RWS 200 Table of Contents





ARGUMENT & RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

Rhetoric, Writing & Argument

This is not a literature class, and it's probably different from all the English classes you've taken. This semester, you will be studying rhetoric, writing, and argument.

Before we begin, it's probably a good idea to establish some definitions and goals, just so we're all on the same page.

What is rhetoric?

Rhetoric began in ancient Greece. Citizens studied rhetoric to learn how to argue, communicate and reason, mostly so they could use these skills to participate in public life. Rhetorical education was especially important in law, democratic debate, and political action. The Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle both wrote about rhetoric.

Aristotle provided one of the most influential early definitions of rhetoric. Aristotle noticed that some speakers in Athens were more effective in persuading the public than others. In *On Rhetoric,* a collection of those observations, he offered this definition:

> "Let rhetoric be defined as the faculty of observing in any case all of the available means of persuasion."

Modern rhetoric: the field of rhetoric has developed enormously over the centuries, drawing from and influencing other disciplines.

Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg are English professors who discuss the value of learning rhetoric and how to teach rhetoric to college students. Their definition is a little more detailed:

> Rhetoric has a number of overlapping meanings . . . the use of language, written or spoken, to inform or persuade; the study of the persuasive effects of language; the study of the relation between language and knowledge; the classification and use of tropes and figures…Nor does this list exhaust the definitions that might be given. Rhetoric is a complex discipline with a long history."

The web site of the department of Rhetoric & Writing Studies describes rhetoric this way:

> Rhetoric refers to the study and uses of written, spoken and visual language. It investigates how texts are used to organize and maintain social groups, construct meanings and identities, coordinate behavior, mediate power, persuade, produce change, and create knowledge.

Comedian Stephen Colbert describes the importance of studying rhetoric, stating, "My rhetoric teacher, Professor Crawley, ordered my mind. Simplicity of language, supporting ideas, synthesizing an effective conclusion—that's what I learned from him."

Why Write?

E. M. Forster, who wrote *Passage to India*, as well as other influential novels, answered the question this way: "How do I know what I think until I see what I say?"

Young & Sullivan: "Why write? One important reason is that unless we do there are mental acts we cannot perform, thoughts we cannot think, inquiries we cannot engage in."

National Commission on Writing: "If students are to make knowledge their own, they must struggle with the details, wrestle with the facts, and rework raw information and dimly understood concepts into language they can communicate to someone else. In short, *if students are to learn, they must write*…The reward of disciplined writing is the most valuable job attribute of all: a mind equipped to think."

Anne Morrow Lindbergh, a pioneering aviator and author, gave a more detailed answer. She explained, "I must write it all out, at any cost. Writing is thinking. It is more than living, for it is being conscious of living."

What are arguments, and what do they have to do with writing and rhetoric?

Obviously, we're not talking about disagreements with parents, siblings, friends, or enemies.

In this case, an argument is a statement or idea that someone tries to persuade somebody else to believe. A reasonable person might disagree with that statement.

An argument may also center on a proposed piece of action, upon which reasonable people might disagree.

Arguments are everywhere. You'll find them in academic writing, advertisements, newspapers, and films. Politicians use arguments every single day.

In college, you will be asked to read, evaluate, and create arguments. Most of the time those arguments will be written.

WHY IS ARGUMENT IMPORTANT?

Gerald Graff: "Argument literacy is central to being educated."

Rolf Norgaard: "Universities are houses of argument."

Christopher Lasch:

> If we insist on argument as the essence of education, we will defend democracy not as the most efficient but as the most educational form of government, one that extends the circle of debate as widely as possible and thus forces all citizens to articulate their views, to put their views at risk, and to cultivate the virtues of eloquence, clarity of thought and expression, and sound judgment.

Introduction to Argument

Jamie Madden, San Diego State University

Reconsidering the term "argument"

The purpose of this section for San Diego State University students is to promote an understanding of and an increased skill in practicing the art of argumentation as it is practiced here in the Rhetoric and Writing Studies department here at SDSU. The art of argumentation is different from what you may have experienced many times as an argument. Most of us have been part of pointless arguments in which two people, rather than listening to other positions and seeking to persuade each other or come to some common ground, simply enjoy stating their own opinions as loudly and frequently as possible. This kind of bickering is common, but rarely useful. It produces neither understanding of one's own position nor the position of others, and it allows no way forward when people disagree.

Argumentation, as we will use the term in this class, is very different. Argumentation is a process of stating what you believe to be true in a way that is meant to help others come to agree with you – a way of persuading people to take actions or adopt ideas that you want them to take or adopt. Thus, it is an important way for you to exert power in your community – to become a leader, to have a voice in your world. So argumentation is a key skill that you take from your education to use in virtually every part of your life – in school, certainly, but also in your profession, in your personal life, in your life as a member of religious groups, political groups, ethnic and geographical groups . . . are you a fan of Spiderman? Do you think he's a better superhero than Superman? Then you can use argumentation to make your voice heard among of the community of graphic novel fans.

The study of this kind of argumentation is known as *rhetoric*, the study of the available means of persuasion for any given topic, audience, and occasion. You engage in rhetoric every day, both as a rhetor making the argument and as a listener deciding whether you agree with an argument. You try to persuade roommates to send out for pizza, try to convince somebody to go out with you on Saturday night, make a pitch to professors for more time to turn in a paper. And you listen to arguments in which others try to persuade you to buy products, vote for them, let them borrow your car.

However, it is our position that the study of rhetoric ought to concern itself with questions of both effectiveness and ethics. We contend that arguments can only be effective over the long term if they are also constructed in ways that are ethical, and this section is intended to give you the opportunity to explore what those methods are and how you might use them yourselves as well as recognize when they are employed by others. Our intention is not to demonstrate what particular *positions* are ethical. You must decide for yourself what you believe to be true and good, and this is a lifelong process that involves thinking about your experiences and questioning your assumptions and the assumptions of those around you. Rather, our intention is to demonstrate that once you have decided to speak out for an idea that you believe to be true and good, to try to persuade others that this idea is true and good, that there are ways of presenting that argument that are themselves ethical and should be incorporated into your argumentation.

What is an argument?
As stated in the section above, an argument is an attempt to persuade others to accept an idea. There are three main components to an argument: an arguable question, a persuadable audience, and an occasion for making the argument.

An arguable question is a question on which reasonable people can disagree. It is thus not an issue of fact for which a single answer is correct and can be identified and agreed upon by most reasonable members of a community. Of course, what is arguable may change over time and from one community to another. For instance, very few people in the 21st century would disagree that the earth is round – there is readily available and widely accepted evidence that this is simply a fact. So that question is not arguable now. But in the fifteenth century, it would have been an arguable question. It may also be treated as an arguable question today by members of a modern flat earth society! But overall, the easiest way to identify an arguable question is to ask yourself if you could imagine reasonable people answering the question in different ways. If so, it is likely an arguable question.

The next component of an argument is a persuadable audience. This means that you have a specific audience in mind, a group of people who do not necessarily agree with you already, for, after all, there is little point in trying to persuade an audience who already agrees with you. Instead, a persuadable audience is one who either has little opinion about the question and thus has an open mind to listen or an audience who is not on board with at least some element of your argument but is willing to listen and open to rethinking their own position.

Sometimes audiences are absolutely unwilling to listen to an argument, either because they hold their positions so strongly that they cannot listen to another idea or because they reject the authority of your evidence. Think, for instance, of two people arguing about politics. One person is arguing for a conservative position; the other person has spent their whole life as a progressive, living in a community of progressives, surrounded by family members who are staunch progressives. The speaker uses an example from Ronald Reagan's administration to support her argument, but the audience immediately says that Ronald Reagan was the worst president ever and rejects the example. In the case of such an audience, it is still worth making the argument, of course, but you may not succeed in actually persuading them – your goal is more likely to be encouraging them to at least begin questioning some of their own assumptions. The third component of an argument is an occasion, a specific moment and place in which the argument is made. Sometimes that is a real moment in time and space – like a wedding or a political rally or a meeting between yourself and your professor. These occasions are very different and call for different styles of argument, different kinds of arguable questions, different ways of presenting yourself as a speaker. Other times, the occasion occurs within the pages of a written or visual text, which both creates and responds to the moment in time in which was written and the moment in time in which it is read. Texts are in a way constantly recreating the occasion of their creation because they are "created" anew by each person who reads them.

Claims – Answers to the Arguable Question
So if the starting point of an argument as we are defining that term is an arguable question, the next part we need to understand is known as the *claim.*

The main claim of an author is the main idea that she or he wants the reader to accept as true. It answers the main arguable question and is supported by evidence and/or reasoning.
There are different kinds of claims:

> **Claims about definitions** explain what something means, obviously going well beyond the simple answers found in a dictionary. These claims answer questions such as "what is education?"
> Claims about definitions may also become **claims about quality,** in which the author considers whether something is good or not. For instance, a claim about quality may answer a question like "what is a good education?"
> **Claims about the causes** of an event or situation focus on why something happened.
> **Claims about the consequences** of an event or situation focus on the results or potential results of that event of situation. They often take the form of describing a problem caused by that event. Often, claims like this are used in an argument structure known as the problem-solution argument, in which the author identifies the problems caused by an event and them describes actions that could solve these problems.
> A claim about consequences may involve a **claim about seriousness**, a claim that answers a question about how widespread or significant a situation is. For instance, a claim about seriousness could answer a question like "how important is a good education?"
> Another kind of claim is a **claim about policy**, in which the writer argues that society (or individuals) should take a specific action, often to solve a problem or to make a good situation even better or more permanent. Such a claim might be: "Student loans for college should have a lower interest rate."

What is Not a Claim?
There are many elements commonly found in texts that readers sometimes mistake for claims when in fact they are not claims.

The first of these elements is evidence. Any time you are reading a statement that can be verified, a piece of factual information with which no reasonable person could disagree, you are reading evidence, not a claim. For instance, the Bureau of Labor Statistics numbers from the previous section are facts; they could be verified by checking their government website and further verified by examining other sources or even doing your own original research. These statistics are evidence, not claims.

Another element that is not a claim is a matter of taste. These are matters of personal preference that cannot be changed based on reasoning or evidence. Often, they are aesthetic preferences in which we determine that something looks good, sounds good, tastes, smells, or feels good. For instance, maybe Michael Jackson is your favorite singer from "back in the day." Nothing is going to convince you that you should abandon Michael Jackson's music in favor of the Beatles. You just plain like it better, don't you?

The next element that is not a claim is an opinion. An opinion is an idea that a person believes to be true but for which there is no evidence or reasoning presented, or perhaps even no evidence or

reasoning available. That sounds kind of like a claim, doesn't it? Well, it's sort of on the way . . .

One of the things that people sometimes say when they agree to disagree is that "everybody is entitled to their opinion." And that's certainly true – everybody is entitled to hold an opinion. The problem is that if you and I have different opinions, there is no way for you to even start convincing me to reconsider, to think about the possibility that your opinion is better in some way that mine is. If you want to convince people who don't already share your opinion, you need to find a way to turn it into an actual claim by giving evidence and reasoning.

Let's go back to Michael Jackson. Suppose you weren't saying that you *like* his music better than The Beatles' music. Suppose you wanted to persuade somebody else to see Michael Jackson the same way you see him, wanting to make an actual argument about his music. You could make a main claim about quality, something like "Michael Jackson's music is better than The Beatles' music." You could present subclaims, such as "Michael Jackson is more popular than the Beatles'" and support them with evidence like "Thriller has sold more copies than any other record in history and Jackson has five albums on the list of the top ten sellers, while The Beatles has only one." You could make subclaims that Jackson has influenced the modern music industry more than the Beatles and provide support like statements from reviews by experts. By doing this, you could start a reader on the path to reexamining their own earlier opinions because they would be able to see that there are good reasons to consider Jackson the better artist. You are no longer just a person with your own personal opinion in a world of people who all have their own opinions. You are now making an argument that can influence the thinking of others.

Subclaims: On the Way to the Main Claim

In a very simple argument, there would be just one main claim. But the world is not simple and neither are the arguments we make about that world. Instead, persuading a reader to accept a mainclaim that answers the main question of an argument tends to involve first convincing them to accept particular answers to a number of other questions first. We call these answers *subclaims.*

Imagine we were asking how to solve poverty. We would first need to ask what poverty was, what caused poverty, what problems poverty caused, how serious those problems were. The answers to those questions would be subclaims and would help persuade the reader to accept the final main claim, the idea the author has for solving poverty. (If you notice, each of these subclaims, as well as the main claim, would correspond to the list of kinds of claims above – take a minute to see which ones are which.)

We would also need *evidence* to support those subclaims. Evidence is factual information, capable of being verified by anybody through widely acceptable means. If an author were making an argument about poverty and making a subclaim that poverty in a society causes increases in crime, she or he would need to provide facts to support that idea. For instance, the author may write that reports from researchers at Ohio State University state that serious crime is three times more prevalent in very economically disadvantaged neighborhoods than it is in more prosperous neighborhoods.

So we can think of arguments as having a kind of architecture that looks like this. And of course, there could be multiple subclaims.

Main claim: We can reduce poverty by making education more widely available
- First Subclaim: We need to solve poverty because poverty increases crime.
  - Evidence: Ohio State University research states that serious crime is three times more prevalent in very economically disadvantaged neighborhoods than it is in more prosperous neighborhood.
- Second subclaim: Making college more affordable will help reduce poverty.
  - Evidence: The Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates that high school dropouts earn an average wage of less than half the average wage of a college graduate.

Notice that by providing a chain of evidence, subclaims, and the main claim, you are beginning to provide your readers with a sense of your *reasoning,* a group of statements that explain why you arrived at your ultimate conclusion, your main claim that we can reduce poverty by making education more widely available. Reasoning is very important to the process of persuading your audience. Without it, you are simply asking them to accept your argument based on nothing other than your word that you are correct.

For instance, remember when your parents told you to eat your vegetables? And they tasted nasty, so you said, "why?" This was the beginning to a potential argument, a moment when you introduced an arguable question, a question about which reasonable people could disagree, even when one of those people was, say, four years old.

If your parents said that you should eat your vegetables (made a claim) because they told you to, then your parents didn't make a real argument. They were simply imposing their authority on four-year-old-vegetable-despising you. And that wasn't very convincing, was it? Maybe you ate your veggies and maybe you found a way to sneak them to the dog, but you were not persuaded because the claim of an argument requires support in the form of evidence and/or reasoning. Imagine instead that your parents had said that you should eat your vegetables because they are good for you. Well, now that starts to sound more persuasive, doesn't it? That's because your parents were now providing a reason that supports their claim. Maybe you still didn't *like* your veggies, because it is not possible to make an argument about questions of taste like whether cauliflower is yummy. But you began to understand, maybe even agree, that you should eat them anyway.

Evidence: "Just the Facts, Ma'am"

So as you can see, giving evidence is central to presenting an argument. This is the step that is crucial to persuading a reader who doesn't already agree with you. There are a number of different kinds of evidence.

Historical evidence presents facts from the past. The goal here is to take a peek forward into our future; if taking an action in the past turned out badly, it may well be that taking a similar action in the present would be a bad idea. Or, of course, if taking an action in the past had a good outcome, repeating that action in the present may have similar benefits.

However, this requires that we all agree that the historical situation is similar enough to the present to tell us something about the present. If there are too many differences between the historical situation that is being described and the present, an audience may well decide that the evidence isn't relevant and reject it.

Another potential issue is that your audience needs to accept your interpretation of historical evidence. If you want your audience to think that a historical event caused problems but they see that there were also benefits, they will likely reject your evidence and not accept the claim that the evidence supports.

Statistical or numerical evidence consists of specific numbers. It often tells us how widespread or serious an issue is and is intended to persuade a reader that a matter is worthy of attention. One weakness of numerical evidence is that it can seem rather cold and uninteresting. It tells us how widespread poverty is, for instance, but it may not persuade a reader that we should do anything about poverty – it may fail to convince a reader to actually care about an issue.

Another question that readers may ask about numerical evidence is whether it was gathered properly. If there was a study, for instance, the readers want to know that there was an appropriate number of test subjects or that the informatin was gathered properly.

Research studies often involve numerical or statistical evidence but go into more detail about how that information was gathered. These studies are usually performed by academics or experts within fields such as the sciences.

Writers may also want to think about using multiple pieces of numerical evidence or research studies that have different qualities. For instance, a writer may want to use a study of a very small group of people because it took place over a long period of time; she or he could then also present another study that looked at a much larger group of people over a much shorter period of time. This would give stronger support to the claim because the two kinds of evidence complement each other.

Anecdotal evidence looks at individual examples that are related to a claim. Such examples are best when used together with numerical evidence. Individual examples take the reader "inside" a situation; they help the reader feel what it's like to walk in somebody else's shoes, so the reader has a more emotional response and may even find such evidence more interesting, while statistical evidence can help the reader see how widespread the situation is.

In anecdotal evidence, writers are expecting readers to accept that the individual example represents the experience of others, even most others, who are in a similar situation. Like historical evidence, anecdotal evidence can be rejected if the reader decides that the example isn't relevant. If the reader believes that the example isn't representative of the experiences of others, the reader would reject the evidence.

Personal anecdotes are stories that the writer tells from her or his own experience. These work a lot like anecdotal evidence but also have another potential advantage. They can help the reader learn about the writer himself or herself, helping the reader learn to like and trust the writer, which makes the reader more likely to accept the writer's claims. Like anecdotal evidence, the reader would need to believe that the author's experience is typical, that it represents the experience of most other people in a similar situation. If they think that the author is so unique that this experience isn't common, the reader will likely reject the evidence.

Expert testimony is statements from experts who agree with one or more of your claims. The reader needs to believe that the expert's knowledge is relevant to the question being considered (who wants the opinion of an ophthalmologist on Michael Jackson's music?).

Masquerading as Evidence

Sometimes writers present information that appears to be evidence but that actually cannot function effectively as evidence. These are not verifiable facts but are more general statements. Do they work? Well, yes, on some people. These kinds of "evidence" are very persuasive to people who already agree with the claim being made; they are not persuasive to an audience who disagrees with the claim or who doesn't have an opinion on the claim.

Generalized statements fail to persuade readers because they have no real specifics behind them. Statements like, "Well, everybody knows that apples are better for you than oranges" are a very weak attempt at evidence. They may work well on an audience who already agrees with you, but they cannot persuade an audience who doesn't agree. They are not among the "everybody" who already thinks this and the writer hasn't given them any idea about who that "everybody" is or why the reader should pay attention to those people's knowledge.

Descriptions of hypothetical events are also weak in persuading people. This is when a writer asks the reader to imagine something that hasn't actually happened and to agree that if such a thing had happened, there would have been some specific consequences. An audience who already agrees with the claim being "supported" by such a hypothetical example is likely to accept that evidence because they find it very easy to imagine this happening. But a more neutral audience will recognize that there is no real basis for accepting this assumption – that they event never really happened and thus gives no basis in fact for accepting that the imaginary "consequences" were inevitable. None of it happened, so it can't be evidence.

Evaluating Evidence

As readers, we need to carefully consider how strong the evidence is that wriers provide in support of their claims. There are a few questions that we can generally ask of most kinds of evidence.

Keep in mind, also, that evidence needs to be evaluated not only on its own but also in connection with the other pieces of evidence in an argument. Maybe one specific research study only examined a small number of people and you initially see this as a problem – the evidence isn't sufficient, in your view. However, if the argument later provides some statistics that shows a more broad picture, then the two texts work together to support the argument more fully.

Historical Evidence: How is this historical example relevant to the current situation? Are there significant difference between the two situations that would suggest another possible claim? Is the evidence sufficient? That is, if there is one specific historical example of something happening, is that enough to support the claim? Does the historical evidence seem to come from a credible source? Does the historical evidence seem to have been interpreted correctly?

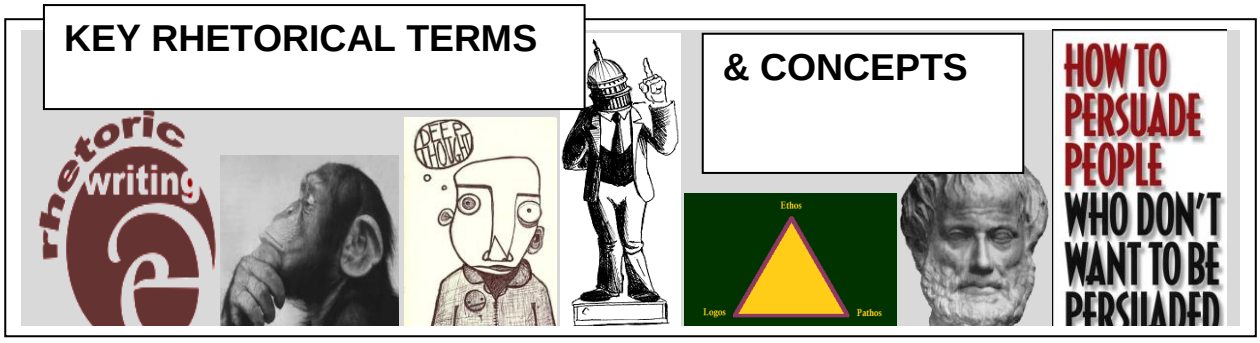
Statistical Evidence: Were the numbers specific? Does this information come from a credible source? Does the information appear to have been gathered in a way that's appropriate? Why are these numbers relevant to the claim being made? Are the numbers significant? (Keep in mind that this depends on a number of factors; a 3% decrease in heart disease may not seem like much, but if it is 3% in a nation of 150 million people, that's a very significant number.) Is the information recent relative to the time the argument was written?

Research Studies: Is the source of the study credible, meaning both are they experts in this field and are they unbiased? Was the study well-designed? How is the study relevant to the claim it supports? Are there other ways to interpret the research findings that have been ignored

and that contradict or fail to support the author's claim? Is the research recent relative to the time the argument was written?

Expert Testimony: Is the source credible, that is, are they experts in a relevant field and do they seem to be unbiased? Dose the expert's opinion appear to be itself founded on strong evidence?

Anecdotal Evidence and Personal Anecdotes: Is the anecdote detailed enough to persuade a reader that it actually occurred? Does the anecdote appear to be representative of the experiences of a significant number of other people? How is the anecdote relevant to the claim being supported?



Over the course of the semester, you will be asked to describe arguments, what they are, and how they are constructed. In order to do so, you will identify and discuss rhetorical concepts.

This type of writing is called rhetorical analysis.

Rhetorical Analysis

Rhetorical analysis looks **not only at what a text *says*, but at what it *does***. It includes consideration of the claims, devices and strategic "moves" an author makes in hopes of persuading an audience.

Many claims and arguments within texts are implied rather than explicit; performing rhetorical analyses on texts helps us to get a better sense of how, why, and to what extent an argument is effective.

Consider how a text works to convince its audience of the argument at hand. What, besides simply using logic, do authors use to help win a crowd? This work may include describing an author's argument, use of evidence, rhetorical strategies, textual arrangement, or the complex relationships between author, audience, text, context, and purpose.

Some words used to describe what a text does

argues • appeals to authority • assumes • challenges • complicates
constructs an analogy • contrasts • presents counterexamples • defines
distinguishes (between) • extends • forecasts • frames • implies • parodies
problematized • qualifies • rebuts • ridicules • stresses
supports • synthesizes • theorizes

PACES: Project, Argument, Claims, Evidence, Strategies

Project:

An author's project describes the kind of work she sets out to do – her purpose and the method she uses to carry it out. It is the overall activity that the writer is engaged in--researching, investigating, experimenting, interviewing, documenting, etc. Try to imagine what the author's goals or hypotheses were as she wrote the text. To articulate a project—and to write an account— you need a verb, such as "researches," "investigates," "studies," "presents," "connects A with B," etc.

Argument:

In the broadest sense, an argument is any piece of written, spoken, or visual language **designed to persuade an audience or bring about a change** in ideas/attitudes. Less broadly, in academic writing the argument often refers to the main point, assertion or conclusion advanced by an author, along with the evidence and reasoning by which this is established. Arguments are concerned with contested issues where some degree of uncertainty exists (we don't argue about what is self-evident or agreed upon).

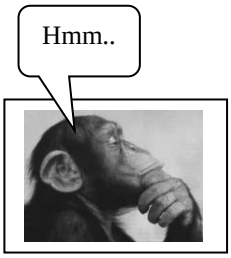
Claims:

To make a claim is to assert that something is the case, and to provide evidence for this. Arguments may consist of numerous claims and sometimes also sub-claims. Claims in academic writing often consist of an assertion, the staking out of a position, the solution to a problem, or the resolution of some shortcoming, weakness or gap in existing research. Often comes with **self-identification** ("my point here is that…") **emphasis** ("It must be stressed that…") **approval** ("Olson makes some important and long overdue amendments to work on …") or a **problem/solution** or **question/answer framework**.

Evidence:

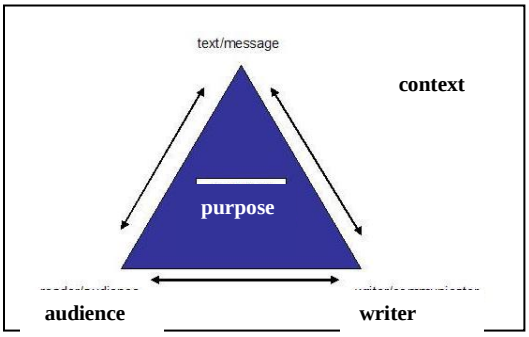
The component of the argument used as support for the claims made. Evidence is the support, reasons, data/information used to help persuade/prove an argument. To find evidence in a text, ask what the author has to go on. What is there to support this claim? Is the evidence credible? Some **types of evidence**: facts, historical examples/comparisons, examples, analogies, illustrations, interviews, statistics (source & date are important), expert testimony, authorities, anecdotes, witnesses, personal experiences, reasoning, etc.

Strategies:



Rhetorical Strategy: a particular way in which authors craft language—both consciously and subconsciously—so as to have an effect on readers. Strategies are means of persuasion, ways of gaining a readers' attention, interest, or agreement. Strategies can be identified in the way an author organizes her text, selects evidence, addresses the reader, frames an issue, presents a definition, constructs a persona or establishes credibility, appeals to authority, deals with opposing views, uses "meta-discourse," makes particular use of style and tone, draws on particular tropes and images, as well as many of the other textual choices that can be identified.

The Rhetorical Situation – When writing a rhetorical analysis, you will also consider the circumstances in which an author or speaker communicates (see below).



Entry points for analysis:

- **writer**- age, experience, gender, locations, political beliefs, education, etc.
- **purpose**- to persuade, entertain, inform, educate, call to action, shock, etc.
- **audience**- age, experience, gender, locations, political beliefs, education, expectations, etc.
- **text/subject**- broad, narrow, depends on situation
- **context**- the "situation" generating need; time, location, current events, cultural significance

(adapted from Tony Burman)

Identifying Claims

Identifying claims – a good rule of thumb is to look for the following cues:

1. **question/answer pattern**
2. **problem/solution pattern**
3. **self-identification** ("my point here is that…")
4. **emphasis/repetition** ("it must be stressed that…")
5. **approval** ("Olson makes some important and long overdue amendments to work on …")
6. **metalanguage that explicitly uses the language of argument** ("My argument consists of three main claims. First, that…")

Questions to Ask About the Text BEFORE You Read[1]: Previewing, Skimming, Surveying

Your time is valuable. If you're like most students, you want to finish your reading as quickly as possible. You have other readings for other classes and a fair amount of homework. However, you can learn a lot about a text before you even begin reading and it's worth it to take a few extra minutes to ask these questions before you begin the reading assignment.

1. **What can I learn from the title?** While titles can sometimes be general or provide few clues to the content of the work, a critical reader can often learn a lot about a text based on its title. A title may indicate the author's point of view on the subject (e.g. "Keep the Borders Open") or reveal the author's argument (e.g. "A Change of Heart About Animals").
2. **What do I know about the author?** In many academic texts, such as course readers and textbooks, publishers often include a short biographical sketch of the author. From this information a reader can gain insight into the author's background, credentials, project, argument, purpose, and more. Even when the editor of the course reader or text book doesn't give you an introduction, you can do a simple Google search to help determine the author's authority, credentials, background, etc. Many writers (and most academics) have web sites that will tell you a lot about them and the work they do.

   You can also use the San Diego State's online biography resources:
   http://infoguides.sdsu.edu/sub2.php?id=92&pg=13

3. **Who is the publisher?** While a publisher's reputation is not an automatic indicator of the source's reliability, you can learn a lot by discovering who published a particular work. For example, university presses and academic journals tend to expect a high degree of scholarship and many of these works are peer reviewed to ensure a text's quality. When reading popular periodicals, you may discover that certain magazines and newspapers consistently reflect certain political positions, which can help you anticipate the political position of the text you are about to read. You may also be able to identify the target audience for this particular text, based on the publication source.
4. **When was the text written?** Locating the date of publication can provide useful information about the rhetorical context in which the writer developed their work.
5. **What can I learn from skimming the text?** Proficient readers often skim through a text before reading to gather important information.

- You can survey the *organization* of the text, looking for text divisions, section headings, and subtitles, which may give clues about the text.
- You can also note important signal words, such as *therefore, so, thus, but, however, for example, first, second,* etc. to learn more about the structure of the argument and the rhetorical work of the writer.
- Skim the *visuals* and note the relationship between the visual and written text.
- Look for head-notes, footnotes, and biographical information.

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[1] Part of this adapted from Yagelski, Robert P. and Robert K. Miller, ed. *The Informed Argument.* 6th ed. Australia: Thompson, 2004, and work by Jamie Fleres.

Some Questions to Ask Any Text

These questions can be posed to any text, and can help you start thinking about texts from a rhetorical perspective.

THE BIG PICTURE

1. **Who is the audience?** Who is the author trying to reach? (age, gender, cultural background, class, etc.) Which elements of the text – both things included, and things left out – provide clues about the intended audience? How does the author represent the audience
2. **Who is the author, and where is she coming from?** What can you find out about the author? What can you find out about the organization, publication, web site, or source she is writing for?
3. **What is the author's purpose?** What is the question at issue? Why has the author written this text? What is the problem, dispute, or question being addressed? What motivated her to write, what does she hope to accomplish, and how does she hope to influence the audience?
4. **What is the context** - what is the situation that prompted the writing of this text, & how do you know? When was the text created, and what was going on at the time? Can you think of any social, political, or economic conditions that are particularly important?
5. **What "conversation" is the author part of?** It's unlikely the author is the first person to write on a particular topic. As Graff points out, writers invariably add their voices to a larger conversation. How does the author respond to other texts? How does she enter the conversation ("Many authors have argued X, but as Smith shows, this position is flawed, and I will extend Smith's critique by presenting data that shows…") How does the author position herself in relation to other authors?
6. **How does the author claim "centrality,"** i.e. establish that the topic being discussed matters, and that readers should care?
7. **What is the author's "stance"?** What is his attitude toward the subject, and how does this come across in his language?
8. **What research went into writing the text, & what material does the author examine?** (project)

ARGUMENT & PERSUASION

1. **What is the most important sentence in this text**, to you? Why?
2. **What is the author's overall argument, or central claim?**
3. **What are the most important (sub) claims?**
4. **How does the author establish her authority/credibility?** (*ethos*)
5. **How does the author connect with your emotions?** (*pathos*)
6. **What evidence or reasons does the author provide, and do they convince you?** (*logos*)
7. **What are you being asked to believe, think, or do?** (persuasion)
8. **How is the text organized?** Why do you think the author organized the text this way? What effect does it have?
9. **Does the author respond to other arguments**, and if so, are they treated fairly?
10. **How do the author's stylistic choices reinforce or advance the argument?** How do word choice, imagery, metaphor, design, etc. help persuade?
11. **How does the author frame the issues?** Does the author's representation of the issue or problem invite the audience to see things from a particular perspective? How does this help persuade?
12. **How does the author define the central terms being discussed?** How does this help persuade?
13. **What assumptions can you identify?** What does the author take for granted, and what does this tell you about her argument?
14. **What implications follow from the author's argument?**
15. **Does the author use metadiscourse?** Are there moments when the author talks about what he is doing, or addresses the audience directly? Is this persuasive? How?

"I know what it says, but what does it do?"

Verbs that can be used to describe what a text does, whether you are articulating the project, the argument, or the claims. Verbs are also used to describe the ways evidence and strategies support claims and arguments.

Acknowledges	**Critiques**	**Justifies**
Advises	**Defends**	**Maintains**
Advocates	**Defines**	**Narrates**
Amplifies	**Denies**	**Opposes**
Analyzes	**Describes**	**Parodies**
Argues	**Disagrees**	**Predicts**
Asks	**Divides/Distinguishes**	**Problematizes**
(Constructs an)	**(between)**	**Proposes**
Analogy	**Dramatizes**	**(Sets up a)**
Asserts	**Elaborates**	**parallel**
Assumes	**Emphasizes**	**Qualifies**
Attacks	**Exaggerates**	**Questions**
Challenges	**Examines**	**Rebuts**
Claims	**Exemplifies/presents**	**Refines**
Clarifies	**examples**	**Repeats**
Compares	**Explains**	**Resolves**
Complicates	**Extends**	**Ridicules**
Concedes	**Generalizes**	**Satirizes**
Concludes	**Forecasts**	**Speculates**
Connects	**Faults**	**Suggests**
Contrasts	**Frames/reframes**	**Summarizes**
Contradicts	**Illustrates**	**Supports**
(Presents)	**Implies**	**Synthesizes**
Counterarguments	**Insists**	
Criticizes	**Introduces**	
(Presents)	**Investigates**	
Counterexamples		

Try to AVOID: thinks, believes, says, etc.!

Consider using the following construction:

This paragraph _[VERB]_ _[IDEA]_ by _[EXPLAIN HOW]_.

Also see *They Say/ I Say* for verbs organized by use for when authors make claims, are in agreement, question or disagree, and when they make recommendations (see page 37).

Charting a Text

Charting[2] involves annotating a text in order to show the "work" each paragraph, group of paragraphs, or section is doing. Charting helps identify what each part of the text is *doing* as well as what it is *saying*—helping us move away from summary to analysis. There are two strategies for charting that we'll look at: *macro*-charting and *micro*-charting.

MACRO-CHARTING

How do we do macro-charting?

- Break text down into sections--identify "chunks" or parts of the text that seem to work together to DO something for the overall argument.
- Draw lines between sections and label each one, annotating them with "doing" verbs: **providing** context, **making** a claim, **supporting** a claim, **rebutting** counter argument, **illustrating** with personal anecdote, **describing** the issue, etc.

Why do we do macro-charting?

- Macro-charting helps with understanding structure of argument, as well as locating claims, supporting evidence, and main argument.
- Macro-charting guides students toward identifying relationships between ideas.
- Macro-charting brings awareness that behind every sentence there is an author with intent who makes rhetorical choices to achieve his/her aims.

MICRO-CHARTING

How do we do micro-charting?

- Break down sections of text by paragraph to analyze what each paragraph is *doing* for the overall argument.
- Detail the smaller "moves" and strategies made within paragraphs: note when, where, and how and author makes a claim, cites evidence, and/or supports his/argument using a rhetorical strategy.

Why do we do micro-charting?

- Micro-charting can serve as a way to thoroughly understand in a detailed way how a text is put together.
- Micro-charting encourages readers to look more carefully and closely at a text and helps us to focus our reading on tasks asked for in prompts.
- Micro-charting brings awareness of the specific rhetorical choices made throughout a text (addressing particular audiences by making deliberate moves).

[2] Adapted from work by Micah Jendian and Katie Hughes

Defining Context: 8 Ways to Think & Write about Context[3]

The American Heritage Dictionary defines "context" in part, as the way that particular words or passages are intended to be understood by the author, based on the clues the author presents IN the text itself. Context is, "The part of a text or statement that surrounds a particular word or passage and determines its meaning." Thus, we can figure out the context of a particular text in part by reading through the whole text, using one part of the text to give us clues about other parts.

But, context is much broader than just what we find in the text. The context of a text also comes from our knowledge of what is going on in the world, in society, in history, in the real world that the writer lives and works in. Thus, the *American Heritage Dictionary* adds a second definition. Context is, "The circumstances in which an event occurs; a setting."

These are two poles of context—the words in the text that give us clues to meaning, AND the history, people, events and real world that the writer is responding to. Context thus points us toward the larger textual and cultural environment in which specific rhetorical acts take place.

1. We can think about a text *in the context* of the author's life, persona and work.

Author's life: who wrote the work? Who is that person? When and where does/did that person live? What do we know about his/her other work, activities, methods, public appearances, reputation? Does the text include any clues about the author's life and works?

For example, Betty Friedan, in "The Sexual Sell" writes in first person, explaining her own curiosity about the reasons women were satisfied being housewives in the late 50s and early 60s. Friedan documents her own process of research on advertising in the introductory paragraphs of her analysis of a market research survey conducted in 1945 by the Institute for Motivational Research. In addition, we can use Google or Wikipedia to learn more about Betty Friedan's life and work. We will learn that Friedan was one of the most important feminist thinkers of the 20th century.

2. We can think about a text, (and even its tone, style, level of formality) *in the context* of the publication where it appeared.

Publication data: where was a source published? What sort of publication is that? What is its readership? Who was the intended audience? What are the interests/themes/methods of that publication? Does the source text provide any clues to the readership and their interests? How does the style of the text point to the publication and audience? How do the topics that the author addresses point to the type of publication, the genre/purpose of the text?

For example, Horkheimer & Adorno's "The Culture Industry" was originally published in German, as part of a book entitled Dialectic of Enlightenment.

A quick Wikipedia search tells us the publication history of this book. The writers were responding, in 1944, to the horrors of the Holocaust, attempting to explain the social and psychological mind-set that could have led to the abandonment of the civilized and liberal ideals of the Enlightenment. Written by Frankfurt School philosophers Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, the book made its first appearance in 1944 under the title *Philosophische Fragmente*

[3] By Jill Holslin

by Social Studies Association, Inc., New York. A revised version was published in 1947 by Querido Verlag in Amsterdam with the title *Dialektik der Aufklärung*. And so, we can determine that the text had an international following, at least in Europe and America, and it was most likely directed toward other philosophers concerned with the ideas of freedom and its relationship to reason or rationality and culture.

3. We can think about a text *in the context* of the other work available since rhetorical acts don't happen in a vacuum, but usually respond to and engage with other discussions and make references to events that are going on at the same time and place in history.

We can ask, does the text include any references to or clues about the ongoing discussion (at the same time in history)? What discussions are going on at the same time the writer is writing? How does the writer position herself or himself in relation to these other writers? In relation to the overall discussion? For example, Paul Farmer, the global public health advocate and activist, situates his project and argument for health equity and justice in the context of a wide range of other health policies and programs, and the wider debates about the causes of and injustices of lack of health care in the developing world.

4. We can think about a text *in the context* of past ideas, discoveries, theories, research, and writing about a topic.

Writers always draw upon ideas, terms & concepts, arguments, definitions, and attitudes which may be an important antecedent for their own arguments. The source text will include references to or clues about these ideas, often repeating the same terms, expanding upon the same concepts, or clarifying earlier arguments to make them relevant for a new historical moment. We can ask a similar question as the one above: How does the writer position herself or himself in relation to these other writers from the past? How does the writer draw upon and expand upon past ideas, discoveries, or theories about a topic? What has changed (historically) that might cause the writer to develop the argument somewhat differently than an earlier writer? What is new about this writer's argument that was NOT there in the past?

For example, Martin Luther King in "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," written in 1964, draws upon the writings of the ancient Greek philosopher Socrates as well as the 20th-century Indian leader Ghandi as sources for his own ideas about the usefulness and ethical nature of non-violent political protest.

Juliet Schor draws upon the ideas of earlier writers in her concerns with humanist values of well-being, caring and community, and her anxiety that advertising and unfettered capitalism threatens authentic selfhood and freedom.

5. We can think about a text *in the context* of specific events and audiences.

Rhetorical acts address audiences and respond to particular events or situations. Sometimes these audiences are quite specific. Thus, we need to ask what immediate events prompted this writer to write and/or publish a text? Who were/is the specific people or groups of people that the writer is addressing (speaking to directly) in the text. How does the writer position himself or herself in relation to these events and people? Are there specific references that you see that would absolutely not be understood by an audience in a completely different place (say, the Congo, or Sri Lanka, or Brazil) or in a different period of time (say, 100 years ago)?

For example, Martin Luther King, in his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," addresses a specific audience of clergy about the lunch counter protests that were happening in Birmingham, Alabama, during the Civil Rights movement. King's immediate context was his arrest and

incarceration in Birmingham, and the resulting damage to his reputation as a virtuous Christian and well-intentioned political leader.

6. We can think about a text *in the context* of its reception.

How did people respond to the work when it was published? Was it well received? Were people shocked? Did it prompt other writers to respond with similar ideas or counter-arguments? Does the writer appear to anticipate any particular kind of reception—perhaps anticipating that audience will welcome the argument, or will be angry, disturbed, shocked? Where in the text can we find passages that demonstrate the writer anticipating the reception of the text? (discussing the possible responses of the audience)? What are the ways a writer might do this? What are some common rhetorical moves or positions a writer might take up? Playing the gadfly, situating oneself as a prophet challenging society's corruption, righteous upholder of the law, apologizing, making self-depracating remarks, drawing upon eye-witness status for credibility?

For example, Eric Schlosser's best-selling book Fast Food Nation, published in 2001, was extremely popular and has generated a variety of responses, including this year's fictional film based on the book. Michael Moore's film Fahrenheit 9/11, on the other hand, generated criticism from both liberals and conservatives who questioned his facts, took issues with his conclusions, and criticized his overall method of confrontation used in the film.

7. We can think about a text *in the context* of common assumptions about the topic.

The arguments and concerns of writers are usually based on specific assumptions or premises (or the warrant) that remain unstated in the text. Assumptions or premises are the beliefs or principles that the writer is taking for granted. Often the writer will assume that his or her audience also shares those same assumptions, and for this reason, does not explicitly articulate the assumptions in the text itself. Thus, after we identify the main claim and the reason or support for that claim, we should stop and ask: what is or are the assumptions that link the claim to this reason?

For instance, Horkheimer and Adorno's chapter on "The Culture Industry" advances the claim that there is a "culture industry" that holds a monopoly on the production of culture, making all culture identical, and using it to manipulate the masses in society. Adorno supports this claim by pointing to many instances of standardized, mass-produced cultural objects: the uniformity of mass-produced housing projects, the trivial sameness of American entertainments like the Ziegfeld Follies. Their argument relies on certain assumptions about culture, what good culture should be, how culture is related to freedom of expression, what it ought to do for the individual, what role culture should play in a civilized, democratic society. We often have to do a little historical research to uncover those assumptions in order to fully understand the tone and attitude as well as the argument of a text that is distant from our own historical moment.

8. We can think about a text *in the current social context* in which we are reading: our own locale, the events that are present to us, our own experiences.

We can ask ourselves: in what ways do these arguments resonate with us today? What topics and issues in our own time are related to these topics from the past or from another situation? For example, we can sense the anxiety and even some conspiratorial thinking in Adorno's fear of the culture industry. Yet, the argument that turning art and culture into a business can be threatening to true creativity is not unfamiliar to us today. We can apply this argument to the current debates about musicians, creativity and the demands of the music industry to standardize music into a format so it will more likely sell millions (if not billions) of records.

Fischer "Compared to What? One thing I know is that contexts matter"

[Insert "Compared to What," by Claude Fischer]

Some Templates

Verbs for Introducing Summaries and Quotations

Verbs for Making a Claim		Verbs for Expressing Agreement	
Argue	Insist	Acknowledge	Endorse
Assert	Observe	Admire	Extol
Believe	Remind us	Agree	Praise
Claim	Report	Celebrate the fact that	Reaffirm
Emphasize	Suggest	Corroborate	Support
		Do not deny	Verify

Verbs for Questioning or Disagreeing		Verbs for Making Recommendations	
Complain	Question	Advocate	Implore
Complicate	Refute	Call for	Plead
Contend	Reject	Demand	Recommend
Contradict	Renounce	Encourage	Urge
Deny	Repudiate	Exhort	Warn
Deplore the tendency to			
Disavow			

(From Graff et al., *They Say/I Say*: *The Moves that Matter in Academic Writing*.)

The Graff Template for Writing a Response:

THE GRAFF TEMPLATE

The argument template that Graff describes helps students use the elements of an argument—claim, support, examples—to guide their reading and writing processes. Although it may be somewhat prescriptive, it provides a useful structure for students to follow until they internalize the process.

The general argument made by author X in her/his work _____ (title) _____ is that _____. More specifically, X argues that _____. She/He writes, "_____." In this passage, X is suggesting that _____. In conclusion, X's belief is that _____.

HOME GROWN TEMPLATES

ORGANIZING YOUR DISCUSSION OF CLAIMS

1. Mandelbaum claims [describe claim]_____

2. According to Mandelbaum, [explain claim further]...

3. For example, Mandelbaum states that "...[give quotation/s]___

4. What he means by this is...[discuss quotation]_____.
In other words.....[explain quotation further]

Quick Guide to Quotations

1. Choose Carefully	Choose what you want to use carefully. Make sure you need the quotation to illustrate your point, and that it connects closely with the point you are making.
2. Introduce or "frame"	You should 'set up' or introduce quotations – don't just insert them into your text without providing some background. This means they should be introduced with your own words. You should use introductory phrases that provide context or say what the author is doing in the section of the text the quotation comes from– for example, "Author X is concerned about global warming, and describes her alarm in the following terms. She writes, [insert quotation]…
3. Integrate	Make the quoted words fit the language (part of speech and verb tense) of your writing. You may need to carefully select parts of the quotation to do this.
4. Explain and analyze	EXPLAIN the relevance of any direct quote you include to the analysis you're doing within that paragraph or section. Never just leave a quote hanging on its own (aka the "dangling" or "drive-by" quotation, as Graff and Birkenstein put it.)
5. Always Cite	Always cite the text, author, page number, etc. you are using..
6. Maintain Your Voice (handle attributions)	Sometimes when a writer is paraphrasing the ideas of others the viewpoints get mixed up and the reader finds it difficult to know who is saying what. The writer needs to provide good "cueing" so that the reader always knows the difference between what the writer believes and what the source believes.

QUOTATION SANDWICH

Top slice = **introduction & framing**
(advance your point or interpretation of the author's claim, or what the author is doing)

The meat/tofu = **the actual quotation**

Bottom slice = **explain, restate, discuss** significance. Why is it important, and what do you take it to say?

Quotations & Punctuation

Commas and periods go INSIDE QUOTATIONS unless parenthetical citation follows, in which case the comma or period goes on the other side of the citation (note that in British English it's the opposite – punctuation goes outside the quotation).

"Really, there is no excuse for aggressive behavior," the supervisor said. "It sets a bad example."

The period goes outside of the quotation mark when using a parenthetical reference.

"Animals have a variety of emotions similar to humans" (Erikson 990).

The colon and semicolon always go outside the closing quotation mark.

He referred to this group of people as his "gang": Heidi, Heather Shelley, and Jessie.

MLA Documentation Simplified, Glen McClish

Parenthetical Citation:

1. Crediting a source when directly quoted and identified:

   Leonard Valverde has called mathematics "the most culture-free subject" (126).

2. Crediting a source when paraphrased or summarized and identified:

   Deborah Tannen argues that men and women respond differently to debate in classroom settings (124-26).

3. Crediting multiple sources when paraphrased or summarized and identified:

   Peter Marin (191) and John Morrison (174) maintain that our culture devalues men's lives.

4. Crediting unidentified sources:

   Most students confuse the semicolon with the colon (Smith 43).

   Mathematics has been called “the most culture-free subject” (Valverde 126).

5. Citing multiple sources by the same author requires employing abbreviated versions of the titles of the texts in your parenthetical citations. For example, suppose you have two sources by the author Gerald Graff: an article entitled "Teach the Conflicts" and a book entitled *Literature Against Itself*:

   Gerald Graff asserts that a pedagogy in which we focus on "teaching the conflicts" will give our curriculum structure and relevance ("Teach" 51). He argues primarily from a theoretical and global perspective that places educational discord in the framework of larger problems in academic culture (*Literature* 120-27).

   Educational discord can be contextualized within larger problems in academic culture (Graf, *Literature* 120-27).

6. Citing sources from the Web without page numbers requires a somewhat different approach. If you are citing such a work by Chris Werry that is unidentified, place his name in parentheses:

   With the advent of the Internet, composition pedagogy forever changed (Werry).

   If, on the other hand, you identify the text, provide no parenthetical citation:

   With the advent of the Internet, argues Chris Werry, “composition pedagogy forever changes.”

7. If the author or title is identified, single-page sources do not require a parenthetical page number.

   In “Why Try Zimmerman?” the *Los Angeles Times* declared, “Unless federal authorities uncover some new piece of evidence that suggests obvious racial animus . . . he should not be prosecuted again.”

8. Citing an unidentified, authorless source requires using its title (or a shortened version):

   At least one major newspaper discouraged further prosecution of Zimmerman (“Why Try Zimmerman?”).

Works Cited:

List sources in alphabetical order on a separate page under the heading “Works Cited.” Abbreviate Press with P, University with U, and University Press with UP. Please consult a style guide or see me if you will be citing a type of source not represented on this list.

A. a book by a single author:

Griffin, Clifford S. *Their Brothers' Keepers*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1960. Print.

B. a book by multiple authors:

Hand, Shaky, and Ima Klutz. *Surgery Made Easy*. Boston: Fly By Night P, 1991. Print.

Bellah, Robert N., et al. *Habits of the Heart*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1985. Print.

C. an edited book:

McClish, Glen. *Punctuation*. Ed. Ellen Quandahl. San Diego: San Diego State UP, 2003. Print.

D. a chapter in a book (usually a collection of essays):

Golding, Alan C. "A History of American Poetry Anthologies." *Canons*. Ed. Robert von Hallberg. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984. 279-307. Print.

E. an article in a journal (accessed in print or online):

Wright, Susan. "Private Language Made Public." *Poetics* 18.1 (1989): 549-78. Print.

Wright, Susan. "Private Language Made Public." *Poetics* 18.1 (1989): 549-78. *ProQuest.* Web. 23 Nov. 2012.

F. an article in a newspaper or periodical (accessed in print or online):

Mangan, Katherine S. "Battle Rages Over Plan to Focus on Race and Gender in the University of Texas Course." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 27 Nov. 1990: A15. Print.

"Dr. W. J. Simmons." *Christian Recorder*, 20 Nov. 1890: n. pag. *Accessible Archives*. Web. 30 Oct. 2012.

G. an interview (conducted by the author of the essay):

Yeltsin, Boris. Personal interview. 1 Dec. 1994.

H. a text or page from a website (my example comes directly from the Purdue OWL Site):

"How to Make Vegetarian Chili." *eHow*. Demand Media, n.d. Web. 24 Feb. 2009.

author's and/or editor's names (if known); title of text, project or website in italics; document date and pages (if known); medium of publication (web); date of your visit; URL optional.

I. a website (my example comes directly from the Purdue OWL Site):

The Purdue OWL Family of Sites. The Writing Lab and OWL at Purdue and Purdue U, 2008. Web. 23 Apr. 2008.

Editor, author, or compiler name (if available). *Name of Site*. Version number. Name of institution/organization affiliated with the site (sponsor or publisher), date of resource creation (if available). Medium of publication. Date of access.

J. a source with no author (alphabetize by title):

"Why Try Zimmerman?" *Los Angeles Times*, 16 Jul. 2013: A10. Print.

Rhetorical Strategies

Rhetorical strategies are tools that help writers craft language so as to have an effect on readers. Strategies are means of persuasion, a way of using language to get readers' attention and agreement.

In your writing or your discussion, you will need to ask and answer certain questions. Why does the author choose to use that strategy in that place? What does he or she want to evoke in the reader? How do these strategies help the author build his or her argument? How do these strategies emphasize the claims the author makes or the evidence he or she uses?

When describing why a strategy is used, you may also want to consider alternative strategies, and think about how they would work differently. It might be helpful to consider what would happen if the strategy were left out – what difference would it make to the argument? This may help you figure out why the particular strategy was chosen.

Remember that any term we have looked at that can be used to describe an argument, can be used strategically. This includes evidence, definitions, metaphors, the GASCAP terms, rebuttals and qualifiers, framing, etc.

When Discussing Rhetorical Strategies, Remember to:

1. Identify rhetorical strategies in the text
2. Describe *how* they work
3. Describe *why* they are used – what purpose do they accomplish?
4. Always include a discussion of how this strategy helps the author develop and support the argument.

The following is a list of commonly used strategies and questions that will help you consider why the author may have chosen to use those strategies.

Authorities or "big names" – Frequently an author will quote from a famous person or well-known authority on the topic being discussed.

- How does this appeal to authority build trust in her argument that the consensus can be trusted?
- How does this appeal tap into assumptions about scientific method

Cause and effect analysis: Analyzes why something happens and describes the consequences of a string of events.

- Does the author examine past events or their outcomes?
- Is the purpose to inform, speculate, or argue about why an identifiable fact happens the way it does?

Commonplaces – Also known as hidden assumptions, hidden beliefs, and ideologies. Commonplaces include assumptions, many of them unconscious, that groups of people hold in common.

- What hidden assumptions or beliefs does the speaker have about the topic? How is the speaker or author appealing to the hidden assumptions of the audience?
- Who is the intended audience of this piece? What are some assumptions of this intended audience?

Comparison and contrast: Discusses similarities and differences.

- Does the text contain two or more related subjects?

- How are they alike? different?
- How does this comparison further the argument or a claim?

Definition –When authors define certain words, these definitions are specifically formulated for the specific purpose he or she has in mind. In addition, these definitions are crafted uniquely for the intended audience.

- Who is the intended audience?
- Does the text focus on any abstract, specialized, or new terms that need further explanation so the readers understand the point?
- How has the speaker or author chosen to define these terms for the audience?
- What effect might this definition have on the audience, or how does this definition help further the argument?

Description: Details sensory perceptions of a person, place, or thing.

- Does a person, place, or thing play a prominent role in the text?
- Does the tone, pacing, or overall purpose of the essay benefit from sensory details?
- What emotions might these details evoke in the audience? (See Pathos)
- How does this description help the author further the argument?

Division and classification: Divides a whole into parts or sorts related items into categories.

- Is the author trying to explain a broad and complicated subject?
- Does it benefit the text to reduce this subject to more manageable parts to focus the discussion?

Exemplification: Provides examples or cases in point.

- What examples, facts, statistics, cases in point, personal experiences, or interview questions does the author add to illustrate claims or illuminate the argument?
- What effect might these have on the reader?

Ethos – Aristotle's term *ethos* refers to the credibility, character or personality of the speaker or author or someone else connected to the argument. *Ethos* brings up questions of ethics and trust between the speaker or author and the audience. How is the speaker or author building credibility for the argument? How and why is the speaker or author trying to get the audience to trust her or him? **See the discussion on Aristotelian Appeals in the textbook.**

- Aristotle says that a speaker builds credibility by demonstrating that he or she is fair, knowledgeable about a topic, trustworthy, and considerate.
- What specifically does the author do to obtain the reader's trust? How does he or she show fairness? Understanding of the topic? Trustworthy? Considerate of the reader's needs?
- How does she construct credibility for her argument?

Identification – This is rhetorician Kenneth Burke's term for the act of "identifying" with another person who shares your values or beliefs. Many speakers or authors try to identify with an audience or convince an audience to identify with them and their argument.

- How does the author build a connection between himself or herself and the audience?

Logos – Loosely defined, *logos* refers to the use of logic, reason, facts, statistics, data, and numbers. Very often, *logos* seems tangible and touchable, so much more real and "true" than other rhetorical

strategies that it does not seem like a persuasive strategy at all. **See the discussion on Aristotelian Appeals in the textbook.**

- How and why does the author or speaker chose *logos?*
- How does the author show there are good reasons to support his or her argument?
- What kinds of evidence does he or she use?

Metadiscourse – Metadiscourse can be described as language about language. It announces to the reader what the writer is doing, helping the reader to recognize the author's plan. (Example: In my paper . . .) Metadiscourse can be used both to announce the overall project or purpose of the paper and to announce its argument. It also provides signposts along the way, guiding the reader to what will come next and showing how that is connected to what has come before. **See the discussion of Metadiscourse in the textbook for more details.**

- Metadiscourse can signal the tone the author wants to convey. What is the author's voice in this paper? How does she enter in and guide the reader through the text?
- What role does she adopt? What voice does she use?

Metaphors, analogies, similes –An analogy compares two parallel terms or situations in which the traits of one situation are argued to be similar to another—often one relatively firm and concrete, and the other less familiar and concrete. This allows the author to use concrete, easily understood ideas, to clarify a less obvious point.

Similarly, metaphors and similes assign help an author frame the argument, to pay attention to some elements of a situation and ignore others or to assign the characteristics of one thing to another. **For example, see "The Power of Green" by Thomas Friedman in this reader.**

- What two things are being compared?
- How does this comparison help an audience view the argument in a new way? How does this frame shape the argument?

Motive – Sometimes an author may reference the motives of his or her opponents.

- Why we should or shouldn't trust someone's argument –(ex. if the CEO of Krispy Kreme doughnuts argues against nutritional information on product packaging)

Narration: Recounts an event.

- Is the narrator trying to report or recount an anecdote, an experience, or an event? Is it telling a story?
- How does this narrative illustrate or clarify the claim or argument?
- What effect might this story have on the audience?
- How does this narrative further the argument?

Pathos – Pathos refers to feelings. The author or speaker wants her audience to feel the same emotions she is feeling, whether or not they agree on the actual topic. That way, because they feel the same emotions, they are more likely to agree with the author later on.

- What specific emotions does the author evoke?
- How does she do it?
- How does the author use these emotions as a tool to persuade the audience?

Precedent – When an author or speaker argues from precedent, he or she references a previous situation, one that can be compared to the author's situation.

- Does the author reference any historic instances that he or she claims are similar to the one being discussed?
- What details about this historic situation help the author's argument?

Prolepsis – Anticipating the opposition's best argument and addressing it in advance.

- Readers interact with the texts they read, and often that interaction includes disagreement or asking questions of the text.
- Authors can counter disagreement by answering anticipating the opposition and introducing it within the text. Authors then respond to it.

Process analysis: Explains to the reader how to do something or how something happens.

- Were any portions of the text more clear because concrete directions about a certain process were included?
- How does this help the author develop the argument?

Rhetorical question – A question designed to have one correct answer. The author leads you into a position rather than stating it explicitly.

- What is the most obvious answer to this question?
- Why is it important to have the reader answer this question? How does it help the author persuade the audience?

Transitional questions – Lead the reader into a new subject area or area of argument.

- What role do these questions play? How do these questions lead the direction of the argument?
- How is this helpful for the reader?

Structure and Organization

It is important to consider the organization of information and strategies in any text.

- How does this structure or organization help strength the argument?
- What headings or titles does the author use? How do these strengthen the argument?

Some elements of structure to consider:

<u>Type of Organization</u>:

- **Topical**: The argument is organized according to subtopics, like describing a baby's bubble bath first in terms of the soap used, then the water conditions, and lastly the type of towels.
- **Chronological**: The argument is organized to describe information in time order, like a baseball game from the first pitch to the last at-bat.
- **Spatial**: The argument follows a visual direction, such as describing a house from the inside to the outside, or a person from their head down to their toes.
- **Problem – Solution**: The argument presents a problem and a possible solution, such as making coffee at home to avoid spending extra money.
- **Cause and effect**: Describes the relationship between the cause or catalyst of an event and the effect, like identifying over-consumption of candy as the cause of tooth decay.

Logical Order of Information:

- **Inductive**: Moving from one specific example to draw a general conclusion.
- **Deductive**: Moving from a generalized theory or assumption to decide the causes or characteristics of a specific example or event.
- **Linear**: The argument is told in linear order, scaffolding information or reasoning.
- **Circular**: Supporting the argument using assumptions or information from the argument itself.
- **Recursive**: The text consistently moves forward but circles back on specific points in the process.

*Portions of this discussion modified from "Rhetorical Strategies for Essay Writing," http://www.nvcc.edu/home/lshulman/rhetoric.htm

The Rhetorical Strategy of Metadiscourse

Many forms of academic writing utilize metadiscourse. These are moments in the text when the author explicitly TELLS you how to interpret her words.

- In academic texts, metadiscourse occurs when the author stops arguing, stands back and tells you how to interpret the argument.
- In this moment, the author reflects on what he or she is saying. This may involve making explicit the strategies (the strategy of explaining a strategy).
- Metadiscourse is similar to the project statement or thesis in your papers.

Practicing writing metadiscourse is useful. It helps you develop your ideas, generate more text, and get a better sense of both your paper's structure and how you might change direction.

In clarifying things for your reader, you also clarify things for yourself. Gerald Graff describes the way this works in his article, "How to Write an Argument: What Students and Teachers *Really* Need to Know," found in this reader. For specific examples, see *They Say/I Say* p. 126-30.

Authors use metadiscourse to:

1. Ward off potential misunderstandings.
2. Anticipate and respond to objections.
3. Orient the reader by providing a "map"– where the argument is going, where it has gone, etc.
4. Forecast & review structure and purpose
5. Qualify the nature, scope or extent of an argument
6. Alert readers to an elaboration of a previous idea.
7. Move from a general claim to a specific example.
8. Indicate that a claim is especially important

Examples of Metadiscourse from *Amusing Ourselves to Death*

Neil Postman, media theorist and professor of media ecology at New York University, utilized metadiscourse throughout his academic writing.

In this example of metadiscourse from his book, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business*, you can see how metadiscourse might work in your own essays.

> **It is my intention in this book to show** that a great . . . shift has taken place in America, with the result that the content of much of our public discourse has become dangerous nonsense.

In this example, Postman outlines both the project and the purpose of his book.

> **With this in view, my task in the chapters ahead** is straightforward. **I must, first, demonstrate** how, under the governance of the printing press, discourse in America was different from what it is now – generally coherent, serious and rational; **and then** how, under the governance of television, it has become shriveled and absurd.

Here, the he forecasts the organization of the arguments and maps out what will happen in the book.

> **But to avoid the possibility that my analysis will be interpreted as** standard-brand academic whimpering, a kind of elitist complaint against "junk" on television, **I must first explain that . . .** I appreciate junk as much as the next fellow, **and I know full well** that the printing press has generated enough of it to fill the grand canyon to overflowing. Television is not old enough to have matched printing's output of junk.

First, Postman clarifies what he is about to do, and then he identifies anticipated objections to his argument. Next, he deals with the objection and once again clarifies his position.

Describing relationships between texts

How texts "extend," "complicate," "illustrate," "challenge," or **"qualify" other texts**

Academic writing requires that you build arguments using multiple texts. To do this effectively, you will want to describe the relationships between these different texts.

Extend: When a source advances, develops, expands, or take further some element of an existing argument, we say that the source extends an argument.

- Extending an argument involves presenting additional evidence or reasons that are in line with the original argument but go beyond it.

Some verbs you might use to describe the way a source extends a text include:
Gives additional evidence, develops, elaborates, expands, extrapolates, teases out, advances, takes further, provides additional evidence/support, supplements, etc.

Complicate: When a source presents evidence, arguments or claims that are at odds with an author's position, suggesting that the position needs to be qualified, we say that one text complicates another.

- Complicating an author's argument is not quite the same as disagreeing with it, although disagreement may be involved.
- It usually involves suggesting that an author has not dealt with the full complexity of an issue, has failed to consider relevant evidence, or that there is a gap, shortcoming or limitation in an author's account.
- Complicating an argument may involve exposing problems, contradictions, or presenting counterexamples and counterarguments that challenge some part of the argument.

Some verbs you might use to describe the way a source complicates a text include:
challenges, contradicts, disagrees, locates problems with, identifies shortcomings, notes that X fails to account for, notes that X ignores A, suggests that X's account is exaggerated, is vulnerable to counterarguments/counterexamples, rests on several highly questionable assumptions

Qualify: When a source presents evidence/claims that suggest an author's argument goes too far, is too strong, or overgeneralizes, we say it qualifies the author's argument. When a source limits the scope or extent of claims in an argument, we say that the source qualifies the argument.

Example of unqualified argument: All video games incite violence and should be banned.

Qualified argument: Miller asserts that certain extreme video games may desensitize impressionable young people to violence and advocates a ban on these types of games. However, Jenkins points to evidence from MIT demonstrating that most games are innocent fun and may even teach useful skills. Nevertheless, he acknowledges Miller's concerns and suggests that only games that realistically simulate murder should be banned. In addition, he limits the ban to children under the age of 14. Thus, Jenkins qualifies Miller's claims.

Challenge: when a source directly contradicts or challenges an author's position.

Illustrate: When a source provides examples, additional evidence, cases or arguments that help explain a position we say that the source illustrates an argument.

- Illustrating an argument means to present additional examples that illustrate or support a claim or argument. The illustration may not be explicitly mentioned by the original author.

Some verbs you might use to describe the way a source clarifies or illustrates a text include:
illuminates, exemplifies, explicates, confirms, supports, etc.

Evaluating Evidence

Remember definition of evidence – factual information relevant to and supportive of the author's claim or sub-claims. This is a familiar concept to most students, so begin by listing things you see as types of evidence.

A list should include

Numerical (including statistics)
Experimental/Research Study results/observations
Historical and current events and examples
Individual examples
Physical evidence
Expert testimony
Personal anecdotes

As you compile the list, explain what you see as the strengths and weaknesses of different kinds of evidence. Statistics, for instance, gives us an idea of how widespread an issue is, but gives little sense of the lived experience of an issue. Personal experience gives a much better sense of how something affects an individual, but may be biased. This is why many arguments combine different kinds of evidence.

Next, identify some textual moves that are sometimes perceived as evidence but are actually not:

Hypotheticals
"Common sense" statements
Bandwagon
Generalizations

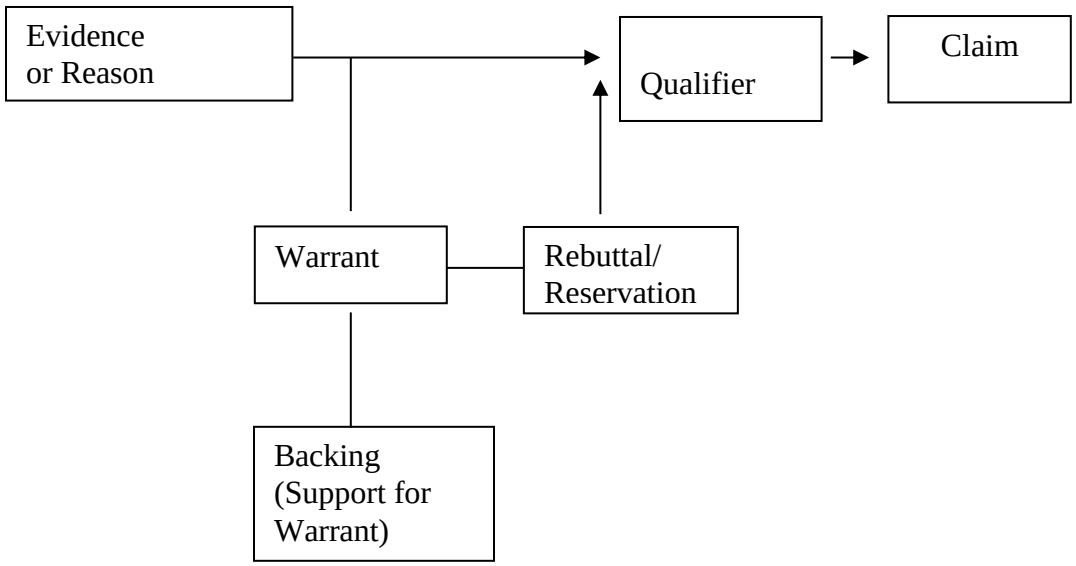
Next, evaluating evidence. We can also consider separately whether you judge the evidence as effective and ethical vs. whether the target audience might judge the evidence as effective and ethical.

Evaluating evidence for effectiveness and ethics:

1. is the evidence actually evidence, and what type?
2. is the evidence relevant to the subclaim being supported? How so?
3. Is the evidence relevant to the main argument?
4. Is the evidence specific?
5. Is sufficient detail provided?
6. Is the source reliable?
7. Is the evidence current, relative to the time in which the piece was written?
8. Is the evidence accurate? (This one is harder to get a grasp on unless the student has background in the topic, but it's still in my opinion an important question, one asked by the target audience of an argument.)
9. Is the evidence representative? (Also important; if the writer has cherry-picked evidence to support her or his claim and ignored other evidence that is more in line with the broad picture, then the use of evidence is weak even if that particular example seems persuasive.)
10. Is the evidence sufficient? (Pretty close to #9.)
11. Are there alternative interpretations to the evidence that are not given?

Toulmin & Argument Evaluation

In *The Uses of Argument* Stephen Toulmin proposes that most good extended written arguments have six parts (claim, warrant, evidence, backing, qualification, and rebuttal.) Toulmin states that three parts - the claim, the support, and the warrant - are essential to just about all arguments. Arguments may also contain one or more of following three elements: backing, rebuttal, and qualifier.



The Toulmin Model

1. *Claim*: the position or claim being argued for; the conclusion of the argument.
2. *Grounds:* reasons or supporting evidence that bolster the claim.
3. *Warrant:* the principle, provision or chain of reasoning that connects the grounds/reason to the claim.
4. *Backing*: support, justification, reasons to back up the warrant.
5. *Rebuttal/Reservation:* exceptions to the claim; description and rebuttal of counter-examples and counter-arguments.
6. *Qualification*: specification of limits to claim, warrant and backing. The degree of conditionality asserted.

We can also identify 3 other key parts of an argument

Assumptions **Counter-examples** **Implications**
Counter-arguments

The Value of the Toulmin Model

The Toulmin model provides a simple, broad, flexible set of categories for approaching the study of argument. While the model is simple, each major category can be unpacked and used to discuss arguments in increasing levels of detail. For example, once we have identified a rebuttal or reservation in an argument, we can then go on to examine the different kinds of rebuttals that authors make, and discuss which ones tend to be used in different contexts. For instance, we can ask whether a rebuttal consists of a "strategic concession," "refutation," or "demonstration of irrelevance" (to name three of the most

common forms of rebuttal). We can then examine different forms of strategic concession. Furthermore, once we have used the Toulmin model to establish a common vocabulary for identifying parts of an argument, we can then introduce a set of criteria for evaluating the different parts of an argument. For example, warrants often consist of chains of reasoning that involve generalization, analogy, appeal to a sign, causality, authority, and principle. Once one has identified a chain of reasoning – let's say a generalization – one can then consider more fine-grained evaluative criteria such as the scope of the generalization, the nature, uniformity, and definition of the population/thing being generalized about; the sufficiency, typicality, accuracy and relevance of the evidence on which the generalization is based, etc.

The Toulmin model has limitations. For example, it is sometimes of limited use in discussing specialized forms of argument such as those that occur in certain types of disciplinary writing
(we will discuss the Swales model and the milestone model as tools for analyzing academic arguments). The Toulmin model is not much use as a template for generating arguments. You shouldn't try to rigidly fit every argument into the model's format – some won't work. However, it can be useful as a flexible tool for naming and analyzing arguments, and for applying this analysis in a self-reflective way to one's own argumentation.

Warrants

Warrants are chains of reasoning that connect the claim and evidence/reason. A warrant is the principle, provision, or chain of reasoning that connects the grounds/reason to the claim. Warrants operate at a higher level of generality than a claim or reason, and they are often implicit rather than explicit.

> *Example*: "Needle exchange programs should be abolished **[claim]** because they only cause more people to use drugs." **[reason]**
>
> The unstated warrant is: "when you make risky behavior safer you encourage more people to engage in it."

General Forms of Reasoning (can also be assumption)

There are 6 common chains of reasoning via which the relationship between evidence and claim is often established. They have the acronym "GASCAP." Sometimes they are explicit, sometimes they are assumptions.

- Generalization G
- Analogy A
- Sign S
- Causality C
- Authority A
- Principle P

These argumentative forms are used at various different levels of generality within an argument, and rarely come in neat packages - typically they are interconnected and work in combination.

Components of the Toulmin Model in More Detail

Claim: The claim is the main point of an argument. The claim is sometimes called the thesis, conclusion, or main point. The claim can be explicit or implicit.
Evaluation: At the most general level, the claim is reasonable – buttressed with sufficient evidence, grounds, warrants, etc. Claim follows from (is closely tied to) evidence, grounds and warrants.

The general type of claim – factual, evaluation, definition, recommendation/public policy – influences the nature and amount of support required. Fulkerson argues that different kinds of claim impose different standards and demands when it comes to evidence, and for establishing a *prima facie* case. Substantiation tends more often to involve questions of definition & fact. In practice, these different types of claim are rarely easy to disentangle.

E.g.: affirmative action. Questions of definition and fact: What is affirmative action; what does it seek to address; what kind of problem is racism, and to what extent does affirmative action help lessen its effects.
Questions of evaluation: under what condition is it justified?
Questions of recommendation: what should be done? Should affirmative action be abolished, reformed, extended, etc.

Evidence/Support for Claim:
The support consists of the evidence, reasons, examples, experience, data, quotations, reports, testimony, statistics etc. that underwrites the claim.

Evaluation: Evidence is strong – contains *sufficient* amounts of evidence from statistical, textual, an authority, or from experiential realms to support claim. In each case, there are criteria that determine whether the evidence is strong. E.g. authority is reliable and relevant; the experience is reasonably typical and relevant. The statistics are reliable, applicable, relevant, well researched, involve controls, etc. In general, the evidence is detailed enough, up to date, and verifiable (this includes using proper citation). The evidence is strong in terms of its relevance, sufficiency, scope, consistency, quality and 'fit' with the claim. In the Toulmin model, evidence comes into play in 2 places: as data/evidence that supports a claim with the aid of a warrant; or which functions as 'backing', and directly supports the sufficiency of the warrant.

We can also examine the source of the evidence – how reliable is it? Can it be verified? Is the source fair? What kinds of interests for the source represent?

GASCAP - Common Forms of Reasoning

1. ARGUMENT BASED ON GENERALIZATION

This is a very common form of reasoning. It assumes that what is true of a well chosen sample is likely to hold for a larger group or population, or that certain things consistent with the sample can be inferred of the group/population.

Evaluation: To evaluate a generalization we need to determine the *scope* of the generalization (some, many, the majority, most, all, etc.). The scope of the argument will determine the degree to which a sufficient amount of typical, accurate, relevant support is required (although the extent to which a generalization is accepted by your audience is also crucial here). We also need to consider the nature, uniformity and stability of the group, category or population being generalized about. For example, when *Consumer Guide* tests a single car, we expect to be able to generalize from the results with a high degree of certainty since cars are standardized objects. If the generalization provided is based on examples, we need to consider whether there are significant counterexamples.

Determining which group or population to base one's generalization on is often very complex, and as with categories and definitions, this is often highly contested. For example, a key question in the O.J.

Simpson trial concerned which population ought to be used when generalizing about the likelihood of a wife-beater going on to murder his spouse. At the beginning of the trial the defense argued that O.J. Simpson's prior arrest for assaulting his wife should not mislead jurors into thinking that this made O.J. Simpson significantly more likely to have murdered his wife. They said that if you examined the population of men who had been arrested for beating their wives, only a very small percentage of this group went on to kill their spouse. Thus one could not generalize with any confidence about the likely guilt of O.J. Simpson based on this. However, some legal scholars have pointed out that if you begin with the population of men who have a history of beating their spouses, who have been arrested for this, and whose wife turns up dead, then about 50% of the time the husband turns out to be the killer. Selecting a different population to generalize from may change the way an argument turns.

2. ARGUMENT BASED ON ANALOGY

Extrapolating from one situation or event based on the nature and outcome of a similar situation or event. An argument based on parallels between two cases or situations. Arguing from a specific case or example to another example, reasoning that because the two examples are alike in many ways they are also alike in one further specific way. Has links to 'case-based' and precedent-based reasoning used in legal discourse.

Evaluation: what is important here is the extent to which relevant similarities can be established between 2 contexts. Are there sufficient, typical, accurate, relevant similarities? If the analogy is based on similarities between two examples, we need to consider whether counterexamples exist. How strong is the claim? (The stronger the claim, the tighter the analogy must be). Are there counteranalogies that refute the original argument from analogy? Are there differences between the two situations that undermine the force of the similarity cited? How willing is the audience likely to be in accepting that the two different examples/cases/situations you present are really similar?

Analogies can also be used critically. If you can draw an analogy between your opponent's argument and some other, generally unaccepted argument, this may undermine your opponent's case. For example, many opponents of same-sex marriage argue that an expansion of the definition of marriage risks opening the door to polygamy and bestiality, and will undermine the institution of marriage. Proponents of same-sex marriage have argued that their opponents' arguments echo, and are closely analogous to ones that were made by opponents of inter-racial marriage. Since opposing inter-racial marriage seems absurd nowadays, constructing an analogy between opponents of same-sex marriage and opponents of inter-racial marriage has the effect of undermining the former argument.

Example of a powerful counter-analogy
The Vatican is increasingly out of touch and exerts a reactionary — even, in this world of AIDS, deadly — influence on health policy in the developing world. Here in El Salvador, church leaders in 1998 helped ban abortions even when necessary to save the life of a woman, and, much worse, helped pass a law, which took effect last month, requiring condoms to carry warnings that they do not protect against AIDS. In El Salvador, where only 4 percent of women use contraceptives the first time they have sex, this law will mean more kids dying of AIDS. **The reality is that condoms no more cause sex than umbrellas cause rain.** (Nicholas Kristof , Don't Tell the Pope, *New York Times*.)

Example 1: the debate over president Clinton's impeachment turned to a some degree on which analogy one used when evaluating Clinton's perjury – did one compare it to the perjury carried out by other elected officials, did one compare it to perjury carried out by a judge or some other non-elected official, and did one compare it to the kind of perjury carried out in a purely personal context, or one involving affairs of state? Each case of perjury normally carries quite a different legal outcome.

Example 2: "George Bush once argued that the Vice-President's role is to support the President's policies, whether or not he or she agrees with them, because 'You don't tackle your own quarterback.'" (from *A Rulebook for Arguments* by Anthony Weston,1992.)

Example 3: When I lived in Pittsburgh some elected officials wanted to bring river-boat gambling to Pittsburgh (state law makes it illegal to have a casino on state land, but the waterways are not officially part of the state). Their reasoning went as follows: Las Vegas is the fastest growing city in the U.S. Its growth is fueled by gambling, and gambling has provided the city a huge revenue base. By analogy, if Pittsburgh has casinos, this will help it grow and provide it with more money. However, critics pointed out that the analogy was a poor one. Pittsburgh is different from Las Vegas in many important ways. Most importantly, people travel *to* Las Vegas to spend money. It seems unlikely many people will come to Pittsburgh to gamble. Instead, Pittsburghers will spend money at the casinos, which means there will be less money in circulation for other local businesses (differences in climate, geography, infrastructure and "attractions" also make the analogy a poor one.)

Example 4: Debates about gun control often employ different analogies with foreign countries. Proponents of gun control point out that Japan has very restrictive gun laws, and extremely low rates of violent crime. By analogy, if the U.S. had stricter gun laws, it too might have lower rates of violent crime. Opponents of gun control argue that almost all men in Switzerland have a gun (due to compulsory military training.) Yet Switzerland has extremely low rates of violent crime. By analogy, if Americans were given guns and the proper training, they too might have lower rates of violent crime. Both analogies are questionable – it seems likely that there are other factors besides gun ownership that cause low rates of crime in Japan. In Switzerland, men own and are trained to use *rifles* (not handguns), and the state typically keeps control of the ammunition for these rifles.

Example 5: The debate over gay marriage often centers on different analogies. Supporters of gay marriage use the analogy of equal rights for African Americans – they say African Americans were denied equal treatment under the law, and not so long ago anti-miscegenation laws banned interracial marriage. Just as these things were wrong and at odds with the constitution, so too is the denial of the right of gays to marry. Opponents of gay marriage often use the analogy of polygamy. They argue that just as polygamy, an attempt to expand "traditional" understandings of marriage, has been defined as illegal, so too should gay marriage. In San Francisco, marriage licenses have been given to gay and lesbian couples. Analogies have been drawn to the civil disobedience of Rosa Parks, as well as to law breaking, and to polygamy.

3. ARGUMENT VIA SIGN/CLUE

The notion that certain types of evidence are symptomatic of some wider principle or outcome. For example, smoke is often considered a sign for fire. Some people think high SAT scores are a sign a person is smart and will do well in college.

Evaluation: how strong is the relationship between the overt sign and the inferred claim? Have sufficient, typical, accurate, relevant instances of this relationship been observed? Have other potential influences been ruled out?

4. CAUSAL ARGUMENT

Arguing that a given occurrence or event is the result of, or is effected by, factor X. Causal reasoning is the most complex of the different forms of warrant. The big dangers with it are:
A) Mixing up correlation with causation
B) falling into the *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* trap. Closely related to confusing correlation and causation, this involves inferring 'after the fact, therefore because of the fact').

C) Identifying one element as the main cause, when in fact there are multiple causes

We can evaluate it via the STAR criteria. That is, for an argument about cause to be reliable, we need a sufficient number of typical, accurate and relevant instances. Also important are questions concerning degree of correlation; the question of controls; elimination of other factors; the extent to which causes are partial, necessary or sufficient, etc.

Example 1: Hungarian doctor Ignaz Semmelweis noticed a correlation between high numbers of women dying in childbirth, and doctors who operated on them after dissecting corpses (hospitals where midwives performed deliveries, by contrast, had much lower rates of death). He identified a crucial correlation, and discovered that handwashing radically reduced deaths in childbirth. But the cause he suggested was incorrect – "cadaveric contamination." Semmelweis's ideas were accepted only years after his death, when Louis Pasteur advanced the germ theory of disease.

Example 2: It has been observed that on the East coast, levels of crime go up as the sale of ice cream increase, and crime goes down as ice cream sales decrease. However, it would be silly to suggest that ice cream sales *cause* crime. That would be to confuse correlation with causation. Crime and ice cream sales are both influenced by the weather (who wants to shimmy up a drain pipe, mug someone, or buy ice cream when it is 30 below?)

Example 3: Some people have suggested that the higher rate of cancer in industrialized countries (when compared to developing countries) is caused by our lifestyle – the artificial lights, food, chemicals in our food, exposure to computers, etc. Stephen Jay Gould has argued this is too simple, noting that the main reason people in developing countries have lower rates of cancer is that they tend to have lower life expectancies, and cancer tends to occur with more frequency the older one lives ("You have to die of something!" Gould writes.) Gould does not claim that lifestyle differences have no impact, but that the main cause of the difference in cancer rates relates to life expectancy.

5. ARGUMENT FROM AUTHORITY

Does person X or text X constitute an authoritative source on the issue in question? What political, ideological or economic interests does the authority have? Is this the sort of issue in which a significant number of authorities are likely to agree on? What kinds of audiences will be persuaded by a particular authority? What credentials or proof of expertise doe the authority have? What kind of peer recognition has the authority received?

Using STAR: can we find a sufficient number of authoritative sources, accurately cited with relevant knowledge, who are in broad agreement, and whose arguments are persuasive?

To what degree does an authority exhibit *logos, pathos* and *ethos* (good sense, good character and good will)?

6. ARGUMENT FROM PRINCIPLE

Locating a principle that is widely regarded as valid and showing that a situation exists in which this principle applies.

> *Evaluation*: Is the principle widely accepted? Does it accurately apply to the situation in question? Are there commonly agreed on exceptions? For example, refraining from killing others is generally considered an important principle. However, there are commonly agreed upon exceptions – self-defense, military combat, etc. Are there 'rival' principles that lead to a different claim? In the war with Iraq, proponents argued for the principle of unilateral preemption, whereas others argued for the competing principle of multilateral containment/deterrence. Are the practical consequences of following the principle sufficiently desirable in the context?

Assumptions, Implications and Counterexamples

The strength of an argument rests on a lot of things. Some of these are: the reasons given to support a claim; the chains of reasoning involved (consistency, coherence, logical rigor, non-contradiction); the strength and type of evidence used (relevance, scope of applicability); the credibility of the authorities invoked; the degree of vulnerability to counter-arguments, etc. Some other important considerations are the assumptions that underlie an argument, the implications that follow from it, and its susceptibility to counterexamples.

Assumptions:

Assumptions are fundamental, taken for granted ways of viewing the world. They are presuppositions, or (often) unstated premises that underlie an argument. Assumptions pervade all arguments in all disciplines, and exist at a number of different levels of generality. Assumptions can be identified in graphic representations (consider the case of maps) and in architectures (consider how the layout of a classroom reflects assumptions about pedagogy and the role of the teacher in classroom instruction.)

It is useful to analyze assumptions in order to:

1. Understand what holds the foundations of an argument together.
2. Better understand the strengths and weaknesses of an argument
3. To find possible sources of critique - one way of interrogating an argument is to identify counterexamples that do not fit with a set of assumptions.
4. Make you aware of your own assumptions when building an argument, so that you can argue with better self-understanding and with better strategies for testing validity.

Identifying Assumptions:

It is often very hard to identify assumptions. They are in the air we breathe, or rather the language we use. Often we may feel 'ill at-ease' by the position advanced in a given argument, without really knowing why, or without really being able to put our fingers on our objections. This may be because the argument assumes the audience takes for granted values or beliefs that we are not comfortable with. Very often major assumptions are unconscious - they are not are not part of a self-consciously examined set of reasons. They are thus hard to identify and argue about.

To identify assumptions, the following strategies are sometimes useful:

1. Try to find significant absences or gaps in an argument. Try to think who or what may be left out in a given position, and then try to identify why. This will often lead to a major assumption. It will help you identify what must be assumed in order for this absence or omission to exist.

> *Example*: In the 1960s some American history textbooks came under attack for the historical experiences they left out. One controversial history textbook stated that historians could not be certain about what happened at the Battle of the Little Big Horn because “no-one survived.” Critics argued that this omission of the perspective of Native Americans, and of the oral histories they produced, pointed to a number of problematic assumptions about how Native Americans were represented in American history, and about how history should be written.

2. Try to 'denaturalize' what is taken for granted in an argument. Often, assumptions are preconceptions

that have become fossilized or 'naturalized'. Sometimes these will be parts of an argument that the arguer, if questioned, would respond by saying 'well of course its only natural that x or y is the case/behaves this way'. Thus one can look for positions that use the language of 'nature', 'naturalness' or related terminology. De-naturalizing what is taken for granted may proceed by imagining oneself an 'alien', an outsider, or occupying a different position than usual. It may also proceed by taking an orientation that is somewhat 'social constructionist' in character.

Example: Media reports of job losses often talk about how the economy has "shed" a certain number of workers. This tends to assume unemployment is part of nature or of natural cycles.

3. Look carefully at the major categories, definitions, and concepts that an argument uses. This will often point to the existence of important assumptions. Consider, for example, the classifications used to assign journalists to news "beats," or Stroud's use of the categories "Pornographic Rock" and "healthy music."

Example: Consider what is taken for granted in the following systems of categorization:

1. Far East, Middle East, Near East
2. Mr, Mrs, Miss, Ms.
3. Negro, Black, African American
4. The Maori Wars, The New Zealand Wars, The Land Wars

4. Search for significant counterexamples/objections. If you can find an important counterexample to a given position, this will often help you understand what must have been assumed in order for the counterexample/objection to have gone unnoticed.

Example: writers who propose a "simplistic," unidirectional model of media influence sometimes ignore conspicuous counterexamples. The case of Japan is one such counterexample. Japanese media is far more violent than U.S. media, yet Japanese rates of violence and violent crime tend to be far lower than U.S. ones. This may suggest that simple models of media influence do not consider the full range of factors that shape social problems.

Implications

Implications consist of what follows or can be inferred from an argument or set of assumptions. Implications involve what can be extrapolated from an argument, and/or the potential consequences that follow from a given position.

Arguments are often attacked for what can be shown to follow from them -i.e. their implications. A common strategy is to a) describe what ought to follow from an argument, then point out counterexamples to this, b) show that negative or unintended consequences follow from a position or assumption. One must be careful when drawing implications that one does not extrapolate too far from the author's argument, engage in "creative interpretation" of implications, or fall into the 'slippery slope' fallacy. That is, of constructing a set of implications that go beyond what the author plausibly had in mind.

Example 1: *Gun Control.*
John R. Lott Jr. is one of the best known academic proponents of gun rights. He is a staunch opponent of gun control. Lott is resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, has written *More Guns, Less Crime* (1998), *The Bias Against Guns* (2003), and a number of research articles. Lott argues that permitting people to carry concealed weapons leads to a significant reduction in many different kinds of crime. Lott argues that concealed weapons

significantly deter criminals and reduce violent crime. He states that "98 percent of the time that people use guns defensively, they merely have to brandish a weapon to break off an attack" (*More Guns, Less Crime*, p. 3)

There are several implications we can draw from Lott's arguments. First, states that permit people to carry concealed weapons ought to have lower rates of violent crime than states that do not. Second, after a state passes legislation permitting people to carry concealed weapons, rates of violent crime should decrease (assuming we can factor out other contributory causes of violent crime.)

If we can find counterexamples to the implications listed above, we will have succeeded in problematizing Lott's arguments. As it happens, evidence exists that could be used to fashion counterexamples and counterarguments to both of these implications. Some states that do not permit concealed weapons have lower rates of crime than states that do. Some states that have passed legislation permitting people to carry concealed weapons have not seen rates of violent crime lessen. [4]

Example 2: The Doctrine of Preemption
One criticism of the doctrine of "preemption" with regards to Iraq focuses on the potential implications of this position: if it is alright for the U.S. to attack a country before it has itself been attacked, then might not other countries adopt a similar policy? Conversely, opponents of war are sometimes criticized for what can be inferred from their arguments regarding intervention. Some authors argue that it is never justified to attack a sovereign country except in self-defense. However, opponents charge that this implies that some past interventions many people now consider vital (Bosnia and Kosovo) and some interventions many think should have been made but weren't (for example, Rwanda and Burundi) would be ruled out of court.

Example 3: BST/BGH
A controversy has arisen over the injection of artificial hormones into cows in order to increase milk production (BST = bovine somatotrophin; BGH = bovine growth hormone). The process was pioneered by Monsanto, and was approved by the FDA in 1993. Milk from BST cows is not required to be labeled. However, there are some questions about the safety of this milk, and about the tests performed by Monsanto when determining its safety. Europe and Canada have put a moratorium on the use of the artificial hormone. Some small companies who produce milk in the U.S. have begun advertising that their milk is "BST-free." Monsanto is suing these companies, claiming that by stating that their milk is "BST-free," these companies are *implying* that milk with BST is unsafe.

[4] Of course as always, much depends on how one selects and interprets the data. Evidence exists that some states that do not allow concealed weapons have, over certain date ranges, had higher rates of violent crime than those that do. However, if one examines where the guns used in these violent crimes came from (typically from neighboring states with lax gun control laws) and if one takes into account the broad differences between states that permit the concealed carrying of guns and those that do not, Lott's argument seems shaky at best. (Lott has been criticized for his selection of data from states. Lott compares data collected in the 1980s from rural states that were relatively unaffected by drug violence, with the spike in murders associated with the crack-cocaine epidemic of the late 1980s which was concentrated in specific urban areas, and tended to take place in states with restrictive gun laws.)

MAIN READINGS

Carey, “Why Do You Think They're Called For-Profit Colleges?”

Kevin Carey, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 25, 2010. Commentary.[5]

[1] Michael Clifford believes that education is the only path to world peace. He never went to college, but sometimes he calls himself "Doctor." Jerry Falwell is one of his heroes. Clifford has made millions of dollars from government programs but doesn't seem to see the windfall that way. Improbably, he has come to symbolize the contradictions at the heart of the growing national debate over for-profit higher education.

[2] Until recently, for-profits were mostly mom-and-pop trade schools. Twenty years ago, a series of high-profile Congressional hearings, led by Senator Sam Nunn, revealed widespread fraud in the industry, and the resulting reforms almost wiped the schools out. But they hung on and returned with a vengeance in the form of publicly traded giants like the University of Phoenix.

[3] Entrepreneurs like Clifford, meanwhile, have been snapping up dying nonprofit colleges and quickly turning them into money-making machines.

[4] Most of that money comes from the federal government, in the form of Pell Grants and subsidized student loans. Phoenix alone is on pace to reap $1-billion from Pell Grants this year, along with $4-billion from federal loans. A quarter of all federal aid goes to for-profits, while they enroll only 10 percent of students.

[5] Unfortunately, a large and growing number of graduates of for-profit colleges are having trouble paying those loans back. Horror stories of aggressive recruiters' inducing students to take out huge loans for nearly worthless degrees are filling the news. The Obama administration, flush with victory after vanquishing the student-loan industry this year, has proposed cutting off federal aid to for-profits that saddle students with unmanageable debt. Congress has rolled out the TV cameras for a new round of hearings that are putting for-profits on the hot seat. One observer called the event "the Nunn hearings on steroids."

[5] See comments section that follows article: http://chronicle.com/article/Why-Do-You-Think-Theyre/123660/

[6] The new scrutiny of for-profits is welcome. Without oversight, the combination of government subsidies and financially unsophisticated consumers guarantees outright fraud or programs that, while technically legitimate, are so substandard that the distinction of legitimacy has no meaning. For-profit owners and advocates have a hard time admitting that.

[7] I spoke with Michael Clifford recently as he was driving down the California coast to meet with a higher-education charity he runs. He's an interesting man—sincere, optimistic, a true believer in higher education and his role as a force for good. A musician and born-again Christian, he learned at the knee of the University of Phoenix's founder, John Sperling. In 2004, Clifford led the sale of a destitute Baptist institution called Grand Canyon University to investors. Six years later, enrollment has increased substantially, much of it online. The ownership company started selling shares to the public in 2008 and is worth nearly $1-billion today, making Clifford a wealthy man. He has since repeated the formula elsewhere, partnering with notables like General Electric's former chief executive, Jack Welch. Some of the colleges that Clifford has purchased have given him honorary degrees (thus "Doctor" Michael Clifford).

[8] Clifford will concede, in the abstract, to abuses in the for-profit industry. But he rejects the Obama administration's proposal to cut off federal aid to for-profits at which student-debt payments after graduation exceed a certain percentage of the graduates' income. In fact, he denies that colleges have any responsibility whatsoever for how much students borrow and whether they can pay it back. He won't even acknowledge that student borrowing is related to how much colleges charge.

[9] That refusal is the industry line, and it is crazy nonsense. As a rule, for-profits charge much more than public colleges and universities. Many of their students come from moderate- and low-income backgrounds. You don't need a college degree to know that large debt plus small income equals high risk of default. The for-profit Corinthian Colleges (as of mid-July, market cap: $923-million) estimated in official documents filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission that more than half the loans it makes to its own students will go bad. Corinthian still makes a profit, because it gets most of its money from loans guaranteed by Uncle Sam.

[10] Other industry officials, like the for-profit lobbyist Harris Miller, would have you believe that government money that technically passes through the hands of students on its way from the public treasury to the for-profit bottom line isn't a government subsidy at all. In that regard, for-profits lately have been trying to rebrand themselves as "market based" higher education. To understand how wrong this is, look no further than the "90/10 rule," a federal rule that bars for-profits from receiving more than 90 percent of their revenue from federal aid. The fact that the rule exists at all, and that Miller is working to water it down (it used to be the 85/15 rule), shows that for-profits operate in nothing like a subsidy-free market.

[11] The federal government has every right to regulate the billions of taxpayer dollars it is pouring into the pockets of for-profit shareholders. The sooner abusive colleges are prevented from loading students with crushing debt in exchange for low-value degrees, the better.

[11a] But that doesn't mean for-profit higher education is inherently bad. The reputable parts of the industry are at the forefront of much technological and organizational innovation. For-profits

exist in large part to fix educational market failures left by traditional institutions, and they profit by serving students that public and private nonprofit institutions too often ignore. While old-line research universities were gilding their walled-off academic city-states, the University of Phoenix was building no-frills campuses near freeway exits so working students could take classes in the evening. Who was more focused on the public interest? Some of the colleges Clifford bought have legacies that stretch back decades. Who else was willing to save them? Not the government, or the church, or the more fortunate colleges with their wealthy alumni and endowments that reach the sky.

[12] The for-profit Kaplan University recently struck a deal with the California community-college system to provide courses that the bankrupt public colleges cannot. The president of the system's faculty senate objected: The deal was not "favorable to faculty," she said. Whose fault is that? Kaplan, or the feckless voters and incompetent politicians who have driven California to ruin?

[13] Wal-Mart recently announced a deal with the for-profit American Public University to teach the giant retailer's employees. What ambitious president or provost is planning to make her reputation educating $9-an-hour cashiers?

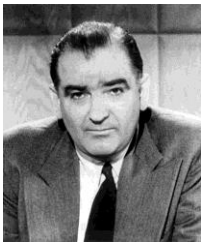
[14] Traditional institutions tend to respond to such ventures by indicting the quality of for-profit degrees. The trouble is, they have very little evidence beyond the real issue of default rates to prove it. That's because traditional institutions have long resisted subjecting themselves to any objective measures of academic quality. They've pointed instead to regional accreditation, which conveniently allows colleges to decide for themselves whether they're doing a good job.

[15] But many for-profit institutions have regional accreditation, too. That's what people like Clifford are buying when they invest in troubled colleges. Accreditation has become like a taxicab medallion, available for bidding on the open market. As a result, long-established public and private nonprofit colleges are left with no standards with which to make the case against their for-profit competitors. At one recent Congressional hearing, the Senate education committee's chairman, Tom Harkin, said of the for-profits, "We don't know how many students graduate, how many get jobs, how schools that are not publicly traded spend their [federal] dollars, and how many for-profit students default over the long term." All true—and just as true when the words "for profit" are removed. There's no doubt that the worst for-profits are ruthlessly exploiting the commodified college degree. But they didn't commodify it in the first place.

[16] For-profits fill a void left by traditional institutions that once believed their world was constant. Fast-developing methods of teaching students over the Internet have given the velocity of change a turbo boost. In such a volatile situation, all kinds of unexpected people make their way into the picture. And once they get there, they tend to stick around. Traditional institutions hoping that Congress will rid them of for-profit competition will very likely be disappointed.

Kevin Carey is policy director of Education Sector, an independent think tank in Washington.

“Characteristics of Demagoguery,” Patricia Roberts-Miller[6]





A basic principle of democracy is that the general public can make appropriate decisions on matters of common interest. This ability is dependent upon the public's access to information. The more distorted that information, the less likely the public will make appropriate decisions. Distorted information is generally called "propaganda," and, while harmful to public discourse, it isn't fatal. That is because, as long as the discourse is free and open, propaganda is likely to be countered--if you tell a lie, I can point out that it was a lie, as long as I have the ability to speak. If, however, my ability to criticize you is restricted, then your lies will stand.

The easiest way to restrict the ability of people to criticize you is to make it dangerous to do so. This can be done through passing laws--so that people can be thrown in jail, fined, or sued for saying certain things. But it can also be done through so rousing your followers that they will try to harm anyone who disagrees with you. That is what demagoguery does.

People often use "demagoguery" simply to mean effective discourse that they don't like, or they assume that demagoguery is rhetoric used on behalf of a bad cause. (Thus, sometimes people will defend someone against the charge of demagoguery by saying, "It isn't demagoguery because he's right.") But just about any political viewpoint can be put forward in a demagogic way--it isn't restricted to one position on the political spectrum.

Demagoguery is polarizing propaganda that motivates members of an ingroup to hate and scapegoat some outgroup(s), largely by promising certainty, stability, and what Erich Fromm famously called “an escape from freedom.” It significantly undermines the quality of public argument for reasons and in ways discussed below. In the most abstract, the reason it is so harmful is that it creates and fosters a situation in which it is actively dangerous to criticize dominant views, cultures, and political groups. It makes discourse a kind of coercion, largely through rousing and appealing to hate. Thus, the very people who make the decisions cannot hear all the information they need. Historically, demagoguery is a precursor to the ending of democracy--that is, when demagogues succeed, their first move is almost always to restrict the power of the people or parliaments in favor of some kind of tyrannical or totalitarian system.

Some people don't distinguish demagoguery from propaganda (which is generally defined as dishonest and fallacious discourse intended to further the power or agenda of the propagator), but I would say that it is a subset of propaganda: demagoguery is polarizing propaganda that functions to motivate people by rousing and justifying hatred of an outgroup. In other words, all demagoguery is propaganda,

[6] This is adapted from several handouts on demagoguery by Professor Roberts Miller (much of it from http://www.drw.utexas.edu/roberts-miller/handouts/demagoguery). Some light editing has been done, and a few additions made (indicated in square brackets).

but not all propaganda is demagoguery. In addition to propaganda, there are other kinds of discourse that are unproductive or harmful (e.g., bargaining), but they are distinguished from demagoguery in that they don't promote hate and violence.

Demagoguery is a way of arguing, so that the same political agenda can be argued for in ways that are demagogic or not (e.g., the distinction between Jerry Falwell and Billy Graham, or Huey Long and FDR), and one can have demagoguery on multiple sides of the political debate (e.g., the Nazis and communists in pre-war Germany). One can even have the same person, arguing for the same political agenda, sometimes use demagoguery and sometimes not (e.g., Father Coughlin's early speeches are only mildly demagogic, but his later speeches are very much so)….

The following is a list of the qualities that, as far as I am concerned, typify demagoguery. That isn't to say that every demagogue uses rhetoric that always has every one of them, nor that every one is equally important, but that, if one thinks of demagoguery as a disease, these are the symptoms, and a person might have a mild or severe case of demagoguery. The two qualities it seems to me that a text must have in order to qualify as demagoguery are polarization and hatefulness.

Polarization. This is one of the two most important qualities of demagoguery. To polarize is to divide a diverse range of things into two poles. Thus, a demagogue breaks everything into two camps: the one s/he represents (what people call the in-group), and evil (the out-group). This kind of polarization recurs throughout demagoguery--there are only two options, there are only two policies, there are only two groups.

If you are not on their side--with all your heart and soul, in all ways and without hesitation--then you are against them. The tendency to put things in these terms greatly simplifies complicated issues (which is almost certainly its main attraction) and implicitly justifies brutal tactics against large groups of people (another attraction for demagogues). It also (almost certainly intentionally) shuts down deliberation, as really good decision-making necessitates considering all the options, and there is almost never a situation in which there are really only two options…I think it's difficult to tell whether demagogues simplify a complicated situation as a purely rhetorical strategy, or because that's how they really see things. I think it's always very difficult to figure out what a demagogue "really" thinks. Certainly, polarizing is a useful rhetorical strategy for demagogues, especially if they can work their audience into a state of panic.

Ingroup/outgroup thinking, a rhetoric of hate. Another constant in demagoguery is that the demagogue tries to promote and justify hatred of the "out-group." That is, demagogues identify some group as "in"--people like them--and some other groups as "out"--often, but not necessarily, a racial minority. Sometimes it's members of a particular political persuasion (communists, liberals, feminists), sometimes a religious group (Catholics, Quakers, Muslims, secular humanists), often people of a certain nation or cultural tradition (Americans, Jews, "the west"). Thus, it's very common for the exact nature of the "out" group to be vague--Osama bin Laden at moments seems to be railing against the United States as a nation, at other moments as a cultural tradition, sometimes as a religion…

The demagogue assumes or argues for hating members of that group, as well as anyone who defends that group (or who even criticizes hating them). Sometimes demagogues are quite open that they are advocating hate (e.g., Hitler and the Jews) and sometimes slightly more subtle (e.g., Bilbo and African-Americans). In the latter version, you get the "I'm not a racist but..." argument--in his book (as opposed, apparently, to his speeches) Bilbo claims he doesn't hate African-Americans, but he just thinks they're

inferior in all sorts of ways and have to be transported back to Africa, and so on and so forth. If that isn't hate, I don't know what is.

Slipperiness on crucial terms; god and devil terms. Demagogues rely heavily on certain terms that are conventionally accepted and not very clearly defined. Because they're used so often, and so rhetorically powerful, these terms can seem clear to an audience as long as the audience doesn't stop to think exactly what the rhetor mean. And demagogues certainly won't define them--the vagueness of the terms is very helpful for their purposes.

Words often have a connotation and a denotation. That is, the words "mutt," "mongrel," and "mixed breed" all denote the same thing (they all mean a dog that is not purebred) but some have a negative tone (mutt, mongrel) and some more neutral (mixed breed), so they have different connotations. One way to describe the kinds of terms that demagogues like is that they are heavy on connotation but light on denotation (everyone knows how they feel about those concepts, but are not actually very clear on just what they denote). The strange thing is that you can think the term is perfectly clear until you actually start to define it, and then you can discover that it's extremely vague (try to define "race" for instance--a term that people constantly use).

Kenneth Burke talks about this as god and devil terms. That is, some terms are just Good (e.g., freedom, patriotism, community, peace, democracy) in that anything associated with them must be Good, so those are god terms. And some terms are just Bad (e.g., terrorist, racism, liberal, fascist, communist) in that anything associated with them must be Bad, so those are devil terms. These things change over time (in the antebellum era, "abolitionist" was a devil term, and now it's pretty much a god term) and from one community to another (environmentalist in a devil term for Rush Limbaugh's fans but a god term for members of Earth First!; "bourgeoisie" is a devil term for Marxist-Leninsts, but a neutral term for most people).

These terms are so powerful (and there is often a red herring move--see the information on fallacies) that people will try to associate god terms with their cause and devil terms with the out-group even when it makes almost no sense. So, for instance, the Japanese Declaration of War for WWII describes what they're doing by bombing Pearl Harbor as "peace;" exterminating populations is often called "pacifying" peoples (see, for instance, Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare: The CIA's tactical manual for paramilitary forces in Central America.)

This slipperiness is useful for demagogues for several reasons. In the first place, such words evoke strong emotions, and that's always helpful. It's also helpful in that, if one can get a "god term" associated with one's side, people will often feel that there would be something mildly sinful about questioning the argument. Third, broad definitions, like broad brushes, can cover a lot quickly--if one tosses out that one's opponent is a liberal, for instance, then s/he has to take time to defend against that charge (see the fallacies handout on ad personum/ad hominem). Fourth, a demagogue doesn't want to define the term carefully because, if it's defined broadly (which is the most useful for being able to tar other people), then one's audience will notice and might object (so, for instance, no American politician wants to define "terrorist," as it would become difficult to explain why Henry Kissinger and Oliver North are not in jail), but a narrow definition would make it harder to apply to all of one's opponents.

Demonizing, dehumanizing, and/or scapegoating the out-group, especially on racial, ethnic, or religious bases. Demonizing is done through explicitly saying that the out-group is Satan himself or a tool of his (e.g., Falwell on homosexuals, Osama bin Laden on the US), or through using metaphors that imply

Satan and devils (e.g., Calhoun referring to abolition as a "fiendish" plot).

This move has several functions. In addition to justifying extreme measures (as one should give no quarter to the devil), it is a scare tactic that helps polarize the situation. If one can persuade one's audience that the out-group is Satanic, then even listening to that group is exposing one's self to the wiles of the Evil One. And, anyone who argues for fair treatment of that out-group (or even allowing their point of view to be heard) can themselves be demonized (as when Falwell says that the promotion of tolerance toward homosexuality may be Satan preparing the way for the Antichrist); this is part of the general project of demagoguery of making it actively dangerous to disagree.

On an individual level, people are especially likely to scapegoat when they feel partially responsible--it is "denial through projection" (Landes, in Encyclopedia of Social History, 659). That is, if I drop a dish, and feel bad about it, I'm very likely to try to blame it on someone else. When entire communities engage in scapegoating, it isn't clear if it's because, like the individual, they secretly feel responsible, or because they do not understand the true causes of the problem, or they don't want to blame whoever is at fault. Chip Berlet and Mathew Lyons take the last view, and emphasize the emotional benefits of scapegoating:

> The scapegoat bears the blame, while the scapegoaters feel a sense of righteousness and increased unity. The social problems may be real or imaginary, the grievances legitimate or illegitimate, and members of the targeted group may be wholly innocent or partly culpable. What matters is that the scapegoats are wrongfully stereotyped as all sharing the same negative trait, or are singled out for blame while other major culprits are left off the hook. (8)

Like demonizing, dehumanizing (denying the basic humanity of some group) is done explicitly (as when Nazi scientists tried to claim that Africans were partway between apes and humans and thus not fully human) and implicitly (through metaphors and similes). This is one place where literature, film, television, and posters are especially important, as they can help to promote certain images of various groups as less than human (e.g., *Birth of a Nation*). Dehumanizing is absolutely necessary for policies like genocide, and was very important in the Nazi attempt to "cleanse" Europe of Jews, eastern Europeans, homosexuals, Romas, Jehovah's Witnesses, and so on…

Scapegoating is closely connected, but just slightly different. A "scapegoat" is a person or group on whom one dumps all responsibility for a situation; that person or group is responsible for the bad situation of the in-group. Thus, McCarthy insisted that the various setbacks to American world policy were the result of communist plots (as opposed to being the consequences of bad policies, a complicated situation, etc.); Calhoun attributed slave uprisings to abolitionists (as opposed to slaves escaping and fighting because they didn't like being slaves); Hitler blamed a Jewish conspiracy for Germany's losing World War I (as opposed to it being a bad war to have gotten into… If the bad situation is the result of a certain evil group, then ridding the world of that group would solve the problem. Sometimes that conclusion is explicitly drawn (eg., Hitler, McCarthy, Bilbo, Calhoun), but sometimes it's left implicit.

Scapegoating is often racial (as with Hitler and Jews) but not necessarily; McCarthy scapegoats communists, and proslavery politicians of the antebellum era scapegoated abolitionists; Limbaugh scapegoats liberals; leftist rhetoric used to scapegoat "the military-industrial complex" or the tri-laterial commission; Falwell scapegoated a whole list of political groups for the 9/11/01 tragedy.

Victimization. One thing that surprises people about demagoguery, or that they don't expect to see, is that it relies heavily on a rhetoric of victimization. The ingroup is being victimized by the situation (often by being treated the same as the outgroup, so there is a kind of political narcissism operating), and the claim is that the ingroup has responded to this victimization with extraordinary patience and kindness. (If the actual history is disenfranchisement and violence, then that behavior is reframed as patience and kindness because it could have been worse.) Now, however, to react with anything other than punitive violence (to try to think about the situation, or deliberate on it, or include the outgroup in any deliberations) is weak, vacillating, cowardly, and feminine.

As a consequence, demagoguery has to square the circle of inspiring fear while not looking fearful (since fearfulness is being paired with thinking and deliberating)—there are often claims of extraordinary courage in the face of a terrible situation, or a representation of one's self as calm and reasonable while making apocalyptic predictions, and the odd insistence of the sheer rationality of hyperbolic claims (I will admit, this is one aspect of demagoguery that often makes me laugh).

Motivism. Motivism is the assertion that people don't really have reasons for what they do, but they are motivated by something else – some dark motive (evil, lust, hatred, etc.) Rarely do demagogues assert that everyone has base motives (including themselves); more often they assert that the out-group has base motives, while they are motivated by something admirable or at least complicated.

Martin Reisgel and Ruth Wodak, in their book *Discourse and Discrimination*, say:

> The image of the...ingroup is more differentiated than the images of the others' groups, which, all in all, are much more characterized by 'internal attributions' than the ingroup. The outgroups' actions and behaviour are seldom explained by reference to external factors of communicative situation and historical, social, political and economic context, but primarily by pointing to alleged inherent and essential traits. (11)

[…] Research suggests that this is a quality that almost everyone naturally has to some degree (for instance, drivers who do something rude or unsafe explain that incident as an exception to their otherwise good driving method but other driver's rudeness or bad driving moves as a sign that the other person is a jerk or stupid). Most people, however, are embarrassed when they realize that they have done this; demagogues refuse to acknowledge that they've done it. (Which is, once again, one of the reasons that people who do psychological analysis talk about demogogues as people with personality disorders - this is one of the traits that signals sociopathy and narcissism.)

[According to rhetorical critic Wayne Booth, "motivism," is a "modern dogma," a reductive form of reasoning which relieves you of having to attend to your opponent's argument, and allows you to focus only on the motives for his argument, since he is in the grips of ideology].

Entitlement, double-standard, rejection of the notion of reciprocally binding rules or principles. This is closely connected to the above, and it is one of the qualities of demogogues I find personally fascinating. The best way to explain it is that ***they live in a world of double standards--something that is wrong for the out-group is okay for them and the in-group, and something that is okay for them and the in-group is wrong for the out-group***.

Thus, for instance, the same people who criticized Clinton's intervention in Somalia and Chechnya then claimed that criticizing Bush's intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq was "unpatriotic" and "not

supporting the troops." The same people who said that Thomas' sexually harassing Anita Hill was a sign of unfitness said that Clinton's harassing women didn't matter. It is very rarely acknowledged for the reason discussed above - the bad behavior on the part of them or the in-group is an exception or justified by the particular situation or is simply denied, while the bad behavior on the part of the out-group is taken as True and Real and Eternal.

The few times it is acknowledged, it is rationalized through some claim of entitlement on the part of the demagogue and the in-group. Thus, Hitler asserted that Germans needed room to expand, but was not willing to grant the same right to any of the peoples he considered slavic; Germans were, he insisted, entitled to better treatment than any other ethnicity simply due to being German.

Apocalyptic, eschatalogical metanarrative (Holy War, jihad). This one is hard to explain, but mainly because it's hard to find straightforward terms--it's actually fairly easy to grasp once you get past the language. A "metanarrative" is simply a kind of story that a culture likes to tell (boy meets girl, person rises from poverty to wealth and fame). It is a way that we understand the things that happen around us. (And sometimes we force reality into one of those metanarratives even when they don't fit-Lincoln was not really born in a log cabin; George Washington didn't chop down a cherry tree.)

Apocalyptic refers to the notion of the apocalypse, or the end of the world; eschatalogical means something related to the idea of the history of good and evil. So, an apocalyptic or eschatological metanarrative is a way of telling stories that puts events in the context of the eternal battle between Good and Evil. (Thus, some people use the term "Holy War" or "jihad" for this point of view.)

A demagogue presents her/her cause as the cause of Good, as one stage in the eternal battle between Good and Evil. They often use religious language, comparing themselves explicitly or implicitly to religious figures (Jesus, John the Baptist, or Mohammed), or describing the conflict as apocalyptic (meaning the battle at the end of the world)…

Denial of responsibility for situation (except lack of vigilance). This quality is connected to the assertion of simple solutions. When a demagogue is talking to his audience about the disastrous situation in which we stand, s/he does not describe them or their policies as responsible for that situation, except insofar as we have not been vigilant enough. Hitler didn't tell his audience that Germany's having started WWI contributed to their situation; on the contrary, he insisted they were innocent victims. (Falwell's comments after the 9/11/01 are another interesting example of this.)

This strategy is, of course, connected to scapegoating. We are not responsible; they are. The solution is not to change what we are doing, but to get rid of them.

This strategy may be one reason that people are really drawn to demagogues. It is not very pleasant to have to face up to having made a mistake, or to having had bad judgment. Under those circumstances, it is difficult to face up (and own up) to one's error. Some people find the possibility of having to change their minds (especially on major issues) absolutely terrifying, and will grasp at the denial of responsibility like a drowning person at a log. That's what demagogues offer people--a way not to have to admit error.

Heavy reliance on fallacious arguments, especially false dilemma, scare tactics, red herring, and ad personum. (see webpage on fallacies)

Pandering to popular prejudice and stereotype, often racist. Demagogues typically appeal to popular images (often visual). This appeal reinforces those images, even when they have nothing to do with reality--whether of certain ethnicities, nationalities, political views, or life situations (discourse about welfare always invoked an image of "the welfare mother"--a stereotype that did not represent the majority of people who got that sort of assistance).

Hitler appealed to various popular stereotypes about Jews, many of which were patently contradictory (e.g., that all Jews are rich, that all Jews are communists). But, one of many weird things about stereotypes, especially racial ones, is that they are impervious to counter-evidence--the presence of poor Jews did nothing to slow down his ability to assert a Jewish conspiracy behind Germany's economic problems, just as the presence of educated African-Americans did nothing to complicate proslavery politicians' assertions that slaves could not possibly take care of themselves if freed.

This is one sign of the kind of person especially vulnerable to demagoguery--their mental images are more real to them than reality, and they are actively frightened at the prospect of admitting error or changing their minds. Sometimes they make a virtue of never having changed their minds or refusing to look at evidence that might contradict their prejudices. When they are confronted with counter-examples, they dismiss them as exceptions (and it's interesting that the number of "exceptions" doesn't matter.)

These images tend to come from film, literature, and popular media, and not reality, yet they have profound impact on how people behave. Thus, the image of the rapacious African-American man who was lusting after white women was directly related to the white crowd's willingness to lynch African-American men who hadn't done anything in particular; as Marrus says about Hitler's antisemitic rhetoric, "Virtually every commentator concludes that, despite his efforts to portray himself as an independent thinker and creative genius, Hitler expressed nothing that was not part of the popular culture of Vienna or Munich in the period of his youth" (11). Hitler did not invent the images of the evil Jew, the criminal Gypsy, or the inferior slav, but simply used them.

These images are often racist, and racist images are, as Reisigl and Wodak say, "negative, emotionally very loaded, and rigid" (1) (even though they are often contradictory, 10). That is, racists make a set of assumptions--that there is this thing called "race" (a surprisingly hollow notion, given its power), that each "race" is associated with essential attributes, that races exist in a hierarchy (with their race at the top), and that this hierarchy was--until recently--absolutely stable. If they are challenged on any of these assumptions, they get furious and refuse to listen.

These images are often dismissed or criticized by the elite, but have a strong hold in the popular imagination (e.g., the accusation that Jews murder Christian boys for their passover celebrations); when demagogues appeal to them, they claim to be speaking an "unpopular truth" (a phrase that comes up over and over again among followers of demagogues). On the contrary, their platitudes are very popular, and not true …

Anti-intellectualism. For many scholars, this is an extremely important part of demagoguery, but I think it's fairly minor. (In fact, I think there are various demagogues who are very intellectual, such as John Calhoun.) Another factor that makes people think demagogues aren't the sharpest pencil in the drawer (albeit often very cunning) is that demagogues often evince a deep loathing for intellectuals. It is not necessarily jealousy (although I'm not ruling that out), but may simply be the realization that they are

threatened by anyone capable of doing critical analysis.

It's important to remember that the last thing a demagogue wants is fair and open discussion of issues--the main goal of demagoguery is to keep opposition points of view from getting a fair hearing. (Although they often claim to be in favor of such a discussion, in fact, they do everything they can to prevent it.) Because demagoguery is based in over-simplifying the situation, polarizing the community, and promoting hatred of out-groups, people who advocate careful consideration of the evidence and who can notice and draw attention to the demagogue's fallacies are actively dangerous for the demagogue's project.

That is not to say that intellectuals are never demagogues, nor that they are never taken in by demagoguery (e.g., Heidegger and Pound were suckered by Nazism). Nor is it to say that demagogues are opposed to citing scientists and professors when it suits their purposes (e.g., Hitler or Bilbo's use of eugenicists).

Nationalism. Last but not least, demagogues promote nationalism. Nationalism is best understood in contrast to patriotism. Whereas patriotism is simply love for one's country and institutions, nationalism is the sense that one's nation is the best, often because it is more sacred than other countries. (Because you can't have two "best" countries, the achievements of other countries and cultures have to be denigrated.) Nationalism is love for one's country plus contempt for other countries mixed with *worshipping* the symbols of one's nation.

Patriotism is often the result of pride in specific achievements, so it is perfectly compatible with vigorous criticism (that is, there is nothing unpatriotic about criticizing one's country),but nationalism is grounded in total loyalty to some perceived (or projected?) essence of the national identity, and therefore cannot tolerate criticism.

Nationalism is not just attachment to one's nation-state, but to some mythic essence of that identity, so that some ingroup represents the nation and other citizens do not. (In other words, membership in the nation-state is determined legally--you're a member if you're a citizen, but for the mythic dream-state of nationalism, one must be a member of some ingroup, generally a particular ethnicity.) Whereas patriotism strives for fairly practical things (e.g., effective policies, social security, a healthy economy, a just government), nationalism strives, first and foremost, for homogeneity.

Because the "nation" of nationalism is mythopoetic (rather than constructed through constitutions, rights, actions), nationalism demands devotion to symbols of that mythos, rather than attention to the legal and historical constructions. Thus, demagogues always legally enforce deference to the mythic symbols, which they take as a sign of complete obedience to the mythic nation, while ignoring (if not denigrating) attention to the legal and historical constructs, such as the constitution, laws, civil rights, and so on. Demagogues, and people prone to demagoguery, get very upset about people mistreating or inadequately deferring to the mythic symbols, but don't much care about people subverting the constitution or breaking laws.

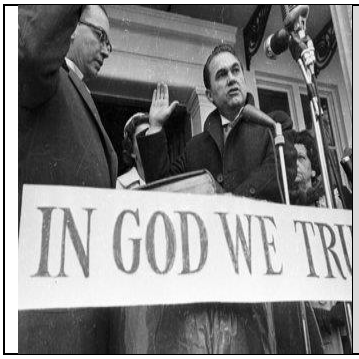
Keep in mind that not every demagogue exemplifies every one of these characteristics, and certainly not in every speech. In addition, remember that exhibiting a few of these characteristics does not make a speaker a demagogue.

Roberts Miller Democracy, Demagoguery and Critical Rhetoric

[Insert Roberts-Miller, “Democracy, Demagoguery and Critical Rhetoric”]

George Wallace Inaugural Speech as Governor of Alabama

George Wallace was elected governor of Alabama in 1963, and gave an inaugural address which became a rallying cry for those opposing integration and the Civil Rights Movement. In his speech Wallace challenged the attempts of the federal government to enforce laws prohibiting segregation. Wallace was governor of Alabama from 1963–1967, 1971–1979 and 1983–1987. He made four runs for U.S. president (three as a Democrat and one on the American Independent Party ticket). He influenced the way many future politicians talked about issues, especially race and the federal government. Wallace was known for stirring crowds with his rhetoric, sometimes even frightening himself and his advisors with his power to excite crowds.



[…] This is the day of my Inauguration as Governor of the State of Alabama. And on this day I feel a deep obligation to renew my pledges, my covenants with you, the people of this great state. General Robert E. Lee said that *duty* is the sublimest word on the English language and I have come, increasingly, to realize what he meant. I shall do my duty to you, God helping, to every man, to every woman, yes, to every child in this state. I shall fulfill my duty toward honesty and economy in our State government so that no man shall have a part of his livelihood cheated and no child shall have a bit of his future stolen away.

[…]
Today I have stood, where once Jefferson Davis stood, and took an oath to my people. It is very appropriate then that from this Cradle of the Confederacy, this very Heart of the Great Anglo-Saxon Southland, that today we sound the drum for freedom as have our generations of forebears before us done, time and time again through history. Let us rise to the call of freedom-loving blood that is in us and send our answer to the tyranny that clanks its chains upon the South. In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say,

Segregation today, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.

The Washington D.C. school riot report is disgusting and revealing. We will not sacrifice our children to any such type school system, and you can write that down. The federal troops in Mississippi could be better used guarding the safety of the citizens of Washington D.C., where it is even unsafe to walk or go to a ballgame, and that is the nation's capitol. I was safer in a B-29 bomber over Japan during the war in an air raid, than the people of Washington are walking to the White House neighborhood. A closer example is Atlanta. The city officials fawn for political reasons over school integration and then build barricades to stop residential integration, what hypocrisy!

Let us send this message back to Washington by our representatives who are with us today, that from this day we are standing up, and the heel of tyranny does not fit the neck of an upright man; that we intend to take the offensive and carry our fight for freedom across the nation, wielding the balance of power we know we possess in the Southland; that WE, not the insipid bloc of voters of some sections will determine in the next election who shall sit in the White House of these United States; that from this day, from this hour, from this minute, we give the word of a race of honor that we will tolerate their boot in our face no longer, and let those certain judges put that in their opium pipes of power and smoke it for what it is worth.

Hear me, Southerners! You sons and daughters who have moved north and west throughout this nation, we call on you from your native soil to join with us in national support and vote, and we know, wherever you are, away from the hearths of the Southland, that you will respond, for though you may live in the farthest reaches of this vast country, your heart has never left Dixieland.

And you native sons and daughters of old New England's rock-ribbed patriotism and you sturdy natives of the great Mid-West, and you descendants of the far West flaming spirit of pioneer freedom, we invite you to come and be with us, for you are of the Southern spirit, and the Southern philosophy. You are Southerners too and brothers with us in our fight.

What I have said about segregation goes double this day. And what I have said to or about some federal judges goes triple this day.

Alabama has been blessed by God as few states in this Union have been blessed. Our state owns ten percent of all the natural resources of all the states in our country. Our inland waterway system is second to none and has the potential of being the greatest waterway transport system in the entire world. We possess over thirty minerals in usable quantities and our soil is rich and varied, suited to a wide variety of plants. Our native pine and forestry system produces timber faster than we can cut it and yet we have only pricked the surface of the great lumber and pulp potential.

With ample rainfall and rich grasslands our live stock industry is in the infancy of a giant future that can make us a center of the big and growing meat packing and prepared foods marketing. We have the favorable climate, streams, woodlands, beaches, and natural beauty to make us a recreational Mecca in the booming tourist and vacation industry. Nestled in the great Tennessee Valley, we possess the Rocket center of the world and the keys to the space frontier.

While the trade with a developing Europe built the great port cities of the east coast, our own fast developing port of Mobile faces as a magnetic gateway to the great continent of South America, well over twice as large and hundreds of times richer in resources, even now awakening to the growing probes of enterprising capital with a potential of growth and wealth beyond any present dream for our port development and corresponding results throughout the connecting waterways that thread our state.

And while the manufacturing industries of free enterprise have been coming to our state in increasing numbers, attracted by our bountiful natural resources, our growing numbers of skilled workers and our favorable conditions, their present rate of settlement here can be increased from the trickle they now represent to a stream of enterprise and endeavor, capital and expansion that can join us in our work of development and enrichment of the educational futures of our children, the opportunities of our citizens and the fulfillment of our talents as God has given them to us.

To realize our ambitions and to bring to fruition our dreams, we as Alabamians must take cognizance of the world about us. We must re-define our heritage, re-school our thoughts in the lessons our forefathers knew so well, first hand, in order to function and to grow and to prosper. We can no longer hide our head in the sand and tell ourselves that the ideology of our free fathers is not being attacked and is not being threatened by another idea, for it is.

We are faced with an idea that if a centralized government assume enough authority, enough power over its people, that it can provide a utopian life; that if given the power to dictate, to forbid, to require, to demand, to distribute, to edict and to judge what is best and enforce that

will produce only "good," and it shall be our father and our God. It is an idea of government that encourages our fears and destroys our faith, for where there is faith, there is no fear, and where there is fear, there is no faith.

In encouraging our fears of economic insecurity it demands we place that economic management and control with government; in encouraging our fear of educational development it demands we place that education and the minds of our children under management and control of government, and even in feeding our fears of physical infirmities and declining years, it offers and demands to father us through it all and even into the grave. It is a government that claims to us that it is bountiful as it buys its power from us with the fruits of its rapaciousness of the wealth that free men before it have produced and builds on crumbling credit without responsibilities to the debtors, our children. It is an ideology of government erected on the encouragement of fear and fails to recognize the basic law of our fathers that governments do not produce wealth, people produce wealth, free people; and those people become less free as they learn there is little reward for ambition, that it requires faith to risk and they have none as the government must restrict and penalize and tax incentive and endeavor and must increase its expenditures of bounties, then this government must assume more and more police powers and we find we are become government-fearing people, not God-fearing people.

We find we have replaced faith with fear and though we may give lip service to the Almighty, in reality, government has become our god. It is, therefore, a basically ungodly government and its appeal to the pseudo-intellectual and the politician is to change their status from servant of the people to master of the people, to play at being God without faith in God and without the wisdom of God. It is a system that is the very opposite of Christ for it feeds and encourages everything degenerate and base in our people as it assumes the responsibilities that we ourselves should assume. Its pseudo-liberal spokesmen and some Harvard advocates have never examined the logic of its substitution of what it calls "human rights" for individual rights, for its propaganda play on words has appeal for the unthinking. Its logic is totally material and irresponsible as it runs the full gamut of human desires including the theory that everyone has voting rights without the spiritual responsibility of preserving freedom. Our founding fathers recognized those rights but only within the framework of those spiritual responsibilities. But the strong, simple faith and sane reasoning of our founding fathers has long since been forgotten as the so-called "progressives" tell us that our Constitution was written for "horse and buggy" days, so were the Ten Commandments.

Not so long ago men stood in marvel and awe at the cities, the buildings, the schools, the autobahns that the government of Hitler's Germany had built, just as centuries before they stood in wonder of Rome's building. But it could not stand, for the system that built it had rotted the souls of the builders and in turn rotted the foundation of what God meant that men should be. Today that same system on an international scale is sweeping the world. It is the "changing world" of which we are told it is called "new" and "liberal". It is as old as the oldest dictator. It is degenerate and decadent. As the national racism of Hitler's Germany persecuted a national minority to the whim of a national majority, so the international racism of the liberals seek to persecute the international white minority to the whim of the international colored majority, so that we are foot-balled about according to the favor of the Afro-Asian bloc. But the Belgian survivors of the Congo cannot present their case to a war crimes commission, nor the Portuguese of Angola, nor the survivors of Castro, nor the citizens of Oxford, Mississippi.

It is this theory of international power politic that led a group of men on the Supreme Court for the first time in American history to issue an edict, based not on legal precedent, but upon a volume, the editor of which said our Constitution is outdated and must be changed and the writers of which, some had admittedly belonged to as many as half a hundred communist-front organizations. It is this theory that led this same group of men to briefly bare the ungodly core

of that philosophy in forbidding little school children to say a prayer. And we find the evidence of that ungodliness even in the removal of the words "in God we trust" from some of our dollars, which was placed there as like evidence by our founding fathers as the faith upon which this system of government was built.

It is the spirit of power thirst that caused a president in Washington to take up Caesar's pen and with one stroke of it make a law. A law which the law-making body of Congress refused to pass, a law that tells us that we can or cannot buy or sell our very homes, except by his conditions, and except at his discretion. It is the spirit of power thirst that led the same president to launch a full offensive of twenty-five thousand troops against a university, of all places, in his own country and against his own people, when this nation maintains only six thousand troops in the beleaguered city of Berlin.

We have witnessed such acts of "might makes right" over the world as men yielded to the temptation to play God, but we have never before witnessed it in America. We reject such acts as free men. We do not defy, for there is nothing to defy since as free men we do not recognize any government right to give freedom or deny freedom. No government erected by man has that right. As Thomas Jefferson said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time; no King holds the right of liberty in his hands." Nor does any ruler in American government.

We intend, quite simply, to practice the free heritage as bequeathed to us as sons of free fathers. We intend to re-vitalize the truly new and progressive form of government that is less that two hundred years old, a government first founded in this nation simply and purely on faith, that there is a personal God who rewards good and punishes evil, that hard work will receive its just deserts, that ambition and ingenuity and inventiveness, and profit of such, are admirable traits and goals that the individual is encouraged in his spiritual growth and from that growth arrives at a character that enhances his charity toward others and from that character and that charity so is influenced business, and labor and farmer and government. We intend to renew our faith as God-fearing men, not government-fearing men nor any other kind of fearing-men. We intend to roll up our sleeves and pitch in to develop this full bounty God has given us, to live full and useful lives and in absolute freedom from all fear. Then can we enjoy the full richness of the Great American Dream.

We have placed this sign, "In God We Trust," upon our State Capitol on this Inauguration Day as physical evidence of determination to renew the faith of our fathers and to practice the free heritage they bequeathed to us. We do this with the clear and solemn knowledge that such physical evidence is evidently a direct violation of the logic of that Supreme Court in Washington D.C., and if they or their spokesmen in this state wish to term this defiance, I say then let them make the most of it.

This nation was never meant to be a unit of one but a united of the many. That is the exact reason our freedom loving forefathers established the states, so as to divide the rights and powers among the states, insuring that no central power could gain master government control.

In united effort we were meant to live under this government, whether Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Church of Christ, or whatever one's denomination or religious belief, each respecting the others right to a separate denomination; each, by working to develop his own, enriching the total of all our lives through united effort. And so it was meant in our political lives, whether Republican, Democrat, Prohibition, or whatever political party, each striving from his separate political station, respecting the rights of others to be separate and work from within their political framework and each separate political station making its contribution to our lives.

And so it was meant in our racial lives. Each race, within its own framework has the freedom to teach, to instruct, to develop, to ask for and receive deserved help from others of separate racial stations. This is the great freedom of our American founding fathers. But if we amalgamate into the one unit as advocated by the communist philosophers then the enrichment of our lives, the freedom for our development, is gone forever. We become, therefore, a mongrel unit of one under a single all powerful government and we stand for everything and for nothing.

The true brotherhood of America, of respecting the separateness of others and uniting in effort has been so twisted and distorted from its original concept that there is a small wonder that communism is winning the world.

We invite the negro citizens of Alabama to work with us from his separate racial station, as we will work with him, to develop, to grow in individual freedom and enrichment. We want jobs and a good future for both races, the tubercular and the infirm. This is the basic heritage of my religion, if which I make full practice for we are all the handiwork of God.

But we warn those, of any group, who would follow the false doctrine of communistic amalgamation that we will not surrender our system of government, our freedom of race and religion, that freedom was won at a hard price and if it requires a hard price to retain it, we are able and quite willing to pay it.

The liberals' theory that poverty, discrimination and lack of opportunity is the cause of communism is a false theory. If it were true the South would have been the biggest single communist bloc in the western hemisphere long ago, for after the great War Between the States, our people faced a desolate land of burned universities, destroyed crops and homes, with manpower depleted and crippled, and even the mule, which was required to work the land, was so scarce that whole communities shared one animal to make the spring plowing. There were no government handouts, no Marshall Plan aid, no coddling to make sure that our people would not suffer; instead the South was set upon by the vulturous carpetbagger and federal troops, all loyal Southerners were denied the vote at the point of bayonet, so that the infamous, illegal 14th Amendment might be passed. There was no money, no food and no hope of either. But our grandfathers bent their knee only in church and bowed their head only to God.

Not for a single instant did they ever consider the easy way of federal dictatorship and amalgamation in return for fat bellies. They fought. They dug sweet roots from the ground with their bare hands and boiled them in iron pots, they gathered poke salad from the woods and acorns from the ground. They fought. They followed no false doctrine. They knew what the wanted and they fought for freedom! They came up from their knees in the greatest display of sheer nerve, grit and guts that has ever been set down in the pages of written history, and they won! The great writer, Rudyard Kipling wrote of them, that: "There in the Southland of the United States of America, lives the greatest fighting breed of man in all the world!"

And that is why today, I stand ashamed of the fat, well-fed whimperers who say that it is inevitable, that our cause is lost. I am ashamed of them and I am ashamed for them. They do not represent the people of the Southland.

And may we take note of one other fact, with all trouble with communists that some sections of this country have, there are not enough native communists in the South to fill up a telephone booth, and that is a matter of public FBI record.

We remind all within hearing of this Southland that a Southerner, Peyton Randolph, presided over the Continental Congress in our nation's beginning, that a Southerner, Thomas Jefferson, wrote the Declaration of Independence, that a Southerner, George Washington, is the Father of

our country, that a Southerner, James Madison, authored our Constitution, that a Southerner, George Mason, authored the Bill of Rights and it was a Southerner who said, "Give me liberty or give me death," Patrick Henry.

Southerners played a most magnificent part in erecting this great divinely inspired system of freedom and, as God is our witnesses, Southerners will save it.

Let us, as Alabamians, grasp the hand of destiny and walk out of the shadow of fear and fill our divine destination. Let us not simply defend but let us assume the leadership of the fight and carry our leadership across this nation. God has placed us here in this crisis, let us not fail in this our most historical moment.

You are here today, present in this audience, and to you over this great state, wherever you are in sound of my voice, I want to humbly and with all sincerity, thank you for your faith in me.

I promise you that I will try to make you a good governor. I promise you that, as God gives me the wisdom and the strength, I will be sincere with you. I will be honest with you.

I will apply the old sound rule of our fathers, that anything worthy of our defense is worthy of one hundred percent of our defense. I have been taught that freedom meant freedom from any threat or fear of government. I was born in that freedom, I was raised in that freedom, I intend to live life in that freedom and, God willing, when I die, I shall leave that freedom to my children as my father left it to me.

My pledge to you, to "Stand up for Alabama," is a stronger pledge today than it was the first day I made that pledge. I shall "Stand up for Alabama," as Governor of our State, you stand with me and we, together, can give courageous leadership to millions of people throughout this nation who look to the South for their hope in this fight to win and preserve our freedoms and liberties, so help me God.

And my prayer is that the Father who reigns above us will bless all the people of this great sovereign State and nation, both white and black.

I thank you.

FROM 1959 Speech

"There's some people who've gone over the state and said, 'Well, George Wallace has talked too strong about segregation.' Now let me ask you this: how in the name of common sense can you be too strong about it? You're either for it or you're against it. There's not any middle ground as I know of."

"This civil rights bill will wind up putting a homeowner in jail because he doesn't sell his home to someone that some bureaucrat thinks he ought to sell it to. My friends, a man's home is his castle…and he ought to be able to sell it to people with blue eyes and green teeth if he wants to; it's his home."

Transcript of NRA's LaPierre's speech on Newtown Tragedy, 12/ 21/2012

NRA Executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre addressed the media following the shooting rampage at a Connecticut elementary school that left 26 children and staff dead.

[1]"The National Rifle Association's 4 million mothers, fathers, sons and daughters join the nation in horror, outrage, grief and earnest prayer for the families of Newtown, Connecticut … who suffered such incomprehensible loss as a result of this unspeakable crime.

[2]Out of respect for those grieving families, and until the facts are known, the NRA has refrained from comment. While some have tried to exploit tragedy for political gain, we have remained respectfully silent.

[3]Now, we *must* speak … for the safety of our nation's children. Because for all the noise and anger directed at us over the past week, no one — nobody — has addressed the most important, pressing and immediate question we face: How do we protect our children *right now* , starting today, in a way that we know *works* ?

[4] The only way to answer that question is to face up to the *truth* .

[5] Politicians pass laws for Gun-Free School Zones. They issue press releases *bragging* about them. They post signs *advertising* them. And in so doing, they tell every insane killer in America that schools are their *safest* place to inflict maximum mayhem with minimum risk.

[6] How have our nation's priorities gotten so far out of order? Think about it. We care about our money, so we protect our banks with armed guards. American airports, office buildings, power plants, courthouses — even sports stadiums — are all protected by armed security.

[7]We care about the president, so we protect him with armed Secret Service agents. Members of Congress work in offices surrounded by armed Capitol Police officers.

[8]Yet when it comes to the most beloved, innocent and vulnerable members of the American family — our children — we as a society leave them utterly defenseless, and the monsters and predators of this world know it and exploit it. That must change now.

[9]The truth is that our society is populated by an unknown number of genuine monsters — people so deranged, so evil, so possessed by voices and driven by demons that no sane person can possibly *ever*comprehend them. They walk among us every day. And does anybody really believe that the next Adam Lanza isn't planning his attack on a school he's already identified at this very moment?

[10] How many *more* copycats are waiting in the wings for their moment of fame — from a national media machine that *rewards* them with the wall-to-wall attention and sense of identity that they crave — while provoking others to try to make *their* mark?

[11] A dozen more killers? A hundred? More? How can we possibly even *guess* how many, given our nation's refusal to create an active national database of the mentally ill?

[12] And the fact is, that wouldn't even begin to address the much larger and more lethal criminal class: Killers, robbers, rapists and drug gang members who have spread like cancer in every community in this country. Meanwhile, federal gun prosecutions have decreased by 40% — to the lowest levels in a decade.

So now, due to a declining willingness to prosecute dangerous criminals, violent crime is *increasing* again for the first time in 19 years! Add another hurricane, terrorist attack or some other natural or man-made disaster, and you've got a recipe for a national nightmareof violence and victimization.

[13]And here's another dirty little truth that the media try their best to conceal: There exists in this country a callous, corrupt and corrupting shadow industry that sells, and sows, violence against its own people.

[14] Through vicious, violent video games with names like Bulletstorm, Grand Theft Auto, Mortal Kombat and Splatterhouse. And here's one: it's called Kindergarten Killers. It's been online for 10 years. How come my research department could find it and all of yours either couldn't or didn't want anyone to know you had found it?

[15] Then there's the blood-soaked slasher films like "American Psycho" and "Natural Born Killers" that are aired like propaganda loops on "Splatterdays" and *every* day, and a thousand music videos that portray life as a joke and murder as a way of life. And then they have the nerve to call it "entertainment."

[16]But is that what it really is? Isn't fantasizing about killing people as a way to get your kicks really the filthiest form of pornography? In a race to the bottom, media conglomerates *compete* with one another to shock, violate and offend every standard of civilized society by bringing an ever-more-toxic mix of reckless behavior and criminal cruelty into our homes — every minute of every day of every month of every year.

[17] A child growing up in America witnesses 16,000 murders and 200,000 acts of violence by the time he or she reaches the ripe old age of 18.

[18] And throughout it all, too many in our national media … their corporate owners … and their stockholders … act as silent enablers, if not complicit co-conspirators. Rather than face their own moral failings, the media *demonize* lawful gun owners, *amplify* their cries for more laws and fill the national debate with misinformation and dishonest thinking that only delay meaningful action and all but guarantee that the next atrocity is only a news cycle away.

[19] The media call semi-automatic firearms "machine guns" — they claim these civilian semi-automatic firearms are used by the military, and they tell us that the .223 round is one of the most powerful rifle calibers ... when all of these claims are factually *untrue* . They don't know what they're talking about.

[20] Worse, they perpetuate the dangerous notion that *one more gun ban* — or one more law imposed on peaceful, lawful people — will protect us where 20,000 others have failed.

[21] As brave, heroic and self-sacrificing as those teachers were in those classrooms, and as prompt, professional and well-trained as those police were when they responded, they were unable — through no fault of their own — to stop it.

[22] As parents, we do everything we can to keep our children safe. It is now time for us to assume responsibility for their safety at school. The only way to stop a monster from killing our kids is to be personally involved and invested in a plan of absolute protection. The *only* thing that stops a *bad* guy with a gun is a *good* guy with a gun. Would you rather have your 911 call bring a good guy with a gun from *a mile* away ... or *a minute* away?

[23] Now, I can imagine the shocking headlines you'll print tomorrow morning: *"More guns,"* you'll claim, *"are the NRA's answer to everything!"* Your implication will be that guns are evil and have no place in society, much less in our schools. But since when did the word "gun" automatically become a bad word?

A gun in the hands of a Secret Service agent protecting the president isn't a bad word. A gun in the hands of *a* soldier protecting the United States isn't a bad word. And when you hear the glass breaking in your living room at 3 a.m. and call 911, you won't be able to pray hard enough for a gun in the hands of a good guy to get there fast enough to protect you.

[24] So why is the idea of a gun *good* when it's used to protect our president or our country or our police, but *bad* when it's used to protect our children in their schools? They're our kids. They're our responsibility. And it's not just our *duty* to protect them — it's our right to protect them.

[25] You know, five years ago, after the Virginia Tech tragedy, when I said we should put armed security in every school, the media called me crazy. But what if, when Adam Lanza started shooting his way into Sandy Hook Elementary School last Friday, he had been confronted by qualified, armed security?

[26] Will you at least admit it's *possible* that 26 innocent lives might have been spared? Is that so abhorrent to you that you would rather continue to risk the alternative?

[27] Is the press and political class here in Washington so consumed by fear and hatred of the NRA and America's gun owners that you're willing to accept a world where real resistance to evil monsters is a lone, unarmed school principal left to *surrender her life* to shield the children in her care? No one — regardless of personal political prejudice — has the right to impose that sacrifice.

[28] Ladies and gentlemen, there is no national, one-size-fits-all solution to protecting our children. But do know this President *zeroed out* school emergency planning grants in *last year's* budget, and scrapped "Secure Our Schools" *policing* grants in *next year's* budget.

[29] With all the foreign aid, with all the money in the federal budget, we can't afford to put *a police officer in every school?* Even if they did that, politicians have no business — and no authority — denying us the right, the ability, or the moral imperative to protect ourselves and our loved ones from harm.

[30] Now, the National Rifle Association knows that there are millions of qualified active and retired police; active, reserve and retired military; security professionals; certified firefighters and rescue personnel; and an extraordinary corps of patriotic, trained qualified citizens to join with local school officials and police in devising a protection plan for every school. We can deploy them to protect our kids *now* . We can immediately make America's schools safer — relying on the brave men and women of America's police force.
The budget of our local police departments are strained and resources are limited, but their dedication and courage are second to none and they can be deployed right now.

[31] I call on Congress today to act immediately, to appropriate whatever is necessary to put armed police officers in every school — and to do it now, to make sure that blanket of safety is in place when our children return to school in January. Before Congress reconvenes, before we engage in any lengthy debate over legislation, regulation or anything else, as soon as our kids return to school after the holiday break, we need to have *every single school in America* immediately deploy a protection program proven to work — and by that I mean *armed security* .

[32] Right now, today, every school in the United States should plan meetings with parents, school administrators, teachers and local authorities — and draw upon every resource available — to erect a cordon of protection around our kids right now. Every school will have a different solution based on its own unique situation. Every school in America needs to immediately *identify* , *dedicate* and *deploy* the resources necessary to put these security forces in place right now. And the National Rifle Association, as America's preeminent trainer of law enforcement and security personnel for the past 50 years, is ready, willing and uniquely qualified to help.

[33] Our training programs are the most advanced in the world. That expertise must be brought to bear to protect our schools and our children now. We did it for the nation's defense industries and military installations during World War II, and we'll do it for our schools today.

[33] The NRA is going to bring all of its knowledge, dedication and resources to develop a model National School Shield Emergency Response Program for every school that wants it. From armed security to building design and access control to information technology to student and teacher training, this multi-faceted program will be developed by the very best experts in their fields.

[34] Former Congressman Asa Hutchinson will lead this effort as National Director of the National School Shield Program, with a budget provided by the NRA of whatever scope the task requires. His experience as a U.S. Attorney, Director of the Drug Enforcement Agency and Undersecretary of the Department of Homeland Security will give him the knowledge and expertise to hire the most knowledgeable and credentialed experts available anywhere, to get this program up and running from the first day forward.

[35] If we truly cherish our kids more than our money or our celebrities, we must give them the greatest level of protection possible and the security that is only available with a *properly trained — armed — good guy.* Under Asa's leadership, our team of security experts will make this the best program in the world for protecting our children at school, and we will make that program available to every school in America *free of charge* . That's a plan of action that *can* , and *will* , make a real, positive and indisputable difference in the safety of our children — starting right now.

[36] There'll be time for talk and debate *later*. This is the time, this is the day for decisive *action.*

[37] We can't wait for the next unspeakable crime to happen before we act. We can't lose precious time debating legislation that won't work. We mustn't allow politics or personal prejudice to divide us.

[38] We must act now.

[39] For the sake of the safety of every child in America, I call on every parent, every teacher, every school administrator and every law enforcement officer in this country to join us in the National School Shield Program and protect our children with the only line of positive defense that's tested and proven to work.

Some Unit 3 Texts on Civility and Argument in the Digital Age

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Yik Yak Case

- Main article: Who Spewed That Abuse? Anonymous Yik Yak App Isn't Telling http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/09/technology/popular-yik-yak-app-confers-anonymity-and-delivers-abuse.html?_r=0
- Middlebury College op-eds mentioned in the NYT article above: http://middleburycampus.com/article/a-letter-on-yik-yak-harassment/ http://middleburycampus.com/article/changing-the-way-we-yak/ http://middleburycampus.com/article/why-not-ban-yik-yak/
- Three other op-eds from around the country. Each of these correlates with one of the Middlebury op-eds. They can help them compare/contrast arguments, reinforce arguments, and prepare for the research in essay #4. http://emorywheel.com/yik-yak-sows-hostility-at-emory/ http://www.lsureveille.com/daily/opinion-yik-yak-promotes-hate-speech-and-should-be-banned/article_2cb2d258-be1a-11e4-a1c6-371467668b19.html http://www.huffingtonpost.com/larry-magid/banning-yik-yak-from-coll_b_6779168.html

APPENDIX

Classmate Contact Info

Please write down the email address and/or phone number of three of your classmates. If you miss class, or can't remember what was assigned for homework, contact your classmates **before** asking me.

NAME:_____CONTACT:_____
NAME:_____CONTACT:_____
NAME:_____CONTACT:_____

Agreement on Plagiarism

Policy statements and tutorials on plagiarism are provided by SDSU on these web pages:

http://infotutor.sdsu.edu/plagiarism/consequences.cfm?p=graphic
http://infotutor.sdsu.edu/plagiarism/index.cfm?p=graphic
http://www.sa.sdsu.edu/srr/conduct1.html

I understand that teachers are required by SDSU policy to report cases of plagiarism. I understand that I must clearly mark other people's ideas and words within my paper. I understand it is unacceptable to do any of the following:

- Submit an essay written in whole or part by another person, and to present this as if it were my own.
- Download an essay from the internet, then quote or paraphrase from it, in whole or in part, without acknowledging the original source.
- Reproduce the substance of another writer's argument without acknowledging the source.
- Copy another student/person's homework and submit this as the product of my own work.

I understand that the consequences for committing any of the above acts can include failure in the class, a note on my permanent record, and even expulsion from the university. I will not plagiarize or cheat.

Name (Print Legibly): _____
Date _____
(Signature) _____

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Use of Student Work

Your teacher may occasionally wish to share sample student writing in class. She may also wish to share sample student writing as part of her teacher training. For example, your teacher may wish to show an example of a strong introduction, or discuss ways of revising a conclusion. Student writing will be made anonymous (student names will be removed). Is it OK to use your writing in this way?

YES ☐ NO ☐

Name: _____

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