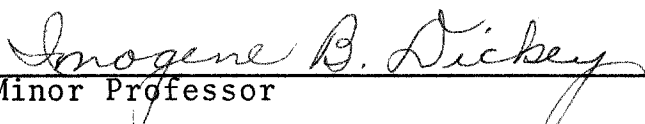
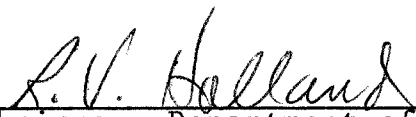


A BURKEIAN ANALYSIS OF THE RHETORIC
OF GLORIA STEINEM

APPROVED:


Major Professor


Minor Professor


Chairman, Department of Speech and Drama


Dean of The Graduate School

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No. 4747

A BURKEIAN ANALYSIS OF THE RHETORIC
OF GLORIA STEINEM

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Susan McCue Timmerman, B. A.

Denton, Texas

August, 1973

Timmerman, Susan, A Burkeian Analysis of the Rhetoric of Gloria Steinem. Master of Arts (Speech and Drama), August, 1973, 173 pp., bibliography 100 titles.

The purpose of this study has been to analyze the rhetoric of Gloria Steinem in order to determine how she uses identification in her attempts to unify the members of the Women's Liberation Movement and to enlist the cooperation of others outside the movement. The rhetorical theory and concepts of identification and consubstantiality developed by Kenneth Burke, literary and rhetorical critic, have been used in this study. The representative examples of Steinem's rhetoric which have been analyzed include a speech made at Southern Methodist University on February 3, 1972, Steinem's feature article "Sisterhood," which was published in the 1972 Spring Preview Issue of Ms. magazine, and a speech made by Steinem at the opening session of the National Women's Political Caucus in Houston, Texas, on February 9, 1973.

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter I includes an introduction to Gloria Steinem, who has been labelled as the primary spokeswoman for the Women's Liberation Movement. Chapter I also includes an introduction to Kenneth Burke and discusses his rhetorical theory, including

language as symbolic action, the context of circumstances surrounding a rhetorical act, the process of identification and consubstantiality, the rhetorical methods of an effective leader, and the definition and ultimate goal of rhetoric. It, too, establishes the justification for selecting the two speeches and article by Steinem which have been used for the analysis of Steinem's rhetoric. Chapter II discusses the stages and events of Steinem's life and professional experience which brought her to the point of becoming a spokeswoman for the movement. It also includes selections written by and about Steinem which disclose her philosophy of the Women's Liberation Movement. Furthermore, Chapter II discusses Steinem's physical properties as part of her non-verbal rhetoric. Chapter III includes a specific discussion of the context of circumstances surrounding a rhetorical act. Also, Chapter III discusses the emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement as a full social movement in the late 1960's until the present time. In addition, Chapter III discusses major organizations of the Women's Liberation Movement, such as the National Organization for Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, and the Dallas Women For Change organization. Also included in Chapter III are excerpts from representative movement literature and a discussion of the major topics of the Women's Liberation Movement. Specifically discussed in Chapter III are the cluster of conditions

which surround the context of circumstances involved in Steinem's speeches at Southern Methodist University in 1972 and the National Women's Political Caucus in 1973; the publication of "Sisterhood" in Ms. magazine in 1972 is considered part of the entire context of circumstances surrounding the movement itself. In the Burkeian sense, Chapter IV is the most important one in this study; for it emphasizes Steinem's use of language as symbolic action to induce cooperation and change attitudes among the audience members. Chapter IV includes a discussion of Steinem's major rhetorical strategies in the Southern Methodist University speech, the article "Sisterhood" in Ms. magazine, and her speech at the National Women's Political Caucus. Chapter V offers a summary and conclusions about Steinem and her rhetoric as a vital part of the Women's Liberation Movement.

This study has revealed Gloria Steinem to be, during the years from 1968 until the present time, a vital spokeswoman for the Women's Liberation Movement. The means through which Steinem chose to combat the oppression of women was rhetoric. The three examples of Steinem's rhetoric analyzed in this study indicate that her basic premise concerns the long-standing subjugation and exploitation of women by the ruling class--white males.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Probably the most persuasive publicist for the growing feminist movement in the United States is Gloria Steinem, an articulate and attractive New York magazine writer, lecturer and television personality."¹ A 1973 survey, conducted by Robert J. Brake and Robert D. Neuleib of Illinois State University, listed Steinem as the fourth most outstanding female speaker in American history.² As an outstanding speaker, Steinem has employed verbal and non-verbal rhetoric to promote her cause, the Women's Liberation Movement.

In 1972, the editors of McCall's magazine selected Steinem as "Woman of the Year" for her contribution to the Women's Liberation Movement. McCall's editor Marilyn Mercer called Steinem the "most effective spokeswoman and symbol, bridging the gap between the early militants, whose vehemence frightened away the people they wanted most to reach, and the thoughtful, dedicated women who understand that woman's status must change."³

Steinem is regarded as a combination of wit, intelligence, and beauty by many observers. Newsweek editor Richard Boeth described her as having a "cheerleader pretty face," and bringing "dazzling physical gifts to a trade--journalism--

where they are at best irrelevant and at worst a little out of place, like a harp on a cross-town bus."⁴ Her physical appearance seems to communicate the message of the Women's Liberation Movement, for Steinem appears before any audience, conservative or liberal, in the contemporary liberated mode of dress: blue jeans, bodyshirt, and blue-tinted aviator glasses. Boeth described Steinem's appearance as the "chic apotheosis of a with-it cool."⁵ When introducing Steinem at the National Women's Political Caucus, Liz Carpenter noted Steinem's arrival at the airport. A thousand blue-jeaned, bodyshirted teenage girls wearing blue aviator glasses met Steinem. Carpenter referred to them as "little Glorias."⁶ Her physical appearance influences others to try to look like she does.

Physical appearance alone, however, is not the basis of her persuasibility. It is a combination of her ability to grasp the movement and use effective arguments and issues to win her audience whether it be a thousand blue-jeaned girls or thirty silver-haired club women.⁷ Liz Smith, after interviewing Steinem, described her: "Gloria speaks softly and persuasively, carrying with her everywhere the assets of enormous personal appeal, good looks, and respect from her peers and friends in high places. She is a good person, a kind one, with a good professional reputation."⁸

In 1970, Steinem began a strenuous program of speaking at colleges and before women's groups throughout the country. Her speaking fees are given to the Women's Liberation Movement.⁹ Although Steinem considers herself primarily a writer, she has spent little time writing during the past four years. Her primary task has been advancing the cause of the Women's Liberation Movement on television, through lectures, and the publication of Ms. magazine.

When speaking at rallies or on university campuses, Steinem never appears alone.¹⁰ She appears with such Women's Liberation leaders as Margaret Sloan, organizer of Black Feminist United; Betty Harris, publisher of Ms. magazine; or Flo Kennedy, Black attorney from New York City.¹¹ By making joint appearances, Steinem hopes to play-down an image of the superstar of the Women's Liberation Movement. She has criticized her co-workers Bella Abzug and Betty Friedan for "showboating."¹²

The Women's Liberation Movement, which Steinem promotes, has been growing and spreading since the first women's rights convention in Seneca, New York, 1848. Women worked through the abolitionist movement to further the cause. The Women's Suffrage Movement between 1910 and 1920 resulted in women's right to vote, but did not give women any more social and economic status than they previously had held.¹³ In 1963, Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique exposed the oppression of American women and once again generated interest in the

dormant issues of Women's Liberation.¹⁴ A social upheaval was the result.¹⁵

In 1972, B. J. Phillips, reporting for Newsweek, evaluated the Women's Liberation Movement: "The New Feminism is a cultural and psychological phenomenon. Women's Liberation, 'the movement,' is its visible, articulate and activist manifestation."¹⁶ Phillip's assessment of Women's Liberation is directly related to Joseph Gusfield's definition of a social movement in Protest, Reform and Revolt: "socially shared activities and beliefs directed toward the demand for change in some aspect of social order."¹⁷ The Women's Liberation Movement is a socially shared activity as may be observed in such organization as NOW, the National Organization for Women; the Redstockings, a New York City feminist organization; and OWL, Older Women's Liberation. The activities and beliefs of women's groups are designed to effect some change in the existing social order. The Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution now before the state legislatures for ratification and the recent Supreme Court ruling in favor of abortion prove that change has begun to occur in the existing social order. Furthermore, the most recent history-making event¹⁸ occurred when the National Women's Political Caucus met in February 1973, in Houston, Texas. Approximately three thousand women met to hear speeches from Women's Liberation leaders and attend sessions concerning topics common to all women.

Moderator for the panel of speakers was Liz Carpenter, former press secretary for Lady Bird Johnson. Panel members included United States Representatives Shirley Chisholm, Bella Abzug, and Pat Schroeder; Mary Coleman, Justice of the Michigan Supreme Court; and writers Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, as well as other city and state elected female officials.

The speech which Steinem gave at the National Women's Political Caucus once again confirmed her position on the Women's Liberation Movement. The basic premise which shows her position and governs Steinem's rhetoric is "the subjugation of women is not only social (a long-standing accretion of customs and attitudes) but political--a deliberately perpetuated system of control and exploitation by the ruling class, in this case white males."¹⁹ Carrying this cause, Steinem has become a "latterday female Billy Sunday, preaching a newtime religion of feminism the length and breadth of the land, and making converts wherever she goes."²⁰ As McCall's "Woman of the Year, 1972," Steinem was "the most visible of the activists, although her role remains undefined."²¹ It is possible that the key to the mystery of Steinem's ability to mystically surround and convert thousands of American women, all ages and backgrounds, may be found in her methods of identifying with these audiences. A study of Steinem's rhetorical methods, verbal and non-verbal, furnishes some insight into her success.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to analyze the rhetoric of Gloria Steinem in order to determine how she uses identification in her attempts to unify the members of the Women's Liberation Movement and to enlist the cooperation of others outside the movement.

Method of Analysis

The rhetoric of identification is closely associated with the critical methods of Kenneth Burke, literary and social critic. Identification is the basis of Burke's approach to rhetorical criticism. In the article "Kenneth Burke's Dramatistic Approach in Speech Criticism," Virginia Holland quoted Burke on the importance of identification: " 'If I Burke had to sum up in one word the difference between the 'old' and new rhetoric . . . I would reduce it to this: The key term for the old rhetoric was persuasion and its stress upon deliberate design. The key term for the new rhetoric would be identification which can include a partially unconscious factor in appeal.' "²² The Burkeian concept of identification as a prime factor in evaluating new rhetoric is of particular use to the contemporary rhetorical critic. The Burkeian approach might enable the contemporary critics to "become better analysts of the social scene, more cognizant of what the problems of society are thought to be, and more critical of the solutions given to those

problems by the social critics operating as speakers and writers."²³ The contemporary rhetorical critic must be aware of the social scene surrounding a speech movement, for identification plays a large role in the social scene. Burkeian criticism further aids the rhetorical critic, for according to Marie Hocmuth Nichols, it provides "a theory which is better adapted to the learning and thought of modern times than any conception arrived at two thousand years ago for a culture quite different from our own."²⁴

Since 1931, Burke has recorded his theories as a "linguistic student of human affairs."²⁵ He wrote Counter-statement (1931), an attempt at relating modern thought and motivation to the dramatic tactics of Shakespeare;²⁶ Permanence and Change (1935), an attempt at explaining communication in terms of cooperation;²⁷ and Attitudes Toward History (1937), a characterization of tactics and "patterns of conflict typical of actual human associations."²⁸ In 1941, Burke published Philosophy of Literary Form in which he summarized his ideas concerning "the symbolic functions of literary form"²⁹ and the technique used in analyzing a work "in its nature as a structure of organically inter-related terms."³⁰ A Grammar of Motives (1945) concerned Burke's five key terms for "dramatism"³¹ and alerted the critic to consider the basic motives behind a person's actions. In 1950, Burke produced A Rhetoric of Motives, which considered the problems of bureaucracy and its patterns

of hierarchy and mysteries.³² A Rhetoric of Motives is basic for the rhetorical critic in that it fully explains Burke's concepts of identification and consubstantiality, the foundations of persuasion and rhetoric. A Symbolic of Motives is still in progress. The three Motivorum books will complete Burke's life-long project, "an analysis of language in keeping with the author's favorite notion that man, being the specifically language-using animal, an approach to human motivations should be made through the analysis of language."³³ Burke's first works considered man in relation to his fellow man; but in 1961, he published A Rhetoric of Religion, dealing with man's dialectical relationship with God.

Burke's diversity is found in his concerns for all aspects of man's behavior, psychological, social, and rhetorical. Daniel Fogarty in Roots for New Rhetoric commented on Burke's versatility: "Publications and lectures alike showed a man obviously at home in the fields of sociology, psychology, philosophy, and linguistics."³⁴ In Critical Moments, Knox made further comment on Burke's methods:

He is always in progress. Although the diversity of his work prevents ready labeling as literary criticism, esthetics, sociology, philosophy, philosophical criticism, semantics or whatever, we find that he does all these things. He transcendently includes all the roles and moves in and out from one to another with facility . . . Burke can oscillate between audience and work, institution and populace--whether as esthetician dealing with problems of form, as sociologist analyzing economic-historical trends, or as rhetorician probing the elements of persuasion

in all symbolic action. Since symbolic action is the essence of drama and since man is essentially a symbol using animal, Burke prefers to call his whole system "dramatistic" . . . Burke's stage has many entrances to the play of meaning: the subverbal, the extraverbal, and the purely verbal.³⁵

Burke's definition of rhetoric encompasses all areas common to sociology, psychology, and rhetoric as defined in Aristotelian terms. Considering Aristotle's definition of rhetoric as "discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion,"³⁶ Burke's definition is also one which actively pursues, find, and utilizes all the available means of persuasion found in human interaction, verbal and non-verbal. The Burkeian definition of rhetoric is "rooted in an essential function of language itself, a function that is wholly realistic, and is continually born anew; the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols."³⁷ Within the definition are all of the elements included in Burkeian criticism, such as the use of language as a realistic symbolic action and man's ability to use and respond to the symbols. Furthermore, all the elements surrounding the communicative act, which includes sender, message, channel, receiver, feedback, and field are dealt with. Burkeian criteria involve the very essence of man, his hidden motivations and purposes, as he deals with other humans in a contemporary society. Every human action

grounds itself in motives definable by Burke's concepts of rhetoric; for "the whole range of this activity, from man's inner subconscious conflicts to the highest kind of conscious abstraction is rhetoric."³⁸

For purposes of rhetorical analysis, this study emphasizes five major areas of criticism as defined by Burke: the definition and uses of language as a symbolic act; the process of identification and consubstantiality to provide cohesion in a movement; the context of situations and circumstances surrounding the symbolic language act; the powers delegated to a leader as unifier of a movement; and the ultimate goals of the rhetoric act.

On the purpose of rhetoric Burke stated: "Rhetoric remains the mode of appeal essential for bridging the conditions of estrangement 'natural' to society as we know it (be it primitive, feudal, bourgeois, or socialist), with its reliance upon the devices of magic, pantomime, clothes or pastoral."³⁹ Burke has been concerned with the socio-psychological aspects of rhetoric. He stated that rhetoric "applies to anthropologists, ethnologists, individual and social psychologists, and the like that bear upon the persuasive aspects of the language."⁴⁰

To Burke, one of the major aspects of rhetoric's nature is that it is "addressed,"⁴¹ and that, of course, indicates an audience. Thus, two or more humans are involved

in either a competitive or cooperative act which includes language as its foundation. The "addressed" rhetoric falls into three divisions according to Burke: "the rhetoric of dramatic agon," which encompasses the area of clash between partisan rivals, each of whom seeks to overthrow the other; "the rhetorical appeal of the dialectic resolution," the formal satisfaction that comes of transcending such conflicts by systematic means; and finally, the "rhetoric of enargeia," which transcends imagery by bringing reality "before our very eyes."⁴² The divisions grew from the Platonic interpretation of dialectics, for the Platonic dialogue is "representative of the dialectical progress from rhetorical artisanship to resolution in an ultimate order."⁴³ Burke further stated concerning the rhetorical divisions:

For the purposes of rhetorical analysis, we need not choose between these methods. We need only note just wherein the difference between them would lie, just how the rhetorical and dialectical ingredients operate in each. Furthermore, one cannot always expect to find the two thus so strictly opposed; any rounded statement of motives will probably have something of both.⁴⁴

A fourth type of rhetoric as classified by Burke is Administrative Rhetoric, which "involves a theory of persuasive devices which have a directly rhetorical aspect, yet include operations not confined to sheerly verbal persuasion."⁴⁵ In this theory, Burke exemplified the use of non-verbal symbolic acts as rhetorical devices. As an

example of Administrative Rhetoric, non-verbal rhetoric, Burke supplied the following example:

It is a variant of what I could call "bland strategy." It goes back to the days when the German Emperor was showing signs of militancy--and Theodore Roosevelt sent our fleet on a "goodwill mission." Ostensibly paying the Emperor the compliment of a friendly visit, the President was exemplifying his political precept: "Speak softly, and carry a big stick." His "goodwill" visit was clearly rhetorical insofar as it was designed blandly to use a display of force as a mode of persuasion.⁴⁶

Therefore, appearance, mode of dress, and symbols worn by a person may be considered as non-verbal rhetoric.

Having previously defined rhetoric in his work A Rhetoric of Motives (1950), Burke stated in Language As Symbolic Action (1966): "I would assume that rhetoric was developed by the use of language for purposes of cooperation and competition. It served to form appropriate attitudes that were designed to induce corresponding acts."⁴⁷

In striving to win others and solicit their cooperation, man, in the Burkeian sense, capitalizes on the main aspect of Burkeian rhetoric--"it's use of identification."⁴⁸

Through identification, man may involve his fellow man in a process of rhetorical and dialectical interplay to achieve a given goal. Fogarty provided a clear basis for understanding the Burkeian rhetorical theory:

To understand the rhetorical theory of Kenneth Burke, it is essential to point to its roots in sociology and psychology. According to Burke,

man pours all his energies into establishing and maintaining his personal world of hierarchic order. His survival depends on it. And rhetoric is his specific means of seeking or keeping that order Rhetoric, then, is the instrument of strife, because it is a means of defending and competing for this order, a striving for status or position in an accepted social order .⁴⁹

The use of language as a rhetorical instrument, in the Burkeian sense, is perhaps best defined in its relation to Burke's "dramatistic" theory.⁵⁰ The dramatistic approach to rhetorical criticism involves man's actions, which find their substance or foundation in uses of language. Commenting on the term "dramatism," Burke stated: "The titular word for our method is 'dramatism,' since it invites one to consider the matter of motives in a perspective that, being developed from the analysis of drama, treats language and thought primarily as modes of action."⁵¹ In Kenneth Burke and the Drama of Human Relations, William Howe Rueckert stated: "Language is a key motive . . . for all of man's acts."⁵² If language is a prime motive, or catalyst, of human action, then it follows that language is the basis of communication, or "the how of communication . . . grounded in the nature of the word using animal."⁵³

In Language As Symbolic Action, Burke made this definite statement concerning the nature of man:

Man is
 the symbol using (symbol-making, symbol-
 misusing) animal
 inventor of the negative (or moralized
 by the negative)
 separated from his natural condition

by instruments of his own making
 goaded by the spirit of hierarchy
 (or moved by the sense of order)
 and rotten with perfection.⁵⁴

The symbol which the symbol-using animal employs is language as rooted in human action. Burke explained in The Philosophy of Literary Form: "Any verbal act is to be considered as 'symbolic action,' the dancing of an attitude."⁵⁵ Attitudes can be expressed in verbal symbolic action and in non-verbal symbolic action, which relies on language usage for its interpretation. An interesting example of the dancing of an attitude concerns Burke's interpretation of psychogenic illness, which he explained as follows:

A bodily ailment may be a "symbolic" act on the part of the body which, in this materialization, dances a corresponding state of mind, reordering the glandular and neural behavior of the organism in obedience to mind-body correspondences, quite as the formal dancer reorders his externally observable gesturing to match his attitudes.⁵⁶

A person may appear one way on the public level to keep up appearances, but on the biological level, his true attitudes are revealed.

The symbolic action of a human is the primary way his attitudes and motives can be observed. By using symbols, language, man communicates his needs to others. Symbol, in Burkeian criticism, "serves as a means of identification since it finds its source in universal needs."⁵⁷ Also, "the symbol is appealing in that it provides a rationale for dealing with a situation; a symbol stresses the relevant

elements of a particular need."⁵⁸ Language carries the essential factors which set man apart from animal. The many facets of language include non-verbal as well as verbal action. Rueckert clarified this concept: "Burke said that language is the scene and operates in all experiences possible to man. Even if the act is non-verbal, it must be affected in some way by the symbolic ingredient that is intrinsic to the human mind and constitutes a part of man's essence."⁵⁹ The symbol-using animal must exist in a world of other symbol-using animals, experiencing daily confrontations. Humans become aware of their needs by the conditions of their relationships. When experience and symbol are coordinated, it may be said that: "The pattern of experience is in the realm of reality, the symbol is in the realm of language."⁶⁰

The basic question arising from this discussion of language and its use must be one concerning the purpose of language--use. Man is "separated from his natural condition by instruments of his own making, goaded by the spirit of hierarchy."⁶¹ When man is divided in attitude and opinion from his fellow man, language seems the appropriate act to "induce cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols."⁶² The purpose of language is, therefore, to help fulfill the ends of rhetoric by the use of weighted words for partisan advantage. In order for man to achieve his

goals, he must induce the help and permission of those around him. In Permanence and Change (1954), Burke stated: "Since the mind is a social product, and our very concepts of character depend upon the verbalizations of our group . . . language is an implement of action, a device which takes its shape by the cooperative patterns of the group that uses it."⁶³ In order to achieve social cohesion, man's use of language can reveal his primary motives and expectations. Rhetorical analysis is aided greatly by the Burkeian approach; for as Thomas Mader stated in "Coriolanus and God: A Burkeian View of William Buckley": "The dramatic analysis of motives can be defined as the linguistic investigation of the internal need of man to interpret reality in the distinctive verbal concepts of his group or culture in order that he may justify his actions by having other men participate in these actions either by passive approval or active cooperation."⁶⁴

To achieve approval and cooperation, Burke would have the speaker utilize the Burkeian approach to identification. The principle of identification and its branches, consubstantiality, substance properties, and the universalities of mankind, must be clearly defined before undertaking a project of Burkeian criticism. Commenting on Burke's concept of identification in "Persuasion and the Concept of Identity," Dennis Day explained: "Identification itself is

the 'strategy' which encompasses the whole area of language usage for the purposes of inducement to action or attitude."⁶⁵ In paraphrasing Burke, Day interpreted some of the major aspects of identification: "The speaker by using linguistic 'strategies' which give 'signs' to his hearers that his 'properties' are similar to or identical with their 'properties' achieves identification or 'consubstantiality' and thereby achieves persuasion."⁶⁶ But in essence, Burke moved away from the traditional concepts of persuasion as rhetoric and evolved a new position for identification: "The key term for the new rhetoric would be identification."⁶⁷

The starting point for identification is persuasion, but to define identification, all of the parts of the whole must be considered as an integrated process. To use identification in rhetorical criticism, it must be viewed in a speaker-audience relationship. According to Burke: "The speaker draws on identification of interests to establish rapport"⁶⁸ with his audience; therefore, "the meaning of persuasion, identification ('consustantiality') and communication (the nature of 'rhetoric' as addressed)"⁶⁹ must always be considered by the speaker. The rhetorical process of identification is one "in which persuasion of self and others to knowledge, new attitude or action is effected by means of identification,"⁷⁰ a manipulation of negative

and positive values in a given society. In Counterpoint, Holland described the process:

In order for one's interests, concepts, or properties to be proclaimed identical with those of another, it is necessary to show that the concepts, interests, or the properties of both have, or share the same "whatness" or the same "substance." When this is done in language and the immediate end of the artistic product is persuasion or identification ("end, state of being") rhetoric is characteristically at work.⁷¹

Identification, then, is the substance of persuasion, or the underlying foundation. Using substance as a base, the basic principle of identification is the doctrine of consubstantiality: "A doctrine of consubstantiality, either explicit or implicit, may be necessary to any way of life. For substance in the old philosophies, was an act; and a way of life is an acting-together; and in acting together men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes that make them consubstantial."⁷² Burke described consubstantiality in the following manner:

A is not identical with his colleague B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify himself with B even when the interests are not joined, if he assumes they are, or is persuaded to believe so.

Here are the ambiguities of substance. In being identified with B, A is "substantially one" with a person other than himself. Yet at the same time he remains unique, an individual locus of motives. Thus, he is both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another.⁷³

The speaker must pay particular attention to this concept of consubstantiality. He must generate the principle to effect unity; but, at the same time, the audience member must feel that his uniqueness is intact. Selfworth is of great relevance when a communicator creates an aura of consubstantiality, for the individual must feel a part of the movement and yet remain an individual.

Burke further explained substance in A Grammar of Motives:

The general name substance, being nothing but the supposed, but unknown support of those qualities we find existing, which we imagine cannot subsist sine re substante, "without something to support them;" we call support substantia; which according to the true impart of the word is, in plain English, standing under or upholding.⁷⁴

Out of substance comes the essential nature of man. Ideas growing from substance are personal because they are an aspect of symbol-using or "human rationality;" yet, at the same time, they are impersonal in that "many man or all men may share in its personality (or partake of its substance . . .)."⁷⁵ Burke categorized substance: literal, a person or thing's substance is something that supports or stands beneath the person or thing; metaphysical, its synonyms would be nature, essence, reality or real being (as opposed to mere appearance); and etymological, referring to an attribute of a things context.⁷⁶ Therefore, a speaker will identify himself "with others by establishing his relationship to groups; by selecting or naming the

essence of an act."⁷⁷ The speaker can use stylistic identification to identify himself with others "by talking their language in speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, and by showing the agreement of his ways with theirs. One identifies with others by sharing some principle in common."⁷⁸

The principles which men share in common are based upon the Burkeian interpretation of the Platonic universalities of mankind. Burke's concept of universal patterns is but a "reindividuation" of Plato's doctrines:

Plato taught that the world of our senses is the manifestation of divine law through material. Thus, he supposed certain archetypes, or pure ideas, existing in heaven, while the objects of sensuous experience were good, true, and beautiful in proportion as they exemplified the pure form of the idea behind them.

The divine forms we called universals, and a concept of a principle of individuation was employed to describe the conditions under which we could experience these forms. "Universale intelligitur, singular sentitur," their position was finally stated: "We think in terms of universals, but we feel in particular."⁷⁹

The individual living in a society will utilize his own individuation of universal experiences to fit into norms of his corporate society. An individual's identity is most often found by reference to his group.⁸⁰ Holland described the use of universal patterns as "one's way of seeing one's reflection in the social mirror, or the material and mental ways which a person has of placing himself in groups and movements."⁸¹ To further elucidate the Burkeian concept of

universals, it is necessary to look again at Counter-Statement, in which Burke discussed the Platonic doctrine:

For we need but take his Plato's universals out of heaven and situate them in the human mind (a process begun by Kant) making them not metaphysical, but psychological. Instead of divine forms, we now have "conditions of appeal" The researches of anthropologists indicate that man has "progressed" in cultural cycles which repeat themselves in essence (form) despite the limitless variety of specific details to embody such essences or forms. Speech, material traits (for instance, tools), art, mythology, religion, social systems, property, government, and war--these are the nine "potentials" which man continually re-individuates into specific cultural channels, and which anthropologists call the "universal pattern." And when we speak of psychological universals, we mean simply that just as there is inborn in the germ-plasm of a dog the potentiality of barking, so there is inborn in the germ-plasm of man the potentiality of speech, art, mythology, and so on.⁸²

The potentialities of man change as society changes, yet they remain essentially the same in essence. Burke exemplified the potentiality in an illustration concerning the potentiality for speech: "Given the potentiality for speech, the child of any culture will speak the language which it hears. There is no mental equipment for speaking Chinese which is different from the mental equipment for speaking English. But the potentiality exposes itself in accordance with the traditions into which the individual happens to be born."⁸³

In A Rhetoric of Motives, Burke re-labelled the universalities as properties; "a thing is identified by

its properties."⁸⁴ Properties may exist in the material realm, such as economic property; or property may describe the various human emotions such as despair, wonder, relief, boredom, or dislike, which surround all humans in the psychological manner. Burke contended that all men under certain conditions may experience these forms. The Burkeian concept of universalities and properties could be viewed as an extension of classical rhetoric, Platonic and Aristotelian.

It is the obligation of the speaker to relate and give signs to the audience that his properties are consubstantial with theirs if he is to persuade rhetorically. These stylistic identifications can be re-named "strategies."⁸⁵ Mader summed up the essence of Burkeian identification: "Identification is the phenomenon that owes its reality to the universal motives of mankind, and the terms for these universal motives are 'the over-all terms for naming relationships and developments that mutatis mutandis, are likely to figure in all human associations.'"⁸⁶

Symbolic action, verbal and non-verbal, takes place within a context of circumstances. Burke contended that "the situation in which words are uttered can never be passed over as irrelevant to the linguistic expression."⁸⁷ The elements of homogeneity, occupation, moral and ethical standards, and group relations affect the context of the situation, requiring

the speaker to adjust to these circumstances. In "Coriolanus and God," Mader stated: "It is the situation that is of paramount concern in rhetoric."⁸⁸ The basis for Mader's statement is, "An argument that is formally valid and substantially true may not be effective in a given situation. No matter what its formal perfect, an argument that is ineffective is functionally absurd in the given situation that it serves no practical purpose."⁸⁹ Persuasion must occur in a given situation when men are pursuing the same goal.

The cluster of conditions surrounding goal pursuit will involve various characteristics of the social group. These characteristics grew out of the universalities of mankind; they are fundamental attitudes, such as belief, cynicism, skepticism, optimism, oppression, and theology. The speaker must be alert to the stressing of some of the peculiarities and the slighting of others. According to Burke, the "phenomenon of consciousness" grows out of the situation when there is conflict over fundamental attitudes. The conflict occurs when humans become aware of their condition, for "if you live in a situation (misery) you become sensitive to it."⁹⁰ Divisiveness grows out of conflict, and according to Burke: "Man must patch-up the discordancies between himself and his environment by reshaping the environment. He must not surrender to the environment that

oppresses him; he must change it."⁹¹ Burke called the struggles to change human conditions the "Human Barnyard," by which he meant that they were foibles and antics of humans as they compete.⁹² The division which results from competition is compensatory to identification. Burke related it to rhetoric when he wrote: "If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity. If men were wholly and truly of one substance, absolute communication would be of man's very essence."⁹³

The divisiveness produced by humans competing in a socio-economic situation is directly related to the Burkeian theory of hierarchy. Burkeian hierarchy is primarily concerned with order. Humans are born into a certain class, but they have the option of transcending to various levels of the hierarchial system. The principle of hierarchy can be considered a universally permanent pattern, for in all societies there are always superiors, inferiors, and equals.⁹⁴ The concept of mystery is an integrated part of the hierarchial system, for in "any order, there will be the mysteries of hierarchy."⁹⁵

Mystery exists in all socially structured environments, for "all social structures are based on class divisions."⁹⁶ Persons in one class appear "strange" to people in another class as one social class often seems "shut-off" from other

social classes. The resulting "state of estrangement is evident in differences in values, attitudes, and modes of life."⁹⁷ The ability to cross class lines lies in man's ability to "transcend his position in the hierarchy and to identify with other men, no matter what their social rank. For whatever their rank, however disparate their individual actions, all individuals participate in the hierarchy for the essential purpose of social cohesion."⁹⁸ Burke conceived hierarchy as a "principle grounded in the very nature of language,"⁹⁹ for man, as the symbol-using animal, employs language to solve the mysteries of the hierarchial system.

A basic strategy employed in the maneuverings of the hierarchial system is the "principle of courtship." Burke explained this principle in A Rhetoric of Motives as "a suasive device for the transcending of social estrangement."¹⁰⁰ The mystery of courtship occurs when beings of different classes try to communicate with each other. Any social intercourse involves courtship, for the members of one segment of society use suasive, verbal and non-verbal, devices to win-over members of an opposing faction. An example of wooing and winning is given by Burke, as courtship and mystery are exemplified in military discipline:

Now, army discipline must be strong enough in its suggestiveness to produce a kind of "post-hypnotic" spell wherein people will do even the vilest of things if they have been so commanded. Of course, the sanction of conspiracy helps in this task somewhat. But the conspiracy itself

cannot attain its full matic unless strongly reinforced by the mystery of caste, particularly in the case of a regular army, where the lower ranks have no strong political cause to motivate their actions, but are guided primarily by the esprit de corps as manifested in the command of their superiors.¹⁰¹

The "glamour" of the military caste is a suasive device used by the officers to induce the enlisted men to cooperate and act in a given situation.

Hierarchy, as one of the ultimate sources of motives (hierarchy, guilt, victimage, and redemption),¹⁰² includes the negative element "scapegoat." Creating a scapegoat, a social order may push its sins and inadequacies off onto a sacrificial receptacle as the Jews did to Christ and the Germans did to the Jews when they created a state of "mass victimage." The scapegoat is, then, a product of a hierarchial system which is striving to relieve its burden of guilt by victimage. Commenting on the Burkeian concept of victimage, Rueckert stated: "What is so terrible about victimage is that, invariably, one man's guilt, or a group's guilt, results in some other person's injury or death. It may take the form of verbal or physical action; but which ever form it takes, the process is made possible by man's capacity for symbolic manipulations."¹⁰³

In order to transcend the hierarchial system, social groups form rhetorical movements, and every movement must have a leader or spokesman who unifies the members to achieve

social cohesion within the movement. Burke's prime example of a unifier is Hitler in his analysis of Mein Kampf. There he identifies strategies which can be applied to most social and political movements. The unifying center is the leader who capitalizes on the presence of a common enemy, for "men who can unite on nothing else can unite on the basis of a foe shared by all."¹⁰⁴ A leader can also play on the "in-born dignity" of all persons and the motivation to become superior.

In A Rhetoric of Motives, Burke discussed the charisma of the leader:

When a figure becomes the personification of some impersonal motive, the result is a de-personalization. The person becomes the charismatic vessel of some "absolute" substance and when thus magically endowed, the person transcends his nature as an individual, becoming instead the image of the idea he stands for . . . representative of the family or class substance with which he is identified. In this respect he becomes "divine" (and his distinctive marks, such as clothing, embody the same spirit . . .) as a charismatic vessel of a social motive which the communicant would court round about.¹⁰⁵

Thus a speaker may use identification, transcendence, and courtship to lead his followers up the ladder of hierarchy. With these rhetorical tools the speaker "attempts to please his audience by using forms that establish the transcendent equality that eternally exists in the universal pursuit of social cohesion."¹⁰⁶ The forms utilized by the speaker indicate his style. According to Burke, style can be defined

as "ingratiation," attempting to gain favor by saying the right thing.¹⁰⁷ This definition is "undoubtedly Burke's way of viewing appeal as enthymematically grounded."¹⁰⁸

Mader summed up the speaker and persuasion:

Persuasion then must aim at the integration of rational and emotional appeals, if it is to be effective, for such integration will take into account the substantive concerns of man --his attitudes, his commitments, his obligations--as well as his concern for structured communication. In other words, a persuasive speaker must be concerned with choosing between different kinds of appeals; rather, he must be concerned with merging rational and emotional appeals so that a balance is achieved that will make his communication maximally effective.¹⁰⁹

In the realm of Burkeian rhetorical philosophy, man is ever struggling to achieve "the good life." Burke contended that the fundamental aim and genius of man has remained the same even through temporal events have intervened. But man continues to employ, even in new circumstances, the same basic universal patterns.¹¹⁰ Man, motivated by the norms of existence, goes to the substance of his fellow man and utilizes the common recurrent universalities to induce action and cooperation by his fellow man. To achieve maximum cooperation, man considers the environment, or cluster of conditions, and sets the identification process in motion. When consubstantiality is achieved, man uses persuasive devices to court and win his group and move them to action, an upward motion on the ladder of hierarchy. All during the persuasive process man is acting as a symbol-using

animal, man is moved by this principle."¹¹¹ While struggling to attain perfection, man must develop a sound system of communication, a system based on equality; for only as equals can men fully cooperate and achieve the best of all possible worlds for humanity.

Steinem's Rhetoric to Be Analyzed

On February 3, 1972, Steinem delivered a speech at a meeting sponsored by the Dallas Women for Change held on the campus of Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. This speech is representative of the speeches given by Steinem at meetings across the country in her efforts to unify and solidify the Women's Movement. Her speeches are usually altered only to fit the peculiarities of the geographic and socio-economic conditions of the audience involved, but her themes tend to remain the same.

As a result of preparatory research in this study, I have found that the topics and themes of Steinem's Southern Methodist University speech are concurrent with the major topics discussed by Steinem in her writing and speaking. The repeated occurrences of the themes and topics may be observed in such articles as "What It Would be Like If Women Win," which Steinem wrote as the special essay for Time in August, 1970, and in interviews with Steinem. Boeth in "Gloria Steinem: A Liberated Woman Despite Beauty, Chic and Success," which appeared in Newsweek in August 1971; Mercer

in Woman of the Year: Gloria Steinem," which appeared in McCall's in January 1972; and Smith in "Gloria Steinem, Writer and Social Critic, Talks About Sex, Politics and Marriage," which appeared in Redbook in January 1972, quoted Steinem on the topics and issues concerning the Women's Liberation Movement. In the articles, Steinem made similar comments on the issues and topics as is illustrated throughout this study. Also, Dr. Vicki O. Stupp of the North Texas State University Speech faculty, heard the address which Steinem gave at Texas Women's University on March 23, 1972, and stated that Steinem's speech was almost identical to the speech she had given at Southern Methodist University.

Also, the feature article "Sisterhood," written by Steinem, which appeared in the Spring Preview Issue 1972 of Ms. magazine is considered an example of Steinem's rhetoric. Steinem was co-founder and editor of Ms. In addition, the speech made by Steinem at the National Women's Political Caucus on February 9, 1973, in Houston, Texas, is discussed. I attended the Caucus, and my observations of Steinem at that meeting will also be utilized in analyzing the non-verbal rhetorical aspects of Steinem's success as a leader of the Women's Liberation Movement. After hearing Steinem's address at the National Women's Political Caucus, I concluded that Steinem appeared to utilize the same themes

which she had previously stated at Southern Methodist University, in articles, and in response to interviewers. Therefore, these three examples of Steinem's rhetoric may be considered representative of her rhetoric for the purpose of this study. The only available sources of Steinem's speeches are the tape recordings made during the actual presentations by Steinem.

Burkeian Criticism Related to Steinem

Since Burkeian criticism utilizes a definition of rhetoric as the inducing of cooperation among humans who respond to symbols, this method is particularly suited for analyzing the rhetoric of Steinem. Steinem's primary objective is to further the situation of women in this country, achieving the "good life" for women based on equality with all mankind. In her rhetoric, Steinem appears to employ the Burkeian process of identification in order to achieve consubstantiality with women who are involved or may be persuaded to become involved. She seems to utilize the recurrent universal patterns and properties common to all women to speak the language of women, who are striving to climb the hierarchial ladder of a man's world.

As spokeswoman of the Women's Liberation Movement, Steinem can be compared to the Great Goddess Athene of the

Greek civilization.¹¹² Athene is credited with having developed "the flute, the trumpet, the earthenware pot, the plough . . . the chariot, the ship, the art of numbers, fire, cooking, weaving, and spinning."¹¹³ In The First Sex, Elizabeth Davis stated: "In other words, woman invented or discovered or first practiced music, ceramics, agriculture, animal domestication, land transportation, water transportation, commerce, mathematics, handicrafts, domestic economy and industry. What else of any use had been invented in the centuries since the end of the matriarchal era?"¹¹⁴ Athene joined the inhabitants of Olympus as the "incarnation of wisdom and to put to flight the obscure deity called Dullness."¹¹⁵ Just as Athene was noted for her physical presence and was depicted as "a beautiful, majestic woman,"¹¹⁶ Steinem is also described as a "Winner and a Beautiful Person, too."¹¹⁷ In Critias, Plato stated: "The goddess Athene 'tended us human beings as a shepherd tends her sheep-- not with blows or bodily force but by the rudder of persuasion. Thus she did guide her mortal creation'."¹¹⁸ Apparently, using the Burkeian concepts of identification, consubstantiality, context of situation, and qualities of leadership, Steinem yielded her rudder of persuasion to guide women in achieving ultimate social cohesion and cooperation with their fellowmen.

Summary of Design

Chapter I includes a statement of purpose, an explanation of the method of Kenneth Burke, the rhetoric of Steinem to be analyzed, and a justification of the relationship of Steinem's rhetoric and Burkeian criticism. Chapter II discusses Steinem as a leader of the Women's Liberation Movement with particular attention to the rhetorical aspects of her properties as a personality. Chapter III examines the context of circumstances surrounding the Southern Methodist University speech delivered on February 3, 1972, the publication of Ms. magazine, and the National Women's Political Caucus speech in Houston, Texas, 1973. Chapter IV includes an analysis of the identification techniques employed by Steinem to achieve consubstantiality in the Southern Methodist University speech, in her article "Sisterhood" in the Spring Preview Issue of Ms. magazine, and in her speech made at the 1973 National Women's Political Caucus. Chapter V contains conclusions.

FOOTNOTES

¹Charles Moritz, ed., Current Biography (New York: H. Wilson Company, 1972), p. 412.

²Robert J. Brake and Robert D. Neulieb, "Outstanding Female Speakers in American History," Illinois State University Survey, 1973. Eleanor Roosevelt, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton hold the first places in this survey.

³Marilyn Mercer, "Woman of the Year: Gloria Steinem," McCall's, Jan. 1972, p. 67.

⁴Richard Boeth, "Gloria Steinem: A Liberated Woman Despite Beauty, Chic, and Success," Newsweek, 16 Aug. 1971, p. 51.

⁵Boeth, p. 51.

⁶Liz Carpenter, "Introductory Remarks," National Women's Political Caucus, 9 Feb. 1973.

⁷Boeth, pp. 51-53.

⁸Liz Smith, "Gloria Steinem: Writer and Social Critic, Talks about Sex, Politics and Marriage," Redbook, Jan. 1972, p. 70.

⁹Mercer, p. 68.

¹⁰Boeth, p. 52.

¹¹Steinem appeared with Margaret Sloan at Texas Women's University, Betty Harris at Southern Methodist University, and Flo Kennedy at East Texas State University during 1972.

¹²Boeth, p. 52.

¹³Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1970), pp. 16-19.

¹⁴Bonnie Angelo, "Where She Is and Where She's Going," Newsweek, 20 Mar. 1972, p. 27.

¹⁵Early in 1964, Lyndon Johnson began an administrative push for more women in government. In 1966, the National Organization for Women was begun by Betty Friedan. NOW includes some 255 chapters in forty-eight states. In 1970, a Women's Liberation March was held in New York City. In June 1971, over three hundred women met to form the National Women's Political Caucus. There are women's groups in every major city and many secondary and tertiary size cities in the United States today. Robin Morgan, Sisterhood is Powerful (New York: Random House, 1970), p. xxv.

¹⁶B. J. Phillips, "Women's Liberation Revisited," Newsweek, 20 Mar. 1972, p. 29.

¹⁷Joseph R. Gusfield, Protest, Reform and Revolt (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970), p. 20.

¹⁸The Smithsonian Institute was at the National Women's Political Caucus to collect artifacts.

¹⁹Boeth, p. 52.

²⁰Mercer, p. 68.

²¹Mercer, p. 68.

²²Virginia L. Holland, "Kenneth Burke's Dramatistic Approach to Speech Criticism," QJS, 41 (1955), p. 354.

²³Holland, p. 356.

²⁴Marie Hochmuth Nichols, Rhetoric and Criticism (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 79-80.

²⁵George Knox, Critical Moments: Kenneth Burke's Categories and Critiques (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1957), p. xvii.

²⁶Kenneth Burke, Counter-Statement (Los Altos: Hermes Publications, 1953), p. 213.

²⁷Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 216.

²⁸Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 216.

²⁹Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 217.

³⁰Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 217.

³¹Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 21. Burke explained dramatism: "Human motivation can be fully explained in dramatisitic terms. Man is an actor who purposively acts through certain means (symbolic or linguistic methods as well as physical) and carries out his action against the background of the historical scene (time and place in which he lives)."

³²Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 218.

³³Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 218.

³⁴Daniel John Fogarty, Roots for a New Rhetoric (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968), p. 59.

³⁵Knox, pp. xvii-xx.

³⁶Fogarty, p. 60.

³⁷Aristotle, The Rhetoric, trans. Lane Cooper (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1960), p. 7.

³⁸Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 43.

³⁹Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, pp. 211-212.

⁴⁰Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 43.

⁴¹Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 45.

⁴²Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, pp. 207-208.

⁴³Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 207.

⁴⁴Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, pp. 207-208.

⁴⁵Kenneth Burke, Language As Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature and Method (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 301.

⁴⁶Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p. 301.

⁴⁷Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p. 296.

⁴⁸Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 45.

⁴⁹Fogarty, p. 56.

- ⁵⁰ See footnote 31.
- ⁵¹ Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. xxii.
- ⁵² William Howe Reuckert, Kenneth Burke and the Drama of Human Relations (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), p. 130.
- ⁵³ Thomas Francis Mader, "Coriolanus and God: A Burkeian View of William Buckley," Diss. Northwestern University 1966, p. 7.
- ⁵⁴ Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p. 16.
- ⁵⁵ Kenneth Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1941), p. 8.
- ⁵⁶ Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 11.
- ⁵⁷ Mader, p. 99.
- ⁵⁸ Mader, p. 98.
- ⁵⁹ Rueckert, p. 134.
- ⁶⁰ Mader, p. 97.
- ⁶¹ Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p. 16.
- ⁶² Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 43.
- ⁶³ Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose (Los Altos: Hermes Publications, 1954), p. 173.
- ⁶⁴ Mader, p. 45.
- ⁶⁵ Dennis Day, "Persuasion and the Concept of Identity," QJS, 16 (1960), p. 271.
- ⁶⁶ Day, p. 272.
- ⁶⁷ Holland, "Burke's Dramatistic Approach to Speech Criticism," p. 354.
- ⁶⁸ Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 46.
- ⁷⁰ Rueckert, p. 151.

- ⁷¹Virginia Holland, Counterpoint: Kenneth Burke and Aristotle's Theories of Rhetoric (New York: The Philosophical Library, Incorporated, 1959), p. 30.
- ⁷²Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 21.
- ⁷³Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, pp. 20-21.
- ⁷⁴Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 23.
- ⁷⁵Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 277.
- ⁷⁶Holland, Counterpoint, p. 31.
- ⁷⁷Holland, Counterpoint, p. 30.
- ⁷⁸Holland, Counterpoint, p. 30.
- ⁷⁹Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 47.
- ⁸⁰Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 306.
- ⁸¹Holland, Counterpoint, p. 29.
- ⁸²Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 48.
- ⁸³Burke, Counter-Statement, pp. 48-49.
- ⁸⁴Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 23.
- ⁸⁵Day, p. 271.
- ⁸⁶Mader, p. 70.
- ⁸⁷Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 205.
- ⁸⁸Mader, p. 61.
- ⁸⁹Mader, p. 77.
- ⁹⁰Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 193.
- ⁹¹Burke, Permanence and Change, p. 172.
- ⁹²Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. xvii.
- ⁹³Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 22.
- ⁹⁴Mader, p. 36.

- ⁹⁵Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 279.
- ⁹⁶Mader, p. 38.
- ⁹⁷Mader, p. 38.
- ⁹⁸Mader, p. 40.
- ⁹⁹Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 279.
- ¹⁰⁰Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 208.
- ¹⁰¹Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 211.
- ¹⁰²Mader, p. 72.
- ¹⁰³Rueckert, p. 147.
- ¹⁰⁴Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 193.
- ¹⁰⁵Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 277.
- ¹⁰⁶Mader, pp. 88-89.
- ¹⁰⁷Burke, Permanence and Change, p. 50.
- ¹⁰⁸Mader, pp. 88-89.
- ¹⁰⁹Mader, p. 57.
- ¹¹⁰Burke, Permanence and Change, p. 163.
- ¹¹¹Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p. 17.
- ¹¹²Elizabeth Gould Davis, The First Sex (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1972), p. 44.
- ¹¹³Davis, p. 44.
- ¹¹⁴Davis, p. 44.
- ¹¹⁵H. A. Gueber, The Myths of Greece and Rome (New York: London House, 1965), p. 37.
- ¹¹⁶Gueber, p. 40.
- ¹¹⁷Boeth, p. 51.
- ¹¹⁸Davis, p. 338.

CHAPTER II

GLORIA STEINEM--LIBERATOR

Gloria Steinem was born on March 25, 1936, in Toledo, Ohio.¹ Her father, Leo Steinem, was an itinerant Jewish antique dealer and summer resort owner. Steinem described her father in a Time interview as a jack-of-all trades who had "two points of pride. He never wore a hat, and he never had a job."² During the first twelve years of her life, Gloria and her mother, Ruth Nuneviller Steinem, followed Leo Steinem around the country. Concerning these transient years, Steinem recalled: "I'd never lived any place to invite anybody home to. I thought that people always ate out of refrigerators."³ After separating from Leo Steinem in 1948, Ruth and Gloria Steinem returned to Toledo. Having been a reporter for a Toledo newspaper before her marriage, Ruth Steinem went back into journalism. Steinem's paternal grandmother had also been a dedicated career woman and a promoter of the early feminist movement. Leonard Levitt described Mrs. Pauline (Joseph) Steinem as "a remarkable Toledo woman who helped shape the feminist movement in this country."⁴ Pauline Steinem was president of the Ohio Women's Suffrage Association from 1908 to 1911, and addressed a United States Senate committee on suffrage during her years

in the Suffrage Movement.⁵ It is conceivable that the feminist activities of her grandmother and the determination of her mother influenced Gloria Steinem to become involved in the Women's Liberation Movement.

Living in the East Toledo slums during her adolescent years, Steinem acquired experience and insight into the conditions of the welfare mother, the poor white and black, and the oppressed of the inner city. Describing the Toledo industrial slum, Steinem recalled: "East Toledo is 'Joe' country, the kind of place where they beat up the first available Black on Saturday night They considered us nuts on two counts: we read books and were poorer than they were. The girls all got married before they graduated because they were pregnant. I had one girl friend like that who had four children too fast. Her teeth fell out. Now she sits at home and her husband beats her from time to time."⁶ From this statement, Steinem's awareness of the "housewife syndrome,"⁷ as explained in Betty Freidan's The Feminine Mystique, can possibly be discerned. Steinem's early life, in itself, gave her a harsh view of reality and woman's plight.

When Steinem was twelve, she was sent to Washington, D. C., to live with her sister Suzanne Patch, the wife of a lawyer and mother of six.⁸ Having had no formal schooling until this time, Steinem was amazed to learn that

"there were boys who read books" in school; for, she had always thought that "serious grown-up men thought important things like how to meet the payments on the refrigerator."⁹ Despite the lack of a structured early education, Steinem scored so highly on the College Board Examination that she was accepted by Smith College following her graduation from Washington High School in 1952.¹⁰ In 1956, she graduated Magna Cum Laude with a Bachelor of Arts degree in government from Smith College.

At Smith, Steinem lived among young women from the top levels of American society, thus, by the time she was twenty, Steinem had observed many facets of American culture and environment. Her experiences gave her needed insight into the problems common to women with varied life styles. If moving to Washington, D. C., and attending Smith College had been major steps in her life, the most important event occurred during Steinem's post graduate study as a Chester Bowles Asian Fellow at the University of Calcutta in India.

During her stay in India, Steinem first became cognizant of the miserable human conditions which exist in the world. The two years of study in Far Eastern government "sowed the seeds of political awareness. She recalled the deep, almost physical anger she felt in response to the human misery she saw around her, and there she came to realize that the affluent American society was the exception, not the rule

in the world."¹¹ Commenting on her Indian experience, Steinem remarked: "America is an enormous frosted cupcake in the middle of millions of starving people I discovered that I'd been ghettoized as a white person--there were no black girls at Smith, for example--and in retrospect I was furious. I became filled with this crusading zeal to make this country aware of whatever was going on in Asia."¹²

Upon returning to New York in 1958, Steinem decided that the best medium for her crusade would be television. After failing to find a position in television, she tried magazine publishers. The response she received was that "she could do research and fetch coffee if she liked, but no reporting."¹³ She accepted a job in Harvey Kurtzman's front office for Help! magazine where she was a receptionist and recruited prominent show business personalities to appear on the cover of Help!¹⁴ During this association, Steinem met Robert Benton, a free-lance writer. In 1963 they collaborated on The Beach Book, "a not very serious picture book dedicated to the fine art of sun worshipping."¹⁵

Before the 1963 publication of The Beach Book, Steinem accepted a job with an "offshoot of the National Student Association, a partially CIA funded outfit that posted American kids to Communist-run youth festivals in Europe."¹⁶ Then at twenty-six, after having several unsigned articles published, Steinem made her "signed debut with a piece about

the Birth Control pill called 'The Moral Disarmament of Betty Coed'."¹⁷ In this article, published by Esquire in 1962, Steinem prophetically stated: "The real danger of the contraceptive revolution may be the acceleration of woman's role change without any corresponding change of man's attitude toward her role."¹⁸ She also anticipated another major concern of the Women's Liberation Movement: "Many girls who depend on the roles of wife and mother for their total identity are now being pressured into affairs they can't handle and jobs they pretend to like."¹⁹ Thus, a year before the publication of Friedan's The Feminine Mystique, Steinem expressed concern for and wrote about the major issues which were to be part of the Women's Liberation Movement.²⁰

After the appearance of "The Moral Disarmament of Betty Coed," Steinem received a growing number of assignments from such magazines as Look, Glamour, New York, McCall's, Ladies Home Journal, and Life. Her humorous exposure of Hugh Hefner's Bunnies in the New York Playboy Club appeared in Show in 1963. After disguising her identity and working as a Bunny, Steinem wrote about her experiences describing the "boorish customer's and the carny chintziness of the Playboy Club operation."²¹ The article began her career as a freelance journalist-celebrity; however, the job offers continued to be for the same type of writing. She recalled

in a Time interview: "For two years after it, all the jobs I was offered were the same kind of thing. Everybody at a party would say, 'This is Gloria Steinem. She used to be a bunny.' It was awful."²²

Then, in the spring of 1968, Steinem was hired by Clay Felker as a contributing editor for the newly established New York magazine where she could write freely about social concerns and politics. Upon beginning her assignment with New York, Steinem began the change which was to lead her to the position of spokeswoman for the Women's Liberation Movement. Felker described the changing Steinem: "In her new position Gloria--The Beach Book sun worshiper, the chronicler of Betty Coed and the Bunny--underwent a transformation: she turned Serious."²³ The serious Steinem established a column, "The City Politic," in which "she began airing her personal impressions of politics and befriending her favorite causes."²⁴ Through the column, Steinem entered the political world and worked for different political personalities, such as Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy. Her political philosophy and efforts were described in Current Biography:

Gloria Steinem has steadfastly opposed the war in Indochina, the Republican Party, and most New York politicians. An inveterate crusader, she has in recent years supported, both in and out of her New York column, author Norman Mailer's unsuccessful bid for the mayoralty of New York City in 1968, the Presidential aspirations of Democratic Senator George McGovern, and a host of minority groups and underdogs including

Cesar Chavez' grape pickers, Angela Davis, the Black Panthers, the Young Lords, the Eskimos, and the Indians.²⁵

But foremost in Steinem's efforts to further the pleas of an oppressed group was her involvement in the Women's Liberation Movement. Esquire interviewer Levitt stated the general feeling about Steinem's work: "Friends say women's liberation is her first real love."²⁶

The Glitter Years

During the early years of her career, from 1960 to 1968, Steinem's image was that of a "glamour girl." Mercer called those years "the glitter years, the years that shaped the image of Steinem past."²⁷ Levitt wrote of Steinem's early career in New York City when she was "the most successfully enigmatic femme fatale . . . who advanced in public favor by appealing to powerful men, has moved to the front ranks of women's liberation, appealing now to women who do not like powerful men."²⁸ As a young reporter, Steinem met literary, social, and politically powerful men. She was described in Esquire as "the one the ad men meant when they wrote, 'you've come a long way baby'."²⁹ Some of the "Beautiful People" she has been linked with include director Mike Nichols, track star Rafer Johnson, playwright Herb Sargent, and presidential advisor Henry Kissinger. Levitt reported that a friend of Steinem's commented on her many male friends: "She had the uncanny ability of adapting

herself to the romantic image most appropriate for the boyfriend of the moment."³⁰

Not only was Steinem involved with social and show business personalities, but she also was somewhat of a celebrity herself. She modeled in a charity fashion show in New York City. Liz Smith, a journalist associate of Steinem's, "recalled seeing a vaguely familiar but quite dazzling Sexual Object"³¹ in that show. Smith did not recognize Steinem. In McCall's feature story about Steinem as the 1972 "Woman of the Year," Mercer commented on Steinem as a "Sex Object" and as a rising star in the New York social circles:

Gloria's swift rise from obscure journalist to minor celebrity set off endless speculation among New York's insiders who did not know her. To those who did, the secret was simple: New York's high-flying set took to her for the same reason Wichita took to her. Then, as now, she was intelligent, direct, easy to talk to, fun. She was always ready to help out with a benefit or a political campaign, to give a hand up to new writers, especially if they were women. Being one of the Good Guys is a hard-to-resist quality in any segment of society.³²

When Levitt described Steinem's life as a glamour girl in Esquire, she was incensed by the article. In 1972, she told interviewer Mercer her feelings about the article:

She was very bothered by an article that appeared about her in Esquire last fall. It was a profile from a slick, men's magazine point of view, full of innuendo. (After it was published, many of the people interviewed called Gloria to say that they had been misquoted.) Gloria could not bring herself to read it until it was off

the stands. When she finally faced it, she was angry not only because she felt it was a personal attack but because she saw it as a particularly gross example of machismo journalism.³³

But even during her brief years in society, Steinem's life-style and her public image did not coincide. Eugenia Shepperd, of the New York Herald Tribune, interviewed Steinem and said: "It was the first time I ever had to walk up three flights of stairs on the society beat."³⁴ Steinem at the time was living in a "one-room studio apartment on West Fifty-sixth Street with a painter, Barbara Nessim."³⁵ Nessim recalled her feelings about Steinem during their time as apartment-mates: "I think Gloria loved humanity more than human beings. She was always more interested in world love than human love. You see, Gloria was always very closed with her life. She never got involved where she could get hurt."³⁶

Prior to joining the staff of New York magazine, Steinem worked in politics, but she wrote articles about movie stars like Barbara Streisand and Paul Newman.³⁷ However, as a political columnist for New York, Steinem became correspondingly more aware of the problems of minority groups and became more frustrated with her position in a man's world of journalism.³⁸ Answers to her questions concerning what was wrong with woman's place in American culture needed to be found. The blue-jeaned,

activist Steinem of today resulted from an event in her life which was the turning point from social celebrity to the "most effective proselytizer"³⁹ of the Women's Liberation Movement.

The Redstockings and Revelation

The revelation which changed Steinem's life and public image occurred in November, 1968, at a meeting of the Redstockings in New York City. The Redstockings had been formed "to protest the rigged legislative hearings on abortion reform."⁴⁰ During the eighteenth century in France, a group called the Bluestockings existed to further the status of women. They were members of the intellectual elite of their day."⁴¹ Steinem attended the November meeting "more in search of a column than anything else."⁴² She felt that newsworthy material could be expected from a radical organization whose manifesto read:

After centuries of individual and preliminary political struggle, women are uniting to achieve their final liberation from male supremacy. Redstockings is dedicated to building this unity and winning our freedom Women are an oppressed class. Our oppression is total, affecting every facet of our lives. We are exploited as sex objects, breeders, domestic servants, and cheap labor. We are considered inferior beings, whose only purpose is to enhance men's lives. Our humanity is defined. Our prescribed behavior is enforced by the threat of physical violence. Because we have lived so intimately with our oppressors, in isolation from each other, we have been kept from seeing our personal suffering as a political condition.⁴³

At the Redstocking meeting, Steinem "became aware of the system's universality, its arbitrariness--and the possibility of its change by radical action."⁴⁴ Steinem has written about and spoken of her revelation during the meeting in articles and speaking engagements.⁴⁵ Boeth quoted Steinem concerning her new awareness, noting that "as always with Steinem, it was the particularized case of human suffering that brought home the larger principle:"⁴⁶

Women got up and told about their abortions and mostly it was so tragic and humiliating and dangerous that it really was an incredibly emotional evening. It made me understand that women are oppressed together and so have to act together. There is always anger and humiliation in us. I'd always understood what made me angry about the Playboy Club or the double standard or not being able to do political writing or being sent out for coffee. But I didn't realize it was a group problem. Before the Redstocking meeting, I had thought that my personal problems and my experiences were my own and not part of a larger political problem.⁴⁷

In McCall's, Steinem again stated her new awareness after realizing why she had felt frustration about writing lipstick ads and articles on trivial facets of life: "I realized at that moment why I had identified with second-class groups in Toledo and India all my life--I was a second-class citizen, too. I had always thought that prejudice against me as a woman was a personal problem--perhaps even my own fault. At that point, I understood it was a group problem."⁴⁸

Through her experiences, Steinem was able to peer into the lives of the wealthy, the middle-class, and the poverty stricken and consequently is able to discern what topics of the Women's Liberation Movement are most vital to the specific group she addresses. After experiencing life in many environments and becoming totally involved in Women's Liberation, Steinem clarified and redefined her awareness of women's oppression. In the 1972 preview issue of Ms., Steinem stated in "Sisterhood," her feature article as editor of Ms.:

If it weren't for the Women's Movement, I might still be dissembling away. But the ideas of this great sea-change in women's view of ourselves are contagious and irresistible. They hit women like a revelation, as if we had left a small dark room and walked into the sun.

At first my discoveries seemed complex and personal. In fact they were the same ones so many millions of women have made and are making. Greatly simplified, they went like this: Women are human beings first, with minor differences from men that apply largely to the act of reproduction. We share the dreams, capabilities, and weakness of all human beings, but our occasional pregnancies and other visible differences have been used--even more pervasively, if less brutally, than racial differences have been used--to mark us for an elaborate division of labor that may once have been practical but has since become cruel and false. The division is continued for clear reason, consciously or not: the economic and social profit of men as a group.

Once this feminist realization dawned, I reacted in what turned out to be predictable ways. First, I was amazed at the simplicity and obviousness of a realization that made sense, at last, of my life experience: I couldn't

figure out why I hadn't seen it before. Second, I realized, painfully, how far that new vision of life was from the system around us, and how tough it would be to explain the feminist realization at all, much less get people (especially, though not only, men) to accept so drastic a change.⁴⁹

Steinem As Feminist Spokeswoman

In The First Sex, a history of woman's place in society, Elizabeth Davis commented on the attitude of women in the sixties: "The innately logical mind of woman, her unique sense of balance, orderliness, and reason rebels at the terrible realization that justice has been an empty word, that she has been forced for nearly two millennia to worship false gods and to prostrate herself at their empty shrines."⁵⁰ Steinem as a leader of the Women's Liberation Movement is striving to make women of all ages and socio-economic groups aware of conditions concerning women in American society. Steinem's emergence as a leader and "valued spokesman"⁵¹ for women was, perhaps, a case of being in the right place at the right time, as Steinem said: "I guess it's a matter of being the right person in the right place at the right time. I'm an accident of history, and I'm not so sure I like it."⁵² Observers of Steinem's career are not as depreciating as Steinem is of her own ability. John Kenneth Galbraith stated: "Gloria's success swings on more than one hinge

She owes her rise to brains, comic perception, and extremely good looks Along with Bella Abzug and Shirley Chisholm, Gloria is one of the three most important women I have met in recent years."⁵³ Tom Wolfe, author of Radical Chic, also evaluated Steinem's rise as a Women's Liberation leader: "At certain times the press is really looking for people to embody a trend the way fashion magazines look for women who actually wear the clothes they put out. And the press would rather have Gloria be Women's Liberation than the others."⁵⁴

Since 1968, many divisions of the communication media have interviewed and written about Steinem. Her selection as a newsworthy figure is partially due to the fact that "she has virtually grown up working in the communications business, knows just about everybody there is to know in it, and more important, is as adept as a slalom skier as she maneuvers among reporters."⁵⁶ Coverage given Steinem in such magazines as Time, Newsweek, Vogue, McCall's, and Esquire has put her image before vast sections of American society.

Steinem's "state of being" enables her to appeal to nearly all members and potential members of the Women's Liberation Movement. In the Burkeian sense, she seems to have transcended the class, age, and educational barriers between women of America to become the "charismatic vessel

or embodiment"⁵⁷ of the movement itself. She seems to assume the identity of the Women's Liberation Movement as a whole, becoming a corporate image of the very substance of the movement. Presenting a rather mystical image, Steinem appears to have the properties and universal experiences surrounding all women involved in the struggle for equality. Indeed just as Steinem played the appropriate role to suit her current male companion during the early years of her career, she now adapts herself to the current trend--Women's Liberation--in appearance and ideas.

But even in her position of power within the Women's Liberation Movement, Steinem plays down her role. She does not want to become known as a "superstar,"⁵⁸ for she wishes to be on the same level with her sisters. Speaking before a capacity crowd at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, in 1972, Steinem began her address by establishing immediately that her properties were like those of the audience: "I am not coming therefore as any kind of leader. We are trying to do away with all that hierarchy rot which imitated patriarchy anyway I come here as an individual woman, who is struggling as all individual women are struggling, because sexism exists at every level."⁵⁹

Steinem's opening remarks at Southern Methodist University established that she believes she is of the same substance and holds the same properties as her audience. In

a society there are certain guidelines that influence and direct the behavior of its members. According to Burke, these guidelines are forms which rise out of the universal pursuits of humanity to achieve the best possible existence. Rhetoric, as the method of appeal to induce cooperation, can "bridge the conditions of estrangement"⁶⁰ which exist by nature throughout the female population.

Steinem's use of the term "sisters"⁶¹ connotes the idea that she is identified with all other women, that all women partake of the same substantive values, ideas, and universal patterns of experience. In this sense, Steinem's rhetoric, verbal and non-verbal, appears to coincide with a Burkeian concept "that man [woman] must patch-up the discordancies between himself [herself] and his [her] environment by reshaping the environment. He [she] must not surrender to the environment that oppresses him [her]; he [she] must change it."⁶² By expressing the idea that all women are "sisters," Steinem can strive to persuade women that by acting together they can change their role in society.

Before beginning a plan to change social conditions a speaker needs to formulate a basic philosophy which clarifies his position in a social movement. Steinem's awareness of the problems women face came slowly as she competed in a man's world of journalism and business. The Southern Methodist University speech, which is discussed in

Chapter IV, revealed Steinem's stand on the issues involved in the Women's Liberation Movement. Also, several periodical articles written by Steinem clarify her philosophy concerning Women's Liberation.

The first national news coverage of Steinem was in Time magazine. In 1969, a Time interviewer labelled Steinem as the "Thinking Man's Shrimpton,"⁶³ an effort to identify Steinem with Jean Shrimpton of high fashion modeling fame. The tone of the article revealed an attitude of flippancy toward the seriousness of Steinem's writing. The Time interviewer referred to Steinem as "one of the best dates to take to a New York party," yet he also labelled her the "personification of woman power."⁶⁴ A preview of Steinem, the Women's Liberation leader of today, could be detected further in the article. The editor of New York, Clay Felker, was quoted in the article as saying: "She is a modern woman, independent and activist, a beautiful, intelligent, with-it, extraordinarily well-informed first-class brain."⁶⁵ Furthermore, Steinem was described by the Time writer: "Happily, she forecasts a change in the future because 'young girls were refusing to be emotionally blackmailed into domesticity'."⁶⁶ Steinem was quoted as explaining: "You can't expect a man to give you your identity on a silver platter, which is what society would have us believe."⁶⁷

By 1970, Steinem had become a recognized leader and activist in the Women's Liberation Movement,⁶⁸ and the press pursued her for her "personal and partisan speculations on the growing movement."⁶⁹ In the August 31, 1970, issue of Time, Steinem wrote the special essay, "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," which she began by naming the enemy and posing this question: "What if they [women] could treat us [men] as we [men] have treated them [women]?"⁷⁰ Steinem continued with an explanation of the goals of the Women's Liberation Movement in 1970: "But we do want to change the economic system to one more based on merit. In Women's Lib Utopia, there will be free access to good jobs-- and decent pay for bad ones women have been performing all along, including housework. . . . With women as half the country's elected representatives, and a woman President once in a while, the country's machismo problems would be greatly reduced."⁷¹ Furthermore, Steinem appealed to the male portion of American society by listing the benefits which the new system would provide:

Men will have to give up ruling-class privileges, but in return they will no longer be the only ones to support the family, get drafted, bear the strain of power and responsibility. Freud to the contrary, anatomy is not destiny, at least not for more than nine months at a time. In israel, women are drafted, and some have gone to war. In England, more men type and run switchboards. In India and Israel, a woman rules. In Sweden, both parents take care of the children. In this country

come Utopia, men and women won't reverse roles: they will be free to choose according to individual talents and preferences.⁷²

Included in the Time essay are the basic issues of the Women's Liberation Movement as Steinem saw them in 1970. Later in the Southern Methodist University speech in 1972, she capitalized on these issues and problems.

The major issues which Steinem presented were these:

"Sex arranged on the barter system, unequal partnerships that eventually doom love and sex, the ideas of submission drilled into little girls, discrimination in schools and universities, too much mother, too little father," legal and financial discrimination against women, and the vast problems involved in marriage.⁷³ Steinem concluded the essay by assuring that Women's Liberation was the way to achieve the best possible existence for all:

Thus Women's Lib may achieve a more peaceful society on the way toward its other goals. That is why the Swedish government considers reform to bring about greater equality in the sex roles one of its most important concerns. As Prime Minister Olf Palme explained in a widely ignored speech delivered in Washington this spring, "It is human beings we shall emancipate. In Sweden today, if a politician should declare that the woman ought to have a different role from man's, he would be regarded as something from the Stone Age." In other words, the most radical goal of the movement is egalitarianism.

If Women's Lib wins, perhaps we all do.⁷⁴

An indication of the acceptance of Women's Liberation was reflected in the attitude of the press toward Steinem

after the appearance of the Time interview in 1969. In the August 16, 1971, issue of Newsweek, the press began to take Steinem seriously. In Newsweek, Richard Boeth described Steinem as "an ad hoc Best Friend to American Womanhood at large, talking in the flesh and by phone to dozens of women every week about the myriad problems and infuriations of living their lives and doing their jobs as serfs (she prefers the word 'slaves') in a male-ruled society."⁷⁵ In Newsweek, Smith is quoted as comparing Steinem to Gandhi in that "she has the dedication, the ability to point you in the direction you should be going and all the irritating qualities of a saint."⁷⁶

Also included in the Newsweek interview were the basic points of Steinem's philosophy, which had been included in the 1970 Time special essay. In addition, Steinem's ideas concerning male-female relationships, which seem to be a favorite subject for reporters and interviewers, were included in Newsweek. Concerning love, Steinem told "her grieving girl friends to stop pretending they are madly in love [with an ex-boy friend] and just be friends--very simple, good advice."⁷⁷ The media often linked Steinem with some famous male personality and repeated gossip which suggested that matrimony was her motive. But Steinem explicitly expressed her views on marriage in Newsweek: "I may get married someday, but not in the

conventional sense I used to think of it Marriage makes you legally half a person, and what man wants to live with half a person I used to believe I should have children because a) everyone said that women should, and b) I might be sorry later, and c) it was an experience to go through Now I question those reasons, and I am not so sure about having children."⁷⁸ Two years later, at the National Women's Political Caucus in Houston, Steinem further explained her views on child-rearing: "Staying at home with children IS important Why should women be the only ones to do it? Children have two parents Why shouldn't they get to know their father as well?"⁷⁹ She further explained that this would not upset the economy but could be accomplished by "permitting equal rights to all women who want to work."⁸⁰ She added: "The solution is coming about of itself with the evolution of a three-day work week. Why couldn't a man spend three days at home with his family, alternating with a woman, so that she could have a career as well? . . . This might be the means of lengthening a man's life. The way it is now he works himself to death. Women don't want that."⁸¹

After the 1968 Democratic Convention, Steinem accepted an invitation to appear on the Tonight show. Numerous television talkshows had tried to have Steinem be on the air as "her impassive beauty . . . and quick tongue have made her

a leading contender."⁸² During the nationwide television coverage of the first moon shot, Steinem debated with Walter Cronkite and Arthur C. Clarke. She opposed their views concerning the significance of the moon shot, stating that the millions of dollars used should be spent on solving problems here on earth rather than on the moon."⁸³ An incident involving actor Hans Conried and Steinem on the Tonight show revealed some of the essence of Steinem's crusade. Conried said, following a remark by Steinem, "'If you were a man, I'd punch you in the mouth for saying that.' Steinem never blinked. 'Why don't you? At least you'd be taking a woman seriously for once.'"⁸⁴

In 1972, journalists did indeed take Steinem seriously when McCall's editor Patricia Carbine chose Steinem as "Woman of the Year, 1972." In the feature article, "Gloria: The Unhidden Persuader" written by Marilyn Mercer, Steinem further commented on her philosophy concerning the Women's Liberation Movement and on influencing factors relevant to her success as a leader. Mercer commented on Steinem's importance in the Movement:

While undeniably attractive, Gloria Steinem is emerging as somebody to be taken very seriously indeed--the women's movement's most persuasive evangelist. She is active on many fronts. She is prime mover in the National Women's Political Caucus, along with Betty Friedan, Shirley Chisholm, and Bella Abzug. She is a member of the Democratic Policy Council, where, according to John Kenneth Galbraith, she is respected and/or feared

"because they see all those legions of women behind her." She is campaigning for Senator George McGovern, who says, "She's the person who really sold me on the women's issue." She is cofounder and editor of the new feminist magazine Ms. that appears this month, aimed at "women whose needs and interests go far beyond the limits of home and husband."⁸⁵

Among the varied activities and involvement which qualified Steinem for honor of "Woman of the Year," was her speaking activities. In September of 1970, her speech drew over five thousand to the auditorium at Wichita State University. Previously, the record attendance had been around two thousand three hundred for speakers, such as Fred Harris and Barry Goldwater.⁸⁶ Doug Lewis, chairman of the lecture series, commented on Steinem's appeal: "Wichita is a conservative place, and Barry Goldwater is the type you'd expect to go over. But some students came from universities 180 miles away. And half of them were men. People came from the community, too. The whole front row was filled with older ladies, not the women's lib type at all, and some of them were yelling, 'Right on!'"⁸⁷ Steinem held a discussion with the students after the speech. The session drew over a thousand instead of the anticipated one hundred fifty.

One theme of Steinem's, included in the McCall's article, is an interracial identification factor among women. Steinem made a firm stand on interracial identification within the female population: "Black women and

white women have more in common than they have dividing them As long as society is sexist, it holds back half the black community as well as half the whites, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other minorities. All women have to work together against this common injustice."⁸⁸ One of Steinem's main points was that the male-dominated society of the United States was responsible for the injustices suffered by all women, of every race and class.⁸⁹ The Burkeian theory of consubstantiality⁹⁰ can be seen operating in this sense as a solidifying factor. With male chauvinist society as the common foe, all women are united on a very basic, common substantive principle. The substantive property which they share is that all women are female and are capable of participating in the same universal experiences. Mercer pointed out the fact that all women of different classes appear to be identified on a common interest: "An astonishingly wide spectrum of women--factory workers and Junior Leaguers, students, radicals and Establishment conservatives--respond to her [Steinem]. She often says she has more in common with some Republican women than with Larry O'Brien, the Democratic chairman, and many Republican women agree."⁹¹ Women have many common properties and the substance, or foundation, of their consubstantiality is their sex.

Steinem's basic definition of women's liberation is given, in McCall's, as "going beyond securing financial and legal equity under the present system. Machismo, the masculine myth--the idea that male must prove himself by dominating everybody--in the boardroom, in the bedroom, and on the battlefield--is anachronistic in the second half of the twentieth century. Once we forget the myth of dominant male and submissive female, both sexes will be free to function as human beings, to discern their individual talents, to be happier and better parents."⁹² Again the basic premise upon which Steinem appeared to build her speeches can be seen in her explanation of the motives of the Women's Liberation Movement.

One facet of Steinem's "state of being" was her "overriding quality that converts nonbelievers."⁹³ She accomplished this by "her genuine friendliness, her directness, her lack of pretense."⁹⁴ Steinem talked with anyone about the problems she faces as an individual woman or the problems of her particular women's group. Men have found her open and honest, beautiful yet highly intelligent, thus destroying the myth that beautiful blonds are dumb.⁹⁵ Steinem's combination of beauty and intelligence is a strong identification factor in modern society, for intelligent, attractive women do not want to wear combat boots and fatigues to prove that they are knowledgeable in their

respective professions. Commenting on Steinem, Frank Mankiewicz, chief advisor to Senator George McGovern, described Steinem as "breathtakingly honest. And you don't need any small talk. She doesn't do things because it's chic, or because she's bored. You know she's not putting you on. She's a lifetime member of the Good Guys."⁹⁶

A further explanation of Steinem's charisma, which often transcends sex, as well as class and race differences, lies in a statement made by Myrlie Evers, widow of the Black civil rights leader Medgar Evers. Mrs. Evers gave her opinion of Steinem in McCall's: "I'm not saying she's perfect--who is? But she's human, and that is it. I respect her ideas and her approach. That lovely, fragile body encases a strong, determined, very sensitive human being who's genuinely concerned about other people--at this particular time, women. I think she's the most important person in the women's movement today."⁹⁷

Also in January of 1972, Liz Smith, longtime friend and associate of Steinem's in the journalism profession, published an interview with Steinem. Smith admitted that when she first met Steinem, she thought Steinem would not amount to much. Smith's reaction to Steinem had reminded her of Plato's words "from The Apology: 'Socrates, can you not go away from us and live quietly without talking?'"⁹⁸ However, in 1972, twelve years after their first meeting,

Smith conceded: "I knew she must talk and women must listen."⁹⁹ In the interview written by Smith, Steinem talked about who will benefit from the Women's Liberation Movement:

It's for housewives, who should get a legally determined percentage of their husband's salaries and work only the regular nine-to-five day.

It's for working women who make about half what men make for doing the same job.

It's for older women who are made to feel as if they no longer have human value because they've outgrown their identity as sex objects and breeders.

It's for little girls trapped by family and school into taking secondary positions, who play nurse rather than doctor, who find themselves kept out of athletic training, who see the money for education in the family going to their brother.

It's for women students who get inferior teachers and who suffer from quotaism in colleges and graduate schools in medicine and law. No, it's not even quotaism--it's tokenism.

It's for Black women. They are really at the bottom of the economic structure, kept there by both racism and sexism.

It's for Hispanic women who have the worst kind of machismo to deal with, that overweening male pride that I guess is best defined as "sexual fascism."

It's for women who have been subjected to a certain part of the psychiatric community, because to send a woman to a Freudian analyst, with its theories about penis envy, the non-existent vaginal orgasm and his generally demeaning estimate of women, is like sending a Jew to a Nazi.

It's for every woman who has been made to conform to the double standard and for every woman outside the sexual norm, whether she's too heterosexual or not heterosexual enough.

It's for all the women who are dying from butchered, illegal abortions. Even in states where legal abortions are permitted, they may still be too expensive for most poor women to afford.

It's for children too, who respond to cultural and parental brainwashing about what little boys should be like and what little girls should be like

It's for parents. We should always talk of parenthood, not just motherhood.¹⁰⁰

The previous statement and explanation of purpose illustrate the major topics which Steinem used in constructing a speech. The use of the issues and topics are illustrated in Chapter IV in an analysis of the Southern Methodist University speech, a representative speech which encompassed the women's movement's issues and injustices as perceived by Steinem.

Steinem is knowledgeable and has had personal experience in areas related to the topics of the Women's Liberation Movement. She is a strong identification factor in the movement, for she is representative of many women and many life styles.

Conclusion

According to Burke, the leader of a movement, or group, must achieve social cohesion within that movement to advance the cause of the movement.¹⁰¹ In The Philosophy of Literary Form, Burke stated: "Every movement that would recruit its followers from among many discordant and divergent bands, must have some spot towards which all roads lead. Each man may get there in his own way, but it must be the one unifying center of reference for all."¹⁰² Steinem has called the "centralizing hub of ideas,"¹⁰³ in the Women's Liberation Movement, "Women's Lib Utopia."¹⁰⁴ The

idea was first presented in the 1970 Time essay written by Steinem. Steinem employed a strong identification device to bridge the conditions of estrangement existing within the divergent groups of the movement.

Also, her physical appearance often attracts the attention of others around her. In his comments on Administrative Rhetoric, Burke discussed the use of non-verbal persuasion, the persuasive devices concerned with mere physical appearance.¹⁰⁵ Steinem wears symbols, properties, which identify her with the movement: "She is the most visible of the activists In bell-bottoms and a jersey bodyshirt, tinted glasses, and a lion's mane of blond-streaked hair that reaches below her shoulder blades, she looks like a life-size counterculture Barbie doll."¹⁰⁶ The mode of dress itself is symbolic of freedom and the Women's Liberation Movement, for as Steinem stated during a recent interview: "If women had all the time--and money--they've been brainwashed into spending on their appearance, we could have taken over the world by now . . . clothes and appearance should be of only relative importance, not the silly be-all and end-all Women journalists should stop writing about what's on women's backs and write about what's on their minds."¹⁰⁷

Steinem's physical presence and personality carry stylistic identification for other reasons also. In spite

of her often perceived aura of a fighting woman's "libber," Steinem is a very gentle person, almost shy in a crowd. I observed her in Houston at the 1973 National Women's Political Caucus and found this to be true. She stood very quietly in a group, listening attentively to the person who was speaking. She told me that she was, and still is, nervous about speaking before an audience. This apprehension is not evident, however, in her speech making appearances. Also, at the National Women's Political Caucus, I observed how approachable Steinem was. She readily engaged in conversation with others regardless of age, sex, color, or social class. Women attending the Caucus seemed to identify with Steinem and found that they could discuss their problems as women with her. Also, her unassuming manner was attractive to older women, for I observed that they tended to "mother" her in a protective way, possibly seeing her as a daughter figure. The teen-agers and younger women at the Caucus seemed to identify with Steinem because, primarily, she dressed as they dressed and she seemed to think as they thought.¹⁰⁸ The younger women at the Caucus applauded Steinem throughout her speech. They stood spontaneously to indicate their agreement with her.

Steinem is a vital composite of the issues and philosophies of the Women's Liberation Movement, a personification or "Charismatic vessel"¹⁰⁹ possessing qualities shared

by other women. The varied facets of her life and personality create an aura of mystery which is necessary in the Burkeian hierarchial system of identification. The mystique surrounding Steinem appeals to women, they want to identify with her and transcend to the level of humanness and to the freedom which she appears to have achieved. Steinem has climbed the hierarchial ladder of success in American society from the slums of Toledo to the 1973 American Newspaper Publishers Association's eighty-seventh convention, where she spoke to a standing room only audience of eight hundred,¹¹⁰ by diligent work, study, and planning. All are characteristics worthy of respect in a leader. Steinem's education and reputation as a writer and speaker have made her a strong legitimizer¹¹⁷ for the Women's Liberation Movement.

Therefore, Steinem meets the qualifications as a leader, as cited by Burke,¹¹² for she has named the common enemy as male chauvinist,¹¹³ and she has become a unifying center for the movement. According to Burke, dignity must come first; then it can be implemented so that a person can become the inner voice of a group.¹¹⁴ The leader of the group can then activate the process of identification which results in unity, or consubstantiality.¹¹⁵ Gloria Steinem, in 1962, in her article "The Moral Disarmament of Betty Coed," began to emerge as a voice of the Women's Liberation Movement. Through speaking and writing, she has

emerged as one of the primary leaders and spokeswomen of the movement.

Perhaps, Steinem's rhetoric achieved her goals, for she capitalized on the Burkeian concept of inborn dignity. In "humanistic patterns of thought, a 'natural born' dignity of man is stressed. And this categorical dignity is considered to be an attribute of all men [humanity], if they will but avail themselves of it."¹¹⁶ Steinem utilized the dignity of all women when she stated: "Unlike political philosophies imposed from above, Women's Liberation is a political philosophy that grows out of individual truth, out of women's understanding of their own most intimate problems. It's very personal. It's a thing that says women are not objects or 'playthings' or sources of cheap labor--but that women are full human beings."¹¹⁷

FOOTNOTES

¹Who's Who of American Women, 1972-73 ed. (Chicago: Kingsport Press, 1973), p. 861.

²"Reporters: Thinking Man's Shrimpton," Time, 3 Jan. 1969, p. 38.

³"Thinking Man's Shrimpton," p. 38.

⁴Leonard Levitt, "She: The Awesome Power of Gloria Steinem," Esquire, Oct. 1971, p. 208.

⁵Levitt, p. 208.

⁶Richard Boeth, "Gloria Steinem: A Liberated Woman Despite Beauty, Chic and Success," Newsweek, 16 Aug. 1971, p. 53.

⁷Betty Friedan clarified the term "housewife syndrome:" "During the 1950's psychiatrists, analysts, and doctors in all fields noted that the housewife's syndrome seemed to become increasingly pathological. The mild undiagnosable symptoms--bleeding ulcers, mailaise, nervousness, and fatigue of young housewives--became heart attacks, hypertension, bronchopneumonia; the nameless emotional distress became a psychotic breakdown." Friedan's major premise is that this "problem with no name" resulted from a woman's conscious or unconscious realization that being a wife and mother is not enough. Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1963), pp. 281-282.

⁸Charles Moritz, ed., Current Biography (New York: H. Wilson Company, 1972), p. 412.

⁹Boeth, p. 53.

¹⁰Moritz, p. 412.

¹¹Marilyn Mercer, "Gloria: The Unhidden Persuader," McCall's, Jan. 1972, p. 123.

¹²Boeth, p. 53.

¹³Boeth, p. 53.

¹⁴Levitt, p. 87.

¹⁵Moritz, p. 413.

¹⁶Boeth, pp. 53-54.

¹⁷Boeth, p. 54.

¹⁸Gloria Steinem, "The Moral Disarmament of Betty Coed," Esquire, Sept. 1962, p. 157.

¹⁹Moritz, p. 412.

²⁰The National Organization for Women lists the following goals in striving to overcome the image of woman as a "sexual object": "Right to control our own reproductive lives by repealing laws limiting access to contraception and governing abortion; by supporting wide availability of birth control information and greater understanding of all aspects of human sexuality. Image of women in the mass media . . . insistence upon the portrayal of women in multiple roles as positive, competent, contributing adults--in and out of the home--not as empty-headed decorations." Now Goals (Chicago: National Organization for Women, n.d.), p. 2.

²¹Boeth, p. 54.

²²"Thinking Man's Shrimpton," p. 38.

²³Levitt, p. 200.

²⁴Moritz, p. 413.

²⁵Moritz, p. 413.

²⁶Levitt, p. 214.

²⁷Mercer, p. 124.

²⁸Levitt, p. 87.

²⁹Levitt, p. 87.

³⁰Levitt, p. 89.

³¹Boeth, p. 54.

³²Mercer, p. 124.

- ³³Mercer, p. 125.
- ³⁴Mercer, p. 124.
- ³⁵Mercer, p. 124.
- ³⁶Mercer, p. 124.
- ³⁷Mercer, p. 124.
- ³⁸Levitt, p. 210.
- ³⁹B. J. Phillips, "Women's Liberation Revisited," Time, 20 Mar. 1972, p. 31.
- ⁴⁰Boeth, p. 52.
- ⁴¹Schulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for the Feminist Revolution (New York: William Morrow, 1970), p. 17.
- ⁴²Boeth, p. 53.
- ⁴³Redstocking Manifesto (New York: Redstockings, n.d.). A pamphlet distributed by the Redstocking organization.
- ⁴⁴Boeth, p. 53.
- ⁴⁵According to Dr. Vicki O. Stupp, North Texas State University Speech faculty, Steinem discussed her awareness of the problem and how she became conscious of it during a discussion at the Texas Women's University in the spring of 1972.
- ⁴⁶Boeth, p. 53.
- ⁴⁷Boeth, p. 53.
- ⁴⁸Mercer, p. 124.
- ⁴⁹Gloria Steinem, "Sisterhood," Ms., Spring Preview Issue 1972, p. 48.
- ⁵⁰Elizabeth Gould Davis, The First Sex (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1972), p. 326.
- ⁵¹Levitt, p. 214.
- ⁵²Mercer, p. 125.

- ⁵³Levitt, pp. 202-206.
- ⁵⁴Levitt, p. 214.
- ⁵⁵Levitt, p. 214.
- ⁵⁶Pamela Howard, "Ms. and the Journalism of Women's Lib," Saturday Review, 8 Jan. 1972, p. 43.
- ⁵⁷See Chapter I, p. 27.
- ⁵⁸Gloria Steinem, Speech, Opening Session of the NWPC, 9 Feb. 1972, tape.
- ⁵⁹Gloria Steinem, Southern Methodist University, 3 Feb. 1972, p. 2. The text of the speech was transcribed directly from a tape made during the speech by Dr. Vicki O. Stupp, North Texas State University Speech faculty. The speech text is hereafter referred to as SMU Speech.
- ⁶⁰Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 211.
- ⁶¹SMU Speech, p. 2.
- ⁶²Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose (Los Altos: Hermes Publications, 1954), p. 172.
- ⁶³"Thinking Man's Shrimpton," p. 38.
- ⁶⁴"Thinking Man's Shrimpton," p. 38.
- ⁶⁵"Thinking Man's Shrimpton," p. 38.
- ⁶⁶"Thinking Man's Shrimpton," p. 38.
- ⁶⁷"Thinking Man's Shrimpton," p. 38.
- ⁶⁸Levitt, p. 214.
- ⁶⁹Gloria Steinem, "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," Time, 31 Aug. 1970, p. 22.
- ⁷⁰Steinem, "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," p. 22.
- ⁷¹Steinem, "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," p. 22.
- ⁷²Steinem, "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," p. 22.
- ⁷³Steinem, "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," p. 22.
- ⁷⁴Steinem, "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," p. 23.

- ⁷⁵Boeth, p. 51.
- ⁷⁶Boeth, p. 51.
- ⁷⁷Boeth, p. 54.
- ⁷⁸Boeth, p. 54.
- ⁷⁹Beverly Maurice, "Children Need Fathers At Home--
Steinem," Houston Chronicle, 9 Feb. 1973, p. 16, cols. 4-6.
- ⁸⁰Maurice, p. 16, cols. 4-6.
- ⁸¹Maurice, p. 16, cols. 4-6.
- ⁸²Boeth, p. 55.
- ⁸³Levitt, p. 202.
- ⁸⁴Boeth, p. 55.
- ⁸⁵Mercer, p. 68.
- ⁸⁶Mercer, p. 68.
- ⁸⁷Mercer, p. 68.
- ⁸⁸Mercer, p. 69.
- ⁸⁹Mercer, p. 69.
- ⁹⁰Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 21.
- ⁹¹Mercer, p. 69.
- ⁹²Mercer, p. 69.
- ⁹³Mercer, p. 69.
- ⁹⁴Mercer, p. 69.
- ⁹⁵Levitt, p. 206.
- ⁹⁶Mercer, p. 123.
- ⁹⁷Mercer, p. 125.
- ⁹⁸Liz Smith, "Gloria Steinem: Writer and Social Critic,
Talks About Sex, Politics and Marriage," Redbook, Jan. 1972,
p. 70.

- ⁹⁹Smith, p. 70.
- ¹⁰⁰Smith, pp. 70-71.
- ¹⁰¹Kenneth Burke, A Philosophy of Literary Form (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1941), p. 192.
- ¹⁰²Burke, A Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 192.
- ¹⁰³Burke, A Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 192.
- ¹⁰⁴Steinem, "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," p. 22.
- ¹⁰⁵See Chapter I, p. 12.
- ¹⁰⁶Mercer, p. 68.
- ¹⁰⁷Smith, p. 76.
- ¹⁰⁸This statement is based on my observations of Steinem at the 1973 National Women's Political Caucus.
- ¹⁰⁹See Chapter I, p. 27.
- ¹¹⁰"Gloria Steinem Accuses Publishers of Lib Resistance," The Dallas Morning News, 28 April 1973, p. 19A, cols, 1-6.
- ¹¹¹John Waite Bowers and Donovan J. Ochs, The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 19. Bowers and Ochs defined "legitimizers as individuals within the establishment who endorse some parts of the agitators' ideology."
- ¹¹²Burke, A Philosophy of Literary Form, pp. 191-220.
- ¹¹³Steinem, "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," p. 22.
- ¹¹⁴Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, pp. 191-220.
- ¹¹⁵Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, pp. 191-220.
- ¹¹⁶Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 202.
- ¹¹⁷Smith, p. 72.

CHAPTER III

CONTEXT OF CIRCUMSTANCES

Introduction

The scene or context of situation or circumstances involving verbal as well as non-verbal elements¹ may be limited or enlarged to focus on the area or areas which the critic wishes to examine. According to Burke, the "nonverbal scene or context of situation is capable of being defined in terms of various scope or 'circumference'."² In Language As Symbolic Action, Burke illustrated the concept of varying circumference:

(For instance, I am writing these words "in Florida this January," or "during a lull in the bombing of North Vietnam," or "in a period prior to a soft landing of electronic instruments on the surface of the moon," and so on.) Thus, the same act can be defined "differently," depending upon the "circumference" of the scene or overall situation in terms of which we choose to locate it.³

Burke also stated that the context of circumstances is "symbolic" of something, representative of "acts, images, personalities, and situations" which disclose universal properties, such as heroism, villainy, consolation, and despair⁴ which are included in the social trends of a specific time period. Following this principle, the

critic may define the context of circumstances surrounding a speech act more easily. The "associational clusters" found in a given time period⁵ expose the general patterns of thought held by the inhabitants of that time period. The method by which the symbol-using animal operates within a specific context of circumstances is language usage. According to Burke, "language is the scene and operates as a motive in all experiences possible to man. Even if the act is non-verbal, it must be affected in some way by the symbolic ingredient language usage that is intrinsic to the human mind and constitutes a part of man's essence."⁶

Courtship,⁷ encompassing the suasive devices used by one class to win the cooperation of a different class within the social system, is included in the Burkeian hierarchial concept of social mobility. Surrounding the struggles involved in a hierarchial system are the Burkeian concepts of mystery and myth.⁸ Out of social mystery, rise myths concerning the groups on each rung of the hierarchial ladder. The Burkeian concepts of the circumference of the context of circumstances and hierarchy are of particular use in analyzing the rhetoric of a movement leader, such as Gloria Steinem, spokeswoman for the Women's Liberation Movement;⁹ for the context of circumstances surrounding the Women's Liberation Movement encompasses many areas-- public and private, personal and political.

Context of Circumstances--Women's Liberation

In Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement, editor Robin Morgan included a statement concerning where the movement exists and how it could be defined:

You [women] are women's liberation. This is not a movement one "joins." There are no rigid structures or membership cards. The Women's Liberation Movement exists where three or four friends or neighbors decide to meet regularly over coffee and talk about their personal lives. It also exists in the cells of women's jails, on the welfare lines, in the supermarket, the factory, the convent, the farm, the maternity ward, the street corner, the old ladies' homes, the kitchen, the stenopool, the bed. It exists in your mind, and in the political and personal insights that you can contribute to change and shape and help its growth. It is frightening. It is very exhilarating. It is creating history, or rather, herstory.¹⁰

It is within these varied environments that women seek to change the social structure which they believe oppresses them. There exists many areas concerning Women's Liberation which should be discussed before examining the exact context of circumstances surrounding Steinem's speech at Southern Methodist University on February 3, 1972; the publication of Ms. magazine in the spring of 1972; and Steinem's speech at the National Women's Political Caucus on February 9, 1973.

The Women's Liberation Movement did not emerge without warning in American society. The movement began a

"long struggle to break free from the oppressive power structures set up by Nature and reinforced by man."¹¹

The context of circumstances surrounding the Women's Liberation Movement in the United States today had its roots in the age of technology and industrialization which swept over America during the nineteenth century.¹² Furthermore, the Movement could even be traced to the burning of some eight million witches (women) during the Dark and Middle Ages. Women in that context of circumstances perished by order of the "Church for their independent political thoughts, for religion was the politics of that period."¹³

The purpose of this study is not to cover a historical background of the Women's Liberation Movement nor to give a background of Women's Suffrage; a history of the Movement may be found among the numerous works which have been published concerning the Women's Liberation Movement.¹⁴

Since this study considers the Women's Liberation Movement as it exists in contemporary society in America, it includes the context of circumstances from 1963 to the present.

The publication of The Feminine Mystique (1963), written by Betty Friedan, "set off a new wave of feminism in the United States and has continued to be one of the major texts of the women's liberation movement."¹⁵ In The Feminine Mystique, Friedan defined the feminine mystique as an ethic that stressed:

That the highest value and the only commitment for women is fulfillment of their femininity. It says that the great mistake of Western culture, through most of its history, has been the undervaluation of this femininity The root of women's troubles in the past is that women envied men. Women tried to be like men, instead of accepting their own nature, which can find fulfillment only in sexual passivity, male domination, and nurturing love.¹⁶

After reading The Feminine Mystique, many women across the United States became aware of their oppression.¹⁷ Their consciousness was "raised,"¹⁸ and the Women's Liberation Movement in contemporary American society began to gather renewed momentum. In Women in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness, editors Vivian Gornick, staff writer for The Village Voice in New York City, and Barbara K. Moran, editor of Woman's Day Magazine, commented as follows on the American woman's newly found revelation:

The political nature of woman's condition has only rarely been recognized and never fully understood. Woman has lived, almost always, as the subordinate member of the species, defined as biologically and physically limited--to be given, at best, a place of protection or of benign neglect. This relationship of women to men has been readily accepted by civilization after civilization In modern times white men have claimed that the subjugation of black is merely proof that whites rule by virtue of their "natural" superiority. And, unflinching, . . . when those who occupy the inferior space on the board begin the long push upward toward the announcement of their full humanity, the hue and cry ensuing from those in the position of thoughtless and essentially unearned superiority is that the "natural" order of things is being challenged--and surely the earth must open and the heaven will fall if things are permitted to go on much longer like this.

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In the 1960's The Negro Problem became racism; from there to Black Power was only a very short distance to travel. In 1970 The Woman Question became sexism, and the distance to travel to the open realization of the political nature of man's condition in society is but very brief, indeed. For as it is in psychoanalysis, so it is in social-political life: to name the thing by its rightful name is to begin to alter its power. To recognize the political nature of woman's condition, to see that it constitutes one-half of a binding relation of power to powerlessness, to see further that the power conceives of itself as predicated on the continuing life of the powerlessness, is vital to any understanding of women's liberation and of the women's liberation movement.

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 As blacks and women explored their own weakness and failures, they found that their misery was not individual but common to their class. They began to see that beyond electoral politics, beyond even the politics of money, prestige, and real power, there were the politics of role and relationship, and more subtle, and perhaps more final, the politics of personality.

Women were the last to reach this realization largely because women were so thoroughly isolated--cut off from society within the confines of the family, each dependent for security upon her own male, in aggressive competition with one another, and prevented from articulating many of her grievances by the tacit understanding that there is nothing more unpleasant, unworthy, and unattractive than an unhappy woman.¹⁹

As soon as women became aware and conscious of their oppression, groups began to form to support and further the cause of women's rights in the United States. The beginning of such organization occurred in 1964, when Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, a young Black woman who was a founder of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, "wrote a paper on the position of women in that organization In 1965, Casey Hayden and Mary King, two white

women who had been active in S.N.C.C. and civil-rights organization for years, wrote an article on women in the Movement for the now defunct journal Studies on the Left.²⁰ Concerning the growth of women's rights organizations, Morgan stated:

Women began to form caucuses within Movement organizations where they worked, men's reactions ranged from fury to derision. In 1966, women who demanded that a plank on women's liberation be inserted in the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) resolution that year were pelted with tomatoes and thrown out of the convention. But the caucuses went on forming, and gradually became small groups on their own, as women more and more came to see the necessity of an independent women's movement, creating its own theory, politics, tactics, and directing itself toward goals in its own self-interest (which was also the self interest of more than half the world's population).²¹

The number of women's rights groups which have evolved since 1964 continued to grow as the awareness of women's problems grows across the country,²² and there exist several groups of national importance. First, among the most publicized organizations is the National Organization for Women (NOW), founded by Betty Friedan. The National Organization for Women began in 1966, as a civil rights organization "pledged to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society . . . exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men."²⁴ NOW has been comprised mostly of middle and upper-middle-class women and has been

almost the "only group in the women's movement to allow male members."²⁵ According to Morgan, NOW has "about fifty chapters in forty states," and has been labelled the 'NAACP of the women's movement' because it fights within the system."²⁶ Friedan, president of NOW from 1966 to 1970, commented on the purpose of NOW in an essay, "Our Revolution Is Unique":

We do not speak for every woman in American, but we speak for the right of every woman in America to become all she is capable of becoming--on her own or in partnership with a man. And we already know that we speak not for a few, but for hundreds, not for thousands, but for millions--especially in the younger generation who have asked more equality than their elders. We know this simply from the resonance, if you will, that our actions have aroused in society We must begin to use the power of our actions: to make women finally visible as people in America, as conscious political and social power; to change our society now, so all women can move freely, as people, in it.²⁷

The current task before NOW is to push for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by three-fourths of the state legislatures in the United States.²⁸ As of March 15, 1973, twenty-eight states had ratified the Equal Rights Amendment.²⁹

Another organization of national importance is the National Women's Political Caucus, formed in July, 1971.³⁰ Leading the convention of three hundred women were Gloria Steinem and Representatives Bella Abzug and Shirley Chisholm.³¹ Chisholm commented in Newsweek on the substance of the National Women's Political Caucus: "The NWPC is not to be

the cutting edge of the women's liberation movement but the weight and muscle."³² The statement of purpose adopted July 11, 1971, by the National Women's Political Caucus encompasses most issues and topics of the Women's Liberation Movement:

The National Women's Political Caucus was formed in July 1971 to awaken, organize and assert the vast political power represented by women--54% of the voting population. The organization is a coalition of women from various backgrounds, economic levels, and political affiliations who have united in the interest of all women.

The National Women's Political Caucus hopes to reach out to women across the country:

-To every woman who sits at home with a little control over her own life, much less the powerful institutions of this country, wondering if there isn't more to life than this.

-To every woman whose abilities have been wasted by second class, subservient, underpaid, or powerless positions to which female beings are consigned.

-To every woman who must go on welfare because, even when she can get a job, she makes about half the money paid to a man for the same work.

-To every minority woman who has endured the stigma of being twice-different from the white male ruling class.

-To every woman who has experienced the ridicule or hostility reserved by this country--and often by its political leaders--for women who dare to express the hopes and ambitions that are natural to every human being.

We believe that women must take action to unite against sexism, racism, institutional violence and poverty. We will:

-Rally national and local support for the campaigns of women candidates--federal, state and local--who declare themselves ready to fight for the rights and needs of women, and of all under-represented groups.

-Confront our own party structures, and, when necessary, cross party lines or work outside formal political parties in support of such women.

-Train women to organize caucuses on a state and local level.

-Reform party structure to assure women of all ages, races and socio-economic groups equal voice in decision-making and selection of candidates at all levels--federal, state, county and precinct.

-Register new women voters and encourage women to vote for women's priorities.

-Raise women's issues in every election and publicize the records on such issues of all male and female candidates, so that they shall be made to rise or fall on their position and action for human equality.

-Give active support only to those candidates for public or party office, whether male or female, who support women's issues and employ women in decision-making positions on their administrative and campaign staffs.

-Monitor the selection of delegates to the presidential nominating conventions for the purpose of challenging those delegations where the number and qualifications of the women delegates are unacceptable.

-Insist that there be no token female representation, that the women selected to give equal voice to women actually represent the views of women, and not merely to echo the unacceptable views of men.

-Draft and support legislation to meet the needs of women.

-Form coalitions with other oppressed groups and all humane groups which share goals of fighting against racism, sexism, and violence and poverty.³³

In addition to the National Women's Political Caucus and the National Organization for Women, other groups with more specific area goals have been established. Those organizations primarily interested in legal aid against job discrimination include the Human Rights for Women, Women's Equity Action League, and Women's Legal Defense

Fund Organization.³⁴ Political action involving women is the main interest of the League of Women Voters, Network for Economic Rights, and Women United.³⁵ Also, speaker's bureaus for Women's Liberation have been formed, such as the New Feminist Talent Collective and Movement Speakers.³⁶ Other organizations in related areas are the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, the Association for the Study of Abortion, and the National Association of Media Women.³⁷

City and state organizations have also been formed since 1966 including the following: Bread and Roses (Boston), the Southern Female Rights Union (New Orleans), New York Radical Feminists (New York City), Female Liberation (Nashville), The Women's Center (Berkeley), Sojourner Truth's Disciples (Philadelphia), Women's Majority Union (Seattle), and Women for Change (Dallas).³⁸ Dallas Women for Change is of importance in this study, for this organization sponsored the meeting at which Steinem delivered the Southern Methodist University speech on February 3, 1972, in Fincher Auditorium on the Southern Methodist University Campus. Kay Crosby, reporter for The Dallas Morning News, commented on the meeting: "Enthusiastic supporters filled every chair, aisle, and even the stage itself, and the program was piped by closed circuit television to other parts of the building for those who couldn't crowd into the auditorium."³⁹ It is

probable that many women attending the meeting in Dallas held views on topics concerning women's rights similar to the views published by the Women for Change organization of Dallas. The objectives of Women for Change included:

- seek to achieve its interrelated objectives through several action task forces;
- develop a system for referral to city agencies, groups and resources, over 50 of which are especially related to women's issues;
- design courses to respond to needs as recognized.
- develop unique counseling experiences especially designed for women.
- seek to gather the forces interested and able to establish long range positive solutions to Dallas' need for high-quality day care.
- examine roles of government at all levels, business and industry, schools, private charities, and individuals in providing day care.
- work for elimination of sex bias in textbooks, counseling, athletic programs and extra-curricular activities in public education.
- work for inclusion of women in higher echelon of teaching and administration.
- plan research to influence decision-makers in public education.
- work for equal opportunities in hiring, training, compensation, advancement and retirement.
- encourage flexible employment scheduling and job-pairing.
- encourage women's study programs in higher education.
- assisted year long study on status of women at SMU that brought constructive change, and continues to monitor and expand the results and make them known to other regional educational institutions.
- urge all media to give fair coverage to the women's movement and the valid issues it has raised.
- seek ways to change damaging stereotyping in programs and commercials.
- seek, encourage and endorse women's participation in the political process at all levels.
- seek and support qualified candidates for public office.
- lobby for women's issues.

- work for improvement in Family Law.
- use legal recourse to eliminate discrimination.⁴⁰

The Dallas Women for Change organization was started at a meeting on October 16, 1971. The purpose of the meeting was to create an "organization directed to the special interests of women through the creation of a Women's Center, which would support and undergird individuals and groups, initiate change and provide fresh channels for education, communication, and action."⁴¹ The attendance at the October meeting was three hundred, of which two hundred fifty became the initial membership. By the summer of 1972, the membership was seven hundred.⁴² The organization's increase in membership could possibly be attributed to the interest in the Women's Liberation Movement which had been generated by Gloria Steinem in the spring of 1972, at Fincher Auditorium on the Southern Methodist University Campus.

Also involved in the cluster of conditions surrounding the context of circumstances on February 3, 1972, were the paramount issues of the Women's Liberation Movement. First, the United States Supreme Court had begun hearings on the abortion laws of Texas, in the case of Roe vs. Wade, and Georgia in the case of Doe vs. Bolton. Women in the Dallas area could be directly involved in the abortion issue by participating in the Abortion Education Committee of Dallas. Other issues of great importance during the particular time period included credit discrimination because

of sex, sterner enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and hiring practices in colleges and universities. At the time, February 1972, there was already a suit filed against Southern Methodist University for discriminatory hiring practices and female faculty salaries. Of similar importance upon the context of circumstances was the political atmosphere in Texas. Frances Tarleton Farenthold, a forty-six year-old Texas Legislator, a reformer, and a woman, had announced her intentions to run in the Texas gubernatorial primary that coming May. Women for Change was already in the process of a vigorous campaign for Farenthold. Furthermore, twelve Dallas County area women were going to run for places in the United States Congress, in the State House of Representatives or on the State Board of Education. Therefore, when Steinem spoke at Southern Methodist University to an audience, composed mostly of Dallas area women, it can possibly be concluded that the consciousness of that particular group in that particular situation was ready and receptive to the ideas and changes which Steinem advocated. In terms of a Burkeian rhetorical analysis, the goals, objectives, and values held by the women attending the Southern Methodist University meeting during which Steinem gave her address are important to this study, for they constituted the associational clusters found in the context of circumstances at that specific time, February 3, 1972.

The national, state, and local organizations existing for the advancement of women's rights demonstrate the political and public areas of the Women's Liberation Movement, but the Movement also exists on the purely personal level. The primary method used to explore the personal levels involved in the Women's Liberation Movement is "'consciousness-raising,' formulated first in relation to women's groups by Kathie Sarachild."⁴³ In the March 1973 issue of Ms. magazine, Letty Cottin Pogrebin, a representative of the movement, gave her personal testimony concerning the effect of consciousness-raising on her interest in the Women's Liberation Movement:

In my prefeminist days I believed only in strong women who went out to change their own lives; women who broke down discrimination barriers by being twice as smart; women who didn't need help. Worst of all, my concept of "getting together with the girls" conjured up images of a bitching session or a warm bath in self-pity. Since that time I, like many of us, have become a proselytizer for the consciousness-raising process. I gave up the protective device of exempting myself from Woman's Condition. I stopped saying and thinking that other women are "them"--because I realized that when anything was said about what women can or cannot do, my "objective distance" did not let me out of the dragnet. Like a convert to the female sex, I became "us."

After a decade of reveling in being called the "exception," I recognized that tokenism is the price that society's conscience pays to injustice. If a few of us could make it, then, it can be claimed, nothing is wrong with the system.

Finally I wanted not to stand apart from other women, but to bond with them. Women's groups have facilitated that bonding.⁴⁴

Through the consciousness-raising groups, women have become aware of their situation in American society. Burke expressed the theory that the "phenomenon of consciousness" grows out of a situation when there is conflict over fundamental attitudes and out of this conflict grows divisiveness. This conflict will occur when humans become aware of their condition; for if humans live in misery, they become sensitive to it.⁴⁵ The "phenomenon of consciousness" occurring within the female population of the United States could be considered a generating principle behind the spread of the Women's Liberation Movement.

Women's Liberation--Primary Topics

This study does not presume to examine fully all the issues and areas of the Women's Liberation Movement, but a discussion of the foremost topics is important in analyzing the rhetoric of Steinem. The context of circumstances surrounding any social and rhetorical movement may be considered as the substance of a movement which can be found in the topics of a movement, including moral and ethical standards, group relations, goal pursual, and conditions of oppression. In Burkeian criticism, the varying parts of the context of circumstances can all be considered vital to the situation in which symbolic action, language usage, occurs.

An area of importance and of concern in the Women's Liberation Movement is equality within the educational system. In The Feminine Mystique, Friedan confronted the problem of educators:

This kind of education "family-minded education" , in the name of life-adjustment, became a fact on many campuses, high-school as well as college. It was not dreamed up to turn back the growth of women, but it surely helped. When American educators finally began to investigate the waste of our national resources of creative intelligence, they found that the lost Einsteins, Schweitzers, Roosevelts, Edisons, Fords, Fermis, Frosts were feminine Sometimes a girl wanted to take a hard subject, but was advised against it by a guidance counselor or teacher that it was a waste of time Education should, and can, make a person "broad in outlook, and open to new experience, independent and disciplined in his thinking, deeply committed to some productive activity, possessed of convictions based on understanding of the world and on his own integration of personality." The main barrier to such growth in girls is their own rigid preconception of woman's role, which sex-directed educators reinforce, either explicitly or by not facing their own ability and responsibility to break through it.⁴⁶

In 1970, seven years after the publication of The Feminine Mystique, Kate Millet published Sexual Politics, her doctoral dissertation for Columbia University, which is an analysis of the political relationship between men and women in literature--"a relationship based on male dominance and female submission."⁴⁷ In Sexual Politics, Millet discussed higher education and its relationship to women:

Since education and economy are so closely related in the advanced nations, it is significant that the general level and style of higher education for women, particularly in their many remaining segregated institutions, is closer to that of Renaissance humanism than to the skills of mid-twentieth century scientific and technological society While modern patriarchies have fairly recently opened all educational levels to women, the kind and quality is not the same.⁴⁸

The complaint that a "college that does not relate to the needs of its students and pretends that its education will solve the 'inequalities' of women within the society is dishonest"⁴⁹ is often expressed. To be of use, education must be relevant, and changes which have occurred within American society indicate that woman's role is changing.

Even in the public schools, education's value for the female student has been challenged. An eighth grade girl Connie Dvorkin reported: "I could see all the brainwashing of my sisters that goes on at school. It starts almost the instant they are born, by their mothers, and by their fathers encouraging the boys to take an interest in cars, baseball, etc., and discouraging girls."⁵⁰ When Dvorkin enrolled to take a shop class rather than home economics, she was met with the age-old statement, "It was traditional to take home economics."⁵¹ Discrimination in education occurs on all levels. A New York City high school girl commented: "All girls have been brought up by this society never being able to be themselves--the school

system has reinforced this. My desire at this time is to change the educational system to benefit all students."⁵²

The area of sex discrimination in education is a vast problem, which includes unequal salaries for male and female teachers, the failure to promote women to full professorship, and the reluctance to admit women into formerly male-dominated areas, such as medicine, law, architecture, and engineering. One of the goals of the National Organization for Women concerns education opportunities which must be "secured by federal and state legislation eliminating sex discrimination at all levels of education, and providing loans, scholarships, fellowships, grants and training programs under government auspices on an equal basis with males, including on-the-job training programs."⁵³ Other grievances concerning education are listed as goals to be overcome by the NOW organization, which calls for a reorientation of the educational system by the "elimination of unnecessary segregation and separatism in facilities and curricula for girls and boys; removal of admission quotas based on sex; assurance of non-sexist academic and vocational counseling; curriculum provisions for 'women's studies' and other programs recognizing the participation of women in history."⁵⁴

In contrast to the public and economic aspects of women and education, there exists the personal and private

areas of marriage, which include problems concerning bearing and rearing children, divorce laws, paid maternity leave, the right of a married woman to personally own property, the promotion of marriage as an equal partnership, and, perhaps most important, woman's role-definition and identity. Woman's search for identity "did not begin in America until the fire and strength and ability of the pioneer women were no longer needed, no longer used, in the middle-class homes of Eastern and mid-western cities, when the pioneering was done and men began to build the new society in industries and professions outside the home."⁵⁵ Friedan based The Feminine Mystique on women's search for identity. On the "problem which has no name," she wrote:

The feminists saw clearly that education and the right to participate in the more advanced work of society were women's greatest needs We know that the same range of potential ability exists for women as for men. Women, as well as men, can only find their identity in work that uses their full capacities. A woman cannot find her identity through others--her husband, her children. She cannot find it in the dull routine of housework. As thinkers of every age have said, it is only when a human being faces squarely the fact that he can forfeit his own life, that he becomes truly aware of himself, and beginning to take his existence seriously.⁵⁶

Also involved in a woman's search for identity is the balance of equality within a marriage relationship. Pat Mainardi, a member of the New York City Redstockings,

exposed views on marriage and the inequalities seen in the institution of marriage in an essay, "The Politics of Housework." The following dialogue is representative of the feelings of most American males, according to Mainardi:

The longer my husband contemplated these chores [housework], the more repulsed he became, and so preceeded to change from the normally sweet, considerate Dr. Jekyll into the crafty Mr. Hyde, who would stop at nothing to avoid the horrors of--housework So ensued a dialogue that's been going on for years.

"I don't mind doing housework, but I don't do it very well. We should each do the things we're best at."

Meaning: Unfortunately I'm no good at things like washing dishes or cooking.

"I don't mind sharing the work, but you'll have to show me how to do it."

Meaning: I ask a lot of questions and you have to show me everything everytime I do it because I don't remember so good. Also don't try to sit down and read while I'm doing my jobs because I'm going to annoy the hell out of you until it's easier to do them yourself.

"Housework is too trivial to even talk about."

Meaning: It's even more trivial to do. Housework is beneath my status. My real purpose in life is to deal with matters of significance. Yours is to deal with matters of insignificance. You should do the housework.

"Man's accomplishments have always depended on getting help from other people, mostly women. What great man would have accomplished what he did if he had to do his own housework?"

Meaning: Oppression is built into the System and I, as the white American male receive the benefits of this System. I don't want to give them up.⁵⁷

The preceding example is typical of much that has been written about the institution of marriage. Studies have

indicated that "the regulations imposed on the woman by marriage are always more stringent than those imposed on men. Thus, she loses more and gains less from the institution."⁵⁸ In "The Paradox of the Happy Marriage," Jessie Bernard, Research Scholar in Sociology at Pennsylvania State University, summed up woman's stake in marriage: "Because women have to put so many more eggs in the one basket of marriage, they have more of a stake in its stability. Because their happiness is more dependent on marriage than men's, they have to pay more for it. All the studies show that women make more concessions."⁵⁹

A great number of volumes, articles, and surveys concerning marriage, love, sexuality and social condition of women have been published in the last ten years.⁶⁰ The general thesis of these works concerned the myths surrounding the sexuality and potential of women in a male-oriented society. But the major concern was one which evaluated the relationship of one person to another, particularly woman to man. Works contributing to women's attitudes on love, sexuality and marriage include The Dialectic of Sex by Schulamith Firestone, The Female Eunuch by Germaine Greer, The Second Sex by Simone de Beauvoir, and the large number of articles being published by Ms.

Carl Rodgers, noted clinical psychiatrist and lecturer, discussed the dynamics of interpersonal relationship in

On Becoming a Person. Rodgers listed the characteristics of a healthy relationship:

If I can create a relationship characterized on my part:

by a genuineness and transparency, in which I am my real feelings,

by warm acceptance of and prizing of the other person as a separate individual;

by a sensitive ability to see his world and himself as he sees them.

Then the other individual in the relationship:

will experience and understand aspects of himself which previously he has repressed;

will be more self-directing and self-confident;

will become more of a person, more unique and more self-expressive;

will be able to cope with the problems of life more adequately and more comfortably.

It seems to me that we have here a general hypothesis which offers exciting possibilities for the development of creative, adaptive, autonomous persons.⁶¹

Steinem's statement concerning marriage in a recent interview is directly related to Rodger's definition of a healthy relationship, for Steinem believes that marriage as it exists today is not a relationship based on equality. In the interview "Gloria Steinem, Writer and Social Critic, Talks about Sex, Politics, and Marriage," she stated:

I believe it is possible for two people to live together in a loving, equal partnership, but the legal institution of marriage works against that. It's still based on the old English principle that a married couple are one person and that person is the man. When a woman married she loses many of her civil rights. In some states she can't use her own name any more without her husband's permission; she can't establish a legal residence or sign a credit agreement or incorporate a business. It varies, but in every state she loses a large part of her civil rights, becomes a legal child again.⁶²

Steinem also commented on an individual's right to remain single:

To remain single, not to have children, not to marry, to live communally or never to live with anyone or for a woman to live with another woman or a man to live with a man--all these should be honorable personal choices. We change as we grow, but because of what society is or says, we often end up thinking there is something wrong with us.⁶³

Out of the problems surrounding marriage have come other issues relevant to the Women's Liberation Movement. Such issues as divorce legality, alimony, child care and custody, and the legalization of abortion and right to sterilization are paramount within the Movement. Congresswoman Bella Abzug has introduced House Bills 246, 247, and 248 to outlaw discrimination in lending and retail credit on the basis of sex or marital status.⁶⁴ Previously a divorced woman has been a "nonperson," unable to make application for and receive credit in many areas of the United States.⁶⁵

In addition to the legalities concerning divorce and property, the right for abortion to terminate unwanted pregnancies has been a cause of the Women's Liberation Movement. "Until January 22, 1973, almost every state in the Union" had laws preventing abortion,⁶⁶ allowing abortion only under specific conditions, such as impregnation by rape. The right of women to control their own reproductive lives

is a major goal of the National Organization of Women. Roberta Brandes Gratz, in an article "Never Again" in Ms. magazine, April 1973, stated:

The whole abortion debate has always been as much emotional as legal. For the patriarchal structure to give up control of women, especially the most fundamental control of women's bodies as the means of reproduction, means the loss of an emotional and actual sense of superiority The situation has been illogical from the start: a surrealistic nightmare of rhetoric in which everything appears in the reverse or out of proportion, or upside down.⁶⁷

The abortion issue is a very personal one, and opinions concerning abortion vary within the Women's Liberation Movement. However, the flood of data and articles concerning⁶⁸ abortion can be considered an influencing factor in the context of circumstances surrounding the Women's Liberation Movement.

In addition to issues involving personal decisions, there are the issues concerning women in business. Equal pay for equal work is a major concern of such organizations as the Woman's Equity Action League and the National Organization for Women. The working American woman has discovered that "she gets \$3,458 less than a man with equal qualifications. That's 2% worse than the Old Constitutional definition of a slave as 3/5 of a person."⁶⁹ There have been numerous studies and articles published concerning discrimination against the working woman. A recent study "A Woman Is 58% of a Man . . ." published in Psychology Today in

March 1973 by Teresa E. Levitin, Robert P. Quinn, and Graham L. Staines, exposed major grievances and issues in the area of business and employment:

Discrimination. We found, overall, that the average woman earned \$4,372 less than the average man. But we needed to know how much of this discrepancy was attributable to legitimate factors and how much to discrimination. We therefore had to determine how much a woman should earn. To answer this question we first found out how men were paid on the basis of their achievement scores. That is, we calculated what a man could expect to earn given his education, occupational status, job tenure, and so on. A woman with the same qualifications, we argued, legitimately deserved to earn the same income. We then defined objective sex discrimination as the difference between how much a woman actually earned and how much she ought to have earned on the basis of her achievement scores.

We expected to find some discrimination, but we were hardly prepared for the enormous discrepancy that we found. The average woman actually got \$3,458 less than she should have. We further found that the median woman would have to earn 71 per cent more than her current salary to equal the income of a man with her achievement scores.

The discrepancies between a woman's expected income and her actual salary were often extraordinary. (Schoolteachers were far overrepresented among the biggest economic losers. That is, of 12 cases in which women were earning from \$7,000 to \$11,832 less than their achievement scores would have predicted, eight were teachers--although teachers make up only six per cent of all working women.)

.....
 It turned out that fully 95 per cent of the women were earning less than they deserved: 34 per cent, by a margin of \$3,000 less than male equals; 50 per cent, by a margin from \$3,000 to \$5,999; and 11 per cent, by a margin of \$6,000 or more. (We must compare this 95 per cent for women with a reference point of 50 per cent, not zero. Even among persons not discriminated against, half would earn at least slightly more, and half would earn at least slightly less, than their expected

scores due to random errors in prediction.) To see which women faced greatest discrimination, we divided the sample into two groups: those who lost \$3,500 or more in income and those who lost less than \$3,500. Those who were most discriminated against tended to be:

1. the youngest (16 to 29 years old) and the oldest (55 and older).
2. white collar more than blue collar.
3. working in a professional, technical, managerial, clerical or sales position.
4. not enrolled as members of a union.
5. employed in relatively small companies (fewer than 500 employees), rather than large ones.

Occupation and collar color were the only two of these five factors that showed a strong relationship to economic sex discrimination. Unionization and company size were only weakly connected with discrimination.⁷⁰

Further grievances and issues involved in Women's Liberation include the treatment and presentation of women by the communications media. The prevalent image of women as presented by advertising is the woman, "adorable in her not-very-bright submissiveness, charming in her childlike delight in shiny floors, even forgivable in her spiteful competition for the whitest, brightest wash. The Madison Avenue's girl next door is all the American male could wish for--unless, by some miscarriage, he should fancy human companionship."⁷¹ This image of women projected by advertising and television has been explored by Lucy Komisar in "The Image of Women in Advertising."

The real life mirrors are the media, and for women the most invidious mirror of all is advertising Advertising today is not subliminal, but its subtle psychological effect is as devastating as any secret message flashing at high speeds to unsuspecting viewers. Advertising exploits and reinforces the myths of

woman's place with messages of such infinite variety and number that one might as easily deny that the earth revolves around the sun as entirely reject their influence. Advertising is an insidious propaganda machine for a male supremacist society. It spews out images of women as sex mates, housekeepers, mothers and menial workers--images that perhaps reflect the true status of most women in society, but which also make it increasingly difficult for women to break out of the sexist stereotypes that imprison them Ironically, it may be the ludicrous and humiliating exaggerations of advertising itself that force some women to confront the reality of their subservient position and lead them to demand the changes that will bring them a new humanity and liberation.⁷²

Concerning the image of women in the mass media, the National Organization for Women has listed "the insistence upon the portrayal of women in multiple roles as positive, competent, contributing adults--in and out of the home--not as empty-headed decorations"⁷³ as a goal for the organization.

In addition to the topics already discussed, the issues concerning women in politics have been of importance in the Women's Liberation Movement. As already illustrated, the goals and objectives of the National Women's Political Caucus encompass woman's place in politics. Such political figures as Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm, Pat Schroeder, and Mary Coleman have been active in advising women on the "hows" of getting elected in American politics.⁷⁴ Congresswomen Abzug and Chisholm have been actively pursuing the passage of legislation in Congress which will benefit women and

childcare programs.⁷⁵ Also relevant to the context of circumstances surrounding the National Women's Political Caucus in Houston, February 1973, was the rise of women to political positions which occurred during the 1972 election year. The McGovern quota system had called for equal representative of minority groups at the National Democratic Convention. In 1968, only thirteen per cent of the delegates had been women at the National Democratic Convention. In 1972, women made up forty per cent of the delegates. "For the first time a woman, Jan Westwood from Utah, had been made chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee. For the first time ever a woman was made vice-chairman of the Texas Democratic Party."⁷⁶ Also, the nominations of Shirley Chisholm and Frances Farenthold for the Presidential ticket at the 1972 National Democratic Convention had further indicated the rising power of women in politics. Steinem had made the speech nominating Farenthold at the convention, and Farenthold had run "a close second to McGovern's own choice of Tom Eagleton."⁷⁷ Farenthold was elected as the new chairwoman of the National Women's Political Caucus on February 11, 1973, in Houston. In the United States Congress, fourteen women were elected; nine of them were incumbents. Also, Probate Judge Mary Coleman was elected to serve as the first woman on the

Michigan Supreme Court.⁷⁸ The cluster of conditions surrounding the Houston meeting could perhaps be considered a celebration for the Women's Liberation Movement. Also included as a victory, in addition to the political gains of women, was the Supreme Court Decision on January 22, 1973, which declared state anti-abortion laws unconstitutional. Steinem is involved in the political issues in the Women's Liberation Movement as she is a member of the Policy Council of the National Women's Political Caucus. Also, Steinem has been active in national politics as was stated in Chapter II of this study.

Equally important among the issues of the Movement are the discriminations against women in other related areas. Sex discrimination in the field of medicine exists in medical schools, hospitals, and in the treatment of women patients.⁷⁹ In the arts and literature, women have been considered inferior in terms of talent and creativity.⁸⁰ Also, religious institutions are being criticized for the limits imposed on women in the clergy.⁸¹ And finally, the relationship of women to broader social issues has been ignored. The National Organization for Women issued this statement: "NOW actively supports efforts to eradicate racism; provide freedom from want; achieve a universal end to war; protect the right to define and express individual sexuality and choose ones own lifestyle; and promote the

common cause of equal rights for all who suffer discrimination, deprivation, and exclusion."⁸²

Conclusion

As previously stated, this study does not attempt to present and analyze all of the topics and historical events in the Women's Liberation Movement. A discussion of the major topics, however, is important to an analysis of the rhetoric of Gloria Steinem, for the topics have had or will have potential influence on the audience members hearing an address by Steinem. It can be assumed that the audience at Southern Methodist University on February 3, 1972, probably had been influenced in varying degrees by literature, media, and personal experiences related to the major topics of the Women's Liberation Movement.

According to Burke, the speaker must be aware of the kinds of appeals common to a particular group. As all humans have the potential to participate in recurring universal experiences, the speaker may assume that audience members may be in sympathy with the major concerns of a movement. Therefore, the properties which rise out of universal experience directly influence the context of circumstances in which symbolic action occurs.

The cluster of conditions involved in the context of circumstances surrounding the Women's Liberation Movement

may be considered as a determinant of the existing situation which Steinem encountered in Dallas in 1972. Steinem had to adjust to this particular situation in order to achieve maximum persuasive effect on the audience. To induce cooperation, Steinem acknowledged the characteristics of that particular group of women in Dallas. In other words, the context of circumstances had to be narrowed to the Dallas area specifically. But the context of circumstances in Dallas on February 3, 1972, was, and must be recognized as, a part of the larger context of circumstances, the Women's Liberation Movement. Also, the Women's Liberation Movement, viewed as the context of circumstances, influenced the publication and rhetorical effectiveness of Ms. magazine, edited by Steinem. And finally, the National Women's Political Caucus in Houston on February 9, 1973, must be considered as a part of the Women's Liberation scene.

Burke stated that "the situation in which words are uttered can never be passed over as irrelevant."⁸³ The elements of homogeneity, occupation, moral and ethical standards and group relations affect the context of the situation, requiring the speaker to adjust to these circumstances. Persuasion must occur in a situation where men are pursuing the same goal. The discussion of the issues, topics, grievances and personalities involved in the Women's Liberation Movement demonstrated that there

exists conflict over fundamental attitudes within American society. Chapter IV analyzes the rhetoric of Steinem as an attempt to induce the cooperation of women in reshaping the environment which oppresses them.

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FOOTNOTES

¹Kenneth Burke, Language As Symbolic Action (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 359.

²Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, p. 359.

³Burke, Language As Symbolic Action, pp. 359-360.

⁴Kenneth Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1941), p. 20.

⁵Burke, Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 20.

⁶William H. Rueckert, Kenneth Burke and the Drama of Human Relations (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), p. 134.

⁷See Chapter I, p. 25.

⁸See Chapter I, pp. 24-25.

⁹Marilyn Mercer, "Gloria Steinem: Woman of the Year," McCall's, Jan. 1972, p. 67.

¹⁰Robin Morgan, Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. xxxvii.

¹¹Schulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1970), p. 16.

¹²Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex, pp. 16-17.

¹³Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex, p. 16.

¹⁴Issues, events, and developments of the Women's Liberation Movement may be found in such books as The First Sex (Maryland: Penguin Books, 1972) by Elizabeth G. Davis; Sisterhood Is Powerful (New York: Vintage Books, 1970) edited by Robin Morgan, The Dialectic of Sex (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1970) by Schulamith Firestone, Women's Liberation (New York: Charter Communications, Inc., 1970) compiled by Sookie Stambler, Women:

An Issue (Boston: Brown and Comapany, 1972) edited by Lee R. Edwards, Mary Heath, and Lisa Baskin, and Everyone Was Brave (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969) by William L. O'Neill.

¹⁵Elaine Showalter, ed., Women's Liberation and Literature (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), p. 249.

¹⁶Showalter, p. 249.

¹⁷Bonnie Angelo, "Where She's Going and Where She's At," Time, 20 Mar. 1972, p. 27.

¹⁸"Consciousness-raising" is a technique which is used in groups of women, ranging in number from eight to ten, to raise the awareness of the individual women concerning areas of oppression in her life and the lives of her sisters. Morgan, Sisterhood Is Powerful, pp. xxii-xxiv.

¹⁹Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, ed., Women in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), pp. ix-xi.

²⁰Morgan, p. xxi.

²¹Morgan, p. xxi.

²²Each month Ms. magazine carries advertising space purchased by new Women's Liberation groups to promote interest and membership. An example is "Women's Lobby, Inc.," Ms., June 1973, p. 118.

²³Morgan, p. xxi.

²⁴Morgan, p. xxi.

²⁵Morgan, p. xxi.

²⁶Morgan, p. xxi.

²⁷Betty Friedan, "Our Revolution Is Unique," Voices of the New Feminism, ed. Mary Low Thompson (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), pp. 34-43.

²⁸NOW Goals (Chicago: National Organization for Women, n.d.).

²⁹"ERA," U. S. News and World Report, 26 Mar. 1973, p. 34.

³⁰"Never Underestimate," Newsweek, 26 July 1971, p. 29.

³¹"Never Underestimate," p. 29.

³²"NWPC," Newsweek, 26 Feb. 1973, p. 32.

³³NWPC: First National Convention (Washington, D.C.: National Women's Political Caucus, 1973), pp. 1-4.

³⁴Susan Davis and Joanne Edgar, "Where to Get Help," Ms., Spring Preview Issue 1972, pp. 126-128.

³⁵Davis and Edgar, pp. 126-128.

³⁶Davis and Edgar, pp. 126-128.

³⁷Davis and Edgar, pp. 126-128.

³⁸Morgan, pp. 589-593.

³⁹Kay Crosby, "Liberation Is for the Taking," The Dallas Morning News, 4 Feb. 1972, sec. C, p. 1, cols. 1-3.

⁴⁰"Women For Change Goals" (Dallas: Women for Change, Inc., n.d.).

⁴¹Women for Change Newsletter (Dallas: Women for Change, Inc., n.d.), p. 1.

⁴²Women for Change Newsletter, p. 2.

⁴³Morgan, p. xxiii.

⁴⁴Letty Cottin Pagrebin, "Rap Groups: The Feminist Connection," Ms., Mar. 1973, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁵See Chapter I, p. 23.

⁴⁶Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 142-155.

⁴⁷Showalter, p. 289.

⁴⁸Kate Millet, Sexual Politics (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1970), p. 42.

⁴⁹Liz Schneider, "Our Failures Only Marry," Women in Sexist Society, p. 434.

⁵⁰Connie Dvorkin, "The Suburban Scene," Sisterhood Is Powerful, p. 363.

⁵¹Dvorkin, p. 364.

⁵²Alice de Rivera, "On De-Segregating Stuyvesant High," Sisterhood Is Powerful, p. 371.

⁵³NOW Goals.

⁵⁴NOW Goals.

⁵⁵Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, p. 323.

⁵⁶Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, p. 324.

⁵⁷Florynce Kennedy, "Institutionalized Oppression vs. The Female," Sisterhood Is Powerful, pp. 441-458.

⁵⁸Jessie Bernard, "The Paradox of the Happy Marriage," Women in Sexist Society, p. 86.

⁵⁹Bernard, pp. 87-88.

⁶⁰Books covering the areas of marriage, love, sexuality, and the social condition of women include The Second Sex (New York: Knopf, 1953) by Simone de Beauvoir; The Potential of Women (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963) by Seymour Faber, et al; Silent Voices (New York, 1969) interviews by Josephine Carson; The Sex Game (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968) by Jessie Bernard; Female Sexuality (New York: International Universities, 1953 and New York: Grove, 1965) by Marie Bonaparte; An Analysis of Human Sexual Response (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966) by Ruth and Edward Brecher; The Grapevine (New York: Macfadden, 1965) by Jess Stearn; Man's World, Woman's Place: A Study in Social Mythology (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1971) by Elizabeth Janeway; Open Marriage: A New Lifestyle for Couples (New York: M. Evans and Company, Inc., 1972) by Nena and George O'Neill; and Human Sexual Response (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966) by William H. Masters and Virginia Johnson.

⁶¹Carl R. Rogers, On Becoming A Person (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), pp. 37-38.

⁶²Liz Smith, "Gloria Steinem, Writer and Social Critic, Talks about Sex, Politics and Marriage," Redbook, Jan. 1972, p. 75.

⁶³Smith, p. 75.

⁶⁴Susan Braudy, "Credit Without Gender," Ms., July 1973, p. 19.

⁶⁵Braudy, p. 18.

⁶⁶Jimmye Kimmey, "How Abortion Laws Happened," Ms., April 1973, p. 48.

⁶⁷Roberta Brandes Gratz, "Never Again," Ms., April 1973, p. 45.

⁶⁸Books and articles concerning childbirth, abortion, and sterilization include Too Many Americans: Tomorrow's Issue (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964) by Alice and Lincoln Day; "Abortion--Or Compulsory Pregnancy" in the Journal of Marriage and the Family (May 1968) by Garrett Hardin; Abortion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967) by Lawrence Lader; The Search for an Abortionist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969) by Nancy Howell Lee; "Federal Constitutional Limitations on the Enforcement and Administration of State Abortion Statues" in the North Carolina Law Review (June 1968) by Roy Lucas; and The Abortion Handbook for Responsible Women (Los Angeles: Contact Books, 1969) by Lana Clarke Phelan and Patricia T. Maginnis.

⁶⁹Teresa E. Levitin, Robert P. Quinn and Graham L. Staines, "A Woman Is 58% of a Man . . .," Psychology Today, Mar. 1973, p. 89.

⁷⁰Levitin, et. al., pp. 89-91.

⁷¹Gornick and Moran, p. xix.

⁷²Lucy Komisar, "The Image of Women in Advertising," Women in Sexist Society, pp. 201-217.

⁷³NOW Goals.

⁷⁴NWPC: First National Convention. The opening session of the NWPC Convention included Congresswomen Shirley Chisholm, Bella Abzug, and Pat Schroeder, Councilwomen Ethel Allen and Barbara Mikulski, Chairman Helen Delich Bentley, Justice Mary Coleman, Betty Friedan, Rhea Mojica Hammer, Jill Ruckelshaus, and Gloria Steinem speaking on a program: "See How We've Run!"

⁷⁵"Toward Female Power at the Polls," Time, 20 Mar. 1972, pp. 33-34.

⁷⁶"McGovern Blew It," The Feminist Echo, Aug 1972, p. 1.

⁷⁷"McGovern Blew It," p. 1.

⁷⁸NWPC: First National Convention, p. 5.

⁷⁹Discrimination in medicine and psychiatry concerning women is found in "A Psychiatrist's View: Images of Women-- Past, Present, Overt and Obscured," American Journal of Psychotherapy (Jan. 1969) by Natalie Shainess, M.D.; "Depression in the Middle-Aged Woman," in Women in Sexist Society by Pauline B. Bart; The Feminine Mystique by Friedan; and "Women in Medicine: Importance of the Formative Years" in the Journal of the American Medical Women's Association (July 1968) by Judd Marmor.

⁸⁰Discrimination against women in the arts (literature, music, art) is discussed in Thinking About Women (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968) by Mary Ellman; Love and Death in the American Novel (New York: Dell, 1967) by Leslie Fiedler; The Little Disturbances of Man (New York: Viking Press, 1968) by Grace Paley; The Artist in Society: Problems and Treatment of the Creative Personality (New York: Grove, 1966) by Lawrence J. Hatterer, M.D.; "Women and Creativity: The Demise of the Dancing Dog" by Cynthia Ozick; and "Why There Are No Great Women Artists" by Linda Nachlen in Women In Sexist Society.

⁸¹Mary Daly in The Church and the Second Sex (New York: Harper and Row, 1968) discussed discrimination against women in religion. Also Clyde M. Narramore discussed women and religion in A Woman's World (Grand rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1963).

⁸²NOW Goals.

⁸³See Chapter I, pp. 22-23.

CHAPTER IV

THE LANGUAGE OF SISTERHOOD

According to Burke's definition of rhetoric, the speaker may be viewed as a symbol-using animal employing all the available means of persuasion in order "to induce cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols."¹ The speaker may employ verbal as well as non-verbal symbols in his quest for ultimate cooperation among human beings. Non-verbal symbols depend on language, which is inherent in the essence of man, for their interpretations through the written and spoken word. The two main aspects of rhetoric include "its use of identification and its nature as addressed."² Identification can be achieved through such devices as imagery, transcendence, and ultimately the state of consubstantiality. When one becomes consubstantial with another, "he is both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another."³ The speaker must strive to create the atmosphere of consubstantiality by using the basic properties, universal patterns of life and thought, which are inherent in the very substance of all human beings. In The Rhetoric of Motives, Burke clarified the Identification process:

The Rhetoric deals with the possibilities of classification in its partisan aspects; it considers the ways in which individuals are at odds with one another, or become identified with groups more or less at odds with one another.

Why "at odds," you may ask, when the titular term is "identification," is by the same token, though roundabout, to confront the implications of division. And so in the end, men are brought to that most tragically ironic of all divisions, or conflicts, wherein millions of cooperative acts go into the preparation for one single destructive act. We refer to that ultimate disease of cooperation: war Identification is affirmed with earnestness precisely because there is division. Identification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity. If men were wholly and truly of one substance, absolute communication would be of man's very essence. It would not be an ideal, as it is now, partly embodied in material conditions and partly frustrated by these same conditions; rather it would be as natural, spontaneous, and total as with these ideal prototypes of communication.⁴

Burke also explained the nature of rhetoric as that which is addressed: "We come upon another aspect of Rhetoric: its nature as addressed, since persuasion implies an audience."⁵ The "persuasive aspects of language" are used as "direct or roundabout appeal to real or ideal audiences within or without."⁶ When the speaker is involved in the process of addressing an audience, the persuasive aspects of the language he employs may be considered partisan, or weighted, symbols. In Permanence and Change, Burke stated concerning the use of

weighted language: "Men do not communicate by a neutral vocabulary. In the profoundest human sense, one communicates by a weighted vocabulary in which the weightings are shared by his group as a whole."⁷

In concluding Part I of The Rhetoric of Motives, Burke stated: "Rhetoric is the art of persuasion, or a study of the means of persuasion available for any given situation."⁸ Thus, persuasion and identification are one in the same and generate understanding and cooperation. The state of ultimate cooperation is the goal of "one symbol-using entity" when he seeks to persuade "an audience by the use of stylistic identifications; his act of persuasion may be for the purpose of causing the audience to identify itself with the speaker's interests; and the speaker draws on identification of interests to establish rapport between himself and his audience."⁹

After establishing a rapport with his audience, the speaker must indicate to his audience their potential for transcending the hierarchial system, the order of society.¹⁰ Burke considered the hierarchial principle as the motivating force within a society of "symbol-using entities." In confronting hierarchy, human beings employ any and all methods of attaining their goal. Often the methods include mystery and myth perpetrated by a certain

class on the hierarchial ladder. Burke wrote much about hierarchy, purpose, motive, situation, and the failings and achievements of mankind; but the most revealing passage which included an overall statement of Burkeian rhetorical criticism may be found in the conclusion of The Rhetoric of Motives:

Nature, society, language, and the division of labor--out of all or any of these the hierarchic motive enevitably develops. Anagogically, if you will, but at least "socioanagogically," in hierarchy reside the conditions of the "divine," the goading of "mystery." But since, for better or worse, the mystery of the hierarchic is forever with us, let us, as students of rhetoric, scrutinize its range of entrances, both with dismay and in delight. And finally let us observe, all about us forever goading us, though it be in fragments, the motive that attains its ultimate identification in the thought, not of the universal holocaust, but of the universal order--as with the rhetorical and dialectic symmetry of the Aristotelian metaphysics, whereby all classes of beings are hierarchially arranged in a chain or ladder or pyramid of mounting worth, each kind striving toward the perfection of its kind, and so towards the next kind above it, while the strivings of the entire series head in God as the beloved cynosure and sinecure, the end of all desire.¹¹

In addition to an overview of the principles of Burkeian rhetorical theory, a critic must also reconsider the basic premise of a speaker before embarking on an unknown journey through the maze of words, symbols, actions, and deeds of the speaker. As stated in Chapter I, the basic

premise which seems to govern Steinem's rhetoric is:
"the subjugation of women is not only social (a long-standing accretion of customs and attitudes) but political-- a deliberately perpetuated symbol of control and exploitation by the ruling class, in this case white males."¹²

The purpose of this segment of the analysis of the rhetoric of Gloria Steinem is to analyze her use of the identification process in her attempts to unify the members of the Women's Liberation Movement and to enlist the cooperation of others outside the movement. Specifically, Steinem's speech at Southern Methodist University on February 3, 1972, Steinem's article "Sisterhood" in the Spring Preview Issue of Ms. magazine (edited by Steinem), and Steinem's speech at the opening session of the National Women's Political Caucus on February 9, 1973, have been analyzed.

Southern Methodist University Speech

February 3, 1972

Before beginning an analysis of the Southern Methodist University speech, two factors influencing the identification process must be noted, for they are essential in discovering the means of persuasion in the given situation. First, Steinem, in an effort to avoid being labelled as a "star" of the Women's Liberation Movement, appeared at

Fincher Auditorium on the Southern Methodist University campus with Betty Forsling Harris, former vice president of CRM Publications which publishes Psychology Today and Intellectual Digest.¹³ Harris, formerly from Dallas, published Ms. in 1972. Having been a Dallasite and the current publisher of Ms., Harris held similar properties with the audience present in Dallas. Harris began her introductory speech by commenting on the significance of Ms. magazine:

The magazine went on the newstand a week ago Tuesday. We printed 300,000 copies, distributed nationally and most of those copies are gone. I just want to show you this [Harris held up a copy of the Spring Preview Issue 1972 of Ms. magazine] in case there may be some still around Dallas. If there are, I hope you'll get it. We're going to start regular publication in June. But the real significance of the magazine is not in sales figures, and it's not the fact that it sold out from newstands very quickly, it's significant because it is a magazine that is owned by women, not only Gloria and myself and our seed money benefactor, Mrs. Graham, who is president of the Washington Post company. It is also owned by the women of America. Because if we're going to make some changes, we're going to have to begin also in some of the other structures. And therefore one of the major stockholders, literally, not just figuratively, will be the women's groups, like Women For Change the Dallas Women's Liberation group, all over the country, which will participate in the profits when we hopefully get to that point.¹⁴

By verbally demonstrating that Ms. magazine was for all women and that all women, specifically women like those in Women For Change in Dallas, would benefit from the magazine,

Harris established rapport with the audience which Steinem was about to address. Harris went on to introduce Steinem and, thus, showed that Steinem was a creditable spokeswoman for the Women's Liberation Movement:

The person who probably has done as much as anyone else, but who will be the first to tell you that the women's movement is an activity on the part of all women, is Gloria Steinem. Gloria began a couple of years ago, just simply to go out and talk when she saw what was coming. She deserves a great deal of credit, as do many other women who've been out talking about this. We now have a magazine in which she and a great many other women will be able to say a lot of things that have needed saying for a long time.¹⁵

Thus, Harris began to activate the identification process which would illustrate to the audience that Steinem held properties common to all women and that Steinem was representative of the movement.

The second factor which influenced the identification process in the Southern Methodist University speech was the physical appearance and actions of Steinem. Steinem appeared in "blue jeans, navy ribbed-knit shirt, wearing blue wire-rimmed glasses,"¹⁶ a costume which she had made her trademark.¹⁷ Also, Steinem, when greeted by tremendous applause from the audience, reciprocated and applauded the audience.¹⁸ Consequently, she demonstrated to the audience that she was one of them, striving to achieve the same goal.

The identification process which was the essence of Steinem's speech was advanced by Steinem's use of two overall

strategies. The first strategy was the concept of sisterhood which included the substrategies of female oneness, a shared common enemy, women as victims of the common foe, and the strategy of self-discovery. The second strategy was the strategy of humanism, and within humanism were included the substrategies of transcending the hierarchial ladder and the substrategy of achieving the best environment for all humanity.

Sisterhood as a language strategy encompasses all women of every race, creed, and socio-economic position. To illustrate to her audience that all women share common properties and can, thus, unite on the basis of a common goal, Steinem began the speech by addressing her audience as "Friends and Sisters."¹⁹ The word "sister" may be considered a weighted word, for it denotes a bond of family unity. Therefore, having identified herself as a "sister" to every woman in the audience, Steinem began to use the identification process to further the first substrategy of female oneness. Steinem also established that she was a woman just like other women who are struggling against sexism and racism at every level,²⁰ not just on some specific level of society.

The substrategy of female oneness occurred when Steinem raised the consciousness of the audience by stating, "We have somehow allowed ourselves to be forced into believing

that childbirth is an inferior function."²¹ She was indicating that women have been labelled inferior solely on their biological difference from men. She raised the awareness of the audience members who had never realized that their ability to bear children had made them less than whole in the eyes of men. Also, she pointed out that women became "the original means of production"²² when men realized that women and children were their property in the institution of marriage. Furthermore, Steinem discussed women's work,²³ the jobs which men do not want to do, and which are regarded as mediocre, as a common property. She indicated that all women share these mediocre duties, particularly in the institution of marriage. She labelled women's work as "shit work," which also raised the audience's consciousness. They realized that all the politics of housework at their own homes left them doing the "shit work."²⁴

The substrategy of female oneness was also projected by Steinem's use of the word "we," indicating that all women are involved, as well as she, in the problems confronting women. Steinem furthered the idea of "we" by stating "I almost never lecture by myself, because I don't think it is possible to lend one's self to the star problem, and anyway it's not possible to even begin to talk about the women's movement with just one woman talking."²⁵

Steinem constantly reinforced the idea that all women are part of the movement, and this was particularly effective because Women's Liberation involved group unity, not individual leaders.

The second substrategy included under the sisterhood strategy was the idea that all women share the injustices inflicted by a common enemy. Steinem identified the enemy in three different ways. First, Steinem identified the common enemy as men who have locked-up women in the institution of marriage thus forcing women to do the mediocre work of home and family. More specifically she labelled the enemy as white-male racists, for she indicated that all history had been compiled as "white male history."²⁶ Steinem began to draw a parallel between women as a minority group and other minority groups when she stated: "We've been told that his [white male] country was discovered when the first white male set foot on it The Indians were glad to hear that. Africa was discovered when the first white male set foot on it."²⁷

From this initial statement, Steinem kept the substrategy of the common enemy as white males going throughout the speech. The identification process involved was one in which the audience of mostly white women would see the similarities between themselves and other minority groups. Steinem explained that as slaves were brought into

a society by white males they were "given roles parallel to, and often the same as, women."²⁸ She also commented: "There always has been the deepest kind of parallel between women and any other group in the society physically marked as second-class."²⁹ She felt that "we have finally begun to realize how deeply racist this society is in every aspect of its life."³⁰ The easiest way to demonstrate the similarities of women as a minority group and other minority groups was to draw parallels between women and black people. Steinem indicated this by stating, "The deepest truth in American life was the parallel between women and the non-white men Because black men and sometimes black women, too, black people sometimes risked the loss of their lives--women, the rest of us, lost our identities. Black people die physically. Women die inside."³¹ The image of a black man being gunned down as he stood on the terrace of his motel room comes easily to a contemporary audience, but Steinem was drawing a parallel between the assassinated black and the white woman. No one ever notices as women die inwardly from lack of confidence and loss of self-esteem. The dying of a woman's ambition and talents goes unnoticed in American society, and Steinem made her audience aware of this common property existing among women. Throughout the speech Steinem discussed the white male racist and sexist as the oppressors of women and blacks. Thus, one can

observe the Burkeian concept of a leader as one who names a common enemy to unite the group being addressed.

Further, Steinem named specific members of the common enemy by pointing out individuals who have oppressed women. Steinem pointed out Freud as an enemy of women for stating the theory of penis-envy. She proposed: "Unfortunately, Freud lived in a society in which men were superior. And since any second-class group envies whatever it is that makes the first-class group first class (white skin, or gray hair or penises or whatever it is) he looked around and saw this envy and figured it was natural without realizing that it was just a function of economics, in fact, of domination."³² Steinem also named Arthur Jensen, Berkeley professor of educational psychology, as a specific enemy. Jensen had "publicized the belief that Negroes on the average are inherently less intelligent than whites."³³ In addition, Steinem named Lionel Tiger, social anthropologist at Rutgers, as a foe for his downgrading of women in Men In Groups.³⁴ Tiger, also, was the first author to take issue with Millet's Sexual Politics. Both Jensen and Tiger were used as representative common foes, but the naming of the two men may be considered an example of negative identification. The audience members may not have been familiar with the names and, therefore, could not identify with them as Steinem would have wished. In the

area of politics, Steinem named Nixon as a foe of Women because he disapproved of child care centers. Steinem also indicated that Nixon wanted to force women on welfare to get jobs, creating an indentured labor force. She blamed the plight of welfare mothers on Nixon when she stated: "Even under the Family Assistance Plan, if you go to work, you still get your check from the Welfare Department. You are still totally controlled. And you have to work besides. And that's the only situation in which Nixon approves of child care. To create this whole cheap labor force of women."³⁵

Furthermore, Steinem utilized the substrategy of a common enemy by referring to different groups of men. She labelled husbands, in general, as oppressors of women, for they stifle the identity of women within the institution of marriage. She indicated that women who work at home get no economic rewards³⁶ for their labor, that they are dependent on their husbands for money and identity.³⁷ Steinem also named male professors as oppressors of women for teaching the doctrines of Freud and for assuming that female students do not want to be doctors instead of nurses or lawyers instead of secretaries.³⁸ Additionally, Steinem labelled employers as discriminators against women. According to Steinem, employers have kept the salaries of women a secret so that women will not realize they are being treated

unfairly.³⁹ In the area of employment, Steinem also called university administrators unfair for not hiring an equal number of women as faculty members. She then narrowed the representation of oppression to law schools and schools of theology, citing Harvard as an example.⁴⁰ Steinem stated that women in the Harvard Law school were allowed to recite only one day a week in class and that the men's room door had "Faculty" across it, "because they were so sure there could never be a woman professor."⁴¹ The citing of the law schools and schools of theology as oppressors of women was of particular relevance at Southern Methodist University. In 1972, women constituted less than seven per cent⁴² of the students enrolled in the Southern Methodist Law school and less than eight per cent of the students enrolled in Perkins Theological Seminary.⁴³

Since Steinem established that women shared a common enemy, it followed that a third substrategy in the major unifying strategy of sisterhood must be utilized. Therefore, Steinem employed the substrategy of victimage, or institutionalized oppression. She stated that women had been "locked-up in a new form of imprisonment called marriage."⁴⁴ In this form of political subjugation women were given the same legal status as slaves,⁴⁵ all under the rule of white males. Also within the institution of marriage, women have suffered the loss of their identities, for according to

Steinem, men have forced women to be dependent on them economically and socially.⁴⁶ Concerning women in the family structure, Steinem stated: "We are raised to feel like half people so we will behave like half-people. And it is an economic system, and the family is an economic unity, which really is designed to give the employer two for the price of one."⁴⁷ Again, she paralleled white women with the other minority groups by stating that Chicana women have both race and sex discrimination to deal with for they have been victims of sexual facism within their own minority group.⁴⁸

Also, Steinem named women as victims of the economic system, for women have not received equal pay and job opportunities equal to men in the same area.⁴⁹ She advised the audience that the stock they might possibly own is controlled by men.⁵⁰ Steinem labelled welfare, a form of victimage, as a "Woman's Issue"⁵¹ by stating, "A third of the women in this country live under the poverty line, as described by the federal government. A third of the women, as opposed to about a tenth of the men . . . two-thirds of the women on welfare are white and eighty-five per cent of them are women and dependent children."⁵² Involved in the welfare issue were other areas, such as child care and the lack of government funds available for child care programs. Furthermore, Steinem presented the topics of child support

and alimony as areas of the institutionalized oppression of the divorce court. Demonstrating that women were victims of the courts, Steinem stated: "So what is obscured from us in that fewer than ten per cent of the women who get divorced get any alimony at all. And the child care/support payments are only half of what is adequate to support a child, and they are frequently uncollectable . . . until we solve the sexism in the society, we can't possibly even begin to attack the problems of poverty."⁵³

In addition to being a "sacrifice class group"⁵⁴ in the institution of marriage and the economic system, Steinem stated that women have also been the victims of a political system since "Politics for women is anything that controls our lives, any power relationship that controls our lives."⁵⁵ She gave an example of this when she stated that a girl will give up plans already made with another girl the minute a man calls her even if the man "is four foot, two inches tall, has terminal acne and no redeeming features of any kind."⁵⁶ She labelled women as "men junkies"⁵⁷ because their political situation has forced them into this position. The rules of society have made women "men junkies," for all girls are taught early in their dating years to drop everyone else when a man calls. Steinem further illustrated women's dependence on men for their social position and acceptance by making the audience aware of the oppressiveness of their conditioning.

One method of exposing the victimage of a group is to name the myths and mysteries which have helped subjugate that group. In Burkeian criticism, myth and mystery surround a distinct class in the hierarchial system, persons in one class appear strange to people in another class.⁵⁸ In Philosophy in a New Key, Susanne Langer commented on the development of the myths surrounding women"

Woman is, to primitive reflection, one of the basic mysteries of nature. In her life originates; only the more enlightened societies know that sexual union initiates it. To naive observation, her body simply waxes and wanes with it for a certain length of years. She is the Great Mother, the symbol as well as the instrument of life. But the actual process of human conception and gestation is too slow to exhibit a pattern for easy apprehension. One needs a symbol, to think coherently about it. Long before discursive thought could frame propositions to this purpose, men's minds probably recognized that natural symbol of womanhood, the waxing and waning of the moon.⁵⁹

The moon has long been a symbol of mystery for mankind, and anything mysterious is frightening to man. A mystery, therefore, if it cannot be explained, must be considered a threat and an undesirable aspect of society. Langer explained this concept: "The moon is a typical condensed symbol. It expressed the whole mystery of womankind, not only in its phases, but in its inferiority to the sun, its apparent nearness to the clouds that veil it like garments; perhaps the element of mystery that moonlight creates and the complicated time-cycle of its complete withdrawal (women

in tribal society have elaborate schedules of taboo and ritual, of which men cannot keep track), are not to be underestimated as symbolic factors."⁶⁰ In the Southern Methodist University Speech, Steinem utilized the myths concerning women to demonstrate that women have been unfairly judged and have suffered injustices in accordance with the myths.

As previously stated, Steinem demonstrated that women have fallen victim to the myth that childbirth is an inferior function.⁶¹ She further illustrated that when children became private property, it followed that women became pieces of property rather than individual human beings.⁶² Another myth concerning women was illustrated when Steinem stated: "In the myths that afflict us as second class groups. For instance, women, all women, and non-white men are said to have, and were said sometimes and still are said to have, smaller brains, passive natures, to be incapable of governing ourselves."⁶³ Continuing to reveal the unjust myths surrounding women, she explained: "We're always late. We are irresponsible, and we can't work with each other. We don't get along well together. We don't like each other. Remember when they used to say that black people didn't like to work for other black people? Well, they are still saying that women don't like to work with women. We are supposed to be closer to the earth, and have natural

rhythm, and we are sexual in our natures, we are more identified with sex than white men. We're supposed to smell different, according to TV."⁶⁴

In the area of job equality, Steinem demonstrated how women have been discriminated against according to the myth of physical male strength: "Men are often impressed by the assumption that all men have a great deal of physical strength. They do not. If we gave tests for them [physical jobs], we would allow women who can perform them to do so, and the men who can perform them to do so."⁶⁵ Steinem went on to explain the myths surrounding job eligibility by quoting Flo Kennedy, a leader of the Women's Liberation Movement: "She [Flo Kennedy] always says that there aren't very many jobs that actually require a penis or a vagina."⁶⁶ Steinem further explained the myths built on women's nature by stating: "Women are supposed to be soft, submissive, passive, do what they are told, take their identity from a man. We are raised to feel like half-people so we will behave like half-people."⁶⁷

One of the primary issues of the Women's Liberation Movement concerns sexuality. Steinem discussed the myth concerning the dependency of male potency upon female submission. Steinem blamed Dr. David Rubin, psychiatrist and author of Every Woman Can, as the enemy chiefly responsible for promoting this myth.⁶⁸ Steinem stated that men will not

be "able to perform sexually, or they won't be happy"⁶⁹ unless women "behave like geishas"⁷⁰ according to the Rubin myth.

Continuing to expose the myths prevalent in other areas concerning women, Steinem explained that women are not supposed to become involved in politics.⁷¹ Also, in advertising, women have been exploited as objects by the myths surrounding marriage. Bride's Magazine perpetuates the myth. Steinem labelled Bride's Magazine as "a very political magazine. It is designed to get us into the system, to sugar coat the system, to make us into consumers It is a magazine that engaged in political propaganda. Somehow we never looked beyond the initial phase."⁷² Continuing to probe areas where women have been the victims of myths, Steinem stated: "We have to look at our text books and see what kind of mythology we are getting there. We have to demand black studies and women studies."⁷³

Steinem also discussed the myth surrounding specifically the black woman. She stated: "There is a whole lot of stuff about the matriarchy in the black society. And how black women and white men are supposed to be the most free in society. Sociologists say that."⁷⁴ Steinem then explained that some of the black community was rectifying this myth concerning the position of their women:

So the black community, especially the political groups in it, seem to be rejecting this business,

you know, that they should imitate the white life style, the suburban life style, and working for partnership instead, as Bobby Seal said in Seize the Time, where-- there's a great section where he talks about the struggle of the panthers to see women's position as political--to overcome their street origins, which put women down, and exploited women economically, and see women's position as political. He says in a Panther house, everybody does the dishes, and everybody sweeps the floor, and everybody makes the revolutionary policy. Because real manhood does not depend on the subjugation of anybody.⁷⁵

Also included in the unifying strategy of sistethood is the fourth substrategy: self-discovery. Steinem attempted to raise the consciousness of the audience members by pointing out to them the ways in which they had been victimized by a common enemy--sexually, politically, economically and socially. Steinem pointed out the superior position of women in the gynocracy of pre-history by using the Amazon society as an example.⁷⁶ Furthermore, she stated that women had been worshipped for their ability to have children, but that men's discovery of paternity had made women the first politically subjugated class.⁷⁷ Steinem was encouraging the women in the audience to believe that they were capable of superiority.

Steinem's repetition of the ways in which women had been victimized was an attempt to make the audience aware that they all shared in the common problems related to women. Possibly, she hoped to touch on some area of the

life of each woman in the audience, helping them to discover something about their own oppression. Steinem continually used the terms "identity" and "individual" to stress the point that each woman was involved in the Women's Liberation Movement. By attempting to make each woman discover something about her own oppression, Steinem tried to create consubstantiality within the audience, a state in which they transcended their differences and identified as women. She called for unity when she stated: "We are supposed to turn against our sisters who are old and considered unattractive in male terms, but we all have the same problem as long as we have dressed as women in the society and we will be discriminated against as women so we have to unite and fight together against it."⁷⁸

Furthermore, Steinem urged each woman to discover the areas of her own life where oppression existed. Narrowing the circumference of the context of circumstances to the Southern Methodist University campus, Steinem urged the audience to investigate job opportunities and salaries of women employees.⁷⁹ She stated: "We should mobilize around each other's issues."⁸⁰ She suggested that discrimination in the law school and school of theology be investigated.⁸¹ Also, Steinem made an appeal to demand equal time on the golf courses of Dallas. Assuming that the consciousness of the audience had been raised, that they were aware of the

oppression in their environment, Steinem stated: "We know what the trend of injustice is. We don't need to document every last bit of it. We have to organize around it, and ACT on it. And organize together as a coalition of the outs, so that we will not be turned against each other."⁸²

The second major strategy which Steinem employed was the appeal of humanism, a society in which all humans are equal, whole beings. Within the concept of humanism were the substrategies of transcendence within the hierarchial system and the appeal of a society in which all individuals would be equal. The substrategy of transcendence is illustrated by Steinem's continued attempts to identify all members of the audience. Since people are capable of moving literally from one level of society to another, they can figuratively identify with each other. Steinem pointed out: "We are trained not to connect with each other. We are trained not to connect with other women across the boundaries of economic group or race. The longer we can be kept separate, the better [for the common enemy]."⁸³ Also, included within the Burkeian concept of hierarchy is the theory of courtship. At Southern Methodist University, Steinem employed the linguistic suasive devices necessary to court that particular group by pointing out ways by which they could transcend the hierarchial ladder of white male-oriented society. The ultimate goal of women within the

hierarchical system was stated by Steinem: "So, in fact, we may eventually end up in a society in which no one is born into an inferior group just because they look different It would be nice to think that we are at the beginning of the new period of humanism. And if we do this, and if we struggle, we must stand up to the ridicule and the violence. We may see a time when historians will look back on this era and say for the first time a human animal stopped dividing itself up according to physical difference, according to race, sex, and started to look for the real human potential inside."⁸⁴

Steinem utilized the major strategy of humanism throughout the entire speech. She referred to children and benefits they could receive if the system were changed. Steinem continually paralleled women with other minority groups, particularly blacks, to demonstrate that racism and sexism exist at every level. The speech also illustrated Steinem's idea that love between human beings cannot exist between unequals. Concerning her ultimate goal in promoting humanism, Steinem stated: "So we finally understand that we are all human beings. And that we must have mutual respect or there can be no love."⁸⁵

In the Southern Methodist University speech, Steinem attempted to create consubstantiality with the audience by utilizing the identification process. She employed the major

strategy of sisterhood which incorporated the substrategies of female oneness, a common enemy shared by all women, victimage, institutionalized oppression and self-discovery. Also, Steinem used the major strategy of humanism, including the substrategies of transcendence in the hierarchial system and the speal of a society which would benefit all members. Whether or not Steinem achieved consubstantiality by using the identification process can never be known, for the audience was not polled for their specific responses. The only concrete indication of Steinem's success may be found in the audience applause which was recorded on the tape made during the speech. Also, the Women for Change organization had an increase of 300 in membership immediately following the meeting.⁸⁶ But, according to Burkeian criteria, Steinem created consubstantiality within her audience for the purpose of unifying and solidifying the movement. The speech did further Steinem's basic premise that "the subjugation of women is not only social . . . but political--a deliberately perpetuated system of control and exploitation by the ruling class, in this case white males."⁸⁷

"Sisterhood"--Ms. Magazine, Spring Preview Issue, 1972

One of the purposes of Steinem's speech at Southern Methodist University was to promote the first issue of Ms. magazine in the spring of 1972. Steinem had conceived the

idea of editing a magazine specifically for promoting the cause of Women's Liberation, because "the conventional women's magazines had nothing to offer."⁸⁸ In "Ms. and the Journalism of Women's Lib," Pamela Howard wrote: "Now, however, the new magazines in the women's field are forcing women to reexamine their roles in society, informing readers of their rights, and, finally giving women writers a challenging arena in which they can express themselves honestly. No longer do women have to contend with women's magazines that offer little more than simple-minded advice on how to make better candied popcorn balls at Christmas, or how to avoid those once-a-month blues."⁸⁹ With this purpose in mind, Steinem and Harris formed a corporation called "Major Enterprises, Inc. Steinem is editor and president; Harris is publisher and chairman of the board. Together they hold controlling interest, though there will be some minority stock holders. The cost to New York for the preview and the January issue is reportedly \$90,000. Ms. and New York will split the profits."⁹⁰ The preceding statement was made by Howard in the January 8, 1972, issue of Saturday Review. Also, Howard quoted Steinem concerning the goals which Ms. would attempt to achieve:

Ms. is attempting to communicate the commonality of feeling among women around the country. It will attempt to show them that they are not alone in their anger and frustration and that the same feelings are being experienced by all sorts of

women. For too long, women have been sanitized, deodorized, slicked up and fixed up in the old magazines. Ms. will not identify them in terms of their roles as lovers, mothers, or even workers or professionals. They will be dealt with as human beings.⁹¹

This statement of purpose concerning Ms. is directly related to Steinem's basic argument that women have been subjugated and exploited by the ruling class. Howard further reported that "editorial content will reflect women's rising awareness of their changing role in the world, the reasons for change, and the consequences to women, to lifestyles, and to society."⁹²

Promulgating the concept of women as full human beings, Ms. magazine, Spring Preview Issue 1972, edited by Steinem, carried articles concerning "De-Sexing the English Language" by Kate Miller and Casey Swift, "The Housewife's Moment of Truth" by Jane O'Reilly, Three Women: A Play for Three Voices by Sylvia Plath, and "Welfare Is a Women's Issue" by Johnny Tillmon.⁹³ Included in the issue was an article by Steinem entitled "Sisterhood." The article, a personal testimonial by Steinem, included the recurrent themes of her rhetoric which have been discussed in the analysis of the Southern Methodist University speech. Considering Burkeian rhetorical theory, the first rhetorical factor, which is most obvious to the reader, was the picture included with the article, a non-verbal rhetorical device. The picture was of a group of women--old, young, middle-aged, and infant--who were dressed in varying types of apparel. The women

were representative of whites, blacks, Chicana's whose appearance denoted different levels of society on the hierarchial ladder. All of the women were touching one another by holding the hand of another woman or having her arm around another woman's shoulder. This picture was a non-verbal expression of the ability of women of different classes to transcend their differences. Since Steinem was editor of Ms., and since "Sisterhood" was written by her, it can be assumed that the picture was a part of her rhetoric.

Continuing the major premise that women have been subjugated and exploited by men, Steinem used the same strategies which she had employed in the Southern Methodist University speech. The article, titled "Sisterhood," named the major strategy involved. Steinem demonstrated the strategies of sisterhood and humanism by identifying herself as a woman just like other women who had become aware of their oppression. Steinem pointed out the common properties of women: "Women are human beings first We share the dreams, capabilities, and weaknesses of all human beings"94 She again referred to child bearing and child rearing as a property common to all women. She further illustrated the unity between women by stating, "We share with each other the exhilaration of growth and self discovery, the sensation of having the scales fall from our eyes We may share experiences, make jokes, paint

pictures, and describe humiliation that mean nothing to men, but women understand."95

In the article "Sisterhood," Steinem used the strategy of a common enemy again. She stated that women had been marked for "an elaborate division of labor" for the "economic and social profit of men."96 She also cited an experience from her travels around the country in which young women and older women identified on the basis of a common enemy by telling stories concerning their oppression by the men in their lives. By naming the common enemy, Steinem demonstrated another substrategy. Women have become victims of the society, a male-oriented society, in which they live. She defined a fallacy of the common enemy: "If a woman spends a year bearing and nursing a child, for instance, she is supposed to have the primary responsibility of raising that child to adulthood. That's logic by the male definition, but it often makes women feel children are their only function or discourages them from being mothers at all."97 Steinem also considered the evaluation of women according to male acceptance and the lack of esteem perpetrated by this system which makes women put each other down--"the major enemy of sisterhood."98

The strategy of self-discovery was used by Steinem throughout the article. Steinem's statement of her own self-discoveries was designed to stimulate the awareness of

the reader. She referred to women as having been brain-washed into believing themselves inferior. She also revealed that by analyzing her own oppression she had come to many realizations about herself:

I have met brave women who are exploring the outer edge of human possibility, with no history to guide them, and with a courage to make themselves vulnerable that I find moving beyond the words to express it.

I no longer think that I do not exist, which was my version of that lack of self-esteem afflicting many women. (If male standards weren't natural to me, and they were the only standards, how could I exist?) This means that I am less likely to need male values to identify myself with and am less vulnerable to classic arguments.

I can sometimes deal with men as equals and therefore can afford to like them for the first time.

I have discovered politics that are not intellectual or superimposed. They are organic, because I finally understand why I for years inexplicably identified with "out" groups. I belong to one, too. It will take a coalition of such groups to achieve a society in which, at a minimum, no one is born into a second-class role because of visible differences, because of race or of sex.

I no longer feel strange by myself, or with a group of women in public. I feel just fine.

I am continually moved to discover I have sisters.

I am beginning, just beginning, to find out who I am.⁹⁹

Steinem's personal statement of self-discovery furthered the major strategy of sisterhood, for by identifying herself with other women she hoped to prove that the deep, personal properties common to all women "often ignore barriers of

age, economics, worldly experience, race, culture--all barriers that in male or fixed society had seemed so difficult to cross."¹⁰⁰

Whether or not Steinem actually achieved consubstantiality with her readers is impossible to determine. The Burkeian concepts of shared properties, a common enemy, victimage, and transcendence can be observed in the article. Steinem's article was a direct attempt to persuade the reader by using symbols, words, which carried the identification factors. The fact that Ms. had reached a circulation figure of 350,000 by February, 1973,¹⁰¹ is an indication that Steinem's rhetoric as an integral part of Ms. had achieved some degree of success.

National Women's Political Caucus Address

February 9, 1973.

When the National Women's Political Caucus met in Houston, Texas, on February 9, 1973, Steinem was present as a leader of the Caucus, for she had been a member of the Policy Council since the inception of the Caucus in 1971. Even though Steinem was not an elected public official, she spoke on the program presented at the opening session of the National Women's Political Caucus. Her previous experience in politics and her reputation as a leader of the Women's Liberation Movement enhanced her source credibility.

Steinem appeared at the opening session in jeans and flowered bodyshirt. Her costume, which has become her symbol of Women's Liberation, provided a contrast to the conservative dress of the other speakers.¹⁰² During the speeches preceeding hers, Steinem made notes and took them to the speaker's stand with her when she spoke. The speech which she delivered was not as well organized as the Southern Methodist University speech or the article "Sisterhood."

The atmosphere surrounding the opening session was one of celebration, for the Supreme Court had just handed down the decision which made state laws prohibiting abortion unconstitutional. Abortion reform had been a major issue of the Women's Liberation Movement. Also the Equal Rights Amendment was before the state legislatures, already having been adopted by twenty-three states. The context of circumstances surrounding Steinem's address at the Caucus was different from the situation she had encountered in Dallas the previous year. The audience was composed of women of all ages and socio-economic levels and their presence at the Caucus indicated that they were aware of the issues of the Women's Liberation Movement.

The basic identification strategy which Steinem used was the concept of sisterhood. She indicated that sisterhood was responsible for the success of the Caucus.¹⁰³ She also

stated that the Caucus through sisterhood had been responsible for introducing "to the nation many courageous, incredibly courageous, women all over the country."¹⁰⁴

Steinem did not go into detail concerning the common enemy. She only indicated that the common foe was male oriented society. She directly named the press as another foe responsible for promulgating a derogatory image of the Women's Liberation Movement.¹⁰⁵ She again named Nixon, along with Congress, as oppressors of women for not adopting the Child Care Development Bill.¹⁰⁶ In reference to Nixon's rejection of the bill, Steinem cited Pat Nixon, who belonged to an organization supporting the Child Development Bill, as an "example that you can't marry power; you must have your own."¹⁰⁷

Also, Steinem employed the strategy of victimage, the institutionalized oppression of women. In describing women as victims, she also sought to further the unity of the movement. She stated: "We must unite as a caste because we have been discriminated against as a caste . . . women are discriminated against because they are women."¹⁰⁸ Steinem further discussed the way in which women had been the victims of abortion by stating "eighty-five per cent of the women who died from butchered abortions were brown and black women."¹⁰⁹ Throughout the speech, Steinem referred to blacks

and Chicanos as victims of the system, attempting to identify with the black and Chicana women in the audience.

Steinem used the strategies of female oneness and transcendence at the same time when she called for unity within the movement. She advised the audience to consider all issues common to women as important for even controversial issues are "necessary issues to eliminate discrimination against women as a group. We are a movement about power, not a public relations movement."¹¹⁰ Steinem continued to stress transcendence and unity: "And so we will, we must attack the most difficult issues. We must look again at our statement of purpose, renew our commitment to that statement of purpose We must dedicate ourselves to it We must unite across boundaries of age. We must unite across boundaries of race."¹¹¹ Steinem further appealed to female oneness by stressed that "revolutionary feminism is the path open to us. We are challenging the power structure as it exists."¹¹² She concluded the speech by again utilizing the strategy of unity combined with the strategy of humanism: "We are on the birth of a new period of humanism and together we might just make it."¹¹³

Conclusion

The three examples of Steinem's rhetoric analyzed in this study exhibit recurrent themes and patterns. By

using the major strategies of unity through sisterhood and humanism, Steinem attempted to bring her audience to the state of consubstantiality. Through the identification process, Steinem used rhetoric to persuade her audience that through sisterhood they can achieve a level of awareness of their common problems and differences and by transcending these differences existing in varying levels of society, and by realizing the presence of the common enemy, they may achieve unity which will lead them to a level of humanism, in which all humans are whole, equal beings.

FOOTNOTES

¹Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 43.

²Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 45.

³Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 21.

⁴Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 22.

⁵Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 38.

⁶Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, pp. 43-44.

⁷Kenneth Burke, Permanence and Change (Los Altos: Hermes Publications, 1954), p. 162.

⁸Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 46.

⁹Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 46.

¹⁰See Chapter I, pp. 24-26.

¹¹Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 333.

¹²Richard Boeth, "Gloria Steinem: A Liberated Woman Despite Beauty, Chic, and Success," Newsweek, 16 Aug. 1971, p. 52.

¹³Gloria Steinem, Southern Methodist University, 3 Feb. 1972, p. 1. The text of the speech was transcribed directly from a tape made during the speech by Dr. Vicki O. Stupp, North Texas State University Speech faculty. The speech text is hereafter referred to as SMU Speech.

¹⁴SMU Speech, p. 1.

¹⁵SMU Speech, p. 2.

¹⁶Kay Crosby, "Liberation Is for the Taking," The Dallas Morning News, 4 Feb. 1972, p. 1C, cols. 2-4.

¹⁷See Chapter II, p. 15.

¹⁸This observation was made by Dr. Vicki O. Stupp, who attended the speech given at Southern Methodist University.

¹⁹SMU Speech, p. 2.

²⁰SMU Speech, p. 2.

²¹SMU Speech, p. 3.

²²SMU Speech, p. 4.

²³SMU Speech, p. 4.

²⁴SMU Speech, p. 4.

²⁵SMU Speech, p. 4. Floyrence Kennedy had accompanied Steinem to Dallas, and together they had spoken the previous evening at East Texas State University in Commerce, Texas.

²⁶SMU Speech, p. 2.

²⁷SMU Speech, pp. 2-3.

²⁸SMU Speech, p. 4.

²⁹SMU Speech, p. 4.

³⁰SMU Speech, p. 5.

³¹SMU Speech, p. 5.

³²SMU Speech, p. 3.

³³"A Scientist's Variations on a Disturbing Racial Theme," Life, 12 June 1970, p. 58c.

³⁴"An Unchauvinist Male Replies," Time, 31 Aug. 1970, p. 19.

³⁵SMU Speech, p. 8.

³⁶SMU Speech, p. 6.

³⁷SMU Speech, p. 6.

³⁸SMU Speech, p. 12.

³⁹SMU Speech, p. 13.

⁴⁰SMU Speech, p. 14.

- ⁴¹SMU Speech, p. 14.
- ⁴²Office of the Registrar, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, July 3, 1973. The student enrollment was obtained by phone.
- ⁴³Office of the Registrar, Southern Methodist University.
- ⁴⁴SMU Speech, p. 4.
- ⁴⁵SMU Speech, p. 4.
- ⁴⁶SMU Speech, p. 6.
- ⁴⁷SMU Speech, p. 6.
- ⁴⁸SMU Speech, p. 9.
- ⁴⁹SMU Speech, p. 7.
- ⁵⁰SMU Speech, p. 7.
- ⁵¹SMU Speech, p. 7.
- ⁵²SMU Speech, p. 7.
- ⁵³SMU Speech, p. 8.
- ⁵⁴SMU Speech, p. 2.
- ⁵⁵SMU Speech, p. 11.
- ⁵⁶SMU Speech, p. 11.
- ⁵⁷SMU Speech, p. 11.
- ⁵⁸See Chapter I, p. 24.
- ⁵⁹Susanne K. Langer, Philosophy In A New Key (New York: The New American Library, 1951), p. 164.
- ⁶⁰Langer, p. 165.
- ⁶¹SMU Speech, p. 3.
- ⁶²SMU Speech, p. 3.
- ⁶³SMU Speech, p. 5.

- ⁶⁴SMU Speech, p. 5.
- ⁶⁵SMU Speech, p. 5.
- ⁶⁶SMU Speech, p. 5.
- ⁶⁷SMU Speech, p. 6.
- ⁶⁸SMU Speech, p. 10.
- ⁶⁹SMU Speech, p. 10.
- ⁷⁰SMU Speech, p. 10.
- ⁷¹SMU Speech, p. 11.
- ⁷²SMU Speech, p. 11.
- ⁷³SMU Speech, p. 12.
- ⁷⁴SMU Speech, p. 9.
- ⁷⁵SMU Speech, p. 9.
- ⁷⁶SMU Speech, p. 3.
- ⁷⁷SMU Speech, pp. 3-4.
- ⁷⁸SMU Speech, p. 12.
- ⁷⁹SMU Speech, p. 13.
- ⁸⁰SMU Speech, p. 13.
- ⁸¹SMU Speech, pp. 13-14.
- ⁸²SMU Speech, pp. 14-15.
- ⁸³SMU Speech, p. 11.
- ⁸⁴SMU Speech, p. 15.
- ⁸⁵SMU Speech, p. 10.
- ⁸⁶This information was obtained by phone from the office of the Dallas Women For Change organization on July 11, 1973.
- ⁸⁷Boeth, p. 52.

⁸⁸Pamela Howard, "Ms. and the Journalism of Women's Lib," Saturday Review, 8 Jan. 1972, p. 43.

⁸⁹Howard, p. 43.

⁹⁰Howard, p. 44.

⁹¹Howard, p. 44.

⁹²Howard, p. 44.

⁹³"Ms. Contents," Ms. Spring Preview Issue 1972, p. 3.

⁹⁴Gloria Steinem, "Sisterhood," Ms. Spring Preview Issue 1972, p. 48.

⁹⁵Steinem, "Sisterhood," p. 48.

⁹⁶Steinem, "Sisterhood," p. 48.

⁹⁷Steinem, "Sisterhood," p. 48.

⁹⁸Steinem, "Sisterhood," p. 49.

⁹⁹Steinem, "Sisterhood," p. 49.

¹⁰⁰Steinem, "Sisterhood," p. 48.

¹⁰¹The New York Times, 10 Jan. 1973, p. 34M (ad.).

¹⁰²This statement is based on my personal observation of Steinem at the NWPC on Feb. 9, 1973.

¹⁰³Gloria Steinem, speech given at the Opening Session of the National Women's Political Caucus on February 9, 1973, in Houston, Texas. The text of the speech is available on a tape made by Dr. Vicki O. Stupp at the Caucus. The speech is hereafter referred to as the NWPC Speech.

¹⁰⁴NWPC Speech.

¹⁰⁵NWPC Speech.

¹⁰⁶NWPC Speech.

¹⁰⁷NWPC Speech.

¹⁰⁸NWPC Speech.

¹⁰⁹NWPC Speech.

110⁰NWPC Speech.

111¹NWPC Speech.

112²NWPC Speech.

113³NWPC Speech.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

According to Burke, the basic function of rhetoric "is the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or to induce actions in other human agents."¹ The Burkeian concept concerning the function of rhetoric can be applied to the rhetoric of Steinem, for Steinem's basic function within the Women's Liberation Movement has been to change attitudes and induce action among the members and potential members of the movement. Steinem, through speaking and writing, has challenged the basic patterns of American society, for she has advocated changes in the status quo concerning the rights of women. Also, Steinem's rhetoric can be considered a generating force which has moved women to act.

The growth of the Women's Liberation Movement from 1963 until the present time indicates that women, and men also, have been influenced by speakers and writers advocating women's rights. Steinem is one of those speakers and writers who has influenced some changes in Americans' attitudes toward woman's role in society as well as some changes in upgrading salaries, hiring practices, and educational policies in order to attempt to eliminate sex

discrimination. These changes within the system indicate that the action taken by members of the Women's Liberation Movement has been somewhat effective. Consequently, it may be assumed that Steinem has been responsible in part for some of these changes since the editors of McCall's magazine labelled her as "the most effective spokeswoman"² for the Women's Liberation Movement. The numerous articles and speeches by Steinem and interviews with Steinem further indicate that she was worthy of the McCall's award as "Woman of the Year 1972."

In addition to Steinem's rhetoric of the past three years, her article "The Moral Disarmament of Betty Coed" in 1962 may be considered initially important. In this article, ten years before speaking at Southern Methodist University, Steinem appeared to have been aware that the consciousness of American society was going to change. By 1968, when Steinem attended the November meeting of the New York City Redstockings, she was aware of the oppression suffered by minority groups. The specific suffering of women discussed at the Redstocking meeting also made Steinem aware of the oppression of women involved in the larger principle of human suffering.

The means through which Steinem chose to combat the oppression of women has been rhetoric. The three examples of Steinem's rhetoric analyzed in this study have indicated

that her basic premise concerns the long-standing subjugation and exploitation of women by the ruling class--white males. But also involved in Steinem's rhetoric has been the larger principle concerning the exploitation and subjugation of all minority groups. Steinem has appeared to be genuinely concerned about the condition of humanity. Crusading for humanity, Steinem has spoken and written about women's rights during the past few years. A basic pattern of recurrent themes in Steinem's rhetoric has been established by this study, for the three examples of Steinem's rhetoric which have been analyzed demonstrate the recurrent patterns which not only appeared in her speech at Southern Methodist University and the National Women's Political Caucus and in Ms. magazine but which also appeared in numerous other newspaper and magazine articles by and about her.

The Burkeian concepts of identification and consubstantiality may be observed in Steinem's rhetoric, for she attempted to unite her audiences on the basis of similar properties. Steinem stressed the biological, social, economical, and political properties which women have in common. She stressed the numerous injustices suffered by women as a result of myths growing out of different facets of American society. She identified with her audience by stressing that as a woman she is aware of and has properties similar to her audience.

However, the possibility of negative identification has existed in Steinem's personal characteristics. She has never had a child and has never been married; therefore, the audience member might conclude that she does not share the properties of motherhood and marriage. It is sometimes difficult to convince others that one shares in their properties when she has never experienced certain events or circumstances. Also, Steinem never speaks alone, and often her choice of co-speakers could produce some negative effects on her audience. For example, Margaret Sloan, leader of the Black Feminists, spoke with Steinem at Texas Women's University in March 1972. Sloan, who spoke after Steinem, antagonized some members of the audience by using excessive profanity and vulgar verbal illustrations to make a point in her speech.³ Since Sloan had accompanied Steinem, the negative aspects of her speech transcended Steinem's identification with the audience. Furthermore, Steinem often referred to individuals in her speeches with whom the audience may not have been familiar. The names of Arthur Jensen, Lionel Tiger, and Patrick Moynihan may not have been familiar to the Dallas audience and, thus, did not achieve the point of identification which was intended. Also, Steinem's naming President Richard Nixon as a major common enemy might have evoked a negative response from the Dallas audience members who were members of the Republican party or supportive of Nixon.

In furthering the identification process, Steinem used two major strategies in both speeches and the Ms. article. It would be difficult to rank one strategy over the other in importance, but the strategy of humanism seemed to be Steinem's primary goal. The major strategy sisterhood and its four substrategies appear to lead the audience to the overall conclusion that humanity must reach a state in which all humans are equal, whole beings. The most important substrategy used by Steinem was the naming of the common enemy, for human beings can often unite on the basis of a common foe shared by all. Steinem repeatedly pointed out the common enemy in the rhetoric analyzed in this study. She has strived to show all women who their oppressors have been because women have lived so intimately with the enemy that they have not realized that their condition is a political subjugation. Also, when a minority is oppressed, they must first become aware of and motivated by a desire to overcome their grievances before they will act. Perhaps Steinem's role has been that of the accuser, for someone in the Women's Liberation Movement had to point out where the blame lay. By continually naming the common enemy, Steinem provided a unifying center for the movement. Now that social change has begun to occur and the consciousness of women has been raised, Steinem's role as primary crusader for the Women's Liberation Movement may be over.

Also, by using the substrategy of self-discovery, Steinem has made many women aware of their potential to succeed, and, by doing so, she has encouraged other women to take over the leadership of the movement.⁴

Perhaps Steinem's greatest ability is that of being able to transcend the different levels of society to identify with various groups of women. Her own transcendence of the hierarchial system has also shown other women that they have the potential to be sisters with all women. Steinem has urged women to unite across the barriers that have estranged women from each other so that they might transcend the hierarchial system and achieve an equal level of humanity. Steinem's concept of humanism encompasses all human beings--women, men, children--and stresses the benefits for all involved. In a new period of humanism, Steinem has forecast an environment in which every individual will be free to function as a human being and to discern and use their individual talents. By freeing the individual to search for her place in society, Steinem has forecast a society based on human potential.

The Women's Liberation Movement is not over, for the revolution--public and private--continues in the form of local organizations, literature being published, and congressional legislation concerning women's rights. Steinem, who has called herself an accident of history, was in the right

place at the right time in the history of the feminist revolution because a leader was needed to unite the movement. Steinem used her rhetorical abilities to create a unifying center for the movement and to promote consubstantiality among the members. By stressing the concept of a new period of humanism which may be achieved through sisterhood, Steinem has revealed her motive, her internal need to interpret reality. Steinem has been motivated by her love for humanity and her concern for women as vital human beings. She has used language as symbolic action in an attempt to promote understanding and induce cooperation among her fellow humans. Since the feminist revolution is yet unfinished, the success of Steinem's ultimate goal, a new period of humanism based on human potential, can only be determined in the future.

FOOTNOTES

¹Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 41.

²Marilyn Mercer, "Woman of the Year: Gloria Steinem," McCall's, Jan. 1972, p. 67.

³This observation was made by Dr. Vicki O. Stupp who attended the Texas Women's University speech.

⁴Steinem indicated that new leaders should emerge within the movement at the NWPC in Houston, Texas, on Feb. 9, 1973.

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