

**DISCURSIVE PRACTICES AND RHETORIC**  
**IN**  
**BARACK OBAMA'S STATE OF THE UNION**  
**ADDRESSES**



**ANTONIA ENACHE**

**DISCURSIVE PRACTICES AND RHETORIC**  
**IN**  
**BARACK OBAMA'S STATE OF THE UNION**  
**ADDRESSES**



**EDITURA UNIVERSITARĂ**  
**București**

Colecția FILOLOGIE

Redactor: Gheorghe Iovan  
Tehnoredactor: Ameluța Vișan  
Coperta: Monica Balaban

Editură recunoscută de Consiliul Național al Cercetării Științifice (C.N.C.S.) și inclusă de Consiliul Național de Atestare a Titlurilor, Diplomelor și Certificatelor Universitare (C.N.A.T.D.C.U.) în categoria editurilor de prestigiu recunoscut.

**Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naționale a României**

**ENACHE, ANTONIA**

**Discursive Practices and Rhetoric in Barack Obama's State of the Union Addresses / Antonia Enache. - București : Editura Universitară, 2016**

Conține bibliografie  
ISBN 978-606-28-0528-9

808.53:32(73)

DOI: (Digital Object Identifier): 10.5682/9786062805289

© Toate drepturile asupra acestei lucrări sunt rezervate, nicio parte din această lucrare nu poate fi copiată fără acordul Editurii Universitare

Copyright © 2016  
Editura Universitară  
Editor: Vasile Muscalu  
B-dul. N. Bălcescu nr. 27-33, Sector 1, București  
Tel.: 021 – 315.32.47 / 319.67.27  
www.editurauniversitara.ro  
e-mail: redactia@editurauniversitara.ro

Distribuție: tel.: 021-315.32.47 / 319.67.27 / 0744 EDITOR / 07217 CARTE  
comenzi@editurauniversitara.ro  
O.P. 15, C.P. 35, București  
www.editurauniversitara.ro

## CONTENTS

Foreword .....	9
Introduction .....	12
1. An Overview of the American Political Arena and the Role of the President .....	16
Introductory remarks .....	16
1.1. A few general considerations on the American political arena .....	17
1.1.1. On political parties and their role in a democracy .....	17
1.1.2. Democrats vs Republicans in the USA .....	19
1.2. The role of the President .....	25
1.3. The presidency of Barack Obama, an era that made history .....	28
Conclusions .....	31
2. A Few General Remarks on the State of the Union Addresses .....	32
Introductory remarks .....	32
2.1. Historical and philosophical background .....	32
2.2. Role of the State of the Union Addresses in American Political Communication .....	36
2.3. Main topics covered by Barack Obama in the State of the Union Addresses .....	41
2.3.1. Domestic issues .....	42
2.3.2. Foreign policy issues .....	48
Conclusions .....	53
3. Negative Campaigning – Change vs. Continuity .....	54
Introductory remarks .....	54
3.1. Negative campaigning and the discourse of <i>change</i> .....	54
3.2. The discourse of <i>continuity</i> .....	66
Conclusions .....	69

4. The Narrative – Reference to Concrete Situations .....	70
Introductory remarks .....	70
4.1. Concrete examples and the narrative .....	70
4.2. From the particular to the general .....	79
Conclusions .....	83
5. Political Correctness .....	84
Introductory remarks .....	84
5.1. A few general remarks on political correctness .....	84
5.2. Equality for the gay community .....	88
5.3. Equality for women .....	93
5.4. Equality for everyone .....	98
Conclusions .....	102
6. Inspirational Discourse and the Politics of Buzzwords .....	103
Introductory remarks .....	103
6.1. Accountability / responsibility .....	104
6.2. Transparency .....	110
6.3. Unity and cooperation .....	113
6.4. Compromise .....	119
6.5. Patience .....	125
6.6. Justice .....	127
6.7. Trust / confidence.....	133
6.8. Selflessness and sacrifice .....	139
6.9. Meritocracy .....	143
6.10. Dignity .....	148
Conclusions .....	152
7. Perspectives on Determination, Resilience and the Cult of Success ....	154
Introductory remarks .....	154
7.1. Obama’s outlook on success .....	155
7.2. Obama’s outlook on determination and resilience .....	160
Conclusions .....	163
8. Invoking Tradition and the American Dream .....	164
Introductory remarks .....	164
8.1. Tradition, personalities, historic landmarks and important moments from the past .....	164
8.2. The American Dream .....	174
Conclusions .....	184

9. American Identity .....	186
Introductory remarks .....	186
9.1. A few general considerations on American identity .....	186
9.2. Identity and nationalism .....	188
9.3. Second-class citizenship and its implications .....	191
9.4. Other considerations on identity .....	194
9.5. The concept of <i>identity</i> in Barack Obama's State of the Union Addresses .....	196
Conclusions .....	203
 10. Nationalism and Immigration .....	 204
Introductory remarks .....	204
10.1. Perspectives on nationalism .....	204
10.2. Perspectives on immigration .....	212
Conclusions .....	220
 11. American Hegemony .....	 222
Introductory remarks .....	222
11.1. A few general considerations on American hegemony .....	222
11.2. Reinforcing hegemony through discourse .....	225
11.3. American supremacy in decline? .....	237
Conclusions .....	241
 12. Overcoming Challenges .....	 242
Introductory remarks .....	242
12.1. Challenges fully overcome .....	243
12.2. Challenges ahead .....	244
12.3. Challenges partly overcome .....	248
Conclusions .....	251
 13. The Populist Appeal .....	 252
Introductory remarks .....	252
13.1. The dichotomy between the rich and the poor .....	253
13.2. Invoking socially vulnerable categories .....	259
Conclusions .....	267
 14. The Quest for Legitimacy .....	 268
Introductory remarks .....	268
14.1. Legitimacy based on economic factors .....	269

14.2. Legitimacy based on other factors .....	274
Conclusions .....	277
Conclusions .....	278
References and bibliography .....	281

## FOREWORD

The volume *Discursive Practices and Rhetoric in Barack Obama's State of the Union Addresses* focuses on the study of American political discourse in the 21st century; more specifically, the author has selected Barack Obama's seven State of the Union Addresses as corpus for the present paper. The volume approaches the aforementioned corpus in an interdisciplinary manner, incorporating elements pertaining both to political communication and to discourse analysis; the target audience includes a wide range of potential readers, such as politicians, political campaign advisors, sociologists, political analysts, journalists, but also people aspiring to pursue a career in these fields, students in Political Sciences, Social Sciences, Journalism, Diplomacy or International Relations.

Political communication represents a field of study that is difficult to define, given its complex implications; however, what can be said without a doubt is that it has increasingly become an interactive process involving a multiplicity of actors, out of which the most important seem to be *politicians, the media and the public*, broadly referred to as the *audience*. The communication process takes place downwards (to the extent to which political actors constantly inform their audiences of both their past achievements and of the policies to be pursued in the future), but also upwards, as discourse recipients have various means at their disposal to communicate with their representatives and provide feed-back. In fact, as can be seen throughout Barack Obama's State of the Union Addresses, for a democracy to function appropriately, citizens' *participation* is of the essence, as it reflects their involvement in the democratic processes and their commitment to *winning the future*.

Two concepts stand out in the author's interpretation of the State of the Union Addresses. Firstly, as has been said above, it is important to grasp *the audience*. While the term *audience* itself has been used to describe a number of people who happen to listen to a stretch of discourse via a particular channel and receive a particular message, it seems that the term is broadly and fuzzily understood. Audiences are neither homogeneous nor passive;

while all discourse is written and conveyed with a certain target recipient in mind, with the aim of mobilizing the listeners, of stimulating their political interest and bringing about a response (either an actual vote supporting the speaker or at least the tacit support thereof), political campaign advisors must be careful and make sure that the discourse is tailored to respond to the needs of all social categories involved, an undertaking that is as challenging as it is complex. Political communication must arise in response to a certain *need* of the population, to high priority issues on the public agenda; for this to happen, the audience must be at the same time treated as a homogeneous whole, and carefully segmented according to their differing or even clashing interests. Last but not least, when the speaker is the US President, his audience transcends national borders; the whole world is Obama's audience, a fact which complicates his task even further.

The second aspect to keep in mind when analysing Barack Obama's State of the Union Addresses, is that they represent a dimension of the political actor's *permanent campaigning*. In other words, in modern democracies, the attempts to persuade the listeners, to make them adhere to the orator's point of view, are no longer confined to the election campaign alone. A political actor's image takes the form of a mental construct that needs to be permanently reinforced, even when there are no elections in the near future. Thus, audiences must be constantly courted, persuaded and won over; in this respect, the State of the Union Addresses (which are traditionally delivered at the beginning of each year) play a threefold role. Firstly, the President needs to remind his viewers of his past achievements, which function as legitimizers; secondly, his future intentions and plans must be highlighted – the more credible they are, the more beneficial for the population they appear to be, the more credible the speaker himself appears; thirdly, they represent a great opportunity for the orator to enhance his image before the public and gain political capital.

Some of the most important aspects covered by Ms Enache's comprehensive paper include the way in which the speaker relates to his *political opponents*, the identification of *role models* that have impressed him through their courage, determination and selflessness and whom he subsequently proposes as national icons, the controversial issue of *political correctness* and the manner in which it is tackled by the orator, reference to *vulnerable social categories* to whom the President wishes to do justice, the identification of a set of abstract values (*buzzwords*) defining national identity, as well as a well-documented insight into the delicate problem of the *American dream* and the *pursuit of success*. Also, the paper looks into

the issues of *nationalism and immigration*, which have raised increasing concern in recent years in view of the shifting international context, while the author's analysis of the *American identity* makes a powerful impression due to its complexity and thoroughness. The features defining American identity are studied with a view to highlighting the relationship between tradition and modernity in the recreation of this multifaceted, ever-changing construct. Last but not least, the author also looks into the issue of *legitimacy*, providing an overview of the factors that grant credibility to the sitting President, and of *American hegemony* in a global context that is subject to change, uncertainty and even danger.

Ms Enache's approach to the State of the Union Addresses (which stand out due to their importance and the wide range of topics covered) is extremely complex, providing a useful, comprehensive insight into these topics and into the way the speaker uses his discourse to gain legitimacy and political capital and to uphold his reputation and maintain the audience's support. The paper abounds in linguistic analyses, analyses of argumentative strategies, as well as historical, social and cultural details and explanations. Last but not least, the paper is sustained by an impressive array of bibliographical references. We strongly believe that this ample, original research is highly necessary in Romania and will turn out to be extremely helpful to all interested readers.

**Prof. Roxana Sârbu, Ph.D.**

## INTRODUCTION

The present paper focuses on the seven State of the Union Addresses Barack Obama delivered during his eight years at the White House. These speeches are traditionally held by the incumbent President at the beginning of each year in office, in front of a joint session of the United States Congress, and broadcast nationally. Given the importance of the event, they reach a large number of viewers, both from within and from outside US borders, making a significant contribution to the American political arena and to President's image.

We have decided to choose the State of the Union Addresses for our research because of their emblematic value. Hence, aside from their strictly political role (to strengthen the speaker's image before national and international audiences, to help him gain credibility and political capital and to keep the viewers informed as to the most stringent issues on the public agenda), we believe their impact goes beyond the borders of space and time. Due to their unrivalled role in conveying to the public a summary of all the issues that concern them, to their undeniable importance for the political actor's permanent campaigning, to their emotional and highly inspirational potential, and also to the fact that they are delivered by one of the best American rhetors ever, the State of the Union Addresses contribute to shaping the iconic persona of Barack Obama, to enhancing his image as the American dream come true, or the *triumph of the impossible* – a black man at the White House -, and to passing on to future generations a more complete version of the Obama legacy.

Our analysis starts with an outline of the American political arena and the role of the President (Chapter 1 - *An Overview of the American Political Arena and the Role of the President*), whereby we briefly go over the main political forces at work in the American democracy, the two-party system as well as the key prerogatives of the US president. The chapter ends with a summary of President Obama's most significant accomplishments during his time at the White House. Chapter 2 (*A Few General Remarks on the State of the Union Addresses*) puts forward the historical and philosophical

background of these speeches, the main topics tackled throughout, as well as their role in consolidating the political capital of the sitting President.

Chapter 3 (*Negative Campaigning – Change vs. Continuity*) looks into the way Obama refers to his political opponents, while also shedding light on the paradoxical manner in which the *appeal to continuity* appears intertwined with the *appeal to change* in the speaker's attempts to maintain the audience's support. In Chapter 4 (*The Narrative – Reference to Concrete Situations*), we analyse the stories of specific protagonists Obama brings up in his discourse; it is interesting to notice that, in these situations, particular examples are mentioned by the orator due to their powerful, mobilizing impact: these are people who have impressed the speaker through their outstanding character traits; consequently, he proposes them as role models so that everyone else can follow suit and manage to overcome difficult situations.

Chapter 5 (*Political Correctness*) tackles the aforementioned issue, which has raised its fair share of controversy over the years. We can see how President Obama wishes to do justice to those social categories that have long been discriminated against (mostly women and members of the gay community, but also ethnic and religious minorities); his discourse abounds in pleas to accept and embrace *difference*, one of the underlying characteristics of a functioning democracy. In Chapter 6 (*Inspirational Discourse and the Politics of Buzzwords*), we provide an analysis of the abstract concepts the orator resorts to in order to inspire the audience and enhance faith in the greatness of America's destiny – also, these features (*responsibility, transparency, cooperation, compromise, patience, justice, trust, selflessness, dignity and meritocracy*) become emblematic of the American identity itself. Chapter 7 (*Perspectives on Determination, Resilience and the Cult of Success*) shows how important the pursuit of success is and has always been for the Americans, both at an individual and at a national level – reference to it is bound to trigger a powerful emotional response; along the same lines, Chapter 8 (*Invoking Tradition and the American Dream*) dwells on the American dream and its implications, highlighting both its abstract dimension (as a mental construct meant to guide a person throughout their life and steer their aspirations towards the *pursuit of happiness*) and its concrete dimension (as the most common understanding of the construct translates into personal prosperity). In Chapter 9 (*American Identity*), we look into the characteristics defining this concept – in Barack Obama's view, the most important requirement thereof is *participation*, understood as a permanent commitment to the American

creed and a constant struggle to uphold its values. Chapter 10 (*Nationalism and Immigration*) tackles these two inseparable issues that have become increasingly important for the US in recent years, in the rapidly changing global environment, while in Chapter 11 (*American Hegemony*) we provide an analysis of American supremacy as understood by the speaker; he mainly refers to this implied superiority of the US over other countries by using the term *leadership*; also, paradoxically, while on some occasions Obama takes this superiority for granted, in other situations he strives to persuade the audience that America is still the global leader and its supremacy has not started to wane. In Chapter 12 (*Overcoming Challenges*), we highlight the manner in which the incumbent President resorts to obstacles that have been surmounted as a means to gain political capital, while in Chapter 13 (*The Populist Appeal*) we can see him targeting vulnerable social categories (such as women, children, senior citizens) in an attempt to do them justice, while also capitalizing on the hugely unpopular income divide in order to maintain the support of the vast majority of the population. The last chapter of our paper, 14 (*The Quest for Legitimacy*) analyses a crucial concept in political communication, a political actor's pursuit of *legitimacy* – an asset that is difficult to obtain and even more difficult to uphold, since this process involves a wide variety of factors ranging from the speaker's past achievements to details about their personal life. Legitimacy constitutes a key aspect of permanent campaigning, entailing a constant struggle to motivate an increasingly dealigned audience.

We have chosen the title *Discursive Practices and Rhetoric in Barack Obama's State of the Union Addresses* for our present research, where by *discursive practices* (a term introduced by Michel Foucault in 1974 and defined as “a historically and culturally specific set of rules for organising and producing different forms of knowledge<sup>1</sup>”) we mean “the processes by which cultural meanings are produced and understood<sup>2</sup>”, as we can see that, throughout the aforementioned speeches, Barack Obama not only uses discourse to describe reality, he also constructs reality by means of discourse – thus, for example, his outlook on American identity, American supremacy or the American dream aims not only to reinforce a certain pre-existing status quo, but also to help create a reality responding to the needs of the audience, a reality they can relate to and believe it underlies their identity, both at an individual level and as members of a well-established

---

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.michel-foucault.com/concepts/>, accessed on December 30, 2016.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.anthropology.hawaii.edu/department/specializations/discursive/discursive.html>, accessed on December 30, 2016.

community. In this respect, social reality is constructed also at the level of discourse.

To conclude, as we have said at the beginning, we believe that the State of the Union Addresses stand out for several reasons; aside from the fact that they provide an accurate outline of the public agenda and the viewers' expectations of the future, aside from their undeniable role in legitimizing the incumbent President's stay at the White House and helping him enhance his image before national and international audiences, these speeches seem to best define Barack Obama's political persona, as well as his presidency. He will be remembered by generations to come not only as the American dream come true or *the triumph of the impossible*, but also as one of the best rhetors America has ever known.

# 1. AN OVERVIEW OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ARENA AND THE ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT

## Introductory remarks

In the present chapter, we will provide a brief analysis of the American political arena and the role of the President in what has been called *the greatest nation on earth* and is considered by many a beacon of democracy, freedom, opportunity and hope for the rest of the world.

The first thing that strikes us is *the paradox of democracy*. Thus, the entity that is generically called a *nation* is built on the assumption that it has to govern itself; by contrast, what is called a *society* emerges against the background of a series of legal constraints, impacting individual freedom to a great extent. Consequently, the formation of a society generates the paradoxical situation whereby people relinquish their own freedoms. Society can only survive by means of *convention*, which in turn entails the strict establishment and implementation of rules and regulations.

On the other hand, undoubtedly, the only political system best reflecting the nation is *democracy*, a construct which, despite its unavoidable shortcomings (where reality falls short of the ideal expectations of theorists), is still considered the best system invented by humanity so far. Naturally, an *abstract* or *pure* democracy is impossible, since it would not allow for any fixation of the perpetual mobility of human communities, since individual or shared human interests are forever changing.

In practice, therefore, representative democracy as we know it today arises as a *paradoxical concept*, since it can only exist by denying itself. It emerges as a direct consequence of at least two formal processes: the ballot (the only authentically democratic moment, the expression of its number-based principles whereby it is always the majority who dictates), and the representative substitution, meaning that citizens make decision via their

elected or appointed representatives, a reality which annihilates the idea of pure democracy from the very beginning.

Moreover, as a rule, broadly speaking, democracy presents an inherent imbalance, that between *power* and *opposition*. Over the years, however, the advantages that the *power* enjoys are counterbalanced by the erosion of power, a phenomenon granting increased leverage to the *opposition*.

As a rule, political power is exerted via two important means: the vote / the ballot, which bestows legitimacy upon it in the eyes of the people (thus, political power is fully justified) and the very process of exercising it, or the decision-making process (its actual and visible manifestation on the political arena). In the USA, presidential rhetoric serves the purpose of endorsing the actual leadership, it pertains to the practice of permanent campaigning, and it also helps to remind the audience of why a political actor was elected in the first place.

### **1.1. A few general considerations on the American political arena**

In the present subsection, we will look into the workings of the American political arena, analysing the two main parties (Republicans and Democrats), the ideological and practical differences between them as well as the role of political parties in general for a democratic system. We will also attempt to show how the consequences of the 2008 crisis have impacted the two major players and how their policies have changed.

#### **1.1.1. On political parties and their role in a democracy**

Political parties are "organisations that try to win control of government by getting elected to public office people who carry the party level.<sup>3</sup>" and they represent a major political force in representative democracies. Their role is to recruit candidates for public office, to propel these candidates in competitive elections (such as presidential elections) against candidates of other parties and to organize official activities in accordance with party programs.

---

<sup>3</sup> Edward S. Greenberg and Benjamin I. Page, *The Struggle for Democracy*, Longman, New York, 1999, p. 275.

Modern democracies are unthinkable in the absence of political parties. By ensuring a multitude of forces at play on the political arena, their existence guarantees the possibility of *choice* which, in its turn, represents the primary factor separating democracies from dictatorships. Therefore, at least in theory, political parties make popular sovereignty possible and constitute a pillar of the rule of law. When a country is led by a party which has won democratic elections, the power it holds relies on the citizens' consent; consequently, the ballot grants legitimacy to the elected representatives.

Among the multiple roles political parties play in a democracy, Greenberg mentions the following:

a. *Keeping elected officials responsible.* Competitive elections "allow voters to judge the past performance of a governing party and whether to allow that party to continue in office."<sup>4</sup> Party platforms are constantly adapted to respond to public needs, to the main issues on the public agenda, and to the expectations of the target audience. By submitting themselves to people's judgement on a regular basis, parties are held accountable, and their winning the elections acts as a source of legitimacy for their future term of office.

b. *Including a broad range of groups.* Ideally, parties need to include as many groups of the population as possible, to make sure they stand for popular sovereignty and, pragmatically speaking, to win the elections. Although some parties traditionally target certain social strata among which they know they have more supporters, at least in theory, as many groups as possible ought to be addressed both by the party platform and by the discourse of party officials.

c. *Stimulating political interest.* There are various factors that have an impact on the magnitude of political interest among citizens, such as how young the democracy is, how informed people are or how stringent the issues on the public agenda appear to be. Political parties try to stimulate interest in politics and increase voter turnout, while their endeavours have been ritualized through elections campaigns. Competition generates public awareness and leads to involvement and participation.

d. *Ensuring accountability.* It often happens that things go wrong or politicians fail to keep their promises. Even when they try to do their best, it is

---

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*

difficult to meet the needs of all social groups, or to fight the naturally-occurring phenomenon of power erosion. Moreover, when people are disappointed, it is usually difficult to identify the guilty party, and political actors either dodge responsibility or try to place the blame on their opponents. However, at least in theory, the free, fair and regularly held elections are supposed to empower the electors; this institutionalized feedback aims at assessing how well political actors have fulfilled their duties up until that moment.

### **1.1.2. Democrats vs Republicans in the USA**

#### **A. Historical background**

In the United States of America, political competition unfolds between the two major parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. “Because these parties have dominated U.S. elections for so long and are the only parties with any realistic chance of acquiring political control, Americans nearly take their two-party system for granted.<sup>5</sup>” The fact that the American political arena is completely dominated by these two players entails that, while neither of them can win the elections relying only on a small part of the population, their policies “tend to appeal to many of the same interests.<sup>6</sup>” Despite their overtly stated ideological differences, in fact, both parties appear committed to social security for senior citizens and both allocate substantial funds to national defence, all the more so in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and in view of the ensuing wars. Hence, although the two parties “do not offer a real and significant choice<sup>7</sup>” to the American voters, for the sake of the election game, they have to invoke differences between them and own advantages standing them in good stead and legitimizing the voters’ option.

\*  
\*   \*

Historically, the Democratic Party is the older of the two; its origins date back to the year 1792, when some anti-federalist factions emerged, around

---

<sup>5</sup> Thomas E. Patterson, *The American Democracy*, The McGraw-Hill Companies, New York, 1996, p. 208.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*

the time of America's independence from British rule. Those factions were organised into the Democrat-Republican party by Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and other influential opponents of the Federalists in 1792.

By contrast, the Republican party is younger. It was founded in 1854 by anti-slavery activists and it became a major political force once Abraham Lincoln was elected, as he was the first Republican president. "The party presided over the American Civil War and Reconstruction and was harried by internal factions and scandals towards the end of the 19th century. Today, the Republican Party supports a pro-business platform, with further foundations in economic libertarianism and a brand of social conservatism increasingly based on the viewpoints of the Religious Right."<sup>8</sup>

Thus, the first political party was set up in the 1790s by Alexander Hamilton, George Washington's secretary of the treasury. He convinced some members of Congress to form a "loosely organised party"<sup>9</sup> which took the name Federalist. Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and others formed another party in Congress to stand against Hamilton's programme of "protective tariffs, a national bank, and federal assumption of the Revolutionary War Debts"<sup>10</sup>, which they thought harmed many social groups. This newly-formed faction was called Republican.

The Federalists won the 1796 elections, thus gaining full control of the federal government. However, their subsequent actions (fining and imprisoning Republican editors) led to a decisive victory of the Republicans in the 1800 elections. Jefferson's victory was to become only the first in a staggering series of Republican presidential candidates.

In the following years, the Federalist party disappeared. It was viewed as having pro-British sympathies and also as a party of the rich and arrogant, in a country which was becoming ever more democratic. In 1816, there was only one party left in America.

In the 1820ies, a two-party system emerged again, as a consequence of the 1824 presidential elections. Since a candidate (Andrew Jackson) "won a plurality of the popular and electoral votes but failed to win a majority of

---

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.diffen.com/difference/Democrat\\_vs\\_Republican](http://www.diffen.com/difference/Democrat_vs_Republican), accessed on December 3, 2016.

<sup>9</sup> Edward S. Greenberg and Benjamin I. Page, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*