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Crisis Rhetoric: *A Theory of Communication in Times of Crisis*

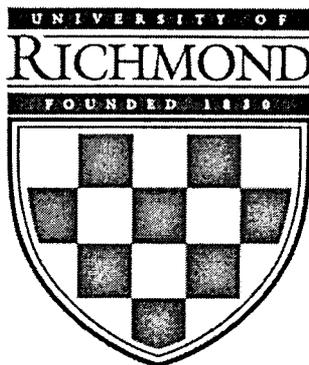
*A Senior Honors Thesis Submitted to Fulfill the Requirements
for the Bachelor of Arts Degree in Leadership Studies with Honors,
University of Richmond*

April 2008

Eric D. Loepp

Advisory Committee

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	3
Abstract Discussion	4
Chapter 1: Introduction	5
<i>Goals of Rhetoric</i>	8
<i>Terror Management Theory</i>	11
<i>Dual Process Theory</i>	30
Chapter 2: Conceptualization	35
<i>Message Composition</i>	37
<i>Message Delivery</i>	39
<i>Message Absorption</i>	42
Chapter 3: Methodology	47
Chapter 4: Results	53
Chapter 5: Discussion	64
Appendix I	78
Bibliography	91

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Abstract

We conducted an experiment to assess the effect of presidential rhetoric in a time of crisis. Our study was based in part on terror management theory, which posits that subtle reminders of death (mortality salience) lead to increased support of leaders and authority figures. Subjects were randomly placed in either a mortality salient condition or control condition. We also composed two speeches – one charismatic and one non-charismatic – and subjects were randomly assigned to hear one of the two. Based on elements of terror management theory, we hypothesized that in a time of crisis the charismatic speech would be preferred to the non-charismatic speech and, in turn, the leader who gave the charismatic speech would receive more support than the leader who gave the non-charismatic speech. We also hypothesized that mortality salience would increase support for the leader, especially in the charismatic speech condition. Our results indicate listeners do identify and prefer the charismatic speaker. However, when mortality was salient, they strongly endorsed any type of leader – whether charismatic or non-charismatic. When mortality was not salient, then listeners were more sensitive to the charismatic quality of the leader; that is, the charismatic speaker was rated more positively than the non-charismatic speaker. The implications of these findings for leaders was discussed.

Goals of Rhetoric: Theoretical Perspectives

Leadership and rhetoric have been inextricably linked throughout the course of human history. The concept of leading seems empty without a strong message that leaders offer followers to acquire support and inspire confidence. We are fascinated by the details and significance of certain messages and how they resonate with the people who receive them. Messages, of course, come in all shapes and sizes, as do the contexts in which they are presented. Situational factors can have a massive effect not only on the message itself but on the mental and emotional condition of the people who receive it. The most striking context is one of crisis in which leaders and followers experience some sort of powerful and devastating event which dramatically and adversely affects their world. This project will explore the significance of specific rhetorical components of a message delivered in a crisis situation.

The notion of crisis rhetoric is nothing new, although the modern media certainly affects how it is dispensed. Throughout the ages leaders have developed messages in times of crisis to appeal to their anxious constituency. In ancient Greece during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC), the historian Thucydides documented a speech made by the Athenian leader Pericles, who addressed the masses at a time when the defeat of Athens was impending. Pericles managed to stir their personal and national patriotism with phrases such as “the bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding, go out to meet it.” Even though Pericles was giving a funeral oration, his words still managed to inspire the Athenians who were listening.

Centuries later, William Shakespeare would pen his famous *St. Crispin's Day Speech* in which the King Henry V roused the dulled spirits of his troops and they went on to defeat their French opponents. As the battle was upon them, the King declared, "If we are mark'd to die, we are enow to do our country loss; and if to live, the fewer men, the greater share of honour. [...] From this day to the ending of the world, but we in it shall be remembered, we few, we happy few, we band of brothers; for he to-day that sheds his blood with me shall be my brother." These examples, selected for their prominent standing in the greater recollection of history, reflect the fact that a leader's message has the capacity to influence events to a staggering degree.

In recent history, crisis leadership has been no less pronounced. Leaders and circumstances and technology have changed but the capacity to lead in times of crisis is timeless. Since the notion of *crisis* is quite broad and inclusive we have developed a specific definition to characterize the types of events which qualify as *crisis situations*. In the context of this work, crisis leadership is leadership which arises in the wake of unpredictable and drastic (usually calamitous) circumstances which arise instantly and distort or suspend the normal perspectives of followers as well as call for immediate action to address the situation. Crises are conceptualized as chaotic events that are immediate, direct, and devastating in both tangible (physical) and intangible (emotional) ways. Examples of crisis situations in this context include the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 and the attack on the American navy at Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941.

A *crisis situation* differs from what may be termed a *crisis condition*. An unsuccessful "War or Poverty" or poor race relations or a deprived state of public schools

may all qualify as forms of a crisis, but they are not situations that arose overnight or dramatically affect the people as a whole physically or emotionally. This is because they are long-term issues that register less and less shock-value as they persist. This is not to undermine or otherwise minimize their significance or the need to address these issues, but rather to distinguish a crisis condition from a crisis situation. This research will focus on crisis situations which effectively turn the world upside down for a vast number of people in a very short period of time and explore how they react to rhetoric they are exposed to while they are going through these emotions. This critical distinction will allow us to focus specifically on the notion of crisis as a variable that can affect the effectiveness of rhetoric.

The defining national crisis event of our time is the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001. On that day and those following the attacks, the President of the United States, the person toward whom most Americans turned for support and emotional relief, made a series of public statements conveying several key messages. They varied in content but also in length. Just after the attacks that morning, he first spoke for just over one minute from Florida where he was hurriedly being evacuated. A few hours later he spoke from a secure location at Barksdale Air Force base in Louisiana for a little more than two minutes. That evening, he returned to Washington to speak from the Oval Office for four-and-a-half minutes. On September 14th, he spoke from the Episcopal National Cathedral to declare a National Day of Prayer and Remembrance, speaking for eight-and-a-half-minutes. A week later on September 20th, he addressed a joint session of Congress for more than half an hour. As time elapsed and more information was gathered, Bush's remarks became lengthier and laced with more concrete information.

Yet this does not minimize the significance of those early messages. Short, simple orations are easy to comprehend and free of excesses that might confuse a shocked American people. Bush utilized sharp and determined rhetoric from the start. In his first public remarks in Florida, he stated, “[I] have ordered that the full resources of the federal government go [...] to conduct a full-scale investigation to hunt down and to find those folks who committed this act. Terrorism against our nation will not stand” (Bush, 2001). At Barksdale Air Force Base he reiterated this sentiment: “Make no mistake, the United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts.” This language was clearly intended to reassure the American people. The phrase “hunt down” was selected over terms such as “pursue,” “go after,” and “seek out” because it was perceived to more successfully convey the resolve the President wanted to arouse in the American people. It is this dynamic of rhetoric which is the focus of study in this research. How do the specific characteristics of a message affect its success? More importantly, does the element of crisis play a substantial role in a message’s effectiveness?

Goals of Rhetoric

Crisis rhetoric is fundamentally driven by two related goals. These initial functions of a leader’s message are to reassure his or her followers and inspire support. In a crisis situation a leader needs to make clear that the negative emotions the people are facing – such as pain, grief, anger, and fear – will be resolved in the future. Bleak circumstances must be painted as temporary. A leader must also convince followers that appropriate actions are being taken to respond to the crisis swiftly. For example, a state Governor will make sure victims of a hurricane know she is making sure every tool and

resource imaginable is being called into service to help her followers. Additionally, reassurance often comes in the form of a pledge of retribution. That is, in some crises the leader must reassure the people not only that their future safety is being properly secured but that transgressors of some crisis action – terrorists, criminals, etc. – will be held responsible for their actions. A reassuring message aims to convince followers that the leader is reacting quickly and thoroughly and imminent action is being taken to ensure that the future is ultimately bright.

Second, the leader's message must inspire support among his or her followers. This component is particularly vital in a crisis situation when people turn to their leaders perhaps more than they do for any other reason. A leader's message must convince the people that he is both ready and able to address the crisis situation. Like a presidential candidate on the campaign trail, this component is essentially the art of inspiring confidence in one's capacity to lead. In a crisis situation, leaders are expected to respond with some action.

Oftentimes a leader may not immediately have enough information to develop an appropriate response to a crisis. Even when the details are not immediately clear, however, a leader's message must refer to broad actions he plans to initiate. This is critical to inspiring people in his ability to lead. Inspiring confidence, then, is ultimately about communicating a capacity to lead with a strong message and pledge to respond to the crisis event. The leader must carefully fuse his own capacity to respond with a proper course of action that he is fully able to execute. The people must be reassured that the crisis situation will be adequately addressed and they must also be inspired to place their support in a leader to address it.

Returning to President Bush's response to the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001, these two goals of crisis rhetoric are clearly visible. To reassure the American people that the U.S. would respond to the attacks he noted two clear lines of action. To respond to the actual events, he said, "I want to reassure the American people that [...] the full resources of the federal government are working to assist local authorities to save lives and to help the victims of these attacks." Regarding the security of America's future, he acknowledged the intensity of the crisis but declared that it would not destroy the United States. At Barksdale Air Force Base on the afternoon of September 11th, he conceded that "the resolve of our great nation is being tested." But, he continued, "make no mistake. We will show the world that we will pass this test." His reassurance also included vows of retaliation. His first public remarks in Florida included the phrase "Terrorism against our nation will not stand." He later declared: "Make no mistake, the United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts".

To inspire confidence in him as a leader and the United States as a whole, Bush employed unifying rhetoric which conveyed the steps the government had taken to both preserve its own function to serve the people as well as to bolster the U.S. against further attack. He informed the people that "immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans." He also noted that "our military at home and around the world is on high alert status. And we have taken the necessary security precautions to continue the functions of your government." To reiterate his administration's own capacity to address the crisis he "directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice."

The fact that President Bush spoke to the country on three separate occasions from three separate states on September 11th is itself a compelling illustration of the need – conscious or unconscious – for people to see and hear from their leader in a time of crisis. But showing up is only part of the equation. The actual rhetoric itself and the way it is spoken and received are critical features of a crisis message which determine its impact on the two aforementioned goals. In order to assess rhetoric more specifically, then, it is necessary to first look not at the leader but at the followers and basic ideas about the human condition and how we consume and perceive messages. One of the great challenges of leadership is the fact it is ultimately the followers who decide if a leader reassures and inspires them. That is, a leader is only successful at meeting the two goals if the followers are moved by his message.

This research will look at how different types of rhetoric are perceived and interpreted by followers and will produce results which measure the degree to which the leader meets the two goals. To establish a basis for constructing these messages and how they are weaved with crisis variables two theories of human behavior are particularly applicable to this course of study. The first, *terror management theory*, explores the implications of our conscious mortality on our behavior when our life (or way of life) is threatened by outside forces. The second, *dual process theory*, makes assumptions about the processes by which we analyze the messages we receive. Both ideas contribute to the formulation of rhetoric styles employed in this study.

Terror Management Theory

Terror Management Theory first surfaced in the 1980s with the combined efforts of Dr. Sheldon Solomon, Dr. Jeff Greenberg, and Dr. Tom Pyszczynski. The theory

draws broad predictions on human behavior when thoughts of death are aroused. Human beings are unique in the animal kingdom for many reasons but the one distinguishing factor which provides the foundation for terror management theory is that humans are the only living creatures which are aware of their own mortality. That is, we know that our biological existence is absolutely finite – regardless of technology, safe practices, healthy lifestyles, and even the best of luck. As a result the human mind enters a morbid realm of anxiety when this mortality is stimulated. Effectively, then, Terror Management Theory assumes we have the capacity for self-reflection and are conscious of our own mortality which may be considered a constant albeit subtle source of personal anguish.

To combat this anguish, the theory continues, humans have created many social and cultural defense mechanisms which provide our lives with meaning, organization, and a sense of continuity. For instance, the notion of community was originally developed for collective protection. From a purely survivalist perspective, this adaptation is based on the reduced threat a community of humans faces compared to that of an individual trying to survive on his own. Yet this same action also led to other forms of protection. As culture developed we began to see life not simply as the process of living and surviving but as a complex journey of intellectual and social progress. We found a deeper meaning in living our lives. We developed cultural values and a feeling of self-worth for subscribing to them.

Cultures even seek to establish some sort of symbolic or literal immortality. The most prominent example is that of religion. Many religions purport a pleasant afterlife such as admission to heaven or a promise of reincarnation. On a more literal level cultures applaud individuals who produce great works or fortunes because these

accomplishments are seen as timeless and enjoyed long after the death of an artist or philanthropist. Ultimately, Terror Management Theory argues that we combat the knowledge of our mortality by placing great stock in culture and deriving a great satisfaction and feeling of security from adhering to it. Self-esteem is based on the conviction of the rightness of our values and standards.

From here the theory suggests that we naturally want to have our own worldview confirmed by others. We achieve greater esteem and can reinforce the legitimacy of those values when others agree with them. However, world cultures rarely coexist easily. Throughout history wars and other conflicts have been a defining condition of the human experience in the world. Terror Management Theory asserts that when our own cultural values are threatened we translate that threat into a hostile attack on our self-esteem and our understanding of the world and the meaning we find in our lives. To counter this unnerving development we tend to deny or devalue the importance of other worldviews which differ from our own. This description creates a foundation for one of the pillars of Terror Management Theory, which is that when people are reminded of the inevitability of their own death they are inclined to cling even more strongly to their own cultural values and worldviews. Under this condition people are more likely to be attracted to strong leaders who express traditional, pro-establishment, authoritarian viewpoints.

Although the theory was outlined long before the attacks on the United States on September 11th, 2001, terrorism became the natural subject of much research on Terror Management Theory. The theory is not restricted to *acts* of terrorism, but this issue is one which challenges the assumptions of the theory. Islamic extremists who employ terrorism in their own religious pursuits meet the criteria of an outside threat as described

by Terror Management Theory, especially when they attack Western targets. These extremists hold a vastly different cultural worldview than most Westerners, even those who also practice Islam. A dramatic divergence in worldviews is usually enough to stimulate tension across cultural groups. But when these differences manifest themselves in such a way that they directly threatens the lives of another group, such as the terrorist attacks on the American people on September 11th, the U.S. is compelled to respond not only with condemnation but with a vast reinforcement of American principles.

The events of 9/11 provided an ideal environment in which Terror Management Theory could be empirically tested. Solomon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, and others have found supporting evidence for several assumptions made by the theory. A collection of several relevant studies provides key details which aid in the development of our study which includes the dimension of rhetoric. The first study was published in 2004 under the title “Deliver Us From Evil: The Effects of Mortality Salience and Reminders of 9/11 on Support for President George W. Bush” and was conducted by Solomon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski and several others. This research included four studies designed to identify whether or not mortality salience effectively influenced support for the President of the United States. Researchers hypothesized that when mortality was made salient then President Bush would garner more support among followers than he would under normal circumstances.

In Study 1, ninety-seven American undergraduates were primed with either thoughts of death or a control topic. All participants in both the mortality salience group and the control group answered a series of filler questions. Those in the mortality salience group then answered two questions to arouse their mortality: “Please briefly

describe the emotions that the thought of your own death arouses in you” and “Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as your physically die and once you are physically dead.” Control group participants answered two questions about the control topic, television. Participants then read a short literary passage to serve as a time delay, as other Terror Management Theory research showed that better results were acquired if a short period of time elapsed between the priming and the rest of the study. Then all participants read an essay expressing a “highly-favorable” opinion of the steps taken by President Bush after 9/11 as well as their approval of his handling of Iraq. Using a 5-point Likert scale participants were asked to respond to three questions about the essay: “To what extent do you endorse this statement?,” “I share many of the attitudes expressed in the above statement,” and “Personally, I feel secure knowing that the President is doing everything possible to guard against any further attacks on the United States.” The study found that participants in the mortality salience group reported a higher level of support for the President than those in the control group.

The second study tested the hypothesis that 9/11 functions like a mortality salience primer for death-related thoughts. Effectively, this study tests the argument that 9/11 – and expressions which describe it – activate unconscious concerns about death the same way a more direct mortality salience primer would. After a series of filler questions to preserve the study’s cover story, the participants were subjected to computer screens which flashed two different words in rapid succession. Forty-six psychology students had to identify whether or not the words were related by striking the right shift key “related” and the left shift key for “unrelated.” The words *flower* and *rose* were considered related, so students who saw them would presumably press the right shift key.

The words *sneaker* and *fajita* were unrelated and if they flashed together the students were expected to strike the left key. As they began this computer task, the participants were randomly assigned one of three subliminal primes as they began their computer task: 911, WTC, or 573 (the region's area code). These were flashed briefly on the participants' screens before they complete the exercise.

After this task students were asked to fill out a questionnaire which included a series of word perception measures. Among them was a death-theme-accessibility measure as well as others which served to check whether or not the manipulation was successful. Participants filled out a word fragment completion test, which involved completing a word which had been begun on paper. Of the 34 word fragments, six could be completed as a death-related word. The fragment COFF__ could be complete as COFFEE or COFFIN. Researchers were interested in whether or not the group that was primed with reminders of September 11th – those who observed 911 and WTC at the beginning of their flash sequence of words on the computer – thought more about death than participants in the control group. Results indicated that “participants in the terrorism prime condition showed greater death-thought accessibility” when they filled out their questionnaires. The authors contend that this study demonstrated that stimuli commonly associated with the September 11th attacks (911 and WTC) produce an increase in death-related thought accessibility, just as other methods of making mortality salient do.

The third study in this collection tested the hypothesis that reminders of September 11th increased support for President Bush. This research differs from the first study in that researchers tested whether or not those reminders of September 11th were functionally equivalent or at least similar (as Study 2 suggests) to mortality salience

primes used in the first study. To test this, researchers primed participants with thoughts of either death, 9/11, or a control topic and then measured their attitudes towards President Bush. The control topic, an upcoming exam, was designed to elicit negative but not death-related thoughts. Researchers also wanted to control for existing political orientation because it was possible that reminders of death may simply compel people to be more conservative and thus President Bush, a conservative Republican, would naturally become more appealing.

Participants included 74 undergraduates, 48 women and 28 men. This study was virtually identical to the first one. Participants were divided randomly into a control group (whose priming questions related to an upcoming exam), terrorism salience group (questions about September 11th), and mortality salience group (questions on death). First, students filled out a questionnaire to preserve the study's cover story, and responded to two primer questions about an upcoming exam, September 11th, or death. Participants then read the same statement praising President Bush as was used in Study 1 and answered the same three questions about it. Students answered some filler demographic questions and finally they were asked to rank their political orientation on a scale from 1 (very conservative) to 9 (very liberal).

Results supported the hypothesis. Participants in the mortality salience condition showed greater support for the President than those in the control group. Researchers also found that there was little difference between the terrorism salience and mortality salience conditions. There was a slight variation in the mean but it was not statistically significant. In sum, as in Study 1, the exam salient group offered less support for President Bush than those in the terrorism salience and mortality salience groups, both of

which rated the President significantly more favorable. This study suggests that reminders of September 11th have the same effect as mortality salience in increasing the appeal of President Bush.

On the final dimension, the researchers found that both mortality salience and reminders of September 11th would increase the appeal of President Bush regardless of political orientation. Specifically, they found that mortality salience increased approval for Bush among liberals and conservatives, although conservatives tended to support the president more than liberals. The one exception to this trend was that the terrorism condition had a stronger effect on liberal participants. In the terrorism condition, there was only a slight difference in approval of Bush between conservatives and liberals, suggesting that in the terrorism salience condition, political orientation was a negligible predictor of who would approve of President Bush. It was significantly less predictive than the exam condition and somewhat less of a predictor in the mortality salience condition.

In both of those cases, conservatives clearly approved of Bush more than liberals. In the end, these results suggest that September 11th does increase support for the President, especially among conservatives. The authors caution that this last finding may simply reflect the sample they used, but there is evidence to support the idea that mortality salience and terrorism salience both increased the appeal of President Bush among both liberal and conservative participants.

The fourth and final study in this collection tries to assess whether the appeal for President Bush – which was consistent in studies 1 through 3 – would translate to other national leaders. President Bush is often characterized as exercising charismatic

leadership in the wake the September 11th terrorist attacks and this final study looks at whether the increased affection for the president that mortality salience arouses in people may be applicable to another national leader, and not simply to Bush himself. Since there are no positions equivocal to the presidency in the United States, researchers selected what they considered the best alternative – a presidential candidate challenging Bush in the 2004 election. Senator John Kerry, a Democrat from Massachusetts, became the alternative leader for this study. For this study, researchers also discarded the positive statement of President Bush (used in the previous studies) and instead used questions designed to directly assess support for Bush rather than simply affirm it.

For this study, researchers recruited 157 students who were assigned randomly to a control group or mortality salience group. In an effort to “further assess the specificity to concerns about mortality,” the control topic was changed to intense pain. Participants filled out a packet and answered questions inside it. As in previous studies, the packet contained two filler questions to sustain the study’s cover story followed by the manipulation of mortality salience. The same two questions about describing their own death was used for the mortality salience group, and similar questions about intense pain were asked of the control group.

Students were then asked to think for a moment about President Bush and then answer a series of four questions about him. The first related to his favorability, the second asked whether they admired him, the third asked about their confidence in him as a leader, and the fourth inquired whether they would vote for him in the upcoming election. Participants were asked to do the same thing in evaluating Senator Kerry. The first question was answered using 9-point Likert scale with one end labeled *not at all*

favorably and the other labeled *extremely favorably*. The rest of the questions were answered using similar scales but labeled as *not at all* and *very much*, respectively. Finally, researchers asked participants to indicate their personal political affiliation on a scale ranging from *very conservative* to *very liberal*.

The results from this study yield several important findings. First, that in the mortality salience condition, people gave higher ratings to both President Bush and Senator Kerry than those in the control condition. More importantly, researchers argue, is the finding that although John Kerry was “significantly more highly regarded than George Bush in the intense pain (control) condition,” Bush’s evaluations increased dramatically in response to mortality salience. That is, when the topic was pain, Kerry won much more support than Bush. When the topic was death, however, Bush became more attractive and Kerry’s ratings declined. Regarding political orientation, results were similar as in Study 3. The mortality salience condition intensified support for Bush regardless of the participant’s personal political orientation.

The results also suggest that increased support as a result of mortality salience was unique to President Bush and not other national figures of similar stature. This is consistent with the idea that mortality salience increases the favorability of leaders who exude charisma. It is important to reiterate, however, that no leader – or potential leader – can be easily contrasted with the U.S. president and this should be considered in light of Kerry’s poor showing in the mortality salience condition. The authors also suggest that Kerry’s leadership style may have been by itself less appealing to people when their mortality is made salient. Regardless of these considerations, however, the

fourth study adds evidence to the notion that mortality salience increases favorability of President Bush, even when Kerry is favored under other circumstances.

These four studies which comprise the “Deliver Us From Evil” all contribute to and support Terror Management Theory. They will have important implications on the present study. Most critically, they all affirmed that Terror Management Theory increased favor for a national leader, the president. They also suggest that words and symbols correlating with the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001, which undeniably qualify as a crisis event, produced a greater affection for the president. Additionally, the issue of party loyalty and partisanship – which must be considered in any genuine study of American political leadership – was not found to hinder the effect of affection for leaders when mortality is made salient. Finally, the last study lends credence to the argument that national leaders hold a special place in the hearts and minds of Americans that other leaders – even a potential successor to an unpopular president – cannot garner the same support when mortality is made salient, as it would in a crisis situation.

There are several other relevant studies on Terror Management Theory which look at related factors to rhetoric and support for leaders in a time of crisis. One study focused on Terror Management Theory as an influence on voting intentions. The research, conducted by Cohen et al. and titled “American Roulette: The Effect of Reminders of Death on Support for George W. Bush in the 2004 Presidential Election,” was conducted in September 2004, just weeks before the Americans were to cast their ballots for the next president. This experiment was similar to Study 4 in the literature described above but used a different control topic. The researchers hypothesized that inducing mortality salience would increase support for President Bush (then running for

re-election) and decrease support for his Democratic challenger, Senator John Kerry. They based their assumption on existing principles of terror management theory, namely that reminders of death would encourage people to vote for the candidate with whom they associated a greater sense of security.

Researchers obtained 184 undergraduate students who were randomly assigned to either a mortality salient group or control group. Participants were told they were partaking in a study about personality attributes and matters of public interest. Subjects in the mortality salience group filled out a questionnaire which contained two filler questions to induce thoughts of death, the same ones used in previous studies: "Please briefly describe the emotions that the thought of your own death arouses in you" and "Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as your physically die and once you are physically dead." The control group answered filler questions about television. All participants then answered a personal inventory and indicated their position on social issues as well as whom they intended to vote for in the upcoming election.

To make up for weaknesses in a previous terror management study of a similar nature, researchers only used the data collected from registered voters who did intend to cast a ballot, leaving them with 131 viable profiles. Results supported their original hypothesis. By a large margin of more than 4 to 1, Senator Kerry won more vote than incumbent George Bush in the control condition. Of the 60 subjects in that group, 34 participants in that group voted for Kerry while only 8 voted for Bush. Three voted for a third-party candidate and 15 were undecided. In the mortality salience group, however, Bush's vote total increased dramatically and he defeated Kerry by a margin of more than

2 to 1. Of the 71 subjects in that group, 32 went for Bush, 14 for Kerry, two for the third-party candidate and 23 were undecided.

This study's results support to the idea that Bush's re-election victory in 2004 may have been facilitated in part by Americans' nonconscious concerns about death. The authors do acknowledge, however, that the sample group was not representative of the American electorate. Still, results do imply that the terrorist warnings issued by the government in the time period prior to the November election may have reinforced support for President Bush. The authors also note an event which may have also induced some degree of mortality salience among the American people immediately prior to the election. On October 29th, 2004, a week before the election, terrorist leader Osama bin Laden released a videotape of himself, the first one to surface in over a year. The tape reminded the American people of the events that took place three years earlier on September 11th, 2001. Regardless of exactly how much anxiety this tape induced, it certainly framed the last few days of the election around the threat of terrorism, which at the time greatly benefited President Bush.

A final experiment relevant to the current study assesses the impact of written messages on subjects' assessment of political leaders. In "Fatal Attraction: The Effects of Mortality Salience on Evaluations of Charismatic, Task-Oriented, and Relationship-Oriented Leaders," Cohen et al. hypothesized that mortality salience would compel people to show an increased preference for a charismatic political candidate and decreased preference for a relationship-oriented political candidate. This research impacts our current study because participants were subjected to a series of messages and were asked to evaluate the leadership qualities of the leaders who offered them. This

formula – asking participants to consume a message and reflect on the qualities of the leader who gave it – will be replicated, albeit in a sharply different way, in the current study.

Cohen et al. recruited 190 students at Brooklyn College to participate in the study. As with previous research, the subjects were randomly assigned to a control group and a group whose mortality was made salient. Each group contained 95 participants. Similar questions were used to arouse the control students' mortality. They were asked to describe their thoughts of what would happen to them as they died and once they were physically dead. Control group subjects were asked parallel questions about an upcoming exam. All participants then read a literary passage to extend the length of time between when mortality salience was induced and when they were asked to respond to read and respond to leader messages.

Participants were then asked to read campaign statements purportedly written by three political candidates in a hypothetical upcoming election. The messages were manipulated to reflect three leadership styles – charismatic, task-oriented, or relationship-oriented. Modifying existing statements from a previous study, the researchers portrayed the charismatic leader as “having high expectations of the followers, having confidence in followers' abilities, engaging in risky but calculated behavior, and emphasizing the importance of the overarching vision and identity of the group as a whole.” Alternatively, the task-oriented leader's statement was characterized as “setting high, yet achievable goals and effectively achieving those goals by efficiently allocating resources and delegating responsibilities.” Finally, the relationship-oriented leader offered a message portrayed as “treating followers compassionately and respectfully, emphasizing

communication by listening to followers, showing trust and confidence in followers, and acknowledging followers with recognition and appreciations.” Participants read each statement and answered five questions immediately after reading each one. A Likert Scale was used to evaluate each participant’s assessment of each candidate following exposure to the candidates’ statements. Finally, each participant was asked which candidate they would vote for in an election.

Researchers found that, contrary to their hypothesis, participants in both conditions preferred the task-oriented candidate over the charismatic and relationship-oriented candidates. However, when the responses of the two groups of participants were contrasted, the charismatic leader received significantly more favorable evaluations among subjects whose mortality was made salient. The total number of votes cast for the charismatic candidate in the control group was four out of 95 but in the mortality salience group that number rose to 31 out of 95. Additionally, the relationship-oriented leader was more preferred among control group participants (43 of 95) than among subjects in the mortality salience condition (21 of 95).

While mortality salience seems to have increased support for the charismatic candidate and decreased support for the relationship-oriented candidate, it was the task-oriented leader who won the most support in both groups. 48 of 95 subjects in the control group and 43 of 95 mortality salience participants selected this candidate. Mortality salience did not seem to affect participants’ evaluation of the task-oriented candidate. Effectively, the task-oriented candidate’s message – and, by extension, the candidate himself – was ultimately the most appealing of the three. The researchers assert that this work adds to the growing body of empirical evidence that mortality salience alters

people's preference for leaders but it also has important implications for leadership rhetoric. Task-oriented leadership, often cast as nothing more than operational management, fared extremely and unexpectedly well when translated into words and a message. For all the emphasis placed on charisma in modern leadership scholarship, this study serves as a reminder that task-oriented rhetoric is not to be discounted.

The research summarized above illuminates several key implications for crisis rhetoric. When mortality is salient, national leaders become more appealing. This appeal transcends party loyalties and other divisive elements of a partisan political world. National leaders stand above other leaders and this reiterates their critical role and increases the significance of their crisis messages. More directly related to our own project, the last study demonstrated that different messages can be more or less attractive when mortality is salient. Clearly, then, the message is important and national leaders are in a unique position to respond to a crisis event using rhetoric to reassure the people and inspire their support. The next section delves more deeply into how Terror Management Theory influences crisis rhetoric.

Implications of Terror Management Theory on Crisis Rhetoric

The lessons for leadership rhetoric which emerge from terror management research are clear. Before addressing these points, however, it is important to reiterate why crisis rhetoric itself is so critical. Why does it matter who speaks to us in a time of crisis? The most glaring observation is that in a time of crisis national leaders are almost always the first people we turn to. Their authentic power makes them natural recipients of our attention (and affection) in a time of crisis. National leaders are in a position to

reinforce some of the fundamental assumptions of terror management theory, such as the desire to place more faith in pro-establishment and authoritarian rules.

The president specifically is empowered to take certain actions that only he or she can initiate. After September 11th, for instance, the PATRIOT Act, at President Bush's urging, was passed by Congress with relative ease. This act gave the federal government vast authority to monitor domestic activities within the United States in the name of preventing future acts of terrorism. Critics argue that this act trumps the civil liberties of the American people and actually suppresses personal freedom, all in an effort to foil future terrorist plots and apprehend terrorist suspects. It is unlikely that such a dramatic, empowering bill would have been passed prior to September 11th, 2001. Clearly the crisis event precipitated the passage of this unprecedented act but also critical to its success was a leader who had the power to advance and sign the law.

Interestingly, a crisis event lends national leaders credibility which even transcends political partisanship. While presidents are typically held in high esteem only among members of his their party, in a time of crisis they typically become more appealing to Americans of all parties and positions. This trend is easily identifiable when a president's national approval rating before and after a crisis is contrasted. In the case of George W. Bush, his approval rating skyrocketed to 90% immediately after September 11th, 2001, even though it had been hovering around 48% in the days prior to the attacks (Gallop, 2001). President Roosevelt's approval rating increased dramatically after the attacks on Pearl Harbor. The legitimate authority of national leaders, then, draws our national attention in a time of crisis and the American people are typically willing to place their faith in them.

This discussion acknowledges the critical role that authenticity plays in our tendency to turn to national leaders in a time of crisis. The support we offer to these leaders, however, is not permanent and is actually quite fragile. The stock we place in national leaders in a time of crisis can be easily deflated by weak or unconvincing messages or actions. A president who does not appear confident or in control after a crisis event arguably inflicts more psychological harm upon the people than the event itself. Support for a leader in a time of crisis is conditional. We have certain expectations of our leaders, many of which are rooted in terror management concepts. For example, we look for them to be strong and resilient, but we also expect them to feel similar emotions as we feel, such as anger or grief. The conditional nature of support for a leader after a crisis event and the ideas put forth in Terror Management Theory yield several important implications for crisis rhetoric.

The most important thing crisis rhetoric should do to reassure the people that despite the terror of the crisis event the country is functioning and will take action. This element of crisis rhetoric follows directly from terror management theory and is designed to secure the first goal of crisis rhetoric outlined above, which is to bolster the frayed perception of the country's strength and security. Terror management research notes that when mortality is made salient – as it invariably would be in a crisis situation – that we are quick to behave in ways that bolster our own feelings of security. Crisis rhetoric must attempt to bolster the physical and emotional sense of vulnerability that a crisis event would arouse. A crisis message, then, must be both composed and delivered with an air of strength and determination. Strong rhetoric arguably correlates with feelings of protection and future security.

A leader, however, cannot simply convey words of strength and power. In fact, excessive or exclusive use of powerful rhetoric may lead him to come off as irrational or overwhelmed by the situation. Crisis rhetoric which seeks to reassure must not only affirm a leader's ability to respond to the crisis event but must also affirm the legitimacy of the people and the society that were victims of it. That is, a leader's crisis message must reiterate to people their validity both as people and as members of their culture and society. Again, terror management becomes relevant to crisis rhetoric. When mortality is salient people are more likely to be attracted to messages and leaders who reaffirm and reinforce the worldviews and perceptions they hold. This component is particularly critical to rhetoric discussing Islamic terrorism, for the cultural perspectives are drastically different between most Western societies and Islamic extremists.

In addition to the construction of a message which addresses the factors associated with terror management theory there are other factors which relate to successful leadership in a crisis situation. These components will be discussed in detail in the next chapter but it is important to acknowledge them here. In addition to the linguistic details of a message, a leader must also focus on how that message is delivered. Technical factors related to presentation, such as intonation, inflexion, rate of speech, and passion also contribute to the message's overall effectiveness. Another consideration is how the message is received. Many people watch speeches live, others watch recorded messages, and some may only hear them on the radio. These factors reiterate the fact that the effectiveness of a leader's message is based on more than simply the actual words and language used to construct it.

Ultimately, a leader's message in a crisis situation must be aimed at achieving the

two goals previously discussed in this chapter – to reassure the people that everything will be all right, and to inspire their confidence that the leader giving the message is the right person to make things right. Terror management theory contributes specific considerations which should be considered when mortality is salient among the people. Reassurance must start with strong rhetoric and affirm to the people that the threat to their physical and societal being is going to be conquered. More broadly, a leader must also highlight the rightness and validity of the social and cultural values to which the people adhere. These principles must be present in a crisis message for it to be effective in achieving the goals of reassurance and inspiration. Additional factors affecting a speech's effectiveness will be discussed in the next chapter.

Dual-Process Theory

While Terror Management Theory will provide the basic thrust for our work, Dual-Process Theory is also applicable to any study which assesses how people receive and analyze messages. This theory argues that there are two ways people can be persuaded, one which emphasizes rational assessment of a message's content and another which emphasizes cues from the leader that the message is correct. These ideas relate directly to several key elements of rhetoric which will be discussed in the following chapter. Another important consideration is the fact that much of what has been argued above actually challenges Dual-Process Theory. Ideally, research on crisis rhetoric may yield important results that impact Dual-Process Theory, at least in a crisis context.

Dual-Process Theory has been developed and utilized in various ways but one of the more popular and useful applications is in what is termed the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), put forward by R.E. Petty and J.T. Cacioppo in 1986. Effectively, this

model represents a continuum which reflects various degrees of elaboration. That is, how deeply do people think about things? Low elaboration reflects little thought and high elaboration indicates a great deal of thought. The ELM distinguishes between two routes to persuasion, one labeled the *central route* and the other called the *peripheral route*.

The central route is based on logical, rational assessment of an argument followed by a conclusion one way or another. This method involves careful scrutiny of a persuasive argument offered to us. We use information and strong arguments to make our decision. The peripheral route does not place emphasis on the persuasiveness of the argument rendered but rather focuses on other cues which might indicate the correctness of the argument. For example, a person may evaluate the argument based on things like the perceived credibility (or even attractiveness) of the source, how well the argument was presented, or the attractiveness of a leader's rhetoric. The principle difference between the routes is that the central route is based on the process of carefully thinking about an argument based on its merits and the peripheral route is based on identifying persuasive cues from the environment in which the message is offered.

So which route will people use in a given situation? Petty and Cacioppo assert that two factors will influence which route an individual will take. The first relates to motivation – does the person have a strong desire to process the message? The second relates to ability – is the person capable of critically evaluating the message? The key to which route will be taken is the level of elaboration, and the level of elaboration is based on these issues of motivation and ability. Motivational factors emphasize the personal relevance of the message to the person receiving it. A person is motivated to think about something that is important to them. Ability factors focus largely on the availability of

cognitive resources to think about the message as well as sufficient existing knowledge to assess the arguments.

The central route to persuasion, then, is most likely to occur when an individual is motivated to think about the message while also capable of critically scrutinizing it. It requires high degrees of elaboration. Naturally, this implies that the issue at hand is personally relevant or otherwise important to the listener. On the other hand, the peripheral route involves less effort and low levels of elaboration so people are more likely to use it when the issue is not terribly important to them. One is based on scrutiny of the message itself, and the other is based on cues in and around the message. This distinction becomes important when assessed through a lens of crisis rhetoric.

Our current study may actually challenge the conclusions of the Elaboration Likelihood Model. Petty and Cacioppo suggest that the central route is used when a person is motivated to engage with it (i.e. it is relevant to them) and when they are capable of thinking about it. In a crisis situation of national scope, such as the September 11th attacks, these two prerequisites are usually satisfied. Nearly every American was personally and emotionally affected by this event, as were several aspects of day-to-day life in the United States. Similarly, terrorist attacks and speeches by national leaders that follow them are relatively easy to comprehend, even if the terrorists' motivation for the attack is complicated. On paper, this suggests that crisis messages would be received using the central route.

However, in a time of crisis, the overwhelming nature of the events may begin to erode the ability to think rationally. Fear of death and other issues related to terror may easily overpower people's thoughts. Crisis events are usually not conducive to logical,

rational thinking on the part of the people. Rather, they are more compelled by emotions and fear. People on the streets of New York on September 11th, 2001, for instance, were not necessarily looking at the disaster unfolding above their heads rationally, but were disturbed and thinking with their hearts more than their heads. This is certainly not a negative tendency – indeed, people who were not disturbed and personally impacted by the events would probably be considered cold – but it does challenge the fundamental assumptions of Dual-Process Theory in this specific crisis context.

In a crisis situation, people are usually motivated to pay attention and most are able to do so yet these times are also ones where careful scrutiny of events is not an appealing way to think about things. How does this affect crisis messages from leaders? Which messages will be more successful and reassuring and inspiring followers? Specifically, do ideas from Dual-Process Theory apply to crisis situations? Are people, for instance, more likely to judge a leader's confidence and poise (i.e. peripheral cues) than the message itself because they are not in a mood to think rationally about that message? If so, then the delivery of a message may be more important than the message itself. Similarly, is the construction of the message in terms of word choice and sentence structure also going to be more appealing?

Including a discussion of Dual-Process Theory is important because it appears that several conclusions this theory present may be less applicable in a crisis situation. Alternative appeals may be more necessary in this bizarre condition where people are motivated and but not necessarily able to assess a message because of the circumstances around them. Along with Terror Management Theory, Dual-Process Theory will be assessed later in this work as relevant theories to crisis rhetoric. While Terror

Management Theory will be studied explicitly, the results of this work should yield some interesting ideas about the applicability of Dual-Process Theory in crisis situations. The next chapter will conceptualize the core principles of a theory dealing with communication in times of crisis.

Conceptualization

The focus of this chapter is to provide a broad look at the relationship between leaders and followers and make a series of assertions about the nature of communication between these two groups. As was mentioned in the first chapter, rhetoric is a powerful but fragile mechanism for leaders to communicate with their followers. Often the only direct connection between the people and their leader is verbal. Most Americans, for instance, never even *meet*, much less know personally the President of the United States. Most Americans do not even meet their own Congressman. The media launches a constant barrage of facts, figures, quotes and opinions but the direct connection between the president and the people is actually quite miniscule. Strong rhetoric, then, is paramount to successful leadership because a leader often relies greatly if not exclusively on forming and delivering messages to followers, especially for national leaders in a time of crisis.

This strange dynamic – one where the leader with whom we are least personally familiar is the one whose message is most important to us in a time of crisis – only reinforces the powerful role of rhetoric in leadership. But it is not restricted to political leaders. Other national leaders, such as religious figures, also base much of their relationship with the people on the words they preach. Even athletes and movie stars, who serve primarily to entertain, are sought after for their opinions, although often as sources of jokes for tabloids and late-night television hosts. The broad perspective remains, however. Rhetoric is a powerful mechanism for leaders at various social, religious, and political levels. Never is the need for compelling rhetoric greater than in a

crisis situation. And, as just discussed, national figures with whom ordinary citizens have little to no direct, personal contact are even more reliant on rhetoric to reassure and inspire the people.

The significance of rhetoric and the great need for it in crisis situations leads to several important questions. Compelling rhetoric, just like many other successful endeavors, often owes its success to a variety of factors. Is a message made more powerful by the words which comprise it or the manner in which it is delivered? Does the way in which the message is received affect whether or not a follower is reassured and inspired? These are important queries to consider because a meaningful study of rhetoric must acknowledge the challenge of identifying some fairly specific components as the source of a message's success – or failure.

In order to distinguish the critical elements that influence a message's impact on followers we will outline here three principle assertions about rhetoric in general. These contentions provide the pillars for a theory of communication in crisis situations. The first distinguishing factor is the message itself. The word choice and sentence structure and other grammatical details matter. A crisis message should be simple, read well, and convey strength. The second factor relates to message delivery. The manner in which a leader presents a message is also critical to its effectiveness. A leader must appear strong and confident without appearing excessively dramatic. Third, the way in which a message is received by followers is important. The closer the follower feels to his or her leader, the more successful that leader's message will be. What follows is a detailed discussion of these three principles and their relationship to crisis leadership.

Message Composition

This dimension includes the basic literary parts and style that are built into the message with words. Word choice, sentence structure, and other factors such as message length all play a role in developing the message as a tangible entity to deliver to the people. This first assertion is relatively independent of the leader and the context, although a specific application of it to crisis rhetoric will be applied shortly. This idea hinges upon the assumption that the crafting of a message in terms of words and rhetorical style plays an important role in how successful that message is in achieving the two goals of a leader in a crisis situation.

An illustration of the significance of message construction from American history occurred just after the end of the Second World War. When President Harry Truman decided that the United States should adopt a policy to keep the Soviet Union from expanding too far into Europe in the months and years following World War II, he knew one of his greatest challenges would be to sell the American people on the notion of once again intervening in Europe – this time with money, not troops. His first test of this policy came in Greece in September 1946, when a civil war and a small but Soviet-backed communist party threatened to overthrow the existing government. Truman believed the United States would have to intervene to prevent the communists from coming to power in Greece.

But the American people were in no mood for intervention. The greatest war the world had ever known had finally ended and the people were eager to settle down and not worry about post-war European affairs. Truman agonized over a speech he would have to make to Congress to gain their support in suppressing the communist subversion. His

Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson produced a draft of a speech which spoke little of the merits of the policy but instead focused on Greece. Truman thought it sounded like “an investment prospectus” (Axelrod, 2007). Acheson’s second draft was also lacking. Truman took out a pencil and changed the speech’s key phrase from “*I believe that it should be the policy of the United States...*” to “*I believe it must be the policy of the United States...*” Truman’s speech to Congress was a success and thus was born the Truman Doctrine, a critical Cold War policy that prevented communism from consuming the entirety of Europe and assisted millions of European citizens in rebuilding after World War II.

Truman’s anguish over the content of his speech to Congress, which was delivered in March of 1947, reflects his comprehension of the significance of both the Soviet threat and the recourse he was proposing. He was fastidious in his standards for the speech because he knew that to reach the American people and their representatives he could not simply regurgitate a series of facts and figures but would instead need to frame the issue as a moral imperative and the response as an American obligation to both itself and its allies. He knew he needed to be declarative, that hesitation had no place in this speech. In short, Truman’s use of rhetoric was exceedingly important in persuading the American people that this was an urgent action that had to be initiated.

Truman’s experience highlights the importance of rhetoric in general. Turning specifically to crisis rhetoric, several more precise assertions about message construction may be offered. Most notably is the idea that words and style need to be simple. Eloquent phrases and lengthy prose are unnecessary, even burdensome. In a crisis like the September 11th attacks, the mass chaos, fear, and anxiety may hinder people’s ability

to rationally decipher a leader's message. Additionally, referring to Terror Management Theory, people will demand some sort of action, often retaliatory, by their leader.

Effectively, then, they will be most receptive to a quick, simple, unencumbered pledge to respond to the crisis event. Amidst the pandemonium that usually accompanies this sort of crisis the leader is much more likely to secure the two goals – reassurance and confidence – if this more abbreviated and aggressive language is used in the message.

Consider this example. After a 9/11-type event two leaders offer a message. The messages both promise action and effectively make the same declaration. Leader 1 says, “We will use every tool we have to hunt down and capture the people who did this.” Leader 2: “We will devote the considerable resources at our disposal to track, locate, and apprehend the person or persons we believe to be responsible for committing this horrendous act.” Now, both messages essentially mean the same thing. The two leaders would follow the same steps to implement both promises. According to the guidelines just outlined, however, the first message will be more reassuring and inspire more confidence in and support for the leader than the second. It is more direct, simple, and easier to receive. The follower, who is understandably distraught, will be attracted to the simple message and will feel comforted by an aggressive response. While the second message promises the same thing the words used are softer, more academic, and have a feel of political polish at the hand of a speechwriter and not the heartfelt passion of a leader committed to rectifying the crisis.

Message Delivery

If the first pillar of crisis rhetoric is a carefully constructed message the next pillar is a careful and deliberate presentation of that message. This second assertion focuses

more on how a message is delivered rather than the particular words and rhetorical elements which characterize its content. The dimensions considered here include such elements as voice volume, body language, physical gesticulations, and, most importantly, fervency of words. Expression of a message is critical because it represents the fusion of an idea with the leader advocating. It represents an opportunity for a leader to bring the message to life and advance its meaning and purpose to a level which simply cannot be achieved with mere words on paper.

It is the expression of the message that matters. The assumption in this case is that fervent, aggressive delivery of a message will be more successful in a crisis situation than a cool, traditional delivery. Take, for instance, the message “We have been dealt a tough blow. It is a tragic day which will never be forgotten. But the great American spirit will prevail and we will go on.” An experiment would test how various presentations of this same message affect support and confidence. A leader who delivers these convictions strongly will prevail over one who presents them in a meeker fashion. It is reasonable to suggest that a leader who delivers these words firmly and with appropriate body language will be more successful at reassuring the recipients of the message that everything is going to be all right.

The discussion of message delivery hinges on the connotations we make with a leader and his message. A powerful delivery is usually equated with a powerful position and strong commitment. A leader who wavers or stumbles through a message certainly does not elicit the same confidence – even if the words are exactly the same. Leaders must be careful, however, to strike a balance between insufficient and excessive emotion when they deliver messages, especially in a time of crisis. A president who denounces an

enemy by yelling and banging his hands repeatedly on a podium will not come of strong but rather frantic or out of control. Similarly, a president who avoids displays of emotions can easily lose the confidence of people who want to see him as sharing the same fear and anger that they do in a crisis situation. A leader must deliver a message with sufficient passion to convey his commitment but also restrain himself from losing control of the situation. This is never more critical than in a crisis situation where people turn to their leader and rely on his or her judgment more so than at any other time.

One of the greatest examples of message delivery in a time of crisis was President John Kennedy's speech following the chilling discovery of Soviet missile sites being constructed on the island of Cuba. On October 22, 1962, Kennedy addressed the American people from his desk in the Oval Office. His message was designed to reassure the American people that the government was focusing great efforts on defusing the situation. The fact that the crisis was far from resolved when he gave this speech makes the physical delivery of the message exponentially more critical. Many Americans were learning the details and the scale of the crisis for the first time that evening and they were carefully watching Kennedy for signs of confidence. Kennedy spoke clearly, deliberately, and with great poise that evening. His words were measured, never rushed, and complimented by a strong but not overbearing professional demeanor and minor gesticulations when necessary, such as when he pointed to large maps of Cuba with arrows marking the missile sites.

The speech itself was credited as a well-constructed message but it was Kennedy's delivery of the words which helped reassure the American people and not simply inform them. We tend to base our own reaction to a situation on the response of

our leaders. Kennedy's rhetorical confidence translated into actual confidence among citizens who received his message that night. This was particularly important because Kennedy was dealing with a crisis that was both volatile on a history-changing level as well as still very much unfolding. While it would be unjustified to claim that Kennedy's message completely dissolved the anxiety Americans were feeling about the situation, it is fair to argue that his delivery of this message may have assuaged some of the tension people were feeling. A crisis message need not solve a crisis, but it should reassure people that appropriate steps are being initiated and that the leader is up to the task of addressing it.

A final point worth mentioning about the importance of how a message is delivered is to note that this dimension of crisis rhetoric will only get more and more important as technology continues to advance. When Franklin Roosevelt spoke after the attacks on Pearl Harbor, the vast majority of Americans heard it on the radio and had no opportunity to visually gauge Roosevelt's demeanor. To a slightly lesser extent, Kennedy's speech on the Cuban Missile Crisis was still received by many through a radio, though by this point more Americans had televisions and tuned in to watch. Forty years later, when President Bush spoke after 9/11, nearly every American watched and heard him speak on television. As more television channels emerge every year and technology delivers messages faster and faster, the way a leader delivers a message will be critiqued more and more closely.

Message Absorption

This last observation leads directly to the final assertion regarding crisis rhetoric which is that consumption method matters. That is, the way in which a message is

received will affect its effectiveness. This dimension does not relate directly to the message itself, or how a leader delivers that message, but rather focuses on how followers consume that message. Simply put, the closer the follower is to the leader, the more effective the leader's message. The issue of proximity is one that, as mentioned above, will only become a greater consideration as more and more people have the ability to tune into a speech by the president or other national leaders. At the same time, the vastness of the United State – in terms of both geographic and population size – also puts a great distance between some citizens and their national leaders.

Proximity to a leader's message can be measured in several ways. It is not simply a matter of physical distance but rather focuses on the number of senses used to receive a message and the intensity of the environment in which it is received. For example, hearing a speech on the radio requires the use of our ears while other senses can be applied to other tasks, such as driving. Watching a speech on television requires our eyes and our ears but does not necessary rule out other activities, such as cooking or exercising. On the other hand, being present for a speech by a national leader usually commands most or all of our attention because we use multiple senses to receive the message as well as interact in an active, often energized environment. Similarly, at the opposite end of the spectrum, reading the text of a speech requires little effort and places a great distance between the leader and his message.

Effectively, then, this third pillar of crisis rhetoric argues that the closer the follower is to the leader, the more effective the leader's message. Closeness is measured in how much of a person's body and mind is engaged in consuming the message. Someone present for a leader's speech in a time of crisis is more likely to feel reassured

at the leader's words than someone watching it on television. Similarly, a television viewer will probably be more reassured than a radio listener, who in turn would feel better than someone who simply read the text or heard a summary second-hand.

Clearly, however, this argument is one that is only consistent when the other pillars of crisis rhetoric are activated successfully. For instance, if a leader delivers a strong speech but is fidgeting uncomfortably as she gives it, the radio listener may feel more reassured than the television observer because he heard the strength but did not witness the weakness. Even more simply, a follower who reads a well-written speech in the paper may be more reassured than if that same follower heard a leader stumble through the speech awkwardly on radio or television. That said, most leaders who deliver a strong sounding speech also look strong, but it is important to recognize that the issue of proximity must work in conjunction with a good message delivered with strength and poise.

Proximity is an important consideration because we often associate closeness with security. In a time of crisis, as discussed in the previous chapter, a leader must reassure and inspire followers but often this calls for conveying a sense of security and national unity. To test this idea empirically, an experiment could be conducted in which the same speech, delivered in the same fashion by the same leader, was equally effective among subjects who received the message in different ways. One group might hear a recording of it, another may watch (and hear) it on television, and another might simply read the message on paper. It might even be possible to have participants be present for a "live" address.

Additionally, the leader could be placed in various locations. A president could give his crisis address from Washington D.C. while subjects in various locations across the country watch it respond to research measures indicating feelings of closeness. Respondents in Hawaii may rate the same speech as less effective than those in Washington. This research, however, would of course be contingent on a number of challenging factors. Hawaiians, for instance, may naturally feel safer in a crisis event that took place on the eastern seaboard of the United States because they do not believe it is likely that they would actually be targeted themselves. New Yorkers would probably feel the opposite. Either way, measuring the effect of proximity could occur in a number of ways but would present critical research challenges.

Implication of These Factors on Current Research

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the current study will focus primarily on the first factor discussed above, message composition. This is because researching the issues of message delivery and consumption naturally follows a look at the message itself. It would be less fruitful to start with the related implications of a message before assessing the message itself as a tool to reassure and inspire people in a time of crisis. The current study, then, will look specifically at the rhetoric itself. Research will look at how altering the text of a message – without changing its meaning – affects its effectiveness at achieving the two goals of crisis rhetoric – to reassure and inspire followers. It will be critical that the ultimate meaning of the message is consistent among different speeches. Promises, commitments, and other language which seeks to reassure and inspire will be evenly present in all rhetoric. The key and only difference will be the

technical difference in language type and message construction. Details regarding this research are presented in Chapter 3.

Methods

The proposed theory makes assumptions about a number of interrelated processes, but our study will focus on only one of the three assertions we outlined related to leadership and crisis rhetoric. We conducted a laboratory experiment which assessed the dimension of rhetoric and the reaction of participants to two different types of speeches, one charismatic and the other non-charismatic. The charismatic speech used basic, strong, smooth language which outlines the problem and proposes retributive action. The non-charismatic speech outlined the same problem and suggested the same retributive action but this message was characterized by less smooth, less appealing rhetoric.

One significant similarity between the two speeches was that the second, softer speech did not allude to a significantly less substantial retributive action. That is, if both speeches were reduced to a few bullet points and were void of the dimensions of rhetoric they would advocate the same action. Two groups of participants, one control group and another group in which their mortality was made salient, were exposed to either the aggressive message or the passive message and were asked to describe their reactions to the message.

Participants

Participants included sixty-nine undergraduates who volunteered to take part in the research. Students were recruited primarily through a campus-wide e-mail information service as well as from various classes but the study will be open to all members of the University of Richmond community. Only people who are 18 years of age or older were allowed to participate. We used a convenience sampling method.

Additionally, the proportion of men to women reflected the composition of the UR undergraduate population. While we did not ask participants to indicate their age, race, and ethnicity, we assumed that these figures were equally representative. No one 18 years or older was excluded from the study who expressed an interest in participating. The study was conducted in a standard classroom in Jepson Hall on the campus of the University of Richmond.

Procedure

We executed one experiment. It was based, in general, on the procedures used by Cohen, Solomon, Maxfield, Pyszczynski, & Greenberg (2004). Participants, after a briefing and consenting, were asked to listen to a recorded speech, as well as watch still images of the presenter displayed via PowerPoint. An arbitrary “president” was used in the PowerPoint presentations and participants all observed the same figure and sequence of images. They then responded to a series of four measures which asked them to indicate their confidence in the leader, emotions, assessment of the speech and so on.

Manipulation of Mortality Salience

In order to stimulate mortality salience (MS), this experiment utilized techniques previously employed in similar studies. Before observing the speeches, this group of participants responded to two open-ended inquiries: “Please briefly describe the emotions that the thought of your own death arouses in you,” and, “Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as you physically die and once you are physically dead.” Participants in the control group responded to a similar set of questions for the control topic, an upcoming exam. As previous Terror Management work has demonstrated that the manipulation effects are stronger after a brief delay, participants

then completed an arbitrary word search activity to create that delay. After the two groups were exposed to their respective salient topics, they observed the PowerPoint sequence and listened to the speeches.

Manipulation of the Speech Type

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two speeches, each accompanied by a PowerPoint sequence. Speeches were roughly two minutes in length. In the charismatic condition the speaker used strong, clear, active language to describe his position. In the non-charismatic speech condition the speaker made similar points, and offered similar promises and commitments, but used more bulky, passive rhetoric.

First Speech: Charismatic

Earlier this morning, a series of bombs exploded within minutes of each other at eight American high schools. The death toll, mostly students, is catastrophic. All evidence points to terrorists as responsible. The President is about to make a statement.

Good morning, my fellow Americans:

Today, America was shaken by a series of explosions in eight high schools across the country. There can be no mistaking it - terrorism has taken on a new face in America. While we mourn the loss of our children Americans everywhere need to know that we are taking immediate action. This will not stand.

I have been in constant contact with local leaders at every school that was hit. We are taking all necessary measures to protect our children from another attack.

I have instructed the federal government to provide everything survivors and rescuers need at the blast sites. Every resource we have is being called into service. Meanwhile, our intelligence agencies are already tracking down who was responsible. The military is on high alert and prepared to take action at a moment's notice.

I know this is a time of fear, anger, and confusion for many Americans. I want the American people to know that we are operating swiftly to take action against the faceless cowards who did this. We will hunt them down with the most mighty military force in the history of the world.

To those people responsible for this atrocity let me say this: Your days are numbered. We are coming for you. The American people are strong. Our will is unbreakable. Our military is powerful. And our cause is just.

We were targeted because we represent freedom and liberty and a land of opportunity. No one can ever take that away from us.

This is a time that Americans will unite behind our common bonds. Together we will stand strong and we will stand together.

I want to thank all Americans for their support in this difficult time.

Thank you and God Bless America.

Second Speech: Non-charismatic

Earlier this morning, a series of bombs exploded within minutes of each other at eight American high schools. The death toll, mostly students, is catastrophic. All evidence points to terrorists as responsible. The President is about to make a statement.

Good morning, my fellow Americans:

Today, America was attacked again by terrorists. The attack came in the form several explosions in eight high schools across the country. While we mourn the loss of our children Americans everywhere need to know that we are taking immediate action. This must not stand.

I have been talking with local officials and other personnel at the schools which were attacked. We will be taking some important precautions to protect our children from another attack like this one sometime in the future.

I have told the federal government to give everything necessary that survivors and rescuers need at the schools. We are using every resource we have in this effort. Concurrently, government agencies have already begun the process of digging through evidence to find clues which might help us find the people responsible for this action. Once that is done, the military will be ready to quickly respond based on that information.

I know some of you are fearful, angry, and confused but I want everyone to know that we are going to do everything we possibly can to go after and find the perpetrators responsible for these attacks. Indeed, we must pursue them with every tool we have available to us.

To those people responsible for this attack I will warn you that we are coming to find you. We are strong and we can get through this tragedy. It will not be easy but if we work hard we can do it.

Today's unfortunate events clearly suggest that some people in the world oppose our way of life. But that does not mean we should change who we are. No one should be able to alter our collective American lifestyle. Attacking our citizens will not change who we are or how we live.

It is important that Americans come together and give each other support when necessary. We will need to be strong and stand together. If we do that, then we will be fine in the end.

I want to thank all Americans for their support in this hard time.

Thank you and God Bless America.

After listening to these speeches, participants were asked to respond to a series of four questionnaires.

Measures

After observing the two speeches, participants completed a brief survey that asked them to evaluate the speech and the speaker:

1. *Perceptions of the leader.* Participants rated the leader on a number of items pertaining to confidence in, support for, willingness to follow, and so on.
2. *SDO.* Participants also completed the Social Dominance Orientation survey, developed by Pratto and his colleagues (1994) and as modified slightly by Krauss (2006). This survey measures the extent to which people favor their own group, and endorse discrimination against and domination of other groups.
3. *Emotions.* Participants completed a mood adjective checklist that included such adjectives as good, bad, positive, negative, happy, sad, peaceful, and aggressive.
4. *Manipulation checks and demographics.* Participants were asked to describe the speech itself, to determine if the rhetorical elements were successfully manipulated, as well as a measure of the extent to which the study made members mortality salient. We also asked participants to report their sex.

Results

We tested these hypotheses using analysis of variance of the individual measures contained in each of the four questionnaires described in Chapter 3. Questionnaire A measured participants' support for the leader after hearing the speech. Questionnaire B was the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale commonly used to assess subjects' feelings about groups. Questionnaire C related to participants' mood after hearing the speech. Finally, Questionnaire D measured participants' reactions to the speech itself. Unless otherwise noted, we examined the data using a 2 x 2 x 2 design, where speech type, mortality salience, and sex were used as independent variables, with responses to questions used as dependent variables.

Manipulation Checks

Speeches

Participants were asked to rate the speech on nine bipolar adjectives, using a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) and we predicted that the charismatic speech would be viewed as stronger, more inspiring, more emotional, and more effective than the non-charismatic speech. This prediction was confirmed, for the most part, by the significant main effect of speech type on the key items.

Table 1. The means for the two types of speeches and statistics for the main effect of speech type for ratings of the speech.

Item	Charismatic	Non-charismatic	F-ratio	P-value
Strong-Weak	3.18	2.33	10.58	.002
Inspirational-Unexciting	2.71	1.88	11.57	.001
Rational-irrational	3.54	3.35	.443	.509
Confident-Shaky	3.62	2.93	5.67	.021
Succinct-Wordy	3.58	2.94	5.48	.023
Passionate-Not passionate	2.52	2.24	.635	.429
Effective-Ineffective	2.94	2.26	6.01	.017
From the Heart-Impersonal	2.44	1.91	3.02	.088
Controlled-Unrestrained	4.03	4.36	2.21	.143

Note: $df = 1, 58$

As Table 1 illustrates, five of the nine individual measures were significant, including the *strong-weak*, *inspirational-unexciting*, *confident-shaky*, *succinct-wordy*, and *effective-ineffective* scales. A sixth measure, *from the heart-impersonal*, approaches significance. In short, subjects found the charismatic speech to be stronger, more inspirational, more confident, more succinct, more effective, and slightly more passionate. As will be discussed in the next chapter, these six significant scales are precisely the four we would expect to be significant based on the final design of the experiment.

Mortality Salience

Unlike the speeches, we did not find evidence that we successfully manipulated mortality salience. Of the sixty-seven participants only three indicated that they had thought about their own death. All three were part of the MS condition ($n=32$) but this is still a small figure. Unlike many previous terror management studies, we included a explicit question to see if we successfully manipulated this variable: *During the speech,*

did you contemplate what would happen to you when you die? Previous terror management studies do not include direct measures of this sort – their conclusions on successful manipulation of mortality salience are typically inferred, only indirectly, from effects on other variables. Additionally, since mortality salience is a nonconscious process, our subjects may very well have been thinking about it on some level, though not consciously as they responded to the question. Regardless, however, we cannot say with certainty the degree to which mortality salience was successfully manipulated.

Leader Support (Questionnaire A)

We predicted that subjects would respond more positively to the charismatic speech than the non-charismatic speech. By extension, they would be more likely to support a leader who offered a charismatic message than a leader who offered a non-charismatic one – particularly when mortality salience was high. We tested this prediction by first examining each one of the 10 questions used to measure support for the leader (e.g., “I would support this leader,” “This leader fills me with confidence in the future.”). I also averaged all 10 items together, and examined this score after finding that the Cronbach alpha for this scale was acceptable ($\alpha = .89$).

The results indicated that listeners showed more support for a leader who delivered a charismatic speech, but this support was not greater in the mortality salience condition. As Table 2 indicates, the main effect of speech was significant for 4 of the ten individual questions and also for the average of all 10 items.

Table 2. The means for the two types of speeches and statistics for the main effect of speech type for perceptions of the leader.

Item	Description	Charismatic Mean	Non-charismatic Mean	F-ratio	P-value
A1	I would support this leader.	4.89	3.87	11.68	.001
A2	This leader fills me with confidence in the future.	4.18	3.44	6.20	.016
A3	This leader will be someone who gets the job done.	4.27	3.90	1.74	.193
A4	I would probably agree with what this leader has to say.	4.58	3.91	5.49	.023
A5	This leader will probably be able to solve the problem.	3.83	4.03	.799	.375
A6	I would trust this leader to do what must be done.	3.91	3.85	.032	.859
A7	This leader is strong.	4.04	3.47	2.81	.099
A8	This leader is an effective communicator.	4.05	3.70	.677	.414
A9	This leader's words resonate with me.	4.16	2.95	11.27	.001
A10	This leader would probably get my vote.	3.66	3.02	3.15	.081
	Average of all 10 items	4.16	3.72	5.59	.021

Note: $df = 1, 58$

However, the predicted interaction of type of speech *and* morality salience was significant for only 2 of the 10 items, and only approached significance for the index of all 10 items. Moreover, as shown in Figures 1 to 3, the plot of the means for these two questions did not support the hypothesis. That is, even though they are significant, the ratings of the leader in these two instances are not related in precisely the way we predicted. Below we present graphs comparing the means in the death and exam conditions as a function of the charismatic or non-charismatic speech. Note that while

Measures A and D use a seven-point scale, Measure C uses a five-point scale, with five indicating a the highest intensity of the mood.

Figure 1. The means for the 2-way interaction of morality salience and type of speech for the item “This leader will be someone who gets the job done”.

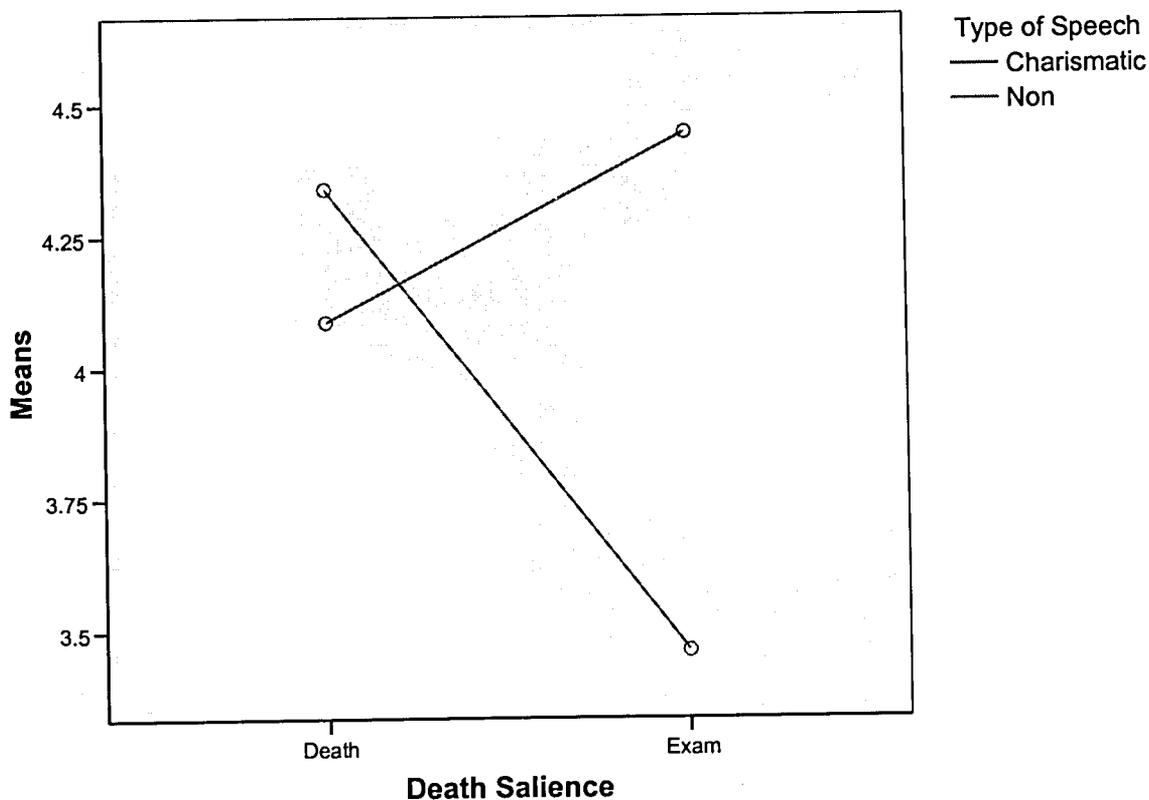


Figure 1 shows the interaction of speech type and morality salience for the question “This leader will be someone who gets the job done;” $F(1, 58) = 4.95, p < .03$. It shows that subjects who were asked to think about death found both the charismatic and the non-charismatic speech attractive. Those in the exam condition varied greatly in their interpretations of the leader. Those who had heard the charismatic speech were much more likely to feel that the leader would get something done. In fact, subjects in the exam condition had a little more faith that the leader would get something done after

hearing a charismatic speech than subjects in the mortality salience group who heard the same message.

Figure 2. The means for the 2-way interaction of morality salience and type of speech for the item “This leader’s words resonate with me”.

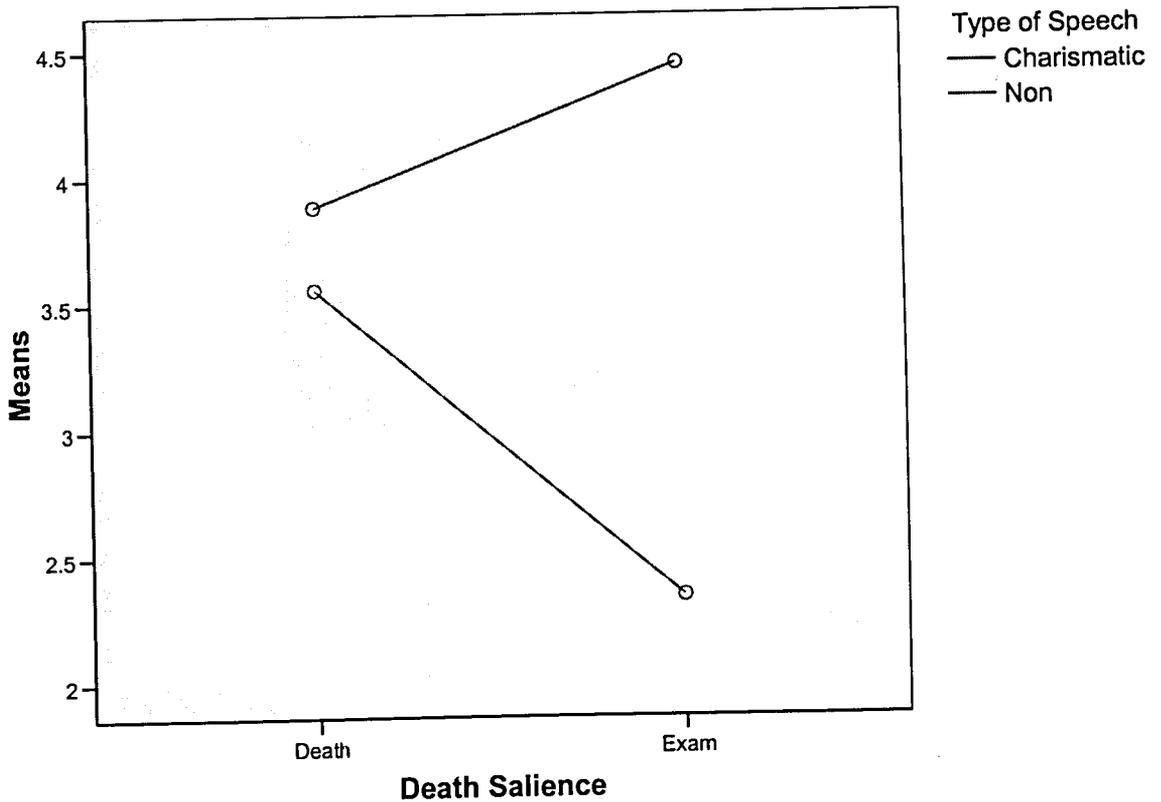


Figure 2 shows the interaction of speech type and morality salience for the question “The leader’s words resonate with me;” $F(1, 58) = 6.03, p < .02$. It shows that subjects in the exam condition indicated that the leader’s words resonated much less with them after hearing the non-charismatic speech, whereas subjects in the mortality salience condition found both versions of the speech attractive. Just as with the variable described in Figure 1, the leader’s words actually resonated most with participants in the exam group who heard the charismatic speech.

We tested our hypothesis that the combination of mortality salience and death would produce the greatest overall support for the leader by averaging together all 10 of these items to get a single score, with a higher mean indicating the leader was viewed more positively by participants. Analysis of that average yielded a significant main effect of the type of speech, $F(1, 58) = 5.59, p = .021$, noted earlier and a marginally significant interaction of speech and morality salience, $F(1, 58) = 3.10, p = .085$. First, the leader was rated more positively when he gave a charismatic speech rather than a noncharismatic one. The means were 4.2 and 3.6. However, as Figure 1 indicates, this difference was much greater in the non-mortality salience condition.

Figure 3. The means for the 2-way interaction of morality salience and type of speech for average of the leader-rating items.

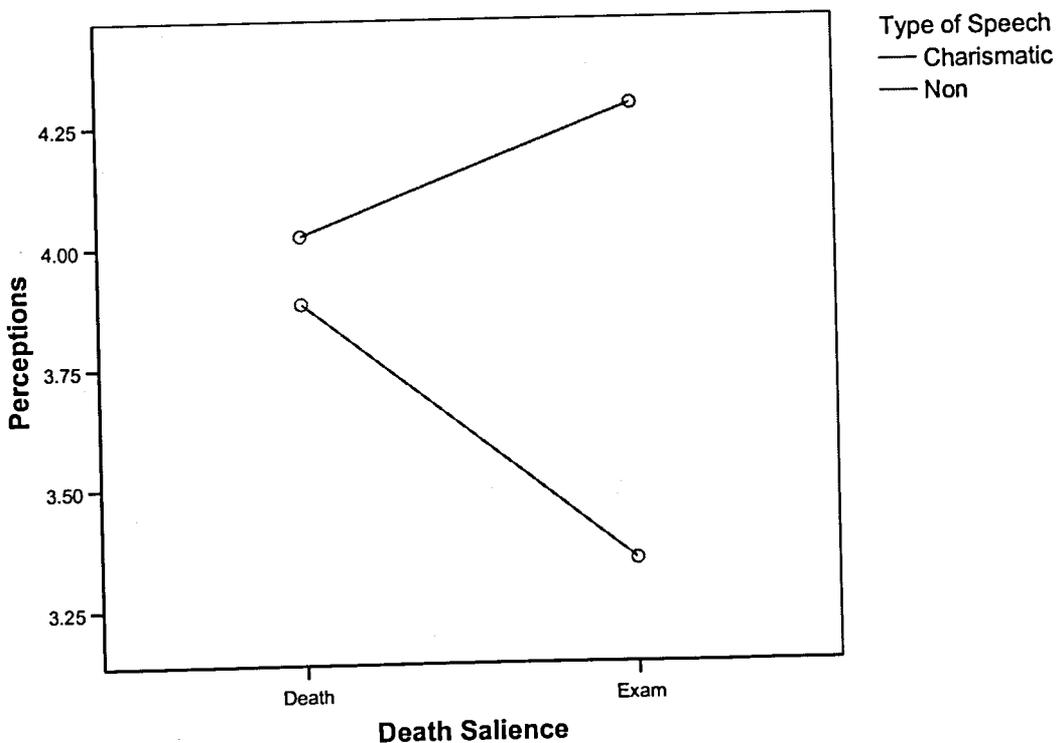


Figure 3 indicates that subjects in the mortality salience condition were generally more supportive of the leader than those in the exam condition regardless of which

message they heard. The non-charismatic speech elicited much more support among subjects in the mortality salient condition than it did among those in the exam condition. The charismatic speech, on the other hand, actually generated more support for the leader among participants in the exam condition than those in the mortality salience condition, which is not what we expected.

Mood Assessment (Questionnaire C)

Questionnaire C asked participants to indicate how strongly they were feeling twenty-one different emotions. Rather than assess each emotion scale individually we collapsed the emotions into three sets of emotions. This was done to reduce the likelihood that we would find a significant relationship by chance as a result of running so many analyses. The twenty-one emotions were classified as “secure-type,” “tense-type,” or “filler.” The following table illustrates our categorization.

Table 3. The three clusters of mood items.

Secure	Tense	Filler
4. At ease 5. Calm 6. Confident 13. Reassured 14. Relaxed 16. Secure	1. Afraid 2. Alarmed 8. Distressed 11. Fearful 12. Nervous 17. Stressed 19. Tense	3. Angry 7. Confused 9. Disillusioned 10. Excited 15. Sad 20. Unhappy 21. Uninterested 18. Suspicious

Next we created a “secure” index and a “tense” index in SPSS and ran a univariate analysis for each. The other mood measures were used as filler questions and were not run through the statistics program. Both of these indexes had acceptable reliabilities; their Cronbach alpha scores were .85 and .83, respectively. When we examined these

two scores in analysis of variance, only 2 effects emerged as significant. First, a sex difference occurred for the secure variable: $F(1, 58) 10.95, p < .01$. Men reported feeling more secure than women. The mean score for men was 3.45 and 2.83 for women.

Second, we also found a three-way interaction of sex, speech type, a three-way interaction of sex, speech type, and mortality salience; $F(1, 58) = 4.33, p < .05$ for secure.

Results are presented below.

Figure 4. The means for the 2-way interaction of morality salience and type of speech for the secure emotion items, for men only.

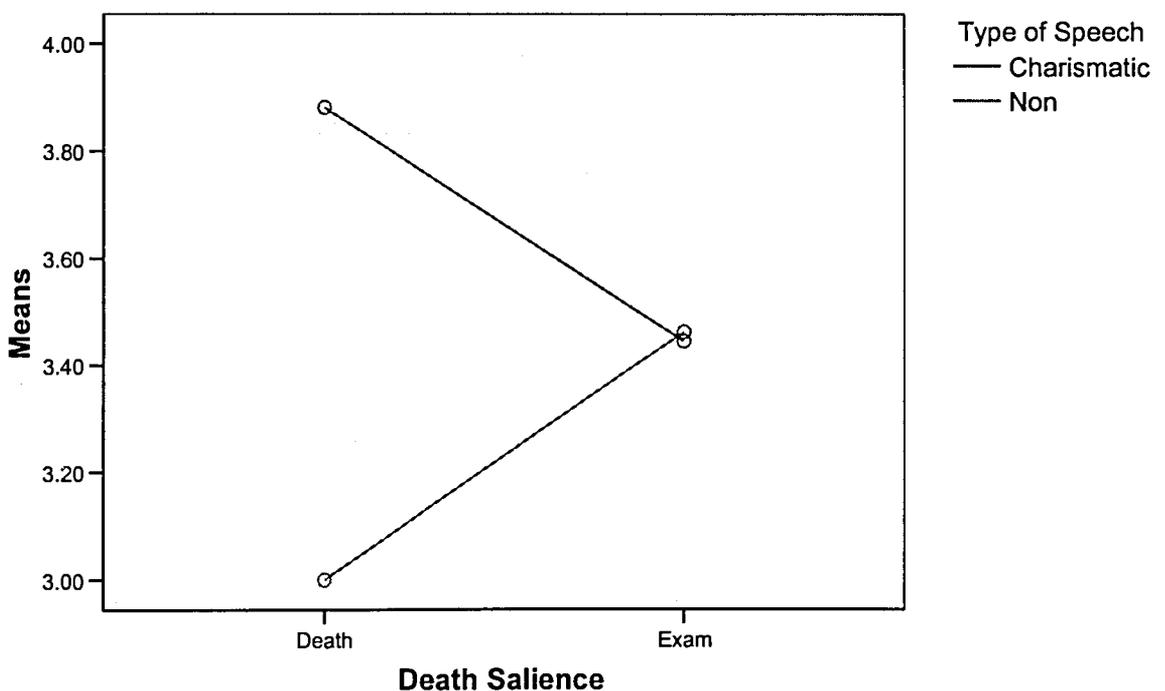


Figure 4 compares the means of speech and death among male participants. In the exam condition, the speech type had no impact whatsoever on whether or not male subjects felt secure. However, in the death condition the speech mattered a great deal. When asked to think about death, male subjects felt much more secure after hearing a charismatic speech than they did after hearing the non-charismatic speech. The

difference was large, almost one entire point on a five-point scale. Importantly, while the speech had no effect in the exam condition, subjects in the mortality salience condition felt more secure than those in the exam condition if they heard the charismatic speech and less secure than those in the exam condition if they heard the non-charismatic speech.

Figure 5. The means for the 2-way interaction of morality salience and type of speech for the secure emotion items, for women only.

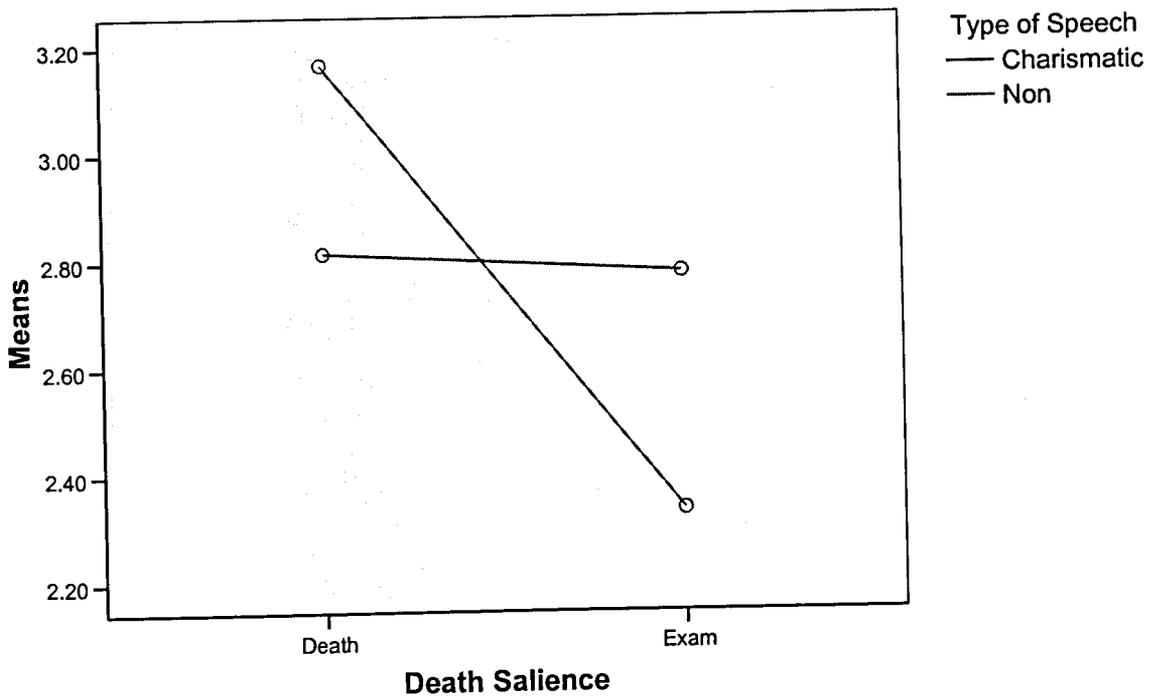


Figure 5 charts the means of speech and death among female participants. Unlike the male participants, women in both the mortality salience and exam conditions found the charismatic speech equally effective (or ineffective) at ensuring their security to some degree. The two means varied only slightly. However, women in the mortality salience condition found the charismatic speech much more effective at increasing their feelings of security. Ultimately, the significance in this three-way interaction stems entirely from the results of male participants described in Figure 4. Figure 4 indicates little, although it

is clear that the non-charismatic speech did not make female subjects report feeling more secure.

Social Dominance Orientation (Questionnaire B)

The SDO measure included 16 individual questions. The first eight were like measures asking subjects to respond to the issue of group hierarchy. The second eight measured thoughts of group equality. As Table 4 shows, these 16 total questions were collapsed into two groups. SDO1 represents the group hierarchy questions and SDO2 represents the group equality responses.

Table 5. Items from the Social Dominance Scale.

SDO1 – Group Hierarchy	SDO2 – Group Equality
1. Some groups are simply inferior to other groups. 2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force. 3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others. 4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups. 5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems. 6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom. 7. Inferior groups should stay in their place. 8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.	9. It would be good if groups could be equal 10. Group equality should be our ideal. 11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life. 12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups. 13. It would be good if social equality would increase. 14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally. 16. No group should dominate society.

Analysis of both categories yielded no other significant results.

Discussion and Conclusions

Of the four measures we included in the study (*Support for the Leader*, *Social Dominance Orientation*, *Mood Adjective Check List*, and *Rhetoric Assessment*) the two most important were those measuring support for the leader and those assessing the speeches themselves. As Chapter Four outlined, we found the subjects clearly preferred the charismatic speech to the non-charismatic one. We also concluded that the data do not suggest that mortality salience was successfully manipulated (or, even if it was, it did not matter greatly) because support for the leader did not vary significantly between participants who were in the mortality salience condition or in the control condition. This chapter will elaborate on our findings. We will provide a broader dialogue for why some measures may have failed to indicate a difference in effect between the charismatic and non-charismatic speeches. We will also discuss some other factors unique to our study that may have impacted our results.

Support for the Leader

As Table 2 in Chapter Four outlines, a charismatic speech clearly led to more support for the leader overall. Simply put, as a population our group of subjects were more likely to support the leader if they had heard the charismatic speech. This finding supports our basic assumptions about the power of rhetoric. Recall that a key element we fused into this study was that, by varying only the rhetoric itself and keeping the content constant, the speeches would lead to very different effects for listeners. On this dimension, we can confidently conclude that our efforts to design one speech as charismatic and the other as non-charismatic were successful.

We anticipated that people who thought about death and heard a charismatic speech were more likely to support a leader than people who heard a non-charismatic speech. Essentially, we developed a hypothesis which asserted that rhetoric is an especially important component of leader in a crisis situation. Perhaps, however, this is not the case. Figure 3 in Chapter Four shows that subjects who thought about death, regardless of which speech they heard, showed more support for the leader than those in the exam condition who had heard the non-charismatic speech. This affirms two things. First, the charismatic speech is well-received in general, as we already noted. In the exam condition the charismatic speech was preferred over the non-charismatic speech. Second, people in the mortality salience condition simply wanted a leader. When death was salient the speeches received similar marks because any leader is better than no leader.

If this is the case, what might account for the two significant variables we identified? The first variable that came out significant indicated that subjects in the mortality salience condition who heard the charismatic speech were more likely to feel that the leader would get something done. This may indicate that in a crisis situation people are looking for their leaders to take action more so than they are during normal times. The charismatic speech may have been more successful at convincing people that this leader could deliver on what he was promising because the rhetoric was smoother, stronger, and more compelling. That is, a strong speech may translate into perceptions of strength to take action. Crisis situations are unique in that people typically call for quick, bold action, something we do not usually demand during periods of calm. However, we must be careful not to speculate too much here. If this interpretation is the case, it would

be logical for us to find that charismatic speeches in times of crisis generate more votes for the leader, or more confidence in the future, which we did not.

The other significant measure demonstrated that people in the mortality salience group who heard the charismatic speech were more likely to indicate that the leader's words resonated with them. The charismatic speech received higher marks than the non-charismatic speech in both conditions. The differences in mean rating between the charismatic and non-charismatic speeches were not large, roughly .5 on a 7-point scale. The major distinction was that in the exam condition the non-charismatic speech was rated much lower than any other speech in any other condition. This suggests the two speeches were generally received in similar fashions. However, the non-charismatic speech fared well in the mortality salience group whereas it was rejected in the control group. Ultimately, then, this indicates that it was more the thoughts of death which led to increased attraction to the leader than the words he used. This brings us back to a general conclusion introduced above: thoughts of death and times of crisis make people want their leaders.

The Speech

We also asked participants to reflect specifically on the speech itself, and their ratings indicated people who watched the charismatic speech rated it as more influential than those who watched the non-charismatic speech. On most scales there was a significant difference in ratings between the two speeches. The charismatic speech was rated significantly better than the non-charismatic speech on the following scales: *strong-weak*, *inspirational-unexciting*, *confident-shaky*, *succinct-wordy*, and *effective-ineffective* scales. A sixth measure, *from the heart-impersonal*, approached significance. These six

measures are the ones we would expect to be significant (or near significant) based on our distinction between charismatic and non-charismatic rhetoric. We designed the speeches to reflect these dimensions more than other. They emphasize the rhetoric itself over other aspects and attributes of the speeches.

Our research began by developing two different speeches with the exact same message so we could see if specific dimensions of rhetoric affected how people viewed the leader. We explored various options for distinguishing the speeches. We considered a long speech versus a succinct one. We also thought about using aggressive versus passive language. Ultimately, we opted to focus more on charisma than duration or word choice, though those are included in a lesser capacity than originally envisioned. In the end, the factors that we fused into the final speeches was best designed to show differences in, for instance, strength and less suited to elicit differences in rationality.

Another factor affecting this questionnaire was that these scales were particularly susceptible to the existing perceptions of subjects regarding the attributes we presented. That is, concepts like “wordy” or “passionate” can vary greatly among participants. As such, certain individual measures may have not been significant largely because the concepts presented to subjects were simply too broad. Additionally, while we asked participants to rate the speech (not the leader) they still may have focused on the leader’s presentation of the speech and not the speech itself. With these factors in mind, we can turn to their application in the individual measures that were not significant.

The rationality, passion, and control ratings may have been effectively irrelevant based on how the message was recorded and presented to participants. In an effort to maintain as much consistency as possible, we used the same pictures for both speeches

and the speaker was instructed not to adopt a particularly strong or weak tone for one or the other. As a result, the “rational-irrational” measure may not have been significant because both speeches appeared rational insofar as the same pictures and voice tempo were used in both. Similarly, the “passionate-not passionate” and “controlled-unrestrained” ratings likely did not vary much because of the consistency of presentation. Basically, the common ways we judge rationality and passion and control, such as loudness of voice, type of language (i.e. cursing, shouting), and gesticulations did not differ greatly between the two speeches so it is not surprising that subjects did not find one message more rational or passionate than the other.

The “From the Heart-Impersonal” scale is the one measure that may most owe its borderline significance simply to how individual subjects interpret what “from the heart” means. Since subjects saw the text of the speech as the speaker spoke they were keenly aware that this was a prepared statement. Some participants, however, may interpret “from the heart” to mean unprepared, spontaneous remarks from the president. Others may have marked this scale based on our desired interpretation, which was that the charismatic speech was more attractive rhetorically in the crisis situation and the words were especially meaningful given the significance of the circumstances.

Mood

As mentioned previously, we asked participants to indicate the degree to which they were experiencing a series of twenty-one moods. To reduce the likelihood that we located a stray variable registering significance, we grouped the individual moods into three groups. The first included “secure” moods like *calm* and *relaxed*, the second

contained “tense” moods like *distressed* and *nervous*. The third group consisted of filler moods that were not analyzed.

The variables we manipulated – type of speech and morality salience – did not influence people’s feelings of tension. However, we did discover that these two variables influenced men and women’s sense of security. Men’s responses confirmed predictions based on terror management theory. They felt particularly insecure when mortality salience was high and the leader delivered a non-charismatic speech, but they felt the most secure when morality salience was high and the leader was charismatic. Women, in contrast, exhibited the same basic effect found for endorsement of the leader. They rated the leader who was not charismatic negatively when mortality salience was low, but when mortality salience was high they felt about as secure with a charismatic leader as with a non-charismatic leader. It should be noted that, overall, women reported feeling significantly less secure than did men.

This finding yields several interesting possibilities. Men appear to be more sensitive to rhetoric in a time of crisis than women. That is, rhetoric appears to have a stronger impact on making men feel more secure than making women feel more secure. Why might this be the case? The charismatic speech was much more assertive in declaring the imperative that we find and punish the terrorists who committed the act. Men may have appreciated the stronger undertone and more explicit references to a strong retaliation. It may also suggest that men did not internalize that situation as much as women did and it became easier for them to be swayed by forces like rhetoric because they focused more on the speech itself and not the overall situation.

On the other hand, the results for women varied dramatically. In both conditions, the charismatic speech received similar ratings. The non-charismatic speech was a great deal more favorable among women in the mortality salience group. Basically, charisma did nothing for women in the mortality salience group. There may be several factors influencing this. First, it is possible that the manipulation of mortality salience plus the inclusion of a crisis situation increased thoughts of death so much in women that charisma simply was not something to which they were receptive with all the death going on around them. Additionally, while aggressive words may have worked among men, women may have rejected some of the stronger rhetoric in the section describing retaliatory actions the U.S. would take against the perpetrators. Finally, as noted above, women were much less secure overall than men, suggesting that the situation was especially stressful for them to the point that charismatic words made no difference.

Social Dominance Orientation

Chapter Four presented the data for this measure. We originally included it because terror management theory asserts that when mortality is salient people are more likely to cling to personal cultural views which they typically share with members of their society. We anticipated that mortality salience may compel subjects to indicate higher ratings for the in-group variables and lower ratings for the out-group variables. Our data did not indicate this occurred. Results from this section were consistent among participants in all four conditions.

Dual Process Theory

In the first chapter we presented a discussion on Dual Process Theory and suggested that our findings may challenge some its conclusions in a crisis situation. To

review, dual process theory argues that we use one of two routes in evaluating. The central route consists of studying a message rationally and scrutinizing the information within the message itself to make a decision. The other path, the peripheral route, focuses less on the power of the argument but rather on cues from the leader or the environment which signal that the message is right. The path we use depends on two things – does the listener have a strong desire to process the message and does the listener have the capacity to critically evaluate it? Basically, the theory contends that we use the central route when the issue at hand is important to us and the peripheral route when it is not.

We thought that in a crisis situation people would be motivated to process a message because it is personally important to them (central route) but may not be able to do so easily (peripheral route) because the stress of the situation can erode people's capacity to rationally assess a message. Our data does not generally allow us to make wholesale conclusions either way. It is possible that the reason participants gave higher ratings overall to the charismatic speech is that they were thinking rationally enough to distinguish between charismatic and non-charismatic language and ultimately preferred the logical choice of the two. Also, the setting in which the study took place may very well have contributed to a larger degree of rational thinking than a real-life crisis.

Speaking about the broader study itself and not our specific results, it is possible that the emotion questionnaire (Measure C) stimulated the peripheral route and the questionnaire asking about support for the leader (Measure A) was more of a central route process. After all, asking people to report the emotions they felt after hearing the speech is an indirect measure of the speeches success in making them feel better and

more secure about the situation. On the other hand, support for the leader is more directly related to the speech he gave and how they felt about it. Additionally, it may be possible that both routes were taken simultaneously and ultimately the only leader who was rated especially low was the non-charismatic leader in the control condition because the control condition would probably be more conducive to a central route process than a peripheral one.

In the end, we are not able to challenge dual process theory with much confidence. Had we found, for instance, that the non-charismatic speech was overwhelmingly preferred to the charismatic version we could suggest that subjects may have been so captivated by the crisis situation that they were no longer attracted to strong. Yet with the data we collected we must be careful not to speculate too much on who was thinking rationally and who was not. It is fair for us to say that, given the situation and its relevance to Americans, subjects were indeed interested in processing the message because it was important to them, suggesting they used the central route. However, the second guideline for dual process theory, the *capacity* to evaluate that message is less clear. Some subjects may have offered unpredicted feedback because the situation affected their rational thinking, but we did not focus on making this distinction in the study.

The Challenge of Re-creating Reality

The primary reason we chose to have subjects watch and listen to a speech rather than simply read one (an alternative which would have made the administration of the survey much simpler) was that we wanted to depart from what we felt was a problematic shortcoming in previous terror management research – the reality factor. Other studies

have relied extensively on subjects reading political messages or participating in other traditional laboratory-style experiment methods before offering their evaluations of the leader. However, in today's technologically advanced society we do not read these sorts of messages. We hear them and we see them live on television instead. So in order to make the scenario as realistic as possible we wanted subjects to see and hear a speaker giving a live speech. In the language of research design, we sought to increase the ecological validity of the findings, by increasing the extent to which they might generalize to nonlaboratory, real-world situations.

This presented a challenge. In order to have subjects consume a real speech we had to have them come to a classroom where the technology was available and the environment could be regulated to ensure consistency. Yet previous terror management experiments have found that mortality salience effects are strongest when participants respond to surveys in an informal, casual environment (such as on the sidewalk outside of a mortuary). In the end we decided the realism of the speech trumped the realism of the setting and we assumed the risks associated with a more formal laboratory-like setting. However, we took steps to create as informal an environment as we could for our subjects (such as using a classroom and not a laboratory) and we are reasonably confident that we maintained a casual atmosphere. Still, it cannot be denied that the atmosphere inevitably bore some degree of formality which, if it had any effect at all, would have detracted from mortality salience results.

There were other challenges unique to our research because of the live speech format we employed. For example, by including a voice and images of the leader presenting the message we ran the risk that our subjects would evaluate the leader based

on cosmetic features or pre-existing perceptions we could not anticipate or control. As discussed previously, we used an older white male actor to serve as our U.S. president. Personal politics aside, every American president so far has been a white middle-aged or older male and this profile describes the physical attributes of a “typical” president. By chance, this study was conducted during a presidential election campaign in which both a woman and an African American man are for the first time serious contenders for the presidency. With gender and racial politics especially salient within the realm of American politics this year, we wanted our leader to be as “typical” as possible so results could not be attributed to other factors. Even with these precautions, however, the “typical” president could also skew results if participants found him particularly attractive or unattractive.

Beyond cosmetic influences, there is another important consideration that may have been at work during our study. While subjects were not privy to terror management theory, they almost certainly recognized the scenario presented to them as similar to another event they lived through on and after September 11th, 2001. Several subjects even referred to those attacks in their responses. While the U.S. president was popular immediately after 9/11 (as discussed previously) his approval rating has consistently dropped in the years since and today many Americans disapprove of his handling of the war on terror and foreign policy in general. As a result, it is possible that our subjects at some level associated the leader they saw in the speech with the current, unpopular president. If this was the case, support for our hypothetical president may have been impacted negatively. One participant wrote, for instance, that while he did not think about his own death, he did “contemplate the possibility of a misplaced war.”

In sum, it is important to consider a few circumstances that may have influenced our data despite meticulous planning and deliberate execution of the study. This sort of study may be prone to subjects' personal interpretation of the visual, oral, and rhetorical components of the speech. Most importantly, our desire to present a crisis message in as realistic a fashion as possible meant forfeiting certain strategies known to elicit stronger results, namely the informal environment. Paradoxically, we had to use a formal environment to conduct a study that is best conducted in an informal setting. Our attempt to make the situation as real as possible meant eliminating some degree of realism by asking participants to come to a classroom to participate in the study.

Strengthening the Study

One issue we noted in this research is that subjecting all participants to a crisis situation – whether or not they had their mortality made salient beforehand – may have induced thoughts of death for everyone, even participants in the control condition. A future study of this sort should include a “non-crisis” event to look more closely at the differences between subjects in the mortality salience group and those in the control group. Additionally, we could have reduced the intensity of the crisis situation, perhaps creating an attack on a remote U.S. military outpost. Focusing on children as victims made the event particularly tragic. Just as we cannot know for sure how successful we were at manipulating mortality salience when we did so intentionally, we cannot determine if we unintentionally raised thoughts of death of people in the control group by exposing them to a large-scale, national crisis. One person in the control group, for instance, indicated that he did not think of his own death but said, “I thought about my brother – he is in high school.” The personal connection with the situation and this

participant may have had his mortality made salient on some level even though we did not intend it.

Conclusions

This research yielded several interesting results. First, we found that in a time of crisis people simply want a leader, though a non-charismatic speech when mortality salience is low would not be the best choice for that leader when trying rally support. The terror management dimension did not greatly affect which speech was preferable but participants in the mortality salience groups consistently rated the leader more favorably, although the charismatic speech was generally preferred to a slight degree. From this we may argue that specific rhetoric is not as important as the leader being there for the people to support. Some scholars looking back at President Bush's rhetoric on September 11th, 2001 have criticized him for saying that the U.S. would "find those folks" who committed the attacks. They argue this was a poor choice of words. While Bush's rhetoric was certainly not worldly at this early stage, our data suggests that it may not matter too much as long as he said something would be done.

The second major conclusion is that people do respond to rhetoric as a function of leadership. Subjects in both conditions consistently preferred the charismatic speech over the non-charismatic speech. While there were not great differences between the mortality salience group and control group when it came to which speech was preferable, we did find that the charismatic speech was often enormously more favorable than the non-charismatic speech within the exam condition. This may be very important. Day-to-day life is much like the exam condition in our study – we have low levels of stress but are concerned about certain issues. This research suggests that charisma has a strong impact

on what we think of our leaders when not dealing with a crisis. Simply put, charisma and rhetoric appear more important during normal times because there is no crisis situation to compel us to flock to our leaders.

Finally, our research offers an interesting experience with terror management theory. As was discussed previously, we knowingly and willfully compromised certain techniques proven to elicit stronger terror management results. Instead of asking participants to respond to an unknown and impersonal leader, we introduced our subjects to the leader in question. They saw him give a speech and heard the words he spoke. This was all done in an effort to increase the reality of the situation. In today's technological age, we do not read speeches or messages our leaders provide. We hear them and see them, often live. Our research may indicate that the introduction of oral and visual stimuli may have an impact on the strength of mortality salience. More broadly, it suggests that it is not simply our leaders' messages that we use to assess them. They must also be cognizant of how they present that message.

Appendix I
Measures Packet

RESEARCH SUBJECT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

TITLE: How Leaders' Messages Affect Followers

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research study is to learn more about how people, in general, react to different kinds of behaviors that could occur in work settings.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT

If you decide to be in this research study, you will be asked to listen to a speech and then complete a brief survey that asks questions about your impressions of the speaker. You will also be asked several questions about leaders and leadership.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

The principal investigators for this study are Eric Loepp, a senior at the University of Richmond, and Don Forsyth, professor of Leadership Studies.

RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

This project will take about 30-40 minutes of your time to complete as you listen to the speech and answer the survey. This survey asks only general questions about your personal reactions, so we don't expect that it will cause you any distress. But, if at any time you feel you feel upset or uncomfortable, then you should stop answering the survey. You are free to discontinue participation at any time.

BENEFITS

You may not get any direct benefit from this study, but the information we learn from our research may help us understand how people respond to leaders. Also, it may be that you receive credit for taking part in this study, from your employer or teacher, or even receive a small monetary payment for taking part.

COSTS

There are no costs for participating in this study other than the time you will spend in the session and filling out questionnaires.

ALTERNATIVES

This is not a treatment study, so there is no need to seek alternative treatments. Your alternative to taking part in this study is to complete other studies or not participate in research at all.

CONFIDENTIALITY

We will not tell anyone the answers you give us. Your responses will not be associated with you by name, at any time, and the data you provide will be kept secure. What we find from this study may be presented at meetings or published in papers, but your name will not ever be used in these presentations or papers.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You do not have to participate in this study. If you choose to participate, you may stop at any time without any penalty. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study.

QUESTIONS

In the future, you may have questions about your participation in this study. If you have any questions, contact:

Don Forsyth, Professor
Jepson School of Leadership Studies
Room 233
Jepson, University of Richmond, Richmond, VA 23173
804-289-8461
dforsyth@richmond.edu

If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research subject, you may contact Dr. R. Kirk Jonas, the Chair of the University of Richmond's Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Research Participants, at 484-1565 or at rjonas@richmond.edu.

CONSENT

The study has been described to me and I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation in the project at any time without penalty. I also understand that, if I experience discomfort or distress during the course of the study because of any sensitive issues that are raised, I am encouraged to call the University's counseling center, CAPS, at 289-8119.

I have read and understand the above information and I consent to participate in this study by signing below.

Signature and Date

Witness (experimenter)

THE RELATIONSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

THE FOLLOWING ARE FOUR GENERAL RELATIONSHIP STYLES THAT PEOPLE OFTEN REPORT. PLACE A CHECKMARK NEXT TO THE LETTER CORRESPONDING TO THE STYLE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOU OR IS CLOSEST TO THE WAY YOU ARE.

___ A. It is easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me.

___ B. I am uncomfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships, but I find it difficult to trust others completely, or to depend on them. I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to others.

___ C. I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others, but I often find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I am uncomfortable when I do not have close relationships, and I sometimes worry that others don't value me as much as I value them.

___ D. I am comfortable without close emotional relationships. It is very important to me to feel independent and self-sufficient, and I prefer not to depend on others or have others depend on me.

NOW PLEASE RATE EACH OF THE RELATIONSHIP STYLES ABOVE TO INDICATE HOW WELL OR POORLY EACH DESCRIPTION CORRESPONDS TO YOUR GENERAL RELATIONSHIP STYLE.

			Style A			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree			Neutral/			Agree
Strongly			Mixed			Strongly

			Style B			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree			Neutral/			Agree
Strongly			Mixed			Strongly

			Style C			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree			Neutral/			Agree
Strongly			Mixed			Strongly

			Style D			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree			Neutral/			Agree
Strongly			Mixed			Strongly

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Below are two open-ended questions. Please take a few moments to respond to them.

Please briefly describe the emotions that the thought of your own death arouses in you.

Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as you physically die and once you are physically dead.

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Below are two open-ended questions. Please take a few moments to respond to them.

Please briefly describe the emotions that the thought of taking your next important exam arouses in you.

Jot down, as specifically as you can, how you think will feel or behave as you take your next important exam.

WORD SEARCH PUZZLE

PLEASE SPEND A FEW OF MINUTES WORKING ON THIS WORD SEARCH. WHEN INSTRUCTED, PLEASE STOP WORKING REGARDLESS OF WHETHER OR NOT YOU HAVE COMPLETED THE PUZZLE.

B D Q J U Y T L O S C L P R I
W H O A J P E A C H Z G O P A
S U C V O L W D N R Y B F L P
T I A O J U Y M K C D S Q A P
R Y E C C I P N A G W M X I L
A G B A U O I V I N O O L C E
W E I D J Q N P R C G K Y E P
B A W O H L E U C A P O R E S
E X A U N D A J T Z M N R O I
R S D P L K P E T W A C E L D
R O W Q C L P D E C D Z B M O
Y R A E P T L U Y P S V E Z S
M A H O S Q E S T O J A U C K
T N O D B D O K S M T P L U M
A G Q R E A N A N A B H B S O
L E U P R M O P R A I M E Z C

Apple	Coconut	Pear
Avocado	Mango	Pineapple
Banana	Orange	Plum
Blueberry	Peach	Strawberry



When instructed, please turn to the next page.

Please consider the following scenario, and, when instructed, direct your attention to the screen:

Earlier this morning, a series of bombs exploded within minutes of each other at eight high schools across the United States. The death toll, mostly students, is catastrophic. All evidence points to Islamic terrorists as responsible. The President, speaking from a secure location, is about to make a statement.

When instructed, please take the time to fill out the next few pages. Please read the directions and questions carefully. The questionnaire includes items assessing your general reactions to the presentation. All responses will be kept anonymous and confidential, and your name will not be connected to them in any way, so please answer openly and honestly. Thank you for your assistance and patience. We sincerely appreciate your cooperation.

QUESTIONNAIRE #1

For the following items, please use this response scale to indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement. Just circle the letters that correspond to your opinion, where:

VA = Very Strongly Agree
 SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree

N = Neutral

D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree
 VD = Very Strongly Disagree

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| VA SA A N D SD VD 1. | I would support this leader. |
| VA SA A N D SD VD 2. | This leader fills me with confidence in the future. |
| VA SA A N D SD VD 3. | This leader will be someone who gets the job done. |
| VA SA A N D SD VD 4. | I would probably agree with what this leader has to say. |
| VA SA A N D SD VD 5. | This leader is will probably be able to solve the problem. |
| VA SA A N D SD VD 6. | I would trust this leader to do what must be done. |
| VA SA A N D SD VD 7. | This leader is strong. |
| VA SA A N D SD VD 8. | This leader is an effective communicator. |
| VA SA A N D SD VD 9. | This leader's words resonate with me. |
| VA SA A N D SD VD 10. | If a vote were to be taken, this leader would probably get my vote. |

QUESTIONNAIRE #2

- VA SA A N D SD VD 1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 9. It would be good if groups could be equal.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 10. Group equality should be our ideal.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 13. It would be good if social equality would increase.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
- VA SA A N D SD VD 16. No group should dominate in society.

QUESTIONNAIRE #3

For the following items, please use this response scale to indicate your degree to which you are experiencing a particular emotion. Just circle the number that corresponds to your opinion, where:

1 = None
2 = Slight

3 = Somewhat

4 = Moderate
5 = Very Much

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|-----|---------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1. | Afraid |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 2. | Alarmed |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3. | Angry |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4. | At ease |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5. | Calm |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6. | Confident |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 7. | Confused |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 8. | Distressed |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 9. | Disillusioned |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 10. | Excited |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 11. | Fearful |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 12. | Nervous |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 13. | Reassured |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 14. | Relaxed |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 15. | Sad |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 16. | Secure |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 17. | Stressed |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 18. | Suspicious |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 19. | Tense |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 20. | Unhappy |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 21. | Uninterested |

QUESTIONNAIRE #4

What is your sex: Man Woman

How would you describe the speech you just heard? Just circle a number from 1 to 5 to indicate your reaction.

strong	5	4	3	2	1	weak
inspirational	5	4	3	2	1	unexciting
rational	5	4	3	2	1	irrational
confident	5	4	3	2	1	shaky
succinct	5	4	3	2	1	wordy
passionate	5	4	3	2	1	not passionate
effective	5	4	3	2	1	ineffective
from the heart	5	4	3	2	1	impersonal
controlled	5	4	3	2	1	unrestrained

During the speech, did you contemplate what would happen to you when you die?

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