

Presidential Character and White House Rhetoric

Stephen F. Austin State University
Box 13045 SFA Station
Nacogdoches, Texas 75962
kcollier@sfasu.edu
www.kencollier.org

Prepared for presentation at the
Southwest Political Science Association Meetings
New Orleans • March 24-26, 2005

Abstract

While James David's Barber's Presidential Character is one of the most widely read books in political science, relatively little use has been made of his contributions. This paper explores the impact of White House staffing on character as revealed through presidential speech.

Presidential Character and White House Rhetoric *

James David Barber's book The Presidential Character,¹ is easily one of the most widely read and discussed books in political science. While the book continues to hold the interests of scholars and casual readers alike, it is relatively seldom cited in scholarly works and researchers have generally failed to find ways to test and extend Barber's analysis.

Barber's influence on some lines of research has been limited as scholars have pursued a more institutional approach, focusing on the offices within the presidency rather than the inhabitant of the Oval Office. Although the focus on the institutional presidency was entirely justified, the approach tends to neglect one fundamental aspect of presidential leadership: that the presidency is a much more personal institution than other American political institutions. The president lends his or her character to the institution to a much larger degree than is possible with Congress.

The presidency must be both a person and an organization. While scholars may understand the elaborate organization that is the modern presidency, the White House must ultimately put on a human face in order to maintain its bond with a decidedly human populace. This will be played out in the public presentations of the presidency and presidential speeches provide the best opportunity to measure and study this process. Citizens continue to look to the person of the president as a source of administration and leadership. While Congress may remain a relatively impersonal institution, the presidency continues to be defined and redefined by its occupant.

Presidential speech is one of the primary means by which citizens, scholars, media, and other politicians judge presidents. While political scientists may have debated the impact of the bully pulpit on public opinion and legislative outcomes,² there is little doubt that presidential speech is closely scrutinized for glimpses into the president's character.

* This research was supported by the Theodore Sorensen fellowship from the John F. Kennedy Foundation and Gerald R. Ford Foundation as well as mini-grants from Stephen F. Austin State University. The author would like to thank Rod Hart and Ron Claunch for their feedback. I am also indebted to my research assistants Dana Craw and Don Gregory.

¹ James David Barber, The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House, Fourth Edition, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1992.

² Most recently, George Edwards has argued that the bully pulpit is overrated. While Edwards may be correct in his argument that the impact of the president's words are overestimated, the fact that they remain an obsession in the media and within the White House make the production of speeches worthy of our attention.

George C. Edwards III, On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit, New Haven: Yale, 2004.

While not discussed in depth, presidential speech is an important concern in Barber's book on character. On one hand, Barber sees the president as "the focus for the most intense and persistent emotions in the American polity. The President is a symbolic leader, the one figure who draws together the people's hopes and fears for the political future."³ Barber asserts that, "the flow of political life is marked off by presidents."⁴

This paper explores the process of writing presidential speeches and examines the interaction between the character of the president and White House staff as it shapes the character of speech. The central question is: does the White House have character and to what degree does the institution share the character of the president?

The idea of assigning Barber's definition of "character" to the offices of the White House does present the appearance of the anthropomorphic error. An institution like an office within the Executive Office of the President does not have personality in any traditional sense of the word. However, the institution does have a set of motivations. While the institution may not have a personality, the institution's lack of personality is sufficient to distinguish the office within White House from the president.

The speechwriting process is a unique opportunity for study because it is a glimpse inside the White House that show us differences in perspective that are usually concealed from view. The institutionalization of the process has given many political and institutional interests places at the editing table. The battle for control over presidential words can be witnessed through the changes in drafts of speeches. Speech texts and draft speeches from the administrations of John F. Kennedy, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter are used to trace the development of rhetoric within the White House and to compare the elements of character that can be found in word choice.

The analysis that follows demonstrates that there are differences in word choice within the White House. The shifting rhetoric within the process reveals that the White House is not of one mind and that the differences within the White House, while usually concealed from the outside world, are often significant.

³ Barber, [The Presidential Character](#), 2.

⁴ Barber, [The Presidential Character](#), 2

Individual vs. Institutional Character

The growth of the White House staff has created an effective set of checks on the speechwriting process by creating many authors and editors of presidential speech. Oddly enough, one of the impulses checked by the processes now embedded in the presidency is a check on the personality of the president. While the goal of the speechwriting operation should be to choose the words and tone the president would use if he or she had the time, we should expect the White House staff to exert an independent effect. The best and the brightest of the Executive Office of the President and the Cabinet department serve as monitors of the wants and needs of party factions, organized interest groups, bureaucratic organizations, and personal agendas. These interests have become proficient at protecting their position. Their ability to win a place in the White House is testimony to their power. While all of these offices and their staff serve the president, they also monitor the president and try to ensure that presidential words serve the needs of White House office and staff. It is possible for the political needs of the president to conflict with the personal style. Organizations constrain individual behavior, even for the head of the organization.

If the presidency's roles and constituencies complimented each other, the job would be much easier. However, these demands often conflict leaving the personality of the White House as conflicted as that of any of its presidents.⁵ Staff throughout the Executive Office of the President are each ready to spring into action to make sure that the voices of important constituencies are heard, or prevent a president from uttering words that might undermine importance of their department or policy area. Their job is to remind the president of their many political and governmental needs. They try to ensure that their president does not fall into the innumerable pitfalls of modern American politics, constantly urging caution and temperance. Thus, the White House may be creating a climate in which cautious language survives and strong personal leadership is less likely. In this environment, the personality of the individual president may be overwhelmed by needs of bureaucratic office, the personality of individual staffers, and staff's perceptions of the "character" of the Office of the President. Thus, presidential character may become lost among the hoards of assistants who swarm across the pages of speech drafts. While the damage they do might be reversible, the president lacks the time to reassemble the shattered rhetoric and reassert his own style.

This paper does not argue that the suggestions and protestations dilute speech because presidents and White House staff today are intellectually or politically poorly equipped for the tasks of leadership. This cacophony of worries, hedging, and alternative wordings are posed by bright people who are wise and trusted advisors attempting to protect the office and the occupant from missteps. Almost everyone who comes to the president insisting that words and sentences be changed or dropped was hired by the stroke

⁵ With the possible exception of the relatively single-minded Nixon administration and its seriously conflicted president.

of the president's own pen and their offices created at the insistence of previous presidents and perpetuated by the current occupant. At the same time, it's important to note that while the presidents have created these offices and hired these staffers, they did not create the political forces behind them.

It would be naive to think impersonal forces that come with the growing size of government do not cast a shadow over the president's personality. As much as interesting personalities might make the president more interesting, the many roles the president must play often leave little room for the character of the man or woman who occupies the Oval Office. That these forces toil behind the walls of the White House makes their impact no less important. Because these battles are won and lost beyond the view of citizens, understanding them becomes even more intriguing for political scientists.

When Gerald Rafshoon took over as Director of Communications for Carter, the speechwriting staff urged him to do what he could to check the problem of "too many cooks."

You know as well as I that no six people can write a decent speech, even though every one of them may be marvelously gifted and wise. Nonetheless, almost every speech that's come out of here has been a committee product... I understand that it is essential to get ideas wherever possible, to circulate drafts, to make sure that all viewpoints have been considered. But some one person needs to be in charge of this situation—in charge of collecting ideas, registering complaints, and finally seeing that the agreed-upon policy is written down in a coherent and literate way... My suspicion is that the President thinks he is that person; he no longer has the time to be.⁶

Ironically, establishing a president's true style or character is hard. Just as presidents may conceal flaws in their character reflected in sexual indiscretions or arrests for drunken driving, they will conceal other faults behind a wall of speechwriters.

According to Samuel Huntington, institutionalization is the process through which an organization "acquires value and stability."⁷ In their study of the development of the White House, Hult and Walcott determine that a structure is institutionalized when it persists over at least two presidencies.⁸ With the Ford administration the speechwriting office entered its second presidency. Since that time, the existence of the speechwriting staff has been continuous and the structure of the office has remained stable.

The institution vs. the person

Before trying to distinguish between the character of the institutional White House and that of the president, we need to first grapple briefly with the meaning of "institution." In their article, Ragsdale and

⁶ Memo to Jerry Rafshoon from Jim Fallows, June 8, 1978, folder: "Speeches, Preparation of [Guidance] 1/1/77-5/31/78," Box 28, Subject File, Presidential Speechwriters, Staff Office Files, Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, 2-3.

⁷ Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven: Yale, 1968, 12

⁸ Karen M. Hult and Charles E. Walcott, *Empowering the White House: Governance under Nixon, Ford, and Carter*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

These successfully apply Samuel Huntington's definition of an institution to describe emergence of the presidency as an institution in the 1970s.⁹ Krause and Cohen note the significance of institutionalization as they argue that once fully developed, the institutions of the presidency begin to demand specific tasks and duties for the president and, rather than serving as opportunities for the president, these organizations become sources of constraint of presidential actions.¹⁰

Terry Moe describes the institutions of the presidency in terms of protecting "a maze of supporting expectations and relations."¹¹ Within the walls of the White House, these forces feel free to serve narrow personal or institutional interests, even as the presidency presents the image of a unified institution to outside observers. While generally out of sight of journalists and social scientists, the battle lines from these internal clashes can be traced by an examination of the changes to drafts of speeches.

In simple terms, the question here is whether or not the presidency is of one mind. Does the presidential speechwriting process reflect a consistent set of goals or does it bring together a diverse set of goals and methods? If the presidency reflects the character of the officeholder we would expect a relatively consistent tone throughout the process. However, if the White House is not an institution but a set of institutions we would expect to find noticeable differences in their perspective. And, speechwriting is a unique opportunity to observe the differences.

The process

While the Kennedy, Carter, and Ford administrations are different in many respects, there are also some ways in which the process is consistent across all administrations. The speechwriting process usually begins when the scheduling office accepts an invitation for the president to speak at an event. Most often, acceptance of the invitation is followed by a brief meeting between the president and the head speechwriter in which the president outlines any ideas about subjects, themes, and tone that they have that might be appropriate for the audience. This is most likely for major addresses or minor addresses of special interest to the president. In the case of minor addresses, such a meeting might never occur and the speech will be drafted with little early guidance from the Oval Office.

The head speechwriter then assigns a speechwriter to put together a draft of the speech. Even in those cases in which the president has provided some thoughts on the speech, such input is usually sketchy, leaving the speechwriter with considerable latitude in assembling the draft. However, while speechwriters

⁹ Lyn Ragsdale and John J. Theis, III, "The Institutionalization of the American Presidency, 1924-92," American Journal of Political Science, 41:4, October 1997, 1280-1318.

¹⁰ George A. Krause and Jeffrey E. Cohen, "Opportunity Constraints, and the Development of the Institutional Presidency: The Issues of Executive Orders, 1939-96," Journal of Politics, 62:1, February 2000, 88-114.

¹¹ Terry M. Moe, "The Politicized Presidency," in The New Directions in American Politics, John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, editors, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1985, 241.

often write speeches with little specific guidance from the president, they are always aware of the president's preferred style. Most speechwriters have spent long hours listening to the speeches of their president and many are good mimics and can read a speech aloud and sound like their president.

Early drafts of the speech are circulated among the speechwriters, eventually facing editing by the head speechwriter. While the initial drafts may be changed considerably within the speechwriting office, these speeches generally face their greatest challenge when they leave the relative safety of the speechwriting office and venture out into the wider world of the White House in a process known as "staffing." In the staffing process, even a minor speech may cross the desk of a dozen or more senior White House staff. For example, the short speech (459 words) used by George H. W. Bush's to light the National Christmas Tree in 1989 was circulated to 17 key officials around the White House.¹²

From this staffing the speechwriters receive a tremendous variety of suggestions that need to be considered. Often, the suggested changes conflict, leaving the speechwriters to sort out the rhetorical and political problems before assembling a revised draft.

Presidents often become involved again at this point. A president may review a draft and offer their suggestions. Speechwriting staff may resist presidential suggestions, but obviously the president will prevail.

Major speeches are often subjected to a second round of staffing so that offices from around the executive branch have a chance to review the changes and additions inserted by other offices. This often brings conflicts between perspectives into sharper focus and leaves the speechwriters in the position of being the final arbiter of what will go into the final draft presented by the president.

From this final draft the president may make changes. Occasionally, a president will turn to one or two trusted aides to review the final draft. After these round of changes are made, the speech typed in large type onto cards or special paper. In more recent administrations, the speech draft is placed into a fine for the TelePrompTer. Presidents often edit the reading copy of their speech, jotting down last minute changes. Of course, presidents may improvise as well. Clinton's speechwriters, for example, always

¹² White House Staffing Memorandum, 12/12/89, "National Christmas Tree Lighting 12/14/89 [OA 8309], Office of Speechwriting, Speech Files, Backup, Chron Files 1989-93: Box 45, George H.W. Bush Presidential Library.

The memorandum asked for "action" by eight individuals: Brent Scowcroft (National Security Council), Bates, Demarest, Boyden Gray, Fred McClure (Congressional Relation), Roger Porter, James Pinkerton (Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning) and Petersmeyer (Office of National Service). Nine others were given copies "FYI." Those who were informed without their advice being sought included Vice President Dan Quayle, John Sununu (Chief of Staff), Andrew Card, Cicconi, Marlin Fitzwater (Press Secretary), presidential image maker Sig Rogich, Rogers, Chriss Winston (Deputy Assistant to the President for Communications), and Porter Rose

found it exciting to attend a presidential speech to see if Clinton would actually deliver the speech they had written or come up with something off the cuff.

Data and Methods

To understand the impact that the institution of speechwriting has on the character of speech, a means of measuring speech rhetoric and measuring changes in the drafting process must be constructed. Of course, it is not possible to create a “control group” of speeches that that would contain only the rhetoric the president would choose without any assistance to see what kind of speech each president would write without speechwriters. We can attempt to compliment our descriptions of the speechwriting process by examining how drafts of speeches change as they pass from office to office in the White House.

If the president were solely responsible for speeches or if the process was the product of a single institution with one perspective and set of goals, we would expect to see the tone of a speech change little over the course of the drafting process. We would also expect that those changes observed would resemble a consistent evolution and the speech moved from a rough draft to a polished, finished product. One consistent set of forces would guide the evolution of rhetoric producing a relatively stable path of development or growth in one direction. If, on the other hand, there were many conflicting forces at work, we would expect that the character of rhetoric would be volatile.

In a White House in which the character of the institution matched the character of the president, it would make little difference exactly who in the White House was drafting or revising a speech. The character of the rhetoric would remain consistent regardless of whose hand was editing the draft. However, in a setting in which character differed and motives clashed, we would expect the process to look more like a rhetorical tug of war than a steady development. Thus, instability provides evidence that the steps in the process have an impact on the “character” of speech and that the process of reviewing speeches has an impact on the personality of presidential rhetoric.

Data

To compare the process in the Kennedy, Ford, and Carter Administrations, a few speeches from each administration were selected for detailed analysis. The Johnson and Nixon administrations would see the appearance of speechwriting on the organizational charts and the segregation of that function to individuals with little connection to the speechwriting process.¹³ This makes the Ford and Carter Administrations good examples of an institutionalized process and gives us the first chance to asses the impact of the newly formalized process on the president’s words. The Kennedy speeches provide a counter-example of speechwriting before the process had become as formalized.

¹³ Governing the White House: From Hoover through LBJ, Charles E. Walcott and Karen M. Hult, Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995,

The cases for the Kennedy administration were the inaugural address, his December speech to the National Association of Manufacturers, the speech at Rice University discussing the space program, his commencement address at Yale, and the 1962 State of the Union Address. The five speeches from the Ford administration selected were his first address to Congress, his announcement of the Nixon pardon, his energy address on May 27, 1975, his bicentennial speech at Independence Hall on July 4, 1976, and his 1976 State of the Union message.¹⁴ The six speeches utilized for the Carter administration are his inaugural address, his speech at the dedication of the John F. Kennedy Library, his July 17, 1979 Address to the Nation (commonly referred to as the “Malaise” speech), his Farewell address, and the 1978 and 1979 State of the Union Addresses. Including six speeches from the Carter administration allow for the analysis to be done with and without the Malaise speech. Inclusion of the Malaise speech is somewhat problematic because the purpose of the speech changed dramatically as it developed, meaning that the changes in rhetoric could have resulted from changes in the goals of the speech rather than simply the process.

In order to facilitate analysis, drafts of these speeches were photocopied from the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston, the Gerald R. Ford Library in Ann Arbor, and the Carter Library in Atlanta. The drafts were then put into machine-readable form and then analyzed using DICTION software described below. Because the drafts were often hand-written or included hand-written revisions, automated scanning was not feasible and many passages had to be manually typed.

One of the problems with applying statistical analysis is that these cases do not reflect a random sample of speeches. While an attempt at random selection of speeches could have been attempted, the realities of presidential recordkeeping intervened. First, I was only able to select those speech drafts that survived or could be located. While the White House filing system is generally good, the speechwriting process tends to defy the best practices of the organization. Some speech drafts appear to be missing. Their fate could be that they were simply discarded. Many of the surviving drafts were partial. Some speech drafts were physically cut or ripped into pieces so that the useable pieces could be physically pasted together into a new draft. The chopped up remains of speech drafts testify to the days before computer word-processing came to the White House.

If anything, speeches that received more staff attention were more likely to survive and be chosen for study since they produced the multiple speech drafts required for comparison. Even if a random sample was possible, the time and expense required to gather, copy, and code multiple drafts of enough speeches to be a meaningful sample size is not practical. In general, a full week of research in a presidential library is needed to produce five or six speeches with enough complete drafts to conduct the analysis described

¹⁴ Ford’s brief statement upon being sworn in was not included because sufficient drafts were not available.

here. While it would be possible to do a more in-depth analysis of a single administration, the theoretical leverage gained by a multi-administration analysis is more desirable at this point.

One advantage of abandoning the hope for a random sample is that the researcher can pursue those cases that are especially interesting. While a random sample would yield hypotheses that tell us whether or not staff has an impact in all speeches, the first challenge of this research is to demonstrate that staff can have an impact. The challenge of testing how widespread this effect is can be left to future generations of researchers.

Measures

The measurement of political rhetoric is a difficult task, with many of the most subtle decisions best left in the hands of experts in communication. The DICTION software used in this study was initially developed by Roderick Hart for his 1984 book, *Verbal Style and the Presidency*,¹⁵ and has been refined in the 20 years since. The software evaluates the use of language by looking for the frequency of words from thirty-one different sets of words or “dictionaries” designed to pick up elements of style. Each dictionary (described briefly in Appendix A) yields a semantic score based on the frequency of words from that dictionary. In his study of presidential rhetoric Hart used these scores to compute broader measures based on these specific dictionaries. These “master variables” are designed to summarize the tone of speeches in more general terms: *certainty, optimism, activity, realism, and commonality*.¹⁶

Measuring the “character” of speech

The challenge of evaluating presidential speech here is compounded by the reality that “character” is not easily operationalized and is not fully captured by the master variables created by Hart’s measures. Complicating the task is the argument that character is the core of the person and only frames the behavior of the personality that we observe.¹⁷ Thus, it is the task of this research to take the risky step of measuring presidential rhetoric and apply it to the uncertain topic of presidential personality. Hart’s software is designed to pickup such latent variable, even to the degree to which the motivation behind the selection of such words may be something the author is unaware of or something they prefer to conceal.

Fortunately, one of Hart’s existing “master variables” is a reasonable measure of Barber’s active-passive dimension. The “activity” variable measures language featuring movement, change, and the

¹⁵ Roderick P. Hart, *Verbal Style and the Presidency: A Computer-Based Analysis*, Orlando: Academic Press, Inc., 1984. For a detailed description of the function of the DICTION software see pages 14-24 and Appendices A-D.

¹⁶ Roderick P. Hart, Michael V. Stanton and Tom A. Cox, *DICTION 5.0 The Text-Analysis Program-User’s Manual*, Austin: Digitext, Inc., 2000, 32-37.

¹⁷ James Pfiffner, “Presidential Character is Perspective,” paper presented at the 2001 meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California.

implementation of ideas. Hart computes this variable by adding the scores for the “aggression,” “accomplishment,” “communication,” and “motion” dictionaries and subtracting the dictionary scores for “cognitive terms,” “passivity,” and “embellishment.”¹⁸

Measuring the positive-negative dimension of Barber based on Hart’s measures is more difficult. Hart’s “optimism” master variable most closely resembles measure of positive rhetoric. The optimism score tracks language that is supportive and is computed by adding the dictionaries scores for “praise,” “satisfaction,” and “inspiration” and subtracting the scores for “blame,” “hardship,” and “denial.”

Measuring change

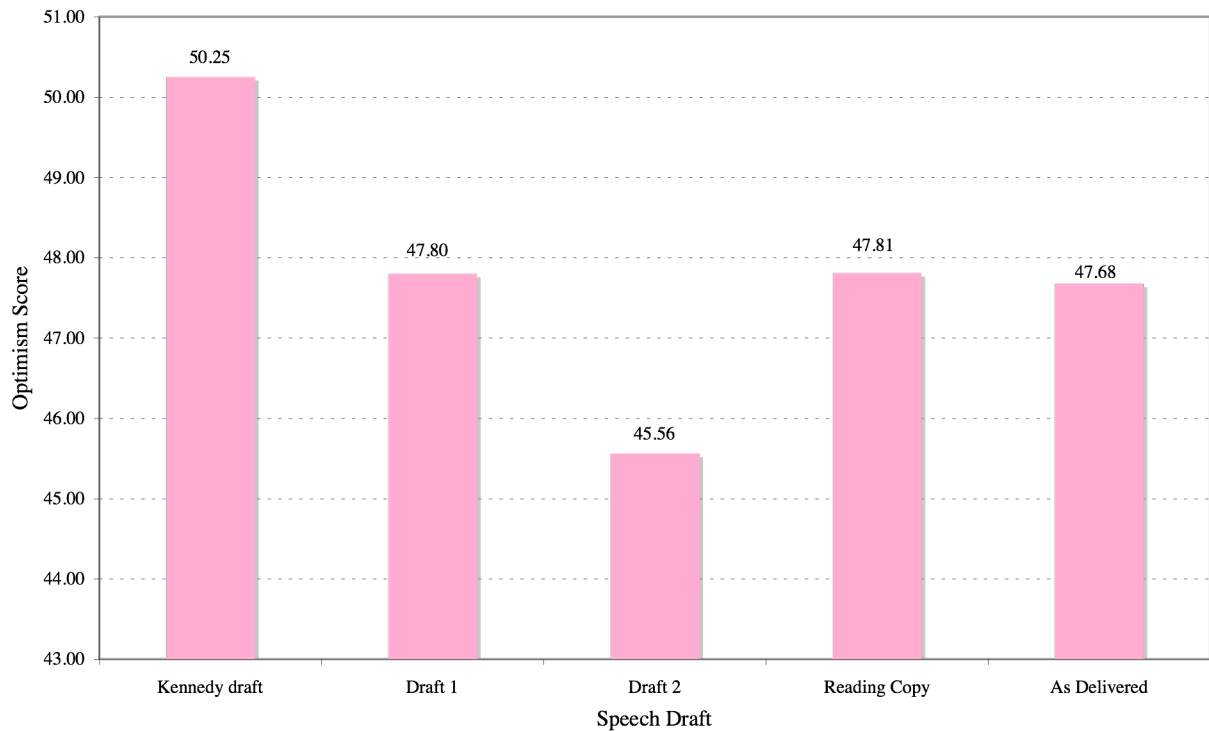
While measuring concepts such as active vs. passive and positive vs. negative presents the first set of challenges, we must also grapple with evaluating the significance of the level of change observed. Because these rhetorical variables are foreign to researchers and their origins generally mysterious to us, they hold little intuitive meaning. While there is little that can be done to create a measure in which readers could intuitively see how important changes were, there are some ways of establishing different benchmarks.

The problem is demonstrated in the first figure that reports levels of optimism (graphed in the color version of the document with rose-colored bars) across the various drafts of Kennedy’s famous inaugural address. The figure shows that optimism on Kennedy’s speech ranged from a high of 50.25 in Kennedy’s first draft, to a low of 45.56 in a later draft, before settling on a middle-ground of 47.68 for the version that Kennedy delivered on January 20, 1961. Clearly, the scores change, but there is little to give the level of changes to these scores a clear meaning.

¹⁸ Hart uses a weighting system to insure that the role of each of the items with the broad measures plays an equal role. The master variables are also adjusted to place them on a similar scale.

Figure 1

Optimism in John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address



One way of putting changes in these scores into a context is to establish a criteria for judging shifts from draft to draft. Fortunately, the DICTION software reports scores that allows the user to compare the speeches analyzed to semantic score a variety of speech types classified into a range of “normative profiles.” The profile utilized for this study is “public policy speeches,” based on DICTION scores from 615 policy speeches delivered by presidents from Harry Truman to Bill Clinton. These speeches closely match the kind of presidential addresses used in this study. The software computes a “normal range” that spans those scores within ± 1 standard deviation of the mean of scores from these 615 speeches in Hart’s database.

Hart constructed the normal range to compare speeches and evaluate how each speech compares to other speeches by other presidents. However, the range can be used in this study to construct a standard of variation between drafts of the same speech. For example, based upon the 615 presidential speeches in Hart’s database, the normal range for the “Optimism” variable ranges from 49.97 to 53.03. One use of this normal range could be used to compare the drafts of Kennedy’s speech to the normal range. However, since different speeches require different tones, that standard would be suspect.

Hart's normal range may be more useful for creating a standard for measuring level of change. Since the normal range from optimism spans from 49.97 to 53.03 the difference between these two (3.03) can be interpreted as the level of variation normally found across different presidential speeches. This variable, here labeled *normal variation*, allows us to focus on the amount of change in rhetoric and to more easily summarize the data so that change across drafts and rhetorical characteristics can be more easily compared.

This paper's use of *normal variation* measure is similar to ANOVA analysis that compares variation across groups to variation within groups. The comparison of different drafts of the same speech to a range of speeches from different presidents sets a high standard. The possibility that the different versions of a single speech from a president might vary more than speeches on a variety of policies promoted by different presidents speaking to different audiences and generations might seem remote. However placing impact of the internal forces of the White House next to the historical forces of all presidential speeches makes a compelling case. Normal variation, the scores for individual master variables, and other scores for all speech drafts studied are reported in Appendices B through D.

Results

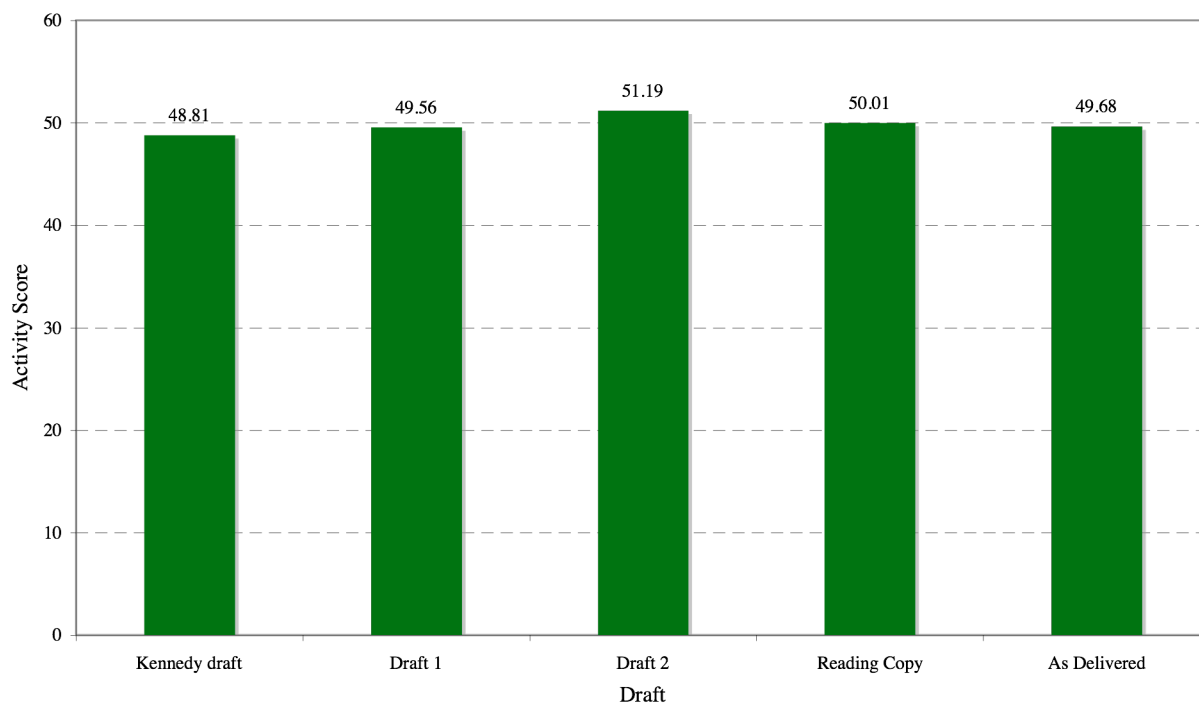
The primary question is to what degree the character we can find in presidential rhetoric fluctuates over the course of the writing and re-writing process. To answer this question we can look to several reference points in attempting to evaluate the level of change observed: (1) measures of variation based on speeches delivered by presidents ("normal variation"), (2) comparisons of speech drafts from inside and outside the White House, and (3) comparisons of variations between drafts studied here.

Figure 2 tracks what may be a traditional, healthy relationship between speechwriter and president on matter related to character. The figure graphs level of "activity" in Kennedy's inaugural address. As the figure shows, the initial handwritten draft of the speech written by Kennedy has a relatively low level of active rhetoric. As the speech is refined and Ted Sorensen makes his contributions to Kennedy's writing, the speech become more active in drafts 1 and 2 which include changes by Sorensen. Eventually, the speech reverts to a level of activity closer to Kennedy's initial draft. This pattern might reveal the impact of the speechwriters, but with the President re-asserting his character in the final drafts—with some of the elements of the speechwriters still lingering.

The significance of this shift is hard to gauge. The normal range for this variable in presidential addresses extends only 47.25 to 52.53. (The vertical axis ranges from 0 to 60 was selected to facilitate comparisons to follow.

Figure 2

Level of Activity by Speech Draft
Kennedy's Inaugural Address



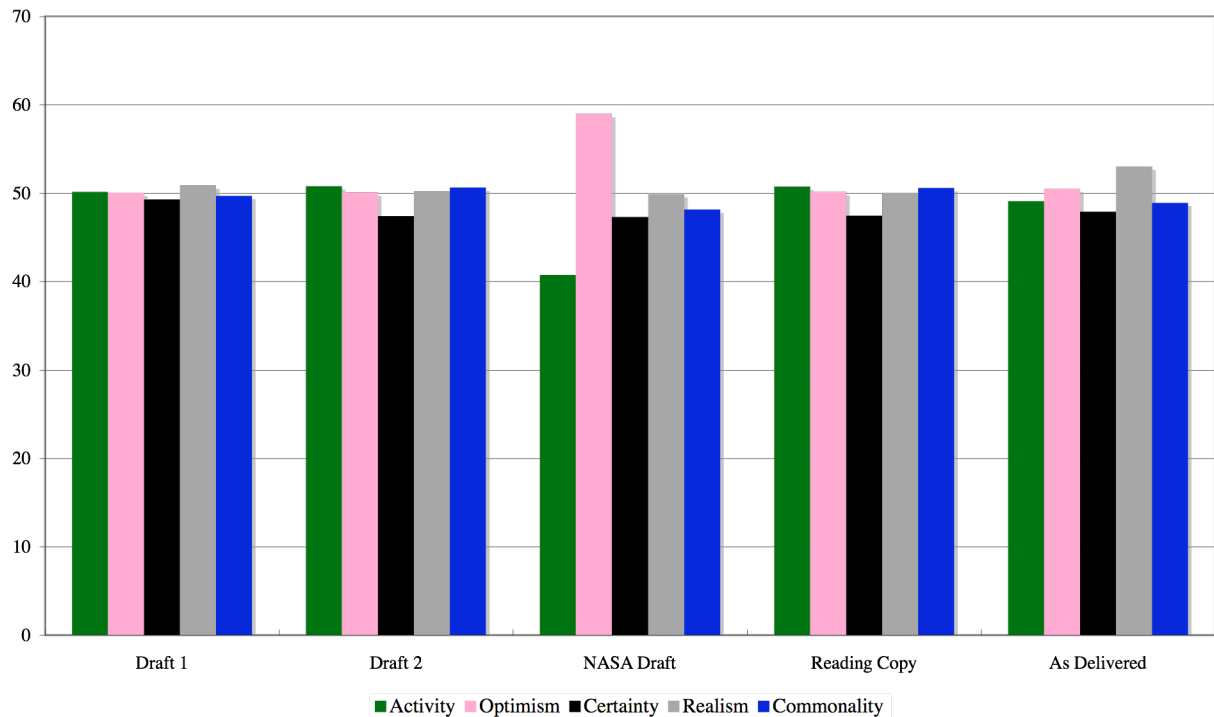
The first question that we should answer here is whether or not the president's rhetoric is altered by the process and whether or not the degree of change differs from administration to administration. If the institutionalization of the speechwriting has an impact, we would expect to find more shifts from draft to draft in the Ford and Carter speeches given the institutionalization that occurred during years after the Kennedy administration

One way of evaluating change within the White House is to see what levels of change occur when drafts from outside the White House are included in the analysis. Fortunately, one of the drafts available for Kennedy's address at Rice University is a draft prepared by NASA for the President's famous address on the future of American space exploration.

As Figure 4 shows, the draft produced by NASA differs significantly from the rhetoric drafted by the White House. The ability of the measure to pick up differences between the White House and other offices suggests that the application of these rhetorical scores can provide some insights into the perspectives of the organizations.

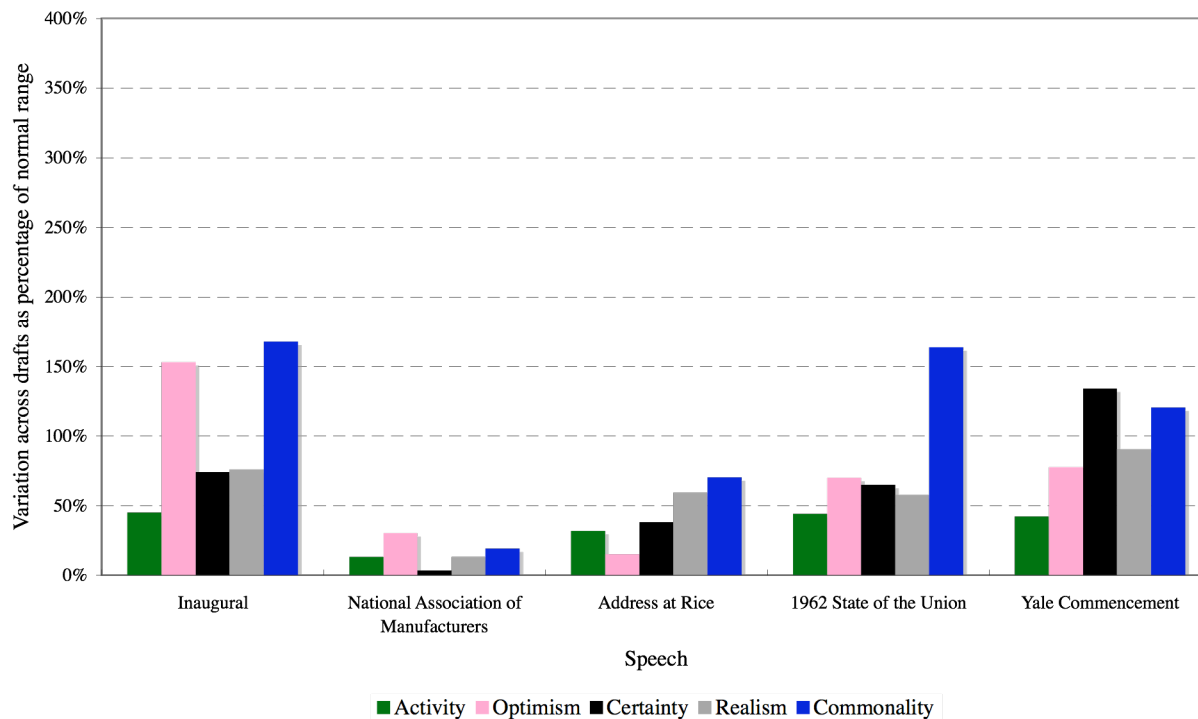
Figure 4

Rhetorical Scores for all drafts of
Kennedy's Speech at Rice University



The comparison of the NASA draft provides only one means of assessing the degree of differences between drafts. Another means is to compare across administrations using Hart's "normal variation" as a yardstick. However, before the "normal variation" measure can help us create a standard across speeches, one further refinement is needed. Comparisons across different rhetorical scores are difficult because, while these variables were computed in a way to have similar means across all kinds of rhetoric, presidential speeches will have different means and deviations. For example, while the *activity* score for presidential speeches normally ranges by over five points (from 47.25 to 52.53), the *commonality* score varies only 2.46 (from 49.91 to 52.37). To standardize measure of the changes in these scores relative to other presidential speech scores specific to each variable, the variation between speech values was divided by the *normal variation* for that variable. This created a *percentage of normal variation* measure that compares the variation on this characteristic of each speech to the degree to which that score varies across all presidential speeches. These are reported for all Kennedy speeches in the Figure 5.

Figure 5

Shift in Rhetorical Scores by Speech
Kennedy Administration

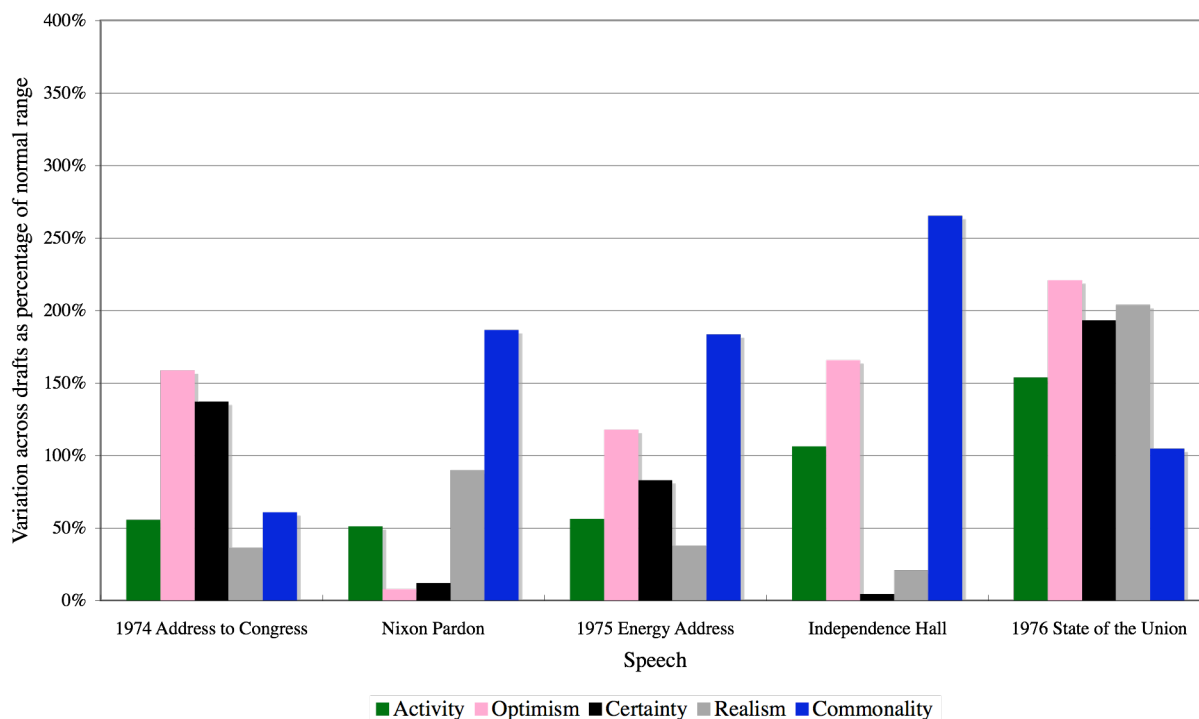
In Figure 5, the vertical axis reflects the percentage of normal variation. For example, the percentage of normal variation in optimism is 153%. This reflects the finding that the score for optimism shifted 4.69 over the drafting process and that Hart's results found that the normal level of variation across all presidential policy speeches was 3.06. Thus, there were greater differences between different drafts of that one speech than Hart found between different speeches by different presidents.

While some scores on some speeches do reflect somewhat significant shifts, as earlier studies have shown that the process behind Kennedy's speeches was a generally stable and relatively orderly process in which speeches change little from draft to draft.¹⁹

More specific to the subject of character, the figure shows the activity variable consistently falls below 50% Optimism, which should bear some resemblance to Barber's positive dimensions is more volatile, although generally staying below 100%.

¹⁹ Ken Collier, "Ghosts in the Machine: Rhetoric and Representation in the White House Speechwriting Process," presented at the *Midwest Political Science Association Meetings*, Chicago, IL, April 2004.

Figure 6

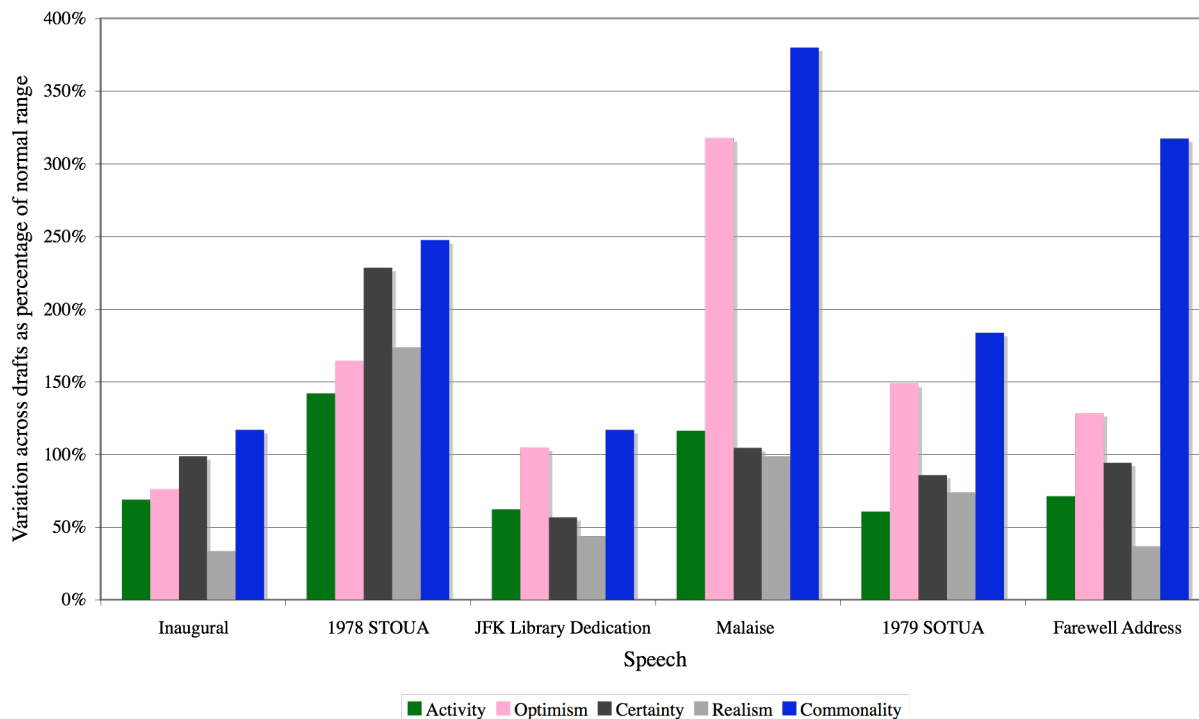
Shift in Rhetorical Scores by Speech
Ford Administration

The data from the Ford White House paints a different picture. As Figure 6 shows, changes to Ford speech drafts seem to be larger. Changes great than 100% of normal variation are common, occurring in just over half of the shifts included (13 out of 25 cases). In the case of the 1976 State of the Union Address, all five variables reflect a significant shift. This is not surprising given the level of turmoil surrounding the drafting of the speech.²⁰

The fate of activity and optimism, the scores most closely linked to character, is more uncertain during the Ford years than under Kennedy. Activity and optimism often prove as volatile as the other variables, suggesting that the battle for control of presidential rhetoric during the Ford years was wide ranging.

²⁰ Ken Collier, "Presidential Staff and Presidential Speech: The institutionalization of White House speechwriting and the perils presidential prose during the Ford Administration," paper presented Southern Political Science Association Meetings, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 2004

Figure 7

Shift in Rhetorical Scores by Speech
Carter Administration

The picture of the Carter White House painted by Figure 7 may be a little mis-leading since it includes both the “Malaise” speech and Carter’s planned Farewell address. Both speeches evolved significantly over their planning and drafting process. The Malaise speech, for example, began its life as an address on energy before gradually changing into a speech about America’s emotional funk.

Even excluding these two unusual cases, the Carter rhetoric demonstrates evidence of turbulence within the White House. While 20% (5 of 25) measures from the Kennedy data show shifts over 100% of normal variation, half of the Carter measures (10 of 20) show such a shift.

The character variables prove to be equally turbulent. *Activity* and *optimism* both shift significantly. Not surprisingly, optimism shifts dramatically over the course of writing and re-writing the “malaise” speech.

Overall, the results from the three administrations analyzed so far provide little evidence that the characteristics of presidential speech are exempt from the struggle for control over the president’s words. Although we might expect the president’s basic character to transcend the internal battles of the White House and be protected from institutional pressure, the personality of presidential words seems to be the product of the institutional battles within the White House.

Conclusion

We expect speechwriters to have an impact on presidential rhetoric. That is what they are hired to do. In some regards the finding that speechwriting and the staffing processes have no impact on speeches would be odd. Too many people labor too many hours to produce no impact. However, the more important question is what kind of impact we expect them to have. Certainly, we expect them to change the tone of the speeches they help craft. We may even expect that they will raise the tone. If, however, they change the character of the speech, we are touching upon a different kind of concern.

Changing the character of presidential speech is to change the character of the presidency. If we have a rhetorical presidency, then it is hard to separate the character of speech from the character of the presidency. And, if the character of presidency is distinct from the character of the president, we have an interesting dilemma.

Of course, there is much more to the character of a presidency than the character of the president's rhetoric. Presidents convey character through words and deeds. However, the role of communication has been a defining characteristic of the modern presidency and there can be little doubt to speech's role in presidential communication.

The data analyzed so far has not successfully detailed patterns of presidential speech development. However, the tumultuous origins of presidential prose are becoming clear. Because of the persuasive power of presidential speech, the shifting rhetoric revealed by the analysis may be interesting in its own right, but it is more important in revealing the internal struggles of the White House as it tries to define the president and presidency. Presidential speech has generally been portrayed as power wielded against other political forces. What we can see of the presidency can be used to learn about political forces that are seldom, if ever, visible to the scholar. The evidence presented here indicates that the White House is a complicated institution with internal divisions that may reach much farther than we had suspected. While political science generally views the presidency as a monolithic entity with one motive and view of the political world, the results demonstrate that the White House is not a single unified institution.

Presidential character has evaded measure since Barber first introduced the concept over thirty years ago. The findings presented here can only provide a rough cut at measuring this elusive concept. However, the results presented here can suggest that the elements of rhetoric linked to Barber's concept of character are subject to the speechwriting process.

Appendix A

DICTION Dictionary and Score Descriptions²²

- ACCOMPLISHMENT:** Words that express completion of tasks (establish, finish, influence, proceed) and organized human behavior (motivated, influence, leader, manage). Includes capitalistic terms (buy, produce, sell), words related to expansion (grow, increase, generate, construction) and general functionality (handling, strengthen, succeed) and programmatic language (agenda, enacted, working, leadership).
- AGGRESSION:** Words that highlight competition and forceful action. This includes physical energy (blast, crash, collide), domination (conquest, attacking, dictatorships, violation), words associated with personal triumph (mastered, rambunctious, pushy), excess human energy (prod, poke, pound, shove), disassembly (dismantle, demolish, overturn, veto) and resistance (prevent, reduce, defend, curbed) are included.
- AMBIVALENCE:** Words expressing hesitation or uncertainty, implying a speaker's inability or unwillingness to commit to the verbalization being made. Included are hedges (allegedly, perhaps, might), statements of inexactness (almost, approximate, vague, somewhere) and confusion (baffled, puzzling, hesitate). Also included are words of restrained possibility (could, would) and mystery (dilemma, guess, suppose, seems).
- BLAME:** Terms designating social inappropriateness (mean, naive, sloppy, stupid) as well as downright evil (fascist, blood-thirsty, repugnant, malicious) compose this dictionary. In addition, adjectives describing unfortunate circumstances (bankrupt, rash, morbid, embarrassing) or unplanned vicissitudes (weary, nervous, painful, detrimental) are included. The dictionary also contains outright denigrations: cruel, illegitimate, offensive, and miserly.
- CENTRALITY:** Terms denoting institutional regularities and/or substantive agreement on core values. Included are indigenous terms (native, basic, innate) and designations of legitimacy (orthodox, decorum, constitutional, ratified), systematicity (paradigm, bureaucratic, ritualistic), and typicality (standardized, matter-of-fact, regularity). Also included are terms of congruence (conformity, mandate, unanimous), predictability (expected, continuity, reliable), and universality (womankind, perennial, landmarks).
- COGNITIVE TERMS:** Words referring to cerebral processes, both functional and imaginative. Included are modes of discovery (learn, deliberate, consider, compare) and domains of study (biology, psychology, logic, economics). The dictionary includes mental challenges (question, forget, re-examine, paradoxes), institutional learning practices (graduation, teaching, classrooms), as well as three forms of intellection: intuitional (invent, perceive, speculate, interpret), rationalistic (estimate, examine, reasonable, strategies), and calculative (diagnose, analyze, software, fact-finding).
- COLLECTIVES:** Singular nouns connoting plurality that function to decrease specificity. These words reflect a dependence on categorical modes of thought. Included are social groupings (crowd, choir, team, humanity), task groups (army, congress, legislature, staff) and geographical entities (county, world, kingdom, republic).
- COMMUNICATION:** Terms referring to social interaction, both face-to-face (listen, interview, read, speak) and mediated (film, videotape, telephone, e-mail). The dictionary includes both modes of intercourse (translate, quote, scripts, broadcast) and moods of intercourse (chat, declare, flatter, demand). Other terms refer to social actors (reporter, spokesperson, advocates, preacher) and a variety of social purposes (hint, rebuke, respond, persuade).
- COMPLEXITY:** A simple measure of the average number of characters-per-word in a given input file. Based on the idea that convoluted phrasings can make ideas abstract and implications unclear.
- CONCRETENESS:** A large dictionary possessing no thematic unity other than tangibility and materiality. Included are sociological units (peasants, African-Americans, Catholics), occupational groups (carpenter, manufacturer, policewoman), and political alignments (Communists, congressman, Europeans). Also incorporated are physical structures (courthouse, temple, store), forms of diversion (television, football, cd-rom), terms of accountancy

²² Roderick T. Hart, *DICTION 5.0 Users Manual*, Austin: Digitex, Inc., 2000, 32-37.

(mortgage, wages, finances), and modes of transportation (airplane, ship, bicycle). In addition, the dictionary includes body parts (stomach, eyes, lips), articles of clothing (slacks, pants, shirt), household animals (cat, insects, horse) and foodstuffs (wine, grain, sugar), and general elements of nature (oil, silk, sand).

COOPERATION: Terms designating behavioral interactions among people that often result in a group product. Included are designations of formal work relations (unions, schoolmates, caucus) and informal associations (chum, partner, cronies) to more intimate interactions (sisterhood, friendship, comrade). Also included are neutral interactions (consolidate, mediate, alignment), job-related tasks (network, detente, exchange), personal involvement (teamwork, sharing, contribute), and self-denial (public-spirited, care-taking, self-sacrifice).

DENIAL: A dictionary consisting of standard negative contractions (aren't, shouldn't, don't), negative function words (nor, not, nay), and terms designating null sets (nothing, nobody, none).

DIVERSITY: Words describing individuals or groups of individuals differing from the norm. Such distinctiveness may be comparatively neutral (inconsistent, contrasting, non-conformist) but it can also be positive (exceptional, unique, individualistic) and negative (illegitimate, rabble-rouser, extremist). Functionally, heterogeneity may be an asset (far-flung, dispersed, diffuse) or a liability (factionalism, deviancy, quirky) as can its characterizations: rare vs. queer, variety vs. jumble, distinctive vs. disobedient.

EMBELLISHMENT: A selective ratio of adjectives to verbs. Embellishment is calculated according to the following formula: [Praise + Blame +1] ÷ [Present Concern + Past Concern +1]

EXCLUSION: A dictionary describing the sources and effects of social isolation. Such seclusion can be phrased passively (displaced, sequestered) as well as positively (self-contained, self-sufficient) and negatively (outlaws, repudiated). Moreover, it can result from voluntary forces (secede, privacy) and involuntary forces (ostracize, forsake, discriminate) and from both personality factors (small-mindedness, loneliness) and political factors (right-wingers, nihilism). Exclusion is often a dialectical concept: hermit vs. derelict, refugee vs. pariah, discard vs. spurn).

FAMILIARITY: Consists of a selected number of words that are the most common words in the English language. Included are common prepositions (across, over, through), demonstrative pronouns (this, that) and interrogative pronouns (who, what), and a variety of particles, conjunctions and connectives (a, for, so).

HARDSHIP: This dictionary contains natural disasters (earthquake, starvation, tornado, pollution), hostile actions (killers, bankruptcy, enemies, vices) and censurable human behavior (infidelity, despots, betrayal). It also includes unsavory political outcomes (injustice, slavery, exploitation, rebellion) as well as normal human fears (grief, unemployment, died, apprehension) and in capacities (error, cop-outs, weakness).

HUMAN INTEREST: Includes standard personal pronouns (he, his, ourselves, them), family members and relations (cousin, wife, grandchild, uncle), and generic terms (friend, baby, human, persons) because concentrating on people and their activities gives rhetoric a life-like quality.

INSISTENCE: A measure of the repetition of key terms that may indicate a preference for presented a limited or ordered view. All words occurring three or more times that function as nouns or noun-derived adjectives are identified and the following calculation performed: [Number of Eligible Words x Sum of their Occurrences] ÷ 10.

INSPIRATION: Abstract virtues deserving of universal respect. Most of the terms in this dictionary are nouns isolating desirable moral qualities (faith, honesty, self-sacrifice, virtue) as well as attractive personal qualities (courage, dedication, wisdom, mercy). Social and political ideals are also included: patriotism, success, education, and justice.

LEVELING: A dictionary of words that build a sense of completeness and assurance used by ignoring individual differences. Included are totalizing terms (everybody, anyone, each, fully), adverbs of permanence (always, completely, inevitably, consistently), and resolute adjectives (unconditional, consummate, absolute, open-and-shut).

LIBERATION: Terms describing the maximizing of individual choice (autonomous, open-minded, options) and the rejection of social conventions (unencumbered, radical, released). Liberation is motivated by both personality factors (eccentric, impetuous, flighty) and political forces (suffrage, liberty, freedom, emancipation) and may produce dramatic outcomes (exodus, riotous, deliverance) or subdued effects (loosen, disentangle,

outpouring). Liberatory terms also admit to rival characterizations: exemption vs. loophole, elope vs. abscond, uninhibited vs. outlandish.

MOTION: Terms connoting human movement (bustle, job, lurch, leap), physical processes (circulate, momentum, revolve, twist), journeys (barnstorm, jaunt, wandering, travels), speed (nimble, zip), and modes of transit (ride, fly, glide, swim).

NUMERICAL TERMS: Any sum, date, or product specifying the facts in a given case. The presumption is that these term hyper-specify a claim and detracting from its universality.

PASSIVITY: Words ranging from neutrality to inactivity. Includes terms of compliance (allow, tame), docility (submit, contented), and cessation (arrested, refrain, yielding). This dictionary also contains references to inertness (backward, immobile, inhibit), disinterest (unconcerned, nonchalant, stoic), and tranquility (quietly, sleepy).

PAST CONCERN: The past- tense forms of the verbs contained in the Present Concern dictionary.

PRAISE: Affirmations of some person, group, or abstract entity. Included are adjectives describing important social qualities (dear, delightful, witty), physical qualities (mighty, handsome, beautiful), intellectual qualities (shrewd, bright, reasonable), entrepreneurial qualities (successful, conscientious, renowned), and moral qualities (faithful, good, noble).

PRESENT CONCERN: This dictionary includes a selective list of present-tense verbs and is not topic-specific. This score points to general physical activity (cough, taste, sing, take), social operations (canvass, touch, govern, meet), and task-performance (make, cook, print, paint).

RAPPORT: This dictionary describes attitudinal similarities among groups of people. Included are terms of affinity (congenial, camaraderie, companion), assent (approve, vouched, warrants), deference (tolerant, willing, permission), and id entity (equivalent, resemble, consensus).

SATISFACTION: Terms associated with positive affective states (cheerful, passionate, happiness), with moments of undiminished joy (thanks, smile, welcome) and pleasurable diversion (excited, fun, lucky), or with moments of triumph (celebrating, pride, auspicious).

SELF-REFERENCE: All first-person references. This dictionary track how often the locus of action appears to be the speaker and not in the world at large.

SPATIAL AWARENESS: Terms referring to geographical entities and physical distances. Included are general geographical terms (abroad, elbow-room, local, outdoors) as well as references to specific locations such as nations. Also included are politically defined locations (county, fatherland, municipality, ward), points on the compass (east, southwest), terms of scale (kilometer, map, spacious), and other references to geographic terms (latitude, coastal, border, snowbelt). This dictionary also measure as well as quality (vacant, out-of-the-way, disoriented) and change (pilgrimage, migrated, frontier) in geography.

TEMPORAL AWARENESS: Terms that fix a person, idea, or event within a specific time-interval, thereby signaling a concern for concrete and practical matters. The dictionary designates literal time (century, instant, mid-morning) as well as metaphorical designations (lingering, seniority, nowadays), calendrical terms (autumn, year-round, weekend), elliptical terms (spontaneously, postpone, transitional), and judgmental terms (premature, obsolete, punctual).

TENACITY: These verbs that connote confidence and totality. This dictionary analyzes all uses of the verb “to be” (is, am, will, shall), three definitive verb forms (has, must, do) and their variants, as well as all associated contraction.

VARIETY: This measure divides the number of different words in a passage by the passage’s total words. A high score reflects an avoidance of overstatement and a preference for precise statements.

Appendix B

Computation of Hart's Master Variables

CERTAINTY: Language that reflect resoluteness, inflexibility, completeness, and a tendency to speak from a position of authority or rank.

Formula: [Tenacity + Leveling + Collectives + Insistence.] - [Numerical Terms + Ambivalence + Self Reference + Variety]

OPTIMISM: Language that supports some person, group, concept or event or highlights their positive qualities.

Formula: [*Praise + Satisfaction + Inspiration*] - [*Blame + Hardship + Denial*]

ACTIVITY: Language featuring movement, change, the implementation of ideas.

Formula: [Aggression + Accomplishment + Communication + Motion] - [Cognitive Terms + Passivity + Embellishment]

REALISM: Language describing tangible, immediate, recognizable matters that affect people's everyday lives.

Formula: [Familiarity + Spatial Awareness + Temporal Awareness + Present Concern + Human Interest + Concreteness] - [Past Concern + Complexity]

COMMONALITY SCORE: Language highlighting the agreed-upon values of and rejecting idiosyncratic modes of engagement.

Formula: [*Centrality + Cooperation + Rapport*] - [*Diversity + Exclusion + Liberation*]

Appendix C

Rhetorical Scores for all Kennedy White House Drafts

Normative Group-615 Presidential Speeches						
Draft	Activity	Optimism	Certainty	Realism	Commonality	
<i>Normal Range-Low</i>	47.25	49.97	47.68	48.42	49.91	
<i>Normal Range-High</i>	52.53	53.03	52.59	53.47	52.37	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
Inaugural Address 1/20/1961						
Draft	Activity	Optimism	Certainty	Realism	Commonality	
<i>Kennedy draft</i>	48.81	50.25	52.71	56.38	48.26	
<i>Draft 1</i>	49.56	47.80	50.44	53.70	51.79	
<i>Draft 2</i>	51.19	45.56	49.07	52.53	52.38	
<i>Reading Copy</i>	50.01	47.81	50.45	54.07	52.39	
<i>As Delivered</i>	49.68	47.68	50.36	54.29	52.35	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	2.38	4.69	3.64	3.85	4.13	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	45%	153%	74%	76%	168%	
National Association of Manufacturers 12/6/1961						
Draft	Activity	Optimism	Certainty	Realism	Commonality	
<i>Draft 1</i>	52.43	49.03	49.23	51.12	50.18	
<i>Reading Copy</i>	51.73	49.96	49.25	50.48	50.65	
<i>As Delivered</i>	51.91	49.43	49.08	50.45	50.53	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	0.7	0.93	0.17	0.67	0.47	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	13%	30%	3%	13%	19%	
Rice University Address 9/12/1962						
Draft	Activity	Optimism	Certainty	Realism	Commonality	
<i>Draft 1</i>	50.15	50.06	49.32	50.93	49.7	
<i>Draft 2</i>	50.82	50.1	47.44	50.28	50.64	
<i>NASA Draft</i>	40.76	59.03	47.34	49.91	48.15	
<i>Reading Copy</i>	50.76	50.16	47.46	50.06	50.63	
<i>As Delivered</i>	49.13	50.52	47.92	53.06	48.91	
<i>Maximum shift including NASA Draft</i>	10.06	8.97	1.98	3.15	2.49	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	191%	293%	40%	62%	101%	
<i>Maximum shift excluding NASA draft</i>	1.69	0.46	1.88	3	1.73	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	32%	15%	38%	59%	70%	
1962 State of the Union Address 1/11/1962						
Draft	Activity	Optimism	Certainty	Realism	Commonality	
<i>Draft #1</i>	47.79	49.89	46.05	49.26	50.85	
<i>Reading Copy</i>	50.13	47.75	48.94	52.18	46.82	
<i>As Delivered</i>	49.9	47.92	49.24	50.69	47.65	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	2.34	2.14	3.19	2.92	4.03	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	44%	70%	65%	58%	164%	
Yale Commencement Address 6/11/1962						
Draft	Activity	Optimism	Certainty	Realism	Commonality	
<i>Sorensen Draft #1</i>	49.48	48.55	49.10	47.59	48.75	
<i>Sorensen Draft #2</i>	47.84	46.20	50.01	51.34	50.70	
<i>Sorensen Draft #3</i>	49.23	48.09	48.80	49.51	48.74	
<i>Undated draft</i>	47.30	46.61	51.69	48.25	50.95	
<i>Schlesinger Draft #1</i>	47.24	47.56	45.10	48.19	51.09	
<i>Schlesinger Draft #2</i>	47.85	46.17	49.84	51.19	50.70	
<i>Reading Copy</i>	49.35	47.66	49.04	50.43	48.12	
<i>As Delivered</i>	48.68	46.40	49.78	52.16	49.28	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	2.24	2.38	6.59	4.57	2.97	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	42%	78%	134%	90%	121%	

Appendix D

Rhetorical Scores for all Ford White House Drafts

Normative Group-615 Presidential Speeches						
	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
<i>Normal Range-Low</i>	47.25	49.97	47.68	48.42	49.91	
<i>Normal Range-High</i>	52.53	53.03	52.59	53.47	52.37	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
1974 Address to Congress 8/12/1974						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft #1	47.84	55.74	58.50	52.84	55.16	
Draft #2	49.06	51.64	51.76	54.53	54.09	
Draft #3	49.09	50.88	51.78	54.68	53.94	
Draft #4	50.78	51.12	54.13	54.32	55.44	
Draft #5	50.79	51.29	54.00	54.00	55.35	
Reading Copy	50.70	51.10	53.68	53.99	55.19	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	2.95	4.86	6.74	1.84	1.5	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	56%	159%	137%	36%	61%	
Nixon Pardon Speech 9/8/1974						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft #1	41.70	49.85	50.02	51.83	50.04	
Reading Copy	44.16	50.05	50.61	47.54	45.45	
As Delivered	44.40	50.09	50.57	47.29	45.83	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	2.70	0.24	0.59	4.54	4.59	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	51%	8%	12%	90%	187%	
Energy Address 5/27/1975						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft X	50.33	48.74	57.25	51.71	50.87	
Draft #1	51.64	49.24	53.17	50.77	52.28	
Draft #2	53.30	46.46	55.67	52.34	49.66	
Reading Copy	51.94	45.63	55.99	52.69	47.76	
As Delivered	52.48	45.94	53.37	52.61	47.83	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	2.97	3.61	4.08	1.92	4.52	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	56%	118%	83%	38%	184%	
Bicentennial Speech-Independence Hall 7/ 4/1976						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft B1	46.78	59.44	55.61	52.26	50.03	
Draft B2	49.97	54.37	55.46	51.96	48.64	
Draft D1	52.39	55.11	55.56	51.20	54.32	
As Delivered	50.42	54.64	55.69	52.09	47.79	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	5.61	5.07	0.23	1.06	6.53	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	106%	166%	5%	21%	265%	
1976 State of the Union Address 1/12/1976						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft #1	49.55	53.66	58.59	52.85	50.60	
Draft #3	47.64	50.91	49.09	49.45	51.91	
Draft #6	42.84	57.67	54.53	59.75	51.80	
Draft #8	50.97	52.30	56.47	54.16	51.27	
As Delivered	50.08	53.32	56.34	53.69	53.18	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	8.13	6.76	9.50	10.30	2.58	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	154%	221%	193%	204%	105%	

Appendix E

Rhetorical Scores for all Carter White House Drafts

Normative Group-615 Presidential Speeches						
	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
<i>Normal Range-Low</i>	47.25	49.97	47.68	48.42	49.91	
<i>Normal Range-High</i>	52.53	53.03	52.59	53.47	52.37	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
Inaugural Address 1/20/1977						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft #1	45.86	54.50	52.82	50.53	53.34	
Hertzberg Draft #1	47.84	52.17	50.46	49.73	50.87	
Draft #2	47.95	53.99	50.16	50.31	52.29	
Draft #2	48.14	53.36	49.70	48.83	50.88	
Draft #2a	46.94	53.71	50.18	48.85	52.65	
Draft #3	46.61	53.65	47.96	49.78	51.33	
Draft #4	46.99	52.83	48.24	50.13	50.92	
Reading Copy	46.01	53.22	48.29	49.98	50.66	
As Delivered	44.50	53.43	48.71	49.97	50.46	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	3.64	2.33	4.86	1.70	2.88	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	69%	76%	99%	34%	117%	
State of the Union Address 1/19/1978						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft 5	0.53	4.70	49.70	53.84	49.65	
Draft 5A	0.70	4.24	54.66	58.06	40.24	
Draft 5A2	0.59	4.55	51.14	57.26	51.00	
Draft 6	0.54	4.68	49.02	53.85	50.46	
Draft 7	0.57	4.78	48.33	55.85	49.87	
Draft 6A	0.58	4.78	48.20	55.83	49.67	
Draft 7A	0.60	4.57	48.43	57.64	51.47	
Reading Copy	0.58	4.71	47.16	55.96	50.36	
As Delivered	0.59	4.61	49.39	58.87	50.54	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	7.50	5.03	11.23	8.77	6.09	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	142%	164%	229%	174%	248%	
Dedication of the John F. Kennedy Library 10/20/79						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft B1	48.33	51.17	50.32	51.19	47.46	
Draft B2	48.96	51.6	48.49	51.01	49.05	
Cutler Draft	46.26	53.84	47.53	50.94	50.34	
Draft P1	49.55	50.63	48.96	52.65	48.02	
Reading Copy	46.31	50.97	49.06	53.04	49.09	
As Delivered	47.97	51.01	49.46	53.15	49.02	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	5.61	5.07	0.23	1.06	6.53	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	106%	166%	5%	21%	265%	
Malaise Speech 7/15/1979						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft 1	56.15	46.1	49.65	50.26	43.95	
Draft 3	56.54	55.82	44.51	50.06	47.68	
Sundquist Draft	50.59	54.04	46.52	55.05	53.3	
Stewart Draft	52.62	49.21	49.12	51.71	50.84	
As Delivered	50.39	52.5	47.58	51.45	50.41	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	6.15	9.72	5.14	4.99	9.35	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	116%	318%	105%	99%	380%	

1979 State of the Union Address 1/25/1979						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft #1	0.54	4.53	47.45	51.26	51.48	
Draft 1R	0.50	4.49	47.98	51.91	52.34	
12/26/78 Draft	0.47	4.27	50.66	49.73	48.12	
Draft #3	0.53	4.53	47.66	51.21	51.81	
Rack Draft	0.53	4.86	49.15	48.66	50.76	
Nesmith	0.53	4.64	47.73	51.40	51.66	
As Delivered	0.54	4.69	49.05	53.21	51.70	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	3.21	4.55	4.22	3.73	4.52	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	61%	149%	86%	74%	184%	
Farewell Address 1/25/1979						
<i>Draft</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Optimism</i>	<i>Certainty</i>	<i>Realism</i>	<i>Commonality</i>	
Draft #A1	48.42	52.5	45.03	51.92	49.55	
Draft #B2	48.53	51.29	48.68	51.23	49.51	
Draft #B1	48.23	48.57	46.25	50.46	49.76	
Draft LNC1	50.35	50.13	49.41	51.41	41.95	
As Delivered	46.59	52.06	44.78	52.32	48.09	
<i>Maximum shift</i>	3.76	3.93	4.63	1.86	7.81	
<i>Normal Variation</i>	5.28	3.06	4.91	5.05	2.46	
<i>As % of normal variation</i>	71%	128%	94%	37%	317%	