

“THEN I AM A REPUBLICAN”:
NARRATIVE AND IDENTIFICATION IN SCHWARZENEGGER’S
CONVENTION SPEECH

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by
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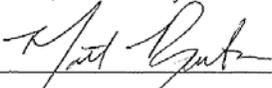
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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of Humanities and Social Science, have examined the thesis entitled:

THEN I AM A REPUBLICAN

Presented by Stephen Vincent,

A candidate for the degree of Master of Art in Professional Communication, and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.



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ABSTRACT

At the 2004 Republican National Convention, movie-star-turned-political-celebrity California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger gave a primetime speech on living, as an immigrant, the American Dream and why he believed the Republican Party housed the ideals that make the American Dream possible for today’s immigrants. Schwarzenegger related to the audience his own personal narrative as an immigrant and discussed why he chose to become a Republican. In doing so, Schwarzenegger aimed to persuade his target audience—immigrants—to identify with the Republican Party through getting them to associate their American Dream story with his. The purpose of this thesis is, first, to give an overview of Burke’s concept of identification and Fisher’s idea of narrative; second, to analyze the cohesiveness of the narrative-identification bridge through an analysis of Schwarzenegger’s convention speech; and, finally, to assess the VIND model’s usefulness as a rhetorical method for the concepts of narrative and identification.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

1. INTRODUCTION 5

 Purpose

 Literature review

 Method

 Conclusion

2. LITERATURE REVIEW 30

 Previous scholarly inquiries about Arnold Schwarzenegger

 Identification

 Narrative paradigm

3. METHOD 68

 Identification and Narrative

 Values

 VIND Model

4. BIOGRAPHY OF ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER 85

 American Dream

 Life in Austria

 Film Career

 2003 California Recall Election

5. ANALYSIS 104

 Rhetorical Analysis

6. CHAPTER SIX 132

 Reaction

 Summary of Analysis

 Discussion

 Ideas For Future Research

 Conclusion

REFERENCES 153

Chapter One

On the last day of August 2004, New York, a definite blue state, had been invaded by the red state party, which was holding its quadrennial convention. Protestors responded by showing up outside Madison Square Garden—and, occasionally, inside as well—and many of these protestors were led away by police (Rowat, 2004). The issue of this election was the War in Iraq. Nearly three years earlier, on a sunny day in September, New York City had been struck by a terrorist plot. Less than a month later, American armed forces invaded Afghanistan. The Taliban government, a violent political faction with terrorist ties and a reputation for domineering rule, was overthrown soon afterwards.

After America's successful capture of Afghanistan, American president George W. Bush, a Republican seeking re-election in the heated 2004 campaign, turned his attention to Iraq—a decision that initially had strong support among the populace, but that support waned (and continued to do so) as the memories of towers falling were replaced by news report after news report of another soldier dead in Iraq (Riley, 2004; Noel, 2004; Khalid, 2004). The Democrats nominated Massachusetts Senator John Kerry, who had been both a war hero and a war protestor in the Vietnam War. Although it had been more than thirty years since Kerry had been a soldier-turned-protestor, the Republicans, using the famed Swift Boat Veterans for Truth advertisements, attacked his war record and his testimony before Congress (MacLean & Dalton, 2004; Freemantle, 2004). The Democrats fought back with charges that Bush had misled the public into war. Meanwhile, left-wing documentary maker Michael Moore released a vehement attack film on

the Bush administration's war policy, *Fahrenheit 911* (Sarasohn, 2004). Even supporters of the candidates were subjected to cruelty: A swastika was burned into the lawn of a Wisconsin woman who had a Bush-Cheney sign in her front yard; elsewhere, in that same state, people hurled rocks at a truck with Kerry signs (Gilbert, 2004). The 2004 election proved to be one of the most cruel and vicious campaign seasons in American history (MacLean & Dalton, 2004; Gilbert, 2004). Into this charged atmosphere stepped ... a movie star.

Arnold Schwarzenegger, governor of California, arrived in the United States from Austria in the late 1960s and first rose to fame as a bodybuilder (Marinucci, 2003; Stuever, 2003; Parkes, 2004). In the 1970s, Schwarzenegger won several world bodybuilding titles (Marinucci, 2003; Stuever, 2003). Schwarzenegger transformed his fame from the weight room to the silver screen, becoming a well-known action hero star. His most famous work was likely the "Terminator" movies (Marinucci, 2003). Schwarzenegger's signature in his films was a memorable catchphrase delivered in his heavy accent. Those famous lines were frequently imitated by actors and utilized by headline writers (see Sloan, 2003; McQuaig, 2003; Stolberg, 2003; O'Clery, 2003; Parkes, 2004). During the administration of President George H.W. Bush in the early 1990s, Schwarzenegger became politically involved, leading the President's Council on Physical Fitness (Marinucci, 2003; Ginsberg, 2003). In 2003, as California grappled with economic and energy issues, the Republican Party spearheaded a recall election of then California Governor Gray Davis. The special recall election was to be conducted in two parts: First, the voters would decide whether to recall

Governor Davis, and, second, the voters would then choose from a list of candidates to replace the governor. On “The Tonight Show with Jay Leno,” Schwarzenegger announced his candidacy (Marinucci, 2003; Talev, 2003; O’Clery, 2003). He was literally one of hundreds of candidates—including some laughable candidates, giving the election a circus-like feel (Talev, 2003). Schwarzenegger had the most recognizable name of any of the candidates, and, in the end, Davis was recalled, and Schwarzenegger was elected (Talev, 2003; McQuaig, 2003).

The Republicans were thrilled to have captured the governorship of a decidedly Democratic state. Schwarzenegger’s life as a movie star-turned-governor of California was a path reminiscent of Republican icon Ronald Reagan (Hedges, 2003; Parkes, 2004; Walters, 2004). A few months prior to the Republican convention, Reagan had died, and millions had mourned his death and remembered fondly the times “The Gipper” had led the country (Mecoy and Delsohn, 2004; Kasindorf, 2004). Schwarzenegger and Reagan had similar roots as to their path into politics; in fact, Schwarzenegger looked to Reagan as a role model (Mecoy and Delsohn, 2004; Guarino, 2004). However, Schwarzenegger was decidedly different politically from Reagan’s conservatism: One California political watcher, for instance, said Schwarzenegger’s agenda more closely aligned with former California Governor Pete Wilson’s moderate agenda than Reagan’s conservative approach (Walters, 2004). Reagan also may have been more prepared for the governor’s office than Schwarzenegger because of the years Reagan spent as chairman of the Screen Actors Guild (Broder, 2004). For a

party that rarely had movie stars among its members, the Republicans welcomed Governor Schwarzenegger's brand name to their fold. They selected Schwarzenegger, a political newcomer, to deliver a primetime speech at the Republican Convention, a prelude to First Lady Laura Bush's speech that same evening. The decision to have Schwarzenegger speak was not a surprise; after all, he had name recognition and popularity, despite some mounting attacks that had been launched against him (Gledhill, 2004; Ritter, 2004; Lawrence, 2004; Orin, 2004). Republican conservatives, however, were not thrilled to have Schwarzenegger join two other moderates, Arizona Senator John McCain and former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, as primetime speakers (Kirkpatrick, 2004).

Given his name recognition, the setting, and its place in an historic election, Schwarzenegger's speech that night was perhaps the most important of his career. His topic selection may have been the most interesting decision of all. Against the backdrop of a hotly-debated war, at a convention in which thousands of protestors swirled outside, in the midst of an election where the Vietnam War was fought again rhetorically, and where both sides levied charges of treason against the other, Schwarzenegger chose to speak about immigration (Seelye, 2004).

Immigration, at the time, was a marginal issue. In August 2004, the topic was unexpected, as was the governor's personal narrative of his immigration to America from Austria (Seelye, 2004). The reverential reference to Richard Nixon was certainly unexpected as was the governor's taunting of those who had taken

cheap shots at his “girlie man”¹ statement just a few months earlier (Kloer, 2004; Broder, 2004; Rowat, 2004; Delsohn, 2004). Likewise, most political watchers did not anticipate that Schwarzenegger would target immigrants—as some of his policies had upset immigrants. At the time of his speech, a bill allowing immigrants to have driver’s licenses sat on his desk—this was to replace a previous measure granting driver’s licenses to illegal immigrants that was overturned by Schwarzenegger because of homeland security concerns. Schwarzenegger was reportedly indecisive about the measure but wanted the bill to include a way to identify non-citizens, a move that angered many in the immigrant community (Sanders and Yamamura, 2004).

Predictably, the Republicans cheered over their celebrity-turned-politico, and the Democrats lashed back. Those reactions, however, may have been the only expected aspects of his speech. In the end, Schwarzenegger’s speech was his chance “to move beyond his caricature and establish himself nationally” (Talev, 2004, p. A1).

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to examine Schwarzenegger’s 2004 Republican Convention Speech to gain an understanding of how Schwarzenegger, as a prominent political figure, used narrative to build identification. In particular, this paper seeks to analyze the way Schwarzenegger’s personal immigrant story is used to create an identification with his target audience: an immigrant audience.

¹ The “girlie man” quote comes from a “Saturday Night Live” sketch in the 1980s where two Austrian bodybuilders, obviously mimicking Schwarzenegger, would frequently call each other “girlie men” derisively. Earlier, in the summer of 2004, Schwarzenegger embraced the parody by calling some Democrat lawmakers “girlie men,” a statement that created a small controversy in California.

Moreover, I will examine Schwarzenegger's uses of narrative, including his own personal "conversion story" of why he joined the Republican Party shortly after immigrating to America, to get other immigrants to identify themselves with the GOP. In effect, he is using identification, as Burke (1950) defines it, in persuading his audience. I will also scrutinize the role that the symbol of the American Dream, a major portion of Schwarzenegger's narrative, plays in creating a commonality with the audience. In short, this inquiry seeks to understand Schwarzenegger's use of narrative and identification to persuade his listeners to support, vote for, and align themselves with the Republican Party.

The study sought connections between identity and narrative. This examination investigates the rhetorical relationship of the two theories. The intent is to gain a stronger understanding of the way identity and narrative interrelate and interact as well as the manner in which the use of narration and identification create persuasion.

In bringing together the concepts found in Burke's identification and Fisher's narrative paradigm, this study has an opportunity to help further lay the theoretical footings that may help scholars bridge these concepts more cohesively. The concepts of identification and narrative paradigm are distinct: One would hardly confuse an identification with a narrative or vice versa. A narrative could be used to create an identification—or an identification could arise from a narrative. If this is the case, then relating these two concepts for the use of future scholars could be an important, useful enterprise.

To date, few studies have yet to make a connection between the two theories. Many identification studies have focused on narratives. For example, Golombisky (2001), in writing about female identifications in “How to Make an American Quilt,” relied heavily on Burke to guide her study of the movie’s story, yet made no mention of Fisher’s narrative paradigm. Likewise, Brinson and Brown (1997) applied the narrative paradigm to a health campaign encouraging safe sex. The researchers concluded that the campaign espoused several key values but did not take the step to say these are values with which an audience can identify. This is not to say whether the researchers chose the wrong model to focus on; rather, it is to say that studies could be made stronger by examining a rhetorical artifact utilizing both theories. Thus, the two theories are useful models for rhetorical scholars, and since not many scholars have yet made that link, this study could be greatly beneficial to future work in these two theories.

Beyond the analysis of the two main theories, this report also seeks to understand the rhetoric of Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. The California governor is a unique figure in American politics because he made the jump from pop culture icon to elected politician. In 2002, Abele wrote, “The screen hero is worthy of study as he epitomizes the qualities of the ‘successful’ American male — a man with his eye firmly on his goal, his ‘duty,’ committed to toughing out whatever gets in his way” (p. 447). If a screen hero should be studied, then surely a star who became the governor of the largest state in the Union is definitely worth examining.

The rhetoric of Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger deserves scholarly inquiry, yet, to date, not many research pieces have focused on Schwarzenegger. Some of the studies into Schwarzenegger include how his celebrity influenced voters (Babcock & Whitehouse, 2005) and how journalists treat Schwarzenegger as a politician (Talev and Delsohn, 2004). Other academics investigate how Schwarzenegger, the politician, treats journalists (Smolkin, 2003; Smolkin and Rosen, 2003); or, even, how media images of Schwarzenegger's famous physique affect body image (Vartanian and Giant, 2001).

His rhetorical style should be reviewed more systematically and in more depth. Most recently, scholarly articles have focused on the decisions Schwarzenegger made in office. Few studies, however, have centered on Schwarzenegger's rhetorical approach. Battistella (2006) examined Schwarzenegger's deliberate use of the word "girlie-men" and the uproar it caused. Battistella's work appears to be one of the first ventures into studying Schwarzenegger as a rhetor. Meanwhile, Schwarzenegger is one of America's most important politicians both because of his status as a popular entertainer and because of his status as governor of California, the country's most populous—and perhaps most influential—state. His political prominence is undeniable. His communications have been given a prominent role in media studies in recent years; it is time for rhetorical scholars to follow suit.

In accepting Schwarzenegger as an individual who should be studied, I will start with one of his most important discourses. His speech at the Republican Convention is perhaps the most important speech Schwarzenegger has given

during his time as a political figure. Therefore, if Schwarzenegger is an important political figure and if this speech is the most important rhetorical act he has made, then this is a speech that may be studied. And that is precisely where this study seeks to begin the studies of Arnold Schwarzenegger, rhetor.

Furthermore, political convention speeches are particularly worthy of study. Stuckey (2004) argued that political parties present their national identities at conventions. These national visions are an important factor within presidential elections: “When we elect presidents, we choose more than administrative officials. We also choose between competing visions of the American polity” (p. 639). Petre (2007) wrote that modern political conventions are advertisements for the presidential campaigns. Petre (2007) commented, “National political conventions in the United States have become four-day-long television extravaganzas praising the person who has already won the nomination” (p. 23). Pfau (2006), however, agreed political conventions are now all about “ceremony and ritual” (p. 635) but also argued today’s conventions are not all that dissimilar to 19th Century conventions when party leaders were orchestrating votes behind the scenes. Stuckey (2005) mentions Schwarzenegger briefly in a study on the 2004 political conventions: once for his comments regarding Nixon and once for his economic statements (Stuckey, 2005).

Literature review

Identification and consubstantiality

Identification is the process by which people categorize themselves. “There are ways in which we *spontaneously, intuitively, even unconsciously*

persuade ourselves. In forming ideas of our personal identity, we spontaneously identify ourselves with family, nation, political or cultural cause, church, and so forth” (Burke, 1966, p. 301, emphasis in original). As individuals cast themselves into these roles, their own identities form. Even something as simple as an online avatar may influence a person’s self-perception (Nowak and Rauh, 2006). By identifying oneself with these labels, a person can create a self-identity.

Furthermore, Burke contended “Man’s moral growth is organized through properties, properties in goods, in services, in position or status, in citizenship, in reputation, in acquaintanceship and love” (Burke, 1950, p. 24). All of these build a self-made case as to where an individual fits into a social structure. Burke wrote, “We are clearly in the region of rhetoric when considering the identifications whereby a specialized activity makes one a participant in some social or economic class. ‘Belonging’ in this sense is rhetorical” (Burke, 1950, p. 28). Thus, there is rhetorical value in studying why people classify themselves into certain roles. Likewise, there is rhetorical value in examining how people are persuaded to categorize themselves into these roles.

Burke further argues that such belonging is only made possible by division. Human beings are unique individuals, yet they have “an urge to identify” (Livesey, 2002, p. 120). To overcome division, people classify themselves into a certain situation, perhaps explaining the compartmentalization that naturally occurs in America and other cultures. Burke stated the differences between identification and division magnify rhetoric’s importance.

In pure identification there would be no strife. Likewise there would be no strife in absolute separateness, since opponents can join battle only through a mediatory ground that makes their communication possible, thus providing the first condition necessary for their interchange of blows. But put identification and division ambiguously together, so that you cannot know for certain just where one ends and the other begins, and you have the characteristic invitation to rhetoric. Here is a major reason why rhetoric, according to Aristotle, “proves opposites.” (Burke, 1950, p. 25)

Thus, the quest for identification determines where uniqueness ends and where belonging begins. Along those lines, Burke argues each individual has two polarized needs—the need for individuality and the need for conformity. The pull between these two opposing desires is where rhetoric is played out. “Kenneth Burke perceives the rhetorical situation as emerging from divisiveness and finding fruit in unity: congregation and segregation” (Baxter and Taylor, 1978, p. 173). In other words, rhetoric occurs because individuals attempt to lessen their division through identification. The goal, therefore, is to use rhetoric to dispel division and invite identification; when division is overcome and identification is achieved, then the speech act can be classified as persuasive, and the individuals can be counted as being consubstantial. From a Burkean point of view, that is what matters: creating consubstantiality. Thus, we can boil down the definition of persuasion to a statement of Burke’s: “To identify A with B is to make A ‘consubstantial’ with B” (Burke, 1950, p. 21). And we can thus conclude that the effective rhetor is one who establishes identity.

Narrative paradigm

Walter Fisher (1984) put forth the narrative paradigm to counter the Rational World Paradigm, which asserted that it is through arguments that people make sense of the world. The narrative paradigm began to be formulated with Fisher's 1978 work "Toward a Logic of Good Reasons" (Fisher, 1984). Between the publication of that study and Fisher's 1984 seminal work, MacIntyre published the 1981 book *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*; which included the now-famous statement that "man is ... a story-telling animal" (qtd. in Fisher, 1984, p. 2). This phrase inspired Fisher to create the narrative paradigm. Fisher (1984) suggests that human beings are story-telling animals—or, as he calls, them "homo narrans" (Fisher, 1984, p. 4).

In identifying human beings as "homo narrans," Fisher gives narrative a prominence unmatched by any other form of communication. Fisher is not alone in placing emphasis on narrative. Some scholars have noted the pervasiveness of narrative within contemporary culture (Yamane, 2000). Yamane (2000) notes some scholars have called this the "age of narrative" or "narrative's moment" (p. 9): "It has become axiomatic in the 1980s and 1990s to note the ubiquity of narrative among humans" (Yamane, 2000, p. 9).

Fisher's paradigm asserts humans experience the world through stories. "The meaning and significance of life in all of its social dimensions require the recognition of its narrative structure" (Fisher, 1984, p. 3). These stories are used to delineate the human experience, as humans order the stories in such a way to make sense of their lives through the themes of their tales (Yamane, 2000).

Narrative's integral role in human communication suggests that if narrative is not understood, then human communication is not understood. Resultantly, narrative is the chief form of communication. Narrative scholars have, in general, accepted the idea that stories convey humans' understanding of the world in which they live (Yamane, 2000). A person is taught, inspired, or motivated through narrative, making it a prime concern for researchers. If narrative has the effect that Fisher and others propose it does, then a researcher would be wise to study narratives in a communication act and judge how the narratives influence the audience.

Because we experience our world through narrative, the stories we tell convey values. For example, a story about being cut off in traffic may express the value of courteous driving. Another story about a neighbor's untidy yard expresses the value of neatness. As these stories are processed, one's idea of how the world should operate begins to form, e.g., a person should drive safely and mow the lawn. More importantly, Fisher notes that social ethics are rooted in narrative (Fisher, 1984). Values are transmitted through our stories; the values are perpetuated through the stories we tell. For instance, the cliché story of a grandfather telling his grandchild that he trudged twenty miles through a blizzard to get to school suggests the values of perseverance and education. Thus, the grandfather intends for his grandchild to learn these values from his story. This is how Fisher suggests narratives work: A story is told to transmit a value. Through the shared principles in a story, narratives can persuade people to adopt a particular point of view. These values may be better described as "good reasons," of which Fisher says, "Good reasons are the stuff of stories, the means by which

humans realize their nature as reasoning-valuing animals” (Fisher, 1984, p. 8).

The transmission of these ideals, then, becomes the key component of narrative paradigm theory, and identifying values within a narrative is a key concern for a researcher.

Researches should also understand how, why, or if a value is accepted by the listener. For a story to be accepted by an audience member, Fisher (1984) states that the narrative must have two components: narrative probability, the likelihood the story could have actually happened, and narrative fidelity, whether the story “rings true” with the individual’s own experience. These two terms are related to the ideas of dramatic probability and verisimilitude (Fisher, 1984). These two ideas were established before the narrative paradigm, as both have Aristotelian roots. Dramatic probability centers “on the elements in a drama being arranged according to probability” (O’Sullivan, 1995, p. 47). Narrative probability, therefore, seems to be simply giving the idea of dramatic probability a narrative treatment. Verisimilitude is the idea that a literary work could actually happen. This idea has some apparent similarities to narrative fidelity, but narrative fidelity differs from verisimilitude in that it has an identification component. Narrative fidelity requires individuals seek to find similarities between the story and themselves—ergo, the audience must identify with the story. “The operative principle of narrative rationality is identification” (Fisher, 1984, p. 9). Thus, another means to describe narrative rationality might be to say that it is how an audience member identifies with a story. If the stories are producing values, then those tales must create values with which the hearer agrees for the identification

to be complete. A researcher may wisely ask these questions: Was the value accepted? If so, why did the audience members accept it? Also, how did they accept it? In answering these questions, a researcher adds any available data to show whether the speech was accepted by the audience. Furthermore, the researcher then suggests reasons why the narrative was accepted or rejected (answering the why question) and also assesses the impact of the acceptance or rejection of the message (the how question).

Identification and narrative

Many of the studies into identification and narrative focus on the influence that media, such as TV shows or music, have on identification. Bury (2003) found that female fans of *The X-Files* tended to identify with Agent Scully because she was more representative of a positive female persona. Bury's study further discovered female fans sought out other female fans to "make sense of the show collectively" (p. 240). This seems to imply that the double-identification of shared gender and shared tastes in entertainment makes association more attractive because of perceived similarities.

Perception is an important factor in identification and narrative. While Bury's study demonstrated that the narrative of a TV show influenced watchers to identify with other fans, other studies show that additional perceived similarities exist, even in a group that has two seemingly disparate identifications. For example, Hatch (2002) examined a gospel-rapping group, The Gospel Gangstaz. Gospel rap is an oxymoronic term. Hatch sought to understand, in part, how the group reconciled the two extremes. Hatch concluded, "They refuse to allow the

traditions of the church or of hip-hop to define their identity completely” (p. 255). In further discussing what he terms to be “paradoxical unions” (p. 235), including a rapper who calls himself the “Holy Hoodlum” (p. 235), Hatch states, “They redraw the borders of the two images so that the domains they represent overlap” (p. 235). This is a particularly important and useful concept, and one I will call *identity overlap*: the concept that the self-identification of one can overlap into or connect with the self-identification of another. Identification overlap works in this way: As identifications develop and become more concrete, then the consubstantiality also increases; thus, persuasion is achieved. More simply, identification overlap is persuasive.

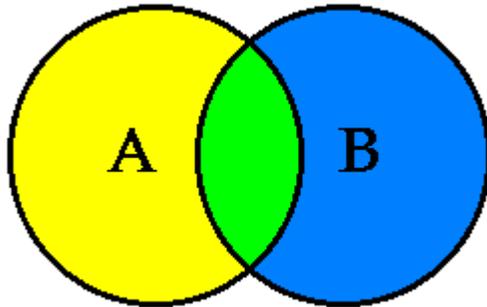
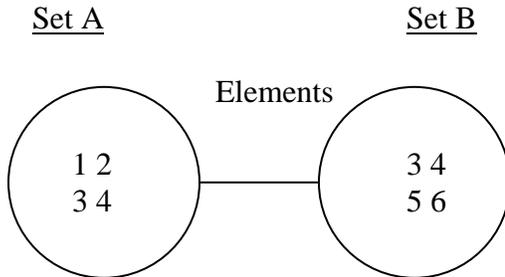


Fig. 1

In Figure 1, Circle A represents a distinct individual’s self-identity, while Circle B represents another distinct individual’s self-identity. The point at which these two circles, or two identities, overlap, is where A and B identify with each other, or as how Burke phrased it: “To identify A with B is to make A ‘consubstantial’ with B” (Burke, 1950, p. 21). The more these self-identities overlap, the more individuality is eclipsed, and the more consubstantiality between the two is established.

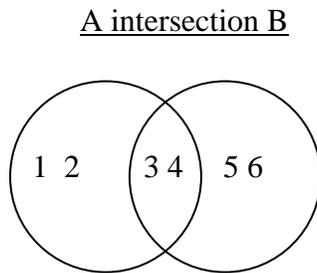
It should be noted that Figure 1 shares similarities to charts found in Rosenfeld’s 1969 articles, which look like the following:

Rosenfeld’s first figure:



Rosenfeld, 1969, p. 176

Rosenfeld’s second figure:



Rosenfeld, 1969, p. 177

In this case, elements 3 and 4 are the shared elements—or the identity overlaps. Rosenfeld (1969) calls these intersections. The intersections are important to understanding consubstantiality because a consubstantial relationship doesn’t mean that the elements are perfectly aligned, as shown in Rosenfeld’s figures; rather, it means there is enough substance and perceived similarity to make identifications overlap.

Method

In attempting to bridge these concepts of narrative paradigm and consubstantiality, this paper has limited method options. No current model gave a

“perfect fit” between these two principles; thus, it became necessary to find a method that was, at least, a reasonable compromise between the two theories, or, even better, a method that could be a “snug fit.” The selected method is perhaps in between those two extremes. It is unlikely to be categorized as a “snug fit,” but it has more than enough common elements of both theories to qualify as more than just a mere reasonable compromise between the two.

The model that will be used here is borrowed from a qualitative study that had a rhetorical application. The model, the Value Identification in Narrative Discourse model², was created by Vanderford, Smith and Harris (1992) for a study examining AIDS intervention methods. The components of the 1992 study were qualitative in nature in that the examined narratives came from researcher-

²The following are the steps that are used in the VIND model. Each step requires the researcher to read through a text and make notes with that step in mind.

To find terminal values:

1. Focus on prescribed actions within the stories--evaluative oughts/shoulds.
2. Focus on goals implied by the storyteller that actions are designed to fulfill.
3. Focus on the storyteller's justification for a chosen action.
4. Focus on actions that are praised or condemned by the storyteller.
5. Focus on actions that the storyteller repeats.

To find instrumental values:

1. Focus on cause and effect relationships.
2. Focus on action identified in a story a leading to the fulfillment of a terminal value.
3. Focus on action identified as blocking a goal.

Rules for analysis of characters:

1. Focus on positive and negative labels attributed to personal characteristics.
2. Focus on positive or negative emotions felt toward particular people.
3. Focus on relationships between characters.
4. Focus on statements which include positive or negative evaluations of specific relationships between characters in the story.
5. Focus on how storytellers identify and define themselves.
6. Focus on what storytellers define as their needs.
7. Focus on where storytellers put their attention.

conducted interviews with HIV patients and doctors. The narratives were then analyzed rhetorically.

The Value Identification in Narrative Discourse (VIND) model³ is rooted in Fisher's narrative paradigm (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992). The premise of the model is to discern which values are pre-eminent in a narrative. The VIND model was invented, in part, as a response to criticisms that the narrative paradigm did not have a working model (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992). Vanderford, Smith and Harris (1992) stated, "Neither critics nor theorists . . . have developed a clear and detailed scheme for finding the values in narratives" (p. 128). Seeking to correct this fault with scholarly enquiries into discourse by "[making] the identification of values explicit" (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992, p. 129), the researchers invented VIND—which has three major parts to it: First, the process to discover terminal values; second, the process to discover instrumental values; third, the rules for analysis of characters (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992). Each of these three major steps is comprised of smaller steps (Vanderford, Smith, and Harris, 1992). Vanderford, Smith and Harris (1992) defined terminal values—"values which are ends in themselves" (p. 129)—and instrumental values—"values which are desirable because they enable terminable values to be fulfilled" (p. 129). For example, consider two parents who are trying to teach their teenager responsibility, so they insist that their high school student get a part-time job. They hope that by working to pay for the prom, a car, and

³ The word *identification* as used in the title, "Value Identification in Narrative Discourse," is a different use of the word than the one Burke (1950) used in developing his concept of identification. Whereas Burke's identification is best summed up as consubstantiality, the term *identification* as used in this model's name refers to *value identification*, or the discovery of values within a text.

other expenses, their child will learn how to manage finances; meanwhile, the experience of working in a job will help prepare the teenager for a future career and develop work skills. In other words, the instrumental values of job experience, discipline, and financial acumen work to develop responsibility, the terminal value.

The foundation for the VIND model is rooted primarily in Fisher's work. Fisher's influence is noted in the researchers' belief "that stories reflect the narrator's understanding of the world and its meaning" (p. 128). Fisher (1984) asserts that narratives socialize humans, and the good reasons of these stories help "humans realize their nature as reasoning-valuing animals" (Fisher, 1984, p. 8). Thus, these good reasons are the *values* transmitted through narratives, which is what the VIND seeks to identify. It is also reflected in Vanderford, Smith and Harris' (1992) decision to have actions and characters be "the two key narrative elements" (p. 129) in their study, explaining, "These definitions are consistent with Fisher (1984), who indicates that values are embedded in characters, in the results of conflicts, and in the relationship between characters and their actions" (p. 129). These two key narrative elements are useful in the present study because the *actions* that led Schwarzenegger to align with the Republican Party are a key component of his narrative, and his *character*—his success in realizing his dreams through coming to America and joining the Republican Party—are the theme of his narrative; moreover, Schwarzenegger spoke to an audience that he believed would be motivated by the same ideals and the same dream that inspired him. This model is further useful to the present study because of the way

Schwarzenegger intertwines values, particularly the American Dream, into his narrative.

Clearly, as a model of narrative rhetoric alone, the VIND is a model that is useful in the present study. The challenge is incorporating Burke's identification into this narrative paradigm-based model. If this model is incapable of making that bridge between the two, then this method loses its usefulness for the present study. Fortunately, the concept of Burkean identification is given a meaningful link in this model (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992) in the third phase of Analysis of Character. The fifth step in the third phase, in particular, provides the necessary link, where step five is declared as "Focus on how storytellers identify and define themselves" (p. 130). In other words, identity can be formed in stories.

Indeed, scholars note that narrative can play an important role in identification. Driskill and Camp (2006) noted: "We share with those we associate, certain substances (e.g., beliefs, occupations, physical objects, friends, activities, values, etc.) and in this process of sharing we are consubstantial with others. Identifications, then, can be viewed as symbolic ways of indicating consubstantiality" (p. 450). Thus, values are an important way in which identification is transmitted. Values are one of the principal ways that a speaker communicating to a mass and diverse audience has to establish identity; after all, the speaker at a national convention, for example, usually does not share the same occupation, the same activities, and the same friends as the audience, but the speaker may share the same values as many in the audience.

The two main ties between identification and narrative paradigm are symbols and consubstantiality. Symbols may be a factor that allows for the merging of these two theories. Both theories place emphasis on symbols. In fact, Fisher constructed the paradigm somewhat upon Burke's idea of symbols. For example, Fisher (1984) quotes Burke when defining the term *homo narrans* as an "extension of 'man' as the 'symbol-using (symbol-making, symbol-misusing) animal'" (Fisher, 1984, p. 6, see also Burke, 1966, p. 6). Further, Fisher (1984) tells us, "The materials of the narrative paradigm are symbols, signs of consubstantiation, and good reasons, the communicative expressions of social reality" (p. 8). Fisher's statement highlights symbols, identifications, values, and perceptions as the materials of the narrative paradigm. These seem to fit in comfortably with identification, as these four areas could also be claimed as the substances by which a consubstantial relationship is formed. Fisher's statement, though, assigns identification a role merely as a 'material' in the construct of narrative; in other words, identification is the means, not the end. Therefore, in the marrying of these two theories, a question that needs to be answered is whether identities are a material, an outcome, or both. Still, it seems clear that Fisher saw a link between the two theories.

The VIND model builds on those original links through its value identification method and its use of Step 5 to find individual identification. Thus, the VIND model can be used to build upon the ties between the two concepts that Fisher made in his landmark 1984 study. The use of the VIND model is vindicated when values are considered as a means by which identification is

created. Earlier, I discussed how identification was Burke's attempt to reclassify persuasion as the process by which audience members are convinced that they have shared similarities with the speaker. Again, people who seek identification see similarities to their own lives, values, traits, or situations. Now, putting these two concepts together, I will assess the VIND model as a useful bridge between Burke's identification and Fisher's narrative paradigm on the following basis:

- First, the VIND model is consistent with Fisher's belief that narratives transmit values. After all, Vanderford, Smith and Harris (1992) established the VIND model to find instrumental and terminal values in narratives.
- Second, the VIND model is consistent with the Burkean concept of identification because the narratives transmit shared values, thus, creating identification—self-identification in our stories and consubstantiality in identifying with others' narratives.
- Finally, the model works as the bridge because the transmitted and shared values are a strong component of creating consubstantiality.

The VIND model appears to be the best vehicle to use to bring these two theories together and unite them in a purposeful rhetorical use. Although the prior use of this model was in a qualitative method but with a rhetorical application, I plan to give this model a broader rhetorical application. In using it as the bridge between the two theories, I suggest adherence to all the steps of value identification with a special emphasis on Step 5 in the Rules for Analysis of Characters, which is the step that has the most usefulness in the unification of the concepts of identification and personal narrative. That being said, the other steps

will also be utilized and will be enacted in the prescribed order, as I believe these steps are preparatory steps toward Step 5.

Conclusion

This is a worthwhile study because of its importance to the rhetorical field. First of all, it will add to and enhance the body of rhetorical literature that is available on California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger—one of the more important political figures of our time, and one who has yet to be studied in-depth by rhetorical scholars. By studying this speech, I will examine the rhetoric employed by the popular entertainer-turned-governor in the most monumental speech of his career. Second, this is a useful study because of the strength it can provide to Burke's notion of identification and Fisher's narrative paradigm. This paper can be useful for future studies that may bring these two important rhetorical ideas together. Also, this paper will examine and test the VIND model as a useful enterprise for rhetorical scholars. In short, this thesis has the potential to be an important study in the rhetorical field. .

In the next chapter, I will examine previous studies that have been conducted: first, on Schwarzenegger; second, on identity and how it is constructed; third, on narrative paradigm; and, finally, on studies that have linked identity and narrative previously. In the third chapter, the VIND model will be discussed more in-depth as well as a discussion as to how it is to be applied. This chapter will also include a biographical look at Governor Schwarzenegger, as a solid understanding of Schwarzenegger lays the foundation for the VIND model to be applied. In the fourth chapter, the primary focus will be applying the VIND

model and listing what the rhetorical inquiries from that model reveal. In the final chapter, I will analyze the data the VIND model revealed and discuss what we can learn from it.

Chapter Two

Previous scholarly inquiries about Arnold Schwarzenegger

Only a handful of scholarly studies have been published on Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. Most of the initial Schwarzenegger studies concentrated on his dealings with the media. A *Columbia Journalism Review* article, for example, focused on the *Los Angeles Times*' "eleventh hour ... story on Arnold Schwarzenegger's serial groping" ("Timing," 2003, p. 9) just days before the California recall election that he won. Another article, written in the *American Journalism Review* by two *Sacramento Bee* reporters, discusses what it is like to cover the governor, including an account of the how his fame influences those around him:

Each [international] trip features the same phenomena: stampedes of autograph-seeking fans and packs of awestruck local media. Would any other politician be chased, as Schwarzenegger was during a trade mission to Tokyo, by more than 100 Japanese reporters shouting at him to flex his muscles and imploring him to yell out movie lines . . . That popularity, which transcends anything, enjoyed by any other modern politician, makes Schwarzenegger both a fascinating and frustrating governor to cover. Hard-hitting reporting that would get a rise out of any other politician rarely elicits a reaction from the former actor, who is rich and famous enough not to care (Talev and Delsohn, 2005, p. 9).

Another *American Journalism Review* article (Smolkin and Rosen, 2005) centered on Schwarzenegger's decision to announce his candidacy on television

on *The Tonight Show*. Later that night, Schwarzenegger gave an interview with *Access Hollywood*, but Schwarzenegger granted no interview requests to print journalists, nor did he hold any press conferences with the print media. His decision to ignore print media was coupled with similar decisions by some other politicians, including another entertainer-turned-governor, former Minnesota Governor Jesse Ventura. Smolkin (2003) wrote another article in the next issue of *American Journalism Review* on how Schwarzenegger had avoided political reporters.

Aside from media studies exploring Schwarzenegger's political maneuvers, some scholarly studies have been centered on Schwarzenegger as a governor. The media category is rivaled by the policy category when it comes to the sheer number of journal articles written about Schwarzenegger. These articles focus primarily on the policies Schwarzenegger has made since he came to power, usually with the journals focusing on policies that pertain to their area of interest. Some examples include a medical association journal article which discussed Schwarzenegger's planned veto of a single-payer insurance bill (Korcok, 2006); a civil engineering journal discussing Schwarzenegger's call to have California's levees examined (Reid, 2006); an environmental journal looking at California's energy problem (Petit, 2005), and a sexuality journal reviewing Schwarzenegger's policies regarding gay marriage ("Connecticut," 2005). In an earlier study on Schwarzenegger (Griffin, 1993) in an educational journal, the author discussed the merits of using the story of Schwarzenegger's determination in bodybuilding as a motivating narrative for students.

Rhetorical inquiries

Few Schwarzenegger studies have a rhetorical application. Abele (2002) examined the self-identification role in motion picture action heroes, including the characters Schwarzenegger portrayed. Abele (2002) argued that the movie hero identifies himself with his duty—and puts fulfilling his duty ahead of everything else. It should be noted that duty here does not refer to adhering to authority, as many action heroes buck traditional authority figures to protect the public and save the day. “With no time truly belonging to his family or himself, the hero becomes self-contained, desiring and identifying only with himself, or men who resemble him” (Abele, 2002, p. 447). This statement seems consistent with Burke’s concept of consubstantiality because the hero can only relate to, or identify with, those who remind him of himself. In explaining this process, Abele (2002) uses Sprengnether’s term for the “illusion of selfhood” (p. 448), arguing that these identifications to duty and to males with similar motivations are the hero’s attempt to construct his own identity. Abele further argues males often choose their false identities over their natural identities.

Schwarzenegger garners much of the attention in Abele’s study. Abele (2002) notes that Schwarzenegger has “a persona that maintains an emotional vulnerability and self-aware humor that [his] action hero personas generally lack” (p. 449). Here, Abele (2002) hints that Schwarzenegger’s vulnerability is something with which men can identify perhaps because Schwarzenegger’s characters, despite being action heroes, did not always possess confidence and certainty.

These are important factors in this present study because it may be that people are more apt to identify with Schwarzenegger because they have already identified with his characters. If that is the case, then Schwarzenegger's audience will bring to his speech the identifications that Abele says are assigned to him through his movies: the trait of dedication to duty and the trait of vulnerability. The latter trait may be of importance, as Snee (2005) demonstrated that people identify more readily with vulnerable characters.

The question is whether audiences *identify* with Schwarzenegger because of his film career. Babcock and Whitehouse (2005) answer that question affirmatively, as their study goes so far as to say that Schwarzenegger's celebrity was the chief component in his 2003 rise to power in California.

If incongruent reality and disdain for predetermined definitions of authority are hallmarks of postmodernism, then the recall election of 2003 is a postmodern marvel. ... The journalists and consumers' assumptions about credibility grate against each other. In the postmodern world, the value of knowledge itself is in question and by extension those who claim to be authorities on that knowledge. Therefore, Arnold Schwarzenegger as action hero is just as credible as Arnold Schwarzenegger as governor (Babcock and Whitehouse, 2005, p. 177).

Babcock and Whitehouse (2005) further argue that Schwarzenegger's election hints of hyperreality, when "the virtual world becomes more real to media consumers than anything in front of their faces, thus taking over truth" (p. 177). Worldwide, celebrities have successfully won elections (Babcock and

Whitehouse, 2005). As part of their study, Babcock and Whitehouse (2002) refer to Vitug's article in *The International Herald Tribune* that details why Filipinos were attracted to a celebrity presidential candidate:

Many Filipinos have become star-struck because of disillusionment with traditional politicians. . . . Celebrities make the jump into politics because of the lure of an easy win and the promise of a continued presence in the limelight. Actors who claim to understand Filipinos' plight say that the roles they have played give them a special empathy with the people. That many Filipinos believe them shows how illusion and reality have meshed (Vitug, 2004, also quoted in Babcock and Whitehouse, 2005, p. 181).

By applying Vitug's article to voters worldwide, some important identification concerns are revealed: First, voters have an identity disconnect with "traditional politicians" (Vitug, 2004). Second, celebrities get into politics for the same reason the Harlem Globetrotters always play the Washington Generals: it is an easy win.⁴ And, last, voters can easily identify with actors because of the roles these actors have played. While those are the identification-specific conclusions drawn from Vitug's study, the final sentence that "illusion and reality have meshed" (Vitug, 2004) supports Babcock and Whitehouse's (2005) earlier conclusion of hyperreality.

The way hyperreality occurs in this instance is similar to the concept of parasociality. Cohen (1999) defines "parasocial interaction [as] the conversation give-and-take between media performers and the audience and involves audience

⁴ By pre-arranged agreement, the Generals lost each game to the Harlem Globetrotters for nearly three decades; this allowed the Globetrotters to focus on entertaining the crowd rather than winning the game (Berkow, 2005).

members retaining their identity and interacting with performers as if they were present” (p. 183). While these relationships primarily involve television characters (Cohen, 1999; Cohen, 2003), whom viewers see in a role for a longer period of time than they do with movie characters, these parasocial relations may also apply to movie characters. Cohen (1999), however, argues the term parasocial better describes the relationship between a viewer and a television character, while identification better fits the relationship between a viewer and a movie character. This basis may be founded on the belief that in television, the cast of characters, more than the storyline, is what influences viewing decisions (Chory-Assad, 2005; Cohen, 1999).

The present study, however, finds a basis to suggest that a parasocial relationship may have occurred between Schwarzenegger and his movie audiences. The parasocial role in Schwarzenegger’s rise to power should not be dismissed simply because his films were on the silver screen rather than on the small screen; this may be a hasty generalization. Because Schwarzenegger persistently portrayed the vulnerable action hero, he is identified with that role. That pervasive identification, portrayed for two-plus decades on film, may be enough for parasocial relationships to develop. Furthermore, Giles (2002) argues, “[Parasocial interaction] is more than just a media-related phenomenon . . . ; imaginary social relationships are characteristics of most societies throughout history” (p. 290). This implies that the application of parasocial relationships extends beyond television—and into other forms of media, including radio listening, which Giles (2002) mentioned as a potential form of parasocial

interaction. Other studies into parasocial relationships have also extended beyond television. For example, McClutcheon, Ashe, Houran, and Malby (2003) include a listener's fascination with a musician as a form of parasociality. Thus, we have a basis to suggest that it is possible—perhaps even probable—that some of Schwarzenegger's film fans developed a parasocial relationship with the actor; for others, they simply identified with his character.

These parasocial relationships add to the charisma that Schwarzenegger was assigned by the media and voters because of his celebrity status. Babcock and Whitehouse (2005) note that a celebrity has natural advantage because of that built-in identification. This results in a “charisma deficit” (p. 181) for challengers—the deficit a political opponent must overcome; this deficit occurs because the celebrity's familiarity gives the celebrity a natural charisma boost in the minds of voters. If indeed the charisma factor played an integral role in Schwarzenegger's victory, then the parasociality dimension appears now to have a more widespread application: The imagined social relationship between character and viewer no longer impacts just channel choice, but it also may impact whom the fan votes for at the ballot box, a melding of parasociality and hyperreality; as such, perhaps we can couch it in a new term, *parapoliticality*.

While certainly Babcock and Whitehouse's (2005) study supplies needed insights for the present study in the identification arena, it should be remembered that the focus of the study was to conceptualize why and how Schwarzenegger earned his office in Sacramento. In particular, Babcock and Whitehouse (2005) accuse the media of giving Schwarzenegger the prominent spot in the recall

election. In reading Babcock and Whitehouse's study, some rhetorical questions come to mind: Would Schwarzenegger have been elected sans media coverage? Would Schwarzenegger have been covered had he not been a movie star? Both these questions hint that Schwarzenegger's celebrity status may have helped the press and voters to identify with him more easily.

Identification

The concept of identification in its contemporary rhetorical use originated with Kenneth Burke (Burke, 1950; Burke, 1966). However, some have speculated that Burke borrowed the term from his friend, James Sibley Watson (Jordan, 2005), editor of *The Dial*, for which Burke wrote in the early 1920s (Burke, 1987). Others, however, speculate the term has its roots in the works of Sigmund Freud (Huglen, 2004). Another case has been made that Burke's use of the term was largely influenced by Aristotle (Huglen, 2004). "Burke can say that Aristotle's key term for rhetoric—*persuasion*—is encompassed by Burke's more expansive key term—*identification*" (Clark, 2004, p. 7, emphasis in original). Identification was, in some ways, Burke's attempt to redefine and reclassify persuasion—and to get rhetors to consider the persuasion process not as the process that motivates one to action, but as the process by which audience members note perceived similarities they have with the speaker. Those shared similarities, which may come from sharing the same philosophies, goals, interests, life experiences, etc., form a shared identity. Identification is one of Burke's more meaningful contributions to the field of communication among a myriad of many important works. One scholar noted, "Kenneth Burke's teaching . . . helped forge

the way for the prevailing assumptions of the field in communication and rhetoric” (Huglen, 2004, p. 187).

Burke used the term identification for the first time in a 1935 speech called “Revolutionary Symbolism in America” (Jordan, 2005). His first written discussion of the term took place in his 1937 book *Attitudes toward History*, in which he wrote, “The so-called ‘I’ is merely a unique combination of potentially conflicting corporate ‘we’s’” (Burke, 1984, p. 264). For the next decade, Burke, who was a Marxist (Doubt, 1997), used the term identification in largely a Marxist context—for example, one discussion had Burke looking at a journalist’s use of the term “industry” instead of “business,” a word choice that Burke contended served the interests of the capitalists (Jordan, 2005). It was Burke’s mid-1940s book *A Grammar of Motives* that spurred Burke toward a more in-depth look at the idea of identification (Burke, 1950). *A Grammar of Motives* focused mainly on the idea of substance (Burke, 1962). In Burke’s next book, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1950), Burke expanded on the idea of substance by linking it to identification. In that work, Burke coined the term “consubstantiality,” which describes how two people look at each other and find substantive similarities (Burke, 1950). “To identify A with B is to make A ‘consubstantial’ with B” (Burke, 1950, p. 21). Rhetorically, Burke (1950) saw identification as the means by which persuasion occurs; in particular, he felt speakers need to find areas where they can build consubstantial relationships with their audiences. Some scholars associate identification with Burke’s dramatist theory that he developed in the 1960s (Cragan and Shields, 1995), in which identification played a minor

role. Identification, however, predated the dramatist theory and has been treated as a distinctive entity by many rhetorical scholars since then.

Sociological and psychological construction of identity

To understand how identification is used rhetorically, one must contrast Burke's rhetorical use of the term with the sociological and psychological constructs of identity. As the comparison is made, one sees similarities develop between how Burke believes identity is formed and how sociologists and psychologists believe identity is constructed. Burkean identification and the social scientist's concept of identity are remarkably similar (Crabbe, 2006). In fact, Crabbe (2006) points out that Burke's name is frequently cited in studies that involve symbolic interactionism; these citations occur even though Burke was not a social scientist—he was a rhetorical analyst. Crabbe (2006) believes this happens because of Burke's rhetorical work on the concept of identity closely mirrors the way identity is conceptualized by social science scholars.

Simon and Gagnon (2003) enthusiastically approved Burke's contributions to the sociological understanding of humanist pragmatism, saying "Burke was the critical influential figure dwarfing, for us, the contributions of Goffman and the other students of Blumer and Hughes" (p. 493). Burke's work added to the sociologists' concept of identification. Crabbe (2006) writes that Burke's idea of identification accounts for a weakness in the interactionist's view of identification in that Burke delineates between public and private self. "To be born into a body, Burke contends, is to be born into an individual existence; to be a symbol-user is to always live in the shared world" (Crabbe, pp. 4-5). In other

words, humans are physically distinct, yet, through the use of language, they seek union with other human beings. Thus, through the simple means of conversation, a connection between human beings is formed. Also, because people can speak in symbols, read the symbols, and write with the symbols, they experience their surroundings—often a world littered with symbols; individuals thus understand and comprehend the symbols others have made and vice versa. Therefore, individuals live in a “shared world,” one where messages are frequently sent and received. The separation caused by people’s physical distinctness is softened by their shared understanding of the symbols given to the individual by the people around them.

These dichotomous motivations work against each other in many ways, but the primary application from a Burkean identification point of view is unity and division.

Crable (2006) writes that the idea that “‘you’ is an essential correlate of the ‘I’” emerged around the turn of the 20th Century. This notion, which is accounted for in Burke’s idea of identification, altered the way social scientists viewed the concept of self (Crable, 2006). Jeannerod and Pacherie (2004) state that self-identification is formed in two ways: self-analyzing and comparison to others. Moss and Faux (2005) explain this identity arises through ascription, “the attribution of identity through others” (p. 27), and avowal, “how individuals portray themselves as group members” (p. 23).

Mead argued that the self is created through social interaction (Crable, 2006), or, as Crable (2006) paraphrased Mead’s work: “As I take other’s

perspectives on myself, I learn who I am by internalizing the other's attitude" (p. 2). Mead's work furthered the idea of a generalized other (Crable, 2006), or "the overall attitude of society on my own actions" (Crable, 2006, p. 2). In other words, 20th Century scholars came to see the way self was created as being "deeply relational" (Crable, 2006, p. 2). Moss and Faux (2005) suggest people negotiate their identity through conversation; through conversation, these identities get reinforced, challenged, or asserted. This is better known as discursive psychology. "Discursive psychologists . . . suggest that speakers do not simply produce identities for themselves and others, but they treat themselves and each other as accountable for what is constructed" (Jeannerod and Pacherie, 2004, p. 177). Crable (2006) further explained: "Rhetoric is woven into the fabric of existence; Mead's duality of identity is rooted in the human situation" (p. 5). In other words, while both Mead and Burke give strong concepts of self-identification, Burkean identification gives a stronger conceptualization of how unity occurs. Unity, however, is never complete; it will always be, at least, partially fragmented (Crable, 2006). Or, "Our 'I' [is] simply a particular cluster of adopted 'corporate We's'" (Crable, 2006, p. 8).

Jeannerod and Pacherie (2004), using this psychological definition, gave self-identification a rhetorical angle by applying it to the mad cow disease debate in Great Britain. In that study (Jeannerod and Pacherie, 2004), the two scholars state that politicians often engage in positive identity-making by contrasting themselves to others—a function that occurs in the politicians' public discourses. For example, a politician may blame his opponent for failing to understand a

serious issue of the day, such as the mad cow debate in Britain. In so doing, he sets himself up to be seen as one who understands the issues and their seriousness and can thus be counted on to act appropriately.

The sociological use of the term identification is similar to the way psychologists use the term. Adams and P.J. Burke (2006) conducted a sociological inquiry into the memory narratives of September 11 of people living in an English village. In it, they state,

The term of identification is used to capture the fluid, ongoing, changeable and authored 'technique of situating one's self socially.' Identifications always involve both sameness and difference, and accordingly do not simply address one's self—'I'—but the full range of nominative positionings: 'we', 'us', 'you', 'them' and the 'other.' Self-identification is always constructed through a dialogical sense of 'other.' (p. 985)

These sociological and psychological conceptualizations of identity are certainly consistent with Kenneth Burke's understanding of identity. They are clearly reminiscent of his 1937 statement: "[T]he so-called 'I' is merely a unique combination of potentially conflicting corporate 'we's'" (Burke, 1984, p. 264).

This sociological concept mirrors the assertion by Burke (1950) that people attempt to identify with one another as to overcome division; in other words, because humans are physically separate individuals, they attempt to unite emotionally and socially by identifying similar interests with each other.

Adams and P.J. Burke (2006) make a statement that fits easily into the idea of identification. "Identifications are seen as the basis for the systematic

establishment of meaningful relationships between individuals, between collectivities, and between individuals and collectivities—relationships marked by similarity and difference” (p. 986). This statement diverges slightly from Burke’s belief that identification causes persuasion; rather, it gives identification a sociological application: Relationships are strengthened because of consubstantiality. Rather than contradicting Burke’s conclusion of persuasion, this sociological conclusion gives consubstantiality added strength because if shared identification causes individuals to form a relationship, then clearly a form of persuasion has taken place because identification has occurred. In other words, identification happens not just rhetorically but relationally. This corroborates that people use identity to overcome division. Adams and Burke (2006) also conclude their study with a statement that again ties identity to narrative: “In an increasingly mediated world, media narratives connect our private worlds to a variety of public worlds” (p. 1002).

Symbols were vital to the development of Burkean identification. Burke (1966) asked: “Do we simply use words, or do they not also use us?” (p. 6). This is an important question to ask, particularly when it comes to understanding how people share an identity. Chesebro (2003) said, “From a communication perspective, leaders dominated others in the sense that they employ a set of symbols that mobilize the responses of others” (p. 378). Chesebro (2003) further states that when leaders “appear confident of their values--others may, in fact, treat the value judgments of leaders as factual statements” (p. 379). Thus, leaders have a naturally created commonality through values.

Burke argued that humans are motivated either by animality or symbolicity, as well as interaction between the two (Cralle, 2006). In other words, motivation may arise through an animal impulse (Cralle, 2006); for example, a hunger pang may encourage a person to eat dinner. These bodily urges are tempered through symbols, such as thinking that it is not yet dinnertime (Cralle, 2006). Thus, the symbol-using animals quell their animalistic desires through symbols. “The implication is that our unique, individual self is, at its very heart, not our own—it is formed from our internalization of social roles and meanings” (Cralle, 2006, p. 8).

This is a particularly important notion in trying to understand how citizens of a country come to accept that nation’s narratives, values, and beliefs—and to find identity with what those stories and those ideals communicate. It is a critical consideration in trying to understand how a person accepts a national identity as a personal identity. As we look to consubstantiality, we must revisit Burke’s notion that people when “forming ideas of [their] personal identity . . . spontaneously identify [themselves] with family, nation, political or culture cause, church, and so forth” (Burke, 1966, p. 301).

In truth, there is a purposeful resemblance between Burkean identification and psychological identification. A recently-discovered paper in Burke’s personal library discussed the link between the two. In it, Burke (2006) wrote: “Modern behaviorism . . . would treat rhetorical appeal in terms of mechanically conditioned responses to stimuli. . . . We know of no ‘behaviorist rhetoric’ that has gone beyond a few rudimentary statements about reflexes, conditioned reflexives

and ‘transferences.’” [p. 335]. In other words, Burke believed there was a need to extend and develop the idea of identification in the rhetorical field, which he amply provided.

Burkean Construction of Identity

Identification begins with how people categorize themselves. “There are ways in which we *spontaneously, intuitively, even unconsciously* persuade ourselves. In forming ideas of our personal identity, we spontaneously identify ourselves with family, nation, political or culture cause, church, and so forth” (Burke, 1966, p. 301, emphasis in original). As individuals cast themselves into these roles, they formulate their own identities. Even an Online avatar is believed to influence a person’s self-perception (Nowak and Rauh, 2006). Identification acts as a contextualization: People try to locate where they belong in a society by discovering shared commonalities with others (Burke, 1950). Generally created through labels, such as conservative or liberal, these identities create a self-identity. Again, Burke contended that “Man’s moral growth is organized through properties, properties in goods, in services, in position or status, in citizenship, in reputation, in acquaintanceship and love” (Burke, 1950, p. 24).

Additionally, Burke placed a special emphasis on symbols in helping creating a shared identity—that as people associate with and accept other’s symbols, they find a harmony in purpose; this is especially true when it comes to accepting a national identity (Clark, 2004). All of these build a self-made case as to where an individual fits into a social structure. Burke wrote, “We are clearly in the region of rhetoric when considering the identifications whereby a specialized

activity makes one a participant in some social or economic class. ‘Belonging’ in this sense is rhetorical” (Burke, 1950, p. 28).

Thus, there is rhetorical value in studying why people classify themselves into certain roles. Likewise, there is rhetorical value in examining how people are persuaded to categorize themselves into these roles. In discussing this, it is important to recall the earlier statement by Jordan (2005): “Identification, ambiguously locating as it does both division and the tendency to transcend division, presents the possibility for rhetoric, figures the inevitability of rhetoric, and stresses the need for rhetoric in language and in social relations” (p. 269). Rhetoric occurs because of social division, and identification happens because of an individual’s attempts to belong. This is a principle on which both rhetoricians and sociologists can and do agree.

Adams and Burke (2006) say the “processes of identification ... [are] the way that audiences *choose* to identify or disengage with certain discursive categories or subject positioning” (p. 985, emphasis in original). A key understanding here originates with the word “choose:” Audiences choose whether they identify with a communicator. Thus, the speakers have the burden to convince the audience to identify with them, yet identification is controlled wholly by the audience members. Second, Adams and Burke (2006) wrote that people have “a sense of belonging to an ambiguously defined ‘imagined’ community” (p.986). This statement suggests identity is not always a concrete conclusion, nor is there any formula by which identifications may be made—it is simply at the whim of the audience member. Person A’s reason for identifying

with a speaker may seem completely illogical to Person B, but if that identity seems logically solid to Person A, then the identification has occurred.

Burke further argues that such belonging is only made possible by division. Human beings are unique individuals, yet they have “an urge to identify” (Livesey, 2002, p. 120). Taken with the idea that a person classifies himself or herself into a certain situation along with the notion of division, one can perhaps explain the compartmentalization that naturally occurs in American culture. Burke stated that it is in the differences between identification and divisiveness that rhetoric’s importance is magnified.

In pure identification there would be no strife. Likewise there would be no strife in absolute separateness, since opponents can join battle only through a mediatory ground that makes their communication possible, thus providing the first condition necessary for their interchange of blows. But put identification and division ambiguously together, so that you cannot know for certain just where one ends and the other begins, and you have the characteristic invitation to rhetoric. Here is a major reason why rhetoric, according to Aristotle, ‘proves opposites.’ (Burke, 1950, p. 25)

Thus, the quest for identification is a contest to determine where our uniqueness ends and where belonging begins. Along those lines, Burke argues, in essence, that each individual has two polarized needs—the need for individuality and the need for conformity. It is on this pull between these two opposing desires that rhetoric is played out. “Kenneth Burke perceives the rhetorical situation as emerging from divisiveness and finding fruit in unity: congregation and

segregation” (Baxter and Taylor, 1978, p. 173). In other words, rhetoric occurs because individuals attempt to lessen their division through identification. The goal, therefore, is to use rhetoric to dispel division and invite identification; when division is overcome and identification is achieved, then the speech act can be classified as persuasive, and the individuals can be counted as being consubstantial. From a Burkean point of view, that is what matters: creating consubstantiality. Thus, persuasion again is understood as identification; the effective rhetor is one who establishes identity.

It is important to understand the difference in the terms *consubstantiality* and *identification*. Identifications are the building blocks of consubstantial relationships. For example, two people feel particularly close to each other. To demonstrate this, these individuals note that they shop at the same store, belong to the same political party, and watch the same TV show. Identifications are the means; consubstantiality is the outcome; or put another way: consubstantiality is the claim; identifications are the warrants. The claim was the two friends are close, or consubstantial. The warrants are the identifications: similar tastes in shopping, politics, and media. “Things are consubstantial if they share the same nature or substance” (Rosenfeld, 1969, p. 176).

Importantly, consubstantiality should not be confused with A perfectly mirroring B. “A is not identical with B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is *identified* with B” (Burke, 1950, p. 20). Consubstantiation does not require individuals to share every imaginable identification (“We are alike in every way”); rather, it is a sharing of several identifications (“We are similar in some

ways”). In other words, consubstantiation is not a sharing of whole identities but the sharing of some identities. More than that, consubstantion occurs when shared identities are substantial enough to make the perceived similarities substantive. For the people in our above example, the shared interests in shopping, politics, and media were enough for the relationship to be consubstantial. For individuals in other relationships, those shared pursuits may not be enough for a consubstantial relationship to occur. Thus, individuals determine when the identifications reach the point that similarities are “substantial.” The individual may feel one perceived shared element is enough for consubstantion while another individual may base consubstantion on many identifications.

Here are the ambiguities of substance. In being identified with B, A is ‘substantially one’ with a person other than himself. Yet at the same time he remains unique, an individual locus of motive. Thus he is both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another (Burke, 1950, p. 21).

Once again, the notion of identification and division surfaces: Humans are distinct beings who connect to others through communication. When communication creates a connection, persuasion has occurred because a consubstantial relationship has been established. Consubstantial relationships occur through the discovery of perceived elemental similarities.. “There can only be identification where there is some type of division; where distinct sets share several common elements” (Rosenfeld, 1969, p. 179). Additionally, Rosenfeld

(1969) writes that where there are no shared elemental identifications, there is no identification.

It should be noted that because consubstantion occurs elementally, identification-by-identification, a continual development of identity overlap may occur. Human beings have thousands of what I'll term *elemental identifications*, areas in which identity can be made. For example, two individuals may share two elemental identifications: being fans of the same sports team and having graduated from the same college. The more two individuals communicate, they more likely they are to discover perceived similarities, while the initial shared identifications may lead to a continuing conversation that creates more shared identifications. Perhaps the individuals in our example in discussing their alma mater might discover they had the same professor for political science; perhaps, they'll talk about an assignment in that class and find they have a similar viewpoint on election funding. As the conversation continues, more similarities are revealed, and more identifications are made. Thus, elemental identification by elemental identification, the consubstantial relationship develops and deepens. Consubstantion, thus, may be an ongoing process, and persuasion may be a continual development even in mature dyads.

Political identification

The concept of identification is especially critical in persuading an audience on a political decision. For example, when politicians speak, they speak with the unstated goal of persuading their audience to identify the politicians with the office they are seeking. This becomes an especially critical concern in

presidential elections. A deciding factor in recent presidential elections is whether a candidate is perceived as being presidential. Trent and Freidenberg (2000) argued that incumbent presidents have a natural advantage in their reelection campaign because they are already identified with the presidency: “Thus it is little wonder that those who have campaigned against a president have objected to the continual and conscious use of devices that remind voters that they are seeing and hearing ‘the president,’ as opposed to ‘just another politician’” (Trent and Freidenberg, 2000, p. 79).

It is easier for an incumbent president to be ‘presidential’ because he is addressed by titles relating to the president and has the charisma of the office (Trent and Freidenberg, 2000); thus, voters identify the incumbent with the presidency more readily than they do for his opponent. “The presidency stands for excitement, a kind of patriotic glamour, and, therefore, the person who holds the office takes on these characteristics” (Trent and Freidenberg, 2000, p. 80). In other words, the office holder becomes characterized as the ideal—not because of his traits but because of his title. Burke’s concept of identification is displayed in the above example; the innate traits of a “presidential” candidate are transferred to the president, just by holding the office. Therefore, he becomes consubstantial to the office and to the ideal.

More importantly, candidates should be consubstantial with the voters. Thus, it becomes more critical for candidates to get the voters to identify themselves with the office-seeker than it is for the candidates to get the voters to identify them with the office. An example of how politicians seek to create an

identity between themselves and the audience comes through the way they present themselves in front of different audiences. As Burke (1950) wrote, “Identification [includes] the politician who, addressing an audience of farmers, says, ‘I was a farm boy myself’” (p. xiv). Political identification is important to this study because Schwarzenegger uses his immigrant status as an identification point with his audience. In local elections, a candidate’s interpersonal skills are a crucial, deciding factor (Trent and Freidenberg, 2000). Consubstantion becomes a prime concern for any politician.

An important focus in national elections may be the process by which these national identifications are made. Burke placed a special emphasis on symbols in helping creating a shared identity—that as we associate with and accept other’s symbols, we find a commonality in purpose; this is especially true when it comes to accepting a national identity (Clark, 2004). Burke believed that in a democracy, citizens should be attentive to the symbols that create the notion of “we” in a country (Clark, 2004). Gregory Clark, a Burkean scholar, wrote, “The failure to consider critically the complex realities from which [citizens] take a simplistic symbolic meaning can lead people to adopt a ‘corporate’ identity that is not in their best interest” (p. 2). Burke took a special interest in studying how Americans came to view themselves as Americans and how they build the concepts of American identity in each other (Clark, 2004). Herein, an important distinction is made between Burke’s work in identification and Aristotle’s work in persuasion.

In Aristotle's place and time, it was the office of rhetoric to express as shared value and belief ... what was immediately observable. But the experience of collective life in the United States has never been so bounded and coherent, nor has the identity of America ever been so contained (Clark, 2004, p. 8).

The creation of a national identity is not unique to America alone. Across the world, people in every nation seek a national identity. It is useful, therefore, to examine how scholars have studied these self-identifications in other cultures. For example, Girelli (2006) argues that British filmmakers, particular those who made "Heritage" films or films about Britain during the 19th century when its empire flourished, use stereotypes of Italians to validate "the articulation of British self-definition" (p. 25). Girelli concludes the study with this strong statement about how the British self-definition arises through the disparagement of the Italians: "The British journey of self-discovery: after knowing oneself through knowing Italy, the latter is no longer useful and abandoned, to remain a distant other with no place in 'real' life" (p. 34).

What Girelli describes here is commonplace: National identities are often formed through stereotyping other nations or particular enemies, of whom, Edelman noted, these are "identifiable persons or stereotypes of persons to whom evil traits, intentions, or actions can be attributed" (qtd. in Jasinski, 2001, p. 202). This is a particularly important notion in the present study because this belief has shared roots with Burkean thought. The concept of identification, for example, comes from Burke's previously-discussed belief that identity arises as a way to

overcome division. In 1957, Burke examined the rhetoric of *Mein Kampf*; of this, Burke wrote: “Men who can unite on nothing else can unite on the basis of a foe shared by all” (Burke, 1973, p. 193).

Terministic screen

Important to understanding identification is to understand its link to perception. In writing about Burke’s contribution to rhetoric, Macksoud (1969) suggested that scientists will only honestly report that which the scientist notices, saying, in essence, “All the facts that I am at this point *trained* to see. A statement of this kind constitutes the first limitation of ‘perspective’” (p. 110). Training will naturally draw different scientists or researchers to notice different things about a phenomenon. An example of this is found in a textbook written by Griffin (2000), which opens with a discussion of the differences in approach between a behavioral scientist and a rhetorician in investigating a Diet Coke advertisement. The behavioral scientist states that his inquiry would focus on the impact the commercial had on people—better yet, a study into how a number of commercials affect people would be more beneficial. The rhetorician, on the other hand, gives an interpretation on the elephant in the commercial representing overweight people, noting that the beautiful woman only noticed the elephant after he drank the Diet Coke. Thus, the meaning of the advertisement is if people want to be noticed by attractive people, they should drink Diet Coke. The training of each of these scholars altered the selected approach. Likewise, the backgrounds and training of audience members are going to affect what they see in a speech. Those

same factors also impact the speaker and influence what is highlighted in the speech.

An important consideration in any speech or narrative or any form of rhetoric is the choice of words, the choice of sentence structure, and the choice of narratives. In each instance, the rhetorical choice includes one aspect while excluding another. In this way, speakers and storytellers create what Burke called a terministic screen. The terministic screen is the rhetorical choice of topic; by discussing a chosen topic, a decision has been made to exclude other topics, thus, giving prominence to the selected topic.

Burke (1987) thought of the phrase terministic screen when viewing photos of the same object taken through different lens filters. In noting how the view of the object changed when photographed through a different lens, Burke thought a speaker essentially hands the audience a photograph of the speaker's experience taken through the speaker's lens. "Even if any given terminology is a *reflection* of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a *selection* of reality; and to this extent it must function also as a *deflection* of reality" (Burke, 1987, p. 115, emphasis in original). The selection of self-presentation comes from a lifetime of picking out how one wants to be represented. "As we become more and more socialized into a particular community--that is, as our identities develop and mature--we learn to perceive the world solely through the 'terministic screens' provided by our symbol systems and interactions with others" (Cralle, 2006, p. 9).

By the nature of the choice, speakers purposely exclude a view of themselves that they do not want their audience to see. As such, the speaker and audience member are only consubstantial to the self-presentation given by the speaker. For example, Smudde (2004) noted that one of Burke's early works was oriented to helping public relations workers, who were seen by many as being shameless promoters, discard a negative terministic screen through practicing integrity and using symbols to educate people about the structures of society. In other words, public relations practitioners could benefit humankind by making sense, symbolically, of societal hierarchies (Smudde, 2004). Burke argued that integrity is the value that must dominate public relations practice (Smudde, 2004) gives strength to the concept that values are a commonality through which consubstantiality may occur. In this way, Burke was working to have public relations professionals posit themselves in a better light by illuminating the virtue of integrity. This example reminds us that the terministic screen can highlight the good—and help the audience not see the bad, enabling the identification process to run much more smoothly but perhaps not accurately. This is especially important in political speech where a speaker wants to highlight the candidate's good qualities.

This is not to say, however, that the choice of what to disclose about one's self and the choice of what not to disclose is by its nature inherently bad. "We *must* use terministic screens," Burke (1987) wrote, "since we can't say anything without the use of terms; whatever terms we use, they necessarily constitute a corresponding kind of screen; and any such screen necessarily directs the

attention to one field rather than another” (p. 121). An analogy of this is if two people who are out stargazing, and the more experienced stargazer points out the North Star to the other. In essence, by pointing out the North Star, the first stargazer is not asking the other to ignore all the stars in the night sky but rather drawing the second one’s gaze to that particular star. To see it, however, the second stargazer must block out all the other stars to look at the North Star. Thus, the North Star becomes momentarily the most important star to the stargazers.

The concept of a terministic screen becomes an important rhetorical consideration because it asks the critic to analyze why speakers chose to say what they did and to consider the value of the information that the speakers purposefully kept away from the audience. Likewise, analysts should assess the speakers’ motives for what they chose to highlight and what they opted to not mention are important when considering how identification is constructed. The speaker may have avoided a sticky issue or troublesome point of view that would not have resonated with the audience; instead, the speaker may have opted to highlight a common-ground value that could easily become a springboard for identification.

Narrative Paradigm

Fisher’s work prior to the narrative paradigm

Fisher’s career, particularly his work in the late 1970s and 1980s, moved toward his important contribution of creating the narrative paradigm as a rhetorical framework. Near the end of his academic career, Fisher (1989), the creator of the narrative paradigm, wrote, “The narrative paradigm is the

foundation on which a complete rhetoric needs to be built” (p. 56). Fisher first introduced the narrative paradigm in 1984, but the development of the theory began in earnest with his 1978 article in which he introduced the idea of good reasons. The purpose of the 1978 study was to create a method by which values could be discerned in a rhetorical discourse. Fisher (1978) believed that extracting values from a discourse was particularly useful in rhetorical studies because “*Humans as rhetorical beings are as much valuing as they are reasoning animals*” (p. 376, italics in original). In fact, at the time of this writing, Fisher (1978) saw the need for a means by which values could be identified to be the “most indispensable need in contemporary rhetoric” (p. 376). Fisher (1978) thus created the “logic of good reasons” (p. 377) with logic referring to a procedural approach to finding values and good reasons as values that motivate people to accept advice given in a communicative act.

In particular, Fisher (1978) wanted his conceptualization to remove some of the weaknesses he perceived in Wallace and Booth’s view of good reasons. Wallace (1955) believed the values in a text should reflect the values of the society as a whole. Wallace (1963) believed a speech was comprised of two things: values and information pertaining to the values. Wallace (1963) believed the values were the primary factor in the substance of speeches, and he saw a need for rhetoric to focus on the substance of a speech rather than the speech process.⁵ Wallace (1963) viewed the substance as coming in three parts: First, beliefs about human behavior; second, judgments and appraisals; third, value-judgments. In

⁵ Wallace stated, “Except for Kenneth Burke, the principal writers on modern rhetorical theory ... neglect substance and concentrate on processes, methods, techniques and effects (p. 241). Burke was a substance-oriented rhetorical critic, as was Wallace, and later Fisher.

other words, values played a key role, if not a starring one, in Wallace's notion of substance. Furthermore, Wallace (1963) saw good reasons as being the substance of communication. Wallace (1963) defined a good reason as "A statement offered in support of an *ought* proposition or value-judgment" (p. 247). Wallace (1963), who borrowed the term *good reasons* from the ethics field, believed that good reasons should be highlighted in future rhetorical works as well as in speech classrooms. "Both rhetorician and teacher would be ever reminding the speaker, as well as themselves, that the substance of rhetorical proof has to do with values and value-judgments, i.e., with what is held to be good" (p. 248). Fisher (1978) summed up Wallace's viewpoint, saying, "Wallace's view (is that) the value of a value is that it is tied to a reason" (p. 380).

Booth's view of good reasons differed from Wallace's. Fisher (1978) states that "Booth's view (is that) the value of a value resides in who expresses it" (p. 380). Booth wrote that good reasons are created and upheld individually (Burgess, 1975). Booth believed people should look at what the traditional sources of authority agree upon, and then "Booth recommends that we use our own perceptions, experience and knowledge" (Gregg, 1975, p. 250).

Fisher came up with a decidedly different approach from those of Wallace and Booth and directly refutes their concepts in this explanation:

A good reason is a warrant for a belief, attitude or action and the value of a value lies in its relevance, consistency, and consequence, and that it is not superseded by higher values. Put another way, a value is valuable not because it is tied to a reason or is expressed by a reasonable person per se,

but because *it makes a pragmatic difference in one's life and in one's community*. (Fisher, 1978, pp. 380-381).

Fisher (1978) saw good reasons not as working within a hierarchy of values, like Wallace did, or existing within a reasonable person, like Booth did. Rather, Fisher (1978) saw good reasons, first, as a warrant—how they created a justification for an action or a point of view; and, second, as an influential idea that makes a meaningful difference in one's life or in the lives of others around that individual.

The next step in Fisher's development of the narrative paradigm involved establishing rationality (Fisher, 1980a). Fisher centered his argument on the idea "that the rationality of the logic of good reasons is constituted in its use" (Fisher, 1980a, p. 121). Fisher (1980a) felt it necessary to distinguish between reasonableness and rationality. Fisher (1980a) believed being reasonable, while still valuable to rhetorical competence, is more attitudinal; whereas, being rational is the key for an individual to attain rhetorical competence. "Being reasonable, in other words, is an aspect of rationality, not its substance. ... One may be reasonable but not competent; one cannot be rational and incompetent" (Fisher, 1980a, p. 123).

Fisher (1987) asks: "Logos, logos, who's got the logos?" (p. 19). In this almost-mocking way, Fisher highlights what he sees as the greatest weaknesses in the idea that persuasion is exclusively logical. Fisher believes that the all-logic approach mistakenly denies the role that an individual plays in the rhetorical situation. In contrast, Fisher (1987) believed that all individuals can recognize

logic—in that they can understand and comprehend narrative fidelity and coherency, *naturally*. In surveying the rhetorical landscape, Fisher concluded:

The most indispensable need in contemporary rhetoric is for a scheme by which values can be identified and their implications critically considered.

This conviction derives from the belief that rhetorical communication is as laden with values as it is with what we call reasons (Fisher, 1987, p. 105).

Fisher also quoted Bertrand Russell: “It is true ... that we should know logic; but our knowledge must not be confounded with the truths which we know” (qtd. in Fisher, 1987, p. 35). Furthermore, Fisher (1987) believed that since much of discourse contains “confused notions” (p. 34), then logic alone does not fully explain why people accept or reject arguments.

All of this sets up Fisher’s narrative paradigm which was introduced in 1984. These early works highlight and explain the prominence that Fisher later assigns to values and reveal a new view of rationality in his construction of the narrative paradigm. As can be seen, Fisher had developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s a growing fascination with narrative and a growing disdain for the belief that logic and rationality are limited to the genre of argumentation. Indeed, the narrative paradigm is most divergent from the rational world paradigm in these two areas. “What is rejected is the specific notion that reason only appears in discourse when it takes the individuated forms of inference or implication, or the genre of argumentation. Also rejected is any conception of human communication that denies or ignores values” (Fisher, 1989, p. 57). This is a telling statement. Although written by Fisher after the implementation of the

narrative paradigm, it sums up what Fisher sought to create when considering a new way to view communication: He needed a system that highlighted values while allowing rationality to be possessed by the masses—and not just the learned.

Narrative rationality

Fisher believes the narrative paradigm supplants traditional logic with a better kind of logic—narrative rationality. The parts of the narrative paradigm are coherence and fidelity (Fisher, 1987). “Human communication is tested against the principles of probability (coherence) and fidelity (truthfulness and reliability)” (Fisher, 1987, p. 47). Fisher then gives some clarifying definitions: probability deals with “whether a story ‘hangs together’” (p. 47). Under the probability assessment, three types of coherence must be developed: structural (the sequential or logic framework of the story is internally consistent), material (the story is consistent with other stories that have been told on the subject), and characterological (the characters behave in a rational way, or to put it another way: if the persons in a story act as a listener or reader might logically expect the characters to act). Fisher (1987) wrote, “Character is an organized set of actional tendencies reflecting values” (p. 147). Later, Fisher calls character the “generalized perception of a person’s fundamental value orientation” (p. 148). Fidelity, Fisher (1987) states is assessed through “the logic of good reasons” (p. 47); an additional assessment comes in whether “the stories they experience ring true with the stories they know to be true in their lives” (Fisher, 1984, p. 8). Fisher (1987) believes that “good reasons” are “*those elements that provide warrants for*

accepting or adhering to the advice fostered by any form of communication that can be considered rhetorical" (p. 107, italics in original). In other words, the good reasons are the parts of the story that motivate a listener to accept the suggestions, thoughts, ideas, and values espoused in the story. In short, good reasons persuade listeners to act. Fisher (1987) believed this was an important concept for scholars to understand, particularly in using his theory. "When the narrative paradigm is used in exploring discourses, the texts are viewed as verbal phenomena composed of good reasons" (Fisher, 1987, p. 143).

For Fisher (1987), narrative rationality does not dismiss other argumentative forms, such as syllogisms and enthymemes; rather, narrative rationality tries to incorporate all forms of argument into one and claims "that reason occurs in human communication in other than traditional argumentative structure" (p. 48). Fisher (1987) asserted that all human communication is a form of narrative emplotment. Previously, scholars had held that narrative be confined to form; in other words, stories had follow a particular pattern to be classified as a narrative. Fisher (1987) rejected this idea. Instead, he proposed that in every communication, narrative is present. In so doing, Fisher gives the narrative paradigm a wider application, as it can no longer be confined simply to those communications that are classified as stories. Narrative rationality was never meant to disregard or dispose of the work of previous rhetorical scholars; rather, it tried to include all under the umbrella that narratives are the prime form through which communication occurs.

However, Fisher (1984, 1987) saw several conceptual differences between rationality and traditional logic: First, he saw communicative transactions, not arguments, as the way by which thoughts are communicated. Second, Fisher believed values were more important than form. This stemmed from the Fisherian belief that thought isn't transferred through argument alone, but through other forms (Fisher, 1987). Furthermore, Fisher (1987) wrote, "It is not the *individual* form of argument that is ultimately persuasive in discourse" (p. 48). Fisher (1987) instead saw another element as holding the key to persuasion: values. Resultantly, Fisher decided to have his narrative rationality theory zero in on the good reasons contained in a story. Fisher also spent time comparing and contrasting narrative paradigm theory with the rational world theory. Importantly, Fisher (1987) believed that a distinctive difference of narrative rationality was that it focused not on how the form of the argument was persuasive; rather, the narrative paradigm emphasized that "values are more persuasive" (p. 48). Finally, Fisher (1987) viewed his approach to be stronger than other approaches because of its inclusiveness of every person.

One no longer has to appeal to a privileged audience as the measure of rationality. Rationality is grounded in the narrative structure of life and the natural capacity people have to recognize coherence and fidelity in the stories they experience and tell one another (Fisher, 1987, p. 137)

Next, Fisher develops the idea of *homo narrans*—the idea that human beings are storytelling animals. A reading of Fisher's works shows the idea of *homo narrans* experienced a conceptual evolution. Fisher (1978) saw people as

animals that prized values and reason. In 1980, Fisher (1980b) rejected Barber's belief that people understand the character of the president by placing that president in the context of history. Fisher (1980b), on the other hand, claimed citizens could understand and analyze a president's character through his discourse alone. The major evolutionary change to this concept came from MacIntyre's 1981 book, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, in which MacIntyre stated, "Man is in his actions and practice, as well as in his fictions, essentially a story-telling animal" (qtd. in Fisher, 1984, p. 1).

Fisher embraced this suggestion, refining the idea that human beings are reasoning and valuing animals. At first glance, Fisher appears to have simply labeled MacIntyre's statement. However, Fisher (1984) offers the important context that it is through stories that values and reasons are transmitted. As such, "The meaning and significance of life in all of its social dimensions require the recognition of its narrative structure" (Fisher, 1984, p. 3). Fisher (1984) also accepted Hauerwas' statement that basic principles and ethics involve narrative. Fisher (1989) believed the narrative paradigm "celebrates human beings, and it does this by reaffirming their nature as storytellers" (p. 56). Fisher (1987) believed people experience their worlds through narrative and extract the values that guide their existence. As such, Fisher viewed narrative as the chief form of communication and the way through which our world is realized and re-created.

While narratives transmit values, not all narratives are persuasive. Importantly, people choose from among the stories that account for a given event (Cragan and Shields, 1995). For example, a person may hear two friends'

accounts of what they did with their tax return: one saved, and the other bought a long-desired item. One narrative highlights saving; the other highlights spending. The listener then chooses which value resonates more with the listener's experience. This belief assumes that humans can naturally extract meaning from the stories they hear or that every human being has some capacity for narrative coherency (Fisher, 1987). Furthermore, Fisher (1987) believed speakers to be credible only insofar as an audience believes a speaker to be trustworthy, dynamic, or an expert on the topic. Perhaps the friend who spent the tax return may be well-known for having financial problems and the decision to spend instead of save may have been a foolish one. As such, the friend's credibility in the area of finances is damaged, and the value of that friend's story may be disregarded.

The Rational World Paradigm

Fisher (1984) wanted the narrative paradigm to replace Aristotle's rational world paradigm. Fisher spent a good portion of the 1984 article contrasting his new paradigm with Aristotle's old paradigm. The following table shows the difference between the two paradigms as Fisher sees them:

Rational World Paradigm	Narrative Paradigm
Humans are rational beings	Humans are story-telling animals
Paradigmatic mode of communication: Argument	Paradigmatic mode of communication: Narrative
Arguments are conducted situationally.	Good reasons are produced historically, culturally, and individually.
Rationality is determined through knowledge of the subject and the abilities and skills of the arguer.	Rationality is determined by narrative coherence and narrative fidelity
The world is a set of logical puzzles. Arguments solve these societal problems.	The world is a set of stories. People choose their good reasons from these stories.
Philosophical ground: Epistemological	Philosophical ground: Ontological

Fisher (1984) believed the idea that rationality is learned as one of the rational world paradigm’s biggest weaknesses. “Where the rational world paradigm is an ever-present part of our consciousness because we have been educated into it, the narrative impulse is part of our very being because we acquire narrativity in the natural process of socialization” (Fisher, 1984, p. 8). Therefore, humans learn to listen, almost innately, to stories and extract values from them. As such, Fisher (1984) agreed with Turner’s idea that narrative is “the supreme instrument for building ‘values’ and ‘goals’” (p. 8).

A vital difference between rational world paradigm and narrative paradigm comes in each theory’s view of rational determinism. Fisher (1984) believed that rationality and narrative rationality were quite similar. The difference came in how much weight each theory attributes to rationality. Under

the rational world paradigm, rationality had to be learned and required the speaker to be self-aware and deliberate. In contrast, narrative rationality made no such requirements. Rather, the narrative paradigm assumes that all humans are capable of rationality. Importantly, “the operative principle of narrative rationality is identification rather than deliberation” (Fisher, 1984, p. 9).

Importantly, Fisher includes in this discussion a personal correspondence he received from Burke in which Burke wrote:

We assume a time when our primal ancestors became able to go from SENSATIONS to *WORDS*. (When they could duplicate the experience of tasting an orange by saying ‘the taste of an orange,’ that was **WHEN STORY CAME INTO THE WORLD**). (qtd. in Fisher, 1984, p. 8).

The simple description “the taste of an orange” causes another to identify with the experience of tasting an orange. “Narratives enable us to understand the actions of others ‘because we all live out narratives in our lives and because we understand our own lives in terms of narratives’” (Fisher, 1984, p. 8).

Chapter Three

Identification and narrative

The next step is to examine how Burkean identification and Fisherian narrative fit together. Burkean identification and Fisherian narrative are rhetorically distinct, yet the theories are not contradictory, nor are the ideas competing for the same ideological ground. A careful examination of the literature shows that the two theories can co-exist and even work together for the benefit of the rhetorical critic, yet these two major theories have yet to be intertwined in a meaningful way. Also, on the bridge that can unite these two theories, some planks have already been built. The first comes through the sociological understanding of conversation and identification. Sociologists Adams and P.J. Burke (2006) in their study on 9/11 narratives certainly see a connection among rhetoric, narrative, and identification:

As sociologists of identity, we aim to illuminate the way that respondents' memories of 9/11 connect to their self-understanding. We treat audiences' account or narrations of the media coverage of these 'critical events' as inseparable from everyday processes of identity maintenance and reproduction (p. 985).

This sociological study provides a clear tie between rhetoric and narrative in the process of creating identification, especially if one accepts the idea that narratives are a part of the "everyday processes of identity maintenance and reproduction" (Adams and Burke, 2006, p. 985) in that these individuals' narratives mirrored whom they believed themselves to be. That assertion is certainly in keeping with

the belief by Fisher (1984) that people experience their world through narrative, thus, creating an important tie between Fisherian narrative and Burkean identification. In fact, Eaves and Savoie (2005) have used the term “narrative bonding” to describe a process similar to Burkean identification. Eaves and Savoie (2005) state that narrative bonding occurs when the audience participates in the establishing of coherence, thereby, creating a bond between communicator and audience. This process of identification differs substantively from that of narrative bonding, yet this idea gives weight to the idea that consubstantiality can be established through narrative.

Fisher (1987) argued extensively that rhetoric was an ontological experience. He believed Burke agreed with him: “Rhetorical experience works by identification rather than by demonstration. As he recognizes reason as well as aesthetic qualities in all forms of human communication, Burke’s theory recaptures and reinforces the original sense of logos” (Fisher, 1987, p. 18). Perhaps the two planks on this bridge that have been developed the most are the plank of symbols and the plank of values. Fisher viewed narrative as a symbol, explaining: “The materials of the narrative paradigm are symbols, sign of consubstantiation, and good reasons, the communicative expressions of social reality” (Fisher, 1987, p. 65). The planks used to construct the bridge between identification and narrative are the same items that Fisher (1987) states are “the materials of the narrative paradigm” (p. 65): symbols and good reasons (or values)—as well as consubstantiation. Thus, we see theoretical basis for using

symbols and values to make this bridge. Importantly, if narrative is a symbol, then the plank of values is what needs to be connected to complete this bridge.

Symbols

A strong link between identity and narrative comes from the use of symbols. A statement of Burke's, quoted by Fisher, says, "Wherever there is persuasion, there is rhetoric. And wherever there is 'meaning,' there is 'persuasion'" (qtd. in Fisher, 1987, p. 18). This statement provides a link between narrative and identification: Through symbols (or language), meaning and persuasions occur. As Fisher (1987) states, "Rhetorical experience is most fundamentally a symbolic transaction in and about social reality" (p. 17). Rhetoric occurs through utilizing symbols or through the act of conversation. Through conversation, meaning is extracted, and persuasion is created. In an earlier Fisher work, the following is noted: "Any kind of persuasion is an effort to induce symbolically attitudes and/or actions" (McBath and Fisher, 1969, p. 17). Olson and Olson (2004) explained that Burke understood persuasion to include "all meaning-making via symbols, whether communicated to others or practiced for oneself" (p. 26). Fisher (1984) saw narration as being comprised of symbols arranged in a sequential and meaningful order. Fisher (1987) expounded on the idea, saying, "Burke sees rhetoric as an attribute of all symbolic expression and action" (p. 18). Thus, a clear similarity develops in how the two theorists viewed the use of symbols in persuasion. The similarities in the theorists' points of view on how symbols are used rhetorically continue to overlap, as their ideas are studied more in-depth.

Burke (1966) wrote that “Man is a symbol-using animal” (p. 3). In that same work, Burke expands his definition to say that man is “the symbol-using (symbol-making, symbol-misusing) animal” (p. 6). Fisher (1984, 1987) built on this statement of Burke’s in creating the idea that human beings could be described as *homo narrans*: the idea that humans use stories to experience their world. Fisher (1987) explained the relationship between the symbol-using animal and *homo narrans*:

One’s life is, as suggested by Burke, a story that participates in the stories of those who have lived, who live now, and who will live in the future. He asks: “Where does the drama get its materials?” I would modify the question to read: “Where do our narratives get their materials?” And I would accept his answer: “From the ‘unending conversation’ that is going on in history when we are born. (Fisher, 1987, p. 63).

Burke and Fisher have the same approach: Through conversation, one gains an understanding of how the world works and of how people should act within the world.

The previous chapter claimed that through identification, individuals attempt to overcome division, and that through narrative, humans discover and transmit values. The one meaningful difference between the two theories comes from Burke’s idea that people identify through group roles (Burke, 1941) and Fisher’s belief that people act as storytellers (Fisher, 1987). While Fisher (1987) sees this as an important distinction, it seems possible—even probable—that

people act in a storytelling role. I, therefore, contend that this difference is not significant enough to stop construction on the bridge between the two theories.

Burke, though, makes a further critical distinction in noting that humans “are not equivalent to animals” (Cralle, 2006, p. 6). Humans are separated from animals through their use of symbols (Cralle, 2006). Likewise, in writing about the narrative paradigm, Fisher (1987) quoted Isocrates and Cicero’s contentions that, through language, humans distinguish themselves from other animals. For instance, Fisher (1987) quotes Cicero’s statement: “For the one point in which we have our very greatest advantage over brute creation is that we hold converse one with another, and can reproduce our thought in word” (p. 14).

Burke also shared this belief that a primary distinctive difference between human beings and animals arises through the use of language. Burke made note of some important differences between humans and animals: humans can act (whereas animals just move); instincts need not govern human behavior; humans can talk about themselves. “In other words, symbols unleash a new power in the world, for they allow human beings to both go beyond the natural world and comment upon our situation” (Cralle, 2006, pp. 5-6). This new power comes in the form that human beings do not need to react to their situations; instead, they may reflect on their circumstances and judge which response is the best for a given situation (Cralle, 2006). “Human symbolocity functions to create meaning, not simply to respond to what is ‘given’” (Cralle, 2006, p. 6). The use of symbols also robs humans of the instincts that are so sharply refined and used by animals (Cralle, 2006). The natural response to this lack of instinct is to be naturally

nervous “because it is our lone defense against the over-powering totality of our environment” (Cralle, 2006, p. 7). This ability to talk about possibilities also contributes to anxiety in that humans can fret about things that will happen in the future, such as death (Cralle, 2006). Symbols, however, also allow humans to battle their anxiety (Cralle, 2006). Cralle (2006) notes that the symbolic notion of self works to eliminate the anxiety of being human. “To be a symbol-using animal means to try, throughout our daily lives, to avoid emphasizing the ‘animality’ in this formula” (Cralle, 2006, p. 8) Human beings also work to ensure that their identity is based on “more than the decaying materiality of the body” (Cralle, 2006, p. 8); in other words, humans labor to establish a legacy that highlights their good attributes and minimizes their negative ones.

Additionally, Burke notes that humans can do something animals cannot: speak in a “time-world” (Cralle, 2006, p. 6). Animals are limited to time-binding language. A dog can only bark at the stranger at the door; his bark does not represent the stranger that was there yesterday or the stranger that could be there tomorrow; the dog’s communication is limited to only the present; whereas, humans can talk of things that are, that were, or that will be. Burke also states human beings are the only animals “who [have] a notion of past-present future” (qtd. in Cralle, 2006, p. 6).

Because they use a set of symbols to convey meaning, or language, humans are distinctively different from animals (Burke, 1966). The animal is naturally divided from the pack, but the human is unified with the pack through communication. Other dichotomies arise in this dynamic: “Burke identifies this

dialectical relationship between individuality and sociality, non-symbolic and symbolic, as the ‘universal rhetorical situation’” (Crabbe, 2006, p. 5). Crabbe (2006) sees this last idea—the concept that rhetoric is used to bridge the chasm of divide—as giving strength to the Burkean form of identification that the sociological understanding of identification lacks. This division is an invitation for rhetoric (Crabbe, 2006).

Another important similarity between Burke and Fisher comes through the fact that they view literature similarly. “The difference between the symbolic drama and the drama of the living is a difference between imaginary obstacles and real obstacles. But: the imaginary obstacles of symbolic drama must, to have the relevance necessary for the producing of effects upon audiences, reflect the real obstacles of living drama” (Burke, 1941, p. 168). Burke’s notion as explained here seems to have common ground with Fisher’s belief of narrative rationality and fidelity. Just as a story “must ring true” with one’s experiences, the obstacles a communicator puts forth must be believable, real challenges people face. Furthermore, Burke (1941) explains that there must be “a *ground in common* between propagandizer and propagandized” (p. 169). This idea conforms to Fisher’s conceptualization of fidelity: that a story “must ring true” with its audience if it is to be accepted. In fact, the notion of a story ringing true may be better understood as being an idea or story with which the audience identifies. To that end, Burke (1941) urged “those interested in engineering shifts of allegiance . . . [to] confine differences solely to those areas where differences *are* necessary” (p. 168-169).

Values

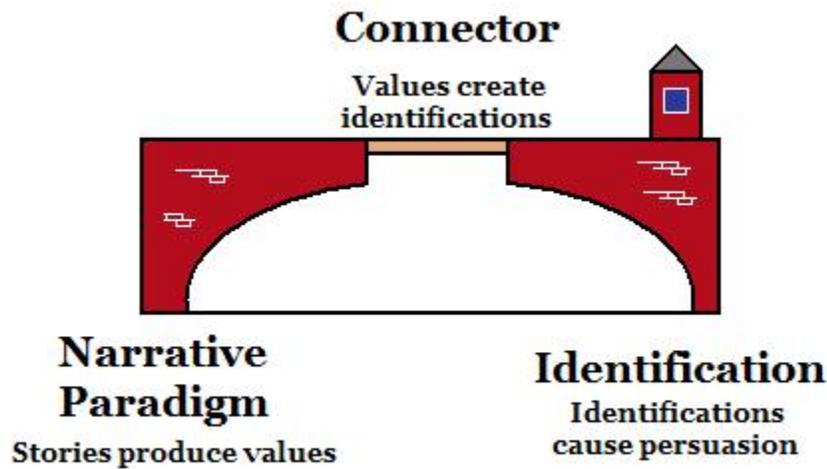
Whereas Fisher argues that values are transmitted through narrative, Burke also saw a relationship between value and form. “For Burke, linguistic form involves the construction of reality, not a search for traditional ‘logical validity’” (Miller, 2004, p. 229). Importantly, Burkean form is value-laden (Miller, 2004); therefore, identification can occur through values. Miller (2004) also provided further foundations for this connection, by noting that, “for Burke, identification requires a perception of joined interests. Joined interests may best be seen as consistent orientations or motives. Consequently, identification occurs when two individuals perceive a similar expectation” (Miller, 2004, p. 230). These orientations may include values, which could elicit a shared expectation that individuals should act in a certain, value-oriented way. For instance, the Republican view of morality reacted to President Clinton’s affair with Monica Lewinsky and subsequent grand jury denial as a violation of the values that Republicans espouse (Miller, 2004); a Republican discussing the issue with a like-minded individual would find identification throughout the discussion, and the pair might likely reach the same conclusion that Clinton should be impeached.

The Narrative Bridge

Enough similarity exists to believe the two ideas of identification and narrative paradigm can co-exist and work together to give a rhetor a better understanding of the text that is being analyzed. In fact, Fisher (1987) writes that “the operative principle of narrative rationality is *identification*” (p. 66). On this important statement, the bridge is formed. For narrative rationality to be effective,

then identification needs to be created. The question remains as to why narrative rationality hinges on identification to be persuasive. The answer is values: values must be shared—or, at least, perceived by the listener as being shared—between hearer and speaker, reader and writer. This is all part of a process that weds these two theories in what I would like to now propose as the narrative bridge.

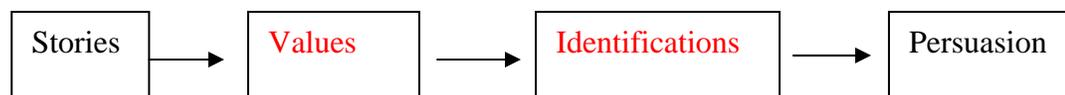
A visual representation of the bridge looks like this:



In this visual representation, it is important to imagine a message traveling from left to right across this bridge. It starts with the story and ends with persuasion. For this bridge to be effective, it would have to operate under the assumption that it is predominantly through good reasons that identifications are created. This is a tie that does not exist concretely in Burkean thought, yet Fisher gives us the impetus to believe an important tie exists. While Burke implies that values are one way by which identifications are created, he does not give them pre-eminent status. In contrast, Fisher cites Burke's identification in considering

the narrative paradigm, and Fisher gives us the idea that identification may be *the* key factor by which good reasons are made persuasive.

If the two theories are to be united, it will be the plank of good reasons that completes the bridge between the two theories. The connector is the idea that the values create identifications. If they do, the bridge can exist; if they do not, then the bridge simply does not work, and these two theories must remain separate. Therefore, I put forth the argument that the tie comes in the idea that values create identification. Revisiting the earlier idea of identity overlap, I suggest another title for this phenomenon: value overlap. Where the values overlap, identifications occur. The deeper the values intersect, the more solid the identifications. Values cause identification: this provides an important theoretical framework, and this should be the link between narrative paradigm and identification that makes the two theories co-exist and work together to increase a scholar's understanding of a communication. In essence, the premise of the bridge is that if stories create values, and values produce identifications, and identifications cause persuasion, then stories are persuasive:



The degree to which a story is persuasive, however, faces limitations in the second and third step of the process. These steps act as filters within the persuasion process because perceptions enter these two phases of the process. First, the hearer of a story will pick out perceived values from the teller's story.

Those may not be the values the storyteller intended the hearer to highlight, but the values detected in a story usually depend on the listener. If the values perceived in the story do not align with the hearer's values, then the value overlap either will not occur, or the overlap will be minimal. If there is no value overlap, persuasion is impossible. If the value overlap is minimal, then persuasion will be minimal. Second, the identifications also hinge on perceptions. The listener's self-perception and the perception of the speaker may differ and may cause identification to be a difficulty. For example, if a fitness expert were speaking to a person with a self-perception of being unfit, then the hearer may dismiss the expert's advice with a simple, "Well, that may work for you, but it is not going to work for me." That would be a case of the value being nullified because it does not "ring true" with the hearer's own self-perception. Thus, the persuasion process is disrupted. Perceptions, therefore, either confirm or interrupt identification.

This study serves as a test of this narrative bridge. As such, Arnold Schwarzenegger's 2004 Republican Convention speech will be analyzed with the following questions in mind:

RQ1: How does Governor Schwarzenegger use his personal immigrant narrative to build identification among himself, immigrants, and the Republican Party?

RQ2: How is Governor Schwarzenegger's narrative representative of American values, and how are they used to create identification between American ideals and the Republican Party?

The VIND model

Fisher (1985) admitted that his narrative paradigm was not designed with a method. Rather, this was a purposeful omission because Fisher (1985) wanted the paradigm to be seen as a gateway to perspective. In his 1978 article on “good reasons,” however, Fisher provided five steps toward unlocking good reasons: First is the question of *fact*: What are the implicit and explicit values embedded in a message? Second is the question of *relevance*: Are the values appropriate to the nature of the decision that the message bears upon? ... Third is the question of *consequence*: What would be the effects of adhering to the values—for one’s concept of oneself, for one’s behavior, for one’s relationships with others and society, and to the process of rhetorical transaction? ... Fourth is the question of *consistency*: Are the values confirmed or validated in one’s personal experience, in the lives of others whom one admires and respects, and in a conception of the best that one can conceive? Fifth is the question of *transcendent issue*: Even if a prima-facie case exists or a burden of proof has been established, are the values the message offers those that, in the estimation of the critic, constitute the ideal basis for human conduct? (p. 379)

It should be noted that these steps are repeated in Fisher’s 1987 book on the narrative paradigm. This appears not to be so much a method for conducting a complete analysis of the text, but, rather, this five-step process serves to identify the transcendent values of a narrative (Cragan and Shields, 1995). In fact, such a conclusion is in keeping with the desire by Fisher (1985) that the narrative paradigm not be utilized by one specific method. Fisher (1978) also notes that his

“logic of good reason is not a mechanism for resolving disputes over values” (p. 383). Thus, Fisher seemed resistant to the idea that the narrative paradigm operates under a universal method. This inevitably created conflict with scholars who believed the theory needed a way in which to be operationalized.

Indeed, much of the early criticism of Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm Theory centered on this issue of a method-free analysis tool. Rowland (1989) tested the narrative paradigm by applying Fisher’s conceptualization of the paradigm to three different texts. Ultimately, Rowland (1989) concluded that the narrative paradigm failed as a method, in part, because it “fails to provide an adequate method for evaluating the epistemic quality of stories” (p. 52). Warnick (1987) asked, “What is the locus for critical assessment (in narrative paradigm)?” (p. 172). More importantly, and perhaps more reflective of the early critics of narrative paradigm, Warnick (1987) writes, “Fisher promises to enlarge and expand the circle of critical evaluation without actually succeeding in doing so” (p. 181). In particular, Warnick (1987) believed that Fisher had not provided enough specificity in describing how a rhetor determines the good reasons within a narrative.

In seeking to address this need for a method by which values could be identified in narrative, Vanderford, Smith, and Harris (1992) created the VIND model. The impetus for the model operates on the assumptions “stories are inherently value-laden” (Smith, Vanderford and Harris, 1992, p. 128) and that rhetorical analysis can reveal a speaker’s values. Thus, the VIND model operates

to extract from each story the values that the communicator believes are worthwhile.

The VIND model starts with the Rules of the Analysis of Actions. The first focal point of analyzing actions with the VIND model is to discover the terminal values--or “the values which are ends in themselves” (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992, p. 29). A five-step process is given to figure out these terminal values. First, evaluators examine the “evaluative oughts/shoulds” (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992) in a narrative. Second, goals, stated or implied, are identified. The third step is to find the reasons why the storyteller believes the action should be taken. Fourth, rhetorical critics must look at “actions that are praised or condemned by the storyteller” (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992). Finally, scholars look at repeated actions.

The second part in the analysis of action is to look at how instrumental values, or values that lead to the fulfillment of a terminal value, are used in the story. This three-step process begins by identifying cause-and-effect relationships and noting how an action is seen “as leading to the fulfillment of a terminal value” (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992, p. 130); and, finally, discovering actions that are perceived as blocking the fulfillment of that terminal value.

The other part of the VIND model is to use the Rules for Analysis of Characters, which consists of seven steps. The first three steps are to identify labeling of personal characteristics, labeling of emotions expressed toward other people in the story, and the labeling of interactions between characters (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992). Next, analysts look at evaluations of those

relationships. Then, in the fifth step, scholars look at “how storytellers identify and define themselves” (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992, p. 130). The sixth step examines what the narrators believe are their needs. The final step is to examine “where the storyteller puts his/her attention” (Vanderford, Smith and Harris, 1992, p. 130).

The challenge for a study seeking a bridge between these two theories is finding an existing method that meets the needs of both. Of course, no method currently is designed for utilizing both theories. The task, then, is to locate a theory that could fit both theories. In searching for such a method, I determined that the VIND model could be the best fit for several reasons. First, it seemed logical to choose a model designed for revealing values because the values precede identifications in the narrative-identification bridge process. Once values are recognized, then they can be assessed to see whether they create identifications with the speaker’s intended audience. Also, values serve as the connecting plank in the bridge between two theories, so it seems logical to select a model whose strength is revealing values. Finally, the VIND model poses a possible fit for the identification theory because it asks a critic to analyze how the speaker identifies himself or herself. This makes the identification analysis simple: an analyst has to locate the speaker’s self-identification, and then the researcher analyzes whether the audience would adopt that identification. Because it met these criteria, the VIND model was selected for the method of this thesis.

The VIND model was created for the narrative paradigm; thus, it has some square peg issues that need to be resolved before it can suffice as a method for

Burkean identification. The strength of the VIND model is that it seeks to reveal values located within an artifact; thus, it is revealing a rhetorical element that is of interest to both theories. The weakness of the model, however, may be that it provides only a small glimpse into the identification process. The one step that deals with identification asks scholars to look at the way speakers construct their identifications within a narrative discourse. Nonetheless, a purpose of this study is to test the VIND model as a bridge between the two theories.

For each step of the VIND model, the researcher read through Schwarzenegger's speech, noting the items that relate to that step. As such, each step was treated independently of the steps that preceded or followed it. Each step yielded a different angle from which that portion of the speech can be viewed. Certain values routinely appeared in each step of the VIND model process; these values were then considered to be the pre-eminent values of the speech and were given more weight than values mentioned less frequently in the analysis.

To comprehensively meet the needs of both the narrative paradigm and Burkean identification, some additional steps must be added. First, before the VIND model is even to be applied, it is necessary to identify Schwarzenegger's target audience. This is a necessary step because to establish identifications, the group that a speaker is addressing must be established. The key to identifying the audience is to highlight whom Schwarzenegger deems as his audience through directly addressing a specific group of people. When speakers address the audience directly, then it can be positively concluded that that is the audience they

wish to address. Then, the speech can be analyzed by how the speech is designed to appeal to this specific audience.

After the VIND model is applied, a list of the values revealed by the analysis will be compiled. Then those values will be shown to analyze their appeal to the target audience. Later, in this study, the VIND model's effectiveness as a method used in linking these two theories will be discussed; thus, a third research question is added for this purpose:

RQ3: Is the VIND model a viable method for the narrative bridge?

Chapter Four

Biography of Arnold Schwarzenegger

Arnold Schwarzenegger's story is at once inspiring and repulsing, with a mixture of awe-inspiring and awful details. Schwarzenegger's tale is one of triumph—an individual willing himself to incredible success as a bodybuilder, actor, and politician. His is a story of dreaming big, setting high goals, and working diligently to achieve. It is also a story of depravity—as a person who has been hounded by a past full of admitted steroid use and numerous allegations of sexual misconduct. It is a story of a boy, the son of a Nazi soldier, who rose above his father's disaffections and his own early athletic failures to become the biggest name in the history of bodybuilding. It is the story of a poor immigrant, arriving in America unable to speak the language, yet becoming one of America's biggest and wealthiest stars. It is the story of how a relative political novice wins one of the most bizarre state elections in U.S. history to become the governor of the country's largest state, the name of which he cannot even pronounce correctly. It is also a story of a person whose lurid past has been used to paint him unfavorably, and his current policies, particularly failing to grant clemency to death row inmates, have offended those in his native Austria so deeply that some there sought to revoke his Austrian citizenship ("Schwarzenegger," 2005). Other Austrians led a successful campaign to rename a stadium that had been named after Schwarzenegger (Bernstein, 2005; "Schwarzenegger, 2005). Is he a good guy or bad guy? He has played both roles in the movies; in real life, he seems to vacillate from one to the other, depending on what detail from his life surfaces.

The fickle and elusive definition of his character makes Schwarzenegger one of the more intriguing characters in American life today.

American Dream

Arnold Schwarzenegger came to America to live the American Dream, and he did just that. His prominence in American life is the direct result of continual diligence to reach his aims. A former girlfriend of Schwarzenegger's said he came to the United States "with nothing just big dreams" (qtd. in Poole, 2003, October 10). By 2003, he had a net worth of over \$200 million, was the governor of California, and had just finished a career as one of the silver screen's big stars in the Action Hero Era. He developed several key traits that helped him become a huge success: ambitious goal-setting and hard work. Those who know Schwarzenegger best continually note how driven he has always been. "This is a man of bottomless ambition," said George Butler (qtd. in Weinraub and Leduff, 2003), producer of *Pumping Iron*, the bodybuilding documentary that made Schwarzenegger a star.

As Schwarzenegger would later tell the Republican Convention, his American Dream began in Austria. Some key events—many of which occurred long before Schwarzenegger ever visited America—in his life helped foster this dream. Many of those moments compelled him to dream of a better life. Around the time he was elected governor, Arnold Schwarzenegger admitted to being abused early in his life.

My hair was pulled. I was hit with belts. So was the kid next door, and so was the kid next door. It was just the way it was. Many of the children I've

seen were broken by their parents, which was the German-Austrian mentality. Break the will. They didn't want to create an individual. . . . It was all about conforming. I was one who did not conform and whose will could not be broken. Therefore I became a rebel. Every time I got hit, and every time someone said, 'You can't do this,' I said, 'This is not going to be for much longer, because I'm going to move out of here. I want to be rich. I want to be somebody.' (qtd. in Morris, Gil, Neering and Ryan, 2004, par. 14).

His resistance to conformity may have drawn Schwarzenegger toward America, the capital of individualism. Schwarzenegger also discussed his desire to be rich. These tendencies can be identified as the materialistic American Dream and the individualistic American Dream. Schwarzenegger's American Dream was an oft-discussed theme of his well before his speech at the Republican Convention. In 1985, Schwarzenegger stated that he wanted to live the American Dream, and that is why he chose to live in the United States. Schwarzenegger explained his decision:

I went back home and realized that I liked my country, but for me America was the better place to be. Everybody thought big in comparison to European thinking. Everyone had great hopes, a positive outlook. There was no limit to whatever you wanted to do. I educated myself to be an American (qtd. in Garcia, 1985, par. 4).

Later that year, in another interview with *Time*, he again addressed the issue of why he chose to come to America, saying,

I was always fascinated by size and bigness . . . and I knew that America was a very strong country, strong in every way. If you say to an American that your goal is to be a world champion in body building or to become a millionaire, he says, 'That's terrific! Go for it!' In Europe, people will have a million reasons why you will never make it. (qtd. in Clarke, 1985, par .4).

From these statements, a pattern begins to form in Schwarzenegger's discussion of the American Dream. He chose to live in America to live for that Dream. For a man known for his 57-inch chest and 20-inch biceps, Schwarzenegger was naturally drawn to American bigness, but what drew him to America was the country's acceptance of big dreamers. Having faced skepticism from his parents when he first entered bodybuilding and having faced discipline by the Austrian government when he went AWOL to attend a competition, Schwarzenegger purportedly did not receive support for his big dreams in Europe, but he found widespread support for such dreams when he arrived in America. Thus, Schwarzenegger appears to value the encouragement he received in America more than anything else.

Schwarzenegger's life has been patterned on goal-setting and determination. Barbara Outland Baker, who was Schwarzenegger's girlfriend for six years in the early 1970s, recalls that Schwarzenegger had great ambitions back then. He wrote his New Year's Resolutions on index cards at the start of each year and accomplished all of them by the time the year ended (Poole, 2003). She also recalls him telling her he would be the governor of California one day (Poole,

2003). Some, including Schwarzenegger biographer Wendy Leigh, suspect Schwarzenegger had his eye on politics from the time he was growing up in Austria (Borger and Campbell, 2003). His ascension to power in California shows his tremendous willpower (Borger and Campbell, 2003).

Indeed, many of the stories written about Schwarzenegger have highlighted his ambitious goals.

Thirty-five years ago, Arnold Schwarzenegger, an unknown Austrian bodybuilder who spoke only a few words of English, had little money and no acting experience, came to the United States and soon made a prediction: He would become a movie star, make millions of dollars, marry a glamorous wife and wield political power (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003, par. 1).

Those goals drove his life as he worked to fulfill them. “He took seriously his ability to charm and coax people and do exactly what he wanted,” Mr. [Bobby] Zarem [who was in charge of publicizing *Pumping Iron*] said. “He knew 25 years ago where he was going” (qtd. in Weinraub and Leduff, 2003, par. 17).

Life in Austria

Gustav Schwarzenegger

Gustav Schwarzenegger, Arnold’s father, was a tough man—and being the son of Gustav proved problematic for Arnold both as a child and later as an aspiring politician. Schwarzenegger was the second son his mother had, and his father made it clear that he preferred Arnold’s older brother Meinhard (Poole, 2003, October 10; Weinraub and Leduff, 2003), even though Meinhard was

Gustav's stepson. Some speculate that Gustav Schwarzenegger's mistreatment of Arnold stems from the suspicion that Arnold was not his son (Poole, 2003, October 10).

Gustav Schwarzenegger instilled in his sons an intense competitive drive. It is rumored that Meinhard's competitiveness contributed to his early death. In Arnold, that impulse, combined with some bitterness toward his father, caused him to miss his father's funeral to attend a competition (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003). Gustav Schwarzenegger emphasized competition between his two boys, and he often pitted the boys against each other in athletic contests (Poole, 2003, October 10; Weinraub and Leduff, 2003). Gustav Schwarzenegger is reported to have ridiculed the boy who lost the competitions, which was usually Arnold (Poole, 2003, October 10; Weinraub and Leduff, 2003). Politically, the involvement of Gustav Schwarzenegger with the Nazi Party has been a hindrance to his son's political ambitions in America. Gustav Schwarzenegger applied to join the Nazi Party in 1938 (Poole, 2003, October 10; Weinraub and Leduff, 2003), but did not formally join until 1941 (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003). The nature of Gustav Schwarzenegger's behavior during the turbulent days of World War II has stained the Schwarzenegger name. During the 2003 recall election, Gustav Schwarzenegger's war records were located, and it was discovered he had served with the Sturmabteilung or Nazi storm troopers ("Records," 2003). Arnold, though, made several attempts to distance himself from his father, such as arranging for the Simon Wiesenthal Centre to investigate his father's wartime record. The Centre, to which Schwarzenegger has contributed over \$1 million

(Weinraub and Leduff, 2003), found no evidence that Gustav Schwarzenegger was a war criminal (Borger and Campbell, 2003). Some believe Schwarzenegger wanted the investigation, conducted years before the recall election, to clear his name for a future political run (Borger and Campbell, 2003). Schwarzenegger was not pleased to find out his father was a Nazi. “Arnold said, ‘What did it mean to be a member of the Nazi Party?’” Rabbi [Marvin] Hier recalled. “I explained, ‘Look, any son who finds out that his father was a member of the Nazi Party [has] something to [not] be proud of’” (qtd. in Weinraub and Leduff, 2003). But Hier also noted in another interview that, “Arnold is not his father” (qtd. in Borger and Campbell, 2003).

Bodybuilding

Schwarzenegger’s father pushed him toward soccer. Around age 15, Schwarzenegger visited a gym for the first time with his soccer team, and he gave up soccer for bodybuilding (Clarke, 1985). Bodybuilding instantly became an addiction for the young Schwarzenegger who would go to great lengths to ensure he worked out each day, even reportedly breaking into the gym on weekends. Schwarzenegger was influenced heavily by watching films starring Reg Park (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003). He even hung up posters in his bedroom of his bodybuilding idols (Clarke, 1985). The obsession for bodybuilding took over Schwarzenegger’s life. Schwarzenegger said that on a day when he did not work out, he could not stand to look at himself in the mirror. Schwarzenegger was likewise obsessed with bodybuilding competitions; in one famous incident, he went AWOL from the Austrian Army to attend a competition.

Success soon followed, as by age 18, Schwarzenegger had captured a Mr. Europe Jr. title and two years later, he captured his first Mr. Universe crown (Clarke, 1985). At the time of his victory, he was the youngest Mr. Universe ever. Schwarzenegger's bodybuilding success helped him reach America. He contacted Joe Weider, a well-connected figure in the bodybuilding world, who brought Schwarzenegger to America in 1968 (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003). Weider owned several fitness magazines, including *Flex* and *Muscle & Fitness* (Rutenberg, 2003) and made Schwarzenegger a well-known name. "I knew, and he knew, that he could be great," Weider said. "We created Arnold. He was special because he was tall, he had willpower, charm and above all he wanted to win" (qtd. in Weinraub and Leduff, 2003, par. 24).

Once in America, Schwarzenegger continued his prominence as a bodybuilder. Today, he is still considered one of the best bodybuilders of all time even though Schwarzenegger admitted, after his bodybuilding career was over, that he used steroids to build his famous physique (Borger and Campbell, 2003). His prowess in body building competitions gave renown to Gold's Gym, where he worked out. Some of his first businesses in America were weight-lifting related when he created training brochures and wrote books on the proper way to grunt in competition (Clarke, 1985).

Film Career

Every actor is looking for his big break into show business, and, not surprisingly, Schwarzenegger's break came because of his bodybuilding career. A guest appearance by Arnold on the "Merv Griffin Show" caught the attention of

TV legend Lucille Ball who invited him to participate on one of her TV specials (Clarke, 1985). Schwarzenegger's first movie was *Hercules in New York* in which he acted under the name Arnold Strong (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003).

Bodybuilding provided one final boost to Schwarzenegger's career and made him a legitimate superstar.

Schwarzenegger's seventh Mr. Universe title is most well-known because documentarians followed his training for the movie, *Pumping Iron*. The film transformed Schwarzenegger's bodybuilding prowess into stardom--something reviewers of the film picked up on almost immediately. A review by *Time* magazine said this of Schwarzenegger: "A cool, shrewd and boyish charmer, he exudes the easy confidence of a man who has always known he will be a star of some kind (and who could, if this movie takes off, become a multimedia presence of some force)" (Schickel, 1977). The film, which had a star-studded premiere in New York where a famous actress pretended to swoon over the muscular men, soon became a hit ("Super," 1977), as did its leading man. By the end of 1977, Schwarzenegger had become so entrenched in pop culture that a reviewer of *Saturday Night Fever*, Frank Rich, noted that John Travolta "strutted like Schwarzenegger" (Rich, 1977), and the book *Schwarzenegger* was on the Top 10 best-sellers list ("Best Sellers," 1977).

After *Pumping Iron*, Schwarzenegger's next milestone film was *Conan the Barbarian*, released in 1982. The film and its star were criticized by reviewers. "What is not [intentional] is the flatness of Schwarzenegger's performance, the dullness of his odyssey," wrote one reviewer (Schickel, 1982), but the film did

well at the box office. In 1984, Schwarzenegger began what would become his most famous role starring in *The Terminator*.

By 1985, Schwarzenegger had become a well-known action star, and his new success as an actor carried with it the promise that his success would not be limited to bodybuilding. Schwarzenegger said, “Ten years ago, muscles were the most important thing. People knew me for one thing, bodybuilding. They wanted to see me with the muscles. But eventually I think they will forget about the ‘Body’” (qtd. in Clarke, 1985, par. 1). His 1985 movie, *Commando*, in its first eleven days, pulled in \$16.5 million, a remarkable box office tally at the time (Clarke, 1985). Schwarzenegger remained one of Hollywood’s biggest stars until his 1992 film, *Last Action Hero*, turned out to be a monstrous box office bust—sending Schwarzenegger’s movie career in a tailspin. He had other flops with the comedies *Junior* and *Jingle All the Way*, neither of which could recreate the success Schwarzenegger had in the comedy *Twins* (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003).

Humor

Schwarzenegger was almost as well-known for providing fodder for comedians as he was for his action hero movies, but his good-natured approach to the joking and his willingness to include self-deprecating humor in his films helped make Schwarzenegger a popular figure. Schwarzenegger believed the humor of his films distinguished him from other stars of the era. “The thing that separates me from the rest of the action leads, like Stallone, Eastwood and Norris, is that I bring in all this humor to my films,” he said. “I love that, to have all this intensity, and then all of a sudden there is a funny line and you can relax” (qtd. in

Clarke, 1985, par. 2). Indeed, chroniclers of the 1980s agreed that Schwarzenegger's success was attributable as much to his willingness to be a punch line as it was his massive biceps. "He is a bulkier-than-life creature who knows he's a cartoon. So his pecs-'n'-sex epics have become dependably profitable" (Corliss, 1988).

Schwarzenegger's imitable accent, combined with some of his memorable movie lines, made Schwarzenegger impressions easy for the comedians. One of the more famous skits on *Saturday Night Live* in the 1980s was that of Hans and Franz, two Austrian body builders, both caricatures of Schwarzenegger. *UHF*, a cult classic from the 1980s that starred Weird Al Yankovic included a spoof of Schwarzenegger's film, *Conan the Barbarian*. In the spoof, *Conan the Librarian*, a sword-carrying, muscular librarian picks up a smallish patron and holds him up and asks in a thick Austrian accent, "Don't you understand the Dewey Decimal System?" Considering that comedians helped establish Schwarzenegger as a star, perhaps it is fitting that his gubernatorial campaign began at the unusual location of *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*.

For over three years in the early 1970s, Schwarzenegger lived with his girlfriend, Barbara Outland Baker, in California (Poole, 2003, October 10). Baker admits to being embarrassed by Schwarzenegger's lack of style, but Schwarzenegger answered her complaints by declaring anyone who criticized him as being traditional did not realize that he would be famous one day (Poole, 2003). Nevertheless, Baker persisted in instructing her Austrian boyfriend in American language and customs (Poole, 2003). Schwarzenegger's six-year

relationship with Baker dissolved when she discovered he had cheated on her (Poole, 2003).

Schwarzenegger became interested in American politics in the 1960s when he and his friend, Franco Columbu, began watching the nightly news (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003). The two were drawn toward the Republican Party because they felt the Democrats' ideals sounded similar to the European socialism they came to America to escape (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003). Schwarzenegger was later named the chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness under President George H. Bush (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003); this was his first prominent public position and firmly established his tie to the Republican Party.

2003 California Recall Election

The California Recall Election was started by an angry taxpayer, engineered by a conservative Congressman, and won by an Austrian immigrant. Ted Costa started the recall election because he was upset with the state's tax policy (Broder and Murphy, 2003), but Republican Congressman Darrell Issa financed the petition drive that put the recall issue on the ballot. The recall election had two components to it: First voters decided whether to recall Governor Davis; second, they voted for his replacement (Leduff, 2003, October 4). That setup created a wild political scene. There were no primaries; rather, the ballot had the names of every person who wanted to run for office even though hundreds put their names on the ballot. Initially, Schwarzenegger was one of 400 candidates (Borger and Campbell, 2003).

What followed was one of the most bizarre elections in American history—and one in which Schwarzenegger took center stage. Schwarzenegger declared his candidacy on *The Tonight Show* (Borger and Campbell, 2003). Schwarzenegger's decision was said to be a spontaneous one, as some speculate he was on the show to say he was not running for governor (Davies, 2003, August 11). Reportedly, George Gorton, one of Schwarzenegger's top advisors, was backstage "holding an official statement that began: 'I am not running for governor'" (Davies, 2003, August 11). Previously a headliner in films and bodybuilding competitions, Schwarzenegger was now headlining the crowded field of 400 would-be governors.

Never mind the budget deficit or electricity shortfalls, there is only one subject they really want to talk about and that is Arnie: Arnie the racist, Arnie the sexist, Arnie the guy the incumbent governor thinks you shouldn't vote for because he still can't speak English without an Austrian accent (Poole, 2003).

Almost immediately, Schwarzenegger began drawing comparisons to another actor-turned-California governor, Ronald Reagan (Davies, 2003, August 22). Some other factors helped Schwarzenegger. His wife, television journalist Maria Shriver, came from a political family, as the niece of President John F. Kennedy (Davies, 2003, August 15), and *Terminator 3*, a summer blockbuster that Schwarzenegger starred in had been in theaters that summer (Broder, 2003). Additionally, Schwarzenegger surrounded himself with some well-known advisors such as former California Governor Pete Wilson and billionaire Warren

Buffet who were on Schwarzenegger's campaign team (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003).

But perhaps Schwarzenegger's biggest advantage was his money. Schwarzenegger came into the election with an estimated net worth of \$200 million (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003) and spent \$10.3 million of his own money in an election where \$80 million combined was spent by the candidates among all candidates (Broder, 2003).

As well as starting out with name recognition that most politicians spend a lifetime trying to accrue, Schwarzenegger has another attribute essential to political success: money. He made \$30 [million] for his role in Terminator 3, just about what a high-octane governorship campaign costs. And that is just the proceeds from one film. Schwarzenegger had a business empire, including shopping malls, a Boeing 747, and large chunks of Santa Monica (Borger and Campbell, 2003).

Polls consistently showed a willingness by voters to recall Davis (Davies, 2003, August 11; Poole, 2003, September 30), but the race to decide on a successor for Davis was close. Schwarzenegger's campaign was hurt by some early missteps, including not answering a question about same-sex marriage by stating he was not ready to announce his position (Davies, 2003, August 15).

Schwarzenegger soon laid out his stances on the key issues. Schwarzenegger came out in favor of medicinal marijuana, prayer in school, and a ban on assault weapons but against gay marriage (but with support for domestic partnerships) and driver's licenses for illegal immigrants (Leduff, 2003, August

28). He also declared to be pro-choice and for lower taxes in the 2003 election (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003) while insisting that he did not want to cut money from education (Leduff and Broder, 2003). Schwarzenegger was also against Proposition 54, which allowed California to compile racial data on the state's inhabitants (Leduff and Broder, 2003). The chief issue, though, was the state's budget, which was in the throes of a tough economy. In a recall election spurred by taxpayers revolting against higher taxes, Schwarzenegger's two chief opponents, Democrats Governor Gray Davis and Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante both came out in favor of raising taxes. Bustamante proposed an \$8 billion tax increase (Leduff, 2003, September 24); meanwhile, Governor Gray Davis suggested it would be necessary to raise taxes to save state programs (Leduff and Broder, 2003). As for Schwarzenegger, he promised to cut the unpopular \$4 billion tax on vehicles (Murphy, 2003, October 9) and to adjust the state's Constitution to put a cap on state spending (Leduff and Broder, 2003). He also supported a ban on political donations during the time of year the state assembly considered the state budget (Leduff, 2003, September 24). Schwarzenegger's stances were criticized as attempts to appeal to all political ideologies (Leduff, 2003, August 28), as Schwarzenegger faced a difficult task of persuading an array of voters, particularly conservatives who took an initial distrust of Schwarzenegger's Republican credentials.

The election was tightly contested until a debate on September 25 when Schwarzenegger held his own, despite a fierce attack from socialite-turned-candidate Ariana Huffington (Poole, 2003, Sept. 26). A few days later,

Schwarzenegger retook the lead in the public opinion polls, showing he was backed by 40 percent of the voters—just a week away from the election. (Poole, 2003, Sept. 30). Schwarzenegger battled Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante for the lead among the candidates for most of the election. Schwarzenegger's campaign was helped by some missteps by Bustamante, including the promise to raise taxes by \$8 billion (Davies, 2003, Aug. 22).

Some believe the recall election may have been the only way Schwarzenegger could have won because it allowed him to avoid the one part of the election that would be the most difficult for him to win: the Republican Primary. "The rules of the recall vote mean that he does not have to compete in a primary, and so does not have to convince Republican activists, who might not appreciate his liberal position on social issues and his marriage to John F Kennedy's niece Maria Shriver" (Borger and Campbell, 2003).

Schwarzenegger was hounded by scandal during the recall election campaign. As a public celebrity, Schwarzenegger had a long database of quotes he had made over the years, including a plethora of degrading statements toward women, including quotes of his insistence that his wife not wear pants in public (Borger and Campbell, 2003). An interview Schwarzenegger had with *Oui*, an adult magazine, when he was 29, surfaced in which Schwarzenegger admitted to taking part in an orgy (Davies, 2003). Things got worse a few days before the election. Rumors emerged that he said in a 1975 book proposal that he admired Hitler. The author of the proposal, George Butler, said the claim was not accurate; rather, Schwarzenegger said he had admired that Hitler came from nothing to

power, but Schwarzenegger added immediately that he did not respect what Hitler had done with that power (Leduff, 2003, October 4). Around the same time, he was accused of making “unwanted sexual advances” by six women with allegations of groping and other inappropriate touching (Leduff, 2003, October 4). The rumored statement was used as a political weapon by Davis and Senator Dianne Feinstein (Leduff, 2003, October 4). Voters were also reminded that he was accused of infidelity in a 2001 magazine article; Schwarzenegger denied the charges (Weinraub and Leduff, 2003). One commentator noted that the mainstream media was sounding dubiously like the tabloid media as the allegations about Schwarzenegger emerged (Rutenberg, 2003). The late allegations were thought to be ineffectual because most voters had made their decision a month before the election (Broder, 2003). Some voters thought the timing of the allegations pointed toward a dirty campaign by Davis (Broder, 2003).

The unusual campaign drew a high voter turnout for a non-presidential year, as 60 percent of the voters turned out to vote (Broder, 2003). Schwarzenegger cruised to an easy win and became the second governor in U.S. History to be elected via a recall election (Broder, 2003). Schwarzenegger immediately pledged to work with Democrats, but Democrats scrambled to pass bills and appoint nominees before Schwarzenegger took office (Murphy, 2003, October 9). Immediately upon Schwarzenegger’s election, Democrats were rumored to be thinking about a recall of their own (Murphy, 2003, October 9). In

fact, supporters of Davis began chanting “recall” as he was giving his concession speech (Broder, 2003).

The inauguration ceremony was tailored to be “deliberately nontriumphal” (Broder and Murphy, 2003) because the state was still in a crisis. No inaugural balls were held (Broder and Murphy, 2003). The first thing Schwarzenegger did as governor was to rescind the vehicle tax (Broder and Murphy, 2003).

Governor

Despite getting elected, Schwarzenegger faced low expectations. Clint Eastwood, like Schwarzenegger, was a moderate Republican and action movie star who got involved in politics in his mid-fifties when Eastwood was elected mayor of Carmel, California. He opined that Schwarzenegger’s popularity would wane because of the many critical problems California faced (Davies, 2003, August 28).

As governor, Schwarzenegger became renowned for his moderate approach to leadership. He sought to be bipartisan, but without much success, as he drew criticism from both Republicans and Democrats for his policies. Schwarzenegger upset Republicans with green-friendly policies that included looking for renewable energy sources and opposing the Bush administration’s wish to drill for oil along California’s coastlines (Kennedy, 2007; Easton, 2007). Schwarzenegger’s green policies upset Republicans, especially in Michigan where a fellow Republican, Congressman Joe Knollenberg, put up a billboard criticizing Schwarzenegger (Easton, 2007). Schwarzenegger also stumbled in

2005 when a battle with the union for state employees halved his approval rating
(Kurtzman, 2007).

*Chapter Five**The Speech*

Schwarzenegger's trip to New York for the speech was financed by corporate donors from entities such as entertainment and oil industry (Broder, 2004, August 26). This was seen as possibly going against Schwarzenegger's pledge to evict the special interests from Sacramento (Broder, 2004, August 26).

Schwarzenegger was the first prime-time speaker on the first night that the networks broadcast the convention (Pardum, 2004). Schwarzenegger's aims with the speech were reportedly to establish himself as a "legitimate political figure" (Broder, 2004, August 30) and to possibly set up a future run for the Senate (Broder, 2004, August 30).

Arnold's wife, Maria Shriver, and their kids sat with President George H.W. Bush and former First Lady, Barbara Bush, during Schwarzenegger's speech (Sidey, 2004). The California delegation to the convention wore sunglasses in the style of some of Schwarzenegger's movie characters during his speech (Leibovich, 2004).

Schwarzenegger began his speech by referencing his movie career in the first few paragraphs joking about his movie career. In the fifth paragraph, Schwarzenegger expresses the accomplishment it is for him to speak on behalf of the president; he also directly addresses his audiences in that paragraph. The next three paragraphs zero in on his thoughts of coming to the United States and becoming an American. Paragraphs nine through 12 start Schwarzenegger's main narrative by discussing his boyhood in Austria. Schwarzenegger then spends a

few minutes discussing his conversion to the Republican Party, and he follows by spending the middle portion of his speech talking about what a Republican is. In paragraphs 25 to 28, Schwarzenegger lists the merits of President Bush, which he follows up with a discussion of the goodness of the United States. He then ends with a call to re-elect Bush.

Analysis

This study of Schwarzenegger's narrative-laden speech at the Republican Convention was conducted using the VIND method. The VIND model contains a series of steps—each one asking the researcher to look for a different rhetorical insight when reading through the artifact. For example, one step asks the researcher to look for “ought/shoulds” in the document, and another requires the search for goals in the narrative. For each of these steps, I read through the document and compiled notes, using the guidelines set forth in the VIND model.

The VIND model is primarily intended to reveal values in narrative, but the model also proved to be useful for the identification portion of this study. The VIND model only has one step—the fifth step in the Rules for Analysis of Characters—that expressly deals with identification. The data from this step revealed four types of identifications within the speech. However, the results from the other steps also provided insights into how identification is constructed. Ultimately, in revealing the values from Schwarzenegger's narrative, the VIND model provided sufficient data to understand the identity question. Indeed, this analysis will primarily focus on how identification with Schwarzenegger's audience is built through narrative.

In setting up the identification question of this study, I must first establish with whom it is that Schwarzenegger wishes to identify. The first question I need to answer, then, is the following: Who is Schwarzenegger's audience? After opening with a few jokes, Schwarzenegger addresses the audience as "my fellow Americans." But as the speech continues, Schwarzenegger continually identifies a particular group of Americans with whom he is trying to build commonality: Immigrants, then, are the audience with whom he most wishes to identify.

Schwarzenegger describes his life first as the "immigrant's dream" (§5) and then as "the American Dream" (§5). Three paragraphs later, he talks about how proud he was, as an immigrant, to take the oath when he was sworn in as a citizen. The next five paragraphs center around a comparison and contrast between Austria and America. Then, he discusses the thrill he had at being free when he arrived in America. Finally, about midway through his speech, Schwarzenegger voices the pattern he has been setting up, when he opens a sentence with these words: "My fellow immigrants, my fellow Americans" (§19). These two phrases categorize the audiences in order of importance to Schwarzenegger; the governor is talking to immigrants first and to other Americans second. Additionally, Schwarzenegger's audience includes the Republicans gathered at the convention. Indeed, the narrative that runs throughout the speech continually appears to be aimed at immigrants first; periodically, he even addresses them in the second person to demonstrate that he is talking to them directly.

As revealed by the VIND model, the major terminal value in this speech is the American Dream, and the major story in the speech is Schwarzenegger's immigrant story, which is held as an example of fulfilling the American Dream. Each step of the VIND model required me to read through the text looking for the specifics that related to that step. The American Dream surfaced as the dominant value in each step, leaving me with the inevitable conclusion that the American Dream is the main objective for Schwarzenegger and his audience. For the purposes of this study, I will use the definition Fisher (1987) used of the American Dream when he wrote that it consisted of two myths: the materialistic myth, which occurs when an American becomes financially successful, and the moralistic myth, which occurs when Americans feel connected to one another. Additionally, Schwarzenegger makes four critical types of identifications within the speech: personal, immigrant, American, and Republican. Importantly, the key actions contained in the narrative which he needed to fulfill his American Dream complement the four identifications he makes throughout the speech. First, he believed he had to get to America; this perception is rooted in his self-identity that he saw a consubstantial relationship between his goals and the opportunities in America. Second, he believed America had to retain those values and philosophies that distinguish it from the country he left; this approach builds on Schwarzenegger's identity as an American. Third, he believed he had to work for his dream—and through his hard work, his dream would be realized; this philosophy is constructed on the idea of an immigrant's dream and is used to

build identity with immigrants⁶. As a governor, Schwarzenegger claims his focus is on preservation of the American Dream from current threats, such as terrorism and from those who would model America after the Europe he left.

Schwarzenegger believes both threats can be lessened by the simple action of voting Republican and re-electing President George W. Bush. Therefore, these words are aimed to identify with Republicans. This analysis focuses on how Schwarzenegger makes his four identifications through his narrative.

Schwarzenegger's personal identification

Since Schwarzenegger's speech deals intently with the promise of America, his own narrative of transformation naturally has America as the central causal agent for his change. Schwarzenegger's self-definition⁷ is perhaps best summed up in paragraph 11, when he talks of the trepidation he felt as his family approached a Soviet checkpoint: "I was a little boy, I wasn't an action hero back then" (¶11). In this phrasing lies the dichotomous value pairing that runs throughout Schwarzenegger's speech: fear and security. The difference between the two is clear: His arrival in America is the key to feeling secure. His days in Austria made him scared; his days in America made him strong. The American Dream is framed as the pivotal point in his personal development. Throughout his speech, Schwarzenegger plays on the idea that he is strong, rich, and influential

⁶ Within the VIND model, Schwarzenegger's arrival in America can be seen as an instrumental value toward living out the American Dream (Step 2 of instrumental values: an action identified in a story as leading to the fulfillment of a terminal value.). Most of the statements in this section come from that step. For example, the preservation of traditional American free enterprise, an immigrant's hard work, and the re-election of President George W. Bush are described as ways to live out the American Dream. Some other steps also helped form this data. For example, Schwarzenegger casts the changing of American independence to resemble European socialism as something to be avoided (Step 3, instrumental values).

⁷ The information in this paragraph primarily relates to Steps 5 (how storytellers identify and define themselves) and 6 (what storyteller define as their needs) of the analysis of characters.

because of America; whereas, in Austria, he was weak, poor, and at the mercy of others.

In examining Schwarzenegger's statements regarding America's role in his success, it is important to look at other moments in the speech where this connection is mentioned. In paragraph 5, Schwarzenegger mentions that he was a "scrawny boy" in Austria, but now he is an able-bodied governor in America. In Austria, the Soviets were the biggest threat he feared; he arrived at a Soviet checkpoint, fearing that "the soldiers would pull my father or my uncle out of the car and I would never see him again" (§11). In America, Schwarzenegger openly denounces the terrorists—the biggest threat in America—without trepidation, fear, or hesitation (see §28). In Austria, Schwarzenegger learned to never look Soviet soldiers in the eye (see §10). In the United States, Schwarzenegger visits soldiers and gleans inspiration from them (see §35). In Austria, Schwarzenegger watched American movie heroes like John Wayne (see §12); in America, Schwarzenegger was the movie hero. Near the end of his speech, Schwarzenegger informs his audience that while in Austria, he dreamed, "If only I can get to America" (§33); he confirms throughout the speech that what he wanted to do as a youth in Austria is what he now does as an adult in America. Schwarzenegger attributes the turnaround in each matter to the United States⁸. The summation of this concept is offered in paragraph 16: "Everything I have, my career, my success, my family, I owe to America." Thus, if one accepts Schwarzenegger's

⁸ This praising of the USA came from several steps, including Steps 1 (labeling of characteristics) and Step 2 (emotions toward characteristics) of the analysis of characters, and Step 2 of instrumental values (actions designed to bring about a terminal value).

reasoning, one must conclude that had he, the scrawny teenager, stayed in Austria, Schwarzenegger believes he would have been a jobless, lonely, skinny failure. Schwarzenegger's personal history, though, points to being a successful bodybuilder *before* he left Austria, which undermines the image of a weakling transformed into a hulk by simply breathing American air.

Also, it is important to understand how Schwarzenegger uses his readily identifiable movie roles to connect with his audience⁹. Schwarzenegger's celebrity, often-imitated accent, and movie lines are advantageous to building an identity with the audience. In particular, those who have a parasocial relationship with Schwarzenegger's on-screen persona may readily associate themselves with Schwarzenegger, the politician. Even for those in the audience who do not have that parasocial dynamic, most are likely familiar with Schwarzenegger's work. That familiarity is advantageous for Schwarzenegger in building identification with his audience because they have previously viewed him and likely identified somewhat with his movie characters. He uses terms from his movies throughout the speech—terms that his fans could easily remember. One example comes in paragraph 20 when he states Republicans want to “terminate terrorism”—terminate being a verb associated closely with Schwarzenegger because of his role in the *Terminator* movie series. Another reference comes near the close of his speech when Schwarzenegger talks poignantly about visiting with a soldier who had suffered serious injuries, including the loss of a leg. The soldier told the governor, “I’ll be back,” echoing a famous line that Schwarzenegger once uttered

⁹ This paragraph also is primarily based on the data from Step 5 of the rules for analysis of characters (how storytellers identify themselves).

on the silver screen. Through these references, Schwarzenegger retains the previous pre-identification he has with his audience within the GOP while working to deepen the identification with them as a fellow Republican.

Additionally, unlike most politicians, Schwarzenegger's audience, at least the majority, came to know him before he was wearing a shirt and tie and giving speeches every day. By playing on that familiarity, Schwarzenegger can bridge the identification gap much more quickly than a less-recognized politician can. Still, Schwarzenegger needed to find a way to convert Hollywood celebrity to political credibility within his speech. As a newly elected governor, Schwarzenegger needed a transformation—he could no longer be seen as the shoot-first tough guy he portrayed on the silver screen; he needed to be recast as someone trustworthy and insightful, someone capable of handling the demands of being the governor of the country's most populous state. After all, most in his audience knew him as Arnold Schwarzenegger, action hero star; his speech was their introduction to Arnold Schwarzenegger, politician. Schwarzenegger, therefore, had a choice to make: Either distance himself from his movie stardom or repackage his reputation. Schwarzenegger's rhetorical choice was to embrace the pre-identity his audience had of him while reworking their view with him by telling his personal narrative of immigration and ideology.

To accomplish this, Schwarzenegger utilized the same method that had made him a star. As an action hero, Schwarzenegger's movies were characterized by self-deprecating humor and one-liners (Clarke, 1985; Corliss, 1988). Schwarzenegger attempted in his convention speech to use the same strategy with

some tactically placed references to his movie career and famous movie lines. For instance, he begins his discourse comparing being asked to speak at the Republican Convention to winning an Oscar, and then adds, “As if I would know” (¶3). He uses another self-deprecating joke in the next paragraph and refers to the Democrats’ convention as worthy of being titled “True Lies,” one of the action movies in which Schwarzenegger starred. The purpose of these references is to ease into the speech by gaining entrée with the audience through poking fun at himself and the Democrats while reminding the audience that they already know him. The jokes as well as allusions to his movies are all intended to break down the socioeconomic barrier between movie superstar and the average Joe; they are meant to compel the audience to keep listening and keep identifying with his political message. Ultimately, the governor hopes that the audience will recast Schwarzenegger as someone who is like them and who can be trusted.

From the personal identifications associated with Schwarzenegger in his speech, he shows his audience what kind of person he believes himself to be: A hard-working immigrant who made his dreams come true, a personable movie star willing to poke fun at himself, and a man, made by America, who wants to help others realize their dreams¹⁰.

Schwarzenegger’s American Identification

The speech content reiterates the governor’s American pride. “As long as I live, I will never forget that day 21 years ago when I raised my hand and took the oath of citizenship,” Schwarzenegger said near the start of speech. “Do you

¹⁰ This is a summation of Schwarzenegger’s personal self-identification (Step 5, analysis of characters).

know how proud I was? I was so proud that I walked around with an American flag around my shoulders all day long” (§7-8)¹¹.

Schwarzenegger speaks glowingly about America. Schwarzenegger’s patriotic fervor hits full stride about halfway through his speech, when he dedicates a large portion of his time to extolling America’s virtues. Schwarzenegger begins by rebuffing gloomy economic forecasters, sweeping away their concerns by saying, “We may hit a few bumps but America always moves ahead! That’s what Americans do! We move prosperity ahead. We move freedom ahead. We move people ahead” (§23-24)¹². This quote is typical of the upbeat descriptions of America that frequent Schwarzenegger’s discourse. In paragraph five, Schwarzenegger begins to praise America. He talks about growing up as “a once-scrawny boy” in Austria, coming to America, eventually becoming governor of the Golden State, and then speaking on behalf of the president of the United States. Schwarzenegger concludes paragraph five with two phrases that sum up the theme of his speech: “That is an immigrant’s dream! It’s the American Dream.”

In paragraph six, Schwarzenegger praises the United States through common values. Schwarzenegger succinctly describes himself as a world traveler. Then, Schwarzenegger claims, “I can tell you that there is no place, no country, that is more compassionate, more generous, more accepting and more welcoming

¹¹ This starts Schwarzenegger’s American self-identification (also, Step 5, analysis of characters).

¹² This fits under Step 4, terminal values (actions praised or condemned by the storyteller). In this case, Schwarzenegger is describing the climate that he believes is typical of the United States in which the Dream thrives. The moving ahead of prosperity, people and freedom, however, may be seen as more of an instrumental value than a terminal value, as those behaviors are posited as what America does to ensure people can meet their goals rather than being the goal itself.

than the United States of America” (§6)¹³. Here, Schwarzenegger attempts to have his audience associate the values of compassion, generosity, and acceptance with the United States. His experience as a traveler, though only mentioned in passing, is the designed affirmation of this claim. By ascribing these values to America and by saying that Americans practice these values better than any other country, Schwarzenegger exerts a national identity of superiority. He describes America definitively as the greatest among all other countries. Moreover, by praising these values, Schwarzenegger is also perpetuating these values; individuals identify America with these values and see these ideals as fitting their American self-identification. In paragraph seven, Schwarzenegger tells the narrative of the day in 1983 that he became a citizen of the United States. He describes the day as a “proud” one (§8). His story tells of walking around all day with the American flag on his shoulders. His pride is symbolized by carrying and wearing the national symbol to epitomize the excitement he felt in becoming an American. In this paragraph, pride of country is the central value, a value with which Schwarzenegger expects his audience to recognize and identify.

The praise for America in these three paragraphs is an immediate, deliberate attempt by Schwarzenegger to establish identification with his audience through a common value: pride in one’s country. Clearly, he carries the belief that other immigrants share the same hope he had when he came to America: the hope to one day become a citizen of the United States of America. The repeated

¹³ Several items in this paragraph result from emotions Schwarzenegger feels toward America (Step 2, rules for analysis of characters). America, in this case, is selected to be seen as “a character” because of Schwarzenegger’s frequent choice of the pronoun “we” when describing America.

praising of America and the establishment of common values is meant to do two things: first, to create the previously discussed American identification, and, second, to set up the eighth paragraph with another critical identification—identification with the Republican Party.

Schwarzenegger begins the eighth paragraph by saying, “I want to talk to you about why I’m even more proud to be an American.” This indicates that in addition to all the other things Schwarzenegger mentioned that America does well, there is another, perhaps more prominent reason for why Americans--immigrants especially--should be proud to be Americans. After Schwarzenegger spent some time praising America and building identification with an America-loving audience, his audience might naturally be eager to gain an additional insight as to why they should be proud to be Americans. Schwarzenegger terms that reason as this: “why I am proud to be a Republican, and why I believe this country is in good hands.” Schwarzenegger identifies his Republican pride as an extension of American pride¹⁴. Additionally, he implies that he is pleased to have George W. Bush as president of the country.

Immigrant identification

The immigrants are an important segment of Schwarzenegger’s audience since his speech is primarily aimed at them¹⁵. He begins by telling his own immigrant narrative: As an immigrant, Schwarzenegger shares the experience of

¹⁴ This is a justification for a chosen action (Step 3, terminal values). Schwarzenegger justifies his call for immigrants to vote Republican because, he claims, the values of the Republican Party are what drew immigrants to America.

¹⁵ This is the start of Schwarzenegger’s immigrant self-identification (Step 5, rules of analysis of characters).

moving to America with others who have immigrated; thus, his narrative should be identifiable to immigrants when he talks later of the way freedom in America calls to people in other lands: “No matter in what labor camp they slave, no matter in what injustice they’re trapped, they hear our call . . . they see our light . . . and they feel the pull of our freedom” (¶32)¹⁶. Schwarzenegger goes on to say those same values are the reasons he felt as a boy that he needed to come to America, thereby reiterating the values contained within his earlier narrative.

Schwarzenegger describes how he viewed America as a boy growing up in Austria: the desire he felt to come to the United States as a boy, and the daydreams of the U.S. he had in his childhood classes. The latter is an important element of the speech, as Schwarzenegger subtly reminds his audience that the American Dream is a conscious dream¹⁷; as such, the images about America occur during the day when the brain consciously chooses what flickers on the mind’s screen. To this end, Schwarzenegger asks his audience to keep America as a place of which people will still daydream¹⁸. Schwarzenegger’s first stated goal in his speech is actually one from his boyhood. It was his desire to come to the United States, a desire that Schwarzenegger states began early in his life: “In school, when the teacher would talk about America, I would daydream about

¹⁶ This coincides with Step 4 of the rules for analysis of characters (relationships between characters). In this case, the relationship is between America and foreigners.

¹⁷ This has an importance related to many steps in the VIND model because the call to come to America and the arrival in America are both important instrumental values that predate the realization of the American Dream. The VIND model steps that relate to this are Step 1, terminal values (evaluative ought/shoulds); Step 2, terminal values (goals of the storyteller); Step 1, instrumental values (cause-and-effect relationships), Step 2, analysis of characters (emotions between characters) and Step 3, analysis of characters (relationships between characters).

¹⁸ This is a major point within Schwarzenegger’s narrative. The goal is to keep the American Dream alive. Step 2 of terminal values suggests Schwarzenegger wants the American Dream to be the end goal of speaker and listener. Step 2 of instrumental values points to the protection of the American Dream as the main goal of Schwarzenegger and his consubstantial audience

coming here” (§12). That goal was fulfilled with his arrival in America in 1968: “What a special day it was. I remember I arrived here with empty pockets, but full of dreams, full of determination, full of desire” (§13). Perhaps the day was special for Schwarzenegger because it was the fulfillment of one dream, and the door was opening to the fulfillment of many others—dreams that would be realized through the values of desire and determination. He had come to America to access the country’s opportunities.

For Schwarzenegger, America, the land of his youthful fascination was everything he dreamed it would be: His ambitions were realized while he lived on American soil. Schwarzenegger thus takes the position that the American Dream is not mythical, but real. Schwarzenegger’s declaratives reveal his total faith in this Dream. Operating from this position, Schwarzenegger expects his audience to approach his speech from that same viewpoint—with complete faith in the American Dream¹⁹. This position is the basic identity building block in the speech. Through it, Schwarzenegger expects identification can be produced, while presenting the foundation for further identifications throughout the speech.

His narrative of his own immigration story is meant to construct commonalities between himself and other immigrants²⁰. His success story is meant to inspire them. Moreover, it is meant to keep their faith in the American Dream and to keep them working toward that goal. Most importantly, his tale is meant to persuade them to vote Republican for the preservation of that ideal:

¹⁹ Step 2 of terminal values—Schwarzenegger maintains the Dream is the goal.

²⁰ Step 3, analysis of characters—Schwarzenegger shows his relationship to other immigrants.

America gave me opportunities and my immigrant dreams came true. I want other people to get the same chances I did, the same opportunities. And I believe they can. That's why I believe in this country, that's why I believe in this party and that's why I believe in this President. (¶17)

Schwarzenegger's immigrant narrative dominates the first part of the speech. He talks of the adverse conditions in Austria—the difficulties, economically and politically²¹. Within his immigrant narrative, Schwarzenegger focuses on two things: the fear and limits of Austria contrasted with the security and unlimited possibilities of America. His narrative begins with his boyhood fear of Soviet soldiers—what they could take away from him in an instant. Around such soldiers, Schwarzenegger was never at ease, and each encounter was fear-provoking. Even when the Soviet threat subsided, Schwarzenegger still felt hemmed in by Austria's restrictive policies. He believed America was his best chance for a good life, so to America he came. In America, he realized the dreams he had had as an Austrian boy. Then he recounts his arrival in America—the day full of hope, something to which each immigrant can presumably relate. Then he recounts his success in the United States and the day he became a citizen—the immigrant's dream embodied. These two events—his day of arrival and the day he became an American—are used by Schwarzenegger because they are memorable days with which immigrants may identify²². Likewise, his Republican conversion story also includes an elemental identification with immigrants in that

²¹ This fits in with Step 3, instrumental values—these problems blocked his ability to live out the Dream in Austria.

²² Step 2, analysis of characters (emotions felt toward particular characters): This is how Schwarzenegger feels about America.

he joined the party by hearing a candidate's words *through a translator*²³. Some immigrants may certainly identify with having someone interpret words from English into the immigrant's native language. Toward his fellow immigrants, Schwarzenegger focuses on commonalities. He wants them to see themselves in him, and he wants the immigrants to trust that they also will have the same success in America that he has had. His possibilities became realities in America—world famous bodybuilder, renowned actor, governor, husband, father—and even someone who reveres—instead of fears—the soldiers working for his country²⁴.

As Schwarzenegger's primary audience, immigrants will need to see Schwarzenegger's story as being similar to their own if they are to then accept his call to action—to join the Republican Party. In taking the values the VIND model revealed, one terminal value seems to override all others, and that is protection—protection of the American Dream and protection of the United States. After all, it is on that point that Schwarzenegger justifies the action of re-electing President Bush: “Our president, George W. Bush, has worked hard to protect and preserve the American dream for all of us. That's why I say... send him back to Washington for four more years” (¶38)²⁵.

Schwarzenegger wants his audience to recognize what he perceives as the twin dangers menacing the United States and the American Dream: terrorism and

²³ This again highlights a relationship between characters (Step 3, analysis of characters)—the language barrier is a common difficulty in the experience of Schwarzenegger and most immigrants.

²⁴ This contrast between Austria and America, and then later America and the rest of the world is where Schwarzenegger spends the majority of his time (Step 7, analysis of characters—focus where storytellers puts their attention).

²⁵ This is the major item revealed by Step 2 of instrumental values. For the American Dream to persist, Schwarzenegger believed Americans needed to re-elect George W. Bush.

socialism²⁶. Terrorism is framed as threatening to kill the American Dream because it threatens America—in other words, no America, no American Dream. “My fellow Americans,” Schwarzenegger said, “make no mistake about it, terrorism is more insidious than communism, because it yearns to destroy not just the individual, but the entire international order” (§28). The narrative is intertwined with his memories of living near a Soviet-controlled Communist state, adding into his storyline a dimension of the fear and vulnerability of a young boy at the mercy of AK-47-toting soldiers. Schwarzenegger recalls, “I saw their tanks in the streets. I saw communism with my own eyes. I remember the fear we had when we had to cross into the Soviet sector” (§10). Schwarzenegger’s decision to include this narrative is meant to underscore the threat Americans felt in the wake of the September 11 attacks. His narrative would be identifiable to those who were still shaken by those attacks. The vulnerability he felt there is the unease many Americans felt on that day. Terrorism certainly was the most recognizable threat to America in 2004—the country was just three years removed from the September 11 attacks. Socialism as a threat, however, was an argument less likely to be accepted; therefore, Schwarzenegger faced a greater challenge constructing socialism as a menace. To do this, Schwarzenegger casts socialism in this role by discussing the socialism he saw in Austria and how he daydreamed about escaping it. He then notes, “I heard Humphrey saying things that sounded like socialism, which I had just left” (§13)²⁷. Schwarzenegger likewise believes that

²⁶ This paragraph discusses Schwarzenegger’s justification (Step 3, terminal values) for why someone should vote for President Bush’s re-election.

²⁷ Humphrey and other Democrats are described by Schwarzenegger as being impediments to the American Dream (Step 3, instrumental values).

socialism robs America of the principles through which the American Dream thrives: free enterprise and limited government.

In response to the threats posed by terrorism and socialism, Schwarzenegger calls for maintaining the status quo. This is unsurprising because Schwarzenegger wishes to persuade his audience to vote for President George W. Bush. Schwarzenegger implores, “America is safer with George W. Bush as President” (§28). The re-election of the president serves as both a terminal value and an instrumental value in Schwarzenegger’s speech. The president’s re-election is an instrumental value in that it is an action needed to fulfill the overriding value of protection. At the same time, protection serves as a terminal value. If the homeland is not safe, other issues, such as the economy, are irrelevant. Schwarzenegger asks that voters select the candidate who will best protect the country; thus, voting for such a candidate is the instrumental value to bring about the terminal value. Furthermore, Schwarzenegger attempts to align the Democrats with old-world thinking; in other words, he tries to place the Democratic philosophy as being the same as the ideals of the countries from which the immigrants sought to escape. “Having escaped it there, why welcome it here? Vote Republican” seems to be Schwarzenegger’s line of reasoning.

The Republican identification

To an immigrant audience, identifying with the American Dream and becoming an American are likely easy sells. To get the same audience to identify and align with the Republican Party, however, is a much tougher task. Thus, Schwarzenegger develops the easier identifications first; this leads up to the most

difficult identification for an immigrant within his speech: The Republican identification²⁸. Thus, Schwarzenegger begins the process of creating this identification by building on the other identifications he has created earlier in the speech. He speaks of keeping America open for those who wish to achieve their dreams. He speaks of his own success, and then says, “I want other people to get the same chances I did, the same opportunities. And I believe they can. That’s why I believe in this country, that’s why I believe in this party and that’s why I believe in this President” (§17)²⁹. Importantly, Schwarzenegger ties his success—the realization of his American Dream—to the policies and practices of the Republican Party. Also, he claims the continuation of the American ideals that bring about an immigrant’s dream are protected by the Bush administration and the Republican Party.

Schwarzenegger further develops the Republican-immigrant tie by attempting to have his audience believe the values that drew them to America are the same values found within the Republican Party. Schwarzenegger underscores this point by telling about how he, as a new immigrant, “converted” to the Republican Party. This is a critical juncture in his speech—to speak of how an immigrant identified with the Republican Party³⁰. For Schwarzenegger, it justified invoking the name of Richard Nixon, the candidate whose words inspired Schwarzenegger to become a Republican. Undoubtedly, Schwarzenegger hoped

²⁸ This section analyzes Schwarzenegger’s Republican self-identification (Step 5, analysis of characters).

²⁹ This statement shows the justification (giving others a chance; Step 3, terminal values) for the key instrumental value (re-electing President George W. Bush; Step 2, instrumental values).

³⁰ This shows the relationship between immigrants and Republicans (Step 3, analysis of characters); it also frames a need for Schwarzenegger and other immigrants—to have Republicans in office, which relates to Step 4 (a positive relationship between characters) of the analysis of characters.

his audience would separate Nixon's personal ethics from the ideals he espoused in that presidential debate—the same ideals that were largely intact in the Republican Party as it entered the 2004 election. His conversion story ends with Schwarzenegger asking his friend, who was translating the content of the debate into German for him, to what party Nixon belonged. Upon hearing his friend's answer, Schwarzenegger declares, "Then I am a Republican" (§14).

To keep the focus on the ideals and not on Nixon, Schwarzenegger constructs a terministic screen within the speech by focusing on the principles, not Nixon: "He was talking about free enterprise, getting government off your back, lowering taxes and strengthening the military. Listening to Nixon speak sounded more like a breath of fresh air" (§13). Schwarzenegger was drawn to Nixon because of his ideals—the practices in Schwarzenegger's mind that can lead to the fulfillment of an immigrant's dream. That Nixon was ethically challenged is not as important to Schwarzenegger as those values. Those standards, not the man, drew Schwarzenegger to the GOP.

Schwarzenegger believes those same standards will persuade other immigrants to join the Republican Party. To this end, Schwarzenegger allots the middle portion of his speech to making this critical identification. In that section, Schwarzenegger states, "Now, many of you out there tonight are 'Republican' like me in your hearts and in your beliefs" (§18). Before listing some ideals with which Schwarzenegger expects his audience will identify, he informs his listeners that they do not need to agree with every Republican position to be "good Republicans" (§18). Schwarzenegger names Republican virtues that are universal

ideals with which an immigrant would typically identify—the free enterprise system; fair, equitable individual treatment, etc. This is another terministic screen meant to highlight values that are more universal than Republican-exclusive and to avoid the sticky parts of the Republican platform, such as the GOP’s hard-line stances against gay marriage and abortion. By highlighting the more widespread values, the governor supports the statement with which he opened this segment of the speech, where he specifically addresses immigrants and calls them to join the Republican Party: “To my fellow immigrants listening tonight, I want you to know how welcome you are in this party. We Republicans admire your ambition. We encourage your dreams. We believe in your future” (§15)³¹. This statement builds on Schwarzenegger’s claim that the Republicans are better equipped to defend the American Dream.

Schwarzenegger’s American Dream has been fulfilled. He has experienced success as a bodybuilder, actor, and politician. The American Dream can no longer be his goal, for he has experienced it. Thus, Schwarzenegger espouses helping others realize their dreams as his new goal: “America gave me opportunities and my immigrant dreams came true. I want other people to get the same chances I did, the same opportunities. And I believe they can. That’s why I believe in this country, that’s why I believe in this party and that’s why I believe in this President” (§17)³². The stated goal here is clear—to have Schwarzenegger’s listeners realize their American Dream. How do they do that?

³¹ This focuses on a positive relationship between Republicans and immigrants (Step 4, analysis of characters).

³² This is Schwarzenegger’s need (Step 6, analysis of characters). He has experienced the American Dream. He doesn’t need it protected for himself, but he wants it protected for others.

They believe in America and the Republican cause, and they re-elect George W. Bush. Schwarzenegger later lists, in paragraph 20, the goals of the Republican Party as individual treatment, lower taxes, government accountability, and a safe homeland while exporting democracy.

Schwarzenegger finishes his speech with his strongest plea, the one that he has spent his speech building toward—to have his audience vote for President George W. Bush’s re-election. Schwarzenegger believes the best way to ensure the Dream thrives is to re-elect President George W. Bush. Schwarzenegger begins the plea in paragraph 28 when he states, “He’s a man of perseverance. . . . But leadership isn’t about polls. It is about making decisions you think are right and then standing behind those decisions. That’s why America is safer with George W. Bush as President” (§28).” Within these praises are tacit putdowns of the Democratic nominee John Kerry who the Republicans were portraying as indecisive, waffling, and poll-driven³³. By contrast, Bush is seen by Schwarzenegger as resilient and decisive. He compliments Bush for attacking terrorism even though it was politically unpopular. Schwarzenegger sees Bush as being dedicated to preserving the American way of life. “Our president, George W. Bush, has worked hard to protect and preserve the American Dream for all of us. That’s why I say . . . send him back to Washington for four more years!” (§38). Of note is the way in which this final request is framed—Schwarzenegger’s audience is told to vote for Bush because he will “protect and preserve the

³³ The negativity toward Kerry can be seen in several steps: Step 3, instrumental values (Kerry is portrayed as a threat to the American Dream); Step 2, analysis of characters (Schwarzenegger obviously feel negatively toward Kerry); and Step 4, analysis of characters (Kerry is portrayed as having a negative relationship with immigrants because of his policies).

American Dream.” The wording of this paragraph—which is the culmination of the speech—clearly indicates that the value that must be upheld and guarded is the American Dream³⁴. At the end of his speech, Schwarzenegger crowns Bush as the protectorate of the American Dream, as he concludes the speech by saying, “Our president, George W. Bush, has worked hard to protect and preserve the American Dream for all of us. That’s why I say . . . send him back to Washington for four more years!” (§39). It is on that call to action that Schwarzenegger’s speech ends.

The tone of the speech is one of optimism; therefore, Schwarzenegger is careful not to let much negativity seep into his discourse. When he does attack the Democrats, he does so swiftly and quickly. In one paragraph of the speech, Schwarzenegger lands jab after jab against the Democratic Party. The jabs are neatly interspersed with positive affirmations of what a Republican is and what a Republican believes. The wording of this particular paragraph, the “Then you are a Republican” paragraph, intentionally mirrors the wording Schwarzenegger used in his conversion narrative. In that conversion story, Schwarzenegger sums up his instantaneous allegiance to the Republican Party by saying, “Then I am a Republican” (§13). The fact that he uses similar language when trying to convert his audience to the GOP shows he believes the items he lists are worthy reasons to align oneself with the Republican Party. Just as he needed the contrast of Humphrey’s words to Nixon’s to be convinced that he’s a Republican, Schwarzenegger opts to provide the voters with a similar glimpse of the

³⁴ The primary goal within this speech is the preservation of the American Dream, as revealed Step 2, terminal values.

Democratic Party, contrasted with the values of the Republican Party. That view has to be a negative one for the listeners to be convinced to abandon any longing to vote Democratic, yet Schwarzenegger needs to present the damaging discourse while maintaining the upbeat, optimistic feel of the speech. Schwarzenegger's strongest attack against the Democrats is designed to appear as a segment positively defining what a Republican is:

If you believe that government should be accountable to the people, not the people to the government . . . then you are a Republican! If you believe that a person should be treated as an individual, not a member of an interest group . . . then you are a Republican! If you believe that your family knows how to spend your money better than the government does . . . then you are a Republican! If you believe our educational system should be held accountable for the progress of our children . . . then you are a Republican! If you believe that this country, not the United Nations, is the best hope of democracy in the world . . . then you are a Republican! And, ladies and gentlemen . . . if you believe we must be fierce and relentless and terminate terrorism . . . then you are a Republican! (§20)³⁵

The soft tone may disguise the sharpness of the punches, but they land all the same. In paragraph 20, Schwarzenegger implies that the Democrats put special interests first, take a timid approach in the War on Terror, and trust the

³⁵ This paragraph of the speech relates to Step 4, terminal values (actions that are praised by the storyteller), and Step 5, terminal values (actions repeated by the storyteller; in this case, it is the recycling of the phrase "Then you are a Republican." This repeated phrasing is aimed at getting listeners to 'convert' to the Republican Party as Schwarzenegger did when he heard Humphrey speak).

United Nations ahead of the United States³⁶. Additionally, Schwarzenegger suggests Democrats buck notions of government accountability, particularly when it comes to education. In defining the distinctiveness of what a Republican is, Schwarzenegger is telling his audience that these are ideals the Democrats do not espouse.

The attack continues in the next paragraph when Schwarzenegger lauds the Republican's "faith in free enterprise, faith in the resourcefulness of the American people. . . and faith in the U.S. economy." The presumption by Schwarzenegger that these are Republican-exclusive values is underscored in the next sentence when Schwarzenegger warns the Democrats to not be "economic girlie men" (§21). Thus, the Democrats are subtly portrayed as having no faith in the free enterprise system, the American worker, and the U.S. economy—the three pillars of the material American Dream. Schwarzenegger asserts that people coming to the United States to fulfill their material dreams should naturally be wary of the Democrat's philosophy and pessimism the way Schwarzenegger was when he came to America.

Schwarzenegger takes his attack on the Democrats further by attempting to marry the Democrats to socialism. This starts with Schwarzenegger's narrative of his conversion to the Republican Party in which he says McGovern's words that day echoed the words of the socialists in the country he left. Contrasted to McGovern's words, Nixon's sounded "like a breath of fresh air" to the young Austrian bodybuilder (§13). Thus, Schwarzenegger casts McGovern's

³⁶ This feeds into Step 3, instrumental values—actions that block the goal. Democrat policies are described by Schwarzenegger as hindering the American Dream. This is also a negative emotion that Schwarzenegger transmits toward the Democrats (Step 2, analysis of characters).

philosophy—and those of the Democrats—as the beliefs that have been tried elsewhere with failed results, the very philosophies he came to America to escape. In contrast, the Republican Party’s philosophies are, for Schwarzenegger, fresh, new, and proven, the very philosophies he came to America to embrace—the ideals that provide the opportunities to have one’s dream fulfilled.

Schwarzenegger continues his attack on Democratic pessimism. Recalling hand-wringing over the rise of Japan as an economic superpower in the 1980s, Schwarzenegger argues that Japan never rose to the predicted superpower status, and, likewise, the threats to America’s economy that faced Americans in 2004 were unfounded. Schwarzenegger likewise counters the tale of two Americas, the theme of Democratic vice presidential Senator John Edwards’ failed presidential bid. Schwarzenegger argues that the members of the military know they are fighting for one America. Schwarzenegger dishes out more subtle jabs in paragraph 28 when he praises President Bush for having the courage to make the right decision, not the popular one. Schwarzenegger says that a good leader governs without consulting the polls; this statement insinuated Democratic nominee John Kerry, who was widely criticized for changing some of his views on key issues, was unsuited for the land’s highest office. Mixed in with Schwarzenegger’s optimism and good-natured approach during the rest of the speech, the attacks on the Democrat’s policy could easily be missed, but they are there, and they are strong and swift and effective.

The VIND model revealed many important values, but the overriding value in the speech is the preservation of the American Dream. Each step of the

VIND model consistently pointed toward the protection of the Dream as the terminal value of the speech and the re-election of President George W. Bush as the key instrumental value. The VIND model also proved useful in revealing some key identifications in the speech. From the information revealed through the VIND model, two conclusions seem apparent. First, as one who has lived the American Dream, Schwarzenegger speaks from a credible position. The immigrant narrative is a pervasive tale within America. Schwarzenegger embodies the ideals of that Dream. His American success and Republican conversion stories seem to meet the demands of narrative fidelity and narrative rationality; as such, his narratives seem believable and his contentions plausible. Second, his narrative adds commonality between him and his target audiences. Immigrants can see themselves in him, and Republicans and Americans can see their ideals reflected in his words. His speech seems likely to resonate with his three target audiences.

Chapter Six

Reaction

The Republicans appear to have enjoyed Schwarzenegger's speech. Immediately after the speech, the GOP invoked their revered name of Reagan. One Republican commentator noted that "Even the NPR commentators were gushing about it, likening it to Ronald Reagan at the height of his powers" (Joyner, 2004). The conservative *National Review* wrote, "With Reaganesque optimism, a vision of muscular Republicanism, and a ringing endorsement of President George W. Bush, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger delivered a stunningly effective speech at the Republican convention in New York Tuesday night" (Kudlow, 2004). Another *National Review* writer saw Schwarzenegger's rhetoric fitting in with the Republican's memories of the Cold War. "For the hard-core at this convention, Arnold Schwarzenegger described himself as practically a refugee from Communism" (Steinberg, 2004), a message that certainly resonated with Republican foreign policy views. Steinberg (2004) seems to suggest that Schwarzenegger even impressed the far right or "hard-core," the group he most needed to impress among the Republicans. Perhaps the biggest indicator of how his speech was received was by the Republican talk in the days following his discourse of amending the Constitution to allow a Schwarzenegger run at the White House (Werner, 2003; Kudlow, 2004; Steinberg, 2004; Levin, 2004).

The press liked his speech. He was called "the hit of the convention" (Kiely, 2004); "stole the show" ("Performances of the Week", 2004); "the

ultimate blend of glitz, glutes and governance” (Leibovich, 2004); “white hot on the convention podium Tuesday” (Seelye, 2004). And the press even noted that Schwarzenegger’s speech drew the attention of all people within the hall.

“Schwarzenegger’s speech was one of the few at the convention where even the security guards and service personnel stopped and listened” (Leibovich, 2004).

For some commentators, Schwarzenegger’s speech renewed their American pride.

“Immigrants ... are often in the best position to appreciate the opportunities offered by the United States. ... In America, you sometimes need an accent to articulate what this country is all about” (Navarette, 2004).

The published reports about the immigrants’ response were mixed. Just a few days after the Schwarzenegger speech, Hispanics gathered in Los Angeles to protest the Governor’s stance on not issuing licenses to illegal immigrants (Schodolski, 2004). California state Senator Gilbert Cedillo, speaking from the protest, sent a message to Schwarzenegger: “Match your actions with your rhetoric” (qtd. in Schodolski, 2004). Three weeks after the speech, Schwarzenegger vetoed a bill that gave drivers’ licenses to illegal immigrants (Gardner, 2004). One immigrant could not identify with Schwarzenegger. “He became a world champion,” he said. “If you are successful, America shows an interest in you. If you come as just an immigrant, it’s different.” Indeed, the editorial the next day of one national paper noted the disconnect between the Schwarzenegger dream and the average immigrants’ experience: “For a nation of immigrants, cheering one exceptional success story is easy. Dealing with the ugly

realities of a dysfunctional immigration policy is much more difficult” (“Arnold,” 2004, September 1).

These three groups (immigrants, Americans, and Republicans) also serve the speech’s three identities. While liberal filmmaker and Bush antagonist Michael Moore complimented Schwarzenegger for daring to mention Nixon (Moore, 2004), others criticized his account for its flawed logic and its alleged historical inaccuracies. A moderate debunked Schwarzenegger’s logic, writing that the values of the Republican Party, as noted by Schwarzenegger, are not found in the Bush administration (Saletan, 2004). Historians also questioned whether Schwarzenegger could have seen tanks in Austria when he was growing up (Prinz, 2004). Historians also noted that the Austria of his boyhood was more conservative; the socialists came to power a few years after he left (Prinz, 2004). Overall, the response to Schwarzenegger’s speech appeared to be much more positive than negative.

Summary of analysis

The major terminal value in this speech is the American Dream, and the major narrative in the speech is Schwarzenegger’s immigrant story. From this narrative, several key actions are identified in order for him to fulfill his American Dream. First, he believed he had to get to America. Second, he believed America had to retain those values and philosophies that distinguished it from the country he left. Third, he believed he had to work for his dream—and through his hard work, his dream would be realized. The other portion of this identification is the virtue that Schwarzenegger finds in himself that brought about his success. “I

finally arrived here in 1968. What a special day it was. I remember I arrived here with empty pockets, but full of dreams, full of determination, full of desire” (§13). For Schwarzenegger, there is only one way to transform desire, dreams, and determinations into anything of substance, and that way is hard work. And it was through his hard work that Schwarzenegger claims his dreams came true.

If the major terminal value is the American Dream, then hard work is the major instrumental value. An important evaluative ought/should comes in paragraph 18: “One thing I learned about America is that if you work hard and play by the rules, this country is truly open to you. You can achieve anything.” This statement displays the values of working hard and of abiding by the law to bring about one’s American Dream. Since Schwarzenegger is aiming his speech at immigrants, this statement also could be seen as Schwarzenegger’s subtle denouncement of illegal immigration. At the same time, this statement builds commonality with Schwarzenegger’s tertiary audience—the Republicans, as this statement is in line with the Republican platform.

The first research question asked the researcher to assess how Governor Schwarzenegger used his personal immigrant narrative to build identification among himself, immigrants, and the Republican Party. In essence, Research Question 1 asked the researcher to study three relationships: between Schwarzenegger and immigrants; between Schwarzenegger and Republicans; and between immigrants and Republicans.

Schwarzenegger and immigrants

Of the three relationships, this identification may be the simplest to define. Schwarzenegger is an immigrant. Therefore, he expects other immigrants to identify with him easily. Still, his immigrant narrative is meant to develop a bond between him and immigrants in his audience. He speaks of moments with which they are likely to identify—coming to America; listening to an American television show (in this case, a presidential debate) via a translator; becoming an American; and living the American Dream.

While Schwarzenegger has not lived the typical immigrant's life, he uses narrative to keep that identity alive. Schwarzenegger uses his success as a bodybuilder, an actor, and a politician to typify the American Dream. This keeps the identity factor alive, despite whatever lifestyle differences there may be between Schwarzenegger and the typical immigrant.

Schwarzenegger and Republicans

A person unfamiliar with Schwarzenegger's unique place in the Republican Party may not realize that an identification between Schwarzenegger and the average Republican was a complicated one. True, they were both identified as Republicans, but some significant divides between Schwarzenegger and the typical Republican existed, particularly on the issues of abortion and the environment. Schwarzenegger is best described as a moderate--more purple than red, as he can be described as a fiscal conservative and a social liberal.

It is that interesting dichotomy that makes paragraph 18 so intriguing.

“Now, many of you out there tonight are ‘Republican’ like me in your hearts and in your beliefs,” Schwarzenegger said.

Maybe you’re from Guatemala. Maybe you’re from the Philippines.

Maybe you’re from Europe or the Ivory Coast. Maybe you live in Ohio, Pennsylvania or New Mexico. And maybe, just maybe, you don’t agree with this party on every single issue. I say to you tonight I believe that’s not only okay but that’s what’s great about this country. Here we can respectfully disagree and still be patriotic still be American, and still be good Republicans. (par. 18)

This paragraph starts out as one being addressed to immigrants, but the contents are clearly aimed at the Republican base—perhaps that is why the list of places switched from Guatemala and the Philippines to Ohio and Pennsylvania. Here, Schwarzenegger’s purpose is clear: To get the conservatives to identify with him. Importantly, he voices an acceptance of fellow Republicans who disagree with him. And he even celebrates the disagreement as “patriotic,” a hot-button value for the American Right in the years immediately following 9/11. He also characterizes the disagreement as “American” and as something that “good Republicans” do. This strategically places a conservative Republican in an interesting spot, for his desire to be a good Republican and a patriotic American is pitted against the conservative Republican’s resistance to some of Schwarzenegger’s policies. Importantly, though, Schwarzenegger tries to break the idea that Republicans agree on every issue and replaces it with the concept

that Republicans agree on most issues. This again hearkens to the Republican identification Schwarzenegger is trying to build. Schwarzenegger's moderate stances were out of step with the conservative base, so this point may be self-serving. Although Schwarzenegger is out of line with the Republicans on some issues, such as abortion, he wants his party members to accept those differences because he is in line with them on most issues, including economic issues.

Likewise, it should be noted that Schwarzenegger effectively employs a terministic screen throughout his speech. Abortion and the environment are never mentioned, but the seminal Republican issue of the 2004 election, fighting terrorism, was given a prominent place in the speech (although, interestingly, Schwarzenegger never used the term "war" in his speech). Schwarzenegger also highlighted the fiscal conservative policies on which he and the Republican base agree, as the materialistic myth of the American Dream was given the most prominent portion of the speech.

Also, Schwarzenegger's immigrant narrative was likely highly persuasive to the Republican base, in particular, and Americans, in general, because of how cleverly Schwarzenegger stitched patriotic terms into the narrative. In this regard, Schwarzenegger's most effective strategy was to praise America for all of his success. The speech includes a series of progressions in Schwarzenegger's life--from scrawny boy to governor; from penniless immigrant to a wealthy man; from voiceless to powerful. All of these changes were facilitated by one common denominator: America. Schwarzenegger presents himself as an American-made man. At least one of the aforementioned changes in his life took place well before

he arrived in America, as he was already a bodybuilding champion by the time he hit American soil. Nevertheless, another effective terministic screen maintains the imagery of a scrawny boy being transformed in America.

But his tale likewise resonates because many Americans are the progeny of immigrants. Perhaps in Schwarzenegger's story, they could see their grandmother or great-grandfather arriving, also penniless, also full of determination. Perhaps in Schwarzenegger's story, they could see their ancestor in that same situation: dreaming of America in their homeland and working determinedly for that American Dream upon arrival in America. The immigrant story is an oft-told one in America, and as such, the narrative espouses the same value that Schwarzenegger's speech does: the American Dream.

Perhaps the deepest identification between Republicans and Schwarzenegger comes on the preservation of the American Dream. The Republican Party may view itself as the protectors of the American Dream, adopting the self-perception that the Party is in the business of protecting businesses on the principle of free enterprise and protecting individuals on the principle of low taxes. Indeed, that is the identification Schwarzenegger ascribes to the Party: The Protectors of the American Dream.

Immigrants and Republicans

This identification is built on Schwarzenegger's contention that Republicans are the protectors of the American Dream. The resonating narrative here is found in Schwarzenegger's own conversion story to the Republican Party. His purpose in coming to the United States is clearly identified as a desire to have

a better life. In listening to a presidential debate translated into German by one of his friends, Schwarzenegger feels disappointed to hear the Democratic nominee espouse viewpoints markedly similar to the rhetoric Schwarzenegger heard in Austria. However, Nixon's statements strike a chord in Schwarzenegger. This story is clearly intended to get immigrants to accept, as Schwarzenegger did, the Republican ideology; in so doing, an immigrant's dreams will be protected.

Schwarzenegger's rhetoric is clearly situated to make immigrants identify with him and relate their experiences to his own. If they are to realize their ambitions, they need to do as he did: work hard, play by the rules—and vote Republican. Schwarzenegger works diligently to convince his fellow immigrants that they have a place in the Republican Party. “To my fellow immigrants listening tonight, I want you to know how welcome you are in this party. We Republicans admire your ambition. We encourage your dreams. We believe in your future” (§15). The values in this paragraph mirror those of Schwarzenegger's immigrant narrative: ambition, dreams, and a future—the ambition of a hard-working bodybuilder and actor and the dreams of a scared schoolboy in Austria, and the glorious future dreamed about as a boy and then realized as an adult. Schwarzenegger says Republicans admire, encourage, and believe immigrants can live their American Dream. These three attitudes would seemingly be important to Schwarzenegger whose own dreams were discouraged in Austria yet supported in America. Clearly, Schwarzenegger believes immigrants desire to have similar support for their ambitions. Where will an immigrant find that encouragement? In the Republican Party.

The Republicans, in Schwarzenegger's estimation, are the ideal party for an immigrant. He spends a critical part of his speech trying to get immigrants to identify with the Republican Party. In particular, in paragraph 20, he lists the qualities he identifies with Republicans: people-oriented government, educational accountability, fair treatment, etc. After each statement, he tells the immigrants listening that if they believe in that particular trait, "Then you are a Republican" (§20). This echoes Schwarzenegger's own language when he heard Nixon's speech and said, "Then I am a Republican" (§14). This parallel is clearly intended for the immigrants to have the same conversion moment Schwarzenegger had—that in listening to his speech, they too will identify with the Republican Party.

The second research question asked how Governor Schwarzenegger's narrative represents American values and how it is used to create identification between American ideals and the Republican Party. As was stated earlier, the major terminal value of this speech is the American Dream. This is obviously a well-known, well-respected value within American culture. It is the umbrella value--and all other values voiced in Schwarzenegger's speech work to protect, uphold, and achieve the American Dream. In other words, all the other good reasons serve as instrumental values.

Furthermore, Schwarzenegger's speech hits on the two myths of the American Dream: the materialistic myth of individualism and the moralistic myth of brotherhood that Fisher (1984) identified. In building the materialistic American Dream, Schwarzenegger stresses the freedoms of this country. Schwarzenegger talks of being drawn to America because of the chance to fulfill

his dreams, and he sees the Republicans as being the party that will protect those opportunities. He lauds perseverance, hard work, and fair play as the keys to having one's dreams come true. As for the moralistic myth, Schwarzenegger is strong on preaching unity and optimism. He lampoons the idea of two Americas, arguing that the people putting their lives on the line in the Middle East believe they are fighting for one America. He continues to construct that idea by telling a story of a soldier he met, and he speaks of the courage of a wounded soldier anxious to return to his troop. Schwarzenegger also argues with those who take a pessimistic view of America's future. Importantly, Schwarzenegger not only identifies optimism as a way to make the American Dream happen, but he also implies that pessimism, particularly if used to question America's economic viability, kills the American Dream.

The third question focused on whether the VIND model was a viable method for creating the narrative bridge. One of the purposes of this paper was to assess whether the VIND model could work as a bridge between Burkean identification and Fisherian narrative. These theories have been useful in the rhetoric field, and the combination of the two has the potential to be a useful tool for future scholarly research. The VIND model is constructed for Fisherian narrative for the purpose of revealing the good reasons or values within a text. One of the advantages of the VIND model is that it asks the rhetor to consider the text from a different viewpoint each time the scholar reads through the speech. This exercise yields a substantial amount of data. Through that process, the predominant values rise to the surface again and again. Thus, as a tool for

analyzing text for a Fisherian application, the VIND method seems to be a useful model because it is apt for revealing values in a text. This is expected, of course, since the VIND was designed for the narrative paradigm. To serve as a useful tool in the narrative-identity bridge, the method needs to work for a Burkean analysis.

For a Burkean analysis using identification, the VIND model's usage perhaps needs some tweaking. Burke obviously is not as interested in the values a text produces as in the identifications it yields. Since identifications can and do occur through shared values, a researcher can look at the values contained within a speech, particularly those that predominate, and then analyze how those values are being used to build a consubstantial relationship between speaker and audience member. This is an important step because if a connection can be established between the two theories, it has to be rooted in good reasons, since Fisher's work primarily focuses on that issue; whereas, Burke's identification theory incorporates values as well as other rhetorical elements. However, the VIND model appears to almost reveal identifications as a byproduct. While searching for values and seeking to understand why the speaker wished to transmit that certain value, the VIND model helps reveal the ways in which identity is constructed; the model also helps show the way that identification may appeal to an audience.

Therefore, it became useful in this research to add some additional steps to the VIND model to maximize the results. First, the researcher had to determine the group the speech was aimed towards. This was done by noting the times when the speaker directly addressed a group as well as analyzing which group could

most readily identify with the stories the speaker told. From this analysis, it was concluded that Schwarzenegger's primary audience was immigrants—specifically legal immigrants. Schwarzenegger also had Americans as a secondary audience target and even a tertiary audience in Republicans.

The second critical step proved to be reviewing the list of values the VIND model produced and seeing how those values influence identification within the target group. This required the researcher to look at the values revealed through the analysis and see how those values would resonate with the target audiences.

One of the aspects of the VIND model that I find curious is the differentiation between the steps for terminal values from those for the instrumental values. For example, the steps for discovering terminal values seem to work just as well in discovering instrumental values. If a researcher is looking at cause-and-effect statements in a narrative, as is the first prescribed step under instrumental values, then the scholar would seemingly be studying the instrumental value (cause) and terminal value (effect). Therefore, I must question why a step that reveals both instrumental and terminal values is restricted to only revealing the causes. Furthermore, some of the steps seem to be misplaced. The first step to discover terminal values is to located evaluative ought/shoulds. An ought/should is an action—something one does to bring about an effect; it is not an outcome. Therefore, an evaluative ought/should might be cast as an instrumental value, not a terminal one. Rather than asking that each step be re-examined to see if it ought to be categorized differently, I suggest that the

delineation between instrumental and terminal values be eliminated altogether.

The steps are solid, but the restricting of the steps by categorizing them into instrumental and terminal values seems unnecessary and limiting. I believe better results could be obtained if the steps are not segregated.

I conclude that the VIND method is workable, but not ideal. This is, of course, somewhat expected. The VIND model was created for narrative only. While it certainly is useful for a narrative study, it does not have enough steps dedicated to understanding identity. In fact, it was for this reason that a step to highlight Schwarzenegger's primary audience was necessary because a study cannot claim identification if the speaker and his audience are not clearly defined. In the opinion of this researcher, for any claims of identification to be valid, two things must be done. First, the history of the speaker is needed so that the researcher—and the reader of the research—can know what ready-made identifications and barriers to identification that the speaker brings to the speech. In this particular study, the background research into Governor Schwarzenegger proved useful, as he repeated in his speech the technique that helped make him a popular movie star: self-deprecating humor.

More research should be conducted to see if a better method for this bridge could be created. Second, the primary audience and any secondary or tertiary audiences must also be defined. In so doing, the values of the group may be reasonably estimated. Also, the researcher can analyze the speaker's narrative to determine if the assumed values are addressed. If these two criteria are met, then the claims of identification are stronger than they would be otherwise.

Consequently, I would like to see a method developed that has the clearly defined steps that the VIND model does, yet one which incorporates these identification components.

Discussion

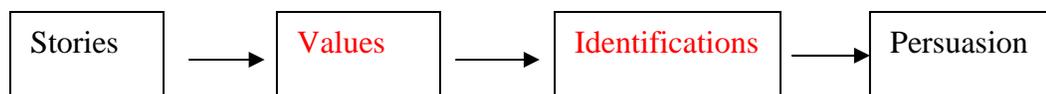
Schwarzenegger's speech consists of three elements: the immigrant's dream, the American Dream, and Schwarzenegger as the prototype of those two ideals. Schwarzenegger seeks a consubstantial relationship between an immigrant's dream and the American Dream. This particular relationship is probably not a difficult one to establish, as the original conceptualization of the American Dream was that of immigrants coming to America for the hope of a better life. Those individuals who have realized a better life, through material wealth or position, are the ones who are said to have achieved the American Dream—or the immigrant's dream. Second, after establishing the consubstantial relationship of these two concepts, Schwarzenegger wants his audience to view him as the embodiment of the dream. This is created by the preceding elements in this paragraph where a scrawny foreigner is transformed in America into a muscular, wealthy, prominent governor.

The speech is thus constructed to build all the identifications—from his identification as an immigrant to an American to one who has his American Dream to a Republican; Schwarzenegger strives to build these identifications with his audience. All these identifications culminate in the final paragraph of the speech, where Schwarzenegger finishes with his call to action: Send President Bush back to the White House for four more years. Or, as represented visually,

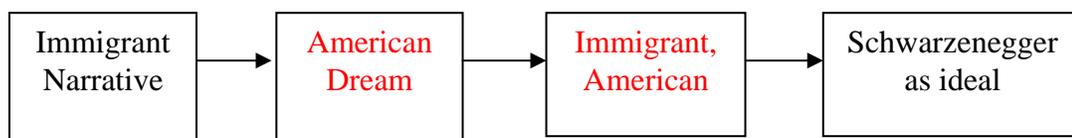
Schwarzenegger's argument develops from an immigrant identification to an American identification to an American Dream identification and culminates in the Republican identification.

It is important to note the role that transfer plays in this rhetorical process. Schwarzenegger wants immigrants to start by identifying with him and the American Dream. Then, he seeks to have those immigrants transfer that identification into an identification with the Republican Party and then to President George W. Bush. The chief motivation for creating a Republican identification is to persuade listeners to vote for George W. Bush. Thus, Schwarzenegger lauds Bush's efforts during his first term. Schwarzenegger begins the section with these words: "I'm proud to belong to the party of Abraham Lincoln, the party of Teddy Roosevelt, the party of Ronald Reagan and the party of George W. Bush" (§14). By categorizing Bush along with three presidential greats, including two who are on Mount Rushmore, Schwarzenegger intends to have his audience transfer the positive feelings they hold for Lincoln, Roosevelt and Reagan to Bush. At other points in the speech, Schwarzenegger again constructs positive views of President Bush. He credits President Bush for the rebounding American economy after the September 11 attack. Schwarzenegger lauds his "perseverance" (§27) and "inner strength" (§28).

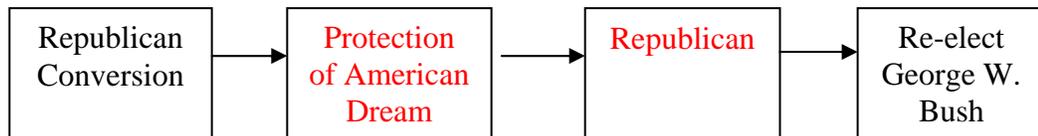
Earlier in this thesis, the identity-narrative bridge was introduced. It stated that the process of narrative and identification unfolds in this manner:



Also, earlier in this paper, it was asked whether identities are a material, an outcome, or both. I argue that identifications are both. In the step-by-step process that goes from narrative to persuasion, identifications are the outcome of shared values, but they are the material for persuasion. The pivotal points in any arrangement are the second and third steps where values and identifications are transmitted. If the speaker does not effectively establish these two areas, persuasion will either not occur or be severely impaired. Using this narrative-identity set, the two major stories in the speech—Schwarzenegger’s immigrant narrative and his Republican conversion story—were plugged into the formula. His immigrant story yields the primary identification as an immigrant, and a secondary identification as an American. This is consistent with the primary audience argument I made in the beginning of the analysis that stated immigrants were the key target audience for Schwarzenegger’s speech, and Americans in general were the secondary audience. While the immigrant narrative may be recognizable to immigrants because it is supposedly ‘their story’ as much as it is Schwarzenegger’s, the immigrant narrative is also identifiable to Americans because it is a pervasive cultural symbol. In both instances, the end persuasion is intended for immigrants and Americans to view Schwarzenegger as the ideal of this American Dream.



This first narrative-identity set is meant to prepare the second part of the speech for success. In other words, if Schwarzenegger is not viewed as the ideal, then this second narrative-identity set will fail, and Schwarzenegger's speech will not create the identity he desired. The second set focuses on Schwarzenegger, posited as the embodiment of the American Dream, as a Republican. The major story here is his conversion story. The main value is protection of the American Dream. He states that he joined the Republican Party as a young immigrant to preserve his American Dream. In other words, the value of protection of the American Dream compelled him to be a Republican. He continues to posit this goal as an ongoing need and the reason why he and his audience should all re-elect President George W. Bush to a second term.



Ideas for future research

This paper sought a bridge between the narrative paradigm and identification. The VIND model was tried out as the model that could connect a plank between the two theories' shared interest in values contained within a text. The VIND model is designed to unveil the values within a text—primarily the values contained within a narrative. The VIND model is workable, but a better method could be found to utilize the two theories, and that is where a good portion of the future research should be directed.

Other research ideas are to study the connecting plank between the two theories. Values have been identified as that plank, and although it seems to be the only workable connector, some research could be conducted to see if other areas, particularly symbols, could be used as a “second plank.” Furthermore, the four-step process of how a narrative becomes an identification could also be reviewed. The middle two steps in the process, in particular, are in need of more study. For example, is it sensible to suggest that in every persuasion, the values predate the identifications? Could it not be that, in some cases, the identity occurs before the values are shared? And can identification still occur if no values are shared? And even if that is the case, can persuasion occur where there are no shared values, only shared identities? In the wake of so many unanswered questions, it seems apparent that the model, the process and the method are all in need of further review.

Conclusion

I argue that the Fisherian approach can be boiled down to this statement: Stories yield values, and the Burkean identification can be summed up in this way: Identification causes persuasion. I argue, then, that the bridge between the two theories is simply this: values create identifications. Thus, the argument for these two theories is quite simply: If stories yield values, and if values create identification, and if identification causes persuasion, then stories are where persuasion occurs. Of course, to such an argument must come this caveat: A story can only be persuasive to the degree to which the hearer identifies with the values of the speaker. Schwarzenegger’s two narratives—his immigrant narrative and

Republican conversion—were aimed at creating three identifications: immigrant, American, and Republican. The sum effect was to have his listeners vote to re-elect President George W. Bush.

Importantly, the two steps of narrative and identity were established to be necessary for persuasion to occur. That Schwarzenegger's speech was seemingly ratified by the groups from whom he sought identity perhaps suggests identity with his narrative comes before persuasion. Similarly, the speech's detractors were outside those identities; therefore, this gives more emphasis to the idea that persuasion follows identity and narrative.

Overall, these two theories work well together. The major statements of the two theories have been folded into a theoretical process. That process seemed to work well in the current study although more research will be needed to see if this process will be useful to other studies.

In the first chapter of this paper, I put forth several questions to be considered about values: Was the value accepted? If so, why did the audience members accept it? How did they accept it? Are identities a symbol, an outcome, or both? From the study of Schwarzenegger's speech, it seems the majority of his audience accepted his values. It appears Americans and Republicans, in particular, accepted the value much more readily than did immigrants, his target audience. It appears immigrants struggled to see their struggle embodied in him, but native-born Americans saw the story as being representative of the tales of their ancestors. The speech resonated well with Republicans because the narrative fit their world view. In the end, Republicans and Americans likely accepted

Schwarzenegger's narrative more easily because it fit the narratives with which they were raised—the American Dream being a persistent symbol within the United States; whereas, immigrants likely were not ingrained with the tales of the American Dream. In the end, therefore, it appears the identification occurred most frequently where the narrative and the symbol were most pervasive.

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