IDENTIFICATION: THE MISSING LINK WITHIN THE RHETORIC OF SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS

by

JORDAN CHRISTIANSEN

B.S., Minnesota State University-Mankato, 2012

A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Communication Studies
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

2014

Approved by:

Major Professor
Charles J. G. Griffin

Abstract

The term and concept of identification is a familiar one. The modern communication scholar's knowledge of the term identification is drawn more directly from the works of Kenneth Burke. In 1950 Kenneth Burke released his book "A Rhetoric of Motives" and from this Burke outlined his concept of identification. To Burke, identification is a rhetorical process that leads to persuasion, and the identification process encompasses all the traditional forms of rhetoric as a category of tools to establish identification within rhetorical discourse (Burke, 1950; Day, 1960). The concept of identification has been applied generously as the field of rhetoric has progressed. However, a minimal amount of research connecting identification and the rhetoric of social movements has been conducted. This is a problem, because social movements rely heavily on persuasion and influence to garner audience support, so a deeper investigation into identification and social movement rhetoric is warranted. In recent years the marriage equality movement has seen a rapid amount of success in establish same-sex marriage in a variety of states. What has changed that has allowed these movements to reach so much success so quickly? I believe the answer to this question lies in the rhetoric of these movements and their use of identification. This thesis asks an overarching question; "Does identification help to explain the success of a social movement?" Applying Burke's concept of identification to two marriage equality movements, Minnesotans United for All Families and Fair Wisconsin, this thesis seeks to determine the role identification plays in a social movements success or failure. What this thesis finds is that identification is a vital component in determining a social movements overall success. Identification is a two-step process, where first identification strategies need to be present within a social movement's rhetoric. For identification strategies to be effective not only must the strategies be present but also the audience must link these strategies with their subconscious and thereby include the movement as a part of his or her identity. In conducting this thesis critical implications are drawn in relation to identification theory, organizational recruitment and maintenance, as well as community building and engagement.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all of those who have provided me with encouragement and support throughout this process. I would like to thank my thesis advisor Dr. Charles J. G. Griffin who was instrumental in assisting me in writing this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge the members of my committee who also assisted in this endeavor: Dr. William Schenck-Hamlin and Dr. Timothy Steffensmeier. Finally, I would like to thank my parents and remaining family members who have always supported me, this process was made so much easier knowing I have such a strong family that supports me no matter what I do.

Chapter 1 - Introduction & Rationale

Issues related to LGBT individuals are not new to our social, political, and communal culture. Throughout the country's history gay and lesbian individuals have struggled to obtain full equality within our society. However, largely this struggle has been largely kept hidden away in our society's closet. Not until the 1990's did issues related to LGBT inequality really start to breaking into the public sphere and conversation. In recent years we have seen the same-sex marriage equality movement take tremendous strides in establishing and defending gay marriage on the state level. Now, the issue of gay marriage has been a hidden struggle until largely recently, so why now in the early 21st century has the marriage equality movement and LGBT rights gained traction? How have the various marriage equality movements garnered so much success so quickly? What is going on in our political and social culture that is causing this rapid transition in earning LGBT equality? The current societal importance of marriage equality in the United States begs for research into the rhetoric of these marriage equality movements. Because these movements are having a large amount of success, over such a short period of time, it is vital for us as scholars to understand the rhetoric of these social movements.

In August of 2013 Minnesota became the 12th state to legalize gay marriage in the United States. This accomplishment marked the crowing achievement for the leading marriage equality movement in Minnesota, Minnesotans United for All Families. What made this accomplishment so monumental was the rapid rate gay marriage was legalized within the state. Over the course of two years, the gay marriage in Minnesota went from almost being constitutionally banned in 2011, to fully legalized in 2013. What was the cause for Minnesotans United meteoric success? How was this pro-marriage equality group able to legalize gay marriage so quickly? These are

questions that are frankly difficult to answer with the current knowledge base found in social movement studies and rhetoric.

Thus far in the social movement discipline there is a well-established understanding of the operational aspects of a movement, primarily from the perspective of the movement and its organizers. Yet, a movement cannot succeed without the support of its target audience. What content, strategies, tactics, goals, or motives can be attributed to inspiring action from a movement's audience? More importantly, I am concerned with what is the motivation for an audience member to move from bystander to active participant within such social movement. I believe the answer for this is the vital rhetorical process of identification. I believe that when an individual feels they hold similar qualities and beliefs as a social movement, they feel inclined to support the movement either through active participation or with support from afar. Identification is not a new concept to rhetorical studies. However, little has been done to understand how identification functions in a social movement. I argue that Kenneth Burke's concept of identification can solve this problem, allowing us to understand how identification functions in an instrumental way within a social movement.

The term and concept of identification is a familiar one. In his classic work *A Rhetoric* Aristotle discussed identification when he mentioned that rhetoric is concerned with gaining audience assent, that rhetoric is audience centered. Yet the modern communication scholar's knowledge of the term identification is drawn more directly from the work of Kenneth Burke. In 1950 Kenneth Burke released his book "A Rhetoric of Motives" and from this book Burke outlined his theory of identification. To Burke, identification is a rhetorical process that leads to persuasion, and the identification process encompasses the traditional forms of rhetoric as tools

to establish identification within rhetorical discourse (Burke, 1950; Day, 1960). In short, identification is persuasion and influence.

According to Burke's (1950) theory, identification is rooted in the notion of substance, and identification is synonymous with consubstantibility. Burke's notion of substance being the root of identification is best illustrated through the following, "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 their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so" (p. 20). When B and A are identified, the pair becomes "substantially one" with each other, yet at the same time remaining unique. Meaning they are both joined and separate, at once distinct substance and consubstantial with another. To identify A with B is to make A consubstantial with B (1950). "This movement from actus to status involves class substance. It centers about the fact that the different occupational acts each have their corresponding properties, and out of these differences in properties there develop in time corresponding differences of status" (Burke, 1950, p. 42). Burke points out that a thing's identity is its uniqueness as an entity itself, having its own particular structure. It is important to think of consubstantiality as necessary to any way of life because substance was an act, and life can be thought of as acting together; and in acting together human beings have common experiences, which according to Burke make then consubstantial.

According to Burke's (1950) theory, identification is rooted in the notion of substance, and consubstantibility. It is through the notion of property in which a thing is identified. We identify objects, groups, and ourselves through their substance, or in other words the properties of which they are composed. As Burke reminds us, property is not limited to the mere materialistic, economic term, but rather "metaphysically" (1950, p. 23). Our morality, and

concept of ourselves are organized through our various properties, and these properties contain various rhetorical entailments and meanings. These rhetorical entailments and meanings attached to our various properties form dialectic within us, establishing our identity. Rhetorical entailments and meanings provide substance to the various properties and substances that form our identity, and the associations established between our properties and their meanings establishes a dialectical pairing. Dialectical pairing is formed when we understand the properties of a substance from the standpoint of another. "A poem, by shifting the imagery of its metaphors, permits us to contemplate the subject from the standpoint of various objects. This effect is dialectical in the sense that we see something in terms of some other" (Burke, 1945, p. 33).

Durham (1980) points out that in *A Grammar of Motives* "Burke's critique of practical judgment, explores the language used in political decision-making. It treats of language used substantially, that is language used to attribute motive, to assign value, and to confer identity" (p. 351). Assigning and attributing motives creates dialectic within us, and this dialectic fuels the symbolic process of identification and identity formation. Durham explores three aspects of substance that relate to identification: substance as naming, substance as formation, and substance as a form of structure. Substance involves the systematic defining a thing in terms of something, defining objects and ultimately us through the negative (1980). In *A Grammar of Motives* Burke points out "to consider an act in terms of its grounds is to consider it in terms of what it is not" (1945, p. 40). Burke highlights that through a piece of rhetoric appealing to substance, identification and ultimately persuasion can be accomplished. "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" (1950, p. 21).

Within Burke's theory, division between two parties is necessary for identification to occur and to be necessary. "Identification is affirmed with earnestness precisely because there is division. Identification is compensatory to division" (1950, p. 22). Because man is composed of a unique composition of various substances, we are unique, and thus divided amongst ourselves. Burke reminds us of this when he states, "If men were wholly and truly of one substance absolute communication would be of man's very essence" (p. 22). In other words, in a world of pure persuasion, there would be no conflict, and with no strife, there would be no need for identification. So for identification to occur two parties must be divided in order for identification to be a necessary process to occur between them, if they were of one substance, identification would not be necessary. The component of division leads into another component of Burke's concept of identification, this being autonomy. As Burke pointed out in his discussion of substance, man is composed of unique substances, making each a different autonomous individual. However, it is important to remember that despite our shared activities we may be considered "autonomous."

Burke also reminds us that although an activity, group, or person may consider himself or herself autonomous; the principles of rhetoric argue they are not free from identification with other motivations extrinsic to such activity. People are not motivated to act solely by the principles of a singular activity, because any action or activity someone partakes in is part of a larger unit of actions and motivations. Burke further explains this relationship with the following example, "The shepherd, qua shepherd, acts for the good of the sheep, to protect them from discomfiture and harm. But he may be 'identified' with a project that is raising the sheep for market" (1950, p. 27). Identification, as Burke demonstrates, contains numerous rhetorical entailments, where a person's motivation for participating in a particular activity may not be the

same as others. Or in the case of the shepherd, the individual may not be motivated by the welfare of sheep, but rather financial gain. Burke argues that our activities are "free from identification with other orders of motivation extrinsic to it" (p. 27). An activity itself may be considered autonomous, however that activity despite its uniqueness, is connected or is identified with a larger field and or unit of actions. Burke points out, "The human agent, is not motivated solely by the principles of a specialized activity, however strongly this specialized power, in its suggestive role as imagery, may affect his character" (p. 27). Meaning that any action is connected or identified with a larger field of meanings, values, and associations. So for example, when choosing to have for breakfast in the morning, you may choose to enjoy a granola bar to start off your day. Other options are presented to you, such as eggs, bacon or a bagel, however you choose a granola bar. The act of choosing the granola bar is autonomous in it, yet by selecting the granola bar you also become associated with emphasizes a healthy diet and lifestyle. The larger field of rhetorical entailments attached to the granola bar become identified with yourself, when you engage in the autonomous activity of choosing the granola bar. Kenneth Burke is also quick to remind us that the principles of autonomous activity can also be considered unique to each individual. Human beings can identify with a subject, activity, individual, or group differently (1950). So the action of choosing the granola bar may hold a different meaning for you when compared to a different identification held by another individual.

For Burke (1950) identification has three main types; 1) it can be used as a means to an end, primarily functioning as persuasion, 2) It can be established among enemies through the connection of a common enemy, and 3) It can derive from situations that may go unnoticed, otherwise known as subconsciously. These three types I believe when applied to the rhetoric of social movements will demonstrate the importance of identification to the success of a social

movement. Because of this, Burke's types of identification will serve as a guide in establishing the importance of identification for social movements. These three types will be discussed in greater detail in the third chapter of this thesis, so this portion will simply provide a general overview of Burke's cases of identification. Now Burke's first type is when identification is used primarily as a means to an end, the primary goal is achieve some degree of persuasion between the speaker and the audience. This first case is a more traditional approach to rhetoric and identification, where a speaker is speaking in front of the audience with the primary object to sway the audience's support in favor of the speaker. A speaker attempts to attain consubstantiality by identifying his substance, or properties with the properties of the audience. Second, when identification is established among enemies through the connection of a common enemy, two opposing parties become united through a mutual opposition. Identification here functions as a connection through a common antithesis, bringing together parties or individual who traditional would not work and function together. Think of this second type of identification as working together with your biggest rival in order to overcome that common enemy who seeks to eliminate your preferred status quo in the workplace.

Finally, there are instances where we may not be aware of the identifications we are making and may hold within our subconscious. As human beings there are instances we may identify with individuals, groups, practices, or situations in which we may not fully understand the reason for such a mutual understanding. It is the unexplainable connection we may feel to certain objects, groups, or individuals, Burke says is explained by the subconscious component of identification. From a speaker audience perspective, the use of the rhetorical "we" versus "I" technique helps to inspire an unconscious form of unification amongst the audience, as well as between the collective audience and the speaker (Cheney, 1983). This form of unconscious

identification takes into account that we as human beings sometimes may not maintain complete

control and intent over our actions, and this type from Burke attempts to those situations into

account in terms of identification theory. Roy Ambrester in his article "Identification Within:

Kenneth Burke's View of the Unconscious" provides a thorough explanation of unconscious

identification. Ambrester states: "Burke's major postulation concerning the unconscious resides

in his view of self as a process of 'becoming' through identification within" (1974, p. 206). For

Burke the quest for identity and identification on a subconscious level occurs through the

symbolic fashion of making choices. As Ambrester highlights "identity occurs through

acceptance and rejection of various symbols" (p. 206). We unconsciously develop our

personalities, creating a sense of self through the acceptance and rejection of various symbols

imposed on us by various rhetorical strategies. This continual cycle of symbol association

creates a desire for the "good life" through a methodology of transcendence, creating a pattern of

continual rebirth on a subconscious level. Burke's third type of subconscious identification takes

into account the role our continual search for identity impacts how and who or what we associate

ourselves with, functioning within Burke's concept of identification. I argue that Burke's three

types of identification serve not as a tool, but rather as a way of answering the question, "Does

identification explain the success of a social movement?"

 Having examined the components of Burke's theory of identification, I will now provide

a more accurate definition of identification. Identification is a rhetorical process consciously or

unconsciously undertaken that leads to persuasion, and the process of identification encompasses

the traditional forms of rhetoric as a tool to establish persuasion in rhetorical discourse. A

speaker uses linguistic strategies, which gives clues to the audience that his properties are similar

to their properties, achieving identification and thereby achieving persuasion. It is important to

note that this author views persuasion and influence as synonymous terms, where influence is a process that leads to persuasion. Throughout the thesis it is important to remember that persuasion and influence will be treated as one and the same. As Burke suggests in accomplishing persuasion and influence, the rhetor must first engage and accomplish identification. Since *A Rhetoric of Motives* rhetorical scholarship has taken Burke's theory of identification, applying the theory to numerous different cases. However, since Burke there have been two issues with identification scholarship in the field of rhetoric. First, despite identification's clear connection to persuasion, as outlined by Burke, few studies have applied identification to the area of social movement studies. This is discouraging since the rhetoric of social movements is a vital part of the communication discipline. Because a social movement has the potential to enact social and political change through audience recruitment and mobilization, the study of the rhetoric created by social movements is necessary. Knowing the strategies, and dimensions of a social movement will allow us to become more aware and critical as rhetorical scholars and educators. For the sake of this thesis, a social movement can be defined as a mobilized collective of participants, operating under a unified philosophy in order to enact social or political change within a society and or culture. The second issue is that despite the wide application of Burke's Identification Theory, there seems to be very little consensus among rhetorical scholars as to what identification is. These two prevailing issues surrounding identification scholarship have plagued social movement studies within the framework of identification theory. They will be explored further in the upcoming chapter two.

This thesis examines the role identification plays in the rhetoric of social movements, asking the question: "Do the rhetorical cases of Burke's concept of identification impact the rhetoric of social movements?" In other words, does identification explain the success of a

social movement? This question is important because social movements rely on audience recruitment and participation, through the process of persuasion, in order to accomplish their goals, it seems clear that it is in the study of social movements best interest to understand the concept of identification. In order to support them, social movements need active members, and the process of recruiting and maintaining those members is a continual process of persuasion and influence, which according to Burke, relies heavily on identification. Because of the importance identification plays in the operation of social movements and the lack of research conducted exploring this connection, it is important to explore the connection between the two. Specifically, I seek to shed light into the role of identification in social movements, and I will accomplish this goal by applying Burke's three types of identification to study identification in social movements.

Burke reminds us that identification, and ultimately persuasion occurs through the implementation of various rhetorical devices, targeting an audience's feelings, attitudes, perspectives, and opinions. Identification occurs when listeners are not merely receiving the information, but "were itself creatively participating in the poet's or speaker's assertion" (Burke, 1950, p. 58). For Burke, identification holds and maintains a particular "form," and once that form is grasped, a speaker is able to invite participation regardless of the subject matter. Because of this, I propose Burke's identification as a possible methodology to determine the importance of identification in social movements. In doing so; this thesis seeks to determine the importance of identification to and for social movements. It is my hope that by offering an account on the role of identification in a social movement's, deeper insight can be uncovered about the role and function identification plays not only in social movements, but communities and organizations in general. Through the review of identification literature, and providing case studies as an

10

example, it is the goal of this thesis study to highlight a methodology for identifying the role of identification from the framework of social movements.

As previously mentioned this study seeks to probe into the relationship between social movements and identification, by examining the role of identification from the framework of social movements. It will be organized into five chapters. Chapter one will provide a rationale for the study and exploration of the problem surrounding identification and social movements. Chapter two will provide a literature review of prior work conducted involving identification scholarship, organizational communication, and social movements. Chapter three will outline a methodology for analyzing identification in social movements that is consistent with Burke's explanation of the concept. Chapter four will provide a case study testing this exploratory methodology, and chapter five will discuss any important implications and conclusions drawn from the research.

Chapter 2 - Review of Identification Literature

Having reviewed and established the multiple facets of Kenneth Burke's concept of identification, I will now review how this concept has been implemented since. After *A Rhetoric of Motives*, there is very little consensus among rhetorical scholars as to what identification is. Identification is a concept, that when mentioned seems to inspire a mutual understanding of establishing an association between two objects. However, despite this "mutual understanding" the prevailing literature suggests that post-Burke the field of rhetoric has plurality of meanings and conceptualizations of identification. As stated earlier in my rationale, I propose that by utilizing a possible methodology that stays true to Burke's original notion of identification a clear, established, connection between identification and the rhetoric of social movements will

arise. This new connection will provide a new avenue to study the numerous dimensions

surrounding the concept of identification and social movements.

Since *A Rhetoric of Motives* Burke's theory of identification, it has been drawn upon

heavily in rhetorical, critical, organizational, and cultural studies. Scholars have taken Burke's

initial theory of identification, progressively applying and modifying the theory since it's release

in 1950. This section of my literature review will examine various fields in which identification

has been implemented previously. Specifically, I will explore the fields of **rhetoric**,

organizational communication, and finish by reviewing how identification has been used up to

this point in the field of **social movement studies**. Throughout this literature review, it is

important to highlight that each of these various studies individually talk about each one of

Burke's three types of identification; 1) identification as a means to an end, 2) identification over

a common enemy, and 3) subconscious identification. This literature review is organized

chronologically, yet within this each study reviewed can be categorized as one of Kenneth

Burke's type of identification. The hope of this literature review is to examine how Burke's

concept of identification has been implemented since the release of *A Rhetoric of Motives*.

Section One: Traditional Rhetoric

Within the field of traditional rhetorical studies a lot of the discussion connected to

identification has been exploring a clearer understanding of Burke's initial positing about

identification. Only ten years after *A Rhetoric of Motives,* Day, (1960) when explaining the

relationship between rhetoric and identification provided the following definition of

identification: The speaker uses 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. In response to Day, Kirk (1961) posited

that identification is not only a process that operates in rhetoric, but also the structure, which

gives rhetoric order. Kirk even goes further to point out that identification is a form of conflict

resolution, searching for "modern" truths of the time period. In his application of mathematical

theory of Set Theory to Burke's concept of identification, Lawrence Rosenfeld (1969) provided

the following definition:

> For identification to exist there must be a sharing of elements, but only some
>
> elements. Consequently, if A equals B, or the intersection of A and B yield the null
>
> set, then identification would not exist. If the elements, which two sets hold in
>
> common, really do exist, then there is identification. If one believes in the existence
>
> of elements shared in common, then identification exists here too (p. 182).

Rosenfeld went on to simplify the prior definition: "Identification is finding a shared element

between the speaker's point of view and the audience's, or finding the audience's point of view

and the speaker's convincing them that they share a common element" (1969, p. 183). Rosenfeld

attempts to provide a clearer illustration of Burke's theory of identification applying the

mathematical theory of Set Theory to identification in order to provide clarity into Burke's

original theory. For Rosenfeld identification "seems to involve sharing, via symbols, the values

of the person or audience with whom one is speaking" (p. 183). Dennis Day in his article

"Persuasion and the Concept of Identification" highlights that Burke's *A Rhetoric of Motives* and

his theory of identification is being treated as a type of "new" modern rhetoric. For Burke and

those who follow him, persuasion can only be achieved through identification, which

identification is an all-encompassing strategy to rhetoric (1960).

 In response to Day, John Kirk's 1961 article "Kenneth Burke and Identification," posited

that identification functions not only as a process of rhetorical discourse, but also as a rhetorical

structure for such discourse. Kirk added another element toward identification theory by highlighting that identification is a form of conflict resolution, searching for "modern truths" of the time period. Responding to Kirk and his 1961 article, Dennis Day provided a rebuttal. Day (1961) disagreed with Kirk's argument in two ways: 1) the term identification should be treated as a new term, and 2) identification functions not only as a process but also a hierarchal structure. Building upon the perspective that identification provides a structure to rhetorical discourse, Carpenter (1972) contributed to the discussion around identification by adding that identification or consubstantiality can be fostered by increased redundancy achieved by stylistic manipulation in favor of uncommon but organized patterns. Carpenter contended that up to this point, too much attention dealing with identification had been paid upon how the content and context of discourse fostered identification, and not enough focus has been lent to the style of discourse. For Carpenter the arrangement and style of a piece of rhetoric has just as much power to influence identification, like the discourse's content and context. Following Carpenter, Gresson III (1978) posited that too much attention has been paid to the indiscriminate use of the identification theme, and Gresson III attempted to place identification into the theme of phenomenology and human interaction. Gresson III, utilized the work of Alfred Schutz phenomenological sociology, which finds shared memory as essential to human cooperative action. In relation to identification these shared memories allow individuals to overlook boundaries amongst each other, and unite under cooperative action, finding a degree of common ground. Harte, in his 1977 article "The Concept of Identification in the Rhetorical Theories of Kenneth Burke and Eric Hoffer" primarily demonstrated that Burke's concept of identification is prominent in the rhetorical theories of Eric Hoffer. Within this article Harte reminded us that for Burke all the traditional devices of rhetoric are a means of achieving identification, and

ultimately persuasion. For Hoffer, identification refers only in the degree to which an individual may feel identified with a group, with the fundamental aim of the individual to escape the self. In other words, Hoffer believes that identification, or various identification help establish one's identity, and the changing of a person's identity or identifications can be a transformative experience.

In his article "A Case for Kenneth Burke's Dialectic and Rhetoric" Crusius (1986) argues that Burke's dialectical notion of rhetoric has certain advantages. The author points out, "Dialectic for Burke is the study of the verbal universe, the disinterested pursuit of a vocabulary's implications. It is inquiry into the 'disposition and transposition' of terms, and may be applied…to anything made of words" (1986, p. 24). By framing dialectic through a Burkean lens, Crusius highlights the hierarchical structure of rhetorical discourse, where terms have a variety of rhetorical entailments and power. Understanding a hierarchical structure of rhetorical discourse brings to light a top-down structure within various pieces of rhetoric. Meaning the variety of rhetorical entailments or meanings for words or parts of discourse, are structured accordingly to their importance, or a hierarchical structure. Crusius goes on to note that we as human beings are alienated from each other by our various differences, such as ethnicity, social background and experiences, etc. "When language is used to overcome these differences, to foster cooperation and establish community, we are in the realm of rhetoric" (p. 24). Later on in the article, Crusius points out that traditionally rhetoric is the art of persuasion. However, instead of being a tool for persuasion, Burke chooses identification as his key term for rhetorical discourse (1986). This is because the author points out that for Burke, rhetoric seeks to build a sense of community, overcoming a diversity of conflicting opinions and interests. As was previously mentioned earlier in this literature review, the notion of division is crucial to Burke's

concept of identification. Borrowman and Kmetz explore division in the article "Divided We

Stand: Beyond Burkean Identification." The authors of this article argue that a majority of

identification scholarship has focused on that concept only, and not enough attention has been

paid to the concept of division within identification theory as well (2011). By analyzing the

career of Montana senator Jeannette Rankin, the authors explore the divisions within themselves

as natives of Montana, as well as the social culture within Montana over this controversial early

20th century politician. Borrowman and Kmetz conclude by emphasizing the dialogic nature of

rhetoric, and ask not for straight identification within rhetorical discourse, but rather to ask

questions and treat rhetoric as a form of dialogue (2011). This is where Borrowman and Kmetz

differ from the previously mentioned Crusius (1986) who holds a hierarchal view of the dialectic

nature of rhetoric. Borrowman and Kmetz view the interaction between various rhetorical terms

through the framework of a dialogue, this differs from the previously outlined hierarchal lens

where terms maintain various rhetorical entailments and meanings. Belknap and Campbell, in

their 1951 article "Political Party Identification and Attitudes Toward Foreign Policy" examine

the relationship between identifications with political parties to attitudes regarding certain issues.

The authors point out that the assumption that individual perceptions, evaluations, and behavior

are determined in large part by the standards and values of the groups with which the person

identifies. Meaning that the political groups, or other organizations that we identify with that

influences our attitudes, beliefs, behavior and actions. What Belknap and Campbell and the

other mentioned scholars of this section illustrate is that rhetoric and persuasion has the power to

influence people's attitudes, beliefs, and behavior. Rhetoric's ability to influence behavior is

crucial to social movements, which rely greatly on audience recruitment and participation to

accomplish their intended goals. Knowing rhetoric is influenced heavily from Burke's concept

of identification is crucial for social movements, and something that will be explored further in my thesis.

Section Two: Organizational Communication

Organizational communication has also been an area of communication scholarship where the concept of identification is employed in the field's research. For example, Scott in his 2007 article "Communication and Social Identity Theory: Existing and Potential Connections in Organizational Identification Research" reviews prior work done in the field in order to establish a relationship between Social Identity Theory and organizational identification. Scott concludes that Social Identity Theory addresses multiple forms of identification, but the theories and concepts behind identification can play a particularly important role in the organizational context. Lacy G. McNamee points out the following connection between identification and organizational communication in her article "Faith-Based Organizational Communication and its implications for Member Identity" (2011). McNamee posits that the general consensus in organizational communication about language and identification is provided by Young (2007) who wrote, "identities are expressed, negotiated, formed, and defined through discourse." (p. 226). McNamee later on states that she views identification as a dynamic, social, and reciprocal in nature (2011). In her study, McNamee offers theoretical insight into the connection between institutional identification, such as religion, and organizational identifications, such as work. The author concludes that the interweaving of faith and secular thinking discourse codes need to be more prominent in order to increase identification in faith-based organizations.

Later William and Connaughton (2012) investigate how organizational members communicatively enact identification and more specifically how tensions in identification are expressed through members' talk and behaviors. Using a case-study approach, observations of

organizational events were used to understand the identification tensions these individuals negotiated and ways that identification, disidentification, and ambivalent identification were enacted. The study finds evidence of changing identifications and articulates their various communicative manifestations, supporting the notion that identification can be enacted and communicated in response to organizational change. Next, Steimel in her 2013 article "Connecting with Volunteers: Memorable Messages and Volunteer Identification" focuses on nonprofit organizations, specifically examining the memorable messages that are distributed to the volunteers of the organization. Steimel contends that identification is crucial for nonprofit organizations that rely on the assistance of volunteers, because of the lack of tangible incentives such as money, to entice first time volunteers to return. The study reveals that memorable messages containing content involving the significance of the volunteer work were the most effective in establishing identification, when compared to messages involving organizational rules and regulations (2013). Kramer, Meisenbach & Hansen (2013), examined issues of uncertainty management of volunteer members in a community choir. These studies found that supervisor and peer communication and other factors, such as more preparation time and less difficult tasks were associated with higher levels of certainty for members community choir. In addition, higher levels of certainty and additional external factors such as family support for participation and lack of conflicts were associated with higher levels of satisfaction and identification.

Stephens & Dailey (2012) observed that when employees enter organizations, they bring their life experiences with them, and those experiences may influence their organizational identification. The authors found that member identification with the organization is influenced by participation in new employee orientation. Continuing along the same vein, Cheney (1983)

contends that Burke's concept of identification occupies a central position in contemporary rhetorical theory and criticism. In his article, Cheney concludes that contemporary organizations are concerned about identification, both to individuals within and outside the organization. Since organizations are a congregation of individuals, there must be a binding force that keeps them together, and that force is the process of identification. Cheney points out that Burke's concept of identification is primarily receiver-oriented, placing emphasis individual act of identifying with or without the help of the rhetor or organization (1983). However, Cheney reminds us that often organizations do "help" in facilitating identification with the individual. "The organization 'initiates' this inducement process by communicating its values, goals, and information" (p. 147). In the article, Cheney established three identification strategies, which can be operationalized in the study of formal communication in organizations. First, is the "common ground technique," where the rhetor equates a link between themselves and the audience, echoing Burke's (1950) first type of identification, being used as a means to an end. Second, is "identification through antithesis," which primarily unites through a common enemy, reflecting Burke's second type of identification. And according to Cheney, third "identification through the assumed or transcendent 'we'" (1983, p. 148). Cheney's transcendent "we" meets Burke's type of identification, deriving from situations of the unknown or subconscious.

Generally, identification within a group or organizational setting is considered a good quality. However, Seiter (1997) in his article "When identification is too much of a good thing: An examination of Kenneth Burke's concept in organizational, intercultural, and group communication contexts" argues that we must be moderate in promoting identification. Seiter argues that placing too much emphasis on identification places an exaggerated promotion of agreement, having undesirable outcomes. According to Seiter, it is a common assumption that

identification should be promoted. However, when individuals identify too much with an organization, problems such as groupthink can occur. Seiter reminds readers that identification can be a powerful tool, but we must be aware of possible negative outcomes that come with identification. Viewing identification from an organizational context and framework is vital for implementing Burke's concept of identification to social movements. This is for the obvious reason that social movements are collectives of individuals working towards a common goal in a group context, placing prior work involved with identification and organizations at the heart of analyzing identification from a social movement framework.

Section Three: Rhetoric of Social Movements

With the process of identification's strong link to persuasion, it is natural that identification theory has been heavily applied to social movement studies. Initially, in his seminal chapter "A Dramatistic Theory of the Rhetoric of Movements" (1969), Leland Griffin attempts to develop a dramatistic model of the structure of a social movement's rhetoric. Specifically, Griffin focuses on the dramatistic form of a movement in terms similar to that of tragedy. Griffin's essay assumed "that all movements are essentially political, concerned with governance or dominion…politics above all is drama" (Griffin, p. 456). To Griffin, to study a movement is to study a progress; this progress specifically that of the excluded members of society rallying together to confront the dominant members. Griffin believes that movements are a rhetorical striving of becoming the dominant societal structure. Drawing heavily upon Kenneth Burke, Griffin notes that humans are symbol making and symbol using creatures, and this communication through symbols can used for good communication. To study a movement is to study drama and these dramas can have form, with recognizable parts; the inception period, crisis period, the period of consummation (1969). According to Griffin, the inception period "of a

movement is a time of indecision; of alienation, auscultation, and the innovation of public

tensions" (p. 462). The inception period is a time of unification, a time of solidarity among

minority members to achieve salvation. Next the "crisis period of a movement is a time of mass

decision; of collective catharsis, purgation, the resolution of public tensions" (p. 466). This is an

open time of expression for the movement, a time of death of allegiance to the system of

authority. Third, the "period of consummation is a time of decision persevered in. For it is a

time of Redemption: men have been purged of absurdity and injustice; and having been purged,

they desire to remain so" (p. 467). In its consummation, the movement has replaced the prior

system of authority, and new reason and justice now reign in society. Inevitably, the period of

consummation transforms into the period of eloquence, becoming a stage of "pure praise,

edification, prayer, petition; of 'pure courtship', homage in general" (p. 470). The period of

eloquence can "be expected at the farthest reach of the movement, to transcend itself by passing,

'beyond language,' into the region of Silence" (p. 471). Finally, a movement enters a period of

stasis, where redemption has been achieved, and stasis in another sense becomes pure tension.

"It is tension inherent in a state of sheer courtship; the tension intrinsic to the very motive of

'pure persuasion'" (p. 471). By directly connecting Kenneth Burke's concept of identification

and *A Rhetoric of Motives* to social movement, Leland Griffin provides a direct link for

identification theory as a methodology to analyze social movements.

Stewart attempts to answer Griffin's call for further research, "from the identification of a

number of rhetorical patterns…whether a consistent set of forms may be said to exist" (Griffin,

1952, 188). Stewart proposes his own solution, which he labels the functional approach. His

article, "A Functional Approach to the Rhetoric of Social Movements" specifically outlines the

functional approach view of rhetoric as the agency in which social movements are able to

perform essential functions (Stewart, 1980). Stewart establishes five components of the

functional approach; transforming perceptions of history, transforming perceptions of society,

prescribing courses of action, mobilizing for action, sustaining the social movement. In order to

fulfill Stewart's first component of transforming perceptions of history, the "social movement

must alter the ways audiences perceive the past, the present, and the future to convince them that

an intolerable situation exists and that it warrants urgent action" (p. 302). In the second

component of altering perceptions of society, the "social movement must attempt to alter target

audience's perceptions of the opposition…the rhetorical task is to strip such opponents of their

legitimacy" (p. 302). Within the third component of prescribing action, the social movement

must explain what should be done, defending and selling its program for change. The fourth

component of mobilizing for action, the social movement must "mobilize target audiences into

performing appropriate actions" (p. 304). The social movement must unite and organize

discontented groups and inspire them to perform a variety of actions. Finally, within the fifth

component of sustaining the movement, a social movement must perform functions that sustain

itself. A social movement must remain "viable" and "visible," continual reaffirming the

audience that the movement is still necessary. After discussing each of these five functions in

detail, Stewart comes to the conclusion that the functional approach is the best solution to

Griffin's vision of "rhetorical patterns" to social movements. By directly connecting Kenneth

Burke's concept of identification and *A Rhetoric of Motives* to social movements, Leland Griffin

and Stewart provide a direct link to establish identification theory as a methodology for

analyzing social movements. These authors and their works highlight common themes, trends,

features, and characteristics across social movements, establishing a methodology and

framework to analyze social movements from Burke's concept of identification. One can

assume that in order to establish identification from the perspective of the leader of a social movement, it may be a smart decision to operate the social movement from a dramatistic framework in which people can easily comprehend and thus identify with. Griffin's and Stewart's work also highlights specific stages and moments within a social movement in which identification may be the necessary component to achieve success, such as Stewart's stage of mobilizing for action within a movement.

Another example connecting identification to social movement studies is Richard Gregg's 1971 article, "The Ego-Function of the Rhetoric of Protest." In this article Gregg explores the formation of the ego through confrontational rhetoric found within social movements. In order to draw in their audience and win its support, the article contends that a speaker must produce messages that affect the audience's beliefs, perceptions, attitudes and behaviors. When a social movement, or its leader, constitutes a certain identity, the movement is able to draw in members who identify with those same concerns. Gregg points out that a rhetorical transaction is a situation where a speaker produces a message for the purpose of affecting beliefs, perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of the audience. Gregg goes on to postulate that identification is required for the rhetoric of social movements to be effective, and he provides the following definition for identification: "In each instance the communicator is trying to draw his audience closer to him, physically or symbolically, and the communicator does this through intellectual and emotional appeals to the audience" (p. 73). Charles J. Stewart in the 1999 article, "Championing the Rights of Others and Challenging Evil: The Ego Function in the Rhetoric of Other-Directed Social Movements," points out that the rhetoric of other-directed social movements develops itself through the major themes of self-esteem, status in the social movement, self-identity, and victimage. Other-directed movements can be defined as social

movements where the focus of the movement is placed on the movement itself, rather than the individual members. Other-directed movements reflect the goals and ambitions of the movement or its leader. When other-directed social movements utilized the theme of self-esteem, the movement contained rhetoric that appeared to affirm and enhance an already exalted self-esteem by recognizing the protestor's victories in great moral struggles. The third theme of identity for other-directed movements comes through identification with the specific social movement.

Members of other-directed movements do not identify with the specific members, but rather they identify with the movements themselves, supporting the cause and beliefs, not the people. Stewart concludes his article by affirming that rhetor's of self-directed movements address the class of groups of which they belong as being oppressed and exploited by an evil majority. They see themselves as victims, and this self-pity resulted in a wall of defense that ultimately established their identity and self-hood. Within other-directed movements the protestors did not address who or what they were, but rather what cause they were protesting for, because their ego-formation came from the struggle rather than their individual identity. Gregg and Stewart contribute to our understanding of identification from a social movement perspective because they outline the importance identification holds for social movements. By identifying in-groups and out-groups, social movements are able to create an "us versus them" relationship, creating a dichotomy for the audience to latch onto. Gregg and Stewart demonstrate the important role identification has in contributing to a social movement in itself, as well as its recruitment of outsiders and the movement's future maintenance.

James Walsh Jr. in his 1985 article, "Rhetoric in the Conversion of Maoist Insurgency Camps: Rhetoric and the Social Component of Conversion in Radical Social Movements," describes a theoretical framework from which the process of conversion can be understood. For

Walsh Jr. a successful conversion in a radical movement must have three components: "a conceptual component, an emotional component, and a social component" (p. 29). The conceptual component is the ideology to be internalized by the candidate; the emotional component consists of intense, prolonged periods of emotional excitement, making the candidate susceptible to acquisition of new beliefs. The social component is a "real world" projection of the new ideology, validating the ideology (Walsh Jr., 1985). While the aim of this thesis study is not to explicitly focus on radical social movements, and tactics of conversion, the author still finds it necessary to understand the components of the conversion process. Walsh Jr. demonstrates the complete transformation of participant's identity when undergoing the conversion process in a radical movement, such as the Maoist Insurgency Camps. The author has shown that identification can play a crucial role in recruiting and maintain members for such a radical movement. However his study is specific to radical social movements. This thesis seeks to expand the identification's role in social movements to social movements beyond radical ones. As Walsh Jr. calls for in the conclusion of his article, "conversion experiences outside of social movements ought to be examined in order to discover if there are any significant differences between conversion in social movements and in non-movement collectivities" (p. 38). This thesis seeks to answer Walsh Jr.'s call and provide a methodology analyzing identification enacted in non-radical movements.

The articles in this chapter provide a review of the work that has been done in the field of communication since Burke's *A Rhetoric of Motives* in 1950. As I have shown above, the majority of the application of Burke's concept of identification has been placed in the fields of rhetoric, persuasion, and organizational communication. Only relatively recently have the dynamics of identification in connection to social movements have been explored. Because

25

identification plays such a crucial role in the process of persuasion, and persuasion is a vital

component within social movements, further exploration is required to examine the connection

between identification and social movements. In order to supplement such an examination, the

remaining chapters of this thesis will propose a methodology true to Burke's notion of

identification, analyzing the function and role identification has within social movements. After

an outlining of the methodology, a case study of Minnesotans United for All Families and Fair

Wisconsin will serve as an example for the methodology proposed by this thesis.

Chapter 3 - Methodological Framework

Having reviewed the literature surrounding Kenneth Burke's concept of identification I

will now outline the proposed methodology to examine the instrumental function identification

plays within the rhetoric social movements. By utilizing a possible methodology that stays true

to Burke's concept of identification, this thesis hopes to provide a tool for analyzing

identification strategies in the rhetoric of social movements for the future. As outlined by

Kenneth Burke (1950) in his book *A Rhetoric of Motives*, identification has three main types; 1)

it can be used as a means to an end, primarily working as persuasion, 2) It can be established

among enemies through the connection of a mutual enemy, and 3) It can derive from situations

that may go unnoticed, otherwise known as subconsciously. The purpose of this chapter is to

adequately outline the three types surrounding Burke's concept of identification and offer a

detailed description of how Burke's concept of identification is going to be applied to the

rhetoric of Minnesotans United for All Families and Fair Wisconsin, to serve as a case study in

chapter four.

Before outlining how Burke's (1950) types of identification will serve to examine the

purpose of identification within social movements, I will first review Burke's three types.

Initially, identification can serve as a means to an end. This first type is a more traditional approach to rhetoric and identification, where a speaker is speaking in front of the audience with the primary object to sway the audience's support in favor of the speaker. This type of identification is very instrumental in nature, where the speaker attempts to attain consubstantiality by identifying their substance, or properties with the properties of the audience. Through various rhetorical strategies a speaker attempts to align his rhetorical properties, either real or perceived, with that of the audience. For example, by eliciting certain key words or phrases within a rhetorical artifact, a political figure can play upon the perceived ideals of the political culture. Utilizing these key words and phrases unites the politician with that of his audience, creating a sense of unification and belonging. Burke highlights that "belonging" is in a sense rhetorical (1950). He provides the example; "with much college education today in literature and fine arts, such activities are a roundabout way of identification with a privileged class" (p. 28). Following this train of thought, a politician who wishes to identify with a privileged class would be wise to mention his background with literature and the fine arts when discussing his college education. In Burke's first type, identification operates to accomplish a specific goal and objective, serving to aid in the influence and/or persuasion of another party or group.

Having outlined Burke's first type of identification, I will now discuss the second type; where identification can be established amongst enemies through the sharing of a common enemy. When identification is established among enemies through the connection of a common enemy, two opposing parties become united through some form of mutual opposition. Again this second type of identification serves an instrumental intention, a bonding between enemies out of a desire for mutual benefit. For Burke, identification here functions as a connection through a

common antithesis, bringing together parties or individuals who traditionally would not work and operate together. A politician when speaking to a lobbying group of a traditional opposing party would be smart to align himself with his traditional rivals against a new, mutually dangerous political enemy, or at least appear to do. Tactically, a speaker can establish identification in Burke's second type by naming the common enemy between the two parties, demonstrating a mutual sharing of properties between the parties. Strategically naming of a mutual enemy brings to light a new perspective between traditional rivals, demonstrating unseen shared properties between them, making them consubstantial. In working to achieve identification through unification from a common enemy, the politician unites himself with a traditional opposing party, through such a mutual rival, and thus is able to place himself in stronger position to achieve his political desires. Burke's second type of the concept of identification is perhaps summed up best by the old proverb, "The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

The third and final type of Burke's concept of identification is where identification can exist subconsciously. As human beings there are instances we may identify with individuals, groups, practices, or situations in which we may not fully understand why. The unexplainable connection we may feel to certain objects, groups, or individuals, Burke says, is explained by the subconscious kind of identification. Connors (1986) highlights this function in Gorgias's work *Helen*, in which the main argument is to clear Helen of blame for the Trojan War by arguing that Helen was under the spell of *logos* losing her ability to resist such temptations. Connors calls this example a "submission to the paideutic spell involved the whole unconscious mind…a total loss of objectivity as the audience gives itself up to the identification with the speaker and its goals" (p. 48). Now from a rhetorician's perspective, the use of the rhetorical "we" versus "I" technique

helps to inspire an unconscious form of unification amongst the audience, as well as between the collective audience and the speaker (Cheney, 1983). For Burke (1950) the quest for identity and identification on a subconscious level occurs through the symbolic fashion of making rhetorical choices. As Ambrester (1974) highlights "identity occurs through acceptance and rejection of various symbols" (p. 206). We unconsciously develop our personalities, creating a sense of self through the acceptance and rejection of various symbols imposed on us by various rhetorical strategies and contexts. These symbols can be key words and phrases that hold a variety of meanings or rhetorical entailments. When these symbols are placed in front of an individual, it is up to the viewer to accept or reject the symbol and by doing so accepting or rejecting the plurality of meanings associated with such symbol. A politician looking to utilize the concept of subconscious identification would possibly engage in rhetorical strategies that take advantage of symbolic acceptance and rejection of symbols when developing our personalities. Meaning to establish identification with his audience the politician may use certain key words, such as "freedom," to connect his properties with the properties of the audience. This continual cycle of symbol association creates a desire for the "good life" through a methodology of transcendence, creating a pattern of continual rebirth on a subconscious level. One way this could be done is through the already mentioned rhetorical "we" technique. Engaging in the "we" technique is where the politician talks less about his personal accomplishments, history, or motivations by saying "I will build a new community center if elected to city council." When using the rhetorical "we" technique the politician would prefer the following statement, "We will build a new community center if I were to be elected to city council." Burke's third type of subconscious identification takes into account the role our continual search for identity impacts how and who or what we associate ourselves with, functioning within Burke's concept of identification.

Now that I have outlined Kenneth Burke's three types of identification, I will now explain how these cases will be applied as a case study in the subsequent chapters. This case study seeks to apply Burke's types of identification to two social movements associated with marriage equality in the United States. These pro-marriage equality movements are Minnesotans United for All Families (http://mnunited.org) and Fair Wisconsin (http://fairwisconsin.com); represent marriage equality movements on both ends of the spectrum of success and failure. While Minnesotans United successfully prevented a constitutional ban as well as passing legislation that brought full marriage equality to Minnesota, the latter was unsuccessful in preventing a constitutional ban against gay marriage in Wisconsin. By applying Burke's types of identification to marriage equality movements that have been both successful and have fallen short of accomplishing their objective, I hope to demonstrate that identification can explain the success of a social movement. Now the comparison between these two social movements is a strong one because traditionally Minnesota and Wisconsin have been political fraternal twins. "The neighboring states both have a history of progressive politics. Minnesotans and Wisconsinites have voted the same way in the last seven presidential elections, share a common heritage and have nearly the same number of residents" (McIntee, 2013). Both movements were active in roughly the same time period, with Fair Wisconsin battling against their gay marriage ban from 2004-2006 and Minnesotans United working actively to pass gay marriage in Minnesota during 2011-2013. What makes the comparison even stronger between these two marriage equality movements is that Fair Wisconsin's failure to reach marriage equality in Wisconsin, served as a model to learn from for Minnesotans United in their campaign (2013).

Despite the similarities between the two states, they couldn't be more different when it comes to marriage equality. This key difference sparks the central question of this thesis; does

identification play a role in the success of a social movement? In order to answer this question I am going to apply Burke's (1950) types of identification to the rhetoric of each respective social movement. The rhetoric I will examine will be the statements, mission statements, press releases, and narratives located on each of the movement's website. Because each movement directly produces these rhetorical artifacts, these artifacts should speak directly to the goals, intentions, and motivations of the social movement providing insight to the possible identification strategies within the rhetoric. For this thesis, rhetorical artifacts are the messages that are sent directly from the movement to the movement's intended audience, in hopes of benefiting the social movement. These rhetorical artifacts can be press releases, narratives, and advertisements sent from the social movement in order to garner support for the movement. In assessing the rhetoric of these social movements I will seek out strategies, tactics, and themes that meet Kenneth Burke's three types of identification. These strategies and themes could be as simple as the rhetorical use of key words, like "liberty" and "justice." Or the tactics could be as complicated as presenting a certain persuasive framework for the rhetorical artifact, and such persuasive framework serve to establish identification. In doing so, I believe I will be able to establish a connection between identification and success of a social movement. In conducting this thesis and case study it is the hope that these cases of identification can be more than an answer to a question, but possibly become a methodological tool for future rhetoric of social movement's studies. The following chapter will provide the case study implementing Burke's types of identification to the rhetoric of Minnesotans United for All Families and Fair Wisconsin.

Chapter 4 – An Identification Analysis of Marriage Equality Social Movements

Case Study 1: Minnesotans United for All Families

Having a firm understanding of Kenneth Burke's three types of identification in the rhetorical process, my aim in chapter four is to analyze the proposed rhetorical artifacts as a case study. By providing a case study to highlight the use of identification, or lack there of, within the rhetoric of social movement I hope to determine if identification plays a role in a social movement's success. In order to answer this question the rhetoric of two social movements will be analyzed. As mentioned in prior chapters, I will analyze the rhetoric of two social movements working to establish marriage equality in their respective states. These are Minnesotans United for All Families, otherwise known as Minnesotans United (http://mnunited.org) and Fair Wisconsin (http://fairwisconsin.com.) These marriage equality movements represent both ends of the spectrum of success, with Minnesotans United reaching full marriage equality in May 2013 and Fair Wisconsin being unable to defeat a constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage in 2006. By analyzing both of these movements within this case study, I hope to determine if identification within the rhetoric of a social movement factors into a movement's success. This chapter will be organized into two sections, one for each marriage equality movement. Within each section a brief background about each movement will be outlined followed by an analysis of each movement's rhetorical artifacts. After conducting the analysis within chapter four, the fifth and final chapter of this thesis will provide critical implications for rhetorical studies and social movement rhetoric.

Background

In November 2012 the marriage equality social movement Minnesotans United for All Families became the first marriage equality campaign to successfully defeat a proposed constitutional amendment to limit the freedom to marry for same sex couples within its state

(Minnesotans United for All Families, 2013). Minnesotans United, a group created in late 2011, saw its own inception in response to the proposed constitutional amendment to limit the freedom to marry in Minnesota. Minnesotans United for All Families was established in response to the Republican proposed constitutional amendment in 2011, when two marriage equality groups OutFront Minnesota and Project 515 merged. As of 2012, this group was composed of over 27,000 members, with thousands of donors both within and outside the state of Minnesota (2013). After achieving the group's initial goal of defeating the proposed constitutional amendment in November 2012, Minnesotans United shifted its core focus to establishing full marriage equality within Minnesota. Building on the momentum of its landmark victory, Minnesotans United wasted no time in working to establish full marriage equality within the state. The groups' mission statement was modified to reflect this new goal, reading, "Minnesotans United is committed to ensuring that allowing all loving and committed couples the freedom to marry remains a priority in Minnesota in 2013" (retrieved from http://mnunited.org/about/, 2013).

During 2013, Minnesotans United for All Families was very active in working towards marriage equality in Minnesota. The movement made significant progress on March 12th, 2013 when both the Minnesota House and Senate committees passed bipartisan legislation, SF925/HF1054, advancing this bill to both the House and Senate floors for official voting in May (2013). Bipartisan legislation was proposed and drafted by Minnesotans United (Minnesotans United for All Families, 2013; "MN United for all Families to Lobby," 2012). Eventually this bipartisan legislation passed both the Minnesota house and senate floors, legalizing gay marriage in Minnesota ("Minnesota Legalizes Gay Marriage", 2013). In response to their success Minnesotans United released the following statement on their website, "On May

14, 2013,on the steps of the Minnesota State Capitol, Governor Mark Dayton officially signed

the freedom to marry into law, surrounded by legislators, families, and more than 6,000

Minnesotans" (Minnesotans United for All Families, 2013). After forming in 2011, defeating a

proposed constitutional ban against gay marriage in 2012, and reaching full marriage equality in

May 2013, Minnesotans United still remains active in the Minnesota political scene. Not long

after Governor Mark Dayton signed the freedom to marry out into law, Minnesotans United for

all Families transformed themselves once again into Minnesotans United Political Action

Committee. Minnesotans United- PAC currently establishes itself as committed to "working to

support and re-elect legislators who voted in favor of extending the freedom to marry to same-

sex couples in 2013" (Minnesotans United for All Families, 2013).

In order to effect the change Minnesotans United wanted to achieve, obviously the group

must garner public support in order to perform its intended functions. This thesis asks the

question: *What are the rhetorical devices Minnesotans United utilizes in order to spread its*

message to their intended audience? In order to establish support, Minnesotans United made use

of social media outlets such as Facebook (http://mnunited.org) Twitter

(https://twitter.com/MN4allfamilies) YouTube (http://www.youtube.com/user/MN4allfamilies)

and its own website and electronic newsletter (http://mnunited.org). These technological avenues

were used to reach a wide spectrum of individuals interested in supporting Minnesotans United

for All Families. Opportunities to publicly support Minnesotans United have occurred through

stand-in protests such as the Freedom to Marry Rally, which occurred on February 14th, 2013 at

the Minnesota state capitol. Recently events such as 5K races and benefit dinners have provided

supporters and with the opportunity to demonstrate their support for the movement and

politicians working in conjunction with Minnesotans United- PAC. Individuals can also

contribute volunteer labor hours for the group or provide financial contributions to the organization (Minnesotans United, 2013; Lentsch, 2013; Belden, 2013).

Perhaps one of the more personal and unique forms of participation Minnesotans United encourages is the sharing of personal stories. Individuals are encouraged to share their stories that encourage love and support for all members of society, share a common belief in the power of marriage, and declare that marriage is meant for everyone (Minnesotans United, 2013). Individuals may submit their own stories to the group's website. Selected stories are placed upon Minnesotans United website (http://mnunited.org/stories/).

An Identification Analysis of Minnesotans United for All Families

Now that I have provided a background of Minnesotans United as a social movement, I will apply Kenneth Burke's (1950) three types of identification to Minnesotans United various rhetorical artifacts. In analyzing the rhetoric of Minnesotans United I have taken various press releases, narratives, and advertisements produced from the movement. The rhetorical artifacts selected are representative of Minnesotans United for two reasons; 1) the rhetorical artifacts stem directly from the social movement itself, demonstrating the goals and motivations of the movement. And 2) these rhetorical artifacts present a chronological progression of the Minnesotans United, from the very start of the movement to present day. These rhetorical artifacts serve as an ideal tool to garner direct strategies, goals, intentions, and motivations of this marriage equality movement and ideally provide insight into the rhetorical function of identification within social movement rhetoric.

Identification as a means to an end

Burke's first type of identification, identification as a means to an end, is functional and meant to accomplish a specific goal of the movement. In utilizing identification the speaker

attempts to display various personal properties, and by displaying these properties identification will occur between the movements and its audience. In various press releases, advertisements, and narratives Minnesotans United works to identify with their intended audience by stating their various rhetorical properties. Take the following excerpt from a press release, "MN United PAC will work tirelessly to ensure that the leaders in the Legislature – Republican and Democrat – who voted yes for marriage this year have the grassroots and financial support they need to be re-elected" ("Minnesotans United Political Action Committee Formed", 2013). This excerpt is a clear example of a statement proposed by the social movement that identifies the goals and intentions of the movement. By stating Minnesotans United PAC will work tirelessly to support legislature members, no matter their political affiliation, the movement makes clear that their primary motivation of supporting marriage equality clear to their audience. Utilizing words like "grassroots", demonstrates that the organization is dedicated to sticking by and supporting its members and key political affiliations.

By outwardly stating their values, intentions, and position Minnesotans United meet Burke's initial type of identification. In another example the movement is even more straightforward in establishing their rhetorical properties,

> Same-sex couples pay taxes in Minnesota. They vote here, run businesses here,
> and serve in the military on behalf of their fellow Minnesotans. They work hard
> and contribute to the system just like anyone else, and they have children who
> deserve to grow up in stable families with married parents…Minnesotans United
> is proud to be mobilizing thousands of grassroots marriage supporters across our
> state to make sure every legislator in Saint Paul knows that passing legislation in
> 2013 is an absolutely priority ("Minnesotans United Statement," 2013).

By invoking values, civic actions, and a belief system that seem common amongst all

Americans, let alone Minnesotans, the movement places same-sex couples in this same value set

that holds true for the populace of the country. This rhetorical device simultaneously also links

these values onto the social movement as well.

Perhaps this identification type is meant to accomplish a specific aim is performed best

by the second half of the prior excerpt. Here Minnesotans United is very direct in stating their

intended purpose that they intend to support and pass legislation that will enact same-sex

marriage in Minnesota. Minnesotans United states they are "proud" of their goals, values, and

beliefs in establishing same-sex marriage within Minnesota. By naming specific values and

beliefs such as family, civic virtue, community, and strength Minnesotans United for All

Families is able to display properties that perform a connective function between the movement

and their intended audience. "Today, Minnesotans voted in favor of love, freedom, and fairness –

because that's what this state is about" ("Minnesotans United Statement on Defeat of

Amendment One," 2012). These values of love, freedom and fairness are seemingly positive

qualities that we as human beings attempt to strive for in our personal and public lives. So when

a movement such as Minnesotans United for All Families displays and values these properties as

well, identification occurs, linking the movement and the audience together.

In attempting to achieve their goal of marriage equality in Minnesota, Minnesotans

United utilized identification strategies that were intended as a means to the end goal of the

movement. By stating various properties and qualities that the movement values, Minnesotans

United was able to establish its own public face for the citizens of Minnesota. Once Minnesotans

United public image was established, and the value of the movement made public, potential

supporters of the movement were able to recognize these properties, determine if they themselves valued these properties as well, then either identify or choose not to identify with the marriage equality movement. Evidently this tactic was successful as evident by the overall success of Minnesotans United for All Families, and the following excerpt from the movement, "More than 1000 Minnesotans attended today's rally to show that marriage matters to all Minnesotans and that passing legislation to extend the freedom to marry to same-sex couples this year is critically important" ("Lobby Day 2013 Unites," 2013). Identifying marriage for same-sex couples as a "freedom" Minnesotans United was able to place gay marriage into the category of a civil liberty, an issue that "matters to all Minnesotans."

Identification through a common enemy

Burke also says that identification occurs when foes unite against a common enemy. In this case some mutual threat arises that is strong enough to cause two prior enemies to unite and work together to overcame this new stronger threat. For example, two young hot shots in a law firm have consistently challenged each other in earning the open partnership spot in the firm. However, recently the firm has brought in a new competitor for this open partnership position, and this new individual represents dangerous competition. In order to secure their own advancement, the two longtime rivals may join forces and identify with each other over the common enemy of the new partnership competition.

Minnesotans United for All Families achieved this kind of identification by framing themselves as a group fighting for equality and by doing so maintaining traditional family values that marriage traditionally entails. Essentially the movement reversed the argument that same-sex marriage weakens the "modern American family" and instead advocated that same-sex marriage upholds and maintains the positive value set associated with marriage and family life. By

reversing the traditional argument against gay marriage Minnesotans United was able to unify itself with traditional rivals against same-sex marriage, and these rivals being from the religious and politically conservative sectors. Minnesotans United for All Families and its rivals united over the fight against those who oppose the coveted family and communal values associated with marriage and family life.

Chairman of the Minnesota College Republicans Ryan Lyk perhaps said it best when talking about the importance and belief system attached to marriage, "Marriage is a meaningful, important institution in our society – nothing compares to that lifelong commitment that two people make to each other" ("Statement from Minnesota College Republicans Chairman," 2013). Lyk's words speak to the importance of marriage in not only Minnesotan culture, but also nationally. Traditionally marriage has been framed as a sacred institution being attacked by immoral liberals. It was the Republican Party's duty to protect the institution of traditional marriage. This is why the majority of the proposed constitutional bans to oppose same-sex marriage have been conservatively lead and backed, in general placing the Republican Party as the group opposed to gay marriage. Lyk's words signify traditional Republican values on the institution of marriage. However, what is unique about Minnesotans United for All Families is that it was able to rhetorical place same-sex marriage into the same value and belief set associated with the traditional marriage. Ryan Lyk speaks to this value equation beautifully in the final two paragraphs of his statement.

> As the Chairman of the Minnesota College Republicans, I am proud of the work our organization does every day to elect Republicans and promote limited government and fiscal responsibility. While I would never claim to speak for everyone in my organization, I know I speak for many young Republicans when I

say that it is time for the Republican Party to move past this issue. I, like many of

my colleagues, vote on economic and fiscal issues. The fact that we are still

debating whether or not government can dictate marriage detracts from those

issues and it is time we move on.

The bipartisan legislation introduced last week will go a long way in improving

the lives of thousands of families and children in Minnesota, and that is something

that we all should support, regardless of political affiliation. I applaud Republican

Senator Branden Petersen's leadership on this bill, and I look forward to the day

that the unnecessary exclusion of same-sex couples from marriage is stricken

from Minnesota statute. ("Statement from Minnesota College Republicans

Chairman," 2013).

The unification of Minnesotans United for All Families with traditionally conservative

organizations, like the College Republicans of Minnesota illustrates Kenneth Burke's second

case of identification within the rhetoric of the social movement. This is the case because prior

debate surrounding LGBT rights has traditionally placed Republicans as opposed to gay

marriage, and this opposition often established an argument that gay marriage is unethical and

will corrupt the Norman Rockwell type image of traditional marriage. However, the rhetoric of

Minnesotans United refashions this prior argument and turns this reasoning back around toward

the opponents of marriage in Minnesota. The movement accomplishes this identification with

prior rivals, members of the Republican Party, by rhetorically linking LGBT marriage with

upholding the larger accepted beliefs and values that surround the traditional institution of

marriage. This linking rhetorically places the enemies of the gay marriage movement as the

individuals who don't believe in the positive benefits, beliefs, values, and ethics that marriage and family life provides. Now the enemy isn't the Republican Party, but rather the movement against the institution of marriage and the values associated with marriage. Thus, old rivals, Minnesotans United and members of the Republican Party, identify over the common enemy of the attacks against the institution of marriage, meaning to support marriage and family values one also has to include same-sex marriage in the picture.

Minnesotans United also illustrates Burke's second type of identification through aligning itself with religious institutions. Following the same strategy previously outlined, the social movement was successfully able to equate the positive value set held by religious institutions with same-sex marriage. The alignment of traditional marriage and religious values with same-sex marriage is highlighted by the following quotation from Reverend Bradley Schmeling of Gloria Dei Lutheran Church in Saint Paul, "Marriage is a building block in our society, so why wouldn't we want more people to share in it?" ("Lobby Day 2013 Unites," 2013) By equating gay marriage with marriage endorsed by the church, Minnesotans United was able to place identify and connect the properties of religion with same-sex marriage. Reverend Schmeling goes on further to connect the properties of the Christian religion with gay marriage by saying, "If marriage is good for some of us, it's good for all of us. If God is committed to loving the whole human race without exception, then we stand with people who are committed to one another, without exception" ("Lobby Day 2013 Unites," 2013). By framing those opposed to same-sex marriage as a group fighting against the values associated with marriage, community building, family, equality, and democracy Minnesotans United for All Families aligned itself with traditional rivals such as religious institutions and political conservative to overcome their common enemy.

41

Subconscious Identification

The third and final type Burke identifies is identification through the subconscious. As human beings there are instances we may identify with individuals, groups, practices, or situations in which we may not fully understand why. The subconscious type of identification Burke says, explains this unexplainable connection we may feel to certain objects, groups, or individuals. From a rhetorician's perspective, the use of the rhetorical "we" versus "I" technique helps to inspire an unconscious form of unification amongst the audience, as well as between the collective audience and the speaker (Cheney, 1983). For Burke, the quest for identity and identification on a subconscious level occurs through the symbolic fashion of making rhetorical choices. We unconsciously develop our personalities, creating a sense of self through the acceptance and rejection of various symbols imposed on us by various rhetorical strategies and contexts. Hart and Daughton (2005) point out "like people, words have histories" (p. 154). This is why words, and even their synonyms end up "feeling" differently (Blankenship, 1968). These "histories" or rhetorical entailments for our words require the social movement to wander through a lexical maze in choosing what to say. The evocative power of words for society is dubbed by Richard Weaver (1953) as *Ultimate Terms*. Ultimate terms according to Weaver can be broken down into two categories, God Terms and Devil Terms. God Terms are words that carry positive entailments, such as "equal justice for all." Devil Terms, conversely, are the opposite, representing words that carry with them negative entailments such as "terrorism" or "illegitimate" (Weaver, 1953; Hart & Daughton, 2005). Weaver notes that God Terms and their plurality of meanings are not fixed, the term like the situation can change over a period of time. Within subconscious identification certain key words, phrases, or ideas hold greater meaning and power for the audience based on their various rhetorical entailments and associations. For example, the word "equality" holds a variety of connotations that when mentioned hold a degree

of meaning for the listener, and subconsciously the listener leans toward either a positive or negative view towards "equality" its various connotations.

This same concept of certain key words and phrase holding a degree of rhetorical influence in establishing identification through the subconscious can be found in the rhetoric of Minnesotans United. Throughout the rhetoric of Minnesotans United there is a theme of family, equality, and acceptance of other human beings subtly present within the rhetoric. For example, the movement's repeated use of "Minnesotan" attaches the movement to its intended audience, individuals who live in Minnesota, who are proud of their state, and consider Minnesota a part of their identity and belief system. Early on in the movement, Minnesotans United sought to distinguish itself as a group of "*real* Minnesotans" because the social movement was fighting for the equal right for marriage for all Minnesotans. "This campaign should be about real Minnesotans because this amendment would directly and negatively impact thousands of real Minnesota families" ("Where are the real Minnesotans?" 2012). For Minnesotans United for All Families a real Minnesotan is someone who believes that all families in Minnesota have the right to full marriage equality, the right to love who they choose to love and spend the rest of their life with. This sentiment is stated clearly in the following excerpt, "all Minnesotans deserve the opportunity to share in the joys and responsibilities of marriage" ("Lobby Day 2013 Unites," 2013). By rhetorically establishing a "*real* Minnesotan" as someone who believes that all Minnesotans deserve the right to share in the joys of marriage, Minnesotans United subtly identifies itself with audience members who consider themselves a "real Minnesotan." For example, being born and raised in Minnesota, I like to consider myself a "real Minnesotan" so upon hearing statements like the previous example I either subconsciously agree or disagree with "Real Minnesotans believe that all families in Minnesota have the right to marriage equality." By

agreeing with Minnesotans United within the realm of the subconscious, it is then up to myself and other potential voters, to consciously place that subconscious decision into our identity. In order for subconscious identification to be the most effective, the listener must make a rhetorically conscious decisions to place their subconscious associations with what they consider their identity and belief system.

The use of "Minnesotans" and "Real Minnesotans" not only motivates the audience to determine the level of identification they have with the values of the social movement, but also subconsciously links supporting Minnesotans United and same-sex marriage with supporting family values. By subconsciously identifying as Minnesotan, the listener attaches themselves into a larger group that believes in the same values held by the state, and by association Minnesotans United. "We at Minnesotans United for All Families, however, know thousands of Minnesotans who are proud to stand with us" ("Where are the Real Minnesotans?" 2012). The association of Minnesotan and Minnesota as a larger family is evident in the following excerpt, "In Minnesota, we don't turn our backs on family – and this legislation will make that statement as true as possible. No Minnesotan should be singled out and excluded from enjoying the same basic freedom, like the freedom to marry the person they love, just because of who they are" ("Minnesotans United Statement," 2013). By attaching the rhetorical entailments of "Minnesotan" to the values of equality, freedom, and family Minnesotans United was able to subconsciously challenge its audience to question their personal identity and identification with Minnesota. In other words, the audience of Minnesotans United rhetoric is left with a subconscious choice; either accepts that a real Minnesotan believes in marriage equality, or chooses another identity. As is evident by the success of Minnesotans United for All Families,

the voting majority of Minnesotans believed that a "real" Minnesotan does believe in marriage equality, and the right to live the rest of your life with whom you love.

Case Study 2: Fair Wisconsin

Background

Founded in 1994, Fair Wisconsin is an "organization with a mission to protect and advance the civil rights of LGBT people through electoral involvement and direct legislative advocacy" (Fair Wisconsin, 2013). During the organization's early years the group operated multiple grass-roots campaigns working to establish equal benefits for members of LGBT community throughout Wisconsin. Primarily working within individual communities and towns, Fair Wisconsin helped gay and lesbian couples gain access to health insurance benefits and the recognition of domestic partnerships several communities like Milwaukee in 2001 (Fair Wisconsin, 2013). Working alongside other marriage equality groups and campaigns, Fair Wisconsin achieved multiple instances of smaller successes throughout Wisconsin communities, with notable victories in primarily Democratic areas such as Madison and Milwaukee.

Despite Fair Wisconsin's and other marriage equality movement's efforts, a Republican governor with a heavily Republican state house introduced a constitutional amendment to ban marriage equality and the recognition of civil unions. Fair Wisconsin soon rallied, quickly acting to mobilize its members and volunteer base to combat the proposed constitutional amendment. Sticking to grass roots philosophy established since Fair Wisconsin's inception in 1994, the movement employed the following tactics to overcome the amendment, "We educated hundreds of thousands of citizens about the dangerous effects of the amendment, built a statewide sustainable grassroots infrastructure and developed relationships with key elected officials around the state" (Fair Wisconsin, 2013). Soon Fair Wisconsin was identified as the main

45

opposition to the proposed constitutional amendment. As one newspaper explained: "The main group opposing the ban, on the other hand, has run a very public campaign. Fair Wisconsin has put together an unusually broad coalition of business, medical, legal and labor groups, run TV ads for months in the state's major media markets and recruited thousands of volunteers to help with the nuts and bolts of campaigning" (Davidoff, 2006). Fair Wisconsin's counterpart, the "Vote Yes Campaign," operated primarily behind the scenes, flying under the radar to achieve their mission of passing the constitutional marriage ban. This under the radar technique is highlighted through the comparison of funding and expenditures between Fair Wisconsin and the Vote Yes Campaign, "In the first six months of 2006, the Vote Yes campaign reported raising only $2,500 and spending just under $550. Fair Wisconsin, in contrast, disclosed it had raised over $1.3 million and spent more than $218,000" (2006).

By the time Election Day arrived for the constitutional amendment in Wisconsin, "Fair Wisconsin, the anti-amendment group, raised and spent more than $5 million to fight the ban, dwarfing the $500,000 to $600,000 spent by the Vote Yes for Marriage campaign" (Erickson, 2006). However, despite strong financial support and a highly visible grass roots campaign, Fair Wisconsin and its supporters were unsuccessful in their efforts to defeat the proposed constitutional ban of gay marriage in Wisconsin. On November 7th, 2006 the constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage passed earning 59 percent of the vote, overcoming places like Dane County, which contains the state capitol of Madison, where opposition to the marriage ban rejected the amendment by a ration of 2-1. (Stein, 2007; Erickson, 2006).

Following their initial amendment campaign, Fair Wisconsin soon launched Fair Wisconsin Political Action Committee (PAC) in 2007. Fair Wisconsin PAC provides the following mission statement to describe the organization's goals "Fair Wisconsin PAC is

committed to advancing and achieving equality for LGBT Wisconsinites through strategic

electoral activity, by working to elect pro-fairness individuals in local, state and federal races in

Wisconsin" (Fair Wisconsin, 2013). In announcing Fair Wisconsin's decision to stay active after

the passing of the gay marriage ban, Fair Wisconsin board president Aaron Sherer provided the

following statement:

> Before there was talk of an amendment, Action Wisconsin had a few hundred
>
> members. Now we have over 12,000 donors and 50,000 people on our e-mail list.
>
> We're so much stronger coming out of the campaign than we were prior to it. We
>
> have this tremendous base to continue to engage and mobilize to work on issues
>
> affecting gay and lesbian individuals and families (Davidoff, 2006).

The Fair Wisconsin PAC is a conduit that allows LGBT individuals and allies to

maximize their political impact throughout Wisconsin, both on a local and statewide level. In

2010, Fair Wisconsin was the primary force in advocating and passing a domestic partnership

registry in Dane County and Wisconsin's Fourth District (Fair Wisconsin, 2013; Richmond,

2012). This domestic partnership registry gives domestic couples the right to visit each other in

hospitals and make end-of-life decisions for one another. Despite multiple appeals by

conservative lawmakers, the domestic partnership registry has been ruled constitutional and not

in violation 2006 constitutional gay marriage ban. Since 2010, Fair Wisconsin has engineered

multiple successful grass root campaigns to enact equality in local Wisconsin communities,

passing domestic partnership benefits for employees of Milwaukee County, and the cities of

Appleton, Racine, Manitowoc, Eau Claire, Kenosha, Janesville and Stevens Point. "In 2013, Fair

Wisconsin merged with another successful Wisconsin LGBT education and advocacy

organization, Equality Wisconsin" (Fair Wisconsin, 2013). This merger further positions Fair

Wisconsin as the organization to represent the interests of LGBT individuals politically and socially within the state. A Fair Wisconsin spokesperson sums up the organization best by saying Fair Wisconsin is determined to repeal the gay marriage and civil union ban passed in 2006 (Davidoff, 2006).

Fair Wisconsin has recently resurfaced in 2014 as the premier leader in marriage quality within the state of Wisconsin, with the social movement announcing a partnership with Wisconsin house and senate members and the introduction of legislation to repeal the ban on gay marriage. In a statement Fair Wisconsin's CEO and President, Katie Belanger declared the movement intends to introduce and support legislation to repeal the 2006 ban. "Repealing our ban and moving one step closer to allowing same-sex couples to join marriage is critical to ensure that all families are treated with dignity and respect" ("Statement on Introduction of Legislation," 2014). Fair Wisconsin has been in operation since 1994, yet in those 20 years the movement has yet to still accomplish their goal of legalizing same-sex marriage in Wisconsin. In sharp contrast, Minnesotans United for All Families succeeded legalizing gay marriage in just two years (2011-2013). Since both states have a similar tradition of progressive politics, a comparison of the two movements ability to identify with voters give insight as to why one movement succeeded when the other failed.

An Identification Analysis of Fair Wisconsin

Now that I have provided a background of Fair Wisconsin as a social movement, I will now apply Kenneth Burke's (1950) three types of identification to Fair Wisconsin's various rhetorical artifacts. In analyzing the rhetoric of Fair Wisconsin I have taken various press releases, narratives, and advertisements. Due to the fact that Fair Wisconsin as movement is older than Minnesotans United for All Families, reaching the pinnacle of activity in 2006, the

majority of rhetorical artifacts utilized in the analysis stem from statements located on the Fair Wisconsin's website and press clippings around 2006. These rhetorical artifacts serve as an ideal tool to garner direct strategies, goals, intentions, and motivations of Wisconsin's marriage equality movement and ideally provide insight into its unsuccessful rhetorical efforts to build with identification to the voters of Wisconsin.

Identification as a means to an end

As previously mentioned, Burke initially raises the possibility that identification as a means to an end. In the specific case of Fair Wisconsin, utilizing this kind of identification would be ideal to accomplish the social movement's goal of defeating the proposed gay marriage ban. Ideally the movement attempts to display various personal properties, and by displaying these properties identification will occur between the movement and its audience. Since its inception in 1994, and especially during the height of the movement's activity in 2006, Fair Wisconsin utilized a media presence to display various rhetorical properties to their audience. As stated on the movement's website the main intent of Fair Wisconsin is for "to build a fair, safe, and inclusive Wisconsin for all lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people by advancing, achieving, and protecting LGBT civil rights through lobbying, legislative advocacy, grassroots organizing, coalition building and electoral involvement" (Fair Wisconsin, 2013). This mission statement provided by the movement directly states the goals and intention of Fair Wisconsin, creating a pubic face that allows for their audience to accept or reject these displayed properties.

According to Burke, identification as a means to an end is accomplished when the audience accepts these displayed values in order to accomplish a mutually desired goal. By rhetorically stating properties that align with the goals and desires of the public discourse of Fair Wisconsin should accomplish identification as a means to an end. The movement utilizes this

49

type identification in order to accomplish a specific goal, which in the case of Fair Wisconsin is to defeat the proposed gay marriage ban and eventually legalize gay marriage in Wisconsin. In various press releases, Fair Wisconsin works to identify with their intended audience by stating their various values. By stating their beliefs, values, goals, and intentions openly Fair Wisconsin allows for prospective movement supporters and current supporters to possibly with the movement. Take the following excerpt:

> With six months until Election Day, we have assembled a massive grassroots outreach program. These volunteers live in every corner of Wisconsin and come from all different walks of life. They are highly motivated and passionate about defeating the ban and keeping discrimination out of our constitution ("State Volunteers Line Up to fight," 2006).

This example highlights several key properties of the movement, among these being "grassroots," "volunteers live in every corner of Wisconsin and come from all walks of life" also "they are highly motivated and passionate," "defeating the ban," and "keeping discrimination out of our constitution." By initially emphasizing that Fair Wisconsin is a "grassroots" campaign the social movement displays to its audience a particular quality of being locally inspired, motivated, and operated. Next, the property that the volunteers of the movement "live in every corner of Wisconsin and come from all walks of life" this also displays a particular property of the movement. Not only are the volunteers of Fair Wisconsin representative of the states inhabitants, but also they are highly motivated and passionate. Individuals who are thinking of volunteering for Fair Wisconsin may find identification with the movement based on the displayed properties of being highly motivated and passionate. In other words, if both of the parties, the movement

and the prospective movement volunteer consider themselves entities that have these previously

mentioned properties then identification, as a means to an end will occur.

An even more strongly emphasized property was the phrase, "defeating the ban," which

is the key property and agenda of Fair Wisconsin. By emphasizing this property the movement is

able to directly state the end it is driving to accomplish. Through this symbolic emphasis Fair

Wisconsin hopes prospective supporters of the movement hold the same quality and identify

with them. Through the audience's identification with Fair Wisconsin, specifically identifying

with the movement's primary agenda of defeating the ban, the movement hopes to garner

support and ultimately accomplish their goal. Thus, the movement places itself as a social

movement that is against discrimination, to enact *equality* within the state. By stating that the

movement intends to "keep discrimination out of our constitution" Fair Wisconsin has

established public persona of a movement fighting for equality in the state of Wisconsin.

Vocalizing this property of fighting discrimination and working to establish *equality* is an

idealistic, universal property that many individuals also consider themselves to hold valuable,

Fair Wisconsin hopes to establish identification with their audience.

When a social movement directly states its goals, values, or properties its creates a sense

of visibility and honesty for their audience, and through this direct strategy the social movement

hopes to establish a degree of identification with their audience. This initial type of identification

in rhetoric is again exemplified from the following statement from Katie Belanger Fair

Wisconsin CEO and President.

> We encourage all members of the State Senate and State Assembly to stand on the
>
> right side of history – no matter what side of the aisle they stand on – and help
>
> move our state forward. From Kenosha to Eau Claire, Janesville to Appleton, and

Manitowoc to Stevens Point, the people of Wisconsin are taking direct action to

ensure same-sex couples are treated with dignity and respect ("Statement on

Introduction of Legislation," 2014).

Right away in this statement from Fair Wisconsin's CEO and President we see a direct

identification appeal to the audience by encouraging *all* members of the State Senate and State

Assembly to stand on the right side of history. By strategically placing Fair Wisconsin and by

implication the marriage equality movement as a larger whole beyond just the state of

Wisconsin, Katie Belanger and Fair Wisconsin challenge the audience to associate fighting for

what's just and "right" with the social movement. This statement directly asks the audience to

forgo their political associations and connections in order "to help our state move forward." By

stating communities that are supporting Fair Wisconsin, Belanger attempts to rhetorically

transfer the burden of serving Wisconsin's inhabitant to communities who currently don't

support Fair Wisconsin. Perhaps the most direct statement of the social movements values come

from Fair Wisconsin's description page on their website. Here the movement provides a list of

values that the social movement holds and is working to establish and maintain in Wisconsin.

This final effort of identification from Fair Wisconsin provides a direct listing of stated values

for the social movement. By listing these values, Fair Wisconsin hopes to establish a visible

public image, in hopes of highlighting rhetorical and symbolic properties for their audience to

identify with.

Fair Wisconsin carries out this mission in accordance with the following values:
We value human dignity. We recognize, respect, and celebrate the diversity
within the LGBT community. We believe LGBT and allied people should shape

52

and inform the work of our organization to ensure we are responsive and accountable to the people we serve. We believe a multi-issue approach is necessary to address the diverse challenges facing the LGBT community. We believe social, racial, and economic justice are key intersectional issues that impact LGBT people and their families. We believe change is possible through strategic political action and public engagement. We believe in developing strategic collaborations, partnerships, and coalitions with LGBT and allied organizations. We believe in maintaining and expanding our statewide presence. We believe in building organizational infrastructure to support the capacity of the LGBT equality movement (Fair Wisconsin, 2013).

Throughout the rhetoric of Fair Wisconsin, numerous instances of direct displays of the movement's properties and values occur. The majority of these instances of identification as a means to an end are directly connected to the social movement's desire to defeat the ban on gay marriage, or eventually legalize same-sex marriage in Wisconsin. These rhetorical appeals associate gay marriage as a legal, ethical, political right for all individuals, and thus by not supporting Fair Wisconsin and its agenda opponents of the movement are not in favor of equality and freedom. In embracing identification as a means to an end, Fair Wisconsin focuses on the financial aspect of banning gay marriage, framing the issue in value terms of being just or unjust, keeping this issue strictly in the political and ethical realm of thought. In doing so, the movement symbolically places their audience in a position to evaluate and determine their own ethical values and properties, relative to gay marriage, and through this evaluation process the audiences determines to identify with or against Fair Wisconsin. What distinguishes Fair Wisconsin from Minnesotans United is that the message of Fair Wisconsin favored the legal, financial, and social

benefits members of the LGBT community are being denied. Wisconsin's focus on the benefits attached to marriage and not the ethical concerns holds less rhetorical power when compared to Minnesota. The success of Minnesotans United demonstrates that it strategically more beneficial for a social movement to focus this type of identification on ethical and moral concerns. Focusing on financial or legal benefits is not as universal of an appeal when compared to appeals specified to equality and basic human rights. Based on the fact that the movement has been existence for 20 years, but yet has to accomplish their primary goal of achieving full equality for same-sex couples, it can be inferred that Fair Wisconsin has only been moderately successful in achieving identification as a means to an end, legalizing gay marriage in Wisconsin.

Identification through a common enemy

Identification also occurs through unification over a common enemy. This case of identification is very functional in its implementation. Two prior enemies now become allies in order to overcome a new obstacle, or mutual enemy. Fair Wisconsin attempts to utilize this type of identification, but ultimately is unsuccessful in achieving identification. Whereas Minnesotans United achieved commonality through the religious and politically conservative arenas, Fair Wisconsin attempted to establish identification primarily through religious, and economic avenues.

Initially, in attempting to establish identification with their audience through a common enemy such as the church, Fair Wisconsin was by defaulting attempting to place gay marriage on the same moral and ethical plane as traditional marriage already endorsed by religious institutions. However, Fair Wisconsin was not as successful in achieving this identification type because the rhetoric of the social movement focused primarily on gay marriage being endorsed by certain churches, and not by all religious entities in Wisconsin. In other words, instead of the

rhetoric equating same-sex marriage with traditional marriage, the rhetoric specifically emphasized the number of churches and congregations that supported Fair Wisconsin. The following excerpt provides an example of this, "Churches representing nearly 500,000 parishioners have been identified that oppose the amendment, and numerous other organizations including the Madison City Council and the Urban League of Greater Madison will oppose it as well" (Weier, 2006). Fair Wisconsin repeatedly attempts to unite their social movement and by implication gay marriage with that of the traditional interpretation of marriage endorsed by Wisconsin's religious institutions.

However, the movement engages in this rhetorical unification process through an unsuccessful avenue, focusing primarily on the numerical backing of the various churches across the state. This unsuccessful rhetorical strategy is reflected again in Fair Wisconsin's rhetoric discussing its religious support when compared to the movement's enemy, "The institute claimed that the amendment had the support of 5,000 churches and two million congregants. Fair Wisconsin, the group leading the fight against the amendment, claimed that resolutions opposing the amendment had been passed by organizations representing 500,000 congregants" (Weitzel, 2006). Here, the movement is attempted to identify with voters against the common enemy, religious voters who support the institute support the gay marriage ban. By focusing on the numerical support provided by various religious organizations and congregations in the state, Fair Wisconsin is able to demonstrate to their audience the numerical strength behind its religious backing. However, because it did not address the moral and ethical beliefs associated with marriage based on these religious entities, Fair Wisconsin was unable to reach a full unification over a common enemy because the movement had only partially identified itself with the religious sector.

Next, Fair Wisconsin attempts to establish identification through a common enemy through a variety of different economic and institutional benefits that come with civil unions and marriage arguments. In these types of arguments the common enemy that must be unified against and defeated are what contributed to a weak or struggling economy. The majority of Fair Wisconsin's rhetoric occurred around 2006, near the beginning stages of the financial recession that occurred in the United States in 2008. Needless to say, the economy was on the mind of voters, and Fair Wisconsin attempted to identify with voters by placing the gay marriage ban as detrimental to the Wisconsin economy and thus a ban that must be voted down. Mike Tate campaign director for Fair Wisconsin in 2006 was quoted as saying:

> The amendment could have a negative economic impact on city and state business. In other states with bans on gay marriage, companies have decided not to move to there because they were unsure if they could offer domestic partner benefits. I think we'll see more groups take a position against the amendment because they're worried about it from a work-force development standpoint (Shuman, 2006).

What Tate highlights here is that passing the gay marriage ban will be bad for business in the state of Wisconsin, hurting the local and state economy. Fair Wisconsin reinforces this sentiment with another statement, "passing the amendment could put Wisconsin at a competitive disadvantage compared to neighbors Illinois and Minnesota when comes to attracting workers or business" (Price, 2006). These sentiments expressed by Fair Wisconsin attempt to rhetorically depict the gay marriage amendment as a mutual enemy. Using economics to establish a mutual

enemy for unification was also utilized by Fair Wisconsin to accent old rivalries between neighboring states, like Illinois and Minnesota. This rhetorical identification strategy relies on the audience of the message to identify them as citizens of a state that should be economically competitive with neighboring, rival states. Again, this rhetorical device is exhibited by Fair Wisconsin spokesperson Josh Freeker, "When the state of Minnesota started offering domestic partner health benefits to all state employees, for instance, the Minnesota Department of Employee Relations reported an increase in 2002 of just $189,000 out of a total health care budget of $331 million" (Callender & Davidoff, 2006). This statement from Fair Wisconsin is a response to their opponents that claims enacting gay marriage in Wisconsin will create a burden on the health care budget by providing health benefits to state employees who are apart of civil unions and LGBT relationships.

Using a rival state such as Minnesota as an example, the social movement has created a common enemy to facilitate identification between Fair Wisconsin and its audience. "This kind of far-reaching ban will brand Wisconsin in a negative light in the national and even international marketplace, it will impede efforts to attract new business" (Price, 2006). This attempt to achieve identification utilizing Burke's second type is a logical one. However, it is only effective if the individuals interpreting the rhetoric view the gay marriage issue as an economic one. Economic identification appeals such as the ones used by Fair Wisconsin end up falling short when the majority of your audience view gay marriage as a religious, ethical, and moral issue. What economic appeals lack when compared to community or family appeals is a clear emotion attached to the rhetoric being presented. In other words, there is not a sufficient degree of emotional weight to economic appeals to initiate a connection and ultimately identification with the audience. The rhetoric of Fair Wisconsin utilized the second type of

identification identified by Burke of identification through a common enemy. Perhaps Fair

Wisconsin in its utilization of this type of identification focused on the wrong areas to identify

and establish a connection with their audience. Fair Wisconsin attempted to establish

identification through a common enemy by using religious and economic arguments in support

of the movement, yet these appeals ended up failing short because they did not symbolically

equate the traditionally associated morals, ethics, and benefits of traditional marriage with same-

sex marriage. In other words, identification against a common enemy was present in the rhetoric

of Fair Wisconsin, but the content of these identification strategies fell short of their intended

goal.

Subconscious Identification

Finally Burke notes that there are instances where we may identify with individuals,

groups, practices, or situations and we may not fully understand the reasons why. The

unexplainable connection we feel to certain individuals, groups, or social movements Burke says

is explained by the subconscious type of identification. This kind off identification can be

associated with the process of forming one's identity through what Burke labels as a symbolic

rhetorical decision making process. We subconsciously identify with social movements, and

create a sense of self through the acceptance or rejection of various rhetorical symbols placed in

front of us by the social movement. In this type certain key words, phrases, concepts, or ideas

hold greater rhetorical meaning and power for the audience based on their various rhetorical

entailments and associations. Fair Wisconsin's attempt to establish subconscious identification

through the idea of fairness can be found in the movement's repeated use of the word "fair." By

using this word repeatedly, Fair Wisconsin hopes to identify itself with prospective supporters

who also believe in creating a "fair" society for all who live within the state. Throughout the

progression of Fair Wisconsin's campaign to defeat the constitutional ban on gay marriage, the social movement sought to establish itself as a campaign that is composed of "fair-minded" individuals, who consider that all fair-minded individuals will support the movement. Fair Wisconsin states, "We firmly believe that the fair and independent-minded voters of Wisconsin will reject this ban once they learn more about it" (Weier, 2006). This concept of identifying the social movement as one that fights for fairness is reiterated by the following statement located on Fair Wisconsin's website:

> The Fair Wisconsin Political Action Committee (PAC) is committed to advancing and achieving equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender Wisconsinites through strategic electoral activity, by working to elect pro-fairness individuals in local, state and federal races in Wisconsin. Fair Wisconsin PAC works to elect pro-fairness individuals through endorsements of specific candidates, financial support and independent expenditure activity in support of state and local candidates. By ensuring pro-fairness individuals occupy seats at both the state and local level; we are able to focus our educational and advocacy efforts with elected officials on how, not whether, to continue working towards equality in Wisconsin. (Fair Wisconsin, 2013).

By rhetorically associating itself as a movement working to create a "fair" Wisconsin, the social movement attaches itself to the symbolic power and meaning of the word "fair." Specifically, Fair Wisconsin is a movement that values equality for all of Wisconsin's residents, where everyone has the same access to financial, social, health, and emotional benefits that come with marriage. In fact, the fairness theme is conveyed directly in the movement's name; Fair

Wisconsin. Subconsciously when the audience hears the name Fair Wisconsin, associations of equality are brought to light. In attaching the movement Fair Wisconsin to their identity, the audience also links the various values and goals of the movement to their identity and value set. By establishing itself as a movement that values fairness and equality, Fair Wisconsin also rhetorically places itself as a social movement that is working to prevent the suffering of LGBT individuals. In a statement regarding the disparity in the number of benefits available to married couples when compared to unrecognized same-sex couples, Fair Wisconsin claims that banning gay marriage will create "years of suffering" for gay and lesbian couples in Wisconsin (Stein, 2006).

Burke does not explicitly detail what determines successful utilization of subconscious identification. In conducting this study it seems that utilizing this type of identification can be extremely effective, yet the effectiveness of subconscious identification seems to be dependent on the audience. It is up to the audience to consciously link these subconscious appeals to one's identity. Identification is ultimately a two-step process. The author argues that this insight outlines that movements wishing to successfully identify need to include at least two of Burke's three types of identification. Now despite the utilization of the subconscious associations with the term "fair," the movement does not challenge their audience to consciously link Fair Wisconsin to their personal identity and value system. This is due to Fair Wisconsin not explaining that a "fair" or "fair-minded" individual as also being someone who supports same-sex marriage and the social movement. The movement did not establish the connection that in order to be a "fair-minded" individual from Wisconsin, that individual also has to support Fair Wisconsin. In utilizing subconscious identification it is not enough to utilize the rhetorical entailments of key words or phrases, it is up to the movement to take the next step and identify

60

those entailments as core values mutually shared by the movement and the individual. Subconscious identification is most effective when it challenges the audience to connect values and beliefs they themselves consider vital to the value system maintained and endorsed by the social movement. Fair Wisconsin does not directly identify the subconscious value of "fairness" with those advanced the amendment.

This identification analysis leads to the question: "Is identification a contributing factor to establishing continuity during a movement's rebirth and maintenance?" I argue that identification is not only a contributing factor, but rather identification is the factor motivating members new and old alike to mentally and physically link themselves with a social movement. Now when a social movement decides to change shift their identity mid-way through an election cycle for example, how does this impact the identification process that is underway? Rachel Einwohner (2002) argues that perceived efficacy is not only necessary in the decision to participate in collective action, but also a necessary component for participant's long term activism. Einwohner uses the example of animal right activists. These activists are protestors that commit themselves over an extended period of time to a movement. Einwohner argues that for movements such as these, a continual reinforcement of positive efficacy is necessary to maintain movement volunteer participation (2002).

However, what Einwohner overlooks is the role identification also plays in maintaining movement motivation and participation. For many movements, examples of positive efficacy are hard to come by, but what keeps volunteers continually coming back and support the movement? Positive efficacy results that stem from a movement do maintain a participant's motivation to contribute. However when those positive components are lacking I argue it is the participant's personal identification with the social movement that contributes to long-term efficacy and

volunteerism.

Given this: "Will a utilization of Burke's concept of identification assist social movements that wish to transform their identity at the midway point of their life cycle?" I argue that identification will assist a social movement in their transformation process. Take, for example, Minnesotans United for All Families, after accomplishing their foundational goal of defeating the proposed constitutional amendment banning gay marriage in November 2012, the movement transformed its identity in January 2013 to a movement that wishes to enact same-sex marriage in Minnesota. This realignment was transformational for the movement, and may have garnered or lost potential supporters. I argue that when a movement wishes to transform its identity, a utilization of identification appeals is necessary for such a transformation to be successful without suffering negative repercussions in terms of its support and overall success. In the case of Minnesotans United, the identification rhetoric present in the movement's rhetoric successfully aided the movement as it transformed its identity. This was evident in the timeline of Minnesotans United as the movement rapidly passed its proposed legislation to legalize same-sex marriage in August 2013.

The case studies also demonstrated that Fair Wisconsin also utilized identification appeals. However, what separates these two movements is Fair Wisconsin's inability to attach its the properties and goals to that of their audience's identity. This failure to place itself into the subconscious realm of their supporter identity reinforces the argument that identification is a two-step process. A movement not only needs to include identification appeals to motivate identification, it is also prudent for the movement to symbolically attach itself to the audiences identity. Once this occurs, complete identification will occur and the movement will have gained active supporters.

Chapter 5 – Critical Implications

In applying Kenneth Burke's three types of identification to Minnesotans United for All Families and Fair Wisconsin, this thesis argues that identification is a vital component of the rhetoric of a social movement. For a movement to reach success it is crucial that it utilizes identification to increase its appeal. The case studies provided in the previous chapter support this argument, highlighting how identification is crucial for a movement to connect with the public in order to accomplish their goals. When identification strategies are not present, or not utilized correctly, there can be negative effects for the movement, as was seen in Fair Wisconsin's rhetoric. Returning to this study's research question: *Does identification play a role in the overall success of a social movement*? I conclude that identification strategies located in a social movement's rhetoric are a vital component for the movement's success. When identification strategies are not present, appeal to potential voters and supports, is detrimentally affected and the social movement runs the risk of not accomplishing their intended goal. This insight brings to light a number of important implications for the study of rhetoric, social movements, as well as community building and civic engagement. In the remaining portions of the chapter, I will outline in greater detail the implications that stem from the analysis provided earlier in this thesis. In presenting and discussing these implications, it is the hope of the author that additional research into identification and identification strategies within rhetorical discourse is inspired.

Innovational Movement Utilization of a Mock Enemy

In analyzing identification through a common enemy, the results from the two case studies highlight the importance of establishing a clear rhetorical enemy. Conflict is driving is a

motivational force behind identification, and clearly defining an enemy of the movement provides the stage for such conflict. The "enemy" can be symbolic or material. Either way, a social movement must clearly establish an opposing force to rally against, and thus establish audience identification. As seen in the two case studies, the enemy of the social movement must be viewed as a shared enemy between the movement and potential supporters, providing a connection between the movement and their audience.

Minnesotans United for All Families was able to successfully create a rhetorical enemy of an invisible but present movement attacking traditional family and marriage values by attempting to ban same-sex marriage. Fair Wisconsin was unable to establish a common enemy between the movement and its audience. Fair Wisconsin was able to provide the numerical support of various religious and political institutions that have pledged support to the movement. However, the movement was unable to symbolically transfer the meaning or weight of such numerical support to Fair Wisconsin and ultimately same-sex marriage. Rhetorically, establishing a mutual enemy shared between the movement and the audience bears strong similarities to what Smith and Windes (1975) called establishment conflict theory. The establishment conflict theory provides a framework for analyzing social movements. Leland Griffin provided the framework for this form of analysis, asserting the movement must establish a conflict or a countermovement (Griffin, 1952). In the establishment conflict model, this conflict is split into to parties the "aggressor" and "defendant" and the aggressor must create conflict causing the audience to either support or reject the aggressor through an acceptance or rejection of symbols (Griffin, 1952; 1969). Essentially the establishment conflict theory outlines that the rhetorical discourse surrounding a social movement as a large-scale debate between two opposing parties. Robert Cathcart argued that the establishment conflict theory provides a

dialectical form between to opposing forces, without which there is no social movement (1972).

Smith and Windes also noted that while conflict was necessary to the growth of a movement,

that conflict could be largely symbolic. Indeed, certain movements deliberately construct illusory

"countermovements" to their own advantage (1975).

Where does identification come into play in this analytical framework? Identification is

crucial when the "conflict" occurs and the audience is placed in a position to engage in symbolic

acceptance or rejection of a social movement. Utilizing Burke's second type of identification will

help potential supporters of a movement in the decision to engage in conflict. By providing a

"mock" enemy, a social movement can create a dialectical conflict. This thesis labels the

marriage equality movements analyzed as innovational movements.

> The innovational movement is distinct from the establishment-conflict movement
>
> in that the latter calls for a reconstitution of society's values, its perceptions of
>
> worth and its class arrangements; whereas the former acts with the expectation
>
> that the changes it demands will not disturb the symbols and constraints of
>
> existing values or modify the social hierarchy (Smith & Windes, 1975, p. 84).

Innovational movements attempt to establish their desired change by working within the

established hierarchy, essentially using the "flawed" system to fix itself of the prevailing ill.

Innovational movements either change the institutions to allow individuals to effectively act out

their values, or reinforce already existing values (Smith & Windes, 1975). Smith and Windes

argue that innovational movements must engage in three rhetorical strategies: 1) denial of

conflict between the current hierarchy and the proposed values of the movement, 2) emphasis on

the weakness of traditional institutions but simultaneously reinforce the strength of traditional

values, and 3) creation of a dialect between the scene of the movement and its purpose. Kenneth

Burke's second type of identification is crucial for an innovational movement to accomplish its objectives. By creating a "mock" enemy to serve as a catalyst for identification, a movement like Minnesotans United is able to successfully engage in the three rhetorical strategies of innovational movements, thereby enhancing its chances for success. Smith and Windes (1975) remind us that the drama of conflict is still a necessary component for innovational movements. "Without the kind of drama that gives impetus to establishment-conflict movement, the innovational movement, unwilling to engage other agents in conflict must create a conflict between its purpose and some *nonpersonal* element" (Smith & Windes, 1975, p. 85). The conflict differs between innovational movements and conflict-based movements. In establishment conflict-based movements the conflict is in reference to a real enemy who holds rhetorical power and can react. Innovational movements create "mock" enemies, and these mock enemies are impersonal scenic elements that can be condemned for eroding the values of society (1975). As can be seen from the analysis it is essential for these LGBT marriage equality movements, which are innovational in nature, to establish a clear "mock" enemy to augment identification through a shared common enemy.

Minnesotans United for All Families was able to successfully accomplish this task; by establishing its purpose was to protect the traditional values of marriage against the *nonpersonsal* enemy attacking these values by banning same-sex marriage. Not having a clear enemy to mutually identify with can have negative repercussions for an innovational movement, as was seen and evident for Fair Wisconsin. The author argues that future marriage equality movements need to reinforce the dialectic nature of conflict, even if that conflict is *impersonal*.

Subconscious Identification

When discussing the unconscious type of identification Burke reminds us that understanding identification comes through an understanding of the self. For Burke, the self is a dynamic process of becoming, a quest for one's identity. This means that a person's "self" is determined through the acceptance and rejection of various symbols that are presented, and this pattern develops toward an individual's unification of being (Ambrester, 1974). The self is then in a constant state of transformation and therefore, "the maturing of the individual exposes him to 'climacteric stages' of one sort or another" (Burke, 1937, p. 98). Burke alleges that man ultimately develops his identity through the incorporation of presented rhetorical strategies. The development of identity is intrinsically attached to an unconscious component of the rhetorical process, where we can conceptualize what is "perfect" and in doing so discover the essence of "perfection" at all levels of the identification process. In forming our identities we are continually searching for "perfection" by attaching ourselves to various God Terms and their meanings (Weaver, 1953). Linking ourselves with the positive values of these God Terms such as "equality" creates that image of "perfection" for our own identities. Ambrester (1974) provides the following example, "Since the highest perfection of animalism is man, we "endow" our animals with human traits thereby placing the essence of the animal within the framework of human perfectibility. Such 'endowments' therefore, are symbols of the unconscious human endeavor" (p. 212-213).

These "endowments" referred to earlier as rhetorical entailments, carry a plurality of connotations and meanings for rhetoric utilized in society. The unconscious, in seeking to reach that essence of "perfection" will make a series of symbolic decisions in an effort to reach perfectibility within one's identity, forming the concept of self and a person's identity. It is up to the speaker, or in the case of this thesis a social movement to "endow" the properties of the

movement into the audience's image of "perfection" and in doing so reach a level of subconscious identification with the individual. Subconscious identification, and the making of symbolic choices raises up the question; "Why do we create different identities when we are exposed to or composed of the same substances?" I argue that our own or a social movement's uniqueness in terms of identity is determined not solely by the properties alone we maintain. Rather it is the subconscious associations and endowments we attribute to our properties that form identity and ultimately identification. The train of thought further highlights the importance in recognizing that identification is a two-step process. Where the speaker needs to place their audience in the best position possible to make the symbolic choice that is conducive to establishing identification.

In conducting this identification analysis, rhetorical appeals to the audience's subconscious were present in both of the examined case studies. Yet, how does one explain the fact the one social movement was more successful than the other? The answer to the question may lie not in the realm in determining *if* subconscious identification appeals were present, but rather searching to discover *were* the subconscious appeals linked to the audience's identity. What this analysis reveals is that the viewer must take the multiple entailments or endowments that are connected to important words and phrases like "fair," "equality," and "freedom" and transfer those entailments to his or her identity. Minnesotans United demonstrated this, by symbolically placing their audience in a position to either identify as someone who believes in marriage equality and is thus a "Minnesotan," or choose not to support gay marriage and by default forgo their identity of being "Minnesotan." Placing the audience in this position force them to make a symbolic choice, and thus transfer the endowments attached to marriage equality and being "Minnesotan" to his or her identity. Once these associations become a part of the

individual's identity, the prospective movement supporter moves from observer of the social movement to someone who identifies with the movement and will support the movement's purpose. This transcendence from impartial observer to engaged supporter of the movement signifies the "subconscious linking" that occurs when connecting various rhetorical symbols to our identity.

The creation of the "self" is dependent on the conscious realm subconsciously linking and identifying the values associated with gay marriage into a person's identity. It is not enough for a social movement to rely on the rhetorical entailments of a term or phrase to inspire identification with the viewer; the social movement must also link those terms to the audience's identity. Once the social movement accomplishes this linking, identification will occur between the viewer and the movement, increasing the likelihood of the movement's success. Where Fair Wisconsin failed was not the direction of their message when utilizing the meaning of "fair" in their subconscious appeals, but rather the movement failed to logically connect those endowments associated with "fair" to their audience's identity and concept of self. Identification is a two-step process. Social movements wishing to increase supporter identification would benefit from recognizing the importance of this subconscious linking. Identification rhetoric would benefit from further examination of the subconscious link between rhetorical and symbolic meaning and the concept of self.

This thesis also raises the question: "To whom are these subconscious appeals are unconscious, the producer of the message or the receiver?" It is hard not to wonder if the movement intentionally utilized all the subconscious identification appeals within the rhetorical artifacts. Is it possible that Minnesotans United or Fair Wisconsin included subconscious appeals without consciously knowing so? This question of intent behind subconscious identification

appeals highlights the ambiguous nature in attempting to identify, measure, and analyze subconscious identification. What is subconscious and what is conscious within rhetoric? Are the subconscious appeals in the movement's rhetoric consciously intentional? Or were those appeals there by chance? These concerns highlight an oxymoron attached to subconscious identification. In asserting that a rhetorical artifact contains a "subconscious appeal," is the critic assuming that was intentionally planted? For the matter, what if the critic perceives the appeal and the audience for which the message was intended does not? The line separating unconscious and conscious rhetoric at this point in time seems blurred. By necessity this thesis concludes that the subconscious appeals located in the rhetoric of Minnesotans United and Fair Wisconsin were intentional as all the rhetorical artifacts were produced directly from the movements themselves. Thus, the rhetoric can be assumed to be an accurate reflection of the movement's goals, desires, and agenda. However, further exploration is needed to answer these highlighted questions.

Movement Identity and Transformation

The application of Burke's concept of identification to the rhetoric of Fair Wisconsin and Minnesotans United for All Families raises the question of whether identification can influence more than social movement recruitment and engagement. Specifically, when a social movement wishes to transform its identity or redefine its objectives can identification strategies assist the movement during this transformational process? This question comes to mind of the author because as established earlier, each movement, such as Minnesotans United, displays certain beliefs, traits, ambitions, and properties that present an identity for the social movement. It is this movement identity that helps create the foundation for the identification process between the movement and its audience. As the social movement gets started and engages in the rhetorical process to achieve its goals, the identification process is also underway.

Goldzwig (1989) maintains that a social movement can engage in a rhetorical strategy he calls "symbolic realignment." He states, "Symbolic realignment refers to the creation of an alternative rhetorical reality, speakers and audience become convinced of the existence of, and therefor, become involved in, an alternative world-view" (p. 208). Goldzwiq goes on further, in stating symbolic realignment is a factor when a movement tries to establish political, social, or cultural superiority for political action and social change (1989). The concept of symbolic realignment is important for this study, as both Minnesotans United and Fair Wisconsin have undergone transformations of their identity throughout their existence. When a movement undergoes these transformations identification appeals become even more important, in order for the movement to remain connected with its audience. Nancy Whittier (1997) reminds us that in long-term movements participating members undergo a continual cycle of participant recruitment, renewal, and maintenance. According to Whittier,

> The endurance of each political generation's collective identity is a thread that connects a movement from one wave to next. Yet because collective identity is shaped by the changing contexts that prevail when activists first commit to the cause, long-lived social movements contain cohorts with potentially disparate definitions of the movement. As recruits enter, their redefinitions of themselves and the cause can reshape the movement (Whittier, 1997, p. 775).

Whittier's example underscores the fact that members are in a continual state of renewal and are always reshaping their identity. Goldzwig and Whittier are important for this thesis because they outline the continual cycle of renewal movements are engaged in. When social movements engage in a transformation of their identity, I argue that identification can be a beneficial tool to aid in maintaining supporter engagement and connection. Future research is needed in the field

71

of social movements that focuses on movements undergoing a transformational shift of movement identity. Specifically, these studies should seek to determine what factors contributed to the movement maintaining or losing support as it underwent an identity switch. Once these factors are identified, and I argue that identification is one of these, it is important for future research to also examine how these various rhetorical components affected participant support during this symbolic realignment of the movement's identity.

Identification to Enhance Community Building & Engagement

This thesis' focus on identification rhetoric within a social movement framework brings up an interesting implication connected to fostering community building and civic engagement. A greater understanding and implementation of the concept of identification will not be beneficial only to our understanding of social movement recruitment and maintenance; identification can also benefit our understanding of how local communities sustain themselves. Over the years many individuals have claimed that our communities are in a decline (Kinney, 2012; Putnam, 1995). Cortes (1996) points out that the modern democratic state has diluted participation to such an extent that citizens within communities have become political and civic consumers, rather than producers. Scholars have cited decreasing political participation, community engagement, and volunteerism as evidence for an overall decline in the social capital of our local communities. Putnam, for example, has tracked a decline in social capital, with "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit," on the decline (1995, p. 67). Many have argued that a stronger sense of community attachment is linked to a community's economic growth, democratic and security effectiveness. I believe that this thesis highlights the importance

of successfully utilizing the concept of identification while engaged in public rhetorical discourse.

Rhetorical identification strategies can benefit social movements, as well as corporate organizations, various teams, clubs, activities, and ultimately enhance an individual's sense of community. Enhancing our communities through public deliberation, civic engagement, as well as identification is important because healthy communities are shown to have a strong relationship with healthy democracies (Kinney, 2012). Using the results from the case studies presented in this thesis, one can see how Kenneth Burke's concept of identification can be beneficial for group and community recruitment, maintenance, and engagement.

When a person holds a stronger identification with his or her community that individual is more likely to increase their efficacy, volunteerism, and ultimately contributions to their community. Instead of sitting by the wayside watching events unfold in their community, a person who feels highly identified with their community is more likely to become actively integrated in their community, voicing their opinion and playing a role in their community's direction. More research connected identification and community building and engagement is needed to support what I perceive to be the link between these two areas.

Returning to the research question: *Does identification play a role in the overall success of a social movement*? I have argued that identification strategies located in a social movement's rhetoric are a vital component for the movement's success. When identification strategies are not present, appeal to potential voters and supporters are detrimentally affected. It is important to note that this thesis has argued that identification is a two-step process. It is not enough for the movement to voice its opinions and values. Rather, the movement must also symbolically attach those properties to their audience's identity. Once the social movement and the values it stands

for, become a part of the viewer's identity complete identification has occurred and the viewer has transformed from bystander to active supporter. I have argued that identification strategies are present in some but not all marriage equality movements. A final question arising from this analysis is: "How does a movement successfully attach identification appeals to an audience's identity?" This question and others like it highlight the importance of future research in this area of identification rhetoric and social movements. Identification is a concept that is simultaneously understood and yet misunderstood, leaving a plethora of questions and research opportunities. Once we understand identification we as scholars and rhetoricians can utilize our messages to the best of our abilities to enhance our communities and shape our political and social world.

References

Ambrester, R. (1974). Identification within: Kenneth Burke's view of the unconscious. *Philosophy & Rhetoric,* Penn State University Press, 7(4), 205-216.

Belden, D. (2013, February 18). Minnesota Gay Marriage Supporters Rally at Capitol. Pioneer Press. Retrieved from http://www.twincities.com/minnesota/ci_22588666/minnesota-gay-marriage_supporters-rally-at-capitol

Belknap, G., & Campbell, A. (1951). Political party identification and attitudes toward foreign policy. *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 15(4), 601-623.

Blankenship, J. (1968). *A sense of style: An introduction to style for the public speaker.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Borrowman, S., & Kmetz, M. (2011). Divided we stand: Beyond Burkean identification. *Rhetoric Review,* 30(3), 275-292. doi: 10.1080/07350198.2011.581942

Burke, K. (1937). *Attitudes toward history, II.* New Republic Inc, New York, p. 98.

Burke. K. (1945). *A grammar of motives*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Burke, K. (1950). *A rhetoric of motives*. Berkley: University of California Press.

Burke. K. (2006). On persuasion, identification, and dialectical symmetry. *Philosophy & Rhetoric,* 39(4), 333-339.

Callender, D., & Davidoff, J. (2006, November 3). Green flier: Wisconsin not San Francisco; It rips Doyle on benefits for gays, unwed couples. *The Capital Times*. p. A1.

Carpenter, R. H. (1972). A stylistic basis of Burkeian identification. *Today's Speech*, 20(1), 19-24.

Cathcart, R. S. (1972). New approaches to the study of movements: Defining movements rhetorically. *Western Speech,* 36, p. 82-88.

Cheney, G. (1983). The rhetoric of identification and the study of organizational communication. *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* 69(2), 143-158.

Connors, R. J. (1986). Greek rhetoric and the transition from orality. *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 19, 38-63.

Cortes, E. J. (1996). Community organization and social capital. *National Civic Review,* 85, 49 53.

Crusius, T. W. (1986). A case for Kenneth Burke's dialectic and rhetoric. *Philosophy and*

Rhetoric, 19, 23-37.

Davidoff, J. (2006, October 26). Conflicted state; Outside Madison, Voters wrestle with gay marriage and civil union question; Ban backers mostly quiet. *The Capital Times*. p. A1.

Davidoff, J. (2006, December 16). Fair Wisconsin to stay in the fray: Referendum created a big new base. *The Capital Times*. p. B1.

Day, D. G. (1960). Persuasion and the concept of identification. *Quarterly Journal Of Speech,* 46(3), 270.

Day, D. G. (1961). Kenneth Burke and identification—A reply. *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* 47(4), 415.

Durham, W. B. (1980). Kenneth Burke's concept of substance. *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* 66(4), 351-364.

Einwohner, R. L. (2002). Motivational framing and efficacy maintenance: Animal rights activists' use of four fortifying strategies. *Sociological Quarterly,* 43, p. 509-526.

Erickson, D. (2006, November 8). Banning gay marriage wins approval of voters. *Wisconsin State Journal*. p. A6.

Fair Wisconsin (2013). Retrieved from http://fairwisconsin.com

Gregg, R. B. (1971). The ego-function of the rhetoric of protest. *Philosophy & Rhetoric,* 4(2), 71-91.

Gresson III, A. D. (1978). Phenomenology and the rhetoric of identification—A neglected dimension of coalition communication inquiry. *Communication Quarterly,* 26(4), 14-23.

Griffin, L. M. (1952). The Rhetoric of historical movements. *Quarterly Jounral ofSpeech,* 38, 185-186.

Griffin, L. M. (1969). A dramatistic theory of the rhetoric of movements. *Critical Responses to Kenneth Burke.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. p. 464.

Goldzwiq, S. R. (1989). A social movement perspective on demagoguery: Achieving symbolic realignment. *Communication Studies,* 40, p. 202-228.

Hart, R. P., & Daughton, S. (2005). *Modern Rhetorical Criticism.* (3rd ed.). Boston: Pearson.

Harte, T. B. (1977). The concept of identification in the rhetorical theories of Kenneth Burke and Eric Hoffer. *Communicator,* 7(2), 64-69.

Holland, V. (1953). Rhetorical criticism: A burkeian method. *Quarterly Journal of Speech,*

39(4), 444-450.

Huffington Post. (2013, May 16). Minnesota Legalizes Gay Marriage: Gov. Mark Dayton Signs Bill Into Law. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/14/minnesota-gay marriage-legal_n_3275484.html?view=print&comm_ref=false

Kinney, B. (2012). Deliberation's contribution to community capacity building. In T. N. Editor, J. G. Editor, G. M. W. Editor, & M. L. Editor, *Democracy in Motion: Evaluating the Practice and Impact of Deliberative Civic Engagement* (163-180). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kirk, J. W. (1961). Kenneth Burke and identification. *Quarterly Journal Of Speech,* 47(4), 414.

Kramer, M. W., Meisenbach, R. J., & Hansen, G. J. (2013). Communication, uncertainty, and volunteer membership. *Journal of Applied Communication Research,* 41, 18 39. doi: 10.1080/00909882.2012.750002

Lentsch, K. (2013, February 15). On Valentines Day, Minnesotans Rally for Equal Marriage. Twin Cities Daily Planet. Retrieved from http://www.tcdailyplanet.net/news/2013/02/15/valentines-day-minnesotans-rally equal marriage

Lobby day 2013 unites Minnesotans in support of the freedom to marry for same-sex couples. (2013, April 18). *Minnesotans United for All Families*. Retrieved from http://mnunited.org/news/lobby-day-2013-unites-minnesotans-in-support-of-the freedom-to-marry-for-same-sex-couples/

McCright, A. M., & Dunlap, R. E. (2008). Social movement identity and belief systems. *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 72(4), 651-676.

McIntee, M. (2013, September 4). Why Minnesota succeeded while Wisconsin failed on marriage equality. *The Uptake*. Retrieved from http://theuptake.org/2013/09/04/why-minnesota-succeeded-while-wisconsin-failed-on-marriage-equality/

McNamee, L. G. (2011). Faith-based organizational communication and its implications for member identity. *Journal of Applied Communication Research,* 39(4), 422 440. doi:10.1080/00909882.2011.608697

Minnesotans united statement on defeat of amendment one. (2012, November 7). *Minnesotans United for All Families*. Retrieved from http://mnunited.org/news/minnesotans united statement-on-defeat-of-amendmentone/

Minnesotans United for All Families. (2013). Retrieved from http://mnunited.org

Minnesotans united statement on introduction of bipartisan legislation to secure the freedom to marry. (2013, February 27). *Minnesotans United for All Families*. Retrieved from

http://mnunited.org/news/minnesotans-united-statement-on introduction-of-bipartisan-legislation-to-secure-the-freedom-to-marry/

Minnesotans united political action committee formed. (2013, May 15). *Minnesotans United for All Families*. Retrieved from http://mnunited.org/news/minnesotans united political-action-committee-formed/

Ploeger, N. A., & Bisel, R. S. (2013). The role of identification in giving sense to unethical organizational behavior: Defending the organization. *Management Communication Quarterly,* 27(2), 155-183. doi: 10.1177/0893318912469770

Price, J. (2006, September 1). Group: Gay marriage ban would hurt state economy. *Wisconsin State Journal*. p. 12.

Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy,* 6, 65-78.

Richmond, T. (2012, December 21). Wisconsin domestic partnership registry ruled constitutional by state appeals court. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/12/21/wisconsin-domestic partnership_n_2345739.html?utm_hp_ref=email_share

Rosenfeld, L. B. (1969). Set Theory: Key to the understanding, of Kenneth Burke's use of the term "Identification". *Western Speech,* 33(3), 175-183.

Scheck,T. (2012, December 20). MN United for All Families to Lobby to Legalize Same sex Marriage. Minnesota Public Radio. Retrieved from http://minnesota.publicradio.org/collections/special/columns/polinaut/archive/20 2/12/mn_united_for_a.shtml

Schuman, K. (2006, July 19). Downtown group fears ban may hurt economy; Downtown Madison Inc. voted to oppose the proposed gay marriage ban, up for vote in November. *Wisconsin State Journal*. p. B1.

Scott, C. R. (2007). Communication and social identity theory: Existing and potential connections in organizational identification research. *Communication Studies,* 58(2), 123-138. doi:10.1080/10510970701341063

Smith, R. R., & Windes, R. R. (1975). The innovational movement: A rhetorical theory. *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* 61, 140-153. doi:10.1080/00335637509383280

State volunteers line up to fight bay marriage ban. (2006, May 13). *The Capital Times*. p. A1.

Statement of introduction of legislation to repeal constitutional ban on marriage equality.(2014, February 13). *Fair Wisconsin*. Retrieved from http://fairwisconsin.com/repeal

Statement from Minnesota college republicans chairman Ryan Lyk in support of the freedom to marry. (2013, March 6). *Minnesotans United for All Families*. Retrieved from http://mnunited.org/news/minnesota-college-republicans   chairman-ryan-lyk statement-in-support-of-the-freedom-to-marry/

Steimel, S. (2013). Connecting with volunteers: Memorable messages and volunteer identification.*CommunicationResearchReports,*30,12-21.doi: 10.1080/08824096.2012.746220

Stein, J. (2006, October 15). The showdown on gay marriage; One side talks of getting   fair share, the other of preserving an institution; Showdown: Money from both sides pours in. *Wisconsin State Journal*. p. A1.

Stein, J. (2007, February 2). Foes of gay nuptials ban spent more. *Wisconsin State Journal*.   p. A1.

Stephens, K. K., & Dailey, S. L. (2012). Situated organizational identification in   newcomers: Impacts of preentry organizational exposure. *Management   Communication   Quarterly,* 26(3), 404-442. doi: 10.1177/0893318912440179

Stewart, C. J. (1980). A functional approach to the rhetoric of social movements. *Central States Speech Journal*, 31, 298-305.

Stewart, C. J. (1999). Championing the rights of others and challenging evil: The ego function in the rhetoric of other-directed social movements. *Southern Communication Journal*, 64(2), 91-105.

Stokes, A. (2013). You are what you eat: Slow food USA's constitutive public relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research,* 25, 68-90. doi:10.1080/1062726X.2013.739102

Walsh Jr., J. F. (1985). Rhetoric in the conversion of Maoist insurgency cadres: Rhetoric and the social component of conversion in radical social movements. *World Communication*, 14, 27-41.

Weaver, R. (1953). *The ethics of rhetoric.* Chicago: Henry Regnery.

Weier, A. (2006, March 1). Gay marriage fight hinges on outreach. *The Capital Times*. p. A1.

Weitzel, R. (2006, November 25). 'The Bible tells me so' doesn't cut it in public. *The Capital Times*. p. A11.

Where are the real Minnesotans? (2012, January 5). *Minnesotans United for All Families*. Retrieved from http://mnunited.org/news/where-are-the-real-minnesotans/

Whittier, N. (1997). Political generations, micro-cohorts, and the transformation of social movements. *American Sociological Review,* 62, p. 760-778.

Williams, E. A., & Connaughton, S. L. (2012). Expressions of identifications: The nature of talk and identity tensions among organizational members in a struggling organization. *Communication Studies, 63*(4), 457-481. doi:10.1080/10510974.2011.630439

Young, N.L. (2007). Identity trans/formations. In C.S. Beck (Ed.), *Communication yearbook 31* (pp. 224-273). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.