

**TALKING THE TALK:
PARTISAN DIFFERENCES IN THE USE OF RELIGIOUS RHETORIC**

Abstract

While previous scholars have examined Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush's use of religious rhetoric, much of this research has focused on Republican presidents without examining the prospect of "religious trespass" by Democratic candidates. Although scholars have explored several administrations, their studies focused primarily on Inaugurals and States of the Union. This research hopes to fill a gap in the literature by analyzing a comprehensive data set of campaign speeches throughout the 2008 election season. We pay particular attention to the three presidential candidates, Hillary Clinton, John McCain and Barack Obama. We use content analysis software to test categories of religious rhetoric that had been identified, as well as new categories that we have developed from religious key word dictionaries. We find that in 2008 both parties utilized religious rhetorical appeals and that Democratic candidates may strategically engage in religious trespass.

Keywords

Presidential Campaigns and Elections; Partisan Differences; Religious Rhetoric; Religious Trespass; 2008 Election; Political Rhetoric;

Talking the Talk: Partisan Differences in the Use of Religious Rhetoric

“Now, some of you may have heard me talk about the Joshua generation. But there's a story I want to share that takes place before Moses passed the mantle of leadership on to Joshua. It comes from Deuteronomy 30 when Moses talks to his followers about the challenges they'll find when they reach the Promised Land without him. To the Joshua generation, these challenges seem momentous - and they are. But Moses says: What I am commanding you is not too difficult for you or beyond your reach. It is not up in heaven. Nor is it beyond the sea. No, the word is very near. It is on your lips and in your heart.”

Barack Obama, June 23, 2007, Hartford, CT.

Introduction

Even though the election of Jimmy Carter, a Democrat and born again Christian, led the media to proclaim 1976 as “the year of the evangelical,”¹ there has been minimal attention paid to the use of religious rhetoric by Democratic presidents. Instead, scholars have scrutinized the ways that Republican presidents, especially George W. Bush, employ religious language to mobilize their electoral base (Guth et. al., 2006; Smith 2008). Their employment of faith-based language is viewed as a sharp break from earlier presidents’ use of “civil religion” rhetoric that sought to evoke common American “beliefs, symbols, and rituals” to provide a framework for interpreting the country’s history in transcendent terms. While important, we believe these recent studies have left some very important areas unexplored. Not only has the research failed

to pay sufficient attention to the rhetoric of Democrats,² it has focused on a very limited subset of speeches, generally Inaugural Addresses and State of the Union Messages. Although very significant forms of political communication, we would argue these speeches are distinctly different from most political speech. Inaugural Addresses and State of the Union Messages are designed to reach the broadest possible cross section of the American public. As such, we would expect these speeches to include high levels of civil religion terminology, but not necessarily as much use of other more narrow types of religious rhetoric as one might find in speeches designed to mobilize specific sectors of the electorate.

This study is designed to address gaps in the extant literature by analyzing a much fuller range of political rhetoric. Our basic data set is comprised of campaign speeches given by presidential candidates during the period leading up to the 2008 election. We selected this campaign because it included a very diverse group of candidates and the absence of an incumbent meant that both parties had sharply contested primaries. This is a very rich data set, encompassing both speeches directed at national audiences, as well as those given to smaller subsets of the electorate. It allows us to test whether Democrats and Republicans are equally likely to use religious rhetoric, and whether there are partisan differences in the types of religious language used. We also can see whether there are differences between the primary season and the general election, as well as whether venue and timing in the campaign matter.

Framing the Research

The United States is unusual in terms of both the high degree of religiosity, when compared with other nations at a similar level of economic development, and the importance of religious belief in shaping political preferences among the electorate (Olson and Warber 2008;

Norris 2009; Weber and Thornton, 2012). Scholars were slow in recognizing the significance of religion as a predictor of political behavior, but that changed in the early 1990's with the success of Republican candidates in mobilizing support from evangelicals and other conservative religious identifiers.³ Although most of the research examines the relationship between religiosity and voting, studies have explored the ways in which politicians, typically presidents, strategically use religiously infused language. As Olson and Warber (2008, 201) note, "Not only do presidents appeal to specific religious constituencies for electoral and policy support, but ordinary Americans also appear to respond to presidents differently on the basis of their religious affiliation, commitment, and beliefs."

Prior to the presidency of George W. Bush, the research had been limited to qualitative studies of the ways that presidents used what Bellah (1967; 2005) labeled "civil religion" discourse. Studies found that presidents from both political parties routinely used phrases, such as "One nation under God" or "God Bless America" (Bellah, 2005).⁴ But as evangelicals solidly aligned with the Republican party,⁵ researchers began to posit that Republicans, in particular, George W. Bush, were heightening their use of religious rhetoric to appeal to those voters. Several reasons explain why the Bush presidency became the focus of much of the scholarly work. First, Bush self-identified as an evangelical publically and often spoke of his conversion experience.⁶ Second, his administration consciously sought to strengthen bonds with religious conservatives and that appeared to be reflected in their use of more religious language. Brint and Arbutyn (2009, 133) go so far as to describe the Bush White House as providing a "blueprint for mobilizing and managing the religious constituency."

An example of this new research is Coe and Domke's (2006) analysis of Inaugural Addresses and State of the Union Messages from 1933-2005. They extend the previous research

in two important ways. First, they employ statistical measures rather than relying solely on close textual analyses. Second, they wanted to test whether there really was a shift in the manner that presidents invoked religious themes. Instead of only measuring the prevalence of what they labeled as “God Talk,” the use of words, such as “God,” “the Almighty,” “Divine Power,” and “Providence” that would be consistent with civil religion, Coe and Domke (2006, 316) tested whether presidents had begun linking those terms with language evoking what they labeled as “freedom/liberty discourse.” This group includes words, such as “freedom,” “free,” “liberty,” and liberties.”⁷ They argue that when these two forms of discourse are merged, the speaker has taken on a prophetic discursive posture. Rather than asking God’s guidance as a petitioner, the speaker is asserting that he or she knows what the deity wishes and is speaking on His behalf.⁸ As expected, they found that Reagan and George W. Bush changed the traditional pattern of religious language. They had significantly higher levels of both God talk and freedom/liberty discourse. But even more interestingly, their use of the aforementioned prophetic discursive posture was far higher than any previous president.⁹ Based on their research, the authors strongly suggest that scholars should “cease to assume that such rhetoric is purely---or even primarily---ceremonial” (Coe and Domke 2006, 325). They also suggest that scholars expand the study of presidential religious rhetoric to see whether discursive themes are also present that are designed to appeal to the religious liberals.

Additional support for the view that recent Republican presidents have increased their use of religious rhetoric is provided by Kuo (2006), who served in the George W. Bush administration. According to Kuo (2006), Bush speechwriters used what they termed “the code.” This rhetorical strategy used religiously infused language designed to signal to evangelicals that the speaker was part of their community, but that likely would not be recognized as religious

cues by individuals outside of that group.¹⁰ As such, “the code” served as a heuristic to signal a shared social identity as evangelical Christians. Political scientists, Calfano and Djupe (2009, 332-333), operationalized “the code” as having three elements designed to appeal to white evangelicals: a land statement, a worth statement and a power statement.¹¹ In survey experiments the authors found that “the code” worked “almost precisely” as intended. They found that evangelicals recognized and responded favorably to the in-group language, but that it was not recognized by most out-group members.

Studying Republicans’ use of religious rhetoric remains instructive, but these candidates do not hold a monopoly on these types of appeals. To ignore Democratic candidates’ use of religious rhetoric may miss important contours of the political communication strategies of presidential campaigns. Given the scope of the data set we are using, we believe that this study will fill a void in the existing literature of presidential rhetoric by including Democratic candidates.

Data Set of Campaign Speeches

As noted earlier, the 2008 presidential election is a particularly good case study because the absence of an incumbent president gave us an opportunity to examine the use of religiously infused campaign language during both contested primary and general elections. The protracted process of the primaries followed by the general campaign also allowed us to explore trends in the use of religious rhetoric throughout the entire election season. Campaign speeches provide candidates with instantaneous access to the public and the potential for even greater reach through media reports (Lammers 1982). Speeches allow candidates to discuss issues and distinguish themselves from opponents without interruption from political commentators or the

media (Ragsdale 1984). While looking at the broadest range of campaign speeches for language usage reveals the overall thrust of a given candidate's message, we suggest religious rhetoric constitutes a special class of political appeal that resonates in high-profile speeches and cannot be overlooked. We propose that candidates strategically engage in religious speech to highlight differences and validate their credentials when seeking faith-based voters.

If candidates are strategically engaging in religious rhetoric, then their motivations are central to understanding the phenomenon. Some candidates may find themselves at a disadvantage when seeking faith-based voters either by virtue of their partisan label or public questioning of their personal faith. Potentially, these candidates without established religious credentials may see a strategic advantage to using religious rhetoric to engage in "religious trespassing." Thus, they make an attempt to capture faith-based voters from an opponent. Previous scholarship (Hayes 2005) has shown that candidates have been willing to "trait-trespass" as well as "issue-trespass" (Petrocik 1996) when they feel it may be advantageous, but no one has examined "religious trespassing." Considering candidates are willing to trespass in other areas, it is logical that candidates, particularly Democratic candidates, would consider "religious-trespassing" as well, especially in a contest where there is not a strongly religious Republican candidate, such as in the 2008 campaign.

Our data set, made up of 475 speeches delivered by candidates during the 2008 presidential electoral campaign, is summarized in Table 1. The data set includes televised and stump speeches from the primaries delivered between January 2007 and the party conventions in August and September 2008. Additionally, we include general election speeches by Obama and McCain. The speeches were drawn from the American Presidency Project Online (Woolley and Gerhard 2010) and include all candidate speeches longer than 500 words.

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

The speeches in the data set do not represent the entirety of the speeches made by the candidates during the campaign – just those available in transcribed format exceeding 500 words. Approximately sixty percent of the speeches in the data set were made by Democratic candidates. The apparent imbalance between speeches made by Republican and Democratic candidates reflects the sustained competition among Democratic candidates that continued several months longer than among the Republicans. John McCain had secured the Republican nomination by the end of February, but Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton competed for the Democratic nomination until early June. This partisan difference reflects the strong candidacy of Hillary Clinton. During the Democratic primaries, Hillary Clinton delivered almost as many speeches as Barack Obama. The division of speeches between Barack Obama and John McCain, once they secured their respective party’s nominations, is more evenly balanced.

Methodological Approach

Computer-aided textual analysis allows us to examine the word choices made by the candidates themselves within the narrow context of each individual speech, and the wider context of the campaign. In analyzing the use of religious language, textual analysis allows us to explore when and how candidates employ religion in appealing to voters. Computer-aided textual analysis eliminates many of the drawbacks of standard textual analysis intrinsic to human coding (Popping 2000). It facilitates the examination of subtleties within a text that might not be evident to hand coders and without the bias that can result “when something as volatile and

emotional as politics is examined by something as volatile and emotional as a human being” (Hart 1984, 101). An additional feature of computer-aided content analysis is that it allows almost instantaneous processing of large amounts of textual data, which is not possible with hand coding (Hart and Childers 2005).

Inherent in this approach is the assumption that words matter, particularly when those words carry the weight and charge of religious language. A potential limitation of computer-aided textual analysis is that in using additivity to produce scores for the different lexical categories, it conflates frequency with salience. We believe that this is not a problem with religious rhetoric because these terms have special resonance within American political discourse (Bellah 2005). In comparing the use of religious rhetoric, we examine not only who, and when, but also how religious rhetoric was used on the campaign trail by assessing the political and affective tone of other language used in conjunction with religion.

Since our goal is to analyze the use of religious language in relation to the overall tone of candidates’ rhetoric, we decided to utilize two different software programs that have taken slightly different approaches. Hart, Childers and Lind (2013, 9) define tone as: “a tool people use (sometimes unwittingly) to create distinct social impressions via word choice.” DICTION 6.0 is software grounded in linguistic theory that was specifically designed to analyze political discourse and includes 33 custom dictionaries, a number of which were specifically developed to assess political tone (Hart, 1984, 2000, 2013). We also used Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) software, which was developed to study emotional, cognitive and structural components of verbal and written language samples (Pennebaker et al. 2007). In addition to word categories similar to DICTION’s custom dictionaries, LIWC includes measures of linguistic dimensions (pronouns, articles, etc.) and punctuation. Within its word categories, LIWC includes measures

of positive and negative emotional tone. Both LIWC and DICTION include categories for religious language.

Both of these software programs have been used to examine rhetoric within a number of contexts. DICTION is the tool most widely used in analyzing American political rhetoric and has been the method of choice in over 100 journal publications ranging from using financial texts to predict financial events (Cecchini et al. 2010) to examining the rhetoric of Islamic activists (Hart and Lind 2011), and charting charisma in presidential rhetoric and media responses to it in the aftermath of September 11 (Bligh et al. 2004). Although LIWC was initially designed to analyze “emotional writing,” (Rude, Gortner, and Pennebaker 2004) it has also been used in political contexts including an assessment of Rudy Giuliani’s response to the tragedy of September 11, 2001 (Pennebaker and Lay 2002), to track the emotional tone of the rhetoric used by John Kerry and John Edwards in the 2004 primaries (Pennebaker, Slatcher, and Chung 2005), and infer personality characteristics and emotional states of candidates in the 2004 presidential election (Slatcher et al. 2007).

The Rhetorical Lexicons Used in Our Research

LIWC and DICTION employ different classifications in compiling their religious lexicons. LIWC’s approach is broader with references to a diverse set of world religions, including Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism, and words more commonly associated with Judeo-Christian traditions, such as baptize, bible and pilgrim. It also includes denominational markers such as Presbyterian, rosary, and agnostic. DICTION is more restrictive in that its lexicon is limited to general Judeo-Christian language without reference to the religious division of denominational terms, or

negative religious terms, such as Satan or evil. According to its developers, the religion word list includes those words “most frequently encountered in contemporary American public discourse” (Hart 1984, 110). The 200-word DICTION religion lexicon contains terms such as glorification, born-again and church-goer which are not included in the LIWC lexicon. They remain, however, important in that they are likely to resonate with the American electorate, particularly evangelical Christians. Unlike LIWC, which uses word roots in its programming, DICTION uses complete words.

Although the LIWC lexicon is more inclusive in its classification of religious language, the number of word roots is less than the number of distinct words that comprise the DICTION religion lexicon. In order to have a comprehensive analysis, we created a custom lexicon by adding the neutral Judeo-Christian terms from the LIWC lexicon to the DICTION religion lexicon. The resulting lexicon of 269 terms provides us with a comprehensive lexicon of Judeo-Christian terms likely to resonate with the American electorate.

We also draw upon Hart, Childers, and Lind’s (2013) elements of political tone. In addition to religious terms, they have identified the following four elements of political tone each with distinct lexicons within DICTION: patriotic terms, party references, voter references, and leader references. Of particular interest are the patriotic terms because as we noted earlier, scholars have found the use of these words in conjunction to religious references constitute the prophetic discursive posture prevalent among Republicans (Coe and Domke 2006).

Aggregate Patterns in the Usage of Religious Rhetoric

As we noted earlier, scholars have paid significant attention to the recent use of religiously

infused language by Republicans, but have not explored the extent of its uses by Democrats. We begin, therefore, by examining whether presidential candidates from both political parties employed such rhetoric in the 2008 campaign. We found that, on the average, Republicans throughout the entire campaign invoked Judeo-Christian language just over three times (3.120) in each speech, while Democrats did slightly less than three times (2.815) in each speech. This difference, however, was not statistically significant. The apparent overall similarity among the candidates from the two parties, however, masked sharp distinctions between the use of religious language during the primary and general elections seasons. A visual depiction of the partisan differences in the average use of Judeo-Christian rhetoric in the primaries, general election, and over the course of the entire campaign season is provided in Figure 1, while the statistical significance of these differences is summarized in Appendix A that presents the means, standard deviations, and t-test results.

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

In the aggregate, Republican candidates used significantly higher levels of religious language than Democrats during the primaries, but that pattern was reversed in the general election campaign where Democratic candidate Barack Obama used significantly more Judeo-Christian references than Republican John McCain. Prior to the nominating conventions, Republican candidates made, on the average, almost twice as many of these religious references in their speeches as compared to their Democratic counterparts, (4.936 as opposed to 2.580

references). This difference is significant at the .05 level, which is logical considering the differences in the make-up of those likely to vote in the two parties' primaries. From the early 1990's onwards, the Republican Party has garnered electoral support from the most religious sectors of the American electorate, while the Democrats have been more successful in gaining electoral support from the religiously unaffiliated (Norris 2009: 26). Since the primary campaign involves getting support from one's party base, it makes sense for Republican candidates to compete for votes from deeply committed religious identifiers, while Democrats have to engage in a balancing act of trying to engage religious party identifiers, while not turning off seculars. However, in the general campaign, each of the nominees has incentives to try and garner support from independents and those weakly identified with the opposing party. This gives the Democratic candidate, in this case, Barack Obama, an incentive to engage in "religious-trespassing," while giving the Republican John McCain, an opportunity to bolster his credentials as a maverick and appear less aligned with the Religious Right by downplaying the Judeo-Christian references in his speeches. This difference between Obama and McCain in their use of religious language during the general campaign is significant at the .05 level. See Appendix A.

Analyses of Individual Candidates' Use of Judeo-Christian Language

In this section, we focus on the following three candidates: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and John McCain. We do this for two reasons. First, the large sample of speeches from each of these candidates gives us confidence in our statistical analyses of rhetorical patterns. Second, their speeches comprise more than 85% of those in our data set. We will begin by comparing Clinton and Obama's use of Judeo-Christian phrasing during the primary season. Then, we move to consider the extent to which Obama and McCain changed their level of religious

language between the primary and general elections.

Given their very different personal religious histories, one might expect to find significant differences in how often Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama used Judeo-Christian language in the speeches of the closely contested 2008 Democratic primary election. Somewhat surprisingly, Hillary Clinton, a life-long Methodist and regular church attendee, only made slightly more religious references in her speeches than Barack Obama, whose adherence to Christianity was viewed as suspect by many. Moreover, this difference (2.929 versus 2.490 per speech references) was not statistically significant. However, when we turn to the two eventual nominees, Obama and McCain, there are stark differences between how each man presented himself religiously during the primary and general election campaigns. Obama heightened the level of Judeo-Christian language in his speeches after the primary season. His shift from the aforementioned 2.490 references in the primary to 3.171 in the general election is statistically significant at the .05 level. McCain's change between the primary and the general election campaigns is much more dramatic. He decreased the Judeo-Christian rhetoric from 3.693 references in the average speech down to 1.474. This drop is highly significant at the .005 level. These are summarized in Appendix A.

Since the salience of religiously infused language is likely to vary depending upon the venue and the timing in the campaign, we developed a campaign timeline showing the dates, locations, and occasions of the speeches that garnered the highest Judeo-Christian content in our computer-aided textual analyses. This information is included in Appendix B. The most obvious and immediate point is a geographic one. Aside from Clinton giving a November 2007 speech at the Global Summit on AIDS and the Church in California, and Obama's National

Convention Speech in Denver, Colorado, none of the other speeches with high religious content were given in states in the western half of the country.¹² This makes sense when one takes into consideration that the western states are much more secular than those in the Midwest, Northeast, and in particular, in the South. According to Gallup Poll data (Newport 2013), there is only one state west of the Mississippi (Utah) that can be classified as highly religious, and quite a few are included in the listing of least religious. The geographic significance of the locations for high-scoring religious speeches implies that Democratic candidates are not engaging in these appeals throughout the country, but rather, they are making a deliberate strategic attempt to capitalize on faith-based voters in traditionally religious portions of the country.¹³

A second and related point is that the candidates gave speeches high in Judeo-Christian content at events that by their nature were likely to have religious significance (as well as possible political implications), such as McCain speaking at the Family Research Council's Values Voters Summit and Obama's Father's Day speech at the Apostolic Church of God. Finally, most of the speeches appear to be directly linked to electoral considerations. For example, all of the speeches given from January 2007 through January 2008 were given in states that had early primaries and caucuses (e.g. those choosing convention delegates in January and February 2008.)

It is also worth noting that the previously mentioned decline in McCain's use of religious language started immediately after he had wrapped up the Republican nomination and received endorsements from major figures in the Religious Right, such as James Dobson. Obama's use of explicitly Judeo-Christian references increased sharply after questions were raised about his patriotism and Christian faith. These questions arose most significantly following media

attention on Pastor Jeremiah Wright’s sermons at Trinity Church.¹⁴ Interestingly, Obama’s “A More Perfect Union,” his first major speech after the Wright fiasco was relatively low on religious references. Instead, in seeking to contextualize Wright’s comments, Obama framed his argument in terms of race within the United States and drew the title of this speech from the Preamble to the Constitution. By comparison, the speech delivered by Obama in resigning from Trinity Church was high on Judeo-Christian references. Obama escalated his use of religious rhetoric with some high profile religious speeches made as competition in the primaries intensified – including his Father’s Day speech delivered at the Apostolic Church of God in Chicago – and moving into the general campaign.

In the latter part of the campaign, the nominees and their vice presidential candidates focused their attention on vote rich states that were viewed as up for grabs, with Ohio getting the most attention. It is worth reiterating that the two nominees differed sharply in their use of religiously infused language. Whether due to continuing fallout from the Pastor Jeremiah Wright incident or for other strategic reasons, Obama engaged in “religious trespassing” whereas McCain softened his use of religious language---perhaps to engage in “secular trespassing.”¹⁵ A visual representation of the prevalence of religious rhetoric used by Obama and McCain can be seen in the graphs that are included as Figure 2.

INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE

Prophetic Tone

As well as strategically timing their use of religious rhetoric, candidates also were deliberate in using prophetic tone, that combination of religious and patriotic references identified by Coe and Domke (2006) that remain important to Republicans. The graphs that make up Figure 3 show convergence and divergence in the use of patriotic and religious language by McCain, Obama and Clinton. Clinton is the only candidate to consistently combine religious and patriotic rhetoric ($r = 0.618$). While Clinton's use of patriotic references is present throughout her campaign, Barack Obama and John McCain were more selective in their use of the prophetic discursive tone. There is an immediate spike in Obama's employment of a prophetic posture following media attention on the Pastor Jeremiah Wright controversy. The very sharp increase in patriotic language is particularly notable, but again makes perfect political sense, given the questions surrounding Pastor Jeremiah Wright's patriotism---and by extension that of his most famous parishioner. Interestingly, Barack Obama's spike in prophetic posturing is mirrored by his opponent, John McCain, whose patriotism was never suspect.

INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE

Obama's strategic use of the prophetic tone suggests that he may be substituting the prophetic tone for the language of civil religion that he uses in the "A More Perfect Union" speech. Likewise, McCain appears to select between the prophetic tone and civil religion throughout his campaign. Though the data summarized above provides valuable information, the next section looks beyond a broad analysis of campaigning trends to focus on specific religious discourse deployed by candidates within their speeches.

A Closer Look

As the preceding aggregate data demonstrates, the use of religious rhetoric is a major component of presidential campaign speeches. What these numerical descriptors miss however, is the deliberate commitment that candidates use to engage the religious character of their audience. The comprehensive Judeo-Christian measure cannot assess the context of the specific religious rhetoric found in each speech. However, a sampling of the highest scoring speeches in our measure strongly suggests that candidates chose direct scriptural references and employed religious tones to self-consciously seek support from Christian voters. While the data set is far too large to examine each speech by hand for biblical references, we have examined the highest scoring speeches to get a more nuanced sense of the types of overt Judeo-Christian appeals, implicit Judeo-Christian appeals, and “prophetic voice” used by the candidates. In the following sections we provide illustrative examples of these three types of rhetorical phrasing.

Overt Appeals

In Table 2 (see also Appendix C for additional scriptural references), we can see two overt biblical references in special occasion speeches. One speech, by then candidate Barack Obama, commemorating Father’s Day at a Chicago church, demonstrated the highest score of our sample. The second speech was given by Hillary Clinton to commemorate the Selma to Montgomery Civil Rights March. She gave the speech from the Alabama church where the march began. In both instances, both candidates’ speeches were delivered to largely Christian audiences, and one would expect them to contain high levels of religious rhetoric given their

settings. Despite the obviousness of the context, on close examination, both speeches illustrate the ways candidates employ overt religious rhetoric in practice.

In his Father's Day speech, Barack Obama references the gospel of Matthew in an effort to analogize the "rock" in Scripture that preserved the home amid a great storm to the foundational role the father plays in family life. The gospel passage says, "Whoever hears these words of mine, and does them, shall be likened to a wise man who built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock" (Matthew 7:24-25). Obama self-consciously connects his policies with the scriptural references. In this context, Obama engages his audience by directly citing scripture.

Similarly, Hillary Clinton's Selma, Alabama speech also uses overt scripture reference prominently. By referencing St. Paul's letter to the Galatians, Clinton brings in Scripture to equate the ongoing perseverance of Christians in the face of struggles with the ongoing struggles of Americans to expand civil rights. "And we know---we know---we know, if we finish this march, what awaits us? St. Paul told us, in the letter to the Galatians, 'Let us not grow weary in doing good, for in due seasons we shall reap, if we do not lose heart.'" As is apparent from these speech segments, the two Democratic frontrunners were not afraid of making explicit Gospel references and being publicly identified as believing Christians.

INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

Implicit Appeals

In these two speeches, Obama and Clinton also employ “coded” speech to further their outreach to faith-based voters. These speeches are clear evidence that Republicans do not hold a monopoly on this type of “coded” speech. Given the ceremonial context of the two speeches given by these two Democratic candidates, this observation may be expected. However, we also find that Democratic candidates engage in subtle references to biblical language at more ordinary, standard political events. As Table 3 shows, we find implied scriptural references in many other Obama and Clinton speeches. Our examination indicates the candidates are self-consciously choosing biblical analogies and styling their speeches in religious tones for more traditional campaign occasions, as well as in ceremonial speeches. For example, Obama discusses a “good-faith effort” in his Toledo, Ohio speech, which is a correlation to scriptures such as Ephesians 6:7-8. In her ceremonial rhetoric, Clinton employs this type of language as evidenced in Selma, Alabama when she says, “But we’ve got to stay awake. We’ve got to stay awake, because we have a march to finish.” Staying awake is a reference to Matthew 26: 40-41; 43 (see Table 3 as well as Appendix D for more examples of “the code”). Although both candidates use overt religious appeals, as well as implicit or “coded” language, there are times they take this language a step further, to a “prophetic” voice.

INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

Prophetic Posturing

Even though Republicans are characterized as the party associated with prophetic posturing using language that combines religious and patriotic rhetoric, our research shows that Democrats in 2008 were at least as likely to assume this rhetorical posture. Moreover, Obama and Clinton are more likely to invoke explicit and lengthy Biblical phrasing than McCain when taking on this role. The unity of patriotic rhetoric and scriptural commands generally strengthens the impact of the speech because the audience presumably brings their pre-existing disposition and familiarity with Christian texts to inform their politics. When unified with patriotic rhetoric, the speaker can more effectively bring the audience around to support their political prescriptions for action (Coe and Domke 2006).

The speaker can enhance the emphasis of their rhetoric beyond merely using religious terms. Table 4 (see also Appendix E for additional scriptural references) shows several instances where both Obama and Clinton employ this type of “prophetic posturing,” as well as the best example of McCain taking this stance. We can see this in Obama’s Toledo, Ohio speech when he says, “We can do this if we come together; if we have confidence in ourselves and each other; if we look beyond the darkness of the day to the bright light of hope that lies ahead. Together, we can change this country and change this world.” He is clearly combining scriptural reference when he speaks of the darkness and the bright light of hope, but then goes further by suggesting that believing in the bright light can change the country and the world. By drawing on biblical parables and scriptural references, the use of religious words takes on an enhanced sanctity, similar to what Christian audiences may hear in a church context. The resonance of the appeal on the part of the candidate in that instance may have a similar effect to a preacher addressing the congregation because it invokes divine revelation as a reason for moral action.

INSERT TABLE 4 HERE

Conclusion

We believe this study clearly demonstrates that Democratic, as well as Republican, presidential candidates employ a wide range of religious rhetoric---including explicit scriptural references, implicit “coded” references, and prophetic posturing---to appeal to the American electorate. Moreover, candidates from both parties use such language in a strategic manner that takes into account the religious propensities of voters in different parts of the country, venue, occasion and timing. We found that Republicans in 2008 were slightly more likely to employ Judeo-Christian language than Democrats, but that there were significant differences between the primary season and the general election campaign with Democratic nominee Barack Obama increasing his use of Judeo-Christian references over the course of the campaign while Republican nominee John McCain decreased his use of such language. Whether this was an example of Obama engaging in “religious trespassing” or simply an attempt to control the damage associated with the Jeremiah Wright fiasco is not clear. What it does, however, suggest is that Democrats should not fear using religious language as it does not appear to adversely affect their support among more secular voters, who comprise a significant portion of their base. For instance, in the case of Barack Obama, (a candidate who’s Christianity had been publically debated in conservative circles), his willingness to reference Christian religious texts likely enhanced his standing and countered rumors that questioned his faith. While a secular listener may have missed the biblical analogies building a house on the rock, the analogy contained in his

Father's Day speech would likely resonate with the Christian electorate and enhance Barack Obama's credibility with a faith-based audience.

While the aggregate data mentioned above leads one to conclude that there are many similarities between candidates, such a broad picture does not show the deliberate way candidates engage in prophetic voice to lead their audiences. The seamless integration of policy prescriptions with Scripture clearly enhances the candidates standing with the Christian audience. Only by examining each speech individually can we see the strategic commitment made by these candidates to appeal to a Christian electorate. The depth of scriptural knowledge and sophistication of the rhetorical efforts to weave overt references, "the code", and "prophetic posturing" into their speeches indicates a deliberative attempt on the part of Democratic candidates to capture Christian votes.

As this study indicates, the leading Democratic candidates in 2008 frequently engaged in these types of faith based rhetorical appeals and did so in a sophisticated manner that suggests a conscious strategy of "religious trespassing," particularly in the general election. In a similar vein, McCain's sharp decrease in Judeo-Christian language after gaining the nomination raises equally interesting questions about whether Republicans might find it useful upon occasion to downplay the religious language as a means of gaining support from non-adherents. We will leave it to future researchers to determine whether the 2008 election stands as an anomaly or if the potential for Democratic religious trespass and possibly Republican secular trespassing is a generalizable phenomenon.

¹ D. Michael Lindsay. "Politics as the Construction of Relations: Religious Identity and Political Expression." In *Evangelicals and Democracy in America: Religion and Politics*. eds. Steven Brint and Jean Reith Schroedel (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009). Lindsay describes Carter as "the most evangelical---that is, one who speaks most openly about his faith---president of the modern era." But Carter's witnessing tended to be conducted in private conversations, often with foreign leaders, rather than in public forum. See also D. Jason Berrgren and Nicol C. Rae, "Jimmy Carter and George W. Bush: Faith, Foreign Policy, and an Evangelical Presidential Style." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (2006), for more on Carter's evangelism.

² One notable exception is David Weiss, *What Democrats Talk about When they Talk about God*. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010). Weiss closely analyzed two speeches by Barack Obama.

³ Even though he did not win, televangelist Pat Robertson's 1988 campaign for the Republican party presidential nomination was extremely successful in terms of the grass roots mobilization of conservative Christians and laid the groundwork for the subsequent creation of the Christian Coalition, which was instrumental in getting its supporters to run for political office and try to gain state-level positions within the Republican party. See John C. Green and James L. Guth "The Christian Right in the Republican Party: The Case of Pat Robertson's Supporters" *Journal of Politics* 50, no. 1 (1988): 150-165. Also see, John C. Green, Mark J. Rozell and Clyde Wilcox, "Social Movements and Party Politics: The Case for the Christian Right."

Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 40, no. 3 (2001): 413-426. Additionally see, Kimberly H. Conger and John C. Green. "The Christian Right in the States: 2000." *Campaigns and Elections* 23, no. 1 (2002): 58-65. Finally, see Kimberly H. Conger "Moral Values: Political Parties: Cycles of Conflict and Accommodation." in *Evangelicals and Democracy in America: Religion and Politics*. eds. Steven Brint and Jean Reith Schroedel (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009).

⁴ For an interesting discussion of the continuing importance of civil religious discourse in politics, see the chapter entitled, "Does God Belong on the Stump? A Conversation with Stephen Carter, Charles Krauthammer, and Leo Ribuffo," in Michael Cromartie, *Religion and Politics in America: A Conversation*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005).

⁵ For more on the Republican Party's success gaining votes from evangelicals and other conservative religious blocs, see Phillip E. Hammond, Mark A. Shibley, and Peter M. Solow. "Religion and Family Values in Presidential Voting." *Sociology of Religion*, 55, no. 3(1994): 277-290. Also, Geoffrey Layman. "Religion and Political Behavior in the United States: The Impact of Beliefs, Affiliations, and Commitment from 1984-1994." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61, no. 2 (1997): 288-316. Also, James Guth, Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin E. Smidt and John C. Green. "Religious Influences in the 2004 Presidential Election." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36 (2006): 223-242. Also, Laura R. Olson and Adam L. Warber. "Belonging, Behaving, and Believing: Assessing the Role of Religion on Presidential Approval." *Political Research*

Quarterly, 61, no. 2 (2008): 192-204. Also, Steven Brint and Seth Arbutyn. "Moral-Values Politics: The Emergence of an Electoral System." in Steven Brint and Jean Reith Schroedel, eds. *Evangelicals and Democracy in America: Religion and Politics*. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009).

⁶ As noted earlier, Carter also was widely recognized as being a strong evangelical. In fact, many evangelicals, including some such as Pat Robertson who later became associated with the religious right and helped build their ties with the Republican party, supported Carter when he first ran in 1976. Prominent evangelicals, however, became extremely angry with his administration after the Internal Revenue Service launched an investigation into Bob Jones University's tax exempt status in light of the school's ban on enrolling unmarried African American students. See Rogers Smith. "An Almost-Christian Nation? Constitutional Consequences of the Rise of the Religious Right." in Steven Brint and Jean Reith Schroedel, eds. *Evangelicals and Democracy in America: Religion and Politics*. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009), 338-339.

⁷ See Kevin Coe and David Domke. "Petitioners or Prophets? Presidential Discourse, God and the Ascendency of Religious Conservatives." *Journal of Communication* 56 (2006): 309-330. Coe and Domke chose to explore freedom/liberty discourse because previous studies had identified freedom and liberty as values that particularly resonate with evangelical Christians. For examples of this freedom/liberty discourse, see, Nancy T. Ammerman. "North American Fundamentalism" in eds. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby. *Fundamentalisms*

Observed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); and also see, Michael Weiler and W. Barnett Pearce. *Reagan and Public Discourse in America*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992).

⁸ This particular form of prophetic discourse is distinctly different from the traditional understanding meaning of prophetic voice, which involves a religious figure speaking from the margins and calling a nation and its leaders back to the path of righteousness. As Gutterman writes, “Rhetorically claiming a marginal position, the prophet preaches as a critic of the injustice, moral decay or sinfulness that he or she perceives to be threatening the fulfillment of the world, if not a divinely inspired vision of the ‘kingdom of God.’” See David S. Gutterman. *Prophetic Politics: Christian Social Movements and American Democracy*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 49-50. See also comments by Stephen Carter in Michael Cromartie. *Religion and Politics in America: A Conversation*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 175. Stephen Carter notes the difference between holding worldly power and the role of a prophet speaking from the outside. He states, “You lose something precious when you hold in your hand the power to *force* other people to do something. And I suggest that what you lose is the power of prophetic ministry, the power of standing outside the structure of authority and pointing out what you think they’re doing wrong. What’s quite striking about the prophets of Israel is that they stood *outside* the corridors of power. They tried to tell the king what to do, no question, but they didn’t try to say, ‘I’m going to be king.’”

⁹ See also Rogers Smith. “Religious Rhetoric and the Ethics of Public Discourse: The Case of George W. Bush.” *Political Theory*, 36, no. 2 (2008): 272-300. Smith notes the dangers to liberal democracy when president presidents engage in prophetic discourse that implies that America and American policies are divinely inspired.

¹⁰ On the use of religious cues as a priming tool in campaign advertising, see also Christopher Weber and Matthew Thornton. “Courting Christians: How Political Candidates Prime Religious Considerations in Campaign Ads.” *Journal of Politics*, 74, no. 2 (2012): 400-413.

¹¹ Brian Robert Calfano, and Paul A. Djupe. “God Talk: Religious Cues and Electoral Support.” *Political Research Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (2009): 329-339. The three specific phrases (land, worth and power) used by Calfano and Djupe are as follows: “We have this land, and we’re told to be good stewards of it and each other,” “I believe in an America that recognized the worth of every individual, and leaves the ninety-nine to find the one stray lamb,” and “There is power, wonder working power, in the goodness and idealism and faith of the American people.”

¹² Additionally, we looked at the geographic locations for each speech within our data set given by Hillary Clinton, John McCain, and Barack Obama. For geographic comparison, the following lists the regional classifications for each candidate. Hillary Clinton gave 25% of her speeches in the Northeast, 24% in the Midwest, 19% in the South, 9% in the West and 23% were given in Washington D.C. or for a national television audience. John McCain gave 12% of his

speeches in the Northeast, 24% in the Midwest, 22% in the South, 14% in the West and 28% were given in Washington D.C. or for a national television audience. Barack Obama gave 13% of his speeches in the Northeast, 33% in the Midwest, 9% in the South, 9% in the West and 21% were given in Washington D.C. or for a national television audience.

¹³ Appendix B shows the locations of each high scoring religious speech in our data set. Only Hillary Clinton's speech in Los Angeles and Barack Obama's Denver National Convention speech are outside of traditionally religious strongholds. Arguably, the context of Clinton's Los Angeles speech would explain the highly religious tone of the speech. Also, Obama's Denver speech, like all National Conventions speeches, was aimed at a national television audience and not uniquely at Colorado voters.

¹⁴ In March 2008, ABC News began showing excerpts of Pastor Jeremiah Wright sermons at Trinity United Church in Chicago, where Obama had first professed his Christianity and was a member. Excerpts from two sermons, "The Day of Jerusalem's Fall" and "Confusing God and Government" were particularly inflammatory in that they were highly critical of American government actions, including one that pointed out that the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki killed many thousands more people than died in the 9/11 bombings. Many viewed these sermons as anti-American.

¹⁵ Though the issue of "secular trespassing" is beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth mentioning that "religious trespassing" and "secular trespassing" may go hand in hand within the course of an election campaign. It would seem reasonable that if a particular candidate was

attempting to “religious trespass” this would provide an opportunity for the other candidate to go after the non-religious voting base.

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Table 1. 2008 Candidate Speeches

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Number of Speeches</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Democratic		
Joe Biden	5	1.1
Hillary Clinton	81	17.1
Barack Obama	186	39.2
<i>Primary</i>	89	
<i>General</i>	97	
Bill Richardson	14	2.9
<i>Total Democratic</i>	<hr/> 286	<hr/> 60.2
Republican		
Mike Huckabee	8	1.7
John McCain	139	29.3
<i>Primary</i>	37	
<i>General</i>	102	
Sarah Palin	9	1.9
Mitt Romney	22	4.6
Fred Thompson	11	2.3
<i>Total Republican</i>	<hr/> 189	<hr/> 39.8

Table 2. Overt Scripture Reference within Candidate Speeches*

“At the end of the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus closes by saying, ‘Whoever hears these words of mine, and does them, shall be likened to a wise man who built his house upon a rock: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock.’”

Matthew 7: 24-25 (NKJV, paraphrase)
Barack Obama, 6/15/2008, Chicago,
Illinois

“The Scripture tells us that when Joshua and the Israelites arrived at the gates of Jericho, they could not enter. The walls of the city were too steep for any one person to climb; too strong to be taken down with brute force. And so they sat for days, unable to pass on through. But God had a plan for his people. He told them to stand together and march together around the city, and on the seventh day he told them that when they heard the sound of the ram's horn, they should speak with one voice. And at the chosen hour, when the horn sounded and a chorus of voices cried out together, the mighty walls of Jericho came tumbling down.”

Joshua 6:1-27
Barack Obama, 01/20/2008, Atlanta,
Georgia

“We need to heed the biblical call to care for ‘the least of these’ and lift the poor out of despair.

Matthew 25:40 (NKJV)
Barack Obama, 6/23/2007, Hartford, CT

“And we know—we know—we know, if we finish this march, what awaits us? St. Paul told us, in the letter to the Galatians, ‘Let us not grow weary in doing good, for in due seasons we shall reap, if we do not lose heart.’”

Galatians 6:9 (ESV)
Hillary Clinton, 3/4/2007, Selma,
Alabama

*See Appendix for additional references within Scripture.

Table 3. Scripture References using “The Code” within Candidate Speeches

McCain:

“I believe in rewarding hard work and letting people keep the **fruits of their labor.**”

(McCain, 10/01/2008, Independence, MO)

“who fear they are being **left behind**”

(McCain, 01/19/2008, Remarks following South Carolina primary)

Obama:

“If you are a bank or lender that is getting money from the rescue plan that passed Congress, and your customers are making a **good-faith effort** to make their mortgage payments and re-negotiate their mortgages, you will not be able to foreclose on their home for three months. We need to give people the breathing room they need to get back on their feet.” (Obama, 10/13/2008, Toledo, OH)

“Will they say that this was a time when America **lost** its way and its purpose? When we allowed our own petty differences and broken politics to plunge this country into a **dark** and painful recession?” (Obama, 10/13/2008, Toledo, OH)

Clinton:

“But we’ve got to **stay awake.** We’ve got to **stay awake,** because we have a march to finish.” (Clinton, 3/4/2007, Selma, AL)

“You will eat the **fruit of your** labor” Psalm 128:2

“I tell you, on that night two people will be in one bed; one will be taken and the other **left.** Two women will be grinding grain together; one will be taken and the other **left**” Luke 17:34-35.

“because you know that the Lord will reward everyone for **whatever good he does,** whether he is free or slave” Ephesians 6:7-8

“Does he not leave the ninety-nine in the open country and go after the **lost** sheep until he finds it?” Luke 15:4

“See, **darkness** covers the earth and thick **darkness** is over the peoples.” Isaiah 60: 2

“Then he returned to his disciples and found them sleeping. ‘Could you men not keep watch with me for one hour?’ he asked Peter. ‘Watch and pray so that you will not fall into temptation. The spirit is willing, but the body is weak.’ 43: When he came back, he again found them **sleeping.**” Matthew 26:40-41

Table 4. “Prophetic Posturing” within Candidate Speeches

Obama:

“I’m talking about hope as that spirit inside us that insists, despite all evidence to the contrary, that something better is waiting for us if we’re willing to work for it and fight for it. If we are willing to believe.” (Obama, 6/15/2008, Chicago, IL)

“We try. We hope. We do what we can to build our house upon the sturdiest rock. And when the winds come, and the rains fall, and they beat upon the house, we keep faith that our Father will be there to guide us, and watch over us, and lead His children through the darkest of storms into light of a better day. That is my prayer for all of us on this Father’s Day, and that is my hope for this country in the years ahead.” [(Matthew 7:24-27); Obama, 6/15/2008, Chicago, IL)

“We can do this if we come together; if we have confidence in ourselves and each other; if we look beyond the darkness of the day to the bright light of hope that lies ahead. Together, we can change this country and change this world.” (Obama, 10/13/2008, Toledo, OH)

Clinton:

“The brave men and women of Bloody Sunday did not lose heart. We can do no less. We have a march to finish. Let us join together and complete that march for freedom, justice, opportunity, and everything America should be.” (Clinton, 3/4/2007, Selma, AL)

“That’s why I’m in this race, to fight for your future, and that’s why whatever happens, I’ll work as hard as I can to elect a Democratic president this fall. The state motto of Kentucky is, ‘United we stand, divided we fall.’ Words that have a special place in our history. They inspired American revolutionaries to unite the colonies, to defy an empire and create a new nation, to invent a new form of government, of the people, by the people, for the people. And they have bound our nation together in service and sacrifice, even in our darkest hours.” [(Matthew 12:25; Mark 3:25; Luke 11:17); Hillary Clinton, 5/20/2008, Remarks following KY primary)

McCain:

“We have gone to war to defend our security and our values, and that is an enterprise that always involves morally hazardous actions. It is a just war and like all wars it requires the sacrifice and taking of human life. But let us not abandon our humility in its prosecution. War is a terrible thing, not the worst thing, but a terrible thing nonetheless. And our humility, commanded by our faith in our ideals and in a just and loving God, gives us the strength to resist the unnecessary sacrifice of our faith in the necessary cause of defeating our enemies.” (John McCain, 10/19/2007, Family Research Council's Values Voters Summit, Washington, D.C)

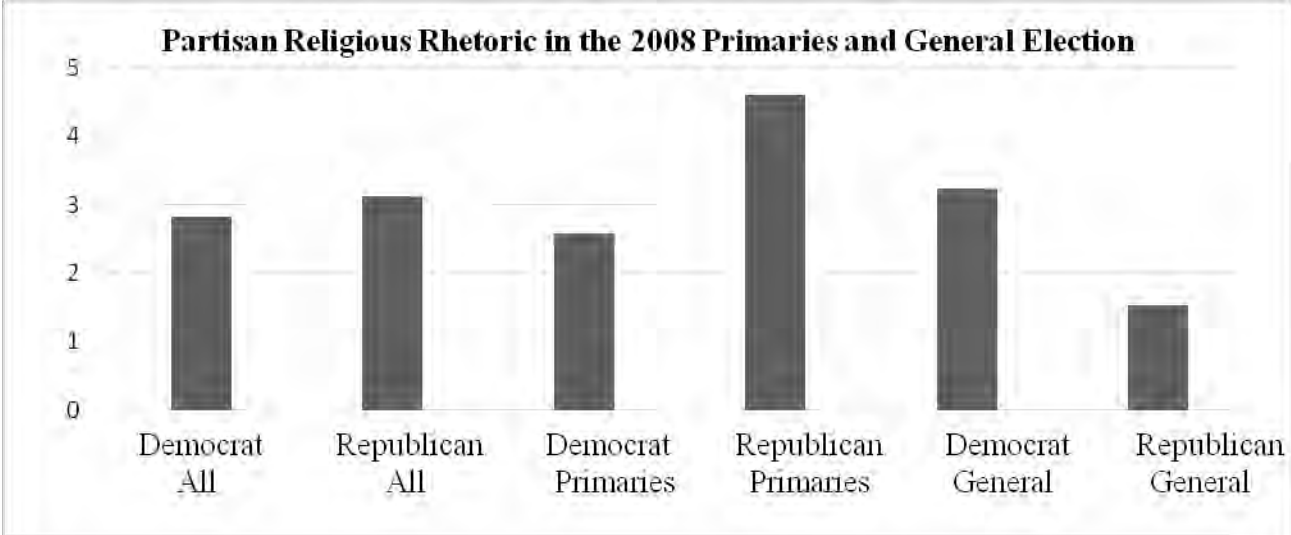


FIGURE 1. Partisan differences in the average use of religious rhetoric in the 2008 primary season and general campaign.

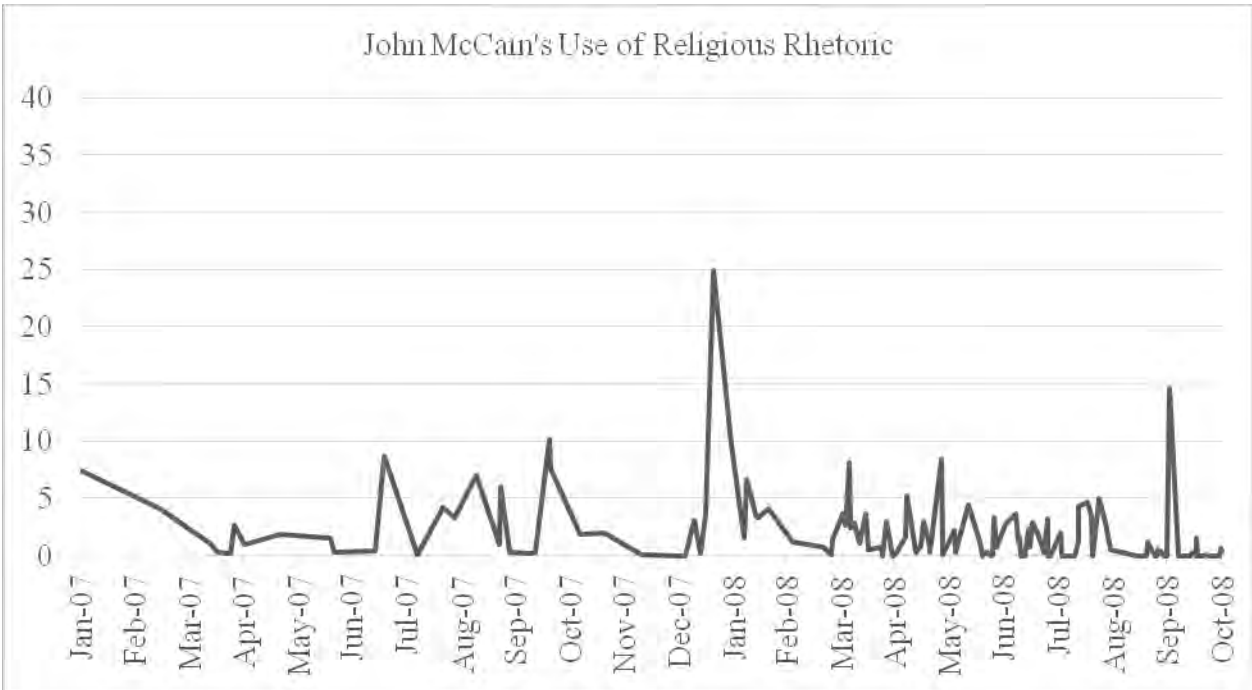
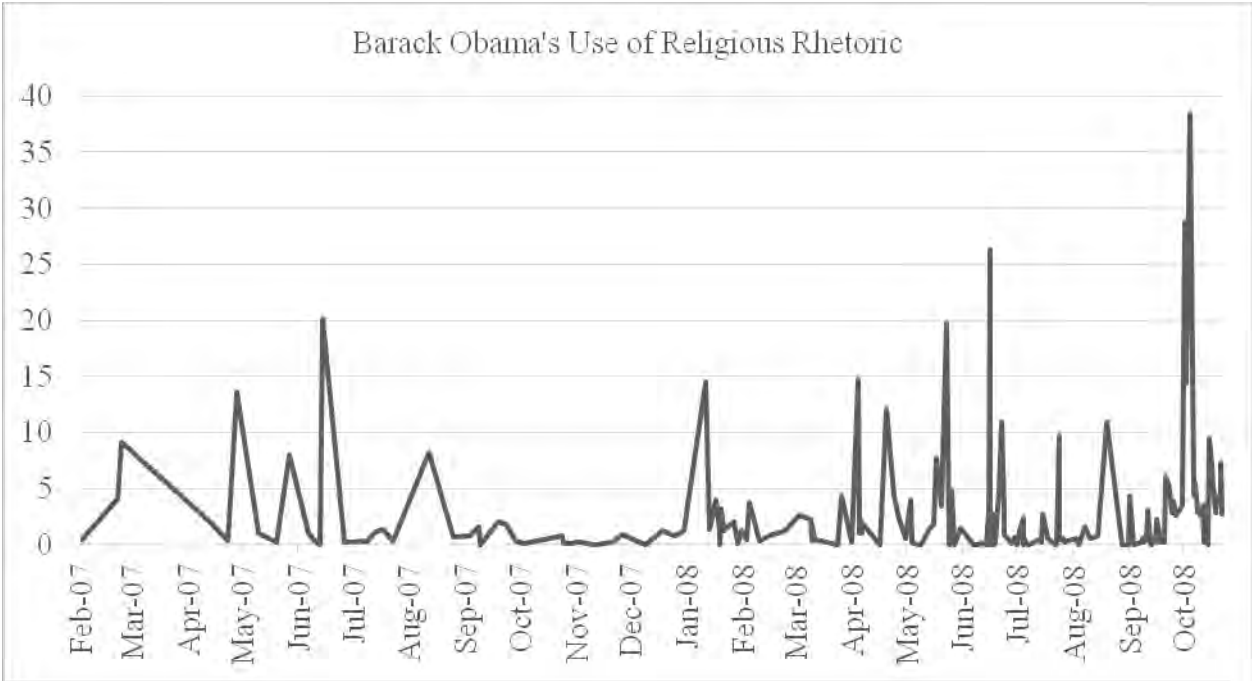


FIGURE 2. Timing of religious rhetoric by Barack Obama and John McCain

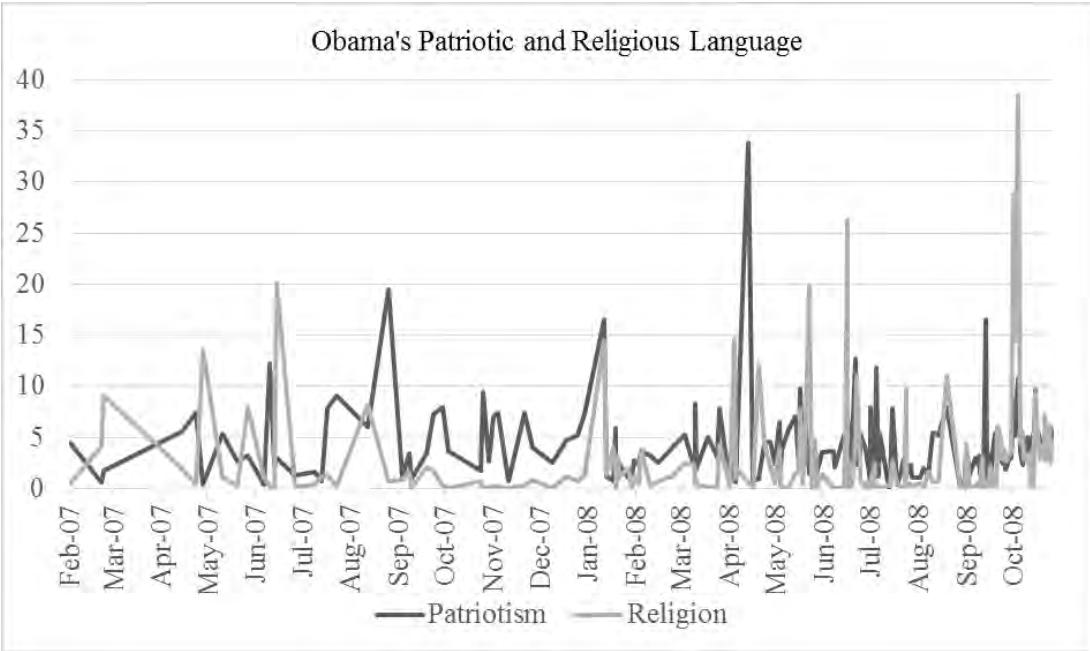
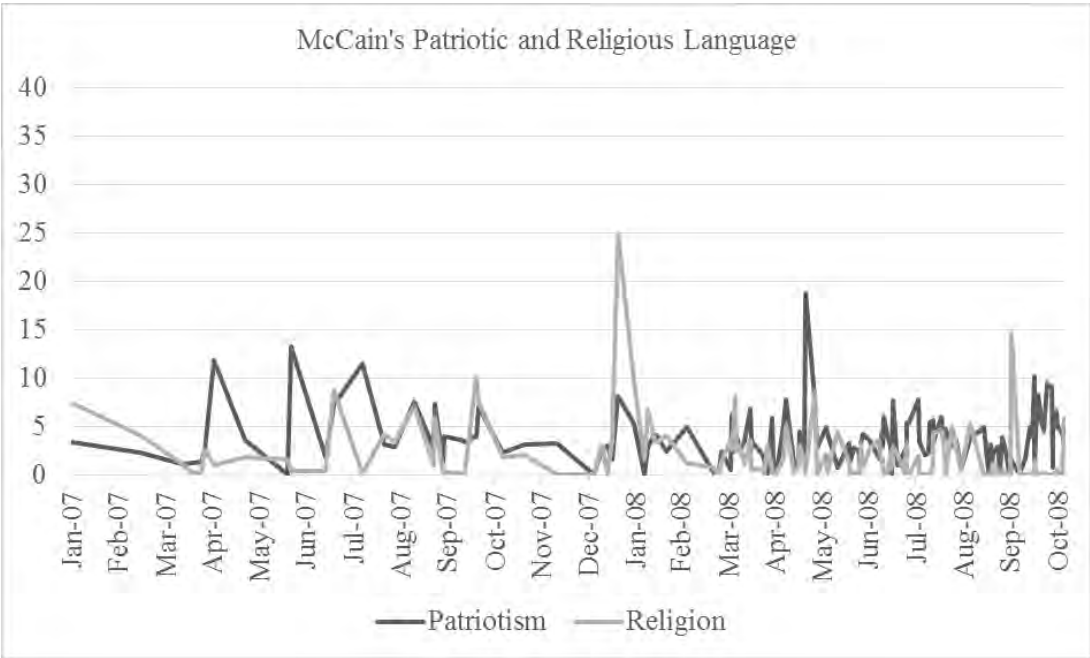


FIGURE 3. The use of religious rhetoric in conjunction with patriotic language

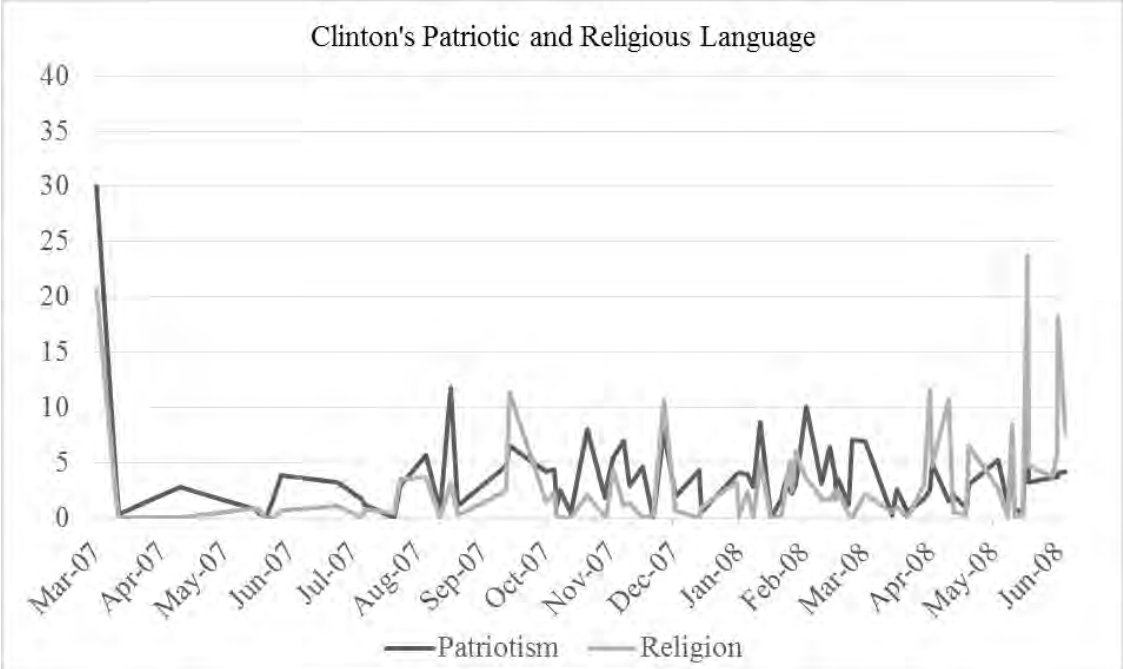


FIGURE 3. The use of religious rhetoric in conjunction with patriotic language cont.

Appendix A: t-tests comparing means for the Comprehensive Judeo-Christian religious measure

	Mean	s.d.	N	t	p-value
All					
Democrats	2.815	4.822	286	-0.513	0.608
All					
Republican	3.120	7.157	186		
Primaries –					
Democrats	2.580	4.215	184	-2.017	0.047*
Primaries -					
Republicans	4.936	10.197	82		
Democrats					
– Primaries	2.580	4.215	184	-1.01	0.314
Democrats					
– General	3.233	5.742	102		
Republicans					
– Primaries	4.936	10.197	82	2.78	0.007*
Republicans					
– General	1.727	2.625	107		

Appendix A: t-tests comparing means for the Comprehensive Judeo-Christian religious measure

cont.

	Mean	s.d.	N	t	p-value
Obama - Primaries	2.490	4.175	89	-0.924	0.357
Obama - General	3.171	5.821	97		
Primaries - Clinton	2.929	4.536	81	0.653	0.515
Primaries - Obama	2.490	4.175	89		
Primaries - Clinton	2.929	4.536	81	-0.873	0.385
Primaries - McCain	3.693	4.587	37		
General - Obama	3.171	5.821	97	2.427	0.016*
General - McCain	1.474	2.281	102		

*p<.05

Appendix B: Timing of religious references in the 2008 election

Date	Candidate	Location	Occasion
January 29, 2007	McCain	New York, NY	Dedication Fallen Heroes
March 4, 2007	Clinton	Selma, AL	Bloody Sunday Anniversary
May 7, 2007	Obama	Detroit, MI	Detroit Economic Club
June 23, 2007	Obama	Hartford, CT	United Church of Christ
September 17, 2007	Clinton	Des Moines, IA	Health Choices Plan
November 29, 2007	Clinton	Lake Forest, CA	Global Summit: AIDS & Church
January 19, 2008	McCain	South Carolina	Remarks following Primary
January 20, 2008	Obama	Atlanta, GA	“A Great Need of the Hour”
March 18, 2008	Obama	Philadelphia, PA	“A More Perfect Union”
April 4, 2008	Clinton	Memphis, TN	40 th Anniversary MLK death
April 4, 2008	McCain	Atlanta, GA	Southern Christian Leadership
April 13, 2008	Obama	Grantham, PA	Compassion Forum
May 20, 2008	Clinton	Televised	Remarks after KY and OR primaries

Appendix B: Timing of religious references in the 2008 election cont.

Date	Candidate	Location	Occasion
June 1, 2008	Obama	Televised	After Resigning from Trinity
June 15, 2008	Obama	Chicago, IL	Father's Day at Apostolic Church
July 1, 2008	Obama	Zanesville, OH	Faith-Based Organizations
August 28, 2008	Obama	Denver, CO	DNC-Nomination Acceptance
October 1, 2008	McCain	Independence, MO	Harry Truman Institute
October 10, 2008	Obama	Chillicothe, OH	Remarks in Ohio
October 13, 2008	Obama	Toledo, OH	Remarks in Ohio
October 24, 2008	Biden	Charleston, WV	Remarks to West Virginia
October 29, 2008	Palin	Toledo, OH	"Energy Independence"

Appendix C: Additional Contextual References Found in Scripture Corresponding with
Overt References to Scripture within Candidate Speeches (NIV)

Barack Obama, 6/15/2008, Chicago, IL

Psalm 27:5 “For in the day of trouble he will keep me safe in his dwelling; he will hide me in the shelter of his tabernacle and set me high upon a rock.”

Psalm 89:26 “He will call out to me, ‘You are my Father, my God, the Rock my Savior’.”

Matthew 16:18 “And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it.”

Hillary Clinton, 3/4/2007, Selma, AL

Leviticus 19:9-10 “When you reap the harvest of your land, do not reap to the very edges of your field or gather the gleanings of your harvest. Do not go over your vineyard a second time or pick up the grapes that have fallen. Leave them for the poor and the alien. I am the Lord your God.

Proverbs 4:23 “Above all else, guard your heart, for it is the wellspring of life.”

Isaiah 57:15 “For this is what the high and lofty One says—he who lives forever, whose name is holy: “I live in a high and holy place, but also with him who is contrite and lowly in spirit, to revive the spirit of the lowly and to revive the heart of the contrite.”

John 14:1 “Do not let your hearts be troubled. Trust in God; trust also in me.”

Appendix D: Additional Contextual References Found in Scripture Corresponding with
Code References to Scripture within Candidate Speeches (NIV)

McCain, 1/19/2008: Left Behind

Revelation 21:27 “Nothing impure will ever enter it, nor will anyone who does what is shameful
or deceitful, but only those whose names are written in the book of life.”

McCain, 10/10/2008: Fruits of their labor

Isaiah 3:10 “Tell the righteous it will be well with them, for they will enjoy the fruit of their
deeds.”

Obama, 6/15/2008: Rain

Genesis 7:12 “And rain fell on the earth for forty days and nights.”

Proverbs 25:23 “As the north wind brings rain, so a sly tongue brings angry looks.”

Jeremiah 5:24 “They do not say to themselves, ‘Let us fear the Lord our God, who gives autumn
and spring rains in season, who assures us of the regular weeks of harvest.’”

Obama, 6/15/2008: Wind

Mark 4:39 “He got up, rebuked the wind and said to the waves, ‘Quiet! Be still!’ Then the wind
died down and it was completely calm.

John 3:8 “The wind blows wherever it pleases. You hear its sound, but you cannot tell where it
comes from or where it is going. So it is with everyone born of the Spirit.”

Appendix D: Additional Contextual References Found in Scripture Corresponding with
Code References to Scripture within Candidate Speeches (NIV) cont.

Obama, 10/13/2008: Lost

Luke 15:24 “For this son of mine was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is found.”

Obama, 10/13/2008: Purpose

Romans 8:28 “And we know that in all things God works for the good of those who love him,
who have been called according to his purpose.”

Obama, 10/13/2008: Darkness

Mark 15:33 “At the sixth hour darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour.”

I Peter 2:9 “But you are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people belonging to
God, that you may declare the praises of Him who called you out of darkness into his
wonderful light.”

Clinton, 3/04/2007: Stay awake

Daniel 12:2 “Multitudes who sleep in the dust of the earth will awake: some to everlasting life,
others to shame and everlasting contempt.”

Romans 13:11 “And do this, understanding the present time. The hour has come for you to wake
up from your slumber, because our salvation is nearer now than when we first
believed.”

I Peter 5:8-14 “Keep a cool head. Stay alert.”

I Thessalonians 5:6 “So then, let us not be like others, who are asleep, but let us be alert and self-
controlled.”

Appendix E: Additional Contextual References Found in Scripture Corresponding with
Prophetic Posturing within Candidate Speeches (NIV)

Obama 6/15/08: *“I’m talking about hope as that spirit inside us that insists, despite all evidence to the contrary, that something better is waiting for us if we’re willing to work for it and fight for it. If we are willing to believe.”*

Romans 4: 18 “Against all hope, Abraham in hope believed and so became the father of many nations, just as it had been said to him, ‘So shall your offspring be.’”

Galatians 5: 5 “But by faith we eagerly await through the Spirit the righteousness for which we hope.”

Obama 10/13/08: *“We can do this if we come together; if we have confidence in ourselves and each other; if we look beyond the darkness of the day to the bright light of hope that lies ahead. Together, we can change this country and change this world.”*

Proverbs 4: 18-19 “The path of the righteous is like the first gleam of dawn, shining ever brighter till the full light of day. But the way of the wicked is like deep darkness; they do not know what makes them stumble.”

II Corinthians 1: 6-7 “If we are distressed, it is for your comfort and salvation; if we are comforted, it is for your comfort, which produces in you patient endurance of the same sufferings we suffer. And our hope for you is firm, because we know that just as you share in our sufferings, so also you share in our comfort.”

Appendix E: Additional Contextual References Found in Scripture Corresponding with
Prophetic Posturing within Candidate Speeches (NIV) cont.

Clinton 5/20/08: *“That’s why I’m in this race, to fight for your future, and that’s why whatever happens, I’ll work as hard as I can to elect a Democratic president this fall. The state motto of Kentucky is, ‘United we stand, divided we fall.’ Words that have a special place in our history. They inspired American revolutionaries to unite the colonies, to defy an empire and create a new nation, to invent a new form of government, of the people, by the people, for the people. And they have bound our nation together in service and sacrifice, even in our darkest hours.”*

Matthew 12: 25 “Jesus knew their thoughts, and said to them, Every kingdom divided against itself will be ruined, and every city or household divided against itself will not stand.”

Mark 3: 24- 25 “If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. If a house is divided against itself, that house cannot stand.”

Luke 11:17 “Jesus knew their thoughts and said to them: ‘Any kingdom divided against itself will be ruined, and a house divided against itself will fall.’”

Philippians 1: 27 “Whatever happens, conduct yourselves in a manner worthy of the gospel of Christ. Then, whether I come and see you or only hear about you in my absence, I will know that you stand firm in one spirit, contending as one man for the fail of the gospel.”

