**Name of politician:** Hillary Clinton

**Title of Speech:** Remarks from a Rally in Toledo, Ohio

**Date of Speech:** October 3, 2016.

**Category:** Electoral Speech

**Grader:** Cristóbal Sandoval

**Date of grading:** October 27, 2016.

**Final Grade (delete unused grades):**

0 A speech in this category uses few if any populist elements. Note that even if a speech expresses a Manichaean worldview, it is not considered populist if it lacks some notion of a popular will.

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|  | **Score here (0, 1,2)** | **Populist** | **Pluralist** |
| Manichaean vision | 0,5 | It conveys a Manichaean vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.  *“Now, Trump represents the same rigged system that he claims he’s going to change.”*  *“He’s taken corporate excess and made a business model out of it. He abuses his power, games the system, puts his own interests ahead of the country’s. It’s Trump first and everyone else last.”*  *“A Wall Street money manager should not be able to pay a lower tax rate than a teacher or a nurse.”*  *“We should build on the Dodd-Frank financial reforms and go even further, because Wall Street can never, ever be permitted to threaten Main Street again.”* | The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on **narrow, particular issues**. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.  *“I am so grateful to have this chance to talk to you about what we can do together to have the kind of economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top.”*  “*That means we’ve got to have good schools in every zip code.”*  *“We’ve got unmatched talent, innovation, entrepreneurial spirit, so when we work together, we can all benefit.”* |
|  |  | The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing **cosmic proportions** to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to **national and religious leaders** that are generally revered. | The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections. |
| Populist notion of the people | 0 | Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal. | Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic. |
| Evil elite | 0,5 | The evil is embodied in a minority—more specifically, an elite—whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.  *“And yet, this is one of the defining debates not just of this election, but of our time. Now, I will say, most American companies — most are run by honorable patriotic people who care about their employees and communities. But there are still too many powerful interests fighting to protect their own profits and privileges at the expense of everyone else.”*  *“And — it is riddled with loopholes that let the rich get even richer and make income inequality even worse.”*  *“We’re going to make Wall Street corporations and the super rich start paying their fair share of taxes.”*  *“We need fair rules of the road, so big corporations can’t use their power to gain unfair advantages. And when it comes to bullying small businesses, Donald Trump is the poster boy.”* | The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low. |
|  |  | Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections. | The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”  *“You know, you recognize that we all have to do our part, because we are all in this together and it matters. We believe honest work deserves honest pay.”*  *“We believe everyone should have the right to join a strong union that will always have your back.”*  *“First, let’s start with protecting taxpayers and making sure we have more fairness in the system.”*  *“Second, we’re going to protect consumers.”*  *“No one should ever have to choose between paying the rent and filling their prescriptions.”* |
|  |  | Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent. | Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards. |

**Overall Comments (just a few sentences):**

El discurso no presenta los elementos necesarios para ser considerado como populista. En primer lugar, no se reconoce una apelación al pueblo como una entidad virtuosa. Segundo, se reconoce la identificación de una elite minoritaria representada por las grandes corporaciones y la imagen de Donald Trump. Al mismo tiempo, Clinton hace l distinción entre la elite que, si paga sus impuestos y comparte su riqueza y los que no, en donde Trump pertenecería al segundo grupo. Por sobre una visión maniquea, en el discurso predomina una visión pluralista del mundo y el carácter maniqueo aparece relacionado principalmente a la imagen de Trump. Finalmente, no se identifica una noción de voluntad general del pueblo como fuente de legitimidad política. Además, por sobre un cambio radical, el discurso está centrado en políticas específicas como la generación de empleo, reforma fiscal e inversión en las clases medias. Por estas razones el discurso puede ser calificado con una **nota de 0,2.**