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ABSTRACT

This collection of abstracts is part of a continuing series providing information on recent doctoral dissertations. The 14 titles deal with the following topics: (1) the rhetoric of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher; (2) the rhetorical strategies employed in the political speaking of George C. Wallace in the 1968 United States presidential campaign; (3) 65 commencement addresses delivered to women; (4) communication about the Skokie, Illinois, "march" by American Nazis; (5) the rhetoric of accountants; (6) rhetoric and political organizing; (7) the rhetoric of Robert F. Kennedy's 1968 presidential primary campaign; (8) rhetorical visions of Americans and their relation to religious beliefs in the rhetoric of selected 1980 presidential candidates; (9) a rhetorical history of Progressive reformer, Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones; (10) symbolic speech argumentation as applied to "Sword v. Fox"; (11) antibusing and the New Right; (12) the self-defense rhetoric of President Richard Nixon; (13) United States Supreme Court judicial opinions concerning obscenity as rhetorical reconstruction; and (14) the rhetoric antecedent to the women's liberation movement from 1776 to 1850. (FL)

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Rhetoric and Public Address :

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A BURKEIAN ANALYSIS OF THE RHETORIC OF MARGARET THATCHER

Order No. 8128998

FALLON, JANET LAURENTIA, Ph.D. *The Ohio State University*, 1981. 209pp. Adviser: Professor John Makay

This dissertation represents an in-depth and scholarly analysis of the rhetorical efforts, campaign strategies, and consubstantial appeals which were utilized by Britain's Conservative Party Leader, Margaret Thatcher, as symbolic acts which were intended to induce political and social change in the United Kingdom during the latter 1970's. The major question, which this study seeks to answer, asks: "What distinctive features in the character of Margaret Thatcher and in the nature of her rhetoric account for the political influences that both she and her rhetoric had on the British people in 1979?"

The methodology employed in this study is drawn primarily from theories of rhetorical criticism and theories of dramatism as presented by Kenneth Burke. Burke's schematic method, the "pentad," provides the study with an analytical tool that functions as a guide in understanding the rhetorical, political, and social interaction which occurred in Britain in the past decade. Burke's pentad enables this study to focus on the British political and social arena as it can be said to have constituted a "scene"; on Margaret Thatcher as she played the leading role as "agent" and on the British electorate as they served as "respondent-agents"; on Mrs. Thatcher's public addresses, interviews, informal remarks, and campaign strategies as they represented collectively a rhetorical "act"; on the General Election of 1979 as it was a formal channel or "agency" through which change was instigated; and on the controversial political and social issues as they contributed to the many reasons, motives, and "purposes" which caused Margaret Thatcher and the Tories to provoke and to incite the British people to act decisively in the ballot booth.

The conclusions which this study reaches are two-fold. First, in answering the major question, the conclusions generate critical judgments about Margaret Thatcher as political rhetor; and second, they generate projections about rhetorical criticism and future research.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE RHETORICAL STRATEGIES EMPLOYED IN THE POLITICAL SPEAKING OF GEORGE C. WALLACE IN THE 1968 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Order No. DA8203077

FREEMAN, DOROTHY ELAINE, Ph.D. *Indiana University*, 1981. 201pp.

Because George C. Wallace emerged as a potent force in American political life nearly twenty years ago, it is little wonder that much research has centered on him, electoral analyses of his support and third-party candidacies in general. Yet, there seems to be little, if any, work directed toward a central component of the Wallace phenomenon--his image as articulated in the 1968 presidential campaign.

An examination of the Wallace image and the persuasive strategies he employed with regard to that image provides an opportunity for gaining greater insight into the rhetorical effectiveness of Wallace's strategic choices as well as the dynamics of political image-making.

Given this, then, the dissertation examines the significant image problems faced by George C. Wallace in his 1968 bid for the presidency and the rhetorical strategies he used in an effort to overcome those problems. It traces the development of Wallace's political image and the accompanying image problems during the period 1958 through 1968. Based upon his image and image problems, the writer analyzes the rhetorical strategies employed by Wallace to project a favorable image while reducing unfavorable aspects of his image. The campaign, and Wallace's part in it, is examined in light of his political speaking in numerous American cities and towns as he sought to establish a broad-based national constituency.

Wallace's campaign can be divided into two distinct periods. During the first period of the campaign, Wallace sought to establish himself as a national candidate with a national following. He managed, during the course of that period, to attract a considerable

degree of voter support. At one point, Wallace had garnered as much as 21 percent of popular support according to the Louis Harris polling organization.

During period two of the campaign, Wallace found himself in a defensive posture as he tried to allay fears that he was a military extremist. Despite efforts to salvage his base of support, Wallace lost considerable ground. By the day of the election, his support in the polls had dropped from 21 to 14 percent.

The results of this work reveal that Wallace's efforts to overcome his serious image problems of being perceived by many as a racist and an extremist were not wholly successful. Although he was able to attract a significant portion of the popular vote in 1968, he was unable to overcome completely the stigma of the racist-extremist image. Despite his inability to win the election or throw it into the House of Representatives, Wallace presided over an extremely effective presidential campaign in 1968. If nothing else, it clearly established a popular platform from which he would run again in 1972.

WOMEN'S PROPER PLACE: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SIXTY-FIVE COMMENCEMENT ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO WOMEN

Order No. 8201831

GRAY, GLENDA RUTH, Ph.D. *University of Oregon*, 1981. 213pp. Adviser: Charley A. Leistner

The study was designed to explore relationships between messages from society and messages in selected speeches. The central research question was: What kinds of messages do college women receive concerning their education or the purposes of that education?

Commencement addresses delivered at six women's colleges--Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Vassar, Mt. Holyoke, Smith, and Wellesley--from 1945 through 1980 provided the primary data. The methodology was historical descriptive. The historical development of women's education and roles was traced. An overview of representative speeches was presented. Content analysis of the commencement addresses was based on the following categories and operational definitions: *Occupation*. Activity from which one derives livelihood--teacher, lawyer, *Role*. Characteristic of an individual's social behavior--mother, worker. *Trait*. Characteristic used in descriptions of people--aggressive, attractive, rational. *Language characterization*. Language that reinforces stereotypic patterns of thought or behavior--generic or nongeneric terms.

During the 1950s, both society at large and the speeches studied portrayed women as homemakers. In the addresses, role references to wife, mother, and keeper of morals outnumbered more nontraditional role indicators, such as worker and professional, approximately three to one.

During the 1960s, society and commencement addresses sent messages that said working was permissible as long as the job did not disrupt the home. The addresses had more occupational references and nontraditional trait and role references.

In the 1970s, much of society was still disseminating the message about women's place being the home. The commencement addresses sent women far more messages about working and choosing their own future. The changes were found to be partially due to a change in the expectation of women graduates and speakers.

The impact of the women's movement was felt on college campuses. The women graduates began to select women speakers--sixteen of twenty-one speeches delivered in the last ten years were by women, contrasted to only three in the previous twenty-five years. The women selected were active in the women's movement or well-known in their occupations, they delivered messages that reflected the part of society that had had its consciousness raised about women's place.



THE RHETORIC ANTECEDENT TO THE WOMEN'S  
LIBERATION MOVEMENT FROM 1776-1850

Order No. DA8205721

GREEN, JOHN HEYWARD, PH.D. *The Florida State University*, 1981. 239pp. Major Professor: Gregg Phifer

This investigation explored the rhetoric antecedent to the women's liberation movement in the United States chronologically between 1776-1850. The focus was on the nature and uses of the rhetoric during the early women's emancipation efforts. These were the elements of rhetorical analysis. (a) primary sources; (b) analysis of the sources; (c) analysis of supporting arguments used by the rhetors; (d) topics and themes of the rhetors; and (e) response to the rhetors. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries women were locked into certain roles in American society by political, economic, religious, and social customs.

Abigail Adams is the first rhetor assessed. Her letters to her friends and her husband, beginning in 1776, served as primary sources. Another pioneer for women's rights is Mary Wollstonecraft. Her *Vindication* expressed ideas that are as important today as in the eighteenth century. Among the early advocates of women's rights are Frances Wright and the Grimke sisters, Angelina and Sarah. Principal sources are Wright's *Course of Popular Lectures*, Sarah's *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes*, and Angelina's *Letters to Catherine E. Beecher, in Reply to an Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism*.

Later advocates included Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott. Fuller's *Women in the Nineteenth Century*, Stanton's "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions," and Mott's *Discourse on Woman* zero in on the grievances of women whose aspirations are blocked. The last two spokespersons analyzed were males: William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass. Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator*, and Douglass's *The North Star* opposed slavery and advocated women's rights.

COMMUNICATION ABOUT THE SKOKIE "MARCH": A CASE  
STUDY IN THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

Order No. DA8207979

HOLZ, JOSEPHINE R., PH.D. *University of Pennsylvania*, 1981. 393pp. Supervisor: Charles R. Wright

This study examines the role of mass communication and its relationship to interpersonal communication in the development of people's beliefs about a controversial event with which they had no direct experience but learned about primarily through mass and interpersonal communication. The event in question was a "march" which a group of neo-Nazis attempted to hold in Skokie, Illinois, in 1978. The purpose of this study was to determine whether and in what respects different types of people had developed common beliefs about the event, and what roles mass and interpersonal communication played in this development.

Information about the beliefs, opinions, and information sources about the "march" and neo-Nazism of a random sample of 192 respondents was obtained through a telephone survey conducted in the Philadelphia area prior to the event's occurrence. An analysis of relevant mass media reports in the sources most often cited by the respondents was then completed. Additionally, in-depth personal interviews were conducted with several other respondents and those with whom they reported having discussed the issue.

Religion, education level, and age were found to be associated, to varying degrees, with respondents' awareness, interest, and opinions about the "march" and neo-Nazism but were not associated with respondents' beliefs about the size of the expected march, the probability of violence occurring and its likely initiators, or the total number of neo-Nazis in the country and their characteristics and motivations. In these cases and others, the beliefs most often expressed by respondents were consistent with the messages communicated by the mass media sources examined, among which considerable similarity of content was found.

It was concluded that interpersonal communication contributes to the development of a shared reality within social groups, by exposing people to opposing viewpoints which they might otherwise avoid.

Communication contributes to the development of a shared reality among different social groups, both by providing a common set of symbols and messages to which different groups all respond and by defining reported occurrences within essentially consensual terms.

THE RHETORIC OF ACCOUNTS: A QUALITATIVE/CRITICAL  
DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

Order No. DA8206371

KELLY, JAN WALLACE, PH.D. *University of Minnesota*, 1981. 117pp.

The purpose of this study is to explore the rhetorical dimension of accounts. An account is a strategic, conscious, intentional, and rhetorical verbal statement that explains the motivation behind a given untoward behavior that is challenged by another person.

Sixty students at the University of California, Davis, were interviewed. During the interview the respondents were asked to imagine that they were involved in a social situation—a situation that involved their being caught in a lie. The respondents were asked to "account" for the lie to an imagined challenger who was either an intimate, an acquaintance, or a stranger. The respondents were also asked to judge the acceptability of the account to the challenger.

Glaser and Strauss' constant comparative method is the major analytical scheme used in data analysis. This qualitative method is supplemented with the chi-square statistic. Ten different kinds of account categories emerged from the data. Fifty-five of the sixty respondents used one of the four major categories in their responses—self-fulfilling, scapegoating, sparing feelings, and face saving. These categories represent a vocabulary of accounts for this particular group of people who comprise a rhetorical community.

Male and female respondents differ little in account-giving in this study. The only statistically significant difference between the sexes is the males' more frequent use of the scapegoating account. The Rhetorical Sensitivity Scale was given to respondents before the interview. Those respondents who were rated as rhetorical sensitives differed from non-rhetorically sensitive respondents in their use of account categories. RS respondents used the minor categories significantly more often than did other respondents.

RHETORIC AND ORGANIZING: THE TWIN CITIES WOMEN'S  
MOVEMENT, 1969 TO 1976

Order No. DA8206375

KROLL, BECKY SWANSON, PH.D. *University of Minnesota*, 1981. 462pp.

What has been frequently termed the "women's movement" is not monolithic, but rather is composed of a variety of groups who seek change of varied orders and magnitudes. Alternative perspectives within this movement provide different explanations for the past and visions of the future based on their own social construction of reality.

This study is based on a rhetorical examination of a segment of the contemporary women's movement. Fantasy themes and rhetorical vision serve as the primary tools of analysis, to discover and interpret the varied constructions of social reality within the Twin Cities women's movement. This study also seeks to determine the effect of the different visions on the movement organizing.

Specifically, this study presents an analysis of the key fantasy themes and rhetorical visions of the Twin Cities women's movement from 1969 to 1976, with specific attention to the constituent organizations.

The first section (Chapters 2 and 3) presents and discusses the most original and far-reaching rhetoric of the movement. This rhetoric created a symbolic reality in sharp contrast to the prevailing social order, resulting in a highly fluid, volatile rhetoric. In fact, this central rhetoric outreaches the capabilities of its participants to organize and maintain a social movement. Both stages of the central rhetoric eventually collapse, its organizations ending in bitter and alienating fights among participants.

Chapter 2 presents the rise of the pro-woman line, covering the time period from 1969-1972. The elementary rhetoric of this era did not provide an entire, detailed rhetorical vision. It emphasized a redefined heroine, woman as victim of circumstances, and played out a single fantasy type in a wide range of scenic arenas. "Woman as victim; collective salvation" was the basic theme of the early rhetoric, with scenic emphasis on health, violence, the legal/justice system, and literature and the arts.

Chapter 3 covers the mature rhetoric of the pro-woman vision from 1972-1976. The Twin Cities Women's Union provided the background and detail that drew the pro-woman line to the status of a full rhetorical vision. This rhetoric identified a capitalist-imperialist enemy, whose control of the system accounted for the scenic oppression sketched in the dramas of the pro-woman line. The rhetors came to embrace socialism as the desired alternative, and they sought action scripts from a variety of socialist theories and pre-existing visions.

The second section (Chapters 4 and 5) describes the "arms" of the movement, two visions which grew from the central rhetoric. In both cases, existing communities of women were caught up by the pro-woman line. They adapted the basic dramas to their own needs, resulting in a more stable social reality than that afforded by the central rhetoric.

Chapter 4 describes the mainstreaming vision from 1972-1976: Rhetors of this vision accept the basic tenets of the pro-woman line, but transform elements of the rhetoric in order to insert the concerns into the mainstream of social reality. Their efforts spawned a set of lobbying and educational organizations, the formation of women's groups and caucuses in professional and occupational arenas, and affected pre-existing women's organizations.

Chapter 5 describes the lesbian-feminist vision from 1972-1976. This social reality drew a dichotomy between a grim, cold external reality significant for its rejection and oppression of lesbians and a warm, supportive lesbian community which celebrates lesbian identity and pride by advancing historical, cultural, and aesthetic expressions of that identity. Organizing in this vision is devoted to establishing institutions to fulfill the social, physical, and cultural needs of lesbians.

The final chapter discusses the rhetorical and organizing lessons which derive from this study. It includes implications and directions for further research.

**THE RHETORIC OF THE "NEW POLITICS": A CASE STUDY OF ROBERT F. KENNEDY'S 1968 PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CAMPAIGN**

Order No. 8128428

LEE, RONALD EMERY, Ph.D. *The University of Iowa*, 1981. 403pp.  
Supervisor: Professor Bruce E. Gronbeck

The "New Politics" has been associated with particular changes in the familiar conduct of American politics. Contemporary commentators have discussed institutional changes in the party process and in the rules that govern elections, expansion and increased sophistication in the application of modern tools of campaigning, demographic changes affecting both who can vote and the ways in which the electorate may coalesce to create the New Majority, and finally, ideological changes in the electorate that affect the old labels and the way they might be interpreted. These political commentaries were given context by the appearance of self-proclaimed new politicians in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Examination of the political tracts and investigation of the new political candidates led to the following definition of the "New Politics": *The "New Politics" is a stage in a social movement characterized by a concern for movement legitimacy and the fostering of system legitimation channeled through electoral politics.* In Chapter I, the concept of the "New Politics" is justified as a type of legitimation strategy through the examination of contemporary treatments. Chapter II sets out institutionalized constraints that are inherent in the very doing of the "New Politics." The tension between a candidate's attempt to legitimize movement concerns and his simultaneous need to appeal to the political center is at the heart of these new political constraints. In Chapter III, the study turns to Robert Kennedy's 1968 presidential primary campaign as an exemplar of the "New Politics." The personae of Robert Kennedy and the approach his campaign managers took to the production of campaign discourse are examined. It is the examination of the Kennedy speechwriting apparatus which guides the critic to particular rhetorical strategies that were designed to deal with the new political constraints. Chapter IV lays out specific features in Robert Kennedy's campaign discourse. The critical categories are suggested by the new political constraints and by the Kennedy speechwriting apparatus.

The final chapter reconstitutes a larger theory of the "New Politics" by discussing its relationships with political systems, social movements, and rhetoric. The examination of Senator Kennedy's campaign helps amplify the "New Politics" as a route to legitimation. In addition, Chapter V offers a list of potentially generic markers that identify the rhetoric of the "New Politics." Such a list inevitably suggests other exemplars of the new political rhetoric in American history. Specification of additional new political examples are based on speculation about the relationship between the influence of forces that occasion new political activity and a

consistent set of discursive features that respond to those forces. Such speculation is grounded in the requirements for legitimation and the constraints facing the new politician in the electoral arena.

The project finishes with conclusions about the rhetorical dimensions of political legitimation and political symbols as tools of unification, and discusses the relationship between the "New Politics" and the theory of social movements. These conclusions address from different perspectives the tension between co-optation and reform.

**RHETORICAL VISIONS OF AMERICA AND THEIR RELATION TO RELIGIOUS BELIEFS IN THE RHETORIC OF SELECTED 1980 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES. (VOLUMES I AND II)**

Order No. DA8206411

PORTER, LAURINDA WRIGHT, Ph.D. *University of Minnesota*, 1981. 393pp.

Using the techniques of rhetorical criticism, content analysis, and computer-assisted analysis, I analyzed a portion of the speeches delivered by Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, Edward Kennedy, and John Anderson in the primary election period of the campaign of 1980, looking specifically at the campaign organizations' ways of construing America and of expressing religious beliefs. I pointed out similarities and differences in beliefs among candidate groups and made inferences about the sort of Administration each campaign group might set up, were its candidate elected.

I assumed a symbolic constructionist viewpoint in conceiving and carrying out the research. I assumed that by examining the rhetoric, I could reach conclusions about the ways the campaign organizations were construing the world. I approached the candidate speeches as the product of group effort; what were referred to in the press as a candidate's views were assumed in this paper to be the composite views of his speechwriters and advisors—a corporate product.

The study was not concerned with audience reaction or any other immediate effect of the speeches, but rather with locating the themes and explicit assumptions embedded in the rhetoric with regard to America and religion. The documents analyzed were speeches only and did not include any other form of information put out by the candidates or their organizations. Press reports and news articles were used as background material to assist in recalling the specifics of the time material. Ten speeches of 16 minutes or more in length were randomly selected from the body of discourse of each campaign group and the total of 40 speeches served as the universe of discourse for the project.

My analyses revealed differences among the four candidate groups in image patterns, heroes and villains identified, use of religious words, verb tense, voice, manifest content, and latent content, values and goals expressed, conceptions of America and of the American people, views of government, politics, and religion, and religious beliefs expressed or implied. The Reagan rhetoric contained the greatest number of religious words as operationally defined by the word list I tested and described in the project; the Anderson rhetoric contained the smallest number of religious words. The Reagan rhetoric was the most mixed in its expression of Catholic and Protestant beliefs as I compared them, based on reference works I consulted. The Kennedy rhetoric contained the second-greatest number of religious words, and the most Catholic beliefs. The Carter and Reagan rhetorics each expressed all the Protestant beliefs I used as standards. The Anderson rhetoric contained the fewest Protestant and Catholic beliefs.

The dissertation consists of introductory and concluding chapters setting up and summarizing the study, individual chapters profiling the candidate rhetorics one at a time and discussing the results of the content and rhetorical analyses performed, and a comparison chapter in which the four rhetorics are presented side by side on a number of points and their similarities and differences pointed up.



## A RHETORICAL HISTORY OF SAMUEL "GOLDEN RULE"

JONES

Order No. 8201457

Simmons, Donalo Brown, Ph.D. Ohio University, 1981. 346pp  
Director of Dissertation: Ray E. Wagner

In historical accounts, Samuel M. Jones is mentioned briefly as having been one of the most picturesque and unorthodox reformers of the Progressive era. Yet rhetorical scholars have not thoroughly analyzed him within the context of his oratory. The purpose of this study is to present a rhetorical history of Jones's speaking through the study of his invention. Specifically, this investigation seeks to answer the following rhetorical question: What elements of invention were utilized in the speeches of Jones? The study is divided into two parts: (1) a brief biography of Jones, and (2) an analysis of selected speeches of Jones for the rhetorical invention revealed through spoken discourse.

The framework within which the methodology was placed was a rhetorical history. Rhetoric was defined as the rationale of informative and suatory discourse. The historical perspective was concerned

with the record of Jones's rhetorical past which provided data about his speechmaking and speaking career. The rhetorical history consisted of an examination of his historical influence, focusing on the ideas communicated, and the speech as an agency of its time.

Speeches were selected for analysis using Barclay and Strong's microfilm edition to the *Samuel Milton Jones Papers*. A coding system was used to discriminate between those speeches that were actually delivered, questionably delivered, and those messages that were written especially for newspapers and magazines. Following the elimination procedure, the next step was to categorize the speeches that had been orally delivered. The speeches categorized produced five subject headings: patriotism, labor; the Golden Rule, which consisted of religion, socialism, peace, and brotherhood, the social system, and politics. Two speeches were selected from each category.

The ten selected speeches were analyzed to discover their elements of invention according to classical rhetorical theory. Evaluating invention involved an identification of the speaker's purpose and main lines of reasoning. Invention also involved an analysis of the three artistic modes of proof--logos, ethos, and pathos.

The conclusions of the investigation were: (1) Of the ten speeches analyzed, eight were persuasive, and two were informative. (2) There was no difference in the inventive pattern, i.e., the number and type of arguments, used in the speeches delivered in and out of Toledo. (3) Of the total number of arguments employed, Jones relied first on logos, ethos second, and pathos third. (4) When using logos, Jones reasoned primarily from analogy, causal, sign, and example arguments. (5) When using ethos, Jones attempted to identify with his audience by using the first person plural pronouns "we," "our," or "us." (6) When using pathos, the primary emotional appeal was to love and freedom. (7) With respect to the relationship of subject to arguments, (a) when discussing the social system, Jones employed considerably more logical appeals than ethical or emotional arguments, (b) when discussing labor issues, Jones used more logical and ethical arguments than when discussing the themes of politics, the social system, the Golden Rule, or patriotism, and (c) Jones employed more emotional arguments when speaking on patriotism than when discussing the previously mentioned themes. (8) Jones did not make extended use of documentation of sources.

## A MODEL OF SYMBOLIC SPEECH ARGUMENTATION AS APPLIED TO SWORD v. FOX

Order No. DA8206570

Soenkens, Roger Alan, Ph.D. Ohio University, 1981. 181pp. Director of Dissertation: Dr. John H. Timmis III

College Administrators, in reaction to the protests rocking their campuses in the late 1960's, were compelled to establish regulations governing such activities. The sit-in was one of the more popular forms of protest used by college students. The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate, with a model of argumentation, the argumentation utilized by the lawyers and judiciary in the sit-in case of *Sword v. Fox*. By examining the lawyers' strategies, this dissertation

provides some insight into the area of legal rhetoric. By an analysis of the judicial decisions handed down in *Sword v. Fox*, this study presents a description of how each ruling is justified in light of the legal argumentation. Finally, by presenting a schematic representation of symbolic argumentation, this project seeks to explain how the lawyers and judges involved, structured their presentations.

The litigation of *Sword v. Fox* lasted seven years. This study centers on the litigation beginning with the United States District Court's review of Madison College's demonstration regulations. This was acknowledged as the start of the First Amendment argumentation. Also, by beginning the analysis at the District Court level, it is possible to determine if the legal strategies changed as the appeal process proceeded to the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is selected as the termination point for this part of the study because it is the acknowledged "Highest Court in the Land."

In order to determine the rhetorical strategies employed as *Sword v. Fox* progressed through the judiciary, the arguments were reconstructed through a variety of primary sources. Oral arguments in the case were located by consulting court records for copies of the transcripts of the oral presentations. Briefs were secured by contacting the offices of the lawyers involved and examined their copies of the written arguments. The judicial opinions were examined to analyze the persuasiveness of the attorneys' arguments. After the arguments were identified, the strategies were used to construct a model of argumentation that would apply in symbolic First Amendment cases.

The model of argumentation which this study verified began with a description of the sit-in activity. After this was completed, the rules governing this action was classified as pre-existing, ad hoc, or on-the-spot regulations. The next step involved the presentation of any procedural issues which were case specific. Finally, the constitutional tests established in past cases were applied to verify the positions taken by the parties involved.

This investigation yields a number of significant conclusions. First, this study verifies the model of argumentation as an effective means of analyzing symbolic speech litigation.

Second, this dissertation offers the first in-depth analysis of the litigation of *Sword v. Fox*. Although other authors have cited this case as a significant precedent in symbolic litigation, this was the first complete analysis of the arguments involved in this case.

Finally, this dissertation provides a comprehensive examination of the historical events which surrounded the two vigils held in Wilson Hall on the Madison College campus.

Symbolic protests have been adopted as important means for dissenters to voice their beliefs. Whether such means of protests, like the sit-in, will continue to be used in the future remains to be seen. This study provides a basic framework for future analysis of legal rhetoric related to the litigation of symbolic speech activities.

## ANTI-BUSING AND THE NEW RIGHT: A RHETORICAL CRITICISM OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

Order No. DA8207270

Swayne, Joyce Evelyn, Ph.D. The Ohio State University, 1981. 439pp. Adviser: Professor John J. Makay

The purpose of this study is to analyze the rhetoric of the National Association for Neighborhood Schools (NANS). Employing a pluralistic methodology, this social criticism is centered in three rhetorical theories which have significance for the study of a social movement: Bitzer's "The Rhetorical Situation," Bormann's "Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision: The Rhetorical Criticism of Social Reality," and Simon's "Requirements, Problems, and Strategies: A Theory of Persuasion for Social Movements." Relative to these essays, the study focuses on three primary questions: (1) What is the nature of the rhetorical situation faced by NANS? (2) What rhetorical strategies are employed by NANS to create a rhetorical vision as a response to the situation? (3) What rhetorical roles and problems are assumed by NANS' leadership?



Chapter 2 applies the criteria of a social movement as an essential element of a rhetorical situation and discusses the interactive elements of exigence, audience, and constraints which impact upon the situation from 1971 to 1981, as NANS address the exigence of "forced busing" as a national policy. Chapter 3 analyzes the rhetorical vision of NANS and other New Right political movements as they attempt to return Americans to a belief in the conservative version of traditional values. Chapter 4 analyzes the rhetorical requirements which leaders must meet if the movement is to be successful. Four national leaders were interviewed and provided data for this study.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this study. (1) a language-based historical study, focusing on the shared symbol-as-social dynamic can best account for what appear to be the intrusive, intuitive "facts" of events contributing to continuity and change in human affairs (Brown). (2) A historical study focusing on communication provides insights into the ways in which symbolization accounts for human interpretations of reality; from this perspective human communication can be viewed as the driver of history. (3) Language determines the structure of a social movement and style develops that which is unique to the community which shares the rhetorical vision, thus defining motives, behavior, norms, roles, and expectations.

#### A CASE STUDY IN CONTEMPORARY APOLOGIA: THE SELF-DEFENSE RHETORIC OF RICHARD NIXON

Order No. B129438

VARTABEDIAN, ROBERT ANTHONY, PH.D. *The University of Oklahoma*, 1981. 171pp. Major Professor: William R. Carmack

Although the rhetorical ritual of apologia has been practiced since ancient Greece, the study of the apologetic genre has been limited. Consequently, this study proposed to (1) establish the importance of the apologetic genre, (2) identify Richard Nixon as the most appropriate case study in contemporary apologia, and (3) examine a useful analytic method to apply to the apologetic genre.

The genre of apologia dates back to the beginning of rhetoric itself. The rhetorical task of apology in response to accusations is quite common in the history of rhetoric. As a result of recent political scandals and the media's ability and interest in revealing them, the ritual of apologia is often critical to the contemporary political scene. Isolated public utterances of Richard Nixon provide an excellent focal point for the study of the contemporary apologetic genre. Rhetoric, particularly self-defense rhetoric was instrumental to his political career. Thus, selected self-defense discourses of Richard Nixon were analyzed for the primary purpose of examining contemporary apologia and its various strategies.

The method of analysis used in this study was the self-defense criteria explicated by B. L. Ware and Wil A. Linkugel (1973). Although Ware and Linkugel acknowledge that they borrow concepts and terminology from Robert P. Abelson's (1959) psychological theory, pertaining to the resolution of belief dilemmas, they have freely adapted Abelson's meanings and terms for better usage in speech criticism. Ware and Linkugel posit that four strategies consistently appear in self-defense rhetoric: denial, bolstering, differentiation, and transcendence. Additionally, combined strategies result in four "subgenres" of apologia: absolution, vindication, explanation, or justification. This system was thus applied to four critical rhetorical situations in the national political career of Richard Nixon to note recurring and/or significant strategies. The speeches analyzed were the following: "My Side of the Story" (1952), "A Vietnam Plan" (1969), "Cambodia" (1970) and "Watergate Scandal" (1973).

The results indicated that with the exception of the "Checkers" address all of the speeches examined relied primarily on bolstering and differentiation for persuasive impact and therefore were categorized as explanative addresses. It was speculated that Nixon might have more effectively defended himself in the Watergate address by resorting to his "Checkers" address posture, that is, denial and differentiation (absolute). The specificity and incrimination nature of Watergate charges demanded such a direct confrontation. Nixon needed to extricate himself from wrongdoing in Watergate by illuminating the situation. However, if such an

illumination was unavoidably self-incriminating, apologia was probably doomed to failure.

In the discourses examined, Nixon frequently bolstered his image by identifying himself with his political office. Nixon's "rhetoric of contrast" appeared to be his most significant tactic. Accordingly, he often differentiated himself from wrongdoing by contrasting the propriety of his actions with the actions of others. Finally, Nixon frequently transcended the situation at hand by alluding to basic American values. Since Nixon's "rhetoric of contrast" was a seemingly unavailable option in his Watergate self-defense, this further weakened his attempts for persuasion.

While Nixon's influence on contemporary apologia appeared to increase the need for politicians to take part in some form of substantive self-defense, political figures seem less reliant on the mass media and Nixon's highly personalized style of apologia. Although Ware and Linkugel's system demonstrated a few minor shortcomings as a critical tool, it was assessed as a generally effective analytic method as it allowed the critic to make subjective as well as quantifiable strategic comparisons across time and diverse apologetic situations. Finally, future research applying Ware and Linkugel's system to other specific apologetic situations was recommended.

#### THE SUPREME COURT AND OBSCENITY: THE JUDICIAL OPINION AS RHETORICAL RECONSTITUTION

Order No. DAB210058

VIBBERT, CANDISS BAKSA, PH.D. *The University of Iowa*, 1981. 298pp. Supervisor: Professor Bruce E. Gronbeck

This dissertation investigates the language of Supreme Court opinions on obscenity through Kenneth Burke's cluster-agon method. Through the analysis of a selected sample of obscenity opinions, the study posits four strategies of rhetorical reconstitution. Reconstitutions are a critic's compilation of terms from within a discourse which the author of that discourse employed to describe an idea.

Strategies of reconstitution include reinterpretation, restatement, reinforcement, and rejection. Reinterpretation occurs when a rhetor redefines an idea by altering either the descriptive referents for that idea, or subtly modifies the emotional connotations attached to it. Reinterpretation is a strategy employed to encourage new perceptions of previously presented ideas. Restatement occurs when a rhetor attempts to hold constant previously constituted meanings. Restatement is accomplished through verbatim quotation or through paraphrase. The strategy of reinforcement is employed when someone wishes to emphasize the positive or negative aspects of some idea. Reinforcement occurs when that person employs vivid terms--"fighting words"--highlight the meanings of ideas. Rejection identifies those instances where ideas are redefined by stating what a concept does not mean.

These four strategies enable the Court to build societal equations. Equations designate relationships among the ideas the Supreme Court discusses in an opinion. The four strategies of reconstitution are methods of building those equational relationships.

Four institutional functions of the Supreme Court are advanced. The Court *rationalizes*--it provides reasons for the decision process through reinterpretation. The Court *stabilizes* concepts of government, the Supreme Court, and society through restatement. The Court *legitimizes* its own role in forming law through reinforcement. The Court *organizes* competing ideas into an orderly framework through rejection. These four institutional functions help explain the role of the Supreme Court in society generally, and provide insight into the Supreme Court's treatment of obscenity cases specifically.