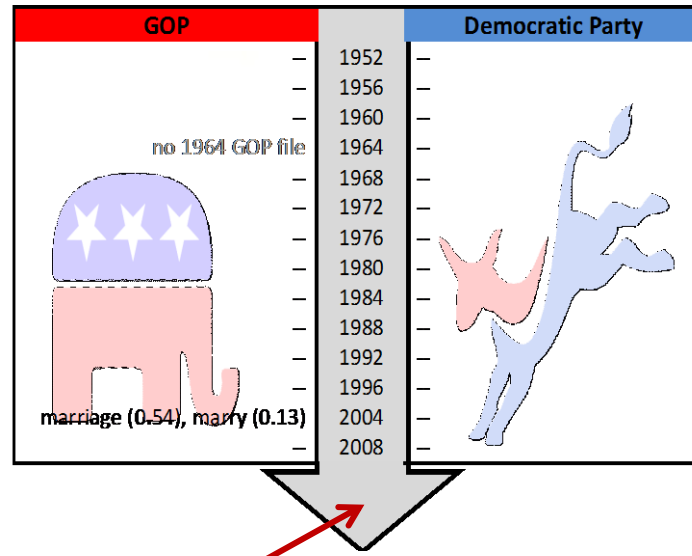
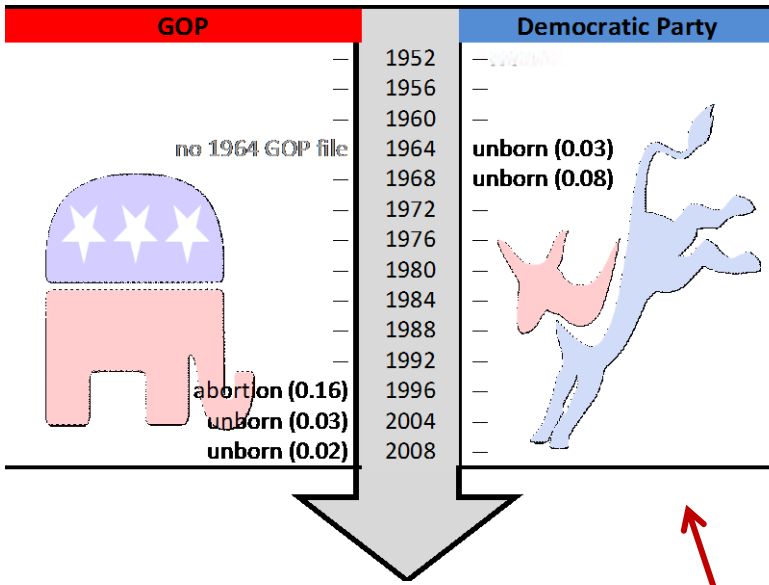


Grouping these keywords into "patterns"
 Focus on some patterns (others awaiting future research efforts)

1952 1956 1960 1964

1996 2004 2008

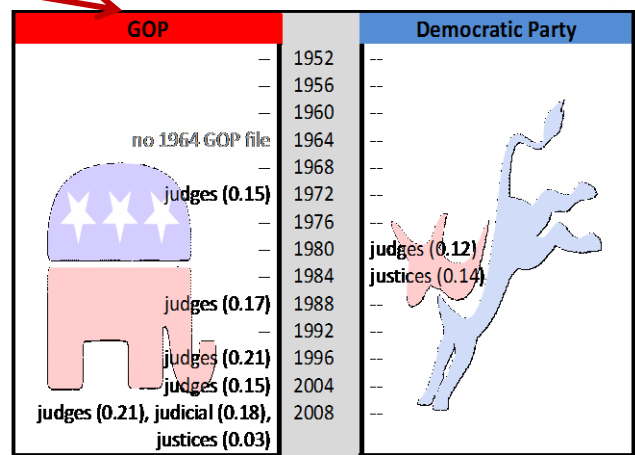
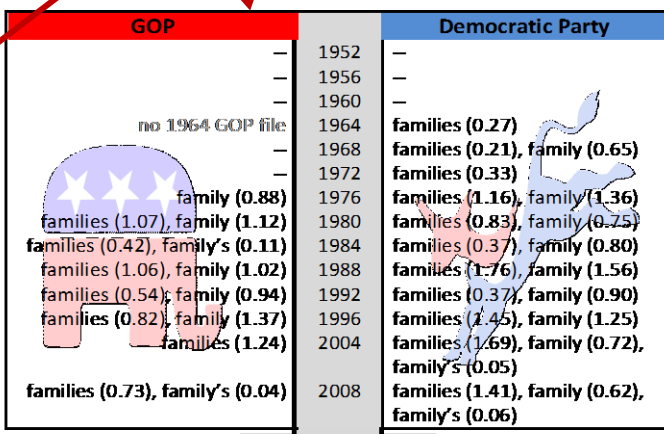
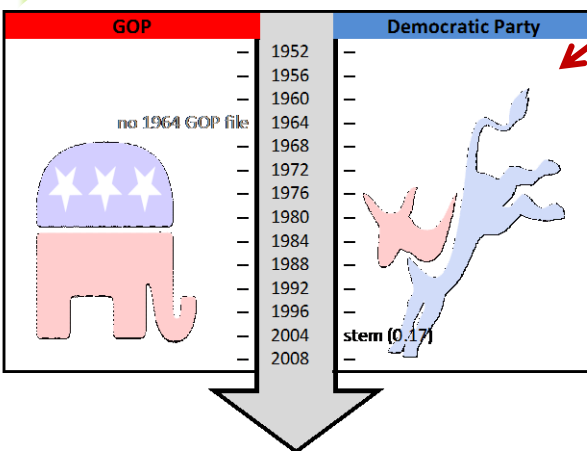


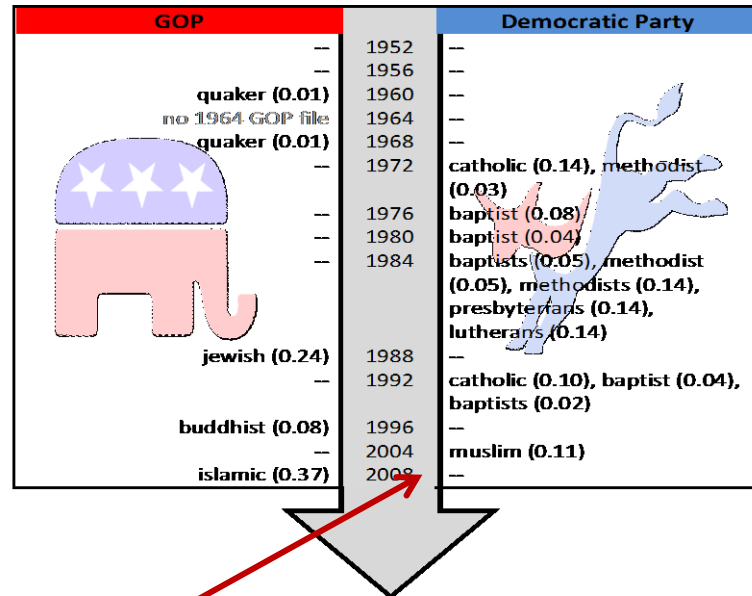
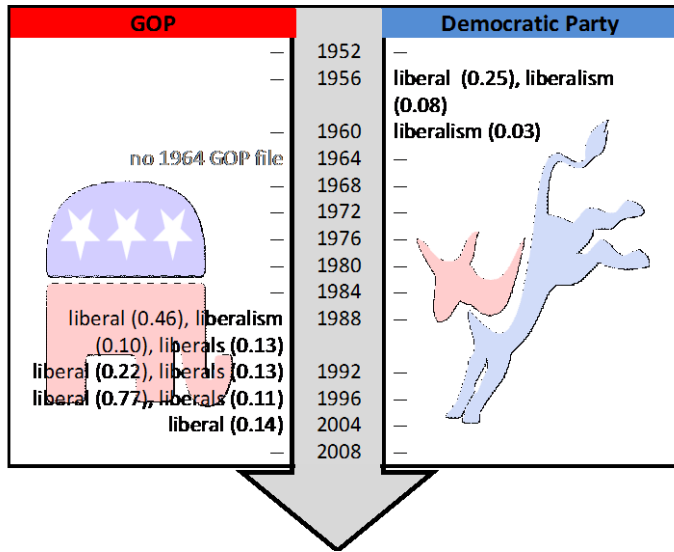


Grouping these keywords into "patterns"
 Focus on some patterns (others awaiting future research efforts)

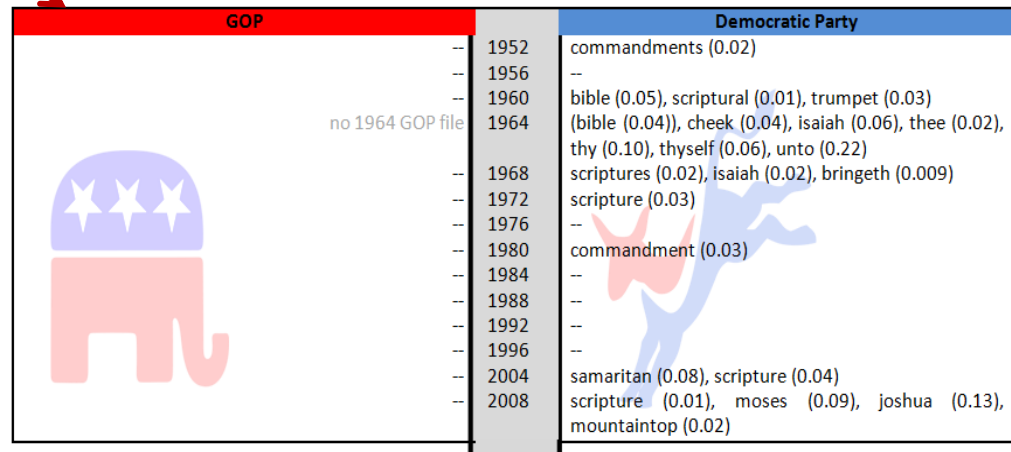
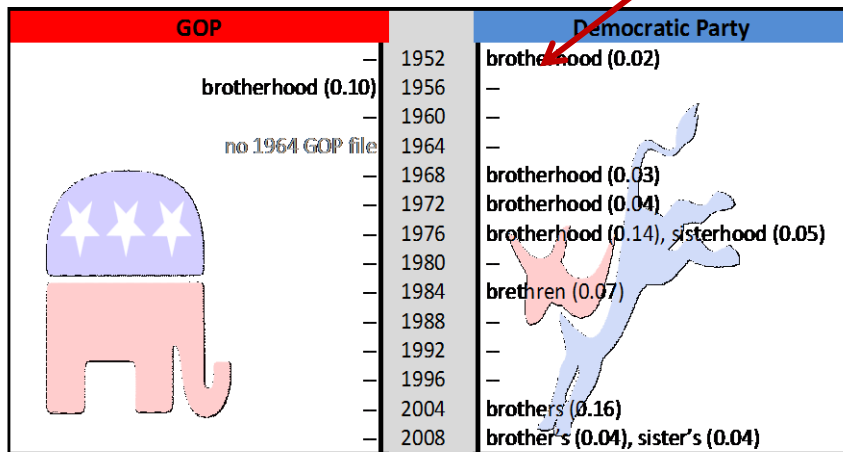
1952 1956 1960 1964

1996 2004 2008

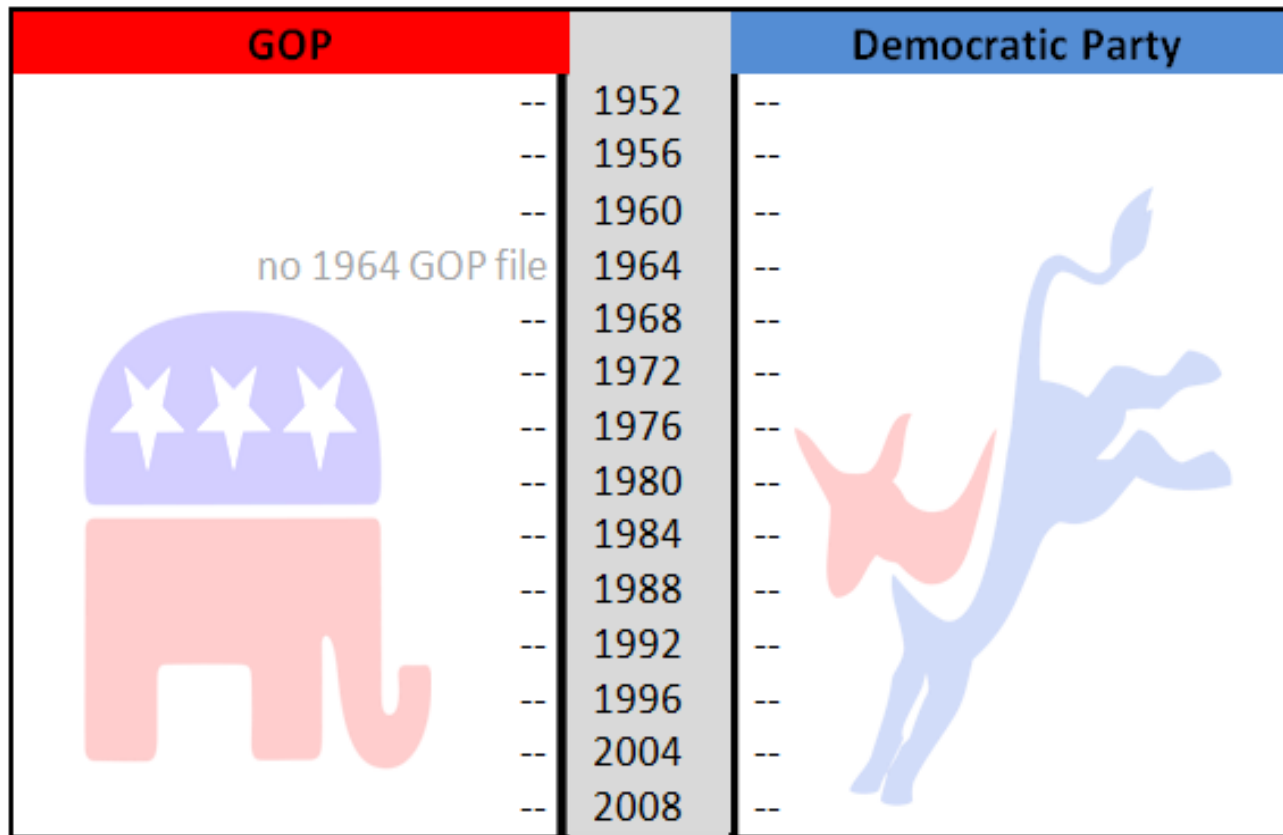




Grouping these keywords into "patterns"
 Focus on some patterns (others awaiting future research efforts)



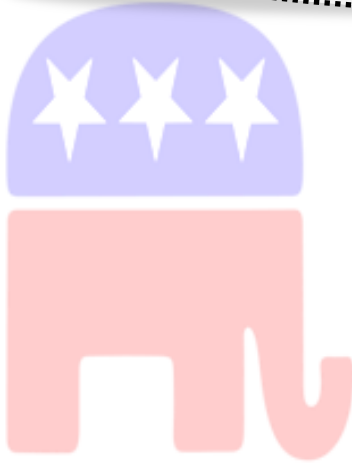
Lessons?: Incomplete (other patterns to explore) and tentative (limitations, notably source-wise). BUT the keywords extracted from the main corpus of presidential campaign speeches + the evidence from the 4 other corpora show:



GOP

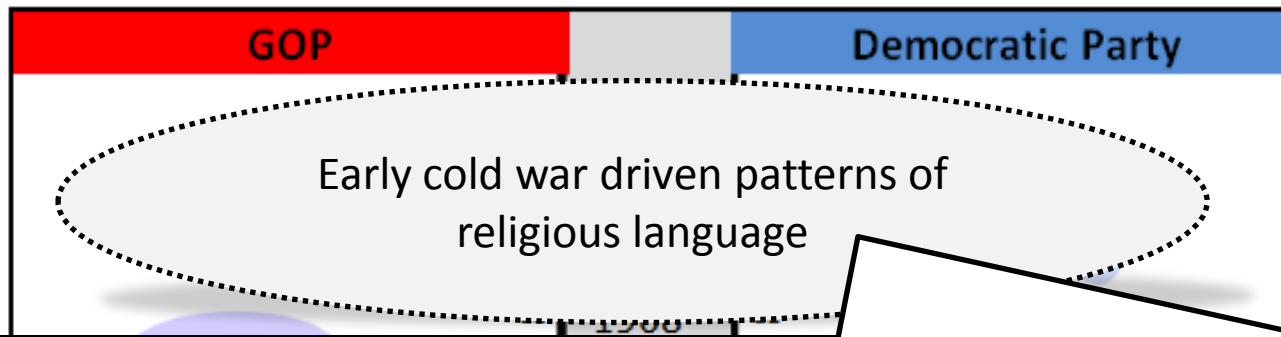
Democratic Party

Early cold war driven patterns of religious language: keywords referring to slavery, atheism, crusade, soul/spirituality, evil



1968
-- 1972 --
-- 1976 --
-- 1980 --
-- 1984 --
-- 1988 --
-- 1992 --
-- 1996 --
-- 2004 --
-- 2008 --





While the anti-Christ stalks around, organized Communism seeks even to dethrone God from His central place in this universe. It attempts to uproot everywhere it goes the gentle and restraining influences of the religion of love and peace. One by one the lamps of civilization go out and nameless horrors are perpetrated in darkness. All this is done by an enemy of a kind that we have never faced before. He is primitive but he is also advanced. He goes with a piece of black bread in his hand, but in his mind he carries the awful knowledge of atomic energy. He is careful, cool, calculating, and he counts time not impatiently like we do, not by the clock, but by decades, in terms of centuries. [...] The task that confronts us will try our souls. It will exact a high price in discipline of mind and in austerity of spirit. [...] Long ago we asserted a great principle on this continent: that men are, and of right ought to be, free. Now we are called upon to defend that right against the mightiest forces of evil ever assembled under the sun. This is a time to think, a time to feel, a time to pray. We shall need all of the resources of the stubborn mind, the stout heart, the soul refreshed, in the task that confronts us. [...] You and you alone will decide the fate of your family and your country for decades to come. You will decide whether you are to be slaves or free--to live gloriously, or perish miserably. [...] What is the lesson of history and of all human experience? What is the primary law of life? You struggle and you survive--you fail to struggle and you perish. The ways of the world are marked with the bones of people who hesitated. Your salvation is in your hands; in the stubbornness of your minds, the tenacity of your hearts, and such blessings as God, sorely tried by His children, shall give us.

(Stevenson (D), September 29, 1952. Station WGN-NBC-TV speech)



World War II was a crusade to defeat the evil, sinister threat of dictatorial domination [...]. America poured into that crusade her productive strength, her treasure, and the blood of her young men. We and our allies won that fight, the greatest ever fought on earth. [...] But as the years have passed since the end of that crusade, the lights of our world have been going out again, year after year. What happened? What caused our victory to fall so far short of what we all hoped and what our fighting men deserved? [...] This terrible danger is Godless Communism. It stalks the world in the ugly garb of war and threat of war and creeps through every unguarded gateway. It means to swallow up all the land, all the wealth, and all the peoples of this earth. [...] But great as this threat is, and vigilant as we must eternally be to stand together with our friends of the free world, we also know in our hearts that there is no force in this world so vital or so strong, when given corresponding leadership, as the American people. [...] We Americans have the courage, the productive capacity, the know-how. And above all, we have a spiritual strength beyond the enemy's reach or understanding. It is the strength of people who believe that man is made in the image of God. But, if we are to win this deadly struggle with Communism, we must have a leadership that can unite us behind great objectives--a leadership morally and spiritually strong. The best that is within us Americans will respond to a calling of high purpose. [...] This struggle between Communism and freedom is a struggle of ideas. To win in such a battle, our ideas must be better. And our idea must come alive through the positive, moral vitality of our leadership. [...] The evil of Communism must be fought on many fronts. [...] We can conquer Communism, if we have a leadership of high purpose and moral stamina, a leadership that draws strength from its spiritual faith. And it is to seek out these qualities and place them at the nation's helm that my associate and I have embarked upon this second crusade, this "Crusade in America." To lead this crusade, we shall call to Washington able men and women from all sections of our country and all walks of life. These men and women must be incorruptible, dedicated to the mission and not to the job, and inspired by devotion to America. A strong America, a well-governed America, an America that is morally and spiritually sound, is the best answer to the evil threat of cynicism and lack of self-respect within, and to the evil threat of Communism without. If you believe that as I do, will you join our crusade?

(Eisenhower, October 21st, 1952. Speech in Boston, Massachusetts)

Patterns and gaps

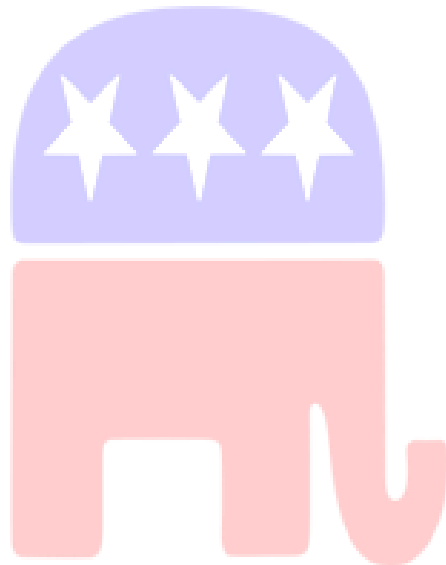
- **Early Cold War Driven Patterns of Religious Language: main lessons:**
- Recognize (and further work on) the important role that religion played in the ideological warfare against Communism, and the impact that such religious rhetoric has had on the American identity itself and on later forms of religious-political entanglement.
- The religious rhetoric employed back then took rather strong stances, and some of them might sound politically incorrect today. The Cold War religious rhetoric drew on several biblical imageries and depicted a Manichean vision of a world torn apart between America – under God, free, shining, the last best hope of human kind – and an evil communist empire – a reincarnation of Biblical Egypt, a tyrannical and materialistic state where enslaved people would live in darkness and fear.
- The early cold war religious rhetoric cuts through party lines and is representative of an era more than of a party (although keywords referring to atheism seem GOP-specific)
- Future research efforts: might be well served by focusing on Cold War rhetoric and post 9/11 rhetoric.

GOP

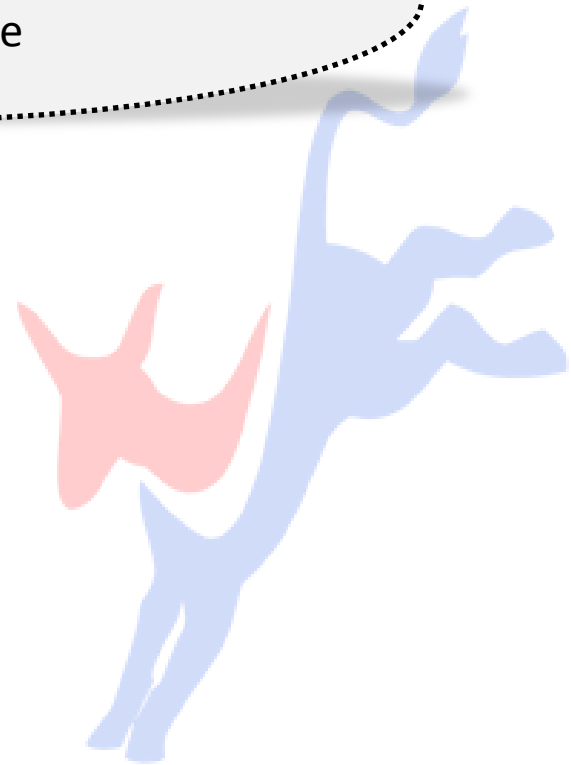
Democratic Party

Early cold war driven patterns of religious language

no 1964



- 1968
- 1972
- 1976
- 1980
- 1984
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- 1992
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- 2004
- 2008



GOP

Democratic Party

Early cold war driven patterns of religious language

no 1964

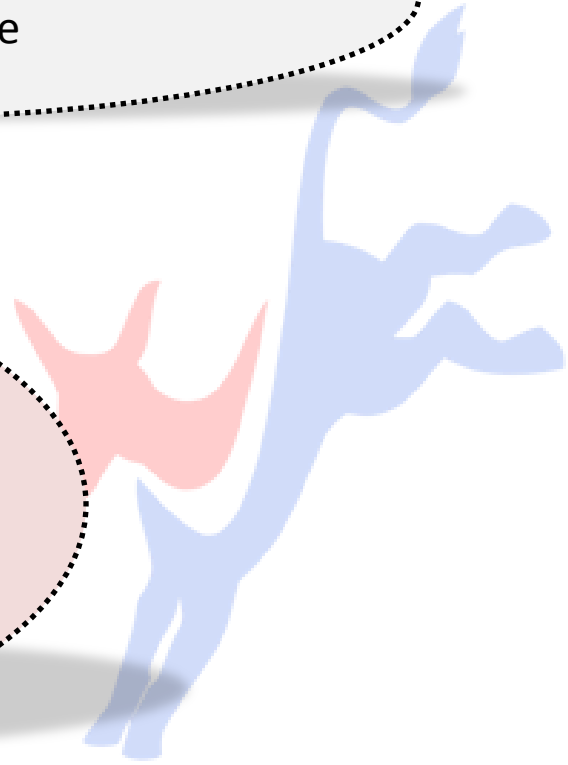
1968

1972

76

Modern culture war issues and morality politics: the cases of abortion, marriage, stem cell research, fetal tissue research, family values and judicial activism (court packing)

2008



GOP

Democratic Party

Early cold war driven patterns of religious language

no 1964

1968

1972

Modern culture war issues and morality politics: the cases of abortion, marriage, stem cell research, fetal tissue research, family values and judicial activism (court packing)

“These issues highlight church-state relations, origins of life, and sexual and gender norms, all of which have been central concerns of Christian conservatives since they politically mobilized.” (Domke and Coe, 2008: 102)

2008



GOP

Early cold war driven
religious langu

no 1964

-- 1968

-- 1972

-- 1976

Modern culture war issues and
morality politics: the cases of
abortion, marriage, stem cell
research, fetal tissue research,
family values and **judicial activism**
(court packing)

-- 2008

Court packing = strategy through
which influence is sought by placing
the “right” judges at all level of the
judiciary.

Message from GOP candidates:
elect me, and I will nominate
conservative judges (>< activist
liberal judges) who will side with the
religious conservatives on issues
such as abortion, stem cell research,
religious displays in public places,
school prayers, or same-sex
marriage.



GOP

Democratic Party

*Judeo-Christian Nation,
Judeo-Christian heritage
→ Served an ecumenical
and consensual call against
godless Communism*

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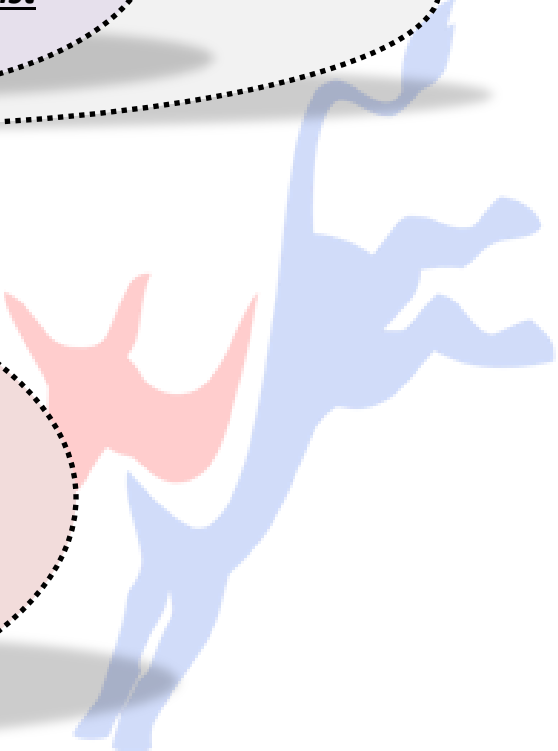
1968

1972

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Same idea: America is built on **Judeo-Christian** foundations. **BUT** Defending the American Judeo-Christian heritage means defending **a conservative-style America** and a conservative agenda: anti big-government, school prayers, religious displays in public places, fighting abortion, gay marriage, etc.

2008



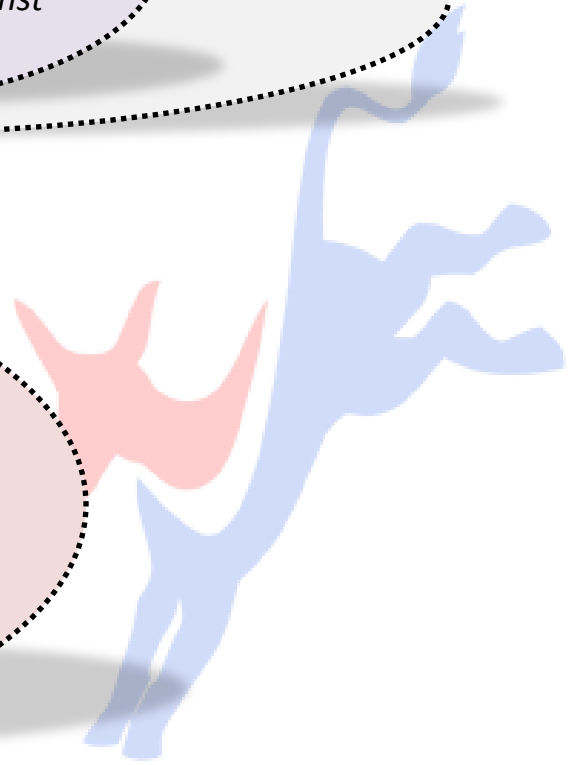
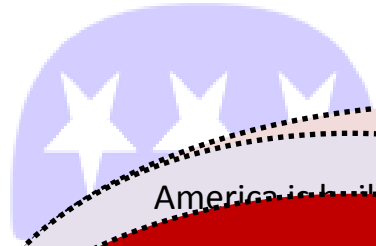
GOP

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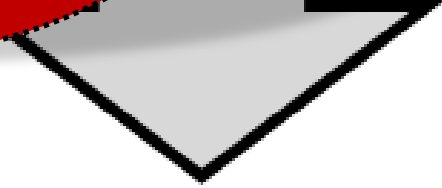
1968
1972



America is built on Judeo-

The GOP has seized the label "liberal" in a time of conservative/liberal dichotomy.

The GOP candidates have turned "liberal" into a "bad" word: unfriendly towards religion and therefore on the fringe of being un-American, pro-gay, pro-abortion, soft on foreign political issues, socialist, elitist, big government, Hollywood,...



GOP

American religion [can] no longer be understood exclusively on the basis of the traditional [...] “Protestant-Catholic-Jewish” framework. Extensive societal changes caused two dominant religious orientations to emerge in the United States by the end of World War II: (1) a theologically and politically conservative religious witness and (2) a more liberal, relativist approach to both theology and politics. (Olson and Green, 2006: 455)

The GOP has seized the label “liberal” (and the Democrats have abandoned it) in a time of conservative/liberal dichotomy

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American religion [can] no longer be understood exclusively on the basis of the traditional [...] "Protestant-Catholic-Jewish"

*At the heart of the new cultural realignment are the pragmatic alliances being formed across faith traditions. Because of common points of vision and concern, the orthodox wings of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism are forming associations with each other, as are the progressive wings of each faith community – and each set of alliances takes form in opposition to the influence the other seeks to exert in public culture. [...] [A]lthough these alliances are historically "unnatural", they have become pragmatically necessary. [...] In other words, it is increasingly difficult to speak of the Protestant position or the Catholic position or the Jewish position (or, for that matter, the Mormon or Buddhist position) vis-à-vis American public culture. Meanwhile, other kinds of differences have expanded: increasingly, the politically consequential divisions are those that separate the orthodox from the progressive *within* religious traditions. And orthodox and progressive factions of the various faiths do not speak out as isolated voices but increasingly as a common chorus. In this, the political relevance of the historical divisions between Protestant and Catholic and Christian and Jew has largely become defunct.*

(Hunter, 1991: location 664 - 1418 of 5465)

GOP

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America is built on Judeo-

The GOP has seized the label "liberal"
(and the Democrats have abandoned it)
in a time of conservative/liberal
dichotomy

The GOP candidates have turned "liberal"
into a "bad" word: unfriendly towards
religion and therefore on the fringe of
being un-American, pro-gay, pro-
abortion, soft on foreign political issues,
socialist, elitist, big government,
Hollywood,...

I want to **protect the flag**. And he's against it. I believe we can have **voluntary prayer in school** and he's against it. That's the basic difference. And I will **appoint conservative judges** to the bench who will interpret the Constitution. And if you send me a **partial birth abortion bill** I will sign it; I will not veto it. [...] I'm a--I'm a **conservative**; he's a **liberal**. Don't let him fool you. [...] This is the real candidate Clinton, not the candidate who's out there now **talking like a conservative**. Keep this in mind. He's never changed. **He's a liberal.**
He's a liberal. He's a liberal. Don't let him forget it.
(Dole, October 23, 1996, Speech in Macon)

The GOP has seized the label "liberal" (and the Democrats have abandoned it) in a time of conservative/liberal dichotomy. The GOP candidates have turned "liberal" into a "bad" word: unfriendly towards religion and therefore on the fringe of being un-American, pro-gay, pro-abortion, soft on foreign political issues, socialist, elitist, big government, Hollywood,...

Democratic Party

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GOP

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GOP has seized the label “liberal” (and the Democrats have abandoned it) in a time of conservative/liberal dichotomy that marks the political AND religious scenes.

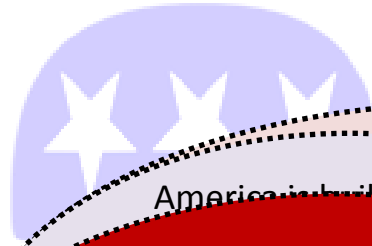
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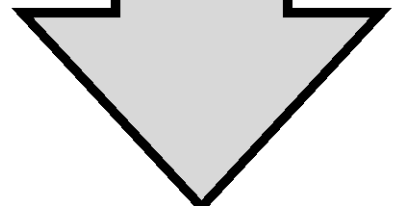
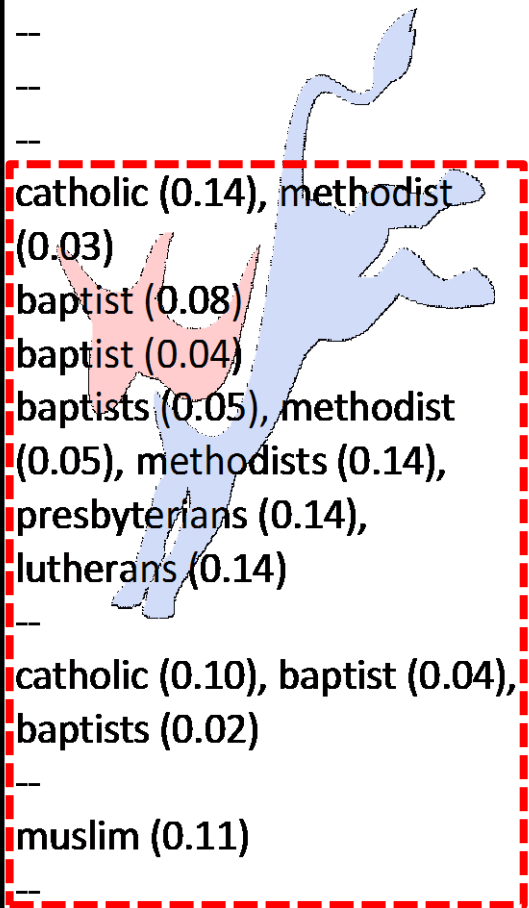
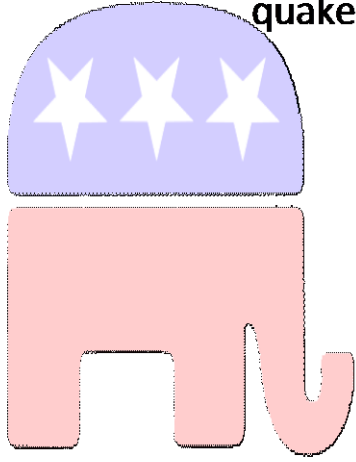
America is built on Judeo-

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(and the Democrats have abandoned it)
in a time of conservative/liberal
dichotomy

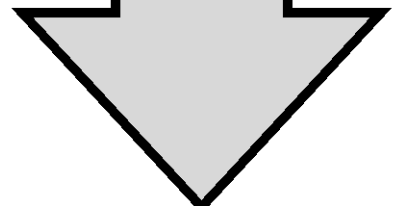
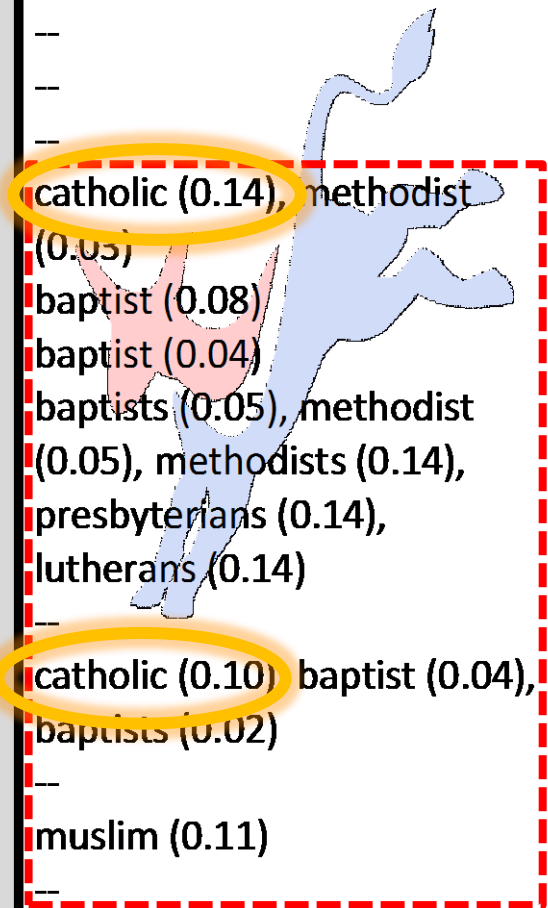
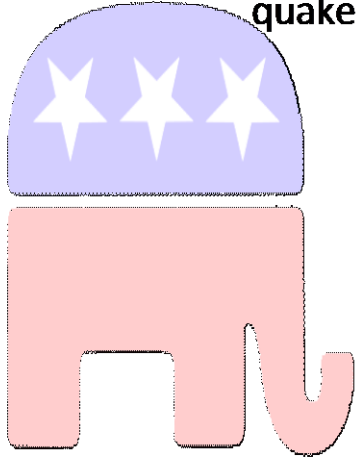
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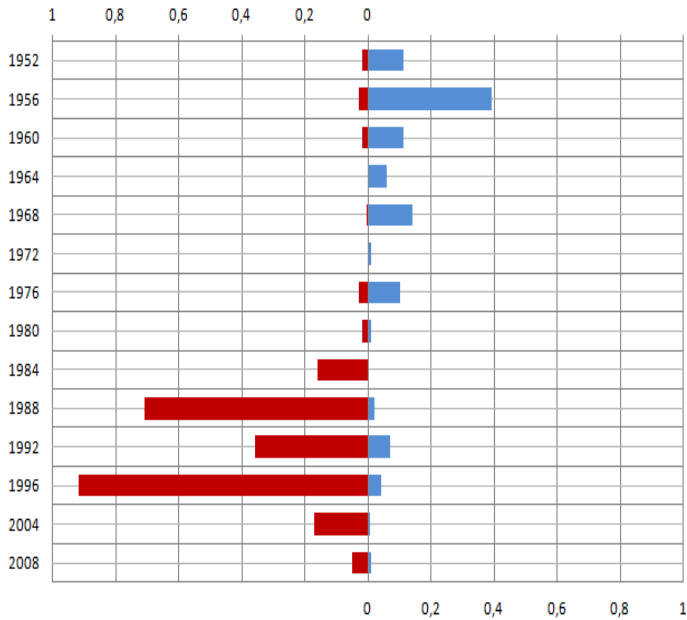
GOP			Democratic Party	
	--	1952	--	
	--	1956	--	
quaker (0.01)		1960	--	
no 1964 GOP file		1964	--	
quaker (0.01)		1968	--	
	--	1972	catholic (0.14), methodist (0.03)	
	--	1976	baptist (0.08)	
	--	1980	baptist (0.04)	
	--	1984	baptists (0.05), methodist (0.05), methodists (0.14), presbyterians (0.14), lutherans (0.14)	
		1988	--	
jewish (0.24)	--	1992	catholic (0.10), baptist (0.04), baptists (0.02)	
		1996	--	
buddhist (0.08)	--	2004	muslim (0.11)	
	--	2008	--	
islamic (0.37)				



GOP			Democratic Party	
	--	1952	--	
	--	1956	--	
quaker (0.01)		1960	--	
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	--	1976	baptist (0.08)	
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	--	1988		
jewish (0.24)	--	1992	catholic (0.10) baptist (0.04), baptists (0.02)	
	--	1996		
buddhist (0.08)	--	2004	muslim (0.11)	
	--	2008		
islamic (0.37)				



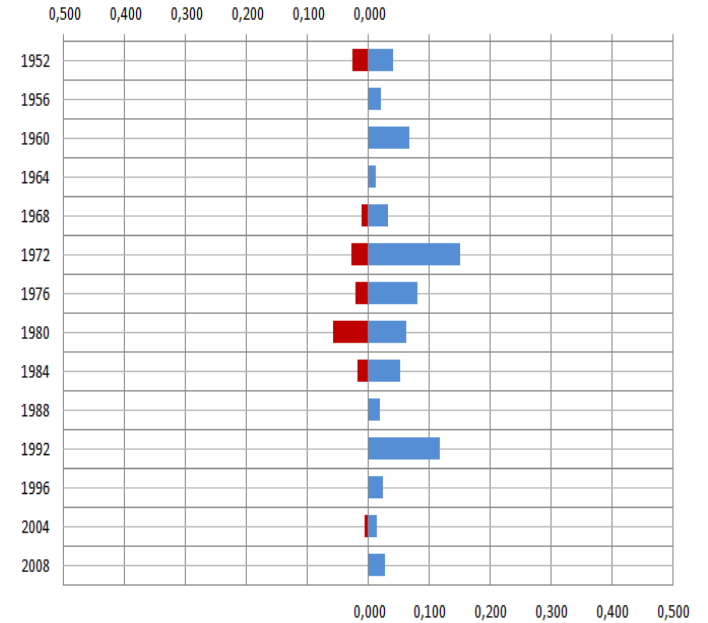
*liberal** in the 1952-2008 Presidential Campaign Speeches corpus



	2008	2004	1996	1992	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964	1960	1956	1952
liberal* in Dem. Party (per 1,000)	0,01	0,007	0,04	0,07	0,02	0	0,01	0,1	0,01	0,14	0,06	0,11	0,39	0,11
liberal* in GOP (per 1,000)	0,05	0,17	0,92	0,36	0,71	0,16	0,02	0,03	0	0,004	∅	0,02	0,03	0,02

GOP seizing the label “liberal”

*catholic** in the 1952-2008 Presidential Campaign Speeches corpus



	2008	2004	1996	1992	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964	1960	1956	1952
catholic* in Dem. Party (per 1,000)	0,028	0,014	0,024	0,118	0,020	0,052	0,062	0,081	0,150	0,033	0,012	0,067	0,021	0,040
catholic* in GOP (per 1,000)	0,000	0,005	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,017	0,057	0,021	0,027	0,010	∅	0,000	0,000	0,026

Fluctuating yet persistent (and sometimes salient) use of *catholic** by Democratic party candidates.

GOP

Democratic Party

*Judeo-Christian Nation,
Judeo-Christian heritage
→ Served an ecumenical
and consensual call against
godless Communism*

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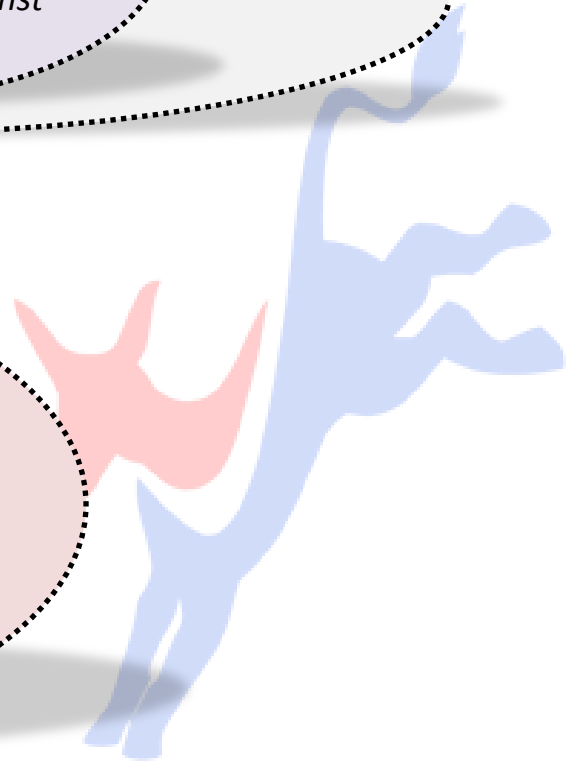
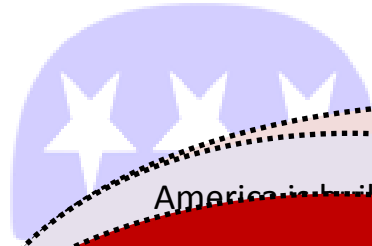
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1968

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The GOP has seized the label "liberal"
(and the Democrats have abandoned it)
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dichotomy.

The GOP candidates have turned "liberal"
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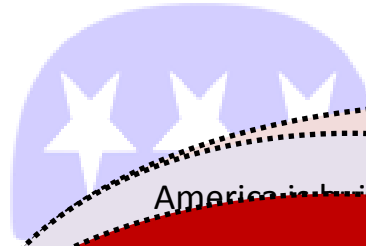
1968

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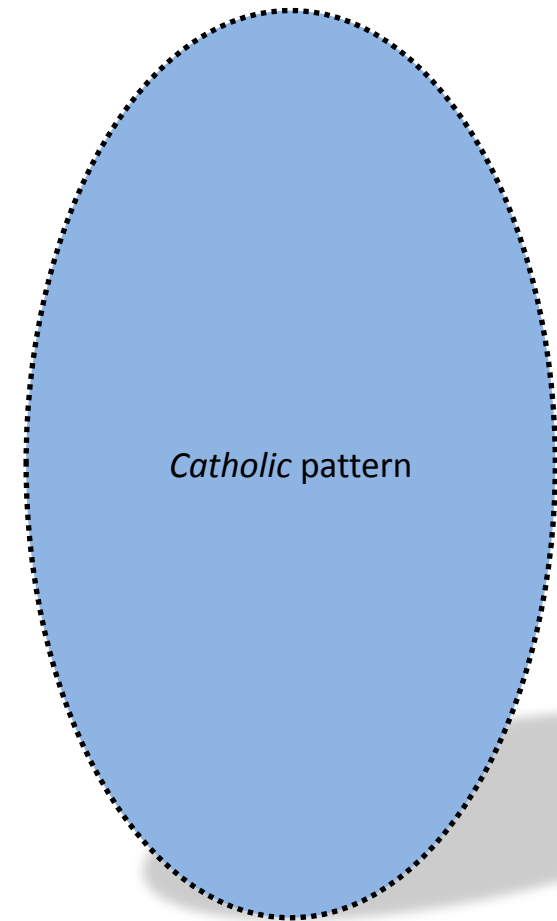
Catholic pattern

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abortion, soft on foreign political issues,
socialist, elitist, big government,
Hollywood,...



- Suggesting several hypotheses that might explain the *catholic* pattern
 - The “Catholic vote” (if any)?
 - Appealing to Catholics? Adapting to the catholic constituency?
 - Need for more investigations. Need to consider other sources.
- N.B. The GOP has also appealed to Catholics, but not through their Catholicism, but by activating the conservative lever, by appealing to some specific conservative catholic groups (Knights of Columbus) and by borrowing umbrella terms like “culture of life” from the Vatican. (see for e.g. Smith, 2006: 347)
- Going deeper into the rhetoric of Kennedy and Clinton
 - Kennedy addressed his Catholicism. Religion did matter back then, and Kennedy had to take a religious test indeed.
 - Clinton tapped into Kennedy’s aura.
 - Clinton’s use of *Catholic* shows evolution: praises Catholicism for its impact on the American society and its social agenda.
 - With Clinton, *Catholic* is used (along with other religious and civil religious terms) to articulate the communitarian worldview and the way social care and welfare should be organized in the U.S.



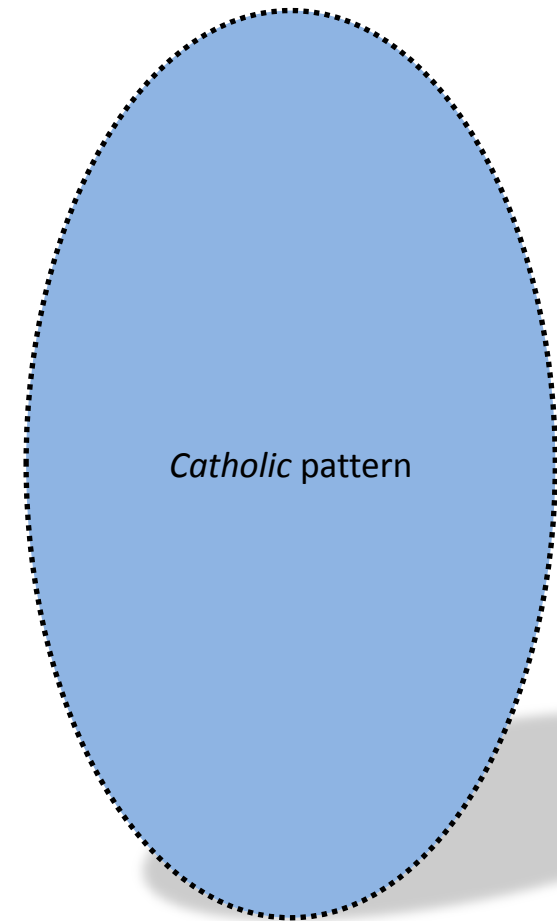


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 - Appealing to Catholics
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- Going deeper into the
 - Kennedy addressed then, and Kenned
 - Clinton tapped in
 - Clinton’s use of C its impact on the
 - With Clinton, *Cat* religious terms) to the way social car

While Reagan’s staff worked hard to retain the support of the religious right, they also developed a comprehensive strategy to win Catholic votes and convince Catholics to make the GOP “their new permanent political home.” A public effort to achieve this aim might cost Republicans votes in the Bible Belt or the Deep South. Therefore, the “best way to disguise this maneuver” was to emphasize moral issues rather than appeal directly to Catholics. Strategists recommended cultivating close relations with the Vatican, consulting frequently with Catholic prelates, developing cordial associations with various Catholic groups, appointing Catholics to major administrative posts, speaking at Catholic gatherings, increasing the number of Catholic leaders in the Republican Party, and focusing on issues that were important to Catholics [...] During the campaign, his team put ads in many Catholic newspapers showing him meeting with Pope John Paul II and proclaiming his support for “basic family values,” “the rights of the unborn,” voluntary prayer in schools, and tuition tax credits.

(Smith, 2006: 347)

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- While the so-called religious issue is necessarily and properly the chief topic here tonight, I want to emphasize from the outset that we have far more critical issues to face in the 1960 election [...] These are the real issues which should decide this campaign. And they are not religious issues--for war and hunger and ignorance and despair know no religious barriers. But because I am a Catholic, and no Catholic has ever been elected president, the real issues in this campaign have been obscured--perhaps deliberately, in some quarters less responsible than this. So it is apparently necessary for me to state once again--not what kind of church I believe in, for that should be important only to me--but what kind of America I believe in.

(Kennedy, September 9th, 1960, Greater Houston Ministerial Association speech)



- Going deeper into the rhetoric of Kennedy and Clinton

- Kennedy addressed his Catholicism. Religion did matter back then, and Kennedy had to take a religious test indeed.
- Clinton tapped into Kennedy's aura.
- Clinton's use of *Catholic* shows evolution: praises Catholicism for its impact on the American society and its social agenda.
- With Clinton, *Catholic* is used (along with other religious and civil religious terms) to articulate the communitarian worldview and the way social care and welfare should be organized in the U.S.

Catholic pattern

GOP

Democratic Party

Judeo-Christian Nation

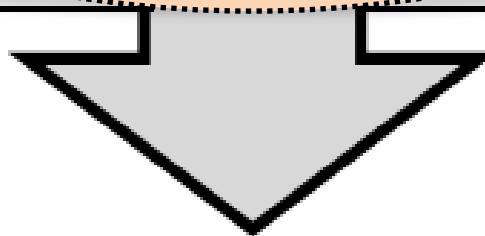
Analysis of *catholic* *judeo christian* → **TWO VERY DIFFERENT**
WORLDVIEWS (which probably are as old as the republic itself:
anti-federalists vs. federalists)

Individualism

Communitarianism



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GOP

Democratic Party

*Judeo-Christian Nation,
Judeo-Christian heritage
→ Served an ecumenical
and consensual call against
godless Communism*

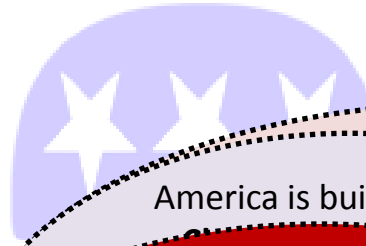
*Catholic pattern (not
statistically salient in
every Democratic party
file)*

+

Deeper analyses:
insistence on **UNITY** and
ASSITANCE;
COMMUNITY and
MUTUAL AID

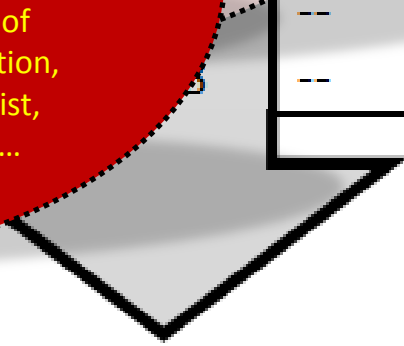
→ Another religious
rhetoric ingredient has
been used by the
Democrats to articulate
their views on mutual aid
and responsibility to one
another

The GOP has seized the label "liberal" (and the Democrats have abandoned it) in a time of conservative/liberal dichotomy. The GOP candidates have turned "liberal" into a "bad" word: unfriendly towards religion and therefore on the fringe of being un-American, pro-gay, pro-abortion, soft on foreign political issues, socialist, elitist, big government, Hollywood,...



1968
1972

America is built on Judeo-



[Clinton] was musing aloud about the dual influence of his Baptist heritage and Catholic schooling. “From my Southern Baptist heritage [...] I have a deep belief that the First Amendment separation between church and state is what guarantees the religious freedom of all people [...]” Catholics, as Clinton knew, have a much more complicated approach to the church/state relationship. So, warming to the topic, he shrewdly pivoted to draw a distinction that favored Catholics. The experience of studying at Georgetown [...] taught him “that we are morally obliged to try to live out our religious convictions in the world, that our obligation to social mission is connected to religious life...That I got out of my Catholic training more than from the Baptist Church, which is much more rooted in the notion that salvation is a matter of personal relationship between an individual and God and carries with it no necessary burden to go out into the world and do things”.

(Sullivan, 2008:94)

Democratic Party

Catholic pattern (not statistically salient in every Democratic party file)

+

Deeper analyses:
insistence on UNITY and
ASSITANCE;
COMMUNITY and
MUTUAL AID

→ Another religious rhetoric ingredient has been used by the Democrats to articulate their views on mutual aid and responsibility to one another

GOP

Democratic Party

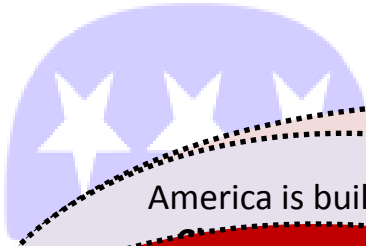
*Judeo-Christian Nation,
Judeo-Christian heritage
→ Served an ecumenical
and consensual call again
godless Communism*

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NO 19

-- 1968

-- 1972



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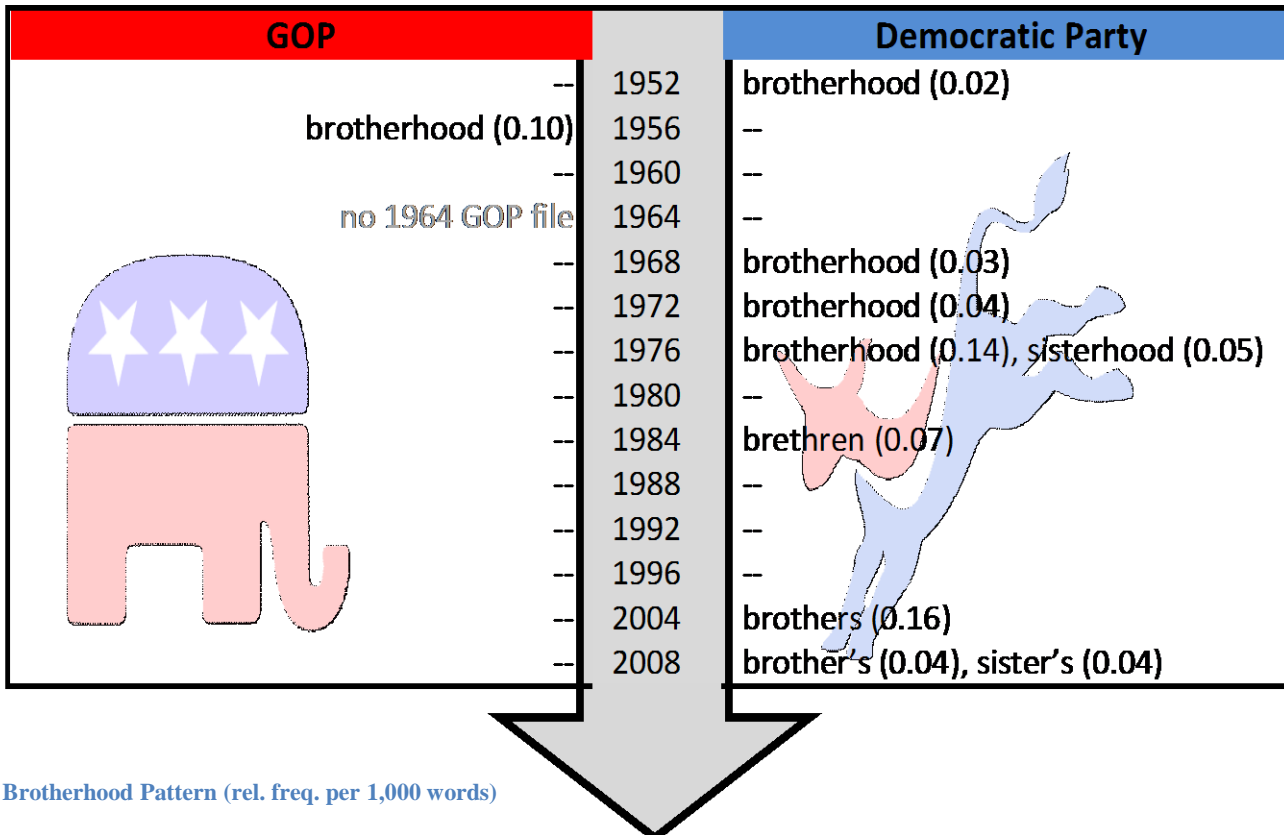
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Catholic
pattern

Brotherhood
pattern

GOP has seized the label "liberal" (and the Democrats have abandoned it) in a time of conservative/liberal dichotomy that marks the political AND religious scenes. GOP candidates have turned "liberal" into a "bad" word: unfriendly towards religion and therefore on the fringe of being un-American, pro-gay, pro-abortion, soft on foreign political issues, socialist, elitist, big government, Hollywood,...





I want an America with those convictions to have a renewed sense of community, an America that is coming together, not coming apart. [...] Echoing down the ages is the simple but powerful truth that no grace of God was ever given me for me alone. **To the terrible question of Cain--Am I my brother's keeper?--the only possible answer for us is God's thunderous yes.**
(Clinton, 1992, Notre Dame Speech)

-- | 1972 | --

So Dr. King had been to the mountaintop. He had seen the Promised Land. And while he knew somewhere deep in his bones that he would not get there with us, he knew that we would get there. He knew it because he had seen that Americans have "the capacity," as he said that night, "to project the 'I' into the 'thou.'" To recognize that no matter what the color of our skin, no matter what faith we practice, no matter how much money we have - no matter whether we are sanitation workers or United States Senators - **we all have a stake in one another, we are our brother's keeper, we are our sister's keeper, and "either we go up together, or we go down together."**

(Obama, April 4, 2008, Remarks in Fort Wayne, Indiana)

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Brotherhood
pattern

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government, Hollywood,...



tic Party

45:012:010 Be kindly affectioned one to another with **brotherly** love
 [...]
 45:012:015 Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them
 that weep.
 (King James Bible, Book of Romans)

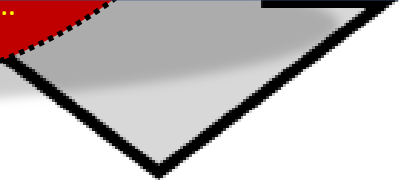
-- | 1972 | --

Brotherhood
pattern

[W]e must be knit together, in this work, as one man. We must
 entertain each other in brotherly affection.
 [...]

We must delight in each other; make others' conditions our own;
 rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always
 having before our eyes our commission and community in the work,
 as members of the same body.
 (Excerpt from Winthrop's "A Model of Christian Charity" Sermon,
 1630)

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GOP

Democratic Party

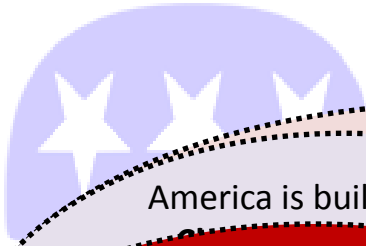
*Judeo-Christian Nation,
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America is built on Judeo-

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Catholic
pattern

Brotherhood
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The GOP has seized the label "liberal" (and the Democrats have abandoned it) in a time of conservative/liberal dichotomy. The GOP candidates have turned "liberal" into a "bad" word: unfriendly towards religion and therefore on the fringe of being un-American, pro-gay, pro-abortion, soft on foreign political issues, socialist, elitist, big government, Hollywood,...



GOP

Democratic Party

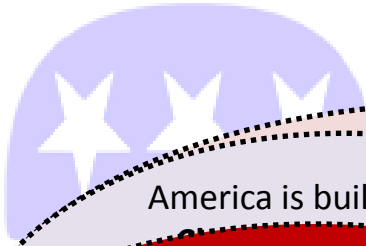
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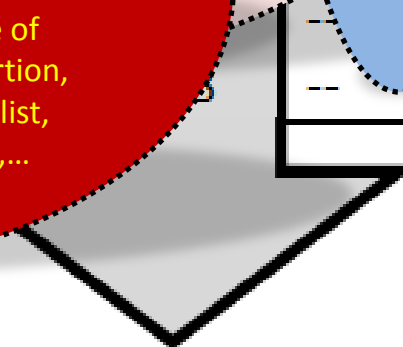
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Catholic
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*Bible Pattern:
 unexpected
 and quite
 counterintuitive*

The GOP has seized the label "liberal" (and the Democrats have abandoned it) in a time of conservative/liberal dichotomy. The GOP candidates have turned "liberal" into a "bad" word: unfriendly towards religion and therefore on the fringe of being un-American, pro-gay, pro-abortion, soft on foreign political issues, socialist, elitist, big government, Hollywood,...



GOP

Democratic Party



[T]he Democrats have a strongly secular base, many of whom will presumably object to using religious language for any purpose – including the advocacy of traditionally liberal positions. Even among the many devout Americans who vote Democratic, there is an almost palpable reluctance to employ religion in the service of electoral politics. The more likely scenario for 2008 therefore is the continuation of the trend observed in 2004 – and in 2000, 1996, 1992, and before. The Republican Party will be the one to use overt displays of religiosity, phrased to include all Judeo-Christian faiths but nonetheless having evangelical undertones. (Campbell, 2007: 11)

*Bible Pattern:
unexpected
and quite
counterintuitive*



“Intriguing [...] is the tendency of high-profile politicians to incorporate Scripture into their rhetoric. [George W. Bush] provides a sterling example.. [...] The precise moment when the Bible started to make its comeback is difficult to pin down. As far as conservative Christians are concerned, it was the *Roe v. Wade* case of 1973 that ignited their activist fires. [...] Evangelicals constitute one of the most dynamic social movements in recent American history. [...] Described as the “religious mainstay” of the Republican Party, 78 percent of them cast their ballots for George Bush in 2004 [...]. Why is the Bible back in American politics? The simplest answer is: because evangelicals are back.”

(Berlinerblau, 2008: 3-13)

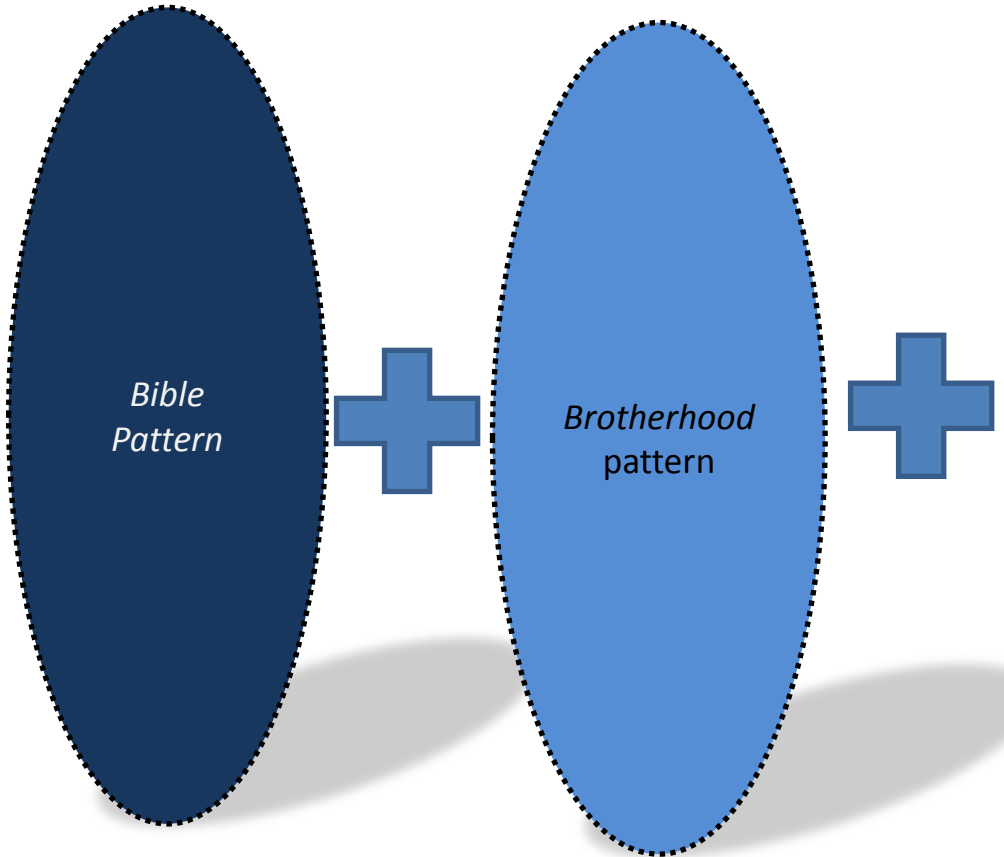
Democratic Party


Bible Pattern:

*unexpected
and quite
counterintuitive*

GOP		Democratic Party
	--	1952 commandments (0.02)
	--	1956 --
	--	1960 bible (0.05), scriptural (0.01), trumpet (0.03)
no 1964 GOP file	1964	(bible (0.04)), cheek (0.04), isaiah (0.06), thee (0.02), thy (0.10), thyself (0.06), unto (0.22)
	--	1968 scriptures (0.02), isaiah (0.02), bringeth (0.009)
	--	1972 scripture (0.03)
	--	1976 --
	--	1980 commandment (0.03)
	--	1984 --
	--	1988 --
	--	1992 --
	--	1996 --
	--	2004 samaritan (0.08), scripture (0.04)
	--	2008 scripture (0.01), moses (0.09), joshua (0.13), mountaintop (0.02)





GOP		Democratic Party
	-- 1952	<u>christ</u> (0.009, 3 hits)
	-- 1956	<u>christ</u> (0.006, 1 hit), <u>jesus</u> (0.006, 1 hit)
	-- 1960	--
no 1964 GOP file	1964	--
	-- 1968	--
	-- 1972	<u>jesus</u> (0.006, 1 hit)
	-- 1976	<u>christ</u> (0.009, 1 hit), <u>jesus</u> (0.009, 1 hit)
	<u>christ</u> (0.02, 2 hits) 1980	<u>christ</u> (0.01, 2 hits)
	-- 1984	--
	-- 1988	--
	-- 1992	--
	-- 1996	<u>christ</u> (0.005, 2 hits), <u>jesus</u> (0.005, 2 hits)
	-- 2004	--
	-- 2008	<u>christ</u> (0.03, 12 hits), <u>jesus</u> (0.01, 7 hits)

jesus/christ pattern returned from the query jesus/christ in the 1952-2008 Presidential Campaign Speeches corpus



December 13, 1999 primary campaign debate in Des Moines:
 Bush choosing “Christ” as his favorite philosopher.

GOP		Democratic Party	
	-- 1952	<u>christ</u> (0.009, 3 hits)	
	-- 1956	<u>christ</u> (0.006, 1 hit), <u>jesus</u> (0.006, 1 hit)	
	-- 1960	--	
no 1964 GOP file	1964	--	
	-- 1968	--	
	-- 1972	<u>jesus</u> (0.006, 1 hit)	
	-- 1976	<u>christ</u> (0.009, 1 hit), <u>jesus</u> (0.009, 1 hit)	
<u>christ</u> (0.02, 2 hits)	1980	<u>christ</u> (0.01, 2 hits)	
	-- 1984	--	
	-- 1988	--	
	-- 1992	--	
	-- 1996	<u>christ</u> (0.005, 2 hits), <u>jesus</u> (0.005, 2 hits)	
	-- 2004	--	
	-- 2008	<u>christ</u> (0.03, 12 hits), <u>jesus</u> (0.01, 7 hits)	

jesus/christ pattern returned from the query jesus/christ in the 1952-2008 Presidential Campaign Speeches corpus

- **3 additional analyses confirming the Democratic party-specific Bible pattern:**

1. searching for bibliography-style openings for scriptural quotes

77	The Project Gutenberg Edition of the King James Bible
78	
79	
80	Table of Contents

GOP		Democratic Party	
ecclesiastes (2)	1952	jeremiah (1)	
--	1956	amos (1)	
isaiah (1)	1960	solomon (1) isaiah (2)	

My last recommendation for would-be speechwriters is to *conceal references*. In other words, never draw too much attention to the source one is quoting. Save special circumstances, citing chapter and verse is generally a no-no. **The politician who opens with the words “As we read in Chronicles 2:14...”** [emphasis mine] is running a variety of risks ranging from inducing tachycardia among church/state activists and the liberal media, to boring the audience to tears, to prompting Bible thumpers roll up their sleeves, crack open their Scofields, and scour the candidate’s interpretation for evidence of doctrinal purity. Instead, the skilled orator inconspicuously integrates a scriptural quote, *or a piece of one*, into the body of an address.

(Berlinerblau, 2008: 82-83)

103	Book 47	2 Corinthians	Book 56	Titus	Book 65	Jude
104	Book 48	Galatians	Book 57	Philemon	Book 66	Revelation

- **3 additional analyses confirming the Democratic party-specific Bible pattern:**


1. searching for bibliography-style openings for scriptural quotes

77	The Project Gutenberg Edition of the King James Bible					
78						
79						
80	Table Of Contents					
81						
82	Book 01	Genesis	Book 14	2 Chronicles	Book 27	Daniel
83	Book 02	Exodus	Book 15	Ezra	Book 28	Hosea
84	Book 03	Leviticus	Book 16	Nehemiah	Book 29	Joel
85	Book 04	Numbers	Book 17	Esther	Book 30	Amos
86	Book 05	Deuteronomy	Book 18	Job	Book 31	Obadiah
87	Book 06	Joshua	Book 19	Psalms	Book 32	Jonah
88	Book 07	Judges	Book 20	Proverbs	Book 33	Micah
89	Book 08	Ruth	Book 21	Ecclesiastes	Book 34	Nahum
90	Book 09	1 Samuel	Book 22	Song of Solomon	Book 35	Habakkuk
91	Book 10	2 Samuel	Book 23	Isaiah	Book 36	Zephaniah
92	Book 11	1 Kings	Book 24	Jeremiah	Book 37	Haggai
93	Book 12	2 Kings	Book 25	Lamentations	Book 38	Zechariah
94	Book 13	1 Chronicles	Book 26	Ezekiel	Book 39	Malachi
95						
96	Book 40	Matthew	Book 49	Ephesians	Book 58	Hebrews
97	Book 41	Mark	Book 50	Philippians	Book 59	James
98	Book 42	Luke	Book 51	Colossians	Book 60	1 Peter
99	Book 43	John	Book 52	1 Thessalonians	Book 61	2 Peter
100	Book 44	Acts	Book 53	2 Thessalonians	Book 62	1 John
101	Book 45	Romans	Book 54	1 Timothy	Book 63	2 John
102	Book 46	1 Corinthians	Book 55	2 Timothy	Book 64	3 John
103	Book 47	2 Corinthians	Book 56	Titus	Book 65	Jude
104	Book 48	Galatians	Book 57	Philemon	Book 66	Revelation

- 3 additional analyses confirming the Democratic party-specific Bible pattern:

1. searching for bibliography-style openings for scriptural quotes

GOP		Democratic Party
ecclesiastes (2)	1952	jeremiah (1)
--	1956	amos (1)
isaiah (1)	1960	solomon (1), isaiah (2)
no 1964 GOP file	1964	isaiah (15)
--	1968	isaiah (7), amos (1)
--	1972	isaiah (3), micah (1)
--	1976	--
psalms (2)	1980	exodus (1)
--	1984	isaiah (1)
--	1988	isaiah (1)
--	1992	isaiah (1)
proverbs (1)	1996	proverbs (1), nehemiah (1)
--	2004	hebrews (2)
--	2008	deuteronomy (1), joshua (28), corinthians (1), amos (1)



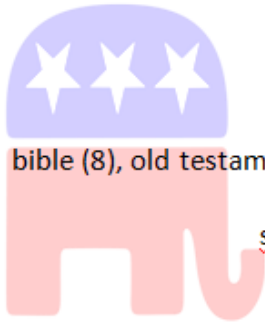
Pattern returned from querying 41 nodes from the Bible's table of contents items (raw frequency values)

- **3 additional analyses:**

1. searching for bibliography-style openings for scriptural quotes

2. query
scriptur*/bible/bibles/biblical/biblically/good
book/old testament/new testament/holy writ

GOP		Democratic Party	
bible (4), old testament (1)	1952	scriptur* (1), bible (3), biblical (3), old testament (1)	
bible (1), biblical (1)	1956	bible (1)	
--	1960	scriptur* (3), bible (22), biblical (3), old testament (1)	
no 1964 GOP file	1964	scriptur* (2), bible (10), biblical (1), good book (12), old testament (1)	
--	1968	scriptur* (13), bible (1), old testament (2)	
bible (1)	1972	scriptur* (6), bible (3), biblical (1), new testament (2)	
bible (8), old testament (1), new testament (1)	1976	bible (3), biblical (3), old testament (1), new testament (1)	
scriptur* (2), biblical (1)	1980	bible (4), old testament (1), new testament (1)	
bible (6)	1984	bible (2), biblical (3)	
bible (1)	1988	scriptur* (1), old testament (2)	
biblical (9)	1992	scriptur* (5), bible (1), old testament (1)	
--	1996	scriptur* (2), bible (3)	
--	2004	scriptur* (5), bible (3)	
bible (1)	2008	scriptur* (8), bible (2), biblical (2)	



- **3 additional analyses:**

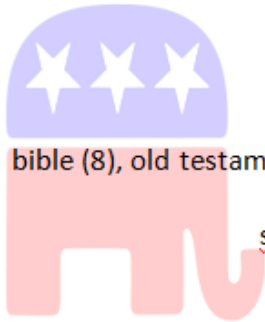
1. searching for bibliography-style openings for scriptural quotes

2. query
 scriptur*/bible/bibles/biblical/biblically/good
 book/old testament/new testament/holy writ

→ Unconcealed biblical references: predominantly produced by the Democratic Party candidates

→ “concealed” biblical references: future research efforts, e.g. Christian hymns (N-gram analysis?)

GOP		Democratic Party
bible (4), old testament (1)	1952	scriptur* (1), bible (3), biblical (3), old testament (1)
bible (1), biblical (1)	1956	bible (1)
--	1960	scriptur* (3), bible (22), biblical (3), old testament (1)
no 1964 GOP file	1964	scriptur* (2), bible (10), biblical (1), good book (12), old testament (1)
--	1968	scriptur* (13), bible (1), old testament (2)
bible (1)	1972	scriptur* (6), bible (3), biblical (1), new testament (2)
bible (8), old testament (1), new testament (1)	1976	bible (3), biblical (3), old testament (1), new testament (1)
scriptur* (2), biblical (1)	1980	bible (4), old testament (1), new testament (1)
bible (6)	1984	bible (2), biblical (3)
bible (1)	1988	scriptur* (1), old testament (2)
biblical (9)	1992	scriptur* (5), bible (1), old testament (1)
--	1996	scriptur* (2), bible (3)
--	2004	scriptur* (5), bible (3)
bible (1)	2008	scriptur* (8), bible (2), biblical (2)

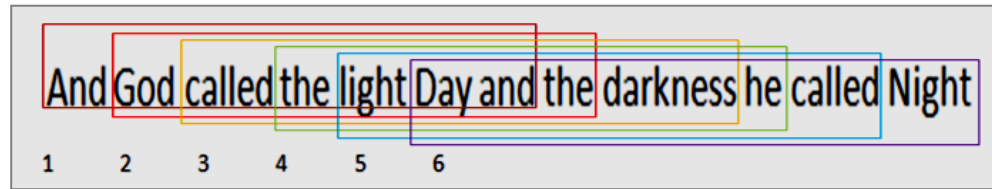


- **3 additional analyses:**

1. searching for bibliography-style openings for scriptural quotes
2. query
scriptur*/bible/bibles/biblical/bi
blically/good book/old
testament/new testament/holy
writ

3. Searching for verbatim quotes via Bible specific 7-grams and further discussing Berlinerblau's description of concealed biblical references

→ 574,083 7-grams to query



The six possible 7-grams in a 12-word-long sequence

N	Concordance	Set	F
1	I quote, "What doeth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and walk humbly with thy	DO JUSTLY AND TO LOVE MERCY AND	Ford_GOP_1976.
2	as a tortured echo of the ancient cry: "We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement.	COVENANT WITH DEATH AND WITH HELL ARE	EisenhowerwithoutReagan_GOP_1952.
3	of the ancient cry: "We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement." There is a	DEATH AND WITH HELL ARE WE AT	EisenhowerwithoutReagan_GOP_1952.
4	my dear friends, what a wise man said, "A merry heart doeth good like a medicine, but a broken spirit dryeth	DOETH GOOD LIKE A MEDICINE BUT A	Stevenson_Dem_1956.
5	task you have assigned me, I shall always try "to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with	DO JUSTLY AND TO LOVE MERCY AND	Stevenson_Dem_1952.
6	. Such men ignore the teaching of Saint James: "Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only, deceiving only	DOERS OF THE WORD AND NOT HEARERS	Stevenson_Dem_1952.
7	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary, and they	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	Mondale_Dem_1984.
8	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	McGovern_Dem_1972.
9	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	McGovern_Dem_1972.
10	ever since: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy and to talk kindly with thy	DO JUSTLY AND TO LOVE MERCY AND	McGovern_Dem_1972.
11	my childhood, and turned back to ever since: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to	DOETH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE BUT	McGovern_Dem_1972.
12	respond to the scriptural call: "Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed." For	COURAGE BE NOT AFRAID NEITHER BE THOU	Kennedy_Dem_1960.
13	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary." As we face	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	Kennedy_Dem_1960.
14	remember the admonition: "Let us not be weary in well doing; for in due season we shall reap." The past is	DOING FOR IN DUE SEASON WE SHALL	Johnson_Dem_1964.
15	. We must, in the words of the Bible, "Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge	DO WELL SEEK JUDGMENT RELIEVE THE OPPRESSED	Johnson_Dem_1964.
16	. The West is an idea. The Bible says, "Speak to the earth and it shall teach thee." And here, in the West,	EARTH AND IT SHALL TEACH THEE AND	Johnson_Dem_1964.
17	to every purpose under the Heaven--"a time to break down, and a time to build up." Well, I believe that this	DOWN AND A TIME TO BUILD UP	Johnson_Dem_1964.
18	, end poverty and famine, provide education. "The desert shall rejoice--and blossom as the rose." This is	DESERT SHALL REJOICE AND BLOSSOM AS THE	Humphrey_Dem_1968.

• **3 additional analyses:**

N	Concordance	Set	F
1	I quote, "What doeth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and walk humbly with thy	DO JUSTLY AND TO LOVE MERCY AND	Ford_GOP_1976.
2	as a tortured echo of the ancient cry: "We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement.	COVENANT WITH DEATH AND WITH HELL ARE	EisenhowerwithoutReagan_GOP_1952.
3	of the ancient cry: "We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement." There is a	DEATH AND WITH HELL ARE WE AT	EisenhowerwithoutReagan_GOP_1952.
4	my dear friends, what a wise man said, "A merry heart doeth good like a medicine, but a broken spirit dryeth	DOETH GOOD LIKE A MEDICINE BUT A	Stevenson_Dem_1956.
5	task you have assigned me, I shall always try "to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with	DO JUSTLY AND TO LOVE MERCY AND	Stevenson_Dem_1952.
6	. Such men ignore the teaching of Saint James: "Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only, deceiving only	DOERS OF THE WORD AND NOT HEARERS	Stevenson_Dem_1952.
7	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary, and they	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	Mondale_Dem_1984.
8	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	McGovern_Dem_1972.
9	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	McGovern_Dem_1972.
10	ever since: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy and to talk kindly with thy	DO JUSTLY AND TO LOVE MERCY AND	McGovern_Dem_1972.
11	my childhood, and turned back to ever since: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to	DOTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE BUT	McGovern_Dem_1972.
12	respond to the scriptural call: "Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed." For	COURAGE BE NOT AFRAID NEITHER BE THOU	Kennedy_Dem_1960.
13	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary." As we face	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	Kennedy_Dem_1960.
14	remember the admonition: "Let us not be weary in well doing; for in due season we shall reap." The past is	DOING FOR IN DUE SEASON WE SHALL	Johnson_Dem_1964.
15	. We must, in the words of the Bible, "Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge	DO WELL SEEK JUDGMENT RELIEVE THE OPPRESSED	Johnson_Dem_1964.
16	. The West is an idea. The Bible says, "Speak to the earth and it shall teach thee." And here, in the West,	EARTH AND IT SHALL TEACH THEE AND	Johnson_Dem_1964.
17	to every purpose under the Heaven--"a time to break down, and a time to build up." Well, I believe that this	DOWN AND A TIME TO BUILD UP	Johnson_Dem_1964.
18	, end poverty and famine, provide education. "The desert shall rejoice--and blossom as the rose." This is	DESERT SHALL REJOICE AND BLOSSOM AS THE	Humphrey_Dem_1968.

- **3 additional analyses:**

N	Concordance	Set	F
1	I quote, "What doeth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and walk humbly with thy	DO JUSTLY AND TO LOVE MERCY AND	Ford_GOP_1976.
2	as a tortured echo of the ancient cry: "We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement.	COVENANT WITH DEATH AND WITH HELL ARE	EisenhowerwithoutReagan_GOP_1952.
3	of the ancient cry: "We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement." There is a	DEATH AND WITH HELL ARE WE AT	EisenhowerwithoutReagan_GOP_1952.
4	my dear friends, what a wise man said, "A merry heart doeth good like a medicine, but a broken spirit dryeth	DOETH GOOD LIKE A MEDICINE BUT A	Stevenson_Dem_1956.
5	task you have assigned me, I shall always try "to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with	DO JUSTLY AND TO LOVE MERCY AND	Stevenson_Dem_1952.
6	. Such men ignore the teaching of Saint James: "Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only, deceiving only	DOERS OF THE WORD AND NOT HEARERS	Stevenson_Dem_1952.
7	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary, and they	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	Mondale_Dem_1984.
8	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	McGovern_Dem_1972.
9	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	McGovern_Dem_1972.
10	ever since: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy and to talk kindly with thy	DO JUSTLY AND TO LOVE MERCY AND	McGovern_Dem_1972.
11	my childhood, and turned back to ever since: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to	DOTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE BUT	McGovern_Dem_1972.
12	respond to the scriptural call: "Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed." For	COURAGE BE NOT AFRAID NEITHER BE THOU	Kennedy_Dem_1960.
13	renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary." As we face	EAGLES THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE	Kennedy_Dem_1960.
14	remember the admonition: "Let us not be weary in well doing; for in due season we shall reap." The past is	DOING FOR IN DUE SEASON WE SHALL	Johnson_Dem_1964.
15	. We must, in the words of the Bible, "Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge	DO WELL SEEK JUDGMENT RELIEVE THE OPPRESSED	Johnson_Dem_1964.
16	. The West is an idea. The Bible says, "Speak to the earth and it shall teach thee." And here, in the West,	EARTH AND IT SHALL TEACH THEE AND	Johnson_Dem_1964.
17	to every purpose under the Heaven--"a time to break down, and a time to build up." Well, I believe that this	DOWN AND A TIME TO BUILD UP	Johnson_Dem_1964.
18	, end poverty and famine, provide education. "The desert shall rejoice--and blossom as the rose." This is	DESERT SHALL REJOICE AND BLOSSOM AS THE	Humphrey_Dem_1968.



In-depth analysis.




→ discard false positive results (e.g. « I pledge to you that we will maintain that stand **as long as I am in this** [Peter (2) 1:13] office » (Reagan, September 6, 1984)

→ Compare with the Bible and validate the 7-gram as a verbatim quote indeed.

→ Sequences containing more than 7 words have been spotted out by several 7 grams

Biblical N-grams Analysis in 1952-2008 Dem. Party campaign speeches

: Biblical roots not overtly announced, although they may be quite obvious. No blatant bibliography-style reference made. : Biblical roots quite overtly announced, even the most biblically illiterate person would probably understand that the quote comes from the Bible.

file	concordance green: OK red: not OK, not biblical purple: can't decide	total N of verbatim quotes	Bible
1952 Stevenson	<p><u>(Matthew, 006:0033)</u> </p> <p>I wonder whether the fullest answer to the problems of both war and Communism doesn't lie in the scripture, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you." (Stevenson, October 22, 1952. "Notre Dame University", stump speech, South Bend, Indiana)</p> <p><u>(Matthew, 016:026)</u> </p> <p>In the end such tactics serve directly the interests of the Communists and of all other foes of freedom. Even worse, they undermine our basic spiritual values. For in the final accounting, "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" (Stevenson, October 23, 1952. "Cleveland Arena", stump speech, Cleveland, Ohio)</p> <p><u>(Micah, 006:008)</u> </p>	8 (+2?)	<p><u>Matthew 006:0033</u></p> <p>40:006:032 (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek;) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. 40:006:033 But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you. 40:006:034 Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.</p> <p><u>Matthew 016:026</u></p> <p>40:016:026 For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?</p> <p><u>Micah, 006:008</u></p>

total N speeches	in N speeches	N. verbatim quotes	GOP: quotes (≥7-word-long verbatim sequence) from:		Democratic Party: quotes (≥7-word-long verbatim sequence) from:	N. verbatim quotes	in N speeches	total N speeches
230	3 1.30%	6	Ecclesiastes 3:6; Ecclesiastes 3:6; Ecclesiastes 3:6; Ecclesiastes 3:6; Ecclesiastes 3:6; Ecclesiastes 3:6; Isaiah 28:15; Psalms 55:21	1952	James 1:22; Jeremiah 6:14 (?); Luke 12:48; Matthew 6:33; Matthew 7:21; Matthew 16:26; Matthew 26:42; Micah 6:8; Psalms 23:4 (?); Psalms 121:1	8 (+2?)	7 (+2) 3.76% (4.84%)	186
43	(1) (2.33%)	(1?)	Jeremiah 34:18-19 (?)	1956	Jeremiah 6:14 (?); Matthew 7:20; Proverbs 17:22; Zechariah 4:6	3 (+1?)	3 (+1) 4% (5.33%)	75
136	1 0.74%	1	Isaiah 2:4	1960	Deuteronomy 30:13; Galatians 6:7; Isaiah 40:31; Joshua 1:9; Matthew 6:24; Matthew 25:35-36; Psalms 55:21	7	6 1.92%	312
–	–	–	no 1964 GOP file	1964	Corinthians(1) 3:13; Deuteronomy 15:11; Ecclesiastes 1:4; Ecclesiastes 3:1; Ephesians 4:14; Galatians 6:9; Hebrews 12:1; Isaiah 1:17; Isaiah 1:18; James 1:19; Job 12:8; Job 38:7; Luke 11:21; Luke 23:34; Luke 23:34; Matthew 7:24-25; Proverbs 16:32	17	12 10.81%	111
58	0	∅	∅	1968	Isaiah 35:1; Isaiah 52:7; Isaiah 52:7; Isaiah 52:7; Isaiah 52:7; Matthew 16:26; Psalms 23:4 (?); Psalms 121:1	7 (+1?)	6 3.92%	153
59	0	∅	∅	1972	Chronicles (2) 7:14; Deuteronomy 30:19; Deuteronomy 30:19; Ecclesiastes 3:1; Isaiah 40:31; Isaiah 40:31; Luke 4:18; Luke 4:18; Mark 8:36; Micah, 6:8; Proverbs 29:18; Proverbs 29:18	12	10 10.20%	98
128	2 1.56%	2	Micah 6:8; Romans 14:19	1976	Corinthians (1) 14:8; Isaiah 2:4; Matthew 7:1	3	3 5.45%	55
69	1 1.45%	1	Matthew 28:19	1980	Matthew 7:1	1	1 1.12%	89
108	0	∅	∅	1984	Isaiah 40:31; Matthew 7:20	2	2 3.03%	66
41	0	∅	∅	1988	Isaiah 61:3; Peter (1) 1:22; Peter (1) 1:22; Peter (1) 1:22	4	3 4.55%	66
126	0	∅	∅	1992	Proverbs 29:18; Proverbs 29:18	2	1 1.32%	76
78	1 (+1) 1.28% (2.56%)	1 (+1?)	Proverbs 3:5-6; Psalms 23:4 (?)	1996	Proverbs 22:6	1	1 0.90%	111
39	0	∅	∅	2004	Hebrews 11:1; Hebrews 11:1; Psalms 19:14	3	2 3.45%	58
143	0	∅	∅	2008	Corinthians (1) 13:11; Joshua 1:3; Matthew, 7: 24-25	3	3 1.70%	176



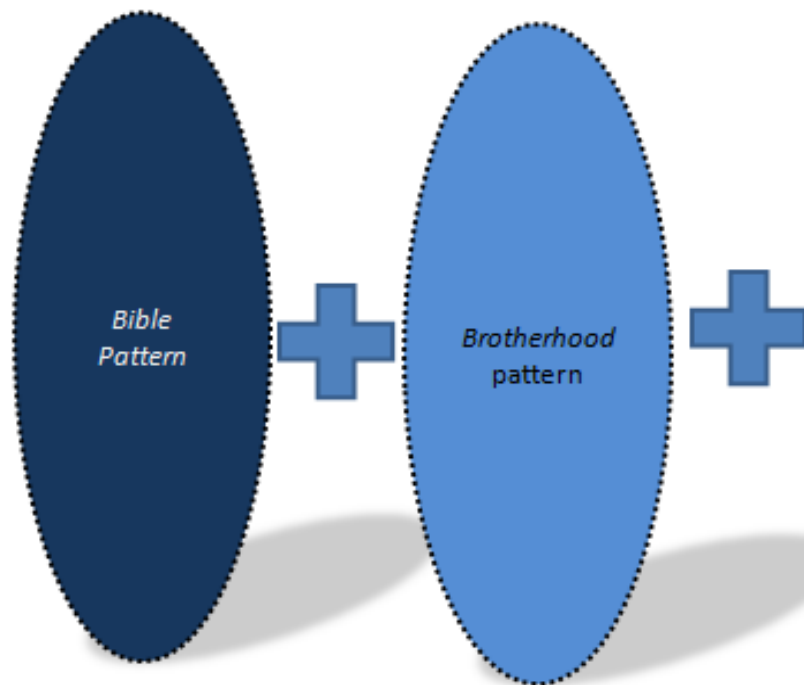
[A]mong the core of the Christian Right, 92 percent believe in an inerrant or literal Bible, and 91 percent think that Jesus is the only path to salvation. [...] [A]mong the religious Left core, only 33 percent think that the Bible is inerrant or literally true, whereas only 45 percent believe that Jesus is the only path to salvation.

(Wilcox and Fortelny, 2009: 290)

the party that is traditionally associated with those described as less inclined to believe in an inerrant or literal Bible is paradoxically the one which has produced the largest amount of biblical references, at least in our corpus.

The same kind of puzzlement arises from the paradoxical tension between the relative scarcity of verbatim quotes found in the GOP camp and the Christian Right's propensity to believe in an inerrant or literal Bible.

	Democratic Party: quotes (≥7-word-long verbatim sequence) from:	N. verbatim quotes	in N speeches	total N speeches
1952	James 1:22; Jeremiah 6:14 (?); Luke 12:48; Matthew 6:33; Matthew 7:21; Matthew 16:26; Matthew 26:42; Micah 6:8; Psalms 23:4 (?); Psalms 121:1	8 (+2?)	7 (+2) 3.76% (4.84%)	186
1956	Jeremiah 6:14 (?); Matthew 7:20; Proverbs 17:22; Zechariah 4:6	3 (+1?)	3 (+1) 4% (5.33%)	75
1960	Deuteronomy 30:13; Galatians 6:7; Isaiah 40:31; Joshua 1:9; Matthew 6:24; Matthew 25:35-36; Psalms 55:21	7	6 1.92%	312
1964	Corinthians(1) 3:13; Deuteronomy 15:11; Ecclesiastes 1:4; Ecclesiastes 3:1; Ephesians 4:14; Galatians 6:9; Hebrews 12:1; Isaiah 1:17; Isaiah 1:18; James 1:19; Job 12:8; Job 38:7; Luke 11:21; Luke 23:34; Luke 23:34; Matthew 7:24-25; Proverbs 16:32	17	12 10.81%	111
1968	Isaiah 35:1; Isaiah 52:7; Isaiah 52:7; Isaiah 52:7; Isaiah 52:7; Matthew 16:26; Psalms 23:4 (?); Psalms 121:1	7 (+1?)	6 3.92%	153
1972	Chronicles (2) 7:14 ; Deuteronomy 30:19; Deuteronomy 30:19; Ecclesiastes 3:1; Isaiah 40:31 ; Isaiah 40:31 ; Luke 4:18 ; Luke 4:18 ; Mark 8:36; Micah, 6:8; Proverbs 29:18; Proverbs 29:18	12	10 10.20%	98
1976	Corinthians (1) 14:8; Isaiah 2:4; Matthew 7:1	3	3 5.45%	55
1980	Matthew 7:1	1	1 1.12%	89
1984	Isaiah 40:31; Matthew 7:20	2	2 3.03%	66
1988	Isaiah 61:3; Peter (1) 1:22; Peter (1) 1:22; Peter (1) 1:22	4	3 4.55%	66
1992	Proverbs 29:18; Proverbs 29:18	2	1 1.32%	76
1996	Proverbs 22:6	1	1 0.90%	111
2004	Hebrews 11:1; Hebrews 11:1; Psalms 19:14	3	2 3.45%	58
2008	Corinthians (1) 13:11; Joshua 1:3; Matthew, 7: 24-25	3	3 1.70%	176



GOP		Democratic Party	
--	1952	<u>christ</u> (0.009, 3 hits)	
--	1956	<u>christ</u> (0.006, 1 hit), <u>jesus</u> (0.006, 1 hit)	
--	1960	--	
	1964	--	
	1968	--	
--	1972	<u>jesus</u> (0.006, 1 hit)	
--	1976	<u>christ</u> (0.009, 1 hit), <u>jesus</u> (0.009, 1 hit)	
	1980	<u>christ</u> (0.01, 2 hits)	
--	1984	--	
--	1988	--	
--	1992	--	
--	1996	<u>christ</u> (0.005, 2 hits), <u>jesus</u> (0.005, 2 hits)	
--	2004	--	
--	2008	<u>christ</u> (0.03, 12 hits), <u>jesus</u> (0.01, 7 hits)	

jesus/christ pattern returned from the query jesus/christ in the 1952-2008 Presidential Campaign Speeches corpus



- **3 additional analyses:**
 1. searching for bibliography-style openings for scriptural quotes
 2. query scriptur*/bible/bibles/biblical/biblically/good book/old testament/new testament/holy writ
 3. Searching for verbatim quotes via Bible specific 7-grams and further discussing Berlinerblau's description of concealed biblical references

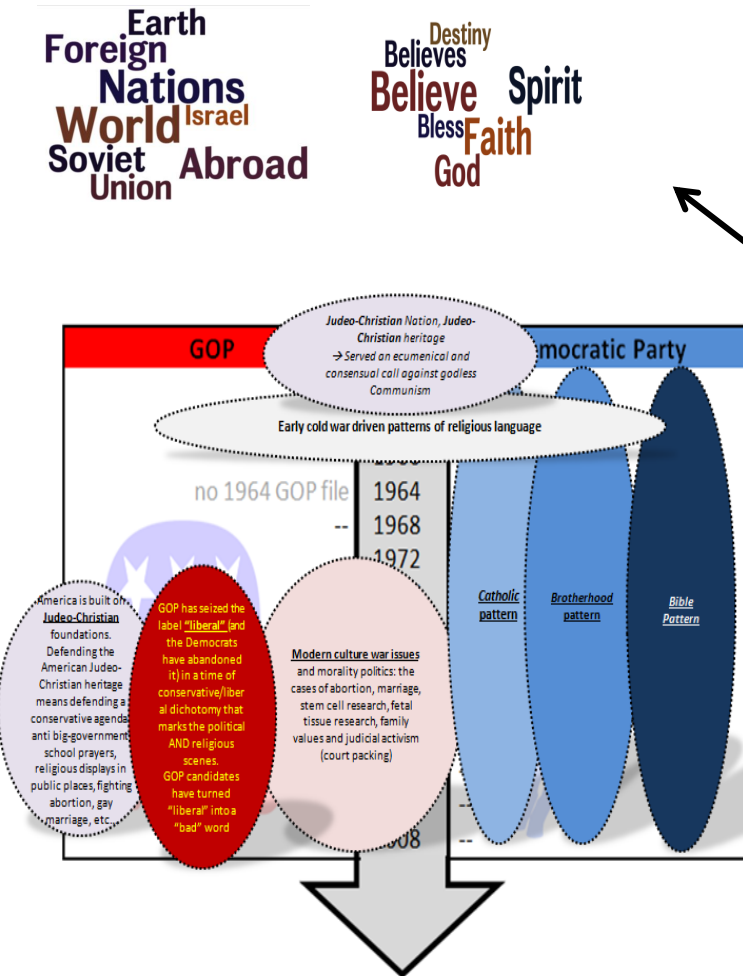
→ 574,083 7-grams to query

Outline

1. Research question: Rhetorical God Gap?
2. Methodology
3. Corpora
4. Some findings (main lessons from the main analysis)
5. Conclusion

5. Conclusion

- Unprecedented research which aimed:
 - to study the rhetorical God gap (quantitatively and qualitatively, through a data-driven corpus linguistics approach and with the help of rather large corpora) and
 - to bring evidence to a field pervaded with untested claims of all kinds.
 - to illuminate the data with context and an “American studies background”
- Results: more than “gaps” alone: Genre specific features; differences **and** similarities that locate on different places on the time and party lines.
- The resulting picture is much more complex than the traditional but unsubstantiated black and white version where the modern GOP appears as the only one to produce (and exploit) religiously laden language.
- Outcomes are tentative and more research is needed.
- But the key keyword analysis has surely proved versatile and efficient.
- Corpus-driven approach → bold choice to make “I might have had nothing worthwhile to write about at the end of it” (Baker, 2006:137)
- BUT “I deem it of more value to find out a truth about however light a matter than to engage in long disputes about the greatest questions without achieving any truth” (Galileo, qtd. in Randall, 2011:27).



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God Bless America God Bless America God Bless America God Bless America



and guide her through the right with a light from above. From the mountains, to the prairies, to the oceans. white with foam, God Bless America, my home sweet home.

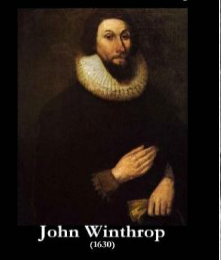
Thank you!

God Bless America God Bless America God Bless America God Bless America



and guide her through the right with a light from above. From the mountains, to the prairies, to the oceans. white with foam, God Bless America, my home sweet home.

A Model of Christian Charity



John Winthrop (1630)



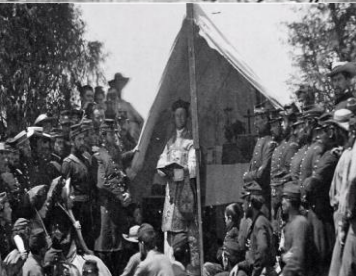
THE GRAND QUESTION STATED.

At the present solemn and momentous epoch, the only question to be asked by every American, lay ng his hand on his heart, is, " Shall I continue in allegiance to GOD—AND A RELIGIOUS PRESIDENT; Or impudently declare for, JEFFERSON—AND NO GOD !!!"

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO RIGHTLY GOVERN A NATION WITHOUT GOD AND THE BIBLE. GEORGE WASHINGTON

The United States government is not in any sense founded on the Christian Religion." - PRESIDENT JOHN ADAMS, TRISNEY OF THROUOL 1797

"Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other." - John Adams



READ YOUR BIBLE

THE EVENING UNION

SCOPES MONKEY TRIAL RAISES TROUBLING QUESTION: IS SCIENCE BEING TAUGHT IN OUR SCHOOLS?

Should children be exposed to facts?

HEAR BILLY GRAHAM AT HARRINGAY ARENA

IN GOD WE TRUST

THE CHANCE

BIG JOHN AND LITTLE JOHN

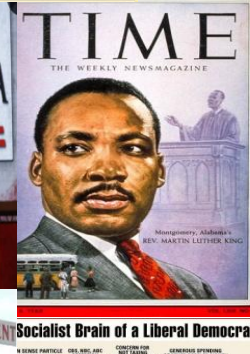
Women Do Regret Abortion

'BE SURE TO DO WHAT YOUR POPPA TELLS YOU'

ABORTION KILLS CHILDREN

KEEP ABORTION LEGAL

WE BELIEVE IN AMERICA



My BROTHER'S KEEPER

Creating opportunity for boys and young men of color.

THE JOSHUA GENERATION

Race and the campaign of Barack Obama.

BY DAVID REMNICK

NOVEMBER 17, 2008

One Nation, Under God

Remember, if you don't believe in God, you're not a REAL American.

GIVE FREEDOM TO THE CAPTIVE NATIONS!

TO THE FIGHT COMMUNISM!

Crusade for Freedom

J.C. CAN SAVE AMERICA!

Socialist Brain of a Liberal Democrat

CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE OF THE NATION

REPUBLICAN PARTY

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

LIBERAL PARTY

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

GREEN PARTY

INDIAN PARTY

AMERICAN PARTY

UNITED STATES PARTY

AMERICAN PARTY

UNITED STATES PARTY

AMERICAN PARTY

UNITED STATES PARTY

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