

Gender Specific Communication in Public Speaking: How Men and Women Use Communication Tools Effectively

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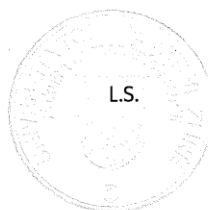
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ABSTRAKT

Moja bakalárska práca sa zaoberá socio-lingvistickou témou pojednávajúcou komunikáciu mužov a žien vo verejnom prejave. Práca vysvetľuje všeobecnú teóriu verejného prejavu a následne vystihuje základné rozdiely v prejave mužov a žien ako neodlúčiteľnou súčasťou celkovej komunikácie. Zameriava sa taktiež na špecifické lingvistické aspekty komunikácie a analyzuje konkrétne verejné prejavy. Zmienené je taktiež postavenie ženy z hitorického a terajšieho pohľadu. Cieľom bakalárskej práce je vyzdvihnúť dôležitosť jazyka ako neodlúčiteľnou súčasťou k ceste k úspechu – pracovnom a osobnom a vysvetliť efektivitu použitia ako mužských, tak aj ženských komunikačných prostriedkov v úspešnom verejnom prejave.

Kľúčové slová: verejný prejav, rétorika, komunikačné prostriedky, muž, žena, mužské, ženské, lingvistické aspekty

ABSTRACT

The subject of my thesis is a socio-linguistic topic discussing the communication of men and women in public speaking. It describes public speaking in general and elucidates the main differences in male and female speech as an inseparable part of communication. It focuses on specific linguistic aspects of communication and analyzes actual public speeches, taking into context the historical and current roles of men and women. The aim of this bachelor thesis is to emphasize the importance of language as an inseparable part of success, both career and personal, and to explain the effective use of male and female communication tools in an elaborate public speech.

Keywords: public speaking, rhetoric, communication tools, men, women, male, female, linguistic aspects

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INTRODUCTION

Words – the most powerful tool of the human being. With a single word, a person can greatly affect others. One can feel loved or hated or be shown empathy, sympathy, caring, acknowledgment, support, but can also express hate, anger, contempt and carelessness. From one conversation a person is able to fall in love or even commit suicide. It is the power of speech, the power of persuasion. A family conversation, a chat among friends, a lecture from a superior, a political speech or a motivational talk, all have one thing in common – persuasion. Without exception we all have this power but most of us do not know about it or perhaps underestimate it. Firstly, it is important to know how to speak to express oneself clearly and be able to compose arguments, so that speech is strong and impactful, whatever the context. Secondly, one must observe and recognize these communication “power” tools in other speakers as well, in order to ascertain their real purpose.

There have been numerous arguments put forth that show systematic differences in speech between men and women that underscore gender inequalities and prevalent attitudes indicating that women’s speech is weaker, i.e. less powerful, than men’s. One such study claims that “Women’s speech sounds more polite than men’s [...] leaving a decision open, not imposing your mind, or view or claims on anyone else.”¹

Where else if not in political speeches can we clearly see the art of persuasion? What tools are used and is there a difference between the speech of a female politician rather than a male? How different is her speech from the male? Is politics simply a “man’s world”, where everyone must be assertive, aggressive and direct in order to be heard? Or is it possible for women to influence men in speech, to put it lightly – beat them in their own game? The answer to these questions is the subject of this thesis.

In the practical part, I analyse speeches of well-known politicians – both women’s and men’s. My research aim and hypothesis is to show that women politicians employ their feminine communication tools in order to be heard, but also rely on many aspects of male speech patterns. Similarly, it will be shown that men do not rely solely on male communicative tools but also employ female features to harness the most effective rhetorical tools at their disposal. Thus, men and women, despite their individual

¹Speer, Susan A., and Elizabeth Stokoe, *Conversation and Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 135.

communicative differences, both employ certain speech patterns of each gender to be effective communicators.

I. THEORY

1 THE POWER OF LANGUAGE

The use of language is to communicate information. The twentieth century philosopher, Ludwig Wittgenstein addresses the uses of language in his *Philosophical Investigations*. He states that the most basic use of language can be divided into three general categories, informative, expressive and directive.² Yet, if there is any art of persuasion it is rhetoric, the science of language. Oftentimes it is forgotten how powerful language can be. Among all the creatures on this planet, human beings are the only ones who are able to express themselves using their intellect and put their ideas and thoughts into words.

During a conversation, or a communicative exchange, a person not only wants to express their ideas out loud, but wishes to do so in the most effective way, so the listener, or in written communication the reader, accepts the idea and in some cases also acts upon it. The speaker tactically asserts his own position in relation to the other (others). There are numerous ways of sending a message across, using different grammatical structures and various lexical items. It is up to the sender which ones they choose and therefore expresses their attitude and point of view in certain way. This particular choice is always motivated by the degree of their persuasive aim.

There is often an immense difference between the word's lexical or 'dictionary' meaning and the meaning in context which is what the person conveys by saying them on particular occasions, i.e. in utterance.³ As a listener, one must be careful while processing the speaker's words, being mindful of the explicit and implicit messages being conveyed at the same time. It may or may not be the case that the speaker truly believes in what he says. Nonetheless, one does not utter words simply for the sake of it, but wants to influence the listener in a particular way, whether or not one admits to it.

1.1 Rhetoric

Rhetoric is also known as the art of discourse and the art of persuasion. We can learn about rhetoric from many books written by numerous authors, but we must first turn towards the ancient Greek philosopher, Aristotle, the 'father of rhetoric'. He is the author of a famous treatise on the art of persuasion entitled *Rhetoric*. Aristotle defines rhetoric as

²Copi and Cohen, *Introduction to Logic* (New Jersey: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 90.

³H. G. Widdowson, *Discourse Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 69-70.

follows, “Let rhetoric be the power to observe the persuasiveness of which any particular matter admits.”⁴

Aristotle talks about three basic approaches that one can use to make a convincing argument: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. *Ethos* is the level of credibility and one’s character. The audience has to see the speaker as being credible, they have to respect him, trust him, believe he is a good character and the authority of the spoken topic. They must feel he is not speaking out of his own personal interest, but because he is concerned about the audience’s interest.⁵ This is very widely used by politicians who are regularly seen on television giving a speech and promising to improve the condition of regular citizens, raising salaries, lowering taxes, and promising to make their life easier and happier. On the face of it, it appears to be genuine concern for the welfare of ordinary citizens; however, it has been proved on numerous occasions, one can be easily fooled by a skilful orator.

Pathos deals with emotions. The speaker is persuasive when he has an emotional connection with the audience. His speech must evoke some feelings, if it is love or fear, compassion or envy, or other; it is a great tool how to get the audience involved in the topic. Very effective is to use *stories*, *anecdotes*, *analogies*, *similes* or *metaphors*, that will move the audience’s emotions inside of them.⁶ Everyone gets affected by a heart-moving story, whether it is about children in Africa dying from hunger or a murderer killing an innocent person. The more it is described and the more personal it is, the more effect it has.

Speech also must make sense – it has to be logical. This is the third persuasive appeal of good rhetoric - *logos*. One has to have logical arguments to convey his message. Facts, statistics, evidence will persuade your audience even more. Aristotle thought of this tool as the most important, but not sufficient without the use of the other two.⁷

The art of persuasion exists in any field of science, medicine, mathematics, physics etc., but this type of persuasion revolves around the particular subject in question. Yet, the art of rhetoric concerns persuasion in speech and the observation of its techniques in any spoken subject. It is important to see the difference between what rhetoric encompasses and what it does not. When it comes to laws and contracts and affairs that are “outset-witness”, that is, spoken under duress, these instances do not count as the actual art of

⁴Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric* (London: Penguin Classics, 2004), 74.

⁵Andrew Dlugan, “Ethos, Pathos, Logos: 3 Pillars of Public Speaking,” Six Minutes, last modified September 2, 2013, accessed February 3, 2014, <http://sixminutes.dlugan.com/ethos-pathos-logos>.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

rhetoric, however when it comes to modes that one can formulate himself that is the actual art.⁸

When it comes to speaking, there are three *modes of persuasion*. Firstly, it “depends on the personal character of the speaker”, secondly “on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind” and thirdly “on the proof provided by the words of the speech itself”. The first is the most important and effective of all, namely, when the speaker has good character everyone automatically trusts his or her words. “This is true generally whatever the question is, and absolutely true where exact certainty is impossible and opinions are divided.”⁹ In other words, the speaker’s character will be the single most important factor in persuasion no matter what the subject matter may be and all the more important if the subject matter is controversial, uncertain or abstruse. In the second case, the audience has to be in a good mood in order to be willing to listen and accept any ideas. When the speaker helps to set a pleasant atmosphere, the emotions of the listeners change and the speaker and his speech will be judged more amenably too. Last, but not least, strong arguments have to be used for a powerful speech.

Subsequently, there are three means of effecting persuasion that one has to understand as a competent rhetorician – *logical reasoning*, *human character* and *emotions*. Hence, rhetoric is a subsidiary of the studies of dialectic, ethics and politics.¹⁰

1.2 Rhetoric vs. Truth

From the fifth century BC, rhetoric was closely connected with the monarchy, its rulers and advisors. Advisors were the ones who had to use persuasive language to convince their rulers as to what is correct and what course of action they should take. This ‘ultimate power’ became a subject of teaching by so called ‘Sophists’. Sophists, whose only purpose was to persuade the person into anything, irrespective of its truth, were the teachers of law, advertising, doctors and politicians. However, teachers of dialectics philosophy and theology, like Socrates, taught that the real purpose of rhetoric was to state or elucidate truth.¹¹

As mentioned earlier, Aristotle defines rhetoric as the art of persuasive language. He states that we use the art of persuasion every day, in trying to demonstrate to the listener a

⁸Aristotle, *Aristotle's Rhetoric* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), 595.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹John E. Joseph, *Language in Politics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 110.

particular point of view or truth. He warns, however, that its proper use in persuading people through reason and not through appealing to emotion, which he considers a fallacious form of argumentation. He considers the use of rhetoric to persuade people through emotion as immoral and Sophistry. Furthermore he states that a person must protect himself from the rhetoricians through the mastery of rhetoric.¹² It is therefore necessary to recognize the tools of the rhetorician and be able to analyze rhetorical speech so that one is able to use it for one's own argumentation.

Both Socrates and Aristotle avidly pursued the study of rhetoric and using it to further their philosophical and intellectual aims. They were keen on persuading their opponents to accept a truth and reject a falsehood. Their aim was not to argue a point for the sake of dialectic and argumentation, as the Sophists had done, but it was to discover truth through reasoning.¹³ Nevertheless, nowadays speakers still try to persuade the listener whether their claims are true or false. If the claims are false, it can be that either the speaker does not know his assertions are wrong, or if he does, yet still induces it for his own benefit.

1.3 Language and power

One might think that spoken language can be fully objective, however, one has to consider that language develops with its use to fulfil a social function. The world is seen through language. All the words and phrases used give not just clear information about the world around, but as well, biased information through which one creates opinions and attitudes.¹⁴ For instance, when hearing or saying a word each person conceives an idea subsumed by the meaning of this word. He can have a positive, negative, or neutral attitude towards it, but still has some kind of an opinion about it.

Halliday gives the example of the word *grow* as a clearly coloured and positively-loaded, when it is used in any type of phrase, (for example “economic growth, growth of food and plants, growing child”). Another instance is the use of *possessive pronouns*. They are regularly used in combination with things that in fact cannot be in anyone's possession. For example: “My wife/husband, my country, our language”. In fact, these possessives can lead to, on one hand positive loyalty and care, but on the other hand negative emotions such as possessiveness and nationalism. With the use of possessives, one includes or excludes

¹²John E. Joseph, *Language in Politics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 110.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Thomas and Meriel Bloor, *The Functional Analysis of English*, 3rd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 236.

the people or things discussed. “In this way, political or national power can be reflected in the language and the language in turn can reinforce such power”. When something is “ours”, it is automatically assumed that the other thing is not. It gives us the premise of a privilege or detachedness.¹⁵

Hodge and Kress are the founders of the *critical linguistics* and further *critical discourse analysis (CDA)*. CDA, sociology and philosophy go hand in hand together with the idea that “ideology is linguistically mediated” which Hodge and Kress believed in. As basic social classifications as a race or a religion set certain belonging that bring up inequality between people. Thanks to CDA one can also analyse the manipulation in a discourse. In political speeches for instance, one can find the case of *metaphors* as perfect manipulative tool. Halliday and Matthiesse give an example of the use of the metaphor in the times of war; how the producers of the text smartly make the text sound impersonal, so killing is not perceived as inhumane. Furthermore, historians may use certain words when describes events to paint a narrative that is agreeable to the institutions of power. Over time, historical ‘facts’ are manipulated and used for political ambitions due to the revisionism that takes place within history books. With a great knowledge of language, it is then easy for such high-positioned leaders as politicians to manipulate one’s opinion and make their governmental laws and new policies sound necessary, important and justified. They are also other fields like medicine, education and others that take advantage of such manipulation.¹⁶ Hence, a great rhetorician can arouse a feeling of patriotism in the listener to such extent he is loyal only to his country and feels hostility for others. Moreover with a specific word choice he has the power to turn-around ideas that can be even fundamentally wrong, however presented as something normal and acceptable.

¹⁵Thomas and Meriel Bloor, *The Functional Analysis of English*, 3rd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 236.

¹⁶Thomas and Meriel Bloor, *The Functional Analysis of English*, 3rd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 237.

2 MASCULINE AND FEMININE RHETORIC

Once upon a time, a man would go out in the dangerous world hunting to bring sustenance for his family, woman and children. The image invoked is that of a strong, and brave man who is the provider and protector of his family from outside danger. He needed to be skilful in long-distance navigation and marksmanship. The woman would take care of the children and defend the ‘nest’. Her skills and senses developed in the way, she was able to see and monitor the smallest changes in behaviour, mood and her surroundings. A woman’s greatest ability was sustaining family life. Besides the children and husband, she would interact with other women around and therefore thus developed great communication skills.¹⁷

Looking at today’s family structure, this idea has not changed significantly. Men are expected and thus financially responsible to bring home a salary so the family can survive while a woman is expected to have the food ready, keep the house clean and children occupied. Undoubtedly, there are differences in each family in every part of the world, although, in many ways, the age-old, natural arrangement cannot be escaped.

2.1 What is Feminine

Biological features of women gave women not just the ability to sustain the family life. Relationships in general are the most important factor for them. When women converse, they do so in order to “foster connections, support closeness and understanding”. For them conversation is not just about sharing pure information, however they all interact and share their feelings, opinions and support among each other.¹⁸

Women are responsive and try to maintain the conversation and attempt to get others to speak. To do this, they use a lot of *questions*. Typically: “Can you explain me what you mean?” “What do you think of this?” Their talk is personal and has a concrete style. Typically they use a lot of “*details, personal disclosures, anecdotes and concrete reasoning*”.¹⁹

Last, but not least of the female features is *tentativeness*. Characteristic is the use of *hedges* – such as “I kind of feel...”, “I am probably not the best judge...”; *tag questions*.g.

¹⁷ Allan Pease and Barbara Pease, *Why Men Don't Listen and Women Can't Read Maps* (New York: Broadway Books, 2001), 12-13.

¹⁸ Verderber, Kathleen S. *Voices: A Selection of Multicultural Readings*. (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995), 21-22.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

“isn’t it?”, “don’t you think?”; *qualifiers*, namely: “some”, “a few”, “occasionally”, “almost”, etc. *Tentativeness* is deemed to be powerless and is a sign of uncertainty and low-confidence. Yet, women did not start using *tentativeness* because of their low self-esteem, but rather, as Dale Spender and other scholars suggest, it is the expression of “women’s desires to keep conversation open and include others”. “A tentative style of speaking supports women’s general desire to create equality and include others”. Dale Spender also points out, that Robin Lakoff who in her book *Language and Woman’s Place* argues that the use of hedging and tag questions shows women’s subordinate role and their powerlessness compare to men, is based on comparison with men’s speech as the standard, which “does not recognize the distinctive validity of different speech communities”.²⁰

However, this does not negate the fact of the often use of hedging and tag questions in women’s speech. In conclusion, the use of tentativeness has both effects – on one side it makes the other person include in the conversation, on the other hand, it can be a sign of uncertainty. In order to know exactly, one has to analyse the speech according to the context and the purpose of it.

2.2 What is Masculine

Just like our heroic man from the short story in the beginning of this chapter – men even today are judged in a similar fashion. To be masculine means to be able to provide for the family, and in particular, financially, to be strong, brave, protective and fearless. Men’s communication skills developed according to these characteristics.

The goal of masculine communication, unlike the feminine, is to exert control, preserve independence and enhance one’s status and prestige. Thus, men have two typical tendencies when speaking. First, by challenging others and speaking confidently, taking a stand and showing their knowledge, skills or abilities, they defend their own status and beliefs. Second, comforting and supporting each other means for men respecting each other’s independence and avoidance of patronizing communication.²¹ It is in the nature of men to speak with confidence, unafraid to exert his opinion even when it contradicts

²⁰Verderber, Kathleen S. *Voices: A Selection of Multicultural Readings*. (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995), 23.

²¹Ibid.

others, unlike women, who choose their words accordingly to the listener or the other speaker in order to maintain a comfortable communication.

Furthermore, men do not tend to speak about personal information, which would give the impression of weakness or vulnerability. When it comes to relationships, men are inclined to give advice when a certain topic is being discussed, however, unlike women, they do not look at feelings or emotions in the conversation; it is rather an *instrumental activity* for them. This way they keep their superior controlling position, where they 'know' what the other person ought to do. To other men it may seem normal, however for women, it may seem cold and arrogant. *Instrumentality* is a masculine feature – receiving information, ascertaining facts, and advising solution. A man is more likely to say: “I advise you do this”, whereas a woman would say “I understand your problem, maybe it would be good for you to do this”.²²

Dominating the conversation is also one of male's traits. Researches show that males are more inclined to interrupt in a conversation in order to have it under control. They also pick on particular words, so they can jump to any topic. Men are more inclined to do this, but that does not exclude women. The difference is what are their reasons for doing so. Men want to have the conversation in control; women indicate interest and wish to respond in a supportive and encouraging way (in the original, biological sense, excluding situations where women occupy 'men's' jobs, such as politics, management and other leadership positions).²³

Compared to women, men use more *authoritative* communication tools (opp. *tentative* tools), they are more direct, literal and forceful. Moreover they talk abstractly, i.e. in general terms, avoiding feelings and emotions, which is within public speaking considered to be effective, nonetheless in personal communication becomes a barrier.²⁴

And last but not least, men's speech is not as highly relationally responsive as women's. They give *minimal response cues* (“Yeah”, “Umhmm”), which women cannot understand, since they are the one's who speak in sympathy and are not afraid to express their own experience and feelings.²⁵

²²Verderber, Kathleen S. *Voices: A Selection of Multicultural Readings*. (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995), 23.

²³Ibid., 24

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

All these features show, that the communication between a man and a woman can be almost impossible. As a consequence, if one wants to communicate effectively, he or she needs to know the tools that the other gender may use - sometimes not even purposefully, but simply because of his own nature.

2.3 Sociolinguistic aspects of masculine and feminine

“Sociolinguists have shown that communication systems are heterogeneous and multilayered. Thus, factors such as social class, religion, ethnicity, age, occupation, and sex all affect speech behavior, as do the specific situation, the topic of conversation, and the roles of the individuals involved.”²⁶

In her book, *Deceptive Distinctions: Sex, Gender, And The Social Order*, Cynthia Epstein cites Kramer, Thorne, and Henley who proclaim that studies in traditional academic linguistic disciplines have shown that there are certain differences in gender speeches that include phonology, pitch and intonation, lexicon and syntax. “The best documented sex differences among all these possibilities have been found at the level of phonology (sound changes in language).” Females are inclined more towards using “a wider range of pitches and more variable intonation than men”. “Men have been found to speak louder and with less fluency. No consistent sex differences have been found in extent of vocabulary or choice of adjective and adverbs.” As for lexicon and syntax, women were prone to use the more grammatically correct or ‘proper’ way of speaking, which also sounds more prestigious. And as mentioned before, the works of Robin Lakoff propose that women use more *tag questions*, *intensifiers* (“so”, “such”), *‘empty’ adjectives* (“adorable”, “charming”), *question-like intonation patterns*, and *compound request forms*.²⁷

Kramer (1978), however, also states that there may not be as vast communication differences between genders as everyone claims. He explains that the research focuses too much on the differences rather than the similarities and therefore exaggerates the differences. His research also indicates that judgment on speech patterns is strongly influenced by stereotypical thinking, and focus purely on gender might be a problem as well. Critics suggest that the “social setting, social class, geographical local, age, race and ethnicity” should be also taken into consideration. Moreover, the relationship between the

²⁶Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs. *Deceptive Distinctions: Sex, Gender, And The Social Order*. (New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1988), 220.

²⁷Ibid., 221.

speakers is another important aspect that should not be ignored. Depending on who is in the power position and who is in the subordinate position or with less power, their communication tools and overall discussion differs. It is not always the woman who uses 'feminine', 'weak' speech patterns and it is not always a man who uses 'male' speech patterns and dominant words.²⁸

Certainly a man can use tag questions or intensifiers in his speech. It is unfortunate that these and other so called 'weak' features of speech have been associated with the 'feminine'. Yet, it has been said that women are more careful when speaking to another person or a bigger audience, thus their communication tools mirror this state. Furthermore, they want to connect with the listener and propose equality instead of dominance, so accordingly these features can be called 'feminine' even though they might appear in men's rhetoric. In addition, only through research and analysis we can ascertain whether these feminine features are in fact weak, or that they also affect the audience in a positive way.

Holmes created a list of *sociolinguistic universal tendencies* through which one can understand the gendered speech better:

1. "Women and men develop different patterns of language use."
2. "Women tend to focus on the affective functions of an interaction more often than men do."
3. "Women tend to use linguistic devices that stress solidarity more often than men do."
4. "Women tend to interact in ways which will maintain and increase solidarity, while (especially in formal contexts) men tend to interact in ways which will maintain and increase their power and status."
5. "Women are stylistically more flexible than men."²⁹

2.4 Lakoff approach

Lakoff in her book *Language and Woman's Place* talks about the differences between women's and men's speech. She points out the differences that are "in the choice and

²⁸Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs. *Deceptive Distinctions: Sex, Gender, And The Social Order*. (New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1988), 222-223.

²⁹Ronald Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 6th ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 342.

frequency of lexical items; in the situations in which certain syntactic rules are performed; in intonational and other supersegmental patterns.”³⁰

First example is in the case of using specific names for colours. It seems that the colour is more relevant to women than men. Lakoff explains this in a sense that generally in today’s culture men find these and similar topics women talk about “‘unworldly’ and ‘irrelevant’” and they downgrade them for the very reason of not being important enough and not embracing men’s egos. It is because “women are not expected to make decision on important matters”, so they are concerned in how to name the colour the right way.³¹ This argument degrades women as species and I argue, that the reason for women being so specific about colours or other things is an indication of their high level of observance and perception that they developed as mothers who have to take care of kids and be able to observe every little case of movement or a change in or around the house.

Second difference Lakoff identifies is the use of *particles*. Even though these are a lot of times looked at as meaningless, Lakoff argues and states, “they define the social context of an utterance, indicate the relationship the speaker feels between himself and his addressee, between himself and what he is talking about”. If the men’s and women’s type of particles are compared, it is presumed that the more ‘harsh’ one is the one of men’s and the ‘softer’ one used by a woman. An example would be a comparison of “shit” and “oh, dear”. Nowadays we see women using these kinds of particles and generally ‘men’s language’ more and more, although it is still looked down upon. Yet it is interesting how women are gradually speaking like men, but men do not choose to use women’s type of speech as much. This phenomenon is clearly seen since women have started working in ‘male’ jobs (as managers, leaders, presidents), but men are not that eager in doing ‘women’ jobs (teachers, assistants). In conclusion, “the language of the favoured group, the group that holds the power, along with its non-linguistic behaviour, is generally adopted by the other group, not vice-versa.” Thus, if there are ‘stronger’ (so called masculine) and ‘weaker’ (so called feminine) expletives, how can be their strength explained? It is the question of “how strongly one feels about something” – “the strength of an emotion

³⁰ Robin Lakoff, “Language and Woman's Place”, *Language in Society* 2, no. 1 (April, 1973): 49, accessed April 1, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4166707>.

³¹ Ibid.

conveyed in a sentence corresponds to the strength of the particle”.³² Many believe that when a woman speaks, she should speak like a lady. It is always unpleasant to hear any harsh words from her, even as a joke. I believe it is a mistake for a girl or a grown-up woman to speak like a non-civilized human being. If she does, she loses her modesty and overall beauty. She is not taken seriously and thought of as a man.

Lakoff also makes a point in the idea that men and women are learned from as early as birth to act and speak as women and men, therefore “the use of different particles by them is a learned trait”. “It mirrors the nonlinguistic differences and points out the inequity that exists between the treatment of men, and society’s expectations of them, and the treatment of women.” In order to be listened to, one has to use the strong expressions, but no force (which is considered to be masculine). No one wants to listen to a person with weakness in his or her voice and words (although that is considered to be feminine).³³

“Society allows men to be more forceful in speech, which reinforces the paradigm of male superiority and dominance”. Men and women who equally use forceful language are perceived differently despite the identical use of language; this underscores the inequality between genders. In other words, a man using an expression “hell” for example is perceived to be more forceful and authoritative than when a woman says the same word. It is because of the assumption that allows men to use stronger language than women. Because the expectation of the woman to use more emotive language even when she uses strong language is not taken seriously or has less impact than a man saying the same words. It is not just in the *expletives* where we see it, but also in group of adjectives like these: “neutral: great, terrific, cool, neat”; women use: “adorable, charming, sweet, lovely, divine.”³⁴

Neutral adjectives can be used by both genders. However, if a man uses feminine adjectives, he is automatically not taken as seriously. Moreover, even the woman is perceived differently when using this type of adjectives. In the case of a leadership job, she should strive to use more neutral words, to avoid being judged by the biases of others. It is really a question of whether or not the person is ‘involved’ in the topic and whether or not they are ‘in power’. As previously mentioned, women are not expected to be included

³²Robin Lakoff, “Language and Woman's Place”, *Language in Society* 2, no. 1 (April, 1973): 50, accessed April 1, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4166707>.

³³Ibid., 51.

³⁴Ibid.

and involved in serious topics where strong words are necessary. It is because of this attitude that these types of words are referred to as feminine. Nonetheless, both genders can use both types of words depending on the situation and whom they are addressing. For instance, it is appropriate for a man as a teacher or a woman as a leader in accordance with their position and social situation to use the opposite gender's language, at least partially.³⁵

When it comes to syntax, apparently women use more *tag-questions*. Yet, it does not have to be considered as a 'weak' way of using language. Rather it is something between "an outright statement and yes-no question". A person uses a tag question at the end of his statement, his claim, when he is not fully sure of its correctness.³⁶

In one case, he might presume he has enough knowledge about the subject, but still puts a question mark at the end for a validation from his addressee. For example: "John is here, isn't he?" It is therefore a "declarative statement without the assumption that the statement is to be believed by the addressee". The one receiving this information (with a question) has freedom to either agree or disagree with the speaker. To use a tag question is reasonable especially, when the person knows that the other person had for instance "a better view" of the subject and must therefore know better than me ("*I had my glasses off. He was out at third, wasn't he?*"). However, tag questions are not always about a lack of knowledge and needed confirmation. People use tag questions also in order to keep the conversation going (or to start a conversation) ("*Sure is hot here, isn't it?*"). It is unusual to get a confirmation about one's feeling, but there are instances, where it is used: "*The war in Vietnam is terrible, isn't it?*" From one perspective, "the speaker has a particular answer in mind – 'yes' or 'no' – but is reluctant to say it baldly." It can sound as if the speaker is insecure of his own opinion, which is stated usually by a weak person – This characteristic has been applied to women.³⁷

Moreover, if a woman answers a question with another question, she is looked at as if she "cannot make up her mind" and "isn't sure of herself", nevertheless, this is just a superficial judgment and does not fully reflect person's real character. It can be also because women's speech is "much more 'polite' than men's". She leaves "the decision open, not imposing her mind, or view, or claims on anyone else". The problem, as

³⁵Robin Lakoff, "Language and Woman's Place", *Language in Society* 2, no. 1 (April, 1973): 52-53, accessed April 1, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4166707>.

³⁶Ibid., 54.

³⁷Ibid., 54-55.

Lakoff states is “the way in which women prejudice the case against themselves by their use of language”.³⁸

As it was mentioned before, women tend to focus on family, good relationships and their speech is indicative of this, insofar as they try to include everyone in the conversation and maintain unity. Sociolinguists observe that in order to include the audience in the conversation, women’s rhetoric uses inclusive pronouns, such as *we*, *our*, *us*. These are used also as phrases “my fellow citizens”, “my friends”. Men on the contrary, as it was brought up before, focus in their speech to empower themselves, their ego, their accomplishments and do not focus on emotions or unity like women. Therefore they use exclusive pronouns that exclude the audience from the speaker himself as a leader and the authority. Examples of such non-inclusive pronouns are: *I*, *you*, *me*. They create distance and separation between the speaker and the audience.³⁹

2.5 Macsuline-Bias

Looking at the English language, it is clear that some words, especially nouns and pronouns are masculine-oriented. For example: “*actor – actress*”; “Everyone take his seat”.

It is categorized as “‘unmarked’ gender”. In a lot of cases it is however unavoidable. According to Pauwels and her research, there are four categories “of common features and issues in the linguistic representation of women and men”:

1. “The man (men or the male) is portrayed as the benchmark for all human beings; he is seen as the norm or reference-point. The woman (or women), on the other hand, is subsumed to be included in any linguistic reference to the man.” This is visible the most in the use of nouns and pronouns.
2. Therefore “the woman is largely invisible in language.” With the exceptions that “show her ‘deviation’ or ‘exception’ from the male norm”.
3. “Derivations of feminine forms from masculine” for example show so called “linguistic dependency of female element”.

³⁸Robin Lakoff, “Language and Woman's Place”, *Language in Society* 2, no. 1 (April, 1973): 56-57, accessed April 1, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4166707>.

³⁹Larner, Lindsay R. “The Role of Feminine Rhetoric in Male Presidential Discourse: Achieving Speech Purpose.” (bachelor’s thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 10. Accessed April 28, 2014. <http://repository.upenn.edu/curej/102>.

4. “Linguistically, males and females are depicted in a very stereotypical way. Women are sexualized (“Madonna-whore’ polarity”) and men are rationalized.”⁴⁰

These points can be exemplified with “*actor*” as the original noun formed into “*actress*” using the suffix –ess. Many of these nouns, however, have been forgotten and not used anymore in current English, e.g. “*author – authoress*”. Another instance would be “*master – mistress*”, where only the word *mistress* has an obvious sexual undertone. Moreover, the abbreviations “*Mrs. (missus)* and *Miss*” that give out woman’s marital status (and *Mr.* does not) were derived from the word *mistress* as well. Pauwels also points out a “*systematic asymmetry*” between the male and female nouns. As mentioned before, highly sexualized: “Professional – a man is a member of a respected profession and a woman is a member of the ‘oldest’ profession (prostitute). Secretary – a man works for an organization; a woman does typing and office work for a person. Tramp – a man is a homeless person, drifter’ woman is a prostitute”⁴¹

After the works of Lakoff’s, Thorne and Henley and Spender, these masculine-biases have changed a little and now is more usual to say “*his or her*” or “*their*” as a singular.⁴²

⁴⁰ John E. Joseph, *Language in Politics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 74-75.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

3 WOMEN'S VOICE

When discussing the differences in public speaking, it is more than necessary to bring up the question of why there are so few women in public speaking and not as many women in leadership positions or so called 'men's jobs', and why are they not being heard and respected as leaders as much as men?

3.1 History

The perception of women and their position in society has been recorded in many religious texts, poetry, philosophical literature, scientific treatises and even plays since the beginning of recorded history. Nevertheless, all these documents were mostly works of educated men (males) and they were the most accessible source, therefore a major influence for people's judgment on women throughout the history up until today. They were taken as a basis for law codes and even religious truth and scientific facts. Common beliefs about women were inherited from classical and medieval authors, Jewish and Christian religious thinkers, although not as much from women themselves (female writers). The fact that all these records eventually agreed on "women's nature" was considered to be a general truth.⁴³

Christianity and Judaism were the most influential forces in modern Europe. Especially in Jewish religion and their traditions, women are seen as someone who is meant to serve a man, take care of the household and children and have no reason and right to be involved in religious life or other (As late as in the first century A.D. Jewish men were making a special prayer as a thank you to God: "who has not made me a woman"). Women were excluded from priesthood and from many religious duties too, they were considered to be impure and sinful. Even though Christianity had some positive views on female gender, the overall perception was quite similar to the Jewish one. What is worse, is that even though Jesus himself spoke about both men and women being equal and able to achieve a successful afterlife, his teachings were quickly downplayed by males who wanted to keep the power and control over women and everything else to themselves.⁴⁴

In the 12th century, when the teaching of Christian writers and Aristotle's misunderstood view on women were brought together by theologians of that time and the

⁴³Wiesner, Merry E. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 9-15.

⁴⁴Ibid.

comprehensive opinion brought about was in many cases disastrous. Women were blamed for many things (including the 'original sin' in Christianity) they were thought to be incapable of being independent, considered to be weak not just physically, but also intellectually and needed men's assistance. Other scholars held less negative opinions and adored women in many poems (especially in romance), however women's position was still viewed rather passive and men were no less misogynistic overall.⁴⁵

It was during the 14th century when male writers finally approached this problematic topic and started to look at women in an admirable way. Giovanni Boccaccio was an Italian writer, who composed a list of eminent and meritorious women to point at their faithfulness, obedience, heroism, courage and righteousness. For many centuries after a lot of new writers add to Giovanni's list even more honourable women. This is when for the first time a female entered the discussion of women's secondary status in society. Christine de Pisan explained in her works the problem of misogynist ideas and explains the reason for women's inferiority (as the men regarded it as) in a very sophisticated way. She describes this problem as a lack of education for women, their economic dependence and subordinate position. Her works were printed in France first, just later they spread and were translated to English. After this, many other authors (among which also male ones) started defending women, taking them as equal and supported their education. Boccaccio, Juan Luis Vives, Desiderius Erasmus and Thomas Elyot were some of the pro-women thinkers.⁴⁶

3.1.1 Women and power

It was during the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries that authors in Europe were discussing the nature of a woman. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, when women were appointed as advisers to child kings (Mary and Elizabeth Tudor in England, Mary Stuart in Scotland), the position of women in power became a question. It was a question of the "social construction of gender" - "if a woman born into a royal family and educated to rule allow her to overcome the limitation of her sex and if it should". Many extreme Protestants of this idea went into exile during the rule of Mary Tudor. "Anthony Gilby, Thomas Becon, Christopher Goodman, and John Knox all compared Mary with

⁴⁵Wiesner, Merry E. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 9-15.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 15-16.

Jezebel, arguing that female rule was unnatural, unlawful, and contrary to Scripture.” For these writers, to be a woman was a “condition that could never be overcome”.⁴⁷

After Elizabeth I became the Queen of England, number of courtiers rather changed their view as Protestants to win favour of Queen Elizabeth I, so they had become to defence the female rulership. Thomas Smith asserted that “even married queen could rule legitimately, for she could be subject to her husband in her private life, yet monarch to him and all other men in her public life”. A political theorist Aylmer called this a concept of ruler’s “two bodies” – “A queen might be thus clearly female in her body and sexuality, but still exhibit the masculine qualities regarded as necessary in a ruler because of traits she had inherited or learned.” Aylmer and other theorists defended femaleruling by separating sex and gender and proposing an idea of *androgyny* as a valuable and useful attribute of a female ruler. Elizabeth I herself used androgyny in her own convenience and stated: “I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king.”⁴⁸ Everyone expected the monarchs to be masculine – they should be brave, wise and tough, especially when speaking in public.⁴⁹

It was early seventeenth century when women also started wearing more masculine clothing like shorter gowns, they started cutting their hair shorter than usual and sometimes they would even carry a small dagger around. The early modern period (15th-18th century) was the time, when gender hierarchy was put into question and undertook severe changes.⁵⁰

3.2 Not unequal, but different

It has always been a big dilemma what women’s nature is, what women are truly like, what they are ‘supposed to do’ and what their position is in this world. There have always been questions about the equality and inequality between men and women. Not to make this any more feministic, there definitely are many differences between men and women, but the capability of any of the genders should not be questioned; especially the question of success, which is too vast and distinct and means something else for everyone. It is all a matter of perception combined with stereotype and biased thinking.

⁴⁷Wiesner, Merry E. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 241-242.

⁴⁸Ibid., 242.

⁴⁹Ibid., 251.

⁵⁰Ibdi. 253.

It is more of a political and moral question, whether men and women are equal. But the question if they are identical is a matter of science. One of the major differences between men and women is the one of communication. Men and women talk differently and think differently. The brain differences are now (in the 21st century) clear, thanks to the luxury of computer brainscanning. Men and women perceive the world differently and have different priorities because their brains are wired differently. Both genders should be equal in terms of their opportunities to fulfil their potential, but they are definitely not equal in their inner abilities. Both sexes are naturally inclined to behave in different ways.⁵¹ It is therefore important to understand these differences and act upon them. Otherwise there will always be a lot of misunderstandings between the genders.

3.3 Female success

The most common words for a description of a woman would be: “emotional, sensitive, nurturing, sensual, gentle, graceful, innocent, weak, flirtatious, self-critical, soft, sexually submissive, accepting.” A man description would include: “aggressive, competitive, active, strong, self-confident, logical rebellious, independent, focused tough-skinned.” Obviously not all men are as described, neither are women. These two genders cannot be separated as if they were two different species. Both of them have traits of the other.⁵²

So how are women different from men when they speak in public? Even though there have always been many great women public speakers, who did a lot of powerful speeches that many times changed history (Margaret Thatcher, Eleanor Roosevelt, Sojourner Truth, Benazir Bhutto), the list is still less known than the one of the men. It is not a trait that people automatically connect with women. Usually it is those powerful men figures on a stage that a person imagines when hearing about public orators.⁵³

Generally, women who achieve success especially in the ‘men’s worlds’, which would be the leadership ones in particular (in politics, management) are looked at as being unfeminine. When a man wants to be a good leader, he has to be assertive and aggressive.

⁵¹Allan Pease and Barbara Pease, *Why Men Don't Listen and Women Can't Read Maps* (New York: Broadway Books, 2001), 5-10.

⁵²“Gender and Gender Identity,” Planned Parenthood, accessed January 28, 2014, <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/health-topics/sexual-orientation-gender/gender-gender-identity-26530.htm>.

⁵³Ariela Schnyer, “Women and Public Speaking: Listen Up!,” Feminspire, last modified January 14, 2013, accessed February 4, 2014, <http://feminspire.com/women-and-public-speaking/>.

However, if a woman spoke in the same exact way as this man, she would be looked at rather bossy, too political and too aggressive. She is no more feminine. Even though women are looked down upon when having ‘masculine’ traits, they cannot be successful and accepted especially in the world like politics without using them.⁵⁴

Women usually have to make a tough choice between having a career or a family with kids. Surely, she can have both, but if she chooses to have kids, she is not left with much time for work and most likely cannot make it to the top. If a woman wants to be really successful and wants to be on the highest position of leadership, she has to sacrifice most if not all of the family life – either she has no kids, or someone else has to take care of them.

However, “women are still treated unequally in the workplace”. Research of Sarah Babcock and her co-researchers has shown there is more than just the biased perception on this problem. The fact is, “Women often do not get what they want and deserve because they do not ask for it”. Their studies also show that “men are more likely than women to negotiate for what they want”. In the first study, women who just graduated, accepted their job and salary offer immediately without any negotiations, just “7% had attempted”. On the contrast “57% of their male counterparts – or eight times as many men than women – had asked for more”.⁵⁵

It is generally believed, women are generally low self-confident. It has to do a lot with the history of perception on women and women’s abilities (that were mentioned earlier). For that very reason women still do not find enough confidence to speak up, ask for a higher salary or even just admit they should get credit for their own success. They usually underestimate their own abilities, unlike men, who are a lot of times extremely self-confident.

3.4 Gender Differences in Life

The differentiation between genders starts from birth. Girls are being clothed in pink, boys in blue. Girls talk in groups, boys compete in games. “Research has shown that these ‘gendered behaviours’ are not hard-wired into our brains from birth, but that they develop over time and are malleable.” It is our social life, that eventually teach us the ‘correct’ way

⁵⁴Ariela Schnyer, “Women and Public Speaking: Listen Up!,” *Feminspire*, last modified January 14, 2013, accessed February 4, 2014, <http://feminspire.com/women-and-public-speaking/>.

⁵⁵Linda Babcock et al., “Nice Girls Don’t Ask,” *Harvard Business Review*, October 1, 2013, 1, accessed March 1, 2014, <http://hbr.org/2003/10/nice-girls-dont-ask/>.

of behaving as a girl/woman or a boy/man. It is the boys, who are supposed to be assertive, however women should be more obedient and submissive. Therefore when it comes to negotiating and self-promoting, women are afraid to stand up for themselves and are less likely to get a remuneration and promotion they could deserve. And so they are perceived.⁵⁶ “The concept of the ‘natural leader’ unconsciously colours our perceptions of good leadership as being inherently masculine.” Women do not fit the picture, unless they achieve such success, yet it is looked at just as luck or some outer help. The differences are apparent in the amount of money, men and women earn for their “*human capital*”, which grows or slows depending on the experience advancement. Women during pregnancy have to inevitably slow down if not fully stop this career development and as a consequence their progress in the career is not taken seriously. Stereotypically it is thought that women would have a dilemma in choosing between family and career, therefore men are preferred to be offered the job rather than a woman. On the other hand, men as fathers are perceived as having a better job with a higher salary. This “*gender pay gap*” usually grows as years at work go by. For women, part-time jobs are the answer to their balance life of family and career.⁵⁷

These stereotypical views can bring even more difficulties in men and women’s lives. Men are stuck at work, having no flexibility and balance and if there is such instance as a divorce, women have hard time managing their financial security. I believe, a financial stability can be achieved by finding a good balance between a man and a woman spending time at work and their home.

3.5 “The Sexual Paradox”

“Forty years of discounting biology have led us to a strange and discomfiting place, one where women are afraid to own up to their desires, and men-despite their foibles- are seen as standard issue”⁵⁸In this day and age, when women have much more possibilities and opportunities and can choose from various jobs, their preferences are even more

⁵⁶“Different Genders Different Lives,” Australian Policy Online, March 4, 2014, accessed April 3, 2014, <http://apo.org.au/research/different-genders-different-lives>.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Pinker, Susan. *The Sexual Paradox: Troubled Boys, Gifted Girls And The Real Difference Between The Sexes*. (London: Atlantic Books, 2008), 255.

visible. “Equal opportunity does not necessarily lead to equal results.”⁵⁹ More than a half of all working women eventually prioritize family life and focus on their families rather than stepping up the career ladder. How is it that women still tend to end up in “female jobs” and men in the male ones? Some think this picture is demoralized, some accept this picture and believe there is no way to change it anyways. Susan Pinker in her book *The Sexual Paradox* claims “some gender asymmetries in the workplace are a signs of a free and educated society, where people are able to make their own choices”. And secondly, when looking at the science and history, “the recognition of sex differences is neither a retrograde step nor grounds for apathy”. On the contrary, it “reveals the benefits of certain traits, and pinpoints exactly where we might direct our efforts for change”.⁶⁰

Now, when looking at the traits of each gender and the way people are brought up and led at school, it is a fact that the focus was mainly on the systematic subjects as mathematics, statistics, physics, economics and the qualities as being empathetic, good listener and communicator were underestimated and not really taken into consideration as something valuable. So “whatever was associated with the male model of success was considered to have more merit”. However, the outlook has changed and “empathy, altruism and verbal skills” are emphasized more even in the economic fields. It is not about “measuring the money and profit” anymore, it is more about motivating people, “satisfaction, happiness and longevity”. What the sexual paradox is, according to economists, the fact that “as women’s work hours and demands approach the male standard, their level of work satisfaction drops”, even though “if women and men have identical ambitions, then women’s satisfaction should rise as their status does.” In other words, women strive for equality yet when the opportunity arises for acquiring what men have acquired their work satisfaction declines. This is contrary to what they had initially strove and hoped for.⁶¹

So having the same education, it is really not about their capability when it comes to choosing a career, rather preferences and interests. Women in Pinker’s research are still concerned with the question “what they should or should not do”.⁶² The problem is, as Pinker states, is that “we think of male as the standard, and of female as a version of this

⁵⁹Pinker, Susan. *The Sexual Paradox: Troubled Boys, Gifted Girls And The Real Difference Between The Sexes*. (London: Atlantic Books, 2008), 10.

⁶⁰Ibid., 256.

⁶¹Ibid., 256-257.

⁶²Ibid., 13.

base model – with just a few optional features added on.”⁶³ However, both genders should be looked at as two individuals with different traits equally valuable.

⁶³Pinker, Susan. *The Sexual Paradox: Troubled Boys, Gifted Girls And The Real Difference Between The Sexes*.(London: Atlantic Books, 2008), 1.

4 THE ART OF PERSUASION IN POLITICS

As Richard Dowis states in his book *The Lost Art of Great Speech*, there are six “basic purposes of a speech: To entertain, to inform, to inspire, to motivate, to advocate and to convince or persuade.”⁶⁴

“Man is by nature a political animal, but some take it to extremes and become politicians”. To be a successful politician means to be a great leader and orator. A politician leads people, or as a matter of fact, misleads them to believe in the bright future political parties promise. In the instance of inarticulate politicians people connected the indirectness of their speech with a well-spoken speech. That is however one of the major signs of manipulation.⁶⁵

Politics is the world of persuasion. Where else if not in politics we could clearly see the art of persuasion? Prime Ministers, Presidents, Democrats or Republicans, they all have to use their language in the best way so they are accepted by the audience (general people), liked and in cases of election – voted for. It is the world of politics, where the whole country is lead by just few ministers and represented by one person – president. They should be the best leaders owing to the fact they are leading the whole nation and (in case of the United States and other powerful nations) the whole world.

The fact that politics have always been a man’s arena is a well-known fact. It is claimed that women did not used to appear in politics because of their disinterest of such field, they were not assumed to have enough capacity to be a leader and because of the home-life they led focused mainly on the family. This is however very vague argumentation. Women have been involved in politics, when voting, working on political campaigns and forming and leading political movements. Recent political science research shows women do not have different interest in politics than men, however their social status has not been letting them be involved in such areas of major decision-making.⁶⁶

Nowadays there are much more women in the political arena. Just looking at the political speeches on a TV or reading about them on the Internet brings up a question how can they be so successful in the ‘man’s world’. With no hesitation, they definitely had to adopt the man’s rhetoric and the ‘manly’ way of acting. However, keeping their feminine

⁶⁴Dowis, Richard. *The Lost Art of the Great Speech*.(New York: Amacom, 2000), 17.

⁶⁵John E. Joseph, *Language in Politics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 13.

⁶⁶Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs. *Deceptive Distinctions: Sex, Gender, And The Social Order*. (New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1988), 165.

side and look is hard. Nevertheless, their appearance in politics, their ideas and their speech influenced the 'man's world' and listening to the men's speech nowadays, it is clearly seen.

II. ANALYSIS

5 ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC SPEECHES

In the practical part of my thesis I will analyze speeches from the very well-known politicians: Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair. In each speech I will look for both, male and female communication tools. My aim is so to show how female rhetoric has been adopted by male politicians and politics in general, that has been thought to be just ‘men’s world’ with purely factual and forceful language. I argue, that female rhetoric is an excellent tool to connect with the audience and to point at the morality. My goal is also to illustrate, that a female politician has to embrace male rhetoric to fight her way among all the other male politicians, moreover so her speech sounds powerful and persuasive, not weak as it is usually assumed. Nevertheless, she has to keep her feminine image, so she is not judged as ‘too masculine’ and cold. The purpose is to demonstrate that in order to be a successful rhetorician, one has to find the right balance between male and female rhetoric, unlike the stereotypical idea, that the male speech is the only correct one in the world of politics.

5.1 Method

Firstly, I define the female and male features of rhetoric based on the knowledge from Lakoff’s and Holmes writings. Then, each speech I analyze according to these features, defining them as masculine and feminine. At the end I count how many of the specific features appears in the particular speech and evaluate the results.

5.2 Assumptions

I assume female politicians will be using a lot of male communication tools in order to gain respect and for their words to be heard, especially when there is mostly male audience. However, they will still keep the female features of a speech. For men I assume they will be using mostly the male features for one simple reason, that they are men and second, to empower their speech as it is expected from a leader and a politician. They will however use the feminine aspects of a speech as well, to connect with the audience better, especially if the audience is mixed and when they need to point out moral issues. I assume there will be also slight differences in the political speeches depending on the politician’s nationality and culture. As an important influencing feature, I will take this into consideration at the final evaluation.

5.3 Features

After reading the claims and studies of Lakoff, Holmes and other works, I took the liberty of creating and outline of a table of features that I divided into masculine and feminine features of communication. I will use these features in the analysis of the political speeches and evaluate if the speaker is using overall more feminine or masculine rhetoric, moreover which feminine aspects are used by men and which male aspects are used by women in their speeches.

Table 1: Features of feminine and masculine rhetoric

	Feminine	Masculine
Questions	Question tags – isn't it?, don't you think?	Few
Hedges	I believe, I think, kind of, you know, I mean, I suppose, I propose	Few
Pronouns	Inclusive – we, us, each other, our Phrases – my friends	Exclusive – I, you, they, their, your
Anecdotes	Personal anecdotes, own experiences, brief narratives	Impersonal anecdotes, Informative, historical examples
Focus	Morality, Unity, Family, People	Facts, Instructions, Solutions, Instrumentality
Overall rhetoric	Personal - natural, sincere, nurturing	Impersonal -forceful - authoritative

5.4 Public Political Speeches in the US

There is no need to argue, that America has had a multiple great rhetoricians throughout its history, if it is Martin Luther King Jr., John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, Ronald Wilson Reagan, Barbara Jordan, Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton. They all showed a great rhetorical skills and influenced the history and the present. Very famous speeches take place during the National Conventions and Inauguration Ceremonies, where the speaker talks to his party members and his supporters.

5.4.1 BARACK OBAMA –Nomination Acceptance Speech at Democratic National Convention 2008

The first speech I chose to analyse is from Barack Obama (BO), who is considered to be the master of the rhetoric art. He became the first Afro-American president in the history and he overwhelmed people around the whole world not just with his rhetoric. His style of speech is however outstanding and phenomenal. This is how the other rhetoricians describe it. In one speech he is able to connect all different races, social classes and talk about the most difficult topics with proficiency. His political success underlines the fact that great communication skills are a big advantage for all leaders on different positions, because the key to effective leadership is the ability to give vision, gain trust, persuade and motivate others.⁶⁷

Analysis

In the first part of the speech we can notice that Obama (BO) uses very much of a feminine type of rhetoric. His speech is uniting and compassionate. In the very beginning of the speech, he gives thanks to “my fellow citizens”, where the word *fellow* is clearly an inclusive phrase (used to address the audience as peers) and even though the pronoun *my* is an exclusive pronoun, in this case it emphasises the closeness he feels to the audience. Right after, he mentions his own personal story – a self-disclosure, through which he connects with the audience. He constantly uses inclusive pronouns “each of us”, “we meet”, “our nation”, “our economy” that makes him part of the audience – as if he is not an individual, but on the contrary, he is one of them – the ordinary people. He says: “each of

⁶⁷Leannová, Shel. *Rétorika Pro Lidry: Řekněte to jako Obama*. (Brno: Computer Press, 2011), 11.

us can pursue our individual dreams”, when he is still part of the audience, and even though he talks about “individual dreams”, he then emphasizes the closeness again and he calls his audience and himself “one American family”. He shows an understanding of his voters’ pain and trouble by saying: “more Americans are out of work and more are working harder for less. More of you have lost your homes and even more are watching your home values plummet. More of you have cars you can't afford to drive, credit cards, bills you can't afford to pay, and tuition that's beyond your reach”. He uses however exclusive pronouns to state the current situation.

After he quickly makes an attacking comment on “failed policies of George W. Bush”, which would be marked as a masculine argumentative tone of speech, he goes back to the uniting talk using an alliteration once again: “America, we are better...We are a better country” using the inclusive pronoun *we* very frequently; also when he empowers and encourages audience when saying: “we must stand up and say” because “we love this country too much”. He uses short anecdotes with a moral message, as a feminine feature. Now he changes his tone a little and starts using more of the masculine variables in the following statements. He points at himself and his party, while degrading the other party and John McCain: “he’s broken with his party”. Yet, he still keeps using the inclusive proverb “we” to keep the audience involved. He uses argumentative proclamations, states facts while also using numbers: “the record’s clear: John McCain has voted with George Bush 90 percent of the time”. The use of the questions in the next sentence lets the audience answer themselves and make a conclusion, that is in favour of Obama. Exclusive pronouns are used in the next sentences: “I don’t know about you, but I am not ready...”, “make a difference in your lives”. “Senator has been anything but independent” is another example of verbal attack on the rival; furthermore the use of examples and quotes of what John McCain has said makes Obama’s speech convincing and dominant. He uses more inclusive pronouns for the audience to feel included and attacked by John McCain’s words. He then empowers himself by saying who are the “Americans I know” with the short anecdotes, however in the feminine way. Now, in a sentence: “I don’t believe that Senator McCain doesn’t care what’s going on in the lives of Americans; I just think he doesn’t know.”. There is an example of hedging when using *I don’t believe* and *I just think*, which is usually used more by women. The use of it in the statement makes it sound weaker, comparing to if he simply said: “It doesn’t mean Senator McCain doesn’t care, he just doesn’t know.” His speech gets stronger by stating more facts, opponents weaknesses and defects. “Why else would he define middle-class as someone making under \$5 million a

year?”, “it’s because John McCain doesn’t get it”, “you’re on your own”. After stating all the faults of his opponent, Obama compares it with him and his democratic party to emphasize his authority and dominance – “we Democrats have a very different measure “. He uses the pronoun *you* so he addresses the audience and shows what he as a president can do for them and do it better than the opponent. These are all very masculine variables to set his authority. Adding twice “you are on your own” as an exclusive and intense sentence that wakes up attention in the audience.

Obama then states more facts and uses statistics in numbers to strengthen their (democrats) achievements. This time he uses the pronoun *we* in order to point to himself and his democratic party, unlike he used it last time, as the feminine way shows, to include himself and the crowd. He shows even more of their accomplishments and compares them to the failures of republicans: “We measure progress in the 23 million new jobs that were created when Bill Clinton was president... when the average American family saw its income go up \$7,500 instead of go down \$2,000, like it has under George Bush.” To connect with the audience again, he uses examples of historical events that the audience can relate to and he connects it with anecdotes, his emotive stories that are visually described and evoke even more emotions, while using hedges– “Because, in the faces of those young veterans who come back from Iraq and Afghanistan, I see my grandfather, who signed up after Pearl Harbor, marched in Patton’s army, ...”, “I think about my mom, who raised my sister and me on her own while she worked and earned her degree...”. “I think about my grandmother...” Even though, these are feminine attributes of a speech – hedges and anecdotes, considered to be weak, they have a very strong effect on the audience and he can easily then bring attention to his masculine attribute “...I remember all those men and women on the South Side of Chicago who I stood by and fought for...”, “I intend to win this election and keep our promise alive as president of the United States”. More of the inclusive pronouns appear, for example in the sentences “That’s the promise we need to keep. That’s the change we need right now.”

So far we can clearly see that even though Barack Obama started his speech with more feminine rhetorical approach, he overall uses more of the masculine rhetoric in order to persuade the audience about his power and authority. In the other half of the speech Obama states what he will do as a president. For this he uses almost in every sentence the pronoun “I” and states exact numbers and facts; being/working as a strong masculine feature. He still mentions the economy, security and the planet as “ours”; being a feminine aspect, however not much of the feminine rhetoric is seen in this part of speech anymore, besides

maybe few of the inclusive pronouns “we”. Yet, they are being overpowered by the exclusive pronouns “you”, “I” and “we” when he points at his political party. He states what he will do and what his promises are for the future. These are some of the examples: “I’ll invest”, “I will not settle”, “my plan will lower your premiums” (here is also another of exclusive pronouns – *my*, used to empower himself), “I will make certain”, “we must provide”. He attacks his opponent McCain even more and uses a states: “We need a president who can face the threats of the future, not keep grasping at the ideas of the past” to let the audience make a conclusion themselves. There he uses an inclusive pronoun “we” as all of us – the whole state, the audience, himself and the government. So clearly, mostly he now uses the masculine rhetoric. Now his speech is very forceful and authoritative. We can find little more of the feminine rhetoric, once he starts comparing McCain’s republican politics to his democratic in order to soften the differences between them, here he uses an inclusive pronoun “we” to include himself and his opponent. Moreover he emphasizes the unity when saying: “they have fought together, and bled together, and some died together under the same proud flag”, “our country”, which is a strong female feature. More morality and emotion is seen in his statement: “I don’t know anyone who benefits when a mother is separated from her infant child”. There are also more feminine aspects, such as more exclusive pronouns “I know”, “I realize”. He then empowers the audiences through exclusive pronouns “It’s about you”, “you have stood up”. Towards the end Obama just points out things he has seen and lived, which all sound very moral focusing on family and unity. He finishes his speech in a very uniting way about the “American promise” and dreams that “binds us together” using the last anecdote making the audience feel united as one nation, one family with one dream.

Evaluation

Obama’s Nomination Acceptance speech (BO) has a lot of as masculine, so feminine aspects. He used 154 exclusive pronouns and 132 inclusive. With the exclusive pronouns Obama points especially on the crowd as “you” to give them power and responsibility for their own lives. Moreover he uses them to show the differences between him and his rival. There are 40 moral and uniting arguments and instrumentality and authority appears only 29 times. He says 10 personal short stories through which he opens himself up to all the people and it moves their emotions and they are able to trust him more. Obama found the right balance between feminine and masculine rhetoric. Together with the fact that he is a Democrat, and the whole American culture is about unity and patriotism, it was more than

necessary for Obama to use a lot of feminine features in his speech in order to evoke this feeling in the audience.

5.4.2 HILLARY CLINTON – Democratic National Convention Speech 2008

Second American politician and great orator I will analyse is Hillary Clinton. She became the First Lady, when her husband Bill Clinton became a president. Currently she is the Secretary of State and she was in fact the first lady to hold national office and the first woman to run for a president. Interestingly enough, it was in 2008 when she was running against Barack Obama, however unsuccessfully.⁶⁸

The speech I analyse is the one given by Hillary Clinton after her defeat by Barack Obama, where she at the Democratic National Convention officially gives Obama her support and encourages all the voters to do the same.

Analysis

Hillary Clinton from the very beginning of her speech (HC) uses inclusive pronouns to make the audience feel as a unity: “country we love”, “we are on the same team”, “none of us”, “we must win”. In the case of “my friends”, even though *my* is an exclusive pronoun in this case the whole phrase is supposed to express closeness to the audience, therefore is a feminine feature. In the next sentence she points at herself “I” to show what she has been fighting for, for the “past 35 years”, which is a fact. She still calls the country and the people “our”, however in the next sentence, using the exclusive pronoun “you”, she emphasizes the audience’s concerns. “My candidate” excludes her from the audience and is supposed to influence the people’s opinion towards “he” – Obama. When she mentions “we need to remember”, she says it is about “you” – the audience, she gives them power and encourages them this way to take action. She uses exclusive pronouns also when saying “you taught me” etc., however this brings up unity and closeness and so is therefore a feminine feature, just like in the case of “my supporters, my champions – my sisterhood” Another very feminine aspect appears, when Clinton says four different stories – short anecdotes from her own experience in a very emotive way. She empowers the audience by saying “you never gave in”, “you never gave up” with an exclusive pronoun, but includes them and herself in “together we made history”. She also points out couple leaders as being

⁶⁸“Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton,” Biography.com, 2014, accessed April 10, 2014, <http://www.biography.com/people/hillary-clinton-9251306#awesm=~oCzcJbd6678a6e>.

“our”, she never really states any facts in a pure informative way, she always puts some feminine feature to it, as an inclusive pronoun or she puts it in an emotive way - “our heart goes out to...”. In this section she uses more pronouns “us” and “our”, however this includes her and her party, therefore it falls under a masculine feature. She attacks the other parties’ bad governing by stating facts as “job lost, houses gone, falling wages, rising prices”, “money borrowed from the Chinese to buy oil from the Saudis”. Then she points at herself “I ran for president” and states examples of her effort, which are as masculine features, so feminine. Female’s focus has always been on family, children, healthcare, education and equality and unity. So does Hillary Clinton clearly state: “save for college, a home”, “create a healthcare”, “meaningful equality”, “women’s rights”, “ending discrimination to promoting unionization to providing help...caring for our families”, “caring for our veterans”, “to end the war”, “our shared challenges, from poverty and genocide to terrorism and global warming”. These are all very strong moral arguments. Yet she excludes herself and states: “themselves or their children”. An interesting fact that I want to point out is that in the sentence “...every child to live up to his or her own potential”, she uses “his or her” instead of an engendered pronoun and just stating “his”. As a woman she is clearly careful of using both genders pronouns to keep equality. She uses more of exclusive pronoun to point at her reasons for running for president and her support of Barack Obama. Then she empowers and influences the audience: “you should too”. In further sentences she uses even more inclusive pronouns “we” and “our” to be part of the audience. Good example is “we need to elect Barack Obama”, even though she cannot vote herself. In the next section, she directs the attention to Barack Obama’s attentions in a supportive way. She states in an informative way (masculine) what he will do if he is a president. Among all these masculine logical arguments, she also uses feminine rhetoric: “we the people”, “our time” with hedging “as I recall”. Yet still focuses on the moral arguments, ending the war in Iraq and bringing the troops home among other masculine logical arguments. What I want to point out is the emotive words that just a female would use, Hillary Clinton also uses in her speech: “terrific” and “wonderful” are such examples.

Clinton attacks McCain’s politics with a moral argumentation “women don’t earn equal pay for equal work” and says more about America with “our values of equal opportunity for all and the common good”. In the next sentence a feminine moral argument is claimed about “women’s rights in our history”. Yet she uses exact numbers (four of these instances are seen) as a fact to support and strengthen her moral argument on equal

rights with a short story and a personal anecdote: “my mother was born...”. There is also an example of a rhetorical question: “How do we give this country back to them?” answering in a motivational way to encourage the audience, however it cannot be defined as a feminine or a masculine feature. She finishes with a strong uniting statement: “We are Americans. We’re not big on quitting”, “we can keep going, we have to get going”, using only feminine rhetoric now, “our nation”, “our children”, “our duty”, “our country”, “each other”.

Evaluation

Hillary Clinton (HC) used 64 examples of inclusive pronouns comparing to 49 exclusive.

There were no tag questions used, however 5 personal anecdotes or short stories. Moral arguments were used 35 times compare to 28 logical factual statements. Clinton’s speech is on the whole very emotive and uniting. As a Democrat, she uses a lot of moral arguments, which are considered to be feminine and they overpower the masculine logical arguments. Hillary Clinton plays on the audience’s emotions and keeps them included in the speech and the affairs that are taking place. She gives them power and encourages them to take action in voting Obama for their own bright future. Moreover as an American, just like Obama, she puts a lot of focus on keeping the audience united and brings up the patriotism in all the American people.

5.5 Public Political Speeches in the UK

Public political speeches and occasions in the UK politics are quite different from the ones in the USA. There are no such things as Inauguration Speeches or a State of the Union Addresses. However, it still has events where the art of rhetoric can be heard and politicians have an opportunity to speak to people, such as declarations of political victory and declaration of coalition. When it comes to British Parliament, there are such occasions as Prime Minister’s Questions, statements from leaders, resignation speeches and speeches at a Party Conference.⁶⁹

Party Conferences take place every year, sometimes twice, where politicians of the same party discuss their policy and support their own party culture. The most important

⁶⁹“Why Rhetoric,” British Political Speech, accessed April 1, 2014, <http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/why-rhetoric.htm>.

speech of all taken at this occasion is the leader's speech. Margaret Thatcher herself called this event as "a moment of poetry to inspire the party faithful as well as ease the worries of the doubters". This is an opportunity for the leader of the party (if it is Labour or Conservative) to talk to his followers and as well mass media and their audiences. It is true, that nowadays people can hear and read about the politicians and their political parties from TV, newspapers and internet, yet there is still something extremely powerful about the speech itself. It is indeed much different if a person sits in the audience and listens to the speaker, who with his speech and overall body language can influence the emotions, feelings and opinions in the listener.⁷⁰This is further observed in non-verbal communication, which may be more powerful than the actual words spoken.⁷¹

And this is exactly what happens at such speeches, like the ones of a party conference. Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair are great orators who always moved the audience by their intense and influential speeches bringing a lot of changes for the whole nation.

5.5.1 MARGARET THATCHER –Leader's speech at Conservative Party Conference("The Lady's not for turning")

The 'Iron Lady' Margaret Thatcher presented this speech at the Conservative Party Conference on the 10th October 1980 at Brighton (MT). It became famous and very well known because of her statement "The Lady's not for turning", concerning the counter-inflationary policies at that time. Stating this, she strongly responded to her rivals and their expectations of making a "U-turn" on her tax policy.⁷²

I choose to analyze Margaret Thatcher's speech because she was one of the most influential politicians, not just in the UK, but in the whole world. She was the first female UK Prime Minister, controversial, significant of her policy and oratory and famously known all around the world.

Analysis

In the beginning of Margaret Thatcher's speech (MT), unlike Hillary Clinton and Obama, welcomes the audience in a usual way, with no uniting phrases, such as "my friends". On the contrary, she uses a contrastive example, where she uses exclusive

⁷⁰"Why Rhetoric," British Political Speech, accessed April 1, 2014, <http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/why-rhetoric.htm>.

⁷¹Pease, Allan and Barbara, *The Definitive Book of Body Language* (London: Orion Books, 2005), 27.

⁷²"On This Day," BBC, accessed April 12, 2014, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/10/newsid_2541000/2541071.stm.

pronouns and points at “their speeches”, “their junior Ministers”, and her as just “Denis and me”. “I am” excludes her from the audience, but the use of coloured-words “marvelous” and “wonderful” puts a soft feminine feature to the speech. “Our party conference”, “we Conservatives” and “our debates” includes the whole audience and brings up unity, especially when Thatcher states “we are a party united in purpose, strategy and resolve. And we actually like one another”. Many exclusive pronouns of what she has to say - “I” are combined with the inclusive “task before us”, “we are tackling”, “the way we are”, “our Conservative Government”, “we just must”. In the next paragraph she uses quite feminine rhetoric, when using hedges “it seems to me” and inclusive pronouns “our past we, as a people”, “our ambitions”, “our stride”, “our future”. Right after, she attacks the other parties, by stating the debt that has been done because of their politics and for more emphasis, she gives recognition to herself and her political party and all Conservatives by stating all their accomplishments in three long paragraphs. For this she uses exact numbers and the inclusive pronoun “we”, pointing however at herself and her party members in the audience, which are in the case of a party conference all the people. She does not use as many moral arguments as Hillary Clinton yet, however there is twice mentioned “the right to buy their own homes”, “homes in which they live” in her speech. She uses more of the exclusive pronouns as “they”, “them” and “I” to separate the participants, but brings the audience together by saying “avail us little unless we achieve our prime economic objective”, which she backs up with a logical argument. More logical arguments follow in the next paragraphs, where she explains why the control of money is important. Using the inclusive phrase “my fellow Heads of Government” then leads to a rhetorical question. Then she states certain facts of the current situation in Britain calling it “our country”, but using statistic numbers and using the exclusive pronoun “you”. Among all the other facts, she brings up a moral argument of “more married women go out to work”. For all these statements she keeps using pronoun “you” to be separated from the audience, which gives it a more masculine feeling, unlike if she said “our country has currently ...” or “we were able to...” etc. She attacks the other party that has been accusing her and her party of high unemployment stating it was “their Government” that it has started with. Exclusive pronouns are very important in this case of separating these two parties and rivals. “The fact remains” is clearly masculine aspect. “Human dignity and self respect” and “country’s most precious asset – the talent and energy of its people” are clearly moral feminine aspects. She asks two questions and uses quite feminine rhetoric, when saying “our people”, “our policies” and the moral arguments, thinking of the people

more than the public sector. “I share this concern and understand” is supporting the idea of women’s “understanding”. She gives logical arguments and with exclusive pronouns says “I and my colleagues” gives a solution they believe in. Her speech is very forceful, masculine, when she uses words such as “I stress” and says what must be done. More facts and logical arguments come up, while she is trying to explain the situation on unemployment. She attacks the previous governing party not just with logical arguments, but uses a very feminine argument that they are not “kind or compassionate or caring”. Another feminine feature is seen in the case of “I suppose” termed as hedging. In this part of her speech, she emphasizes the importance of family and united nation: “an individual needs to be part of a community and to feel that he is part of it...essential though that is”. Together with this moral argument, she puts a logical one with it “it will not stay free if it cannot pay its own way in the world”. Once again she talks about healthy economy and society in a masculine way, however emphasizes on the feminine feature of what “people feel” and that is also about “our people”, “their children”, “family life”, “happy and united family”. She proposes three questions with an answer: “I suppose it might” as a clearly “weak” feminine statement with an example of hedging. Another one is “I prefer to believe” and “I hope”. Her famous statement from this speech: “To those waiting with bated breath for that favourite media catchphrase, the “U” turn, I have only one thing to say. “You turn if you want to. The lady’s not for turning.”” is a nicely put answer to her rivals. She also makes couple other jokes during her speech, however it cannot be categorized as neither feminine nor masculine feature, however it is a clever feature to use. Yet, there can be still noticed the exclusive pronouns of “you” and “I” to separate herself from her rivals and degrade them in the statement. She uses many inclusive pronouns when talking about her party and governing experience. There is also another feminine feature – hedging: “you know the one I mean” and she points at herself with more exclusive pronouns “I”. Stating that “Soviet Union is a powerful and growing threat” brings attention and she talks more in a strong masculine argumentative way what “we” – the whole audience, should do about this threatening situation. Moreover she brings up other facts of what the party has accomplished and things and actions they should take, using “we” in each instance. She attack the last Government one more time in the way of stating facts what they have done wrong and what , once again “we” – her party have done right. In this argumentation she brings up the importance of the people “our own farmers and our own housewives”, “our people”. Margaret Thatcher states more facts about the current situation in the world “war between Iran and Iraq”, however towards the end she emphasizes one

more time the importance of “the hearts and mind of the people”, “moral strength” and “standing together” the “we shall not fail.”

Evaluation

In Margaret Thatcher’s speech (MT) she used 68 exclusive pronouns comparing to 98 inclusive ones, which shows that she mostly includes the whole audience in the speech, not just herself. However, it has to be pointed out, that the audience in the case of Conservative Party Conference are mostly her party members and therefore when she states all the accomplishments, it goes to all the audience. She also used hedges 9 times in her speech, but no tag questions. As for the moral arguments Margaret Thatcher points out morality and unity 20 times and she uses no personal anecdotes, however she states what has been done and what should be done informatively in a factual way and authoritatively 34 times. It can be said that her speech is very strong and has a lot of power because of the masculine features.

5.5.2 TONY BLAIR – Leader’s Speech at Labour Party Conference 1995

As a second British speaker, I choose to analyse Tony Blair and his leader’s speech at the Labour Party Conference (TB) that took place in Brighton in 1995. It was his second speech to the party conferences as a leader. This speech was stated in The Guardian newspaper as a speech, where Tony Blair “explains his vision of a Labour Britain and gives his party confidence that it was engaged in a project for which it could stand up and cheer”. They also called it “an intensely accomplished bit of oratory...unusually well written, finding a language that spoke to the passions of the party as well as to the preoccupations of the wider electorate...”.⁷³

Blair’s rhetorical style has been throughout his governing extremely successful. It was what he said and how he said it, who he was and how he acted. His speech was interesting and different from others because of way he could personalize and impersonalize it at the same time.⁷⁴

⁷³“Speech Archive,” British Political Speech, accessed March 22, 2014, <http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=201>.

⁷⁴“Blair’s Rhetorical Style,” The Guardian, March 3, 2000, accessed April 14, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2000/mar/03/2#b>.

Analysis

Tony Blair's speech (TB), like any other starts with thanks to people in the audience. Then he proposes what his speech will be about, which is the "vision of a new Britain". Here one can notice the interesting fact of using exclusive pronouns "I place before you my vision", that clearly excludes himself from the audience and his party as well. "I say how" could be also said in less authoritative way, but Tony Blair chooses this dominant type of speech. He shows understanding of people's pain, however then he explains what it meant for him, using once again exclusive pronouns. Then he puts the explanation that clearly describes and emphasizes unity and patriotism: "It is a moral purpose to life, a set of values, a belief in society ... we cannot achieve alone". In this part he also excludes himself from the people by saying "how I try to live my life, how you try to live yours" and right after brings up unity "we are not simply people set in isolation from one another...but members of the same family, same community, same human race". What is interesting, that he once again calls this "my socialism" and emphasizes his authority and his own accomplishment by stating that these values "are shared by the vast majority of the British people". He uses two hedges in the next sentence, which lead to now more united type of speech with inclusive pronouns: "our party's politics", "we represented". Then he gives honour to people that helped the Labour party and uses more inclusive pronouns to show what has been accomplished. He points out his idea and intention of what he wants the Labour government to be and how he has transformed in order to pursue this. He lets the speakers taste a little of his personal life, when saying a short personal story about his children.

He emphasizes that all these accomplishments were not just his own, but "We did it together". Tony Blair also points out a quite feminine topic – the women in power: "new Labour women candidates" and empowers this accomplishment of his party by comparing it to the Conservatives that apparently "not one winnable Tory seat has picked a woman candidate" and calls it a "disgrace". He asks a rhetorical question that he answers right after to disempower his rivals and make fun of them. He also compares his party with the party of Conservatives in size to emphasize the dominance. He strongly proposes his feelings about young people, poor people, families and unemployment; all these are moral arguments he is very passionate about. He brings up common ideas, but interestingly enough calls the Labour party "my party" and England as "my country". He apparently excludes himself from the British people and gives them advice on not voting for the Conservatives. In this section he uses many exclusive pronouns "they", "you", "I" to

emphasize the point and the rival's wrong governing. He brings up facts of what the Conservative party has been doing wrong to conclude it in the reason of taxes being too high. After this he brings up four questions that make the audience think and answer themselves, which is a great manipulative tool to let the audience feel unattached from the other party and more focused on Blair's words. He gives a short story about his generation, however quite impersonal, stating just historical facts and indeed just concerning part of the audience. However he does point at the moral issue of "the family weakened, society divided...elderly people in fear of crime, children abused". Moreover he blames the current situation on not focusing on unity – a feminine aspect. He uses a lot of inclusive pronouns this time to make the people feel personally included and feel touched by this fact. The main proposal of his economy policy is education and its development. He brings up certain facts that are a current problem to support his idea. These features are masculine. He gives a solution in unity and "national effort". In proposing more ideas he uses inclusive pronouns "we", so the whole audience feels responsible. Among all the instructional statements, he brings up an impersonal anecdote that is more about the people than himself or anyone from the audience. He really informatively states what achievements the Labour Party can achieve together and right after attacks the rival party's claims by stating their real actions, like spending money on buying small classes in the private sector. Tony Blair says strongly what else should be done and this time has no empathy, therefore he uses masculine rhetoric instead of the feminine one. He claims: "tougher inspection, higher targets and more prompt action when things are going wrong", which makes his speech very powerful almost fearful. However, he connects nicely the masculine with the feminine by saying: "Our challenge to be a young country is not just economic, it is social and moral." Then he continues again in a united way while using the inclusive pronouns and bringing up phrases like: "our children" and "our society".

When it comes to the topic of crime, his claims go back to unity and the importance of family and employment. "It is the foundation of any decent society. Behind strong communities, lie strong families." This is a very Liberal idea and in sociolinguistic way can be marked as feminine. His speech becomes in this part very uniting and moral. It is about the people, their homes and he uses a lot of inclusive pronouns "we" and "our". When it is "our people" rather than just "the people", the audience feels involved in the situation and more responsible for not just themselves, but the whole community and the country. As Blair states it is about the help for those people and the "moral values", "our values", "serving the public" and he even plays on emotions by saying "good and patriotic

workers". Once again, his speech is very uniting and has a lot of moral arguments like focusing on the public affairs and services and taking care of the environment. Even such thing as lottery Blair brings up and gives to people's rights. In his politics, he gives a lot of power to the people and supports it with a lot of moral arguments, which are clearly feminine in a sociolinguistic world. He says that: "The only thing that threatens the United Kingdom is a government that refuses to listen to the desire of people to take more power to themselves." Now he attacks the policy of the Conservative Party and gives out facts that they have done. Upon these statements, he empowers his policy and his party, using more inclusive pronouns "we" and "our". It is not what he has done, but rather what "we did" and "we will do" and "we will be". There is one more instance, where he calls the country "my country" and uses few of the exclusive pronouns "I", however all these are overpowered by the inclusive ones that include also his party and the whole audience. His speech is nevertheless quite instructional and strong, when he keeps stating what the government will be doing under his governance. Even though his moral arguments are there, his rhetoric is masculine and authoritative. "I challenge this country, my country" is very authoritative as well and brings a different feeling than if he rather said "our country" that would bring up more unity and less dominance thanks to the inclusive pronoun. Yet in the next sentence there is such instance "moral purpose for our nation". His main idea is about "one Britain", "working together in unity, solidarity and partnership". "That is patriotism", "That is the true patriotism of a nation".

He warns against the Conservatives once again and says: "I say to you, my party", where his authority is clearly felt and gives them encouragement to be strong and courageous. "New Labour is ready in 1995 to build new Britain". Blair gives one more personal anecdote about his experience with "our people" longing for them to change the governance and take action. "Let us say with pride, we are patriots. This is the patriotic party because it is the party of the people". He uses exclusive pronouns "they" and "their" to point at the people and "their children", "their families" that they, as a party, should be taking care of. Strong "Discipline, courage, determination, honesty" is said at the end of his speech together with "It is new Britain, one Britain – the people united by shared values, shared aims, a government governing for all the people and the party, this party, the Labour Party, new Labour founded by the people, back truly as the people's party."

Evaluation

Tony Blair used in his speech (TB) exclusive pronouns 197 times compare to 191 inclusive. He found a balance between including the audience in what he had to say and excluding himself or pointing at the “other” participants. He however, does repeatedly point at himself, saying mostly what “I will” do rather than what “we will”. Unusual is also the fact he uses “my party”, “my country”, “my socialism”. These instances are all masculine features, where he shows his authority and dominance. He points at morality and unity 34 times and instrumentality is seen in 33 instances. He uses 1 short personal anecdote and 2 impersonal ones. He does not really share his own feelings with the audience as much as the other speakers. Being this a feminine feature, Tony Blair keeps his masculine rhetoric. There are 4 instances of hedging, that soften his speech, but he still mostly keeps his authoritative tone. Overall, Blair’s speech has almost equal amount of the feminine and masculine features. He uses a lot of feminine features to especially unite the audience and point at moral problems.

CONCLUSION

From the historical perspective and stereotypical view women's speech has always been considered weak and certainly not suitable for leadership. By the same token, men's way of speaking has always been regarded as powerful and correct in areas of ruling and governance. In my thesis I argue and demonstrate that women's communication tools are nowadays widely used in politics both by women as well as men and are therefore an inseparable part of a successful speech and successful leadership. There are two dimensions to effective communication, one which portrays strength and decisiveness, and one which portrays empathy and emotion, exemplified by male and female communication, respectively. A combination of these two aspects, leads to an effective way of speaking.

Depending on the situation, public speakers have to find the right balance between masculine and feminine speech patterns when delivering a speech, in order for it to be effective for the audience. When women first entered the political arena, they had to acquire the strong, masculine type of speech. Firstly in order to be accepted, secondly to sound convincing. What they brought with them intrinsically was the feminine, caring, uniting type of speech, which turned out to be also very compelling and is frequently adopted by male politicians.

From my analysis, it is obvious that Obama's speeches have been extremely successful due to the fact that he uses numerous feminine features in order to unite the audience. He focused on moral issues that the audience was familiar with and he also let the audience look into his personal life, recounting a few short stories and anecdotes about his life; in order to connect with the audience.

Hillary Clinton as a successful woman leader, used more feminine features in her speech, yet, she displays masculine rhetoric as well; her speech was powerful and very uniting. Margaret Thatcher also used mostly feminine rhetoric, however her arguments were mostly put in a masculine way. As a result, her speech was very influential, but also manifested certain feminine features. The last speaker and a politician, Tony Blair delivered an extremely convincing speech. Masculine features in his speech are more abundant than the feminine, although issues of morality and unity were important elements in his speech, which is an indication of feminine rhetoric style. Neither of the speakers used tag question, which are considered to be one of the weakest feminine features.

Therefore, I argue that women's speech and communication tools are not to be seen as weak. On the contrary, they are used to unite the audience, which is a desired effect of an

eloquent speaker. It sets the audience in a good mood, which as stated in the beginning, one of the key elements of persuasive speech, making the listener ready to accept the speaker's words. It is to be used by both, women and men, who wish to be effective and persuasive communicators in any field or discipline.

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LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Features of feminine and masculine rhetoric