

MORE THAN A STORY: AN EXPLORATION OF POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY AS
PERSUASIVE DISCOURSE

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To my wife
Dorothy Tibbits-Gray

ABSTRACT

The epideictic discourse of political autobiography offers a powerful means of persuasion to attitude not otherwise available to politicians. In the extended narrative form of political autobiography, the audience's identification with characters, actions and speaker is central to persuasion. Narrative persuades implicitly by disposing the audience favourably to the rhetor and through the "common-sense assumptions" that the audience supplies in order to understand the discourse. The methodological approach used in this thesis, Fantasy Theme Analysis, addresses how the socialization process that is a primary function of epideictic rhetoric takes place. In the analysis, the rhetorical vision of the "game of politics" and two other fantasy themes are identified. The analysis demonstrates that an audience who identifies with this network of fantasy themes would also be influenced attitudinally and ideologically. The author concludes that political autobiography deserves further study because of its potentially important role in political persuasion.

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Chapter 1: Political Autobiography as Persuasive Discourse

The purpose of this thesis is to explore political autobiography as epideictic rhetoric that can influence the attitudes of an audience. In Chapter 1, I argue that with the breakdown of the deliberative process resulting from the technological advances achieved over the last century, political autobiography could provide a means for extended discourse between politicians and the public that is not otherwise available. My intention here is to demonstrate that political autobiography can help to shape the attitudes of an audience and that, by so doing, it can be a powerful tool for political persuasion. In the process, I hope to show that political autobiography is deserving of further theoretical and critical examination as a rhetorical genre.

For the purpose of this thesis, political autobiography refers to extended narrative discourse that is intended to be read by the public, in which the author describes events of public life as either a participant or an observer. Most works that fall under this classification are political memoirs, a genre that was well established before the term "autobiography" became popular (Buckley 38). They are generally not considered to be works of any significant literary merit and, until now, their study has been consigned mainly to historians (Gusdorf 36). That these works pose no challenge for literary critics, however, does not mean that they are unworthy of attention from

rhetoricians. I will argue in this thesis that political autobiography can be both engaging narrative and a tool for political persuasion, and deserves more attention from rhetorical theorists and critics alike.

Few critics, however, have treated autobiographical writing as discourse with political and rhetorical implications (Solomon 355) and, to my knowledge, no comprehensive theoretical study of political autobiography from a rhetorical perspective has been published. While critics have approached autobiographical writings as historical¹ and literary discourse,² the status of political autobiography as a rhetorical genre has never been firmly established, nor have its boundaries been clearly defined.

While recent articles examining autobiography from a rhetorical perspective represent more of a gentle swell than a tide of interest, the modern state of political discourse warrants a more comprehensive study of extended narrative

¹Karl Joachim Weintraub, The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance in Autobiography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) xviii. See also Georg Misch, Geschichte der Autobiographie, 4 vols. (Bern: Francke, 1949-50, Frankfurt: Schulte-Bulmke, 1955-1969) According to Weintraub, the significance of autobiographical writings to historical research has been recognized since 1904.

²James Olney, "Autobiography and the Cultural Moment: A Thematic, Historical, and Bibliographical Introduction," Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical, ed. James Olney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980) 7-8. Olney traces the theoretical treatment of autobiography from a literary perspective back to 1956, but suggests that the volume of work produced since then reflects the fascination of literary critics with the genre.

forms of the genre. Over the course of this century, we have seen a gradual disappearance of opportunities for extended discourse between politicians and their public. Where full texts of important political speeches were once printed in local or national newspapers or broadcast on radio in their entirety, only an occasional excerpt now makes its way into the media. The public's access to the ideas and arguments of their politicians is limited by the length of the television news story or the paid political announcement (Jamieson 5-16).

Political autobiography fills the politician's need for extended discourse while, at the same time, giving the public a chance to know their politicians. Politicians need extended discourse to address complex issues and to elaborate on the arguments that support the courses of action they recommend. According to Neil Postman, "the fundamental metaphor for modern political discourse is the television commercial," on the average, 15 to 20 seconds long (126). Political communication of sixty seconds or less, however, is not an adequate replacement for extended discourse because "complex ideas must either be ignored or treated simplistically" (Jamieson 10).

The nature of television as an entertainment medium has also taken control of political discourse out of the hands of politicians. When "information [is] packaged as entertainment" (Postman 141), then attracting and

entertaining the audience become major concerns for the television executives and newscasters who decide what and how much to report. Through the medium of television, politics has become like show business (Postman 125-26, 132). In order to gain coverage, politicians have had to become entertainers, masters of the 'bon mot' or the quotable phrase. Argumentative substance has been overshadowed by the need to spark interest through emotional appeals. In the 1979 federal election campaign, for example, speech writers added "brief inserts and one-liners" to previously written speeches specifically to provide short clips for television news (Fletcher 280).

The disappearance of extended discourse is symptomatic of the breakdown of the deliberative process of political decision-making, a process that was central to both the ancient Greek and Roman cultures. Although the notion of community decision-making through debate remains alive in town hall meetings and local candidate debates, the deliberation of political policy on a national level mainly takes place within the various parties, often behind closed doors and under a shroud of secrecy. It is difficult for the general public, through the fragmented reportage they receive, to get a clear idea of the values that drive their politicians.

At the same time as these changes in political communication have been taking place, the conceptualization

of rhetoric has been undergoing a radical transformation as well. Historically, rhetoric had been linked by theorists to the process of persuasion. Aristotle called rhetoric the "faculty of observing in any case the available means of persuasion" (1355b) and persuasion continued to be central to the art as practiced and taught by Cicero and Quintilian. While Quintilian did not include persuasion in his definition of rhetoric, he retained the "function of the term."³

According to Kenneth Burke, the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian and Augustine reflected the idea of persuasion as "inducement to action" (Motives 50). The ancient Greeks used oratory, as they named it,⁴ to influence the actions of judges and citizens in both the courtroom and the political arena. Later, in Roman times, gifted orators, such as Cicero, wielded tremendous power because they could move people to political action. The rulers of Rome during the latter days of the Empire considered the practice of rhetoric so dangerous that they outlawed public oratory of the deliberative type, only permitting the art to be used

³Burke, Motives 49. See also Quintilian II. XV, in which Quintilian discusses other definitions of rhetoric that prevailed at the time.

⁴During [classic] Greek and Roman times, most rhetorical discourse was delivered orally and so the term oratory was commonly treated as the practical application of rhetoric. The usage has carried forward to modern times and the two terms are often used interchangeably, although today's rhetorical discourse encompasses the written word as well as other media.

for legal disputation and epideictic discourse. When Quintilian defined the ideal orator as "a good man" and rhetoric as "the science of speaking well" (II. XV: 33-35, 40-41), he was attempting to inject a moral element into the influence the orator wielded, not to deny that rhetoric was concerned with moving an audience to action. Augustine's *ars praedicandi*, as explicated in On Christian Doctrine, also reflects this conceptualization of persuasion. According to Augustine, members of an audience are persuaded if their hearts are moved "through powerful eloquence, not that they may know what they must do, but that they may do what they already know they ought to do" (396:27).

The notion of rhetoric as persuasion in terms of inducement to action persisted until the twentieth century when the revival of interest in rhetoric brought new approaches to the discipline. The public was bombarded with the new rhetorical forms that have become endemic to modern society, such as television ads, "news" programs and motion pictures, forms that could not have been foreseen by classical rhetoricians. Although there was a revival of interest in classical theory after the publication in 1925 of Herbert A. Wicheln's "The Literary Criticism of Oratory," other theorists began to question the appropriateness of classical theory as an effective critical tool for examining

modern discourse.⁵ A broader conceptualization of rhetoric was needed to address adequately the variety of modern discourse. Out of the need to develop new theoretical approaches to understanding rhetorical discourse, came a reassessment of the role of epideictic rhetoric. As I will later show, this new conceptualization of the epideictic is important to the understanding of political autobiography.

Political Autobiography and Epideictic Rhetoric

Aristotle is generally credited with being the first to define epideictic discourse as one of the three oratorical genres, the others being deliberative or political rhetoric and forensic or legal rhetoric (Kennedy 72). The "ceremonial oratory of display," as Aristotle terms the epideictic genre, "either praises or censures somebody" with the aim of "proving him worthy of honour or the reverse" (1358b). Although Aristotle first refers specifically to people as the objects of praise or censure, he later includes "inanimate things, or the humblest of the lower animals" (1366a), in short, anything that can be praised or blamed, within the province of the genre.

Aristotle seems to treat the epideictic as secondary or

⁵Brock, Scott and Chesebro 20, 86. Edwin Black's Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method had perhaps the most significant influence in opening the bounds of rhetoric beyond classical and, in particular, Aristotelian principles.

less important than the other two genres.⁶ He acknowledges the usefulness of praise and blame as components of deliberative and forensic speeches, but he identifies no purpose for epideictic rhetoric in and of itself beyond the display of rhetorical expertise. While he characterizes deliberative as "a nobler business" than forensic rhetoric, which was treated more fully in the other manuals of the time, he does not champion epideictic rhetoric as also needing more extensive consideration (1354b). The epideictic is also the only genre of rhetoric that was generally uncontested. Often, epideictic speeches were simply distributed in written form and not even delivered orally (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 48).

Aristotle's approach may stem in part from the conceptualization of rhetoric as persuasion to action that I addressed earlier in this chapter. Deliberative and forensic oratory clearly lead to specific action by the audience, whom Aristotle characterizes as judges (1358b). In contrast, epideictic oratory, whose listeners are observers, does not lead to identified action on the part of the audience, except perhaps applause for the orator who demonstrates consummate skill at the art. While Aristotle treats in detail the techniques of praise and blame (1366a-1368a),

⁶Cope, 2, cited in Edwin Black, Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method. Cope supports this impression when, in his commentary, he describes deliberative and forensic as "the two more important branches of Rhetoric."

what is missing is a clear sense of the function and purpose of the genre and insight into the effect it has on the audience. Some modern theorists, however, contend that the epideictic genre is significant to the persuasive process and that its functions comprise more than the mere exhibition of oratorical expertise.

It is only when we expand the province of rhetoric to include more than persuasion to action that the significance of epideictic rhetoric can be properly appreciated. In The Rhetoric of Motives, Burke argues that "often we could with more accuracy speak of persuasion to 'attitude,' rather than persuasion to out-and-out action" (50). Burke sees attitude as "an incipient act, a leaning or inclination." Richard Weaver is even more emphatic when he maintains that "every use of speech, oral and written exhibits an attitude, and an attitude implies an act" (1052). Thus, to influence attitude is to create or strengthen a tendency toward certain kinds of actions.

Epideictic rhetoric is chiefly concerned with attitude through its emphasis on values. When a speaker praises or censures, he does so by showing the significance of values, people and events as they demonstrate honour or disgrace. Thus, Aristotle considers "Virtues and Vice, the Noble and the Base" to be the "objects of praise and blame" and explores how they are demonstrated and the order of their importance in detail in The Rhetoric (1366a-1367a). E.P.J.

Corbett argues that a person's character is most clearly demonstrated "by what the person is and what the person does" (140). Thus the epideictic speaker draws on the audience's commonly held values to illuminate the qualities of the object of his speech.

It may seem that epideictic rhetoric does not really shape attitude because it is "less directed toward changing beliefs than to strengthening the adherence to what is already accepted." As Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca argue, however, epideictic discourse is argumentative because it "always tends to modify a pre-existing state of affairs" (54). The speaker shapes the attitude of the audience implicitly by the way he selects, deflects and reflects reality. Through the choice of terminology that he uses to express the values and principles he lauds, the speaker directs the audience's attention in specific ways that contribute to his purposes. By the same process, he deflects their attention from avenues of thought that would detract from his purposes. Thus, the rhetor's terminology creates a context for the discourse within the minds of the audience, what Burke calls a "terministic screen" (Burke, Symbolic 45).

The creation of terministic screens is an unavoidable process in any symbolic communication and, in turn, a text will always reflect the author's view of the world. As Burke argues, "any nomenclature unavoidably directs the attention

into some channels rather than others" (Symbolic 45). A skilful speaker, however, can present the audience with a coherent network of values expressed in such a way that they support one another and his purpose at the same time. While the audience may not be consciously aware of the effect, the speech will influence how they perceive the world, creating or "strengthening [their] disposition toward action" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 50).

From Burke's perspective, persuasion is achieved through identification with the audience, that is, by demonstrating points of commonality with them. According to Burke, "You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying your ways with his*" (Motives 55). Identification is the process of creating "consubstantiality," of showing that you are alike in some way, "substantially one" (Motives 21).

It may be easier for ceremonial speakers than for other kinds of orators to identify themselves with the audience because of the non-controversial nature of epideictic rhetoric and because the audience is often allied with the speaker in the attempt. Since the speaker is not urging the audience to take action and is not generally opposed by another speaker (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 48), the members of the audience are less likely to be aware of differences between themselves and the speaker. By praising

someone for demonstrating values the audience possesses, the speaker implicitly praises the audience as well. As Corbett contends, epideictic discourse is "concerned with ... pleasing [an audience] or inspiring it" (29). Both of these actions are likely to gain the audience's approval and support rather than opposition.

Burke seems to argue that rhetoric in general seeks to unify the audience in order to achieve persuasion. He maintains that rhetoric "is rooted in an essential function of language itself ... the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols" (Motives 43). In his terms, "[i]dentification is compensatory to division" (Motives 22). It exists because there is division and to unify as a response to that fact.

Epideictic rhetoric sometimes pursues that unity "independently of the precise circumstances in which this communion will be put to the test" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 53). The occasions at which ceremonial rhetoric is delivered are often connected with rites of passage. One of the chief functions of funereal eulogy, which is often cited as an example of epideictic address, is to ease the passage of the audience from a world that included the person eulogized as a vibrant member, to one that no longer does. The ceremonial speaker's purpose is to heal the breach in the community that was created by the death of one of its

members. An effective eulogy will show the significance of the person's life and death within the context of values and principles shared by the community as a whole. By celebrating their values, "epideictic rhetoric sustains the communal sense of identity" (Jamieson 147).

When the death is that of a public figure, memorial services can become political events, opportunities to reaffirm the values of the state. Other such opportunities arise from the variety of rites of passage that are common in public life. Nomination and acceptance speeches acknowledge a change in the status and role of a public figure, while the occurrence of tumultuous political events, such as assassinations or kidnappings, often calls for an epideictic response by a government representative.

Political autobiography, because of its length which spans a political career, might be expected to focus on broader and often more gradual political changes. This seems to be the case with some texts. A Party Politician: The Memoirs of Chubby Power, for example, addresses Canada's evolution to a more politically independent nation. Memoirs of a Bird in a Gilded Cage, by Judy LaMarsh, focusses on the increasing prominence of women in what was previously a totally male-dominated Canadian political world. In each case, Canadian politics underwent a significant transformation, prompting a need, or at least a desire, by both authors to explore the implications of those

transformations within the context of societal values.

By creating amongst members of an audience an identity that is rooted in societal values, epideictic discourse also performs the socializing function that was filled by epic narrative discourse in oral societies (Jamieson 147). In order to remain viable and to encourage public participation and acquiescence, a political system and its politicians must be perceived by the public as representative of the values and principles they hold most dear. Epideictic speakers educate the public in societal values that are epitomized in the actions of people. In the process, they define roles for the audience and convey membership in society. As Jamieson explains, epideictic discourse "rehearsed the values of the citizenry, recalled the principles from which the government operated, and rededicated the people to the values and principles of the state" (Jamieson 146).

The socializing function of epideictic rhetoric is important because of the contested nature of the political arena. Challenges to public policy and function arise continually, either through political debate or as a consequence of unforeseen or uncontrollable events. In Canada's cultural mosaic, in particular, different cultural values come into conflict with one other, challenging the political and social fabric of society. The epideictic speaker "may be likened to the guardian of dikes under

constant assault by the ocean" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 55). He emphasizes values to which the audience ascribes, but that may "not prevail against other values that might come into conflict with them." It is for this reason that Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca suggest that it is important for a society to "promote opportunities for epideictic speeches."

Although Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca suggest that the epideictic speaker "is very close to being an educator" (52), epideictic rhetoric, and political autobiography in particular, also promotes ideological positions. When an author recounts past events, he interprets them from and within a specific context. Autobiography is "a coherent shaping of the past" (Pascal 5) that is, as Weintraub argues, "written from a specific retrospective point of view" (xviii). When the autobiographer is a statesman, the audience will share, from reading his discourse, some "of his own sense of the body politic ... as a living human society" (Wichelns 30). Thus, when Jamieson argues that "[a]n involving recreation of the past can invite us to see ourselves, our world, and those with whom we have shared the tale in a new light" (148), the illumination she describes may be generated, at least in part, from the author's political perspective.

The functions of epideictic rhetoric as delineated by modern theorists suggest that political autobiography can

play a significant role in contemporary political persuasion. The extended discourse of political autobiography can be instrumental in socializing the public, reinforcing societal values and disseminating specific political ideology. As a unifying force, it can help to heal political rifts within the populace of a nation.

By shaping the attitudes of the public, political autobiography can also establish a fertile ground for subsequent argument that can be reinforced continuously. Jamieson argues that because "short ads" or "news clips" communicate a position and "little else," the audience is left with only two postures to choose from in response: "they can embrace a position ... because it is already theirs ... or they can adopt it because they endorse the politician and hence are willing to take on faith the legitimacy of his or her conclusions" (13).

Political autobiography, however, provides politicians with the space to communicate complex ideological positions implicitly in terms of values that the audience takes as its own. If the audience's attitudes have already been influenced in this way, the rhetor can contextualize the position taken in these shorter sound and video bites by using textual cues to recall what the audience has already accepted. Through this process, a stand on a specific issue can be represented as an extension of previously developed ideological positions and linked indirectly to common values

in the minds of the audience. At the same time, the audience is in a better position to assess a particular stance as to its consistency with the rhetor's previously expressed values because more information about the rhetor is available.

Members of the audience may also feel that they know and can trust a politician as a result of reading his or her political autobiography. If that is the case, they are also more likely to feel safe in supporting the positions he or she takes, even if the issues are not clear. As Aristotle maintains, when "exact certainty is impossible and opinions are divided," the audience's perception of the speaker's character becomes especially important in influencing their decisions (1356a). Thus political autobiography may enhance the effectiveness of political decision-making processes from both the audience's and the politician's perspective.

The Critical Object: Straight from the Heart

I will illustrate my arguments through the analysis of a single extended example of political autobiography. This approach comes closest to the process of "generic description" described by Sonja Foss in Rhetorical Criticism: Exploration & Practice (114). A more complete application would entail the consideration of a variety of texts with the end of determining whether a genre does exist. Since the length of this study does not permit this

more comprehensive approach, I have chosen a discourse that I hope will illustrate enough of the persuasive potential of political autobiography to indicate that further examination is necessary.

In this thesis, I am concerned with political autobiography as persuasive discourse, not for its historical value. With that in mind, there are three main reasons why Jean Chrétien's political memoir, Straight from the Heart, makes an appropriate and potentially fruitful object for this study. First, Chrétien, who is currently the Prime Minister of Canada, wrote Straight from the Heart

while still an active politician. Second, Chrétien's political career had already spanned more than two decades at the time of writing (Chrétien 217). That he had extensive and varied experience as a politician suggests that he might possess a better understanding of political communication and ideology than might a less experienced politician. Third, as a populist politician who relies heavily on humour and stories in his political speeches, Chrétien's command of the narrative form might reveal some interesting and creative rhetorical strategies.

Most political autobiographies are written by politicians after they are retired or appointed to the Senate, which in Canadian politics may represent a similar kind of disengagement. Straight from the Heart is an exception in that Chrétien was still actively involved in

the practice of politics at the time it was written. His career, however, was in hiatus. He had just lost the Liberal leadership race to John Turner, and the Liberals had been defeated in the subsequent election by Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives.

That Chrétien was still actively engaged in politics suggests that his discourse might have significance beyond that of a chronicle of political events. Straight from the Heart represented an opportunity for extended discourse with the public that was not otherwise available to Chrétien in his political position at the time. As I have argued earlier in this chapter, opportunities for extended political discourse diminished with the advent of modern media, in particular the medium of television. Moreover, since Chrétien was not the leader of the Liberal Party, he was not in a position to use the public relations organs of the party to communicate his political ideology. Because of the kind of persuasion it can achieve, political autobiography was especially suitable to Chrétien's political situation.

At the time he wrote Straight from the Heart, Chrétien already had lengthier and more varied experience than most of his contemporaries. He had been variously involved in politics for over twenty years, from his time as an organizer for other candidates in his home riding to his subsequent election and re-election as a Member of Parliament for the Liberal Party in Ottawa. As a Quebec

native, he was intimately acquainted with Quebec politicians and their ideological positions. His seventeen years as Minister in the Pearson and Trudeau governments exposed him to many different public figures and political positions and seemed likely to give him a broad understanding of Canadian politics (Chrétien 9).

It is not the content of Chrétien's career that is germane to this study as much as his understanding of political ideology and the mechanics of persuasion. His extensive political experience suggests that he might have had a well-formed ideological position of his own along with an appreciation of the principles and values upon which it was based. His continued success as a politician seems to imply some mastery of the art of political persuasion that might be revealed in his book.

Chrétien's political style also seems to recommend him to political autobiography as a genre of political communication. Since the form of political autobiography is extended narrative, an author who is skilled in rhetorical narrative technique is more likely to reveal the persuasive potential of the form than another who is not. Corbett calls epideictic "the most 'literary'" (29) of the three types of rhetorical discourse while Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca maintain that "every device of literary art is appropriate" to the genre (51). According to Corbett, "the resources ... in ceremonial discourse are the devices that novelists,

dramatists and short story writers use to characterize the people in their fictions" (147). Chrétien's approach as a self-styled populist politician who uses "slang, emotion and jokes in [his] speeches" and who tells stories for rhetorical purposes such as "relaxing his audience" before addressing a contentious issue (Chrétien 20, 48) seems especially suited to the kind of persuasion to attitude found in epideictic rhetoric.

One last issue needs to be addressed before passing on to methodological concerns: the tendency in modern political communication for ghost writers, sometimes called speech writers, to produce discourse that is represented as being the creative property of another person. The practice may have originated with Augustine, who suggested in On Christian Doctrine that if the religious leaders of the Roman Catholic Church could not write a powerful sermon themselves, they should borrow the sermons of others who could (415: 62). In Chrétien's case, the question of how much of his book he wrote himself seems particularly germane because Straight from the Heart was published simultaneously in French and English and separate editors were extensively involved in the production of the two versions (Chrétien 9-10).

There are two compelling reasons, however, why rhetorical critics in particular and audiences in general must consider rhetorical discourse to be the moral and

intellectual property of the historical author. First, by allowing a rhetorical work to be identified with his or her name or by delivering such a work orally in person, the author acknowledges personal responsibility for that work. Whether or not another person has contributed to any degree in the creation of a rhetorical discourse, once the author claims ownership, he or she implicitly affirms that the discourse reflects his or her own ideas, beliefs, values and intent. It must be emphasized that I am referring here specifically to rhetorical discourse, that is, discourse whose goal is primarily persuasive, not to any literary discourse that may be seen as essentially expressive in nature.

The second reason is a moral one, predicated on the advantage or gain that may accrue to the speaker as a result of rhetorical discourse. John L. Lucaites and Celeste Michelle Condit argue that "[m]aterial gain, whether in the form of a vote, an exchange of goods and services, or an *ideological agreement*, rests at the core of the rhetorical process" (101, emphasis mine). Because rhetors gain advantage by shaping the attitudes of an audience, that audience must be able to hold them accountable for their persuasion. Without this assignment of responsibility, the audience would be left with an "unmanageable (and ultimately an immoral and irresponsible situation)" when assessing attitudinal persuasion (Lucaites and Condit 102). Even when

the discourse is written in whole or in part by a speech or ghost writer, the speaker alone must be responsible for the discourse because he or she is "placing demands upon the beliefs and behaviors" of the audience (Lucaites and Condit 102).

Two main considerations guided my selection of methodologies to apply in the analytical section of this thesis. The first is the extended narrative form of political autobiography. Narrative has often been used to achieve epideictic purposes, to sway attitudes and shape values. The epic narratives of ancient Greece, the parables of Jesus and other spiritual figures and the dramatic narratives so often used by President Ronald Reagan in his epideictic addresses are just a few of many examples that are available.

Narrative persuasion, as I will show in Chapter 2, is more often implicit than explicit. This is perhaps even more the case when attitudinal persuasion is the rhetor's goal. An effective analysis demands methodological tools that can be applied to specific sections of text to uncover what is implied but not stated. The work of Norman Fairclough provides such a tool, one that is particularly appropriate to this study because it focusses on implicit ideological persuasion.

The dissemination of ideology is likely to play a significant part in persuasion to attitude in political

autobiography. Norman Fairclough's theory of naturalization and common sense assumptions is mainly concerned with how ideology is embedded in discourse. As I will show in Chapter 2, Fairclough argues that particular ideological positions can become so dominant that their discursive expression is seen as ideologically neutral by the audience. Thus, ideological assumptions become common sense in the minds of the audience. By uncovering some of the common sense assumptions in Straight from the Heart, the analysis should yield some insight into how attitudinal persuasion takes place in political autobiography.

The second consideration is the epideictic nature of political autobiography. The methodological approach I have just described provides a tool for analyzing specific sections of text. If this tool is to be applied to its best advantage, a broader approach that addresses both the rhetorical functions of epideictic discourse and the nature of the audience's interaction with narrative is also needed.

The Fantasy Theme Analysis methodology developed by Ernest G. Bormann is an essentially narrative oriented approach that is directly concerned with the socialization process that is central to epideictic rhetoric. As Robert C. Rowland argues, narrative relies for persuasion "on the audience interest in the development of the plot and the capacity of the audience to identify with the characters" (266). Bormann's methodology focusses on identifying themes

related to character, setting and action with a view to their rhetorical significance.

As I will show in the next chapter, the audience's identification with fantasy themes and the subsequent "chaining out" of these themes into a group contribute to the development of a sense of community among the participants. An analysis of the dominant fantasy themes in Straight from the Heart should reveal how the socialization process occurs and indicate where other more specific methodological tools may be fruitfully applied.

An understanding of narrative persuasion is integral to the analysis of political autobiography. In the methodological chapter that follows, I will first examine how narrative influences the audience implicitly, involving them in their own persuasion. I will then complete the chapter by exploring the theory and application of Bormann's approach.

Chapter 2: Narrative and Fantasy Theme

Narrative and Persuasion to Attitude

Narrative performs the function of socializing people in preliterate societies. According to Walter Ong, "[O]ral cultures ... use stories of human action to store, organize, and communicate much of what they know." Narrative is particularly suited to perform this function because it "can bond a great deal of lore in relatively substantial, lengthy forms that are reasonably durable" (140-41). The kind of knowledge transmitted includes "descriptions of proper procedure and conduct, such as how to trim sails and how to treat elders" (Gill 79).

Through what McGee and Nelson call "its unique capacity to communicate procedure" (150), narrative also communicated the knowledge of roles, and the appropriateness and consequences of different actions. In the process, it helped to initiate people into the norms of their community. According to Ann Gill, "[t]he actions of characters in the narrative illustrate various principles and rules, thereby serving as examples which members of the oral society can remember and imitate" (79). Gerard A. Hauser supports Gill's claim when he asserts that through the resolution of conflicts within a story, "narratives established paradigms for acting" that provided "guidance on how to live in your community by partaking of its traditions" (17). These paradigms for acting reflected the norms that provided

necessary stability for communities to share a common orientation to social life.

The narrative interpretation of events is often more important to the socialization process than the verifiable elements of the events themselves. To change the way the story is told is to alter the audience's perception of its meaning, even if the basic elements of the story remain the same. As Quintilian argues in his treatise on courtroom rhetoric,

The facts are the same for both prosecution and defense; it is the narrative presentation of the facts that assigns meaning to them. If the judge accepts one view as plausible, he also accepts the implications of that view as they apply to the actions and motivation of the actors. (4.2:76)

Narrative still performs a socializing function today. According to Gerard A. Hauser, "[m]uch of our initiation into the norms of our community - our acculturation, so to speak - occurs through ... narrative tales" (16). In modern times, however, narrative texts are also found in media other than print, such as films and television (Brummett 134, 184-85). The television series *M*A*S*H* and *Star Trek*, for example, unite their viewers around shared experiences and values. The existence of a subculture of "trekkies" that has persisted long after the original *Star Trek* series was discontinued, along with the success of subsequent "spinoff" series, demonstrates the ability of modern narrative forms to bind audiences together.

In political communication, as Kathleen Hall Jamieson

and William F. Lewis have argued, narrative is still used to convey and reinforce membership in a culture by instilling pride in the audience for the values and principles upon which the culture is based. Jamieson cites Ronald Reagan's ability to use dramatic narrative in an epideictic setting "to create an identity for an audience, to involve the audience, and to bond that audience to him" (9). Lewis notes the mythic qualities of Reagan's story of America's history and destiny and argues that Reagan's narrative "provides a focus for identification by his audience" (245). The power of narrative to accomplish epideictic functions is revealed in Lewis's assessment of Reagan's speeches: "In Reagan's rhetoric, the nature of the world, his policies, his values, his character, and the character of his audience are defined together by the story that he tells" (250).

In Chapter 1, I established my focus in this thesis as an examination of political autobiography as epideictic rhetoric that persuades to attitude. I argued that epideictic discourse creates identification amongst the audience and between audience and speaker through the praise of values that are common to both. In this section, I will show that Kenneth Burke's theory of rhetoric as identification is also central to an understanding of the interaction that takes place between audience, narrative and speaker. Narrative promotes identification and, in the process, helps to shape the attitudes of the audience.

The narrative form is persuasive to attitude in itself because it disposes the audience favourably towards the speaker. Narrative lacks the appearance of conventional argument. As communication, narrative is cooperative and conventional argument is adversarial. As a result, the members of an audience make different responses to discourse as listeners to narrative than they do as listeners to conventional argument.

Communication is thought by some theorists to be an interactive process of "one person stimulating meaning in the mind of another by means of a message" (McCroskey 17). The combined action of telling and listening to a story also implies an interactive relationship between the storyteller, or the representation that he projects in the discourse, and the listener. As human interaction, that relationship may, as George Dillon suggests, "be thought of as either competition, contention, and combat, or as cooperation, participation, and enactment of social bondedness" (34, 17).

The very act by a rhetor of making an overt attempt to influence the audience implies, metaphorically, an adversarial relationship between the rhetor and the audience. As George Lakoff and Mark Johnson maintain, argument is a "verbal battle, and the structure of an argument...reflects this" (4). Barbara Warnick and Edward Inch describe argument as "a set of statements in which a claim is made, support is offered for it, and there is an

attempt to influence someone" (6). The claim often comes in the form of a thesis statement or proposition that is supported by evidence. The audience's instinctive response to this adversarial structure is likely to be resistance in the form of critical evaluation, especially when the rhetor's claims seem to oppose the audience's previously held views of the world. The rhetor must somehow overcome this resistance or transform the relationship with the audience into one of cooperation in working towards a common goal. That goal, of course, is supplied or implied by the rhetor.

The narrative form of autobiography, however, is not immediately recognizable as an argument by the audience. For that reason, narrative does not provoke the adversarial reaction I have just described. Instead, it tends to elicit a cooperative response from the audience. People read narratives mainly for enjoyment. As Robert Rowland contends, "Narrative is important because people love stories" (266). Boyd Litzinger concurs when he describes telling, listening to and reading stories as "among the oldest and most enduring of civilized, indeed human, pleasures" (Preface).

In pursuit of pleasure, the audience become willing partners with the narrator. They do so by suspending their disbelief in order to enter the world that narrative creates. Jamieson describes the effect achieved by "all effective narratives" as one of "transport[ing] us out of

ourselves into another time and place" (148). To enter this place, the audience must accept the premises and assumptions put forth in the narrative, at least provisionally. The interaction between the audience and the author is one of collaboration in the creation and acceptance of this narrative reality.

By acting as partners with the narrator, the members of the audience also identify with him. As Burke argues, "in acting together, men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes that make them *consubstantial*" (Motives 21). "The very act of reading/writing," according to George L. Dillon, "presupposes commonality" (25). When reading narratives, the audience will make assumptions implied in the text just to make the story work, especially if they find it amusing or entertaining. That narrative encourages this suspension of disbelief by the audience is what makes it such an effective vehicle for the implicit dissemination of ideology.

That the actions described by narrative imply values that constitute a way of viewing the world makes narrative a powerful tool for shaping the attitudes of the audience. When narrative connects knowledge, people and action, it does so based on a value system. This value system is sometimes stated explicitly, but much of it is often implied by the events and consequences as related in the story. What is implicit is often more important than what is stated and

tends to have a more powerful impact on the audience.

Wallace Martin states:

Narrative sentences presuppose many generalizations about human behaviour. In order to understand what is happening in a story, we must connect the events, and do so by assuming the existence of general laws which interrelate them. (188)

These generalizations may be as basic as the idea that when we are hungry, we eat, but they can also have ideological implications.

Ideology, as I am using it in this discussion, refers to any system of beliefs and values that influences how people perceive themselves and the world. From a rhetorical perspective, ideologies are significant because people's perceptions affect their attitudes towards the world and the various elements in it. When people perceive the world in a particular way, they form attitudes about the appropriateness and value of actions within that context. As Burke has argued, attitude can be seen as "an incipient act, a tendency or leaning" toward or away from particular acts (Motives 50). Since ideologies influence the formation of attitudes, they provide the context within which actions are framed. Thus, ideological persuasion can be a stepping-stone to future more conventional argument as well as a significant goal in itself.

Michael Toolan argues that "narrative is never without contexts which both shape and come to be shaped by the story which is told and heard." Because people are influenced by

narratives and their contexts, "narratives ... carry political and ideological freight" (227). Even the linguistic structure of narration, using active or passive voice for example, makes an ideological statement about the subject of the narrative (228-38). As Toolan shows, even supposedly 'neutral' newspaper stories, what Lucaites and Condit would call dialectical narratives,⁷ espouse an ideological view of events.

Narrative influences the audience ideologically through what Norman Fairclough calls "'common sense' assumptions" that are embedded in discourse. The audience must make these assumptions in order to understand the text. He argues that ideological persuasion is most effective when the audience perceives an ideological position as being 'common sense,' something that everyone knows.

According to Fairclough, ideology is "essentially tied to power relations" (84). Discourse is an ideological battle ground, a "place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted" (43). When one ideological position becomes dominant and generally accepted, the discursive expression of that position is no longer seen as arbitrary. Fairclough calls this process "naturalization" (91-93). When the naturalization process occurs, the audience perceives

⁷92-93. Lucaites and Condit define three functions of narrative in discourse: the poetic seeks to display "beauty," the dialectic to transmit "truth," and the rhetorical to wield "power."

that expression as ideologically neutral, even though the position reflected in it may originally have been the object of fierce contention. It becomes the only way of viewing the world instead of one out of many.

The audience makes 'common-sense' assumptions that are ideologically based in order to make sense of discourse. These assumptions serve as "'missing links' between explicit propositions" and "chain together successive parts of texts" (81). The process may be entirely subconscious, through "automatic *gap-filling*" or it may take some inferential work on the part of the audience. Either way, it is the audience that supplies these "contentious assumptions," not the discourse (83).

Narrative is particularly powerful in evoking these common sense assumptions from the audience and this process lies at the heart of its power to persuade. Fairclough emphasizes that these assumptions are "most effective when least visible" (85). If the rhetor can position the members of the audience through "textual cues" (83) so that they must accept these assumptions in order to make sense of a narrative, then they will often do so without question. If our passion in consuming narratives is, as Roland Barthes suggests, "to discover meaning" (271), then we want to have the story make sense, and so we subconsciously make the connections that enable it to do so.

Any attempt to analyze political autobiography needs to

address the points of identification between the audience and the text. These include the characters, actions, setting and themes in the narrative. As I argued earlier, narrative is not readily identifiable as argument because it lacks the appearance of conventional argument. It does not explicitly tell the audience how to think or call them to action. When the members of an audience identify with elements of narrative, they also accept the assumptions that are embedded in the story. As Robert Rowland maintains, "The story ... relies on audience interest in the development of the plot and the capacity of the audience to identify with the characters to produce persuasion" (266).

Although ideology may not be explicitly stated in narrative, clues as to its nature and contentions can be found in the discourse. Edwin Black argues in "The Second Persona" that "[d]iscourses contain tokens of their authors ... [and] more specifically that certain features of a linguistic act entail certain characteristics of the language user" (110). Black suggests that these ideological tokens are often stylistic. While he uses metaphor as an example to demonstrate the connection between idiom and ideology, his general contention suggests that other literary devices such as similes and analogies may function in the same way.

What makes these tokens significant in analysis is not simply that they reveal the author, or Wayne Booth's

"implied author" (71), but also that they move the audience towards an ideological position. According to Black, "[t]he critic can see in the auditor implied by a discourse a model of what the rhetor would have his real auditor become." ("Persona" 113) Stylistic tokens act as vectors of influence that tend to fulfil themselves: that is, they not only imply an audience ideologically, but they also move the real audience toward a position that is consubstantial with the implied audience.

It follows, then, that identifying and analyzing the significance of such stylistic tokens that appear in a political autobiography might help to expose the nature of the identifications being created between the audience and the discourse. As I will demonstrate in the remainder of this chapter, Ernest G. Bormann's Fantasy Theme approach provides an appropriate critical method for this inquiry through its focus on shared fantasy themes and rhetorical visions that imply ideology and because of the role that shared fantasies play in the socialization process.

The Fantasy Theme Approach to Rhetorical Analysis

Ernest G. Bormann's Fantasy Theme approach is useful for the analysis of political autobiography because of the central role that group fantasizing plays in the development of community and in the socializing process in general. Through the examination of the fantasy themes and rhetorical

visions implicit in a discourse, a critic can reveal the values and beliefs that would hold such a community together and point to where and how identification is achieved between audience, text and author. Finally this approach addresses the areas of character, action, setting and theme that are central to audience interaction with narrative while directing the critical focus toward the rhetorical effects that are achieved.

The Fantasy Theme approach to rhetorical criticism arose out of research on small group interaction carried out by Robert Bales and Bormann himself. Bales noted that sometimes, when a member of a group dramatized an event from the past or a dream about the future, "[p]eople would grow excited, interrupt one another, blush, laugh, forget their self-consciousness" (Bormann, "Fantasy" 211). The drama being related would "chain out through the group," becoming a group fantasy.

In his own work with small groups, Bormann confirmed Bales's observation. He adopted the term "fantasy theme" to describe "recollection[s] of something that happened to the group in the past or a dream of what the group might do in the future" (Bormann, "Fantasy" 211). Fantasy themes are distinct from those dramatic interactions that occur in the immediate present between members of the group.

According to Bormann, "the sharing of group fantasies ... brings about a convergence of appropriate feelings among

the participants" ("Symbolic" 130). He notes that "[t]hose who share the fantasy do so in an appropriate tone and with appropriate feeling" ("Symbolic" 131). They experience what Bormann calls a "symbolic convergence" that he likens to responses of audiences to mass media events: "they jointly experience the same emotions, develop common heroes and villains, celebrate certain actions as laudable, and interpret some aspect of their common experience in the same way" ("Symbolic" 131). In Burke's terms, they identify with each other through the group fantasizing process.

When fantasy themes chain out through subsequent interactions, they combine to form what Bormann calls "rhetorical visions" ("Fantasy" 213). He defines these rhetorical visions as "composite dramas which catch up large groups of people in a symbolic reality." As such, they form a basis for further group interactions because they "can be developed in detail when the occasion demands to generate emotional response." As well, the "dramatis personae and typical plotlines can be alluded to in all communication contexts."

When members of a group share a common fantasy theme or rhetorical vision, they also share a common perception of how the world works. This includes codes of behaviour, beliefs, values and procedures, in short, all the elements that make up a social reality. As Bales argues, "The culture of a group is a fantasy established from the past, which is

acted upon in the present" (Bales 152, cited in "Fantasy" 212). Fantasy themes can "serve to sustain the members' sense of community, to impel them strongly to action ... and to provide them with a social reality filled with heroes, villains, emotions and attitudes."

The ability of fantasy themes to affect attitude is particularly pertinent to a study of political autobiography as epideictic rhetoric. According to Bormann, "[w]hen group members respond emotionally to a dramatic situation they publicly proclaim some commitment to an attitude" (Fantasy 211). By identifying with the story that is being told, they are implicitly affirming accord with the attitudes expressed in the narrative.

Fantasy Theme analysis is essentially a narrative approach to rhetorical criticism. Its concern is with the audience interaction with stories, in the form of fantasy themes, and with the rhetorical visions that are implied by them when taken collectively. The process of analysis that it follows addresses the way in which audiences relate to narrative.

According to Sonja K. Foss, conducting a fantasy theme analysis involves five steps:

- (1) finding evidence of the sharing of fantasy themes or a rhetorical vision; (2) coding the rhetorical artifact(s) for setting, character, and action themes; (3) construction of the rhetorical vision(s) on the basis of fantasy themes; (4) naming the motive for the visions identified; and (5) assessment of the group's rhetorical vision. (293-94)

In this study, however, there is a single critical object, Straight from the Heart, by Jean Chrétien. To ascertain the effect on the audience of the fantasy themes and rhetorical visions in the discourse would necessitate external investigation, such as surveys or examination of other discourse written by the author prior and subsequent to the artifact under analysis. That kind of investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis.

We do know, however, that Straight from the Heart sold in excess of 100,000 copies in Canada alone (Clarke). It is reasonable to assume that the audience did find some correspondence between their own lives and Chrétien's discourse. An analysis of the dominant fantasy themes and rhetorical visions in the artifact should indicate the identifications and assumptions that an audience would have had to make to be drawn in and transported to Chrétien's narrative world.

In the assessment of the rhetorical visions, I will focus on how Chrétien's political autobiography, as an example of epideictic rhetoric, is able to influence the audience's attitudes through the dissemination of ideology. By examining the ideological tokens contained in the discourse and the common sense assumptions that underlie them, I hope to discover how Chrétien is able to move his readers towards an ideological position through the celebration of values that is central to epideictic

rhetoric.

To that end, I will also explore the sanctioning agents for the fantasy themes and rhetorical visions in Chrétien's text. According to Bormann, "some abstraction ... [may] provide the ultimate legitimization" for the dramas enacted in a text ("Fantasy" 216). If this is so, then an examination of the validation process could be central to uncovering how epideictic discourse, and political autobiography in particular, implicitly shapes the attitudes of an audience.

Chapter 3: The Game of Politics as Rhetorical Vision in
Straight from the Heart.

In Chapter 2, I discussed how fantasy themes can unite a group of people by establishing a common culture. Fantasy themes legitimize "[v]alues and attitudes" (Fantasy, 212) and "create a common symbolic reality filled with heroes and villains" (Fantasy, 213). Ernest G. Bormann calls "the composite dramas [fantasy themes] which catch up large groups of people in a symbolic reality ... a 'rhetorical vision.'" A rhetorical vision is "a unified putting - together of the various scripts [and is] often integrated by the sharing of a dramatizing message that contains a master analogy" (Symbolic, 133).

In Straight from the Heart, the rhetorical vision of the game of politics and the fantasy themes of the ordinary Canadian and the ideal public servant are central to attitudinal persuasion. They interact in a mutually supportive way to influence how the audience perceive themselves and the Canadian political world. The game of politics identifies Canadian politics as a special kind of interaction that is not found in everyday life, but that can be understood by the audience in terms that are familiar to them. The theme of the ordinary Canadian identifies the problem that the game of politics exists to solve. It defines the role of ordinary Canadians and their ultimate importance in relation to the game. The theme of the ideal

public servant demonstrates how Canadian politicians should act in the context of the game. Taken together, these themes both raise the question of how Canadians can survive and have a reasonable standard of living, and provide the answer for the audience.

The "game of politics" is a master analogy such as Bormann describes. It represents a rhetorical vision in which ideological struggles are played out in the Canadian political arena with the good of the Canadian people, however that may be defined, as the common goal. This vision acts as the primary setting theme in Straight from the Heart. As such, it influences how the audience will perceive Chrétien, the discourse and the characters and events described in it. It also provides a central organizing principle from which the audience can interpret other fantasy themes that accompany it.

The game analogy in Straight from the Heart serves the purpose of making the Canadian political system and the actions of Canadian politicians more comprehensible to Chrétien's audience. By so doing, it encourages the audience to identify with the rhetorical vision it represents and the fantasy themes associated with it. As I argued earlier, the changes in political communication over the last century have resulted in a breakdown in the deliberative process. "The challenge for the average citizen," as Barry Brummett maintains, "is to personalize large and complex issues in

ways that make them understandable, without distorting those issues so much that good decisions cannot be made" (158). Chrétien's analogy, as expressed through the narrative form of his political autobiography, makes the job of the average citizen easier, at least on the surface. It addresses Chrétien's stated purpose of trying "to give some perspective on the political process in Canada as seen by a close participant" (10). While the audience may welcome this simplification of such a complex subject, they may not be aware of how the ideological assumptions embedded in Chrétien's rhetorical vision are shaping their attitudes.

References to the game of politics are sprinkled liberally throughout the text, often briefly or in passing. Since many of the references are implicitly given in short anecdotes, the audience is constantly reminded of the analogy without being encouraged to subject it to scrutiny. In the Preface, for example, Chrétien describes a friend's reaction upon learning that Chrétien was writing a book. "He sounded like someone asking a hockey player if it was true he was planning to become a figure skater" (9). Later, Chrétien's role in a baseball game between politicians and the press is likened to his career as a cabinet minister (31), the Speaker of the House is described as a referee (43), cabinet ministers in general are compared to football players (86) and the Liberal leadership race is depicted as similar to an old-timer's hockey game (200).

Often, the reference leads to another short anecdote or discussion that expands upon or exemplifies the analogy, but also implicitly influences the audience's attitude in a different way. After the hockey player - figure skater reference in the Preface, for example, Chrétien goes on to affirm that he is "a politician, not a man of letters" (9), thus cementing the analogy in the minds of the audience. Embedded in this comparison is a common-sense assumption about people in general that influences how members of the audience perceive both Chrétien and the text they are about to read. As described in Chapter 1, a common-sense assumption is supplied by the audience in order to make sense of a discourse. In this case, the audience must assume the existence of two essentially different types of people. The artist or intellectual type is concerned with the beauty and artistic merit of his or her creation. The hockey player type works as part of a team to get a job done. Chrétien, of course, is one of the latter.

If the members of the audience make this assumption, they will view Chrétien not as a skilled writer or political theorist but as a practical politician who is relating the events of his political life as best he can. They are less likely to scrutinize the text critically to find the "subtle exploration of the doing and undoing of language and representation" that is often present in expressive literature (Dillon, 197), or to look for complex ideological

arguments that demand critical appraisal. They will instead be encouraged to treat Straight from the Heart as a story they can read and enjoy and to collaborate with the author in creating his narrative world, as they would with other stories of a similar nature.

As the main setting theme in Straight from the Heart, Chrétien's rhetorical vision socializes the audience to a view of politics as a special kind of social interaction, one that is not a normal part of everyday life. People are generally not described by their physical characteristics in Chrétien's discourse and do not interact with their physical environment. Instead, the actions that are described are primarily political, and the people are political entities who interact on an ideological level.

In everyday life, we are most immediately aware of other people's appearances. The physical surroundings in which first encounters take place are often significant and remind us of the event. In Straight from the Heart, detailed descriptions of geographical and other physical surroundings are generally lacking except as they pertain to political issues and themes. In the anecdote about Chrétien flying over Baffin Island with his wife, for example, there is only enough description of the "huge, spectacular fjords" (68) to establish the beauty of the surroundings. The main action in the story takes place when Chrétien "circle[s] off 5,100 square kilometres" of the area to make into a national park.

It is this political act, not any interaction with the physical surroundings (Chrétien never lands there) that is central to the story.

The descriptions of people in the text are also flat, in a physical sense, or non-existent. Maurice Duplessis' "eyes sparkled and he had a forceful presence in spite of his small size" (15), and Fernand D. Lavergne "had a stutter" (19) are about as detailed as physical descriptions get in the discourse. Most of the time they are omitted altogether.

Most characters are introduced with information about their political views, experience and actions, or comments about their character. "Monsignor Louis-François Laflèche," for example, was "an ardent Conservative who used to emphasize in his sermons that Heaven is blue and Hell is red, rouge" (12). "Gérard Lamy was a rather successful small businessman, but he was not very sophisticated politically and had really won the 1962 election by a fluke" (19). Thus, the audience is encouraged to view the characters as primarily political in an ideological environment.

If the audience identifies with Chrétien's vision, it will shape their attitudes towards the discourse by contextualizing the people and the actions that appear in it. The characters in the story will be assessed as players in the game and their actions by their appropriateness within the context of the game. The kind of game that is

described will also influence how the audience perceive the elements in the discourse.

In Chrétien's paradigm, the game of politics is a team game. The individual ministers may be stars but their actions must contribute to the success of the team. The audience who identify with Chrétien's analogy are therefore encouraged to apply their individual perceptions of team sports to their assessment of political actions. The qualities that the individual members of the audience admire in players can become significant evaluative factors. Pragmatism, for example, may be seen as an important quality. A less talented player who can put the puck in the net is more valuable to a team than a star who makes dazzling plays but does not score. A player who is willing and able to play any position if it will help the team, such as Chrétien represents himself to be (31), is a valued commodity.

Sports truisms and cliches, such as "the player who comes to play every day" or the "gamer" who "delivers" in crucial situations can be used as standards of judgement by the audience. Chrétien does not generally use these cliches in referring to himself or other politicians, but the audience is likely to be familiar with at least some of them. Many of the actions he describes, however, seem almost to be tailored to demonstrate the qualities that fit these truisms. As "a guy who likes to take risks and move quickly"

(103), for example, Chrétien can be seen as a player who "makes things happen" whenever he is on the ice. The audience will supply the appropriate cliché in order to fit Chrétien's description into the context of the game. The effect created can be powerful since the members of the audience participate in their own persuasion. By collaborating with Chrétien in this way, the audience makes his claim for him.

The game of politics does emphasize physical actions, but only as they can be translated into political terms. Physical qualities are equated with political ones. "To stay strong, a minister must show compromise and agility" (85). He must use his "skill and weight" and "[c]oordination [can be] more important than action" (86). Thus, physical actions are seen as political actions within the context of the game. As I will show later in the analysis, this perspective significantly affects how the audience perceives Chrétien's actions as represented in the text.

Part of the socialization process takes place through the delineation of roles for the participants. Chrétien's rhetorical vision does this by defining the nature of the interaction between the audience and their politicians. If politics is a game, similar to hockey, football or baseball, then the politicians are the players and the Canadian public, the audience, become the fans.

The members of Parliament, in this analogy, are the

journeymen who are honing their skills in the game, [l]earning the ropes" (36) in Chrétien's terms. The stars are the cabinet ministers and the Prime Minister is the captain of the team. As in team sports, some players are content to "stay on the back benches" (42), representing their constituents and filling a role for the team when called upon. Others, with more ambition, aspire to be ministers in the government. If they are talented and work hard (42), they can achieve stardom in the game.

The role of the public as fans, however, appears initially to be problematical. People are more likely to accept a socializing influence if they can clearly identify their role in the social order, and especially if that role has some meaning, both to themselves and to their culture as a whole. The issue of validation is, therefore, crucial to the rhetorical effect of Straight from the Heart. For the audience to accept the socializing influence in Straight from the Heart, they must perceive their role as defined in the text as an acceptable one. A role that provides validation for an audience is usually more acceptable than one that implies that their actions are of little consequence or meaning. If the audience perceive their role as meaningless, granting them little ability to understand or influence events, the effect produced by the discourse is more likely to be alienating than unifying.

The analogy of the game of politics validates the

audience by providing them with a paradigm from which to assess politicians and their actions. As I noted earlier, Chrétien's analogy reduces a rather complex subject into simple terms that are understandable to the audience. Most Canadians are familiar with at least one of the games that constitute the analogy. The use of the analogy suggests to the audience that politics are really not that complicated. It also implies that the political opinions of the general public are as valid as those of any other person, even the more educated, perhaps, as long as the public views politics from the "right" perspective.

While the offer of a paradigm for understanding politics may be validating to the audience, the essentially passive role of the public defined by this paradigm seems likely to have the opposite effect. As fans, the audience can cheer on their favourite players, check the boxscores on the editorial page and watch the highlights on the late night television news, but their participation is limited. While they may write letters to the players or even meet them in person, they do not generally come out on the ice themselves. Most Canadians want more influence on their politicians than the fans have on the players of a game.

There are rules and goals of the game of politics, however, that make the audience's role more acceptable. These only become apparent through the interaction of the rhetorical vision with other fantasy themes in the text. The

welfare of the Canadian public, the "ordinary" Canadian, is the goal of Chrétien's game, and this goal guides the decisions and actions of the ideal political players. It is both the reason the game is played and the measure of the players' success.

We Do It All for You: The Ordinary Canadian and the Ideal Public Servant

The rhetorical vision of the game of politics defines a hierarchical relationship between the Canadian public and their politicians, one that would not, on the surface, appear to be attractive to the audience. A game must also have a goal, rules and players, however, all of which help to define the nature of the game and determine its popularity with the spectators. In Chrétien's discourse, these elements are provided through the fantasy themes of the ordinary Canadian and the ideal public servant.

The fantasy theme of the ordinary Canadian is one of the most important themes in Straight from the Heart and could be considered a rhetorical vision in its own right. Ordinary Canadians play an important role in the game of politics, and their plight is central to the persuasion to attitude in Straight from the Heart. The welfare of ordinary Canadians is both the reason why Canadian politicians play the game and the goal of their endeavours. This idea validates the members of the audience by making them the

most important people in Chrétien's discourse. In the process, it also offers them hope and assistance in attaining their own goals.

In this theme, ordinary Canadians struggle to survive and to achieve a reasonable quality of life. In the process, they are confronted by people, obstacles and forces that are often more powerful than themselves. The francophone elevator operator in one anecdote, for example, faces bigotry from the member of parliament, Bob Coates (31). Chrétien's grandfather faces discrimination for his political views from the powerful establishment of the Roman Catholic Church (11-12). The geography of Canada, a huge country with "a population of only twenty-five million" (94), affects Canadians in a way that is beyond their individual control. Without government intervention in the areas of transportation, marketing and import quotas, "agricultural production would decline [and] clothing and textile industries would vanish overnight" (94), resulting in unemployment and hardship for the ordinary Canadians who work in those industries. Their lives are also strongly affected by the "business community" who do not "have to give a damn about the unemployed poor" (111-12).

For Chrétien's ordinary Canadians the sense of uncertainty, that their lives could change at any time, is ever present. To lose their jobs or become ill (203) could be disastrous without assistance from the government. They

often perceive government and the Canadian political process, however, as bewildering and they are not aware of the effect that television has on their perceptions of politicians. They "don't understand the House of Commons ... and dismiss [politicians] as a bunch of fools" (36). They watch television reports on Parliament and "wonder why [politicians] aren't looking after their welfare cheques or putting commas in the legislation." Many "aren't aware of the work of committees" (38) or the accomplishments of "the ordinary member of Parliament" (40) because the media afford them little coverage.

On a more national scale, they are continually being threatened by separatism (151) and what Chrétien calls the "mirage of the American dream" (220). The future itself also represents a threat. As Chrétien asserts, "Nor can anyone guess what pressures for cultural survival will appear or what forms they might take as the global village gets smaller under the impact of direct-broadcast satellites and high technology" (151). Whatever happens, the ordinary Canadian will be hardest hit.

In keeping with Canada's modern, urbanized society, ordinary Canadians encompass more than the working poor. The closest Chrétien comes to defining them is when he tells of Réal Caouette, a populist politician from Quebec, who "stood up for the small people of the province, the wage-earners, the unemployed, and those who struggled all their lives to

pay their mortgages" (18). That "the ordinary family has to pay exorbitant prices for a small home" (95) suggests that much of the middle class, for whom housing prices are also a problem, may fall within the category of ordinary.

The theme of the ordinary Canadian is slightly reminiscent of John Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath, in an understated, distinctly Canadian way. Chrétien's ordinary Canadians are the salt of the Canadian earth, constantly facing adversity, usually with insufficient resources to draw upon in their struggle. There is a sense of nobility in Chrétien's depiction of ordinary people relying on traditional Canadian values who simply want "to live a decent life" (96).

This fantasy theme raises the question of how Canadians can survive in the face of discrimination, oppression and the uncertainty of modern Canadian life. Ordinary Canadians, in Chrétien's theme, do not have the means or power to fight the establishment or to respond to potential disasters such as layoffs or sudden illness. Chrétien's theme emphasizes the difficulties faced by ordinary Canadians, making those difficulties more immediate to the audience. Thus, the audience who identify with the theme are likely to be more concerned with finding solutions to their situation as described in the theme and, consequently, to be more receptive to the other fantasy themes that offer a way out of their dilemma.

The significance and importance of the ordinary Canadian is emphasized in the context of the game of politics. Like the fans, ordinary Canadians must pay the price of the ticket, whether that ticket is sold by a real estate agent, business person or doctor. In Chrétien's game, however, ordinary Canadians provide the purpose and goal for the game, the reason it is being played. This makes them the most important people to the game and its players. In a sense, the appreciation of the fans gives meaning to the performances of the players.

One way in which this effect is achieved is through the celebration of values that is central to epideictic rhetoric. The ethic of cooperation is praised as a traditionally Canadian value. "Canadians have always helped one another" (94), according to Chrétien, because they have needed to in order to survive the imminent disasters that await them. Because of the overwhelming obstacles that face ordinary Canadians, the goal of political players must be to help Canadians succeed or at least survive.

Similarly, the Canadian reliance on government assistance, along with the responsibility of Canadian politicians to provide good government, makes the focus on the welfare of the ordinary Canadian an intrinsic rule of the Canadian game of politics. According to Chrétien, "Social benefits are given to every Canadian citizen as a right"(203). If the members of the audience accept

Chrétien's praise of what he represents as distinctly Canadian values, they also accept the significance of their own position in the game. Since social benefits as a part of good government are a right, ordinary Canadians have an equal right to assess the play of politicians by their willingness and ability to deliver these benefits.

This fantasy theme is significant to persuasion to attitude in Straight from the Heart because it influences how the members of the audience perceive themselves and their relationship to the world around them. If they identify themselves with the ordinary Canadian as depicted in the discourse, the sense of being at the mercy of powerful forces in an uncertain world will become a more dominant feature of their concept of self. They may, in turn, look more to external sources for help in ameliorating their perceived situation.

When Chrétien is comparing the public and private sectors, for example, he states: "It is not the government's purpose to make a profit the way a company does, because the company doesn't have to give a damn about the unemployed poor or provide services that are non-commercial by definition" (111-12). The content of the statement seems quite reasonable in support of Chrétien's assertion that "comparing the public and private sectors is like comparing apples and oranges."

The clause "the company doesn't have to give a damn

about the unemployed poor," however, is embedded in Chrétien's statement and implies one of Fairclough's common-sense assumptions that the audience must accept in order for the discourse to make sense to them. The clause itself invokes the fairly common stereotype of the unfeeling company managers who make decisions without regard for the people whose lives they affect. It probably echoes the feelings and possibly the exact phrasing of many people who have been passed over for a raise or promotion, fired or laid off for whatever reason. Moreover, the change in diction in this clause makes it stand out from the rest of the statement and the expletive adds emphasis to it.

The implied assumption is that Canadian society comprises two kinds of institutions: those that care about the welfare of the ordinary Canadian and those that do not. If the members of the audience make the assumption, which is a part of the fantasy theme of the ordinary Canadian, then they are likely to view business as a potential threat to their well-being, one that they cannot control. In turn, they will perceive the government as looking out for their welfare; this perception applies especially to the Liberals, who are the primary exemplars of the government in Chrétien's story.

The members of the audience are likely to accept the ordinary Canadian fantasy theme as an accurate depiction of their lives because the individual elements of the theme are

consistent with stories they have lived themselves or have heard about from others. Many will have experienced the difficulty of paying a mortgage or the effect of unexpected hardship on their families. It is easy to perceive as unfeeling the company managers who must make decisions about whom to promote and whom to lay off. Each of these elements that the members of the audience see as representative of life as they know it helps to create consubstantiality between themselves and Chrétien and, in the process, contributes to the external consistency of the fantasy theme and the discourse as a whole.

Those who identify with the theme of the ordinary Canadian accept a set of beliefs that are implicit in the theme, and that stem in part from some of the common sense assumptions I have discussed. They see Canadian society as hierarchical, with themselves at the low end of the power gradient. To them, the world is a threatening place where disaster, both man-made and natural, can strike at any time. They cannot rely on those at the other end of the power gradient, such as business management and intellectuals, because they perceive these other groups as uncaring or even actively antipathetic.

Ordinary Canadians, as they are depicted in this theme, feel alienated from the political process and their politicians, whom they see as out of touch with the realities of everyday life. They may also perceive

themselves as disconnected from ordinary Canadians in other parts of the country. Although they subscribe to the traditional Canadian values of hard work, cooperation and frugality, they may be questioning the viability of those values in the face of the changes occurring at an ever-increasing pace in Canadian society. They face a world that does not seem to make sense in the context of their traditional system of beliefs. In essence, they are at a crisis point where they must decide to change some of their values in order to survive, or resign themselves to a situation that seems to be steadily worsening. The rhetorical vision of the game of politics supported by the fantasy theme of the ideal public servant, however, offers them hope as well as allies to assist them in their struggle.

The fantasy theme of the ideal public servant is the counterpoint to that of the ordinary Canadian. If the theme of the ordinary Canadian raises the question of how Canadians can survive, then the ideal public servant who plays the game of politics as it should be played answers that question for the audience. The ideal public servant, the player in Chrétien's game, acts for the good of the people and the country. He protects the ordinary Canadian from discrimination and oppression (31), stands up for his principles (11-12), acts as an ambassador to Parliament for the people (40) and is dedicated to the public good. He also

preserves the land for future generations (68-69), makes decisions for the good of the country and is willing to fight for that country when called upon (125). His ultimate goals are the same as those of the game, the welfare of the people and the country.

The ideal public servant is, in a sense, the champion of the ordinary Canadian and the action theme he inhabits reflects this. Character is shown through individual actions in short anecdotes, often the same ones that carry the ordinary Canadian theme. The anecdote about Bob Coates and the francophone elevator operator that I mentioned earlier is one such example. In the anecdote, George McIlraith is depicted as defending a francophone elevator operator against the bigoted, abusive remarks of a Conservative, Bob Coates. In the physical confrontation that results, Chrétien comes to the aid of McIlraith and "push[es] [Coates] against the wall" (30) until everyone cools down.

In the context of the game, the physical actions of the characters in the anecdote translate into political actions. McIlraith's defence of the ordinary Canadian elevator operator reflects his commitment to Liberal ideology. Coates' attack on McIlraith is also ideological and shows him to be a less than ideal player of the game. Chrétien's willingness to come to the aid of the minister demonstrates his Liberal principles in action and his dedication to the Liberal team. At the same time, it shows that the virtue of

courage is a part of Chrétien's political character. The incident as represented also underlines the ordinary Canadian's plight along with his need to be protected.

Later, members of parliament are described in more general terms, but still as active agents. Action words are conspicuous; members "receive delegations, arrange meetings with cabinet ministers or bureaucrats, serve as patrons to community activities, and even rush to get passports for last-minute travellers." They also "work extremely hard" (41).

The role of the politician as protector of the people and the country in the game of politics is predicated on there existing a need for such protection. Thus the plight of the ordinary Canadian is the ultimate sanctioning agent for both the game of politics and the theme of the ideal public servant. As I argued earlier, the theme of the ordinary Canadian emphasizes the difficulties faced by them and makes them more immediate for the audience. Threats and hardships are potentially everyday occurrences and uncertainty waits around every corner. If the audience identifies with this theme, then Chrétien's rhetorical vision of the game of politics offers assistance and hope for survival in an uncertain future. The readers are likely, as well, to see the need for the kind of ideal public servants that are implied in the discourse. Thus, the audience has both a reason to cheer its representatives'

actions, and motivation to accept and support Chrétien's rhetorical vision.

The theme of the ideal public servant is framed within Liberal ideology. The politicians who exemplify the qualities of the ideal public servant are mostly Liberals and most often Chrétien himself. Chrétien's grandfather, McIlraith, Pearson and Trudeau are depicted prominently as displaying a concern for the people. Liberal ideology is also introduced in the second paragraph of the book and is recapitulated in the Epilogue, providing a sense of containment for the various fantasy themes and the discourse as a whole.

While Chrétien discusses Liberal ideology, he does not appeal directly to the audience to adopt it. An overt appeal would be out of place in an epideictic discourse such as political autobiography and would probably be viewed unfavourably by the audience. Instead, he introduces the subject in a story about his family, whom he describes as always having been "rouge ... in the free - thinking, anti - clerical, anti - establishment tradition of the nineteenth century" (11). In the Epilogue, he returns to the subject as he reflects back on his career, something the audience would expect in an autobiographical work. The Liberals, according to Chrétien, "occupy the ideological middle ground," committed to "national unity and protection of the rights of all Canadians" (218). This statement, as well as his

contention that "Canadians have looked to the Liberal Party in times of crisis [as] the best agent for resolving conflicts and finding workable solutions" (219) seems tailored for the ordinary Canadian audience Chrétien has constructed, but he does not directly ask them to support the Liberals or himself.

What may not be as obvious to the reader is that the analogy of the game of politics that contextualizes the discourse is a reflection of the Liberal ideology that is stated elsewhere in the text. It simplifies the world of Canadian politics, but it does so from a Liberal perspective. An audience that identifies with Chrétien's rhetorical vision and the fantasy themes that support it has already moved significantly toward the Liberals' ideological position.

Jean Chretien: A Player in the Game

Earlier in this analysis, I identified the rhetorical vision of the game of politics as a way of contextualizing the discourse for the audience. I argued that Chrétien's vision portrayed politics as a special kind of social interaction that was not a part of the audience's everyday lives. If the audience accepts the vision, they will view the actions and characters portrayed in the text within the context of the game. In so doing, they can draw upon their perception of team sports to make sense of the discourse and

identify the heroes and villains it portrays.

In this section, I will explore a few ways in which the network of fantasy themes in Straight from the Heart could influence how the audience perceives Jean Chrétien as he represents himself in the discourse. As a character in his own story, Chrétien inhabits the archetypal fantasy theme, "rags to riches," played out in a distinctly Canadian way. His struggle for political success mirrors the struggle against adversity that defines the theme of the ordinary Canadian. In the context of the game of politics, Chrétien's qualities as portrayed in the discourse are consistent with those required by a successful player, even though some would be inappropriate and even un-Canadian in other social situations.

In the story of his rise to political success, Chrétien demonstrates that he understands ordinary Canadians and the problems they face and that he believes in the values they espouse. He celebrates these values implicitly by showing how they have helped him to be successful as a politician. He represents himself as a hard worker who believes in democracy over force and in the use of cooperation and negotiation to attain goals. He is also modest and self-effacing in assessing his own shortcomings and generous in his praise of others in a way that is appropriate to the values he represents as distinctly Canadian.

Even as the ordinary Canadian struggles against

powerful forces in order to "live a decent life" (96), Chrétien is depicted in his story as facing great adversity both personally and professionally in his fight for political success. Although he calls his family "successful, almost aristocratic," his father's occupation as a millworker who "took on other jobs in order to send his kids to college" (20) identifies Chretien's upbringing as that of an ordinary Canadian. That Chretien was the eighteenth of nineteen children, "nine of whom survived infancy," suggests that uncertainty and hardship were a regular part of Chretien's early years. He had to overcome deafness in one ear and distortion of his mouth (21-22) from a birth defect and later struggled to learn English when he was elected to Parliament (26).

In the text, he is discriminated against by Duplessis, who was anti-Liberal and allied with the Roman Catholic Church (13,15), and betrayed by the dishonesty of Jacques Parizeau, the university-educated Parti Québécois Finance Minister (104-05). Intellectuals attack him for using "slang, emotion, and jokes" and consider him uneducated (20). He is shown being ridiculed for his poor English and criticized by other politicians for explaining his vote on the Bomarc missile bill (39).

Chrétien's "rags to riches" theme is often found in novels and adventure stories and is likely to be familiar to the audience. It is presented here, however, in a distinctly

Canadian way. He surmounts his obstacles in the text through hard work, dedication and education, but he has help along the way. Although he battles and usually defeats his political adversaries, he treats them in a "kinder, gentler" fashion that reflects his Canadian values.

Examples of Chrétien's dedication and hard work are numerous and appear throughout the text. As a newly-minted politician, he tells Doug Fisher that he will work to earn a seat on the front bench of the government as a minister (28), and he shows in his story that he has done so. As parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of Finance, he writes major speeches about "the economic effects of Quebec separatism" (51). During the Quebec referendum battle, he "gave a speech or two in various ridings" (126) every night. Even after he lost the leadership race to John Turner, he still campaigned in "ninety-five ridings" (215) during the election that followed.

In keeping with his Canadian social-democratic ideals, however, Chrétien does not succeed solely through his own efforts. He becomes a lawyer, for example, by going to university with the support of a small "private scholarship and a summer job in the paper mill" (12). He learns English under the tutelage of his wife Aline and by reading Time and Newsweek (26). In his first few terms in office, his progress is noticed and his career is directed in part by Prime Minister Pearson (30-35, 49). He is also guided by the

advice of two of his friends, union leader Fernand D. Lavergne, and Marcel Crête, a lawyer (33). The Minister of Finance, Mitchell Sharp, acts as Chrétien's mentor during his time as parliamentary secretary and maintains this role throughout Chrétien's career (49-50).

Chrétien also treats his political adversaries in a kind, gentle fashion that is appropriate to the nation he represents. If an adversary is depicted as having acted dishonourably or even dishonestly, the conflict is generally resolved in a positive way or the other person's motives are at least shown as understandable. After the description of his confrontation with Bob Coates, for example, he makes sure to say that "now Coates and [he] are quite good friends" and that Coates supported bringing more Quebeckers into the Conservative Party (30). Even when Chrétien describes Jacques Parizeau as having reneged on a verbal agreement with him, he still suggests that Parizeau may have backed down because "his cabinet colleagues ... hadn't authorized him to make a deal with Chrétien" (105).

Chrétien's dedication to democracy and cooperation is shown through his account of the Quebec referendum and the constitutional meeting that followed. He declares: "We'll put our faith in democracy... We'll convince the people that they should stay in Canada and we'll win" (150). As one of the members of the so called "kitchen cabinet," he is also shown as playing a major role in the successful conclusion

of the negotiations (184-87).

As a Canadian-style protagonist, Chrétien is modest and self-effacing most of the time. His self-deprecating jokes show that, no different from the audience, he is just an ordinary person who makes mistakes and does not take himself too seriously. His difficulties with the English language, for example, provide a source of amusement for the audience, with Chrétien as the butt of the joke. Other examples of self-deprecating humour include his anecdotes about the "Globe and Mail piano" (45) and the gentleman from the East Kootenays who told Chrétien he was going to vote Liberal for the first time in his life because "that guy Trudeau will put those goddamn frogs in their place once and for all" (148)!

Chrétien also admits to political errors and inexperience in other stories that are not so humorous. The anecdote describing Chrétien's misuse of power in opposing Clive Liddle's nomination in Shawinigan is particularly significant for its implications (24). As the political establishment for the Liberal party in the area, Chrétien was, in effect, acting as the oppressor of the ordinary Canadian rather than as the defender of their rights. It is Chrétien's "rouge" ideology that rescues him from his mistake. His decision in the story to dismantle his political machine represents to the audience a rejection of the establishment with its privilege and corrupt power and

supports Chrétien's anti-establishment political stance (211).

Many of the celebrated values that identify Chrétien with the ordinary Canadian may be seen as even more admirable and significant in the context of Chrétien's role as a player in the game of politics. If the audience accepts Chrétien's rhetorical vision they are likely to find him even more appealing. The most respected players on a team, are those who work hard on every shift, always "giving 110%." Moreover, it is not enough for a player to have talent, he must work hard to develop it. Team sports are full of players who have talent that they never seem to realize because they do not work hard enough. Chrétien's story shows that hard work has been instrumental to his success as a player and implies that the audience can expect him to continue give his best effort in the future.

While it is important to work hard, it is even more important to play as part of the team. The ethic of cooperation that Chrétien celebrates translates into team play in the context of the game of politics. As Chrétien himself maintains, as a minister, "[he] was good at plugging holes" (31), doing whatever was needed for the team. His support for his teammates is demonstrated in many of the anecdotes in the discourse. When he comes to the aid of his fellow Liberal, George McIlraith (30), campaigns in 95 ridings in a general election (215), and tells Lester B.

Pearson "if you have better people than me, you should promote them before me" (48), even though his advancement might be slowed, he is showing his audience that the team and its goals are of primary importance to him. Since the welfare of ordinary Canadians is the goal of the game and Chrétien's Liberal team, readers who identify with Chrétien's vision are likely to see themselves as important to Chrétien as well.

While modesty and self-deprecation are not usually touted highly in team sports, they have their place in the game as well. Those who criticize their teammates or blame lack of success on others are not generally looked on highly by the fans or other players. On the other hand, a player who admits his mistakes honestly is respected, as long as he does not keep making the same ones over and over again. Equally, a player who does not take himself too seriously and can make light of embarrassing situations is likely to be popular in the dressing room.

Other actions by Chrétien that are depicted in his story seem to suggest values that are un-Canadian. In the context of the game of politics, however, they would be seen as appropriate by the audience. Chrétien's physical confrontation, general aggressiveness and the brash confidence and ambition that he displays in encounters with other players conflict with the more Canadian values that I have already described.

The posture of combativeness and physical confrontation is not usually admired in polite Canadian circles, but it is a significant part of Chrétien's political personality as shown in the text. This posture is only taken, however, in relation to other players in the game. In the context of the game, physical confrontation translates into political commitment. Feistiness and a willingness to "mix it up" or "go into the corners" are seen as admirable qualities in the competitive world of team sports. As Chrétien suggests, even in old-timers' hockey games, "one or two high sticks or vigorous body checks turn a friendly competition into a more combative game" (200). In that light, Chrétien's aggressive attitude and tendency toward physical confrontation is not really un-Canadian, it is simply part of the game. In the same way, the kind of ambition expressed in statements such as "I always said that Turner is a good man, but I think I'm better" (207) can be seen as necessary and appropriate to the pursuit of excellence in the game. The player who does not believe in himself is unlikely ever to reach his potential.

The rhetorical vision of the game of politics and the fantasy themes of the ordinary Canadian and the ideal public servant interact in a mutually supportive way to help shape the attitudes of the audience. The game of politics supplies the audience with a framework from which to assess actions and players in the specific social situation of politics. In

conjunction with the other two themes, it defines roles for the audience and their politicians. If the audience identifies with this network of themes, they are validated by the knowledge that their welfare is the ultimate goal of the game. They become the most important participants in the game by virtue of their own limitations, even if their participation is mainly passive. Together, the themes both construct the dilemma of the ordinary Canadian and provide the answer to it.

The network of fantasy themes in Straight from the Heart implies an ideological position for the audience that is complementary to and consistent with the Liberal ideology described in the discourse. Ultimately, the authentic Liberal principles that meet the constructed needs of the audience are validated by tradition and framed within the context of Chrétien's struggle for political success. If there is any uncertainty about the meaning or implications of Chrétien's principles as described in the discourse, the narrative demonstrates to the audience in familiar terms how they should be understood.

Part of the socialization process I have described takes place through the identification of the audience with fantasy themes in the discourse. The master analogy of the game of politics is a stylistic token of the author (Black 112). It implies "a model of what the rhetor would like his real auditor to become" (Black 113) and also acts as a

vector that moves the audience towards a Liberal ideological position. If the audience see themselves accurately depicted and recognize the problems of the ordinary Canadian to be their own or like their own, then they affirm their own membership in the culture through their sense of being consubstantial with the ordinary Canadian represented in the discourse. If the audience feel the same sense of uncertainty, fear about the future and bewilderment about the events of the present and past that Chrétien ascribes to the ordinary Canadian, then they are taking on the perspective of the ordinary Canadian, whether they realize it or not.

Although Chrétien's rhetorical vision does move the audience, it is not revolutionary in the commonly accepted sense of the word. It does not promote altering the hierarchical position of ordinary Canadians. They still occupy the lower end of the power gradient. They are still vulnerable to sudden misfortune and the actions of the more powerful establishment.

It does, however, alter how the members of the audience perceive themselves and the political world. It supports a perception of their own heightened importance and bestows a sense of nobility on their "ordinary" lives. In addition, it suggests that they have allies, even champions, who represent hope for the future.

The hope that is offered to the audience through the

game of politics is crucial to the success of the socialization process. The depiction of the ordinary Canadian, while it may accurately reflect the audience's feelings, is an unattractive image for the audience. It offers, by itself, no escape from their dilemma. The game of politics, however, reverses the hierarchical structure in the minds of the audience and places the ordinary Canadian first, above all the rest. The traditional Canadian value of reliance on government supports Chrétien's themes. The accomplishments of the Liberals as interpreted in Chrétien's story celebrate the same principle implicitly. The health care system, the constitution, the referendum victory: all have been created in the name of ordinary Canadians and so, in a sense, belong to them. That these deeds were all done by Liberals implies that Liberals have always placed the ordinary Canadian first in importance. Thus, Chrétien offers to the audience implicit proof that, at least for Liberals, the game of politics is as he has described it.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have treated political autobiography as epideictic rhetoric. Historically, the epideictic genre has tended to become more prominent in political communication when the deliberative process is interfered with or is not able to function effectively for other reasons, a situation that I have argued exists today. Primarily concerned with praise or blame and the celebration of values, epideictic discourse often influences the attitudes of an audience through the socializing function that it performs. By unifying the audience around societal values, it can initiate members into a culture, sustain their sense of community and help to heal breeches in the fabric of society.

When epideictic rhetoric and, in particular, political autobiography, perform a socializing function, they also influence the audience ideologically. I have argued that the extended narrative form of political autobiography is particularly effective in the dissemination of ideology. Ideology, as I am using it in this thesis, refers to any system of beliefs and values that influences how people perceive themselves and the world. In preliterate societies, narrative supported ideological positions by performing the socializing function that is central to the epideictic genre of rhetoric. It continues to perform this function today although it does so in a variety of media, including

television and film. Through its ability to define roles and show procedure, it can influence the attitudes of the audience toward themselves, their culture and the world around them.

I have applied Ernest G. Bormann's fantasy theme analysis approach in this study because it addresses theme, setting, character and action, the points of identification between audience and narrative, while still maintaining a rhetorical focus. Fantasy themes are central to building community and the socializing process in general. Group identification with fantasy themes leads to a symbolic convergence, characterized by common ideology and beliefs among the participants. Emotional response to a fantasy theme implies a commitment to an attitude and can compel members to later action.

In analyzing the fantasy themes in the critical object, I have also examined how the extended narrative form of political autobiography promotes ideology through common-sense assumptions that are embedded in the discourse. Common-sense assumptions are supplied by the audience in order to make sense of the discourse and often appear ideologically neutral to them. Since narrative does not appear as argument to the members of the audience, they are more willing to suspend their disbelief and collaborate with the author by making these generalizations. In effect, they help to create the narrative world they are entering and, in

the process, aid in their own persuasion.

Results of the Analysis

In the analysis, I identified the game of politics as a dominant rhetorical vision that contextualized the discourse for the audience. I examined the fantasy themes of the ordinary Canadian and the ideal public servant and I showed how, in conjunction with the game of politics, they defined roles for the audience and Canadian politicians and validated the audience as ordinary Canadians. Finally, I explored how this network of themes might influence the perceptions of the audience by applying the standards of judgement that are implied by these themes to Chrétien, as he is represented in the text.

Political Autobiography and Socialization

One of the key functions of epideictic rhetoric is the socialization of the audience. The analysis shows that political autobiography can accomplish this function by defining roles for the public and politicians and influencing the audience to perceive its role as acceptable. Through the theme of the ordinary Canadian, Chrétien constructs a vulnerable audience who struggles to survive in the face of uncertainty about the future, who are subject to the decisions and discrimination of those situated at a higher level on the power gradient, but who also lack the

resources to respond effectively to unexpected situations and events. While this image is not a very attractive one, the audience is likely to perceive it as an accurate depiction of their circumstances. The game of politics defines the role of ordinary Canadians as that of the fan of team sports, a role that might be somewhat enjoyable, but that still implies a lack of power to significantly affect their circumstances. Again, this role by itself is not likely to be attractive to the audience.

The fantasy theme of the ideal politician, however, changes the audience's perception of their role by defining the goal and rules of the game. Since the welfare of ordinary Canadians is the goal of the game and ordinary Canadians may judge politicians by their commitment to that goal, an audience who embraces Chrétien's network of themes will see itself as the most important element of the game. The hierarchy itself is not reversed but the audience's perception of its place in the hierarchy is. The role of the fan in the game of politics becomes acceptable if the audience sees politicians as its allies, even champions, whose main purpose is to help ordinary Canadians live a decent life and attain a reasonable standard of living.

The analysis shows that political autobiography can influence the audience ideologically through the socialization process. An audience who identifies with Chrétien's rhetorical vision also accepts the view of itself

and the world that the game of politics implies. Members of such an audience will tend to see themselves as important in relation to the game, and their sense of the rules and goal of the game of politics will inform their assessment of politicians and their actions.

As evidenced in Straight from the Heart, political autobiography can also implicitly promote an ideological position that is linked to a particular political party in a way that is subtle and not immediately apparent at first glance. While there is, as we would expect, an explication of Liberal principles given by Chrétien in various places in the text, these discussions are presented as reflections on the values that have been important to Chrétien throughout his career. He does not explicitly propose that members of the audience adopt Liberal ideology so they are likely to perceive his explanations as merely providing insight into his political actions.

The key to the promotion of Liberal ideology in Straight from the Heart is the master analogy of the game of politics that Chrétien has offered to the audience as a means of facilitating their understanding of the Canadian political world. The game analogy that Chrétien has chosen acts as one of Kenneth Burke's terministic screens, that is, it reflects an ideological position, directs the audience to view the world in that specific way and deflects their attention from other perspectives.

While the term "game" implies competition between adversaries, it lacks the deadly serious connotations usually attached to words like "war" or "battle," other possible analogical choices. The audience is directed to view Canadian politics as friendly competition based on cooperation and the agreement of participants to abide by the rules. A game is generally seen as neutral, merely a set of rules and a goal, and implies that the teams play on equal footing since the same rules apply to all. As I showed in the analysis, Chrétien's game of politics is a reflection of the social-democratic ideology of the Liberals, and Liberal politicians exemplify dedication to the rules and goal of the game. An audience who accepts Chrétien's rhetorical vision also professes adherence to the Liberal principles that underlie the game.

The common sense assumptions underlying the fantasy themes in Straight from the Heart and, in particular, Chrétien's audience construction, may be an indication that Fairclough's "naturalization" process has already occurred. The game of politics is presented to the audience as embodying Canadian values, not explicitly Liberal ones. These values are the same ones that Chrétien celebrates throughout his discourse and the audience must assume them to be Canadian in order for the discourse to make sense to them. That Chrétien treats these Liberal principles as essentially Canadian and seems to expect his audience to do

the same without question suggests that Liberal ideology has so dominated the Canadian discursive battleground as to become naturalized in the minds of many Canadians. Thus, when the audience applies the parameters of judgement implied by the game of politics to the actions of Liberals, Conservatives and New Democrats as depicted in the discourse, they are, in actuality, measuring these actions against Liberal ideology.

The tautological nature of the assessment process that Chrétien's analogy implies is unlikely to be apparent to the audience because of the invisible quality of epideictic argument that arises from the naturalized assumptions embedded in the discourse. The epideictic rhetor celebrates values that are already held by the audience, in effect preaching to the converted. Since the audience already identifies these values as their own, Chrétien's offer of a master analogy that embodies these values as a lens through which to view Canadian politics is not likely to seem like argument at all. The audience is even less likely to scrutinize the analogy because it is embedded in and dispersed throughout the narrative.

There are several implications for further critical and theoretical examination of political autobiography suggested by this study. It is important that critical methods take into account how the audience interacts with the narrative form of political autobiography. As my analysis shows,

narrative can influence an audience implicitly through their identification with themes and other narrative elements in the discourse. The collaborative nature of the audience's response to narrative makes it essential that the critical methodology used be able to address the points of identification between audience, author and discourse. Since so much of the persuasion to attitude in political autobiography occurs through the generalizations and assumptions that the audience makes in order to make sense of the discourse, the uncovering of textual cues that suggest these assumptions can yield significant information about how the audience is influenced by a specific discourse.

The way in which the fantasy themes in Straight from the Heart are validated for the audience may provide some insight into how epideictic rhetoric influences attitude, especially in an extended narrative such as political autobiography. As I mentioned in the analysis, ordinary Canadians and their plight, as constructed in the discourse, constitute the ultimate sanctioning agents of the fantasy themes and rhetorical vision in Straight from the Heart. Without ordinary Canadians and the dilemmas they face, there would be no need for a game of politics such as Chrétien describes. If, for example, all Canadians had adequate resources at their disposal to deal with most occurrences, the fantasy theme of the ideal public servant might not

evoke a very powerful response from the audience.

The celebration of values that is central to epideictic rhetoric plays a key role in the validation process. The values of cooperation and reliance on government that Chrétien emphasizes contextualize the audience's response to their perceived dilemma. In the context of these values that the audience accepts as traditionally theirs, Chrétien's game of politics appears as a quintessentially Canadian solution.

Political Autobiography as Extended Discourse

In Chapter 1, I argued that political communication has been affected by modern media, in particular by television, resulting in the gradual disappearance of opportunities for extended discourse between politicians and their public. Without extended discourse, the deliberative process is not able to function effectively. The public does not have sufficient information to feel that they know their politicians and can predict their future actions with any degree of reliability. Politicians, in turn, are not able to address complex issues in a meaningful way. Because so much of the political information that is available to the public is transmitted through the medium of television, politicians have essentially lost control of their own communication. What appears on television is often chosen for its entertainment rather than its informative value.

The analysis underlines the important role that political autobiography as extended discourse can play in political communication. From reading Straight from the Heart, the audience can get a better intimation of Chrétien's motivations than a series of short excerpts and sound bites can provide. They can feel that they understand more fully the values and principles upon which his political actions are based. That is not to say that Chrétien's explications and justifications can all be taken at face value, but the audience is better placed to be able to judge their consistency and to assess with some degree of reliability any future actions that Chrétien might take.

Chrétien's character is revealed more fully to the audience in his political autobiography through his description of events, his narrative style and his celebration of Canadian values. The sense of continuity that political autobiography provides places the audience in a better position from which to assess Chrétien's character as a politician. The audience can examine how Chrétien has developed from an inexperienced French Canadian member of Parliament to a more sophisticated and experienced contender for the Liberal leadership and judge how he has handled the various challenges and obstacles that he has faced over the course of his career. Chrétien's narrative style can also be an indicator of character for the audience. The relationship he establishes with the reader, the clarity of his ideas,

his use of humour and his sense of propriety are all qualities that could be seen as significant to a political leader. Finally, the way in which he celebrates Canadian values reveals the depth of his understanding of those values and the extent to which he has internalized them in his own political philosophy. His depiction of Canadian values through anecdotes can also be assessed by the audience for internal and external consistency.

The analysis also demonstrates the suitability of political autobiography as a medium for addressing complex political issues and for implementing complex and subtle persuasive strategies. In Straight from the Heart, Chrétien was able to contextualize his own political actions and individual political issues within a larger Canadian framework. His zeal for creating national parks, for example, is presented as a way in which the government enhances the quality of life of all its citizens. The issues of health care and government intervention in the private sector are discussed within the context of the broader social-democratic ideology of the Liberal Party and linked to Canadian values. In discussing the issue of Quebec separatism, Chrétien draws in perspectives from politicians such as Pierre Trudeau and Claude Ryan, an elderly Conservative supporter from British Columbia and ordinary French Canadian workers at Radio-Canada in order to show how the issue affected Canadians in all walks of life.

As the analysis shows, Chrétien was able to take advantage of the continuity of contact with the audience inherent in political autobiography to implement complex and subtle persuasive strategies. The game analogy itself was especially effective because the references that supported it were dispersed throughout the discourse. The audience's attitudes could be shifted gradually in increments that are not easily detectable, but, when taken together, become significant. The identification by the audience with each of the fantasy themes entails a shift in attitude, but it is only when the themes are considered as a mutually supportive network that the extent of the persuasion becomes apparent.

The analysis also demonstrates how the intensity and versatility of the extended narrative form of political autobiography can enhance the possibilities for persuasion available to the rhetor. A single anecdote can contribute to persuasion in many different ways. The story about Bob Coates, for example, is a part of both the ordinary Canadian and ideal public servant fantasy themes, links the Progressive Conservatives with bigotry, demonstrates the Canadian value of team play and Chrétien's generosity to a political adversary, and expresses Liberal ideology in terms that the audience can relate to their everyday lives. Retroactive links can also be made between anecdotes, such as those about Bob Coates and Chrétien's grandfather, that can contribute to thematic development in the narrative.

It is clear from this study that political autobiography can be a powerful means of influencing attitude, especially when written by an active politician. Equally clear is the importance of using rhetorical tools that are appropriate for unlocking the secrets of this unique political discourse. Political autobiography presents a complex challenge for the rhetorical critic and that complexity is amplified by the extended narrative form of the genre. While much work is yet to be done on the persuasive possibilities of narrative, as the revival of interest in the form by rhetorical theorists implies, very little critical appraisal has been applied to extended narrative such as political autobiography. As this study demonstrates, however, political autobiography, by virtue of its rich persuasive possibilities and its potentially important role in political communication, deserves serious theoretical and critical consideration.

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