

# Public Relations Methods and Approaches

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# Airborne leaflet propaganda

**Airborne leaflet propaganda** is a form of psychological warfare in which leaflets (flyers) are scattered in the air. Military forces have used aircraft to drop leaflets to attempt to alter the behavior of combatants and civilians in enemy-controlled territory, sometimes in conjunction with air strikes. Humanitarian air missions, in cooperation with leaflet propaganda, can turn civilians against their leadership while preparing them for the arrival of enemy troops.

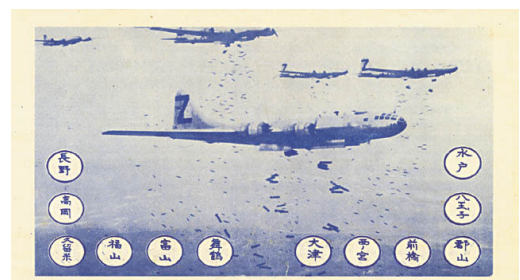


An American leaflet bomb is loaded during the Korean War; the container holds 22,500 leaflets

## Functions of leaflet propaganda

There are six different functions of airborne leaflet propaganda that have been used over the past century:

1. Threaten destruction
  - Warn enemy troops and civilians that their area will be targeted. This has the dual purpose of reducing collateral damage and encouraging troops and civilians (who may be engaged in wartime production) to abandon their duties, reducing the target's military effectiveness.
2. Prompt the enemy to surrender
  - Explain to prospective deserters how to surrender.
3. Offer rewards
  - Rewards could be offered to encourage individuals to provide assistance, or to encourage defection.
4. Disseminate or counter disinformation
  - Reduce enemy morale through propaganda.
  - Neutralize enemy propaganda.
  - Advise radio listeners about frequencies/times of propaganda broadcasts and methods for circumventing radio jamming.
5. Facilitate communication
  - Create a friendly atmosphere for the enemy by promoting ideologies such as freedom, capitalism, and "noble intentions".
6. Provide humanitarian assistance



"LeMay Bombing Leaflet" from 1945 warning Japanese civilians to evacuate cities



Korean War, 1953 Operation Moolah leaflet. It promises a \$100,000 reward to the first North Korean pilot to deliver a Soviet MiG-15 to UN forces. Around 1.3 million were dropped



- Inform people where to find airdropped food, how to open and consume it, and when it comes.

## History

### Before World War II

Airborne leaflets have been used for military propaganda purposes at least since the 19th century. One early example is from the Franco-Prussian War when in October 1870 during the Siege of Paris a French balloon coming from the city dropped government proclamations over Prussian troops that stated the following (in German):

"Paris defies the enemy. The whole of France rallies. Death to the invaders. Foolish people, shall we always throttle one another for the pleasure and proudness of Kings? Glory and conquest are crimes; defeat brings hate and desire for vengeance. Only one war is just and holy; that of independence."<sup>[1]</sup>

Leaflet propaganda has been delivered by airplanes since the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-12.<sup>[2]</sup>

### World War II

After World War I, Americans were skeptical due to the national consensus that America was pressured into WWI by false, manipulative propaganda laced with lies from both the British and the Germans. However, as J.A.C. Brown articulated, "propaganda is successful only when directed at those who are willing to listen, absorb the information, and if possible act on it, and this happens only when the other side is in a condition of lowered morale and is already losing the campaign."<sup>[3]</sup> Therefore, the use of airborne leaflets was a way for WWII enemies to psychologically attack one another in a different way than in previous wars. Distribution of Airborne leaflet propaganda was used by both allied and Axis forces in the Second World War.<sup>[4]</sup>

Airborne leaflets printed during WWII were "factual, in the main truthful, and served (or so it was claimed) to create a reputation for reliability both in supplying information and refuting German accounts which we said to be untruthful". Also, these leaflets were distributed in many ways. "Secret agents actually within the enemy countries were called upon to help by distributing leaflets (often purporting to come from within Germany itself or from a neutral country), by writing slogans or attaching posters or slips of revolutionary nature to buildings, and by spreading those demoralizing rumors, to which people are much more susceptible when frustrated, perplexed, or kept in ignorance of what is actually going on", in addition to being released from planes, shells, and balloons. However, often the leaflets did not reach their intended targets because they were dropped over lakes, rural areas, etc. from such a high altitude.

Although leaflets were seen as being an effective tactic in manipulating troops when morale was low, "during the early months of the war, leaflets or pamphlets were scattered over enemy territory by aircraft and balloons but it was more than doubtful whether these had any useful effect, their obvious defects being that few can have reached their targets and, being printed, they were sometimes out of date by the time they were ready to distribute. The front-line distribution of leaflets was quite another matter and these were dropped by aircraft or fired by shells, the messages they bore being less careful about the general principles of consistency and frankness and only truthful about matters on which the enemy had contradictory information". It was found that psychological warfare was not effective when distributing surrender leaflets to an enemy which currently had a high morale amongst its troops. Despite the pitfalls to airborne leaflets ineffectiveness on opposing sides with high morale,

1940 1941 1942 1943

London 250t Mannheim 100t Köln 1500t Kiel 250t Berlin 100t

Die schwersten Luftangriffe von 1940 bis Mai 1943

### Die Festung Europa hat kein Dach

Am April 1943 warf die R.A.F. mehr als 10 Millionen Kilogramm Bomben auf deutsche Industriestädte. Im Mai 1943 wurden über 12 Millionen Kilogramm Bomben abgeworfen. In einer einzigen Woche im Mai fielen 750 000 Kilogramm Bomben allein auf das Ruhrgebiet. Am 1. Juni 1943 haben englische Flugzeuge über 100 Millionen Kilogramm Bomben auf Deutschland abgeworfen.

Die Royal Air Force ist heute stärker als die deutsche und italienische Luftwaffe zusammen.

In Amerika wurden allein im April 1943 7 000 Flugzeuge fertiggestellt. Die amerikanische Flugzeugindustrie hat am 31. Mai das 100.000 Flugzeug für diesen Krieg geliefert. Amerika produziert heute mehr Flugzeuge als Deutschland, Italien und Japan zusammen.

Das sind die Tatsachen. Was folgt daraus? Man könnte sagen: Was die Engländer ausfallen lassen, können die Deutschen auch ausfallen lassen. Aber der Vergleich heißt: Die englisch-amerikanische Luftoffensive gegen Deutschland ist bereits jetzt weit schwerer als die deutsche Luftoffensive gegen England je war. In ihrem schwersten Angriff auf eine englische Stadt (London, 10. Mai 1941) warf die Luftwaffe 450 000 Kilogramm Bomben in einer Nacht. In ihrem bisher schwersten Angriff auf eine deutsche Stadt (Dortmund, 23. Mai 1943) warf die R.A.F. 2 000 000 Kilogramm Bomben in einer Nacht. Mehr als viermal soviel – und das ist erst der Anfang. Die Engländer konnten standhalten, weil sie wussten: Wenn sie standhalten, musste es besser werden. Sie hatten keine Angst zu riskieren. Sie kamen erst in Gang. Sie wussten, dass ihre eigene Luftmacht und Luftverteidigung von Tag zu Tag wuchs. Sie sahen amerikanisches Kriegsmaterial in Massen eintreffen und sie konnten hoffen, dass Amerika einen Tag als Verbündeter an ihrer Seite stehen würde.

Was haben heute die Deutschen zu hoffen, wenn sie sich ähnlich weiter bomben lassen? Neue Verbündete gibt es nicht mehr. Deutschlands eigene Kampfkraft läuft aus. Die englisch-amerikanische Wucht von Tag zu Tag. Deutschlands Fabriken werden kontrolliert. Seine Produktion ist um 20% gesunken. Amerikas Produktion ist dreifach so groß. Deutschlands geschwächte Luftwaffe muss an drei Fronten kämpfen. Überall ist sie in der Defensive. Die R.A.F. und die amerikanische Heeresflieger haben, trotz Atlantik-Wall, eine Front im Herzen Deutschlands geschaffen. Die „Festung Europa“ hat kein Dach. Darin ist nicht mehr zu denken. Die deutschen Arbeiter und Ingenieure, die in den Fabriken ausfallen, können den Gang des Krieges nicht mehr wenden. Sie können den Krieg nur verlängern. Das heißt: Sie können dafür sorgen, dass noch mehr Bomben auf Deutschland fallen.

Es werden immer mehr werden von Monat zu Monat. Wie lange soll das noch so weiter gehen?

"Fortress Europe has no roof" - British propaganda leaflet dropped over Germany in 1943

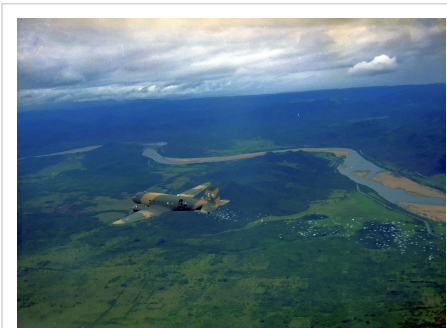
enemies used this tactic “to cause the men to begin talking to each other about their poor military position, their desire to stay alive for their families’ sakes, and the reasonableness of honorable surrender”, which often led men to desert their troops.

One example of German leaflets which appealed to American troops was one that depicted a passionate kiss between a man and woman. The leaflet read: “FAREWELL Remember her last kiss...? Gee were you happy then...! Together, you spent marvelous times..., lounging on beaches..., dancing, enjoying parties galore..., listening to the tunes of your favorite band...”.<sup>[5]</sup> The leaflets back side reminds the soldier that his loved one is longing for him and that most of the men he had come with are now dead. This leaflet was the attempt of the Germans to pull at the heart strings of the American men in Europe. Reminding them of their loved ones, and that if they continue fighting, they may die and leave loved ones behind.

Comparatively, Allied troops were able to persuade the Axis forces by using no words at all in one of their airborne leaflets. This leaflet simply shows a picture of a large open field with thousands of graves of German soldiers. This leaflet, dropped over Germany in 1942, was the Allied forces' direct way to show the soldiers the fate of their quest for an Iron Cross.<sup>[6]</sup>

## After World War II

Even though leaflet propaganda has been an effective “weapon”, its use has been on a decline. This decline is a result of the advance of satellite, television, and radio technology. Six billion leaflets were dropped in Western Europe and 40 million leaflets dropped by the United States Army Air Forces over Japan in 1945 during World War II.<sup>[7]</sup> One billion were used during the Korean War while only 31 million have been used in the war against Iraq. Other conflicts where leaflet propaganda has been used are Vietnam, Afghanistan (both during the Soviet and more recent NATO invasions), and the Gulf War. Coalition forces dropped pamphlets encouraging Iraqi troops not to fight during the first Gulf War, which contributed to eighty-seven thousand Iraqi troops surrendering in 1991.



A USAF C-47 releases psychological warfare leaflets over South Vietnam in 1969

## Means of delivery

Leaflet delivery can be as simple as having one or more of the aircraft's crew throw bundles of leaflets out of an open hatchway. A more sophisticated method is the **leaflet bomb**. This is not an explosive device, but rather a bomb-shaped container that is dropped from the aircraft and opened in mid-air, dispersing the leaflets it holds. One such "bomb" may contain tens of thousands of leaflets.

The first ideas to construct special bombs with which to disperse airborne leaflets were proposed by French and British air force officers during World War II. However, the program was not implemented until 1943 by the American military in the form of the 'Monroe bomb' named after its inventor, USA Air Force Captain James Monroe of the 305th Bomber Group. It was developed from laminated paper containers that had been used to transport M-17 incendiary bombs.<sup>[8]</sup>



USSR/Russian AgitAB-500-300 leaflet bombs

Leaflet bombs in the US inventory include the PDU-5B dispenser unit, the LBU30 and the older M129E1/E2. The M129 weighs 52 kilograms (115 lb) when empty and approximately 100 kilograms (220 lb) when loaded. It can contain 60,000 to 80,000 leaflets. At a pre-determined time after release, the two halves of the bomb's outer shell are blown apart by detonating cord, dispersing the leaflet payload.

Soviet/Russian leaflet bombs include the AGITAB-250-85 and the AGITAB-500-300 (used during the First Chechen War).

During World War 2, the British used hydrogen balloons to carry leaflets over German lines. Some of the V-1 flying bombs launched by the Germans against southern England carried leaflets - they were contained in a cardboard tube at the tail of missile. This would be ejected by a small gunpowder charge while the V1 was in mid-air, en route to its target.

## Use of leaflet bombs by revolutionary groups

Leaflet bombs have not only been used by states for purposes of military warfare but have, since the 1940s, also been used by radical political and ideological sub-state groups.

### Anti-colonial groups in Asia and Africa

The use of leaflet bombs by non-state groups began in 1945 when the Irgun group developed a bomb that was "deposited in the street, ticked away until detonation, then scattered news sheet over a wide and smoky area". In September 1945 three of Irgun's leaflet bombs exploded in Jerusalem and injured nine people.<sup>[9]</sup>

In the late 1960s the African National Congress (ANC) started to use a version of the leaflet bomb in South Africa. This bomb was developed in collaboration with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and South Africans living in exile in London. The first time this leaflet bomb, known to South African activists as the 'bucket bomb' and to the South African police forces as the 'ideological bomb', was used was in 1967.<sup>[10]</sup> This was one of the most important propaganda weapons of the ANC who devoted major resources to it and used it frequently during the 1960s and 1970s, spreading tens of thousands of leaflets. A 1970 article from the ANC's journal *Sechaba*, looking back at the uses of leaflets as propaganda in the 1960s, stated:

"It was in this new period that underground propaganda, demonstrating the effectiveness of the ANC machinery and projecting its voice, became of incalculable value. Underground leaflets began to appear in the townships, factories and city streets. Passed on from hand to hand, these reminded the people that the spirit of resistance must never die. These were often complemented by slogans painted on walls proclaiming: "Free Mandela," "Free Sisulu" and "Long Live the ANC." as modest as these propaganda efforts were [...] they showed that the ANC could survive the most severe measures of the regime."<sup>[11]</sup>

The South African press and security forces also saw it as a serious weapon of the ANC and there were threats from the police to take action against the South African press for publishing parts of ANC's leaflets. The South African Minister of Police was quoted in a South African newspaper thus: "the explosions are an indication that subversive elements are still active" inside South Africa and warned the public that they "must not think the dangers are a thing of the past. It is something with which we will just have to live."<sup>[12]</sup>

### New left groups in Latin America

The leaflet bomb has been relatively popular in Latin America with several recorded uses by various groups advocating political violence.

In the 1980s the FMLN in **El Salvador** used this technology under the name of 'propaganda bomb'. It was one of the "favorite tactics" of its urban militia groups and preferable used in public places like markets or public parks.<sup>[13]</sup> The design of the bomb was adapted to the local environment in that it

"consisted of a cardboard box with a small, low-power explosive underneath a large number of propaganda leaflets. The explosive was set off by a homemade time igniter. The box was disguised to look like any ordinary package or box that might be carried by someone going or returning from a trip to the marketplace."<sup>[14]</sup>

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The use of leaflet bombs played a part in the FMLN's recruitment process known to them as *fogueo* - which meant to experience fire or fire-harden something - which was the process by which the recruits "were toughened and the weak and fainthearted were weeded out". The fogueo process was

"a very carefully designed program of increasingly risky operations in support of the guerilla movement. As the candidates successfully completed each operation, it gave them confidence to carry out the next danger level of operation until they became full-fledged guerilla combatants."<sup>[15]</sup>

This process began with low-level information-gathering and propaganda activities in support of FMLN where the culminating activity before being ready for "combat military activity" could be the making and exploding of a leaflet bomb.

In **Honduras** the Popular Movement for Liberation (MPL) and Morazanist Patriotic Front (FPM) have also used propaganda bombs during the 1990s.<sup>[16][17]</sup>

The Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity URNG in **Guatemala** also used leaflet bombs. In 1996 the group occupied a radio station and set off a leaflet bomb.<sup>[18]</sup>

In **Ecuador** several groups have used leaflet bombs. The Revolutionary Armed Corps (CAR) was according to the Ecuadorian police "an extreme leftist group" which is only known for one attempted attack on February 20, 2001 when a leaflet bomb containing 150 pamphlets was discovered and successfully defused by the police.

The communist Group of Popular Combatants (GCP) has on several occasions during 2001-2005 used leaflet bombs. In 2001 it was blamed by authorities for a pamphlet bomb and later the same year the group claimed responsibility for detonating a pamphlet bomb in downtown Quito that let out hundreds of pamphlets protesting against Plan Colombia.<sup>[19]</sup> In 2002 The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Ecuador set off a leaflet bomb in a McDonald's restaurant in Guayaquil that injured three people and caused severe damage to the property.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

## Advantages of leafletting

- The printed words on the leaflets were more authoritative before the advances in technology.
- One leaflet has the potential to reach many civilians.
- Leaflets can be hidden and easily destroyed in case of emergency.

## Disadvantages

- Due to illiteracy not all civilians are capable of reading the leaflets.
  - In order to have accurate delivery, aircraft need to fly at low altitudes and low speeds making them easy targets for the enemy.
  - Leaflets can be destroyed or altered by the enemy.
  - Messages must cater to the cultural norm of society.
  - Weather conditions can alter the message being delivered to civilians.
-

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- DXing.info - leaflets in Iraq in 2003 ([http://www.dxing.info/profiles/ clandestine\\_information\\_iraq\\_leaflets.dx](http://www.dxing.info/profiles/ clandestine_information_iraq_leaflets.dx))

## Astroturfing

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**Astroturfing** is the practice of masking the sponsors of a message (e.g. political, advertising, or public relations) to give the appearance of it coming from a disinterested, grassroots participant. Astroturfing is intended to give the statements the credibility of an independent entity by withholding information about the source's financial connection. The term *astroturfing* is a derivation of AstroTurf, a brand of synthetic carpeting designed to look like natural grass.

On the Internet, astroturfers use software to mask their identity. Sometimes one individual operates over many personas to give the impression of widespread support for their client's agenda.<sup>[1][2]</sup> Some studies suggest astroturfing can alter public viewpoints and create enough doubt to inhibit action.

## Policy

Astroturfing laws are implemented by government agencies that regulate deceptive practices in commerce.

### United States

The Federal Trade Commission's astroturfing regulations, called "The Guide to Endorsements and Testimonials" were published in 1975 and updated in 1980 and updated in 2009 to address social media and word-of-mouth marketing.

The FTC considers reviews endorsement when reviewers or bloggers receive payment or in-kind payment such as free products. Such endorsement must be disclosed.<sup>[3]</sup>

### Europe

The European Union created the Unfair Commercial Practices Directive in 2005 and the United Kingdom has the Consumer Protection from Unfair Trading Regulations.

### Australia

In Australia astroturfing is regulated by the Competition and Consumer Act of 2010. There is also an International Consumer Protection and Enforcement Network (ICPEN).

Legal regulations are primarily targeted towards testimonials, endorsements and statements as to the performance or quality of a product. Employees of an organization may be considered acting as customers if their actions are not guided by authority within the company.

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## Debate

### Effectiveness

A study published in the *Journal of Business Ethics* examined the effects of websites operated by front groups on students. It found that astroturfing was effective at changing perceptions in favor of business interests. The New York Times reported that "consumer" reviews are more effective, because "they purport to be testimonials of real people, even though some are bought and sold just like everything else on the commercial Internet." Some organizations feel their business is threatened by negative comments, so they may engage in astroturfing to drown them out.

### Justification

Some astroturfing operatives defend their practice. Regarding "movements that have organized aggressively to exaggerate their sway," Ryan Sager said this "isn't cheating. Doing everything in your power to get your people to show up is basic politics." According to a Porter/Novelli executive, "There will be times when the position you advocate, no matter how well framed and supported, will not be accepted by the public simply because you are who you are."

### Impact on society

Data mining expert Prof. Bing Liu (U. Illinois) estimated that one-third of all consumer reviews on the Internet are fake. According to the New York Times, this has made it hard to tell the difference between "popular sentiment" and "manufactured public opinion." According to an article in the *Journal of Business Ethics*, astroturfing threatens the legitimacy of genuine grassroots movements. The authors argued that astroturfing that is "purposefully designed to fulfill corporate agendas, manipulate public opinion and harm scientific research represents a serious lapse in ethical conduct." A 2011 report found that often paid posters from competing companies are attacking each other in forums and overwhelming regular participants in the process. George Monbiot said persona management software that supports astroturfing, "could destroy the Internet as a forum for constructive debate."

## Techniques

Organizations may astroturf through the use of front groups that pretend to serve the public's interests, while actually being operated by a discreet sponsor. Front groups may emphasize voices of dissent and instill doubt about the credibility of expert consensus in order to create uncertainty on an issue that threatens the sponsor's business. Fake blogs are sometimes used to give the appearance of providing genuine testimony, while being funded or operated by a commercial or political interest.

Some astroturfers deploy sockpuppeting techniques, where a single person creates multiple identities to give the appearance of grassroots support. Sockpuppets may post positive reviews about a product, attack participants that criticize the organization, or post negative reviews and comments about competitors, under fake identities.<sup>[1]</sup> Astroturfing businesses pay staff based on the number of posts they make that stay up without being flagged by moderators. Persona management software may be used so that each paid poster can manage five to seventy convincing online personas without mixing them up.

Pharmaceutical companies may sponsor patient support groups and simultaneously push them to help market their products.<sup>[4]</sup> Bloggers who receive free products, paid travel or other accommodations may also be considered astroturfing if those gifts are not disclosed to the reader. Analysts could be considered astroturfing, since they often cover their own clients without disclosing their financial connection. To avoid astroturfing, many organizations and press have policies about gifts, accommodations and disclosures.

## Detection

Persona management software can pre-age accounts and simulate the activity of attending a conference automatically to make it more convincing that they are genuine. At HBGary, employees are given separate thumb drives that contain online accounts for individual identities and visual cues to remind the employee which identity they are using at the time.

Mass letters may be printed on personalized stationery using different typfaces, colors and words to make them appear personal.

According to an article in *The New York Times*, the Federal Trade Commission rarely enforces its astroturfing laws. However, astroturfing operations are frequently detected if their profile images are recognized or if they are identified through the usage patterns of their accounts. Indiana University developed software in 2010 that detects astroturfing on Twitter by recognizing behavioral patterns.

## Business

According to Nancy Clark from Precision Communications, grass-roots specialists charge \$25 to \$75 for each constituent they convince to send a letter to a politician. Paid online commentators in China are paid fifty cents a post for each post that remains without being flagged by moderators. The New York Times reported that a business selling fake online book reviews charged \$999 for 50 reviews and made \$28,000 a month shortly after opening.

## History of astroturfing

The term "astroturfing" was first coined in 1985 by then-US Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D–Texas) when he said, "a fellow from Texas can tell the difference between grass roots and AstroTurf... this is generated mail".<sup>[1]</sup> Bentsen was describing a "mountain of cards and letters" sent to his office to promote insurance industry interests. Although the term was coined relatively recently, the practice has a very long history. For instance, in Act 1, Scene 2 of Shakespeare's play *Julius Caesar*, Cassius writes fake letters from "the public" to convince Brutus to assassinate Caesar. In the early 1900s a disposable cup vendor convinced travelers to avoid public drinking cups found in trains and shops through a pamphlet called *The Cup Campaigner*, urging readers to avoid the spread of disease. The publisher was included on the back of the pamphlet, but most readers did not know it was published by a commercial interest.

As health advocates began winning legislation to raise taxes and increase regulation of smoking in the US, Philip Morris, Burson-Marsteller and other tobacco interests created the National Smokers Alliance (NSA) in 1993. The NSA and other tobacco interests initiated an aggressive public relations campaign from 1994 to 1999 in an effort to exaggerate the appearance of grassroots support for smoker's rights. According to an article in the *Journal of Health Communication*, the NSA had mixed success at defeating bills that were damaging revenues of tobacco interests.

Email, automated phone calls, form letters and the Internet made astroturfing more economical and prolific in the late 1990s. In 2001, as Microsoft was defending itself against an anti-trust lawsuit, Americans for Technology Leadership (ATL), a group heavily funded by Microsoft, initiated a letter-writing campaign. ATL contacted constituents under the guise of conducting a poll and sent pro-Microsoft consumers pre-written letters to send to involved lawmakers. The effort was designed to make it appear as though there was public support for a sympathetic ruling in the anti-trust lawsuit.

In 2006, two Edelman employees created a blog called "Wal-Marting Across America" about two people traveling to Wal-Marts across the country. The blog gave the appearance of being operated by spontaneous consumers, but was actually operated on behalf of Working Families for Walmart, a group funded by Wal-Mart.<sup>[5]</sup>

In 2007, Ask.com deployed an anti-Google advertising campaign portraying Google as an "information monopoly" that was damaging the Internet. The ad was designed to give the appearance of a popular movement and didn't disclose it was funded by a competitor.



A 2008 report estimated China employed 280,000 people to drown out dissent and post pro-China propaganda for fifty cents a post. Another report in 2011 said that astroturfing operations in China were "flooding" the Internet.

As President Barack Obama drew attention to the issue of global warming in 2009, research from the Pew Research Centre found that front groups like the Heartland Institute created hesitation among constituents about global warming by distributing materials that cast doubt on the consensus among the scientific community.

In 2010, the Federal Trade Commission settled a complaint with Reverb Communications, who was using interns to post favorable product reviews in the Apple store for clients.

In June 2010, the United States Air Force solicited for persona management software that would "enable an operator to exercise a number of different online persons from the same workstation and without fear of being discovered by sophisticated adversaries. Personas must be able to appear to originate in nearly any part of the world and can interact through conventional online services and social media platforms..." The \$2.6 million contract was awarded to Ntrepid Corporation for astroturfing software the military would use to spread pro-American propaganda in the Middle East, and disrupt extremist propaganda and recruitment.

In September 2012, it was considered the first major identified case of astroturfing in Finland when criticisms about the cost of a €1.8 billion patient information system was defended by fake online identities operated by involved vendors.

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# Atrocity story

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The term **atrocity story** (also referred to as *atrocity tale*) as defined by the American sociologists David G. Bromley and Anson D. Shupe refers to the symbolic presentation of action or events (real or imaginary) in such a context that they are made flagrantly to violate the (presumably) shared premises upon which a given set of social relationships should be conducted. The recounting of such tales is intended as a means of reaffirming normative boundaries. By sharing the reporter's disapproval or horror, an audience reasserts normative prescription and clearly locates the violator beyond the limits of public morality. The term was coined in 1979 by Bromley, Shupe, and Joseph Ventimiglia. <sup>[1]</sup>

## Views and studies

The term "atrocity story" is controversial as it relates to the differing views amongst scholars about the credibility of the accounts of former members. (See: The reliability of apostates' testimony.)

Bryan R. Wilson, Reader Emeritus of Sociology of the University of Oxford says apostates of new religious movements are generally in need of self-justification, seeking to reconstruct their past and to excuse their former affiliations, while blaming those who were formerly their closest associates. Wilson, thus, challenges the reliability of the apostate's testimony by saying that the apostate "must always be seen as one whose personal history predisposes him to bias with respect to both his previous religious commitment and affiliations, the suspicion must arise that he acts from a personal motivation to vindicate himself and to regain his self-esteem, by showing himself to have been first a victim but subsequently to have become a redeemed crusader." Wilson also asserts that some apostates or defectors from religious organisations rehearse atrocity stories to explain how, by manipulation, coercion or deceit, they were recruited to groups that they now condemn. <sup>[2]</sup>

Jean Duhaime of the Université de Montréal writes, referring to Wilson, based on his analysis of three books by apostates of new religious movements, that stories of apostates cannot be dismissed only because they are subjective. <sup>[3]</sup>

Danny Jorgensen, Professor at the Department of Religious Studies of the University of Florida, in his book *The Social Construction and Interpretation of Deviance: Jonestown and the Mass Media* argues that the role of the media in constructing and reflecting reality is particularly apparent in its coverage of cults. He asserts that this complicity exists partly because apostates with an atrocity story to tell make themselves readily available to reporters and partly because new religious movements have learned to be suspicious of the media and, therefore, have not been open to investigative reporters writing stories on their movement from an insider's perspective. Besides this lack of information about the experiences of people within new religious movements, the media is attracted to sensational stories featuring accusations of food and sleep deprivation, sexual and physical abuse, and excesses of spiritual and emotional authority by the charismatic leader. <sup>[4]</sup>

Michael Langone argues that some will accept uncritically the positive reports of current members without calling such reports, for example, "benevolence tales" or "personal growth tales". He asserts that only the critical reports of ex-members are called "tales", which he considers to be a term that clearly implies falsehood or fiction. He states that it wasn't until 1996 that a researcher conducted a study to assess the extent to which so called "atrocity tales" might be based on fact. <sup>[5]</sup> <sup>[6]</sup>

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## Other uses

The term is also used as related to atrocity stories told as a form of propaganda, and its power in the shaping of public opinion during wartime.<sup>[7]</sup>

The term was coined by Stimson and Webb (1975) in discussing the ways in which patients talk about doctors. It has also been applied in health care contexts to examine the way in which such stories are used to assert and defend the character of an occupation against illegitimate claims to its work or social standing (Dingwall 1977).

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- [6] Beith-Hallahmi, Benjamin *Dear Colleagues: Integrity and Suspicion in NRM Research*, 1997, (<http://www.apologeticsindex.org/c59.htm>)
- [7] MacDougall, Curtis D., *Understanding Public Opinion: A Guide for Newspapermen and Newspaper Readers* (New York: Macmillan, 1952) pp.101-2
- [8] <http://www.cliothemis.com/Atrocitas-enormitas-Esquisse-pour>

# Bandwagon effect

The **bandwagon effect** is a well documented form of groupthink in behavioral science and has many applications. Wikipedia: Avoid weasel words The general rule is that conduct or beliefs spread among people, as fads and trends clearly do, with "the probability of any individual adopting it increasing with the proportion who have already done so". As more people come to believe in something, others also "hop on the bandwagon" regardless of the underlying evidence.

The tendency to follow the actions or beliefs of others can occur because individuals directly prefer to conform, or because individuals derive information from others. Both explanations have been used for evidence of conformity in psychological experiments. For example, social pressure has been used to explain Asch's conformity experiments, and information has been used to explain Sherif's autokinetic experiment.



A literal "bandwagon", whence the metaphor is derived.

## Concept

In layman's term the bandwagon effect refers to people doing certain things because other people are doing them, regardless of their own beliefs, which they may ignore or override. The perceived "popularity" of an object or person may have an effect on how it is viewed on a whole. For instance, once a product becomes popular, more people tend to "get on the bandwagon" and buy it, too. The bandwagon effect explains why there are fashion trends.

When individuals make rational choices based on the information they receive from others, economists have proposed that information cascades can quickly form in which people decide to ignore their personal information signals and follow the behavior of others. Cascades explain why behavior is fragile—people understand that they are based on very limited information. As a result, fads form easily but are also easily dislodged. Such informational effects have been used to explain political bandwagons.

## Origin

Literally, a bandwagon is a wagon which carries the band in a parade, circus or other entertainment. The phrase "jump on the bandwagon" first appeared in American politics in 1848 when Dan Rice, a famous and popular circus clown of the time, used his bandwagon and its music to gain attention for his political campaign appearances. As his campaign became more successful, other politicians strove for a seat on the bandwagon, hoping to be associated with his success. Later, during the time of William Jennings Bryan's 1900 presidential campaign, bandwagons had become standard in campaigns, and "jump on the bandwagon" was used as a derogatory term, implying that people were associating themselves with the success without considering what they associated themselves with.

## Use in politics

The bandwagon effect occurs in voting: some people vote for those candidates or parties who are likely to succeed (or are proclaimed as such by the media), hoping to be on the "winner's side" in the end. The bandwagon effect has been applied to situations involving majority opinion, such as political outcomes, where people alter their opinions to the majority view. Such a shift in opinion can occur because individuals draw inferences from the decisions of others, as in an informational cascade.<sup>[*citation needed*]</sup>

Because of time zones, election results are broadcast in the eastern parts of the United States while polls are still open in the west. This difference has led to research on how the behavior of voters in western United States are influenced by news about the decisions of voters in other time zones. In 1980, NBC News declared Ronald Reagan to be the winner of the presidential race on the basis of the exit polls several hours before the voting booths closed in the west.

It is also said to be important in the American Presidential Primary elections. States all vote at different times, spread over some months, rather than all on one day. Some states (Iowa, New Hampshire) have special precedence to go early while others have to wait until a certain date. This is often said to give undue influence to these states, a win in these early states is said to give a candidate the "Big Mo" (momentum) and has propelled many candidates to win the nomination. Because of this, other states often try front loading (going as early as possible) to make their say as influential as they can. In the 2008 presidential primaries two states had all or some of their delegates banned from the convention by the central party organizations for voting too early.<sup>[1]</sup>

Several studies have tested this theory of the bandwagon effect in political decision making. In the 1994 study of Robert K. Goidel and Todd G. Shields in *The Journal of Politics*, 180 students at the University of Kentucky were randomly assigned to nine groups and were asked questions about the same set of election scenarios. About 70% of subjects received information about the expected winner (Goidel and Shields 807). Independents, which are those who do not vote based on the endorsement of any party and are ultimately neutral, were influenced strongly in favor of the person expected to win (Goidel and Shields 807-808). Expectations played a significant role throughout the study. It was found that independents are twice as likely to vote for the Republican candidate when the Republican is expected to win. From the results, it was also found that when the Democrat was expected to win, independent Republicans and weak Republicans were more likely to vote for the Democratic candidate (Goidel and Shields 808).

A study by Albert Mehrabian, reported in *The Journal of Applied Social Psychology* (1998), tested the relative importance of the bandwagon (rally around the winner) effect versus the underdog (empathic support for those trailing) effect. Bogus poll results presented to voters prior to the 1996 Republican primary clearly showed the bandwagon effect to predominate on balance. Indeed, approximately 6% of the variance in the vote was explained in terms of the bogus polls, showing that poll results (whether accurate or inaccurate) can significantly influence election results in closely contested elections. In particular, assuming that one candidate "is an initial favorite by a slim margin, reports of polls showing that candidate as the leader in the race will increase his or her favorable margin" (Mehrabian, 1998, p. 2128). Thus, as poll results are repeatedly reported, the bandwagon effect will tend to snowball and become a powerful aid to leading candidates.

During the 1992 U.S. presidential election, Vicki G. Morwitz and Carol Pluzinski conducted a study, which was published in *The Journal of Consumer Research*. At a large northeastern university, some of 214 volunteer business students were given the results of student and national polls indicating that Bill Clinton was in the lead. Others were not exposed to the results of the polls. Several students who had intended to vote for Bush changed their minds after seeing the poll results (Morwitz and Pluzinski 58-64).

Additionally, British polls have shown an increase to public exposure. Sixty-eight percent of voters had heard of the general election campaign results of the opinion poll in 1979. In 1987, this number of voters aware of the results increased to 74% (McAllister and Studlar 725). According to British studies, there is a consistent pattern of apparent bandwagon effects for the leading party.

## Use in microeconomics

In microeconomics, bandwagon effect describes interactions of demand and preference. The bandwagon effect arises when people's preference for a commodity increases as the number of people buying it increases. This interaction potentially disturbs the normal results of the theory of supply and demand, which assumes that consumers make buying decisions solely based on price and their own personal preference. Gary Becker has even argued that the bandwagon effect could be so strong as to make the demand curve slope upward.

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## External links

- Definition at Investopedia (<http://www.investopedia.com/terms/b/bandwagon-effect.asp#ixzz272aXkAwV>)

# Big Lie

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*For the 1951 anti-communist propaganda film, see The Big Lie.*

The **Big Lie** (German: *Große Lüge*) is a propaganda technique. The expression was coined by Adolf Hitler, when he dictated his 1925 book *Mein Kampf*, about the use of a lie so "colossal" that no one would believe that someone "could have the impudence to distort the truth so infamously." Hitler asserted the technique was used by Jews to unfairly blame Germany's loss in World War I on German Army officer Erich Ludendorff.

## Hitler's use of the expression

The source of Big Lie technique is this passage, taken from Chapter 10 of James Murphy's translation of *Mein Kampf*:

But it remained for the Jews, with their unqualified capacity for falsehood, and their fighting comrades, the Marxists, to impute responsibility for the downfall precisely to the man who alone had shown a superhuman will and energy in his effort to prevent the catastrophe which he had foreseen and to save the nation from that hour of complete overthrow and shame. By placing responsibility for the loss of the world war on the shoulders of Ludendorff they took away the weapon of moral right from the only adversary dangerous enough to be likely to succeed in bringing the betrayers of the Fatherland to Justice.

All this was inspired by the principle--which is quite true within itself--that in the **big lie** there is always a certain force of credibility; because the broad masses of a nation are always more easily corrupted in the deeper strata of their emotional nature than consciously or voluntarily; and thus in the primitive simplicity of their minds they more readily fall victims to the **big lie** than the small lie, since they themselves often tell small lies in little matters but would be ashamed to resort to large-scale falsehoods. It would never come into their heads to fabricate colossal untruths, and they would not believe that others could have the impudence to distort the truth so infamously. Even though the facts which prove this to be so may be brought clearly to their

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minds, they will still doubt and waver and will continue to think that there may be some other explanation. For the grossly impudent lie always leaves traces behind it, even after it has been nailed down, a fact which is known to all expert liars in this world and to all who conspire together in the art of lying.

—Adolf Hitler , *Mein Kampf*, vol. I, ch. X

In that same chapter, Hitler accused "the Jews" of what he claimed was their use of the Big Lie.

## Goebbels's use of the expression

Later, Joseph Goebbels put forth a slightly different theory which has come to be more commonly associated with the expression "big lie." Goebbels wrote the following paragraph in an article dated 12 January 1941, 16 years after Hitler's first use of the phrase. The article, titled *Aus Churchills Lügenfabrik* (English: "From Churchill's Lie Factory") was published in *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel*.

The essential English leadership secret does not depend on particular intelligence. Rather, it depends on a remarkably stupid thick-headedness. The English follow the principle that when one lies, one should lie big, and stick to it. They keep up their lies, even at the risk of looking ridiculous.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Big Lie and Holocaust

Jeffrey Herf maintains that Goebbels and the Nazis used the Big Lie to turn long-standing anti-semitism into mass murder. Herf argues that the Big Lie was a narrative of an innocent, besieged Germany striking back at an "international Jewry", which it said started World War I. The propaganda repeated over and over the conspiracy theory that Jews were the real powers in Britain, Russia and the U.S. It went to state that the Jews had begun a "war of extermination" against Germany, and so Germany had a duty and a right to "exterminate" and "annihilate" the Jews in self-defense.<sup>[2]</sup>

## Usage in Hitler's psychological profile

The phrase was also used in a report prepared during the war by the United States Office of Strategic Services in describing Hitler's psychological profile:<sup>[3][4]</sup>

His primary rules were: never allow the public to cool off; never admit a fault or wrong; never concede that there may be some good in your enemy; never leave room for alternatives; never accept blame; concentrate on one enemy at a time and blame him for everything that goes wrong; people will believe a big lie sooner than a little one; and if you repeat it frequently enough people will sooner or later believe it.<sup>[5]</sup>

However, according to Michael C. Moynihan (Sept. 7, 2012) in *Tablet Magazine*, it has become common in contemporary US politics to criticize an opponent for [allegedly] being guilty of using the idea of [the "technique" of] the Big Lie. Moynihan's main point there is that it is misleading and incorrect to imply that any such opponent is therefore somehow "similar to" or "analogous to" (i.e., "as bad as") either Hitler or Goebbels. ("See also" Association fallacy.)

## In popular culture

George Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* refers to the Big Lie theory on several occasions. For example:

- "The key-word here is blackwhite. Like so many Newspeak words, this word has two mutually contradictory meanings. Applied to an opponent, it means the habit of impudently claiming that black is white, in contradiction of the plain facts."<sup>[6]</sup>
- Definition of *doublethink*: "To tell deliberate lies while genuinely believing in them, to forget any fact that has become inconvenient, and then when it becomes necessary again, to draw it back from oblivion for just so long as it is needed...."<sup>[7]</sup>

In Roald Dahl's novel *Matilda*, Ms. Trunchbull makes a habit of tormenting the schoolchildren so outrageously that one character remarks that she may be doing this in order that any children to report their mistreatment would not be believed.

Frank Zappa continually referred to "the Big Lie" in his book, *The Real Frank Zappa Book*. He used it to describe organized religion, government, and the music industry. The song "When the Lie's So Big" from Zappa's 1989 album *Broadway the Hard Way* also dealt with the concept.

Richard Belzer defines The Big Lie, in his book *UFOs, JFK, and Elvis: Conspiracies You Don't Have To Be Crazy To Believe*, this way: "If you tell a lie that's big enough, and you tell it often enough, people will believe you are telling the truth, even when what you are saying is total crap."

In *Six Days of War*, by Michael Oren, "The Big Lie" is used in a similar context to describe the widespread accusation (primarily by Syria and Egypt), that the Arab defeats during the Six Day War were a consequence of direct United States and United Kingdom military intervention, especially from their air-posts in Libya. According to Oren, the use of this falsehood by Syria and Egypt further alienated the US and also critically worsened relations with the Soviet Union, which wished to avoid further escalation.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Marillion's 1994 release *Brave* opens with a song titled "Living with The Big Lie", about propaganda in the Western world.

In 2002, French journalist Thierry Meyssan wrote a controversial book called *9/11: The Big Lie*, which argued that the 9/11 attacks were the result of a conspiracy by the United States government.

Ian Fleming referenced the "Big Lie" in his James Bond book *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* when he had the pilot of a helicopter, who had flown it through French airspace illegally, respond to the flight controller's question as to who authorized the flight that he (the flight controller himself) had authorized it.

## Notes

- [1] Joseph Goebbels, 12 January 1941. *Die Zeit ohne Beispiel*. Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP. 1941, pp. 364-369 [original German: Das ist natürlich für die Betroffenen mehr als peinlich. Man soll im allgemeinen seine Führungsgeheimnisse nicht verraten, zumal man nicht weiß, ob und wann man sie noch einmal gut gebrauchen kann. Das haupt-sächlichste englische Führungsgeheimnis ist nun nicht so sehr in einer besonders hervorstechenden Intelligenz als vielmehr in einer manchmal geradezu penetrant wirkenden dummstreisten Dickfelligkeit zu finden. Die Engländer gehen nach dem Prinzip vor, wenn du lügst, dann lüge gründlich, und vor allem bleibe bei dem, was du gelogen hast! Sie bleiben also bei ihren Schwindeleien, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, sich damit lächerlich zu machen.]
- [2] Jeffrey Herf, "The 'Jewish War': Goebbels and the Antisemitic Campaigns of the Nazi Propaganda Ministry," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, (Spring 2005) 19#1 pp 51-80,
- [3] A Psychological Analysis of Adolph Hitler. His Life and Legend (<http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/h/hitler-adolf/oss-papers/text/profile-index.html>) by Walter C. Langer. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Washington, D.C. With the collaboration of Prof. Henry A. Murr, Harvard Psychological Clinic, Dr. Ernst Kris, New School for Social Research, Dr. Bertram D. Lawin, New York Psychoanalytic Institute. p. 219 (Nizkor)
- [4] Dr. Langer's work was published after the war as *The Mind of Adolf Hitler*, the wartime report having remained classified for over twenty years.
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- [6] George Orwell. 1984 (edition?) p. 221



[7] George Orwell. 1984 (edition?)

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## External links

- The German Propaganda Archive (GPA) (<http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/index.htm>) (Calvin College)

# Black propaganda

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**Black propaganda** is false information and material that purports to be from a source on one side of a conflict, but is actually from the opposing side. It is typically used to vilify, embarrass or misrepresent the enemy. Black propaganda contrasts with grey propaganda, the source of which is not identified, and white propaganda, in which the real source is declared and usually more accurate information is given, albeit slanted, distorted and omissive. Black propaganda is covert in nature in that its aims, identity, significance, and sources are hidden.

The major characteristic of black propaganda is that the people are not aware that someone is trying to influence them, and do not feel that they are being pushed in a certain direction.<sup>[1]</sup> Black propaganda purports to emanate from a source other than the true source. This type of propaganda is associated with covert psychological operations.<sup>[2]</sup> Sometimes the source is concealed or credited to a false authority and spreads lies, fabrications, and deceptions. Black propaganda is the "big lie," including all types of creative deceit.<sup>[3]</sup> Black propaganda relies on the willingness of the receiver to accept the credibility of the source. If the creators or senders of the black propaganda message do not adequately understand their intended audience, the message may be misunderstood, seem suspicious, or fail altogether.

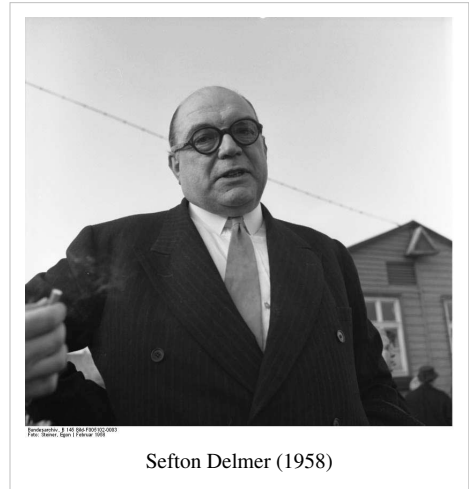
Governments will generally conduct black propaganda operations for two different reasons. First, by using black propaganda a government is more likely to succeed in convincing their target audience that the information that they are seeking to influence them with is disguised and that its motivations are not apparent. Second, there are diplomatic reasons behind the use of black propaganda. Black propaganda is necessary to obfuscate a government's involvement in activities that may be detrimental to its foreign policies.<sup>[4]</sup>

## Black propaganda in World War II

### British

In the United Kingdom, the Political Warfare Executive operated a number of black propaganda radio stations. Gustav Siegfried Eins (GS1) was one of the first such stations—purporting to be a clandestine German station. The speaker, 'Der Chef', purported to be a Nazi extremist, accusing Hitler and his henchmen of going soft. The station focused on alleged corruption and sexual improprieties of Nazi Party members.

Another example was the British radio station *Soldatensender Calais*, which purported to be a radio station for the German military. Under the direction of Sefton Delmer, a British journalist who spoke perfect Berliner German, *Soldatensender Calais* and its associated shortwave station, *Kurzwellsender Atlantik*, broadcast music, up-to-date sports scores, speeches of Adolf Hitler for "cover" and subtle propaganda.



Sefton Delmer (1958)

Radio Deutschland was another radio station employed by the British during the war aimed and designed to undermine German morale and create tensions that would ultimately disrupt the German war effort. The station was broadcast from a signal close on the radio dial to an actual German station. During the war most Germans actually believed that this station was in fact a German radio station and even gained the recognition of Germany's propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels.<sup>[5]</sup>

There were British black propaganda radio stations in most of the languages of occupied Europe as well as German and Italian.<sup>[6]</sup> Most of these were based in the area around Woburn Abbey.

Another possible example was a rumour that there had been a German attempt to land on British shores at Shingle Street, but it had been repulsed with large German casualties. This was reported in the American press, and in William L. Shirer's *Berlin Diary* but was officially denied. British papers, declassified in 1993, have suggested this was a successful example of British black propaganda to bolster morale in the UK, USA and occupied Europe.

Author James Hayward has proposed that the rumours, which were widely reported in the American press, were a successfully engineered example of black propaganda with an aim of ensuring American co-operation and securing lend lease resources by showing that the United Kingdom was capable of successfully resisting the might of the German Army.

David Hare's play *Licking Hitler* provides a fictionalised account based on the British black propaganda efforts in World War II.

### German

German black propaganda usually took advantage of European racism and anti-Communism. For example, on the night of April 27, 1944 German aircraft under cover of darkness (and possibly carrying fake Royal Air Force markings) dropped propaganda leaflets on occupied Denmark. These leaflets used the title of *Frihedsposten*, a genuine Danish underground newspaper, and claimed that the "hour of liberation" was approaching. They instructed Danes to accept "occupation by Russian or specially trained American Negro soldiers" until the first disorders resulting from military operations were over.

The German Büro Concordia organisation operated several black propaganda radio stations (many of which pretended to broadcast illegally from within the countries they targeted).

## Pacific Theatre

The *Tanaka Memorial*, a document describing a Japanese plan for world conquest, beginning with the conquest of China, is now believed by most historians to be a forgery.

The following message was distributed in black propaganda leaflets dropped by the Japanese over the Philippines in World War II. It was designed to turn Filipinos against the United States:

### Guard Against Venereal Diseases

*Lately there has been a great increase in the number of venereal diseases among our officers and men owing to prolific contacts with Filipino women of dubious character.*

*Due to hard times and stricken conditions brought about by the Japanese occupation of the islands, Filipino women were willing to offer themselves for a small amount of foodstuffs. It is advisable in such cases to take full protective measures by use of condoms, protective medicines, etc.; better still to hold intercourse only with wives, virgins, or women of respectable character.*

*Furthermore, in view of the increase in pro-American leanings, many Filipino women are more than willing to offer themselves to American soldiers, and because Filipinos have no knowledge of hygiene, disease carriers are rampant and due care must be taken.*

*US Army*

## Cold War black propaganda of the Soviet Union

Disinformation is a form of black propaganda because disinformation campaigns are covert in nature and use various forms of false information. Disinformation can be defined as false information that is deliberately, and often covertly spread in order to influence public opinion and obscure the truth.<sup>[7]</sup>

Prior to, and during the Cold War, the Soviet Union used disinformation on multiple occasions. It also employed the technique during the Iranian hostage crisis that took place from 1979 until 1981. For strictly political purposes, and to show support for the hostages, Soviet diplomats at the United Nations vocally criticized the taking of the hostages. At this same time, Soviet "black" radio stations within Iran called the National Voice of Iran openly broadcast strong support for the hostage-takers in an effort to increase anti-American sentiment inside Iran. This was a clear use of black propaganda to make anti-American broadcasts appear as if they were originating from Iranian sources.

Throughout the Cold War, the Soviet Union effectively utilized the KGB's Service A of the First Chief Directorate in order to conduct its covert, or "black", "active measures".<sup>[8]</sup> It was Service A that was responsible for clandestine campaigns that were targeted at foreign governments, public populations, as well as influence individuals and specific groups that were hostile towards the Soviet government and its policies. The majority of their operations was actually conducted by other elements and directorates of the KGB.<sup>[9]</sup> As a result, it was the First Chief Directorate that was ultimately responsible for the production of Soviet black propaganda operations.

By the 1980s, Service A consisted of nearly 120 officers whose responsibilities consisted of covert media placements, and controlled media to covertly introduce carefully manufactured information, disinformation, and slogans into the areas such as government, media, and religion of their targeted countries, namely the United States. Because both the Soviet Union and the KGB's involvements were not acknowledged and intentionally disguised, these operations are therefore classified as a form of black propaganda.<sup>[10]</sup> The activities of Service A greatly increased during the period of the 1980s through the early 1990s presumably as the Soviet government fought to maintain control during the declining period of the Cold War.

## Office of Strategic Influence

Following the September 11 attacks against the United States, the Pentagon organized and implemented the Office of Strategic Influence in an effort to improve public support abroad, mainly in Islamic countries. The head of OSI was an appointed general, Pete Worden who maintained the mission of "circulating classified proposals calling for aggressive campaigns that use[d] not only the foreign media and the Internet, but also covert operations." Worden, as well as then Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld planned for what they called "a broad mission ranging from 'black' campaigns that use[d] disinformation and other covert activities to 'white' public affairs that rely on truthful news releases." Therefore, OSI's operations could include the blackest of activities.<sup>[11]</sup>

OSI's operations were to do more than public relations work, but included contacting and emailing media, journalist, and foreign community leaders with information that would counter foreign governments and organizations that are hostile to the United States. In doing so, the emails would be masked by utilizing addresses ending with .com as opposed to using the standard Pentagon address of .mil. and hide any involvement of the US government and the Pentagon. The Pentagon is forbidden to conduct black propaganda operations within the American media, but is not prohibited for conducting these operations against foreign media outlets. The thought of conducting black propaganda operations and utilizing disinformation resulted in harsh criticism for the program that resulted in its closure in 2002.<sup>[12]</sup>

## Black propaganda in domestic politics

### Racist black propaganda

- The FBI-authored *Black Panther Coloring Book* was distributed in the United States in the late 1960s in an attempt to discredit the Black Panther Party, and the civil rights movement in general.
- In Dreux, France, in 1982 the National Front distributed anonymous fake letters, supposedly from an Algerian living in France to a brother living in Algeria. These fake letters, which described immigration as a method of conquering France without war, were instrumental in the National Front victory in the 1983 local council elections in Dreux.
- In the run-up to the 2007 federal election in Australia, flyers were circulated around Sydney under the name of a fake organisation called the Islamic Australia Federation. The flyers thanked the Australian Labor Party for supporting terrorism, Islamic fundamentalists, and the Bali bombing suspects. A group of Sydney-based Liberal Party members were implicated in the incident.

### British media

- In November 1995, a *Sunday Telegraph* newspaper article alleged Libya's Saif al-Islam Gaddafi (Muammar Gaddafi's son) was connected to a currency counterfeiting plan. The article was written by Con Coughlin, the paper's chief foreign correspondent and it was falsely attributed to a "British banking official". In fact, it had been given to him by officers of MI6, who, it transpired, had been supplying Coughlin with material for years.
  - The Zinoviev letter was a fake letter published in 1924 in the British newspaper, the *Daily Mail*. It claimed to be a letter from the Comintern president Grigory Zinoviev to the Communist Party of Great Britain. It called on Communists to mobilise "sympathetic forces" in the Labour Party and talked of creating dissent in the armed forces. The Zinoviev letter was instrumental in the Conservative victory in the 1924 general election.
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## United States media

- In the "Roorback forgery" of 1844 the *Chronicle* of Ithaca, New York ran a story, supposedly by a German tourist called Baron von Roorback, that James K. Polk, standing for re-election as a Democrat to the United States House of Representatives, branded his slaves before selling them at auction to distinguish them from the others on sale. Polk actually benefited from the ploy, as it reflected badly on his opponents when the lie was found out.
- During the 1972 U.S. presidential election, Donald H. Segretti, a political operative for President Richard Nixon's reelection campaign, released a faked letter, on Senator Edmund Muskie's letterhead, falsely alleging that Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson, against whom Muskie was running for the Democratic Party's nomination, had had an illegitimate child with a seventeen-year-old. Muskie, who had been considered the frontrunner, lost the nomination to George McGovern, and Nixon was reelected. The letter was part of a campaign of so-called "dirty tricks", directed by Segretti, and uncovered as part of the Watergate Scandal. Segretti went to prison in 1974 after pleading guilty to three misdemeanor counts of distributing illegal campaign literature. Another of his dirty tricks was the "Canuck letter", although this was libel of Muskie and not a black propaganda piece.

## United States Government

- The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Counter-intelligence program "COINTELPRO", was intended to, according to the FBI, "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalists, hate-type organizations and groups, their leadership, membership, and supporters." Black propaganda was used famously on Communists and the Black Panther Party. It was also used against domestic opponents of the invasion of Vietnam, labor leaders, and Native Americans.<sup>[13]</sup> COINTELPRO's use of black propaganda led to their creation of coloring books and cartoons. The FBI's strategy was captured in a 1968 memo: "Consider the use of cartoons, photographs, and anonymous letters which will have the effect of ridiculing the New Left. Ridicule is one of the most potent weapons which we can use against it."<sup>[14]</sup> The FBI employed a similar tactic in 1968 to disrupt activities of the Ku Klux Klan, as hundreds of 'racist' flyers with misleading information were fabricated and made to appear as if they originated from known Klan leaders.
- "The Penkovsky Papers" are an example of a black propaganda effort conducted by the United States' Central Intelligence Agency during the 1960s. The "Penkovsky Papers" were alleged to have been written by a Soviet GRU defector, Colonel Oleg Penkovsky, but was in fact produced by the CIA in an effort to diminish the Soviet Union's credibility at a pivotal time during the Cold War.<sup>[15]</sup>

## Religious black propaganda

- The Church of Scientology, under the leadership of L. Ron Hubbard, is alleged to have advocated the usage of "black propaganda" to "destroy reputation or public belief in persons, companies or nations" as a practice of Fair Game against Suppressive Persons.

## Environmental black propaganda

- The Let's Go! Shell in the Arctic<sup>[16]</sup> website was designed to look like an official website by Royal Dutch Shell, but was in fact a fake produced by Greenpeace.

## References

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- [2] Linebarger, Paul Myron Anthony. 1954. *Psychological Warfare*, Combat Forces Press, Washington
- [3] Jowett, Garth S., Garth Jowett, Victoria O'Donnell. 2006. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California
- [4] Shulsky, Abram. and Gary Schmitt, *Silent Warfare*. Washington, DC: Brasseys Inc. 2002
- [5] Allen, Thomas and Normal Polmar. *Spy Book*. New York: Random House Selection. 2004
- [6] John Pether, *The Bletchley Park Reports: Report No. 17 Black Propaganda*, Bletchley Park Trust 1998
- [7] Definition of "disinformation" (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/disinformation>), from Merriam-Webster.com
- [8] [http://intellit.muskingum.edu/russia\\_folder/pcw\\_era/sect\\_03.htm](http://intellit.muskingum.edu/russia_folder/pcw_era/sect_03.htm)
- [9] The Foreign Intelligence Role of the Committee for State Security. <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/russia/kgb/su0521.htm>
- [10] [http://intellit.muskingum.edu/russia\\_folder/pcw\\_era/sect\\_03.htm#ref](http://intellit.muskingum.edu/russia_folder/pcw_era/sect_03.htm#ref)
- [11] [http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Office\\_of\\_Strategic\\_Influence](http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Office_of_Strategic_Influence)
- [12] Carver, Tom. Pentagon Plans Propaganda War. BBC 20 February 2002. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/1830500.stm>
- [13] <http://www.ibiblio.org/pub/electronic-publications/stay-free/archives/19/fbi.html>
- [14] Churchill & VanderWall, p. 187; Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project))
- [15] Shulsky, Abram and Gary Schmitt. *Silent Warfare*. Washington: Brasseys, 2002
- [16] <http://www.arcticready.com/>

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## External links

- Stamps as War- and Propaganda Forgeries ([http://www.forgery.de/index\\_en.htm](http://www.forgery.de/index_en.htm)): This Website shows almost all officially issued War- and Propaganda forgeries. It also shows the real stamps which was the template for the forgery.
- Sefton Delmer -Black Boomerang (<http://www.psywar.org/delmer/1005/1002>): Sefton Delmer was head of British Black Propaganda during World War II. His book Black Boomerang tells the story of his work.
- PsyWar.Org - Black Propaganda and propaganda leaflets database (<http://www.psywar.org>): A website with various articles on black propaganda and psychological warfare. The site has an extensive library of propaganda leaflets from World War I to the present day.
- WW2 propaganda leaflets (<http://members.home.nl/ww2propaganda/slides31a.htm>): A website about airdropped, shelled or rocket fired propaganda leaflets. Has slideshow with many black propaganda leaflets of World War II.
- Gray and Black Radio Propaganda against Nazi Germany (<http://nymas.org/radioproppaper.htm>) Extensively illustrated paper describing the Allied effort in WW II to undermine Germany through unidentified or misidentified radio broadcasts.

## Buzzword

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A **buzzword** is a word or phrase used to impress, or is fashionable. Buzzwords often originate in jargon. Buzzwords are often neologisms.<sup>[1]</sup>

The term was first used in 1946 as student slang.<sup>[2]</sup>

## Examples

The following terms are, or were, examples of buzzwords (see also list of buzzwords):

- Long tail<sup>[3]</sup>
- Next generation<sup>[4]</sup>
- Paradigm<sup>[5]</sup>
- Paradigm shift<sup>[6]</sup>

## Footnotes

[1] Grammar.About.com - definition of buzzword (<http://grammar.about.com/od/ab/g/buzzwordterm.htm>)

[2] Online Etymology Dictionary. Douglas Harper, Historian. (<http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=buzzword>)

[3] The Register: The Long Tail's maths begin to crumble ([http://www.theregister.co.uk/2006/07/27/debunking\\_long\\_tail\\_maths/](http://www.theregister.co.uk/2006/07/27/debunking_long_tail_maths/))

[4] Evolt: Buzzword Bingo (<http://evolt.org/node/5281>)

[5] "The Buzzword Bingo Book: The Complete, Definitive Guide to the Underground Workplace Game of Doublespeak", author: Benjamin Yoskovitz, publisher: Villard, ISBN 978-0-375-75348-0

[6] Cnet.com's Top 10 Buzzwords ([http://www.cnet.com/4520-11136\\_1-6275610-1.html](http://www.cnet.com/4520-11136_1-6275610-1.html))

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## Further reading

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- Collins, David. 2000. Management fads and buzzwords : critical-practical perspectives. London ; New York : Routledge
- Godin, B. 2006. The Knowledge-Based Economy: Conceptual Framework or Buzzword?. The Journal of technology transfer 31 (1): 17-.

## External links

- The Buzzword Generator (<http://www.elfqrin.com/buzzwgen.html>) Generates buzzwords and sample sentences containing such generated buzzwords
- LanguageMonitor (<http://www.languagemonitor.com/>) – Watchdog on contemporary English usage
- N-Gage At E3 Showcases Immersive Games And Next-Generation Mobile Gaming ([http://press.nokia.com/PR/200505/994772\\_5.html](http://press.nokia.com/PR/200505/994772_5.html)) – an example of buzzwords in action.
- The Web Economy Bullshit Generator (<http://dack.com/web/bullshit.html>)
- On living wage, affordable housing, etc. ([http://www.townhall.com/columnists/ThomasSowell/2007/05/29/a\\_war\\_of\\_words](http://www.townhall.com/columnists/ThomasSowell/2007/05/29/a_war_of_words))
- View buzzwords, add buzzwords, comment on buzzwords (<http://www.buzzwordmadness.com>)
- The Online Dictionary of Language Terminology (<http://www.odlt.org>)

## Card stacking

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**Card stacking** is a propaganda technique that seeks to manipulate audience perception of an issue by emphasizing one side and repressing another. Such emphasis may be achieved through media bias or the use of one-sided testimonials, or by simply censoring the voices of critics. The technique is commonly used in persuasive speeches by political candidates to discredit their opponents and to make themselves seem more worthy.

The term originates from the magician's gimmick of "stacking the deck", which involves presenting a deck of cards that appears to have been randomly shuffled but which is, in fact, 'stacked' in a specific order. The magician knows the order and is able to control the outcome of the trick. In poker, a deck can be stacked so that certain hands are dealt to certain players.

The phenomenon can be applied to any subject and has wide applications. Whenever a broad spectrum of information exists, appearances can be rigged by highlighting some facts and ignoring others. Card stacking can be a tool of advocacy groups or of those groups with specific agendas. For example, an enlistment poster might focus upon an impressive picture, with words such as "travel" and "adventure", while placing the words, "enlist for two to four years" at the bottom in a smaller and less noticeable point size.

## Footnotes

## External links

- [http://changingminds.org/techniques/propaganda/card\\_stacking.htm](http://changingminds.org/techniques/propaganda/card_stacking.htm)
  - Fallacy Files (<http://www.fallacyfiles.org/onesided.html>)
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# Code word

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In communication, a **code word** is an element of a standardized code or protocol. Each code word is assembled in accordance with the specific rules of the code and assigned a unique meaning. Code words are typically used for reasons of reliability, clarity, brevity, or secrecy.

## References

-  This article incorporates public domain material from the General Services Administration document "Federal Standard 1037C" <sup>[1]</sup> (in support of MIL-STD-188).
-  This article incorporates public domain material from the United States Department of Defense document "Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms".
- UNHCR Procedure for Radio Communication

## External links

- UNHCR Procedure for Radio Communication <sup>[2]</sup>

## References

[1] <http://www.its.bldrdoc.gov/fs-1037/fs-1037c.htm>

[2] <http://www.reliefweb.int/telecoms/training/unhcradio.html>

# Communist propaganda

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**Communist propaganda** is propaganda aimed to advance the ideology of communism, communist worldview and interests of the communist movement.

A Bolshevik theoretician, Nikolai Bukharin, in his *The ABC of Communism* wrote:<sup>[1]</sup>

The State propaganda of communism becomes in the long run a means for the eradication of the last traces of bourgeois propaganda dating from the old régime; and it is a powerful instrument for the creation of a new ideology, of new modes of thought, of a new outlook on the world.

## Communist propaganda as defined by Bolsheviks

The *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* defines the communist propaganda in an opposition to what is called *bourgeois propaganda* described as manipulation of the masses in the interests of certain groups, in fact, in the interests of the ruling class. On the contrary, the communist propaganda is defined as a scientifically based system of the dissemination of the communist ("Marxist-Leninist") ideology with the purpose of education, training and organizing of the masses.



## Purposes

The *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* identifies the following functions of the Communist propaganda:<sup>[2]</sup>

- The link of the Communist party with the worker class and other working people<sup>[3]</sup>
- Incorporation of the Scientific Socialism into the worker movements and revolutionary activities of the masses
- Unification and organization of national divisions of the workers', communist, and democratic movements
- Coordination of the activities of the above mentioned movements, exchange of information and experience
- Expression of the public opinion of the worker class, working people, their needs and interests
- Spread opposition to the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda
- Dissemination of propaganda about the socialist society (i.e., the one of a communist state).

## Targets

As a common trait of any propaganda and its analogue, advertising, Communist propaganda goals and techniques are tuned according to the target audience. The most broad classification of targets is:<sup>[4]</sup>

- Domestic propaganda of the Communist states
- External propaganda of the Communist states
- Propaganda of the Communist supporters outside the Communist states

A more detailed classification of specific targets (workers, peasants, youth, women, etc.) may be found in the Communist Party documents, usually presented at the Congresses of the communist Party.

## Techniques

### Use of Marxist ideology

The creation of the Soviet Union was presented as the most important turning event in human history, based on the Marxist theory of historical materialism. This theory identified means of production as chief determinants of the historical process. They led to the creation of social classes, and class struggle was the 'motor' of history. The sociocultural evolution of societies had to progress inevitably from slavery, through feudalism and capitalism to communism. Furthermore, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union became the protagonist of history, as a "vanguard of the working class", according to development of this theory by Vladimir Lenin. Hence the unlimited powers of the Communist Party leaders were claimed to be as infallible and inevitable as the history itself.<sup>[5]</sup> It also followed that a worldwide victory of communist countries is inevitable.

Marxism was widely used to justify political repressions. For example, the peasantry was represented as an incarnation of backwardness, an enemy class that must be brought under control, for example in the Soviet Union, Vietnam and Tanzania.<sup>[6]</sup> Millions died as a result of Soviet dekulakization policy that included execution, imprisonment, and deportation to Siberia of better off peasants called "kulaks". Lev Kopelev, who was personally involved in actions against starving villagers in 1930s explained his motivation as a result of the Communist propaganda :

"It was excruciating to see and hear all this. And even worse to take part in it.... And I persuaded myself, explained to myself. I must not give in to debilitating pity. We were realizing historical necessity. We were performing our revolutionary duty. We were obtaining grain for our socialist Fatherland. For the Five Year Plan. Our goal was the universal triumph of the Communism, and for the sake of that goal everything was permissible - to lie, to steal, to destroy hundreds of thousands and even millions of people... everyone who stood in the way".

## Polarized values

While somewhat modified since the times of the détente, the Communist propaganda was centered around a number of polarized dichotomies: virtues of the Communist world vs. vices of the Capitalist world, such as:

- communists for peace, the West for war
- communists for cooperation, the West is based on exploitation

Still another polarization was focused on the real and alleged essence of various terms, such as "freedom", "democracy", often counterpointing, e.g., "bourgeois democracy" vs. "true democracy" or "people's democracy". The latter term is seen, e.g., in the expression "countries of people's democracy" as applied to what is called "communist states" in the West.<sup>[7]</sup>

## Self-criticism

In Jacques Ellul's book *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* complete propaganda can only be achieved when it is able to win over the adversary or at least integrate him into the new frame of reference created by propaganda. This was achieved by Soviet propaganda in the self-criticism of its opponents so that the enemy of a regime can be made to declare, while he is still the enemy, that the regime was right and his opposition was criminal. <sup>[8]</sup> The enemy accepts his condemnation as just and converts to a supporter of the regime as a result of totalitarian propaganda.

## Means

Communist propaganda was delivered via:

- Printed media
  - Manuals
  - Newspapers and magazines
  - Books
- Radio and TV broadcasting
- Congresses and conferences of various international organizations under various Communist umbrellas, such as World Peace Council
- Local communist parties and fellow-travellers

## Communist manuals

During the years 1938 - 1953 the *History of the CPSU(B). Short Course* was an obligatory explanation of Soviet ideology. The book was translated into many languages.

## Communist periodicals

A number of periodicals were printed by communist states, either exclusively for distribution abroad or with versions tailored for foreign audiences. While the Soviet Union and the Communist China were the major contributors, other communist states contributed their share as well. The lists below are for early 1960s compiled by J. Clews. The list contains mostly English language titles, but many of these journals were edited in many languages.

**Soviet Union**

- *Culture and Life*
- *International Affairs*
- *Moscow News*
- *The New Times*
- *Oeuvres et opinions*
- *Soviet Film*
- *Soviet Literature*
- *Soviet Union*
- *Soviet Woman*, in Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, French, German, Hindi, Hungarian, Japanese, Korean and Spanish
- *Femmes de nous jours*
- *Sputnik* - not allowed in GDR and Cuba during glasnost.

**People's Republic of China**

- *China Pictorial*
- *China Reconstructs*
- *Peking Review*
- *People's China*
- *China's Sports*
- *Women in China*
- *Evergreen*

**Other**

(Partial list)

- People's Republic of Poland
    - *Daily News*
    - *Demokratis*
    - *Polish Review*
  - Czechoslovakia
    - *In the Heart of Europe*
    - *Czechoslovak Life*
    - *Czechoslovak Woman*
  - Bulgaria
    - *Bulgaria Today*
    - *New Bulgaria* (in English, French, Arabic)
  - East Germany
    - *Al Najallah* (for Arabic-speaking countries)
    - *GDR REview*
    - *Democratic German Report*
    - *Jena Review*
    - *Saut- as-Sadaka* (Arabic)
    - *Voix de l'Amitie* (French, for Africa)
    - *Picture News* (English, for Asia)
    - *Echo d'Allemagne* (French)
  - North Korea
    - *Korea Today*
-

- *Democratic People's Republic of Korea (Periodical)*

## Radio broadcasting

A 1952 article "Communist broadcasts to Italy" reported that as of June 1952 the total communist radio broadcast to Italy amounted 78 hours per week, as compared to 23 hours of the *Voice of America* and BBC, noting that Italy occupied a pivotal position in the East-West conflict of the time. These broadcasts originated not only from Moscow, but also from the countries of the Soviet Bloc, as well as from fake "underground resistance" radios probably located within the Soviet Bloc as well rather than in the West.<sup>[9]</sup>

## Film and stage

Soviet leaders believed that film was an important tool of propaganda [10], see Cinema of the Soviet Union. Soviet films helped to create the legends of the revolution: *The Battleship Potemkin*, *October: Ten Days That Shook the World*, *The End of St. Petersburg*. Roman Karmen was a war cameraman and film director and one of the most influential figures in documentary film making; he could be considered USSR's answer to Leni Riefenstahl. *Obyknovennyy fashizm* (Common Fascism aka *A Night of Thoughts or Triumph Over Violence*) (1965) by Mikhail Romm described totalitarian propaganda on the example of Nazism.

In 2007 a high ranking intelligence officer and defector from the Eastern Bloc, Ion Mihai Pacepa, stated that in February 1960, Nikita Khrushchev authorized a covert plan (known as Seat 12) to discredit the Vatican because of its strong anti-communism, with Pope Pius XII as the prime target.<sup>[11][12][13][14]</sup> As part of that plan General Ivan Agayants, chief of the KGB's disinformation department, created the outline for what was to become the play, *The Deputy*, which although fictional purports to cast doubt on the Pontiff's moral credibility with regard to the Holocaust.<sup>[15][16]</sup>

## International organizations, congresses and festivals

During the Cold War the World Festivals of Youth and Students were held, with some exceptions, in capitals of Communist states and were a powerful tool of Communist propaganda.

## Education

Education in the Communist states included a considerable amount of indoctrination, both in special political/philosophical courses and in properly crafted courses of general education: history, geography, world literature, etc. Soviet ideology was taught in the Soviet Union divided into three disciplines: Scientific Communism, Marxism-Leninism (mostly in form of Leninism) and Communist *Political Economy*) and was introduced as part of many courses, e.g., teaching Karl Marx' or Vladimir Lenin's views on topics of science or history. The Soviet format of education was imposed (although with varying success) onto other satellite states.<sup>[17]</sup>

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## Culture and arts

From the early days of the first Communist-ruled state, Soviet Russia, arts were recognized as a powerful means of propaganda and placed under strict control and censorship in all Communist states. Lenin and Joseph Stalin were preferred subject, almost all Stalin's images and monuments removed and/or destroyed after his death, mostly in 1956.

Kukryniksy were three propaganda caricaturists/cartoonists, who attacked all *enemies* of the Soviet Union.

## Financial means

J. Clews cites German, French and British estimates of early 1960s on the amount of money spent in the world for Communist propaganda and political activities in the non-Communist world, estimating to about \$2,000 million, i.e., about \$2 per person outside the Communists states, with major spenders being the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China.

## Perception in the West

The basic aspects of the communist ideology, such as violent means for attaining its goals (revolution), abolition of the private property and animosity towards religion were against the traditional values of the Western world and have met with strong opposition, including attempts to make the communist propaganda illegal in some states. For example,

- In 1937, the Canadian province of Quebec enacted the "Padlock Law", which enabled police to prevent the use of any premises for the promotion of Communism or Bolshevism. The Supreme Court of Canada struck down the Padlock Law as unconstitutional in 1957.
- In 1962, the U.S. state of Louisiana passed a law identifying Communist propaganda as a subversive activity<sup>[18]</sup> and declared that "it shall be a felony for any person to knowingly, willfully and intentionally deliver, distribute, disseminate or store communist propaganda in the state of Louisiana except under the specific exemptions hereinafter provided."<sup>[19]</sup>



The doorway of the newspaper "La Clarte", a weekly communist newspaper, padlocked by the police in Montreal, Quebec, Canada in 1937.

## Specific examples

- Propaganda in the Soviet Union
- Propaganda in the People's Republic of China
- Propaganda in the People's Republic of Poland
- Propaganda in North Korea
- Agitprop
- Agitprop theatre

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# Corporate identity

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Marketing	
Key concepts	
	• Product marketing
	• Pricing
	• Distribution
	• Service
	• Retail
	• Brand management
	• Brand licensing
	• Account-based marketing
	• Ethics
	• Effectiveness
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	• Broadcasting
	• Out-of-home advertising
	• Internet
	• Point of sale
	• Merchandise
• Digital marketing	



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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In-game advertising</li> <li>• Product demonstration</li> <li>• Word-of-mouth</li> <li>• Brand ambassador</li> <li>• Drip marketing</li> <li>• Visual merchandising</li> </ul> |
|---|

A **corporate identity** is the overall image of a corporation or firm or business in the minds of diverse publics, such as customers and investors and employees. It is a primary task of the corporate communications department to maintain and build this identity to accord with and facilitate the attainment of business objectives. It is usually visibly manifested by way of branding and the use of trademarks.

Corporate identity comes into being when there is a common ownership of an organizational philosophy that is manifest in a distinct corporate culture — the corporate personality. At its most profound, the public feel that they have ownership of the philosophy. Corporate identity helps organizations to answer questions like “who are we?” and “where are we going?” Corporate identity also allows consumers to denote their sense of belonging with particular human aggregates or groups.<sup>[1]</sup>

In general, this amounts to a corporate title, logo (logotype and/or logogram) and supporting devices commonly assembled within a set of guidelines. These guidelines govern how the identity is applied and confirm approved colour palettes, typefaces, page layouts and other such.

## Concept

Corporate identity is often viewed as being composed of three parts:

- Corporate design (logos, uniforms, corporate colours etc.)
- Corporate communication (advertising, public relations, information, etc.)
- Corporate behavior (internal values, norms, etc.)

## Organizational point of view

In a recent monograph on Chinese corporate identity (Routledge, 2006), Peter Peverelli, proposes a new definition of corporate identity, based on the general organization theory proposed in his earlier work, in particular Peverelli (2000). This definition regards identity as a result of social interaction:

- Corporate identity is the way corporate actors (actors who perceive themselves as acting on behalf of the company) make sense of their company in ongoing social interaction with other actors in a specific context. It includes shared perceptions of reality, ways-to-do-things, etc., and interlocked behaviour.
- In this process the corporate actors are of equal importance as those others; corporate identity pertains to the company (the group of corporate actors) as well as to the relevant others;
- Corporate actors construct different identities in different contexts.

**Best Practices** The following four key brand requirements are critical for a successful corporate identity strategy.

- **Differentiation.** In today’s highly competitive market, brands need to have a clear differentiation or reason for being. What they represent needs to be stand apart from others in order to be noticed, make an impression, and to ultimately be preferred.
- **Relevance.** Brands need to connect to what people care about out in the world. To build demand, they need to understand and fulfill the needs and aspirations of their intended audiences.
- **Coherence.** To assure credibility with their audiences, brands must be coherent in what they say and do. All the messages, all the marketing communications, all the brand experiences, and all of the product delivery need to hang together and add up to something meaningful.

- Esteem. A brand that is differentiated, relevant and coherent is one that valued by both its internal and external audiences. Esteem is the reputation a brand has earned by executing clearly on both its promised and delivered experience.

## Visual identity

Corporate visual identity plays a significant role in the way an organization presents itself to both internal and external stakeholders. In general terms, a corporate visual identity expresses the values and ambitions of an organization, its business, and its characteristics. Four functions of corporate visual identity can be distinguished. Three of these are aimed at external stakeholders.

1. First, a corporate visual identity provides an organisation with visibility and "recognizability".<sup>[2]</sup> For virtually all profit and non-profit organisations, it is of vital importance that people know that the organization exists and remember its name and core business at the right time.
2. Second, a corporate visual identity symbolizes an organization for external stakeholders, and, hence, contributes to its image and reputation (Schultz, Hatch and Larsen, 2000). Van den Bosch, De Jong and Elving (2005) explored possible relationships between corporate visual identity and reputation, and concluded that corporate visual identity plays a supportive role in corporate reputations.
3. Third, a corporate visual identity expresses the structure of an organization to its external stakeholders, visualising its coherence as well as the relationships between divisions or units. Olins (1989) is well known for his "corporate identity structure", which consists of three concepts: monolithic brands for companies which have a single brand, identity in which different brands are developed for parts of the organization or for different product lines, and an endorsed identity with different brands which are (visually) connected to each other. Although these concepts introduced by Olins are often presented as the corporate identity structure, they merely provide an indication of the visual presentation of (parts of) the organization. It is therefore better to describe it as a "corporate visual identity structure".
4. A fourth, internal function of corporate visual identity relates to employees' identification with the organization as a whole and/or the specific departments they work for (depending on the corporate visual strategy in this respect). Identification appears to be crucial for employees,<sup>[3]</sup> and corporate visual identity probably plays a symbolic role in creating such identification.

The definition of the corporate visual identity management is:<sup>[4]</sup>

Corporate visual identity management involves the planned maintenance, assessment and development of a corporate visual identity as well as associated tools and support, anticipating developments both inside and outside the organization, and engaging employees in applying it, with the objective of contributing to employees' identification with and appreciation of the organization as well as recognition and appreciation among external stakeholders.

Special attention is paid to corporate identity in times of organizational change. Once a new corporate identity is implemented, attention to corporate identity related issues generally tends to decrease. However, corporate identity needs to be managed on a structural basis, to be internalized by the employees and to harmonize with future organizational developments.

Efforts to manage the corporate visual identity will result in more consistency and the corporate visual identity management mix should include structural, cultural and strategic aspects. Guidelines, procedures and tools can be summarized as the structural aspects of managing the corporate visual identity.

However, as important as the structural aspects may be, they must be complemented by two other types of aspects. Among the cultural aspects of corporate visual identity management, socialization – i.e., formal and informal learning processes – turned out to influence the consistency of a corporate visual identity. Managers are important as a role model and they can clearly set an example. This implies that they need to be aware of the impact of their behavior, which has an effect on how employees behave. If managers pay attention to the way they convey the

identity of their organization, including the use of a corporate visual identity, this will have a positive effect on the attention employees give to the corporate visual identity.

Further, it seems to be important that the organization communicates the strategic aspects of the corporate visual identity. Employees need to have knowledge of the corporate visual identity of their organization – not only the general reasons for using the corporate visual identity, such as its role in enhancing the visibility and recognizability of the organization, but also aspects of the story behind the corporate visual identity. The story should explain why the design fits the organization and what the design – in all of its elements – is intended to express.

## Corporate colours

**Corporate colours** (or **company colours**) are one of the most instantly recognizable elements of a corporate visual identity and promote a strong non-verbal message on the company's behalf. Examples of corporate colours:

- Red for Coca-Cola
- Blue for IBM, nicknamed "Big Blue"
- Brown for UPS, "What can Brown do for you"
- Light Teal for Korean Air

## Visual identity history

Nearly 7,000 years ago, Transylvanian potters inscribed their personal marks on the earthenware they created. If one potter made better pots than another, naturally, his mark held more value than his competitors'. Religions created some of the most recognized identity marks: the Christian cross, the Judaic Star of David, and the Islamic crescent moon. In addition, Kings and nobles in medieval times had clothing, armor, flags, shields, tableware, entryways, and manuscript bindings that all bore coats of arms and royal seals. The symbols depicted a lord's lineage, aspirations, familial virtues, as well as memoirs to cavalry, infantry, and mercenaries of who they were fighting for on the battlefields.<sup>[5]</sup>



A trademark became a symbol of individuals' professional qualifications to perform a particular skill by the 15th century. For example, the caduceus on a physician's sign signified that the doctor was a well-trained practitioner of the medical arts. Simple graphics such as the caduceus carried so much socioeconomic and political weight by the 16th century, that government offices were established throughout Europe to register and protect the growing collection of trademarks used by numerous craft guilds.

The concept of visually trademarking one's business spread widely during the Industrial Revolution. The shift of business in favor of non-agricultural enterprise caused business, and corporate consciousness, to boom. Logo use became a mainstream part of identification, and over time, it held more power than being a simple identifier. Some logos held more value than others, and served more as assets than symbols.<sup>[6]</sup>

Logos are now the visual identifiers of corporations. They became components of corporate identities by communicating brands and unifying messages. The evolution of symbols went from a way for a king to seal a letter, to how businesses establish their credibility and sell everything from financial services to hamburgers. Therefore, although the specific terms "corporate image" and "brand identity" didn't enter business or design vocabulary until the 1940s, within twenty years they became key elements to business success.

## Visual identity designers

The visual identity design profession has substantially increased in numbers over the years since the rise of the Modernist movement in the United States in the 1950s.

## Media and Corporate identity

As technology and mass media have continued to develop at exponential rates, the role of the media in business increases as well. The media has a large effect on the formation of corporate identity by reinforcing a company's image and reputation. Global television networks and the rise of business news have caused the public representation of organizations to critically influence the construction and deconstruction of certain organizational identities more than ever before.

Many companies proactively choose to create media attention and use it as a tool for identity construction and strengthening, and also to reinvent their images under the pressure of new technology. The media also has the power to produce and diffuse meanings a corporation holds, therefore giving stakeholders a negotiation of the organizational identity.

## Nation branding

The ideas of corporate identity may be applied to national identity. For example, although the United States is not a corporation, it still has organizational components and has a certain image and identity. The US is founded on certain principles, values, and beliefs, and at the same time, has a diverse and widely recognizable popular culture. Because of distinct founding principles, and the way US culture operates, the US too can be observed as a brand. Former United States Secretary of State Colin Powell once said, "We're selling a product. That product we are selling is democracy."

Images and identity do not always have to be planned and built by an organization, they also can be attributed to an organization by others' interpretations. During the Cold War, Coca-Cola, Marilyn Monroe, and Baywatch were booming in popularity and became obsessions of popular American culture. These images portrayed confidence and superiority in American media, therefore the USA seemed more secure and superior during the war. With the growth of the media, popular culture and celebrities still seem to define America in certain ways. Images of Brad Pitt and Mickey Mouse are easily associated to the US. The US has evolved into a nation with industries focused solely on celebrity gossip, TV shows, music, and blockbuster hits, making the US a highly-mediated nation with a strong focus on celebrity.

In addition to the "celebrity" identity factor, there have been more strategic and patriotic images used to re-brand the country as well. After the September 11 attacks, Bush administration initiated the re-brand of the United States from "global bully" to a "compassionate hegemon". Many American citizens contributed to the act of patriotism by placing American flag bumper stickers on their cars, purple ribbons on trees in their yards, or hanging flags in their windows, all to recreate the feeling and image of nationwide pride and support.

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## Corporation

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A **corporation** is a separate legal entity that has been incorporated through a legislative or registration process established through legislation. Incorporated entities have legal rights and liabilities that are distinct from their employees and shareholders,<sup>[1]</sup> and may conduct business as either a profit-seeking business or not for profit business. Early incorporated entities were established by charter (i.e. by an *ad hoc* act granted by a monarch or passed by a parliament or legislature). Most jurisdictions now allow the creation of new corporations through registration. In addition to legal personality, registered corporations tend to have limited liability, be owned by shareholders who can transfer their shares to others, and controlled by a board of directors who are normally elected or appointed by the shareholders.



McDonald's Corporation is one of the most recognisable corporations in the world.

In American English the word **corporation** is widely used to describe large business corporations.<sup>[2]</sup> In British English and in the commonwealth countries, the term **company** is more widely used to describe the same sort of entity while the word **corporation** encompasses all incorporated entities. In American English, the word **company** can include entities such as partnerships that would not be referred to as companies in British English as they are not a separate legal entity.

Despite not being human beings, corporations, as far as the law is concerned, are legal persons, and have many of the same rights and responsibilities as natural people do. Corporations can exercise human rights against real individuals and the state,<sup>[3]</sup> and they can themselves be responsible for human rights violations.<sup>[4]</sup> Corporations can be "dissolved" either by statutory operation, order of court, or voluntary action on the part of shareholders. Insolvency may result in a form of corporate failure, when creditors force the liquidation and dissolution of the corporation under court order,<sup>[5]</sup> but it most often results in a restructuring of corporate holdings. Corporations can even be convicted of criminal offenses, such as fraud and manslaughter. However corporations are not considered living entities in the way that humans are.<sup>[6]</sup>

## History

The word "corporation" derives from *corpus*, the Latin word for body, or a "body of people." By the time of Justinian (reigned 527–565), Roman Law recognized a range of corporate entities under the names *universitas*, *corpus* or *collegium*. These included the state itself (the *populus Romanus*), municipalities, and such private associations as sponsors of a religious cult, burial clubs, political groups, and guilds of craftsmen or traders. Such bodies commonly had the right to own property and make contracts, to receive gifts and legacies, to sue and be sued, and, in general, to perform legal acts through representatives. Private associations were granted designated privileges and liberties by the emperor.<sup>[7]</sup> Entities which carried on business and were the subjects of legal rights were found in ancient Rome, and the Maurya Empire in ancient India.<sup>[8]</sup> In medieval Europe, churches became incorporated, as did local governments, such as the Pope and the City of London Corporation. The point was that the incorporation would survive longer than the lives of any particular member, existing in perpetuity. The alleged oldest commercial corporation in the world, the Stora Kopparberg mining community in Falun, Sweden, obtained a charter from King Magnus Eriksson in 1347.

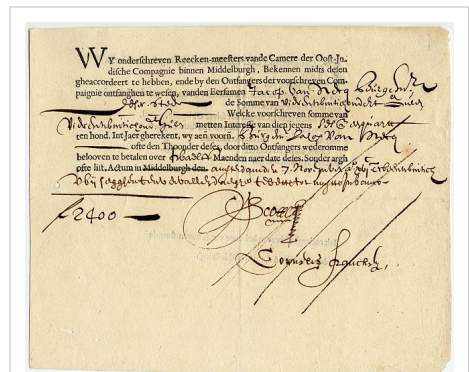


1/8 share of the Stora Kopparberg mine, dated June 16, 1288.

In medieval times traders would do business through common law constructs, such as partnerships. Whenever people acted together with a view to profit, the law deemed that a partnership arose. Early guilds and livery companies were also often involved in the regulation of competition between traders.

## Mercantilism

Many European nations chartered corporations to lead colonial ventures, such as the Dutch East India Company or the Hudson's Bay Company. These chartered companies became the progenitors of the modern corporation. Acting under a charter sanctioned by the Dutch government, the Dutch East India Company defeated Portuguese forces and established itself in the Moluccan Islands in order to profit from the European demand for spices. Investors in the VOC were issued paper certificates as proof of share ownership, and were able to trade their shares on the original Amsterdam stock exchange. Shareholders are also explicitly granted limited liability in the company's royal charter.<sup>[9]</sup>



A bond issued by the Dutch East India Company, dating from 1623, for the amount of 2,400 florins

In England, the government created corporations under a Royal Charter or an Act of Parliament with the grant of a monopoly over a specified territory. The best known example, established in 1600, was the British East India Company. Queen Elizabeth I granted it the exclusive right to trade with all countries to the east of the Cape of Good Hope. Corporations at this time would essentially act on the government's behalf, bringing in revenue from its exploits abroad. Subsequently the Company became increasingly integrated with British military and colonial policy, just as most UK corporations were essentially dependent on the British navy's ability to control trade routes.

Labeled by both contemporaries and historians as "the grandest society of merchants in the universe", the British East India Company would come to symbolize the dazzlingly rich potential of the corporation, as well as new methods of business that could be both brutal and exploitative.<sup>[10]</sup> On 31 December 1600, the English monarchy granted the company a 15-year monopoly on trade to and from the East Indies and Africa.<sup>[11]</sup> By 1611, shareholders in the East India Company were earning an almost 150% return on their investment. Subsequent stock offerings

demonstrated just how lucrative the Company had become. Its first stock offering in 1613–1616 raised £418,000, and its second offering in 1617–1622 raised £1.6 million.<sup>[12]</sup>

A similar chartered company, the South Sea Company, was established in 1711 to trade in the Spanish South American colonies, but met with less success. The South Sea Company's monopoly rights were supposedly backed by the Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713 as a settlement following the War of Spanish Succession, which gave the United Kingdom an *assiento* to trade in the region for thirty years. In fact the Spanish remained hostile and let only one ship a year enter. Unaware of the problems, investors in the UK, enticed by extravagant promises of profit from company promoters bought thousands of shares. By 1717, the South Sea Company was so wealthy (still having done no real business) that it assumed the public debt of the UK government. This accelerated the inflation of the share price further, as did the Bubble Act 1720, which (possibly with the motive of protecting the South Sea Company from competition) prohibited the establishment of any companies without a Royal Charter. The share price rose so rapidly that people began buying shares merely in order to sell them at a higher price, which in turn led to higher share prices. This was the first speculative bubble the country had seen, but by the end of 1720, the bubble had "burst", and the share price sank from £1000 to under £100. As bankruptcies and recriminations ricocheted through government and high society, the mood against corporations, and errant directors, was bitter.

In the late 18th century, Stewart Kyd, the author of the first treatise on corporate law in English, defined a corporation as:

a collection of many individuals united into one body, under a special denomination, having perpetual succession under an artificial form, and vested, by policy of the law, with the capacity of acting, in several respects, as an individual, particularly of taking and granting property, of contracting obligations, and of suing and being sued, of enjoying privileges and immunities in common, and of exercising a variety of political rights, more or less extensive, according to the design of its institution, or the powers conferred upon it, either at the time of its creation, or at any subsequent period of its existence.

—A Treatise on the Law of Corporations, Stewart Kyd (1793–1794)

## The rise of the private company

Due to the late 18th century abandonment of mercantilist economic theory and the rise of classical liberalism and laissez-faire economic theory due to a revolution in economics led by Adam Smith and other economists, corporations transitioned from being government or guild affiliated entities to being public and private economic entities free of government direction. In 1776, Adam Smith wrote in the *Wealth of Nations* that mass corporate activity could not match private entrepreneurship, because people in charge of others' money would not exercise as much care as they would with their own.<sup>[13]</sup>

In the United States, government chartering began to fall out of vogue in the mid-19th century. Corporate law at the time was focused on protection of the public interest, and not on the interests of corporate shareholders. Corporate charters were closely regulated by the states. Forming a corporation usually required an act of legislation. Investors generally had to be given an equal say in corporate governance, and corporations were required to comply with the purposes expressed in their charters. Many private firms in the 19th century avoided the corporate model for these reasons (Andrew Carnegie formed his steel operation as a limited partnership, and John D. Rockefeller set up Standard Oil as a trust). Eventually, state governments began to realize the greater corporate registration revenues available by providing more permissive corporate laws. New Jersey was the first state to adopt an "enabling" corporate law, with the goal of attracting more business to the state.<sup>[14]</sup> Wikipedia:Identifying reliable sources Delaware followed, and soon became known as the most corporation-friendly state in the country after New Jersey raised taxes on the corporations, driving them out. New Jersey reduced these taxes after this mistake was realized, but by then it was too late; even today, most major public corporations in the United States are set up under Delaware law.



By the beginning of the 19th century, government policy on both sides of the Atlantic began to change, reflecting the growing popularity of the proposition that corporations were riding the economic wave of the future. In 1819, the U. S. Supreme Court granted corporations a plethora of rights they had not previously recognized or enjoyed.<sup>[15]</sup> Corporate charters were deemed "inviolable", and not subject to arbitrary amendment or abolition by state governments.<sup>[16]</sup> The Corporation as a whole was labeled an "artificial person", possessing both individuality and immortality.<sup>[17]</sup>

At around the same time, legislation in the United Kingdom was similarly freeing the corporation from historical restrictions. In 1844 the British Parliament passed the Joint Stock Companies Act, which allowed companies to incorporate without a royal charter or an Act of Parliament.<sup>[18]</sup> Ten years later, limited liability, the key provision of modern corporate law, passed into English law: in response to increasing pressure from newly emerging capital interests, Parliament passed the Limited Liability Act 1855, which established the principle that any corporation could enjoy limited legal liability on both contract and tort claims simply by registering as a "limited" company with the appropriate government agency.<sup>[19]</sup>

This prompted the English periodical *The Economist* to write in 1855 that "never, perhaps, was a change so vehemently and generally demanded, of which the importance was so much overrated."<sup>[20]</sup> The major error of the second part of this judgment was recognised by the same magazine more than 70 years later, when it claimed that, "[t]he economic historian of the future. . . may be inclined to assign to the nameless inventor of the principle of limited liability, as applied to trading corporations, a place of honour with Watt and Stephenson, and other pioneers of the Industrial Revolution."<sup>[21]</sup>

## Modern corporations

The end of the 19th century saw the creation holding companies and corporate mergers creating larger corporations with dispersed shareholders. Countries began enacting anti-trust laws to prevent anticompetitive practices and corporations were granted more legal rights and protections.

The 20th century saw a proliferation of laws allowing for the creation of corporations by registration across the world, which helped to drive economic booms in many countries before and after World War I. Another major post World War I shift was toward the development of conglomerates, in which large corporations purchased smaller corporations to expand their industrial base.

Starting in the 1980s, many countries with large state-owned corporations moved toward privatization, the selling of publicly owned (or 'nationalised') services and enterprises to corporations. Deregulation (reducing the regulation of corporate activity) often accompanied privatization as part of a laissez-faire policy.

## Ownership and control

A corporation is, at least in theory, owned and controlled by its members. In a joint-stock company the members are known as shareholders and each of their shares in the ownership, control and profits of the corporation is determined by the portion of shares in the company that they own. Thus a person who owns a quarter of the shares of a joint-stock company owns a quarter of the company, is entitled to a quarter of the profit (or at least a quarter of the profit given to shareholders as dividends) and has a quarter of the votes capable of being cast at general meetings.

In another kind of corporation the legal document which established the corporation or which contains its current rules will determine whom the corporation's members are. Who is a member depends on what kind of corporation is involved. In a worker cooperative the members are people who work for the cooperative. In a credit union the members are people who have accounts with the credit union.

The day-to-day activities of a corporation is typically controlled by individuals appointed by the members. In some cases this will be a single individual but more commonly corporations are controlled by a committee or by committees. Broadly speaking there are two kinds of committee structure.

- A single committee known as a board of directors is the method favored in most common law countries. Under this model the board of directors is composed of both executive and non-executive directors, the latter being meant to supervise the former's management of the company.
- A two-tiered committee structure with a supervisory board and a managing board is common in civil law countries.

## Formation

Historically, corporations were created by a charter granted by government. Today, corporations are usually registered with the state, province, or national government and regulated by the laws enacted by that government. Registration is the main prerequisite to the corporation's assumption of limited liability. The law sometimes requires the corporation to designate its principal address, as well as a registered agent (a person or company designated to receive legal service of process). It may also be required to designate an agent or other legal representative of the corporation.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Generally, a corporation files articles of incorporation with the government, laying out the general nature of the corporation, the amount of stock it is authorized to issue, and the names and addresses of directors. Once the articles are approved, the corporation's directors meet to create bylaws that govern the internal functions of the corporation, such as meeting procedures and officer positions.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

The law of the jurisdiction in which a corporation operates will regulate most of its internal activities, as well as its finances. If a corporation operates outside its home state, it is often required to register with other governments as a foreign corporation, and is almost always subject to laws of its host state pertaining to employment, crimes, contracts, civil actions, and the like.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

## Naming

Corporations generally have a distinct name. Historically, some corporations were named after their membership: for instance, "The President and Fellows of Harvard College." Nowadays, corporations in most jurisdictions have a distinct name that does not need to make reference to their membership. In Canada, this possibility is taken to its logical extreme: many smaller Canadian corporations have no names at all, merely numbers based on a registration number (for example, "12345678 Ontario Limited"), which is assigned by the provincial or territorial government where the corporation incorporates.

In most countries, corporate names include a term or an abbreviation that denotes the corporate status of the entity (for example, "Incorporated" or "Inc." in the United States) or the limited liability of its members (for example, "Limited" or "Ltd."). These terms vary by jurisdiction and language. In some jurisdictions they are mandatory, and in others they are not.<sup>[22]</sup> Their use puts everybody on constructive notice that they are dealing with an entity whose liability is limited: one can only collect from whatever assets the entity still controls when one obtains a judgment against it.

Some jurisdictions do not allow the use of the word "**company**" alone to denote corporate status, since the word "company" may refer to a partnership or some other form of collective ownership (in the United States it can be used by a sole proprietorship but this is not generally the case elsewhere).<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

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- [5] See, for example, the Business Corporations Act (B.C.) [SBC 2002] CHAPTER 57, Part 10
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- [21] *Economist*, December 18, 1926, at 1053, as quoted in Mahoney, *supra*, at 875.
- [22] The U.S. state of California is an example of a jurisdiction that does not require corporations to indicate corporate status in their names, except for close corporations. The drafters of the 1977 revision of the California General Corporation Law considered the possibility of forcing all California corporations to have a name indicating corporate status, but decided against it because of the huge number of corporations that would have had to change their names, and the lack of any evidence that anyone had been harmed in California by entities whose corporate status was not immediately apparent from their names. However, the 1977 drafters were able to impose the current disclosure requirement for close corporations. See Harold Marsh, Jr., R. Roy Finkle, Larry W. Sonsini, and Ann Yvonne Walker, *Marsh's California Corporation Law*, 4th ed., vol. 1 (New York: Aspen Publishers, 2004), 5–15 — 5–16.

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#### External links

- US Corporate Law at Wikibooks
- an Audio from a talk about the history of corporations and the English Law by Barrister Daniel Bennett (<http://www.brh.org.uk/dwtf2008/kcc.html>)

# Cult of personality

A **cult of personality** arises when an individual uses mass media, propaganda, or other methods, to create an idealized, heroic, and at times, god-like public image, often through unquestioning flattery and praise. Sociologist Max Weber developed a tripartite classification of authority; the *cult of personality* holds parallels with what Weber defined as "charismatic authority". A cult of personality is similar to hero worship, except that it is established by mass media and propaganda.



Ho Chi Minh statue in front of the City Hall of Ho Chi Minh City, formerly known as Saigon.

## Etymology

The term "cult of personality" probably appeared in English around 1800–1850, along with the French and German usage. At first it had no political connotations but was instead closely related to the Romantic "cult of genius". The political use of the phrase came first in 1877:

Neither of us cares a straw of popularity. Let me cite one proof of this: such was my aversion to the personality cult [orig. *Personenkultus*] that at the time of the International, when plagued by numerous moves [...] to accord me public honor, I never allowed one of these to enter the domain of publicity [...]

—Karl Marx, A letter to German political worker, Wilhelm Blos, 10 November 1877



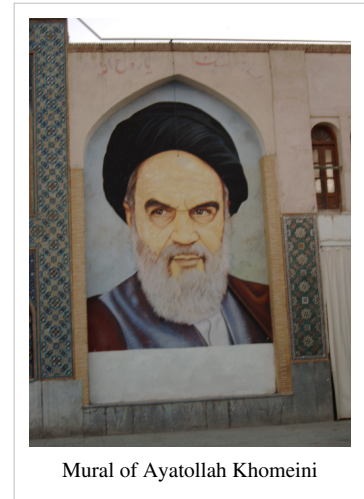
Statue of Mao Zedong in China, 2012

The terms "cult of personality" and "personality cult" were popularized by Khrushchev's Secret Speech of 1956. Robert Service notes that a more accurate translation of the Russian "культ личности" ("*kul't lichnosti*") is the "cult of the individual".

## Background

Throughout history, monarchs and other heads of state were almost always held in enormous reverence. Through the principle of the divine right of kings, for example, rulers were said to hold office by the will of God. Ancient Egypt, Japan, the Inca, the Aztecs, Tibet, Siam (now Thailand), and the Roman Empire are especially noted for redefining monarchs as "god-kings".

The spread of democratic and secular ideas in Europe and North America in the 18th and 19th centuries made it increasingly difficult for monarchs to preserve this aura.<sup>[*citation needed*]</sup> However, the subsequent development of photography, sound recording, film, and mass production, as well as public education and techniques used in commercial advertising, enabled political leaders to project a positive image like never before. It was from these circumstances in the 20th century that the best-known personality cults arose. Often these cults are a form of political religion.



Mural of Ayatollah Khomeini

## Purpose



Adolf Hitler, behind Hermann Göring, at a Nazi rally in Nuremberg in 1928

Personality cults were first described in relation to totalitarian regimes that sought to alter or transform society according to radical ideas.<sup>[1]</sup> Often, a single leader became associated with this revolutionary transformation, and came to be treated as a benevolent "guide" for the nation without whom the transformation to a better future couldn't occur. This has been generally the justification for personality cults that arose in totalitarian societies of the 20th century, such as those of Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and Joseph Stalin.

Not all dictatorships foster personality cults, not all personality cults are practised in dictatorships (some exist in a few nominally democratic countries), and some leaders may actively seek to minimize their own public adulation. For example, during the Cambodian Khmer Rouge regime, images of dictator Pol Pot (Saloth Sar) were rarely seen in public, and his identity was under dispute abroad until after his fall from power. The same applied to numerous Eastern European communist regimes following World War II (although not those of

Enver Hoxha and Nicolae Ceaușescu, mentioned below).

## Examples

### Argentina

Juan Perón, elected three times as President of Argentina, and his second wife, Eva Duarte de Perón, were immensely popular among many of the Argentine people, and to this day they are still considered icons by the Peronist Party. The Peróns' followers praised their efforts to eliminate poverty and to dignify labor, while their detractors considered them demagogues and dictators. To achieve their political goals, the Peronists had to unite

around the head of state. As a result, a personality cult developed around both Perón and his wife.<sup>[2]</sup>

## Azerbaijan

Heydar Aliyev's cult of personality became a significant part of Azerbaijani politics and society after Heydar Aliyev came to power in 1993 and continuing after his death in 2003, when his son Ilham Aliyev succeeded him. Aliyev, a former Soviet politburo member and the leader of Soviet Azerbaijan from 1969 to 1987, became the President of Azerbaijan in 1993. He then began to carefully design an autocratic system, with heavy reliance on family and clan members, oil revenues and patronage.

In Azerbaijan, Heydar Aliyev is presented as "Father of the Azeri nation", often compared to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

## China

A personality cult in the Republic of China was centered on the Kuomintang party founder Sun Yat-sen, and his successor, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The personality cult of Chiang Kai-shek went further after the republican government fled to Taiwan. He was usually referred to as "Lord Chiang" (蔣公) in public and a *Nuo tai* were required in printed materials. Articles in textbooks and songs glorifying him were commonly seen in Taiwan before 1987.

The People's Republic of China under Mao Zedong can also be considered a cult of personality. The culture of the People's Republic of China before 1981 was highly influenced by the personality cult of Mao Zedong which reached its peak during the Cultural Revolution.

Mao was referred to as "the great leader Chairman Mao" (伟大领袖毛主席) in public and was entitled "the great leader, the great supreme commander, the great teacher and the great helmsman" (伟大的领袖、伟大的统帅、伟大的导师、伟大的舵手) in Cultural Revolution. Badges and books of his quotations were largely produced. Most of people were required to recite the quotation of Mao and printed material at that time usually quote Mao's words in bold in preface. Loyalty dance (忠字舞) was also introduced during the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976.

The cult of personality continued for a short time after Mao's death. His successor, Hua Guofeng also practiced the cult of personality and was referred to as "the brilliant leader Chairman Hua" (英明领袖华主席). Reforms in 1981 led to a deconstruction of his cult status and the Chinese Communist Party is today averse to a cult of personality style rule lest it recreates the chaos of the Cultural Revolution.



Portrait of Chiang Kai-shek on Tiananmen



## French Indochina

Cambodian schoolchildren in French Indochina at one point in the early 1940s began their school-day with prayers to Marshal Philippe Pétain, opening with the words, "Our father, which art our Leader, glorious be thy name... deliver us from evil".<sup>[3]</sup>

## Libya

A cult of personality devoted to Muammar Gaddafi existed in Libya during his rule.<sup>[4]</sup> His face appeared on a wide variety of items, including postage stamps, watches, and school satchels. Quotations from *The Green Book* appeared on a wide variety of places, from street walls to airports and pens, and were put to pop music for public release. Gaddafi claimed that he disliked this personality cult, but that he tolerated it because Libya's people adored him.<sup>[4]</sup> Biographers Blundy and Lycett believed that he was "a populist at heart".<sup>[4]</sup> Throughout Libya, crowds of supporters would turn up to public events at which he appeared; described as "spontaneous demonstrations" by the government, there are recorded instances of groups being coerced or paid to attend.<sup>[5]</sup> He was typically late to public events, and would sometimes not show up at all.<sup>[6]</sup> Although Bianco thought he had a "gift for oratory",<sup>[7]</sup> he was considered a poor orator by biographers Blundy and Lycett.<sup>[8]</sup> Biographer Daniel Kawczynski noted that Gaddafi was famed for his "lengthy, wandering" speeches,<sup>[9]</sup> which typically involved criticising Israel and the U.S.<sup>[6]</sup>



Image of Gaddafi at the Leptis Magna Museum in Khoms, Libya.

## North Korea

Journalist Bradley Martin documented the personality cults of North Korea's father-son leadership, "Great Leader" Kim Il-sung and "Dear Leader" Kim Jong-il.<sup>[10]</sup> While visiting North Korea in 1979 he noted that nearly all music, art, and sculpture that he observed glorified "Great Leader" Kim Il-sung, whose personality cult was then being extended to his son, "Dear Leader" Kim Jong-il.<sup>[10]</sup> Kim Il-sung rejected the notion that he had created a cult around himself and accused those who suggested so of "factionalism". A US religious freedom investigation confirmed Martin's observation that North Korean schoolchildren learn to thank Kim Il-sung for all blessings as part of the cult. Evidence of the cult of Kim Il-sung continues into the 21st century (despite his death in 1994) with the erection of *Yeong Saeng* ("eternal life") monuments throughout the country, each dedicated to the departed "Great Leader", at which citizens are expected to pay annual tribute on his official birthday or on the anniversary of his death.<sup>[11]</sup> Recently, the personality cult in North Korea has been expanded to include the son of Kim Jong-il, Kim Jong-un.



Mass games festival in North Korea. The performers are honouring the image of Kim Il-sung.



## Philippines

In the Philippines, many local politicians engage in some sort of cult of personality. They are often branded as "epal politicians" by the media with "epal" meaning attention-grabber in Filipino slang. They put their image and their names on billboards of government projects. They also print taurpalins, usually with their image to establish a sense of connection with their constituents.<sup>[12]</sup> The Senate Bill No. 1967 or Anti-Signage of Public Works Act, colloquially known as the anti-epal bill, was filed by Senator Miriam Santiago on November 2011, and refiled again in July 2013 in an effort to stop the practice.



Light Rail Transit Authority tickets also bore Former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's image until June 2010, when it was replaced with a new ticket.

The popularity of Ferdinand Marcos and his wife Imelda Marcos are sometimes described as "cults of personality".

## Poland

A cult of personality in Poland has developed around the figure of Józef Piłsudski, Polish military commander and politician, starting from the interwar period and continuing after his death in 1935 until the present day. During the interwar period, Piłsudski's cult was propagated by the state media, describing him as a masterful strategist and political visionary, and associating him with his role in regaining the Polish independence in the aftermath of World War I, and his leadership in the following Polish–Soviet War. It has survived decades of repression, particularly during the time of communist Poland.

In modern Poland, Piłsudski is recognized as an important and largely positive figure in Polish history. The Polish Independence Day is commemorated on November 11, the date when Piłsudski assumed power in Poland after the First World War.

## Romania

During the Cold War, Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu presided over the most pervasive cult of personality within the Eastern Bloc. Inspired by the personality cult surrounding Kim Il-sung in North Korea, it started with the 1971 July Theses which reversed the period of liberalization of the 1960s and imposed a strict nationalist ideology. Initially, the cult of personality was focused just on Ceaușescu himself; by the early 1980s, his wife Elena was also a focus of the cult even to the extent that she got credit for scientific achievements that she could have never have accomplished. It remained in force until the overthrow of the regime in 1989.

## Soviet Union

Nikita Khrushchev recalled Marx's criticism in his 1956 "Secret Speech" denouncing Joseph Stalin and his cult of personality to the 20th Party Congress:

Comrades, the cult of the individual acquired such monstrous size chiefly because Stalin himself, using all conceivable methods, supported the glorification of his own person.... One of the most characteristic examples of Stalin's self-glorification and of his lack of even elementary modesty is the edition of his Short Biography, which was published in 1948.

This book is an expression of the most dissolute flattery, an example of making a man into a godhead, of transforming him into an infallible sage, "the greatest leader", "sublime strategist of all times and nations". Finally no other words could be found with which to lift Stalin up to the heavens.

We need not give here examples of the loathsome adulation filling this book. All we need to add is that they all were approved and edited by Stalin personally and some of them were added in his own handwriting to the draft text of the book.



Chinese communists celebrate Joseph Stalin's 70th birthday, 1949.

Some authors (e.g., Alexander Zinovyev) have argued that Leonid Brezhnev's rule was also characterized by a cult of personality, though unlike Stalin, Brezhnev did not initiate large-scale persecutions in the country. One of the aspects of Leonid Brezhnev's cult of personality was Brezhnev's obsession with titles, rewards and decorations, leading to his inflated decoration with medals, orders and so on.<sup>[13]</sup> This was often ridiculed by the ordinary people and led to the creation of many political jokes.

## Syria

As one of his strategies to maintain power over Syria, Hafez al-Assad developed a state-sponsored cult of personality.<sup>[14]</sup> Portraits of him, often depicting him engaging in heroic activities, were placed in every public space. He named myriad numbers of places and institutions in Syria after himself, and other members of his family. At school, children were taught to sing songs of adulation about Hafez al-Assad. Teachers would begin each lesson with the song "Our eternal leader, Hafez al-Assad". In some cases, he portrayed himself with apparently divine properties. Sculptures and portraits depicted him alongside the prophet Mohammad, while, following her death, the government produced portraits of Assad's mother surrounded by a halo. Syrian officials were made to refer to him as the 'Sanctified one' (al-Muqaddas).<sup>[15]</sup> The personality cult that he developed portrayed him as a wise, modest and just leader of the country. This strategy of creating a cult of personality was pursued further by Hafez's son and then-president, Bashar al-Assad.<sup>[16]</sup>



A billboard with the portrait of Assad and the text 'God protects Syria' on the old city wall of Damascus in 2006

## Togo

In a 2004 article on personality cults, *The Economist* identified Togo's Gnassingbé Eyadéma as maintaining an extensive personality cult, to the point of having schoolchildren begin their day by singing his praises.<sup>[17]</sup>

## Turkey



A portrait of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Istanbul

In Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is commemorated by many memorials throughout the country, such as the Atatürk International Airport in Istanbul, the Atatürk Bridge over the Golden Horn (Haliç), the Atatürk Dam, and Atatürk Stadium. Atatürk statues have been erected in all Turkish cities by Turkish Government, and most towns have their own memorial to him. His face and name are seen and heard everywhere in Turkey; his portrait can be seen in all public buildings, in all schools and classrooms, on all school books, on all Turkish lira banknotes, and in the homes of many Turkish families. At the exact time of his death, on every 10 November, at 09:05 am, most vehicles and people in the country's streets pause for one minute in

remembrance. In 1951, the Turkish Parliament issued a law (5816) outlawing insults to his reminiscence (Turkish: *Hatırası*) or destruction of objects representing him, which is still in force. A government website was created to denounce the websites that violate this law, and the Turkish government as of 2011 has filters in place to block websites deemed to contain materials insulting to his memory.

The start of Atatürk's cult of personality is placed in the 1920s when the first statues started being built. The idea of Atatürk as the "father of the Turks" is ingrained in Turkish politics and politicians in that country are evaluated in relation to his cult of personality. The persistence of the phenomenon of Atatürk's personality cult has become an area of deep interest to scholars.

Atatürk impersonators are also used in modern times in Turkey to keep alive what is described as the "world's longest-running personality cult".

## Turkmenistan

Saparmurat Niyazov, who was President of Turkmenistan from 1985 to 2006,<sup>[18]</sup> is another oft-cited cultivator of a cult of personality.<sup>[19][20][21]</sup> Niyazov simultaneously cut funding to and partially disassembled the education system in the name of "reform", while injecting ideological indoctrination into it by requiring all schools to take his own book, the *Ruhnama*, as its primary text, and like Kim Il-sung, there is even a creation myth surrounding him.<sup>[22]</sup> During Niyazov's presidency there was no freedom of the press nor was there freedom of speech. This further meant that opposition to Niyazov was strictly forbidden and major opposition figures have been imprisoned, institutionalized, deported, or have fled the country, and their family members are routinely harassed by the authorities.

Additionally, a silhouette of Niyazov was used as a logo on television broadcasts<sup>[23]</sup> and statues and pictures of him were "erected everywhere".<sup>[24]</sup> For these, and other reasons, the US Government said that by the time he died, "Niyazov's personality cult...had reached the dimensions of a state-imposed religion."<sup>[25]</sup>



Golden statue of Saparmurat Niyazov in Ashgabat

Human Rights Watch, in its *World Report 2012*, says there is a cult of personality of President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow and that it is strengthening. Agence France-Presse reports a developing personality cult. Reporters

Without Borders says the president is promoting a cult of personality of himself and that his portraits have taken the place of the ones of the previous president.

## Vietnam

The Vietnamese communist regime has continually maintained a personality cult around Ho Chi Minh since the 1950s in the North, and later extended to the South after the reunification, which it sees as a crucial part in their propaganda campaign about Ho and the Party's past. Ho Chi Minh is frequently glorified in schools to schoolchildren. Opinions, publications and broadcasts that are critical of Ho Chi Minh or that identify his flaws are banned in Vietnam, with the commentators arrested or fined for "opposing the people's revolution". Ho Chi Minh is even glorified to a religious status as an "immortal saint" by the Vietnamese Communist Party, and some people "worship the President", according to a BBC report.

The former capital of South Vietnam, Saigon, was officially renamed Ho Chi Minh City on 1 May 1975 shortly after its capture which officially ended the Vietnam War.

## Zaire

Mobutu Sésé Seko used the cult of personality to create a god-like public image of himself in what is today the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Mobutu created a centralized state, amassed massive wealth for himself and presided over economic deterioration of his country and human rights abuses.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

He used mass media communications to entrench his rule.<sup>[26]</sup> He was supported by the United States.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Mobutu embarked on a campaign of pro-Africa cultural awareness and in 1972 formally changed his name to Mobutu Sese Seko Nkuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga ("The all-powerful warrior who, because of his endurance and inflexible will to win, goes from conquest to conquest, leaving fire in his wake.")<sup>[27]</sup>

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- [7] Bianco 1975, p. 7.
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- [27] There are multiple translations of the full name, including "the all-powerful warrior who, because of his endurance and inflexible will to win, will go from conquest to conquest leaving fire in his wake", "the earthy, the peppery, all-powerful warrior who, by his endurance and will to win, goes from contest to contest leaving fire in his wake" and "the man who flies from victory to victory and leaves nothing behind him" <<http://www.plexoft.com/SBF/N04.html#Sese>> and "the all-powerful warrior who goes from conquest to conquest, leaving fire in his wake" (Wrong, p. 4)

## External links

- Why Dictators Love Kitsch (<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204908604574336383324209824.html#mod=article-outset-box>) by Eric Gibson, *The Wall Street Journal*, August 10, 2009

# Demonization

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*"Demonized" redirects here. For the album, see Demonized (album).*

**Demonization** is the reinterpretation of polytheistic deities as evil, lying demons by other religions, generally monotheistic and henotheistic ones. The term has since been expanded to refer to any characterization of individuals, groups, or political bodies as evil.

## Religion

Rather than denying the existence of the other religion's pantheon entirely, the proselytizer says instead that they are not gods worthy of worship, but demons trying to deceive their followers. Demonization is most closely associated with Christian missionaries trying to convert pagans, though Judaism, Islam, and other religions have had similar practices.<sup>[*citation needed*]</sup> Many religions, including Islam, Judaism, and Christianity have been demonized, both by elements within their religions and outside.

From a secular viewpoint, demonization can be used to denigrate an opposed individual or group, making adherents to your own religion or viewpoint less inclined to do business with them (and possibly convert) and more inclined to fight against them. If foreigners are evil and corrupted by demonic influence, then any means of self-defense is easily portrayed as legitimate. The portrayal of almost all pagans in the Middle East as Baal-worshippers in the Hebrew Bible is an example of this.<sup>[1][2]</sup> If pagans are corrupted by the demon-"god" Baal, then clearly they must be fought or at least oppressed.<sup>[3]</sup> Especially in the earlier books of the Hebrew Bible, foreign deities are portrayed as existing and corrupting entities rather than being mere powerless idols. Some would argue this later transferred to Christianity after Constantine I's ascension in its suppression of Roman paganism. Much later, the language of demonization would be invoked during the Spanish Inquisition, leading to the expulsion of Jews and Moriscos from Spain.<sup>[4]</sup>

The view of early Judaism treating foreign deities as devils and later Judaism treating them as non-existent is not universal. Psalms 96:5 <sup>[5]</sup>, for example, is alternately translated as, "For all the Gods of the gentiles are nothing," "For all the Gods of the gentiles are devils" (Vulgate), and "For all the gods of the peoples are idols." (NRSV) The Greek Septuagint translation of that passage, used by the early Christian Church, used the "devils" version.<sup>[]</sup> Jerome

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would follow the Greek text rather than the Hebrew when he translated the Latin Vulgate edition of the Bible. The "devils" epithet would still appear in Bibles up until the end of the 20th century when the consensus reverted to the original Hebrew text for modern translations.

Analogues to demonization exist outside monotheistic religions, as well. Polytheism easily accepts foreign gods in general, and in times of conflict, a foreign nation's gods would sometimes be portrayed as evil. Less commonly, it would be applied to other religions as well. For example, some strains of Hinduism consider the Buddha an incarnation of Vishnu.<sup>[6]</sup>

### Political conflicts

Demonization is sometimes used against what are arguably political opponents rather than religious ones. The Knights Templar were destroyed by accusations that they worshipped Baphomet from King Philip the Fair. Baphomet, often thought to be Beelzebub, may have been used because of the likeness of this horned deity with the Christian images of Satan.<sup>[7][8]</sup>

### Modern usage

In colloquial usage, the term demonization is used metaphorically to refer to propaganda or moral panic directed against any individual or group.

### Notes and references

- [1] "Ye shall destroy their altars, and break in pieces their pillars, and ye shall cut down their groves, and the graven images of their gods ye shall burn with fire." Exodus 34:13
- [2] "And they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword." Joshua 6:21
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# Disinformation

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**Disinformation** is intentionally false or inaccurate information that is spread deliberately. It is an act of deception and false statements to convince someone of untruth. Disinformation should not be confused with misinformation, information that is unintentionally false.

Unlike traditional propaganda techniques designed to engage emotional support, disinformation is designed to manipulate the audience at the rational level by either discrediting conflicting information or supporting false conclusions. A common disinformation tactic is to mix some truth and observation with false conclusions and lies, or to reveal part of the truth while presenting it as the whole (a limited hangout).

Another technique of concealing facts, or censorship, is also used if the group can affect such control. When channels of information cannot be completely closed, they can be rendered useless by filling them with disinformation, effectively lowering their signal-to-noise ratio and discrediting the opposition by association with many easily disproved false claims.

## Examples of disinformation

In espionage or military intelligence, disinformation is the deliberate spreading of false information to mislead an enemy as to one's position or course of action. In politics, disinformation is the deliberate attempt to deflect voter support of an opponent, disseminating false statements of innuendo based on the candidates vulnerabilities as revealed by opposition research. In both cases, it also includes the distortion of true information in such a way as to render it useless.

Disinformation may include distribution of forged documents, manuscripts, and photographs, or spreading dangerous rumours and fabricated intelligence. Its techniques may also be found in commerce and government, used to try to undermine the position of a competitor.

### Napoleonic wars

In early 1799, a French fleet under Vice-admiral Bruix was to depart from Brest, bound for the Mediterranean. In March, the French purchased the chasse-marée *Rebecca* and in April, they sent her with four swivel guns and seven men, carrying a *capitaine de frégate* with false dispatches for Ireland and the mission to let herself captured. *Rebecca* gave herself up to the hired armed cutter *Black Joke* on 27 April 1799, luring Admiral Bridport to Ireland, away from the route of the French fleet which successfully sailed south-west into Bruix' expedition of 1799.<sup>[1][2]</sup>

### World War II and Cold War

A classic example of disinformation occurred during World War II, preceding the Normandy landings, in what would be known as Operation Fortitude. British intelligence convinced the German Armed Forces that a much larger invasion force was about to cross the English Channel from Kent, England.

In reality, the Normandy landings were the main attempt at establishing a beachhead, made easier by the German Command's reluctance to commit its armies. Another act of World War II-era disinformation was Operation Mincemeat, where British intelligence dressed up a corpse, equipped it with fake invasion plans, and floated it out to sea where Axis troops would eventually recover it.

The Cold War made disinformation a mainstream military and political tactic. Military disinformation techniques were described by Vladimir Volkoff.

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## Disinformation by the KGB

According to senior SVR officer Sergei Tretyakov, the KGB was responsible for creating the entire nuclear winter story to stop the Pershing missiles.<sup>[3]</sup> Tretyakov says that from 1979 the KGB wanted to prevent the United States from deploying the missiles in Western Europe and that, directed by Yuri Andropov, they distributed disinformation, based on a faked "doomsday report" by the Soviet Academy of Sciences about the effect of nuclear war on climate, to peace groups, the environmental movement and the journal *AMBIO*.<sup>[4]</sup> Another successful example of Soviet disinformation was the publication in 1968 of *Who's Who in the CIA* which was quoted as authoritative in the West until the early 1990s.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Media

Conspiracy theorists often accuse governments of spreading disinformation in a "war for your mind" but also sometimes accuse each other of being "disinformation" agents." One publishing company, The Disinformation Company, actually focuses on current affairs seeking to expose disinformation, and has been involved in television series, conferences and books. Its website collects "the most shocking, unusual and quirky news articles, podcasts and videos on the web," mostly submitted by site visitors. But the Disinformation Company itself has been accused of spreading propaganda (such as 9/11 "Truth" material) by "The Unrepentant Marxist" critic Louis Proyect.

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## External links

- Disinformation (<http://www.bl.uk/learning/cult/disinfo/disinformation.html>) - a learning resource from the British Library including an interactive movie and activities



# Dog-whistle politics

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**Dog-whistle politics** is political messaging employing coded language that appears to mean one thing to the general population but has an additional, different or more specific resonance for a targeted subgroup. The phrase is only ever used as a pejorative, because of the inherently deceptive nature of the practice and because the dog-whistle messages are frequently themselves distasteful, for example by empathising with racist or revolutionary attitudes. It is an analogy to dog whistles, which are built in such a way that their high-frequency whistle is heard by dogs, but is inaudible to humans.

The term can be distinguished from "code words" used by hospital staff or other specialist workers, in that dog-whistling is specific to the political realm, and the messaging referred to as the dog-whistle has an understandable meaning for a general audience, rather than being incomprehensible.

## Origin and meaning

According to William Safire, the phrase may have been borrowed from the field of opinion polling. Safire quotes Richard Morin, director of polling for The Washington Post, as writing in 1988 that "subtle changes in question-wording sometimes produce remarkably different results. ... researchers call this the 'Dog Whistle Effect': Respondents hear something in the question that researchers do not," and speculates that campaign workers adapted the phrase from political pollsters.

In her book *Voting for Jesus: Christianity and Politics in Australia*, academic Amanda Lohrey writes that the goal of the dog-whistle is to appeal to the greatest possible number of electors while alienating the smallest possible number. She uses as an example Australian politicians using broadly-appealing words such as "family" and "values" which have extra resonance for Christians, while avoiding overt Christian moralizing that might be a turn-off for non-Christian voters.

Australian political theorist Robert E. Goodin argues that the problem with dog-whistling is that it undermines democracy, because if voters have different understandings of what they were supporting during a campaign, the fact that they were seeming to support the same thing is "democratically meaningless" and does not give the dog-whistler a policy mandate.

## History and usage

The term originated in Australian politics in the mid-1990s, and was frequently applied to the political campaigning of John Howard.<sup>[1]</sup>

### Australia

Throughout his 11 years as Australian prime minister and particularly in his fourth term, Howard was accused of communicating messages appealing to anxious and perhaps racist white Australian voters using code words such as "un-Australian", "mainstream" and "illegals".

One notable example was the Howard government's messaging on illegal immigration. The Howard government's tough stance on illegal immigration was popular with voters, but the government was accused of using the issue to additionally send veiled messages of support to voters with racist leanings, while maintaining plausible deniability by avoiding overtly racist language.<sup>[2]</sup> Another example is the publicity of the citizenship test in 2007. It has been argued that the test may appear reasonable at face value, but is really intended to appeal to those opposing immigration from particular geographic regions.

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## United Kingdom

Dog-whistling was introduced to the UK from Australia Wikipedia:Disputed statement by Australian political strategist and UK Conservative Party advisor Lynton Crosby, who had previously managed John Howard's four election campaigns in Australia. In the 2005 British general election, in what Goodin calls "the classic case" of dog-whistling, Crosby created a campaign for the UK Conservatives with the slogan "Are you thinking what we're thinking?": a series of posters, billboards, TV commercials and direct mail pieces with messages like "It's not racist to impose limits on immigration" and "how would you feel if a bloke on early release attacked your daughter?" focused on hot-button issues like dirty hospitals, landgrabs by "gypsies" and restraints on police behaviour.

## United States

Journalist Craig Unger writes that President George W. Bush and Karl Rove used coded "dog-whistle" language in political campaigning, delivering one message to the overall electorate while at the same time delivering quite a different message to a targeted evangelical Christian political base. William Safire, in *Safire's Political Dictionary*, offered the example of Bush's criticism during the 2004 presidential campaign of the U.S. Supreme Court's 1857 Dred Scott decision upholding slavery. To most listeners the criticism seemed innocuous, Safire wrote, but "sharp-eared observers" understood the remark to be a pointed reminder that Supreme Court decisions can be reversed, and a signal that, if re-elected, Bush might nominate to the Supreme Court a justice who would overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

Economist Paul Krugman in *The Conscience of a Liberal* (2007) extensively discusses the subtle use of dog-whistle political rhetoric by William F. Buckley, Jr., Irving Kristol and Ronald Reagan in building the rightist "movement conservatism".

Law Professor Ian Haney-López in *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class* (2014) discusses how candidates such as George Wallace, Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, Bill Clinton, and Mitt Romney have utilized Dog Whistle political strategies to garner White votes and encourage White voters from all economic backgrounds to embrace harmful social and economic policies designed to benefit the ultra-rich.

One group of alleged code words in the United States is claimed to appeal to racism of the intended audience. The phrase "states' rights", although literally referring to powers of individual state governments in the United States, was described by David Greenberg in *Slate* as "code words" for institutionalized segregation and racism. In 1981, former Republican Party strategist Lee Atwater when giving an anonymous interview discussing the GOP's Southern Strategy (see also *Lee Atwater on the Southern Strategy*) said:

You start out in 1954 by saying, "Nigger, nigger, nigger." By 1968, you can't say "nigger" — that hurts you. Backfires. So you say stuff like forced busing, states' rights and all that stuff. You're getting so abstract now [that] you're talking about cutting taxes, and all these things you're talking about are totally economic things and a byproduct of them is [that] blacks get hurt worse than whites. And subconsciously maybe that is part of it. I'm not saying that. But I'm saying that if it is getting that abstract, and that coded, that we are doing away with the racial problem one way or the other. You follow me — because obviously sitting around saying, "We want to cut this," is much more abstract than even the busing thing, and a hell of a lot more abstract than "Nigger, nigger."<sup>[3][4]</sup>

During the 2008 Democratic primaries, in an example of a liberal candidate being accused of dog-whistling, several writers criticized Hillary Clinton's campaign's reliance on code words and innuendo seemingly designed to frame Barack Obama's race as problematic, saying Obama was characterized by the Clinton campaign and its prominent supporters as anti-white due to his association with Reverend Jeremiah Wright, as only able to get black votes, as anti-patriotic, a drug user, possibly a drug seller, and married to an angry, ungrateful black woman.

In 2012, journalist Soledad O'Brien used the phrase 'dog whistle' to describe Tea Party Express representative Amy Kremer's accusation that President Barack Obama 'does not love America'.

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## External links

- "Just a Comma ([http://agonist.org/ian\\_welsh/20060925/just\\_a\\_comma\\_dog\\_whistle\\_politics](http://agonist.org/ian_welsh/20060925/just_a_comma_dog_whistle_politics))" by Ian Welsh at The Agonist, September 25, 2006
- "'Just a Comma' Becomes Part of Iraq Debate (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/10/04/AR2006100401707.html>)" by Peter Baker, *Washington Post*, Thursday, October 5, 2006, page A19
- Etymology ([http://www.doubletongued.org/index.php/dictionary/dog\\_whistle\\_politics/](http://www.doubletongued.org/index.php/dictionary/dog_whistle_politics/)) from the Double-Tongued Dictionary

# Doublespeak

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**Doublespeak** is language that deliberately disguises, distorts, or reverses the meaning of words. Doublespeak may take the form of euphemisms (e.g., "downsizing" for layoffs, "servicing the target" for bombing), in which case it is primarily meant to make the truth sound more palatable. It may also refer to intentional ambiguity in language or to actual inversions of meaning (for example, naming a state of war "peace"). In such cases, doublespeak disguises the nature of the truth. Doublespeak is most closely associated with political language.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Origins and concepts

The term "doublespeak" probably has its roots in George Orwell's book, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Although the term is not used in the book, it is a close relative of one of the book's central concepts, Doublethink. Another variant, "doubletalk," also referring to deliberately ambiguous speech, did exist at the time Orwell wrote his book, but the usage of "doublespeak" as well as of "doubletalk" in the sense emphasizing ambiguity clearly postdates the publication of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Parallels have also been drawn between Doublespeak and Orwell's classic essay *Politics and the English Language*, which discusses the distortion of language for political purposes.

Edward S. Herman, political economist and media analyst, has highlighted some examples of doublespeak and doublethink in modern society.<sup>[2]</sup> Herman describes in his book, *Beyond Hypocrisy* the principal characteristics of doublespeak;

What is really important in the world of doublespeak is the ability to lie, whether knowingly or unconsciously, and to get away with it; and the ability to use lies and choose and shape facts selectively, blocking out those that don't fit an agenda or program.<sup>[3]</sup>

In his essay "Politics and the English Language", George Orwell observes that political language serves to distort and obfuscate reality. Orwell's description of political speech is extremely similar to the contemporary definition of doublespeak;

In our time, political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible... Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness... the great

enemy of clear language is insincerity. Where there is a gap between one's real and one's declared aims, one turns as it were instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms, ...

## Theoretical approaches

Although the theories that premise doublespeak are still indefinite, there are some theories that have parallels with the theory of doublespeak and Orwell's ideology in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and might possibly provide a better understanding of where doublespeak's theories could have come from.

### Conflict theories

Due to the inherently deceptive nature of doublespeak as well as its prominent use in politics, doublespeak has been linked to the sociological perspective known as conflict theories. Conflict theories detract from ideas of society being naturally in harmony, instead placing emphasis on political and material inequality as its structural features. Antonio Gramsci's concepts on cultural hegemony, in particular, suggest that the culture and values of the economic elite – the bourgeoisie – become indoctrinated as 'common sense' to the working-class, allowing for the maintenance of the status quo through misplaced belief. Being himself one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Italy, (CPI), his theories had, in turn, been strongly influenced by the German social thinker Karl Marx, and have their ideological roots grounded in Marxist theory of false consciousness and capitalist exploitation. While Gramsci's views argue that culture (beliefs, perceptions and values) allows the ruling class to maintain domination, Marx's explanation is along more economic lines, with concepts such as commodity fetishism demonstrating how the ideology of the bourgeoisie (in this case, the existence of property as a social creation rather than an 'eternal entity') dominate over that of the working classes. In both cases, both philosophers argue that one view - that of the bourgeoisie - dominates over others, hence the term conflict theories.

On the other hand, Terrence P. Moran of the NCTE has compared the use of doublespeak in the mass media to laboratory experiments conducted on rats, where a batch of rats were deprived of food, before one half was fed sugar and water and the other half a saccharine solution. Both groups exhibited behavior indicating that their hunger was satisfied, but rats in the second group (which were fed saccharine solution) died from malnutrition. Moran highlights the structural nature of doublespeak, and notes that social institutions such as the mass media adopt an active, top-down approach in managing opinion. Therefore, Moran parallels doublespeak to producing an illusionary effect;

This experiment suggests certain analogies between the environments created for rats by the scientists and the environments created for us humans by language and the various mass media of communication. Like the saccharine environment, an environment created or infiltrated by doublespeak provides the appearance of nourishment and the promise of survival, but the appearance is illusionary and the promise false.

### Contemporary writings

Doublespeak might also have some connections with contemporary theories as well. Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky note in their book that Orwellian Doublespeak is an important component of the manipulation of the English language in American media, through a process called 'dichotomization'; a component of media propaganda involving 'deeply embedded double standards in the reporting of news'. For example, the use of state funds by the poor and financially needy is commonly referred to as 'social welfare' or 'handouts', which the 'coddled' poor 'take advantage of'. These terms, however, do not apply to other beneficiaries of government spending such as tax incentives and military spending.

Examples of the structural nature of the use of Doublespeak have been made by modern scholars. Noam Chomsky argues in *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* that people in modern society consist of decision-makers and social participants who have to be made to agree. According to Chomsky, the media and public relations industry actively shape public opinion, working to present messages in line with their economic

agenda for the purposes of controlling of the 'public mind'. Contrary to the popular belief that indoctrination is inconsistent with democracy, Chomsky goes so far as to argue that 'it's the essence of democracy.'

The point is that in a ... totalitarian state, it doesn't much matter what people think because ... you can control what they do. But when the state loses the bludgeon, when you can't control people by force and when the voice of the people can be heard, ... you have to control what people think. And the standard way to do this is to resort to what in more honest days used to be called propaganda. Manufacture of consent. Creation of necessary illusions.

Edward Herman's book *Beyond Hypocrisy* also includes a doublespeak dictionary of commonly employed media terms and phrases into plain English.

Henceforth, conflict theories demonstrates the dominating ideology of the bourgeoisie and Moran's theory highlights that doublespeak produces an illusionary effect; both theories having parallels to Orwell's ideology in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Similarly, Herman's theory of doublespeak having an inherent nature to be manipulative and Chomsky's theory of 'dichotomization' relates directly to the practice of doublespeak and how doublespeak is deliberately deceptive in nature.

## Main contributors to Doublespeak

### William Lutz

William D. Lutz, serves as the third chairman of the Doublespeak Committee since 1975 to the present. In 1989, both his own book *Doublespeak* and, under his editorship, the committee's third book, *Beyond Nineteen Eighty-Four*, were published. Lutz was also the former editor of the now defunct *Quarterly Review of Doublespeak*, which examines ways that jargon has polluted the public vocabulary with phrases, words and usages of words designed to obscure the meaning of plain English. His book, *Beyond Nineteen Eighty-Four*, consists of 220 pages and eighteen articles contributed by long-time Committee members and others whose body of work has made important contributions to understandings about language, as well as a bibliography of 103 sources on doublespeak.

Lutz is one of the main contributors to the committee as well as promoting the term "doublespeak" to a mass audience so as to inform them of the deceptive qualities that doublespeak contains. He mentions:

There is more to being an effective consumer of language than just expressing dismay at dangling modifiers, faulty subject and verb agreement, or questionable usage. All who use language should be concerned whether statements and facts agree, whether language is, in Orwell's words 'largely the defense of the indefensible' and whether language 'is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind.'"

He also mentions that the NCTE Committee on Public Doublespeak and their works with regards to educating the public on doublespeak is responsible for "the rather awesome task of combating the advertisers, the politicians, and the major manipulators of public language in our society."

Lutz states that it is important to highlight doublespeak to the public because "language isn't the invention of human beings to lie, deceive, mislead, and manipulate" and the "purpose of language is to communicate the truth and to facilitate social groups getting together". Thus, according to Lutz, doublespeak is a form of language that defeats the purpose of inventing language because doublespeak does not communicate the truth but seeks to do the opposite and the doublespeak committee is tasked with correcting this problem that doublespeak has created in the world of language.

## The NCTE Committee on Public Doublespeak

The **National Council of Teachers of English** (NCTE) Committee on Public Doublespeak was formed in 1971, in the midst of the Watergate scandal, at a point when there was widespread skepticism about the degree of truth which characterized relationships between the public and the worlds of politics, the military, and business. NCTE passed two resolutions. One called for the Council to find means to study dishonest and inhumane uses of language and literature by advertisers, to bring offenses to public attention, and to propose classroom techniques for preparing children to cope with commercial propaganda. The other called for the Council to find means to study the relations of language to public policy, to keep track of, publicize, and combat semantic distortion by public officials, candidates for office, political commentators, and all those who transmit through the mass media. Bringing the charges of the two resolutions to life was accomplished by forming NCTE's Committee on Public Doublespeak, a body which has acquitted itself with notable achievements since its inception. The National Council's publications on doublespeak have made significant contributions in describing the need for reform where clarity in communication has been deliberately distorted. Such structures can be applied to the field of education, where they could conceivably initiate an anti-pollution bandwagon in educational communication and educate people on how to counter doublespeak.

William Lutz stated that "the doublespeak committee was formed to combat the use of public language by increasing people's awareness of what is good, clear, solid use of language and what is not." "The committee does more than help students and the general public recognize what doublespeak is; it dramatizes that clarity of expression reflects clarity of thought."

### Hugh Rank

Hugh Rank formed the Doublespeak committee and was the first chairman of this committee. Under his editorship, the committee produced a book called *Language and Public Policy* (1974), with the aim of informing readers of the extensive scope of doublespeak being used to deliberately mislead and deceive the audience. He highlighted the deliberate public misuses of language and provided strategies for countering doublespeak by focusing on educating people in the English language so as to help them identify when doublespeak is being put into play. He was also the founder of the Intensify/Downplay pattern that has been widely used to identify instances of Doublespeak being used.

### Daniel Dieterich

Daniel Dieterich served as the second chairman of the Doublespeak committee after Hugh Rank in 1975. He served as editor of its second publication, *Teaching about Doublespeak* (1976), which carried forward the Committee's charge to inform teachers of ways of teaching students how to recognize and combat language designed to mislead and misinform.

### Critique of NCTE

A. M. Tibbetts is one of the main critics of the NCTE, claiming that 'the Committee's very approach to the misuse of language and what it calls "doublespeak" may in the long run limit its usefulness'. According to him, the 'Committee's use of Orwell is both confused and confusing'. The NCTE's publications resonate with George Orwell's name, and allusions to him abound in statements on doublespeak; for example, the committee quoted Orwell's remark that "language is often used as an instrument of social control" in *Language and Public Policy*. Tibbetts argues that such a relation between NCTE and Orwell's work is contradicting because 'the Committee's attitude towards language is liberal, even radical' while 'Orwell's attitude was conservative, even reactionary'. He also criticizes on the Committee's 'continual attack' against linguistic 'purism'.

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## Modern uses of Doublespeak

Whereas in the early days of the practice it was considered wrong to construct words to disguise meaning, this is now an accepted and established practice. There is a thriving industry in constructing words without explicit meaning but with particular connotations for new products or companies. Doublespeak is also employed in the field of politics. Hence, education is necessary to recognize and combat against doublespeak-use effectively.

### Doublespeak in advertising

Advertisers can use doublespeak to mask their commercial intent from users, as users' defenses against advertising become more well entrenched. Some are attempting to counter this technique, however, with a number of systems which offer diverse views and information which highlights the manipulative and dishonest methods that advertisers employ.

According to Jacques Ellul, "the aim is not to even modify people's ideas on a given subject, rather, it is to achieve conformity in the way that people act." He demonstrates this view by offering an example from drug advertising. By using doublespeak in advertisements, aspirin production rose by almost 50 percent from over 23 million pounds in 1960 to over 35 million pounds in 1970.

### The Rule of Parity

William Lutz's book on "The Rule of Parity" illustrates how doublespeak is being employed in the advertising industry.

Lutz uses the example of parity products: products in which most, if not all, brands in a class or category are of similar quality. To highlight the uniqueness of their product, advertisers may choose to market it differently from their competitors. Advertising is used to create the impression of superiority. This is shown in the first rule of parity, which involves the use of the words "better" and "best". In parity claims, "better" means "best", and "best" means "equal to".

Lutz goes on to say that when advertisers state that their product is "good", it is equivalent in meaning to saying that their product is the best. If all the brands are similar, they must all be similarly good. When they claim that their product is the "best", they mean that the product is as good as the other superior products in its category. Using the toothpaste industry as an example, Lutz says that, because there is no dramatic difference among the products of the major toothpaste companies today, they are equal. However, if all of the different toothpastes are good and equal, there is no need to prove their claim. On the contrary, advertisers cannot market their products as "better" as it is a comparative term, and a claim of superiority.

### Education to combat Doublespeak

Educating students has been suggested by experts to be one of the ways to counter doublespeak. Educating students in the English language is important to help them identify how doublespeak is being used to mislead and conceal information.

Charles Weingartner, one of the founding members of the NCTE committee on Public Doublespeak mentioned: "people do not know enough about the subject (the reality) to recognize that the language being used conceals, distorts, misleads". There is a crucial need for English language teachers to educate and become experts in teaching about linguistic vulnerability. "Teachers of English should teach our students that words are not things, but verbal tokens or signs of things that should finally be carried back to the things that they stand for to be verified. Students should be taught a healthy skepticism about the potential abuse of language but duly warned about the dangers of an unhealthy cynicism.

According to William Lutz: "Only by teaching respect and love for the language can teachers of English instill in students the sense of outrage they should experience when they encounter doublespeak." "Students must first learn to

use the language effectively, to understand its beauty and power." "Only by using language well will we come to appreciate the perversion inherent in doublespeak."

### **Intensify/Downplay pattern**

This pattern was formulated by Hugh Rank and is a simple tool designed to teach some basic patterns of persuasion used in political propaganda and commercial advertising. As it was formulated to educate the public on how to counter doublespeak via education, its aim was to reach the widest possible audience of citizens. It was prepared to be incorporated within a wide variety of existing programs and textbooks in English, speech, media, communications, journalism, social studies. The NCTE has endorsed this pattern as a useful way of teaching students to cope with propaganda from any source.

The function of the Intensify/Downplay pattern is not to dictate what should be discussed but to encourage coherent thought and systematic organization. The pattern works in two ways: intensifying and downplaying. All people intensify and this is done via repetition, association and composition. Downplay is commonly done via omission, diversion and confusion as they communicate in words, gestures, numbers, et cetera. Individuals can better cope with organized persuasion by recognizing the common ways whereby communication is intensified or downplayed, so as to counter doublespeak.

### **Doublespeak in politics**

Doublespeak is often used to avoid answering questions or to avoid the public's questions without directly stating that the specific politician is ignoring or rephrasing the question.

### **The Doublespeak Award**

Doublespeak is often used by politicians for the advancement of their agenda. The Doublespeak Award is an "ironic tribute to public speakers who have perpetuated language that is grossly deceptive, evasive, euphemistic, confusing, or self-centered." It has been issued by the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) since 1974. The recipients of the Doublespeak Award are usually politicians, national administration or departments. An example of this is the United States Department of Defense, which won the award three times in 1991, 1993, and 2001 respectively. For the 1991 award, the United States Department of Defense 'swept the first six places in the Doublespeak top ten' for using euphemisms like "*servicing the target*" (bombing) and "*force packages*" (warplanes). Among the other phrases in contention were "*difficult exercise in labor relations*", meaning a strike, and "*meaningful downturn in aggregate output*," an attempt to avoid saying the word "recession".

## **Notes**

[1] Herman 1992.

[2] Herman 1992, p. 25.

[3] Herman 1992, p. 3.

## **References**

- Baar, James (2004). *Spinspeak II: The Dictionary Of Language Pollution*. ISBN 978-1-4184-2742-9.
- Edward S. Herman (1992). *Beyond Hypocrisy: Decoding the News in an Age of Propaganda : Including A Doublespeak Dictionary for the 1990s*. Black Rose Books Ltd. ISBN 978-1-895431-48-3.
- Lutz, William. (1987). *Doublespeak: From "Revenue Enhancement" to "Terminal Living": How Government, Business, Advertisers, and Others Use Language to Deceive You*. New York: Harper & Row
- Lutz, William (1989). *Beyond 1984: Doublespeak in a Post-Orwellian Age*. National Council of Teachers of English. ISBN 978-0-8141-0285-5.



## External links

- Business Doublespeak (<http://www.dt.org/html/Doublespeak.html>) A short essay by William Lutz
- *Booknotes* interview with William Lutz on *Doublespeak: The Use of Language to Deceive You*, December 31, 1989. (<http://www.booknotes.org/Watch/10449-1/William+Lutz.aspx>)
- DoubleSpeak Homepage (<http://www.damronplanet.com/doublespeak/>) by Michele Damron (1998)
- National Council of Teachers of English Doublespeak Award (<http://www.ncte.org/volunteer/groups/publiclangcom/doublespeakaward>) established in 1974

## Euphemism

A **euphemism** is a generally innocuous word or expression used in place of one that may be found offensive or suggest something unpleasant.<sup>[1]</sup> Some euphemisms are intended to amuse, while others use bland, inoffensive, and often misleading terms for things the user wishes to dissimulate or downplay. Euphemisms are used for dissimulation, to refer to taboo topics (such as disability, sex, excretion, and death) in a polite way, and to mask profanity. The opposite of euphemism roughly equates to dysphemism.

Euphemisms may be used to avoid words considered rude, while conveying their meaning: "Kiss my *you-know-what!*" instead of the more vulgar, "Kiss my *ass*/*arse*"; the expletive *sugar* to substitute *shit*. Some euphemisms are so commonly used as to be standard usage: "pass away" for "die". Over the centuries euphemisms have been introduced for "latrine", and themselves replaced as they came to be considered unacceptable; "toilet", once itself a euphemism, is often euphemised as "bathroom", "restroom", etc. Euphemisms are used to downplay and conceal unpalatable facts, as "collateral damage" for "civilian casualties" in a military context, and "redacted" for "censored".

## Etymology and usage

The word *euphemism* comes from the Greek word εὐφημία (*euphemia*), meaning "the use of words of good omen", which in turn is derived from the Greek root-words *eu* (εὐ), "good/well" + *pheme* (φήμι) "speech/speaking", meaning glory, flattering speech, praise. Etymologically, the *eupheme* is the opposite of the *blaspheme* (evil-speaking). The term *euphemism* itself was used as a euphemism by the ancient Greeks, meaning "to keep a holy silence" (speaking well by not speaking at all).

Historical linguistics has revealed traces of taboo deformations in many languages. Several are known to have occurred in Indo-European languages, including the presumed original Proto-Indo-European words for *bear* (\**rkso*), *wolf* (\**wlkʷo*), and *deer* (originally, *hart*—although the word *hart* remained commonplace in parts of England until the 20th century as is witnessed by the widespread use of the pub sign The White Hart). In different Indo-European languages, each of these words has a difficult etymology because of taboo deformations: a euphemism was substituted for the original, which no longer occurs in the language. An example is the Slavic root for *bear*, \**medu-ed-*, which means "honey eater". Names in Germanic languages—including English—are derived from the color brown. Another example in English is *donkey* replacing the old Indo-European-derived word *ass*. The word *dandelion* (literally, tooth of lion, referring to the shape of the leaves) is another example, being a substitute for *pissenlit*, meaning "wet the bed", a possible reference to the fact that dandelion was used as a diuretic. The Talmud describes the blind as having "much light" (Aramaic סגִי נהור<sup>[2]</sup>) and this phrase—sagee nahor—is the Modern Hebrew for euphemism.

In some languages of the Pacific, using the name of a deceased chief is taboo. Among indigenous Australians, it is forbidden to use the name, image, or recording of the deceased; the Australian Broadcasting Corporation now publishes a warning to indigenous Australians when using names, images, or recordings of people who have died.<sup>[3]</sup> Since people are often named after everyday things, this leads to the swift development of euphemisms; new names

for things are required when an old one used as a personal name becomes taboo. These languages have a very high rate of vocabulary change.

In a similar manner, in imperial China, writers of classical Chinese texts were expected to avoid using characters contained within the name of the currently ruling emperor as a sign of respect. In these instances, the relevant characters were replaced by synonyms. (This practice may provide a fairly accurate means of dating a document.)

## Formation

### Phonetic modification

Phonetic euphemism is used to replace profanities, giving them the intensity of a mere interjection.

- Shortening or "clipping" the term ("Jeez" for Jesus, "What the-" for "What the hell")
- Using the first letter ("SOB", "What the eff", "BS"). Sometimes, the word "word" is added after it ("F word," "S word," "B word"). Also, the letter can be phonetically respelled, for example, the word "piss" was shortened to "pee" in this way.
- Military-style first letter usage where NATO phonetic alphabet words are used in place of letters: "Whiskey Tango Foxtrot" for WTF, "Bravo Sierra" for BS, "Whiskey Tango" for WT (White Trash), etc.
- Mispronunciations, such as "Frak," "What the fudge," "What the truck," "Oh my gosh," "Frickin," "Darn," "Oh, shoot," "Be-yotch," etc.

### Figures of speech

- Ambiguous statements (*it* for excrement, *the situation* or "a girl in trouble" for pregnancy, *going to the other side* for death, *do it* or *come together* in reference to a sexual act, *tired and emotional* for drunkenness)
- Understatements ("sleep" for die, "hurt" for injured, etc.)
- Metaphors, such as "beat the meat," "choke the chicken," "take a dump", "drain the main vein", etc.
  - Comparisons, like "wiener" for "penis", "buns" for "buttocks", "weed" for "cannabis".
- Metonymy ("lose a person" for dying, "drinking" for consuming alcohol, "men's room" for men's toilet)

### Use as Rhetoric

Euphemism may be used as a rhetorical strategy, in which case its goal is to change the valence of a description from positive to negative. The ancient Greeks said that using euphemism was "to speak words that augur well."<sup>[4]</sup> One modern example of this can be found in real estate.<sup>[5]</sup> When a property is difficult to sell, the seller will use euphemism to attract interest from the potential buyer. The phrase "cozy house" is a euphemism for "claustrophobic." The phrase "needs some TLC" is a euphemism for "this place is a dump."

### Slang

- Using a personal name, such as "Dick" for penis
- Using a less harsh term with similar meaning. For instance, "screwed up" is a euphemism for "fucked up", "laid" for sexual intercourse

### Others

- Using an adjective to refer to an element of a person, rather than using a noun to define them, for example, "...makes her look slutty" instead of "...is a slut"
  - Reverse understatements or litotes, such as "not so big" for "short", "not exactly a supermodel" for "ugly", or "not true" for "a lie"
  - Using a positive context ("Inspired by" instead of "ripped off" or "plagiarized", "streamlining the workforce" for "laying off/firing (workers)").
-

- Using the term "challenged". The most common example of this is using "mentally challenged" to describe mental retardation. There are many others, though, from "vertically challenged" for short people, to "vocally challenged" for those with mediocre singing voices.
- Using the word "bleep" (an onomatopoeia for the broadcasting censored tone), a common word like "sofa", or even the word "profane" or "euphemism", to replace profanity.

There is some disagreement over whether certain terms are or are not euphemisms. For example, sometimes the phrase *visually impaired* is labeled as a politically correct euphemism for *blind*. However, visual impairment can be a broader term, including, for example, people who have partial sight in one eye, those with uncorrectable mild to moderate poor vision, or even those who wear glasses, a group that would be excluded by the word *blind*.

There are three antonyms of euphemism: *dysphemism*, *cacophemism*, and *power word*. The first can be either offensive or merely humorously deprecating with the second one generally used more often in the sense of something deliberately offensive. The last is used mainly in arguments to make a point seem more correct.

## Evolution

Euphemisms may be formed in a number of ways. *Periphrasis* or *circumlocution* is one of the most common: to "speak around" a given word, implying it without saying it. Over time, circumlocutions become recognized as established euphemisms for particular words or ideas.

To alter the pronunciation or spelling of a taboo word (such as a swear word) to form a euphemism is known as *taboo deformation*, or "minced oath". In American English, words that are unacceptable on television, such as *fuck*, may be represented by deformations such as *freak*, even in children's cartoons. Some examples of rhyming slang may serve the same purpose: to call a person a *berk* sounds less offensive than to call a person a *cunt*, though *berk* is short for *Berkeley Hunt*, which rhymes with *cunt*.

Bureaucracies such as the military and large corporations frequently spawn euphemisms of a more deliberate nature. Organizations coin *doublespeak* expressions to describe objectionable actions in terms that seem neutral or inoffensive. For example, a term used in the past for contamination by radioactive isotopes was *sunshine units*.

Euphemisms often evolve over time into taboo words themselves, through a process described by W.V.O. Quine,<sup>[6]</sup> and more recently dubbed the "euphemism treadmill" by Harvard professor Steven Pinker. This is the linguistic process known as *pejoration* or *semantic change*. For instance, *Toilet* is an 18th-century euphemism, replacing the older euphemism *House-of-Office*, which in turn replaced the even older euphemisms *privy-house* or *bog-house*.<sup>[7]</sup> In the 20th century, where the words *lavatory* or *toilet* were deemed inappropriate, they were sometimes replaced with *bathroom* or *water closet*, which in turn became simply *restroom*, *W.C.*, or *washroom*.

## Subject matter

### Military

Euphemisms are popular in military language to hide the unpleasant nature of the work. This is particularly the case when it comes to killing and torture.<sup>[8][9]</sup> Armies talk of "neutralising" enemy combatants, which means to kill them. Many countries call their military administration a Department or Ministry of 'Defence' instead of 'War'.<sup>[10]</sup> "Special rendition" can be used to refer to kidnapping and "Refined interrogation techniques" to mean torture, in the case of the CIA.

## Disability and handicap

*Idiot*, *imbecile*, and *moron* were once neutral terms for a developmentally delayed adult with the mental age comparable to a toddler, preschooler, and primary school child, respectively. In time, negative connotations tend to crowd out neutral ones, so the phrase mentally retarded was pressed into service to replace them.<sup>[11]</sup> This too was eventually considered pejorative and became commonly used as an insult. Today, terms such as *mentally challenged*, *with an intellectual disability*, *learning difficulties* and *special needs* are used to replace the term *retarded*.

A similar progression occurred with the following terms for persons with physical handicaps being adopted by some people:

*lame* / *crippled* → *handicapped* → *disabled* → *physically challenged* → *differently abled* → *People with disabilities*. These terms also replaced *spastic*.

Similarly, the term "lunatic" has come to be seen as potentially offensive and has been replaced in legislation by other terms such as "mental illness".<sup>[12]</sup>

Euphemisms can also serve to recirculate words that have passed out of use because of negative connotation. The word *lame* from above, having faded from the vernacular, was revitalized as a slang word generally meaning "not living up to expectations" or "boring." The connotation of a euphemism can also be subject-specific.

In the early 1960s, Major League Baseball franchise owner and promoter Bill Veeck, who was missing part of a leg, argued against the then-favored euphemism *handicapped*, saying he preferred *crippled* because it was merely descriptive and did not carry connotations of limiting one's capability the way *handicapped* (and all of its subsequent euphemisms) seemed to do (*Veeck as in Wreck*, chapter "I'm Not Handicapped, I'm Crippled"). Later, comedian George Carlin gave a famous monologue of how he thought euphemisms can undermine appropriate attitudes towards serious issues such as the evolving terms describing the medical problem of the cumulative mental trauma of soldiers in high-stress situations:<sup>[13]</sup>

*shell shock* (World War I) → *battle fatigue* (World War II) → *operational exhaustion* (Korean War) → *post-traumatic stress disorder* (Vietnam War and later)

He contended that, as the name of the condition became more complicated and seemingly arcane, sufferers of this condition have been taken less seriously and were given poorer treatment as a result. He also contended that Vietnam veterans would have received the proper care and attention they needed, if the condition were still called *shell shock*. In the same routine, he echoed Bill Veeck's opinion that *crippled* was a perfectly valid term (and noted that early English translations of the Bible seemed to have no qualms about saying that Jesus "healed the cripples").

Similarly, *spastic* is a formal medical term to describe muscular hypertonicity due to upper motor neuron dysfunction; however, vernacular use of *spastic* (and variants such as *spaz* and *spacker*) as an insult in Britain and Australia led to the term being regarded by some as offensive. In the United States, *spastic* or *spaz* became a synonym for clumsiness, whether physical or mental, and nerdiness, and is very often used in a self-deprecating manner.

The difference between the British and American connotations of *spastic* was starkly shown in 2006 when golfer Tiger Woods used *spaz* to describe his putting in that year's Masters. The remark went completely unnoticed in America, but caused a major uproar in the UK.<sup>[14]</sup>

## Profanity

Words considered rude may be used in two contexts: as simple profanity, swearing, where their actual meaning is irrelevant; and with a clear meaning. The same words can often be used in both senses: "Shit, I've stepped in dog-shit".

Profane words and expressions in the English language are commonly taken from three areas: religion, excretion, and sex. Racism and sexism are a growing influence on profanities. While profanities themselves have been around for centuries, their limited use in public and by the media has only slowly become socially acceptable, and there are still many expressions that are out of place in polite conversation. One influence on the current tolerance of such language may be the frequency of its use on prime-time television. The word *damn* (and most other religious profanity in the English language) has long lost its shock value, and as a consequence, bowdlerizations of it (e.g., dang, darn-it) have taken on a very stodgy feeling. Euphemisms for male masturbation such as "spanking the monkey" or "choke the chicken" are used often among some people to avoid embarrassment in public.<sup>[citation needed]</sup> Excretory profanity such as *piss* and *shit* in some cases may be acceptable among informal<sup>[citation needed]</sup> friends (while they had been unacceptable in formal relationships or public use, the public is growing more accepting of such uses, which is most likely due to the Globalization of media, press, and music).<sup>[citation needed]</sup> Most sexual terms and expressions, even technical ones, either remain unacceptable for general use or have undergone radical rehabilitation.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

## Religion

Euphemisms for deities as well as for religious practices and artifacts have been recorded since the earliest writings. Protection of sacred names, rituals, and concepts from the uninitiated has always given rise to euphemisms, whether it be for exclusion of outsiders or the retention of power among the select. Examples from the Egyptians and every other Western religion abound.

Euphemisms for God and Jesus, such as *gosh* and *gee*, are used by many Christians to avoid taking the name of God in a vain oath, which would violate one of the Ten Commandments. (Exodus 20)

Jews consider the tetragrammaton—YHWH, the four-letter name of God as written in the Torah—to be of such great holiness that it was never to be pronounced as spelled, except in the Temple by the High Priest on Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the year. [Aryeh Kaplan, *Meditation and Kabbala* p. 134] (The pronunciation used in the Temple has been forgotten.) At all other times, when praying or reading from scripture, Jews say the word *Adonai* ("my Lords") in place of the letters. However, outside of prayer and scriptural contexts, traditional Jews will not pronounce the name *Adonai*, but replace it, typically with the word *HaShem*, which literally means, "The Name". "Amonai" is used by Sephardic Jewry to avoid saying His name in Hebrew corresponding to Lordship. The other name of God frequently used in the bible, *Elohim* (אלוהים)—"Powers"—is also not pronounced as written except in formal, religious use; in other contexts, devout Jews typically change one of its letters to *Elokim* (אלוקים). Other names of God used in Jewish speech and writing, such as *HaMakom* (המקום)—"The Place"—or 'HaKadosh Baruch Hu' (הקדוש ברוך הוא) "The Holy One, Blessed is he" can be pronounced in any context. Whether they originated as euphemisms is not clear, but they are used as such, although they are also used in formal prayer. The Biblical injunction not to take the name of God in vain has led strictly observant Jews to use written, as well as spoken, euphemisms. The word "God" is not written explicitly, but replaced by "G-d." A similar change has been introduced to the spelling of the euphemism *haShem* (discussed above), which is written "haSh-m."

Euphemisms for hell, damnation, and the devil, on the other hand, are often used to avoid attracting the attention of the devil. The expression *what the dickens* and its variants do not refer to Charles Dickens but was originally a euphemistic reference to the devil. In questions, "what the hell" may be replaced by "what the heck", and in directive speech "get the hell out" is sometimes replaced by "get the heck out".

In times past, profanity relating to Jesus' body were sometimes used, such as "God's Wounds!" By the time of Chaucer, this was reduced to "'swounds"—as spoken by characters such as the Miller—and was used in common

language as the now-obsolete "zounds". The same medieval notions continue intact in some other languages; for example *rany boskie* (literally "God's wounds"), is a common mild curse in modern Polish.

## Excretion

The abbreviation *BS*, or the words *bull*, *crap*, or *bullcrap* often replace the word *bullshit* in polite society. (The term *bullshit* itself generally means lies or nonsense, and not the literal "shit of a bull", making it a dysphemism.)

What is currently known as a toilet (itself a euphemism) was known by a number of previous euphemisms "*..The Honest Jakes or Privy has graduated via Offices to the final horror of Toilet...*"<sup>[15]</sup> There are any number of lengthier periphrases for excretion used to excuse oneself from company, such as to *powder one's nose*, to *see a man about a dog* (or *horse*).

## Sex

The Latin term *pudendum* and the Greek term *αἰδοῖον* (*aidoion*) for the genitals literally mean "shameful thing". *Groin*, *crotch*, and *loins* refer to a larger region of the body, but are euphemistic when used to refer to the genitals. The word *masturbate* is derived from Latin, the word *manus* meaning hand and the word *sturbare* meaning to defile. In pornographic stories, the words *rosebud* and *starfish* are often used as euphemisms for *anus*, generally in the context of anal sex.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

*Sexual intercourse* was once a euphemism derived from the more general term *intercourse* by itself, which simply meant "meeting" but now is normally used as a synonym for the longer phrase, thus making the town of Intercourse, Pennsylvania, a subject of jokes in modern usage.

In the USA the "baseball metaphors for sex" are perhaps the most famous and widely-used set of polite euphemisms for sex and relationship behavior. The metaphors encompass terms like "striking out" for being unlucky with a love interest, and "running the bases" for progressing sexually in a relationship. The "bases" themselves, from first to third, stand for various levels of sexual activity from French kissing to "petting", itself a euphemism for manual genital stimulation, all of which is short of "scoring" or "coming home", sexual intercourse. "Hitting a home run" describes sex during the first date, "batting both ways" (also "switch-hitting") or "batting for the other team" describes bisexuality or homosexuality respectively ("Batting for the other side" also exists in British English, as a cricket euphemism for homosexuality), and "stealing bases" refers to initiating new levels of sexual contact without invitation. Baseball-related euphemisms also abound for the "equipment"; "Bat and balls" are a common reference to the male genitalia, while "glove" or "mitt" can refer to the female anatomy. Among homosexual men, "pitcher" is sometimes used to mean a "top", while "catcher" means a "bottom".

There are many euphemisms for birth control devices, sometimes even propagated by the manufacturers: Condoms are known as "rubbers", "sheaths", "love gloves", "diving suits", "raincoats", "French letters", "Jimmy Caps", "Johnnies" (in Ireland and to a lesser degree Britain) etc.

Euphemisms are also common in reference to sexual orientations and lifestyles. For example in the movie *Closer*, the character played by Jude Law uses the euphemism "He valued his privacy" for being homosexual. Other examples are being a 'lover of musical theatre' or a 'confirmed bachelor'. The term 'confirmed bachelor' originally referred to a man who had "sworn off" traditional relationships for reasons unrelated to sexual orientation; such a person may today be known as a 'serial bachelor' if they remain sexually active, or a 'sexual hermit' if they abstain from romantic or sexual contact entirely.

As an aside, in the U.S.A. the use of euphemisms for sexual activity has grown under the pressure of recent rulings by the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) regarding what constitutes "decent" on-air broadcast speech. The FCC included many well known euphemisms in its lists of banned terms but indicated that even new and unknown coinages might be considered indecent once it became clear what they referenced. George Carlin's "Seven Words You Can't Say On TV" evolved into the "Incomplete List of Impolite Words", available in text and audio form, and contains hundreds of euphemisms and dysphemisms referring to genitalia, the act of having sex,

various forms of sex, sexual orientations, etc. that have all become too pejorative for polite conversation, including such notables as "getting your pole varnished" and "eating the tuna taco".

### Profanity itself

In the Spanish language curse words receive the name "palabrotas", and the word *maldición*, literally meaning "a curse" or an evil spell, is occasionally used as an interjection of lament or anger, but not necessarily to replace any of several Spanish profanities that would otherwise be used in that same context. The same is true in Italian with the word *maledizione* and in Portuguese with the word *maldição*.

In Greek, the word *κατάρα* "curse" is found, although *βρισιά*, from *ὕβρις* (hubris) is more commonly used, and in English, an exclamation that is used in a similar style is *curses*, although it is these days less common. The stereotyped "Perils of Pauline" silent film might have the villain tying his victim to a railroad track. When the hero rescues the heroine, the card might say, "Curses! Foiled again!" in place of whatever cursing the character presumably uttered.

The English language phrase "Pardon my French" is also sometimes used as a euphemism for profanity.

In Ernest Hemingway's novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, swear words are replaced by the words "unprintable" and "obscenity", even though the characters are actually speaking Spanish that has been translated into English for the reader (in Spanish, foul language is used freely even when its equivalent is censored in EnglishWikipedia:Avoid weasel words). These replacements were not performed at the publisher's behest, but instead by Hemingway's choice.

In Wes Anderson's film *Fantastic Mr. Fox*, the replacement of swear words by the word "cuss" became a humorous motif throughout the film.

In Tom Hanks' web series *Electric City*, the use of profanity has been censored by the word "expletive".

### Death and murder

The English language contains numerous euphemisms related to dying, death, burial, and the people and places that deal with death. The practice of using euphemisms for death is likely to have originated with the magical belief that to speak the word "death" was to invite death; where to "draw Death's attention" is the ultimate bad fortune: a common theory holds that death is a taboo subject in most English-speaking cultures for precisely this reason. It may be said that one is not dying, but *fading quickly* because *the end is near*. People who have died are referred to as having *passed away* or *passed* or *departed*. Kick the bucket seems innocuous until one considers an explanation that has been proposed for the idiom: that a suicidal hanging victim must kick the bucket out from under his own feet during his suicide. *Deceased* is a euphemism for "dead",<sup>[16][17]</sup> and sometimes the *deceased* is said to have *gone to a better place*, but this is used primarily among the religious with a concept of Heaven. *Was taken to Jesus* implies salvation specifically for Christians, but *met his Maker* may imply some judgment, content implied or unknown, by God. In the Bible, especially in the books of Kings and Chronicles, a deceased king is said to have "slept [or rested] with his fathers" if he received a proper burial.

Some Christians often use phrases such as *gone to be with the Lord*, *called to higher service* or *promoted to glory* (the latter expression being particularly prevalent in the Salvation Army) or "graduated" to express their belief that physical death is not the end, but the beginning of the fuller realization of redemption. "Earned his/her angel wings," is commonly used for the death of a child, particularly after a long illness. Orthodox Christians often use the euphemism *fallen asleep* or *fallen asleep in the Lord*, which reflects Orthodox beliefs concerning death and resurrection. Greeks in particular are apt to refer to the deceased as "the blessed", "the forgiven", or "the absolved" ones, in the belief that the dead person will be counted among the faithful at the Last Judgement.

The dead body entices many euphemisms, some polite and some profane, as well as dysphemisms such as *worm food*, *dead meat*, or simply *a stiff*. Modern rhyming slang contains the expression *brown bread*. The corpse was once referred to as *the shroud (or house or tenement) of clay*, and modern funerary workers use terms such as *the loved*

*one* (title of a novel about Hollywood undertakers by Evelyn Waugh) or *the dear departed*. Among themselves, mortuary technicians often refer to the corpse as the *client*. A recently dead person may be referred to as "the late John Doe". The term *cemetery* for "graveyard" is a borrowing from Greek, where it was a euphemism, literally meaning 'sleeping place'. The term *undertaker* (for the person responsible for the preparation of a body for burial) is so well-established that some people do not recognize it as a euphemism, since giving way to the more scientific-sounding euphemism mortician and yet further euphemisms.

Someone who has died is said to have *passed on*, *checked out*, *cashed in their chips*, *bit the big one*, *kicked the bucket*, *keeled over*, *bit the dust*, *popped their clogs*, *pegged it*, *carked it*, *was snuffed out*, *turned their toes up*, *hopped the twig*, *bought the farm*, *got zapped*, *written their epitaph*, *fell off their perch*, *croaked*, *gave up the ghost* (originally a more respectful term, cf. the death of Jesus as translated in the King James Version of the Bible Mark 15:37), *gone south*, *gone west*, *gone to California*, *shuffled off this mortal coil* (from William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*), *run down the curtain and joined the Choir Invisible*, or *assumed room temperature* (actually a dysphemism in use among mortuary technicians). When buried, they may be said to be *pushing up daisies*, *sleeping the big sleep*, *taking a dirt nap*, *gone into the fertilizing business*, *checking out the grass from underneath* or *six feet under*.

Euthanasia also attracts euphemisms. One may *put one out of one's misery*, *put one to sleep*, or *have one put down*, the latter two phrases being used primarily with dogs, cats, and horses who are being or have been euthanized by a veterinarian. (These terms are not usually applied to humans, because both medical ethics and law deprecate euthanasia.)

Some euphemisms for killing are neither respectful nor playful, but instead clinical and detached, including *terminate*, *wet work*, to *take care of* one, to *do them in*, to *off*, or to *take them out*. To *cut loose* or *open up* on someone or something means "to shoot at with every available weapon". Gangland euphemisms for murder include *ventilate*, *whack*, *rub out*, *liquidate*, *cut down*, *hit*, *take him for a ride*, *string him up*, *cut down to size*, or "put him in cement boots," "sleep with the fishes" or "put him in a concrete overcoat," the latter three implying disposal in deep water, if then alive by drowning; the arrangement for a killing may be a simple "contract" with the victim referred to as the "client," which suggests a normal transaction of business.

One of the most infamous euphemisms in history was the German term *Endlösung der Judenfrage*, frequently translated in English as "the Final Solution of the Jewish Question", a systematic plan for genocide of the Jews. Even if not associated with the Holocaust, the Nazis used such terms as *Schutzhaft*, best translated as "protective custody" for persons seeking shelter from street violence by Nazi militias, but such shelter leading quickly to long-term incarceration in a Nazi prison for political offenders who often got murdered, and *Sonderbehandlung*, whose translation "special treatment" implies privileged protection but in practice meant summary execution. Nazi officials authorized the disappearance of hostages into 'night and fog' (*Nacht und Nebel*) whence few returned. "Charitable Ambulances" for the buses which took mental patients away to killing centers, and "*Lazarett*" (a quarantine clinic for ill travelers) for the shooting-pits where severely ill death camp arrivals would be executed.

## Common examples

Other common euphemisms include:



Euphemism	Usage
<i>adult entertainment, adult material, gentlemen's special interest literature</i>	pornography
<i>affirmative action</i>	race-based preference, usually in employment or academic admissions, also called reverse discrimination, or in the U.K. positive discrimination.
<i>bathroom, powder room, restroom, washroom</i>	toilet room, especially one in the house (US)
<i>been around the block</i>	having had much sexual experience
<i>friend of Dorothy, light in the loafers</i>	male homosexual
<i>custodian, caretaker</i>	janitor (Also originally a euphemism: in Latin, it means <i>doorman</i> .)
<i>enhanced interrogation</i>	torture
<i>escort</i>	prostitute
<i>exotic dancer</i>	stripper
<i>feminine protection</i>	tampon
<i>gentlemen's club</i>	strip club, go-go bar
<i>in the family way</i>	pregnant
<i>a little thin on top</i>	bald
<i>making love, sleeping with, getting it on, having it off (U.K.), hooking up, doing it, making the beast with two backs</i>	having sex
<i>mentally challenged, intellectually challenged</i>	stupid, dim, dull, slow; of subnormal intelligence
<i>pacification</i>	Coercive force, including warfare. Examples: Pacification of Algeria, Pacification of the Araucanía, Pacification operations in German-occupied Poland, and the Pacification of Tonkin.
<i>presence</i>	"'[P]resence' had been used as a euphemism for 'occupation' during the Cold War."
<i>police action</i>	Undeclared war. The Dutch called two major military offensives against the Republic of Indonesia police actions. President Harry S. Truman called the Korean War a police action. Similarly, the Vietnam War is also referred to as a "police action" or "security action". <sup>[citation needed]</sup>
<i>a little persuasion</i>	enormous physical force, as with a blow from a sledgehammer
<i>sanitation worker (or, sarcastically, sanitation officer or sanitation engineer)</i>	bin man, garbage man
<i>sex worker</i>	prostitute
<i>she's in the club</i>	she's pregnant, (chiefly British)
<i>special, unique</i>	Retarded or disabled (from 'special needs')
<i>uncertain period or transition to democracy;</i> <sup>[18]</sup> <i>setback for democracy, democracy reset,</i> <i>corrective movement or transition</i> <sup>[19]</sup>	military coup d'état
<i>visit from the stork</i>	give birth
<i>power projection</i>	Gunboat Diplomacy
<i>appeared tired and emotional</i>	drunk (chiefly British)

These lists might suggest that most euphemisms are well-known expressions. Often euphemisms can be somewhat situational; what might be used as a euphemism in a conversation between two friends might make no sense to a third person. In this case, the euphemism is being used as a type of innuendo. At other times, the euphemism is

common in some circles (such as the medical field) but not others, becoming a type of jargon or, in underworld situations especially, argot. One such example is the line "put him in bed with the captain's daughter" from the popular sea shanty *Drunken Sailor*, which means to give a whipping with the cat o' nine tails—euphemistically referred to by sailors as the "captain's daughter".

Euphemisms can also be used by governments to rename statutes to use a less offensive expression. For example, in Ontario, Canada, the "Disabled Person Parking Permit" was renamed to the "Accessible Parking Permit" in 2007.

## In popular culture

Doublespeak, often incorrectly assumed to originate from George Orwell's novel *1984* (erroneously combining Orwell's "newspeak" and "doublethink"), is a term sometimes used for deliberate euphemistic misuse of incorrect words to disguise unacceptable meaning, as in a "Ministry of Peace" which wages war, a "Ministry of Love" which imprisons and tortures.

The "Dead Parrot" sketch from *Monty Python's Flying Circus* contains an extensive list of euphemisms for death, including many cited above, referring to the deceased parrot that the character played by John Cleese had purchased. The popularity of the sketch has itself increased the popularity of some of these euphemisms—indeed, it has introduced another euphemism for death, "pining for the fjords" (since it was a Norwegian parrot)—although in the sketch that phrase was used by the shop owner to assert that the parrot was *not* dead, but was merely quiet and contemplative.

The word euphemism itself can be used as a euphemism. In the animated short *It's Grinch Night* (See Dr. Seuss), a child asks to go to the *euphemism*, where *euphemism* is being used as a euphemism for *outhouse*. This euphemistic use of "euphemism" also occurred in the play *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* where a character requests, "Martha, will you show her where we keep the, uh, euphemism?"

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## Political correctness

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**Political correctness** (adjectivally, **politically correct**; both forms commonly abbreviated to **PC**) is a term that refers to language, ideas, or policies that address perceived or actual discrimination against or alienation of politically, socially or economically disadvantaged groups. The term usually implies that these social considerations are excessive or of a purely "political" nature. These groups most prominently include those defined by gender, race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation and disability.

Historically, the term was a colloquialism used in the early-to-mid 20th century by Communists and Socialists in political debates, referring pejoratively to the Communist "party line", which provided for "correct" positions on many matters of politics. The term was adopted in the later 20th century by the New Left, applied with a certain humour to condemn sexist or racist conduct as "not politically correct". By the early 1990s, the term was adopted by US conservatives as a pejorative term for all manner of attempts to promote multiculturalism and identity politics, particularly in terms of attempts to introduce new terms that sought to leave behind discriminatory baggage attached to older ones, and conversely to try to make older ones taboo. This phenomenon was driven by a combination of the linguistic turn in academia and the rise of identity politics both inside and outside it. These led to attempts to change social reality by changing language, with attempts at making language more culturally inclusive and gender-neutral. These attempts (associated with the political left) led to a backlash from the right, partly against the attempts to change language, and partly against the underlying identity politics itself. "Political correctness" became a convenient rightwing label for both of these things it rejected.

In modern usage, the terms *PC*, *politically correct*, and *political correctness* are pejorative descriptors, whereas, the term **politically incorrect** is used by opponents of PC as an implicitly positive self-description, as in the cases of the conservative, topical book-series *The Politically Incorrect Guide*, and the liberal, television talk-show program *Politically Incorrect*.

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## History of the term

The term *politically correct* did not occur much in the language and culture of the U.S. until the late 20th century, and its earlier occurrences were in contexts that did not communicate the social disapproval inherent to the contemporary terms *political correctness* and *politically correct*. In the 18th century, the term Politically Correct appeared in U.S. law, in a political-lawsuit judged and decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1793.<sup>[1]</sup> The first recorded use of the term in the typical modern sense is stated in William Safire's *Safire's Political Dictionary* to be by Toni Cade in the 1970 anthology *The Black Woman*, where she wrote "A man cannot be politically correct and a chauvinist too".<sup>[2]</sup>

### Early-to-mid 20th century

In the early-to-mid 20th century, contemporary uses of the phrase "Politically Correct" were associated with the dogmatic application of Stalinist doctrine, debated between formal Communists (members of the Communist Party) and Socialists. The phrase was a colloquialism referring to the Communist "party line", which provided for "correct" positions on many matters of politics. According to American educator Herbert Kohl, writing about debates in New York in the late 1940s and early 1950s,

The term "politically correct" was used disparagingly, to refer to someone whose loyalty to the CP line overrode compassion, and led to bad politics. It was used by Socialists against Communists, and was meant to separate out Socialists who believed in equalitarian moral ideas from dogmatic Communists who would advocate and defend party positions regardless of their moral substance.

—"Uncommon Differences", The Lion and the Unicorn Journal <sup>[3]</sup>

### 1970s

In the 1970s, the New Left had adopted the term *political correctness*; hence, in the essay *The Black Woman: An Anthology* (1970), Toni Cade Bambara said that "a man cannot be politically correct and a [male] chauvinist, too." In the event, the New Left then applied the term as self-critical satire, about which Debra Shultz said that "throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the New Left, feminists, and progressives ... used their term *politically correct* ironically, as a guard against their own orthodoxy in social change efforts".<sup>[4]</sup> As such, PC is a popular usage in the comic book *Merton of the Movement*, by Bobby London, which then was followed by the term *ideologically sound*, in the comic strips of Bart Dickon. In her essay "Toward a feminist Revolution" (1992) Ellen Willis said: "In the early eighties, when feminists used the term *political correctness*, it was used to refer sarcastically to the anti-pornography movement's efforts to define a "feminist sexuality""<sup>[5]</sup>

Stuart Hall suggests one way in which the original use of the term may have developed into the modern one:

According to one version, political correctness actually began as an in-joke on the left: radical students on American campuses acting out an ironic replay of the Bad Old Days BS (Before the Sixties) when every revolutionary groupuscule had a party line about everything. They would address some glaring examples of sexist or racist behaviour by their fellow students in imitation of the tone of voice of the Red Guards or Cultural Revolution Commissar: 'Not very "politically correct", Comrade!'<sup>[6]</sup>

### 1990s

The term "political correctness" in its modern pejorative sense became part of the US public debate in the late 1980s, with its media use becoming widespread in 1991. It became a key term encapsulating rightwing concerns about the left in academia in particular, and in culture and political debate more broadly. Two articles on the topic in late 1990 in *Forbes* and *Newsweek* both used the term "Thought police" in their headlines, exemplifying the tone of the new usage, but it was Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus* (1991) which "captured the press's imagination". "Political correctness" here was a label for a range of policies in academia around

supporting multiculturalism through affirmative action, sanctions against anti-minority "hate speech", and revising curricula (sometimes referred to as "canon busting").<sup>[7]</sup> These trends were at least in part a response to the rise of identity politics, with movements such feminism, gay rights movements and ethnic minority movements. That response received significant direct and indirect funding from conservative foundations and think tanks, not least the John M. Olin Foundation, which funded D'Souza's book.<sup>[8]</sup>

In the event, the previously obscure term became common-currency in the lexicon of the conservative social and political challenges against progressive teaching methods and curriculum changes in the secondary schools and universities (public and private) of the U.S.<sup>[9]</sup> Hence, in 1991, at a commencement ceremony for a graduating class of the University of Michigan, U.S. President George H.W. Bush (1989–93) spoke against: "... a movement [that would] declare certain topics 'off-limits', certain expressions 'off-limits', even certain gestures 'off-limits'...."<sup>[10]</sup>

Herbert Kohl (1992) pointed out that a number of neoconservatives who promoted the use of the term "politically correct" in the early 1990s were actually former Communist Party members, and as a result familiar with the original use of the phrase. He argued that in doing so, they intended "to insinuate that egalitarian democratic ideas are actually authoritarian, orthodox and Communist-influenced, when they oppose the right of people to be racist, sexist, and homophobic."

Mainstream usages of the term *politically correct*, and its adjectival derivatives – "political correctness" and "PC" – began in the 1990s, when right-wing politicians adopted the phrase as a pejorative descriptor of their ideologic enemies – especially in context of the Culture Wars about language and the content of public-school curricula. Generally, any policy, behavior, and speech code that the speaker or the writer regards as the imposition of a liberal orthodoxy about people and things, can be described and criticized as "politically correct". Jan Narveson has written that "that phrase was born to live between scare-quotes: it suggests that the operative considerations in the area so called are *merely* political, steamrolling the genuine reasons of principle for which we ought to be acting..."<sup>[11]</sup>

Liberal commentators have argued that the conservatives and reactionaries who used the term did so in effort to divert political discussion away from the substantive matters of resolving societal discrimination – such as racial, social class, gender, and legal inequality – against people whom the right-wing do not consider part of the social mainstream.<sup>[12]</sup>

In the course of the 1990s, the term was increasingly commonly used in the United Kingdom, with the expression "political correctness gone mad" becoming a catchphrase, usually associated with the politically conservative *Daily Mail* newspaper. In *The Abolition of Britain* (1999), Peter Hitchens wrote that: "What Americans describe with the casual phrase ... "political correctness" is the most intolerant system of thought to dominate the British Isles since the Reformation."<sup>[citation needed]</sup> In 2001 Will Hutton wrote:

Political correctness is one of the brilliant tools that the American Right developed in the mid-1980s, as part of its demolition of American liberalism.... What the sharpest thinkers on the American Right saw quickly was that by declaring war on the cultural manifestations of liberalism – by levelling the charge of "political correctness" against its exponents – they could discredit the whole political project.

—"Words Really are Important, Mr Blunkett", *The Observer* (16 December 2001) <sup>[13]</sup>

Similarly Polly Toynbee, writing in 2001, said "the phrase is an empty, right-wing smear, designed only to elevate its user",<sup>[14]</sup> and, in 2010 "...the phrase "political correctness" was born as a coded cover for all who still want to say *Paki*, *spastic*, or *queer*..."

## History of the phenomenon

Whilst the label "politically correct" has its particular origins and history, it only partially overlaps with the history of the phenomenon to which the label is now applied. While the use of "politically correct" in the modern sense is a label dating to the early 1990s, the phenomenon so labelled developed from the 1960s onwards. This phenomenon was driven by a combination of the linguistic turn in academia and the rise of identity politics both inside and outside it. These led to attempts to change social reality by changing language, with attempts at making language more culturally inclusive and gender-neutral. This meant introducing new terms that sought to leave behind discriminatory baggage attached to older ones, and conversely to try to make older ones taboo, sometimes through labelling them "hate speech". These attempts (associated with the political left) led to a backlash from the right, partly against the attempts to change language, and partly against the underlying identity politics itself. "Political correctness" became a convenient rightwing label for both of these things it rejected.

In the *American Speech* journal article "Cultural Sensitivity and Political Correctness: The Linguistic Problem of Naming" (1996), Edna Andrews said that the usage of culturally inclusive and gender-neutral language is based upon the concept that "language represents thought, and may even control thought".<sup>[15]</sup> Andrews's proposition is conceptually derived from the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, which proposes that the grammatical categories of a language shape the ideas, thoughts, and actions of the speaker. Moreover, Andrews said that politically moderate conceptions of the language-thought relationship suffice to support the "reasonable deduction ... [of] cultural change via linguistic change" reported in the *Sex Roles* journal article "Development and Validation of an Instrument to Measure Attitudes Toward Sexist/Nonsexist Language" (2000), by Janet B. Parks and Mary Ann Robinson.<sup>[16]</sup>

Moreover, other cognitive psychology and cognitive linguistics works, such as the articles "Reconstruction of Automobile Destruction: An Example of the Interaction between Language and Memory" (1974) in the *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, and "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice" (1981) in the journal *Science* indicated that a person's word-choice has significant framing effects upon the perceptions, memories, and attitudes of the speaker and of the listener.<sup>[17][18]</sup>

Consequently, the advocates of culturally inclusive language and of gender-neutral language have proposed that such locutions are necessary, because:

1. The rights, opportunities, and freedoms of discriminated people are restricted when they are reduced to racial and sexual stereotypes.
2. Stereotyping is implicit, unconscious, and facilitated by the availability and acceptability of pejorative labels and terms.
3. Rendering pejorative labels and terms socially unacceptable, the prejudiced users of such language then must consciously think about *how* they describe someone unlike him- or herself.
4. Labelling is a conscious action, and the elimination of a stereotype then shows the labelled person's *individual* identity as a man or a woman who is unlike the prejudiced speaker.

In the event, the critics of cultural diversity and of inclusive language, commonly oppose the identification of such social power disparities by dismissing the matter as superficial political correctness.

A common criticism is that terms chosen by an identity group, as acceptable descriptors of themselves, then pass into common usage, including usage by the racists and sexists whose racism and sexism, et cetera, the new terms mean to supersede. Alternatively put, the new terms gradually acquire the same disparaging connotations as the old terms. The new terms are thus devalued, and another set of words must be coined, giving rise to lengthy progressions such as *Negro*, *Colored*, *Black*, *Afro-American*, *African-American*, and so on, (cf. Euphemism treadmill).

## Practical application

The principal applications of political correctness concern the practices of awareness and toleration of the sociologic differences among people of different races and genders; of physical and mental disabilities; of ethnic group and sexual orientation; of religious background, and of ideological worldview. Specifically, the praxis of political correctness is in the descriptive vocabulary that the speaker and the writer use in effort to eliminate the prejudices inherent to cultural, sexual and racist stereotypes with culturally neutral terms, such as the locutions, circumlocutions, and euphemisms presented in the *Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook* (1993) such as: Wikipedia:Citing sources

- “Intellectually disabled” in place of *mentally retarded*
- “African American” in place of *Black* and *Negro*, in the United States
- “Native American” in place of *Indian*, in the United States
- “First Nations” in place of *Indian*, in Canada
- Gender-neutral terms such as “firefighter” in place of *fireman* and *firewoman*, “police officer” in place of *policeman* and *policewoman*
- Value-free terms describing physical disabilities, such as “visually impaired” in place of *blind* and “hearing impaired” in place of *deaf*
- Value-free cultural terms, such as “Holiday season” and “Winter holiday”, in place of *Christmas*

In the event, opponents of such compound-descriptor words and prolix usages, apply the terms *politically correct*, *political correctness*, and *PC* as pejorative and obscurantist criticism, denoting, and connoting apparently excessive deference to particular social sensibilities, at the expense of common-sense considerations of language, thought, and action. Conversely, opponents of political correctness then employed the term *politically incorrect* to communicate that they were unafraid to ignore the social constraints inherent to politically-correct speech. From such opposition emerged the culturally liberal television talk-show program *Politically Incorrect* (1993–2002) and the culturally conservative book series of *The Politically Incorrect Guide* to a given subject, such as the U.S. Constitution, capitalism, and the Bible. In these cultural and sociological matters, the term denotes and connotes that the speaker and the writer use language and proffer ideas, and practice behaviors that are unconstrained by a perceived "liberal" orthodoxy, and by over-sensitive concerns about expressing political biases that might offend people who do not share such cultural perspectives.<sup>[[]]</sup>

## Exclusions

### Exclusion of certain groups

An article by Larry Elder in FrontPage Magazine referred to an incident on Bill Maher's *Politically Incorrect* where the term "white trash" was used in reference to guests on the Jerry Springer Show and asked 'Why Is It Okay to Say "White Trash?"'. Commenting on this, and citing an instance of the term in a glossy magazine, blogger Ed Driscoll asked "Why Is "White Trash" An Acceptable Phrase In PC America?".

In the Civitas think tank pamphlet, *The Retreat of Reason: Political Correctness and the Corruption of Public Debate in Modern Britain* (2006), the British politician Anthony Browne said that "the most overt racism, sexism and homophobia in Britain is now among the weakest groups, in ethnic minority communities, because their views are rarely challenged, as challenging them equates to oppressing them."<sup>[19][20]</sup> Inayat Bunglawala, media secretary of the Muslim Council of Britain, said that the opinions of Anthony Browne were misleading and ludicrous about the societal realities of the peoples who are contemporary Britain.

### Right-wing political correctness

"Political correctness" is a label normally used for left-wing terms and actions, but not for equivalent attempts to mould language and behaviour on the right. However the term "right-wing political correctness" is sometimes applied by commentators drawing parallels; one author used the term "conservative correctness", arguing in 1995 (in relation to higher education) that "critics of political correctness show a curious blindness when it comes to examples of conservative correctness. Most often, the case is entirely ignored or censorship of the Left is justified as a positive virtue. ... A balanced perspective was lost, and everyone missed the fact that people on all sides were sometimes censored."<sup>[21]</sup>

One example is the Dixie Chicks political controversy, where a US country music group criticized U.S. President G.W. Bush for launching a pre-emptive war against Iraq in 2003;<sup>[22]</sup> the remarks were labelled "treasonous" by some rightwing commentators (including Ann Coulter and Bill O'Reilly). The newspaper columnist Don Williams said that such criticism is the price for speaking freely about one's disapproval of the Iraq War, and that "the ugliest form of political correctness occurs whenever there's a war on. Then you'd better watch what you say".

Paul Krugman in 2012 wrote that "the big threat to our discourse is right-wing political correctness, which – unlike the liberal version – has lots of power and money behind it. And the goal is very much the kind of thing Orwell tried to convey with his notion of Newspeak: to make it impossible to talk, and possibly even think, about ideas that challenge the established order".

Examples of politically correct right-wing language, included the business community renaming French-fried potatoes "Freedom fries". In 2004, then Australian Labour leader Mark Latham described conservative calls for "civility" in politics as "The New Political Correctness".

### Identity politics

The post-structuralist philosopher Julia Kristeva was one of the early proponents of promoting feminism and multiculturalism through analysis of language, arguing (in the word of the *New York Times*, 2001) "that it was not enough simply to dissect the structure of language in order to find its hidden meaning. Language should also be viewed through the prisms of history and of individual psychic and sexual experiences. ... this approach in turn enabled specific social groups to trace the source of their oppression to the very language they used." However in 2001 Kristeva said that these views had been simplified and caricatured by many in the United States, and that (in the words of the *Times*) "political assertion of sexual, ethnic and religious identities eventually erodes democracy."<sup>[23]</sup>

Some conservatives argue that the true purpose of "political correctness" and multiculturalism is undermining the values of the Western World, attributing both to what they describe as "Cultural Marxism" (which has only a tenuous link to the Cultural Marxism recognised in mainstream academia). This use is popular among some right-wing English-speaking political pundits, who see themselves in a cultural war with Marxists they believe to have subverted Western institutions like schools, universities, media, entertainment industry and religion. This approach elides the significant philosophical and political differences between the thinkers associated with cultural Marxism (many associated with the Frankfurt School) and proposes that cultural change is brought about by a covert conspiracy of academics rather than, as cultural Marxists argue, by deep-rooted social, political and economic forces. This usage originates with a 1992 essay in a Lyndon LaRouche movement journal, and is covered in Frankfurt School conspiracy theory.

Examples include Patrick Buchanan, writing in the book *The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Culture and Civilization* (2001) that "Political Correctness is Cultural Marxism, a régime to punish dissent, and to stigmatize social heresy, as the Inquisition punished religious heresy. Its trademark is intolerance."<sup>[24]</sup> Similarly, University of Pennsylvania professor Alan Charles Kors and lawyer Harvey A. Silverglate connect political correctness to Marxist Frankfurt School philosopher Herbert Marcuse. They claim that liberal ideas of free speech are repressive, arguing that such "Marcusean logic" is the base of speech codes, which



are seen by some as censorship, in US universities. Kors and Silvergate later established the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, which campaigns against PC speech codes.<sup>[25]</sup>

## Other

A conservative criticism of higher education in the United States is that the political views of the faculty are much more liberal than the general population, and that this situation contributes to an atmosphere of political correctness.<sup>[26]</sup>

## False accusations

In the United States, left forces of "political correctness" have been blamed for actions largely carried out by right-wing groups, with *Time* citing campaigns against violence on network television as contributing to a "mainstream culture [which] has become cautious, sanitized, scared of its own shadow" because of "the watchful eye of the p.c. police" – yet it was largely Christian Right groups which campaigned against violence (and sex, and depictions of homosexuality) on television.<sup>[27]</sup>

In the United Kingdom, some newspapers reported that a school had altered the nursery rhyme "Baa Baa Black Sheep" to read "Baa Baa Rainbow Sheep". But it is also reported that a better description is that the Parents and Children Together (PACT) nursery had the children "turn the song into an action rhyme.... They sing happy, sad, bouncing, hopping, pink, blue, black and white sheep etc." That nursery rhyme story was circulated and later extended to suggest that like language bans applied to the terms "black coffee" and "blackboard". The *Private Eye* magazine reported that like stories, all baseless, ran in the British press since *The Sun* first published them in 1986. See also Baa Baa White Sheep.

## Science

Among scientists, the correctness of procedure, result, and consequent scientific data derives from the factual truth of the matter, and from the soundness of the reasoning by which it can be deduced from observations, first principles, and quantifiable results. When the publication, teaching, and public funding of science is decided by peer committees, academic standards, and either an elected or an appointed board, the conservative allegation can arise that the acceptability of a scientific work was assessed politically. As such, in *What is Political Correctness* (1999), the physicist Jonathan I. Katz applies the term PC as censure, characterized by emotional discourse rather than by rational discourse.

Conservative and reactionary groups who oppose certain generally accepted scientific views about evolution, second-hand tobacco smoke, AIDS, and other politically contentious scientific matters, said that PC liberal orthodoxy of academia is the reason why their perspectives of those matters fail to receive a fair public hearing; thus, in *Lamarck's Signature: How Retrogenes are Changing Darwin's Natural Selection Paradigm* (1999), Prof. Edward J. Steele said:

We now stand on the threshold of what could be an exciting new era of genetic research.... However, the 'politically correct' thought agendas of the neo-Darwinists of the 1990s are ideologically opposed to the idea of 'Lamarckian Feedback', just as the Church was opposed to the idea of evolution based on natural selection in the 1850s!

In *The Politically Incorrect Guide to Science* (2005), Tom Bethell said that mainstream science is dominated by politically-correct thinking. He argues that many scientists are motivated more by passionate emotion than by dispassionate reason.

In the book *The Bell Curve Wars: Race, Intelligence, and the Future of America* (1995), liberal opponents of the racially-determined-I.Q.-theory proposed in *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (1994) argued against the conservative and reactionary propositions that genetic determinism explains the statistical

intelligence-test-score differences between black people and white people, and thus explained and justified the socio-economic inequality inherent to U.S. society. Moreover, in that matter, the conservatives said that criticism of their racist and mono-cultural perspectives is unfair, because it is based upon the political correctness derived from a liberal and humanist worldview.

## Satirical use

Political correctness often is satirized, for example in the *Politically Correct Manifesto* (1992), by Saul Jerushalmy and Rens Zbigniew X, and *Politically Correct Bedtime Stories* (1994), by James Finn Garner, presenting fairy tales re-written from an exaggerated PC perspective.

Other examples include the television program *Politically Incorrect*, George Carlin's "Euphemisms" routine, and *The Politically Correct Scrapbook*. The popularity of the *South Park* cartoon program led to the creation of the term *South Park Republican* by Andrew Sullivan, and later the book *South Park Conservatives* by Brian C. Anderson.

Replying to the "Freedom Fries" matter, wits suggested that the Fama-French model used in corporate finance be renamed the "Fama-Freedom" model.

British comedian Stewart Lee satirised the oft-used phrase "it's political correctness gone mad". Lee criticised people for overusing this expression without understanding the concept of political correctness (including many people's confusion of it with Health & Safety laws). He in particular criticised Daily Mail columnist Richard Littlejohn for his overzealous use of the phrase.

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- [10] U.S. President H.W. Bush, at the University of Michigan (4 May 1991), Remarks at the University of Michigan Commencement Ceremony in Ann Arbor (<http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/papers/1991/91050401.html>), 4 May 1991. George Bush Presidential Library.
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## External links

- Politically correct and proud of it Observer Special Report by Will Hutton (<http://politics.guardian.co.uk/columnist/story/0,9321,1293144,00.html>)
- Possible origins of the term at [www.linguistlist.org](http://www.linguistlist.org) (<http://www.linguistlist.org/issues/7/7-879.html>)
- [[Global Language Monitor (<http://www.languagemonitor.com/category/politically-correct-2/>)]'s annual lists of politically correct language and controversies since 2003.]
- "Shortcuts" ([http://www.lrb.co.uk/v27/n23/print/jone01\\_.html](http://www.lrb.co.uk/v27/n23/print/jone01_.html)) by Thomas Jones, discusses the term "political correctness" in British discourse, *London Review of Books*, December 1, 2005
- A list of examples cited by the Daily Mail of political correctness in the UK (<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-420729/Book-reveals-people-fall-foul-PC-police.html>)

## Factoid

A **factoid** is a questionable or spurious (unverified, false, or fabricated) statement presented as a fact, but without supporting evidence. The word can also be used to describe a particularly insignificant or novel fact, in the absence of much relevant context.<sup>[1]</sup> The word is defined by the *Compact Oxford English Dictionary* as "an item of unreliable information that is repeated so often that it becomes accepted as fact".

*Factoid* was coined by Norman Mailer in his 1973 biography of Marilyn Monroe. Mailer described a factoid as "facts which have no existence before appearing in a magazine or newspaper", and created the word by combining the word *fact* and the ending *-oid* to mean "similar but not the same". The *Washington Times* described Mailer's new word as referring to "something that looks like a fact, could be a fact, but in fact is not a fact".

Factoids may give rise to, or arise from, common misconceptions and urban legends.

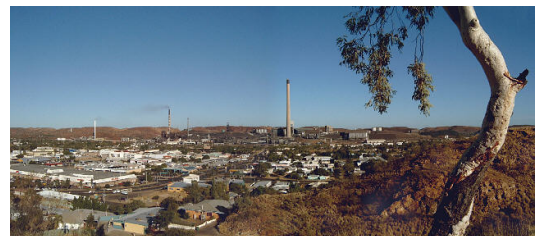


The Great Wall of China is often incorrectly referred to as the only man-made object visible from the moon.

## Examples

The following are well-known examples of factoids, and the facts which clarify or debunk them.

- One belief associated with the Australian property bubble is that real estate value doubles every 7 years. However, "Take the city of Sydney - the Mecca of property investing. In 1890, the average Sydney home price was \$1,446 (£723). If property really does double every seven years then, in 2009, the average Sydney home would have been worth \$189,530,112.00." Today, Wikipedia:Manual of Style/Dates and numbers#Chronological items the average price of a home in Sydney is closer to half a million dollars rather than \$189 million.<sup>[2]</sup>



Mount Isa, Australia, is often incorrectly referred to as the largest city in the world by area.

- It is often reported that Toronto was named by UNESCO as the most multicultural city in the world. Although there have been some reports suggesting that Toronto may be *one of* the world's most diverse cities (see Demographics of Toronto), the United Nations agency has never designated any city as being *the most* multicultural or diverse. Nonetheless, the belief in this status persisted for years, even finding its way onto UNESCO's own web site,<sup>[3]</sup> into the pages of the *New York Times*<sup>[4]</sup> and *The Economist*,<sup>[5]</sup> and into international media reports in respect of Toronto's two Olympic bids.
- The Great Wall of China is often thought as being the only man-made object visible from the moon.<sup>[6]</sup> In reality no man-made object on Earth can be seen with the naked eye from the Earth's moon. Given good circumstances one might be able to discern the result of some human activity such as the changing of the Netherlands' coast or the partial drying out of the Aral Sea, but even that would not be easy. Some astronauts have reported seeing the Great Wall from low earth orbit, among a number of man-made structures. In reality, a viewer would need visual acuity 17,000 times better than normal (20/20) to see the Wall from the Moon, and vision 8 times better than normal to see it from low earth orbit.
- Dogs and cats are often thought to be completely color-blind and see the world in scales of grey. That is wrong. They do have color vision, dichromate, but not nearly as good as that of humans, trichromate, i.e., red, green, and blue light.<sup>[7][8]</sup>
- It is often stated that the Texas flag is the only state flag that can be flown at the same height as the American flag, because of Texas's former status as a nation.<sup>[9]</sup> However, in reality, according to the United States Flag Code, all state flags are displayed at the same height as the American flag when on separate poles, with the American flag in a position of honor (to its own right). State flags should hang below the American flag while on the same pole, and should never be larger than the American flag. Moreover, Texas is not the only U.S. state to formerly have diplomatic recognition; Hawaii shares this status.



Neither Toronto nor any other city was ever designated by UNESCO as the world's most multicultural city.

## Other meanings

The word *factoid* is now sometimes also used to mean a small piece of *true* but valueless or insignificant information, in contrast to the original definition. This has been popularized by the CNN Headline News TV channel, which, during the 1980s and 1990s, used to frequently include such a fact under the heading "factoid" during newscasts. BBC Radio 2 presenter Steve Wright uses factoids extensively on his show. Occasionally these can be incorrect, such as in September 2012 defining a Googol as the number 1 followed by *one million* zeroes, when the correct definition is the number 1 followed by *one hundred* zeroes.

As a result of confusion over the meaning of factoid, some English-language style and usage guides recommend against its use. Language expert William Safire in his *On Language* column advocated the use of the word *factlet* to express a "little bit of arcana".

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## Fedspeak

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Known as Fed Speak, the convoluted rhetoric has befuddled even the wisest of interpreters.
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— <i>Wealth Building Strategies in Energy, Metals and Other Markets</i>
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In monetary policy of the United States, the term **Fedspeak** (also known as **Greenspeak**) is what Alan Blinder called "a turgid dialect of English" used by Federal Reserve Board chairmen in making intentionally wordy, vague, and ambiguous statements. The strategy, which was used most prominently by Alan Greenspan, was used to prevent financial markets from overreacting to the chairman's remarks. The coinage is an intentional parallel to Newspeak of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, a novel by George Orwell.

The deliberately confusing and carefully rehearsed cryptic language described as an "indecipherable, Delphic dialect" is meant to "give people a sense that there's no way they could understand economics and finance" and thus allow the Federal Reserve and government to manage the economy with less interference from the general public.

Although Ben Bernanke has stated that Fedspeak now means clear and extensive communication of the fed's action, the original interpretation in which Fedspeak meant "explaining more, is understanding better" is still prominently used. It should also be noted that Bernanke's speech has also been described as fedspeak.

It has been noted that the nuanced nature of fedspeak poses interpretation problems to automated trading algorithms.

## Origin

The notion of fed speak originated from the fact that financial markets placed a heavy value on the statements made by Federal Reserve governors, which could in turn lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy. To prevent this, the governors developed a language, termed fedspeak, in which ambiguous and cautious statements were made to purposefully obscure and detract meaning from the statement.

Though previous "Fed" chairmen Arthur Burns and Paul Volcker were known for blowing smoke, both literally and figuratively, when appearing before Congress, Alan Greenspan is credited with making Fedspeak a "high-art".

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## Usage by Alan Greenspan

He used to take pride in the resulting obfuscation—even characterizing his own way of communicating as 'mumbling with great incoherence.' In a famous incident, he once told a US senator, who claimed to have understood what the famously obscurantist chairman had just said, that 'in that case, I must have mispoken.'

— *How do central banks talk?*

Although it was originally believed by some that Alan Greenspan, who is generally credited for popularizing fedspeak, may have used such language unintentionally, he revealed in his 2007 book *The Age of Turbulence*, that the method of avoiding the issues directly when a clear message was not desired was indeed intentional. Greenspan states that the confusion, which often resulted in conflicting interpretations, was used to prevent unintended jolts to the markets as confusing statements were typically ignored.

He noted that he came upon the dialect while at the fed: "What I've learned at the Federal Reserve is a new language which is called 'Fed-speak.' You soon learn to mumble with great incoherence."

In an interview with 60 Minutes's Lesley Stahl on September 16, 2007, Stahl stated how "In public, Greenspan was inscrutable whenever congress asked about interest rates. He resorted to an indecipherable delphic dialect known as fedspeak" to which Greenspan responded that "I would engage in some form of syntax destruction which sounded as though I were answering the question, but in fact, had not." When Stahl noted that Greenspan's responses were "impenetrably profound" and that this resulted in "two newspapers getting opposing headlines coming out of the same hearing", Greenspan responded that "I succeeded."

In an interview with CNBC's Maria Bartiromo on September 17, 2007, when asked to describe Fedspeak, Greenspan described it as:

It's a-- a language of purposeful obfuscation to avoid certain questions coming up, which you know you can't answer, and saying-- "I will not answer or basically no comment is, in fact, an answer." So, you end up with when, say, a Congressman asks you a question, and don't wanna say, "No comment," or "I won't answer," or something like that. So, I proceed with four or five sentences which get increasingly obscure. The Congressman thinks I answered the question and goes onto the next one.

In an interview with BusinessWeek in August 2012, when asked "about practicing the art of constructive ambiguity", Greenspan replied:

As Fed chairman, every time I expressed a view, I added or subtracted 10 basis points from the credit market. That was not helpful. But I nonetheless had to testify before Congress. On questions that were too market-sensitive to answer, "no comment" was indeed an answer. And so you construct what we used to call Fed-speak. I would hypothetically think of a little plate in front of my eyes, which was the Washington Post, the following morning's headline, and I would catch myself in the middle of a sentence. Then, instead of just stopping, I would continue on resolving the sentence in some obscure way which made it incomprehensible. But nobody was quite sure I wasn't saying something profound when I wasn't. And that became the so-called Fed-speak which I became an expert on over the years. It's a self-protection mechanism ... when you're in an environment where people are shooting questions at you, and you've got to be very careful about the nuances of what you're going to say and what you don't say.

Greenspan has been criticized for his usage of Fedspeak.



## Examples

The Fed has a language all its own, and unfortunately, the folks over at Rosetta Stone have yet to create a program to help laypeople understand what the hell the fed is talking about.

— Ron Insana

As of 2011, the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas website still maintains a "Greenspeak" page with dozens of excerpts from Greenspan's past statements as head of the Federal Reserve Bank. Each quotation has a pointer to its full context in his speech, and is posted without commentary or interpretation.

The members of the Board of Governors and the Reserve Bank presidents foresee an implicit strengthening of activity after the current rebalancing is over, although the central tendency of their individual forecasts for real GDP still shows a substantial slowdown, on balance, for the year as a whole.

—Alan Greenspan, Testimony from the Federal Reserve Board's semiannual monetary policy report to the Congress before the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, U.S. Senate on February 13, 2001

Risk takers have been encouraged by a perceived increase in economic stability to reach out to more distant time horizons. But long periods of relative stability often engender unrealistic expectations of it[s] permanence and, at times, may lead to financial excess and economic stress.

—Alan Greenspan, testimony on his 35th appearance before the Financial Services Committee of the US House of Representatives on July 20, 2005

I would generally expect that today in Washington DC. the probability of changes in the weather is highly uncertain, but we are monitoring the data in such a way that we will be able to update people on changes that are important.

—Alan Greenspan, Greenspan describing the weather in response to a question by Owen Bennett-Jones on BBC's *The Interview* (October 2007)

## Commentary

The University of Virginia Writing Program Instructor Site offers some selected quotations from Greenspan, with a suggestion that students be given writing exercise assignments of clarifying their expression of ideas.

A public relations firm cites an example of "Greenspeak" as the statement of one of the "master practitioners of creative ambiguity over the years". The brief essay mentions two other master practitioners of obfuscation, Hubert H. Humphrey and Casey Stengel. The overall tone of the essay is one of awed admiration for a sometimes-necessary skill in obscurantism. In closing, the writer notes that, "As professional performers say, to deliberately sing off-key requires a highly skilled singer."

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### External links

- Fedspeak (<http://www.federalreserve.gov/boarddocs/speeches/2004/200401032/default.htm>), Remarks by Governor Ben S. Bernanke



# Front organization

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A **front organization** is any entity set up by and controlled by another organization, such as intelligence agencies, organized crime groups, banned organizations, religious or political groups, advocacy groups, or corporations. Front organizations can act for the parent group without the actions being attributed to the parent group.

Front organizations that appear to be independent voluntary associations or charitable organizations are called **front groups**. In the business world, front organizations such as **front companies** or shell corporations are used to shield the parent company from legal liability. In international relations, a puppet state is a state which acts as a front (or surrogate) for another state.

## Intelligence agencies

Intelligence agencies use front organizations to provide "cover", plausible occupations and means of income, for their covert agents. These may include legitimate organizations, such as charity, religious or journalism organizations; or "brass plate firms" which exist solely to provide a plausible background story, occupation, and means of income.

The airline Air America, an outgrowth of Civil Air Transport of the 1940s, and Southern Air Transport, ostensibly a civilian air charter company, were operated and wholly owned by the CIA, supposedly to provide humanitarian aid, but flew many combat support missions and supplied covert operations in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War.<sup>[1]</sup> Other CIA-funded front groups have been used to spread American propaganda and influence during the Cold War, particularly in the Third World.<sup>[2]</sup> When intelligence agencies work through legitimate organizations, it can cause problems and increased risk for the workers of those organizations.<sup>[3]</sup> To prevent this, the CIA has had a 20-year policy of not using Peace Corps members or US journalists for intelligence purposes.

Another airline allegedly involved in intelligence operations was Russian Aeroflot that worked in a close coordination with KGB, SVR and GRU.<sup>[4]</sup> The company conducted forcible "evacuations" of Soviet citizens from foreign countries back to the USSR. People whose loyalty was questioned were drugged and delivered unconscious by Aeroflot planes, assisted by the company KGB personnel, according to former GRU officer Victor Suvorov.<sup>[5]</sup> In 1980s and 1990s, specimens of deadly bacteria and viruses stolen from Western laboratories were delivered by Aeroflot to support the Russian program of biological weapons. This delivery channel encoded VOLNA ("wave") meant "delivering the material via an international flight of the Aeroflot airline in the pilots' cabin, where one of the pilots was a KGB officer". At least two SVR agents died, presumably from the transported pathogens.

When businessman Nikolai Glushkov was appointed as a top manager of Aeroflot in 1996, he found that the airline company worked as a "cash cow to support international spying operations" according to Alex Goldfarb.<sup>[6]</sup> 3,000 people out of the total workforce of 14,000 in Aeroflot were FSB, SVR, or GRU officers. All proceeds from ticket sales were distributed to 352 foreign bank accounts that could not be controlled by the Aeroflot administration. Glushkov closed all these accounts and channeled the money to an accounting center called Andava in Switzerland. He also sent a bill and wrote a letter to SVR director Yevgeni Primakov and FSB director Mikhail Barsukov asking them to pay salaries of their intelligence officers in Aeroflot in 1996. Glushkov has been imprisoned since 2000 on charges of illegally channeling money through Andava. Since 2004 the company is controlled by Viktor Ivanov, a high-ranking FSB official who is a close associate of Vladimir Putin.

## Organized crime

Many organized crime operations have substantial legitimate businesses, such as licensed gambling houses, building construction companies, trash hauling services, or dock loading enterprises. These front companies enable these criminal organizations to launder their income from illegal activities. As well, the front companies provide plausible cover for illegal activities such as drug trafficking, smuggling, and prostitution. Tattoo parlors are often used as fronts for outlaw motorcycle clubs.<sup>[7]</sup>

Where brothels are illegal, criminal organizations set up front companies providing services such as a "massage parlor" or "sauna", up to the point that "massage parlor" or "sauna" is thought as a synonym of brothel in these countries.<sup>[8]</sup>

## Religion

### Scientology

The Church of Scientology uses front groups either to promote its interests in politics or to make its group seem more legitimate. The FBI's July 7, 1977 raids on the Church's offices (following discovery of the Church's Operation Snow White) turned up, among other documents, an undated memo entitled "PR General Categories of Data Needing Coding". This memo listed what it called "Secret PR Front Groups," which included the group APRL, "Alliance for the Preservation of Religious Liberty" (later renamed "Americans Preserving Religious Liberty"). The Cult Awareness Network (CAN) is considered by many to now be a front group for the Church of Scientology, which took the group over financially after bankrupting it in a series of lawsuits.

*Time* identified several other fronts for Scientology, including: the Citizens Commission on Human Rights (CCHR), The Way to Happiness Foundation, Applied Scholastics, the Concerned Businessmen's Association of America, and HealthMed Clinic. Seven years later the Boston Herald showed how Narconon and World Literacy Crusade are also fronting for Scientology. Other Scientology groups include Downtown Medical, Criminon and the Association for Better Living and Education (ABLE).

## Politics

In politics, a group may be called a front organization if it is perceived to be disingenuous in its control or goals, or if it attempts to mask extremist views within a supposedly more moderate group. Some special interest groups engage in astroturfing, which is an attempt to mask lobbying as a grassroots movement.

### Pro-Israel lobbying fronts

The American Israel Public Affairs Committee has been accused of using front organizations as a means of circumventing limits on campaign spending.<sup>[9]</sup> These front organizations have names unrelated to AIPAC. *Delaware Valley Good Government Association* (Philadelphia), *San Franciscans for Good Government* (California), *Beaver PAC* (Wisconsin), *Cactus PAC* (Arizona), and *Icepac* (New York) are examples of former AIPAC front groups.<sup>[10]</sup> Wikipedia:Link rot

"According to a computer-aided analysis of 1986 Federal Election Reports, despite AIPAC's claims of non-involvement in political spending, no fewer than 51 pro-Israel PACs—most of which draw money from Jewish donors and operate under obscure-sounding names—are operated by AIPAC officials or people who hold seats on AIPAC's two major policymaking bodies. The study shows that 80 pro-Israel PACs spent more than \$6.9 million during the 1986 campaigns, making them the nation's biggest-giving narrow-issue interest group."<sup>[11]</sup>

## Apartheid government fronts

South Africa's apartheid-era government used numerous front organizations to influence world opinion and to undertake extra-judicial activities and the killing of anti-apartheid activists; these included the following:

- The Citizen - funded secretly by government, intended to challenge the liberal Rand Daily Mail, contributing to the political ruin of John Vorster and Connie Mulder
- Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) - a covert, special forces organization that harassed, seriously injured and eliminated anti-apartheid activists
- Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (FIDA)
- International Freedom Foundation - Washington-based mechanism to combat sanctions, and support Jonas Savimbi and UNITA
- Jeugkrug - or Youth for South Africa, led by Marthinus van Schalkwyk a short-lived Afrikaner youth group, surreptitiously funded by the Military Intelligence's Project Essay
- National Student Federation (NSF) - led by Russell Crystal, intended to challenge NUSAS
- Roodeplaat Research Laboratories - Led by Daan Goosen, the main research facility of Project Coast<sup>[12]</sup>
- Taussig Familienstiftung - or Taussig Family Trust, a Liechtenstein conduit for secret government transactions
- Veterans for Victory - consisting of national servicemen, a countermeasure against the End Conscription Campaign which was allied to the United Democratic Front (UDF)

## Communist fronts

Communist and other Marxist-Leninist parties have sometimes used front organizations to attract support from those (sometimes called fellow travellers) who may not necessarily agree with Leninist ideology. The front organization often obscures its provenance and may often be a tool for recruitment. Other Marxists often describe front organizations as opportunist. The concept of a front organization should be distinguished from the united front (a coalition of working class or socialist parties) and the popular front. Both the united front and popular front usually disclose the groups that make up their coalitions.

### United States

According to a list prepared in 1955 by the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the Comintern set up no less than 82 front organizations in the United States in the 1930s and 1940s. This tactic was often used during the Red Scare of the 1950s, when a number of organizations in the labor and peace movements were accused of being "Communist fronts". Sometimes, Communist fronts worked at an international level, as has been alleged with the World Peace Council.<sup>[13]</sup>

Soviet intelligence infiltrated many peace movements in the West. In addition to WPC, important communist front organizations included the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the International Union of Students.<sup>[14]</sup> Richard Felix Staar has also suggested that these organizations were somewhat less important front organizations: Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, Christian Peace Conference, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, International Federation of Resistance Movements, International Institute for Peace, International Organization of Journalists, Women's International Democratic Federation and World Federation of Scientific Workers.<sup>[15]</sup> There were also numerous smaller organizations, affiliated with the above fronts such as Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs.<sup>[16][17]</sup> Numerous peace conferences, congresses and festivals have been staged with support of those organizations.<sup>[18]</sup>

More recently, the Workers' World Party (WWP)<sup>[19]</sup> set up an anti-war front group, International ANSWER. (ANSWER is no longer closely associated with WWP; it is closely associated with a WWP splinter, the Party for Socialism and Liberation, but PSL plays a more open role in the organization.) Similarly, Unite Against Fascism, the Anti-Nazi League, the Stop the War Coalition and Respect – The Unity Coalition are all criticised as being fronts for the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (UK).

## Russia

In April 1991, CPSU leadership and the KGB has created a puppet political party inside Russia, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), which became the second officially registered party in the country. According to KGB General Philipp Bobkov, it was a "Zubатов's pseudo-party under KGB control that directs interests and sentiments of certain social groups".<sup>[20]</sup> The former CPSU Politburo member Alexander Nikolaevich Yakovlev described in his book how KGB director Vladimir Kryuchkov presented the project of the puppet party at a joint meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev and informed him about a selection of LDPR leaders, and the mechanism of funding from CPSU money. The book includes an official copy of a document providing the initial LDPR funding (3 million rubles) from the CPSU money. The leader of LDPR, Vladimir Zhirinovsky proved to be an effective media performer. He gained 8% of votes during the 1991 Presidential elections. He also supported the August 1991 coup attempt.

## Other

Some anti-Islamist feminist groups in the Muslim world have also been accused of being front organizations. The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan has been accused of being a Maoist front, while the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq has been accused of being a front for the Worker-Communist Party of Iraq.<sup>[21][22]</sup>

## Banned paramilitary organizations

Banned paramilitary organizations sometimes use front groups to achieve a public face with which to raise funds, negotiate with opposition parties, recruit, and spread propaganda. For example, banned paramilitary organizations often have an affiliated political party that operates more openly (though often these parties, themselves, end up being banned). These parties may or may not be front organizations in the narrow sense (they have varying degrees of autonomy and the relationships are usually something of an open secret) but are widely considered to be so, especially by their political opponents.

Examples are the relationship between the IRA and Sinn Féin in 1980s Ireland or between the Basque groups ETA (paramilitary) and Batasuna (party) in Spain. Similarly, in the United States in periods where the Communist Party was highly stigmatized, it often operated largely through front groups. In addition, the Provisional IRA also operated a vigilante front group, called Direct Action Against Drugs.

During the Weimar Republic in Germany, the antisemitic and nationalist Organisation Consul reportedly had a front company named the Bavarian Wood Products Company.<sup>[23]</sup>

## Corporate front organizations

Corporations from a wide variety of different industries set up front groups.

Some pharmaceutical companies set up "patients' groups" as front organizations that pressure healthcare providers and legislators to adopt their products. For example, Biogen, set up a campaign called *Action for Access*, which also claimed it was an independent organization and the voice of MS sufferers. People who visited the website and signed up for the campaign did not realise that these were not genuinely independent patient groups.

It has been alleged that computer software giant Microsoft created and funded the Association for Competitive Technology to defend its interests against charges of antitrust violations.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Tobacco companies frequently use front organizations and doctors to advocate their arguments about tobacco use, although less openly and obviously than in the 1980s.

A list of some alleged corporate front groups active in the US is maintained by the Multinational Monitor.<sup>[24]</sup> Some think tanks are corporate front groups. These organizations present themselves as research organizations, using phrases such as "...Institute for Research" in their names. Because their names suggest neutrality, they can present

the commercial strategies of the corporations which sponsor them in a way which appears to be objective sociological or economical research rather than political lobbying.

Similarly the Center for Regulatory Effectiveness has been criticised as a front organization for various industry bodies which seek to undermine regulation of their environmentally damaging activities under the guise of 'regulatory effectiveness'.<sup>[25]</sup>

## Astroturfing

*Astroturfing*, a wordplay based on "grassroots" efforts, is an American term used pejoratively to describe formal public relations projects which try to create the impression of a groundswell of spontaneous popular response to a politician, product, service, or event. Corporations have been known to "astroturf", but are not the only entities alleged to have done so. In recent years, organizations of plaintiffs' attorneys have established front groups such as Victims and Families United to oppose tort reform.<sup>[26]</sup>

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- [25] Chris Mooney, Paralysis by Analysis (<http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/2004/0405.mooney.html>), The Washington Monthly, May 2004

[26] Astroturf in the liability wars (<http://www.pointoflaw.com/archives/001269.php>), PointofLaw.com (sponsored by the Manhattan Institute and American Enterprise Institute), July 1, 2005

## Further reading

- CIA "Fronts" ([http://www.jar2.com/2/Intel/CIA/CIA\\_Fronts.htm](http://www.jar2.com/2/Intel/CIA/CIA_Fronts.htm)) - an unattributed list of alleged front organizations for the Central Intelligence Agency
- Information about corporate front organisations in Europe (<http://www.corporateeurope.org/>)
- Chris Mooney on 'The Centre for Regulatory Effectiveness' - *Washington Monthly* (<http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/2004/0405.mooney.html>)
- *Thank you for Smoking* (<http://imdb.com/title/tt0427944/>)
- Front groups at SourceWatch ([http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Front\\_groups](http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Front_groups))

# Glittering generality

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A **glittering generality** (also called **glowing generality**) is an emotionally appealing word so closely associated with highly valued concepts and beliefs that it carries conviction without supporting information or reason. Such highly valued concepts attract general approval and acclaim. Their appeal is to emotions such as love of country and home, and desire for peace, freedom, glory, and honor. They ask for approval without examination of the reason. They are typically used by politicians and propagandists.

## Origins

The term dates from the mid-19th century in the American context. Advocates for abolition of slavery argued that the institution was contradictory to the United States Declaration of Independence's statements that "all men are created equal" and possessed natural rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Proslavery opponents countered that the Declaration was a collection of inspirational statements intended for revolution, rather than a concrete set of principles for civil society. Rufus Choate, a Whig senator from Massachusetts, likely brought the term into general discourse in his August 1856 public letter to the Maine Whig Committee. In the letter, Choate expressed fear that antislavery Whigs, inspired by the Declaration's "glittering and sound generalities," would destroy the Union. The letter - and especially Choate's phrase - became the topic of much public debate in the northern press. However, it is unclear whether the phrase was originated by Choate or Franklin J. Dickman, a judge and legal scholar of that era.<sup>[1]</sup> Abraham Lincoln, in an April 6, 1859 letter to Henry L. Pierce, criticized political opponents of the day who slighted the foundational principles of Thomas Jefferson as "glittering generalities". Lincoln asserted that Jefferson's abstract ideals were not mere rhetoric, but the "definitions and axioms of free society."<sup>[2]</sup>

The term then came to be used for any set of ideas or principles that are appealing but nonspecific. In the 1930s, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis popularized the term as one of its "seven common propaganda devices."

## Qualities

A glittering generality has two qualities- it is vague and it has positive connotations. Words and phrases such as "common good", "reform", "courage", "democracy", "freedom", "hope", "patriotism", "strength", are terms with which people all over the world have powerful associations, and they may have trouble disagreeing with them. However, these words are highly abstract and ambiguous, and meaningful differences exist regarding what they actually mean or should mean in the real world. George Orwell described such words at length in his essay "Politics and the English Language"

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In certain kinds of writing, particularly in art criticism and literary criticism, it is normal to come across long passages which are almost completely lacking in meaning. Words like *romantic*, *plastic*, *values*, *human*, *dead*, *sentimental*, *natural*, *vitality*, as used in art criticism, are strictly meaningless, in the sense that they not only do not point to any discoverable object, but are hardly ever expected to do so by the reader. When one critic writes, "The outstanding feature of Mr. X's work is its living quality," while another writes, "The immediately striking thing about Mr. X's work is its peculiar deadness," the reader accepts this as a simple difference of opinion. If words like black and white were involved, instead of the jargon words dead and living, he would see at once that language was being used in an improper way. Many political words are similarly abused. The word *Fascism* has now no meaning except in so far as it signifies "something not desirable." The words *democracy*, *socialism*, *freedom*, *patriotic*, *realistic*, *justice* have each of them several different meanings which cannot be reconciled with one another. In the case of a word like *democracy*, not only is there no agreed definition, but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides. It is almost universally felt that when we call a country democratic we are praising it: consequently the defenders of every kind of regime claim that it is a democracy, and fear that they might have to stop using that word if it were tied down to any one meaning. Words of this kind are often used in a consciously dishonest way. That is, the person who uses them has his own private definition, but allows his hearer to think he means something quite different. Statements like "Marshal Pétain was a true patriot," "The Soviet press is the freest in the world," "The Catholic Church is opposed to persecution," are almost always made with intent to deceive. Other words used in variable meanings, in most cases more or less dishonestly, are: *class*, *totalitarian*, *science*, *progressive*, *reactionary*, *equality*.

## References

- [1] Bartlett's Familiar Quotations, 10th ed. 1919 (<http://www.bartleby.com/100/403.html>)
- [2] Abraham Lincoln to Henry L. Pierce, 6 April 1859 (<http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/pierce.htm>)

## External links

- Propaganda critic: Glittering generalities (<http://www.propagandacritic.com/articles/ct.wg.gg.html>)

# Homophobic propaganda

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**Homophobic propaganda** (or **anti-gay propaganda**) is propaganda based on negative and homophobia towards homosexual and sometimes other non-heterosexual people. Such propaganda supports anti-gay prejudices and stereotypes, and promotes social stigmatization and/or discrimination. The term *homophobic propaganda* was used by the historian Stefan Micheler in his work *Homophobic Propaganda and the Denunciation of Same-Sex-Desiring Men under National Socialism*,<sup>[1]</sup> as well as other works treating the topic.<sup>[2]</sup>

In some countries, some forms of homophobic propaganda are considered hate speech and are prohibited by law. In Russia, such propaganda can also be treated as illegal, because laws in Russia explicitly prohibit hate speech against any social group (not explicitly mentioning sexual orientation), and LGBT can be considered as distinct social group.

## History of homophobic propaganda

### Germany

Political attitudes towards homosexuals in Nazi Germany were based on the assumption that homosexuals were destroying the German nation as "sexual degenerates". Historian Erwin J. Haeberle, in his work *Swastika, Pink Triangle and Yellow Star: The Destruction of Sexology and the Persecution of Homosexuals in Nazi Germany*, dates the first appearance of this political attitude to 14 May 1928.<sup>[3]</sup>

## Homophobic propaganda and law

### Russia

In Russia, it is illegal to commit crimes against someone based on their sexual orientation. Responsibility for it is established item 136 and item 282 of the criminal code of the Russian Federation. However, on June 30, 2013, President Vladimir Putin signed into law a bill banning the "propaganda of nontraditional sexual relations" among minors, and prohibits the equation of same-sex and straight marital relationships.<sup>[4]</sup>

### Norway

In 1981, Norway became the first country to establish a criminal penalty (a fine or imprisonment for up to two years) for public threats, defamations, expressions of hate, or agitation for discrimination towards the LGBT community.

### The Netherlands

On July 1, 1987 in the Netherlands joined the Dutch Penal code, which established punishment for public defamations on the basis of sexual orientation as fees or imprisonment for up to two years.

### Ireland

In 1989 in Ireland a resolution against anti-gay hate speech came into effect. It establishes penalty in the form of fees or imprisonment for up to two years for publication or distribution of materials which contain defamations, threats, hate speech or offenses for LGBT people. The law is occasionally taken into effect.

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## Australia

On 2 March 1993 in New South Wales, Australia, an amendment to the antidiscrimination law came into effect which prohibits public hate speech, despisement or deridement of homosexuals. A legal exclusion is any information which is distributed for educational, religious, scientific or social purposes.

On 10 December 1999 an analogous amendment was accepted by Tasmanian parliament, which permits no exclusion.

## South Africa

In February 2000 the South African Parliament enacted the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, which prohibits hate speech based on any of the constitutionally prohibited grounds, including sexual orientation. The definition of hate speech includes speech which is intended to "promote or propagate hatred".<sup>[5]</sup>

## References

- [1] Micheler, Stefan «Homophobic Propaganda and the Denunciation of Same-Sex-Desiring Men under National Socialism Pufdas» // Journal of the History of Sexuality—Volume 11, Number 1 and 2, January/April 2002, pp. 105—130
- [2] "Faultlines: homophobic innovation in Gay Rights, Special Rights - Special Issue: Fundamental Media" in *Afterimage*, Feb-March, 1995 by Ioannis Mookas
- [3] Haeblerle, Erwin J. «Swastika, Pink Triangle and Yellow Star: The Destruction of Sexology and the Persecution of Homosexuals in Nazi Germany». *Journal of Sex Research* 17:3 (1981): 270-87.
- [4] *The Guardian*: Russia passes law banning gay 'propaganda'. (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/11/russia-law-banning-gay-propaganda>) June 11, 2013.
- [5] Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000 (<http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/2000-004.pdf>), section 10.

## Bibliography

- Plant, Richard. *The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals*. New York: Holt, 1986. ISBN 0-8050-0600-1
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# Indoctrination

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**Indoctrination** is the process of inculcating ideas, attitudes, cognitive strategies or a professional methodology (see doctrine).<sup>[1]</sup> It is often distinguished from education by the fact that the indoctrinated person is expected not to question or critically examine the doctrine they have learned.<sup>[2]</sup> As such the term may be used pejoratively, often in the context of education, political opinions, theology or religious dogma. The term is closely linked to socialization; in common discourse, *indoctrination* is often associated with negative connotations, while *socialization* refers to cultural or educational learning.

## Religious indoctrination

Religious indoctrination, the original sense of *indoctrination*, refers to a process of imparting doctrine in an authoritative way, as in catechism. Most religious groups among the revealed religions instruct new members in the principles of the religion; this is now not usually referred to as indoctrination by the religions themselves, in part because of the negative connotations the word has acquired. Mystery religions require a period of indoctrination before granting access to esoteric knowledge. (cf. Information security)

As a pejorative term, *indoctrination* implies forcibly or coercively causing people to act and think on the basis of a certain ideology.<sup>[3]</sup> Some secular criticsWikipedia:Avoid weasel words believe that all religions indoctrinate their adherents, as children, and the accusation is made in the case of religious extremism. Sects such as Scientology use personality tests and peer pressures to indoctrinate new members.<sup>[4]</sup> Some religions have commitment ceremonies for children 13 years and younger, such as Bar Mitzvah, Confirmation, and Shichi-Go-San. In Buddhism, temple boys are encouraged to follow the faith while young.<sup>[citation needed]</sup> Critics of religion, such as Richard Dawkins, maintain that the children of religious parents are often unfairly indoctrinated.<sup>[5]</sup>

## Military indoctrination

The initial psychological preparation of soldiers during training is referred to (non-pejoratively) as indoctrination.

## Information security

In the field of information security, indoctrination is the initial briefing and instructions given before a person is granted access to secret information.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Criticism of indoctrination

Noam Chomsky remarks, "For those who stubbornly seek freedom around the world, there can be no more urgent task than to come to understand the mechanisms and practices of indoctrination. These are easy to perceive in the totalitarian societies, much less so in the propaganda system to which we are subjected and in which all too often we serve as unwilling or unwitting instruments."

References

[1] Funk and Wagnalls: "To instruct in doctrines; esp., to teach partisan or sectarian dogmas"; I.A. Snook, ed. 1972. *Concepts of Indoctrination* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).

[2] Wilson, J., 1964. "Education and indoctrination", in T.H.B. Hollins, ed. *Aims in Education: the philosophic approach*(Manchester University Press).

[3] See OED, *indoctrination*.

[4] See Scientology beliefs and practices.

[5] Dawkins, Richard. The God Delusion. New York: Bantam Books, 2006. Print. Pp. 25, 28, 206, 367.

[6] The National Industrial Security Program Operating Manual defines indoctrination as "the initial security instructions/briefing given a person prior to granting access to classified information."

External links

- Students for Academic Freedom (<http://www.studentsforacademicfreedom.org/>)
- Habermas and the Problem of Indoctrination ([http://www.ffst.hr/ENCYCLOPAEDIA/doku.php?id=habermas\\_and\\_the\\_problem\\_of\\_indoctrination](http://www.ffst.hr/ENCYCLOPAEDIA/doku.php?id=habermas_and_the_problem_of_indoctrination)) Encyclopedia of Philosophy of Education

Junk science

Part of a series on
<b>Science</b>
<div><ul style="list-style-type: none"><li><b>Outline</b></li><li><b>Portal</b></li><li><b>Category</b></li></ul></div>

In the United States, **junk science** is any scientific data, research, or analysis considered to be spurious or fraudulent. The concept is often invoked in political and legal contexts where facts and scientific results have a great amount of weight in making a determination. It usually conveys a pejorative connotation that the research has been untowardly driven by political, ideological, financial, or otherwise unscientific motives.

The concept was first invoked in relation to expert testimony in civil litigation.<sup>[*citation needed*]</sup> More recently, invoking the concept has been a tactic to criticize research on the harmful environmental or public health effects of corporate activities, and occasionally in response to such criticism. In these contexts, junk science is counterposed to the "sound science" or "solid science" that favors one's own point of view.<sup>[1]</sup> This dichotomy has been particularly promoted by Steven Milloy and the Advancement of Sound Science Center. This is somewhat different from issues around pseudoscience and controversial science.

History

The phrase *junk science* appears to have been in use prior to 1985. A 1985 United States Department of Justice report by the Tort Policy Working Group noted:

"The use of such invalid scientific evidence (commonly referred to as 'junk science') has resulted in findings of causation which simply cannot be justified or understood from the standpoint of the current state of credible scientific or medical knowledge."<sup>[2]</sup>

In 1989, Jerry Mahlman (a proponent of the anthropogenic global warming theory) characterized the theory that global warming was due to solar variation (presented in *Scientific Perspectives on the Greenhouse Problem* by Frederick Seitz et al.) as "noisy junk science."

Peter W. Huber popularized the term with respect to litigation in his 1991 book *Galileo's Revenge: Junk Science in the Courtroom*. The book has been cited in over 100 legal textbooks and references; as a consequence, some sources cite Huber as the first to coin the term. By 1997, the term had entered the legal lexicon as seen in an opinion by Supreme Court of the United States Justice John Paul Stevens:

"An example of 'junk science' that should be excluded under the Daubert standard as too unreliable would be the testimony of a phrenologist who would purport to prove a defendant's future dangerousness based on the contours of the defendant's skull."<sup>[3]</sup>

Lower courts have subsequently set guidelines for identifying junk science, such as the 2005 opinion of United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit Judge Easterbrook:

"Positive reports about magnetic water treatment are not replicable; this plus the lack of a physical explanation for any effects are hallmarks of junk science."<sup>[4]</sup>

As the subtitle of Huber's book, *Junk Science in the Courtroom*, suggests, his emphasis was on the use or misuse of expert testimony in civil litigation. One prominent example cited in the book was litigation over casual contact in the spread of AIDS. A California school district sought to prevent a young boy with AIDS, Ryan Thomas, from attending kindergarten. The school district produced an expert witness, Dr. Steven Armentrout, who testified that a possibility existed that AIDS could be transmitted to schoolmates through yet undiscovered "vectors." However, five experts testified on behalf of Thomas that AIDS is not transmitted through casual contact, and the court affirmed the "solid science" (as Mr. Huber called it) and rejected Dr. Armentrout's argument.<sup>[5]</sup>

In 1999, Paul Ehrlich and others advocated public policies to improve the dissemination of valid environmental scientific knowledge and discourage junk science:

"The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reports offer an antidote to junk science by articulating the current consensus on the prospects for climate change, by outlining the extent of the uncertainties, and by describing the potential benefits and costs of policies to address climate change."<sup>[6]</sup>

In a 2003 study about changes in environmental activism in the Crown of the Continent (Flathead) Ecosystem, Pedykowski noted that junk science can undermine the credibility of science over a much broader scale because misrepresentation by special interests casts doubt on more defensible claims and undermines the credibility of all research.<sup>[7]</sup>

In his 2006 book *Junk Science*,<sup>[8]</sup> Dan Agin emphasized two main causes of junk science: fraud, and ignorance. In the first case, Agin discussed falsified results in the development of organic transistors:

"As far as understanding junk science is concerned, the important aspect is that both Bell Laboratories and the international physics community were fooled until someone noticed that noise records published by Jan Hendrik Schön in several papers were identical—which means physically impossible."Wikipedia:Citing sources

In the second case, he cites an example that demonstrates ignorance of statistical principles in the lay press:

"Since no such proof is possible [that genetically modified food is harmless], the article in The New York Times was what is called a "bad rap" against the U.S. Department of Agriculture—a bad rap based on a junk-science belief that it's possible to prove a null hypothesis."Wikipedia:Citing sources

Agin asks the reader to step back from the rhetoric, as "how things are labeled does not make a science junk science."Wikipedia:Citing sources In its place, he offers that junk science is ultimately motivated by the desire to hide undesirable truths from the public.

## Use as corporate PR

John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton of *PR Watch* say the concept of junk science has come to be invoked in attempts to dismiss scientific findings that stand in the way of short-term corporate profits. In their book *Trust Us, We're Experts* (2001), they write that industries have launched multi-million-dollar campaigns to position certain theories as junk science in the popular mind, often failing to employ the scientific method themselves. For example, the tobacco industry has described research demonstrating the harmful effects of smoking and second-hand smoke as junk science, through the vehicle of various astroturf groups.

Theories more favorable to corporate activities are portrayed in words as "sound science." Past examples where "sound science" was used include the research into the toxicity of Alar, which was heavily criticized by antiregulatory advocates, and Herbert Needleman's research into low dose lead poisoning. Needleman was accused of fraud and personally attacked.

Fox News commentator Steven Milloy often invokes the concept of junk science to attack the results of credible scientific research on topics like global warming, ozone depletion, and passive smoking. The credibility of Milloy's website junkscience.com was questioned by Paul D. Thacker, a writer for *The New Republic*, in the wake of evidence that Milloy had received funding from Philip Morris, RJR Tobacco, and Exxon Mobil.<sup>[9][10][11]</sup> Thacker also noted that Milloy was receiving almost \$100,000 a year in consulting fees from Philip Morris while he criticized the evidence regarding the hazards of second-hand smoke as junk science. Following the publication of this article, the Cato Institute, which had hosted the junkscience.com site, ceased its association with the site and removed Milloy from its list of adjunct scholars.

Tobacco industry documents reveal that Philip Morris executives conceived of the "Whitecoat Project" in the 1980s as a response to emerging scientific data on the harmfulness of second-hand smoke.<sup>[12]</sup> The goal of the Whitecoat Project, as conceived by Philip Morris and other tobacco companies, was to use ostensibly independent "scientific consultants" to spread doubt in the public mind about scientific data through invoking concepts like junk science. According to epidemiologist David Michaels, Assistant Secretary of Energy for Environment, Safety, and Health in the Clinton Administration, the tobacco industry invented the "sound science" movement in the 1980s as part of their campaign against the regulation of second-hand smoke.

David Michaels has argued that, since the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Daubert v. Merrell Dow Pharmaceuticals, Inc.*, lay judges have become "gatekeepers" of scientific testimony and, as a result, respected scientists have sometimes been unable to provide testimony so that corporate defendants are "increasingly emboldened" to accuse adversaries of practicing junk science.<sup>[13]</sup>

## Use by scientists

In 1995, the Union of Concerned Scientists launched the Sound Science Initiative, a national network of scientists committed to debunking junk science through media outreach, lobbying, and developing joint strategies to participate in town meetings or public hearings.<sup>[14]</sup> The American Association for the Advancement of Science also recognized the need for increased understanding between scientists and lawmakers in its newsletter on Science and Technology in Congress, "Although most individuals would agree that sound science is preferable to junk science, fewer recognize what makes a scientific study 'good' or 'bad'."<sup>[15]</sup> The American Dietetic Association, criticizing marketing claims made for food products, has created a list of "Ten Red Flags of Junk Science."

Individual scientists have also invoked the concept.<sup>[16][17][18][19]</sup>

## Notes

- [1] Free full-text (<http://www.ajph.org/cgi/content/full/95/S1/S81>).
- [2] "Report of the Tort Policy Working Group on the causes, extent and policy implications of the current crisis in insurance availability and affordability" (<http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/contentdelivery/servlet/ERICServlet?accno=ED274437>) (Rep. No. 027-000-01251-5). (1986, February). Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED274437) p.39:  

"Another way in which causation often is undermined — also an increasingly serious problem in toxic tort cases — is the reliance by judges and juries on non-credible scientific or medical testimony, studies or opinions. It has become all too common for 'experts' or 'studies' on the fringes of or even well beyond the outer parameters of mainstream scientific or medical views to be presented to juries as valid evidence from which conclusions may be drawn. The use of such invalid scientific evidence (commonly referred to as 'junk science') has resulted in findings of causation which simply cannot be justified or understood from the standpoint of the current state of credible scientific and medical knowledge. Most importantly, this development has led to a deep and growing cynicism about the ability of tort law to deal with difficult scientific and medical concepts in a principled and rational way."
- [3] General Electric Company v. Robert K. Joiner, No. 96–188, slip op. at 4 (U.S. December 15, 1997).
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- [5] Charles H. Sanderson v. Culligan International Company, No. 04-3253, slip op. at 3 (7th Cir. July 11, 2005).
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- [11] Activity Report, R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., December 1996, describing R.J.R. Tobacco's direct input into Milloy's junkscience website (<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/syq70d00>). From the Legacy Tobacco Documents Library (<http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/>) at the University of California, San Francisco. Accessed 5 October 2006.
- [12] Minutes of a meeting in which Philip Morris Tobacco discusses the inception of the "Whitecoat Project" (<http://tobaccodocuments.org/landman/2063791182-1187.html>). Accessed 5 October 2006.
- [13] Free full-text (<http://www.ajph.org/cgi/content/full/95/S1/S5>).
- [14] Union of Concerned Scientists. (1998, Winter). Sound science initiative. *ASLO bulletin*, 7(1), 13.
- [15] Sound Science for Endangered Species. (2002, September). In *Science and Technology in Congress*. American Association for the Advancement of Science. Retrieved November 12, 2006, from <http://www.aaas.org/spp/cstc/pne/pubs/stc/stc02-09.pdf>.
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- [17] Baron, L. A. F. (2001, February). The Influence of "Junk Science" and the Role of Science Education. *Imprimis*, 30(2). Retrieved November 12, 2006, from Hillsdale College Web site: <http://www.hillsdale.edu/imprimis/2001/february/default.htm>.
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- [19] Hill, C. T. (2001). Fifty Years of Science and Technology Policy in Ten Minutes. *AAAS Science and Technology Policy Yearbook*, 107. Retrieved November 12, 2006, from American Association for the Advancement of Science Web site: <http://www.aaas.org/spp/rd/ch7.pdf>.

## Further reading

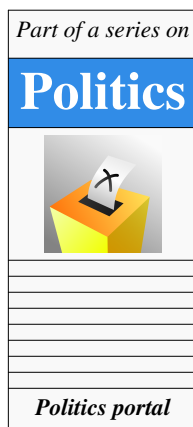
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- Chris Mooney, *The Republican War on Science*, 2005. ISBN 0-465-04675-4.
- Susan Kiss Sarnoff, *Sanctified Snake Oil: The Effect of Junk Science on Public Policy*, 2001. ISBN 0-275-96845-6.

## External links

- Skeptical inquiry ([http://www.dmoz.org//Science/Science\\_in\\_Society/Skeptical\\_Inquiry//](http://www.dmoz.org//Science/Science_in_Society/Skeptical_Inquiry//)) at the Open Directory Project
- Project on Scientific Knowledge and Public Policy (<http://www.defendingscience.org>) (SKAPP) DefendingScience.org
- David Michaels (June 2005). "Doubt is Their Product" (<http://www.defendingscience.org/loader.cfm?url=/commonspot/security/getfile.cfm&PageID=2372&CFID=8154835&CFTOKEN=67352375>). *Scientific American*: 96–101. Retrieved 2008-06-03.
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# Lesser of two evils principle

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The **lesser of two evils principle** (or **lesser evil principle**) is the idea in politics and political science that of two bad choices, one is not as bad as the other and should therefore be chosen over the one that is the greater threat.<sup>*[citation needed]*</sup>

Originally, "lesser evil" was a Cold War-era pragmatic foreign policy principle used by the United States and, to a lesser extent, several other countries. The principle dealt with the United States of America's attitude regarding how dictators of third-world nations ought to be handled, and was closely related to the Kirkpatrick Doctrine of Jeane Kirkpatrick. By contrast, the lesser of two evils principle is today most commonly used in reference to electoral politics, particularly in Western nations, and perhaps in the United States more than anywhere else. When popular opinion in the United States is confronted with what is often seen as two main candidates—normally Democratic and Republican in the modern era—that are substantially similar ideologically, politically, and/or in their economic programmes, a voter is often advised to choose the "lesser of two evils" to avoid having the supposedly "greater evil" get into office and wreak havoc on society.

## Original uses: warfare and conflict

An early example of the lesser of two evils principle in politics was the slogan "Better the turban than the mitre", used by Orthodox Christians in the Balkans during the rise of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>*[citation needed]*</sup> Conquest by Western Roman Catholic powers (the mitre) would likely mean forcible conversion to the Catholic faith, while conquest by the Muslim Ottoman Empire (the turban) would mean second-class citizenship but would at least allow Orthodox Christians to retain their current religion. In a similar manner, the Protestant Dutch resistance against Spanish rule in the 16th century used the slogan *Liever Turks dan Paaps* (better a Turk than a Papist).

The Government of the United States had long stated that democracy was one of the cornerstones of U.S. society, and therefore that support for democracy should also be reflected in U.S. foreign policy. But following the Second World War, dictatorships of various types continued to hold power over many of the world's most strategically and economically important regions. Many of these dictatorships were pro-capitalist, consistent with at least some US ideological goals; thus the United States would form alliances with certain dictators, believing them to be the closest thing their respective nations had to a legitimate government—and in any case much better than the alternative of a communist revolution in those nations. This struggle posed a question: if the end result was, in any realistic case, destined to be a dictatorship, should the US not try to align itself with the dictator who will best serve American interests and oppose the Soviets? This is what became known as the "lesser of two evils" principle.

Earlier, during World War II, the Western Allies justified their support for Joseph Stalin under a lesser of two evils principle. Justifying the act, Winston Churchill said, "If Hitler were to invade Hell, I would at least make a favourable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons." Meanwhile, self-declared socialist movements had

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their own versions of "lesser of two evils" policies such as justifying their Popular Front Against Fascism by arguing that allying with capitalist powers to overthrow fascism would be better than having the latter successfully occupy the world and permanently consolidate power. From the communist view, the primary scourge of the planet at that point was fascism, and that under the circumstances, fascism had to be defeated first and communist revolution could come after that.

Some time later, the decision of the leadership of the People's Republic of China to seek rapprochement with the United States in the 1970s was an especially interesting application of the "lesser of two evils doctrine", since the United States ended up being deemed a lesser threat by the Maoists than was the Soviet Union. Mao Zedong argued at that time that it would be impossible to continue to deal with the turmoil of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the after-effects of the Sino-Soviet Split, and a hostile stance towards the United States and its "imperialist aggression" all at the same time. These measures of rapprochement later expanded into full-blown cooperation between the United States and China, and the introduction of Chinese economic reform and Socialism with Chinese characteristics that decisively introduced many elements of capitalism into the Chinese political system. But at its origin, the act was meant as an ostensibly temporary tactic by which Mao's China hoped to gain a strategic advantage over the Soviet Union, with the United States thus being viewed as the "lesser of two evils".

Conflicts over the nature of various dictatorial regimes began to intensify when the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the People's Republic of China began to support communist revolutions and populist guerrilla warfare against established regimes in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Africa. In many cases these movements succeeded (see Vietnam War for one of the major examples) and replaced an American-allied right-wing dictator with a leftist communist leader; to counter the trend, particularly in Latin and South America, the United States would often use its intelligence services to help orchestrate coups that would overthrow those regimes and reverse the leftist and/or communist trend (see *Operation Condor* and *1973 Chilean coup d'état*).

In Iraq, the United States supervised Saddam Hussein's rise to power to counter the threatening growth and influence of the Iraqi Communist Party, which by the late 1950s was on the verge of taking state power. In 1963, the Kennedy administration backed a coup against Abdul-Karim Qassem who had deposed the Western-allied Iraqi monarchy, and then the Central Intelligence Agency both covertly and overtly helped the new Ba'ath Party government of Abdul Salam Arif in ridding the country of suspected leftists and communists. Though many in the US Government at that time recognized Saddam as a dictator or a potential dictator, they viewed him as the "lesser evil" when compared with the damage the Iraqi Communist Party might do with its planned nationalization measures and other reform programs that would probably have run counter to U.S. interests. Similarly, in 1991, when Shi'a across Iraq revolted against Hussein's regime (partially in response to the televised rallying call to do so by U.S. President George H. W. Bush), the U.S. justification for ultimately staying out of the revolt and allowing Hussein's security forces to suppress the rebels was that the U.S. had strategically decided Hussein's rule was better than the risk of a mujahideen- or Iranian Revolution-style takeover.

Probably the best example of this principle in action, however, was the political struggle behind the Vietnam War. Ngo Dinh Diem was the ruler of South Vietnam during the initial stages of the war, and though his regime was brutal and he was dictatorial, he was also an anti-communist who was determined to fight the expansion of the North—something that the United States government found sufficiently attractive and ultimately supported him. Ho Chi Minh ruled North Vietnam, was backed by the Soviets, and was a Marxist who wanted to see a united, Communist Vietnam. The United States thus supported Diem's regime, as well as his successor's, during the war and believed that he was the "lesser of two evils". Diem was later assassinated, and the United States oversaw a new South Vietnamese administration that was relatively less repressive.

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## Modern usage: elections

The lesser of two evils is also referred to as a "necessary evil". In 2012, Huffington Post columnist Sanford Jay Rosen argued that the idea became a common practice for left-leaning voters in the United States due to their overwhelming disapproval of the US government's support for the Vietnam War. Rosen stated that: "Beginning with the 1968 presidential election, I often have heard from liberals that they could not vote for the lesser of two evils. Some said they would not vote; some said they would vote for a third party candidate. That mantra delivered us to Richard Nixon in 1972 until Watergate did him in. And it delivered us to George W. Bush and Dick Cheney in 2000 until they were termed out in 2009." Opponents of the modern usage of these terms in reference to electoral politics include revolutionaries who oppose the existing system as a whole, as well as political moderates who advocate that third parties be given greater exposure in that system. For a particular voter in an election with more than two candidates, if the voter believes the most preferred candidate cannot win, the voter may be tempted to vote for the most favored viable candidate as a necessary evil or the lesser of two evils.

Supporters of lesser-evil tactics in the United States often cite United States politician Ralph Nader's presidential campaigns as examples of what can happen when a third-party candidate receives a significant number of votes. They claim that the mere existence of the third-party candidate essentially steals votes ("tilts" or "tips the scales") from the more progressive of the two main candidates and puts the election in favor of the "worse" candidate—because the small percentage that goes towards the third party candidate is a part "wasted" that could have instead gone to the lesser-evil candidate. For example, in 2000 as the United States Green Party candidate, Nader garnered 2.7% of the popular vote and, as a result, is considered by many U.S. Democrats to have tipped the election to George W. Bush. One counterargument is that Nader's candidacy likely increased turnout among liberals and that Al Gore took four of the five states—and thirty of the fifty-five electoral college votes—in which the outcome was decided by less than one percent of the vote.

In elections between only two candidates where one is mildly unpopular and the other immensely unpopular, opponents of both candidates frequently advocate a vote for the mildly unpopular candidate. For example, in the second round of the 2002 French presidential election, graffiti in Paris told people to "vote for the crook, not the fascist". The "crook" in those scribbled public messages was Jacques Chirac of Rally for the Republic, and the "fascist" was supposedly Jean-Marie le Pen of the *Front National*. Jacques Chirac eventually won the second round having garnered 82% of the vote.

## References

# Loaded language

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In rhetoric, **loaded language** (also known as **loaded terms** or **emotive language**) is wording that attempts to influence an audience by using appeal to emotion or stereotypes. Such wording is also known as **high-inference language** or **language persuasive techniques**.

Loaded words and phrases have strong emotional implications and involve strongly positive or negative reactions beyond their literal meaning. For example, the phrase *tax relief* refers literally to changes that reduce the amount of tax citizens must pay. However, use of the emotive word *relief* implies that all tax is an unreasonable burden to begin with. Examples of loaded language are "You want to go to the mall, don't you?" and "Do you really want to associate with those people?".

The appeal to emotion is often seen as being in contrast to an appeal to logic and reason. However, emotion and reason are not necessarily always in conflict, nor is it true that an emotion cannot be a reason for an action. Murray and Kujundzic distinguish "prima facie reasons" from "considered reasons" when discussing this. A *prima facie* reason for, say, not eating mushrooms is that one does not like mushrooms. This is an emotive reason. However, one still may have a *considered* reason for not eating mushrooms: one might consume enough of the relevant minerals and vitamins that one could obtain from eating mushrooms from other sources. An emotion, elicited via emotive language, may form a *prima facie* reason for action, but further work is required before one can obtain a *considered* reason.

Emotive arguments and loaded language are particularly persuasive because they exploit the human weakness for acting immediately based upon an emotional response, *without* such further considered judgment. Due to such potential for emotional complication, it is generally advised to avoid loaded language in argument or speech when fairness and impartiality is one of the goals. Anthony Weston, for example, admonishes students and writers: "In general, avoid language whose only function is to sway the emotions".

Euphemism is an attempt to avoid loaded language with undesirable connotations, but it often introduces new loaded language.

## Examples

Politicians cultivate loaded language, and often study how to use it effectively: which words to use or avoid using to gain political advantage or disparage an opponent. Heller gives the example that it is common for a politician to advocate "investment in public services," because it has a more favorable connotation than "public spending". Contrast the extremely negative formulation of "the tax-and-spend politicians borrowing off the backs of our grandchildren" with the extremely positive formulation of "the public servants ensuring crucial investment in our essential infrastructure for the public good", in describing exactly the same thing ("government spending" which is the neutral and accurate phrase).

One aspect of loaded language is that loaded words and phrases occur in pairs, sometimes as political framing techniques by individuals with opposing agendas. Heller calls these "a Boo! version and a Hooray! version" to differentiate those with negative and positive emotional connotations. Examples include *bureaucrat* versus *public servant*, *pro-death* versus *pro-choice*, *regime* versus *government*, and *elitist* versus *expert*.

Loaded language is often used by news broadcasters as a propaganda technique. During the Falklands War, British reporters were pressured by politicians to use phrases such as "our troops" and "our fleet", but resisted, preferring "the British fleet" and "the Royal Navy task force". This was done because domestic broadcast television and radio channels were received by people in other countries; reporters deemed it important that their news reports were considered to be credible and trustworthy by this external audience. Hence they avoided such language.

Following the September 11 attacks, the word *madrassa*, (which means "school" in Arabic) was loaded with negative connotations by Westerners who did not speak Arabic and failed to make the distinction between strictly

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extremist schools and schools that teach primary education subjects. The Yale Center for the Study of Globalization examined bias in U.S. newspaper coverage of Pakistan since the September 11 attacks. They found the term had acquired a loaded political meaning:

When articles mentioned "madrassas", readers were led to infer that all schools so-named are anti-American, anti-Western, pro-terrorist centers having less to do with teaching basic literacy and more to do with political indoctrination.

Some U.S. public figures have used the word *madrassa* in a negative context, including Newt Gingrich, Donald Rumsfeld, and Colin Powell.

In the 1946 essay *Politics and the English Language*, George Orwell discussed the use of loaded language in political discourse.

The word *Fascism* has now no meaning except in so far as it signifies "something not desirable." The words *democracy*, *socialism*, *freedom*, *patriotic*, *realistic*, *justice* have each of them several different meanings which cannot be reconciled with one another. In the case of a word like *democracy*, not only is there no agreed definition, but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides. It is almost universally felt that when we call a country democratic we are praising it: consequently the defenders of every kind of regime claim that it is a democracy, and fear that they might have to stop using that word if it were tied down to any one meaning.

References

Marketing

Marketing
Key concepts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Product marketing</li><li>Pricing</li><li>Distribution</li><li>Service</li><li>Retail</li><li>Brand management</li><li>Brand licensing</li><li>Account-based marketing</li><li>Ethics</li><li>Effectiveness</li><li>Research</li><li>Segmentation</li><li>Strategy</li><li>Activation</li><li>Management</li><li>Dominance</li><li>Marketing operations</li><li>Social marketing</li><li>Identity</li></ul>
Promotional contents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Advertising</li></ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Branding</li> <li>• Underwriting spot</li> <li>• Direct marketing</li> <li>• Personal sales</li> <li>• Product placement</li> <li>• Publicity</li> <li>• Sales promotion</li> <li>• Sex in advertising</li> <li>• Loyalty marketing</li> <li>• Mobile marketing</li> <li>• Premiums</li> <li>• Prizes</li> <li>• Corporate anniversary</li> <li>• On Hold Messaging</li> </ul>
<b>Promotional media</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Printing</li> <li>• Publication</li> <li>• Broadcasting</li> <li>• Out-of-home advertising</li> <li>• Internet</li> <li>• Point of sale</li> <li>• Merchandise</li> <li>• Digital marketing</li> <li>• In-game advertising</li> <li>• Product demonstration</li> <li>• Word-of-mouth</li> <li>• Brand ambassador</li> <li>• Drip marketing</li> <li>• Visual merchandising</li> </ul>

**Marketing** is the process of communicating the value of a product or service to customers, for the purpose of selling that product or service.

From a societal point of view, marketing is the link between a society's material requirements and its economic patterns of response. Marketing satisfies these needs and wants through exchange processes and building long term relationships. Marketing can be looked at as an organizational function and a set of processes for creating, delivering and communicating value to customers, and managing customer relationships in ways that also benefit the organization and its shareholders. Marketing is the science of choosing target markets through market analysis and market segmentation, as well as understanding consumer buying behavior and providing superior customer value.

There are five competing concepts under which organizations can choose to operate their business; the production concept, the product concept, the selling concept, the marketing concept, and the holistic marketing concept. The four components of holistic marketing are relationship marketing, internal marketing, integrated marketing, and socially responsive marketing. The set of engagements necessary for successful marketing management includes, capturing marketing insights, connecting with customers, building strong brands, shaping the market offerings, delivering and communicating value, creating long-term growth, and developing marketing strategies and plans.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Marketing concepts

### Earlier approaches

The marketing orientation evolved from earlier orientations, namely, the production orientation, the product orientation and the selling orientation.

Orientation	Profit driver	Western European timeframe	Description
<b>Production</b>	Production methods	until the 1950s	A firm focusing on a production orientation specializes in producing as much as possible of a given product or service. Thus, this signifies a firm exploiting economies of scale until the minimum efficient scale is reached. A production orientation may be deployed when a high demand for a product or service exists, coupled with a good certainty that consumer tastes will not rapidly alter (similar to the sales orientation).
<b>Product</b>	Quality of the product	until the 1960s	A firm employing a product orientation is chiefly concerned with the quality of its own product. A firm would also assume that as long as its product was of a high standard, people would buy and consume the product.
<b>Selling</b>	Selling methods	1950s and 1960s	A firm using a sales orientation focuses primarily on the selling/promotion of a particular product, and not determining new consumer desires as such. Consequently, this entails simply selling an already existing product, and using promotion techniques to attain the highest sales possible.  Such an orientation may suit scenarios in which a firm holds dead stock, or otherwise sells a product that is in high demand, with little likelihood of changes in consumer tastes that would diminish demand.
<b>Marketing</b>	Needs and wants of customers	1970s to the present day	The ' <b>marketing orientation</b> ' is perhaps the most common orientation used in contemporary marketing. It involves a firm essentially basing its marketing plans around the marketing concept, and thus supplying products to suit new consumer tastes. As an example, a firm would employ market research to gauge consumer desires, use R&D (research and development) to develop a product attuned to the revealed information, and then utilize promotion techniques to ensure persons know the product exists.
<b>Holistic Marketing</b>	Everything matters in marketing	21st century	The holistic marketing concept looks at marketing as a complex activity and acknowledges that everything matters in marketing - and that a broad and integrated perspective is necessary in developing, designing and implementing marketing programs and activities. The four components that characterize holistic marketing are relationship marketing, internal marketing, integrated marketing, and socially responsive marketing.

### Contemporary approaches

Recent approaches in marketing include *relationship marketing* with focus on the customer, *business marketing* or *industrial marketing* with focus on an organization or institution and *social marketing* with focus on benefits to society. New forms of marketing also use the internet and are therefore called *internet marketing* or more generally *e-marketing*, *online marketing*, "digital marketing", search engine marketing, or *desktop advertising*. It attempts to perfect the segmentation strategy used in traditional marketing. It targets its audience more precisely, and is sometimes called personalized marketing or one-to-one marketing. Internet marketing is sometimes considered to be broad in scope, because it not only refers to marketing on the Internet, but also includes marketing done via e-mail, wireless media as well as driving audience from traditional marketing methods like radio and billboard to internet properties or landing page.

Orientation	Profit driver	Western European timeframe	Description
<b>Relationship marketing / Relationship management</b>	Building and keeping good customer relations	1960s to present day	Emphasis is placed on the whole relationship between suppliers and customers. The aim is to provide the best possible customer service and build customer loyalty.
<b>Business marketing / Industrial marketing</b>	Building and keeping relationships between organizations	1980s to present day	In this context, marketing takes place between businesses or organizations. The product focus lies on industrial goods or capital goods rather than consumer products or end products. Different forms of marketing activities, such as promotion, advertising and communication to the customer are used.
<b>Societal marketing</b>	Benefit to society	1990s to present day	Similar characteristics to marketing orientation but with the added proviso that there will be a curtailment of any harmful activities to society, in either product, production, or selling methods.
<b>Branding</b>	Brand value	1980s to present day	In this context, "branding" refers to the main company philosophy and marketing is considered to be an instrument of branding philosophy.

## Customer orientation

A firm in the market economy survives by producing goods that persons are willing and able to buy. Consequently, ascertaining consumer demand is vital for a firm's future viability and even existence as a going concern. Many companies today have a customer focus (or market orientation). This implies that the company focuses its activities and products on consumer demands. Generally, there are three ways of doing this: the customer-driven approach, the market change identification approach and the product innovation approach<sup>[citation needed]</sup>.

In the consumer-driven approach, consumer wants are the drivers of all strategic marketing decisions. No strategy is pursued until it passes the test of consumer research. Every aspect of a market offering, including the nature of the product itself, is driven by the needs of potential consumers. The starting point is always the consumer. The rationale for this approach is that there is no reason to spend R&D (research and development) funds developing products that people will not buy. History attests to many products that were commercial failures in spite of being technological breakthroughs.<sup>[2]</sup>

A formal approach to this customer-focused marketing is known as **SIVA** (Solution, Information, Value, Access). This system is basically the four Ps renamed and reworded to provide a customer focus. The SIVA Model provides a demand/customer-centric alternative to the well-known 4Ps supply side model (product, price, placement, promotion) of marketing management.



Product	→ Solution
Promotion	→ Information
Price	→ Value
Place (Distribution)	→ Access

If any of the 4Ps were problematic or were not in the marketing factor of the business, the business could be in trouble and so other companies may appear in the surroundings of the company, so the consumer demand on its products will decrease. However, in recent years service marketing has widened the domains to be considered, contributing to the 7P's of marketing in total. The other 3P's of service marketing are: process, physical environment and people.

Some consider there to be a fifth "P": positioning. *See* Positioning (marketing).

Some qualifications or caveats for customer focus exist. They do not invalidate or contradict the principle of customer focus; rather, they simply add extra dimensions of awareness and caution to it.

The work of Christensen and colleagues on disruptive technology has produced a theoretical framework that explains the failure of firms not because they were technologically inept (often quite the opposite), but because the value networks in which they profitably operated included customers who could not value a disruptive innovation at the time and capability state of its emergence and thus actively dissuaded the firms from developing it. The lessons drawn from this work include:

- Taking customer focus with a grain of salt, treating it as only a subset of one's corporate strategy rather than the sole driving factor. This means looking beyond current-state customer focus to predict what customers will be demanding some years in the future, even if they themselves discount the prediction.
- Pursuing new markets (thus new value networks) when they are still in a commercially inferior or unattractive state, simply because their potential to grow and intersect with established markets and value networks looks like a likely bet. This may involve buying stakes in the stock of smaller firms, acquiring them outright, or incubating small, financially distinct units within one's organization to compete against them.

Other caveats of customer focus are:

- The extent to which what customers *say* they want does not match their purchasing decisions. Thus surveys of customers might claim that 70% of a restaurant's customers want healthier choices on the menu, but only 10% of them actually buy the new items once they are offered. This might be acceptable except for the extent to which those items are money-losing propositions for the business, bleeding red ink. A lesson from this type of situation is to be smarter about the true test validity of instruments like surveys. A corollary argument is that "truly understanding customers sometimes means understanding them better than they understand themselves." Thus one could argue that the principle of customer focus, or being close to the customers, is not violated here—just expanded upon.
- The extent to which customers are currently ignorant of what one might argue they *should* want—which is dicey because whether it can be acted upon affordably depends on whether or how soon the customers will learn, or be convinced, otherwise. IT hardware and software capabilities and automobile features are examples. Customers who in 1997 said that they would not place any value on internet browsing capability on a mobile phone, or 6% better fuel efficiency in their vehicle, might say something different today, because the value proposition of those opportunities has changed.



## Organizational orientation

In this sense, a firm's marketing department is often seen as of prime importance within the functional level of an organization. Information from an organization's marketing department would be used to guide the actions of other departments within the firm. As an example, a marketing department could ascertain (via marketing research) that consumers desired a new type of product, or a new usage for an existing product. With this in mind, the marketing department would inform the R&D (research and development) department to create a prototype of a product or service based on the consumers' new desires.

The production department would then start to manufacture the product, while the marketing department would focus on the promotion, distribution, pricing, etc. of the product. Additionally, a firm's finance department would be consulted, with respect to securing appropriate funding for the development, production and promotion of the product. Inter-departmental conflicts may occur, should a firm adhere to the marketing orientation. Production may oppose the installation, support and servicing of new capital stock, which may be needed to manufacture a new product. Finance may oppose the required capital expenditure, since it could undermine a healthy cash flow for the organization.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

## Herd behavior

**Herd behavior** in marketing is used to explain the dependencies of customers' mutual behavior. *The Economist* reported a recent conference in Rome on the subject of the simulation of adaptive human behavior. It shared mechanisms to increase impulse buying and get people "to buy more by playing on the herd instinct." The basic idea is that people will buy more of products that are seen to be popular, and several feedback mechanisms to get product popularity information to consumers are mentioned, including smart card technology and the use of Radio Frequency Identification Tag technology. A "swarm-moves" model was introduced by a Florida Institute of Technology researcher, which is appealing to supermarkets because it can "increase sales without the need to give people discounts." Other recent studies on the "power of social influence" include an "artificial music market in which some 19,000 people downloaded previously unknown songs" (Columbia University, New York); a Japanese chain of convenience stores which orders its products based on "sales data from department stores and research companies;" a Massachusetts company exploiting knowledge of social networking to improve sales; and online retailers such as Amazon.com who are increasingly informing customers about which products are popular with like-minded customers.

## Further orientations

- An emerging area of study and practice concerns *internal marketing*, or how employees are trained and managed to deliver the brand in a way that positively impacts the acquisition and retention of customers, see also *employer branding*.
- *Diffusion of innovations* research explores how and why people adopt new products, services, and ideas.
- With consumers' eroding attention span and willingness to give time to advertising messages, marketers are turning to forms of *permission marketing* such as *branded content*, *custom media* and *reality marketing*.

## Marketing research

Marketing research involves conducting research to support marketing activities, and the statistical interpretation of data into information. This information is then used by managers to plan marketing activities, gauge the nature of a firm's marketing environment and attain information from suppliers. Marketing researchers use statistical methods such as quantitative research, qualitative research, hypothesis tests, Chi-squared tests, linear regression, correlations, frequency distributions, poisson distributions, binomial distributions, etc. to interpret their findings and convert data into information. The marketing research process spans a number of stages, including the definition of a problem, development of a research plan, collection and interpretation of data and disseminating information formally in the

form of a report. The task of marketing research is to provide management with relevant, accurate, reliable, valid, and current information.

A distinction should be made between *marketing research* and *market research*. Market research pertains to research in a given market. As an example, a firm may conduct research in a target market, after selecting a suitable market segment. In contrast, marketing research relates to all research conducted within marketing. Thus, market research is a subset of marketing research.

## Marketing environment

Staying ahead of the consumer is an important part of a marketer's job. It is important to understand the "marketing environment" in order to comprehend the consumers concerns, motivations and to adjust the product according to the consumers needs. Marketers use the process of *marketing environmental scans*, which continually acquires information on events occurring outside the organization to identify trends, opportunities and threats to a business. The six key elements of a marketing scan are the *demographic forces*, *socio-cultural forces*, *economic forces*, *regulatory forces*, *competitive forces*, and *technological forces*. Marketers must look at where the threats and opportunities stem from in the world around the consumer to maintain a productive and profitable business.

The **market environment** is a marketing term and refers to factors and forces that affect a firm's ability to build and maintain successful relationships with customers. Three levels of the environment are: Micro (internal) environment - forces within the company that affect its ability to serve its customers. Meso environment – the industry in which a company operates and the industry's market(s). Macro (national) environment - larger societal forces that affect the microenvironment.

## Market segmentation

Market segmentation pertains to the division of a market of consumers into persons with similar needs and wants. For instance, Kellogg's cereals, Frosties are marketed to children. Crunchy Nut Cornflakes are marketed to adults. Both goods denote two products which are marketed to two distinct groups of persons, both with similar needs, traits, and wants. In another example, Sun Microsystems can use market segmentation to classify its clients according to their promptness to adopt new products.<sup>[3]</sup>

Market segmentation allows for a better allocation of a firm's finite resources. A firm only possesses a certain amount of resources. Accordingly, it must make choices (and incur the related costs) in servicing specific groups of consumers. In this way, the diversified tastes of contemporary Western consumers can be served better. With growing diversity in the tastes of modern consumers, firms are taking note of the benefit of servicing a multiplicity of new markets.

Market segmentation can be viewed as a key dynamic in interpreting and executing a logical perspective of Strategic Marketing Planning. The manifestation of this process is considered by many traditional thinkers to include the following; *Segmenting*, *Targeting* and *Positioning*.

## Types of market research

Market research, as a sub-set aspect of marketing activities, can be divided into the following parts:

- Primary research (also known as field research), which involves the conduction and compilation of research for a specific purpose.
- Secondary research (also referred to as desk research), initially conducted for one purpose, but often used to support another purpose or end goal.

By these definitions, an example of primary research would be market research conducted into health foods, which is used *solely* to ascertain the needs/wants of the target market for health foods. Secondary research in this case would be research pertaining to health foods, but used by a firm wishing to develop an unrelated product.

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Primary research is often expensive to prepare, collect and interpret from data to information. Nevertheless, while secondary research is relatively inexpensive, it often can become outdated and outmoded, given that it is used for a purpose other than the one for which it was intended. Primary research can also be broken down into quantitative research and qualitative research, which, as the terms suggest, pertain to numerical and non-numerical research methods and techniques, respectively. The appropriateness of each mode of research depends on whether data can be quantified (quantitative research), or whether subjective, non-numeric or abstract concepts are required to be studied (qualitative research).

There also exist additional modes of marketing research, which are:

- Exploratory research, pertaining to research that investigates an assumption.
- Descriptive research, which, as the term suggests, describes "what is".
- Predictive research, meaning research conducted to predict a future occurrence.
- Conclusive research, for the purpose of deriving a conclusion via a research process.

## Marketing planning

The *marketing planning* process involves forging a plan for a firm's marketing activities. A marketing plan can also pertain to a specific product, as well as to an organization's overall marketing strategy. Generally speaking, an organization's marketing planning process is derived from its overall business strategy. Thus, when top management are devising the firm's strategic direction or mission, the intended marketing activities are incorporated into this plan. There are several levels of marketing objectives within an organization. The senior management of a firm would formulate a general business strategy for a firm. However, this general business strategy would be interpreted and implemented in different contexts throughout the firm.

## Marketing strategy

The field of marketing strategy considers the total marketing environment and its impacts on a company or product or service. The emphasis is on "an in depth understanding of the market environment, particularly the competitors and customers."<sup>[4]</sup>

A given firm may offer numerous products or services to a marketplace, spanning numerous and sometimes wholly unrelated industries. Accordingly, a plan is required in order to effectively manage such products. Evidently, a company needs to weigh up and ascertain how to utilize its finite resources. For example, a start-up car manufacturing firm would face little success should it attempt to rival Toyota, Ford, Nissan, Chevrolet, or any other large global car maker. Moreover, a product may be reaching the end of its life-cycle. Thus, the issue of divest, or a ceasing of production, may be made. Each scenario requires a unique marketing strategy. Listed below are some prominent marketing strategy models.

A marketing strategy differs from a marketing tactic in that a strategy looks at the longer term view of the products, goods, or services being marketed. A tactic refers to a shorter term view. Therefore, the mailing of a postcard or sales letter would be a tactic, but changing marketing channels of distribution, changing the pricing, or promotional elements used would be considered a strategic change.

## **Buying behavior**

A marketing firm must ascertain the nature of customers' buying behavior if it is to market its product properly. In order to entice and persuade a consumer to buy a product, marketers try to determine the behavioral process of how a given product is purchased. Buying behavior is usually split into two prime strands, whether selling to the consumer, known as business-to-consumer (B2C), or to another business, known as business-to-business (B2B).

### **B2C buying behavior**

This mode of behavior concerns consumers and their purchase of a given product. For example, if one imagines a pair of sneakers, the desire for a pair of sneakers would be followed by an information search on available types/brands. This may include perusing media outlets, but most commonly consists of information gathered from family and friends. If the information search is insufficient, the consumer may search for alternative means to satisfy the need/want. In this case, this may mean buying leather shoes, sandals, etc. The purchase decision is then made, in which the consumer actually buys the product. Following this stage, a post-purchase evaluation is often conducted, comprising an appraisal of the value/utility brought by the purchase of the sneakers. If the value/utility is high, then a repeat purchase may be made. This could then develop into consumer loyalty to the firm producing the sneakers.

### **B2B buying behavior**

Relates to organizational/industrial buying behavior. Business buy either wholesale from other businesses or directly from the manufacturer in contracts or agreements. B2B marketing involves one business marketing a product or service to another business. B2C and B2B behavior are not precise terms, as similarities and differences exist, with some key differences listed below:

In a straight re-buy, the fourth, fifth and sixth stages are omitted. In a modified re-buy scenario, the fifth and sixth stages are precluded. In a new buy, all stages are conducted.

## **Use of technologies**

Marketing management can also rely on various technologies within the scope of its marketing efforts. Computer-based information systems can be employed, aiding in better processing and storage of data. Marketing researchers can use such systems to devise better methods of converting data into information, and for the creation of enhanced data gathering methods. Information technology can aid in enhancing an MKIS' software and hardware components, and improve a company's marketing decision-making process.

In recent years, the notebook personal computer has gained significant market share among laptops, largely due to its more user-friendly size and portability. Information technology typically progresses at a fast rate, leading to marketing managers being cognizant of the latest technological developments. Moreover, the launch of smartphones into the cellphone market is commonly derived from a demand among consumers for more technologically advanced products. A firm can lose out to competitors should it ignore technological innovations in its industry.

Technological advancements can lessen barriers between countries and regions. Using the World Wide Web, firms can quickly dispatch information from one country to another without much restriction. Prior to the mass usage of the Internet, such transfers of information would have taken longer to send, especially if done via snail mail, telex, etc.

Recently, there has been a large emphasis on data analytics. Data can be mined from various sources such as online forms, mobile phone applications and more recently, social media.

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## Services marketing

Services marketing relates to the marketing of services, as opposed to tangible products. A service (as opposed to a good) is typically defined as follows:

- The use of it is inseparable from its purchase (i.e., a service is used and consumed simultaneously)
- It does not possess material form, and thus cannot be touched, seen, heard, tasted, or smelled.
- The use of a service is inherently subjective, meaning that several persons experiencing a service would each experience it uniquely.

For example, a train ride can be deemed a service. If one buys a train ticket, the use of the train is typically experienced concurrently with the purchase of the ticket. Although the train is a physical object, one is not paying for the permanent ownership of the tangible components of the train.

Services (compared with goods) can also be viewed as a spectrum. Not all products are either pure goods or pure services. An example would be a restaurant, where a waiter's service is intangible, but the food is tangible.

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# Media bias

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Journalism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• News</li> <li>• Writing style</li> <li>• Ethics</li> <li>• Objectivity</li> <li>• Values</li> <li>• Attribution</li> <li>• Defamation</li> <li>• Editorial independence</li> <li>• Journalism school</li> <li>• List of journalism articles</li> </ul>
Areas
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arts</li> <li>• Business</li> <li>• Data</li> <li>• Entertainment</li> <li>• Environment</li> <li>• Fashion</li> <li>• Medicine</li> <li>• Politics</li> <li>• Science</li> <li>• Sports</li> <li>• Technology</li> <li>• Trade</li> <li>• Traffic</li> <li>• Weather</li> <li>• World</li> </ul>
Genres
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advocacy</li> <li>• Analytic</li> <li>• Blogging</li> <li>• Broadcast</li> <li>• Citizen</li> <li>• Civic</li> <li>• Collaborative</li> <li>• Comics-based</li> <li>• Community</li> <li>• Database</li> <li>• Gonzo</li> <li>• Immersion</li> <li>• Investigative</li> <li>• Literary</li> <li>• Muckraking</li> <li>• Narrative</li> <li>• "New Journalism"</li> <li>• Non-profit</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Online</li> <li>• Opinion</li> <li>• Peace</li> <li>• Photojournalism</li> <li>• Scientific</li> <li>• Visual</li> <li>• Watchdog</li> </ul>
<b>Social impact</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fourth Estate</li> <li>• Freedom of the press</li> <li>• Infotainment</li> <li>• Media bias</li> <li>• Public relations</li> <li>• Press service</li> <li>• Propaganda model</li> <li>• Yellow journalism</li> </ul>
<b>News media</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Newspapers</li> <li>• Magazines</li> <li>• TV and radio</li> <li>• Internet</li> <li>• News agencies</li> <li>• Alternative media</li> </ul>
<b>Roles</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Journalists (reporters)</li> <li>• Columnist</li> <li>• Blogger</li> <li>• Editor</li> <li>• Copy editor</li> <li>• Meteorologist</li> <li>• Presenter (news)</li> <li>• Photographer</li> <li>• Pundit / commentator</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Category: Journalism</b></li> </ul>

**Media bias** is the bias or perceived bias of journalists and news producers within the mass media in the selection of events and stories that are reported and how they are covered. The term "media bias" implies a pervasive or widespread bias contravening the standards of journalism, rather than the perspective of an individual journalist or article. The direction and degree of media bias in various countries is widely disputed.

Practical limitations to media neutrality include the inability of journalists to report all available stories and facts, and the requirement that selected facts be linked into a coherent narrative.<sup>[1]</sup> Government influence, including overt and covert censorship, biases the media in some countries, for example North Korea and Burma.<sup>[2]</sup> Market forces that result in a biased presentation include the ownership of the news source, concentration of media ownership, the selection of staff, the preferences of an intended audience, and pressure from advertisers.

There are a number of national and international watchdog groups that report on bias in the media.

## Types of bias

The most commonly discussed forms of bias occur when the media support or attack a particular political party, candidate, or ideology, but other common forms of bias include:

- Advertising bias, when stories are selected or slanted to please advertisers.
- Corporate bias, when stories are selected or slanted to please corporate owners of media.
- Mainstream bias, a tendency to report what everyone else is reporting, and to avoid stories that will offend anyone.
- Sensationalism, bias in favor of the exceptional over the ordinary, giving the impression that rare events, such as airplane crashes, are more common than common events, such as automobile crashes.
- Concision bias, a tendency to report views that can be summarized succinctly, crowding out more unconventional views that take time to explain.

Other forms of bias including reporting that favors or attacks a particular race, religion, gender, age, sexual orientation, ethnic group, or even person.

Stefano Mario Rivolta lists three forms of media bias:<sup>[3]</sup>

1. gate keeping bias, i.e., deciding whether to release a story or keep it under wraps (see spike)
2. coverage bias
3. statement bias

## Scholarly treatment of media bias in the United States and United Kingdom

Media bias is studied at schools of journalism, university departments (including Media studies, Cultural studies and Peace studies) and by independent watchdog groups from various parts of the political spectrum. In the United States, many of these studies focus on issues of a conservative/liberal balance in the media. Other focuses include international differences in reporting, as well as bias in reporting of particular issues such as economic class or environmental interests.

One high profile academic survey of American journalists is *The Media Elite*. The survey found that most journalists were liberal Democratic voters.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Martin Harrison's *TV News: Whose Bias?* (1985) criticized the methodology of the Glasgow Media Group, arguing that the GMG identified bias selectively, via their own preconceptions about what phrases qualify as biased descriptions. For example, the GMG sees the word "idle" to describe striking workers as pejorative, despite the word being used by strikers themselves.<sup>[4]</sup>

Herman and Chomsky (1988) proposed a propaganda model hypothesizing systematic biases of U.S. media from structural economic causes. They hypothesize media ownership by corporations, funding from advertising, the use of official sources, efforts to discredit independent media ("flak"), and "anti-communist" ideology as the filters that bias news in favor of U.S. corporate interests.

Many of the positions in the preceding study are supported by a 2002 study by Jim A. Kuypers: *Press Bias and Politics: How the Media Frame Controversial Issues*. In this study of 116 mainstream US papers (including *The New York Times*, *the Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*), Kuypers found that the mainstream print press in America operate within a narrow range of liberal beliefs. Those who expressed points of view further to the left were generally ignored, whereas those who expressed moderate or conservative points of view were often actively denigrated or labeled as holding a minority point of view. In short, if a political leader, regardless of party, spoke within the press-supported range of acceptable discourse, he or she would receive positive press coverage. If a politician, again regardless of party, were to speak outside of this range, he or she would receive negative press or be ignored. Kuypers also found that the liberal points of view expressed in editorial and opinion pages were found in hard news coverage of the same issues. Although focusing primarily on the issues of race and homosexuality, Kuypers found that the press injected opinion into its news coverage of other issues such as welfare



reform, environmental protection, and gun control; in all cases favoring a liberal point of view.

Studies reporting perceptions of bias in the media are not limited to studies of print media. A joint study by the Joan Shorenstein Center on Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University and the Project for Excellence in Journalism found that people see media bias in television news media such as CNN. Although both CNN and Fox were perceived in the study as not being centrist, CNN was perceived as being more liberal than Fox. Moreover, the study's findings concerning CNN's perceived bias are echoed in other studies.<sup>[5]</sup> There is also a growing economics literature on mass media bias, both on the theoretical and the empirical side. On the theoretical side the focus is on understanding to what extent the political positioning of mass media outlets is mainly driven by demand or supply factors. This literature is surveyed by Andrea Prat of the London School of Economics and David Stromberg of Stockholm University.<sup>[6]</sup>

According to Dan Sutter of the University of Oklahoma, a systematic liberal bias in the U.S. media could depend on the fact that owners and/or journalists typically lean to the left.

Along the same lines, David Baron of Stanford GSB presents a game-theoretic model of mass media behaviour in which, given that the pool of journalists systematically leans towards the left or the right, mass media outlets maximise their profits by providing content that is biased in the same direction.<sup>[7]</sup> They can do so, because it is cheaper to hire journalists that write stories which are consistent with their political position. A concurrent theory would be that supply and demand would cause media to attain a neutral balance because consumers would of course gravitate towards the media they agreed with. This argument fails in considering the imbalance in self-reported political allegiances by journalists themselves, that distort any market analogy as regards offer: (...) *Indeed, in 1982, 85 percent of Columbia Graduate School of Journalism students identified themselves as liberal, versus 11 percent conservative*" (Lichter, Rothman, and Lichter 1986: 48), quoted in Sutter, 2001.

This same argument would have news outlets in equal numbers increasing profits of a more balanced media far more than the slight increase in costs to hire unbiased journalists, notwithstanding the extreme rarity of self-reported conservative journalists (Sutton, 2001).

As mentioned above, Tim Groseclose of UCLA and Jeff Milyo of the University of Missouri at Columbia<sup>[8]</sup> use think tank quotes, in order to estimate the relative position of mass media outlets in the political spectrum. The idea is to trace out which think tanks are quoted by various mass media outlets within news stories, and to match these think tanks with the political position of members of the U.S. Congress who quote them in a non-negative way. Using this procedure, Groseclose and Milyo obtain the stark result that all sampled news providers -except Fox News' Special Report and the Washington Times- are located to the left of the average Congress member, i.e. there are signs of a liberal bias in the US news media. However, the news media also show a remarkable degree of centristism, just because all outlets but one are located –from an ideological point of view- between the average Democrat and average Republican in Congress.

The methods Groseclose and Milyo used to calculate this bias have been criticized by Mark Liberman, a professor of Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania. Liberman concludes by saying he thinks "that many if not most of the complaints directed against G&M are motivated in part by ideological disagreement – just as much of the praise for their work is motivated by ideological agreement. It would be nice if there were a less politically fraught body of data on which such modeling exercises could be explored."

Sendhil Mullainathan and Andrei Shleifer of Harvard University construct a behavioural model,<sup>[9]</sup> which is built around the assumption that readers and viewers hold beliefs that they would like to see confirmed by news providers. When news customers share common beliefs, profit-maximizing media outlets find it optimal to select and/or frame stories in order to pander to those beliefs. On the other hand, when beliefs are heterogeneous, news providers differentiate their offer and segment the market, by providing news stories that are slanted towards the two extreme positions in the spectrum of beliefs.

Matthew Gentzkow and Jesse Shapiro of Chicago GSB present another demand-driven theory of mass media bias.<sup>[10]</sup> If readers and viewers have a priori views on the current state of affairs and are uncertain about the quality

of the information about it being provided by media outlets, then the latter have an incentive to slant stories towards their customers' prior beliefs, in order to build and keep a reputation for high-quality journalism. The reason for this is that rational agents would tend to believe that pieces of information that go against their prior beliefs in fact originate from low-quality news providers.

Given that different groups in society have different beliefs, priorities, and interests, to which group would the media tailor its bias? David Stromberg constructs a demand-driven model where media bias arises because different audiences have different effects on media profits.<sup>[11]</sup> Advertisers pay more for affluent audiences and media may tailor content to attract this audience, perhaps producing a right-wing bias. On the other hand, urban audiences are more profitable to newspapers because of lower delivery costs. Newspapers may for this reason tailor their content to attract the profitable predominantly liberal urban audiences. Finally, because of the increasing returns to scale in news production, small groups such as minorities are less profitable. This biases media content against the interest of minorities.

Jimmy Chan of Shanghai University and Wing Suen of the University of Hong Kong develop a model where media bias arises because the media cannot tell "the whole truth" but are restricted to simple messages, such as political endorsements.<sup>[12]</sup> In this setting, media bias arises because biased media are more informative; people with a certain political bias prefer media with a similar bias because they can more trust their advice on what actions to take.

The economics empirical literature on mass media bias mainly focuses on the United States.

Steve Ansolabehere, Rebecca Lessem and Jim Snyder of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology analyze the political orientation of endorsements by U.S. newspapers.<sup>[13]</sup> They find an upward trend in the average propensity to endorse a candidate, and in particular an incumbent one. There are also some changes in the average ideological slant of endorsements: while in the 40s and in the 50s there was a clear advantage to Republican candidates, this advantage continuously eroded in subsequent decades, to the extent that in the 90s the authors find a slight Democratic lead in the average endorsement choice.

John Lott and Kevin Hassett of the American Enterprise Institute study the coverage of economic news by looking at a panel of 389 U.S. newspapers from 1991 to 2004, and from 1985 to 2004 for a subsample comprising the top 10 newspapers and the Associated Press.<sup>[14]</sup> For each release of official data about a set of economic indicators, the authors analyze how newspapers decide to report on them, as reflected by the tone of the related headlines. The idea is to check whether newspapers display some kind of partisan bias, by giving more positive or negative coverage to the same economic figure, as a function of the political affiliation of the incumbent President. Controlling for the economic data being released, the authors find that there are between 9.6 and 14.7 percent fewer positive stories when the incumbent President is a Republican.

Riccardo Puglisi of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology looks at the editorial choices of the *New York Times* from 1946 to 1997.<sup>[15]</sup> He finds that the *Times* displays Democratic partisanship, with some watchdog aspects. This is the case, because during presidential campaigns the *Times* systematically gives more coverage to Democratic topics of civil rights, health care, labor and social welfare, but only when the incumbent president is a Republican. These topics are classified as Democratic ones, because Gallup polls show that on average U.S. citizens think that Democratic candidates would be better at handling problems related to them. According to Puglisi, in the post-1960 period the *Times* displays a more symmetric type of watchdog behaviour, just because during presidential campaigns it also gives more coverage to the typically Republican issue of Defense when the incumbent President is a Democrat, and less so when the incumbent is a Republican.

Alan Gerber and Dean Karlan of Yale University use an experimental approach to examine not whether the media are biased, but whether the media influence political decisions and attitudes. They conduct a randomized control trial just prior to the November 2005 gubernatorial election in Virginia and randomly assign individuals in Northern Virginia to (a) a treatment group that receives a free subscription to the Washington Post, (b) a treatment group that receives a free subscription to the Washington Times, or (c) a control group. They find that those who are assigned to the Washington Post treatment group are eight percentage points more likely to vote for the Democrat in the

elections. The report also found that "exposure to either newspaper was weakly linked to a movement away from the Bush administration and Republicans."<sup>[1]</sup>

Another unaffiliated group, Media Study Group, established seven categories of poor journalistic practice: for example, the journalist stating personal opinion in a report, asserting incorrect facts, applying unequal space or treatment to two sides of a controversial issue; then analyzed The Age Newspaper (Melbourne Australia) for the frequency of infraction of this code of practice. The resultant instances were then analyzed statistically with respect to the frequency they supported one or other side of the two-sided controversial issue under consideration. The goal of this group was to establish a quantitative methodology for the study of bias.

A media watchdog group, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), in consultation with the Survey and Evaluation Research Laboratory at Virginia Commonwealth University, sponsored an academic study in which journalists were asked a range of questions about how they did their work and about how they viewed the quality of media coverage in the broad area of politics and economic policy. "They were asked for their opinions and views about a range of recent policy issues and debates. Finally, they were asked for demographic and identifying information, including their political orientation". They then compared to the same or similar questions posed with "the public" based on Gallup, and Pew Trust polls.<sup>[16]</sup> Their study concluded that a majority of journalists, although relatively liberal on social policies, were significantly to the right of the public on economic, labor, health care and foreign policy issues.

This study continues: "we learn much more about the political orientation of news content by looking at sourcing patterns rather than journalists' personal views. As this survey shows, it is government officials and business representatives to whom journalists "nearly always" turn when covering economic policy. Labor representatives and consumer advocates were at the bottom of the list. This is consistent with earlier research on sources. For example, analysts from the non-partisan Brookings Institution<sup>[17]</sup> and from conservative think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute are those most quoted in mainstream news accounts.

## Experimenter's bias

A major problem in studies is experimenter's bias. Research into studies of media bias in the United States shows that liberal experimenters tend to get results that say the media has a conservative bias, while conservatives experimenters tend to get results that say the media has a liberal bias, and those who do not identify themselves as either liberal or conservative get results indicating little bias, or mixed bias.<sup>[18]</sup>

The study "A Measure of Media Bias"<sup>[19]</sup> by political scientist Timothy J. Groseclose of UCLA and economist Jeffrey D. Milyo of the University of Missouri-Columbia, purports to rank news organizations in terms of identifying with liberal or conservative values relative to each other. They used the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) scores as a quantitative proxy for political leanings of the referential organizations. Thus their definition of "liberal" includes the RAND Corporation, a nonprofit research organization with strong ties to the Defense Department. Their work claims to detect a bias towards liberalism in the American media.

## Tools for measuring and evaluating media bias

Richard Alan Nelson's (2004) study cited above on *Tracking Propaganda to the Source: Tools for Analyzing Media Bias* reports there are at least 12 methods used to analyze the existence of and quantify bias:

1. Surveys of the political/cultural attitudes of journalists, particularly members of the media elite, and of journalism students.
2. Studies of journalists' previous professional connections.
3. Collections of quotations in which prominent journalists reveal their beliefs about politics and/or the proper role of their profession.
4. Computer word-use and topic analysis searches to determine content and labeling.
5. Studies of policies recommended in news stories.
6. Comparisons of the agenda of the news and entertainment media with agendas of political candidates or other activists.
7. Positive/negative coverage analysis.
8. Reviews of the personal demographics of media decision makers.
9. Comparisons of advertising sources/content which influence information/entertainment content.
10. Analyses of the extent of government propaganda and public relations (PR) industry impact on media.
11. Studies of the use of experts and spokespersons etc. by media vs. those not selected to determine the interest groups and ideologies represented vs. those excluded.
12. Research into payments of journalists by corporations and trade associations to speak before their groups and the impact that may have on coverage.

## Efforts to correct bias

A technique used to avoid bias is the "point/counterpoint" or "round table", an adversarial format in which representatives of opposing views comment on an issue. This approach theoretically allows diverse views to appear in the media. However, the person organizing the report still has the responsibility to choose people who really represent the breadth of opinion, to ask them non-prejudicial questions, and to edit or arbitrate their comments fairly. When done carelessly, a point/counterpoint can be as unfair as a simple biased report, by suggesting that the "losing" side lost on its merits.

Using this format can also lead to accusations that the reporter has created a misleading appearance that viewpoints have equal validity (sometimes called "false balance"). This may happen when a taboo exists around one of the viewpoints, or when one of the representatives habitually makes claims that are easily shown to be inaccurate.

One such allegation of misleading balance came from Mark Halperin, political director of ABC News. He stated in an internal e-mail message that reporters should not "artificially hold George W. Bush and John Kerry 'equally' accountable" to the public interest, and that complaints from Bush supporters were an attempt to "get away with ... renewed efforts to win the election by destroying Senator Kerry." When the conservative web site the Drudge Report published this message,<sup>[20]</sup> many Bush supporters viewed it as "smoking gun" evidence that Halperin was using ABC to propagandize against Bush to Kerry's benefit, by interfering with reporters' attempts to avoid bias. An academic content analysis of election news later found that coverage at ABC, CBS, and NBC was more favorable toward Kerry than Bush, while coverage at Fox News Channel was more favorable toward Bush.<sup>[21]</sup>

Scott Norvell, the London bureau chief for Fox News, stated in a May 20, 2005 interview with the *Wall Street Journal* that:

"Even we at Fox News manage to get some lefties on the air occasionally, and often let them finish their sentences before we club them to death and feed the scraps to Karl Rove and Bill O'Reilly. And those who hate us can take solace in the fact that they aren't subsidizing Bill's bombast; we payers of the BBC

license fee don't enjoy that peace of mind.

Fox News is, after all, a private channel and our presenters are quite open about where they stand on particular stories. That's our appeal. People watch us because they know what they are getting. The Beeb's (British Broadcasting Corporation) (BBC) institutionalized leftism would be easier to tolerate if the corporation was a little more honest about it".

With the release of the 2008 book *What Happened: Inside the Bush White House and Washington's Culture of Deception* by George W. Bush's press secretary Scott McClellan, there are some Wikipedia:Avoid weasel words who contend that this is evidence of Mark Halperin being correct instead of biased. In his book, McClellan admits to lying to the media, and describes the contempt he felt for reporters who so easily believed his lies, and were cowed by the fear that if they exposed the lies, they would be accused of "liberal bias".<sup>[22]</sup>

Another technique used to avoid bias is disclosure of affiliations that may be considered a possible conflict of interest. This is especially apparent when a news organization is reporting a story with some relevancy to the news organization itself or to its ownership individuals or conglomerate. Often this disclosure is mandated by the laws or regulations pertaining to stocks and securities. Commentators on news stories involving stocks are often required to disclose any ownership interest in those corporations or in its competitors.

In rare cases, a news organization may dismiss or reassign staff members who appear biased. This approach was used in the Killian documents affair and after Peter Arnett's interview with the Iraqi press. This approach is presumed to have been employed in the case of Dan Rather over a story that he ran on *60 Minutes* in the month prior to the 2004 election that attempted to impugn the military record of George W. Bush by relying on allegedly fake documents that were provided by Bill Burkett, a retired Lieutenant Colonel in the Texas Army National Guard.

Finally, some countries have laws enforcing balance in state-owned media. Since 1991, the CBC and Radio Canada, its Francophone counterpart, are governed by the Broadcasting Act<sup>[23]</sup>. This act states, amongst other things:

the programming provided by the Canadian broadcasting system should (i) be varied and comprehensive, providing a balance of information, enlightenment and entertainment for men, women and children of all ages, interests and tastes, (...) (iv) provide a reasonable opportunity for the public to be exposed to the expression of differing views on matters of public concern

## History of bias in the mass media

Political bias has been a feature of the mass media since its birth with the invention of the printing press. The expense of early printing equipment restricted media production to a limited number of people. Historians have found that publishers often served the interests of powerful social groups.<sup>[24]</sup>

John Milton's pamphlet *Areopagitica, a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*, published in 1644, was one of the first publications advocating freedom of the press.<sup>[25]</sup>

In the 19th century, journalists began to recognize the concept of unbiased reporting as an integral part of journalistic ethics. This coincided with the rise of journalism as a powerful social force. Even today, though, the most conscientiously objective journalists cannot avoid accusations of bias.<sup>[26]</sup>

Like newspapers, the broadcast media (radio and television) have been used as a mechanism for propaganda from their earliest days, a tendency made more pronounced by the initial ownership of broadcast spectrum by national governments. Although a process of media deregulation has placed the majority of the western broadcast media in private hands, there still exists a strong government presence, or even monopoly, in the broadcast media of many countries across the globe. At the same time, the concentration of media in private hands, and frequently amongst a comparatively small number of individuals, has also led to accusations of media bias.

There are many examples of accusations of bias being used as a political tool, sometimes resulting in government censorship.

- In the United States, in 1798, Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts, which prohibited newspapers from publishing “false, scandalous, or malicious writing” against the government, including any public opposition to any law or presidential act. This act was in effect until 1801.<sup>[27]</sup>
- During the American Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln accused newspapers in the border states of bias in favor of the Southern cause, and ordered many newspapers closed.
- Chancellor Adolf Hitler of Germany, in the years leading up to World War II, accused newspapers of Marxist bias, an accusation echoed by pro-German media in England and the United States.
- Anti-Semitic politicians who favored the United States entering World War II on the Nazi side asserted that the international media were controlled by Jews, and that reports of German mistreatment of Jews were biased and without foundation. Hollywood was wrongly said to be a hotbed of Jewish bias, and films such as Charlie Chaplin’s *The Great Dictator* were offered as alleged proof.<sup>[28]</sup>
- In the 1980s, the South African government accused newspapers of liberal bias and instituted government censorship. In 1989, the newspaper *New Nation* was closed by the government for three months for publishing anti-apartheid propaganda. Other newspapers were not closed, but were extensively censored. SomeWikipedia:Avoid weasel words published the censored sections blacked out, to demonstrate the extent of government censorship.
- In the USA during the labor union movement and the civil rights movement, newspapers supporting liberal social reform were accused by conservative newspapers of communist bias.<sup>[29][30]</sup> Film and television media were accused of bias in favor of mixing of the races, and many television programs with racially mixed casts, such as *I Spy* and *Star Trek*, were not aired on Southern stations.<sup>[31]</sup>
- During the war between the United States and North Vietnam, Vice President Spiro Agnew accused newspapers of anti-American bias, and in a famous speech delivered in San Diego in 1970, called anti-war protesters “the nattering nabobs of negativism.”<sup>[32]</sup>

Not all accusations of bias are political. Science writer Martin Gardner has accused the entertainment media of anti-science bias. He claims that television programs such as *The X-Files* promote superstition.<sup>[33]</sup> In contrast, the Competitive Enterprise Institute, which is funded by businesses, accuses the media of being biased in favor of science and against business interests, and of credulously reporting science that purports to show that greenhouse gasses cause global warming.<sup>[34]</sup>

## Role of language

Mass media, despite its ability to project worldwide, is limited in its cross-ethnic compatibility by one simple attribute – language. Ethnicity, being largely developed by a divergence in geography, language, culture, genes and similarly, point of view, has the potential to be countered by a common source of information. Therefore, language, in the absence of translation, comprises a barrier to a worldwide community of debate and opinion, although it is also true that media within any given society may be split along class, political or regional lines. Furthermore, if the language is translated, the translator has room to shift a bias by choosing weighed words for translation.

Language may also be seen as a political factor in mass media, particularly in instances where a society is characterized by a large number of languages spoken by its populace. The choice of language of mass media may represent a bias towards the group most likely to speak that language, and can limit the public participation by those who do not speak the language. On the other hand, there have also been attempts to use a common-language mass media to reach out to a large, geographically dispersed population, such as in the use of Arabic language by news channel Al Jazeera.

Many media theorists concerned with language and media bias point towards the media of the United States, a large country where English is spoken by the majority of the population. Some theorists argue that the common language is not homogenizing; and that there still remain strong differences expressed within the mass media. This viewpoint

asserts that moderate views are bolstered by drawing influences from the extremes of the political spectrum. In the United States, the national news therefore contributes to a sense of cohesion within the society, proceeding from a similarly informed population. According to this model, most views within society are freely expressed, and the mass media are accountable to the people and tends to reflect the spectrum of opinion.

Language may also introduce a more subtle form of bias. The selection of metaphors and analogies, or the inclusion of personal information in one situation but not another can introduce bias, such as a gender bias. Use of a word with positive or negative connotations rather than a more neutral synonym can form a biased picture in the audience's mind. For example, it makes a difference whether the media calls a group "terrorists" or "freedom fighters" or "insurgents". A 2005 memo <sup>[35]</sup> to the staff of the CBC states:

Rather than calling assailants "terrorists," we can refer to them as bombers, hijackers, gunmen (if we're sure no women were in the group), militants, extremists, attackers or some other appropriate noun.

In a widely criticized episode, initial online BBC reports of the 7 July 2005 London bombings identified the perpetrators as terrorists, in contradiction to the BBC's internal policy. But by the next day, journalist Tom Gross noted that the online articles had been edited, replacing "terrorists" by "bombers". In another case, March 28, 2007, the BBC paid almost \$400,000 in legal fees in a London court to keep an internal memo dealing with alleged anti-Israeli bias from becoming public. The BBC has consistently been accused of having a pro-Palestinian bias, with many examples cited, including a documentary falsely accusing Israel of developing a nuclear weapon during the second Palestinian intifada in 2000.<sup>[36]</sup>

## National and ethnic viewpoint

Many news organizations reflect or are perceived to reflect in some way the viewpoint of the geographic, ethnic, and national population that they primarily serve. Media within countries are sometimes seen as being sycophantic or unquestioning about the country's government.

Western media are often criticized in the rest of the world (including eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East) as being pro-Western with regard to a variety of political, cultural and economic issues. Al Jazeera is frequently criticized both in the West and in the Arab world.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict and wider Arab-Israeli issues are a particularly controversial area, and nearly all coverage of any kind generates accusation of bias from one or both sides. This topic is covered in a separate article.

## Anglophone bias in the world media

It has been observed that the world's principal suppliers of news, the news agencies, and the main buyers of news are Anglophone corporations and this gives an Anglophone bias to the selection and depiction of events. Anglophone definitions of what constitutes news are paramount; the news provided originates in Anglophone capitals and responds first to their own rich domestic markets.

Despite the plethora of news services, most news printed and broadcast throughout the world each day comes from only a few major agencies, the three largest of which are the Associated Press, Reuters and Agence France-Presse. Although these agencies are 'global' in the sense of their activities, they each retain significant associations with particular nations, namely France (AFP), the United States (AP) and the United Kingdom (Reuters). Chambers and Tinkell suggest that the so-called global media are agents of Anglophone values which privilege norms of 'competitive individualism, *laissez-faire* capitalism, parliamentary democracy and consumerism.' They see the presentation of the English language as international as a further feature of Anglophone dominance.<sup>[37]</sup>

## Religious bias

The media are often accused of bias favoring the majority religion, or attacking the majority religion. In some countries, only reporting approved by a state religion is permitted. In other countries, derogatory statements about any belief system are considered hate crimes and are illegal.

According to the Encyclopedia of Social Work (19th edition), the news media play an influential role in the general public's perception of cults. As reported in several studies, the media have depicted cults as problematic, controversial, and threatening from the beginning, tending to favor sensationalistic stories over balanced public debates (Beckford, 1985; Richardson, Best, & Bromley, 1991; Victor, 1993). It furthers the analysis that media reports on cults rely heavily on police officials and cult "experts" who portray cult activity as dangerous and destructive, and when divergent views are presented, they are often overshadowed by horrific stories of ritualistic torture, sexual abuse, mind control, etc. Furthermore, unfounded allegations, when proved untrue, receive little or no media attention.<sup>[38]</sup>

In 2012, Huffington Post columnist Jacques Berlinerblau argued that secularism has often been misinterpreted in the media as another word for atheism, stating that: "Secularism must be the most misunderstood and mangled ism in the American political lexicon. Commentators on the right and the left routinely equate it with Stalinism, Nazism and Socialism, among other dreaded isms. In the United States, of late, another false equation has emerged. That would be the groundless association of secularism with atheism. The religious right has profitably promulgated this misconception at least since the 1970s."

## Other influences

The apparent bias of media is not always specifically political in nature. The news media tend to appeal to a specific audience, which means that stories that affect a large number of people on a global scale often receive less coverage in some markets than local stories, such as a public school shooting, a celebrity wedding, a plane crash, a "missing white woman," or similarly glamorous or shocking stories. For example, the deaths of millions of people in an ethnic conflict in Africa might be afforded scant mention in American media, while the shooting of five people in a high school is analyzed in depth. Bias is also known to exist in sports broadcasting; in the United States, broadcasters tend to favor teams on the East Coast, teams in major markets, older and more established teams and leagues, teams based in their respective country (in international sport) and teams that include high-profile celebrity athletes. The reason for these types of bias is a function of what the public wants to watch and/or what producers and publishers believe the public wants to watch.

Bias has also been claimed in instances referred to as conflict of interest, whereby the owners of media outlets have vested interests in other commercial enterprises or political parties. In such cases in the United States, the media outlet is required to disclose the conflict of interest.

However, the decisions of the editorial department of a newspaper and the corporate parent frequently are not connected, as the editorial staff retains freedom to decide what is covered as well as what is not. Biases, real or implied, frequently arise when it comes to deciding what stories will be covered and who will be called for those stories.

Accusations that a source is biased, if accepted, may cause media consumers to distrust certain kinds of statements, and place added confidence on others.

How People View The Media: Two-thirds (67%) said agreed with the statement: "In dealing with political and social issues, news organizations tend to favor one side." That was up 14 points from 53 percent who gave that answer in 1985. Those who believed the media "deal fairly with all sides" fell from 34 percent to 27 percent. "In one of the most telling complaints, a majority (54%) of Americans believe the news media gets in the way of society solving its problems," Pew reported. Republicans "are more likely to say news organizations favor one side than are Democrats or independents (77 percent vs. 58 percent and 69 percent, respectively)." The percentage who felt "news



organizations get the facts straight" fell from 55 percent to 37 percent.<sup>[39]</sup>

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## External links

- News Bias Explored (<http://www.umich.edu/~newsbias/index.html>)

# Media manipulation

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**Media manipulation** is a series of related techniques in which partisans create an image or argument that favours their particular interests. Such tactics may include the use of logical fallacies and propaganda techniques, and often involve the suppression of information or points of view by crowding them out, by inducing other people or groups of people to stop listening to certain arguments, or by simply diverting attention elsewhere. In *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, Jacques Ellul writes that public opinion can only express itself through channels which are provided by the mass media of communication-without which there could be no propaganda.<sup>[1]</sup> It is used within public relations, propaganda, marketing, etc. While the objective for each context is quite different, the broad techniques are often similar. As illustrated below, many of the more modern mass media manipulation methods are types of distraction, on the assumption that the public has a limited attention span.

## Contexts

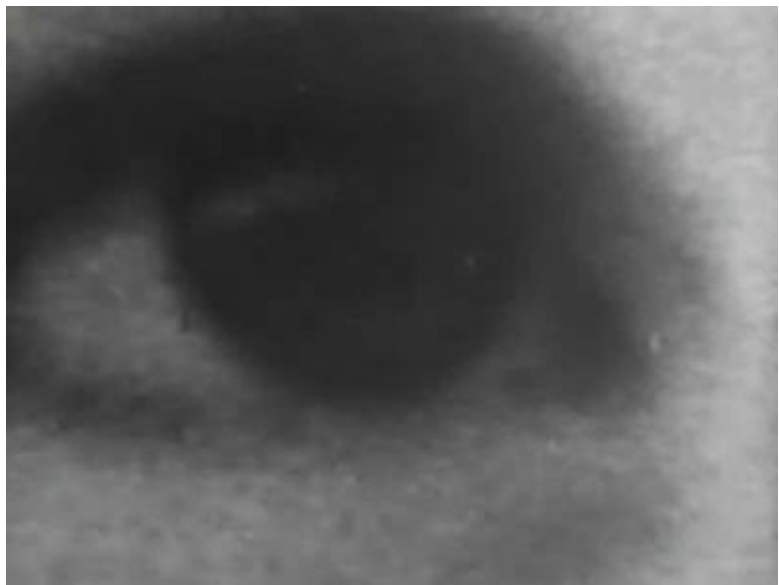
### Activism

Activism tends to be created by smaller movements or individuals. It consists of efforts to enact, impede, or direct social changes. Activism can take a wide range of forms from writing letters to newspapers or politicians, political campaigning, economic activism such as boycotts or preferentially patronizing businesses, rallies, street marches, strikes, sit-ins, and hunger strikes. Some activists try to persuade people to change their behavior directly, rather than to persuade governments to change or not to change laws. The cooperative movement seeks to build new institutions which conform to cooperative principles, and generally does not lobby or protest politically, and clergymen often exhort their parishioners to follow a particular moral code or system.

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## Advertising

Commercial advertising tends to be created by companies to encourage consumption of their products or services. Non-commercial advertisers who spend money to advertise items other than a consumer product or service include political parties, interest groups, religious organizations and governmental agencies. This is a form of communication used to encourage or persuade an audience to continue or take some new action. Most commonly, the desired result is to drive consumer behavior with respect to a commercial offering, although political and ideological advertising is also common. Advertising messages are usually paid for by sponsors and viewed via various



"Daisy", a TV commercial for the re-election of U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson. It aired only once, in September 1964, and is considered both one of the most controversial and one of the most effective political ads in U.S. history.

traditional media; including mass media such as newspaper, magazines, television commercial, radio advertisement, outdoor advertising or direct mail; or new media such as blogs, websites or text messages.

## Hoaxing

Hoaxes are a form of practical joke that typically uses the techniques of media manipulation to encourage people to believe in some outlandish lie or object. It differs from most other media manipulation contexts in that there is rarely any attempt to influence behavior, though occasionally a hoax may form part of a fraud or a hoax item may be promoted as a commercial attraction.

Some hoaxes are not a context, but a media manipulation technique describing deceptive materials created for some other context. The "Iraq Dossier" is an example of propaganda used to promote the idea of going to war.

## Marketing

Marketing is a series of systems used by companies to communicate the value of a product or service to customers. Marketing might sometimes be interpreted as the art of selling products, but selling is only a small fraction of marketing. It is broader and less focused than "advertising," it is an overall strategy to promoting a product or service. Sales is a key part of marketing, in media manipulation terms it is a way of matching producers and consumers.

## Political campaigning

Political campaigning is an organized effort which seeks to influence the decision making process within a specific group. In democracies, political campaigns often refer to electoral campaigns, wherein representatives are chosen or referendums are decided. In modern politics, the most high profile political campaigns are focused on candidates for head of state or head of government, often a President or Prime Minister. Political campaigns are often organised by wealthy individuals and political parties working in concert.

## Propagandising

Propagandising is a form of communication that is aimed at influencing the attitude of a community toward some cause or position by presenting only one side of an argument. Propaganda is commonly created by governments, but some forms of mass-communication created by other powerful organisations can be considered propaganda as well. As opposed to impartially providing information, propaganda, in its most basic sense, presents information primarily to influence an audience. Propaganda is usually repeated and dispersed over a wide variety of media in order to create the chosen result in audience attitudes. While the term propaganda has justifiably acquired a strongly negative connotation by association with its most manipulative and jingoistic examples (e.g. Nazi Propaganda used to justify the Holocaust), propaganda in its original sense was neutral, and could refer to uses that were generally benign or innocuous, such as public health recommendations, signs encouraging citizens to participate in a census or election, or messages encouraging persons to report crimes to the police, among others.

## Psychological warfare

Psychological warfare is sometimes considered synonymous with propaganda. The principal distinction being that propaganda normally occurs within a nation, whereas psychological warfare normally takes place between nations, often during war or cold war. Various techniques are used to influence a target's values, beliefs, emotions, motives, reasoning, or behavior. Target audiences can be governments, organizations, groups, and individuals.

## Public relations

Public relations (**PR**) is the management of the flow of information between an individual or an organization and the public. Public relations may include an organization or individual gaining exposure to their audiences using topics of public interest and news items that do not require direct payment. PR is generally created by specialised individuals or firms at the behest of already public individuals or organizations, as a way of managing their public profile.

## Techniques

### Distraction types

#### Distraction by nationalism

This is a variant on the traditional ad hominem and bandwagon fallacies applied to entire countries. The method is to discredit opposing arguments by appealing to nationalistic pride or memory of past accomplishments, or appealing to fear or dislike of a specific country, or of foreigners in general. It can be very powerful as it discredits foreign journalists (the ones that are least easily manipulated by domestic political or corporate interests).<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

- Example: Q: "What do you think of Khokarsan policy on X?"

A: "I think they have been wrong on every major issue for the past 20 years."

- Example: "Your idea sounds similar to what they are proposing in Falala. Are you saying the Falalians have a better country than us?"
  - Example: "The only criticisms of this proposed treaty come from Molvanîa. But we all know that Molvanîans are arrogant and uneducated, so their complaints are irrelevant."
  - Example: The slogan "support our troops" has been used to imply that opposing the war effort detracts support away from the individual soldiers fighting the war.
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**Straw man fallacy**

The "straw man fallacy" is the lumping of a strong opposition argument together with one or many weak ones to create a simplistic weak argument that can easily be refuted.

- Example: "Pataphysics is basically just externism under a different name, and we all know the problems with externism."

**Distraction by scapegoat**

A combination of straw man and ad hominem, in which your weakest opponent (or easiest to discredit) is considered as your only important opponent.

- Example: If many countries oppose an action, but one of them, say Glubbubdrib, is obviously acting out of self-interest, mention mostly Glubbubdrib.

**Distraction by phenomenon**

A risky but effective strategy summarized best, perhaps, by David Mamet's 1997 movie *Wag the Dog*, by which the public can be distracted, for long periods of time, from an important issue, by one which occupies more news time. When the strategy works, you have a war or other media event taking attention away from misbehaving or crooked leaders. When the strategy does not work, the leader's misbehavior remains in the press, and the war is derided as an attempted distraction.

**Distraction by semantics**

This involves using euphemistically pleasing terms to obscure the truth. For example saying "reproductive rights", "pro-choice", or "pro-life" instead of referring to the medical term "abortion". The concept of "states' rights" was invoked to defend the continuation of slavery in the United States on the eve of the American Civil War, and again to fight against the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>[citation needed]</sup> The work of Frank Luntz is a notable example when focus groups are convened and the favorable or unfavorable characterizations are used in the selection of special code wording. The more favorable characterization of politicized concepts is thus chosen for future political campaign repetition.

**Distraction by regression**

This method uses the previous state of the opponent propaganda to prevent the negotiation of actual issues.

**Distraction by misleading**

This method injects false issues into the opponent's propaganda or attempts to create connections with falsities. Repetition of falsehoods from numerous outlets, nearly simultaneously, is one of the most effective means to mislead by distraction.

**Distraction by horror**

This method tries to create a connection between an opponent's propaganda and horrific events. (For example when a minority is being arrested by the police and one attempts to create a connection with past unjust actions)

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## Other types

### Appeal to consensus

By appealing to a real or fictional "consensus" compliance professionals attempt to create the perception that their opinion is the only opinion, so that alternative ideas are dismissed from public consideration.

- Example: "We all decided that issue long ago."

### Censorship

Censorship is a technique whereby public communication is suppressed. It can be done by powerful organizations such as governments or moral campaigns, or by individuals who engage in self-censorship. It occurs for a variety of reasons including national security, to control obscenity, child pornography, and hate speech, to protect children, to promote or restrict political or religious views, to prevent slander and libel, and to protect intellectual property. It can be a way of influencing the public discourse, by determining what can and cannot be said. It may or may not be legal.

### Demonisation of the opposition

This is a more general case of distraction by nationalism. Opposing views are ascribed to an out-group or hated group, and thus dismissed out of hand. This approach, carried to extremes, becomes a form of suppression, as in McCarthyism, where anyone disapproving of the government was considered "un-American" and "Communist" and was likely to be denounced.

### Fear mongering

**Fear mongering** (or **scaremongering**) is the use of fear to influence the opinions and actions of others towards some specific end. The feared object or subject is sometimes exaggerated, and the pattern of fear mongering is usually one of repetition, in order to continuously reinforce the intended effects of this tactic to frighten citizens and influence their political views. It often states that if something is or is not done, a disastrous event will occur, and that by voting for or against it this can be prevented. The end result is the voter being scared into changing their vote or opinion to one more favorable to the person that is fear mongering. In a good marginalization, there is reason to believe the claim because the professional says the claim is true. This is because a person who is a legitimate expert is more likely to be right than wrong when making considered claims within his area of expertise.

- Example: "If we don't get rid of Metaphysico-theologo-cosmonigology, the people will become idle and shiftless."

## Compliance professionals

A compliance professional is an expert that utilizes and perfects means of gaining media influence. Though the means of gaining influence are common, their aims vary from political, economic, to personal. Thus the label of compliance professional applies to diverse groups of people, including propagandists, marketers, pollsters, salespeople and political advocates.

### Techniques

Means of influence include, but are not limited to, the methods outlined in Influence Science and Practice:

- Reciprocation
  - Commitment and Consistency
  - Social Proof
  - Liking
  - Authority
-

- Scarcity

Additionally, techniques like framing and less formal means of effective obfuscation, such as the use of logical fallacies, are used to gain compliance.

## Notes and references

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## Further reading

- Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media
- *Boston Globe* article: Cheney aide describes techniques of media manipulation ([http://www.boston.com/news/nation/washington/articles/2007/01/28/libby\\_case\\_witness\\_details\\_art\\_of\\_media\\_manipulation/](http://www.boston.com/news/nation/washington/articles/2007/01/28/libby_case_witness_details_art_of_media_manipulation/))
- Michael Parenti analysis of media manipulation (<http://www.michaelparenti.org/MonopolyMedia.html>)
- Ellul, Jacques. *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. Trans. Konrad Kellen & Jean Lerner. New York: Knopf, 1965. New York: Random House/ Vintage 1973

## External links

- "The Persuaders" (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/persuaders>) *Frontline*
  - "Understanding Jargon: A Short Bibliography" (<http://polaris.gseis.ucla.edu/pagre/understanding.html>) by Philip E. Agre
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# Misuse of statistics

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A **misuse of statistics** occurs when a statistical argument asserts a falsehood. In some cases, the misuse may be accidental. In others, it is purposeful and for the gain of the perpetrator. When the statistical reason involved is false or misapplied, this constitutes a **statistical fallacy**.

The false statistics trap can be quite damaging to the quest for knowledge. For example, in medical science, correcting a falsehood may take decades and cost lives.

Misuses can be easy to fall into. Professional scientists, even mathematicians and professional statisticians, can be fooled by even some simple methods, even if they are careful to check everything. Scientists have been known to fool themselves with statistics due to lack of knowledge of probability theory and lack of standardization of their tests.

## Types of misuse

### Discarding unfavorable data

All a company has to do to promote a neutral (useless) product is to find or conduct, for example, 40 studies with a confidence level of 95%. If the product is really useless, this would on average produce one study showing the product was beneficial, one study showing it was harmful and thirty-eight inconclusive studies (38 is 95% of 40). This tactic becomes more effective the more studies there are available. Organizations that do not publish every study they carry out, such as tobacco companies denying a link between smoking and cancer, anti-smoking advocacy groups and media outlets trying to prove a link between smoking and various ailments, or miracle pill vendors, are likely to use this tactic.

Another common technique is to perform a study that tests a large number of dependent (response) variables at the same time. For example, a study testing the effect of a medical treatment might use as dependent variables the probability of survival, the average number of days spent in the hospital, the patient's self-reported level of pain, etc. This also increases the likelihood that at least one of the variables will by chance show a correlation with the independent (explanatory) variable.

### Loaded questions

The answers to surveys can often be manipulated by wording the question in such a way as to induce a prevalence towards a certain answer from the respondent. For example, in polling support for a war, the questions:

- Do you support the attempt by the USA to bring freedom and democracy to other places in the world?
- Do you support the unprovoked military action by the USA?

will likely result in data skewed in different directions, although they are both polling about the support for the war. A better way of wording the question could be "Do you support the current US military action abroad?"

Another way to do this is to precede the question by information that supports the "desired" answer. For example, more people will likely answer "yes" to the question "Given the increasing burden of taxes on middle-class families, do you support cuts in income tax?" than to the question "Considering the rising federal budget deficit and the desperate need for more revenue, do you support cuts in income tax?"

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## Overgeneralization

Overgeneralization is a fallacy occurring when a statistic about a particular population is asserted to hold among members of a group for which the original population is not a representative sample.

For example, suppose 100% of apples are observed to be red in summer. The assertion "All apples are red" would be an instance of overgeneralization because the original statistic was true only of a specific subset of apples (those in summer), which is not expected to be representative of the population of apples as a whole.

A real-world example of the overgeneralization fallacy can be observed as an artifact of modern polling techniques, which prohibit calling cell phones for over-the-phone political polls. As young people are more likely than other demographic groups to lack a conventional "landline" phone, a telephone poll that exclusively surveys responders of calls landline phones, may cause the poll results to undersample the views of young people, if no other measures are taken to account for this skewing of the sampling.

Thus, a poll examining the voting preferences of young people using this technique may not be a perfectly accurate representation of young peoples' true voting preferences as a whole without overgeneralizing, because the sample used excludes young people that carry only cell phones, who may or may not have voting preferences that differ from the rest of the population.

Overgeneralization often occurs when information is passed through nontechnical sources, in particular mass media.

## Misreporting or misunderstanding of estimated error

If a research team wants to know how 300 million people feel about a certain topic, it would be impractical to ask all of them. However, if the team picks a random sample of about 1000 people, they can be fairly certain that the results given by this group are representative of what the larger group would have said if they had all been asked.

This confidence can actually be quantified by the central limit theorem and other mathematical results. Confidence is expressed as a probability of the true result (for the larger group) being within a certain range of the estimate (the figure for the smaller group). This is the "plus or minus" figure often quoted for statistical surveys. The probability part of the confidence level is usually not mentioned; if so, it is assumed to be a standard number like 95%.

The two numbers are related. If a survey has an estimated error of  $\pm 5\%$  at 95% confidence, it also has an estimated error of  $\pm 6.6\%$  at 99% confidence.  $\pm x\%$  at 95% confidence is always  $\pm 1.32x\%$  at 99% confidence for a normally distributed population.

The smaller the estimated error, the larger the required sample, at a given confidence level.

at 95.4% confidence:

$\pm 1\%$  would require 10,000 people.

$\pm 2\%$  would require 2,500 people.

$\pm 3\%$  would require 1,111 people.

$\pm 4\%$  would require 625 people.

$\pm 5\%$  would require 400 people.

$\pm 10\%$  would require 100 people.

$\pm 20\%$  would require 25 people.

$\pm 25\%$  would require 16 people.

$\pm 50\%$  would require 4 people.

Most people assume<sup>[citation needed]</sup>, because the confidence figure is omitted, that there is a 100% certainty that the true result is within the estimated error. This is not mathematically correct.

Many people may not realize that the randomness of the sample is very important. In practice, many opinion polls are conducted by phone, which distorts the sample in several ways, including exclusion of people who do not have phones, favoring the inclusion of people who have more than one phone, favoring the inclusion of people who are

willing to participate in a phone survey over those who refuse, etc. Non-random sampling makes the estimated error unreliable.

On the other hand, many people consider that statistics are inherently unreliable because not everybody is called, or because they themselves are never polled<sup>[citation needed]</sup>. Many people think that it is impossible to get data on the opinion of dozens of millions of people by just polling a few thousands. This is also inaccurate<sup>[citation needed]</sup>. A poll with perfect unbiased sampling and truthful answers has a mathematically determined margin of error, which only depends on the number of people polled.

However, often only one margin of error is reported for a survey. When results are reported for population subgroups, a larger margin of error will apply, but this may not be made clear. For example, a survey of 1000 people may contain 100 people from a certain ethnic or economic group. The results focusing on that group will be much less reliable than results for the full population. If the margin of error for the full sample was 4%, say, then the margin of error for such a subgroup could be around 13%.

There are also many other measurement problems in population surveys.

The problems mentioned above apply to all statistical experiments, not just population surveys.

## False causality

When a statistical test shows a correlation between A and B, there are usually six possibilities:

1. A causes B.
2. B causes A.
3. A and B both partly cause each other.
4. A and B are both caused by a third factor, C.
5. B is caused by C which is correlated to A.
6. The observed correlation was due purely to chance.

The sixth possibility can be quantified by statistical tests that can calculate the probability that the correlation observed would be as large as it is just by chance if, in fact, there is no relationship between the variables. However, even if that possibility has a small probability, there are still the four others.

If the number of people buying ice cream at the beach is statistically related to the number of people who drown at the beach, then nobody would claim ice cream causes drowning because it's obvious that it isn't so. (In this case, both drowning and ice cream buying are clearly related by a third factor: the number of people at the beach).

This fallacy can be used, for example, to prove that exposure to a chemical causes cancer. Replace "number of people buying ice cream" with "number of people exposed to chemical X", and "number of people who drown" with "number of people who get cancer", and many people will believe you. In such a situation, there may be a statistical correlation even if there is no real effect. For example, if there is a perception that a chemical site is "dangerous" (even if it really isn't) property values in the area will decrease, which will entice more low-income families to move to that area. If low-income families are more likely to get cancer than high-income families (this can happen for many reasons, such as a poorer diet or less access to medical care) then rates of cancer will go up, even though the chemical itself is not dangerous. It is believed<sup>[1]</sup> that this is exactly what happened with some of the early studies showing a link between EMF (electromagnetic fields) from power lines and cancer.<sup>[2]</sup>

In well-designed studies, the effect of false causality can be eliminated by assigning some people into a "treatment group" and some people into a "control group" at random, and giving the treatment group the treatment and not giving the control group the treatment. In the above example, a researcher might expose one group of people to chemical X and leave a second group unexposed. If the first group had higher cancer rates, the researcher knows that there is no third factor that affected whether a person was exposed because he controlled who was exposed or not, and he assigned people to the exposed and non-exposed groups at random. However, in many applications, actually doing an experiment in this way is either prohibitively expensive, infeasible, unethical, illegal, or downright

impossible. For example, it is highly unlikely that an IRB would accept an experiment that involved intentionally exposing people to a dangerous substance in order to test its toxicity. The obvious ethical implications of such types of experiments limit researchers' ability to empirically test causation.

## Proof of the null hypothesis

In a statistical test, the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is considered valid until enough data proves it wrong. Then  $H_0$  is rejected and the alternative hypothesis ( $H_A$ ) is considered to be proven as correct. By chance this can happen, although  $H_0$  is true, with a probability denoted alpha, the significance level. This can be compared to the judicial process, where the accused is considered innocent ( $H_0$ ) until proven guilty ( $H_A$ ) beyond reasonable doubt (alpha).

But if data does not give us enough proof to reject  $H_0$ , this does not automatically prove that  $H_0$  is correct. If, for example, a tobacco producer wishes to demonstrate that its products are safe, it can easily conduct a test with a small sample of smokers versus a small sample of non-smokers. It is unlikely that any of them will develop lung cancer (and even if they do, the difference between the groups has to be very big in order to reject  $H_0$ ). Therefore it is likely—even when smoking is dangerous—that our test will not reject  $H_0$ . If  $H_0$  is accepted, it does not automatically follow that smoking is proven harmless. The test has insufficient power to reject  $H_0$ , so the test is useless and the value of the "proof" of  $H_0$  is also null.

This can—using the judicial analogue above—be compared with the truly guilty defendant who is released just because the proof is not enough for a guilty verdict. This does not prove the defendant's innocence, but only that there is not proof enough for a guilty verdict.

## Data dredging

Data dredging is an abuse of data mining. In data dredging, large compilations of data are examined in order to find a correlation, without any pre-defined choice of a hypothesis to be tested. Since the required confidence interval to establish a relationship between two parameters is usually chosen to be 95% (meaning that there is a 95% chance that the relationship observed is not due to random chance), there is thus a 5% chance of finding a correlation between any two sets of completely random variables. Given that data dredging efforts typically examine large datasets with many variables, and hence even larger numbers of pairs of variables, spurious but apparently statistically significant results are almost certain to be found by any such study.

Note that data dredging is a valid way of *finding* a possible hypothesis but that hypothesis *must* then be tested with data not used in the original dredging. The misuse comes in when that hypothesis is stated as fact without further validation.

## Data manipulation

Informally called "fudging the data," this practice includes selective reporting (see also publication bias) and even simply making up false data.

Examples of selective reporting abound. The easiest and most common examples involve choosing a group of results that follow a pattern consistent with the preferred hypothesis while ignoring other results or "data runs" that contradict the hypothesis.

Psychic researchers have long disputed studies showing people with ESP ability. Critics accuse ESP proponents of only publishing experiments with positive results and shelving those that show negative results. A "positive result" is a test run (or data run) in which the subject guesses a hidden card, etc., at a much higher frequency than random chance.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

Scientists, in general, question the validity of study results that cannot be reproduced by other investigators. However, some scientists refuse to publish their data and methods.<sup>[3]</sup>

## Non-enduring class fallacies

This type of fallacy involves the claim or implication that members of a statistical class persist over time when this is in fact not the case. The claims as applied to that statistical class may indeed be statistically correct, however the fallacy lies in the implication that the statistical class is composed of the same individuals from one point in time to the next.

For example, the claim by congressman Bernie Sanders in 2011 that "the top 1% of all income earners in the USA made 23.5% of all income", while being statistically correct, may still be fallacious due to the implication that this class composed of the top 1% is an enduring statistical class composed of the same individuals as in the previous year. While it may be true that many of the individuals in this class persist from the previous year, no indication of how many of these individuals do in fact persist was given in the original statement, and this led to the fallacious implication that all individuals in the class endured.

This fallacy can easily be avoided by specifying whether the statistics used refer to the same group of individuals over the period in question. When this precaution is not taken then suspicions of this fallacy may be raised, even if the fallacy has in fact not been committed.

## Other fallacies

- $N = 1$  fallacy

Also, the post facto fallacy assumes that an event for which a future likelihood can be measured had the same likelihood of happening once it has already occurred. Thus, if someone had already tossed 9 coins and each has come up heads, people tend to assume that the likelihood of a tenth toss also being heads is 1023 to 1 against (which it was before the first coin was tossed) when in fact the chance of the tenth head is 50% (assuming the coin is unbiased). This error has led, in the UK, to the false imprisonment of women for murder when the courts were given the prior statistical likelihood of a woman's 3 children dying from Sudden Infant Death Syndrome as being the chances that their already dead children died from the syndrome. This led to statements from Roy Meadow that the chances they had died of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome being millions to one against, convictions were then handed down in spite of the statistical inevitability that a few women would suffer this tragedy. Meadow was subsequently struck off the U.K. Medical Register for giving "erroneous" and "misleading" evidence, although this was later reversed by the courts.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

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- Ercan I, Yazici B, Yang Y, Ozkaya G, Cangur S, Ediz B, Kan I (2007) "Misusage of Statistics in Medical Researches", *European Journal of General Medicine*, 4 (3),127–133
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Further reading

• Galbraith, J.; Stone, M. (2011). "The abuse of regression in the National Health Service allocation formulae: Response to the Department of Health's 2007 'resource allocation research paper'". *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A* **174** (3): 517–528. doi:10.1111/j.1467-985X.2010.00700.x <sup>[6]</sup>.

Notes

[1] <http://www.quackwatch.org/01QuackeryRelatedTopics/emf.html>  
[2] <http://www.newscientist.com/article/dn7460-large-study-links-power-lines-to-childhood-cancer.html>  
[3] [http://www.researchinformation.info/features/feature.php?feature\\_id=214](http://www.researchinformation.info/features/feature.php?feature_id=214)  
[4] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016%2F0031-3203%2876%2990044-3>  
[5] <http://www.ndt.net/article/v04n05/oldberg/oldberg.htm>  
[6] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111%2Fj.1467-985X.2010.00700.x>

Managing the news

Journalism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• News</li><li>• Writing style</li><li>• Ethics</li><li>• Objectivity</li><li>• Values</li><li>• Attribution</li><li>• Defamation</li><li>• Editorial independence</li><li>• Journalism school</li><li>• List of journalism articles</li></ul>
Areas
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Arts</li><li>• Business</li><li>• Data</li><li>• Entertainment</li><li>• Environment</li><li>• Fashion</li><li>• Medicine</li><li>• Politics</li><li>• Science</li><li>• Sports</li><li>• Technology</li><li>• Trade</li><li>• Traffic</li><li>• Weather</li><li>• World</li></ul>
Genres
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Advocacy</li><li>• Analytic</li><li>• Blogging</li><li>• Broadcast</li></ul>

• Citizen
• Civic
• Collaborative
• Comics-based
• Community
• Database
• Gonzo
• Immersion
• Investigative
• Literary
• Muckraking
• Narrative
• "New Journalism"
• Non-profit
• Online
• Opinion
• Peace
• Photojournalism
• Scientific
• Visual
• Watchdog
<b>Social impact</b>
• Fourth Estate
• Freedom of the press
• Infotainment
• Media bias
• Public relations
• Press service
• Propaganda model
• Yellow journalism
<b>News media</b>
• Newspapers
• Magazines
• TV and radio
• Internet
• News agencies
• Alternative media
<b>Roles</b>
• Journalists (reporters)
• Columnist
• Blogger
• Editor
• Copy editor
• Meteorologist
• Presenter (news)
• Photographer
• Pundit / commentator
• <b>Category: Journalism</b>

**Managing the news** refers to acts that are intended to influence the presentation of information within the news media. The expression *managing the news* is often used in a negative sense. For example, people or organizations that wish to lessen the publicity concerning bad news may choose to release the information late on a Friday, giving journalists less time to pursue the story. Staying "on message" is a technique intended to limit questions and attention to a narrow scope favorable to the subject.

An example cited by the Communication, Cultural and Media Studies infobase regards a February 1996 Scott Report on arms sales to Iraq. In the United Kingdom, the report was given early to certain officials.

## Sources

- News management <sup>[1]</sup> entry from the Communication, Cultural and Media Studies infobase, part of Cultsock
- Penny Starr and Fred Lucas. "Helen Thomas: Not Even Nixon Tried to Control the Media Like Obama <sup>[2]</sup>", CNSnews.com, 1 July 2009. Retrieved 19 February 2011.
- Helen Thomas. *Watchdogs of democracy?*, ISBN 978-0-7432-6781-6. Chapter 5: "Spinning the News".

## References

[1] <http://www.cultsock.ndirect.co.uk/MUHome/cshtml/popups/newsman.html>

[2] <http://www.cnsnews.com/node/50445>

# News propaganda

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Journalism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• News</li> <li>• Writing style</li> <li>• Ethics</li> <li>• Objectivity</li> <li>• Values</li> <li>• Attribution</li> <li>• Defamation</li> <li>• Editorial independence</li> <li>• Journalism school</li> <li>• List of journalism articles</li> </ul>
Areas
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arts</li> <li>• Business</li> <li>• Data</li> <li>• Entertainment</li> <li>• Environment</li> <li>• Fashion</li> <li>• Medicine</li> <li>• Politics</li> <li>• Science</li> <li>• Sports</li> <li>• Technology</li> <li>• Trade</li> <li>• Traffic</li> <li>• Weather</li> </ul>

•	World
<b>Genres</b>	
•	Advocacy
•	Analytic
•	Blogging
•	Broadcast
•	Citizen
•	Civic
•	Collaborative
•	Comics-based
•	Community
•	Database
•	Gonzo
•	Immersion
•	Investigative
•	Literary
•	Muckraking
•	Narrative
•	"New Journalism"
•	Non-profit
•	Online
•	Opinion
•	Peace
•	Photojournalism
•	Scientific
•	Visual
•	Watchdog
<b>Social impact</b>	
•	Fourth Estate
•	Freedom of the press
•	Infotainment
•	Media bias
•	Public relations
•	Press service
•	Propaganda model
•	Yellow journalism
<b>News media</b>	
•	Newspapers
•	Magazines
•	TV and radio
•	Internet
•	News agencies
•	Alternative media
<b>Roles</b>	
•	Journalists (reporters)
•	Columnist
•	Blogger
•	Editor
•	Copy editor
•	Meteorologist



• Presenter (news)
• Photographer
• Pundit / commentator
• <b>Category: Journalism</b>

**News propaganda** is a type of propaganda covertly packaged as credible news, but without sufficient transparency concerning the news item's source and the motivation behind its release. Transparency of the source is one parameter critical to distinguish between news propaganda and traditional news press releases and video news releases.

As with any propaganda, news propaganda may be spread for widely different reasons including governance, political or ideological motivations, partisan agendas, religious or ethnic reasons, and commercial or business motivations; their purposes are not always clear. News propaganda also can be motivated by national security reasons, especially in times of war or domestic upheaval.

## United Kingdom

### Government produced "news"

The UK Foreign Office, which spent £340m on propaganda activities in the UK alone in 2001 [1], previously funded British Satellite News, a free television news and feature service. Production of British Satellite News ceased in September 2009.

The Foreign Office is also the primary funder of the BBC World Service, but as part of the BBC it has complete editorial and managerial independence.

## United States

### Government produced "news"

In the United States, according to a report by Pulitzer-prize winning journalist David Barstow in *The New York Times*, the George W. Bush administration has been increasingly criticized for the aggressive use of a tool typical of public relations: previously prepared, ready-to-serve news that big corporations regularly distribute to TV stations in order to sell products or services<sup>[citation needed]</sup>. What is referred to by the report as propaganda is usually distributed through the use of a Video news release (or VNR).

A *New York Times* editorial (March 16, 2005) entitled "And now, the counterfeit news" affirms that at least 20 U.S. federal agencies, like the Department of Defense and the U.S. Census Bureau, produced and distributed hundreds of TV news reports since 2001 that were aired as if they were produced by the media. The same report says that this practice was also utilized by the Clinton Administration. Another report [2] details the use of this practice by the United States Department of Agriculture.

## Greece

During the 2010 financial crisis in Greece, the media openly played a protecting role towards the government. Mainly the news program of Mega Channel has been criticised by many other media as well as political parties as playing a role as part of the government propaganda in favour of the International Monetary Fund.

## External links

### Sources

- *The Guardian* David Miller: "The propaganda we pass off as news around the world" <sup>[1]</sup> February 15, 2006
- *New York Times* editorial: And now, the counterfeit news <sup>[3]</sup> - March 16, 2005, by David Barstow and Robin Stein.

### Further reference

- Journalists challenge license of Fox TV in Tampa on evidence of false and distorted news reports <sup>[4]</sup> - from Mindfully.org <sup>[5]</sup>. Journalists Jane Akre and Steve Wilson vs. WTVT Fox-13 in Tampa. Jan 3, 2005.
- Florida station facing consequences for not airing complete BGH story <sup>[6]</sup> - from NewFarm.org <sup>[7]</sup>.
- Military news programs secure a public outlet <sup>[8]</sup> - published on March 9, 2005, by the St. Petersburg Times <sup>[9]</sup>. Tampa Bay Area Government-access television (GATV) channels Air Defense Department programming that also goes to military bases and features anchors in uniform.
- The Boston Globe – Patricia Smith’s virtual reality <sup>[10]</sup> - article by TransparencyNow.com <sup>[11]</sup>.
- Drug Control Office faulted for issuing fake news tapes <sup>[12]</sup> - published on Jan 7, 2005, by The Washington Post <sup>[13]</sup>, written by Ceci Connolly.
- How to write distorted news – NY Times vs. Washington Post <sup>[14]</sup> - from Rasmusen Weblog. July 22, 2004.
- Fake news, fake reporter <sup>[15]</sup> - by Eric Boehlert (Salon.com <sup>[16]</sup>). Feb. 10, 2005.
- Wanted : 250,000 Americans to fight fake news and government propaganda <sup>[17]</sup> - from the Center for Media and Democracy, publishers of PRWatch.org <sup>[18]</sup>.
- sniggle.net: News Trolls <sup>[19]</sup> - brief descriptions of historical examples of fake news items originating both inside and outside the newsroom
- Press release about the Federal Propaganda Prohibition Act of 2005 <sup>[20]</sup>, legislation proposed by Congresswoman Rosa DeLauro

### Media watchdog organizations

- Accuracy in Media <sup>[21]</sup> watchdog group with a self-proclaimed Conservative bias
- DemocracyNow.org <sup>[22]</sup>
- FAIR.org <sup>[23]</sup> - Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting; Media watchdog group with a self-proclaimed Liberal bias
- MediaChannel.org affiliates <sup>[24]</sup> - A list of over 1,100 Internet communities around the world focused on media issues.
- Media Matters for America - Media watchdog group founded by David Brock
- MediaWatch.com <sup>[25]</sup> - 20 years of activism
- PR Watch.org <sup>[26]</sup> - published by the Center for Media and Democracy
- SpinWatch <sup>[27]</sup> monitoring PR and spin
- Transparency Now : Media criticism and news ethics <sup>[28]</sup>

## Movies with related themes

- Wag the Dog (1997) <sup>[29]</sup>
- The Insider (1999) <sup>[30]</sup>
- The Power of Nightmares

## References

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# Newspeak

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**Newspeak** is the fictional language in the novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, written by George Orwell. It is a controlled language created by the totalitarian state as a tool to limit free thought, and concepts that pose a threat to the regime such as freedom, self-expression, individuality, peace, etc. Any form of thought alternative to the party's construct is classified as "thoughtcrime."

Newspeak is explained in chapters 4 and 5 of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, and in an appendix to the book. The language follows, for the most part, the same grammatical rules as English, but has a much more limiting, and constantly shifting vocabulary. Any synonyms or antonyms, along with undesirable concepts are eradicated. The goal is for everyone to be speaking this language by the year 2050 (the story is set in the year 1984—hence the title). In the mean time, Oldspeak (current English) is still spoken among the Proles — the working-class citizens of Oceania.

Orwell was inspired to invent Newspeak by the constructed language Basic English, which he promoted from 1942 to 1944 before emphatically rejecting it in his essay "Politics and the English Language". In this paper he deplores the bad English of his day, citing dying metaphors, pretentious diction or rhetoric, and meaningless words, which he claimed to encourage unclear thought and reasoning. Towards the end of the essay, Orwell states: "I said earlier that the decadence of our language is probably curable. Those who deny this would argue, if they produced an argument at all, that language merely reflects existing social conditions, and that we cannot influence its development by any direct tinkering with words or constructions."

Newspeak's contracted forms, such as *Ingsoc* and *Minitrue*, are inspired by the Russian syllabic abbreviations used for concepts relating to the government and society of the USSR, such as *politburo*, *Comintern*, *kolkhoz* (collective farm) and *Komsomol* (Young Communists' League), many of which found their way into the speech of Communists in other countries.

## Basic principles

### To remove synonyms and antonyms

The aim of Newspeak is to remove all shades of meaning from language, leaving simple concepts (pleasure and pain, happiness and sadness, goodthink and crimethink) that reinforce the total dominance of the State. Newspeak root words serve as both nouns and verbs, further reducing the total number of words; for example, "think" is both noun and verb, so the word *thought* is not required and can be abolished. The party also intends that Newspeak be spoken in staccato rhythms with syllables that are easy to pronounce. This will make speech more automatic and unconscious and reduce the likelihood of thought. (See duckspeak.)

In addition, words with negative meanings are removed as redundant, so "bad" becomes "ungood". Words with comparative and superlative meanings are also simplified, so "better" becomes "plusgood", and "best" becomes "doubleplus good". Intensifiers can be added, so "great" became "plusgood", and "excellent" and "splendid" become "doubleplus good". This ambiguity between comparative/superlative forms and intensified forms is one of the few examples of ambiguity in Newspeak.

Adjectives are formed by adding the suffix "-ful" to a root word (e.g., "goodthinkful", orthodox in thought), and adverbs by adding "-wise" ("goodthinkwise", in an orthodox manner). This would, of course, not prevent heretical statements such as "Big Brother is ungood," but not only would this statement sound absurd in the ears of the politically orthodox, it would also be impossible to understand exactly what the statement means since all concepts and words that can be used to argue against Big Brother would be eradicated from the language.

Some of the constructions in Newspeak, such as "ungood," are characteristic of agglutinative languages, although foreign to English. It is possible that Orwell modeled aspects of Newspeak on Esperanto; for example, "ungood" is constructed similarly to the Esperanto word *malbona*. Orwell had been exposed to Esperanto in 1927 when living in

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Paris with his aunt Ellen Kate Limouzin and her husband Eugène Lanti, a prominent Esperantist. Esperanto was the language of the house, and Orwell was disadvantaged by not speaking it, which may account for some antipathy towards the language.

## To control thought

According to George Orwell, "The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees of IngSoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible. Its vocabulary was so constructed as to give exact and often very subtle expression to every meaning that a Party member could properly wish to express, while excluding all other meaning and also the possibility of arriving at them by indirect methods. This was done partly by the invention of new words, but chiefly by eliminating undesirable words and stripping such words as remained of unorthodox meanings, and so far as possible of all secondary meaning whatever." The idea that language influences worldview is linguistic relativity.

For example, the word "free" still existed in Newspeak but could only be used in terms of something not being possessed as in, "the dog is free from lice" or, "this field is free from weeds." It could not be used in terms of being able to do as one pleases, as in "free choice" or "free will" since these concepts no longer existed. Newspeak was designed not to extend but to diminish the range of thought, and this purpose was indirectly assisted by cutting the choice of words down to a minimum. Any redundancies in the English language were removed.

As Orwell further states, "By 2050—earlier, probably—all real knowledge of Oldspeak will have disappeared. The whole literature of the past will have been destroyed. Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron—they'll exist only in Newspeak versions, not merely changed into something different, but actually contradictory of what they used to be. Even the literature of the Party will change. Even the slogans will change. How could you have a slogan like "freedom is slavery" when the concept of freedom has been abolished? The whole climate of thought will be different. In fact there will *be* no thought, as we understand it now. Orthodoxy means not thinking—not needing to think. Orthodoxy is unconsciousness."

Some examples of Newspeak from the novel include *crimethink*, *doublethink*, and *Ingsoc*. They mean, respectively, "thought-crime," "accepting as correct two mutually contradictory beliefs" and "English socialism" (the official political philosophy of the Party). The word *Newspeak* itself also comes from the language.

Generically, *Newspeak* has come to mean any attempt to restrict disapproved language by a government or other powerful entity.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Vocabulary and Grammar

In Orwell's novel, Newspeak attempts to influence thought by consolidating (decreasing) the expressiveness of the English language. In keeping with these principles, the following words serve as both nouns and verbs. Thus, *crimethink* is both the noun meaning "thoughtcrime" and the verb meaning "to commit thoughtcrime." To form an adjective, one adds the suffix "-ful" (e.g., *crimethinkful*) and to form an adverb, "-wise" (e.g., *crimethinkwise*).

There are some irregular forms, like the adjectival forms of *Minitrue*, *Minipax*, *Miniplenty*, and *Miniluv* (Ministry of Truth, Ministry of Peace, Ministry of Plenty, and Ministry of Love, respectively — all ministries of the active government in 1984). To say that something or someone is the best, Newspeak uses *doubleplusgood*, while the worst would be *doubleplusungood* (e.g., "Big Brother is *doubleplusgood*, Emmanuel Goldstein is *doubleplusungood*").

## **"Bellyfeel"**

The word bellyfeel refers to a blind, enthusiastic acceptance of an idea.

"Consider, for example, such a typical sentence from a Times leading article as 'Oldthinkers unbellyfeel Ingsoc.' The shortest rendering one could make of this in Oldspeak would be: 'Those whose ideas were formed before the Revolution cannot have a full emotional understanding of the principles of English Socialism.' But this is not an adequate translation.... Only a person thoroughly grounded in Ingsoc could appreciate the full force of the word bellyfeel, which implied a blind, enthusiastic and casual acceptance difficult to imagine today." -Orwell's 1984 appendix

## **"Blackwhite"**

Blackwhite is defined as follows:

"...this word has two mutually contradictory meanings. Applied to an opponent, it means the habit of impudently claiming that black is white, in contradiction of the plain facts. Applied to a Party member, it means a loyal willingness to say that black is white when Party discipline demands this. But it means also the ability to believe that black is white, and more, to know that black is white, and to forget that one has ever believed the contrary. This demands a continuous alteration of the past, made possible by the system of thought which really embraces all the rest, and which is known in Newspeak as doublethink." —Orwell, 1984

The word is an example of Newspeak and doublethink. It represents the active process of rewriting the past — a vital aspect of the Party's control over the present. The ability to blindly believe anything, regardless of its absurdity, can have different causes: respect for authority, fear, indoctrination, even critical laziness or gullibility.

Orwell's blackwhite refers only to that caused by fear, indoctrination or repression of one's individual critical thinking ("to know black is white"), rather than caused by laziness or gullibility. A true Party member could automatically, and without thought, expunge any "incorrect" information and totally replace it with "true" information from the Party. If properly done, there is no memory or recovery of the "incorrect" information that could cause unhappiness to the Party member by committing thoughtcrime.

## **"Crimethink"**

Crimethink is the Newspeak word for thoughtcrime (thoughts that are unorthodox or outside the official government platform), as well as the verb meaning "to commit thoughtcrime." Goodthink, which is approved by the Party, is the opposite of crimethink. In the book, Winston Smith, the main character, writes in his diary,

"Thoughtcrime does not entail death: thoughtcrime IS death." —Orwell, 1984

## **"Duckspeak"**

Duckspeak is a Newspeak term meaning literally to quack like a duck or to speak without thinking. Duckspeak can be good or "ungood" (bad) depending on who is speaking, and whether what they are saying aligns with the ideals of Big Brother. To speak rubbish and lies may be ungood, but to speak rubbish and lies for the good of The Party may be good. In the appendix to 1984, Orwell explains:

"Ultimately it was hoped to make articulate speech issue from the larynx without involving the higher brain centres at all. This aim was frankly admitted in the Newspeak word duckspeak [...]. Like various words in the B vocabulary, duckspeak was ambivalent in meaning. Provided that the opinions which were quacked out were orthodox ones, it implied nothing but praise, and when the Times referred to one of the orators of the Party as a doubleplusgood duckspeaker it was paying a warm and valued compliment." —Orwell, 1984

An example of duckspeak in action is provided in chapter 9, when an Inner Party speaker is haranguing the crowd about the crimes of Eurasia when a note is passed into his hand. He never stops speaking or changes his inflection, but (according to the changed Party position) he now condemns the crimes of Eastasia, which is Oceania's new

enemy.

### **"Goodsex" & "Sexcrime"**

Goodsex is any form of sex considered acceptable by the Party. Specifically, this refers only to married heterosexual sex for the exclusive purpose of providing new children for the Party. All other forms of sex are considered sexcrime.

### **"Ownlife"**

Ownlife refers to the tendency to enjoy being solitary or individualistic, which is considered subversive. Winston Smith comments that even to go for a walk by oneself can be regarded as suspicious.

### **"Unperson"**

An unperson is someone who has been "vaporized" — not only killed by the state, but erased from existence. Such a person would be written out of existing books, photographs and articles so that no trace of his existence could be found in the historical record. The idea is that such a person would, according to the principles of doublethink, be forgotten completely (for it would be impossible to provide evidence of his existence), even by close friends and family.

Mentioning his name, or even speaking of his past existence, is thoughtcrime; the concept that the person may have existed at one time and has disappeared cannot be expressed in Newspeak.

### **PREFIXES**

"Un-" is a Newspeak prefix used for negation. It is used as a prefix to make the word negative, since there are no antonyms in Newspeak. For example, warm becomes uncold. It is often decided to keep the word with a more unpleasant nuance to it when diminishing vocabulary. Therefore, cold is preferred to unwarm or unhot, and dark is preferred to unlight.[2] The Party's choice for the less pleasant versions of an antonym may be interpreted as a way of rendering its subjects depressive and pessimistic, as well as to limit and suppress unorthodox thought.

On the other hand, the Party also controls one's ability to think negatively by sometimes allowing only the positive term preceded by "un-." For example, the concept of "bad" can be expressed only with ungood. When placed before a verb, "un-" becomes a negative imperative; for example, unproceed means "do not proceed."

- "Ante-" is added to a word in place of using the word "before" (and literally means 'before' in Latin). For example, "antefiling" would mean "before filing."
- "Plus-" is an intensifier, in place of "more" or the suffix "-er" (in some situations). Thus, great or better becomes plusgood.
- "Doubleplus-" further intensifies "plus-," so doubleplusgood is used in place of excellent or best.

### **SUFFIXES**

"-ful" is a Newspeak suffix used to turn another word into an adjective. For example, rapid would be rendered as speedful.

"-ed" is the only method of making a non-auxiliary verb past tense in the A-vocabulary. This decreases the number of words required to express tenses by removing irregular conjugations. Run becomes runned, drink becomes drank, etc.

"-wise" is a Newspeak suffix used to turn another word into an adverb; for example, quickly would be speedwise. Therefore "He ran very quickly" would become "He runned plus-speedwise."

### **ETC.**

(Many of these are only part of the "abbreviated jargon — not actually Newspeak, but consisting largely of Newspeak words — used in the Ministry for Internal Purposes," described by Orwell in chapter 4.)

- Artsem: Artificial insemination.
- BB: Big Brother.
- Crimestop: To rid oneself of unwanted thoughts, i.e., thoughts that interfere with the ideology of the Party. This way, a person avoids committing thoughtcrime.
- Dayorder: Order of the day.
- Equal: Only used to describe physical equality such as height and size. It does not refer to social, political or economical equality because there is no such concept as social inequality in purportedly egalitarianistic Ingsoc.
- Facecrime: An indication that a person is guilty of thoughtcrime based on their facial expression.
- Free: Meaning negative freedom (without), in a physical sense. Only used in statements like "This dog is free from lice," as the concepts of "political freedom" and "intellectual freedom" do not exist in Newspeak.
- Goodthink: Vaguely translatable to orthodox thought.
- Ingsoc: English Socialism.
- Issue: Children produced by goodsex.
- Joycamp: Forced labor camp.
- Malquoted: Flaws or inaccurate presentations of Party or Big Brother-related matters by the press.
- Miniluv: "Ministry of Love" (secret police, interrogation and torture).
- Minipax: "Ministry of Peace" (Ministry of War, cf: 'Department of Defense' vs. 'War Department').
- Minitrue: "Ministry of Truth" (propaganda and alteration of history, culture and entertainment).
- Miniplenty: "Ministry of Plenty" (keeping the population in a state of constant economic hardship).
- Oldspeak: English; perhaps any language that is not Newspeak.
- Oldthink: Ideas inspired by events or memories of times prior to the Revolution.
- Pornosec: Subunit of the Fiction Department of the Ministry of Truth that produces pornography for proles.
- Prolefeed: The steady stream of mindless entertainment produced to distract and occupy the masses. The prole in prolefeed is reference to the Marxist concept of the proletariat.
- Recdep: "Records Department" (division of the Ministry of Truth that deals with the rectification of records; department in which Winston works).
- Rectify: Used by the Ministry of Truth as a euphemism for the deliberate alteration of the past.
- Ref: To refer (to).
- Sec: Sector.
- Speakwrite: An instrument used by Party members to note or "write" down information by speaking into an apparatus as a faster alternative to an "ink pencil." It is used in the Ministry of Truth by the protagonist Winston Smith.
- Telescreen: Television and security camera-like devices used by the ruling Party in Oceania to keep its subjects under constant surveillance.
- Thinkpol: The Thought Police.
- Upsub: Submit to higher authority. In one scene in the novel, Winston Smith is instructed to alter a document to conform with the Party line and submit it to his superiors before filing it: ("rewrite fullwise upsub antefiling").
- Yp: year plan.

## A, B AND C VOCABULARY

The "A" group of words deals with simple concepts needed in everyday life (such as eating, drinking, working, cooking, etc.). It is almost entirely made of words that already exist in the English language.

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The "B" group of words is deliberately constructed to convey more complicated ideas. The words in this group are compound words with political implications and aim to impose the mental attitude of the Party upon the speaker. For example, the Newspeak word "goodthink" roughly means "orthodoxy." The B words were in all cases compound words. They consisted of two or more words, or portions of words, welded together in an easily pronounceable form. The resulting amalgam was always a noun-verb and inflected according to the ordinary rules.

The "C" group of words deals with technical vocabulary and is supplementary to the other two groups. Since the Party does not want its people to have knowledge of more than one restricted subject, there is no Newspeak word for "science" as a whole. There are separate words for different fields.

## Impact of Newspeak

The advantages of Newspeak are its means of preserving the secrets of the Party, preventing politically motivated actions, and promoting the use of politically correct terms. Its disadvantages include the Party using censorship and glamorization of themselves, compromised freedom of speech, and the prevention of the flow of ideas for the citizens of Oceania, who are controlled by this reduction in their language.

Words created to soften the blow of something taboo quickly absorb any negative connotations they were meant to avoid in the first place. Steven Pinker, a linguist at Harvard University, calls this the "euphemism treadmill," also known as pejoration. By creating such euphemisms, Newspeak only creates a new generation of derogatory terms. As stated by Pinker in his article *The Game of the Name*, "the euphemism treadmill shows that concepts, not words, are in charge: give a concept a new name, and the name becomes colored by the concept; the concept does not become freshened by the name."

In expressing their opinions and concerns, the Party exercises the same rights librarians seek to protect when they confront censorship. In making their criticisms known, characters such as Winston and Julia who object to certain ideas are exercising the same rights as those who created and disseminated the material to which they object. Their rights to voice opinions and efforts to persuade others to adopt those opinions is protected only if the rights of persons to express ideas they despise are also protected.

Due to the Party's control of the English language, such limited language limits the thoughts of the people. Without the means to express thoughts much deeper than "I feel good" or "I feel ungood," there is no means to successfully commit a thought crime and even if it was committed, there is no way many people would understand enough to follow and take action. Free speech is limited as the dictionary slims down with each new edition and words continue to be limited or taken out. There is not much difference between this action and reducing the population that could actually read the word "dictionary" if the book was placed in front of them. Without the ability to read or write, the illiterate cannot effectively know how to protect themselves from the loss of this freedom that they may not realize they even have.

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[1] OED: "any corrupt form of English; esp. ambiguous or euphemistic language as used in official pronouncements or political propaganda."

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# Plain folks

"**Plain Folks**" is a form of propaganda and is also a fallacy.<sup>[1]</sup>

A Plain Folks argument is one in which the speaker presents him or herself as an Average Joe, a common person who can understand and empathize with a listener's concerns. The most important part of this appeal is the speaker's portrayal of themselves as someone who has had a similar experience, to the listener, and knows why they may be skeptical or cautious about accepting the speaker's point of view. In this way, the speaker gives the audience a sense of trust and comfort, believing that the speaker and the audience share common goals and that they thus should agree with the speaker. Also using an "ordinary background," such as a park or a building, depending on the item you are advertising, will usually give it a higher possibility of more customers.

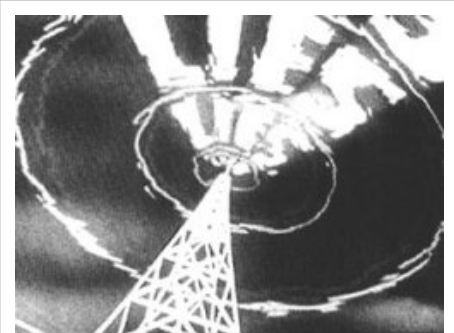
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# Propaganda film

A **propaganda film** is a film that involves some form of propaganda. Propaganda films may be packaged in numerous ways, but are most often documentary-style productions or fictional screenplays, that are produced to convince the viewer on a specific political point or influence the opinions or behavior of the viewer, often by providing subjective content that may be deliberately misleading.<sup>[1]</sup>

Propaganda can be defined as the ability "to produce and spread fertile messages that, once sown, will germinate in large human cultures."<sup>[2]</sup> However, in the 20th century, a "new" propaganda emerged, which revolved around political organizations and their need to communicate messages that would "sway relevant groups of people in order to accommodate their agendas".<sup>[3]</sup> First developed by the Lumiere brothers in 1896, film provided a unique means of accessing large audiences at once. Film was the first universal mass medium in that it could simultaneously influence viewers as individuals and members of a crowd, which led to it quickly becoming a tool for governments and non-state organizations to project a desired ideological message.<sup>[4]</sup> As Nancy Snow stated in her book, *Information War: American Propaganda, Free Speech and Opinion Control Since 9-11*, propaganda "begins where critical thinking ends."



The *Why We Fight* Series depicts the Nazi propaganda machine.

## Film as a propaganda tool

Film is a unique medium in that it reproduces images, movement, and sound in a lifelike manner as it fuses meaning with evolvment as time passes in the story depicted. Unlike many other art forms, film produces a sense of immediacy. Film's ability to create the illusion of life and reality, opening up new, unknown perspectives on the world, is why films, especially those of unknown cultures or places, are taken to be accurate depictions of life.

Some film academics have noted film's great illusory abilities. Dziga Vertov claimed in his 1924 manifesto, "The Birth of Kino-Eye" that "the cinema-eye is cinema-truth." To paraphrase Hilmar Hoffman, this means that in film, only what the camera 'sees' exists, and the viewer, lacking alternative perspectives, conventionally takes the image for reality.

Films are effective propaganda tools because they establish visual icons of historical reality and consciousness, define public attitudes of the time they're depicting or that at which they were filmed, mobilize people for a common cause, or bring attention to an unknown cause. Political and historical films represent, influence, and create historical consciousness and are able to distort events making it a persuasive and possibly untrustworthy medium.

## History

At the turn of the 20th century, films emerged as the new cultural agents, depicting events and showing foreign images to mass audiences in European and American cities. Politics and film began to intertwine with the reconstruction of the Boer War for a film audience and recordings of war in the Balkans. The new medium proved very useful for political and military interests when it came to reaching a broad segment of the population and creating consent or encouraging rejection of the real or imagined enemy. They also provided a forceful voice for independent critics of contemporary events.

The earliest known propaganda film was a series of short silent films made during the Spanish American War in 1898 created by Vitagraph Studios.

At an epic 120 min running time, the 1912 Romanian *Independența României* is the first fictional film in the world with a deliberate propagandistic message. Filmed with a budget that will not be reached by a Romanian movie until 1970 (*Michael the Brave*, supported by the Romanian communist regime also for propagandistic purposes), the movie was meant to shift the perception of the Romanian public towards an acceptance of Romanian involvement into an expected Balkan conflict (the First Balkan War).<sup>[5]</sup>

Another of the early fictional films to be used for propaganda was *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), although it was not produced for the purposes of indoctrination.

## World War I

Film was still relatively new to urban audiences with the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Governments' use of film as propaganda reflected this. The British and Americans' initial struggles in the official use of film led to eventual success in their use of the medium. The Germans were off to a faster start in recognizing film's value as a tool of perpetuating pro-German sentiment in the US through the The American Correspondent Film Company as well as on the front lines with their mobile cinemas, which showed feature films and newsreels.

Though the Allied governments were slow to use film as a medium for conveying a desired position and set of beliefs, individuals, such as Charlie Chaplin were considerably more successful with *The Bond* and *Zepped*.

## Interwar period

In the years following the October Revolution of 1917, the Soviet government sponsored the Russian film industry with the purpose of making propaganda films. The development of Russian cinema in the 1920s by such filmmakers as Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein saw considerable progress in the use of the motion picture as a propaganda tool, yet it also served to develop the art of moviemaking. Eisenstein's films, in particular 1925's *The Battleship Potemkin*, are seen as masterworks of the cinema, even as they glorify Eisenstein's Communist ideals. In depicting the 1905 Russian Revolution *Potemkin* sought to create a new history for Russia, one led and triumphed over by the formerly oppressed masses. Eisenstein was heavily influenced



A baby in a carriage falling down the Potemkin  
Stairs in the iconic scene of *The Battleship  
Potemkin*

by the ideology of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, which results in it providing better insight into the mindset of the later revolution than that which it depicted. Its dual purpose beyond forging a national Russian identity was to bring its revolutionary Communist message to the West. Its influence was feared in Germany to the extent that the government banned the film when it was released in the late 1920s. Another of Eisenstein's films, 1927's *October*, depicted the Bolshevik perspective on the October Revolution, culminating in the storming of the Winter Palace which provided Soviet viewers with the victory that the workers and peasants lacked in *Battleship Potemkin*, ending with Lenin (as played by an unknown worker) declaring that the government is overthrown. Because no documentary material existed of the storming of the palace, Eisenstein's re-creation of the event has become the source material for historians and filmmakers, giving it further legitimacy as the accepted historical record, which illustrates its success as a propaganda film.<sup>[6]</sup>

Between the Great Wars American films celebrated the bravery of the American soldiers while depicting war as an existential nightmare. Films such as *The Big Parade* depicted the horrors of trench warfare, the brutal destruction of villages, and the lack of provisions.<sup>[7]</sup>

Meanwhile, Nazi filmmakers produced highly emotional films about the suffering of the German minority in Czechoslovakia and Poland, which were crucial towards creating popular support for occupying the Sudetenland and attacking Poland. Films like the 1941 *Heimkehr* (Homecoming) depicted the plight of homesick ethnic Germans in Poland longing to return to the Reich which in turn set the psychological conditions for the real attack and acceptance of the German policy, *Lebensraum* (living space).

### **Cannabis and hemp**

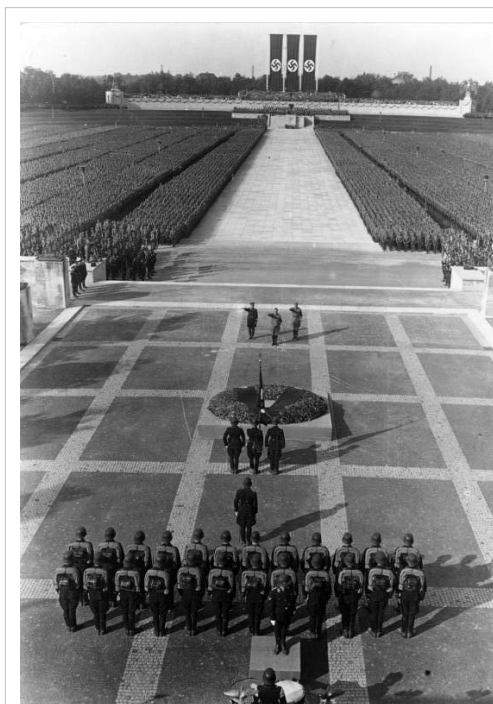
In the 1930s, anti-drug propaganda was exemplified in such films as *Reefer Madness* (1936), originally financed by a church group under the title *Tell Your Children*, was intended to be shown to parents as a morality tale attempting to teach them about the dangers of cannabis use, and *Assassin of Youth* (1937) about the supposed ill-effects of cannabis. *Hemp for Victory* (1942) promoted the benefits of hemp and encouraged farmers to grow as much as possible for the war effort.

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## World War II

The 1930s and 1940s, which saw the rise of totalitarian states and the Second World War, are arguably the "Golden Age of Propaganda". Nazi control of the German film industry is the most extreme example of the use of film in the service of a fascist national program and, in 1933, Hitler created the Reich Ministry for People's Enlightenment and Propaganda and appointed the youthful Joseph Goebbels as its head. Fritz Hippler, producer of one of the most powerful propaganda films of the time, 1940's *The Wandering Jew*, ran the film department under Goebbels. *The Wandering Jew* purported to be a documentary depicting the Jewish world, insinuating that the Jewish population consisted of avaricious barbarians putting on a front for civilized European society, remaining indifferent and unaffected by the war.<sup>[8]</sup> During this time Leni Riefenstahl, a filmmaker working in Nazi Germany, created one of the best-known propaganda movies, *Triumph of the Will*, a film commissioned by Hitler to chronicle the 1934 Nazi Party rally in Nuremberg. Despite its controversial subject, the film is still recognized for its revolutionary approach to using music and cinematography. Another of Riefenstahl's films, 1938's *Olympia*, was meant to prove that the Reichstag was a democratic and open society under Nazi rule. It had the perfect venue, the 1936 Berlin Olympics in which to showcase Adolf Hitler's Aryan ideals and prowess. One of the most notable shots in the film is Hitler congratulating the African American Jesse Owens on his four gold medals, whose successes spoiled Hitler's wish to depict those of African descent as racially inferior. The film won a number of prestigious film awards but fell from grace, particularly in the United States when, in November 1938, the world learned of the pogrom against the Jews. Riefenstahl's cinematic masterpiece, though temporarily effective propaganda, was unable to mitigate the growing awareness of the political realities in Nazi Germany.

In the United States during World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized that the direct style of propaganda would not win over the American public. He assigned Lowell Mellett to the post of coordinator of government film. Although he had no jurisdiction over Hollywood films, he pressured the industry into helping the war effort. On 13 January 1945 Mellett stated in then-confidential testimony that he was assigned to persuade the movie industry to "insert morale-building and citizenry arousing themes in its films by all means possible."<sup>[9]</sup> Luckily, many directors recognized the necessity (and likely the commercial success they would reap) of supporting the battle against fascism as public opinion lay with the war effort.<sup>[10]</sup> One such filmmaker, Frank Capra, created a seven-part U.S. government-sponsored series of films to support the war effort entitled *Why We Fight* (1942-5). This series is considered a highlight of the propaganda film genre. Other propaganda movies, such as *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo* (1944) and *Casablanca* (1942), have become so well loved by film viewers that they can stand on their own as dramatic films, apart from their original role as propaganda vehicles. Charlie Chaplin once again joined the U.S. war effort, creating *The Great Dictator* (1940), in which he played the Hitler-like character of 'Adenoid Hynkel.'



The *Totenehrung* (honouring of dead) at the 1934 Nuremberg Rally. SS leader Heinrich Himmler, Adolf Hitler and SA leader Viktor Lutze (from L to R) on the stone terrace. From *Triumph of the Will* by Leni Riefenstahl



Charlie Chaplin in the film *The Great Dictator*

Animation became popular, especially for winning over youthful audiences. Walt Disney and Looney Tunes were among those that actively aided the U.S. war effort through their cartoons which provided training and instructions for viewers as well as a political commentary on the times. One of the most popular, *Der Fuehrer's Face* (1942) was a means of relieving the aggression against Hitler by making him a somewhat comical figure while showcasing the freedom America offered. Disney's *Food Will Win the War* (1942) attempts to make US citizens feel good by using US agriculture as a means of power.<sup>[11]</sup> Also popular in the Soviet Union, the government produced such animated shorts as *What Hitler Wants*, which depicts a devilish Hitler giving Russian factories to capitalists, enslaving and riding once-free Soviet citizens, but shows that the U.S.S.R. will be prepared to fight, paying the Germans back in triplicate, ready to beat the 'fascist pirates.'

Many of the dramatic war films in the early 1940s in the United States were designed to create a patriotic mindset and convince viewers that sacrifices needed to be made to defeat "the enemy." Despite fears that too much propaganda could diminish Hollywood's entertainment appeal, reducing its targeted audience and decreasing profits, military enlistment increased and morale was considered to be higher, in part attributed to America's innovative propaganda.<sup>[12][13]</sup> One of the conventions of the genre was to depict a racial and socioeconomic cross-section of the United States, either a platoon on the front lines or soldiers training on a base, which come together to fight for the good of the country. In Italy, at the same time, film directors like Roberto Rossellini produced propaganda films for similar purposes.

Similar to Nazi Germany, the U.S.S.R. prepared its citizens for war by releasing dramas, such as *Alexander Nevsky*. The U.S.S.R. also screened films depicting partisan activity and the suffering inflicted by the Nazis, such as *Girl No. 217*, which showed a Russian girl enslaved by an inhumane German family. Films were shown on propaganda trains while newsreels were screened in subway stations to reach those who were unable to pay to see films in the theater.<sup>[14]</sup>

## Cold War

When describing life in Communist countries, western propaganda sought to depict an image of a brainwashed citizenry which was then held captive by their government. The CIA's Office of Policy Coordination adapted George Orwell's *Animal Farm* into an animated movie in 1954 that was released in England as production costs were considerably lower.<sup>[15]</sup>

During the 1960s, the United States produced propaganda films that cheerily instructed civilians how to build homemade fallout shelters, to protect themselves in the event of nuclear war.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

*Red Dawn* (1984) depicts an alternate 1980s in which the United States is invaded by the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nicaragua, and other Latin American allies of the U.S.S.R. and a group of small-town high school students engage in guerrilla warfare in their resistance of the occupation, eventually beating the communists. It has been considered by some to be right-wing propaganda.

*Pork Chop Hill* (1959) was the most notable 1950s American anti-war propaganda piece about the Korean war. Milestone was known for his previous anti-war films, including 1930's *All Quiet on the Western Front* and *Shangganling* (The Battle of Sangkumryung Ridge or Triangle Hill; 1956), which was the most influential film on the Chinese in that era. Both *Pork Chop Hill* and *Shangganling* depict a single battle in which a small dedicated unit defends a small holdout with very little hope of reprieve. Like all propaganda the importance of the film is not the battle itself but the outstanding characteristics of such individuals who would commit such acts of patriotism for their home and country.<sup>[16]</sup>

## Post-9/11

Over 100 years since its creation, film continues to resonate with viewers and helps influence or reinforce a particular viewpoint. Following the 9/11 attacks, many Americans were split on the success of the government's response and the ensuing war in Afghanistan and Iraq. Similar to the Vietnam War, filmmakers expressed their view of the attacks and feelings about the war through films, most notably, *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004). The film sparked debate across the country, presenting mixed assessments on the role of the U.S. government and its response along with the controversy that normally arises when depicting recent, traumatic events. Director Michael Moore omits footage of the planes striking the Twin Towers, cutting directly to the aftermath and destruction. Alan Petersen's *Fahrenheit 9/11* was released in response to *Fahrenheit 9/11*'s success in theaters. Petersen called *Fahrenheit 9/11* "the Road Runner of manipulation...removing all avenues of thought through over-determination...leaving no room for the viewer's own judgment." It received considerably less press and screentime than Moore's controversial piece.

Ayman al-Zawahiri stated that "We are in a media battle for the hearts and minds of our *umma* [community] of Muslims." Towards winning the hearts and minds of the MENA region, Al-Qaeda and its affiliates have produced propaganda films and documentaries depicting jihadist attacks, last will and testament videos, training, and interviews, all meant to boost morale among supporters. Al-Qaeda established a Media Committee early in its inception to handle traditional Western and Arab media as well as create an online media presence, which was established through the multi-media company as-Sahab in 2001. The company, which produces documentary-like films and operational videos for Afghanistan is known for its technological sophistication, cinematic effects, and their efforts to reach the west with translations and subtitling. Its operational videos were serialized in *Pyre for Americans in Khorasan* [Afghanistan]. Other productions in North Africa include *Apostate in Hell*, a Somali film produced by al-Fajr Media Center includes interviews with Somali jihadists, training of fighters, preparation for an attack, and actual operations. It along with many other al-Qaeda videos is distributed by Arabic jihadist websites as that community relies on the Internet to a high degree to disseminate information to followers.

## Food, health, and beyond

Elements of propaganda films can also be incorporated into films that have messages that seek to implement positive change within society.<sup>[17]</sup> However, what one generation may see as positive, later generations may experience negative effects from.

### Food

As mentioned previously, Walt Disney's *Food Will Win the War* (1942) attempts to make US citizens feel good by using US agriculture as a means of power. In 1943, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) introduced its "Basic 7" nutrition guide (a precursor to the food pyramid). In the same year, the United States Office of War Information released *Food for Fighters* about the importance of nutrition in wartime.<sup>[18]</sup> Between the 1940s and 1970s the Green Revolution increased agriculture production around the world which led to further increases in farm size and a reduction in the number of farms. Advances in fertilizers, herbicides, insecticides, fungicides, antibiotics, and growth hormones, reduced crop wastage due to weeds, insects, and diseases at the expense of health and safety from agricultural pollution. *Good Eating Habits* (1951) by Coronet Films is a drama focusing on gluttony and "hidden hunger," where well-nourished people eat poorly and malnourish themselves.<sup>[19]</sup> *Miracles From Agriculture* (1960) from the USDA presents then supermarkets as the showplaces of agriculture, discussing methods of improvement in the growing, handling, processing, and shipping of food products and the cooperative assistance offered by agricultural and food-processing research centers; the film also hypothesizes that a nation grows according to the productivity of its agriculture.<sup>[20]</sup>

Since the 1990s to the present, responses to mad-cow disease, genetically modified foods, flu epidemics in pigs and birds, and an increase in foodborne illness outbreaks, agricultural pollution, and Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs) have led people to question where their food comes from and what is actually in it. The use of antibiotics and hormones in cattle and birds, artificial food additives like artificial colors/flavors, artificial sweeteners



like high-fructose corn syrup and aspartame, artificial preservatives, etc., prompted "propaganda" films like *Super Size Me* (2004),<sup>[21]</sup> *King Corn* (2007), *Food, Inc.* (2008), *Forks Over Knives* (2011), and others to promote food awareness, organic farming and eating local organic food, reducing and eliminating pesticides, herbicides, fungicides, and synthetic fertilizers, and adopting a vegan and/or raw food diet.

### Health

Health and medical propaganda films include *The Pace That Kills* (1935, cocaine), *The Terrible Truth* (1951, Sid Davis, anti-marijuana/heroin), *Case Study* series by Lockheed Aircraft Corporation (1969, amphetamines, barbituates, heroine, LSD),<sup>[22]</sup> *Hoxsey: Quacks Who Cure Cancer* (1988) about the Hoxsey Therapy,<sup>[23]</sup> *The Beautiful Truth* (2008) about the Gerson method for treating cancer, the anti-vaccine *The Greater Good*,<sup>[24]</sup> *Burzynski The Movie: Cancer Is Serious Business* (2010),<sup>[25]</sup> and Michael Moore's *Sicko* (2007) about the health care industry.

### Other

Other propaganda film topics include Cannabis and hemp, *Are You Popular?* (1947, Coronet Films, popularity), *The Spirit of '43* (1943, Disney, income taxes) with Donald Duck, *Boys Beware* (1961, anti-homosexuality), *Perversion for Profit* (1965, anti-pornography), *The Secret* (2006), a self-help film about the metaphysical concept of the law of attraction, and *Expelled: No Intelligence Allowed* (2008) about intelligent design.

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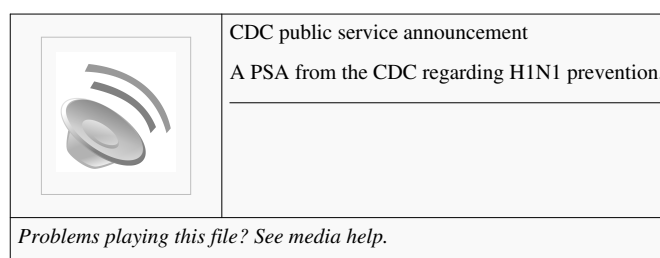
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## External links

- *Propaganda Filmmaker: Make Your Own Propaganda Film* (<http://americanimage.unm.edu/propagandafilmmaker.html>)
- *PropagandaCritic Video Gallery* (<http://www.propagandacritic.com/gallery/>)
- *Empire-Hollywood: Chronicler of War* ([http://www.therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=33&Itemid=74&jumival=657](http://www.therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=33&Itemid=74&jumival=657)), a look at the Pentagon's influence on the film industry (2 videos 15:53 from *The Real News*)

## Public service announcement



There are many different definitions for a **public service announcement (PSA)** or **public service ad**, but the simplified version of PSAs are messages in the public interest disseminated by the media without charge, with the objective of raising awareness, changing public attitudes and behavior towards a social issue.

## In the United States

### History

The PSA in its current form was in many ways shaped by the Ad Council (initially called the War Advertising Council) during and after World War II.<sup>[1]</sup>

The Ad Council made its mark by implementing on a massive scale the idea of using advertising to influence American society on a range of fronts. Their first campaigns focused on the country's needs during World War II. After the War, the Ad Council expanded its focus to address issues such as forest fires, blood donations and highway safety.<sup>[2]</sup>

As the ads — particularly broadcast and HBO TV — became more influential and as various social problems grew in importance, public service advertising became a significant force in changing public attitudes on topics such as drinking and driving, crime abatement and various health/safety issues. While stations have never been mandated by the FCC to use a prescribed number of PSAs, they are required to prove they broadcast in the public interest and PSAs are one of the ways they meet that requirement as part of serving as a "public trustee."<sup>[3]</sup>

## Characteristics

The most common topics of PSAs are health and safety, such as the multimedia *Emergency Preparedness & Safety Tips On Air and Online* (talk radio/blog) campaign. A typical PSA is part of a public awareness campaign to inform or educate the public about an issue such as obesity or compulsive gambling. The range of possible topics has expanded over time.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

From time to time a charitable organization enlists the support of a celebrity for a PSA; examples include actress Kathryn Erbe telling people to be green and Crips gang leader Stanley Williams speaking from prison to urge youth not to join gangs. Some PSAs tell people to adopt animals instead of buying them. Protecting our Earth, also known as being green, is another example of a current PSA topic.

Some television shows featuring very special episodes made PSAs after the episodes. For example, *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* talked about child abduction in one episode, so it had a PSA about child abduction. Another example is when the original *Law & Order* did an episode about drunk driving, which had a PSA about drunk driving.

During the 1980s, a large number of American cartoon shows contained PSA's at the end of their shows. These may or may not have been relevant to the episode itself. Three of the most widely known are the closing moral segments at the end of *He-Man and the Masters of the Universe*, the "Knowing is Half the Battle" epilogues in *G.I. Joe: A Real American Hero* and the "Sonic Sez" segments from *Adventures of Sonic the Hedgehog*.

Some television PSAs have topics such as on not watching so much television, or not taking fictional shows literally; or about television, movie, or video game ratings.

## In other countries

China did not have PSAs until 1978. That PSA was about saving water, which was broadcast in Guiyang television.

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- [3] Public Service Announcements, Broadcasters, and the Public Interest: Regulatory Background and the Digital Future (<http://www.kff.org/entmedia/loader.cfm?url=/commonspot/security/getfile.cfm&pageid=13939>)

## External links

- PSA Research Center (<http://www.psaresearch.com>)
- Ad Council (<http://adcouncil.org/>)
- A History of PSAs (<http://www.psaresearch.com/bib9830.html>)
- Military PSA campaigns ([http://www.goodwillcommunications.com/gc\\_support\\_client\\_corner-frameset.asp?page=gc\\_support\\_client\\_corner-military.asp](http://www.goodwillcommunications.com/gc_support_client_corner-frameset.asp?page=gc_support_client_corner-military.asp))
- A Huffington Post article featuring nine PSAs ([http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/03/31/the-9-most-awful-and-awes\\_n\\_514991.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/03/31/the-9-most-awful-and-awes_n_514991.html))

# Revolutionary propaganda

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**Revolutionary propaganda** means dissemination of revolutionary ideas.

While the term propaganda bears a mostly negative connotation in modern English language, this did not exist in the early 20th century, when the word "propaganda" was first coined. "Revolutionary propaganda" is supposed to carry a positive connotation, something along the lines of "dissemination of ideas that will help people win their freedom".

*See also:* Agitprop

## Self-propaganda

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**Self-propaganda** is a form of propaganda and indoctrination performed by an individual or a group on oneself.

### Background

Essentially, it is the act of telling one's self (or a group telling themselves) something that they consider to be true, or to convince themselves, with the unfortunate repercussion of their having no doubts. Because of what they do to themselves, they will go over every aspect of their side of the "argument" to prove to themselves that they are right, and will refuse to look at any alternatives.<sup>[1]</sup> Self-propaganda is a form of self-deception.<sup>[2]</sup> It functions at individual and social levels: political, economic, and religious. It hides behind partial truths and ignores questions of critical thought.

The psychological process of utilizing self-propaganda can negatively influence values and beliefs,<sup>[3]</sup> and subsequent perceptions and judgments, thus becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy.

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# Social marketing

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<b>Marketing</b>	
<b>Key concepts</b>	
•	Product marketing
•	Pricing
•	Distribution
•	Service
•	Retail
•	Brand management
•	Brand licensing
•	Account-based marketing
•	Ethics
•	Effectiveness
•	Research
•	Segmentation
•	Strategy
•	Activation
•	Management
•	Dominance
•	Marketing operations
•	Social marketing
•	Identity
<b>Promotional contents</b>	
•	Advertising
•	Branding
•	Underwriting spot
•	Direct marketing
•	Personal sales
•	Product placement
•	Publicity
•	Sales promotion
•	Sex in advertising
•	Loyalty marketing
•	Mobile marketing
•	Premiums
•	Prizes
•	Corporate anniversary
•	On Hold Messaging
<b>Promotional media</b>	
•	Printing
•	Publication
•	Broadcasting
•	Out-of-home advertising
•	Internet
•	Point of sale
•	Merchandise
•	Digital marketing

- |   |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In-game advertising</li> <li>• Product demonstration</li> <li>• Word-of-mouth</li> <li>• Brand ambassador</li> <li>• Drip marketing</li> <li>• Visual merchandising</li> </ul> |
|---|

**Social marketing** seeks to develop and integrate marketing concepts with other approaches to influence behaviors that benefit individuals and communities for the greater social good. It seeks to integrate research, best practice, theory, audience and partnership insight, to inform the delivery of competition sensitive and segmented social change programs that are effective, efficient, equitable and sustainable.<sup>[1]</sup>

Although "social marketing" is sometimes seen only as using standard commercial marketing practices to achieve non-commercial goals, this is an oversimplification. The primary aim of social marketing is "social good", while in "commercial marketing" the aim is primarily "financial". This does not mean that commercial marketers can not contribute to achievement of social good.

Increasingly, social marketing is being described as having "two parents"—a "social parent", including social science and social policy approaches, and a "marketing parent", including commercial and public sector marketing approaches.

## Applications

The first documented evidence of the deliberate use of marketing to address a social issue was by the Indian Institute of Management in Calcutta, India. The authors proposed, and subsequently implemented, a national family planning program that included high quality condoms with a government trademark be distributed and sold throughout the country at a low cost, that an intense consumer advertising campaign be run with active and open promotion at the point of sale, that retailers be trained to sell the product aggressively, and that a new organization be created with the responsibility of implementing the program.<sup>[2]</sup> In developing countries, the use of social marketing expanded to HIV prevention, control of childhood diarrhea (through the use of oral re-hydration therapies), malaria control and treatment, point-of-use water sanitation methods and the provision of basic health services.<sup>[3]</sup>

Health promotion campaigns began applying social marketing in practice in the 1980s. In the United States, The National High Blood Pressure Education Program<sup>[4]</sup> and the community heart disease prevention studies in Pawtucket, Rhode Island and at Stanford University<sup>[5]</sup> demonstrated the effectiveness of the approach to address population-based risk factor behavior change. Notable early developments also took place in Australia. These included the Victoria Cancer Council developing its anti-tobacco campaign "Quit" (1988) and "SunSmart" (1988), its campaign against skin cancer which had the slogan "Slip! Slop! Slap!"

Since the 1980s, the field has rapidly expanded around the world to include active living communities, disaster preparedness and response, ecosystem and species conservation, environmental issues, development of volunteer or indigenous workforce's, financial literacy, global threats of antibiotic resistance, government corruption, improving the quality of health care, injury prevention, landowner education, marine conservation and ocean sustainability, patient-centered health care, reducing health disparities, sanitation demand, sustainable consumption, transportation demand management, water treatment systems and youth gambling problems, among other social needs (See<sup>[6][7]</sup>).

On a wider front, by 2007, government in the United Kingdom announced the development of its first social marketing strategy for all aspects of health.<sup>[8]</sup> In 2010, the US national health objectives<sup>[9]</sup> included increasing the number of state health departments that report using social marketing in health promotion and disease prevention programs and increasing the number of schools of public health that offer courses and workforce development activities in social marketing.

Two other public health applications include the CDC's CDCynergy training and software application and SMART (Social Marketing and Assessment Response Tool) in the U.S.

Social marketing theory and practice has been progressed in several countries such as the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the UK, and in the latter a number of key government policy papers have adopted a strategic social marketing approach. Publications such as "Choosing Health" in 2004, "It's our health!"<sup>[10]</sup> in 2006 and "Health Challenge England"<sup>[11]</sup> in 2006, represent steps to achieve a strategic and operational use of social marketing. In India, AIDS controlling programs are largely using social marketing and social workers are largely working for it. Most of the social workers are professionally trained for this task.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

A variation of social marketing has emerged as a systematic way to foster more sustainable behavior. Referred to as community-based social marketing (CBSM) by Canadian environmental psychologist Doug McKenzie-Mohr, CBSM strives to change the behavior of communities to reduce their impact on the environment.<sup>[12]</sup> Realizing that simply providing information is usually not sufficient to initiate behavior change, CBSM uses tools and findings from social psychology to discover the perceived barriers to behavior change and ways of overcoming these barriers. Among the tools and techniques used by CBSM are focus groups and surveys (to discover barriers) and commitments, prompts, social norms, social diffusion, feedback and incentives (to change behavior). The tools of CBSM have been used to foster sustainable behavior in many areas, including energy conservation,<sup>[13]</sup> environmental regulation<sup>[14]</sup> and recycling.<sup>[15]</sup>

Other social marketing can be aimed at products deemed, at least by proponents, as socially unacceptable. One of the most notable is People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) which for many years has waged social marketing campaigns against the use of natural fur products. The campaigns' efficacy has been subject to dispute.

Not all social marketing campaigns are effective everywhere. For example, anti-smoking campaigns such as World No Tobacco Day while being successful (in concert with government tobacco controls) in curbing the demand for tobacco products in North America and in parts of Europe, have been less effective in other parts of the world such as China, India and Russia.<sup>[16]</sup> (See also: Prevalence of tobacco consumption)

## Types

Social marketing uses the benefits of doing social good to secure and maintain customer engagement. In social marketing the distinguishing feature is therefore its "primary focus on social good, and it is not a secondary outcome."<sup>[citation needed]</sup> Not all public sector and not-for-profit marketing is social marketing.

Public sector bodies can use standard marketing approaches to improve the promotion of their relevant services and organizational aims. This can be very important but should not be confused with social marketing where the focus is on achieving specific behavioral goals with specific audiences in relation to topics relevant to social good (e.g., health, sustainability, recycling, etc.). For example, a 3-month marketing campaign to encourage people to get a H1N1 vaccine is more tactical in nature and should not be considered social marketing. A campaign that promotes and reminds people to get regular check-ups and all of their vaccinations when they're supposed to encourages a long-term behavior change that benefits society. It can therefore be considered social marketing.

As the dividing lines are rarely clear it is important not to confuse social marketing with commercial marketing. A commercial marketer selling a product may only seek to influence a buyer to make a product purchase.

Social marketers—dealing with goals such as reducing cigarette smoking or encouraging condom use—have more difficult goals: to make potentially difficult and long-term behavioral change in target populations.

It is sometimes felt that social marketing is restricted to a particular spectrum of client—the non-profit organization, the health services group, the government agency.

These often are the clients of social marketing agencies, but the goal of inducing social change is not restricted to governmental or non-profit charitable organizations; it may be argued that corporate public relations efforts such as funding for the arts are an example of social marketing.

Social marketing should not be confused with the societal marketing concept which was a forerunner of sustainable marketing in integrating issues of social responsibility into commercial marketing strategies. In contrast to that, social marketing uses commercial marketing theories, tools and techniques to social issues.

Social marketing applies a "customer oriented" approach and uses the concepts and tools used by commercial marketers in pursuit of social goals like anti-smoking campaigns or fund raising for NGOs.

## Confusion

In 2006, Jupitermedia announced its "Social Marketing" service, with which it aims to enable website owners to profit from social media. Despite protests from the social marketing communities over the hijackingWP:POV of the term, Jupiter stuck with the name. However, Jupiter's approach is more correctly (and commonly) referred to as social media optimization. Another similar but different marketing approach is holistic marketing which also aims to benefit society, but through aligning the values and ethics of employees and owners of a company with their marketing goals, regardless of the product being marketed.

## History

Many scholars ascribe the beginning of the field of social marketing to an article published by G.D. Wiebe in the Winter 1951-1952 edition of *Public Opinion Quarterly*. In it, Wiebe posed a rhetorical question: "Why can't you sell brotherhood and rational thinking like you can sell soap?" He then went on to discuss what he saw as the challenges of attempting to sell a social good as if it were a commodity, thus identifying social marketing (though he did not label it as such) as a discipline unique from commodity marketing. Yet, Wilkie & Moore (2003) <sup>[17]</sup> note that the marketing discipline has been involved with questions about the intersection of marketing and society since its earliest days as a discipline.

A decade later, organizations such as the KfW Entwicklungsbank in Germany, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in The Netherlands, UK Department for International Development, US Agency for International Development, World Health Organization and the World Bank began sponsoring social marketing interventions to improve family planning and achieve other social goals in Africa, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere.

The next milestone in the evolution of social marketing was the publication of "Social Marketing: An Approach to Planned Social Change" in the *Journal of Marketing* by Philip Kotler and Gerald Zaltman. Kotler and Zaltman coined the term 'social marketing' and defined it as "the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research." They conclude that "social marketing appears to represent a bridging mechanism which links the behavior scientist's knowledge of human behavior with the socially useful implementation of what that knowledge allows."

Craig Lefebvre and June Flora introduced social marketing to the public health community in 1988, where it has been most widely used and explored. They noted that there was a need for "large scale, broad-based, behavior change focused programs" to improve public health (the community wide prevention of cardiovascular diseases in their respective projects) and outlined eight essential components of social marketing that still hold today:

1. A consumer orientation to realize organizational (social) goals
  2. An emphasis on the voluntary exchanges of goods and services between providers and consumers
  3. Research in audience analysis and segmentation strategies
  4. The use of formative research in product and message design and the pretesting of these materials
  5. An analysis of distribution (or communication) channels
  6. Use of the marketing mix—using and blending product, price, place and promotion characteristics in intervention planning and implementation
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7. A process tracking system with both integrative and control functions
8. A management process that involves problem analysis, planning, implementation and feedback functions

Speaking of what they termed "social change campaigns", Kotler and Ned Roberto introduced the subject by writing, "A social change campaign is an organized effort conducted by one group (the change agent) which attempts to persuade others (the target adopters) to accept, modify, or abandon certain ideas, attitudes, practices or behavior." Their 1989 text was updated in 2002 by Philip Kotler, Ned Roberto and Nancy Lee.<sup>[18]</sup> In 2005, University of Stirling was the first university to open a dedicated research institute to Social Marketing,<sup>[19]</sup> while in 2007, Middlesex University became the first university to offer a specialized postgraduate programme in Health & Social Marketing.<sup>[20]</sup>

In recent years there has been an important development to distinguish between "strategic social marketing" and "operational social marketing".

Much of the literature and case examples focus on operational social marketing, using it to achieve specific behavioral goals in relation to different audiences and topics. However, there has been increasing efforts to ensure social marketing goes "upstream" and is used much more strategically to inform policy formulation and strategy development. Here the focus is less on specific audience and topic work but uses strong customer understanding and insight to inform and guide effective policy and strategy development.

Social marketing is also being explored as a method for social innovation, a framework to increase the adoption of evidence-based practices among professionals and organizations, and as a core skill for public sector managers and social entrepreneurs. It is being viewed as an approach to design more effective, efficient, equitable and sustainable approaches to enhance social well-being that extends beyond individual behavior change to include creating positive shifts in social networks and social norms, businesses, markets and public policy.<sup>[21]</sup>

Many examples exist of social marketing research, with over 120 papers compiled in a six volume set.). For example, research now shows ways to reduce the intentions of people to binge drink or engage in dangerous driving. Martin, Lee, Weeks and Kaya (2013) suggests that understanding consumer personality and how people view others is important. People were shown ads talking of the harmful effects of binge drinking. People who valued close friends as a sense of who they are were less likely to want to binge drink after seeing an ad featuring them and a close friend. People who were loners or who did not see close friends important to their sense of who they were reacted better to ads featuring an individual. A similar pattern was shown for ads showing a person driving at dangerous speeds. This suggests ads showing potential harm to citizens from binge drinking or dangerous driving are less effective than ads highlighting a person's close friends.<sup>[22]</sup>

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## External links

- Visual rhetoric in social campaigns (<http://www.visualrhetoric.nl/>)
- International Social Marketing Association (<http://www.i-socialmarketing.org>) is a nonprofit membership association for those engaged or interested in social marketing.
- Journal of Social Marketing (<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/products/journals/journals.htm?id=jsocm>)
- National Center for Health Marketing (<http://www.cdc.gov/healthmarketing>) at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)
- Social Marketing Institute (<http://www.social-marketing.org>) (SMI) at Georgetown University
- National Social Marketing Centre (<http://www.thensmc.com>) (The NSMC) - social marketing resources, tools and online training.
- Institute for Social Marketing (<http://www.ism.stir.ac.uk>) at the University of Stirling
- The Advertising Industry's Commitment to Social Responsibility and Children's Health and Wellness ([http://www.aef.com/on\\_campus/symposia/2005/3000](http://www.aef.com/on_campus/symposia/2005/3000)) - a 2005 symposium by the Advertising Educational Foundation
- Social Marketing Quarterly (<http://www.socialmarketingquarterly.com>) - an academic journal on social marketing
- Online Interventions for Social Marketing Health Behavior Change Campaigns (<http://www.jmir.org/2011/1/e17/>)

## Health promotion

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**Health promotion** has been defined by the World Health Organization's (WHO) 2005 Bangkok Charter for Health Promotion in a Globalized World as "the process of enabling people to increase control over their health and its determinants, and thereby improve their health".<sup>[1]</sup> The primary means of health promotion occur through developing healthy public policy that addresses the prerequisites of health such as income, housing, food security, employment, and quality working conditions. More recent work has used the term Health in All Policies to refer to the actions to incorporate health into all public policies. There is a tendency among public health officials and governments—and this is especially the case in neoliberal nations such as Canada and the USA—to reduce health promotion to health education and social marketing focused on changing behavioral risk factors.

Recent work in the UK (*Delphi consultation exercise due to be published late 2009 by Royal Society of Public Health and the National Social Marketing Centre*) on relationship between health promotion and social marketing has highlighted and reinforce the potential integrative nature of the approaches. While an independent review (NCC 'It's Our Health!' 2006) identified that some social marketing has in past adopted a narrow or limited approach, the UK has increasingly taken a lead in the discussion and developed a much more integrative and strategic approach (see Strategic Social Marketing in 'Social Marketing and Public Health' 2009 Oxford Press) which adopts a whole-system and holistic approach, integrating the learning from effective health promotion approaches with relevant learning from social marketing and other disciplines. A key finding from the Delphi consultation was the need to avoid unnecessary and arbitrary 'methods wars' and instead focus on the issue of 'utility' and harnessing the potential of learning from multiple disciplines and sources. Such an approach is arguably how health promotion has developed over the years pulling in learning from different sectors and disciplines to enhance and develop.

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## History

The "first and best known" definition of health promotion, promulgated by the *American Journal of Health Promotion* since at least 1986, is "the science and art of helping people change their lifestyle to move toward a state of optimal health".<sup>[2]</sup> This definition was derived from the 1974 Lalonde report from the Government of Canada, which contained a health promotion strategy "aimed at informing, influencing and assisting both individuals and organizations so that they will accept more responsibility and be more active in matters affecting mental and physical health".<sup>[3]</sup> Another predecessor of the definition was the 1979 *Healthy People* report of the Surgeon General of the United States, which noted that health promotion "seeks the development of community and individual measures which can help... [people] to develop lifestyles that can maintain and enhance the state of well-being".<sup>[4]</sup>

At least two publications led to a "broad empowerment/environmental" definition of health promotion in the mid-1980s:

- In 1984 the World Health Organization (WHO) Regional Office for Europe defined health promotion as "the process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve, their health". In addition to methods to change lifestyles, the WHO Regional Office advocated "legislation, fiscal measures, organisational change, community development and spontaneous local activities against health hazards" as health promotion methods.
- In 1986, Jake Epp, Canadian Minister of National Health and Welfare, released *Achieving health for all: a framework for health promotion* which also came to be known as the "Epp report". This report defined the three "mechanisms" of health promotion as "self-care"; "mutual aid, or the actions people take to help each other cope"; and "healthy environments".

The WHO, in collaboration with other organizations, has subsequently co-sponsored international conferences on health promotion as follows:

- 1st International Conference on Health Promotion, Ottawa, 1986, which resulted in the "Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion".<sup>[5]</sup> According to the Ottawa Charter, health promotion:
  - "is not just the responsibility of the health sector, but goes beyond healthy life-styles to well-being"
  - "aims at making... [political, economic, social, cultural, environmental, behavioural and biological factors] favourable through advocacy for health"
  - "focuses on achieving equity in health"
  - "demands coordinated action by all concerned: by governments, by health and other social organizations."

## Workplace health promotion

Work site health focus on the prevention and intervention that reduce health risk of the employee. The U.S. Public Health Service recently issued a report titled "Physical Activity and Health: A Report of the Surgeon General" which provides a comprehensive review of the available scientific evidence about the relationship between physical activity and an individual's health status. The report shows that over 60% of Americans are not regularly active and 25% are not active at all. There is very strong evidence linking physical activity to numerous health improvements. Health promotion can be performed in various locations. Among the settings that have received special attention are the community, health care facilities, schools, and worksites. Worksite health promotion, also known by terms such as "workplace health promotion," has been defined as "the combined efforts of employers, employees and society to improve the health and well-being of people at work".<sup>[6][7]</sup> WHO states that the workplace "has been established as one of the priority settings for health promotion into the 21st century" because it influences "physical, mental, economic and social well-being" and "offers an ideal setting and infrastructure to support the promotion of health of a large audience".<sup>[8]</sup>

Worksite health promotion programs (also called "workplace health promotion programs," "worksite wellness programs," or "workplace wellness programs") include exercise, nutrition, smoking cessation and stress management. Reviews and meta-analyses published between 2005 and 2008 that examined the scientific literature on

worksite health promotion programs include the following:

- A review of 13 studies published through January 2004 showed "strong evidence... for an effect on dietary intake, inconclusive evidence for an effect on physical activity, and no evidence for an effect on health risk indicators".
- In the most recent of a series of updates to a review of "comprehensive health promotion and disease management programs at the worksite," Pelletier (2005) noted "positive clinical and cost outcomes" but also found declines in the number of relevant studies and their quality.
- A "meta-evaluation" of 56 studies published 1982–2005 found that worksite health promotion produced on average a decrease of 26.8% in sick leave absenteeism, a decrease of 26.1% in health costs, a decrease of 32% in workers' compensation costs and disability management claims costs, and a cost-benefit ratio of 5.81.
- A meta-analysis of 46 studies published 1970–2005 found moderate, statistically significant effects of work health promotion, especially exercise, on "work ability" and "overall well-being"; furthermore, "sickness absences seem to be reduced by activities promoting healthy lifestyle".
- A meta-analysis of 22 studies published 1997–2007 determined that workplace health promotion interventions led to "small" reductions in depression and anxiety.
- A review of 119 studies suggested that successful work site health-promotion programs have attributes such as: assessing employees' health needs and tailoring programs to meet those needs; attaining high participation rates; promoting self care; targeting several health issues simultaneously; and offering different types of activities (e.g., group sessions as well as print materials).

## Health promotion entities and projects by country

Worldwide, government agencies (such as health departments) and non-governmental organizations have substantial efforts in the area of health promotion. Some of these entities and projects are:

### International and multinational

The WHO and its Regional Offices such as the Pan American Health Organization are influential in health promotion around the world. The International Union for Health Promotion and Education, based in France, holds international, regional, and national conferences.<sup>[9][10]</sup>

### Australia

The Australian Health Promotion Association, a professional body, was incorporated in 1988.<sup>[11]</sup> In November 2008, the National Health and Hospitals Reform Commission released a paper recommending a national health promotion agency.<sup>[12]</sup> ACT Health of the Australian Capital Territory supports health promotion with funding and information dissemination.<sup>[13]</sup> The Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth) from the state of Victoria is "the world's first health promotion foundation to be funded by a tax on tobacco. "<sup>[14]</sup>

### Canada

The province of Ontario appointed a health promotion minister to lead its Ministry of Health Promotion in 2005.<sup>[15]</sup>

The Ministry's vision is to enable Ontarians to lead healthy, active lives and make the province a healthy, prosperous place to live, work, play, learn and visit. Ministry of Health Promotion<sup>[16]</sup> sees that its fundamental goals are to promote and encourage Ontarians to make healthier choices at all ages and stages of life, to create healthy and supportive environments, lead the development of healthy public policy, and assist with embedding behaviours that promote health.<sup>[17]</sup>

The Canadian Health Network was a "reliable, non-commercial source of online information about how to stay healthy and prevent disease" that was discontinued in 2007.<sup>[18]</sup>

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The BC Coalition for Health Promotion is "a grassroots, voluntary non-profit society dedicated to the advancement of health promotion in British Columbia".<sup>[19]</sup>

## **New Zealand**

The Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand is the national umbrella organization of over 150 organisations committed to improving health.<sup>[20]</sup>

## **Norway**

The Research Centre for Health Promotion and Resources HiST/NTNU (<http://www.rchpr.org>) was established in Trondheim 2010. The Centre, led by Professor Geir Arild Espnes, takes part in the scientific exploration of what promotes, maintains and restores good health – both in healthy, vulnerable and diseased populations. The research group has a bio-psycho-social- existential health understanding. Health is understood as a positive resource which every person has more or less of. The Centre will contribute to new knowledge about the following: Factors that promote, sustain, and restore good health in healthy people, vulnerable or exposed groups, and those with health deficiencies. Factors that promote health (i.e., salutogenesis) as opposed to focusing on factors that generate illness and disease (i.e., pathogenesis).

## **Sri Lanka**

Health promotion in Sri Lanka has been very successful during recent decades as shown by the health indicators. Despite the numerous successes over the years, the integrity of the health system has been subjected to many challenges. Sri Lanka is already facing emerging challenges due to demographic, epidemiological, technological and socio-economic transitions. The disease burden has started to shift rapidly towards lifestyle and environmental related non-communicable diseases. These are chronic and high cost and will cause more and perhaps unaffordable burden to the country's health care expenditure, under the free of charge health services policy. The previous success of health development increased the life expectancy of Sri Lankan people to 72 for male and 76 for women but the estimated "healthy life expectancy" at birth of all Sri Lanka population is only 61.6

Health is affected by biological, psychological, chemical, physical, social, cultural and economic factors in people's normal living environments and people's lifestyles. With the current rapid changing demographic, social and economic context and the epidemiological pattern of diseases, the previous health promotion interventions which found to be effective in the past may not be effective enough now and the future to address all the important determinants that affect health. Promoting people's health must be the joint responsibility of all the social actors. These challenges require significant changes in the national health system toward new effective health promotion which has been accepted worldwide as the most cost effective measure to reduce the disease burden of the people and the burden of the nation on the increasing cost for treatment of diseases.

The development of this National Health Promotion Policy<sup>[21]</sup> is based on: (a) the evidences from Sri Lanka health promotion situation analysis, (b) the international accepted concept, the WHO guiding principle for health promotion and the World Health Assembly resolutions and WHO South East Asia Regional Committee Resolution, and (c) the State Policy and Strategy for Health and the Health Master Plan 2007–2016.

The key strategies for health promotion are: advocacy and mediate between different interests in society for the pursuit of health; empower and enable individual and communities to take control over their own health and all determinants of health; improve the health promotion management, health promotion interventions, programs, plans and implementation; and partnership, networking, alliance building and integration of health promotion activities across sectors.

In Sri Lanka, other non health government sectors and NGOs are currently active implementing their community development projects with the community empowerment concept that resemble the healthy setting approach for health promotion. These projects are the high potential entry points and good opportunity for the formal

commencement of the new effective setting approach health promotion and the holistic life course health promotion. It is also an opportunity for partnerships and alliance building for concerted action to promote health of the nation. This policy is formulated to promote health and well-being of the people by enabling all people to be responsible for their own health and address the broad determinants of health through the concerted actions of health and all other sectors to make Sri Lanka a Health Promoting Nation where all the citizens actively participate in health promotion activities continuously for a healthy life expectancy.

The policy objectives are as follow :

1. To strengthen leaderships for health promotion at all levels and all sectors through advocacy.
2. To mobilize the society and create nationwide health promotion actions.
3. To develop and implement effective comprehensive holistic and multisectoral approach health promotion interventions.
4. To establish an effective system and mechanism for health promotion management and coordination at all levels.
5. To build capacity for health promotion at all levels and across sectors.
6. To improve financing and resources allocation and utilization for health promotion.
7. To establish an evidence-base for health promotion effectiveness.

Various strategies have been developed for the attainment of each objective focus on the multi-sectoral comprehensive approach and participation of all stakeholders and the people themselves. This National Health Promotion Policy will be monitored and evaluated at all levels. Participatory monitoring and evaluation will be encouraged at implementation level. The National Health Promotion Consortium and the National Health Council will be responsible for the regular monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of this National Health Promotion Policy. Implementation of this policy will also be monitored regularly as part of the overall process of monitoring the activities of the Government and Ministries and covering various sectors and levels of government.

## United Kingdom

The Royal Society for Public Health was formed in October 2008 by the merger of the Royal Society for the Promotion of Health (also known as the Royal Society of Health or RSH) and the Royal Institute of Public Health (RIPH)<sup>[citation needed]</sup>. Earlier, July 2005 saw the publication by the Department of Health and Welsh Assembly Government of *Shaping the Future of Public Health: Promoting Health in the NHS*.<sup>[citation needed]</sup> Following discussions with the Department of Health and Welsh Assembly Government officials, the Royal Society for Public Health and three national public health bodies agreed, in 2006, to work together to take forward the report's recommendations, working in partnership with other organisations.<sup>[citation needed]</sup> Accordingly:

1. the Royal Society for Public Health (RSPH) leads and hosts the collaboration, and focuses on advocacy for health promotion and its workforce;
2. The Institute of Health Promotion and Education (IHPE) works with the RSPH Royal Society for Public Health to give a voice to the workforce;
3. the Faculty of Public Health (FPH) focuses on professional standards, education and training; and
4. (4) the UK Public Health Register (UKPHR) is responsible for regulation of the workforce.

In Northern Ireland, the government's Health Promotion Agency for Northern Ireland, which was set up to "provide leadership, strategic direction and support, where possible, to all those involved in promoting health in Northern Ireland". The Health Promotion Agency for Northern Ireland was incorporated into the Public Health Agency for Northern Ireland in April 2009.<sup>[22]</sup>

## United States

Government agencies in the U.S. concerned with health promotion include:

- The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has a Coordinating Center for Health Promotion whose mission is "Prevent disease, improve health, and enhance human potential through evidence based interventions and research in maternal and child health, chronic disease, disabilities, genomics, and hereditary disorders".<sup>[23][24]</sup>
- The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health has developed Total Worker Health, a strategy incorporating elements of occupational safety and health and health promotion, to advance the health and well-being of employees.<sup>[25]</sup>
- The United States Army Center for Health Promotion and Preventive Medicine "provide[s] worldwide technical support for implementing preventive medicine, public health, and health promotion/wellness services into all aspects of America's Army and the Army Community".<sup>[26]</sup>

Nongovernmental organizations in the U.S. concerned with health promotion include:

- The Public Health Education and Health Promotion Section is an active component of the American Public Health Association.
- The Wellness Council of America is an industry trade group that supports workplace health promotion programs.<sup>[27][28]</sup>
- URAC accredits comprehensive wellness programs "that focus on health promotion, chronic disease prevention and health risk reduction".<sup>[29]</sup>

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  - Healthy Cities – WHO EURO Office (<http://www.euro.who.int/healthy-cities>)
  - HSE Health Promotion Website (<http://www.healthpromotion.ie/>) from the Health Service Executive, Republic of Ireland
  - Politics of Health Group (<http://www.pohg.org.uk/>)
  - Health-EU Portal ([http://ec.europa.eu/health-eu/health\\_in\\_the\\_eu/prevention\\_and\\_promotion/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/health-eu/health_in_the_eu/prevention_and_promotion/index_en.htm))  
Health Prevention and Promotion in the EU
  - International Corporate Wellness & Health Promotion Magazine (<http://www.corporatewellnessmagazine.com>)
  - The Corporate Health & Wellness Association (<http://www.wellnessassociation.com>)
  - Certification for Corporate Wellness & Health Promotion (<http://corporatewellnessconference.com/certified-corporate-wellness-specialist.html>)
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# Rebuttal

*This article is about the legal concept; for a rebuttal used in informal logic, see counterargument.*

In law, the **rebuttal** is a form of evidence that is presented to contradict or nullify other evidence that has been presented by an adverse party. By analogy the same term is used in politics and public affairs to refer to the informal process by which statements, designed to refute or negate specific arguments put forward by opponents, are deployed in the media.

In law, special rules apply to rebuttal. Rebuttal evidence or rebuttal witnesses must be confined solely to the subject matter of the evidence rebutted. New evidence on other subjects may not be brought in rebuttal. However, rebuttal is one of the few vehicles whereby a party may introduce surprise evidence or witnesses. The basic process is as follows: Both sides of a controversy are obliged to declare in advance of trial what witnesses they plan to call, and what each witness is expected to testify to. When either a plaintiff (or prosecutor) or defendant brings direct evidence or testimony which was not anticipated, the other side may be granted a specific opportunity to rebut it. In rebuttal, the rebutting party may generally bring witnesses and evidence which were never declared before, so long as they serve to rebut the prior evidence.

## References

# Rhetoric

**Rhetoric** is the art of discourse, an art that aims to improve the capability of writers or speakers that attempt to inform, persuade, or motivate particular audiences in specific situations.<sup>[1]</sup> As a subject of formal study and a productive civic practice, rhetoric has played a central role in the Western tradition.<sup>[2]</sup> Its best known definition comes from Aristotle, who considers it a counterpart of both logic and politics, and calls it "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion."<sup>[3]</sup> Rhetorics typically provide heuristics for understanding, discovering, and developing arguments for particular situations, such as Aristotle's three persuasive audience appeals, logos, pathos, and ethos. The five canons of rhetoric, which trace the traditional tasks in designing a persuasive speech, were first codified in classical Rome: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. Along with grammar and logic (or dialectic—see Martianus Capella), rhetoric is one of the three ancient arts of discourse.



Painting depicting a lecture in a knight academy, painted by Pieter Isaacs or Reinhold Timm for Rosenborg Castle as part of a series of seven paintings depicting the seven independent arts. This painting illustrates rhetorics

From Ancient Greece to the late 19th century, it was a central part of Western education, filling the need to train public speakers and writers to move audiences to action with arguments.<sup>[4]</sup> The word is derived from the Greek ῥητορικὸς (*rhētorikós*), "oratorical",<sup>[5]</sup> from ῥήτωρ (*rhētōr*), "public speaker",<sup>[6]</sup> related to ῥῆμα (*rhēma*), "that which is said or spoken, word, saying",<sup>[7]</sup> and ultimately derived from the verb ἐρῶ (*erō*), "say, speak".<sup>[8]</sup>

## Uses of rhetoric

### Scope of rhetoric

Scholars have debated the scope of rhetoric since ancient times. Although some have limited rhetoric to the specific realm of political discourse, many modern scholars liberate it to encompass every aspect of culture. Contemporary studies of rhetoric address a more diverse range of domains than was the case in ancient times. While classical rhetoric trained speakers to be effective persuaders in public forums and institutions such as courtrooms and assemblies, contemporary rhetoric investigates human discourse writ large. Rhetoricians have studied the discourses of a wide variety of domains, including the natural and social sciences, fine art, religion, journalism, digital media, fiction, history, cartography, and architecture, along with the more traditional domains of politics and the law.<sup>[9]</sup> Many contemporary approaches treat rhetoric as human communication that includes purposeful and strategic manipulation of symbols. Public relations, lobbying, law, marketing, professional and technical writing, and advertising are modern professions that employ rhetorical practitioners.

Because the ancient Greeks highly valued public political participation, rhetoric emerged as a crucial tool to influence politics. Consequently, rhetoric remains associated with its political origins. However, even the original instructors of Western speech—the Sophists—disputed this limited view of rhetoric. According to the Sophists, such as Gorgias, a successful rhetorician could speak convincingly on any topic, regardless of his experience in that field. This method suggested rhetoric could be a means of communicating any expertise, not just politics. In his *Encomium to Helen*, Gorgias even applied rhetoric to fiction by seeking for his own pleasure to prove the blamelessness of the mythical Helen of Troy in starting the Trojan War.<sup>[10]</sup>

Looking to another key rhetorical theorist, Plato defined the scope of rhetoric according to his negative opinions of the art. He criticized the Sophists for using rhetoric as a means of deceit instead of discovering truth. In "Gorgias," one of his Socratic Dialogues, Plato defines rhetoric as the persuasion of ignorant masses within the courts and assemblies.<sup>[11]</sup> Rhetoric, in Plato's opinion, is merely a form of flattery and functions similarly to cookery, which masks the undesirability of unhealthy food by making it taste good. Thus, Plato considered any speech of lengthy prose aimed at flattery as within the scope of rhetoric.

Aristotle both redeemed rhetoric from his teacher and narrowed its focus by defining three genres of rhetoric—deliberative, forensic or judicial, and epideictic.<sup>[12]</sup> Yet, even as he provided order to existing rhetorical theories, Aristotle extended the definition of rhetoric, calling it the ability to identify the appropriate means of persuasion in a given situation, thereby making rhetoric applicable to all fields, not just politics. When one considers that rhetoric included torture (in the sense that the practice of torture is a form of persuasion or coercion), it is clear that rhetoric cannot be viewed only in academic terms. However, the enthymeme based upon logic (especially, based upon the syllogism) was viewed as the basis of rhetoric.

However, since the time of Aristotle, logic has changed. For example, Modal logic has undergone a major development that also modifies rhetoric.<sup>[13]</sup> Yet, Aristotle also outlined generic constraints that focused the rhetorical art squarely within the domain of public political practice. He restricted rhetoric to the domain of the contingent or probable: those matters that admit multiple legitimate opinions or arguments.

The contemporary neo-Aristotelian and neo-Sophistic positions on rhetoric mirror the division between the Sophists and Aristotle. Neo-Aristotelians generally study rhetoric as political discourse, while the neo-Sophistic view contends that rhetoric cannot be so limited. Rhetorical scholar Michael Leff characterizes the conflict between these positions as viewing rhetoric as a "thing contained" versus a "container." The neo-Aristotelian view threatens the study of rhetoric by restraining it to such a limited field, ignoring many critical applications of rhetorical theory, criticism, and practice. Simultaneously, the neo-Sophists threaten to expand rhetoric beyond a point of coherent theoretical value.

Over the past century, people studying rhetoric have tended to enlarge its object domain beyond speech texts. Kenneth Burke asserted humans use rhetoric to resolve conflicts by identifying shared characteristics and interests in

symbols. By nature, humans engage in identification, either to identify themselves or another individual with a group. This definition of rhetoric as identification broadened the scope from strategic and overt political persuasion to the more implicit tactics of identification found in an immense range of sources.<sup>[14]</sup>

Among the many scholars who have since pursued Burke's line of thought, James Boyd White sees rhetoric as a broader domain of social experience in his notion of constitutive rhetoric. Influenced by theories of social construction, White argues that culture is "reconstituted" through language. Just as language influences people, people influence language. Language is socially constructed, and depends on the meanings people attach to it. Because language is not rigid and changes depending on the situation, the very usage of language is rhetorical. An author, White would say, is always trying to construct a new world and persuading his or her readers to share that world within the text.<sup>[15]</sup>

Individuals engage in the rhetorical process anytime they speak or produce meaning. Even in the field of science, the practices of which were once viewed as being merely the objective testing and reporting of knowledge, scientists must persuade their audience to accept their findings by sufficiently demonstrating that their study or experiment was conducted reliably and resulted in sufficient evidence to support their conclusions.

The vast scope of rhetoric is difficult to define; however, political discourse remains, in many ways, the paradigmatic example for studying and theorizing specific techniques and conceptions of persuasion, considered by many a synonym for "rhetoric."<sup>[16]</sup>

## Rhetoric as a civic art

Throughout European History, rhetoric has concerned itself with persuasion in public and political settings such as assemblies and courts. Because of its associations with democratic institutions, rhetoric is commonly said to flourish in open and democratic societies with rights of free speech, free assembly, and political enfranchisement for some portion of the population. Those who classify rhetoric as a civic art believe that rhetoric has the power to shape communities, form the character of citizens and greatly impact civic life.

Rhetoric was viewed as a civic art by several of the ancient philosophers. Aristotle and Isocrates were two of the first to see rhetoric in this light. In his work, *Antidosis*, Isocrates states, "We have come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts; and, generally speaking, there is no institution devised by man which the power of speech has not helped us to establish." With this statement he argues that rhetoric is a fundamental part of civic life in every society and that it has been necessary in the foundation of all aspects of society. He further argues in his piece *Against the Sophists* that rhetoric, although it cannot be taught to just anyone, is capable of shaping the character of man. He writes, "I do think that the study of political discourse can help more than any other thing to stimulate and form such qualities of character." Aristotle, writing several years after Isocrates, supported many of his arguments and continued to make arguments for rhetoric as a civic art.

In the words of Aristotle, in his essay *Rhetoric*, rhetoric is "...the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion." According to Aristotle, this art of persuasion could be used in public settings in three different ways. He writes in Book I, Chapter III, "A member of the assembly decides about future events, a juryman about past events: while those who merely decide on the orator's skill are observers. From this it follows that there are three divisions of oratory- (1) political, (2) forensic, and (3) the ceremonial oratory of display". Eugene Garver, in his critique of "Aristotle's Rhetoric", confirms that Aristotle viewed rhetoric as a civic art. Garver writes, "Rhetoric articulates a civic art of rhetoric, combining the almost incompatible properties of *techne* and appropriateness to citizens."<sup>[17]</sup> Each of Aristotle's divisions plays a role in civic life and can be used in a different way to impact cities.

Because rhetoric is a public art capable of shaping opinion, some of the ancients including Plato found fault in it. They claimed that while it could be used to improve civic life, it could be used equally easily to deceive or manipulate with negative effects on the city. The masses were incapable of analyzing or deciding anything on their own and would therefore be swayed by the most persuasive speeches. Thus, civic life could be controlled by the one who could deliver the best speech. Plato's explores the problematic moral status of rhetoric twice: in *Gorgias*, a

dialogue named for the famed Sophist, and in *The Phaedrus*, a dialogue best known for its commentary on love.

More trusting in the power of rhetoric to support a republic, the Roman orator Cicero argued that art required something more than eloquence. A good orator needed also to be a good man, a person enlightened on a variety of civic topics. He describes the proper training of the orator in his major text on rhetoric, *De Oratore*, modeled on Plato's dialogues.

Modern day works continue to support the claims of the ancients that rhetoric is an art capable of influencing civic life. In his work *Political Style*, Robert Hariman claims, "Furthermore, questions of freedom, equality, and justice often are raised and addressed through performances ranging from debates to demonstrations without loss of moral content".<sup>[18]</sup> James Boyd White argues further that rhetoric is capable not only of addressing issues of political interest but that it can influence culture as a whole. In his book, *When Words Lose Their Meaning*, he argues that words of persuasion and identification define community and civic life. He states that words produce "...the methods by which culture is maintained, criticized, and transformed."<sup>[19]</sup> Both White and Hariman agree that words and rhetoric have the power to shape culture and civic life.

In modern times, rhetoric has consistently remained relevant as a civic art. In speeches, as well as in non-verbal forms, rhetoric continues to be used as a tool to influence communities from local to national levels.

## Rhetoric as a course of study

Rhetoric as a course of study has evolved significantly since its ancient beginnings. Through the ages, the study and teaching of rhetoric has adapted to the particular exigencies of the time and venue.<sup>[20]</sup> The study of rhetoric has conformed to a multitude of different applications, ranging from architecture to literature.<sup>[21]</sup> Although the curriculum has transformed in a number of ways, it has generally emphasized the study of principles and rules of composition as a means for moving audiences. Generally speaking, the study of rhetoric trains students to speak and/or write effectively, as well as critically understand and analyze discourse.

Rhetoric began as a civic art in Ancient Greece where students were trained to develop tactics of oratorical persuasion, especially in legal disputes. Rhetoric originated in a school of pre-Socratic philosophers known as the Sophists circa 600 BC. Demosthenes and Lysias emerged as major orators during this period, and Isocrates and Gorgias as prominent teachers. Rhetorical education focused on five particular canons: *inventio* (invention), *dispositio* (arrangement), *elocutio* (style), *memoria* (memory), and *actio* (delivery). Modern teachings continue to reference these rhetorical leaders and their work in discussions of classical rhetoric and persuasion.

Rhetoric was later taught in universities during the Middle Ages as one of the three original liberal arts or trivium (along with logic and grammar).<sup>[22]</sup> During the medieval period, political rhetoric declined as republican oratory died out and the emperors of Rome garnered increasing authority. With the rise of European monarchs in following centuries, rhetoric shifted into the courtly and religious applications. Augustine exerted strong influence on Christian rhetoric in the Middle Ages, advocating the use of rhetoric to lead audiences to truth and understanding, especially in the church. The study of liberal arts, he believed, contributed to rhetorical study: "In the case of a keen and ardent nature, fine words will come more readily through reading and hearing the eloquent than by pursuing the rules of rhetoric."<sup>[23]</sup> Poetry and letter writing, for instance, became a central component of rhetorical study during the Middle Ages.<sup>[24]</sup> After the fall of the Republic in Rome, poetry became a tool for rhetorical training since there were fewer opportunities for political speech.<sup>[25]</sup> Letter writing was the primary form through which business was conducted both in state and church, so it became an important aspect of rhetorical education.<sup>[26]</sup>

Rhetorical education became more restrained as style and substance separated in 16th-century France with Peter Ramus, and attention turned to the scientific method. That is, influential scholars like Ramus argued that the processes of invention and arrangement should be elevated to the domain of philosophy, while rhetorical instruction should be chiefly concerned with the use of figures and other forms of the ornamentation of language. Scholars such as Francis Bacon developed the study of "scientific rhetoric."<sup>[27]</sup> This concentration rejected the elaborate style characteristic of the classical oration. This plain language carried over to John Locke's teaching, which emphasized

concrete knowledge and steered away from ornamentation in speech, further alienating rhetorical instruction, which was identified wholly with this ornamentation, from the pursuit of knowledge.

In the 18th century, rhetoric assumed a more social role, initiating the creation of new education systems. "Elocution schools" arose (predominantly in England) in which females analyzed classic literature, most notably the works of William Shakespeare, and discussed pronunciation tactics.<sup>[28]</sup>

The study of rhetoric underwent a revival with the rise of democratic institutions during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Scotland's author and theorist Hugh Blair served as a key leader of this movement during the late 18th century. In his most famous work "Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres", he advocates rhetorical study for common citizens as a resource for social success. Many American colleges and secondary schools used Blair's text throughout the 19th century to train students of rhetoric.<sup>[29]</sup>

Political rhetoric also underwent renewal in the wake of the US and French revolutions. The rhetorical studies of ancient Greece and Rome were resurrected in the studies of the era as speakers and teachers looked to Cicero and others to inspire defense of the new republic. Leading rhetorical theorists included John Quincy Adams of Harvard who advocated the democratic advancement of rhetorical art. Harvard's founding of the Boylston Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory sparked the growth of rhetorical study in colleges across the United States. Harvard's rhetoric program drew inspiration from literary sources to guide organization and style.

Debate clubs and lyceums also developed as forums in which common citizens could hear speakers and sharpen debate skills. The American lyceum in particular was seen as both an educational and social institution, featuring group discussions and guest lecturers.<sup>[30]</sup> These programs cultivated democratic values and promoted active participation in political analysis.

Throughout the 20th century, rhetoric developed as a concentrated field of study with the establishment of rhetorical courses in high schools and universities. Courses such as public speaking and speech analysis apply fundamental Greek theories (such as the modes of persuasion: ethos, pathos, and logos) as well as trace rhetorical development throughout the course of history. Rhetoric has earned a more esteemed reputation as a field of study with the emergence of Communication Studies departments in university programs and in conjunction with the linguistic turn. Rhetorical study has broadened in scope, and is especially utilized by the fields of marketing, politics, and literature.

Rhetoric, as an area of study, is concerned with how humans use symbols, especially language, to reach agreement that permits coordinated effort of some sort. Harvard University, the first university in the United States, based on the European model, taught a basic curriculum, including rhetoric. Rhetoric, in this sense, how to properly give speeches, played an important role in their training. Rhetoric was soon taught in departments of English as well.

## Epistemology

The relationship between rhetoric and knowledge is one of the oldest and most interesting problems. The contemporary stereotype of rhetoric as "empty speech" or "empty words" reflects a radical division of rhetoric from knowledge, a division that has had influential adherents within the rhetorical tradition, most notably Plato and Peter Ramus. It is a division that has been strongly associated with Enlightenment thinking about language, which attempted to make language a neutral, transparent medium. A philosophical argument has ensued for centuries about whether or not rhetoric and truth have any correlation to one another. In ancient Greece, the sophists generally believed that humans were incapable of determining truth but used logos to determine what was best (or worst) for the community. Sophists like Protagoras put great emphasis on speech as a means that could help in making these decisions for the community.

However, Plato was critical of the sophists' views because he believed that rhetoric was simply too dangerous, being based in skill and common opinion (doxa). Plato set out to instead discover episteme, or "truth," through the dialectical method. Since Plato's argument has shaped western philosophy, rhetoric has mainly been regarded as an evil that has no epistemic status.

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Over the 20th century, with the influence of social constructionism and pragmatism, this tradition began to change. [citation needed] Robert L. Scott states that rhetoric is, in fact, epistemic.<sup>[31]</sup> His argument is based on the belief that truth is not a central, objective set of facts but that truth is based on the situation at hand. Scott goes as far as stating that if a man believes in an ultimate truth and argues it, he is only fooling himself by convincing himself of one argument among many possible options. Ultimately, truth is relative to situated experiences, and rhetoric is necessary to give meaning to individual circumstances. Researchers in the rhetoric of science, have shown how the two are difficult to separate, and how discourse helps to create knowledge. This perspective is often called "epistemic rhetoric", where communication among interlocutors is fundamental to the creation of knowledge in communities.

Truth has also been theorized as a mutual agreement amongst the community. Academics like Thomas Farrell discuss the importance of social consensus as knowledge.<sup>[32]</sup> Furthermore, Brummett points out, "A worldview in which truth is agreement must have rhetoric at its heart, for agreement is gained in no other way."<sup>[33]</sup> So, if one agrees with the statement that truth is mutual agreement, truth must be relative and necessarily arise in persuasion. Emphasizing this close relationship between discourse and knowledge, contemporary rhetoricians have been associated with a number of philosophical and social scientific theories that see language and discourse as central to, rather than in conflict with, knowledge-making (see critical theory, post-structuralism, hermeneutics, dramatism, reflexivity).

## History

Rhetoric has its origins in Mesopotamia. Some of the earliest examples of rhetoric can be found in the Akkadian writings of the princess and priestess Enheduanna (ca. 2285-2250 BC), while later examples can be found in the Neo-Assyrian Empire during the time of Sennacherib (704–681 BC). In ancient Egypt, rhetoric has existed since at least the Middle Kingdom period (ca. 2080-1640 BC). The Egyptians held eloquent speaking in high esteem, and it was a skill that had a very high value in their society. The "Egyptian rules of rhetoric" also clearly specified that "knowing when not to speak is essential, and very respected, rhetorical knowledge." Their "approach to rhetoric" was thus a "balance between eloquence and wise silence." Their rules of speech also strongly emphasized "adherence to social behaviors that support a conservative status quo" and they held that "skilled speech should support, not question, society." In ancient China, rhetoric dates back to the Chinese philosopher, Confucius (551-479 BC), and continued with later followers. The tradition of Confucianism emphasized the use of eloquence in speaking. The use of rhetoric can also be found in the ancient Biblical tradition.

In ancient Greece, the earliest mention of oratorical skill occurs in Homer's *Iliad*, where heroes like Achilles, Hektor, and Odysseus were honored for their ability to advise and exhort their peers and followers (the *Laos* or army) in wise and appropriate action. With the rise of the democratic *polis*, speaking skill was adapted to the needs of the public and political life of cities in ancient Greece, much of which revolved around the use of oratory as the medium through which political and judicial decisions were made, and through which philosophical ideas were developed and disseminated. For modern students today, it can be difficult to remember that the wide use and availability of written texts is a phenomenon that was just coming into vogue in Classical Greece. In Classical times, many of the great thinkers and political leaders performed their works before an audience, usually in the context of a competition or contest for fame, political influence, and cultural capital; in fact, many of them are known only through the texts that their students, followers, or detractors wrote down. As has already been noted, *rhetor* was the Greek term for *orator*: A *rhetor* was a citizen who regularly addressed juries and political assemblies and who was thus understood to have gained some knowledge about public speaking in the process, though in general facility with language was often referred to as *logôn techne*, "skill with arguments" or "verbal artistry."<sup>[34]</sup>

Rhetoric thus evolved as an important art, one that provided the orator with the forms, means, and strategies for persuading an audience of the correctness of the orator's arguments. Today the term *rhetoric* can be used at times to refer only to the form of argumentation, often with the pejorative connotation that rhetoric is a means of obscuring



the truth. Classical philosophers believed quite the contrary: the skilled use of rhetoric was essential to the discovery of truths, because it provided the means of ordering and clarifying arguments.

## Sophists

In Europe, organized thought about public speaking began in ancient Greece.<sup>[35]</sup> Possibly, the first study about the power of language may be attributed to the philosopher Empedocles (d. ca. 444 BC), whose theories on human knowledge would provide a basis for many future rhetoricians. The first written manual is attributed to Corax and his pupil Tisias. Their work, as well as that of many of the early rhetoricians, grew out of the courts of law; Tisias, for example, is believed to have written judicial speeches that others delivered in the courts. Teaching in oratory was popularized in the 5th century BC by itinerant teachers known as sophists, the best known of whom were Protagoras (c.481-420 BC), Gorgias (c.483-376 BC), and Isocrates (436-338 BC). The Sophists were a disparate group who travelled from city to city, teaching in public places to attract students and offer them an education. Their central focus was on *logos* or what we might broadly refer to as discourse, its functions and powers. They defined parts of speech, analyzed poetry, parsed close synonyms, invented argumentation strategies, and debated the nature of reality. They claimed to make their students "better," or, in other words, to teach virtue. They thus claimed that human "excellence" was not an accident of fate or a prerogative of noble birth, but an art or "*techné*" that could be taught and learned. They were thus among the first humanists. Several sophists also questioned received wisdom about the gods and the Greek culture, which they believed was taken for granted by Greeks of their time, making them among the first agnostics. For example, they argued that cultural practices were a function of convention or *nomos* rather than blood or birth or *physis*. They argued even further that morality or immorality of any action could not be judged outside of the cultural context within which it occurred. The well-known phrase, "Man is the measure of all things" arises from this belief. One of their most famous, and infamous, doctrines has to do with probability and counter arguments. They taught that every argument could be countered with an opposing argument, that an argument's effectiveness derived from how "likely" it appeared to the audience (its probability of seeming true), and that any probability argument could be countered with an inverted probability argument. Thus, if it seemed likely that a strong, poor man were guilty of robbing a rich, weak man, the strong poor man could argue, on the contrary, that this very likelihood (that he would be a suspect) makes it unlikely that he committed the crime, since he would most likely be apprehended for the crime. They also taught and were known for their ability to make the weaker (or worse) argument the stronger (or better). Aristophanes famously parodies the clever inversions that sophists were known for in his play *The Clouds*.

The word "sophistry" developed strong negative connotations in ancient Greece that continue today, but in ancient Greece sophists were nevertheless popular and well-paid professionals, widely respected for their abilities but also widely criticized for their excesses.

## Isocrates

Isocrates (436-338 BC), like the sophists, taught public speaking as a means of human improvement, but he worked to distinguish himself from the Sophists, whom he saw as claiming far more than they could deliver. He suggested that while an art of virtue or excellence did exist, it was only one piece, and the least, in a process of self-improvement that relied much more heavily on native talent and desire, constant practice, and the imitation of good models. Isocrates believed that practice in speaking publicly about noble themes and important questions would function to improve the character of both speaker and audience while also offering the best service to a city. In fact, Isocrates was an outspoken champion of rhetoric as a mode of civic engagement.<sup>[36]</sup> He thus wrote his speeches as "models" for his students to imitate in the same way that poets might imitate Homer or Hesiod, seeking to inspire in them a desire to attain fame through civic leadership. His was the first permanent school in Athens and it is likely that Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum were founded in part as a response to Isocrates. Though he left no handbooks, his speeches ("*Antidosis*" and "*Against the Sophists*" are most relevant to students of rhetoric) became models of oratory (he was one of the canonical "Ten Attic Orators") and keys to his entire educational

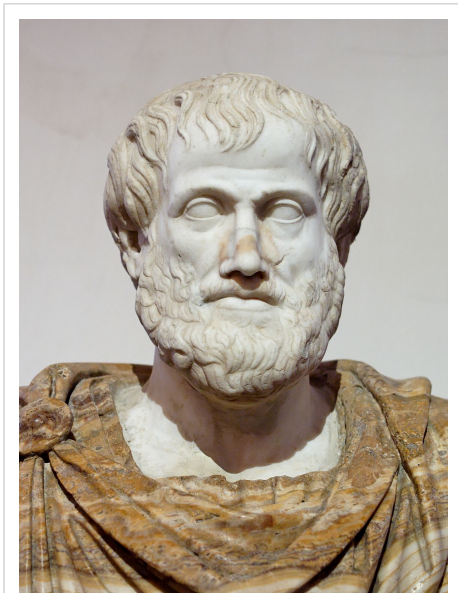
program. He had a marked influence on Cicero and Quintilian, and through them, on the entire educational system of the west.

## Plato

Plato (427-347 BC) famously outlined the differences between true and false rhetoric in a number of dialogues; particularly the *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus* wherein Plato disputes the sophistic notion that the art of persuasion (the sophists' art, which he calls "rhetoric"), can exist independent of the art of dialectic. Plato claims that since sophists appeal only to what seems probable, they are not advancing their students and audiences, but simply flattering them with what they want to hear. While Plato's condemnation of rhetoric is clear in the *Gorgias*, in the *Phaedrus* he suggests the possibility of a true art wherein rhetoric is based upon the knowledge produced by dialectic, and relies on a dialectically informed rhetoric to appeal to the main character: Phaedrus, to take up philosophy. Thus Plato's rhetoric is actually dialectic (or philosophy) "turned" toward those who are not yet philosophers and are thus unready to pursue dialectic directly. Plato's animosity against rhetoric, and against the sophists, derives not only from their inflated claims to teach virtue and their reliance on appearances, but from the fact that his teacher, Socrates, was sentenced to death after sophists' efforts.

## Aristotle

Aristotle (384-322 BC) was a student of Plato who famously set forth an extended treatise on rhetoric that still repays careful study today. In the first sentence of *The Art of Rhetoric*, Aristotle says that "rhetoric is the counterpart [literally, the antistrophe] of dialectic." As the "antistrophe" of a Greek ode responds to and is patterned after the structure of the "strophe" (they form two sections of the whole and are sung by two parts of the chorus), so the art of rhetoric follows and is structurally patterned after the art of dialectic because both are arts of discourse production. Thus, while dialectical methods are necessary to find truth in theoretical matters, rhetorical methods are required in practical matters such as adjudicating somebody's guilt or innocence when charged in a court of law, or adjudicating a prudent course of action to be taken in a deliberative assembly. The core features dialectic include the absence of determined subject matter, its elaboration on earlier empirical practice, the explication of its aims, the type of utility and the definition of the proper function. For Plato and Aristotle, dialectic involves persuasion, so when Aristotle says that rhetoric is the antistrophe of dialectic, he means that rhetoric as he uses the term has a domain or scope of application that is parallel to but different from the domain or scope of application of dialectic. In *Nietzsche Humanist* (1998: 129), Claude Pavur explains that "[t]he Greek prefix 'anti' does not merely designate opposition, but it can also mean 'in place of.'" When Aristotle characterizes rhetoric as the antistrophe of dialectic, he no doubt means that rhetoric is used in place of dialectic when we are discussing civic issues in a court of law or in a legislative assembly. The domain of rhetoric is civic affairs and practical decision making in civic affairs, not theoretical considerations of operational definitions of terms and clarification of thought. These, for him, are in the domain of dialectic.



A marble bust of Aristotle

Aristotle's treatise on rhetoric is an attempt to systematically describe civic rhetoric as a human art or skill (*techne*). It is more of an objective theory than it is an interpretive theory with a rhetorical tradition. Aristotle's "art" of rhetoric emphasizes on persuasion to be the purpose of rhetoric. His definition of rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion," essentially a mode of discovery, seems to limit the art to the

inventional process, and Aristotle heavily emphasizes the logical aspect of this process. In his world, rhetoric is the art of discovering all available means of persuasion. A speaker supports the probability of a message by logical, ethical, and emotional proofs. Some form of logos, ethos, and pathos is present in every possible public presentation that exists. But the treatise in fact also discusses not only elements of style and (briefly) delivery, but also emotional appeals (pathos) and characterological appeals (ethos). He thus identifies three steps or "offices" of rhetoric—invention, arrangement, and style—and three different types of rhetorical proof:

- ethos: Aristotle's theory of character and how the character and credibility of a speaker can influence an audience to consider him/her to be believable.
  - This could be any position in which the speaker—whether an acknowledged expert on the subject, or an acquaintance of a person who experienced the matter in question—knows about the topic.
  - For instance, when a magazine claims that *An MIT professor predicts that the robotic era is coming in 2050*, the use of big-name "MIT" (a world-renowned American university for the advanced research in mathematics, science, and technology) establishes the "strong" credibility.
  - There are three qualities that contribute to a credible ethos and they include perceived intelligence, virtuous character, and goodwill.
  - Audience is more likely to be persuaded by a credible source because they are more reliable.
- pathos: the use of emotional appeals to alter the audience's judgment.
  - This can be done through metaphor, amplification, storytelling, or presenting the topic in a way that evokes strong emotions in the audience.
  - Aristotle used pathos as a corrective measure to help the speaker create appeals to emotion to motivate decision making.
  - George Kennedy claims that pathos was an early discussion of human psychology.
  - Strong emotions are likely to persuade when there is a connection with the audience.
- logos: the use of reasoning, either inductive or deductive, to construct an argument.
  - Logos appeals include appeals to statistics, mathematics, logic, and *objectivity*. For instance, when advertisements claim that their product is *37% more effective than the competition*, they are making a logical appeal.
  - Inductive reasoning uses examples (historical, mythical, or hypothetical) to draw conclusions.
  - Deductive reasoning, or "enthymematic" reasoning, uses generally accepted propositions to derive specific conclusions. The term *logic* evolved from *logos*. Aristotle emphasized enthymematic reasoning as central to the process of rhetorical invention, though later rhetorical theorists placed much less emphasis on it. An "enthymeme" would follow today's form of a syllogism; however it would exclude either the major or minor premise. An enthymeme is persuasive because the audience is providing the missing premise. Because the audience is able to provide the missing premise, they are more likely to be persuaded by the message.

Aristotle also identifies three different types or genres of civic rhetoric: *forensic* (also known as judicial, was concerned with determining *truth* or *falsity* of events that took place in the *past*, issues of guilt. An example of forensic rhetoric would be in a courtroom ), *deliberative* (also known as political, was concerned with determining whether or not particular actions *should* or should not be taken in the *future*. Making laws would be an example of deliberative rhetoric), and *epideictic* (also known as ceremonial, was concerned with praise and blame, values, right and wrong, demonstrating beauty and skill in the *present*. Examples of epideictic rhetoric would include a eulogy or a wedding toast ).

The Five Canons of Rhetoric serve as a guide to creating persuasive messages and arguments:

- Invention - the process of developing arguments
- Style - determining how to present the arguments
- Arrangement - organizing the arguments for extreme effect
- Delivery - the gestures, pronunciation, tone and pace used when presenting the persuasive arguments

- Memory - the process of learning and memorizing the speech and persuasive messages (This was the last canon of rhetoric that was added much later to the original four canons.)

In the rhetoric field, there is an intellectual debate about Aristotle's definition of rhetoric. Some believe that Aristotle defines rhetoric in *On Rhetoric* as the art of persuasion, while others think he defines it as the art of judgment. Rhetoric as the art of judgment would mean the rhetor discerns the available means of persuasion with a choice. Aristotle also says rhetoric is concerned with judgment because the audience judges the rhetor's ethos.

One of the most famous of Aristotelian doctrines was the idea of topics (also referred to as common topics or commonplaces). Though the term had a wide range of application (as a memory technique or compositional exercise, for example) it most often referred to the "seats of argument"—the list of categories of thought or modes of reasoning—that a speaker could use to generate arguments or proofs. The topics were thus a heuristic or inventional tool designed to help speakers categorize and thus better retain and apply frequently used types of argument. For example, since we often see effects as "like" their causes, one way to invent an argument (about a future effect) is by discussing the cause (which it will be "like"). This and other rhetorical topics derive from Aristotle's belief that there are certain predictable ways in which humans (particularly non-specialists) draw conclusions from premises. Based upon and adapted from his dialectical Topics, the rhetorical topics became a central feature of later rhetorical theorizing, most famously in Cicero's work of that name.

It has been questioned whether or not it is ethical to alter a message to make it appear to be more persuasive. Aristotle stands between the two extremes.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

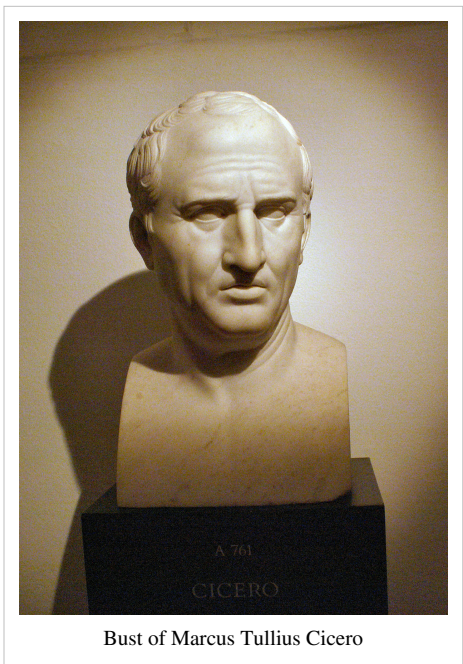
Another critique (or weakness) that questions the aspects of Aristotle's rhetoric theory is that he does not focus much on the emotional (pathos) proof.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

## Cicero

For the Romans, oration became an important part of public life. Cicero (106-43 BC) was chief among Roman rhetoricians and remains the best known ancient orator and the only orator who both spoke in public and produced treatises on the subject. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, formerly attributed to Cicero but now considered to be of unknown authorship, is one of the most significant works on rhetoric and is still widely used as a reference today. It is an extensive reference on the use of rhetoric, and in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, it achieved wide publication as an advanced school text on rhetoric.

Cicero is considered one of the most significant rhetoricians of all time. His works include the early and very influential *De Inventione* (On Invention, often read alongside the *Ad Herennium* as the two basic texts of rhetorical theory throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance), *De Oratore* (a fuller statement of rhetorical principles in dialogue form), *Topics* (a rhetorical treatment of common topics, highly influential through the Renaissance), *Brutus* (Cicero) (a discussion of famous orators) and *Orator* (a defense of Cicero's style).

Cicero also left a large body of speeches and letters which would establish the outlines of Latin eloquence and style for generations to come. It was the rediscovery of Cicero's speeches (such as the defense of Archias) and letters (to Atticus) by Italians like Petrarch that, in part, ignited the cultural innovations that we know as the Renaissance. He championed the learning of Greek (and Greek rhetoric), contributed to Roman ethics, linguistics, philosophy, and politics, and emphasized the importance of all forms of appeal (emotion, humor, stylistic range, irony and digression



Bust of Marcus Tullius Cicero

in addition to pure reasoning) in oratory. But perhaps his most significant contribution to subsequent rhetoric, and education in general, was his argument that orators learn not only about the specifics of their case (the *hypothesis*) but also about the general questions from which they derived (the *theses*). Thus, in giving a speech in defense of a poet whose Roman citizenship had been questioned, the orator should examine not only the specifics of that poet's civic status, he should also examine the role and value of poetry and of literature more generally in Roman culture and political life. The orator, said Cicero, needed to be knowledgeable about all areas of human life and culture, including law, politics, history, literature, ethics, warfare, medicine, even arithmetic and geometry. Cicero gave rise to the idea that the "ideal orator" be well-versed in all branches of learning: an idea that was rendered as "liberal humanism," and that lives on today in liberal arts or general education requirements in colleges and universities around the world.

## Quintilian

Quintilian (35-100 AD) began his career as a pleader in the courts of law; his reputation grew so great that Vespasian created a chair of rhetoric for him in Rome. The culmination of his life's work was the *Institutio oratoria* (*Institutes of Oratory*, or alternatively, *The Orator's Education*), a lengthy treatise on the training of the orator, in which he discusses the training of the "perfect" orator from birth to old age and, in the process, reviews the doctrines and opinions of many influential rhetoricians who preceded him.

In the *Institutes*, Quintilian organizes rhetorical study through the stages of education that an aspiring orator would undergo, beginning with the selection of a nurse. Aspects of elementary education (training in reading and writing, grammar, and literary criticism) are followed by preliminary rhetorical exercises in composition (the progymnasmata) that include maxims and fables, narratives and comparisons, and finally full legal or political speeches. The delivery of speeches within the context of education or for entertainment purposes became widespread and popular under the term "declamation." Rhetorical training proper was categorized under five canons that would persist for centuries in academic circles:

- *Inventio* (invention) is the process that leads to the development and refinement of an argument.
- Once arguments are developed, *dispositio* (disposition, or arrangement) is used to determine how it should be organized for greatest effect, usually beginning with the *exordium*.
- Once the speech content is known and the structure is determined, the next steps involve *elocutio* (style) and *pronuntiatio* (presentation).
- *Memoria* (memory) comes to play as the speaker recalls each of these elements during the speech.
- *Actio* (delivery) is the final step as the speech is presented in a gracious and pleasing way to the audience - the Grand Style.

This work was available only in fragments in medieval times, but the discovery of a complete copy at the Abbey of St. Gall in 1416 led to its emergence as one of the most influential works on rhetoric during the Renaissance.

Quintilian's work describes not just the art of rhetoric, but the formation of the perfect orator as a politically active, virtuous, publicly minded citizen. His emphasis was on the ethical application of rhetorical training, in part a reaction against the growing tendency in Roman schools toward standardization of themes and techniques. At the same time that rhetoric was becoming divorced from political decision making, rhetoric rose as a culturally vibrant and important mode of entertainment and cultural criticism in a movement known as the "second sophistic," a development that gave rise to the charge (made by Quintilian and others) that teachers were emphasizing style over substance in rhetoric.

## Medieval to Enlightenment

After the breakup of the western Roman Empire, the study of rhetoric continued to be central to the study of the verbal arts; but the study of the verbal arts went into decline for several centuries, followed eventually by a gradual rise in formal education, culminating in the rise of medieval universities. But rhetoric transmuted during this period into the arts of letter writing (*ars dictaminis*) and sermon writing (*ars praedicandi*). As part of the *trivium*, rhetoric was secondary to the study of logic, and its study was highly scholastic: students were given repetitive exercises in the creation of discourses on historical subjects (*suasoriae*) or on classic legal questions (*controversiae*).

Although he is not commonly regarded as a rhetorician, St. Augustine (354-430) was trained in rhetoric and was at one time a professor of Latin rhetoric in Milan. After his conversion to Christianity, he became interested in using these "pagan" arts for spreading his religion. This new use of rhetoric is explored in the Fourth Book of his *De Doctrina Christiana*, which laid the foundation of what would become homiletics, the rhetoric of the sermon. Augustine begins the book by asking why "the power of eloquence, which is so efficacious in pleading either for the erroneous cause or the right", should not be used for righteous purposes (IV.3).

One early concern of the medieval Christian church was its attitude to classical rhetoric itself. Jerome (d. 420) complained, "What has Horace to do with the Psalms, Virgil with the Gospels, Cicero with the Apostles?" Augustine is also remembered for arguing for the preservation of pagan works and fostering a church tradition that led to conservation of numerous pre-Christian rhetorical writings.

Rhetoric would not regain its classical heights until the renaissance, but new writings did advance rhetorical thought. Boethius (480?-524), in his brief *Overview of the Structure of Rhetoric*, continues Aristotle's taxonomy by placing rhetoric in subordination to philosophical argument or dialectic.<sup>[37]</sup> The introduction of Arab scholarship from European relations with the Muslim empire (in particular Al-Andalus) renewed interest in Aristotle and Classical thought in general, leading to what some historians call the 12th century renaissance. A number of medieval grammars and studies of poetry and rhetoric appeared.

Late medieval rhetorical writings include those of St. Thomas Aquinas (1225?-1274), Matthew of Vendome (*Ars Versificatoria*, 1175?), and Geoffrey of Vinsauf (*Poetria Nova*, 1200-1216). Pre-modern female rhetoricians, outside of Socrates' friend Aspasia, are rare; but medieval rhetoric produced by women either in religious orders, such as Julian of Norwich (d. 1415), or the very well-connected Christine de Pizan (1364?-1430?), did occur if not always recorded in writing.

In his 1943 Cambridge University doctoral dissertation in English, Canadian Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980) surveys the verbal arts from approximately the time of Cicero down to the time of Thomas Nashe (1567-1600?).<sup>[38]</sup> His dissertation is still noteworthy for undertaking to study the history of the verbal arts together as the *trivium*, even though the developments that he surveys have been studied in greater detail since he undertook his study. As noted below, McLuhan became one of the most widely publicized thinkers in the 20th century, so it is important to note his scholarly roots in the study of the history of rhetoric and dialectic.

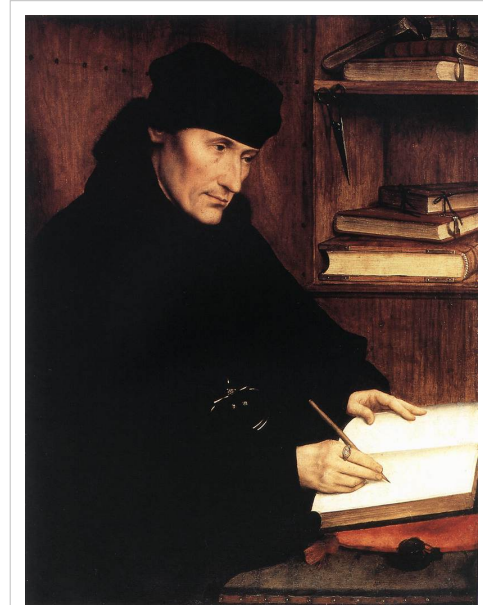
Another interesting record of medieval rhetorical thought can be seen in the many animal debate poems popular in England and the continent during the Middle Ages, such as *The Owl and the Nightingale* (13th century) and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* (1382?).



## Sixteenth century

Walter J. Ong's article "Humanism" in the 1967 *New Catholic Encyclopedia* surveys Renaissance humanism, which defined itself broadly as disfavoring medieval scholastic logic and dialectic and as favoring instead the study of classical Latin style and grammar and philology and rhetoric. (Reprinted in Ong's *Faith and Contexts* (Scholars Press, 1999; 4: 69-91.))

One influential figure in the rebirth of interest in classical rhetoric was Erasmus (c.1466-1536). His 1512 work, *De Duplici Copia Verborum et Rerum* (also known as *Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style*), was widely published (it went through more than 150 editions throughout Europe) and became one of the basic school texts on the subject. Its treatment of rhetoric is less comprehensive than the classic works of antiquity, but provides a traditional treatment of *res-verba* (matter and form): its first book treats the subject of elocutio, showing the student how to use schemes and tropes; the second book covers inventio. Much of the emphasis is on abundance of variation (*copia* means "plenty" or "abundance", as in copious or cornucopia), so both books focus on ways to introduce the maximum amount of variety into discourse. For instance, in one section of the *De Copia*, Erasmus presents two hundred variations of the sentence "*Semper, dum vivam, tui meminero.*" Another of his works, the extremely popular *The Praise of Folly*, also had considerable influence on the teaching of rhetoric in the later 16th century. Its orations in favour of qualities such as madness spawned a type of exercise popular in Elizabethan grammar schools, later called adoxography, which required pupils to compose passages in praise of useless things.



Portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam

Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540) also helped shape the study of rhetoric in England. A Spaniard, he was appointed in 1523 to the Lectureship of Rhetoric at Oxford by Cardinal Wolsey, and was entrusted by Henry VIII to be one of the tutors of Mary. Vives fell into disfavor when Henry VIII divorced Catherine of Aragon and left England in 1528. His best-known work was a book on education, *De Disciplinis*, published in 1531, and his writings on rhetoric included *Rhetoricae, sive De Ratione Dicendi, Libri Tres* (1533), *De Consultatione* (1533), and a rhetoric on letter writing, *De Conscribendis Epistolas* (1536). — It is likely that many well-known English writers would have been exposed to the works of Erasmus and Vives (as well as those of the Classical rhetoricians) in their schooling, which was conducted in Latin (not English) and often included some study of Greek and placed considerable emphasis on rhetoric. See, for example, T.W. Baldwin's *William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (University of Illinois Press, 1944).

The mid-16th century saw the rise of vernacular rhetorics—those written in English rather than in the Classical languages; adoption of works in English was slow, however, due to the strong orientation toward Latin and Greek. Leonard Cox's *The Art or Crafte of Rhetoryke* (c. 1524-1530; second edition published in 1532) is considered to be the earliest text on rhetorics in English; it was, for the most part, a translation of the work of Philipp Melanchthon.<sup>[39]</sup> A successful early text was Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), which presents a traditional treatment of rhetoric. For instance, Wilson presents the five canons of rhetoric (Invention, Disposition, Elocutio, Memoria, and Utterance or Actio). Other notable works included Angel Day's *The English Secreterie* (1586, 1592), George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), and Richard Rainholde's *Foundacion of Rhetorike* (1563).

During this same period, a movement began that would change the organization of the school curriculum in Protestant and especially Puritan circles and lead to rhetoric losing its central place. A French scholar, Pierre de la

Ramée, in Latin Petrus Ramus (1515–1572), dissatisfied with what he saw as the overly broad and redundant organization of the trivium, proposed a new curriculum. In his scheme of things, the five components of rhetoric no longer lived under the common heading of rhetoric. Instead, invention and disposition were determined to fall exclusively under the heading of dialectic, while style, delivery, and memory were all that remained for rhetoric. See Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Harvard University Press, 1958; reissued by the University of Chicago Press, 2004, with a new foreword by Adrian Johns). Ramus, rightly accused of sodomy and erroneously of atheism, was martyred during the French Wars of Religion. His teachings, seen as inimical to Catholicism, were short-lived in France but found a fertile ground in the Netherlands, Germany and England.<sup>[40]</sup>

One of Ramus' French followers, Audomarus Talaeus (Omer Talon) published his rhetoric, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, in 1544. This work provided a simple presentation of rhetoric that emphasized the treatment of style, and became so popular that it was mentioned in John Brinsley's (1612) *Ludus literarius; or The Grammar Schoole* as being the "most used in the best schooles." Many other Ramist rhetorics followed in the next half-century, and by the 17th century, their approach became the primary method of teaching rhetoric in Protestant and especially Puritan circles. See Walter J. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory* (Harvard University Press, 1958); Joseph S. Freedman, *Philosophy and the Art Europe, 1500-1700: Teaching and Texts at Schools and Universities* (Ashgate, 1999). John Milton (1608–1674) wrote a textbook in logic or dialectic in Latin based on Ramus' work, which has now been translated into English by Walter J. Ong and Charles J. Ermatinger in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton* (Yale University Press, 1982; 8: 206–407), with a lengthy introduction by Ong (144–205). The introduction is reprinted in Ong's *Faith and Contexts* (Scholars Press, 1999; 4: 111–41).

Ramism could not exert any influence on the established Catholic schools and universities, which remained loyal to Scholasticism, or on the new Catholic schools and universities founded by members of the religious orders known as the Society of Jesus or the Oratorians, as can be seen in the Jesuit curriculum (in use right up to the 19th century, across the Christian world) known as the Ratio Studiorum (that Claude Pavur, S.J., has recently translated into English, with the Latin text in the parallel column on each page (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005)). If the influence of Cicero and Quintilian permeates the Ratio Studiorum, it is through the lenses of devotion and the militancy of the Counter-Reformation. The *Ratio* was indeed imbued with a sense of the divine, of the incarnate logos, that is of rhetoric as an eloquent and humane means to reach further devotion and further action in the Christian city, which was absent from Ramist formalism. The *Ratio* is, in rhetoric, the answer to St Ignatius Loyola's practice, in devotion, of "spiritual exercises." This complex oratorical-prayer system is absent from Ramism.

## Seventeenth century

In New England and at Harvard College (founded 1636), Ramus and his followers dominated, as Perry Miller shows in *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1939). However, in England, several writers influenced the course of rhetoric during the 17th century, many of them carrying forward the dichotomy that had been set forth by Ramus and his followers during the preceding decades. Of greater importance is that this century saw the development of a modern, vernacular style that looked to English, rather than to Greek, Latin, or French models.

Francis Bacon (1561–1626), although not a rhetorician, contributed to the field in his writings. One of the concerns of the age was to find a suitable style for the discussion of scientific topics, which needed above all a clear exposition of facts and arguments, rather than the ornate style favored at the time. Bacon in his *The Advancement of Learning* criticized those who are preoccupied with style rather than "the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment." On matters of style, he proposed that the style conform to the subject matter and to the audience, that simple words be employed whenever possible, and that the style should be agreeable.<sup>[41]</sup>



Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) also wrote on rhetoric. Along with a shortened translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Hobbes also produced a number of other works on the subject. Sharply contrarian on many subjects, Hobbes, like Bacon, also promoted a simpler and more natural style that used figures of speech sparingly.

Perhaps the most influential development in English style came out of the work of the Royal Society (founded in 1660), which in 1664 set up a committee to improve the English language. Among the committee's members were John Evelyn (1620–1706), Thomas Sprat (1635–1713), and John Dryden (1631–1700). Sprat regarded "fine speaking" as a disease, and thought that a proper style should "reject all amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style" and instead "return back to a primitive purity and shortness" (*History of the Royal Society*, 1667).

While the work of this committee never went beyond planning, John Dryden is often credited with creating and exemplifying a new and modern English style. His central tenet was that the style should be proper "to the occasion, the subject, and the persons." As such, he advocated the use of English words whenever possible instead of foreign ones, as well as vernacular, rather than Latinate, syntax. His own prose (and his poetry) became exemplars of this new style.

## **Eighteenth century**

Arguably one of the most influential schools of rhetoric during this time was Scottish Belletristic rhetoric, exemplified by such professors of rhetoric as Hugh Blair whose *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* saw international success in various editions and translations.

## **Modern rhetoric**

At the turn of the 20th century, there was a revival of rhetorical study manifested in the establishment of departments of rhetoric and speech at academic institutions, as well as the formation of national and international professional organizations.<sup>[42]</sup> Theorists generally agree that a significant reason for the revival of the study of rhetoric was the renewed importance of language and persuasion in the increasingly mediated environment of the 20th century (see Linguistic turn) and through the 21st century, with the media focus on the wide variations and analyses of political rhetoric and its consequences. The rise of advertising and of mass media such as photography, telegraphy, radio, and film brought rhetoric more prominently into people's lives. More recently the term rhetoric has been applied to media forms other than verbal language, e.g. Visual rhetoric.

## **Notable modern theorists**

- **Chaim Perelman** was a philosopher of law, who studied, taught, and lived most of his life in Brussels. He was among the most important argumentation theorists of the 20th century. His chief work is the *Traité de l'argumentation - la nouvelle rhétorique* (1958), with Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, which was translated into English as *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*, by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (1969). Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca move rhetoric from the periphery to the center of argumentation theory. Among their most influential concepts are "dissociation," "the universal audience," "quasi-logical argument," and "presence."
- **Kenneth Burke** was a rhetorical theorist, philosopher, and poet. Many of his works are central to modern rhetorical theory: *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1950), *A Grammar of Motives* (1945), *Language as Symbolic Action* (1966), and *Counterstatement* (1931). Among his influential concepts are "identification," "consubstantiality," and the "dramatistic pentad." He described rhetoric as "the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols." In relation to Aristotle's theory, Aristotle was more interested in constructing rhetoric, while Burke was interested in "debunking" it.
- **Edwin Black** was a rhetorical critic best known for his book *Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method*<sup>[43]</sup> (1965) in which he criticized the dominant "neo-Aristotelian" tradition in American rhetorical criticism as having little in common with Aristotle "besides some recurrent topics of discussion and a vaguely derivative view of rhetorical discourse." Furthermore, he contended, because rhetorical scholars had been focusing primarily on Aristotelian

logical forms they often overlooked important, alternative types of discourse. He also published several highly influential essays including: "Secrecy and Disclosure as Rhetorical Forms,"<sup>[44]</sup> "The Second Persona,"<sup>[45]</sup> and "A Note on Theory and Practice in Rhetorical Criticism."<sup>[46]</sup>

- **Marshall McLuhan** was a media theorist whose discoveries are important to the study of rhetoric. McLuhan's famous dictum "the medium is the message" highlights the significance of the medium itself. No other scholar of the history and theory of rhetoric was as widely publicized in the 20th century as McLuhan.<sup>[47]</sup>
- **I.A. Richards** was a literary critic and rhetorician. His *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* is an important text in modern rhetorical theory. In this work, he defined rhetoric as "a study of misunderstandings and its remedies,"<sup>[48]</sup> and introduced the influential concepts *tenor* and *vehicle* to describe the components of a metaphor—the main idea and the concept to which it is compared.<sup>[49]</sup>
- **The Groupe µ**. This interdisciplinary team has contributed to the renovation of the elocutio in the context of poetics and modern linguistics, significantly with *Rhétorique générale* (1970; translated into English as *A General Rhetoric*, by Paul B. Burrell et Edgar M. Slotkin, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981) and *Rhétorique de la poésie* (1977).
- **Stephen Toulmin** was a philosopher whose models of argumentation have had great influence on modern rhetorical theory. His *Uses of Argument* is an important text in modern rhetorical theory and argumentation theory.
- "Richard E. Vatz" is a rhetorician responsible for the salience-agenda/meaning-spin conceptualization of rhetoric, a conceptualization which emphasizes persuader responsibility for the agenda and spin he/she creates. His theory is notable for its agent-focused perspective, articulated in *The Only Authentic Book of Persuasion* (Kendall Hunt), derived from the Summer, 1973 *Philosophy and Rhetoric* article, "The Myth of the Rhetorical Situation."
- "Richard M. Weaver" was a rhetorical and cultural critic well known for his contributions to the new conservatism. He focused on the ethical implications of rhetoric and his ideas can be seen in "Language is Sermonic" and "The Ethics of Rhetoric." According to Weaver there are four types of argument, and through the argument a person habitually uses the critic can see the rhetorician's worldview. Those who prefer the argument from genus or definition are idealists. Those who argue from similitude see the connectedness between things and are used by poets and religious individuals. The argument from consequence sees a cause and effect relationship. Finally the argument from circumstance considers the particulars of a situation and is an argument preferred by liberals.

## Methods of analysis

There does not exist an analytic method that is widely recognized as "the" rhetorical method, partly because many in rhetorical study see rhetoric as merely produced by reality (see dissent from that view below). It is important to note that the object of rhetorical analysis is typically discourse, and therefore the principles of "rhetorical analysis" would be difficult to distinguish from those of "discourse analysis." However, rhetorical analytic methods can also be applied to almost anything, including objects—a car, a castle, a computer, a comportment.

Generally speaking, rhetorical analysis makes use of rhetorical concepts (ethos, logos, kairos, mediation, etc.) to describe the social or epistemological functions of the object of study. When the object of study happens to be some type of discourse (a speech, a poem, a joke, a newspaper article), the aim of rhetorical analysis is not simply to describe the claims and arguments advanced within the discourse, but (more important) to identify the specific semiotic strategies employed by the speaker to accomplish specific persuasive goals. Therefore, after a rhetorical analyst discovers a use of language that is particularly important in achieving persuasion, she typically moves onto the question of "How does it work?" That is, what effects does this particular use of rhetoric have on an audience, and how does that effect provide more clues as to the speaker's (or writer's) objectives?

There are some scholars who do partial rhetorical analysis and defer judgments about rhetorical success. In other words, some analysts attempt to avoid the question of "Was this use of rhetoric successful [in accomplishing the

aims of the speaker]?" To others, however, that is the preeminent point: is the rhetoric strategically effective and what did the rhetoric accomplish? This question allows a shift in focus from the speaker's objectives to the effects and functions of the rhetoric itself.

## Rhetorical criticism

Modern rhetorical criticism explores the relationship between text and context; that is, how an instance of rhetoric relates to circumstances. In his *Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method*, scholar Edwin Black states, "It is the task of criticism not to measure... discourses dogmatically against some parochial standard of rationality but, allowing for the immeasurable wide range of human experience, to see them as they really are."<sup>[50]</sup> While the language "as they really are" is debatable, rhetorical critics explain texts and speeches by investigating their rhetorical situation, typically placing them in a framework of speaker/audience exchange. The antithetical view places the rhetor at the center of creating that which is considered the extant situation; i.e., the agenda and spin.<sup>[51]</sup>

Following the neo-Aristotelian approaches to criticism, scholars began to derive methods from other disciplines, such as history, philosophy, and the social sciences.<sup>[52]</sup> The importance of critics' personal judgment decreased in explicit coverage while the analytical dimension of criticism began to gain momentum. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, methodological pluralism replaced the singular neo-Aristotelian method. Methodological rhetorical criticism is typically done by deduction, where a broad method is used to examine a specific case of rhetoric.<sup>[53]</sup> These types include:

- **Ideological criticism** – critics engage rhetoric as it suggests the beliefs, values, assumptions, and interpretations held by the rhetor or the larger culture. Ideological criticism also treats ideology as an artifact of discourse, one that is embedded in key terms (called "ideographs") as well as material resources and discursive embodiment.
- **Cluster criticism** – a method developed by Kenneth Burke that seeks to help the critic understand the rhetor's worldview. This means identifying terms that are 'clustered' around key symbols in the rhetorical artifact and the patterns in which they appear.
- **Generic criticism** – a method that assumes certain situations call for similar needs and expectations within the audience, therefore calling for certain types of rhetoric. It studies rhetoric in different times and locations, looking at similarities in the rhetorical situation and the rhetoric that responds to them. Examples include eulogies, inaugural addresses, and declarations of war.
- **Narrative criticism**—narratives help organize experiences in order to endow meaning to historical events and transformations. Narrative criticism focuses on the story itself and how the construction of the narrative directs the interpretation of the situation.

By the mid-1980s, however, the study of rhetorical criticism began to move away from precise methodology towards conceptual issues. Conceptually driven criticism operates more through abduction, according to scholar James Jasinski, who argues that this emerging type of criticism can be thought of as a back-and-forth between the text and the concepts, which are being explored at the same time. The concepts remain "works in progress," and understanding those terms develops through the analysis of a text.<sup>[54]</sup>

Criticism is considered rhetorical when it focuses on the way some types of discourse react to situational exigencies—problems or demands—and constraints. This means that modern rhetorical criticism is based in how the rhetorical case or object persuades, defines, or constructs the audience. In modern terms, what can be considered rhetoric includes, but it is not limited to, speeches, scientific discourse, pamphlets, literary work, works of art, and pictures. Contemporary rhetorical criticism has maintained aspects of early neo-Aristotelian thinking through close reading, which attempts to explore the organization and stylistic structure of a rhetorical object.<sup>[55]</sup> Using close textual analysis means rhetorical critics use the tools of classical rhetoric and literary analysis to evaluate the style and strategy used to communicate the argument.

Rhetorical criticism serves several purposes or functions. First, rhetorical criticism hopes to help form or improve public taste. It helps educate audiences and develops them into better judges of rhetorical situations by reinforcing

ideas of value, morality, and suitability. Rhetorical criticism can thus contribute to the audience's understanding of themselves and society.

## French rhetoric

Rhetoric was part of the curriculum in Jesuit and, to a lesser extent, Oratorian colleges until the French Revolution. For Jesuits, right from the foundation of the Society in France, rhetoric was an integral part of the training of young men toward taking up leadership positions in the Church and in State institutions, as Marc Fumaroli has shown it in his foundational *Âge de l'éloquence* (1980). The Oratorians, by contrast, reserved it a lesser place, in part due to the stress they placed on modern language acquisition and a more sensualist philosophy (like Bernard Lamy's *La Rhétorique ou l'Art de parler* (1675), which is an excellent example of their approach). Nonetheless, in the 18th Century, rhetoric was the structure and crown of secondary education, with works such as Rollin's *Treatise of Studies* achieving a wide and enduring fame across the Continent.<sup>[56]</sup> Later, with Nicolas Boileau and François de Malherbe, rhetoric is the instrument of the clarity of the comment and speech ; the literature that ensues from it is named "Sublime". The main representative remains Rivarol.

The French Revolution, however, turned this around. Philosophers such as Condorcet, who drafted the French revolutionary chart for a people's education under the rule of reason, dismissed rhetoric as an instrument of oppression in the hands of clerics in particular. The Revolution went as far as to suppress the Bar, arguing that forensic rhetoric did disservice to a rational system of justice, by allowing fallacies and emotions to come into play. Nonetheless, as later historians of the 19th century were keen to explain, the Revolution was a high moment of eloquence and rhetorical prowess, although set against a background of rejecting rhetoric.

Under the First Empire and its wide-ranging educational reforms, imposed on or imitated across the Continent, rhetoric regained little ground. In fact, instructions to the newly founded Polytechnic School, tasked with training the scientific and technical elites, made it clear that written reporting was to supersede oral reporting. Rhetoric reentered secondary curriculum in fits and starts, but never regained the prominence it had enjoyed under the *ancien régime*, although the penultimate year of secondary education was known as the Class of Rhetoric. When manuals were redrafted in the mid-century, in particular after the 1848 Revolution to formulate a national curriculum, care was taken to distance their approach to rhetoric from that of the Church, which was seen as an agent of conservatism and reactionary politics.

By the end of the 1870s, a major change had taken place: philosophy of the rationalist or eclectic kind, generally Kantian, had taken over rhetoric as the true end stage of secondary education (the so-called Class of Philosophy bridged secondary and university education). Rhetoric was then relegated to the study of literary figures of speech, a discipline later on taught as Stylistics within the French literature curriculum. More decisively, in 1890, a new standard written exercise superseded the rhetorical exercises of speech writing, letter writing and narration. The new genre, called dissertation, had been invented in 1866, for the purpose of rational argument in the philosophy class. Typically, in a dissertation, a question is asked, such as: "Is history a sign of humanity's freedom?" The structure of a dissertation consists in an introduction that elucidates the basic definitions involved in the question as set, followed by an argument or thesis, a counter-argument or antithesis, and a resolving argument or synthesis that is not a compromise between the former but the production of a new argument, ending with a conclusion that does not sum up the points but opens onto a new problem. Hegelianism influenced the dissertation design. It remains today the standard of writing in French humanities.

By the beginning of the 20th century, rhetoric was fast losing the remains of its former importance, and eventually was taken out of the school curriculum altogether at the time of the Separation of State and Churches (1905). Part of the argument was that rhetoric remained the last element of irrationality, driven by religious arguments, in what was perceived as inimical to Republican education. The move, initiated in 1789, found its resolution in 1902 when rhetoric was expunged from all curricula. At the same time, Aristotelian rhetoric, owing to a revival of Thomistic philosophy initiated by Rome, regained ground in what was left of Catholic education in France, in particular at the

prestigious Faculty of Theology of Paris, now a private entity. Yet, rhetoric vanished substantially from the French scene, educational or intellectual, for some 60 years..

In the early 1960s a change began to take place, as the word rhetoric and the body of knowledge it covers began to be used again, in a modest and almost secret manner. The new linguistic turn, through the rise of semiotics as well as of structural linguistics, brought to the fore a new interest in figures of speech as signs, the metaphor in particular (in the works of Roman Jakobson, Groupe  $\mu$ , Michel Charles, Gérard Genette) while famed Structuralist Roland Barthes, a classicist by training, perceived how some basic elements of rhetoric could be of use in the study of narratives, fashion and ideology. Knowledge of rhetoric was so dim in the early 1970s that his short memoir on rhetoric was seen as highly innovative. Basic as it was, it did help rhetoric regain some currency in avant-garde circles. Psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, his contemporary, makes references to rhetoric, in particular to the Pre-Socratics. Philosopher Jacques Derrida wrote on Voice.

At the same time, more profound work was taking place that eventually gave rise to the French school of rhetoric as it exists today.<sup>[57]</sup>

This rhetorical revival took place on two fronts.<sup>[58]</sup> First, in 17th-century French studies, the mainstay of French literary education, awareness grew that rhetoric was necessary to push the limits of knowledge further, and also to provide an antidote to Structuralism and its denial of historicism in culture. This was the pioneering work of Marc Fumaroli who, building on the work of classicist and Neo-Latinist Alain Michel and French scholars such as Roger Zuber, published his famed *Age de l'Eloquence* (1980), was one of the founders of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric and was eventually elevated to a chair in rhetoric at the prestigious College de France. He is the editor in chief of a monumental *History of Rhetoric in Modern Europe*.<sup>[59]</sup> His disciples form the second generation,<sup>[60]</sup> with rhetoricians such as Françoise Waquet and Delphine Denis, both of the Sorbonne, or Philippe-Joseph Salazar (fr:Philippe-Joseph Salazar on the French Wikipedia), until recently at Derrida's College international de philosophie, laureate of the Harry Oppenheimer prize and whose recent book on *Hyperpolitique* has attracted the French media's attention on a "re-appropriation of the means of production of persuasion".<sup>[61]</sup>

Second, in the area of Classical studies, in the wake of Alain Michel, Latin scholars fostered a renewal in Cicero studies. They broke away from a pure literary reading of his orations, in an attempt to embed Cicero in European ethics. Meanwhile, among Greek scholars, the literary historian and philologist Jacques Bompaire, the philologist and philosopher E. Dupréel, and later the literature historian Jacqueline de Romilly pioneered new studies in the Sophists and the Second Sophistic. The second generation of Classicists, often trained in philosophy as well (following Heidegger and Derrida, mainly), built on their work, with authors such as Marcel Detienne (now at Johns Hopkins), Nicole Loraux, Medievalist and logician Alain De Libera (Geneva),<sup>[62]</sup> Ciceronian scholar Carlos Lévy (Sorbonne, Paris) and Barbara Cassin (Collège international de philosophie, Paris).<sup>[63]</sup> Sociologist of science Bruno Latour and economist Romain Laufer may also be considered part of, or close to this group. Also French philosophers specialized in Arabic commentaries on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.<sup>[64]</sup>

Links between the two strands—literary and philosophical—of the French school of rhetoric are strong and collaborative, and bear witness to the revival of rhetoric in France.<sup>[65]</sup> A recent issue of *Philosophy & Rhetoric* presents current writing in the field.<sup>[66]</sup>

## Notes

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- American Rhetoric: The Power of Oratory in the United States. (<http://americanrhetoric.com/>)
- Brian Vickers on Rhetoric in the *Cambridge Companion to English Poetry* (<http://books.google.com/books?id=PtE47BvHZCwC&pg=PA101&dq=brian+vickers+rhetoric>)
- The Online Speech Bank (<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speechbank.htm>)
- The Top 100 Political Speeches of the 20th Century (<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/top100speechesall.html>)
- Wikibooks: Rhetoric and Composition
- Irmsher, Karen *Communication Skills* (<http://www.ericdigests.org/1996-3/skills.htm>)
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- It Figures - Figures of Speech. (<http://www.figarospeech.com/>)
- Twenty Special Forms of Rhetoric. (<http://www.specgram.com/CXLVII.3/09.seely.rhetoric.html>) A satirical look at non-traditional but commonly used rhetorical forms.
- BBC Radio 4's In Our Time programme on Rhetoric ([http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/inourtime/inourtime\\_20041028.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/history/inourtime/inourtime_20041028.shtml)) (requires RealAudio)
- Rodney Barker (<http://www.gresham.ac.uk/text.asp?PageId=22>), Gresham College Professor of Rhetoric, with links to his free public lectures in London.
- Voices of Democracy. (<http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/>) Promotes the study of great speeches and public debates in the humanities undergraduate classroom.
- Critical Thinking. (<http://www.criticalthinking.org>) A Web site about Critical Thinking.
- Cox, Leonard.
- *The Art or Crafte of Rhetoryke* at Project Gutenberg.
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# Slogan

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A **slogan** is a memorable motto or phrase used in a political, commercial, religious, and other context as a repetitive expression of an idea or purpose. The word slogan is derived from *slogorn* which was an Anglicisation of the Scottish Gaelic *sluagh-ghairm tanmay* (*sluagh* "army", "host" + *gairm* "cry").<sup>[1]</sup> Slogans vary from the written and the visual to the chanted and the vulgar. Their simple rhetorical nature usually leaves little room for detail and a chanted slogan may serve more as social expression of unified purpose than as communication to an intended audience.

Marketing slogans are often called *taglines* in the United States or *straplines* in the UK. Europeans use the terms *baselines*, *signatures*, *claims* or *pay-offs*.<sup>[2]</sup>

"Sloganeering" is a mostly derogatory term for activity which degrades discourse to the level of slogans.

## References

[1] Merriam-Webster (2003), p. 1174.

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adslogans.co.uk

# Transfer (propaganda)

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**Transfer** is a technique used in propaganda and advertising. Also known as association, this is a technique of projecting positive or negative qualities (praise or blame) of a person, entity, object, or value (an individual, group, organization, nation, patriotism, etc.) to another in order to make the second more acceptable or to discredit it. It evokes an emotional response, which stimulates the target to identify with recognized authorities. Often highly visual, this technique often utilizes symbols (for example, the Swastika used in Nazi Germany, originally a symbol for health and prosperity) superimposed over other visual images. An example of common use of this technique in the United States is for the President to be filmed or photographed in front of the country's flag.<sup>[1]</sup> Another technique used is celebrity endorsement.

## References

[1] "[Symbols] are constantly used. The cross represents the Christian Church. The flag represents the nation. Cartoons like Uncle Sam represent a consensus of public opinion. Those symbols stir emotions." — *Institute for Propaganda Analysis*. *Transfer originally identified in 1938 by the IPA as one of the seven classifications of propaganda*. In other words, transfer fantasy causes people to want to be as gorgeous as the model in the ad or as good as a basketball player in the commercial. So, it makes you want to buy the product to be just like the person in the ad. (<http://www.propagandacritic.com/articles/ct.fc.transfer.html>)

# Video news release

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Journalism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• News</li> <li>• Writing style</li> <li>• Ethics</li> <li>• Objectivity</li> <li>• Values</li> <li>• Attribution</li> <li>• Defamation</li> <li>• Editorial independence</li> <li>• Journalism school</li> <li>• List of journalism articles</li> </ul>
Areas
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arts</li> <li>• Business</li> <li>• Data</li> <li>• Entertainment</li> <li>• Environment</li> <li>• Fashion</li> <li>• Medicine</li> <li>• Politics</li> <li>• Science</li> <li>• Sports</li> <li>• Technology</li> <li>• Trade</li> <li>• Traffic</li> <li>• Weather</li> <li>• World</li> </ul>
Genres
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advocacy</li> <li>• Analytic</li> <li>• Blogging</li> <li>• Broadcast</li> <li>• Citizen</li> <li>• Civic</li> <li>• Collaborative</li> <li>• Comics-based</li> <li>• Community</li> <li>• Database</li> <li>• Gonzo</li> <li>• Immersion</li> <li>• Investigative</li> <li>• Literary</li> <li>• Muckraking</li> <li>• Narrative</li> <li>• "New Journalism"</li> <li>• Non-profit</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Online</li> <li>• Opinion</li> <li>• Peace</li> <li>• Photojournalism</li> <li>• Scientific</li> <li>• Visual</li> <li>• Watchdog</li> </ul>
<b>Social impact</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fourth Estate</li> <li>• Freedom of the press</li> <li>• Infotainment</li> <li>• Media bias</li> <li>• Public relations</li> <li>• Press service</li> <li>• Propaganda model</li> <li>• Yellow journalism</li> </ul>
<b>News media</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Newspapers</li> <li>• Magazines</li> <li>• TV and radio</li> <li>• Internet</li> <li>• News agencies</li> <li>• Alternative media</li> </ul>
<b>Roles</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Journalists (reporters)</li> <li>• Columnist</li> <li>• Blogger</li> <li>• Editor</li> <li>• Copy editor</li> <li>• Meteorologist</li> <li>• Presenter (news)</li> <li>• Photographer</li> <li>• Pundit / commentator</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Category: Journalism</b></li> </ul>

A **video news release (VNR)** is a video segment made to look like a news report, but is instead created by a PR firm, advertising agency, marketing firm, corporation, or government agency. They are provided to television newsrooms to shape public opinion, promote commercial products and services, publicize individuals, or support other interests. News producers may air VNRs, in whole or in part, at their discretion or incorporate them into news reports if they contain information appropriate to a story or of interest to viewers.

Critics of VNRs have called the practice deceptive or a propaganda technique, particularly when the segment is not identified to the viewers as a VNR. Firms producing VNRs disagree and equate their use to a press release in video form and point to the fact that editorial judgement in the worthiness, part or whole, of a VNR's content is still left in the hands of Journalists, Program Producers or the like. The United States Federal Communications Commission is currently investigating the practice of VNRs.

## Details

Most VNRs feature a professional news reporter, someone with on-air news experience, or an actor. VNRs also often include interviews with experts (who often have legitimate, if biased, expertise); so called "man on the street" interviews with "average" people; and pictures of celebrities, products, service demonstrations, corporate logos and the like, where applicable. In some cases the "man on the street" segments feature persons randomly selected and interviewed spontaneously, and in other cases actors are hired and directed by VNR producers to deliver carefully scripted comments. In addition, regardless of whether real people or professional actors appear, VNR producers and directors, just like journalists, have complete discretion to excerpt and edit these "interviews" into 'sound bites' that help make the point they are trying to make.

## Media broadcasting of VNRs

Commercial television stations and other media outlets often broadcast only portions of a VNR. Sometimes they use the script provided by the VNR producer but frequently they write their own script.

In a report released on April 6, 2006, the Center for Media and Democracy listed detailed information on 77 television stations that it said had broadcast VNRs in the prior 10 months, and which VNRs had been broadcast. Most of these VNR uses were of partial feeds. However, CMD said that in each case the television station actively disguised the VNR content to make it appear to be its own reporting, and that more than one-third of the time, stations aired the pre-packaged VNR in its entirety.<sup>[1]</sup>

## Business production of VNRs in the U.S.

VNRs have been used extensively in business since at least the early 1980s. Corporations such as Microsoft and Philip Morris, and the pharmaceutical industry generally, have all made use of the technique.

According to the trade-group Public Relations Society of America, a VNR is the video equivalent of a press release. and presents a client's case in an attractive, informative format. The VNR placement agency seeks to garner media attention for the client's products, services, brands or other marketing goals. The VNR affords local TV stations free broadcast quality materials for use in reports offered by such stations.

Public Relations agencies have their video tapes encoded allowing very accurate tracking of where such video is used. (see: SIGMA (verification service) for additional information).

One critic of the VNR technique, John Stauber, an observer and critic of the Public Relations business says, "These fellows are whistling past the graveyard, assuring themselves that this all is no big deal. There was no hint of shame, certainly no apologizing, just apparent disdain for having their business practices dissected on the front page of the New York Times. They are proud of their work."

- The *New York Times* reported in March 2005 that "In all, at least 20 federal agencies, including the Defense Department and the Census Bureau, have made and distributed hundreds of television news segments in the past four years, records and interviews show. Many were subsequently broadcast on local stations across the country without any acknowledgement of the government's role in their production."
- A VNR financed by the Department of Health and Human Services was aired on a number of local news programs around the country, as conventional journalism when in fact, it was produced to promote the new Medicare plan. The creation of the Karen Ryan video, named so because of the on-screen "reporter," was ruled in May 2004 to be in violation of federal law by the General Accounting Office (GAO), the investigative arm of the U.S. government.<sup>[2]</sup>
- In September, 2005, the GAO concluded that the Department of Education had violated the law when it distributed a similar video news release using Karen Ryan as a "reporter" touting the No Child Left Behind program of the Bush administration. In May 2003 the Department had hired the Ketchum public relations firm;

the contract specified, among other things, that the firm create "audio products, videos and some print materials that present clear, coherent, targeted messages regarding ED's programs and that relate to the Department's legislative initiatives".<sup>[3]</sup>

- A website of the Census Bureau informs visitors: "U.S. Census Bureau Video News Feeds are available for creation of state-specific news reports. Targeted comments are provided by Census Bureau Redistricting Data Office Chief, Marshall Turner. Companion notification material includes references to websites for the newly released information. Please contact...Homefront Communications for hardcopies on Betacam SP and faxed/email notification copy."

## VNRs and U.S. law

- In January 1948, the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, also known as the Smith-Mundt Act, was passed by Congress and signed into law by U.S. President Harry Truman, placing international overseas information activities, including VOA, under an Office of International Information at the Department of State.
- In February 2005, the "Stop Government Propaganda Act" was introduced in the U.S. Senate. It was referred to the Judiciary Committee and no further action occurred.<sup>[4]</sup>
- In April 2005, the Federal Communications Commission warned television stations that they could be fined for airing news stories provided by the government and by companies without disclosing who made them.
- In May 2006, FCC chairman Kevin Martin ordered a review of airing of VNRs by television stations, following the April 2006 report by the Center for Media and Democracy.
- In August 2006, the FCC mailed letters to the owners of 77 television stations, asking for information regarding agreements between the stations and the creators of VNRs. The letters also asked whether there was any "consideration" given to the stations in return for airing the material. Stations were given 60 days to respond.

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- [3] GAO decision B-304228, "Department of Education--No Child Left Behind Act Video News Release and Media Analysis" (<http://www.gao.gov/decisions/appro/304228.htm>). U.S. Government Accounting Office. September 30, 2005
- [4] "S.266 -- Stop Government Propaganda Act (Introduced in Senate - IS)" ([http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c109:S.+266](http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c109:S.+266;)). Thomas.loc.gov. February 2, 2005. Retrieved 2011-09-05.

## External links

- Good articles on broadcast news (<http://learntvnews.googlepages.com/>)
- "Office of National Drug Control Policy-- Video News Release, B-303495, January 4, 2005" ([http://www.gao.gov/decisions/appro/303495.htm#\\_ftn3](http://www.gao.gov/decisions/appro/303495.htm#_ftn3))
- New York Times (<http://www.nytimes.com/2005/03/13/politics/13covert.html?ex=1268456400&en=2e1b834f0ba8a53c&ei=5088>) "*Under Bush, a New Age of Prepackaged TV News*" (subscription req.)
- "Sourcewatch, PR industry watch-dog group article on VNRs" ([http://www.sourcewatch.org/wiki.phtml?title=Video\\_news\\_releases](http://www.sourcewatch.org/wiki.phtml?title=Video_news_releases))
- U.S. Census Bureau offers what it calls "newsfeeds" (<http://www.census.gov/pubinfo/www/newsfeeds.html>)
- Profile of Karen Ryan ([http://www.disinfopedia.org/wiki.phtml?title=Karen\\_Ryan](http://www.disinfopedia.org/wiki.phtml?title=Karen_Ryan))
- Karen Ryan Group (<http://www.karenryangroup.com/>)
- American Marketing Association's definition of VNR (<http://www.marketingpower.com/mg-dictionary.php?Searched=1&SearchFor=video+news+release>)

- Corporate Propaganda and Media Manipulation, January 26, 2003, By Royce Carlson } (<http://www.zenzibar.com/Articles/corporatepropaganda2.htm>)
- Brand Propaganda, March 20, 2005, by Andy Lark ([http://www.corante.com/brandshift/archives/2005/03/20/brand\\_propaganda.php](http://www.corante.com/brandshift/archives/2005/03/20/brand_propaganda.php))
- Center For Media and Democracy Website (<http://www.prwatch.org/>)

## Video and audio links

- A New Age of "Fake News", WBUR 17 March 2005 ([http://www.onpointradio.org/shows/2005/03/20050317\\_a\\_main.asp](http://www.onpointradio.org/shows/2005/03/20050317_a_main.asp))
- Audio and video coverage of the issue (<http://www.democracynow.org/article.pl?sid=05/03/14/152202>) from Democracy Now!
- PBS report on U.S. Government using VNRs as covert propaganda ([http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/media/jan-june05/vnr\\_5-13.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/media/jan-june05/vnr_5-13.html))
- Judge Jeanine - Owning a gun is my God given right! (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5jLG-LaD4Cs>)

## Weasel word

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A **weasel word** (also, **anonymous authority**) is an informal term<sup>[1]</sup> for equivocating words and phrases aimed at creating an impression that something specific and meaningful has been said, when in fact only a vague or ambiguous claim, or even a refutation has been communicated.

For example, an advertisement may use a weasel phrase such as "up to 50% off on all products". This is misleading because the audience is invited to imagine many items reduced by the proclaimed 50%, but the words taken literally mean only that no discount will exceed 50%, and in extreme misrepresentation, the advertiser need not reduce *any* prices, which would still be consistent with the wording of the advertisement, since "up to 50" most literally means "any number less than or equal to 50".

In other cases, words with a particular subjective effect are chosen. For example, one person may speak of "resistance fighters" or "freedom fighters", while another may call the same subjects "terrorists". The underlying facts are the same, but a quite different impression is given.

The use of weasel words to avoid making an outright assertion is a synonym to tergiversate.<sup>[2]</sup> Weasel words can imply meaning far beyond the claim actually being made.<sup>[3]</sup> Some weasel words may also have the effect of softening the force of a potentially loaded or otherwise controversial statement through some form of understatement, for example using detensifiers such as "somewhat" or "in most respects".<sup>[4]</sup>

## Origin

The expression *weasel word* derives apparently from the egg-eating habits of weasels.<sup>[5]</sup> An article published by the *Buffalo News* attributes the origin of the term to William Shakespeare's plays *Henry V* and *As You Like It*, in which the author includes similes of weasels sucking eggs.<sup>[6]</sup> The article also claims that this is a misnomer, because weasels do not have a mandible suitable for sucking eggs or blood.<sup>[7]</sup>

Regardless of whether weasels in fact suck eggs, a belief that they do implies an egg shell devoid of its contents. Thus, words or claims that turn out to be empty upon analysis are known as "weasel words". The expression first appeared in Stewart Chaplin's short story "Stained Glass Political Platform" (published in 1900 in *The Century Magazine*),<sup>[8]</sup> in which they were referred to as "words that suck the life out of the words next to them, just as a weasel sucks the egg and leaves the shell". Theodore Roosevelt attributed the term to Dave Sewall, claiming that Sewall used the term in a private conversation in 1879.<sup>[9]</sup> Winston Churchill wrote: "The reserve of modern

assertions is sometimes pushed to extremes, in which the fear of being contradicted leads the writer to strip himself of almost all sense and meaning." Current examples include governing parties in various countries commenting upon their country's financial state with statements such as "the budget deficits we inherited" rather than specifically blaming their predecessors.

Additionally, the definition of the word 'weasel' includes: n. a sneaky, untrustworthy, or insincere person; v. to manipulate shiftily.<sup>[10]</sup> A weasel word (or phrase) can quite likely be understood to come from a position of intending to manipulate the communication, in a sneaky or underhanded manner.

In the political sphere, this type of language is used to "spin" or alter the public's perception of an issue. In 1916, Theodore Roosevelt argued that "one of our defects as a nation is a tendency to use ...'weasel words'; when one 'weasel word' is used ... after another there is nothing left".<sup>[11]</sup>

## Forms

### Examples

- "A growing body of evidence..." (Where is the raw data for your review?)
- "People say..." (Which people? How do they know?)
- "It has been claimed that..." (By whom, where, when?)
- "Critics claim..." (Which critics?)
- "Clearly..." (As if the premise is undeniably true)
- "It stands to reason that..." (Again, as if the premise is undeniably true—see "Clearly" above)
- "Questions have been raised..." (Implies a fatal flaw has been discovered)
- "I heard that..." (Who told you? Is the source reliable?)
- "There is evidence that..." (What evidence? Is the source reliable?)
- "Experience shows that..." (Whose experience? What was the experience? How does it demonstrate this?)
- "It has been mentioned that..." (Who are these mentioners? Can they be trusted?)
- "Popular wisdom has it that..." (Is popular wisdom a test of truth?)
- "Commonsense has it/insists that..." (The common sense of whom? Who says so? See "Popular wisdom" above, and "It is known that" below)
- "It is known that..." (By whom and by what method is it known?)
- "Officially known as..." (By whom, where, when—who says so?)
- "It turns out that..." (How does it turn out?<sup>1</sup>)
- "It was noted that..." (By whom, why, when?)
- "Nobody else's product is better than ours." (What is the evidence of this?)
- "Studies show..." (what studies?)
- "A recent study at a leading university..." (How recent is your study? At what university?)
- "(The phenomenon) came to be seen as..." (by whom?)
- "Some argue..." (who?)
- "Up to sixty percent..." (so, 59%? 50%? 10%?)
- "More than seventy percent..." (How many more? 70.01%? 80%? 90%?)
- "The vast majority..." (All, more than half—how many?)

<sup>1</sup>It is important that real examples do not in fact explain, at a later stage of the argument, what exactly is meant by "it turns out that"; the whole needs to be looked at before it can be decided that it is a weasel term.

A 2009 study of Wikipedia found that most weasel words in it could be divided into three categories:<sup>[12]</sup>

1. Numerically vague expressions (e.g. "some people", "experts", "many")
2. Use of the passive voice to avoid specifying an authority (e.g. "it is said")
3. Adverbs that weaken (e.g. "often", "probably")



Other forms of weasel words include:

- Non sequitur statements
- Use of euphemisms (e.g., replacing "firing staff" with "streamlining the workforce")
- Use of grammatical devices such as qualifiers and the subjunctive mood
- Vague generalizations

### Generalizations and non sequitur statements

The vagueness of a statement may disguise the validity or the aim of that statement. Generalizing by means of quantifiers, such as *many* or *better*, and the passive voice ("it has been decided") conceals the full picture in that it avoids the necessity of providing attribution. (If one were to put "it has been decided" into active voice, one would need to supply an actor: "X has decided".)

*Non sequitur*: Irrelevant statements are often used in advertising to make it appear that the statement is a beneficial feature of the product or service being advertised. Example: "The official coat hanger of a sports team". This statement announces a paid endorsement with the aim of suggesting that the quality of the coat hanger is superior to others. The statement does not, however, offer any evidence in support of its claim - there is not necessarily a link between the quality of a product and a paid endorsement. Some generalizations are considered unacceptable in writing. This category embraces what is termed a "semantic cop-out", represented by the term *allegedly*.<sup>[13]</sup> This phrase implies an absence of ownership of opinion, which casts a limited doubt on the opinion being articulated.

### Passive and middle voice

Both passive voice and middle voice can be used in English to avoid blame. A passive construction occurs when the object of an action is made the focus of the sentence (by moving it to the front). In some cases, the agent (the subject in active voice, usually indicated by "by" in the passive voice) is missing altogether, as the sentence "mistakes were made by the politicians", for example, has been curtailed deliberately to "mistakes were made."

- "Mistakes were made." The names of the persons who made mistakes is being withheld and the intention of weaseling is obvious.
- "Over 120 different contaminants have been dumped into the river." A more precise number of "contaminants" might have avoided the impression of weaseling, even though we might never know who the "dumpers" were.
- "It has been suggested that this article or section be..."

A related issue is the stylistic qualms of linguists and teachers who discourage the passive voice being used too frequently. However, in the sentence

"One hundred votes are required to pass the bill",

The use of the passive voice is not necessarily connected with weaseling. The phrase, "100 votes are required to pass the bill", is probably a statement of fact, that it is exactly 100 votes that are needed for the passing of the bill, and it might be impossible to predict where these votes are to come from. For a statement to be a weasel expression, it needs other indications of disingenuousness than the mere fact that it is expressed in the passive voice.

The scientific journal article is another example of the legitimate use of the passive voice. For an experimental result to be useful, anyone who runs the experiment should get the same result. That is, the identity of the experimenter should be of low importance. Use of the passive voice focuses attention upon the actions, and not the actor (the author(s) of the article).

Examples of weasel words using the middle voice are:

- "It stands to reason that most people will be better off after the changes."
- "There are great fears that most people will be worse off after the changes."
- "Experience insists that most people will not be better off after the changes."

## In business

Weasel words may be used to detract from an uncomfortable fact, such as the act of firing staff. By replacing "firing staff" with "headcount reduction", one may soften meaning. Jargon of this kind is used to describe things euphemistically.

In certain kinds of advertisements, words are missing or withheld deliberately to deceive the buyer. Words such as *more* or *better* are misleading due to the absence of a comparison:

- "... up to 50% off." (How many items were actually decreased in price by half? The statement holds true even if the price of only one item is reduced by half, and the rest by very little or none.)
- "Save up to \$100 or more!" (What exactly is the significance of the \$100? It is neither a minimum nor a maximum, it just sits arbitrarily somewhere in an undefined range.)
- "... is now 20% cheaper!" (Cheaper than what? The last model? Some arbitrarily inflated price?)
- "Four out of five people would agree..." (How many subjects were included in the study?)
- "... is among the (top, leading, best, few, worst, etc.)" (Top 100? Best in customer service/quality/management?)
- "... for a fraction of the original price!" (This wording suggests a much lower price even though the fraction could easily be 99/100 or 101/100)
- "More people are using..." (What does that mean in numbers?)
- "Nothing Is Stronger/Longer Lasting/Safer" (How many are equally as strong/long lasting/safe?)
- "Lose 20 pounds in 3 weeks" (20 pounds of what? Water, muscle, bone, money?)

## Articles and books

In *Report on Unidentified Flying Objects* (1956), U.S. Air Force Captain Edward J. Ruppelt described astronomer Dr. J. Allen Hynek's report on the death of Air Force Pilot Thomas Mantell in pursuit of a UFO as "a masterpiece in the art of 'weasel wording'".<sup>[14]</sup>

Carl Wrighter discussed weasel words in his best-selling book *I Can Sell You Anything* (1972).

Australian author Don Watson devoted two volumes (*Death Sentence* and *Watson's Dictionary of Weasel Words*) to documenting the increasing use of weasel words in government and corporate language. He maintains a website<sup>[15]</sup> encouraging people to identify and nominate examples of weasel words.

Scott Adams, the creator of the Dilbert comic strip, talks much about 'weasels' (conniving business people) in one of his books, named accordingly: *Dilbert and the Way of The Weasel* (2002).

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- [1] Microsoft Encarta, "weasel words (<http://encarta.msn.com/encnet/features/dictionary/DictionaryResults.aspx?refid=1861711798>)"
- [2] Merriam-Webster, "Weasel, verb (<http://mw4.m-w.com/dictionary/weaseled>)"
- [3] Yonghui Ma (2007), "Language Features of English Advertisement (<http://journal.ccsenet.org/index.php/ass/article/view/121/98#page=108>)", *Asian Social Science*, March 2007, p 109
- [4] Jason, Gary (1988) "Hedging as a Fallacy of Language" ([http://ojs.uwindsor.ca/ojs/leddy/index.php/informal\\_logic/article/viewPDFInterstitial/2649/2090](http://ojs.uwindsor.ca/ojs/leddy/index.php/informal_logic/article/viewPDFInterstitial/2649/2090)), *Informal Logic* X.3, Fall 1988
- [5] Theodore Roosevelt Association, Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia ([http://www.theodoreroosevelt.org/TR\\_Web\\_Book/TR\\_CD\\_to\\_HTML682.html](http://www.theodoreroosevelt.org/TR_Web_Book/TR_CD_to_HTML682.html))
- [6] E. Cobham Brewer, *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (<http://www.bartleby.com/81/17333.html>)
- [7] University at Buffalo, Weasels (<http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~insrisg/nature/nw99/weasels.html>)
- [8] According to *The Macmillan Dictionary of Contemporary Phrase and Fable*
- [9] *New York Times*, Sept 2, 1916, "Origin of 'Weasel Words'" ([http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?\\_r=1&res=9F01E1D61E3FE233A25751C0A96F9C946796D6CF](http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?_r=1&res=9F01E1D61E3FE233A25751C0A96F9C946796D6CF))
- [10] Merriam-Webster online dictionary def'n: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/weasel>
- [11] p. 199
- [12] Viola Ganter and Michael Strube (2009), "Finding Hedges by Chasing Weasels: Hedge Detection Using Wikipedia Tags and Shallow Linguistic Features", *Proceedings of the ACL-IJCNLP 2009 Conference Short Papers*, page 175

[13] p. 140 "it is alleged"

[14] Report on Unidentified Flying Objects (<http://www.nicap.org/rufo/rufo-03.htm>)

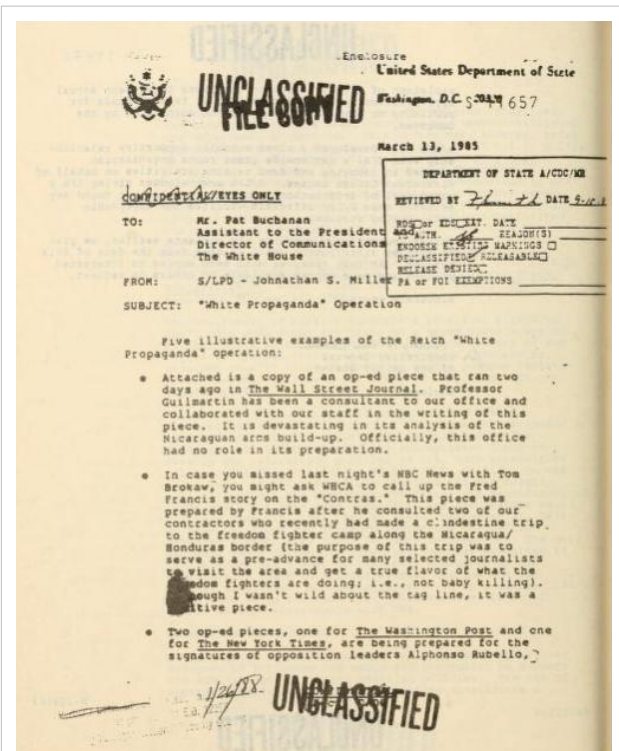
[15] Examples and discussion of weasel words (<http://www.weaselwords.com.au>)

## External links

- Jason, Gary (1988) "Hedging as a Fallacy of Language" ([http://ojs.uwindsor.ca/ojs/leddy/index.php/informal\\_logic/article/viewPDFInterstitial/2649/2090](http://ojs.uwindsor.ca/ojs/leddy/index.php/informal_logic/article/viewPDFInterstitial/2649/2090)), *Informal Logic* X.3, Fall 1988
- Weaselwords <http://www.weaselwords.com.au/>
- Unsuck It <http://unsuck-it.com/browse/>

# White propaganda

**White propaganda** is propaganda which truthfully states its origin.<sup>[1][2]</sup> It is the most common type of propaganda. It generally comes from an openly identified source, and is characterized by gentler methods of persuasion than black propaganda (which purports to come from the opposite side to that which actually produced it) and grey propaganda (which has no identifiable source or author). It typically uses standard public relations techniques and one-sided presentation of an argument. Jacques Ellul, in one of the major books on the subject of propaganda, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, mentions white propaganda as an awareness of the public of attempts being made to influence it. There is a Ministry of Propaganda; one admits that propaganda is being made; its source is known; its aims and intentions are identified.<sup>[3]</sup> Throughout the course of a propaganda campaign white propaganda serve as a cover for black propaganda when the propagandist seeks to mask the former.



A memo from the US State Department to Patrick Buchanan discussing "White Propaganda" of Otto Reich in the 1980s

## References

[1] <http://usmilitary.about.com/od/glossarytermw/g/w6811.htm>

[2] <http://www.nls.uk/propaganda/white/index.html>

[3] Ellul, Jacques (1965). *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, p. 16. Trans. Konrad Kellen & Jean Lerner. Vintage Books, New York. ISBN 978-0-394-71874-3.

## External links

- On The Craft of Intelligence ([https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol8no1/html/v08i1a07p\\_0001.htm](https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol8no1/html/v08i1a07p_0001.htm)), Frank G. Wisner, CIA, 22 SEPT 93

# Yellow journalism



Journalism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>News</li><li>Writing style</li><li>Ethics</li><li>Objectivity</li><li>Values</li><li>Attribution</li><li>Defamation</li><li>Editorial independence</li><li>Journalism school</li><li>List of journalism articles</li></ul>
Areas
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Arts</li><li>Business</li><li>Data</li><li>Entertainment</li><li>Environment</li><li>Fashion</li><li>Medicine</li><li>Politics</li><li>Science</li><li>Sports</li><li>Technology</li><li>Trade</li><li>Traffic</li><li>Weather</li></ul>

•	World
<b>Genres</b>	
•	Advocacy
•	Analytic
•	Blogging
•	Broadcast
•	Citizen
•	Civic
•	Collaborative
•	Comics-based
•	Community
•	Database
•	Gonzo
•	Immersion
•	Investigative
•	Literary
•	Muckraking
•	Narrative
•	"New Journalism"
•	Non-profit
•	Online
•	Opinion
•	Peace
•	Photojournalism
•	Scientific
•	Visual
•	Watchdog
<b>Social impact</b>	
•	Fourth Estate
•	Freedom of the press
•	Infotainment
•	Media bias
•	Public relations
•	Press service
•	Propaganda model
•	Yellow journalism
<b>News media</b>	
•	Newspapers
•	Magazines
•	TV and radio
•	Internet
•	News agencies
•	Alternative media
<b>Roles</b>	
•	Journalists (reporters)
•	Columnist
•	Blogger
•	Editor
•	Copy editor
•	Meteorologist

• Presenter (news)
• Photographer
• Pundit / commentator
• <b>Category: Journalism</b>

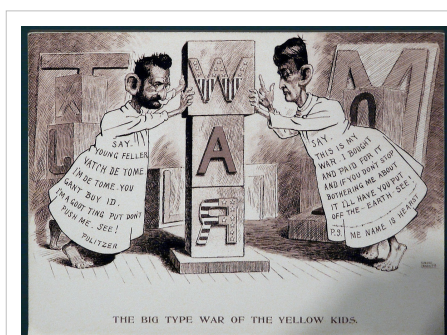
**Yellow journalism**, or the **yellow press**, is a type of journalism that presents little or no legitimate well-researched news and instead uses eye-catching headlines to sell more newspapers. Techniques may include exaggerations of news events, scandal-mongering, or sensationalism. By extension, the term *yellow journalism* is used today as a pejorative to decry any journalism that treats news in an unprofessional or unethical fashion.<sup>[1]</sup>

Campbell (2001) defines yellow press newspapers as having daily multi-column front-page headlines covering a variety of topics, such as sports and scandal, using bold layouts (with large illustrations and perhaps color), heavy reliance on unnamed sources, and unabashed self-promotion. The term was extensively used to describe certain major New York City newspapers about 1900 as they battled for circulation.

Frank Luther Mott (1941) defines yellow journalism in terms of five characteristics:

1. scare headlines in huge print, often of minor news
2. lavish use of pictures, or imaginary drawings
3. use of faked interviews, misleading headlines, pseudoscience, and a parade of false learning from so-called experts
4. emphasis on full-color Sunday supplements, usually with comic strips
5. dramatic sympathy with the "underdog" against the system.

## Origins: Pulitzer vs. Hearst



"Yellow journalism" cartoon about Spanish-American war of 1898; the newspaper publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst are both attired as the Yellow Kid comics character of the time, and are competitively claiming ownership of the war... Independence Seaport Museum

The term originated during the American Gilded Age of the late nineteenth century with the circulation battles between Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal*. The battle peaked from 1895 to about 1898, and historical usage often refers specifically to this period. Both papers were accused by critics of sensationalizing the news in order to drive up circulation, although the newspapers did serious reporting as well.

The term was coined by Erwin Wardman, the editor of the *New York Press*. Wardman was the first to publish the term but there is evidence that expressions such as "yellow journalism" and "school of yellow kid journalism" were already used by newsmen of that time. Wardman never defined the term exactly. Possibly it was a mutation from earlier slander where Wardman twisted "new journalism" into "nude journalism". Wardman had also used the expression "yellow kid journalism" referring to the then-popular comic strip which was

published by both Pulitzer and Hearst during a circulation war. In 1898 the paper simply elaborated: "We called them Yellow because they are Yellow."

Joseph Pulitzer purchased the *New York World* in 1883 after making the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* the dominant daily in that city. Pulitzer strove to make the *New York World* an entertaining read, and filled his paper with pictures, games and contests that drew in new readers. Crime stories filled many of the pages, with headlines like "Was He a Suicide?" and "Screaming for Mercy." In addition, Pulitzer only charged readers two cents per issue but gave readers eight and sometimes 12 pages of information (the only other two cent paper in the city never exceeded four pages).

While there were many sensational stories in the *New York World*, they were by no means the only pieces, or even the dominant ones. Pulitzer believed that newspapers were public institutions with a duty to improve society, and he put the *World* in the service of social reform.

Just two years after Pulitzer took it over, the *World* became the highest circulation newspaper in New York, aided in part by its strong ties to the Democratic Party. Older publishers, envious of Pulitzer's success, began criticizing the *World*, harping on its crime stories and stunts while ignoring its more serious reporting — trends which influenced the popular perception of yellow journalism. Charles Dana, editor of the *New York Sun*, attacked *The World* and said Pulitzer was "deficient in judgment and in staying power."

Pulitzer's approach made an impression on William Randolph Hearst, a mining heir who acquired the *San Francisco Examiner* from his father in 1887. Hearst read the *World* while studying at Harvard University and resolved to make the *Examiner* as bright as Pulitzer's paper. Under his leadership, the *Examiner* devoted 24 percent of its space to crime, presenting the stories as morality plays, and sprinkled adultery and "nudity" (by 19th century standards) on the front page. A month after Hearst took over the paper, the *Examiner* ran this headline about a hotel fire:

HUNGRY, FRANTIC FLAMES. They Leap Madly Upon the Splendid Pleasure Palace by the Bay of Monterey, Encircling Del Monte in Their Ravenous Embrace From Pinnacle to Foundation. Leaping Higher, Higher, Higher, With Desperate Desire. Running Madly Riotous Through Cornice, Archway and Facade. Rushing in Upon the Trembling Guests with Savage Fury. Appalled and Panic-Stricken the Breathless Fugitives Gaze Upon the Scene of Terror. The Magnificent Hotel and Its Rich Adornments Now a Smoldering heap of Ashes. The *Examiner* Sends a Special Train to Monterey to Gather Full Details of the Terrible Disaster. Arrival of the Unfortunate Victims on the Morning's Train — A History of Hotel del Monte — The Plans for Rebuilding the Celebrated Hostelry — Particulars and Supposed Origin of the Fire.

Hearst could be hyperbolic in his crime coverage; one of his early pieces, regarding a "band of murderers," attacked the police for forcing *Examiner* reporters to do their work for them. But while indulging in these stunts, the *Examiner* also increased its space for international news, and sent reporters out to uncover municipal corruption and inefficiency. In one well remembered story, *Examiner* reporter Winifred Black was admitted into a San Francisco hospital and discovered that indigent women were treated with "gross cruelty." The entire hospital staff was fired the morning the piece appeared.

## New York

With the *Examiner's* success established by the early 1890s, Hearst began looking for a New York newspaper to purchase, and acquired the *New York Journal* in 1895, a penny paper which Pulitzer's brother Albert had sold to a Cincinnati publisher the year before.

Metropolitan newspapers started going after department store advertising in the 1890s, and discovered the larger the circulation base, the better. This drove Hearst; following Pulitzer's earlier strategy, he kept the *Journal's* price at one cent (compared to *The World's* two cent price) while providing as much information as rival newspapers. The approach worked, and as the *Journal's* circulation jumped to 150,000, Pulitzer cut his price to a penny, hoping to drive his young competitor (who was subsidized by his family's fortune) into bankruptcy. In a counterattack, Hearst raided the staff of the *World* in 1896. While most sources say that Hearst simply offered more money, Pulitzer — who had grown increasingly abusive to his employees — had become an extremely difficult man to work for, and many *World* employees were willing to jump for the sake of getting away from him.

Although the competition between the *World* and the *Journal* was fierce, the papers were temperamentally alike. Both were Democratic, both were sympathetic to labor and immigrants (a sharp contrast to publishers like the *New York Tribune's* Whitelaw Reid, who blamed their poverty on moral defects), and both invested enormous resources in their Sunday publications, which functioned like weekly magazines, going beyond the normal scope of daily journalism.

Their Sunday entertainment features included the first color comic strip pages, and some theorize that the term yellow journalism originated there, while as noted above, the *New York Press* left the term it invented undefined. *Hogan's Alley*, a comic strip revolving around a bald child in a yellow nightshirt (nicknamed The Yellow Kid), became exceptionally popular when cartoonist Richard F. Outcault began drawing it in the *World* in early 1896. When Hearst predictably hired Outcault away, Pulitzer asked artist George Luks to continue the strip with his characters, giving the city two Yellow Kids. The use of "yellow journalism" as a synonym for over-the-top sensationalism in the U.S. apparently started with more serious newspapers commenting on the excesses of "the Yellow Kid papers."

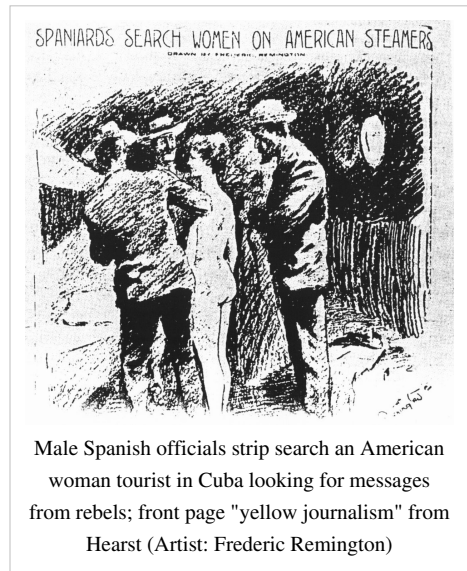
In 1890, Samuel Warren and Louis Brandeis published "The Right to Privacy",<sup>[2]</sup> considered the most influential of all law review articles, as a critical response to sensational forms of journalism, which they saw as an unprecedented threat to individual privacy. The article is widely considered to have led to the recognition of new common law privacy rights of action.

## Spanish-American War

Pulitzer and Hearst are often adduced as the cause of the United States' entry into the Spanish-American War due to sensationalist stories or exaggerations of the terrible conditions in Cuba.<sup>[3]</sup> However, the vast majority of Americans did not live in New York City, and the decision-makers who did live there probably relied more on staid newspapers like the *Times*, *The Sun*, or the *Post*. The most famous example of a claim is the apocryphal story that artist Frederic Remington telegraphed Hearst to tell him all was quiet in Cuba and "There will be no war." Hearst responded "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." Historians now believe that no such telegrams ever were sent.<sup>[4]</sup>

But Hearst became a war hawk after a rebellion broke out in Cuba in 1895. Stories of Cuban virtue and Spanish brutality soon dominated his front page. While the accounts were of dubious accuracy, the newspaper readers of the 19th century did not expect, or necessarily want, his stories to be pure nonfiction. Historian Michael Robertson has said that "Newspaper reporters and readers of the 1890s were much less concerned with distinguishing among fact-based reporting, opinion and literature."

Pulitzer, though lacking Hearst's resources, kept the story on his front page. The yellow press covered the revolution extensively and often inaccurately, but conditions on Cuba were horrific enough. The island was in a terrible economic depression, and Spanish general Valeriano Weyler, sent to crush the rebellion, herded Cuban peasants into concentration camps, leading hundreds of Cubans to their deaths. Having clamored for a fight for two years, Hearst took credit for the conflict when it came: A week after the United States declared war on Spain, he ran "How do you like the *Journal's* war?" on his front page. In fact, President William McKinley never read the *Journal*, nor





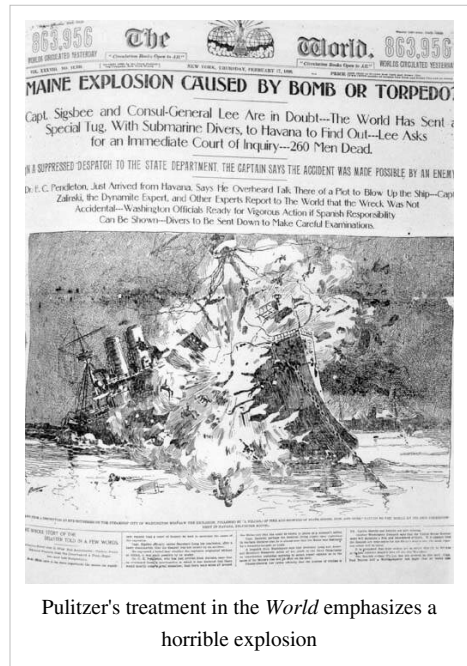
newspapers like the *Tribune* and the *New York Evening Post*. Moreover, journalism historians have noted that yellow journalism was largely confined to New York City, and that newspapers in the rest of the country did not follow their lead. The *Journal* and the *World* were not among the top ten sources of news in regional papers, and the stories simply did not make a splash outside New York City. Rather, war came because public opinion was sickened by the bloodshed, and because leaders like McKinley realized that Spain had lost control of Cuba.<sup>[5]</sup> These factors weighed more on the president's mind than the melodramas in the *New York Journal*.

When the invasion began, Hearst sailed directly to Cuba as a war correspondent, providing sober and accurate accounts of the fighting. Creelman later praised the work of the reporters for exposing the horrors of Spanish misrule, arguing, "no true history of the war . . . can be written without an acknowledgment that whatever of justice and freedom and progress was accomplished by the Spanish-American war was due to the enterprise and tenacity of *yellow journalists*, many of whom lie in unremembered graves."

### After the war

Hearst was a leading Democrat who promoted William Jennings Bryan for president in 1896 and 1900. He later ran for mayor and governor and even sought the presidential nomination, but lost much of his personal prestige when outrage exploded in 1901 after columnist Ambrose Bierce and editor Arthur Brisbane published separate columns months apart that suggested the assassination of William McKinley. When McKinley was shot on September 6, 1901, critics accused Hearst's Yellow Journalism of driving Leon Czolgosz to the deed. Hearst did not know of Bierce's column, and claimed to have pulled Brisbane's after it ran in a first edition, but the incident would haunt him for the rest of his life, and all but destroyed his presidential ambitions.

Pulitzer, haunted by his "yellow sins," returned the *World* to its crusading roots as the new century dawned. By the time of his death in 1911, the *World* was a widely respected publication, and would remain a leading progressive paper until its demise in 1931. Its name lived on in the Scripps-Howard *New York World-Telegram*, and then later the *New York World-Telegram and Sun* in 1950, and finally was last used by the *New York World-Journal-Tribune* from September 1966 to May 1967. At that point, only one broadsheet newspaper was left in New York City.



## Notes

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