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**“W IS FOR WOMEN”: AN ANALYSIS OF
THE USE OF FEMININE STYLE IN THE
2004 DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS**

A Thesis

Presented to the

School of Communication

and the

Faculty of the Graduate College

University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

University of Nebraska at Omaha

by

Michelle L. Gauchat

May 2005

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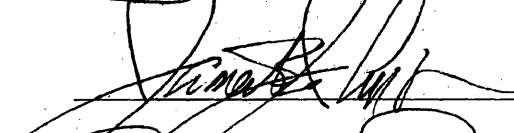
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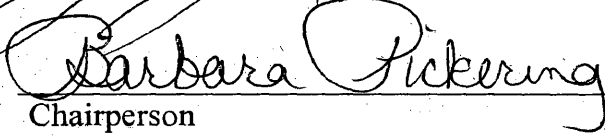
THESIS ACCEPTANCE

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Chairperson

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Date

**“W IS FOR WOMEN”: AN ANALYSIS OF
THE USE OF FEMININE STYLE IN THE
2004 DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS**

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University of Nebraska, 2005

Advisor: Dr. Barbara Pickering

This study examines Laura Bush, Elizabeth Dole, Teresa Heinz Kerry, and Jennifer Granholm's 2004 national convention speeches to explore the rhetorical strategies employed and determine how their remarks promoted the presidential candidates, Senator John Kerry and President George W. Bush. Using Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's feminine style as a rhetorical lens, this analysis examines the women's discourse and draws implications about their role in conventions and political parties.

From the analysis, I conclude that Heinz Kerry, Granholm, Bush, and Dole constructed different identities, not only for themselves but for their political parties, through their convention remarks. Although the women used many of the feminine style elements, some were emphasized more than others. Heinz Kerry and Granholm utilized a feminine style rhetoric that constructed the Democratic Party as one that empowers people. Alternatively, Bush and Dole used a feminine style rhetoric to emphasize the Republican Party's ideals of family and values.

This analysis provides two key contributions to feminist and political rhetorical scholarship regarding perspectives of feminine style: 1) that feminine style should be interpreted as a rhetorical strategy which rhetors can utilize in varying degrees, and 2) use of a feminine style does not always equate to the speaker's promotion of women's empowerment.

Keywords: feminine style, political conventions, rhetoric, women

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In recent presidential elections, female constituents have become an important market to political candidates. In the 2004 presidential election, George W. Bush used the mantra “W Stands for Women” in his campaign (Bush-Cheney, 2004). The Republican Party proudly hosted a “W is for Women” forum, held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, on the first day of the convention to cement support among the country's largest voter pool. Speakers at the convention, Lynne Cheney, daughter Liz Cheney, Barbara Bush, and other members of President Bush’s family discussed President Bush's leadership in the face of the September 11th attacks and the significant achievements of the Iraqi women because of the United States. As women become an integral market for political campaigns, it is essential to view how political parties attempt to draw women to their affiliations and views. This may specifically be accomplished by exploring how women are represented in national conventions.

Since the mid 1800s, national conventions have played an integral role in the presidential election process (*GOP Convention at a Glance*, 2000). Typically, conventions are held in July or August of the election year, and they serve two main purposes. First, the party candidates for president and vice-president are officially nominated. Second, each party’s policy platform is declared, that is, each party articulates its issues for the campaign (*National Conventions*, 2002). Conventions also rally various party leaders from across the country to speak in support of the presidential nominee. Conventions specifically choose their speakers to represent

different aspects of what their party stands for to appeal to voters' values, beliefs, and concerns. For example, Joan Vennoch (2000) of the *Boston Globe* commented, "In the surreal bubble of the Republican National Convention, women are important, if they come in the right package and send the correct message..." (¶ 4). The mere presence of women and minority political figures at conventions conveys a message to voters and viewers.

Statement of Purpose

Previous research in women's discourse includes analysis of women's rhetorical choices in the political arena. Because most literature examines the discourse of female political candidates, several questions remain unanswered. Do women participating in political conventions utilize specific rhetorical strategies in their discourse? How do specific rhetorical strategies convey their role in a political party? Although women have grown in representation and prominence as political candidates and more importantly as a target electorate, little research has examined the rhetorical strategies of women speakers across party lines. Additionally, comparisons between Republican and Democratic discourse have not been investigated, particularly in the area of women as a supporting cast in conventions. Using feminine style as a rhetorical lens, my research identifies women's rhetorical strategies and more importantly, theorizes about the broader implications of women's political convention rhetoric and its meaning for their role in political parties.

The purpose of this study is to examine Laura Bush, Elizabeth Dole, Teresa Heinz Kerry, and Jennifer Granholm's 2004 national convention speeches to explore the

rhetorical strategies employed and determine how their remarks promoted the presidential candidates, Senator John Kerry and President George W. Bush. I examine how these women played a role in the national conventions and how possible usage of a feminine style affected their discourse.

This study contributes to political communication and rhetorical research in two ways. First, the chosen women speakers offer a variety of ways to study women in the convention: the rhetorical environment of the convention allows for a contextual study of the speakers' discourse; examining two women from each political party warrants a comparative study of the speeches; and the four women's positions (e.g., senator, governor, nominees' wives) permits rhetorical analysis based on their roles. I also chose these women's speeches based on the length and substance of their convention discourse. Most other women's convention remarks were too brief to critically analyze (e.g., Hillary Rodham Clinton).

Second, this analysis offers increased theoretical insight into Campbell's (1989b) concept of feminine style. The majority of critical analyses using feminine style have only looked at individual rhetors (i.e., political candidates) and therefore further research is required to investigate women's use of feminine style across political parties and positions, hence offering alternative dimensions to the concept of feminine style. Rhetorical criticism of this type provides several benefits. As Foss (1996) explained:

When we understand the various options available to rhetors in the construction of messages and how they work together to create the effects they produce, we are able

to question the choices made in the construction of rhetorical artifacts because we see possibilities other than those selected (pp. 8-9).

This analysis offers readers a unique perspective of women's political communication and more broadly, an interpretation of the communicative symbols that shape our reality.

Based on the units of analysis, nature of the artifacts, and context of the 2004 presidential election, I posed the following questions:

RQ1: What rhetorical strategies specific to feminine style are used in the women's discourse?

RQ2: How do these strategies work toward the promotion of the presidential candidate?

RQ3: How do the strategies and roles of the women from each political party differ?

In order to answer these questions, I proceed as follows. Chapter three contains the analyses of women from the Democratic National Convention (i.e., Teresa Heinz Kerry and Jennifer Granholm). Chapter four includes the analyses of women from the Republican National Convention (i.e., Laura Bush and Elizabeth Dole). Chapter five compares the strategies of Democrats versus Republicans and concludes with contributions and implications for rhetorical scholarship.

Review of Literature

The relevant literature for this project includes: historical evolution of women's discourse in public settings and politics, theoretical perspectives of women's communicative strategies, and critical analyses using feminine style as a lens.

Historical Evolution of Women's Discourse

Historically, women were commended for being silent and condemned for speaking in public (Bystrom, 2004; Campbell, 1989a; Campbell, 1989b; Campbell, 1991; Campbell, 1999b; DeRosa & Bystrom, 1999; Foss, 1996; Foss & Foss, 1991; Griffin, 1993; Jamieson, 1988; Spitzack & Carter, 1987). Campbell (1999a) contended, "In fact, insofar as the role of rhetor entails qualities of self-reliance, self-confidence, and independence, its very assumption is a violation of the female role" (p. 126). Campbell (1989b) suggested that women who participate in the public sphere face a dilemma because femininity is in direct conflict with the patriarchal values of society and feminist issues publicly emerge when women speak.

Women's rhetorical dilemmas continue in the realm of politics (Jamieson, 1995; Spitzack & Carter, 1987). Women's emotional tendencies were thought to affect their abilities to comprehend or construct rational discourse. These opinions existed as far back as ancient Greece where Aristotle argued,

The assumption that women are biologically unsuited for political activity was legitimized by Aristotle who held that women's minds should be kept free from exertion because 'children evidently draw on the mother who carries them in the womb, just as plants draw on the soil' (cited in Jamieson, 1988 p. 68).

Women were also criticized for their language choices, use of shrill tones, and a "disposition to speak too much and too often" (Jamieson, 1988, p. 79). Women have often been associated with private, domestic domains while the public domains of politics have been associated with men and masculinity.

Jamieson's (1995) more recent research on double binds is also relevant to this project. A double bind is, "...a rhetorical construct that posits two and only two alternatives, one or both penalizing the person being offered them" (Jamieson, 1995, pp.13-14). Double binds place rhetors, particularly women, in a position in which they are either condemned for speaking or criticized for not speaking. For example, if women violate their expected role and demand a voice, they are deemed controversial and inappropriate. Female candidates must typically talk like men to be considered a serious candidate for political offices (Blankenship & Robson, 1995). Women in politics continue to face double binds based on gender stereotypes (Blankenship & Robson, 1995). When placed in this "stalemate" position, women are expected to surrender the goal that has aroused the equality or difference debate (Jamieson, 1995, p. 14). Women are denied access to the public sphere and therefore are not given voices.

Suzanne Daughton (1994) made several important claims about political parties' representation of women in her study of women's issues in national conventions. First, nontraditional women (i.e., women whom do not uphold their gender role per se) have been downplayed, ignored, and/or condemned in the Republican Party. Second, "Both parties glorify the 'political wife', especially the Republicans, who value her above any career woman. In fact, she is the only woman in the public realm who receives any positive recognition from Republicans" (Daughton, 1994, p. 112). However, this positive recognition is based on what is deemed appropriate behavior for wives (i.e. acting as a silent appendage to the president). First wives like Barbara Bush are praised

for their appropriate work on literacy, but Hillary Rodham Clinton is denounced for her integral role in health care legislation. Third, convention participants only address women's issues with "plausible deniability," which Daughton described as discussing women's issues by implication and indirection allowing convention speakers, "...the possibility of later claiming not to be feminists" (1994, p. 115). Political speakers conveniently brush across feminist issues, claiming to have dealt with "women's issues" without appearing contentious. This allows them to both gain acceptance by audience members and party associates.

In her review and evaluation of women's studies and political research, Denise Baer (1993) argued that women have typically been underrepresented in national political conventions and more specifically the Republican Party, although more recently, women have made some headway as nominees and delegates. Baer (1993) suggested, "Republican and Democratic women have taken different paths to power; yet over the past two decades notable successes have been attained in both parties-successes which have been misunderstood and ignored in contemporary women and politics scholarship" (p. 562). Baer (1993) argued for studying parties from the inside, (i.e., through party specific functions such as conventions) so that we may begin to explore how women are represented. "The increasing strength of political party organizations means that parties are more important than ever before in recruiting candidates and perhaps this is an area in which discrimination limits women" (Baer, 1993, p. 564). Therefore, scholars must emphasize more research in relation to women's representation and role in political parties. "For women and politics scholarship to

recast theory and transform the discipline of political science, women and politics researchers must add participant observation and other non-survey based methodologies to our arsenal of empirical research tools” (Baer, 1993, p. 570). Not only have women been underrepresented in political parties and national conventions, but their discourse has been degraded based on the contradicting roles of woman and speaker.

Theoretical Perspectives of Women's Discourse

Feminist counter-public sphere. Rita Felski (1989) investigated the progression of feminist literature and theoretical approaches to feminism. Felski (1989) argued, “...it has become apparent that the female community cannot simply transcend existing power structures but it is deeply implicated within them...” (p. 168). To develop a community among women and transmit feminist ideals throughout society, Felski (1989) developed a concept similar to Habermas’s public sphere. Felski (1989) called for the “feminist counter-public sphere” to provide, “a discursive space which defines itself in terms of a common identity; here it is the shared experience of gender-based oppression which provides the mediating factor intended to unite all participants beyond their specific differences” (p. 166). This sphere functions as a societal forum for public channels of feminist values to promote changes in our patriarchal culture (Felski, 1989).

Researchers have attempted to identify female rhetors’ strategies and describe how their rhetoric works to promote equality for women in the political system (Dow & Tonn, 1993). Originally developed by Campbell (1989b), feminine style was designed to explicate the rhetorical strategies used by female rhetors in early American history. In more recent research, scholars (e.g., Dow and Tonn, Sullivan) theorized how these

strategies allow women's access into political modes of discourse. Feminine style has, "...provided an alternative critical orientation with which to understand the source, form, and function of female communicative strategies and their effectiveness in feminist movements" (Dow & Tonn, 1993, p. 286). For this reason, Campbell's (1989b) concept of feminine style was used as a rhetorical lens for this research project.

Campbell's feminine style. Campbell (1989b) described five elements of a "feminine style" discourse. Campbell (1989b) developed the concept of feminine style based on her analyses of historical and contemporary feminist rhetors and their distinct audiences. First, the speaker is personal in tone and relies on personal experience as evidence (e.g. stories). The tone may also be described as nurturing rather than authoritative, similar to that of a teacher or mediator (Campbell, 1986). Second, the speech demonstrates an inductive structure of reasoning, which moves from specific examples to a main conclusion (Campbell, 1989b). Campbell (1986) argued, "Consistent with their allegedly poetic and emotional natures, women tend to adopt associative, dramatic, and narrative modes of development, as opposed to deductive forms of organization" (p. 440). The third aspect of feminine style explains that the speaker invites audience members to participate "actively in reaching conclusions instead of accepting claims passively" (p. xv). Vivid language forms might include biblical authorities, metaphors, and figurative analogies in order to prompt participation from the audience (Campbell, 1986, p. 440). Fourth, the speaker addresses audience members as peers and equals rather than standing as a superior or authority. Fifth, the speaker presents women as agents of change, specifically inviting women to draw on

their own conclusions rather than the traditional approach of directing audience members toward what is right (Campbell, 1989b). Specifically, the discourse should empower audience members, particularly women and invite viewers to draw on their own actions rather than accepting the traditional approach of directing audience members toward what is right (Campbell, 1986).

Blankenship and Robson's feminine style. Blankenship and Robson (1995) also explored five characteristics of a “feminine style” used predominantly by female candidates but also by some male candidates in political discourse. The first feature of feminine style is basing political judgments on lived experience. Blankenship and Robson (1995) attributed this aspect of feminine style to the movement of women’s issues from the private sphere to public sphere (e.g. domestic violence issues). Women tend to view political office as public service particularly towards the entire populace and not just their constituency (Blankenship and Robson, 1995, p. 359).

The second aspect of feminine style is valuing inclusivity. This approach allows women to create and sustain relationships both within legislation and the populace, viewing their term as, “public service [rather] than a career opportunity” (Blankenship & Robson, 1995, p. 360). The third characteristic of feminine style is “conceptualizing the power of public office as the capacity to ‘get things done’ and empower others” (Blankenship & Robson, 1995, p. 361). This feature clearly makes a distinction between “power over” and “power to” (p. 361). Feminine style appropriately fulfills the latter. Women in politics may express this characteristic through their attitudes concerning the, “legislative process and product, definitions of accomplishment, and

characterizations of ambition” (Blankenship & Robson, 1995, p. 361). A fourth facet of feminine style approaches policy formation holistically. Specifically, policy formation in this context is based on a broader view from which a problem arises (Blankenship & Robson, 1995, p. 362).

The fifth characteristic of feminine style is, “moving women’s issues to the forefront of the public arena” (Blankenship & Robson, 1995, p.362). Blankenship and Robson (1995) contended,

For all the variation in definition of women’s issues, at least two underlying features of women’s lives drive the sense of urgency to give very high, perhaps, the highest priority, to such issues: (1) Women have lived a lifetime with the reality of being locked out of political institutions and processes; (2) They have been born into and lived in the skin of a woman; that is women’s issues are not abstract; they are lived issues (pp. 362-363).

Blankenship and Robson (1995) described this as the driving force behind the fifth characteristic of feminine style. Blankenship and Robson’s (1995) feminine style is associated specifically with political candidates, and therefore was not used as a rhetorical lens in this study.

Critical Analyses Using Feminine Style

Congressperson Patricia Schroeder. Patricia Sullivan (1993) examined Colorado Representative Patricia Schroeder’s discourse to identify characteristics of feminine style. First, throughout her career, Schroeder characterized her approach to political decision making as cooperative and egalitarian. Sullivan (1993) argued,

“...her [Schroeder’s] choices enhance her commitment to cooperative decision making which communicated that she was not separated from people involved in decision making processes” (p. 538). Second, Schroeder discussed policy formation based on a broader view from which a problem arises. Schroeder valued her own understanding and practices as evidence. For example, Schroeder relied on her experiences as female Congressperson urging colleagues to reject discriminatory practices by supporting the Civil Rights Restoration Act (Sullivan, 1993).

Representative Schroeder was considered a political outsider for rejecting abstract terms of justice and American values. For Schroeder, this traditional patriotic terminology was significant, “...only when a politician contextualizes these standards and explores how they will be actualized in people’s lives” (Sullivan, 1993, p. 539). Typically, political candidates use terms such as values and freedom to intensify emotions among audience members; however, Schroeder only accepted use of the terms when they were realistically and meaningfully presented to viewers.

Elizabeth Dole. Nichola Gutgold (2001) analyzed Elizabeth Dole’s 1996 GOP Convention speech and 1999 Melrose High School speech given as a presidential candidate using Neo-Aristotelian and feminist criticism. Throughout both speeches, Dole used pronouns such as “we” and “our” (Gutgold, 2001, p. 6). Her use of pronouns reflected Campbell’s (1989b) approach of addressing audience members as peers. Dole also incorporated frequent storytelling in both speeches (Gutgold, 2001, p. 4). She shared her experiences as a teacher to gain ethos for her proposed education initiatives (Gutgold, 2001, p. 5). Dole’s experiences with her husband, Senator Bob Dole, were

also the frequent focus of campaign rhetoric. Specifically, in the 1996 GOP Convention speech, Dole recalled a story describing their compassion for disabled constituents, which resulted in a foundation for people with disabilities. Dole reported the amount of money raised and introduced one man who helped initiate the foundation. She not only incorporated personal experience with these narratives but also emphasized audience empowerment and participation (Gutgold, 2001, p. 6).

Although Dole's discourse served to exemplify aspects of both Campbell (1989) and Blankenship and Robson's (1995) feminine style, Gutgold (2001) suggested, "...that a female candidate, who was once the spouse of a candidate, must combine feminine style and a feminist style in order to be more successful than Elizabeth Dole was in her presidential bid" (p.10). Specifically, Gutgold (2001) asserted that a female rhetor should employ both a feminine style (e.g., Campbell, 1989b) while still utilizing more of the traditional modes of an orator's qualities. Gutgold's analysis focused on Dole's transition from spouse of a candidate to candidate as illustrated in her rhetorical choices.

Ann Richards. Using Campbell's (1989b) concept of feminine style, Dow and Tonn (1993) explored the rhetoric of Ann Richards in her 1988 keynote address at the Democratic National Convention and 1992 speech at the Democratic Issues Conference. The researchers found that Richards' discourse illustrated Campbell's (1989b) feminine style. Specifically, Richards' discourse included frequent personal anecdotes, examples, and stories, which the authors referred to as Richards', "most visible hallmark of the feminine style" (p. 289). Further, Richards' reliance on personal experience via

anecdotes and stories “reflects a philosophy stressing the utility of practical wisdom in judging truth” (p. 298). Women’s suggested roles as wives and mothers were privileged in this aspect.

A second philosophy articulated by Dow and Tonn (1993) suggested that Ann Richards’ use of self-disclosure and emotion promoted the idea of affective relationships. Richards’ discourse promoted a relationship that, “reduces distance between rhetor and audience and empowers audiences to trust their own perceptions and judgments” (p. 297). From the overall analysis, Dow and Tonn (1993) theorized, “the characteristics of feminine style are part of a synthesis of form and substance that works to promote an alternative political philosophy reflecting traditionally feminine values” (p. 287).

Dow and Tonn (1993) broadly applied their analysis to create a distinction between public and private spheres in political discourse in two facets. First, Richards’ rhetoric and usage of feminine style merged public and private modes of thought. “We argue that the complexity of women’s social roles, and their influence on communication, may be an asset in the public sphere, rather than an obstacle” (Dow & Tonn, 1993, p. 299). Second, feminist rhetoric should be thought in terms of offering alternatives to a patriarchal structure rather than a mere adaptation to the obstacles of patriarchy. More specifically, feminine style should not be thought of as a solution to patriarchy but nevertheless a strategy to disseminate feminine ideas and values through society. As the authors argued, this would represent Felski’s (1989) described feminist counter-public sphere.

Leonora O'Reilly. Anne Mattina (1994) examined the rhetorical strategies of Progressive Era labor reformer, Leonora O'Reilly. She described her analysis as, "an opportunity to examine the public voice of a working-class female reformer, a voice not frequently included in our discipline's purview" (p. 204). Mattina (1994) characterized O'Reilly and the labor movement's oratory as rhetoric of dissent:

By the very act of public reform they were "unsexing" themselves, and conversely, by arguing for privileges based on gender, they were reinforcing the notion that a separate sphere [public sphere] could/should exist. In this tumultuous rhetorical era, the Women's Trade Union League was formed (p. 199).

Mattina's (1994) analysis of O'Reilly's rhetoric highlighted findings similar to that of Dow and Tonn (1993). O'Reilly's rhetorical strategies conveyed a stance as both an expert and peer to audience members specifically speaking about herself, her mother, and her grandmother's involvement in the labor force. O'Reilly's emphasis on personal experiences minimized the distance between herself and the viewers and allowed audience members to reflect upon their own experiences and judgments.

O'Reilly empowered audiences through appealing to them as "thinking women":

She spoke their language, and never hesitated to lay claim to her right as a worker to speak to them and for them. She preached a "religion" of labor reform, and while not all may have agreed with her methods, she had their respect (Mattina, 1994, p. 204).

O'Reilly's voice not only allowed her to associate herself with her audience members but also, to convey the strength and influence of the female role.

Reassessment of feminine style. Shawn J. Parry-Giles and Trevor Parry-Giles (1996) took an alternate perspective on the use and advances of a feminine style in political discourse. These authors examined presidential campaign films of Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Michael Dukakis, and Bill Clinton to investigate the masculine representations of the candidate and their construction of women. Although the films incorporated a feminine style, they simultaneously relied upon patriarchal values and themes. The authors argued, "Although we understand the impetus for celebrating the 'feminine' style of political discourse and its potential for significant political change, such celebration is hasty and misreads existing political communication" (S.J. Parry-Giles & T. Parry-Giles, 1996, p. 338).

First, candidate films featured predominantly men in association with institutions such as the CIA, the Republican Party, Boys' Nation, Congress, and the United Nations. Images of family metaphorically served to illustrate characterizations of protection and control for candidates (e.g., George H.W. Bush). Further, Dukakis's campaign film reinforced the hierarchical nature of family with associations made between leader and father.

Second, the films' construction of women served, "hegemonically to mask the 'masculine' themes embedded in them" (S.J. Parry-Giles & T. Parry-Giles, 1996, p. 346). More specifically, the only female input in the films was based on females as wives, mothers, and homemakers. S.J. Parry-Giles and T. Parry-Giles (1996) asserted,

“When women speak in the presidential films, they only discuss the character and authenticity of the candidate whose image is being constructed” (p. 347). This perpetuated women’s role in the private rather than public matters.

S.J. Parry-Giles and T. Parry-Giles (1996) concluded, “while most campaign rhetorics exhibit a ‘feminine’ style, they simultaneously rely upon prevailing ‘masculine’ values and themes” (p. 338). This concept was illustrated through the reinforcing and supportive roles played by women in the films and the patriarchal construction of the candidates themselves. S.J. Parry-Giles and T. Parry-Giles (1996) used their analysis to reject the claim that political candidates’ usage of a feminine style was illustrative of political feminization. Rather, “The use of ‘feminine’ style may signal not the feminization of political discourse, but simply a shift in the expression of traditional, patriarchal political images” (S.J. Parry-Giles & T. Parry-Giles, 1996, p. 348). Unlike previous analyses, S.J. Parry-Giles and T. Parry-Giles (1996) argued that use of a feminine style in political discourse only operates within the patriarchal qualities of the American political system. S.J. Parry-Giles and T. Parry-Giles’ (1996) arguments and analysis of feminine style provide contributions to this project, particularly when I draw conclusions and implications of my analysis.

Although previous research on feminine style has contributed to our understanding of the unique rhetorical strategy, exploring women's speeches in the national conventions aids in the investigation of women’s participation in politics to further examine how women play a role in national conventions and how their discourse

assists in the promotion of a presidential candidate and his/her appropriate political party.

Context of the 2004 National Conventions

The Democratic National Convention took place in Boston, MA from July 26 through July 29, 2004 nominating Senator John Kerry for president and Senator John Edwards for vice-president. The Republican National Convention occurred in New York City, NY from August 30 through September 2, 2004 nominating President George Bush and Vice-President Dick Cheney for re-election.

The Democrats utilized resources that made for a particularly tantalizing convention line-up. Political supporters such as former President Bill Clinton, Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, U.S. Senate candidate Barack Obama, and former Vice-President Al Gore, all spoke in favor of presidential nominee Senator John Kerry. Kerry's campaign themes resonated around the theme of "A fresh start for America, with new credibility" (Kerry-Edwards, 2004).

Alternatively, the Republicans used assets such as New York Governor George Pataki, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, and former mayor of New York City Rudy Giuliani to assist President George W. Bush in his re-election efforts. President Bush's campaign themes played on the War on Terrorism arguing for "Building a safer world and a more hopeful America" (Bush-Cheney, 2004).

Rhetors and Summaries of Remarks

Teresa Heinz Kerry

Teresa Heinz Kerry spoke at the Democratic National Convention on July 27, 2004 in conjunction with the convention theme, “A Lifetime of Strength and Service.” Her convention remarks lasted for approximately 22 minutes. Heinz Kerry (2004) emphasized women’s rights as one theme for the night: “This evening, I want to acknowledge and honor the women of this world, whose wise voices for much too long have been excluded and discounted. It is time for the world to hear women’s voices, in full and at last” (§ 9).

The rest of the speech was dedicated to promoting John Kerry’s nomination. Three specific areas were emphasized. First, Heinz Kerry (2004) identified the importance of domestic issues, including family, environmental concerns, and healthcare. Second, she emphasized John Kerry’s belief in protecting national security without sacrificing civil liberties. Third, Heinz Kerry spoke of John Kerry’s patriotism demonstrated by his military service record.

Jennifer Granholm

Governor of Michigan, Jennifer Granholm spoke at the Democratic Convention on July 28, 2004 when the convention theme for the day was “A Stronger and More Secure America.” In her 13 minute remarks, Granholm (2004) emphasized America’s need for a new direction and a new leader based upon the theme of economic strength.

Granholm’s (2004) remarks were dedicated to exhibiting a need for change through metaphors and examples of America’s economic troubles. First, Granholm

(2004) visualized the Boston Tea Party and identifies patriots such as Paul Revere and Samuel Adams in their efforts of the rebellion. Second, Granholm (2004) shared stories and statistics of Americans' job loss. Third, Granholm (2004) recognized Kerry's potential goals as president (e.g., healthcare coverage and jobs). Granholm (2004) concluded her speech emphasizing the need for Kerry's leadership by connecting America's call for new leadership with references to Boston's Freedom Trail.

Laura Bush

Laura Bush's spoke at the GOP Convention on August 31, 2004 when the convention theme for the day was, "People of Compassion." Her remarks lasted approximately 23 minutes (Bush, 2004). First, she spoke of her experiences on the campaign trail and explained her memories of her and her husband's first campaign 26 years ago. Second, Bush (2004) listed the various accomplishments of President Bush's administration (e.g., health care, education, small business ownership). Third, Bush (2004) addressed the main purpose of her speech, defending the War on Terrorism and President Bush's actions in Iraq. She used this purpose to discuss a wide array of issues related to President Bush's efforts as justification for re-electing him.

Elizabeth Dole

Senator Dole also spoke at the Republican Convention on August 31, 2004 when the convention theme for the day was, "People of Compassion." In her 10 minute remarks at the 2004 Republican National Convention, Senator Dole focused on social issues (e.g., marriage, religion). Dole (2004) began her speech by thanking the audience, her constituents in North Carolina, and President Bush. She then

acknowledged the testing times in which President Bush had served. Dole (2004) transitioned to issues such as abortion, marriage, and religion. She specifically emphasized the importance of marriage between a man and woman in American culture. Dole (2004) concluded her speech taking the audience from the past to the future with re-election of President George Bush.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

Methodology for this study follows the procedures of rhetorical criticism. Sonja K. Foss (1996) described rhetorical criticism as, “the process of systematically investigating and explaining symbolic acts and artifacts for the purpose of understanding rhetorical processes” (pp. 6-7). Rhetorical criticism offers insight into the ways humans use symbols (e.g., language), and hence provides readers with an understanding of the communicative strategies used to construct messages. Rhetorical critics hope to allow, “the reader to view the artifact’s contribution to rhetorical theory...offering a compelling invitation to readers to experience the world in a new way or to transform their lives as a result of contact with the artifact and the critical essay” (Foss, 1996, p. 20).

Foss (1996) identified four steps that a rhetorical critic should follow. First, a critic must select an artifact or an object of study. The artifact serves as the data for the rhetorical analysis. I analyzed speeches given by Laura Bush, Elizabeth Dole, Teresa Heinz Kerry, and Jennifer Granholm at the 2004 national conventions. I chose women’s speeches from the 2004 national conventions for several reasons. First, convention speeches justify our attention because they serve as representative and symbolic forms of political campaign themes. Second, as women become increasingly important for presidential candidates to consider, we should study the strategic rhetorical strategies used to attract women voters.

Second, the critic should identify a rhetorical theory/method to guide the investigation of the artifact. As Foss (1996) argued that this, “serves as a vehicle or lens for the critic to use to examine the artifact in order to answer the research question” (p. 15). I sought to discover how women use rhetorical strategies to emphasize their role as women representing a particular political party. Therefore, I chose Campbell’s (1989b) theory of feminine style as the lens to view the women’s rhetorical choices. Although Campbell’s (1989b) feminine style consists of five aspects, three serve substantially to aid my analysis: (1) use of personal experience; (2) promoting women as agents of change; and (3) inviting audience member participation. These elements correlate with my research questions, which sought to identify how the women’s strategies worked toward the promotion of the presidential nominee and how the strategies differed across party lines.

The third stage of rhetorical criticism is one in which the critic, “engages in a close analysis of the artifact and becomes thoroughly familiar with whatever dimensions the selected unit of analysis features” (Foss, 1996, p. 16). I examined each speech with the specific goal of identifying: personal tone, incitement of audience participation, and support for women as agents of change.

Finally, the critic must prepare the results and suggest conclusions. After identifying and describing the elements of feminine style that each rhetor incorporated, the rhetorical styles are analyzed based on each rhetor’s role (e.g., governor) and their purposes at the national conventions. I also illustrate how each woman’s strategies positioned President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry as viable presidential

candidates. Based on each woman's political party, I then examine how the women's use of feminine style differed. From the discourse analysis, I hypothesize upon the contributions to understanding women's role in the 2004 national conventions in addition to the analysis of feminine style rhetoric.

CHAPTER 3

Analysis: Speeches from the Democratic National Convention

Teresa Heinz Kerry's Use of Feminine Style

Heinz Kerry (2004) utilized a feminine style rhetoric in her remarks to accomplish two goals: 1) introduce herself to the American people, and 2) promote her husband, John Kerry as the presidential nominee. This analysis focuses on her use of personal tone, inviting audience participation, and presenting women as agents of change. From this, I identify how her use of feminine style promoted John Kerry and how Heinz Kerry's role as the nominee's wife influenced her convention discourse and the campaign.

Inductive reasoning. Heinz Kerry (2004) utilized an inductive structure of reasoning when promoting John Kerry as the presidential nominee. Inductive reasoning is a type of argument which moves from specific examples to a general conclusion. She exhibited inductive reasoning by listing the examples and reasons to support John Kerry followed by her general conclusion of endorsing his nomination for president. Heinz Kerry described the potential accomplishments with John Kerry as president. She declared, "John believes in a bright future," and followed describing Kerry's goals for the environment, "We can, and we will, create good, competitive, and sustainable jobs while still protecting the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the health of our children, because good environmental policy is good economics" (§ 14). She then asserted, "John Kerry believes we must, and we should, recognize the immense value of the caregivers in our country," and described Kerry's determination to help those

families with low incomes (§ 15). Finally, Heinz Kerry argued, “John is a fighter,” and detailed her husband’s service in Vietnam (§ 18). As Campbell (1986) described, feminine style often incorporates an inductive reasoning that is circuitous moving from example to example. This illustrates the way Heinz Kerry first provided audience members with various examples of John Kerry’s beliefs and then concluded that John Kerry’s leadership was right for America, “Together we will lift everyone up. We have to. It’s possible. And you know what? It’s the American thing to do” (§ 26). Heinz Kerry’s use of inductive reasoning allowed her to address John Kerry’s dedication to numerous American causes, such as jobs, the environment, and national security. With this, she attempted to create a vision for viewers: a vision of a new and better America provided for by John Kerry’s leadership.

Addressing audience members as peers. Although Teresa Heinz Kerry is not a native United States citizen, she spoke as a fellow American to audience members. She declared, “This is such a powerful moment for me. Like many other Americans, like many of you, and like even more of your parents and grandparents, I was not born in this country” (§ 5). Heinz Kerry made a connection with viewers by relating her international roots with those of audience members and their ancestors.

Heinz Kerry (2004) suggested, “I invite you to join *our conversation* [emphasis added], and together with us work towards the noblest purpose of all: a free, good, and democratic society” (§ 3). She talked with viewers on a more personal level sharing her belief in democracy and freedom. Describing her discourse as conversation, Heinz Kerry encouraged audience members to see her as a fellow American rather than the

prominent wife of John Kerry. She engaged audience members by inviting them into a dialogue about the future of the United States. In addition, Heinz Kerry's (2004) language built identification and helped distinguish her as a fellow American with the same needs and values as viewers. Therefore, support for John Kerry's nomination was representative of not only Heinz Kerry's values but those of audience members as well. As part of feminine style, addressing audience members as peers bridges the distance between the rhetor and audience, making the message more unifying and influential (Campbell, 1986).

Heinz Kerry also addressed her audience as peers through the use of pronouns such as 'we' or 'you and I'. For example, after describing some of America's accomplishments in outer space, Heinz Kerry (2004) argued, "And, that, for me, is the spirit of America-the America you and I are working for in this election" (§ 13). Also, when describing John Kerry's values, she announced, "He believes we can, and we will, invent the technologies, new materials, and conservation methods of the future" (§ 14). Her use of 'we' referencing both herself and the audience as a whole exhibited an egalitarian position. She attempted to portray herself on the same level as audience members rather than taking a typical authoritative speaker's position.

Speaking with a personal tone. As of July 27, 2004, the country still did not fully understand who Teresa Heinz Kerry was (Healy, 2004). Therefore, Heinz Kerry performed a dual role of introducing herself through stories and experiences and promoting her husband as presidential nominee at the Democratic National Convention. This was illustrated through the first half of the speech as she talked about her

experiences in South Africa and her personal feelings about issues such as women's rights. For example, she explained, "As a young woman, I attended Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, South Africa, which was then not segregated" (¶ 6). She gave viewers an inside look at her personality and upbringing.

Rhetors using feminine style often seek to appeal to the sentiments of the audience using personal experiences as evidence. Heinz Kerry's (2004) use of personal stories as evidence served to reconcile femininity with the traditional masculinity of public discourse (Campbell, 1986). She shared her experiences as a woman and these served as evidence for her arguments of freedom. Rather than just dictating the significance of freedom to audience members, she showed audience members why freedom is so personal and important to her. She portrayed herself as a woman, whom through all her experiences living under dictatorship and apartheid supports John Kerry because of his beliefs and values.

Campbell (1989b) described that speakers who use a personal tone rely on their own experiences as evidence. The speaker's authority should resemble that of a teacher or mediator rather than an expert or preacher (Campbell, 1986). Consistent with feminine style, a personal tone bridges the distance between the rhetor and viewers to create a voice that speaks to viewers' experiences and values. Heinz Kerry employed several stories which served to establish credibility and provide evidence for her arguments. First, she described her experiences as a young woman living under a dictatorship in South Africa. Heinz Kerry (2004) offered a story describing the perils of dictatorships, "My father- a wonderful, caring man who practiced medicine for 43

years, and taught me how to understand disease and wellness- only got the right to vote for the first time when he was 71 years old" (§ 5). Heinz Kerry used her father's experiences as evidence to convey the significance of civic duties such as voting to show audience members how precious freedom is in democracies like America.

She also detailed her accounts as a protester against apartheid while she was a student at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, South Africa. Heinz Kerry (2004) explained, "Our efforts in South Africa failed and the Higher Education Apartheid Act was passed. Apartheid tightened its ugly grip, the Sharpsville riots followed, and a short while later Nelson Mandela was arrested and sent to Robin Island" (§ 6). Heinz Kerry's experiences in South Africa helped her to not only introduce herself but to also serve as a mechanism to encourage audience members to take pride in their freedoms and seize the opportunities of democracy. Her personal experiences with dictatorships and apartheid were used to contrast against John Kerry's desire for a brighter America. Later in her discourse, Heinz Kerry argued for America to represent a symbol of hope and "a beacon brightly lit by the optimism of its people" (§ 11). Audience members were encouraged to view their civic duties as precious and eminent for John Kerry's leadership.

Heinz Kerry enacted a personal tone when she detailed her experiences with voters on the campaign trail to legitimize support for John Kerry as president. She declared, "In the past year, I have been privileged to meet with Americans all across this land" (Heinz Kerry, 2004, § 10). She described the concerns Americans had shared with her throughout the year. In concluding remarks of her speech, Heinz Kerry (2004)

argued, “The Americans John and I have met in the course of this campaign all want America to provide hopeful leadership again” (§ 21). Using her campaign experiences with the American people as evidence, Heinz Kerry illustrated America’s need for John Kerry’s leadership. She described the desires of Americans, “It is not a moralistic America they seek, but a moral nation that understands and willingly shoulders its obligations; a moral nation that rejects thoughtless and greedy choices in favor of thoughtful and generous actions...” (§ 21). Here, Heinz Kerry emphasized charity. Perhaps she was referring to state programs that helped lower income families or increased international aid. These actions particularly appealed to audience members as Democrats have historically supported the benefits of increased federal and state programs.

Inviting audience participation. Audience participation in feminine style discourse takes two forms. First, Campbell (1989b) argued that the speaker should invite audience members to participate actively in reaching conclusions instead of accepting claims passively. A speaker may accomplish this by using vivid language (e.g., biblical authorities, metaphors, and figurative analogies), “as these prompt participation from the audience, which generates self-persuasion” (Campbell, 1986, p. 440).

A second facet of inviting participation is to encourage audience members to take action of some sort. In the context of a national convention, a rhetor would arouse participation by speaking of support for the presidential nominee and hence promoting

viewers to vote for him or her. Audience participation therefore occurs on a political level, emphasizing viewers' role in the election process.

Heinz Kerry used several historical references and metaphors to encourage audience involvement. First, Heinz Kerry (2004) argued, "For many generations of people around the globe, that is what America has represented. A symbol of hope, a beacon brightly lit by the optimism of its people-coming from all over the world" (§ 11). Using a symbol to represent America allowed audience members to interpret America through their own frames of reference. Viewers participated in creating the message by reflecting upon their own symbolic meaning of America. More importantly, viewers were encouraged to think of John Kerry as the presidential nominee who would represent all the symbolic meaning of America. In addition, Heinz Kerry emphasized America as a melting pot to bring together people from all over the world, including herself, to become a part of the United States. With this, she encouraged unity and sought to rally audience members as convention speeches often do. Considering America as a beacon provided feelings of patriotism and affection concerning the United States, but more importantly, John Kerry and the Democratic Party, among viewers.

Second, Heinz Kerry (2004) referenced the famous concluding lines of Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address to promote unity and patriotism among audience members. "The mystic chords of memory...to every living heart and hearth-stone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched...by the better angels of our nature" (§ 22). At the time of Lincoln's first inaugural, the United

States was a nation divided over slavery. Heinz Kerry (2004) used Lincoln's unifying words to exhibit the eminent need for John Kerry's leadership. She related the "chorus of the Union" to the unification of American citizens and further applied the metaphor to continue attracting audience participation,

Today, the better angels of our nature are just waiting to be summoned. We only require a leader who is willing to call on them, a leader willing to draw again on the mystic chords of our national memory and remind us of all that we...as a nation stand for and of all the immense possibility that still lies ahead (¶ 23).

Heinz Kerry sought to connect Lincoln's struggles of unifying the Union with efforts to bring America back to its roots. And, just as Lincoln called on the people to help him, Heinz Kerry called on viewers to unite in support of John Kerry's leadership. She sought to appeal to voters based on unifying principles. She encouraged voters to look beyond differences of class and political affiliation to join together in support of John Kerry. Heinz Kerry declared that like Abraham Lincoln, John Kerry would bring America back to its roots to unify and uplift the American people and people from all over the world.

Heinz Kerry also used other strategies to invite audience participation in her discourse. She discussed John Kerry's beliefs and posed a series of rhetorical questions to encourage excitement for Kerry's campaign and potential accomplishments as president. For example, after describing John Kerry's beliefs in quality healthcare and the importance of family support systems, she asked, "Isn't it time we began working to

give parents more opportunity to be with their children, and to afford to have a family life” (§ 15)? Heinz Kerry (2004) posed the question to arouse the emotions of viewers and to continue identifying with viewers’ needs. She then referred to the issues surrounding homeland security and the PATRIOT Act, a controversial law delegating increased power to search civilians, and argued, “With John Kerry as president, we can, and we will, protect our nation’s security without sacrificing our civil liberties” (§ 16).

Heinz Kerry (2004) employed a metaphorical reference to engage viewers. “He believes that our voices-yours and mine-must be the voices of freedom. And if we do not speak, neither does she” (§ 18). She equated citizens’ voices with freedom and moreover, gave freedom a feminine label (i.e., ‘she’). She related the struggles of exercising freedom with her previous argument of hearing women’s voices, and hence continued to appeal to women voters illustrating John Kerry’s support for freedom through speaking out for our beliefs.

Presenting women as agents of change. The strongest aspect of feminine style Heinz Kerry used was presenting women as agents of change and promoting audience empowerment. After describing her experiences in South Africa, Heinz Kerry (2004) explained the significance of women’s equality,

I know how precious freedom is...My right to speak my mind, to have a voice, to be what some have called ‘opinionated,’ is a right I deeply and profoundly cherish. My only hope is that, one day soon, women- who have all earned the right to their opinions-instead of being labeled opinionated, will be called smart or well-informed, just as men are (Heinz Kerry, 2004, § 8).

Clearly, her discourse worked towards empowering women by declaring her own voice and expression of opinions as rightful. Heinz Kerry's participation as an outspoken woman and discourse supporting the expression of women's opinions served to empower female viewers. This statement followed a description of her experiences with dictatorships and apartheid. Therefore, Heinz Kerry shared a deep understanding for freedom of speech because she, at one time, experienced the struggles of gaining a legitimized voice in the public sphere. Heinz Kerry believed that more work was necessary in this area. With the arguments for women's rights, she spoke for herself but also the Kerry campaign.

Heinz Kerry also empowered women when recognizing her mother as a figure providing warmth, generosity, wisdom, and hopefulness to her life. She thanked her mother for the sacrifices she made and reached out to all women declaring, "This evening, I want to acknowledge and honor the women of this world, whose wise voices for much too long have been excluded and discounted. It is time for the world to hear women's voices, in full and at last" (¶ 9). Continuing to speak for women's rights, Heinz Kerry (2004) extolled women's voices. Her discourse was liberating for women viewers who may have, at times, still felt like their voices did not count. Therefore, Heinz Kerry encouraged women to use their voices and votes in support for John Kerry's candidacy.

Heinz Kerry (2004) endorsed audience empowerment through her experiences as a witness to dictatorship and apartheid. She explained,

I learned something then, and I believe in it still. There is a value in taking a stand whether or not anyone may be noticing and whether or not it is a risky thing to do. And if even those who are in danger can raise their lonely voices, isn't more required of all of us, in this land where liberty had her birth (§ 7)?

Perhaps, this was Heinz Kerry's way of reminding voters that their actions were influential and indispensable for the United States' future.

In concluding remarks, Heinz Kerry (2004) promoted audience empowerment asserting, "Together we will lift everyone up. We have to. It's possible. And you know what? It's the American thing to do" (§ 26). This statement emphasized the urgency and importance of new leadership. First, she presented John Kerry's direction as uplifting for all citizens. In addition, she asked audience members to view John Kerry's presidency as an alliance among American citizens and more importantly as a patriotic duty. Identifying support for Kerry as an American duty illustrated the need for voters' civic engagement in this election.

Heinz Kerry made explicit use of Campbell's (1989b) aspects of feminine style, particularly with personal tone, inviting audience participation, and promoting women as agents of change. Most compelling in her discourse was an outspokenness perspective on women's rights. After speaking at the convention, news articles flowed from the press describing Heinz Kerry as outspoken and opinionated (Gutgold, 2004).

Heinz Kerry's Role as a Candidate's Wife.

Teresa Heinz Kerry was a lightning rod for 2004 presidential campaign, and her use of feminine style, particularly with women's rights, informed viewers of her

passions and beliefs. Traditionally candidate's wives are regarded as playing a supporting role only. Therefore, wives such as Heinz Kerry, who take a more prominent independent role, are seen as radical. This section explicates some of the media coverage relating to Heinz Kerry's (2004) remarks and her role as John Kerry's wife. In addition, I look at Heinz Kerry's convention remarks to examine how she referred to her personal relationship with John Kerry.

In her article, "Nation needs women to speak minds like Heinz Kerry," Nichola Gutgold (2004) described the role of a spouse on the campaign trail as, "one of the most delicate rhetorical positions one could navigate" and "the most tradition-bound and antiquated model of American womanhood" (§ 7). Clearly, candidates' wives are presumed to be a dutiful reflection of the husband's virtues and any violations of this role are criticized. Heinz Kerry (2004) became a victim of this during the 2004 presidential campaign through her sharp-tongued comments and discourse (Healy, 2004). In the opening of her remarks, Heinz Kerry (2004) introduced herself and explained, "And by now I hope it will come as no surprise to anyone that I have something to say" (§ 2). This comment resulted from a story reported earlier in the week illustrating Heinz Kerry's outspokenness. On the eve of the Democratic National Convention, Heinz Kerry told a group of Pennsylvanian voters, "We need to turn back some of the creeping, un-Pennsylvanian and sometimes un-American traits that are coming into some of our politics." After Heinz Kerry's remarks, Colin McNickle of the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review* asked her about the "un-American activity" comment made in her remarks, and in response, she told McNickle to "Shove it" (CNN.com, 2004, § 6).

Voters' lack of knowledge and uncertainty made Heinz Kerry a closely watched figure in the Democratic National Convention. Even before her convention remarks, Heinz Kerry (2004) was viewed as a concern for some Democrats and campaign officials (Healy, 2004). As Eccleston (2004) of *The Australian* described her, "Mrs. Heinz Kerry has perplexed the US media, which remains uncertain whether her independent thinking, idiosyncratic manner, \$US 500million-plus wealth, and willingness to speak her mind in five languages make her a loose cannon or secret weapon" (§ 12). The convention was the first and most widely publicized occasion for voters to get to know Teresa Heinz Kerry. Therefore, her remarks, particularly about women's rights and outspokenness characterized her as a violation of the traditional candidate's wife.

Heinz Kerry's remarks concerning women's rights created backlashes for the promotion of John Kerry and his campaign. Considering the context was the Democratic National Convention, Heinz Kerry was addressing a supportive audience. Comments in support of women's rights were appropriate as the Democratic Party has argued for programs seeking to aid in the equal treatment of race and gender (e.g., affirmative action) (White, 2004). However, discussion of women's rights combined with other various comments Heinz Kerry (2004) made during the campaign created controversy in media coverage of her role. News articles asked, "Is she [Heinz Kerry] a boost or a bust for Kerry's White House bid? Is she a little bit kooky, a little bit eccentric, or just a woman who decided that her time on earth was too short to fake it and not speak her mind" (Healy, 2004, § 6)? For undecided voters, Heinz Kerry's

(2004) outspokenness may have been reminiscent of former First Lady Hillary Clinton. Patrick Healy (2004) cited Robert Watson, a specialist on presidential spouses and politics from Florida Atlantic University,

I think it'll be a mixed bag for Teresa through the election. People know how they feel about Laura Bush. Laura is in many ways the anti-Hillary Clinton. The country had Hillary fatigue, and the heartland wasn't ready for a first lady who kept her maiden name. If Laura was the anti-Hillary, Teresa is the anti-Laura. She's outspoken, gets into controversies, but the country doesn't know her yet (¶ 18).

Some media outlets suggested it was Heinz Kerry's lightning rod personality that led to the downfall of the Kerry campaign (Healy, 2004). Although Democratic voters and women's rights advocates were pleased by Heinz Kerry's (2004) candid remarks, the Kerry campaign, which was already struggling for a consistent image, may have lost some support from undecided voters (Healy, 2004). Observing Heinz Kerry's actions, many undecided voters were presented with a familiar image (i.e., Hillary Rodham Clinton) and perhaps one they were not ready to have back in the White House (How John Kerry blew it, 2004).

Heinz Kerry (2004) made minimal references to her personal relationship with John Kerry in her convention remarks. This fit strategically into Heinz Kerry's goals for her remarks. She sought to promote John Kerry as a presidential nominee who agrees with her beliefs as a fellow Democrat rather than as a husband. Therefore, the majority of her remarks disassociated herself as the wife of John Kerry to emphasize her

own personal reasons for support of his nomination. Only once did Heinz Kerry refer to John Kerry as her husband. When proclaiming to audience members that the country was in need of a leader who can stand for all Americans and direct the country towards the immense possibilities that lie ahead, she claimed, “I think I’ve found just the guy. I’m married to him” (§ 24). Heinz Kerry used her relationship as wife of John Kerry to identify her role to audience members while promoting his presidency. Heinz Kerry (2004), however, does repeatedly refer to the presidential nominee as “John” in her remarks, which conveyed the personal relationship between the two.

Heinz Kerry (2004) was a lightning rod for 2004 presidential campaign, and her use of feminine style, particularly with women’s rights, informed viewers of the details of her passions and beliefs. Traditionally candidate’s wives are regarded as playing a supporting role only, so wives such as Hillary Clinton and Teresa Heinz Kerry who take a more prominent and independent role are seen as defying to the candidate and campaign. As Eccleston (2004) of *The Australian* argued, “But recognizing that she is also under voters’ scrutiny, Mrs. Heinz Kerry defended her right to speak her mind even if it did not fit US traditions of the political wife” (§ 9). The American culture’s expectations of candidates’ wives conflicted with Heinz Kerry’s (2004) approach and therefore contributed to the conflicting images of the Kerry campaign and unreceptive media coverage.

Jennifer Granholm’s Use of Feminine Style

Governor Jennifer Granholm’s (2004) discourse also reflected a feminine style rhetoric. However, unlike Heinz Kerry’s (2004) candid remarks for women’s

empowerment, Granholm emphasized audience participation and encouraged audience empowerment more broadly. I identify Granholm's use of feminine style, how this style promoted John Kerry, and how Granholm's role as Michigan's governor influenced her convention discourse and Kerry's campaign.

Inductive reasoning. Granholm (2004) utilized inductive reasoning in her convention discourse. Describing the struggles of the U.S. economy such as job loss, she argued, "In the last four years, we've lost 2.7 million manufacturing jobs. And, the jobs that our so-called recovery is creating are paying, on average, \$9,000 less than the jobs we're losing...The bottom line: Middle-class Americans are being squeezed" (§ 9; § 11).

Granholm (2004) also provided statistics and newspaper headlines such as, "State bleeds factory jobs" to show evidence of the economic hardships states face (§ 8). Using the data, she highlighted the problems facing middle class American families. As Kathy Hoffman (2004b) of the Associated Press described, "Granholm used the plight of workers in her state to promote presidential candidate John Kerry's plans for reviving the economy" (§ 3). Consistent with feminine style, Granholm's (2004) inductive organization with use of newspaper headlines and statistics can be described as dramatic and associative especially for viewers inhabiting the geographical areas she spoke of.

Granholm promoted John Kerry's nomination by detailing his leadership as the answer to America's economic struggles. She concluded, "And with a tenacious president [John Kerry], we can give the citizens of this country what they desperately

want: Good jobs. Good jobs” (§ 14). She used the series of examples of American needs to support the main claim of her remarks: endorse John Kerry’s nomination for president. Granholm presented viewers with a list of reasons to reject the current administration’s handling of domestic issues. She hoped to emphasize how President Bush failed the American people and convince voters that change was essential.

Addressing audience members as peers. Granholm (2004) consistently addressed audience members as peers throughout her speech. Similar to Heinz Kerry (2004), Granholm used “we” and “us” to present herself as an equal with audience members. In one example, Granholm (2004) argued, “But for too many families across this country, it seems we have lost our way. We need a new direction and a new leader” (§ 6). Granholm (2004) emphasized “we” attempting to identify with audience members’ struggles and create a connection between her needs, their needs, and Americans’ needs.

Granholm (2004) envisioned a future, “With a new president tenaciously committed to American opportunity, we can give American businesses what they desperately need: A chance to compete on a fair global playing field” (§ 14). Granholm (2004) employed various strategies including addressing audience members as peers to promote John Kerry as a legitimate challenger to the incumbent, President Bush.

Speaking with a personal tone. Granholm (2004) specifically used Campbell’s (1989b) concept of personal tone by describing her experiences as Michigan’s governor to serve as evidence to support John Kerry. In her convention remarks, Granholm (2004) declared,

I'm the governor of Michigan. Ours is a state that is driven by hard work and innovation...Kids who sketched Corvettes and T-Birds in school notebooks are today engineering the next generation of American cars. Our energy and our ideas found their outlet in great businesses that produced those jobs. What's true for Michigan is true across America. Good jobs give dignity to our people and strength to our nation. John Kerry sees that (2004, ¶ 14-15).

In 2003, Granholm was inaugurated as Michigan's governor. Hoffman (2004a) described Granholm and argued,

The governor has remained popular during her first 19 months despite having to lead repeated rounds of budget cuts in her financially strapped state, which has lost more than 100,000 manufacturing jobs since mid-2000 and is struggling to regain its feet as the national economy improves (Hoffman, 2004a, ¶ 5).

Although Granholm (2004) did not directly experience these struggles, she portrayed herself as someone who could still relate to audience members based on her position as governor. Therefore, through her experiences as Michigan's governor, Granholm had faced some economic hardships and was considered qualified to speak about issues such as job loss.

She also conveyed the seriousness of American job loss declaring,

Today, fathers and mothers who have worked loyally for a company for decades, fiercely patriotic, supporting our troops, proudly flying the flag outside their homes, crying when the twin towers crumbled, are now reading the papers

and wondering: When is my job going to China? To Mexico, to India? Am I next? Who is standing up for me? John Kerry will (¶ 10).

This statement was extremely personal to Americans who feared losing their jobs. Granholm (2004) attempted to relate to viewers' concerns and illustrate the need for new presidential leadership and strength. Granholm's use of feminine style was reinforced as she appealed to the sentiments of audience members and viewers (Campbell, 1986).

Granholm (2004) encouraged audience members to view John Kerry as a candidate for the lower and middle class, and therefore invoked a personal tone to demonstrate this. Granholm's personal tone conveyed that, like herself, John Kerry could relate to audience members' struggles. More importantly, unlike the current administration, John Kerry's leadership would help ease citizens' hardships.

Inviting audience participation. Granholm exhibited extensive use of Campbell's (1989b) invitation of audience participation and illustrated the most significant promotion of John Kerry through the use of metaphors regarding America's economic future. She chose a strategic metaphor, which compared patriots' participation in the Boston Tea Party with voters' participation for revolutionary leadership in 2004. Her choice of the Boston Tea Party was both strategic and symbolic given the location of the 2004 Democratic National Convention. The convention was held in Boston, Massachusetts, and John Kerry was a Massachusetts's Senator.

Employing the Boston Tea Party in the introduction and conclusion encouraged audience members to remember the actions and fervor of America's earliest patriots,

Paul Revere and Samuel Adams. Granholm (2004) began, “My fellow Americans, 231 years ago Boston was abuzz with rumblings of rebellion” (§ 2). Just as the Boston Tea Party marked a pivotal point in American political history, she emphasized the significance of the 2004 election and John Kerry’s nomination. She described Paul Revere and Samuel Adams heaving 342 cases of tea into the Boston Harbor, “The Boston Tea Party was brewed by patriots who were becoming steeped in this dream of democracy: that average families mattered as much as kings, lords, and governors” (Granholm, 2004, § 2). This statement enabled Granholm to introduce her main argument (i.e., fighting for lower and middle class America) through the revolution metaphor. Granholm (2004) argued, “With the same fierce love of the American ideals of freedom and opportunity as those patriots who started it all here in Boston, let us here and now launch the rebellion to choose a new president, John Kerry” (§ 3). These arguments also emphasized John Kerry’s compassion for lower and middle-income level families and his plan to help them more than the current administration.

Using metaphors such as the Boston Tea Party enabled Granholm to highlight John Kerry’s leadership qualities through historic and patriotic stories as she compared him to Revere and Adams. Specifically, she emphasized the need for a revolution (with John Kerry as the leader) similar to the rebellion of Paul Revere and Samuel Adams. This generated self-persuasion in that viewers were encouraged to unite with emotions of patriotism and upheaval in support of new, more promising leadership for America. Granholm engaged audience members in America’s revolution: a plan to revitalize economic policies with direction from John Kerry.

Granholm (2004) used a second metaphor to stimulate viewers. She referenced the Freedom Trail, which connects sixteen historic sites between Boston Common and The Bunker Hill Monument in Charlestown using a painted, red line. The Freedom Trail was established by the Freedom Trail Foundation, a 50-year-old non-profit organization, dedicated to preserving and promoting Boston's distinct historic character and its important role in the American Revolution (Freedom Trail Foundation, 2005). This resonated with Granholm's vision as she described, "There is a Freedom Trail outside of this convention hall that winds you through the historic stops of the American Revolution; and, there's a Freedom Trail in America that never stops" (Granholm, 2004, ¶ 4). Granholm (2004) used the historic sites of the American Revolution as a mechanism to encourage audience members to elect John Kerry to advance the cause of the Freedom Trail.

The Freedom Trail was also used to illustrate Granholm's convention theme of fighting for the middle-class. Granholm (2004) argued,

That Freedom Trail has run through a depression, where a president-unable to stand-lifted up America from its knees. It has taken us through war, where a generation of young men stared down tyranny, and came home to build the Great American middle class...And now, it runs again through Boston, where we are here to nominate a man who knows that the Freedom Trail's greatest opportunities yet lie before us (¶ 5).

She provided audience members with a reflection of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's presidency to illustrate the significance of his economic recovery programs for the

middle-class. She related this extraordinary political power and leadership to John Kerry. She saw his leadership as an integral part of Freedom Trail for American economic strength and prosperity.

Granholm (2004) concluded, “Under his [John Kerry’s] leadership Americans won’t just walk the next mile of the Freedom Trail. We shall run and never tire. Our workers and our businesses will out-think, out-work, and out-pace any country on the map” (§ 20). She emphasized the potential of the U.S. economy under a Kerry administration and argued that John Kerry’s leadership would keep the United States as the strongest country in the world. She encouraged convention viewers to become part of the present-day Freedom Trail leading to the presidency of John Kerry. Both the Freedom Trail and the Boston Tea Party related Granholm’s (2004) themes to the convention site, Boston, and the home congressional state of Senator John Kerry, Massachusetts.

Consistent with inviting audience participation in feminine style rhetoric, rhetors often pose rhetorical questions to seek audience assent to what is shared or obvious knowledge (Campbell, 1986). Granholm (2004) asked a series of rhetorical questions provoking audience members to rise up for John Kerry:

Who will stand up for those business owners who love their employees like family and are pained at the prospect of either offering lousy health plans or laying people off? Who will stand-up for those small business owners who proudly stamp “Made in America” on their products and want to keep it that way? John Kerry will (§ 12).

Granholm asked questions to arouse emotions among audience members and demonstrate Kerry's leadership for the citizens being ignored by the current administration. She illustrated John Kerry as a leader who would stand up for and protect small business owners. She followed the argument with, "With a tenacious president, we can give the citizens of this country what they desperately want: Good jobs. Good jobs" (§ 14). Granholm sought to show how John Kerry had a plan for the economic issues Americans faced, and she visualized the positive outcomes that John Kerry's leadership would bring to American families and businesses.

Presenting women as agents of change. Although Granholm did not explicitly present women as agents of change, she rhetorically worked toward broad goals of audience empowerment. Referring to revolutionary beginnings, Granholm (2004) asserted, "The people feared attack, yet they were nurturing incredible dreams, full of possibilities, in a new and united country. Such times demanded courageous leadership, and at one critical moment Paul Revere rose and he said 'Send me'" (§ 21).

John Kerry demonstrated his desire for service to the American people when he opened his acceptance speech: "I'm John Kerry, and I'm reporting for duty. We are here tonight because we love our country. We're proud of what America is and what it can become" (§ 1). John Kerry sought to portray himself as a lead representative for change (i.e., change towards a better America). Both Kerry (2004) and Granholm's (2004) remarks referenced service to America since both sought to exhibit a visualized revolution (historically and presently) illustrating the need for new leadership.

Granholm illustrated a desperate need for leadership just as Paul Revere did during the Revolutionary War. She concluded,

For the past 12 months John Kerry, like Paul Revere has been waking up America, calling us forth, announcing a new dawn in the American day. Are you ready to answer the call? Then, let us wake our neighbors. Let us make the campaign trail our Freedom Trail. And let us follow that trail, all the way to the voting booth and “Kerry” this nation forward (Granholm, 2004, ¶ 23).

Granholm emphasized a need for new leadership. She related John Kerry’s campaign to Paul Revere’s uprising and encouraged audience members to help enact the current revolution. She used two feminine style elements of audience participation and audience empowerment to build viewers’ emotions to a zenith of civic passion.

Granholm’s (2004) discourse was consistent with the elements of feminine style. Although she did not directly promote women as agents of change, she encouraged audience empowerment. This was more appropriate for Granholm’s discourse given her main argument of helping restore leadership to aid lower and middle-class America. To engage audience members in her visualized revolution, Granholm empowered all audience members by making them key participants in her plan to elect new leadership. However, she indirectly empowered women through her mere convention presence and discourse exhibiting herself as a leading agent in the political revolution. Women in the audience saw her, and more importantly the Democratic Party and John Kerry, as figures demonstrating their support and votes as indispensable actions for the revolution.

Granholt's Role as Michigan's Governor.

Governor Granholt was considered to be, "one of the fast-rising stars in the [Democratic] party" (Lefferts, 2004, ¶ 14). Just prior to the convention, Granholt was named one of the four rising stars from the heartland by *Time* magazine (Hoffman, 2004a). Granholt's convention discourse received praise from fellow Democrats and various media outlets for her articulate and artistic message in support of John Kerry. Ehsen (2004) cited Larry Sabato, Director of the University of Virginia Center for Politics who proclaimed, "She's a star...She is a woman governor of a large, powerful state. She is gorgeous on television and a great speaker. What more could you ask" (¶ 8)?

Granholt's (2004) speech was given in conjunction with the convention theme of "A Stronger and More Secure America." She used feminine style, particularly by inviting audience participation and sharing her experiences as Michigan's governor, to address the need for John Kerry's leadership. Further, Granholt's presence as a female governor and leading agent in her visualized revolution enabled this feminine style to particularly attract women voters to act in electing John Kerry. She presented herself and audience members as stimuli towards "A Stronger and More Secure America" through leadership with John Kerry.

Granholt (2004) served as a credible fresh female face who spoke of a revolution to rally Democratic audience members and viewers alike (Hoffman, 2004a). Her role as a female governor combined with motivating remarks supporting John Kerry helped characterize the Democratic Party for viewers. Specifically, Granholt's

remarks illustrated the party's desire for change, particularly in economic issues. Also, Granholm's presence as a female political leader speaking to empower audience members exhibited her and all viewers' abilities to act as participants in the revolution she described, therefore reinforcing the Democratic Party as a coalition.

CHAPTER 4

Analysis: Speeches from the Republican National Convention

Laura Bush's Use of Feminine Style

Laura Bush (2004) delivered convention remarks that reflected all her observations as wife, mother, and most prominently, the first lady. Bush's convention discourse consisted of numerous stories that presented her husband as an ordinary American citizen sharing the same concerns as most Americans. Hence, this strategy was used to promote George W. Bush as president. The following analysis details the various elements of feminine style, but particularly describes how her use of personal tone was employed to enhance the rhetorical promotion of George W. Bush.

Inductive reasoning. Bush (2004) incorporated an inductive structure of reasoning in a series of stories and examples as evidence to persuade voters to re-elect George W. Bush. Bush briefly mentioned important political issues to educate voters and remind them of her husband's accomplishments as president. First, she described her husband's accomplishments in health care, home ownership, stem cell research, education, and small business ownership. For example, Bush (2004) argued, "I could talk about health care. For years, leaders in both parties said we should provide prescription drug coverage in Medicare. George was able to bring Republicans and Democrats together to get it done" (¶ 9). Second, Bush (2004) detailed the president's achievements in the War on Terrorism. She used stories and examples of American soldiers, Iraqi women, and democracy to illustrate George W. Bush's dedication to the War against Terror and Iraqi freedom. These were also used to argue for her husband's

re-election as president. She concluded, “These are times that require an especially strong and determined leader. And I’m proud that my husband is that kind of leader” (§ 29). Bush’s inductive structure of discourse, full of successive stories, provided audience members with a narrative, both appropriate for her gender and role as America’s first lady.

Typically, feminine style incorporates an inductive structure of reasoning, which is consistent with women’s “allegedly poetic and emotional natures” (Campbell, 1986, p. 440). More specifically, inductive reasoning allows women to appeal to the sentiments of audience members through their circuitous illustrations. Bush fulfilled this aspect of feminine style by using various examples, attempting to exhibit her husband’s dedication to America and appeal to the patriotism of audience members. Bush used a strategic form of inductive reasoning that provided viewers with President Bush’s accomplishments, particularly in the War on Terrorism. This promoted the president by exhibiting his presidency as wholly successful and indispensable for the future of American lives. The vivid stories described her personal observations of the administration and were effective, in part, because of her role as first lady. Moreover, Bush’s dramatic examples and reasoning were directly connected with her role as a mother and wife, which became the affecting agent in her use of feminine style.

Addressing audience members as peers. Bush also utilized Campbell’s (1989b) feminine style aspect of addressing audience members as peers. She exclaimed, “I am so proud of the way George has led *our* [emphasis added] country with strength and conviction” (§ 4). Bush (2004) used pronouns such as ‘we’ and ‘our’ as an attempt to

associate herself with the level of viewers rather than on a superior level as first lady. When introducing her discussion of the War on Terrorism, Bush (2004) asserted, “I want to talk about the issue that I believe is most important for my own daughters, for all our families, and for our future...” (§ 12). She began her remarks on the War on Terrorism in a manner that related her concerns with that of American citizens. She made a particular connection between her daughters and other parents’ children by including “our families.” This attempted to create equality between herself and audience members.

Bush (2004) used other remarks to share her experiences with viewers. She explained, “Tonight, I want to try to answer the question that I believe many people would ask me if we sat down for a cup of coffee or ran into each other at the store...why do you think we should re-elect your husband as President” (§ 4). Although, it is highly unlikely that either event (i.e., sitting down for coffee or meeting at the store) would happen, Bush (2004) sought to speak to viewers as if she was an average American citizen participating in everyday activities.

Laura Bush addressed her audience members as peers in hopes of bridging the distance between herself and the American people. To make the case that President Bush cared for each and every American, Bush used discourse to exhibit her concerns as similar to average citizens. This personalized herself, the Republican Party, and President George W. Bush for the American people.

Speaking with a personal tone. Laura Bush’s use of personal tone was the most prominent aspect of feminine style in her discourse. She used numerous stories

and examples that presented her discourse as personal and nurturing rather than authoritative. She used stories from her personal relationship with the president, domestic issues, soldiers/their families, and accomplishments in the War on Terrorism to create the main argument of supporting her husband as president.

First, Bush (2004) began with the story of how she and the president first met and their experiences during President Bush's early political campaigning days. She described a trip across Texas during his campaign for Congress, "Our transportation wasn't quite as fancy back then – an Oldsmobile Cutlass, and George was behind the wheel. Even then, he was always on time and he knew exactly where he wanted to go" (§ 2). This story attempted to convey the humble beginnings of President Bush's political career to continue her theme of personalizing her husband for viewers. In addition, she emphasized her husband's focus and goals to exhibit his leadership attributes for audience members.

Bush included detailed personal accounts of her time with the president to give viewers an inside look at her life with George W. Bush. She explained,

People ask me all the time whether George has changed. He's a little grayer- and of course, he has learned and grown as we all have. But he's still the same person I met at a backyard barbecue in Midland, Texas and married three months later (§ 26).

Perhaps, frequent personal descriptions were used to bring the president to a closer level with citizens. Particularly, she sought to present George W. Bush as just another American rather than a politician.

Bush (2004) concluded her remarks describing how her husband had changed over the course of his presidency. “You’ve come to know many of the same things that I know about him. He’ll always tell you what he really thinks. You can count on him, especially in a crisis...He has boundless energy and enthusiasm for his job, and for life itself” (§ 26). Describing the president’s personal qualities provided audience members with a unique perspective of George W. Bush since most Americans only acquainted themselves with him through the media. Bush (2004) even assumed that audience members have observed the same things she has as his wife (e.g., his enthusiasm and dependability) in hopes of showing viewers that they know him as well as she does. “George and I grew up in West Texas, where the sky seems endless and so do the possibilities. He brings that optimism that certainty that a better day is before us to his job every day – and with your help, he’ll do so for four more years” (§ 29). She related the president’s next term to an endless sky of possibilities. She provided a nurturing vision for viewers by comparing America’s potential with positive and peaceful thoughts of blue skies.

Stories of George W. Bush’s early years as a politician and trying times as president exhibited Bush’s (2004) attempt to bring viewers into the lives of their family. To be seen as a sincere American allowed President George W. Bush not to be the typical politician but rather a genuine leader for the American people. Most voters are especially concerned with the issues of trust in political candidates (Hollihan, 2001), and therefore, Bush’s remarks illustrated the president’s honesty through personal

examples. Bush (2004) provided numerous stories of her observances attempting to convey the honesty of George W. Bush as a person and a presidential candidate.

Second, examples of success stories on the domestic front also contributed to Bush's (2004) personal tone. Specifically, she listed the president's accomplishments on issues such as health care and education. Bush (2004) described, "At every school we visit, the students are so eager. Last fall the President and I walked into an elementary school in Hawaii, and a little 2nd-grader came out to welcome us and bellowed, 'George Washington!' Close, just the wrong George W" (§ 6). She used humor and made a connection between the president and a popular historical figure. Bush then used this as a transition to explain the success of the No Child Left Behind Act arguing that it provided, "historic levels of funding with an unprecedented commitment to higher standards, strong accountability and proven methods of instruction" (§ 7).

Bush (2004) described the positive results of President Bush's recent tax cuts suggesting, "I could talk about...Carmella Chaifos – the only woman to own a tow truck company in all of Iowa. The president's tax relief helped Carmella to buy the business, and modernize her fleet, and expand her operations" (§ 8). She provided living proof of the people who benefited from the president's tax cuts. She sought to strengthen voter confidence in George W. Bush's decisions and actions as president to therefore reinforce his leadership abilities to viewers.

Third, Bush provided stories of dedicated American troops and their families. Bush (2004) reminded her audience,

As we gather in this hall and around our television sets tonight, Joshua Crane stands watch aboard the USS John C. Stennis. His brothers Matthew and Nicholas stand watch near Fallujah. At home in Colorado, their mother Cindy stands watch too – with worry, and prayer. She told me all three of her sons enlisted after September 11, because they recognized the threat to our country (¶ 13).

This story encouraged Americans to remember the men and women in combat who were, “standing guard on the front lines of freedom” (¶ 13). Her story also exhibited a connection between the Crane sons’ enlistment and the September 11th attacks which emphasized the war as imperative for America’s safety. This described the war in a very personal and patriotic way, focusing on the troops’ protection of America.

Bush (2004) shared a second story concerning a soldier’s family. She described the challenges of a man, whose wife was deployed in Iraq, “A Dad...recently wrote about what he is learning as he struggles to rear his three children alone, ‘I have ruined at least three loads of laundry...once you turn everything pink, it stays pink’” (¶ 14). She used humor to convey the hardships and grievances that families experienced with loved ones overseas. The stories were also used as a vehicle to emphasize the appreciation of families’ sacrifices, “We know it will mean a more peaceful future for our children and grandchildren” (¶ 15). Bush continued to illustrate families’ sacrifices to encourage viewer support of the troops and indirectly, the War on Terrorism. In an election when the debate over the war and national security were particularly controversial issues, Laura Bush sought to emphasize the need for viewers’ support as

she exemplified the dedication of the troops to the protection of America and American citizens.

Fourth, Bush shared stories of America's involvement in Iraq. Bush (2004) first detailed some of the president's struggles in deciding to go to war,

I remember an intense weekend at Camp David. George and Prime Minister Tony Blair were discussing the threat from Saddam Hussein. And I remember sitting in the window of the White House, watching as my husband walked on the lawn below. I knew he was wrestling with these agonizing decisions that would have such profound consequences for so many lives and for the future of our world (§ 17).

Bush used her stories of President Bush's difficult decision in attempt to convey his tough choice to invade Iraq with American troops. Her remarks displayed optimism about his leadership and commitments to the U.S. (Bulletin News Network, 2004).

Bush also spoke of the many women of Afghanistan and Iraq who were then freed from imprisonment and allowed to seek work and education. "I recently met a young Iraqi woman. She is one of the new Iraqi Fulbright scholars. She survived horrific ordeals, including the gassing of her village by Saddam Hussein" (Bush, 2004, § 22). She sought to exhibit how America's involvement has allowed women to receive basic human rights and because of this, make significant educational and social achievements. Bush continued to sell the war to viewers by personalizing accomplishments in Iraq through attaching specific names and triumphs to it. She

shared stories that audience members would remember to give them concrete reasons to support the war.

Finally, Bush (2004) related the trials of her parent's generation and World War II to the horrors that took place in Iraq,

Our parents' generation confronted tyranny and liberated millions. As we do the hard work of confronting today's threat – we can also be proud that 50 million more men, women, and children live in freedom thanks to the United States of America and our allies (§ 20).

Bush (2004) related the perils and accomplishments of World War II with the Iraqi War. This was also meant to reinforce that America and more specifically, George W. Bush were doing the right thing in providing Iraq with American troops.

Laura Bush (2004) used her experiences as first lady to provide audience members with short narratives exemplifying the dedication of American citizens and more importantly, President George W. Bush. Bush reinforced the public perception of her as a nurturing political figure because of the way she connected her role as the traditional and likable first lady into her convention remarks (Means, 2004). In addition, Bush (2004) reinforced her credibility because of her first hand experiences with the president's administration and time spent with various American citizens. Therefore, her personal tone accomplished the dual role of: 1) identifying with audience members who could relate to any one of the stories she shared, and 2) illustrating President Bush's private side and the accomplishments of his term in office.

Inviting audience participation. Feminine style rhetoric often incorporates figurative analogies to prompt participation from the audience by arousing emotion (Campbell, 1986). Bush (2004) exemplified this in a historical reference to justify George W. Bush's decision to go to war. She asserted,

Abraham Lincoln didn't want to go to war, but he knew saving the union required it. Franklin Roosevelt didn't want to go to war – but he knew defeating tyranny demanded it. And my husband didn't want to go to war, but he knew the safety and security of America and the world depended on it (§ 16).

Comparing George W. Bush's actions to those of Lincoln and Roosevelt reinforced his decision for war as it was vital for America's protection. Bush used popular, generally well-liked historic presidents to illustrate President Bush's dedication to uphold American values and ideals. She attempted to encourage audience members to draw similarities between President George W. Bush with the victories of both Lincoln and Roosevelt. This would arouse the patriotic emotions of audience members and their confidence in the president. These presidents were popular amongst convention remarks as Granholm and Heinz Kerry also used Lincoln and Roosevelt to invoke participation among audience members.

Second, Bush's (2004) frequent use of anecdotes promoted audience participation through identification. Identification occurs when a connection is made between the experiences of audience members and those described by the rhetor (Campbell, 1989b). Therefore, when identification transpires, viewers participate in creating the message they receive. More specifically, audience members relate to and

distinguish an enhanced meaning hence increasing the persuasive qualities of the discourse. Bush (2004) attempted to identify with audience members even on a family level, “These have been years of change for our family as well. Our girls went off to college and graduated...My mother moved out of my childhood home and into a retirement community. We lost our beloved dog, Spotty....” (§ 25). She shared changes in her own life to show audience members that she can relate to them as citizens on an intimate level. As a commentator from the Bulletin News Network (2004) observed, “I saw a couple of women...tearing up as she spoke...relating to her. They applauded when she said, ‘He is still the same man I married way back when, and the man I met in Midland, Texas.’ They really seemed to relate to her” (§ 21).

Some elements of feminine style may overlap and assist in the development of others. Specifically, Bush’s use of numerous personal stories and examples supported the use of inviting audience participation. Audience members participated in helping to interpret Bush’s message as she shared emotional feelings and stories with them.

Presenting women as agents of change. Bush attempted to illustrate women’s empowerment in her discourse when describing the newly found freedoms of Iraqi women. However, this area was the weakest aspect of Bush’s (2004) feminine style rhetoric since she only argued for women’s empowerment in the context of the Afghani women’s rights gained as a result of United States military action. Bush argued that women, who had been treated as prisoners were now freed and allowed to work, become educated, and even vote. She described,

After years of being treated as virtual prisoners in their own homes by the Taliban, the women of Afghanistan are going back to work. After being denied an education, even the chance to learn to read, - the little girls in Afghanistan are now in school (¶ 21).

Bush emphasized the Afghani women's access to basic human rights which viewers may have perceived as empowering. However, it is America's authorization of these women's rights that was strategic. More specifically, women were not exhibited as agents of change, but rather, the United States military action was actually the cause of the women's new freedoms.

Using the example of Afghani women in the Olympics, Bush (2004) also marveled, "Wasn't it wonderful to watch the Olympics and see that beautiful Afghan sprinter race in long pants and a t-shirt, exercising her new freedom while respecting the traditions of her country" (¶ 21). Bush attributed the Afghan sprinter's participation in the Olympics to America's involvement in the War on Terrorism. The focus remained to be America's authorization of Iraqi and Afghani women's rights and not their rights themselves or the empowerment of women.

Bush also shared heartfelt statements to empower all audience members, especially mothers, to feel that their country was serving a worthy cause regardless of soldier death counts and other criticisms of the war. Bush (2004) argued,

I believe our children will grow up in a world where today's terror alerts have also become a thing of the past. These are...years of hope for our country and our people. We have great confidence in our ability to overcome challenges.

We have gained a new appreciation for the many blessings of America, and been reminded of our responsibilities to the country that we love (§ 27; § 28).

Bush concentrated on the future for children and America. The former is appropriate given her background in education and her role as a mother. But, she connected this more broadly with America's future to illustrate the war as a responsibility and as a means to a peaceful end. Bush empowered audience members by speaking to them as agents of change, particularly mothers as she emphasized the children's future. She declared that a brighter future for America was possible through viewers' help (i.e., re-election of President Bush). Using the Afghani women's liberation and children's safety, Bush contributed the broad theme of the 2004 Republican National Convention, appealing to women voters. Bush (2004) concentrated on President Bush's dedication to world safety and women's rights in Afghanistan in attempt to empower audience members and continue faith in the president.

Bush's Role as First Lady

Laura Bush served as the epitome of a traditional first lady in her remarks at the Republican National Convention. As Muriel Dobbin (2004) of the *Sacramento Bee* described, "Laura Bush...walked the traditional path of first ladies, praising her husband and his programs, often speaking in the platitudes expected of the wife of the president" (§ 1). Bush's (2004) personal description and level of detail as observed in her feminine style illustrated her role as the president's wife. Bush (2004) exhibited her role as first lady in several ways.

First, Bush (2004) personalized the president frequently referring to him as “George” in her remarks. For example Bush (2004) asserted, “I am so proud of the way George has led our country with strength and conviction” (§ 4). The constant reference to “George” as opposed to “President Bush” humanized the president and made him more appealing to viewers. In addition, Bush used the stories to boast about her husband and his accomplishments, as a proper first lady should. Personal stories with regular use of the president’s first name emphasized identification between the Bush’s and audience members therefore increasing the president’s appeal among viewers.

Second, the first lady provided support to the president in areas he lacked. She answered media criticism of the president’s failure to attend military funerals through her references to the experiences of military families (Brokaw, 2004). As Tom Brokaw (2004) explained, “She is, in a way, the emissary from the White House to the American family, and a very credible figure” (§ 1). Viewers see the first lady as an extension of the president, and therefore, Laura Bush who is perceived as a very calming and warming figure added a personal dimension to the presidential office. Her nurturing speaking style and conduct pleased viewers and voters who were more comfortable with wives fulfilling the traditional first lady’s role.

Bush’s popularity was strategic for the president’s re-election campaign so much that the president made the point of arguing that a reason to vote for him was to keep Laura Bush in the White House (Means, 2004). Her traditional feminine image and extended use of personal stories helped to exhibit her duties as mother, wife, and first lady. And, perhaps the American people were still more comfortable with this type of

image as the president's wife. President Bush and his campaign team obviously recognized this and emphasized this in months leading up to election.

Elizabeth Dole's Use of Feminine Style

Elizabeth Dole's (2004) remarks at the Republican National Convention illustrated elements of feminine style and specifically concentrated on addressing audience members as peers. The senator and former presidential candidate addressed her party's unifying principles in such a way that portrayed the Republican Party as inclusive of all viewers.

Inductive reasoning. Dole (2004) utilized an inductive structure of reasoning that presented instances of the Republican Party's beliefs and foundations. She began with a historical reference to Abraham Lincoln and followed with a brief dedication to Ronald Reagan. Second, Dole (2004) addressed issues of marriage, abortion, taxes, and religion. However, each matter was only briefly mentioned as it related to the uniting principles of the Republican Party. For example, Dole (2004) declared, "We believe in the dignity of every life, the possibility of every mind, the divinity of every soul. This is our true north we believe in life. The new life of a man and woman joined together under God" (§ 8). This statement mentioned several social issues: preservation of life, marriage, and religion as these are matters the Republican Party has historically fought for. Dole (2004) concluded that the only way to continue and protect America was with the re-election of George W. Bush, "And if we reaffirm these timeless and unchangeable truths, if we choose life and liberty, compassion and service, character and faith, we will honor those who came before us, and inspire the children of

tomorrow” (§ 17). She inferred these choices would logically result in the re-election of George W. Bush, “I am honored to stand with you in support of a great American: our nominee our President. George W. Bush” (§ 18)!

Dole’s inductive organization affirmed Republican traditions by emphasizing the deeply held values within the party. Often, speakers enacting a feminine style rhetoric tend to adopt associative and dramatic modes of development (Campbell, 1986). Dole’s convention remarks were exemplary of this since she structured her discourse to convey various examples of uniting Republican beliefs, which served appropriately to rally audience members. More importantly, her structure effectively united the Republican Party in support of the party leader (i.e., President George W. Bush).

Addressing audience members as peers. The central role of addressing audience members as peers created an alliance between audience members and Dole. She spoke directly to audience members (i.e., fellow Republicans) by frequently using ‘we’ and ‘our’. For example, when describing the War on Terrorism, Dole argued, “We believe in the compassionate life of service. Our enemies in this war on terror say that America is selfish, self-centered, self-obsessed” (§ 13). Using pronouns reinforced Dole’s position as an American citizen; she attempted to assert herself on the same level as audience members in effort to create unity.

When articulating the Republican stance on domestic issues such as the sanctity of marriage and religion, she reinforced the party’s positions. Dole (2004) contended, “Marriage between a man and a woman isn’t something Republicans invented, but it is

something Republicans will defend” (§ 9). Repetition of this statement reinforced Republican values, such as the sanctity of marriage, to audience members. Such statements rhetorically fortified Republicans stance on issues continuing to rally viewers.

After describing social issues, Dole (2004) concluded,
 These are just some of the principles that guide our party. Some may call them values. Others may call them virtues. I like to think of them simply as the truths my parents and grandparents taught me...They are the shared truths of the American people (§ 14).

Dole enforced traditional values and appealed to families. She sought to show how her grandparents influenced her choices that caused her to join Republican Party. She related the traditions with viewers’ values to arouse sentiment and confidence for the Republican Party. Moreover, she included both herself and audience members as part of the Republican coalition. This in turn, both unified Republicans in support of George W. Bush and served to bring Dole on an equal level with fellow Republican viewers as they all shared similar values.

Dole continued support for her party with the audience by declaring Republican’s consistency and commitments, “Today our economy is recovering. Four years ago, 911 was just an emergency phone number. Today, it is a call to arms. For Republicans, through these changes and challenges, *who we are and what we believe has never wavered* [emphasis added]” (§ 3). Changes and challenges referred to America’s domestic and international struggles since the September 11th attacks. Dole

emphasized Republicans' steadfast qualities during these times to continue to further unite the party and to attract viewers outside the convention walls. In addition, she used 'we' repeatedly to reinforce audience members as fellow Republicans.

Dole (2004) reaffirmed her position as a fellow Republican with audience members arguing, "I am honored to stand with you in support of a great American: our nominee our President, George W. Bush" (§ 18). She affirmed her equal status by standing with audience members and viewers. Dole's remarks emphasized the Republican Party as a coalition with President George W. Bush as the leader.

Speaking with a personal tone. Dole (2004) incorporated a unique personal tone that differed from Heinz Kerry (2004), Granholm (2004), and Bush (2004). Dole did not include stories, anecdotes, or examples; instead, she used a nurturing tone similar to Laura Bush (2004). Her goal to unite the Republican Party through their shared beliefs was found in her statement, "Americans will cross town or cross the globe to help people they've never met and will never see again. So yes, if neighbors are hungry, we feed them; if a storm named Charley or Francis strikes, we help them" (§ 13). Dole's personal tone focused on tragedy. She argued that in the face of disaster, Americans are always ready to serve. This philosophy extended beyond social programs and also indirectly justified the war in Iraq. Dole emphasized a "compassionate life of service" as one of the core Republican values or truths as she would refer to them (§ 13). This strategically served to reinforce viewers of America's dutiful services, particularly in the war.

Inviting audience participation. Dole (2004) invited audience participation through the use of metaphors and biblical references. Campbell (1986) attributed use of the latter to women's natural piety. This type of vivid language induces audience participation by engaging viewers in the rhetor's arguments. Audience members help develop the message by creating it, and therefore, the message becomes more appealing and persuasive to viewers. First, Dole (2004) described the evolution of the Republican Party asserting, "Abraham Lincoln has not wandered in a desert of disbelief or uncertainty. Led now by President Bush, this Grand Old Party is still guided by a moral compass, its roots deep in the firm soil of timeless truth" (§ 4). Dole conveyed the foundation of the Republican Party in a way that allowed viewers to visualize her argument. Metaphors such as desert, compass, and soil illustrated fundamental characteristics of the Republican Party. She used desert to portray what the Republican Party is not. She used compass to convey the dependability and consistency of the Republican Party's morals. Finally, Dole employed roots and soil to suggest the established concrete values of truth practiced in the Republican Party and moreover the steady leadership of President George W. Bush.

Dole continued illustrating the president's character by comparing it to Reagan. Dole (2004) explained, "We still believe character is king. We saw that lived out in the life of Ronald Wilson Reagan" (§ 4). Dole used Abraham Lincoln and Ronald Reagan as historical and timely figures representative of the Republican Party. Audience members' associations of George W. Bush were influenced by reference to Lincoln and

Reagan. More specifically, Dole illustrated positive representations of the Republican Party using Lincoln and Reagan, two historical and popular presidents.

Second, Dole (2004) referred to the “dark clouds” of Iraqi women’s imprisonment and their liberation arguing, “And until they can clearly see the blue skies of freedom, we are standing by them” (§ 6). She presented audience members with a visualization of weather to reinforce the importance of U.S. aid in Iraq. Dole illustrated the Iraqi women’s conditions as a nasty storm to which American aid was slowly bringing sunlight and blue skies. Since most Americans might not understand the conditions facing Iraqi women, the metaphor helped viewers engage in Dole’s argument. In addition, George W. Bush’s leadership was linked to the liberating blue skies for the Iraqi women. Dole also stressed the continued commitments of U.S. support when she argued to stand by them (i.e., the Iraqi people).

Third, when describing the Republican Party’s stance on expression of religion, Dole (2004) explained,

Two thousand years ago a man said, “I have come to give life and to give it in full.” In America, I have the freedom to call that man Lord, and I do. In the United States of America we are free to worship without discrimination, without intervention and even without activist judges trying to strip the name of God from the Pledge of Allegiance; from the money in our pockets; and from the walls of our courthouses (§ 11).

Dole defended the right to believe in and practice a faith without government intervention using biblical statements. Her reference to activist judges was particularly

appropriate given pending litigation over the display of religious symbols on government property. Viewers holding other beliefs were reinforced of their religious freedoms. Dole indirectly supported President George W. Bush by affirming religion and faith initiatives through her discourse.

Presenting women as agents of change. Finally, Dole (2004) encouraged women's empowerment in a way similar to Bush (2004) as both described the Iraqi and Afghani women's liberation. However, the remarks did little to actually promote women as agents of change. Dole (2004) argued, "In Afghanistan women were freed from virtual slavery and given access to books and education and a future" (§ 6). Expressing the liberation of Afghani women encouraged audience members to value America's support in the Middle East and more importantly, President George W. Bush's decision to enter America into the War on Terrorism. Viewers were encouraged to appreciate their freedom as American citizens with the many rights we are privileged to have. Similar to Laura Bush's (2004) discourse, arguments for Afghani women's liberation only presented U.S. troops as the agents of change, not the women themselves.

Dole (2004) also spoke of America's accomplishments,

In a single lifetime, I have seen Americans split the atom, abolish Jim Crow, eliminate the scourge of polio, win the Cold War, plant our flag on the surface of the moon...and belatedly recognize the talents of women, minorities, the disabled and others once relegated to the shadows. We are now in the earliest years of a new century writing another chapter in American history (§ 16).

Dole identified American achievements to rally viewers, particularly minorities (e.g., women) as she added the recognition of minorities' talents in with a series of other major American accomplishments. She sought to show viewers that these American triumphs would continue under the leadership of George W. Bush. Dole also reinforced women to continue appealing to female voters, whom historically have sided with the Democratic Party with 54 percent of women votes going to Democratic presidential candidates in 1996 and 2000 (West, 2001).

Dole's Role as U.S. Senator

Dole's actions as senator and former presidential candidate positioned her as a Republican leader and enabled her to be an appropriate convention speaker. However, she did not emphasize these credentials or other previous political duties (e.g., former Secretary of Transportation, former Secretary of Labor, former President of the American Red Cross) in her remarks. In fact, Dole merely identified herself as a senator and as Bob Dole's wife in her speech and only briefly thanked her senatorial state of North Carolina. She began her speech declaring, "And folks, this time I promise to stay behind the podium" (¶ 1). This referred to her 1996 convention speech where she left the podium to speak among audience members similar to a talk show host. Although, Dole's figurative position in the Republican Party and history of speaking on behalf of Republicans set the stage for her convention performance, she did not emphasize it to audience members. Therefore, her remarks downplayed her role as a female political leader but classified her as a member of the Republican Party.

Dole's (2004) convention remarks fell on the same night as Laura Bush (2004) and Arnold Schwarzenegger, Governor of California and therefore she received little media attention. However, Dole's (2004) role as a Republican Party leader served to guide her rallying remarks and allow her role as a popular political female to shine light upon Republican traditions and values. She spoke passionately of social issues such as religion, abortion, and marriage to rally audience members in support of the Republican Party's values. Her discourse was particularly appropriate given that she spoke the same night as Laura Bush; whereas Bush (2004) focused on the use of stories to personalize the president, Dole (2004) united viewers by speaking to them as part of a coalition in support of the party and the president.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

The final section of this project explicates how the strategies of the women differed (i.e., Research Question 3) and how each of their remarks targeted certain demographics. Following this, I draw conclusions about women's role in the political parties, implications for rhetorical scholarship, and end with strengths and limitations of this analysis in addition to describing some possible future research involving political discourse and feminine style.

Comparison of Feminine Style Strategies Between Political Parties

Heinz Kerry, Granholm, Bush, and Dole constructed different identities, not only for themselves but for their political parties, through their convention remarks. Although the women used many of the feminine style elements, some were emphasized more than others. Specifically, Heinz Kerry promoted women as agents of change, Granholm invited audience participation, Bush employed a personal tone, and Dole spoke to viewers as peers (i.e., fellow Republicans). Each woman constructed herself and her political party in a different way to address specific demographics.

Teresa Heinz Kerry (2004) and Jennifer Granholm (2004) utilized aspects of feminine style that encouraged viewers to feel empowerment through participating in election of a new president (i.e., John Kerry). This was particularly appropriate given the partisan audiences (i.e., all Democrats) the women had. Fellow Democrats rallied around the speeches that attacked the current presidential administration and exhibited

an eminent need for change. More importantly, both Heinz Kerry and Granholm attempted to address the needs of very distinct demographics.

Heinz Kerry spoke to minorities in several ways. She emphasized her Mozambique heritage in the beginning of her remarks to create identification between herself and other viewers not born in the U.S. She detailed her experiences with dictatorships and apartheid protests to exhibit her concerns for human rights and freedom. In fact, these were the only stories used in her discourse (i.e., Heinz Kerry did not share stories concerning her husband, John Kerry). This was contrary to Laura Bush's discourse, which centralized her relationship to the president through narratives. Heinz Kerry stressed her belief in women's rights to continue speaking for minorities. She argued for the right to speak her mind and her hopes for women's voices to be seen as legitimate. This highlighted audience empowerment by speaking on behalf of minorities across America to help elect John Kerry.

Granholm invited audience participation using historical references and metaphors to persuade audience members to become a part of the revolution by voting for John Kerry. She emphasized audience participation as she spoke to middle and lower class Americans' concerns describing the economic struggles facing voters in Michigan and around the nation. Granholm's role as Michigan's governor allowed her to portray herself as an expert on the economic suffering America was facing. Granholm called on viewers to become part of an uprising, by rejecting President George W. Bush's lack of attention to lower and middle class America. She portrayed John Kerry as the presidential nominee who would stand up for those viewers.

Bush and Dole developed the feminine style aspects of employing a personal tone and speaking to viewers as peers respectively. Bush used her stories as wife of the president and mother of two daughters to address the current issue of terrorism to viewers. Bush defended the war on terror, maintaining that it had resulted in a safer American and a free Iraq. Similar to Heinz Kerry and Granholm, Bush and Dole addressed particular demographics in their convention remarks.

Bush's (2004) remarks spoke to American families. Her discourse defended her husband's decision to enter the war. Bush used her status as first lady, wife, and mother to share stories about fellow Americans, troops overseas, and the safety of children to promote her husband's leadership as indispensable for America's protection. The stories were designed to create a connection between the first lady and viewers but more importantly, the president and viewers. Often times, the president is so far removed from citizens' lives, that they feel he cannot possibly understand their everyday issues. Therefore, it was essential for Laura Bush's remarks to soften and humanize President Bush's image to bridge the distance between the president and the American people. A desired consequence would then be for voters to perceive President Bush as the candidate looking out for their needs and in turn, re-elect him.

Dole's (2004) remarks were dedicated to celebrating the accomplishments and beliefs of the Republican Party. Therefore, she emphasized the feminine style aspect of addressing audience members as peers to rally viewers and convey the party as central to America's core principles. Her remarks were tailored to appeal to religious viewers. She spoke about social issues, emphasizing religion and the sanctity of marriage to

express the Republican Party's commitment to morals, values, and faith. More importantly, Dole sought to emphasize the Republican Party's foundations to build identification with viewers and make them feel a part of the Republican team in hopes that they would help re-elect President George W. Bush. Comparing Dole's remarks to Granholm's, this analysis exhibits two different approaches. Dole reinforced tradition and the preservation of concrete values that were also held by the Bush administration. The partisan audience members (i.e., fellow Republicans) were encouraged to participate by maintaining these Republican standards and re-electing President George W. Bush. Granholm portrayed the current administration as deceitful to rile audience members and incite them to help make change through John Kerry's leadership.

Heinz Kerry, Granholm, Bush, and Dole's (2004) remarks represented the differing aspects of the political parties. Heinz Kerry and Granholm spoke to attract demographics who, they argued, were suffering from the current administration, while Bush and Dole spoke to appeal to families and the religious sector of Americans. The mere presence of these women speakers (i.e., their participation in the convention as party representatives) in conjunction with their use of feminine style served to represent their respective political parties and appeal to a targeted audience, particularly women.

Women's Role in the Political Parties

Concluding remarks of this study examine the differing roles of each woman to determine their functions in the political parties. Although all the women utilized aspects of feminine style in their 2004 convention remarks, the way in which the women constructed themselves through feminine style varied. The following reflects

upon each woman's discourse in association with her role in the political party to identify how performance of her gender was displayed through feminine style.

Heinz Kerry (2004) and Granholm (2004) utilized a feminine style rhetoric that constructed the Democratic Party as one that empowers people. First, Heinz Kerry identified herself as a strong outspoken woman, and her discourse conveyed a desire to empower women viewers to feel confident speaking their minds. Through her rhetoric, she sought to illustrate the Democratic Party's dedication to women and other minorities in hopes of encouraging viewers to take action, first and foremost by voting for John Kerry. Therefore, as Heinz Kerry constructed her discourse in a feminist tone, she identified herself, and more importantly, the Democratic Party with feminist ideals. Heinz Kerry's discourse served to motivate listeners particularly the live audience members (i.e., Democrats).

Similar to Heinz Kerry's representation, Granholm portrayed herself as a strong independent woman through her discourse of envisioning a revolution. Granholm's leading role as Michigan's governor and her powerful convention remarks helped construct the Democratic Party as a party for the underdogs. More specifically, she sought to empower audience members by illustrating how every American, regardless of class, gender, or ethnicity can overcome challenges. Granholm herself was living proof of this as she spoke with conviction as a woman governor at the 2004 Democratic National Convention. Moreover, her remarks endorsed John Kerry through use of historical references and promotion of audience members to take action against an administration, that she argued, ignored the Americans that needed the most help.

Bush (2004) and Dole (2004) constructed themselves and the Republican Party in a significantly different manner than Heinz Kerry and Granholm. Bush and Dole used a feminine style rhetoric to emphasize the Republican Party's ideals of family and values. First, Bush intimately tied her role as mother and wife of the president to imbed personal stories and observations into her convention remarks. In fact, I argue that Bush's (2004) use of feminine style only operated within the traditional modes of womanhood (i.e., her role as a wife and mother). Particularly, when addressing women as agents of change, Bush discussed this exclusively focusing on the liberation of Iraqi and Afghani women. In addition, women viewers were only targeted through appeals for the safety and security of American families. This was accomplished through Bush's discourse readily addressing the War on Terrorism; an issue most Americans were closely observant of. Laura Bush's use of feminine style played on the traditional modes of womanhood to call on voters, particularly mothers, to help protect their children by re-electing her husband and continuing the fight against terrorism.

Dole's (2004) convention remarks attempted to construct the Republican Party as an inclusive group. Her construction of gender is implicit since she identified herself as a woman and senator representing and standing with the ideals of the Republican Party. This is illustrated by her discourse which addressed audience members as peers. Dole repeatedly argued for "our party" and "our beliefs" implying that what was right for the Republican Party was right for her and others of her gender. In addition, Dole's (2004) discourse addressed very traditional social issues such as religion, respect for life, and marriage. Her remarks reinforced the long established position of the

Republican Party and did not address more empowering issues such as reproductive rights. Similar to Bush's (2004) discursive strategy of addressing women's empowerment, Dole only spoke of the Iraqi women's liberation when attempting to promote women as agents of change. More importantly, both women utilized this in attempt to empower women audience members that also defended America's War on Terrorism.

Although the four women ultimately shared the same goals of: 1) electing their party's nominee, and 2) promoting their party as inclusive of women, this analysis illustrates that the women chose significantly distinct ways to accomplish this given that two divergent types of feminine style emerged. Heinz Kerry and Granholm appealed toward the Americans they argued were suffering from the current administration. They employed an apparent feminine style rhetoric to express the vital need for change and promote Americans' participation in a visualized revolution with election of a new president. This feminine style conveyed the significant role women play in the Democratic Party by highlighting the rights and power of the targeted demographics (i.e., women and the middle-class). Alternatively, Bush and Dole endorsed a feminine style more along the lines of the traditional modes of womanhood yet still attempted to reinforce President Bush's mantra, "W is for Women" (Bush-Cheney, 2004).

Therefore, in the 2004 national conventions, two very different identities were cast upon the presidential candidates and their political parties from these women's discourse. More specifically, the way in which the women emphasized varying aspects of feminine style helped to construct an image for the presidential candidate and

political party. Dole and Bush (2004) established President George W. Bush as a leader for compassion and grounded principles. In addition, through stories he was demonstrated as the cause of a safer America via the War on Terrorism. Rather, Heinz Kerry and Granholm (2004) revealed the challenger, John Kerry as a representative of change (i.e., change towards a better America).

Implications for Rhetorical Scholarship

This analysis provides two key contributions to feminist and political rhetorical scholarship regarding perspectives of feminine style: 1) that feminine style should be interpreted as a rhetorical strategy in which rhetors can utilize in varying degrees, and 2) use of a feminine style does not always equate to the speaker's promotion of women's empowerment.

First, the discourse analyzed here reflected various elements of feminine style rhetoric, and the four women utilized feminine style in two distinct ways. Heinz Kerry and Granholm employed an explicit feminine style that emphasized their own participation in the political system and empowered audience members to elect John Kerry. This feminine style reflected the type that Campbell (1989) originally observed in her historical analyses of female rhetors. Both women worked to support women as agents of change by first and foremost exhibiting their own efforts to make change, Granholm as governor of Michigan and Heinz Kerry as a spokesperson for women's rights. This brought the aspect of women's empowerment to life by showing viewers the power of Democratic women.

Alternatively, Bush and Dole utilized a feminine style that functioned within the traditional roles of women as mothers and wives. Particularly, Dole only promoted women's participation implicitly through her gender and identity with the Republican Party. Therefore, as rhetorical critics continue to examine how feminine style operates in the political and social realms of discourse, we must consider feminine style as a broad theoretical approach rather than a rigid communicative strategy. Moreover, gaining access into different realms (e.g., political parties) of the existing political system may require varying emphases of feminine style. This is based on the varying expectancies of different rhetorical situations (e.g., audience and context).

Second, women who spoke at the Republican National Convention utilized a feminine style that did not necessarily encourage American women to act as agents of change. Bush and Dole only spoke of women's empowerment through their description of the Iraqi and Afghani women's liberation, and even this was a weak form of empowering women audience members. Both speakers proclaimed the education and voting rights Afghani and Iraqi women received because of the United States. The U.S. allowed these women to obtain basic rights (i.e., the women's empowerment came as a result of the actions of U.S. troops). Moreover, President Bush was viewed as the agent of change for women's empowerment. However, this was strategic as these arguments reinforced President Bush's War on Terrorism.

Therefore, the means by which Bush and Dole attempted to empower women did not present women as agents of change. Feminine style discourse is meant to invite female audiences to act, to draw their own conclusions and make their own decisions

(Campbell, 1986). However, not all discourse constituting a feminine style accomplishes this. As Dow and Tonn (1993) argued, rhetorical scholars should consider feminine style less in terms of an adaptation to patriarchal obstacles but rather as one alternative to patriarchal modes of thought and reasoning. Though as this analysis along with S.J. Parry-Giles & T. Parry-Giles (1996) research identifies, sometimes a feminine style rhetoric operates within patriarchal reasoning. This was exemplified by speakers such as Dole and Bush, who organized their feminine style rhetoric within patriarchal expectations for women (i.e., mother and wives).

Strengths and Limitations

Strengths of this analysis are based on its contributions to rhetorical research and political communication. First, this analysis offers increased theoretical insight into Campbell's concept of feminine style. The majority of critical analyses using feminine style have only looked at a single rhetor (i.e., political candidates) and therefore this analysis is particularly useful in offering alternative dimensions to the study of feminine style. The project illustrates the way in which feminine style can operate in varying degrees and take on specific emphases based on the speaker's goals. More importantly, this analysis demonstrates how feminine style can continue to function within a patriarchal culture depending on how the rhetor speaks of women and their roles in the public sphere.

Second, this analysis provides insight into contemporary political discourse by focusing on the 2004 presidential campaign rhetoric. Although women have grown in representation and prominence as political candidates and more importantly as a target

electorate, little research has examined the rhetorical strategies of women speakers across party lines. Additionally, comparisons between Republican and Democratic discourse have not been investigated, particularly in the area of women as a supporting cast in conventions. This analysis allowed a fresh look at four specific women's attempts to promote presidential candidates and their specific political parties. Further, the study used these observations to theorize about women's role in political conventions and their parties.

This study only provided a snapshot of women's speeches in the 2004 presidential campaign. Other speeches were given by various women that would certainly contribute to the conclusions reached in this analysis. For example, the 2004 Republican National Convention also included remarks from Lynne Cheney, Governor of Hawaii Linda Lingle, and U.S. Representative from New Mexico Heather Wilson (Republican National Committee, 2004). The 2004 Democratic National Convention included speakers such as U.S. Representative from California Nancy Pelosi, former U.S. Secretary of State Madeline Albright, U.S. Senator from New York Hillary Rodham Clinton, and Governor of Arizona Janet Napolitano (Democratic National Committee, 2004). However, the timeline and requirements for this project were not conducive for conducting analyses of more than four speeches.

In addition, this study was limited in scope (i.e., my focus on the 2004 campaign). I chose four speeches from the most recent presidential election and therefore my results only allowed for generalization concerning this campaign and the

women's discourse. Further studies of women's discourse from the 1992 and 1996 conventions would yield for deeper analysis of feminine style rhetoric.

Future Research

More research on women's political discourse is necessary to examine how Campbell's feminine style continues to operate in modern political rhetoric. I propose three potential areas. First, studies could analyze how a feminine style in political and social movement rhetoric has evolved since Campbell (1989b) researched the discourse of historical feminist speakers. Analyzing feminine style as a genre of rhetoric could offer potential scholarship concerning the construction of women's voices in the public sphere.

Second, research could seek to discover how feminine style is utilized across different demographics and political levels. For example, how does use of a feminine style vary among women of different ethnicities? This factor could lead to the study of international women's political rhetoric across cultures as they attempt to empower themselves and audience members through a feminine style. Or, studies could examine both local and national women's political discourse to identify similarities and differences based on audience and geographical region.

Third, as men begin to use feminine style more prominently (Campbell, 1989b), research examining men's political discourse will help identify if and how feminine style may continue to operate within a patriarchal culture. As S.J. Parry-Giles and T. Parry-Giles (1996) explained, feminine style rhetoric may not indicate the feminization of political discourse but simply a shift in the expression of traditional, patriarchal

political images. Therefore, analysis of male politicians who use feminine style rhetoric may inform political and feminist communication scholars about how feminine style may continue to work against the equity of women's role in politics and the public sphere.

This analysis exhibits how women continue to perceive their roles and duties differently as this is reflected through their discourse. Each of the women adopted a specific element of feminine style in the ideal mode of creating identification between the speaker and her partisan audience. As women become a more influential and integral part of the social and political realms of discourse, analyses such as this should continue to examine the ways in which women make their voices heard. Research in feminine style helps rhetorical critics observe how women do this, and more importantly, targets the discursive construction of gender in the public sphere.

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