THE ART OF MAKING THE IMPOSSIBLE POSSIBLE: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY TO IDENTIFY HILLARY CLINTON'S EMBODIMENT OF RHETORICAL SILENCE AND RHETORICAL LISTENING AS RHETORICAL ARTS IN THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN DEBATES

BY

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this to my mom, Catherine, the matriarch of the Solen family who is my most inspiring role model. She continues to demonstrate through rhetorical silence and listening that persistence, perseverance, and most of all resilience are important in overcoming obstacles that can hit us hard in life.

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ABSTRACT

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In 2016, Hillary Clinton became the first woman from a major party to achieve access to the Presidential general election campaign at the top of the ticket by winning the Democratic nomination. I explore how Hillary embodies rhetorical silence and rhetorical listening as alternative means to the rhetorical tradition during her three debates in the final months of the 2016 election. Through this exploration, I examine the notion that a woman does not have to be bound by a tradition that uses tools that were not designated for all bodies, and especially those whose bodies are different from the traditional form of a president in the nation's political and

rhetorical history. Using a feminist methodology to describe, interpret, and analyze any parallels to the categories of rhetorical silence, and, or, to the moves of rhetorical listening drawn from Cheryl Glenn's theory of Rhetorical Silence and from Krista Ratcliffe's theory and method of Rhetorical Listening, as well as other feminist rhetorical scholars who attend to the theories of rhetorical silence and listening, I identified how Hillary Clinton navigated the debate stage by embodying these two rhetorical arts.

Keywords: Rhetorical Arts; Silence; Listening; Hillary Clinton; Embodiment

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

> *We need to keep prying the inquiry open, to keep extending the conversation, casting and recasting, to find other "ways in" to a territory that is so richly endowed with a multiplicity of experiences and so deeply deserving of attention, thought, and more thought"* (Royster 390).

> "*If we are serious about developing alternative rhetorics that address the discourses of power, then those efforts must begin with an explicit recognition that the consequences of discourse are more severe and limiting for some groups in our society than they are for others"* (David Wallace 19).

In 2016 a female candidate named Hillary Clinton won her major party's nomination for the Presidency of the United States, thus achieving access to the three Presidential general election debates held on debate stages in New York, St. Louis, and Nevada. Hillary's[1] introduction in Hempstead, New York is the first time a woman stood on the general election stage as the top contender of the Democratic Presidential ticket. Because of the relatively few,[2] if any, studies on gender and the presidential debates, it is a rich site for study. It is also a rich site to study two concepts that have been attributed negatively in the discourse when attributed to women: silence and listening.

Feminist rhetorical scholars have been studying the negative attributions of these concepts and find that these two alternative rhetorics have not been highly regarded or have been overlooked in the history of the rhetorical tradition. I am interested in expanding their contributions by exploring how silence and listening are employed as alternative rhetorics

[1] For purposes of this dissertation, I use the first name Hillary because it is the name she identifies as and has noted in her campaign. I use it to distinguish her from her husband, but also to note that using her first name also identifies her as a woman in a field of men.

[2] Two other women had previously debated on the Vice-Presidential stage, but never had a woman been at the top of the ticket. The general election debates are the debates between the final contenders after the Democratic National Convention and the GOP Republican National Convention nominated their candidates. There have been two major Vice President Debates: Geraldine Ferraro debated George H. W. Bush and Sarah Palin debated Joe Biden in 2012.

specifically in a debate venue where one of the bodies does not conform to the traditional male prototype. Therefore, this dissertation is an exploratory study into how the rhetorical arts of silence and listening are employed by Hillary Clinton and to the extent to which they can be identified in her performance in three Presidential general election debates in 2016.

Both silence and listening have been conceptualized as feminine, oppressive for women, and attributed to women's essentialist nature, which impedes their credibility (see Cheryl Glenn, Krista Ratcliffe, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, Andrea Lunsford, Jessica Enoch). Moreover, feminist rhetorical scholars have been exploring silence and listening as rhetorical arts in multiple platforms: academia, media, literature, among others, where a masculine style dominates. I am interested in reframing the negative perception of these two rhetorics by looking into how silence and listening are deployed in, until 2016, the exclusively male space of the Presidential general election debates. My interest in these arts and these debates is to explore alternative ways to evaluate such an important venue now that a woman has achieved access to this space. If these alternative rhetorics are employed successfully by Hillary and can be identified as such, they may reposition silence and listening as positive attributes and viable appeals for debate performance, subsequently offering alternative means for use by all rhetors on a debate stage.

I offer a brief description of several advantages for exploring these rhetorics, but each will be elaborated more fully in subsequent sections in this chapter. One such advantage comes from the work of contemporary feminist rhetorical scholars who have opened the door for alternative rhetorics, or as Royster comments in the epigraph, "to find other ways in" to a territory that is so richly endowed with a multiplicity of experiences and so deeply deserving of

attention, thought, and more thought" (Royster, "In Search" 390). This comes in light of feminist scholars research on recasting and recovering past women rhetors into the rhetorical tradition. This study, however, is about a contemporary female rhetor. Hillary Clinton is the subject of this study because she is the first woman to reach the elevated level of debate participation, but also because she has over thirty years of lived experience and media representation surrounding her years in politics. Hillary's experience and use of rhetorical styles have been interrogated in past studies and therefore her knowledge of debates and debate protocol make her a stronger subject to study how rhetorical silence and listening may be employed. That is, situated knowledge is a strong component in the use of rhetorical silence and listening according to Glenn and Ratcliffe. Hillary has the situated knowledge (a woman's experience of media representation and feedback of previous performances). I am not looking to compare those performances, but more so to note how these arts add to the rhetorical repertoire of appeals by exploring how she deploys alternatives that have not been identified on the debate stage.

Feminist rhetorical scholars have been exploring alternatives to upend the established notions that have been embedded into the discourse as a result of unexamined uses of the rhetorical tradition. I argue that exploring how these two rhetorical arts are employed by Hillary Clinton on this once exclusionary male stage is advantageous to feminist studies, and feminist rhetorical studies more specifically, for several other reasons.

Another advantage for studying the alternative arts include the possibility of disrupting the rhetorical tradition's domino effect on women's rhetorical history. This effect includes a double bind instigated by the binary that separates men and women in various ways, such as the

exclusion of women in public spaces in the history of the tradition. Consequently, the binary has put women at a rhetorical disadvantage as they struggle for inclusion into male dominated spaces even today. Another advantage to exploring the use of rhetorical silence and listening is the possibility that they can be transformative for women's rhetorical presence and for the traditional debating stage. The general presidential debates have always been occupied by men, and up until 2007, white men, therefore, this can be a political minefield for a woman who has to navigate her way on a stage and stand under the text of a rhetorical tradition and subsequently debate protocol that has been dictated by men. Moreover, the rhetorical arts of silence and listening have not been studied at the elevated level of a general election debate where a woman has finally achieved access to a male dominated space. If found through this exploratory study that alternative rhetorics of silence and listening are successfully employed, in this context, these rhetorical arts could help to foreground women's presence in the discourse of politics--marking, clarifying, and keeping prominent a significant moment in political history, now and in future endeavors. The following sections of this chapter will situate these reasons and advantages of exploring silence and listening as rhetorical alternatives to the rhetorical tradition.

I am inspired by Jessica Enoch's encouragement for scholars to not only "follow in questioning the seeming silence or diligent obedience of women" but to also "listen to their voices and their silences" (14). Enoch asks us to "seek out ways to make [women's] voices heard, or their silences felt" (Enoch 12). Taking up her call, I will draw primarily from feminist rhetorical scholars Cheryl Glenn and Krista Ratcliffe's work on silence and listening as well as from other scholars who have also been attentive to these arts. Because silence and listening are

terms that have been handed down from antiquity as negative and feminized according to feminist scholars (see Royster, Glenn, Schell, Buchanan, Campbell, Lunsford, Ratcliffe, and Enoch), I intend to continue their call to repurpose these rhetorical arts by identifying and analyzing if and how they were deployed by Hillary in a debate venue.

The quotes in the epigraph by Jacqueline Jones Royster and David Wallace are calls to challenge conventional uses of the rhetorical tradition and broaden the influence of a new rhetorical era. [3] While Royster articulates a number of "ways in" to the rhetorical tradition, in this study, I focus specifically on how the body performs once that body is "in." That is, an analysis of a space historically exclusive to men not only demands attention to the presence of a woman's body but also how she navigates it within that space. As I show in this dissertation, Hillary navigated this space in using *embodied* silence and listening, even though these rhetorics have not necessarily been favored by traditional measures.

In the second epigraph above, Wallace identifies "alternative rhetorics" as a means to address the discourse of power. It is alternatives to the more traditional measures of effectiveness, I propose, that feminist rhetorical scholars, including Royster, are finding ways to resist age-old, gendered traditions. For example, Kathleen Ryan writes about recasting recovery;

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[3] A paradigm shift from the rhetorical tradition first by Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, occurred with Modern rhetorical scholars such as Perelman, Richards, Burke who challenged the tradition. New rhetoric is described as a tool for identification (Burke, 1969a, b), as a tool to enable our understanding of contextualized reasoning or argumentation (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969) and as a tool to avoid violence and build community *Let's talk politics: Introduction)* through a listening rhetoric (Booth, 2004). The shift from 'old' to 'new' rhetoric broadens the understanding of rhetoric as the art of persuasion to rhetoric as a way to understand how language functions in general and in the establishment of social relationships and social identities in particular, and thus explores the pervasive and mediating role of rhetoric in culture and society (Strecker and Tyler, 2009; Biesta, 2012; Rutten and Soetaert, 2012).Contemporary feminist rhetorical scholars are broadening these views today through new ways of inclusion, as Royster implies "other ways in."

Lindal Buchanan challenges the canon by writing about regendering delivery; Glenn writes about regendering the tradition; and Royster discusses casting and recasting discourse; Sonja and Karen Foss, along with Cindy Griffen discuss invitational rhetoric (see also Biesecker; Campbell; Foss; Foss and Griffin; Gray-Rosendale and Gruber; Lunsford; Marshall and Mayhead; Ratcliffe; Royster and Kirsch; Schell; Sotorin, Flynn, and Brady). Taken as a group, these feminist rhetorical scholars reconsider how rhetoric can be applied in spaces where bodies have been excluded, where bodies are included but not welcomed, and in spaces that have not been explored before. My interest is to continue building on studies of silence and listening that reconfigure them as rhetorically active, productive, and embodied, and in so doing, resist the disciplinary rhetorical norms that restrict women from occupying male-dominated space. Studying Hillary's performance on the general election presidential debate stage and how she employed silence and listening not only offers insight into her performance but into how silence and listening work rhetorically. Further, looking at rhetorics called into relief by Hillary may help bring us closer to understanding how to strategically resist, if she did, the dominant discourses and power differentials that act as an obstacle for women who try to inhabit other spaces of employment and rhetorical activity.

Therefore, this study is set up as a qualitative study exploring Hillary's use of rhetorical silence and listening in the 2016 general election presidential debates. To begin this work, I first explore the rhetorical context and subjective positioning of Hillary Clinton. From there I explain my reasons for this study: the biases in the rhetorical tradition along with the double bind that stems from the rhetorical tradition that have created obstacles, if not impossibilities, for women's

inclusion in rhetorical spaces. I then explain how the arts of silence and listening can be transformative for women and debate culture. From there, I describe my last reason for exploring the employment of these arts—to open possibilities for their use in future spaces to help prevent women's voices from becoming obscure. I begin with contextualizing Hillary's political career.

Hillary's Political Career

Understanding the complexity of silence and listening as rhetorical arts within this study starts with considering the rhetorical context and subjective positioning in which they were delivered by Hillary. I am motivated to identify what Wendy Sharer expresses as "the power relations that underlie political agendas" in our society and also surround the subject of this dissertation: Hillary Clinton (Sharer 12).[4] Hillary is privileged in many ways, such as her whiteness, family, financial status, and especially in the sense that she is married to the 42nd President of the United States, yet while she is privileged in this context and thus can be characterized in terms of "hegemonic attributes," a term Sharer uses, Hillary remains "subordinated and marginal to structures, procedures, and discourses of political parties as a result of exclusionary, gendered norms" (Sharer 12).

Hillary started out in politics as first lady of Arkansas, and as her husband, Bill Clinton, rose to power, Hillary became a political power force alongside him. In Arkansas, Hillary began

[4] According to Sharer, to understand the term politics, one must recognize that the meaning of politics "grows out of the work of scholars who have argued that a definition of politics must address power relations" (12). Jacqueline Jones Royster, for example, defines politics "as the system by which power, wealth, and justice are distributed within a given society" (110). In this definition, individual actors are not as important as the organizational networks in which they move and the larger effects those networks produce. With the focus of politics shifted from individuals to organizations, systems, and networks, collaborative work by the dominant group gains visibility, and the rhetorical activities of political organizations gain value in historical accounts of political discourse. That dominance prevails in organizations, systems, and networks as a recurring process.

establishing her own voice; in this role and a myriad of others, her voice was interpreted through the discourse of gendered norms, which marked her "outspoken." From articulating a revamping of the health care system to speaking out as a political collaborator while simultaneously acting as first lady (both of Arkansas and, later, of the U.S.), Hillary felt the wrath of transgressing traditional spaces along her way. Media representation, gender codes for what women can do and cannot do, and cultural codes for first-ladies participated in shaping characterizations of Hillary[5] that continues even today.[6] Throughout her political career, she had to navigate the many minefields afforded a woman who was positioned in, and sought out alternatives to, traditional roles. Throughout her ascent in politics she seemingly adopted a stereotypically masculine style, evidenced by her wardrobe and speaking style (Campbell; Bystrom; E. Sharrer; Banwart & McKinney). Ironically, this rhetorical performance did not satisfy media pundits, who critiqued her choices.

Along with media attention, Hillary's political career and rhetorical delivery has attracted the attention of numerous rhetorical scholars with a variety of interests: her rhetorical styles (Campbell; Bystrom), her faults (Campbell), her failures, her faux paus, her attire (Mandzuik)

[5] See studies Campbell, The Discursive performance of femininity: Hating Hillary;" Mandzuik, " Dressing down Hillary;" Brown and Gardetto, "Representing Hillary Rodham Hillary: Gender, Meaning, and News Media;" Crispin, "Feminist Fail" *New Republic*, March 2017; Scharrer, E., An "improbable leap: A content analysis of newspaper coverage of Hillary Clinton's transition from first-lady to Senate candidate." *Journalism Studies*, 3(3): 393-406; Breslau "Hillary Clinton's emotional moment," *Newsweek*; Noonan, P. "Who's crying now?" *The Wall Street Journal*, p. W14 (2008, January 11); Kakutani, Michiko. "Thirty Ways of Looking at Hillary," *International Herald Tribune* 17 Jan. 2008: n. page.

[6] See "Hillary Clinton's Benghazi Hearing Coverage: Political Competence, Authenticity, and the Persistence of the Double Bind" by Dustin Harp, Jaime Loke, and Ingrid Bachmann. Tauna Sisco & Jennifer Lucas (2015) "Flawed Vessels", *Feminist Media Studies*, 15:3, 492-507.

and her achievements (Manning). These scholars uncovered an agency in Hillary that violated the socially constructed rules for competently performing femininity (Campbell, “Discursive").

Performances of femininity, of course, are evaluated in terms of gendered expectations which are produced and enforced rhetorically. Such expectations are not articulated in merely sexist terms, however. Deborah Eicher-Catt argues the trope of *inevitability* that a woman will become President undermines that very possibility. The notion of inevitability frames the public perception of women’s apparent political progress and assumes a woman will win the Presidency in just *a matter of time*. In contrast to this trope, however, Eicher-Catt shows how the rhetorical space and shape of the Oval Office is constituted upon a male dominant form as well as the discourse surrounding that form, including negative representations afforded to the non-traditional, non-male political candidate. In other words, no woman has occupied the Oval Office in the capacity of President. In fact, according to Eicher-Catt’s study, the first time a woman was allowed into the space of the West Wing was in 1889 as a stenographer. Her study describes how the Oval Office has subsequently been represented as a male space occupied by a male form and subsequently, and metaphorically, structured as an obstacle for some bodies, a shaped space that has not been trespassed by any other form than male. Representations of this space, the Oval Office (her rhetorical reference to shape includes the idea of the office as an oval shape) continue to be disseminated and *shape* the focus of discourse as exclusively a male space.

A study of this trope and its corresponding expectations indicated that it is not “just a matter of time” but a matter of discourse and a matter of the perceptions from that discourse that were rendered so long ago. An example of how this discourse plays out for a woman attempting

to achieve acceptance in this field is rendered from one, of many, media representation in 2008, "Clinton seemed to carry herself like a president *trapped* inside a woman's body" (Lithwick, "Time Magazine" 39), signifying that the form of the president is male.

In another study of women and leadership Shirley Rosenwasser and Norma Dean suggested that women are omitted from leadership positions because they do not aspire to a male dominated rhetorical approach in the work force or spaces dominated by men. The authors suggested that "it may behoove women to develop attributes traditionally 'masculine'" (qtd. in Bligh and Kohles 383). The studies by Eicher-Catt and by Rosenwasser and Dean begin to show how gendered stereotypes that have been embedded in the discourse dismiss the idea of women achieving success in currently male dominated fields using their own embodied rhetorical abilities. Their studies find that women who do not rhetorically mimic what is considered a male rhetorical approach are relegated to a subordinate position.

Accordingly, women in the past have not had opportunities to participate in political debates on the elevated stage such as the general election debates; they entered a domain which has been *shaped*, again referring to Eicher-Catt's metaphor of shape, by masculine intentions (Sullivan). In other words, men have had the power to name this world of debate and "if men have the power to name the world, they are in a position to influence reality" (Spender 165).

Constraints on women rhetors, began long ago, have been embedded into the discourse, and continue to trouble women rhetors, such as Hillary, today. I now begin contextualizing the tools of the rhetorical tradition in the following section. I will then explain the gendered effects that prevail today stemming from the tradition, such as a binary and a double bind that plagues

women's rhetorical representations. However, I will first explain the tradition's propensity for a masculine rhetorical approach while simultaneously revealing some other ways contemporary feminist scholars challenge that approach. To do this, I venture back 2500 years to describe how women and other bodies were positioned differently in the Western rhetorical tradition.

Understanding the Rhetorical Tradition

When I hear the word "tradition" I think of the metaphor from the play, *Fiddler on the Roof,* where a fiddler is continuously balancing himself on a rooftop. The theme of the play is that without tradition, our lives would be as shaky as a fiddler on a roof.[7] While this study is not about fiddlers or roofs, it is about tradition and I do think about how the metaphor explains the appeal of tradition, especially the Western rhetorical tradition. What would we do without it? How would we know the expectations for rhetorical delivery? However, when reviewing this rhetorical tradition, we witness how it has dismissed bodies and therefore more studies are needed to understand how women employ rhetorical arts in a variety of contexts. Using the form and appeals that have flourished for 2500 years in the West and have been dictated by men may not be a method that works for everyone, especially when more women are opting into politics. I thus follow Royster to ask, "How could we have a sense of tradition when presumably our information about these types of activities is so limited?" (Royster, "Traces" 229). Along with Royster, other feminist rhetorical scholars have identified conflicts with the rhetorical tradition, claiming that this is where the foundation of biases of discourse were first constructed and

[7] From the movie, Fiddler on the Roof

perpetuated (Campbell; Lunsford; Glenn; Foss; Royster & Kirsch) and overtime, that it has created an implicit bias complicit in the unchecked use of the tradition's assessment tools.

To understand how women are positioned outside of the rhetorical tradition, I will review the "tools" used in the tradition, understanding that, to quote Audre Lorde, "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house."[8] But I argue that learning what to look for and what are considered strong "tools" when listening or reading a text is important to understanding how different bodies are affected by how our society determines what is effective. The rhetorical tradition promotes a certain form and a certain process of appeals centered around gendered expectations and evaluations, and if not checked such tools omit women's experiences and rhetorical possibilities.

The Rhetor

To address the issue of women in the tradition, we first must recognize which bodies were preferred during its constitution. Research by feminist rhetorical and communication scholars demonstrate that men established the public debate forum as a space for men only (Buchanan; Bystrom; Campbell; Glenn; Enoch)[9]. Women's bodies did not measure up to the male form because they were thought to be too soft, too frail, and too emotional, and thus they were not invited into the public sphere (see Hemphill; Stearns; Shields).[10] Eventually, if they

[8] Audre Lorde's quote is stated as "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house." Recognizing the term tool is a masculine term and is fitting for explaining the tradition's original appeals.

[9] See also (Carroll & Fox; Dittmar; Dow & Tonn; Enoch; Glenn; Parry-Giles & Hogan; Woods; Manning; Lunsford; Mayhead &Marshall; Medhurst; Middleton; Murray; O'Connor; Olsen; Rakow & Wackwitz; Ratcliffe; Ryan, Myers, & Jones: Royster & Kirsch; Schell & Rawson; Smith; Wallace; Walsh; Wertheimer; Wilson & Boxer).

[10] Studies on emotion (see Peter Stearns; Stephanie Shields) noted how women's bodies were perceived to be inappropriate in public stemming also from the biological functions, as well as the "natural" emotional aspects of women.

were able to be included in public spaces, it would be under conditions of separate spaces, as well as separate issues that were considered appropriate for women only (Campbell; Jamieson; Kerber; Knight; Larner; Mayhead & Marshall; Woods). For instance, women would appear in venues that involved aspects of temperance, morals, and family orientations but not politics. Historian, Louise Knight, provides another example from the late 1800s describing Catharine Beecher, daughter of the powerful preacher Lyman Beecher, as showing contempt for an outspoken woman's "mingling with men in stormy debate" (qtd.in Knight 218). To conform to the idiom of "women should be seen and not heard," Beecher herself chose to have men read her speeches, or, to minimize her position, read her own speeches sitting down, rather than a podium "like a man" (Knight 218). Carly Woods describes the separate debating societies set up for women and men when few women entered Universities in the early 1900s. Even at that, the environment for women was hostile (Woods; Knight).[11] The naturalized Western approach to speech and argumentation that constituted rhetoric in a male prototype and for "men only" has persisted for centuries. Reconstituted by early communications scholar in the 1950s, Herbert Wilchens, criteria for effective persuasion only had to address "socially constructed" masculine issues of rhetorical performance--traits such as strength, aggression, and dominance (Campbell). Contemporary feminist scholars and other modern and postmodern scholars indicate that evaluation continues to be based on criteria originated in Greece, 2500 years ago, within the

[11] In her book, *Debating Women*, Carly Woods tells about a joke that circulated in early twentieth century newspapers-"What broke up the ladies' debating society?" "The leading member was told to prepare an essay on the Yellow Peril. She did so, and the opening sentence read: 'Yellow apparel is very trying to most complexions (10)." Louise Knight wrote about the unflattering or offensive media representations of women who entered speaking forums in her article on Jane Addams. Words used were seductress, voluptuous, abominable, ugly for example.

boundaries of this long-standing character form. Although studies have also validated that the "universal rhetor" does not exist, it is the tradition's association historically with "elite" white males who have prestige and power that continues to concern feminist rhetorical scholars (see Foss & Foss; Ryan, Myers, & R. Jones; Lunsford). Kathleen Ryan, Nancy Myers, and Rebecca Jones best explain the tradition's ineffectiveness for women rhetors: "A classical concept was created and used in a homogenous community among male orators in positions of power" and the "powerful influence of this historical legacy remains in circulation" (5). In other words, the prototype of a singular, white, male taking a disembodied and individualistic form characterized the traditional rhetor similar in the description by Eicher-Catt, that a preferred form consisted of an "autonomous monad, a disembodied self-contained entity" who has and continues to occupy the space in the "Oval" office (3).

While this classical notion of a universal rhetor raises concerns that perceptions are more positive for men, I also propose that another concern stemming from the rhetorical tradition is a process of universal appeals--logos, ethos, and pathos. The ideal model and rhetorical strategy for public speakers and writers, introduced by Aristotle, was a competitive universal monologue that was logical, rational, and linear (Rakow & Wackwitz). David Wallace asserts, "long standing perceptions that draw from the idea that winning an argument belongs to one position, that is, one who has gained dominance over others using a linear form of logic" (W20). The traditional value of logos—notion of truth as objective, abstract, and verifiable—has been debunked by several modern rhetorical scholars and postmodern scholars who discuss commonality among audience and rhetor (Burke); cultural differences (Bizzell; Royster); and

cultural logics (Ratcliffe). Ratcliffe foregrounds cultural logics asserting there is no universal truth because there are different interpretations of what is true. Also, the presumption of a deductive logic does not always reflect alternative logics that may be based on personal experience (Ratcliffe, "Rhetorical"). Moreover, rather than focusing on commonalities as modern theorists did, we can look to T. Minh-ha's (postcolonial) theories of inclusion and Diana Fuss's postmodern theory of disidentification (See also Munoz; Connolly; Butler; Fuss), which "foreground differences and background commonalities" (Ratcliffe "Rhetorical" 48). Along with logos, ethos is another appeal that is also challenged by contemporary feminist rhetorical scholars.

Aristotle's ethos is speaker centered; it concerns the character and the credibility of the speaker who conveys information to the audience based on a claim. Campbell explains, however, that it was only men's character and credibility that is evaluated using this appeal. Indeed, two millennia after Aristotle, in the 19th century women rhetors were still understood to have no ethos, just from the standpoint that they were not permitted to speak. If a woman did speak out to persuade men to let her speak, even if her speech was "powerful and noteworthy" (896), she was immediately discredited by virtue of her female body (Ryan et al. 93). This and Linda Kerber's notion that women have no authority musters the example of a man *trapped* in a woman's body.[12]

[12] Time Magazine author wrote about Hillary Clinton's emotional moment in 2008 in New Hampshire, stating that Hillary Clinton seemed to carry herself like a president "*trapped* inside a woman's body" and the media suggest that she is being punished for "struggling out" of being the "real Hillary" for purposes of appealing to women (Lithwick, 2008). The signification of a president trapped inside a woman's body reveals the binary that a president must be a man, but if embodied as female, the president must still be a man only trapped in a woman's body.

In contrast to this thinking, contemporary feminist scholars have identified multiple places and locations for ethos. Alternatives bring women's experiences to the forefront by considering materiality (ethos does not *reside* in the male form), listening to silences that conventionally would not be heard, and exploring spaces not conventionally traveled. For example, Mary Farrell challenges the male centric tendency of Western discourse that privileges assertion and speech over silence by exploring the potential of silence as a site of feminist resistance to the loss of self-hood. Ratcliffe demonstrates an ethos through listening. Another example comes from Ryan, Myers, and Jones who, in *Rethinking Ethos*, note that the traditional appeal of ethos identified credibility as only involving the character and the "good will" of the rhetor. These authors assert that ethos cannot be established universally. If there are multiple identities, there are multiple ethe. These authors extend feminist research by looking at how women rhetors take responsibility for not only social constructs like race and gender but how these identities intersect with the environment. From this perspective ethos becomes more relational and more involved with the other, instead of based on the traditional individualistic character of the rhetor. In other words, ethos takes on not just personal credibility but what is good for others and for the good of the future.

Pathos, the third Aristotelean appeal, continues to impact the Western rhetorical tradition. Aristotelian pathos as a concept by itself is not exclusionary: it refers to the ability of a rhetor to elicit emotioned response from an audience and put them in a particular frame of mind (Connor). Persuading the audience through images, metaphors, and anecdotes to stir emotion in the rhetor's

audience is a typical use of pathos (Connor). However, I look to Alan Brinton's[13] work on Aristotle to demonstrate the complexity of the intersectionality of these appeals which correlates women with emotion and subordinates pathos to (masculine) ethos.

Brinton claims that Aristotle created a schism between ethos and pathos. According to Brinton, because of conflicting notions by Aristotle, pathos is difficult to explain, and it is this nuance that is important in my study. The conflation of gender, emotion, pathos, and ethos complicates how pathos is employed, as well as any simple understanding of the body employing the appeals. Brinton claims that, at one instance, Aristotle denigrates pathos as mere accessory, not an essential part of the rhetorical proofs, and with too much emphasis on influencing the emotions of the audience. In Aristotle's words, "The arousing of prejudice, pity, anger, and similar pathe has nothing to do with the essential facts but is merely a personal appeal to the *man* who is judging the case" (Aristotle qtd. in Brinton 207, emphasis added). Yet, Brinton brings up a conflict: where Aristotle devalues emotion immediately, he has also described pathos as equal to the other appeals (Brinton). This complication or conflict is doubly concerning due to the double-bind of emotional delivery for women.

To be clear, I do not find pathos problematic but the framing of women as emotional that conflates women, emotion, ethos, and pathos. Aristotle's conflicted articulation of pathos combined with his dichotomy of women and men's positioning complicates women's ethos as well as their employment of pathos. Stephanie Shields[14] emphasizes the impact of emotion as

[13] Aristotle: 1984, The Rhetoric and Poetics of Aristotle, E.P.J. Corbett, ed. (New York: Modern Library). Alan Brinton studied Aristotle's appeals and used direct quotes from his texts. I have paraphrased Brinton's articulations.

[14] Shields multiple studies on emotion demonstrate similar discursive emotive acts such as tearing up when giving a poignant speech, discussing sad moments during a presidential campaign, or narrating a story of a strong

feminized. Campbell also posits that the emotion binary is complicated and discomforting for women because it "denigrates strategies by women who deliver emotional impact," which in turn will affect their delivery (Campbell "Rhetorical Criticism" 90). This complication affects my study since silence and listening are categorized as feminine: women who are silent or listening may be assessed as embodying emotion (in ways that are not credible) and as incapable of eliciting appropriate emotion from their audiences. However, by exploring how these arts are employed, I seek to demonstrate the possibilities they have to offer women and counter the stereotype that these acts are "feminized" and therefore weak alternatives to the traditional appeals. Including the rhetorical arts of silence and listening in our rhetorical repertoire reconsiders and enhances how the traditional employment of logos, ethos, and pathos are operationalized.

This section reviewed how a masculine prototype has foreshadowed the complications that women have today in drawing on the rhetorical tradition, especially in a site specifically established before women were allowed into debating societies. The effects of the tradition's separation of men and women continue to constrain women's rhetorical strengths in their delivery, which serves as another exigence for studying silence and listening in the presidential debates. Because the traditional notions of silence and listening are seen as feminized, negative, and hence inactive vehicles to counter continued male dominance and power, studying them as rhetorical arts in the context of political debates may disrupt these traditional gendered notions.

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mentor, such as one's mother, bring different effects when performed by different genders. The belief that women are "naturally emotional" seemingly weakens women's ethos and subsequently would also affect their ability to employ pathos as an effective persuasive appeal compared to the rational, disembodied, unemotional male, where his use of pathos could be viewed as having a more acceptable and powerful effect.

In other words, they too fall into the discursive binary when attributed to women. The binary formed years ago not only created a double bind but subsequently prevented women from contributing to public discourse, both reasons for this study on alternative rhetorics.

The Binary

This study allows me to explore how alternative rhetorics work within the existing rhetorical binary that was initiated 2500 years ago. The tradition's exclusion of women not only set them back in the early days of its existence, but that exclusion continues today. Women are stuck in a conundrum that leaves them with few to no options to define their own rhetorical identity. Finding alternatives to subvert the binary is important to move forward in male dominated spaces. The dichotomy of men versus women's space and men's rational and women's emotional statuses have set in motion a continuous dilemma for women's rhetorical delivery. The binary effects have institutionalized the prominence of male agency especially in political leadership positions. Studies show that the more we present women's and men's rhetoric as a dichotomy, we are more likely to distance women from listening to their own voices, which precludes them from discovering other ways to rhetorically perform in areas that have been occupied predominantly by men (Royster; Royster & Kirsch; Glenn; Ratcliffe; Campbell; Jamieson; Woods; Jones; Bennett; Daughton; Harmer et al.; Williarty; T. Olsen; Murray; Parry-Giles; Mayhead & Marshall; Mansfield) or spaces that are unfriendly and pernicious for women (Sotorin, Flynn, & Brady). In this dissertation, I build on these studies to investigate how Hillary did not just respond to or reject dominant discourses but also used a rhetorical approach that conforms to her own sense of rhetorical style, not a style that is

attributed to her by media representation. That is, instead of abiding by a binary--*only* adopting masculine attributes, or what is socially constructed as masculine attributes—I explore how Hillary also deploys, what has been categorized as "feminine," silence and listening as rhetorical arts that alter both the make-up of the traditional map in our rhetorical history, her own political rhetorical trajectory represented by media, as well as a rhetorical style of her own making that does not separate socially constructed dichotomies deemed either masculine, or feminine. Descriptions and interpretations of how these arts are successfully deployed by Hillary may speak to the possibility of "re-shaping" the discourse by accentuating the strengths of silence and listening as alternatives to the tradition. I further argue that another advantage to exploring Hillary's employment of these two arts will help me recognize how she seemingly resists and complicates the notion of a masculine/feminine dichotomy, which continues to be an obstacle in political discourse for men and women alike and subsequently sets up a double bind.

The Double Bind--Either way it's going to be Masculine

In a discursive world when women and men have been so dichotomized, women's traits versus men's traits are assumed to be in contention as to which is better for women when attempting to gain access in male dominated fields. According to Ratcliffe, among the many binary stereotypes that prevailed from Aristotle's description of women, "the silent woman, the emotional woman, and the weak woman" have now become "ubiquitous" (Ratcliffe, "Anglo" 83*)*. For women to gain access to the Presidency, they must fight off stereotypes that deny their strengths and assume they are incapable of performing the demands required for high levels of political office. The presidency historically has been perceived both implicitly and explicitly as a

masculine institution. Candidates for that office "must exhibit both the knowledge and skills necessary for the job and should appear to be strong, assertive, and dominant" (Han 165). Ironically, according to a Gallup Poll in 2007, "Among the characteristics and qualities tested, such as endurance, assertiveness, and decision-making skills, [Hillary] Clinton's strong points are almost uniformly related to presidential leadership. She holds a formidable lead on many items in this category, including being qualified to be president and being a strong leader" (Saad in Burrell 748). With this statement comes the reality that something creates a disconnect for women in their attempts to achieve high leadership positions.

If stereotypes follow women historically, then women who attempt to enter male dominated fields begin with a disadvantage. Early separation of men and women set standards for the traditional prototype whose masculine attributes have been achieved through years of honing rhetorical skills, according to Woods and other feminist rhetorical scholars (see, for example, Buchanan, Mayfield, and Marshall; Parry-Giles).[15] For example, when Maria Hochmuth's 1955 published book, *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*, included only one woman into the public political rhetorical platform, it compelled more women to write women into the discourse (Woods). Subsequently, however, these writings were scrutinized through what Tillie Olsen called a "masculine point of view.[16] Women became the focus of what is or what is not adequate when comparing the attributes of the conventional male rhetor, where effectiveness was structured around men's speeches, men's style, and objectivity

[15] See also Campbell; O'Connor; Kerber; Knight
[16] Tillie Olsen's question was "Why does our culture continue to reflect a masculine point of view?" in *Silences*.

(Campbell; Foss; Foss, Foss, & Griffin; Glenn; Lunsford). Three studies presented here, one by Woods, another by Royster, and a study by Linda Trimble and Natasja Treiberg demonstrate the complexity of binary troubles and how it disadvantages women rhetors.

Carly Woods explains that men's debating clubs sprung up in the early 1800s, excluding women, thus setting the rules for debate. It was not until the 1920s that women were allowed in the exclusionary spaces of men's debating teams. However, women had to take drastic methods to enter these debating societies, including bodily transformation. Exploring Barbara Jordan's early academic debate itinerary during her college years at Texas Christian University in the 1950s, Woods found that Jordan altered her body so that she could ensure its mobility to travel with men to debate tournaments. Jordan "gave up much of her femininity" to insure acceptance in the world of men (Woods 22). According to Woods, "Her body became both a site and a source of rhetorical ingenuity," giving up the "scoop-neck dresses and costume jewelry" (20). Jordon "cropped her hair above her ears, affected bulky, boxy jackets and flat shoes, gained twenty pounds; her buxom figure took on the squared lines of androgyny" (Woods 168). In short, Jordan had to constrain her female body for a more masculine form in order to be part of a debating society.

Royster also explores disadvantages of what is written on the body. That is, she explored the inability of African American women to occupy a place to perform and develop their "rhetorical competence" ("Traces" 61). Rhetorical competence means "the skill, the process, the practice of reading and being articulate about men and nations" (61). Royster's focus on the Black Clubwoman's Movement that originated around the mid-1850s as a place for developing

rhetorical expertise and for engaging in social and political action helped her understand that such a place for rhetorical black women to develop their skills was a space that did not "naturally exist," and, where "those who were entitled to speak did not welcome and were not particularly compelled to acknowledge" others who did not conform to their comportment (233).[17]

Another disadvantage is media perpetuation of the double bind. Trimble and Treiberg demonstrate how women must thwart negative images, but in so doing, may create another negative image. In their article, "Either way, there is Going to Be a Man in Charge," they noted that while Helen Clark, who won the New Zealand election for Prime Minister, was represented as aggressively masterful and having an adversarial political leadership, media represented her as "unbecomingly belligerent." The authors suggest that these depictions of Clark "failed to disrupt the taken-for-granted notion of political leadership as a masculine domain" (115).

While within the Western rhetorical tradition the concept of taking on a masculine style is supposedly the key to success, then, these studies demonstrate the double bind for women. In context of my study, Hillary's rhetorical image of employing a masculine style has created problems for her, as it has for millennia of other women. She has attempted to enact feminine styles but then she is depicted as conniving, using feminine wiles to gain votes (Bystrom; Banwart & McKinney). Moreover, while the Gallup poll indicated that she is a strong leader, she did not win the Presidency.

[17] Jacqueline Jones Royster, *Traces of a Stream* discusses this club as a space for black women to learn formal rhetorical practice.

This section demonstrated some disadvantages and obstacles that seemingly make it impossible for women rhetors to catch up to their male counterparts in debating societies and to access male domains in the field of politics. Their bodies did not fit the form and therefore instead of challenging that form, they had to contort their bodies or remain excluded altogether. The rejection of women in the earlier days of political campaigning led to a political rhetorical agenda, not necessarily beneficial for women who did not want to change their bodies or isolate or separate themselves from the electorate, and opened the door for a more formidable kind of deliberation in public debate, which may be much different from the type of deliberation that Aristotle initially intended. Exploring alternative rhetorics of silence and listening could be a way to transform debate protocol that is appropriate for a diversity of bodies that do not conform to the male prototype.

The next section begins with a dialogue that exemplifies one more consequence of the rhetorical tradition that an employment of rhetorical silence and listening could be instrumental in helping to transform. The argument culture associated with politics and debate stems from the pervasive binary that was established within the rhetorical tradition. Just as women had to contort their bodies to fit in, they also had to adjust their rhetorical styles to possibly gain entry and maintain a place on the political stage.

Political Rhetoric Either You're with Us or You're against Us

> Chris Matthews*: If he got into your space, what would you do?*
> Terry McAuliffe*: You'd have to pick him off the floor?*
> Chris Matthews*: You mean you would deck him?* Hardball January 11, 2018
>
> *"If I were there, I would take him behind the high school gym"* Joe Biden

> *"If I were still in the public eye, I would say something ineloquent and have to apologize for it."* David Letterman

The above quotes by former Vice President Joe Biden, NBC pundit Chris Matthews, and former Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe[18] demonstrate a rhetoric Deborah Tannen wrote about in the 1990s, which identifies argument culture that mimics the language of war and competitive sports, two areas dominated by men (See Burrell; Duerst-Lahti; Tannen).[19] While Glenn notes that early rhetorical women were constrained by notions of obedience, humility, and other values proper for women in earlier times, she agrees that today's discourse about feminine and masculine language has not changed much since Tannen's first book in the 70's about women and men's communication styles, *You Just Don't Understand*, where she comments on the dichotomy of men's speech consisting of dominance within a hierarchy of status and control, as well as in her book, *Argument Culture* in 1999, where men's speech include metaphors of war and sports.

Other attributes that frame the masculine nature of political language in general are "confidence in the face of risk," "taking aggressive stands, initiating action, managing competition, [and] displaying expertise" (Mansfield 25, 50). Political research demonstrates that aspects of strength, being a provider, and guardianship in defense, the economy, security, order, and leadership mimic the patriarchal father in charge of his family (Bennett). Masculine language is also associated with advocating authority (Kerber). While masculine language seems

[18] Chris Matthews and Terry McAuliffe are referring to the second debate between Hillary and Trump, where seemingly, Trump trespassed onto her space on the debate stage. Both men declared that it was inappropriate and thus gave their opinion of what they would do at that moment if they were Hillary.
[19] See Tannen, Deborah. *You Just Don't Understand* and *The Argument Culture*.

to be the privileged style, as we have seen in the previous section, women who invoke masculine language, on the other hand, are labeled negatively--"belligerently unbecoming." And where masculine language continues to be defined as commanding, instrumental and conducive to politics, a feminine style is associated with lacking what it takes to be a leader.

Julia Wood argues that feminine language was and continues to be associated with intimacy, unity, nurturing, and expressiveness. Language embodied by the feminine has also been labeled as too passive for politics (Blankenship & Robson), lacking leadership qualities (Knight; Woods; Wood), and focused on language relatable to audience (Jamieson, "Eloquence"). This difference between masculine and feminine stereotypes for discourse explains how Jamieson's double-bind takes effect. Once masculine language is used, *she* becomes unbecoming. The binary approach to political discourse puts women in the trenches with little options. Whether or not they are used to this kind of banter or communicative style, or do not wish to use this kind of style, women are entangled in dilemma—whether or not women use such styles, they are also evaluated poorly. Jamieson asserts that it is not incumbent on women to choose any style to please or conform to a dominant form because either style they choose they are going to be ridiculed ("Eloquence").

To be clear, research finds that women do sometimes adopt a feminine style of political communication to achieve political objectives while staying true to a cultural tradition of femininity (Dow Tonn; Parry-Giles; Campbell). According to Campbell, a feminine style of rhetoric helps the speaker claim authority in a compassionate manner. Adopting such a style can be strategic and, according to Bonnie Dow and Mari Boor Tonn, "women have gained success in

politics because of this particular feminine style that uses personal anecdotes, is relatable to the audience, all the while drawing conclusions and making judgements" (287). Nonetheless, studies by Dianne Bystrom, Campbell, Dow and Tonn, Woods, Shawn Parry-Giles, and, among others, indicate also that women must contort their styles to compete in politics and while success can be achieved, women still find it difficult to compete for the highest positions.

The separation of women from the public sphere carried into university settings where debating societies began to form. The disfavor of women participating in debating societies in the early 1800s and through the 1920s resulted in the omission of women's ideas and attitudes on how debate and argumentation were to be formulated. Recognizing the rhetoric that mimics a militaristic metaphor, Carly Woods quotes Robert Marshall's 1892 description of debate as a "drilling-ground" where "*he* acquires the power of marshalling *his* troops in regular order...where *his* diffidence changed into manly self-confidence" (qtd. in Woods 1emphasis added). Deborah Tannen in 1972 continued the study of debate, claiming it to be an agonistic form of discourse. Following Tannen, Patricia Sullivan noted that George Bush, in 1984, frequently alluded to sports metaphors in the Bush-Ferraro debate, and Barbara Burrell's recent research in 2008, found that language continues to be depicted in war terms and associated with sports and war metaphors. Furthermore, Burrell asserts that questions that pollsters ask frame conversations and perspectives, which makes visible the masculine nature of presidential debate rhetoric. Georgia Duerst-Lahti maintains that the male space of presidential campaign debate is framed by such tropes as a test of executive toughness, a preference for military heroes, as well as sports and war metaphors.

The importance of language and the idea that argument is likened to masculine metaphors of war and sports is significant to this study because it is about working within a political climate where politics and debate discourse become a challenge for women who achieve access to this venue. In debate circles, where deliberative debate became rational critical debate, discourse was the opportunity to win, to dominate, to argue against (Walsh; Foss & Griffen). Metaphors likened to "beat them at their own game" present a strong case for the privileging of masculine speech, and more precisely argumentation, as warlike, which then becomes the preferred form for debate (Tannen; Burrell; Woods). These impossible discursive challenges that women have had to confront historically make it difficult for women to work within debate culture today.

Women who vied for debating space in the early 1800s and throughout the early 1900s had to conform to a male model or find alternative spaces to hone their rhetorical skills. It seems that what was written on the body yielded perceptions of who could be included in these early days when debating societies were forming (Woods). Yet in 1998, approximately 200 years later, conformity as necessity to fit into male dominant spaces still thrives. Ofer Feldman and Christ'l De Landtsheer's study demonstrated that the nature of political discourse has been anchored by men and is in the hands of men. Men control what is said, how it is analyzed, and what is done with it. It is controlled by the "political elites" who are also white and male (4). Perceptions continue to mount against women's abilities and possibilities to take a lead or at least gain a 50 percent "co-presence" in the dominant discourse (de Landtsheer 4). In more recent work, Emily Harmer, Heather Savigny, and Orlanda Ward studied the 2015 UK election and demonstrate how

politics is "normalized as a masculine activity" (961). These authors note that women's work to meet the demands of masculine leadership ideals falls short in political venues.

The studies cited above show a growing awareness that women are continuously subjected to fit into spaces in ways not of their own making, even as there might be improvement over time. These past studies show not only the binary that prevails, but also the double-bind that problematizes women's rhetorical achievement. However, since no woman has achieved the "in" space of debating in the general election until Hillary, it is an opportune time to build on these studies by investigating how Hillary navigated this double bind. Hillary's polling as a strong leader did not resonate in the election results in 2007 or 2016. Thus, the question still comes up as to whether women should listen to Rosenwasser and Dean's suggestion to adopt a masculine style to succeed in leadership roles.

The reasons discussed above lead me to inquire about the contribution of silence and listening on the debate stage, but one more reason for the study is that these alternative arts have not been explored on the general election debate stage. That is, discussions of gendered expectations of political participation and debate have not yet explicitly intersected with the rich theories of silence and listening as "alternative rhetorics." Importantly, political debates are traditionally used as a space to position claims and use certain appeals to win over an audience, keep the audience in your corner, or persuade a neutral audience that you are the best candidate. Political debates are advantageous sites to study the possibilities of alternatives to the Western rhetorical tradition because they allow candidates to articulate their views to the electorate. The 2016 presidential general election debates are sites ideally suited for feminist rhetorical study

because one of the debate participants is a woman, a body that has never achieved this kind of access until she won her party's nomination for President of the United States. Women have been participating in politics and have succeeded in Congress and local and state governments, but since the Presidency has been occupied only by men, it was not possible to examine how alternative arts are employed by a woman at this level. The debates also offer a rich rhetorical site to study because of their national exposure. One tenet of feminist work is to make research known. With the exposure of the 2016 debates, the unprecedented moment of a woman on the debate stage for the first time and her employment of alternative rhetorical arts is valuable to feminist rhetorical scholarship. I argue that it is not a matter of women adopting a masculine style but a matter of forging on to mark out alternative rhetorical space that fits them in ways they choose.

Where Have all the Women Rhetors Gone? The Consequences of Binary Styles

The final reason for arguing for an exploratory study on how silence and listening as rhetorical arts are employed by Hillary stems from my concern about erasure. Royster prompts me to consider erasure when she states, "we have long since ceased to remember the individual women as they existed in their own time. We no longer call out their names. We no longer acknowledge their individual achievements and contributions. We have ignored the fabric of their daily lives" ("Traces" 80). An overwhelming number of women have "rhetorical competence," but rarely are their names invoked (61). To further women's gains in rhetorical sites dominated by men, women's rhetorical successes must be exposed, revealed, and reiterated. If it is found that these rhetorical arts can be identified, this study may help to give women more

presence in historical contexts when employed and studied in subsequent venues. In other words, to make it possible to advance women's goals, women need to be able to be in prominent political positions and those women cannot be forgotten. To accomplish this goal, "[w]omen must not simply operate with rhetorical eloquence (which they have certainly demonstrated they can do), they must also create a space in which their eloquence can be heard." (Royster 64). Examining how a woman employed the rhetorical arts of silence and listening during a political debate could help us recognize and resist some of the gendered constraints that women face rhetorically and by doing so, give women incentive to speak out, invoke, and reiterate names of rhetorical women when vying for political space.

The studies I have mentioned in this chapter indicate the importance of finding new ways to both acknowledge and shift possibilities for women to create rhetorics that fit their styles instead of merely mirroring, or opposing, what is considered a male rhetorical approach. I argue that the unexamined use of the rhetorical tradition in this venue perpetuates the double-bind it instigated and leaves women without alternatives. Continuing to rely solely on age old traditions on this national, public stage limits rhetorical possibilities for women today and foreshadows their absence tomorrow.

Significance and Conclusion

Exploring alternative rhetorics, specifically rhetorical silence and listening, is significant for several reasons. Identifying these arts in Hillary's performance on this formidable and masculine oriented venue can open possibilities for other women to practice and employ them in other venues and on all levels of debate. It is also significant because Hillary has been a

formidable presence herself in the political world for over thirty years and her rhetorical styles have been subjected to scrutiny for enacting styles that have been designated either masculine or feminine. Exploring the use of these arts by Hillary and noting that Hillary did receive higher polling rates for her performance, gives women other options to pick and choose their own unique rhetorical style where they can appropriate balance on their own terms. It is also important to find alternatives to resist those traditions that are based on a male rhetor, appeals based on the male rhetor, the gendered binary that favors a male rhetorical style, and a tradition that continues to foreshadow the absence of prominent women rhetors. I argue that reliance only on traditional means of persuasion is inadequate or incomplete at most. Studying how silence and listening are used rhetorically by a body that has not been included in Presidential general election debates may give us insight into, or challenge, debate discourse that may have been overlooked in the past by Presidential candidates in this venue. Feminist research seeks new ways "in" to established male domains, and using a public forum, one of the most important forums in politics, where a woman has entered, and where these rhetorical arts have not been tested, makes it ripe for rhetorical study.

Research Questions

To explore how Hillary employed the alternative rhetorics of silence and listening to expand the traditional implements for shifting possibilities for women's rhetorical agency the research questions that formed the basis of my analysis are situated in two main areas:

The first area is isolated to the specific rhetorics I wish to explore and consists of two research questions:

1. How are feminist alternative rhetorical strategies deployed by Hillary Clinton in her challenge to navigate rhetorical space during the three debates in the Presidential General election?

2. How are feminist alternative rhetorical strategies of rhetorical listening deployed by Hillary Clinton in her challenge to navigate rhetorical space during the three debates in the Presidential General election?

In answering these two research questions, the analysis will seek to clarify whether certain categories in Cheryl Glenn's taxonomy, as well as other theorists' categories, of rhetorical silence can be identified. The analysis will also seek to clarify whether certain moves from Krista Ratcliffe's approach to rhetorical listening, along with several other theorists' concepts, can be identified in Hillary's debate performances. Furthermore, the analysis will discuss other categories and moves that emerge from my analysis that expand upon Glenn's or Ratcliffe's theories.

The second area has to do with the potential implications of this study. Those implications concern feminist rhetorical theory:

1. What can the exploration of alternative rhetorics inform feminist rhetoric and composition studies about the function of rhetoric in a public forum such as a Presidential debate?

Dissertation Outline

In order to respond to these questions, this dissertation is divided into six chapters. In Chapter 1 introduced the impetus for the study, the historical context, and summarized literature relevant to the study. I also presented my research questions. In Chapter 2, I present past theoretical works and studies on silence and listening and explain my methodology, the site, method, and how the data used to answer my research questions was collected. In Chapters 3 and 4, I describe and analyze how the rhetoric of silence was called into assistance in each of the three debates. In Chapter 5, I describe and analyze how Hillary employed a rhetoric of listening, once again, drawing from my observations from the three debates. Chapter 6 explores the findings and implications of my findings for feminist rhetorical theorists, educators in feminist rhetoric and composition studies, and feminist communication scholars.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In Chapter One, I detailed the purpose of my dissertation. I explained several reasons for studying alternative rhetorics, specifically silence and listening, including how the rhetorical tradition has been remiss by excluding bodies that are different and that do not conform to what has been considered a universal form, which can actually be understood as mainly male and white. Stemming from this I noted the need to disrupt the rhetorical tradition's use of appeals. Studying silence and listening is also important because these rhetorical arts can be transformative in rhetorical locations such as debate settings where certain discourses were established by men and where women are subjected to a binary resulting in a double bind. While women have been involved in politics, their rhetorical strategies have not been studied at the level of a presidential general election debate. Now that a woman has finally achieved access to that space, we can look at how a woman might employ these rhetorics and subsequently speak out about their use in the future and in other rhetorical spaces. My dissertation will call attention to how one woman, Hillary Clinton, called into assistance each, or both, of the rhetorical arts of silence and listening to navigate her participation in the 2016 Presidential general election debates.

This chapter will explain why silence and listening are the rhetorics I focus on in this study. First, silence as a rhetorical art requires a certain kind of situated knowledge or lived experience (Glenn). Situated knowledge is described as a component in feminist rhetorical methodology and is also part of Cheryl Glenn's theory of silence. This will be discussed further

in this chapter. Listening rhetorically also requires knowledge of a different caliber. That is, one must step back from their own knowledge and stand under the text of others whose knowledge they are not familiar (Ratcliffe). One must recognize that there are other knowledges or "illegitimate knowledges" not part of the mainstream discourse (Stenberg). In other words, one must move away from centering the self when doing rhetorical listening. Women who compete for space in places where men dominate recognize they are judged and evaluated differently. Caution in the form of silence or listening would be an appropriate response. In fact, silence and listening have been the response by women in hegemonic spaces, mostly an imposed response, and therefore silence and listening are not always seen as positive concepts when employed by women. However, studying them rhetorically could transform these negative presumptions. Since Hillary has been entrenched in the complications of the binary and subjected to double-bind reasoning, as discussed in chapter one, she is an ideal subject through which to explore these alternative rhetorical arts.

The first part of chapter two focuses on rhetorical silence as theorized by Cheryl Glenn and other feminist scholars who are attentive to this rhetorical art. The second section of chapter two introduces rhetorical listening and explains Krista Ratcliffe's theory of rhetorical listening, along with other feminist rhetorical scholars who have studied this concept. I will then briefly discuss previous scholarship on Presidential debates which invite this specific study. Building on the scholarship on silence and listening, along with my reasoning for studying these debates as described in chapter one, I will conclude the chapter by explaining the methodological approach I used in this study. I begin with silence.

Rhetorical Silence

In chapter one, I explained how society's perception of where women are situated is partially due to the perpetual notion of private versus public spheres and masculine versus feminine styles that linger in the discourse today. Silence versus speaking is another binary that lingers in the discourse. In order to situate my study of silence, I will briefly review silence work in other disciplines and explain its form and functions; I will also discuss scholarship on the relationship of power structures and silence, culturally and through a gendered lens, and finally, discuss recent feminist rhetorical work on silence as strategy, all the while noting important areas of this scholarship that I use in my study.

Silence: Form and Purpose

While I look at past studies on silence, I pay attention to theories of silence that will be important to apply to my study. Past work has attended to the study of silence demonstrated by the number of perspectives and the variety of contexts in which it is researched by scholars. Several studies of silence inform this dissertation because there are several functions of silence that can be incorporated into my observations of how Hillary employed silence. First, let's look at silence as it is and has been defined.

Cheryl Glenn defines the delivery of silence as a form noted by inaudibility, where nothing is stated, a space empty of volume. Noiselessness remains a consistent characteristic of silence, in that its delivery never has sound. Glenn also suggests that "silence can be a performance, an act, a function that has an effect on people" ('Unspoken" xii). However, there are variations of this function depending on the social context in which silence is performed, and

despite inaudibility, according to Glenn, silence differs in its many purposes. Such purposes include pauses with different meanings, unconscious silences, active silences, and cultural and interpersonal aspects of silence that give different meanings to all kinds of silences. Included in the purpose that silence delivers, is its "interpretation by and effect upon other people that will also vary according to the social rhetorical context" (Glenn, "Unspoken" 8). For example, a purpose of silence in the form of a pause is difficult to interpret. Glenn notes that pauses can be chosen, planned out, practiced, and intentionally positioned. Pauses also may be unintentional and unplanned but necessary for the rhetor to reflect upon depending on the meaning she wants to convey, or how the audience will take her utterances. Studying silence, some scholars recognize that silence and pauses can be mistakenly categorized based on the delivery of their utterances in different social contexts (Tannen; Dauenhauer; Saville-Troike; Picard).

Glenn also asserts that such forms and purposes of silence are demonstrated in multiple ways, such as breaking a stream of conversation, demonstrating respect, punctuating the sounds of music, but they always return to the notion that "silence is an absence of sound" ("Unspoken" 10). While scholars have defined silence and some functions of silence, Glenn was one of the first contemporary feminist rhetoricians to evaluate silence as rhetoric in her book *Unspoken*. She positions silence as a reciprocal symbolic form complementary to speech and notes that the examination of silence surrounds rhetorical situations and contexts. Furthermore, she advocates that the rhetor must have a sense of their audience to understand how silence, as an answer or a response, will be taken, and/or what will be taken, since the audience can't be sure since there are

many meanings. Recognizing how rhetorical silence is defined by Glenn helps to set up my study but understanding forms and functions of silence is important as well.

In order to describe how Hillary uses silence, it is necessary to understand some of the studies on forms and functions of silence, as well as how silence, intentional or unintentional by a rhetor is received by the audience. These studies address silence functioning as suspended discourse or a pause in utterances, intentional silence or self-silencing, silence as a negative concept in Western culture, and silence as non-verbal communication or embodied actions. For instance, as moments that break up utterances, or cause a pause in sound, James Moffet identifies two forms of silence delivery that are like those identified by Glenn. Moffet explains purposeful silence in terms of "people who can suspend discourse, [who may] think and speak better when they turn it back on" (240). This interpretation situates silence as inner speech and an unconscious stream or on the verge of consciousness, not yet verbalized, but verbalizable when called upon. Moffet postulates that one centers silence over speech until there is an appropriate time to make silence audible. He also states that silence is intentional, and one makes the choice to amplify silence or choose to remain silent. His articulation of silence indicates that it is not necessarily imposed. When studying Hillary's use of silence, then, I will be looking in part for those silences seemingly delivered by choice.

Awareness of the function of silence as intentional was heightened by Richard Johannesen's research in 1974, resulting in 20 potential meanings for silence. These include insufficient information to talk on a topic; no sense of urgency, pondering what to say next, reflection as the speaker's normal rate of thinking, agreement, disagreement; doubt; boredom; a

personality disturbance; sulking; anger; and preoccupation with other matters. Paying attention to some of these types of silences such as insufficient information is important to my study because at times a woman who is silent is often stereotyped as having nothing to say. As Johannesen's research attests, silence cannot be reduced to ignorance or having nothing to say, but the implication of women and silence is assumed as such. In response to Johannesen's work, Thomas Huckin's study on homelessness resulted in six function-based categories for silence (347): speech–act silences, presuppositional silences, discretional, genre-based, manipulative, and incidental silence, the latter of which he states has no rhetorical or communicative purpose. I am specifically interested in Huckin's discretional and genre-based silences, which are forms of caution that possibly a body uses based on various experiences or situated knowledges. Manipulative silences may also be important. This kind of silence deliberately conceals relevant information.

Intentional silence has also been studied as a "mode of knowing" by the rhetor but not the audience. (Kalamaris 1; Wright Ch'an). That is, moments of embarrassment can be felt when there are multiple pauses or "quiet moments in conversation" (Kalamaris 144). How the audience receives such silences differ in various contexts. Such moments can be considered uncomfortable and can be interpreted as a rhetor not connecting with the listener, which seems to require or to provoke explication, translation, interpretation, and then commentary within the interpersonal act. For example, when Emma Gonzalez, a student at Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida who survived the school's mass shooting in February of 2018, publicly spoke about gun control at a rally, she spent 6 minutes looking out into the crowd, looking down,

looking out above the crowd, all without uttering any words. General discomfort and audience whisperers of "what is wrong?" or "did she forget her lines?" accompanied this time of silence. While some understood the 6-minute silent display, it was only after she spoke again to explain her silence that the crowd understood in full the meaning of her silence.[20]A less momentous example of silence is the discomfort a teacher might feel when asking a question and there is no immediate response from the students. Instead of waiting for the class to reflect on the question, the teacher answers the question because of the discomfort silence creates in that moment for the teacher, or the teacher's perception of the discomfort the audience is feeling.

Negative ways of viewing and using silence in Western culture come in various forms. Self-silencing is a negative form used as a pretense to create an impression of perfection to conform to socially constructed beauty norms for women (Schrick, Sharp, Zvonkovic & Reifman; Swim, Eyssell, Murdoch, & Ferguson; Watson & Grotewiel).[21] That is, because of socially constructed norms for what beauty means for women, such as never uttering an angry emotion, or disagreeing with someone because it is not feminine, girls and women will refrain from speaking out to appear more pleasing to others. This form of self-silencing fosters the negative connotation of silence because it is dictated by traditional gendered codes for how women should appear, such as pleasing or nurturing. Cross-cultural studies demonstrate silence as "unsayings,"[22] where Asian American women writers demonstrated that silence is assumed as

[20] Six minutes of silence by Gonzalez signified the time that it took a shooter to kill 17 students at her High School.
[21] This research comes from the Social Sciences; Psychology; Social Psychology regarding sex roles and norms.
[22] See Patti Duncan's book titled, *Tell this Silence: Asian American Women Writers and the Politics of Speech*.

passive and submissive (Duncan 144).[23] A study on forms of silence by Native American students in a predominantly white university yielded an emerging pattern consisting of three functions-- particularizing silence, perpetuating silences, and protecting culture.[24] (Covarrubias and Windchief).[25] This emergent pattern is useful for my study because it demonstrates the purposeful use of silence to resist and subvert the dominant notion that silence is negative and speaking is privileged over silence. Such cross-cultural studies of silence demonstrate how multiple logics upend the Western rhetorical tradition of one truth.

In addition to scholarship that positions silence in terms of pause, intention, or as a negative, multiple studies also consider the importance of nonverbal forms of communication as embodied action or gestures that one performs in lieu of speech or along-side of speech (Acheson; Merleau-Ponty). Embodied acts of nonverbal communication emphasize that the body is always communicating regardless of whether one is verbally silent. Communication scholar, Kris Acheson, quotes Maurice Merleau-Ponty to maintain that speech should be studied before it has been "pronounced against the ground of silence which precedes it" (Merleau-Ponty, qtd. in Acheson 545) and in accordance with speech. Moreover, interpersonal communication scholars

[23] Duncan adopts this term from Trinh T. Minh-Ha. Silence ''unsays'' (from Trinh T. Minh-Ha), counter-narrating race, gender, sexuality, and nation, and critiques historiography and its operations of silencing.
[24] Particularizing silence is distinguished from non-Indian groups, most especially from dominant U.S. White society. Perpetuating culture--students purposely employed culturally infused silence patterns to maintain their culture. Lastly, protecting culture is defined as the agency to preserve traditional knowledge These uses of silence demonstrate cross-cultural challenges for groups who do not identify with the dominant culture's privileging of speech and thus competing with participant's deeply held cultural beliefs about silence.
[25] Patricia Covarrubias and Sweeney Windchief use the terms American Indian and Native American based on their own experiences and how they identify themselves. They note that they use the term American Indian because it is the term most often used by study participants to refer to themselves and is the preferred term of many American Indians, as noted also by Cheryl Glenn. The authors express that they use American Indian as a way of referring to tribes or groups of Indian people but recognize that the term also can invoke a shared history of marginality (341).

have focused on the importance of nonverbal communication as the embodied form of silence. Thus, while Glenn defines silence as something that is inaudible, communication scholars demonstrate that whether one performs verbal or nonverbal acts, one is always communicating. While Glenn identifies silence as an omission of audibility that is purposeful, Acheson takes the definition to emphasize silence as nonverbal communication and as "gesture that can carry meaning independent of unspoken speech" (537).

This study looks at the nonverbal extension, noted by Acheson, of Glenn's definition of inaudibility when describing Hillary's embodied acts that are always in motion. The absence of audibility is explored in the presence of nonverbal cues as well, not as an either/or but as embodied acts occurring regardless of audibility. Throughout the debate, each candidate is always communicating. This notion is important in analyzing Hillary's delivery of silence and how it will be analyzed. For instance, other embodied forms of silent nonverbal communication focus on meaning in the social order; eye contact, for example, brings different meanings in different contexts when it is understood as a gaze, glance, stare, or direct eye contact for an extended time, and it becomes more important when delineating who is doing the gazing (see Mulvey; hooks). There are different acceptable dimensions for these embodied enactments depending on one's identity, positioning, and cultural context. The idea of nonverbal communication is essential to keep in mind in studying how Hillary embodies a rhetoric of silence.

These forms of silence--intentional acts, modes of knowing, how silence is perceived as negative and particularly Hillary's embodied acts during her debate performance—will be

investigated in this study. I have defined silence and explained some forms and functions of silence as they relate to my own exploration of silence. One other context of silence important to this study is the interrelationship of silence, power, and identity, which I discuss next.

Power systems and silence

Silence is associated with power systems and hierarchy and is important to this study because it invokes the binary of either one can speak, or one must remain silent. Power differentials are explained through community rules of silence, or they may be conceptualized by the hidden privileges that power provides. First off, power and silence are marked by those who hold the power for silencing and speaking (Braithwart; Basso; Glenn). Charles Braithwaite posits that a theory of speaking can only be effective if the interaction between language and social life includes the community's rules for "not speaking" (321). Because silence as a communicative action is associated with social situations in which there is a known and unequal distribution of power, silence becomes an important communicative resource (323). Keith Basso's 1970 studies on Apache tribes, replicated by Glenn in 2004, find that power structures may force or impose silence and that by understanding how power structures work to oppress, those who are oppressed will remain silent for the purpose of gaining insight before speaking. Glenn furthers Basso's study by demonstrating the power of silence rhetorically. That is, Glenn finds that the power of silence lies in the rhetorical situation which is dependent on the cultural perceptions of the audience .She states, "just as speech is a rhetorical act, one must look at the power dimensions that silence as language affords, that is, who defines the rules for who gets to speak and who must remain silent" ("Unspoken" 9).

Power differentials also come in the form of hidden privileges that identity, such as being white, provides speaking bodies in Western discourse. For example: "Being quick on one's feet," is often a platitude that connotes the privilege that speaking generates. Western rhetoric exemplifies quick responses as more positive (Martin and Nakayama). The "hidden dimension" of silence as a cultural concept and the perception of space for *man* was studied by Edwin Hall. That is, there is a cultural code that is appropriate for distancing one person from another regarding their space in a variety of circumstances and cultural norms. Hidden silence can be a strategy of power or of empowerment, expanding Glenn's notion of pause by positioning it as a hidden silence and thus a strategy of power or of empowerment (Nakane 6). Hidden silence can also be fashioned as absence of information, again suggesting that silence and pause may have distinct functions (6).

Power dynamics surround political discourse as we have seen in chapter one and will be a focus throughout my analysis. Gendered differentials in forms of silence delivery have been established over 2500 years and some are covert, while others are more obvious. This presents a dilemma in interpreting how Hillary uses silence or whether silence is imposed based on the age-old tradition and subsequent notions that women should know their place. Glenn discusses that idea as engendering silence and this will be one nuanced area where I take a stance of silence to look, see, and hear in order to recognize the undertones of imposing and oppressing voice. Power dynamics associated with gender and silence form one basis of my study and these interconnected concepts are discussed next.

Silence and Women

During the years between 1960 throughout the 1990s, gendered silence was studied in relation to absence of voice. Multiple disciplines offer numerous studies in this area. Literary scholars emphasized absence of voice where voices were "aborted, deferred, denied," noted by Tillie Olsen in *Silences* (8-9). Women's studies scholars Nadya Aisenberg and Mona Harrington[26] as well as historian Linda Kerber studied the difficulties women have in developing a voice of authority. Rhetorical feminist scholars also recognized the gendered power systems at work and sought to recover, restore, and reclaim voices that were silenced, such as Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's *Hearing Women's Voices*; Glenn's *Rhetorica Untold* and Andrea Lunsford's *Reclaiming Rhetorica*, to name a few.[27]

Other perspectives of silence are demonstrated through theoretical frameworks. Muted group theory (Ardener; Spender; Kramarae) posits that women and men form two distinct circles of experience and interpretation. The circles overlap whereby the masculine overrides the feminine circle rendering it invisible. Cherie Kramarae demonstrates how language designated as masculine obstructs women's form of expression. Feminist scholars ascribing to this theory assert that women face a dilemma arising from the fact that their experiences and forms of expression are restricted by their position in the private sphere (Ratcliffe). Standpoint theorists locate silence as the understanding of dominant hierarchical placement as secondary or

[26] See "Voice of Authority" in Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove, 64, which provides a summary of literature on voice and silence in women's studies.
[27]Other studies come from Wendy Hesford; Jessica Enoch.

marginalized but, ironically, also as a place of privileged perspective because of that placement (Collins; Harding; Hartsock).

Part of my hypothesis suggests that by studying how Hillary employed silence, we can further analyze this rhetorical art as resistance to traditional codes of gender expectations that claim a system of power to oppress and recode that oppressive power as a strategy. Regarding silence, Glenn argues that, "silence has long been considered a lamentable essence of femininity, a trope for oppression, passivity, emptiness, stupidity, or obedience" ("Unspoken" 2) thus making women's rhetorical debut more difficult especially if a woman uses silence in her debate performance. For example, there are two specific manifestations of women's relegated situatedness--expression of emotion as it relates to silence, as well as spatial arrangements that contextualize the delivery of silence. These cultural and contextual expectations of silence can be explained by referring to a similar notion brought about by Candace West and Don Zimmerman's argument on gender and its relation to Stephanie Shields work on emotion.

West and Zimmerman argue that gender is a series of traits, something that is performed or something which is done in a continuing and context-related manner. Gender is established by means of interaction and is displayed through it, and while appearing as "natural" it is in fact something which is created by an organized social performance. Shields applied this concept to emotion—to do emotion is to do gender. Relating this concept to silence as a space designated for women, we see how silence is feminized: by appearing as "natural," it is in fact something created by social performance. Because an act of silence by women is considered, as Glenn claims, a trope for oppression, a possibility may exist in that women can subvert such a trope by

employing silence as strategy. Identifying places of silence delivery by Hillary is a forerunner in recognizing that silence may be employed in this context.

Silence has also been backgrounded through uses of questions of concern, or metaphors connoting something negative. Glenn, as well as Tannen, describes some of these as platitudes: "The cat got your tongue?" "Why are you so quiet?" "Is everything OK?" "Children should be seen and not heard." As Glenn argues, "Silence is rewarded only when signifying obedience or proper subordination: The subaltern should not speak but feign rapt listening with their silence." Both Glenn and Campbell link these expectations to the Aristotelian tradition, where Aristotle claimed, "Silence gives grace to a woman--though that is not the case for man" (qtd. in Glenn, "Unspoken" 5) and "Silence is woman's glory" (qtd. in Campbell, "Man" 1).

Thus, silence in its many forms has not been considered a rhetorical strategy for women, Silence has been marked as both a gendered action as well as a negative act fueled by the emphasis on the glory of women's silence. Because of the negative notions of silence, the example drawn from Shields, "doing silence" combined with West and Zimmerman "is to do gender" and from Butler's performative notion of "doing gender correctly," we can conceive that Hillary could employ silence as performative strategy.

From Oppression to Rhetorical Strategy

Strategy is important to this study along with the idea that silence is rhetorical. Glenn posits the idea that silence "can function as a strategic position of strength," rhetorically intertwined with power. She details her taxonomy for rhetorical silence in her book *Unspoken*

(xix). In this section I both review Glenn's taxonomy of silence and demonstrate how each one can be used to explore how Hillary employs rhetorical silence in these terms.

Glenn categorizes rhetorical silence in terms of engendering, witnessing, commanding, and opening silences. To understand how engendering silence is contextualized, it important to also understand the feminist research practice of "situated knowledge" and positionality.[28] As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, I chose silence as an alternative strategy worthy of study because the underlying notion of resistance is a woman's knowledge or lived experiences that privileges their position when employing alternative strategies. Glenn states that one's position or identity or situatedness allows for inside knowledge or "knowing" one's position in relation to another. Glenn's analysis of anonymous email narratives by women who were up for tenure in academia allows us to see how situated knowledge works. Silence is used as a powerful mechanism to exert control over someone in order to maintain existing power structures, but the emails Glenn poured over gave her insight as to how those power mechanisms could also be subverted. She found that the participants of her study (including white women, women of color, and men of color in academia) engendered rhetorical silence by negotiating the silent treatment (the power mechanism) by their Chair with their own form of a silent treatment (subversion). The participants up for tenure "re-positioned" themselves from being subordinated by such treatment to re-appropriating silence as a rhetorical resource. One question that follows these

[28] Situated knowledge is explained and elaborated in the methodology section. The notion of situated knowledge comes from Feminist research scholars such as Sandra Harding, Sharlene Hesse-Biber, Patricia Levy and more. Glenn explains this concept in her category of engendering silence.

findings is thus, does Hillary subvert imposition by strategically positioning herself as “silent woman?’

Glenn’s second category, commanding silence, is explored through interviews of “Indians”[29] from different tribal backgrounds. Glenn focuses on how silence is employed in a boarding school that included Southwest Indians[30] and white students. Her findings demonstrated that dominant cultural rules dictated that Indian students remain silent until their English and grammar improved. Also, stereotypes of Indians as "fiercely silent, personally cold, solemnly dignified, or linguistically impoverished” were the dominant culture’s perceptions of students’ silences (108). The pervasiveness of that stereotype led Glenn to question whether silence is really a cultural dimension or whether it is commanded for cultural protection—in other words, she questions, whose silence is it? Does the dominant culture command silence by the mere notion that a different culture is perceived as silent,[31] or is it a form of resistance to the dominant white culture (109)? The idea of mimicking cultural dictations is a way of simultaneously resisting those demands. Following the conventions of gendered codes may divert the attention from transgression to submission. For instance, where Hillary performs silence, is it used

[29] Glenn indicates that this term was preferred by the participants themselves over any of the socially constructed names, such as Native Americans, or indigenous peoples.
[30] Glenn offers an acknowledgment of her own situatedness as a white, heterosexual, able-bodied, woman who is teaching at a "big ten school" and struggled to come to terms with terms of identity in several of her case studies. She explains her own stumbling with terminology when she first began her interviews in the homes, places of work, and reservations of "these indigenous peoples.” Initially dichotomizing her identity as Anglo or “Euroamerican” and her interviewees as Native Americans. Fortunately for her, she explains, one of the men she interviewed told her "Native American" is a term made up by white people. Whatever she called him, does not change who he is and that it would be best to go first by name, pueblo and then as an “Indian” as a general term.
[31] That is, studies on intercultural communication have shown that high context and high-power distance cultures (countries such as Asia and Mexico, or cultures within the United States, such as indigenous natives, or American Indians) are assumed to prioritize silence over speaking (Nakayama & Martin).

because it is imposed or is it used to look like she is following conventions, or is she seemingly negotiating the situation on her terms?

Another example of commanding silence comes from a study about women who were asked to speak out about the violence committed against them during apartheid (Mack). The women commanded silence (they purposely remained silent during the hearings by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission). Katherine Mack explains that, "women's purposes are delivered by their silences, in the knowledge of the futility of public confessions that nothing would be done regardless," an act which also subverted the notion of privileging speech (Mack 200). This example invites me to ask does Hillary command silence on her own volition as opposed to it being imposed upon her, and how can we identify such posturing?

Glenn's third category of silence is witnessing silence. Witnessing silence is similar to Moffit's idea of suspending silence in order to leverage it at a more appropriate time to deliver amplification. One example of witnessing silence is identifiable when women who have been harassed or sexually abused do not immediately speak but speak out years later instead. Recognition of the rhetorical function of their silence is not observed immediately but emerges when silence is later amplified. Moffett also describes a similar idea he refers to as "witnessing inner speech." Moffett is saying that one is seeing their silence through, as he names it, "non-discursive" meditation (239). He gives us this visualization of witnessing: "Instead of floating along on a stream and being borne away from the center of the self, one sits on the bank, so to speak, and watches it flow by, staying separate from it, not trying to influence it, but above all not being "'carried away' by it." (239). Moffett considers this distinct from Glenn's articulation

of witnessing silence in that her form of witnessing is not only witnessing her commanded silence, she also amplifies what she has commanded. That is, Glenn focuses on silence that attests to the fact that the rhetoric was silent and was silent on purpose. Following this distinction, in my own study I look for the spaces where Hillary witnesses her own silence.

While the scholarship above provides ample definitions and examples to categorize silence, the interpretive work by Julie Bokser provides a helpful model for how interpreting silence works. In a sense, I will be listening to my subject's silence, just as Bokser listened to the silence of a 17th century nun named Sor Juana by analyzing *La Respuesta*, (meaning "The Response")[32]. According to Bokser, this was an important site to unfold the layers of past recrimination that silence represents that can be re-appropriated as a rhetorical strategy.

Using Glenn's framework of en*gendered silence* first, Bokser studied Sor Juana operating from her position as a woman who had been confronted with others' attempts to silence her. Sor Juana then self-commanded silence which "gave silence rhetorical authority and a persuasive entity" according to Bokser ("Rhetoric" 16). Bokser then demonstrates how witnessing silence is

[32] Merrim, Stephanie. *Feminist Perspectives on Sor Juana Inés de La Cruz* . Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999. Print. Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz was born in November around 1651 in San Miguel Nepantl, now in Mexico. She was born in poverty but had a propensity for learning. Because she was a woman and of modest means, she was not permitted to be schooled at that time period. She became self-learned, had no desire to be married, joined the convent and found a place to learn, read, write, and teach. Her works were contrary to the times during her life, but she persisted in writing and is now considered a renowned writer on her work. Her work has been analyzed by several rhetoricians and scholars. Two of her works, *La Respuesta* and *The Divine Narcissus*, were analyzed by rhetorical feminist scholar Julie Bokser. Bokser used Glenn's rhetorical theory of silence to analyze *La Respuesta*, and Ratcliffe's rhetorical listening theory for *Divine Narcissus*. Bokser re-appropriates Sor Juana's rhetorical style as feminist for a time when this was not heard of by classical rhetoricians who began analyzing her work. As the biographer, Stephanie Merrim writes, "Sor Juana came to new prominence in the late 20th century as the first published feminist of the New World and as the most outstanding writer of the Spanish American colonial period. A woman of genius who, to paraphrase Virginia Woolf's famous recommendation for the female author, succeeded under hostile circumstances in creating a "room of her own," Sor Juana remains avidly read and deeply meaningful to the present day."

a rhetorical strategy. Sor Juana, by announcing openly, "Hear me silent, for I complain mutely," is interpreted by Bokser as Sor Juana saying, "I shall now be silent." Bokser positions Sor Juana's statement of silence as a deliberate subversive act that challenges normative modes or privileges speech because the announcement pleases dominant authority, but simultaneously, and covertly, it sends a message to women (nuns) to read her silence (Bokser 17).

As I demonstrate in chapters three and four, of this dissertation, I draw on the definitions and theories just reviewed in order to identify and analyze how Hillary employed silence in the presidential general election debate, asking: How does Hillary's debate performance fit into existing categories of silence? How does it expand or add to our understanding of existing categories? What else can we learn about silence by studying her performance? The next section of this chapter focuses on rhetorical listening and why this is another alternative rhetorical art I've chosen to explore in this study.

Rhetorical Listening

In a Town Hall meeting in Danville, California, a panel of respondents, including Chelsea Clinton, was asked by an international student "How can you speak for us?" While the other panelists attempted to answer the question with things they could do, Chelsea responded, "only you can tell your story in a way that we cannot." Hearing this response, I thought about Krista Ratcliffe's work on rhetorical listening and identified Chelsea's words as marking an act of rhetorically listening by centering the student instead of herself. Rhetorical listening has become a significant topic of study in Rhetoric and Composition studies since Jaqueline Jones Royster asked, "How

do we translate listening into language and action…?" ("When" 38). Since then, feminist rhetorical scholars have attempted to answer Royster's difficult question.

If we consider listening in terms of time, we would be surprised at its presence in our daily lives.[33] We listen to our alarm that alerts us to time; we listen to the news; we listen to social media; we listen to our parents, significant others, friends, associates, the coffee pot percolating, and the some of the noise that surrounds our daily activities. However, with these notions of listening, we can confuse the embodied act of rhetorical listening with mere "hearing." That is, we hear our alarm; we hear the news, etc., and in this sense, we are conflating hearing and listening. Rhetorical scholars help us understand that we must recognize that the two are not synonymous. More importantly, rhetorical scholars help us understand that physical hearing is not necessary for listening. Ratcliffe asserts that a common notion about listening is that it is taken for granted or it comes naturally (Ratcliffe, "Rhetorical" 196). The notion of listening as something that is innate is discerning, and thus, listening as an active component of communication is a focus for feminist rhetorical scholars. For instance, according to Ratcliffe, an understanding of listening as "natural" would mean that listening is passive and there is no work to be done when it comes to listening. Royster's inquiry shifts this connotation, however, and prompts the field to consider listening as rhetorical. Another concern to feminist rhetorical and composition scholars is how speaking, reading, and writing are privileged over listening (Royster; Ratcliffe; Michelle Ballif).

[33] See for example R. Emanuel, J. Adams, K. Baker, E. K. Daufin, C. Ellington, E. Fitts, J. Himsel, L. Holladay, and D. Okeowo, "How College students spend their time communicating, *International Journal of Listening*, 22, 2008 13-28. Andrew Wolvin and Carolyn Coakley, "A Survey of the status of listening training in some fortune 500 corporations, *Communication Education*, 40, 1991, 152-164.

Along with feminist rhetorical scholars, interpersonal and intercultural communication studies have noted the idea of active listening as a "critical juncture" (Starosta & Chen, "Ferment" 5). The question then becomes, what is the difference between listening and rhetorical listening? To situate my study within the context of rhetorical listening, I will briefly discuss how scholars have studied listening as form and purpose in a variety of disciplines; I will then discuss where listening is positioned as gendered. and how systems of power create a concern for the listening body when the body is a woman. I then differentiate listening from rhetorical listening and follow with a discussion on scholarship within the feminist framework of rhetorical listening, a strategy articulated by rhetorical feminist scholars.

Listening: Form and Context

As we saw in the previous section, Glenn noted that regardless of purpose, silence delivery continues to be defined as the absence of sound. On the other hand, the definition of listening is elusive in its shape and purpose according to the many studies done in various disciplines such as critical studies, intercultural communication, education, linguistics, and interpersonal communication. I begin with interpersonal communication.

A defining factor of all forms of listening is that they are a choice or an act. Forms of listening are studied in the context of interpersonal communication where scholars, Ronald Adler and Neil Towne, suggest that the form of listening is shaped by its opposite, non-listening such as: the pseudo-listener, one who gives the appearance of listening; a stage-hog appears to listen, only to express their own voice when they get the chance; selective listeners listen only for their own needs; an insulated listener does not want to hear or acknowledge a certain topic; a

defensive listener only hears attacks against them; and an ambusher attacks when listening. While these forms of listening appear in the debates, they are not rhetorical listening and must be parsed out or analyzed as such. For instance, Interpersonal communication scholar, Julie Brownell recognizes the importance of listening, and introduces the Hurier model. However, it is a model that does not specifically incorporate the properties of rhetorical listening (see also Brownell) [34] That is, each step builds upon the last step in a linear or sequential process. Along with interpersonal communication studies, other disciplines include the study of listening as well.

Critical studies, intercultural, education, and linguistic scholars have looked at listening in various contexts (Hofstede; Starosta and Chen; DeFur and Korinek; Tannen). Geertz Hofstede studied listening through cultural value dimensions; Starosta and Chen formulated a model consisting of three stages that comingle similarities of two cultures. Education scholars, Sharon Kefur and Lori Korinek, investigate how teachers listen to student voices. Tannen discusses linguistic differences between how men and women listen.

Studies on forms and contexts of listening inform this study through the necessary components that identify how listening is signaled, such as through paraphrasing, or how cultural differences affect how one listens. Form and context are also stepping-stones toward indicating rhetorical listening. The next section focuses on feminist rhetorical scholarship that helps us to understand the valuation of listening within gendered contexts that signals how this rhetorical art is vital to enriching the rhetorical tradition.

[34] Brownell, listening expert at Cornell University suggested the Hurier model consisting of hearing, understanding, remembering, interpreting, evaluating, and responding, all of which form the acronym: HURIER.

Listening Women

Even in the 21st century, listening continues to remain associated with women. The Western rhetorical tradition, its correlating socially constructed gender roles, and the diminished valuation of listening make up the main reasons for defining listening as feminine. Because the rhetorical tradition has historically been gendered masculine, contemporary feminist rhetorical scholars note that the speaking subject is also considered male and the audience has been engendered as female. Several feminist scholars have studied the gendered notion of listening, finding that the rhetorical tradition has presumed that men, as speakers, take an active role, and the audience, as passive, is presumed feminine (Tannen; Ballif; Ratcliffe; Woods; Glenn). Listening becomes a performance where men lecture and women listen because it is an accepted gendered norm of compliance (Butler; Ballif). Similarly, the "good man speaking well" delivers a logos whereby the audience is assumed female (Ballif 51). All genders "do listening," but listening has been attributed to women through the reiterative use of idioms such as, "women are better listeners" or "women and children should be seen and not heard," suggesting that women do not speak but should listen (Ballif 52). As such, listening is feminized (Ballif).

Along those lines, a muted form of communication that does not encourage a raised voice or expression of opinion has been studied and these studies find that, generally, women are positioned as listener in a passive role (see Hochschild; Tannen; Wood; Collins; Watson and Barker; Pearson and Todd-Mancillas). Tannen's work emphasized how in the context of speaking and listening, some women generally will take on the listening stance, where men take the role of speaker. Moreover, gendered norms cater to speaking men and listening women.

Thus, gendered listening in worksites is seen as positive for women or, in the words of Arlie Hochschild, false positives. It is a false positive because women in certain fields do not get paid for their listening work, which Hochschild calls emotion labor.

Complicating this further, while recovery methods have successfully placed women in the rhetorical tradition, the emphasis on women's voices may have inadvertently diminished the value of listening itself (Glenn and Ratcliffe). Andrea Lunsford writes, by "listening-and listening hard," we can belatedly fulfill the desires of lost, forgotten, dismissed speakers (6), but Michelle Ballif argues that while the dismissed woman speaker was recovered, listening is still stuck in the speaker/audience binary that continues to place women as audience only.

As we can see, listening is embroiled in the unfair assumption that it belongs to women and it does not have a legitimate space in discourse. My study focuses on identifying listening in Hillary's performance that offers insight to where listening may blur the binary of legitimacy. I also propose that listening is not a negative concept when employed rhetorically during a debate. To veer away from the patriarchal attitude of assessing rhetoric through the universal, individualistic, traditional lens, where males are speaking subjects and women are listening objects, it would be better to take into consideration a more inclusive employment of alternative rhetorics using a feminist framework that includes listening. Now that we have described some forms and gendered constraints of listening, how do we define rhetorical listening?

From Listening to Rhetorical Listening

Listening's gendered and racialized history moved Royster to question how we can translate listening into language and action, into the creation of an appropriate response, when

the person of privilege is set in their ways and will not listen. This section thus defines and describes specific elements that encompass rhetorical listening by focusing on the work of several feminist rhetorical scholars attentive to looking at this alternative rhetorical art. I will look at how Ratcliffe's influential theory helps to articulate listening as intention and active. I will first discuss Ratcliffe's identification of the "moves" that make up rhetorical listening as well as how its applicability is limited to certain venues. I will then introduce other scholars who also have studied rhetorical listening.

Central to the reframing of listening is Ratcliffe's argument that it is the listener who gives words meaning. Additionally, she puts an emphasis on the word "understanding" to help us understand listening's active role in the construction of meaning. Advocating that "We speak because someone is listening," Ratcliffe gives listening power over speaking or at least equal status with speaking (28). For her, listening is not merely passive hearing. Instead, Ratcliffe develops a theory of listening as a rhetorical art that is active and required for understanding.

Ratcliffe does not specifically state the difference between listening and rhetorical listening but she does propose a rhetorical definition of listening by defining it as a rhetorical art for interpretive invention. She does not position listening specifically as a strategy for strengthening women's rhetorical agency, but as a rhetorical resource for coming together in differences. However, for my study, I will take advantage of this theory to explore listening as a strategy for women by contemplating the assumption of the socially constitutive submissive nature of Aristotle's pervasive application to women as silent and as listeners. Thus, the next

sections describe Ratcliffe's understanding of rhetorical listening as well as how it is useful for my study.

Rhetorical Listening as a Strategy

While rhetorical listening is a theoretical model, it is also a method and a strategy. Ratcliffe introduces four moves associated with rhetorical listening as a method of analyzing listening ("Rhetorical" 27-33). These moves are: 1) promoting an understanding of the self and other 2) proceeding from within an accountability logic 3) locating identifications across commonalities and differences, and 4) analyzing claims as well as the cultural logics within which claims function. I will describe each move according to Ratcliffe's explanation and for the purpose of my study, I ask how does Hillary's performance parallel each, or all, of Ratcliffe's moves?

The first move in Ratcliffe's definition of rhetorical listening is about promoting an understanding of the self with the other. Using Ratcliffe's process encourages listening to discourse of another *with* intent, that is, to understand not just the claims but the rhetorical negotiations of those claims and how they derived (original emphasis). It is not enough just to listen or hear the claims of a speaker or author but to understand what is going on underneath the claims and how those claims are advanced. Therefore, one does not listen to the intent of the speaker but instead listens *with* intent to understand the speaker and where the speaker's intentions are derived. To make her concept clear, Ratcliffe inverts the term "understanding" to use an active definition of "standing under" the text. Her interpretation extends the simplified meaning of listening *for* speaker's intent to listening to discourses *with* intent—with the intent to

understand. In this study I do not look for Hillary's intentions (which I don't have access to), but I look for how she seemingly worked to understand and negotiate communication within a conversation or dialogue *with* her receiver or audience. Where did I observe Hillary as seemingly standing under the text working to consciously hear so to acknowledge the discourse? Where do I observe Hillary seeming to listen for absences, and "integrat[ing] the information within [her] own schema" (28). In other words, I look to see how Hillary is negotiating the self (her own), with the audience, integrating and negotiating similarities and differences with them. The idea is not to look for agreement between the parties, but the negotiation of meaning, or at least where I interpret Hillary attempting negotiation. A concern that I have with identifying this first move is that accounting for one's self is a difficult concept to grasp since the self is so ensconced in the social constructions of the self and I cannot really account for Hillary's self (see Mead; Morris).[35] Instead, I will look for moments when Hillary demonstrates that she is working ethically and respectfully with the constitution of the other, whether or not their social ideologies are similar and, more importantly, when they come into conflict with one another.

The second move that Ratcliffe identifies as a necessary part of rhetorical listening is: "Proceeding from within an accountability logic" ("Rhetorical" 31). For Ratcliffe, accountability logic identifies spaces of concern by listening to the text of the other, and that all individuals involved—reader, speaker, writer, subject, rhetor and audience—recognize that they each have an investment in the discourse. According to Ratcliffe, accountability means that "we are indeed

[35] The idea of self and accounting for self also comes from Judith Butler. Other scholars such as Mead expressed this concept in the social sciences. Understanding another self may complicate my interpretation when discussing someone else so I make this clarification that it would be the ideologies of the subject or other candidates that I would work with when exploring this move.

all members of the same village, and we all have a stake in each other's quality of life" (31). I do not personally agree with the statement that we are all members of the same village; however, we do share the same space and effect one another, and thus we *should* be accountable for our actions. There are multiple villages and members come from different villages with different logics. How people acknowledge and account for these logics are important in moving toward rhetorical listening.

With that said, in her examples of rhetorical listening, Ratcliffe is working to identify accountability logics that dominant discourses rarely engage, including the inhumanities of slavery; the insensitivities of colonialism; the promotion of sexism in a form of unequal pay or blind acceptance of harassment that creates a sense of historic blame or guilt; and the proliferation of overt or covert racism. According to Ratcliffe even though "accountability focuses on the present, with attention paid to the resonances of the past, a logic of accountability suggests an ethical imperative that, regardless of who is responsible for a current situation, asks us to recognize our privileges and non-privileges and then act accordingly" (33). My concern here is that Ratcliffe does not however say what "act accordingly" entails. Ratcliffe further explains that, "A logic of accountability tries to interrupt our excuses of not being personally accountable at present for existing cultural situations that originated in the past" (33). Examples that Ratcliffe provide include personal excuses such as "I never denied a woman a promotion" or "My family never owned slaves" (33). Instead of guilt or even denial, this move allows one "to own up to the grievances of the past and create a present that works with solutions without guilt or blame" (33).

In Presidential debates, accountability has been historically missing, insofar that they have rarely touched upon the sensitive matters of identity and reparations (Holmes). Until recently the candidates in the Presidential debates have been almost exclusively white, male, and upper-class, and the topic of identity has been largely ignored. Ratcliffe, however, does not say how to act on a platform where such matters are dismissed. Nor does she discuss what moves would be appropriate when encountering those who do not pay attention to their own privileges or non-privileges. I think Ratcliffe is saying that we are all born into a world where we did not create the immediate circumstances. I agree with this, but then I feel that she does not speak to the problem of those born with privilege who continually ignore the past and dismiss the cultural logics of the present. This point presents a problem and limitation for my analysis of rhetorical listening if limited to her work alone; therefore, I take up where she leaves off at this juncture. I look at other theories, such as that offered by Royster and Lauren Rosenberg. I also look at how Dianne Fuss's postmodern notion of disidentification must be considered in relation to listening (as opposed to the combination of Burke's and Fuss's theory-explained below) if we find ourselves in situations where dialectic conversation is blocked by the dismissal other cultural logics.

Ratcliffe's third move of listening as a rhetorical art elicits not just the discovery of similarities but also an understanding of differences and is a key shift from the rhetorical tradition and the theories of the past. For instance, Burke claimed that audience reexamines and activates identity by finding common ground whereby one person's identity is established through identification with another ("Rhetorical" 46). Ratcliffe, on the other hand, notes that if

the focus shifts from common ground to differences, then "possibilities of communication without common ground can be theorized," a move necessary for our diversified world ("Anglo" 115). Ratcliffe is trying to accomplish what might be necessary in the gendered rhetoric of political debate today. A rhetorical listener sees diverse points of view, and, as Royster notes, is considerate of all people concerned (Royster, "When" 29). Ratcliffe's theory addresses how difference is excluded from important discourse venues. In other words, instead of gravitating toward spaces of common ground, the rhetor attempts to find spaces of both commonalities and spaces of dissimilarities, thus breaking a binary mold of them versus us, which is a phrase often implied in debate, sports, combat, and politics (see Tannen; Woods; Foss and Foss).

Ratcliffe's third move also looks at disidentifications or moments of differences that result in "awareness" of "structural power plays" over another, where, while "(un)fair, result in troubled identifications" ("Rhetorical" 66). If one person employs rhetorical listening, resolution or management of the disagreement, disidentification can dissolve with negotiation to further the communication. If one becomes the rhetorical listener, the situation becomes negotiable because it opens a space to better stand under each other's text. This then offers a space to open negotiation. However, what happens when the receiver is blind to those negotiations and dismisses other cultural logics all together?

Ratcliffe does not specifically address this concern and this is where her approach lacks applicability for my study. What happens if the other person is not concerned with troubled identifications and does not reciprocate negotiation of coming together in similarities and differences? To explain, some identities are formed based on cultural logics of

heteronormativity, racism, and misogyny (Connolly; Fuss; Munoz; Ratcliffe). Fixed dispositions clash against socially constructed definitions of identity. Identification, according to Fuss, is the process of organizing identity based on identification with the dominant group (Fuss 7-8). Therefore, logics can be disavowed by those who do not agree with a logic of socially encoded scripts that often fall into the categories of ethnocentrism and stereotypes. In other words, the dominant culture generates an identity that requires everyone to work within it, although not everyone fits this identity. However, those who do not fit into this universal category must either work with this force or resist the conditions that the dominant culture generate (Butler; Connor; Fuss; Munoz). Burke's theory of consubstantiation calls for working with the dominant culture's similarities. Fuss and other post-modern theorists explore disidentification whereby the cultural logics of the dominant culture are resisted. Ratcliffe fuses the two where commonalities and differences supposedly can be negotiated through a dialectic conversation where ideas converge and diverge. This is workable only if the concept of identity is not met with the coercive force that staunchly refuses to legitimate difference, in effect, reinforcing stereotypes, prejudice, ethnocentrism, and discrimination. Therefore, by disavowing any connections to such forces may be a vital choice and a way to expand rhetorical listening. Disidentification would then be encouraged and caution or forewarning would be delivered for rhetorical listening to be successful in these contexts. While Ratcliffe does discuss the notion that "naïve idealism" is implicated in her theory and feels that coming together in commonalities and differences is obtainable, this is where I see a need to enhance her process to include, when necessary, disidentification without consubstantiation. Ratcliffe's theory becomes idealistic in places where

a coercive force does not legitimate differences, but instead promotes stereotypes, prejudice, and agonistic principles. Ratcliffe's approach does not address this point, but this study will attempt to tackle this concern where the notion of commonalities does not exist, and where locating differences results in a need to possibly disavow those differences.

In the fourth move of rhetorical listening as articulated by Ratcliffe, the would-be listener must analyze claims as well as the perspectives that carry those claims. In Ratcliffe's words, when "listening, the reader should look not only at what the text claims but also look at the cultural logics, or ideological forces, that drive those claims" (Ratcliffe, "Rhetorical" 33). Again, when people have different viewpoints, it is likely that they come from different perspectives that underlie those claims. Listening to and looking beyond the claim itself can give the listener more insight into cultural differences that would encourage less agonistic conversations and instead allow them to engage in negotiation. When people take a stance on an issue, listening to not only the stance, but the perspectives from where that stance originates, they may better navigate conversations and difference. Applied to the debate stage, this move also requires added vigilance since differences are a defining feature of debates.

How does this research relate to Hillary and the debates? As Royster argues, "Cross-boundary exchange has to include honest critical action" ("Traces" 30). Hillary is entering a male dominated space and she must get the audience and the electorate to see her as someone who can relate to them especially since the field normalizes/assumes a homogeneous audience (Benoit; Zarefsky).

Again, using this idea of a listening audience, my study will complicate the nature of audience because the audience is not just the electorate; the audience is also Hillary as well as myself as the researcher. Part of my theory and method is to rhetorically listen to Hillary; I am looking at Hillary's employment of rhetorical listening. Hillary is the subject who I observe as she seemingly listens to her opponent, to the moderators, and seemingly listens to her viewers. I will in turn rhetorically listen to Hillary's listening. Rhetorical listening on the debate stage is complicated, especially when timing is important. My question at the beginning was, how do I go about describing rhetorical listening by Hillary if I am looking at only her participation on the debate stage? Since rhetorical listening is described as an active process, debate contenders must act quickly, but this does not mean they cannot be rhetorical listeners. It is in the action, the gestures, the responses by Hillary that I will reflect upon, contemplate, and let wash over me, following the examples demonstrated by other feminist scholars who have proceeded in this area and whose works are described next.

Ratcliffe asserts that cultural and disciplinary biases continue to privilege speaking, writing, and reading—and subordinate listening—under a false assumption that listening "is something that everyone does but no one need study" ("Rhetorical" 196). However, feminist rhetorical scholars view listening as critical in feminist studies and continue to revive and expand the study of listening as a rhetorical art, whereby this art form is on equal status with reading, writing, and speaking. It is a choice to "stand under" the text as a "way in" to better understand a text. In order to reclaim voices of the past, feminist rhetors must employ rhetorical listening "to explore voices speaking or not speaking within written texts" (Lunsford qtd in Ratcliffe,

"Rhetorical" 18). Other scholars such as Alice Rayner, Michelle Ballif, Royster and Gesa Kirsch, Lauren Rosenberg, Kathleen Yancey, and Renea Frey, to name just a few, study the active role of rhetorical listening in various ways.

Alice Rayner argues that listening must be understood in terms of intentionality. Rayner asserts that "I can choose the mode of my conscious listening," noting that listening involves a conscious act of understanding. Hearing becomes active when it is intentional "conscious hearing" (4). The listener actively hears with varying capacities and promotes the concept of listening as agency or as a choice. It is an intentional act coming from "varying positions, from differing interests, from one moment to the next. Sometimes I hear you from my position as a woman, sometimes as a professor, sometimes as a mother" (4).

The idea of conscious understanding also comes from Michelle Ballif, who articulates listening as a rhetorical act that is not merely passive but must be consciously chosen. She states that listening is a "radically different enterprise than hearing" (59). Moreover, Ballif also asserts that listening through understanding goes further. It is a rhetorical act that challenges the speaker as the privileged subject.

Identifying listening as more than passive is also corroborated by Royster and Kirsch through their concept of strategic contemplation, which they posit as a vehicle for methodology as well as theory. The term contemplation, in their words, not only emphasizes the researcher's inspection of how listening is delivered through actions "such as silence and reflection, pausing, ruminating," but how it can be used to "reconsider judgments that are forming." (x). Deliberate lingering or meditation of subject position woven within the researcher's own embodied

experiences gives a more thoughtful and encompassing picture of their subjects. It is a form of rhetorical listening in that it signals an important juncture or moment where reflection instead of response is critical. Reflecting on the other's full delivery—whether it be silence, a pause, a glance, a gesture, a singular response of "bye"—and contemplating its meaning through the voice, or the eyes, the gestures, or in other words, the embodiment of the subject's delivery helps the researcher interpret the meaning behind the rhetorical deliveries. With this kind of interpretation by Royster and Kirsch, I see a demystified definition of what understanding means in the context of listening. These two authors offer a more bountiful description of understanding by inviting us to "reflect" instead of delivering an immediate response. Royster and Kirsch suspend speech in order to foreground an undercurrent of rhetorical listening—the silence of reflection. These authors act as mentors to teaching readers how to rhetorically listen. For my study, I will proceed with caution as the researcher and look to places where Hillary exemplifies or parallels this expanded notion of refraining from immediate response, who also may be strategically contemplating when refraining from responding. This action will take my continuous rumination over her responses, body enactments, gestures, and her silent moments.

I was also able to see the expansion of Ratcliffe's valuation of rhetorical listening through Lauren Rosenberg's work on literacy which recognizes the hard work of both "deep reflection" and strategic contemplation that encompass rhetorical listening (11). Rosenberg's study on literacy complicates the idea of rhetorical listening as "hard work" because she makes the following assertion: "I invite readers to step back and bear witness without judgement, to listen by doing nothing" (26). Rosenberg is not suggesting that rhetorical listening is about doing

nothing, on the contrary, backgrounding appropriation of her participants voices is what she defines as "doing nothing." It is hard work to background one's own intentions for the sake of the other. I will utilize Rosenberg's phrase of "doing nothing" to explore how Hillary's performance may parallel Rosenberg's notion. Rosenberg notes that silence as named "doing nothing," reflection, deeply reflective moments, and strategic contemplation are hard work to foreground the silences, pauses, reflections of her participants.

Mindful listening, introspection, and reflection are also advocated by Kathleen Yancey[36] and Renea Frey who both have studied student writing in the classroom. Yancey advocates that an ongoing process of listening rhetorically includes returning to the initial issue, looking at one's self, and reflecting and eventually taking ownership of one's work through these moves. Frey looks at rhetorics of reflection and explores mindfulness as another means of deep listening that encourages "conscious, embodied awareness that if promoted, "we can support [rhetors] in inventing more ethical, effective arguments that address the exigencies we face in our interconnected, but precariously endangered world" (92). The dangers Frey speaks of are the same ones that Ratcliffe mentions—the "current social, political, and environmental dangers that potentially affect us all" (Ratcliffe, "Rhetorical" 29). Frey also sees mindfulness as a vital stance needed in times of "potential conflict and crisis" to bring the listener back to the issue (92).

Where Ratcliffe's moves, along with the rhetorical scholars mentioned above, have not been applied to analysis of political debate, I argue it can be employed in a such a space and is

[36] Kathleen Yancey discusses deliberative reflection re-theorizing David Shon's theory of reflection as a mode of helping students develop as writers (vi), Rosenberg talks about deep reflection and Kirsch incorporates the idea of mindful listening, introspection, and reflection that enables rhetorical agency (W2)

important to better understand where the first woman has achieved access. Additionally, it is important to explore whether it can be employed in a space that is contentious and where added vigilance and disidentification may also be necessary. The debate stage is one way to advance this theory using all of Ratcliffe's moves and include other scholars' vigilant theories such as disidentification, advocated by Dianne Fuss's postmodern theory which is incorporated into Ratcliffe's approach, strategic contemplation advocated by Royster and Kirsch, doing nothing advocated by Rosenberg, deep reflection and mindfulness as mentioned by Kathleen Yancey, Frey, as well as Kirsch.

Now that I have explained listening, the difference between listening and rhetorical listening, as well as other feminist rhetorical scholars work on rhetorical listening, I will present one more concept important to the nature of this study--background information on women and debate. Recognizing that both rhetorical arts, silence and listening, are dependent on situational knowledge, it is important to remember how much experience Hillary has had in politics. Her advantage is knowing how media represents women in powerful positions or women attempting to achieve powerful positions as she has in the past 30 years through her own lived experience on the debate stage and the experience of two other women who have also occupied the debate stage at an elevated level-- Vice-Presidential candidates Ferraro in 1984 and Sarah Palin in 2014. A brief description of these two former debates is discussed next.

Political Women and Debate

So far, I have described studies that employ silence and listening as rhetorical arts, but no study, as I have researched, has investigated these arts in political debates or how silence and listening could be an advantageous rhetorical art to employ in that context.

American presidential debates are significant national venues which enable the electorate to see how candidates answer questions, change the electorate's mind or sway voters. According to David Zarefsky, debates allow candidates to make an argument and present it to the viewing audience. Zarefsky discusses public debates in U. S. history from a rhetorical perspective that arguing involves making a case to persuade viewers about what we collectively should do. The candidate must make judgments, answer questions, refute claims, and make claims. The candidates will improve their chances of making accurate judgments if their knowledge is well-grounded in the subject matter and the they are perceptive of their audience world view (Zarefsky "Political"). Zarefsky also recognizes, contrary to Tannen's view of an argument culture, that, "despite its seemingly adversarial character, argumentation is fundamentally a cooperative enterprise" ("What" 301).

The general election debates are open to all to watch and the issues are potentially of interest to everyone. In a debate, the candidates do not have the luxury of validating what the audience takes in or what its implicit assumptions are since the dialogue is not overtly between debaters and audience but, instead, between debaters themselves. The Presidential general election debate stage offers a rich source of dialogue for feminist study and because it is a male dominated space, a space that has excluded women implicitly through the dominance of the

rhetorical tradition and its subsequent effects on discourse, it is a necessary venue to explore the rhetorical arts of silence and listening. Despite a lack of attention to silence and listening in debate, there is scholarship that offer similar conceptions of what women go through on the debate stage (see Baaske; Sullivan; Benoit; Benoit and Henson; Daughton; Parry-Giles). Pertaining to the Vice-Presidential debates that included women, I discuss gender bias, substance and style, the nature of attacks, and woman's legitimacy in the general elections surrounding the Ferraro-Bush debate of 1984 and the 2014 Palin-Biden debate.

Little data on how gender affects the general election campaign on a Presidential level leads us to only speculate that a gender bias exists when voters go to the polls on election day. According to a 1984 study by Kevin Baaske, and another by Patricia Sullivan, the gender of the Vice-President in the 1984 election did not affect the election results when compared to other election studies that found that the choice of the VP percentage differential remained static around 5%. Gender was not the issue (Baaske). Twenty-four years later, Sara Palin joined the McCain ticket as the first female Republican Vice-Presidential candidate running against President Obama and Joe Biden. Neither woman in their respective years was part of the winning ticket. William Benoit noted that it is indeterminate that gender explicitly influenced the outcome of the Palin-Biden election, but noted that gender, in the context of the debates may have had some implicit effects, especially regarding substance, style, and gender.

The Vice-Presidential pick in 1984 was an epic moment swarming with excitement and concerns about Geraldine Ferraro's capability of serving "a heartbeat away from the Presidency,

as the first woman on a major ticket" (Baaske 5). Patrick Caddell[37] found that substance and style interest voters as they evaluate candidates. Substance, the feel of the candidate, such as *his* values, *his* passions, *his* competence, and *his* persona were not the biggest influence on voters. Voters were more interested in the image of a candidate (Goldman and Fuller 432, emphasis added). Baaske concurs that the substance is less important than the image of a candidate and their specific issues. Ironically, and once again caught in a double bind, when it comes to substance of a candidate, if a candidate does not have substance then image might not be so important. For Sarah Palin, this was the case. By the time the debate between her and Joe Biden occurred, October 2, 2008, in St Louis, MO., there was concern about how knowledgeable Palin was on issues regarding the presidency--foreign policy, Russia, economics her ticket's presidential credentials, as well as her own ability to address her credentials (Benoit & Henson).

Style is another critical influencer on how voters perceive candidates. To come off as bellicose, rasping, and combative does not wield rhetorical for women (Shogan and Meyer, qtd. in Baaske 175).[38] According to media reports after the fact, Ferraro had high negative ratings that stemmed from her verbal attacks on Reagan. While she was acknowledged as well-grounded in her knowledge of the issues, she was told she needed to work on her style. Baaske noted that clips of her revealed "a feisty and smart-alecky Ferraro" who continuously criticized Reagan. Another article found that "she has to avoid coming off as too 'bitchy;' she cannot be shrill or attacking; she has to come across as a leader" (Johnston qtd in Baaske 1).[39] Baaske found that

[37] Caddell was a pollster who worked on Mondale's 1984 bid for the Presidency.
[38] Shogun, R. & Meyer, R.-writers for the Los Angeles Times who covered the 1984 election. "Image Change Aided Mondale Last Time," (1).
[39] See Johnston, D. "VP debates: A preview of '88 run? San Francisco Examiner, 1. (1984* October 11).

during the prep time, Ferraro mentioned and agreed that she should not be the "feisty Ferraro throwing bombs" (180). The take-away from Baaske's work demonstrates the double-bind of political performance by women. According to Baaske, one polltaker suggested that "[Ferraro] was trying too hard not to be brassy and she ended up just plain dull" (Shapiro qtd in Baaske 180). An analysis of her style by Baaske also shows how media suggested she "had given up some of her normal fire on the campaign stump in her effort to convey a more serious image" (Smith qtd in Sullivan 329).[40] *The New York Times/CBS News Polls* and those taken by other news organizations after the debate "showed that pluralities found Mr. Bush the winner" (Smith qtd in Sullivan 329).[41] Baaske's rhetorical analysis demonstrates to me why a study on silence and listening today are important. Could Ferraro have been harboring a rhetorical silence knowing that anything she said could be gendered against her?

In the Ferraro-Bush debates, studies indicated that the onus was on the male candidate to go lightly on a female candidate. Bush could not attack Ferraro "too expressively" (Baaske 176), nor could he look like he was patronizing his female opponent. While Bush was thus facing a double bind of his own, this did not take the pressure off Ferraro, according to Baaske. Similarly, in the 2008 debate, the concern for the male candidate, Senator Joe Biden, was how not to talk down to his opponent.

Other than a rhetorical analysis, other studies use different methods of studying the relationships between gender and debate. William Benoit and Jayne Henson applied a functional

[40] See Smith, H, "Rivals' camps doubt a big shift after 2nd debate." *The New York Times,* (1984, October 13), sec. A, p, 8,
[41]Ibid

analysis of the Palin-Biden debate. According to Benoit "political campaign messages are functional and constitute a means to accomplish a goal— "election to public office by receiving a winning margin of votes" (Benoit & Henson 41). Through the debates, candidates solicit support by attempting to persuade voters that they are the preferable candidate. Acclaims are defined as self-praise by the candidate; attacks are defined as criticisms of an opponent that identify the cons of an opponent and increase the attacking candidate's net favorability. Defenses are responses to attack that refute purported weaknesses of a candidate. In a cost benefit analysis, attacks increase an opponent's cost. In other words, attacks, if considered persuasive by a voter, have a proclivity to reduce an opponent's perceived desirability. Acclaims are more common than attacks while defense is the least common function (Benoit). It is surmised that defenses have the least desirability factor due to several thoughts--defense implies guilt, responding takes one off message, or it can remind voters of a potential weakness (Benoit & Henson 42). As revealed by this study, in the 2008 Vice Presidential debate, Governor Palin acclaimed 17% more than Senator Biden. Biden attacked 16% more than Palin, and Biden also defended more. What this study demonstrates is that Biden did not hold back on attacks on the female candidate. However, it also demonstrates that the female candidate did attack less than the male candidate. While my study will not be a functional analysis, attacks or criticisms of each of the opponents are critical to my analysis to see when and how criticism imposes silence or invokes defense, or how criticisms are handled by Hillary.

In another example, a gendered study of the Ferraro-Bush debate explored the idea of women's legitimacy on a debate stage at this level. Patricia Sullivan looked at how the debate

stage is framed as masculine. Using the masculine discourse that Tannen discussed, Bush's discourse was predominantly sports metaphors and comments about the military. Even the title of one article used war language, "Shootout at the Gender Gap," as a metaphor for the climate of the debate. A masculine framework also was found to be the case in Baaske's study where candidates were considered "combatant's" (175).

Building on this scholarship, a study on silence and listening may engage more thoroughly with how women debaters use these rhetorics to their advantage. Where the focus tends to be on the male candidate as the position of strength in Baaske's and Sullivan's analysis, my focus will be on rhetorical strategies that Hillary employed, even when such have not been historically recognized as important.

Focus on women in national debates has been limited based on the limited number of women who have had access to that stage. Thus, it is more important than ever to work within this genre to study other kinds of evaluative techniques such as the two rhetorical arts of silence and listening. There are manifestations of silence as well as listening that could be explored in either of the VP debates. In Chapter One, we found that the environment for politics leans toward a more deliberative rational, if not agonistic, style of rhetorical delivery. How can that be transformed through the use rhetorical arts? We saw the agonistic, war rhetoric come out in the Ferraro-Bush debate. Instead of focusing on male dominance and how that dominance subjected Ferraro to "quiet down," a study of silence and listening as strategy could yield different perceptions if studied through feminist rhetorical practices and employing alternative rhetorics.

What I would like to know is how rhetorical silence and listening can be deployed in an environment where studies indicate a masculine style dominates. The studies on women in past debates demonstrate a need to bring out other ways to view debate style, as we saw in how Ferraro's performance in her Vice-Presidential debate was framed as "subdued," "lacking fire." By identifying silence and listening as rhetorical arts employed by Hillary, a candidate for President, we can create studies to further examine the rhetorical tradition's effects and constraints on women. If these arts are identified and analyzed in terms of how they are employed and what they do to aid in Hillary's performance instead of the proverbial stigma that they ascribe to women, it will add to future exploration. Lastly, my literature review substantiates Royster's concern that we need "other ways, other renderings, or an alternative analytical paradigm to re-establish stories" to keep voices heard (82). Recognizing if and how Hillary employed rhetorical silence in her debates against the typical traditional male candidate, and with the debate polling results mentioning that Hillary was acknowledged as the better rhetor, this study may garner some insight for future rhetorical women. A woman's accomplishments should be vocalized and resist erasure. This is an extraordinary time to analyze alternatives for debating women since more women are entering the presidential primaries for 2020.

Methodology

Feminist Epistemology

The rhetorical and interdisciplinary studies of silence and listening articulated above not only describe how silence and listening can be used to understand alternative rhetorics but can be

used to study such rhetorics in practice. In this dissertation, I draw on theories of silence and listening to articulate a feminist rhetorical methodology and method capable of tracking these alternative rhetorical arts. Feminist epistemology incorporates synergy, embodiment, positionality, and visibility into a Feminist Research Methodology.

Methodology—as articulated by Eileen Schell and Kathleen Rawson following Sandra Harding— "is a theory of how research does or should proceed" (Harding qtd. in Schell and Rawson 2). Feminist research practices, which share the same trajectory as women's rhetorical history in that women were not included in the research process,[42] attempts to "give voice" to women's and other marginalized perspectives. Because of the disconnection between women's lived experiences and knowledge production in mainstream social research that rendered women invisible,[43] feminist scholars and feminist rhetorical scholars developed and continue to develop new methods and theories that challenge value neutrality and the idea of a universal knowledge (Ryan; Schell; Rawson; Harding; Hartsock; Hesse-Biber; Sprague and Zimmerman; Hawkesworth).

Feminist rhetorical practices are not static, and in fact, they are always in motion as Eileen Schell and K.J. Rawson express in the title of their edited collection, *Rhetorica in Motion*. These authors recognize the importance of seeking alternatives to the tradition for other ways of knowing. In the collection Bernadette Calafell advocates the dynamic synergy of feminist methodology. She asserts that one method cannot work for every project and calling on the

[42] Cheryl Glenn highlighted the absence of women in other disciplines in her research on recovery and silence. Omission of women was apparent in male controlled institutions - education, politics, law, and religion.
[43] Multiple sources from Hesse-Biber; Hesse-Biber & Leavy; Schell & Rawson; Ryan; report this same information and the trajectory of feminist research and feminist rhetorical research.

situation and the confluence of methods and theory allow for openness and discovery in research. Kirsch and Royster also note that feminist scholars are always looking over new horizons and at critical junctures as they cautiously move forward to "keep the complexities of feminist rhetorical practices dynamic and open" where they advocate inclusion of all identities and various rhetorical domains ("Excellence"). That is, they circulate the notion that feminist methods are "not exclusive by gender or race or class or sexuality or geography or any other factor of personal identity" (644). Additionally, feminist rhetorical practices "must resonate with factors such as rhetor, text, context, and conditions" ("Excellence" 644), meaning that these entities are not mutually exclusive. Instead, they are interactive and mutually inclusive. According to Royster and Kirsch, feminist caution requires that we not give in to our assumptions and expectations but strive for deeper understanding of our subjects, "to the women--to their writing, their work, and their worlds, seeking to ground our inquiries in the evidence of the women's lives, taking as a given that the women have much to teach us if we develop the patience to pay attention in a more paradigmatic way" (*New Horizons* 20). That is, feminist research methodology encourages researchers to "keep the imagination engaged," "boundaries fluid," and to "shift operational paradigms to gain greater interpretive power when researching rhetorical performances across a variety of rhetorical domains ("Horizons" 20). The focus is centered on deep understanding instead of explaining. By using such techniques such as critical imagination, strategic contemplation, and social circulation, we keep feminist methodology dynamic. Along with the dynamic synergy of employing strategic contemplation as method and theory, and by paying attention to silence as a rhetorical art, and rhetorical listening as a method

and theory, I remain committed to three other feminist research practices, positionality, embodiment, and making our research known.

Positionality is important because the focus of this project is to look at how a woman negotiates her situatedness in a male dominated field. Calafell explains that the embodied subject is situated in time or place and that embodied methodology is oriented to one's own experiences. It is not dependent on the male centric paradigm that denies a place or a position for the body (107). Sharlene Hesse-Biber and Deborah Piatelli acknowledge this as well, noting that because women have not been historically positioned as the center of research, results tended to be universalized and assumed neutral but by "placing [situating] women in the center of analysis, feminist research made ground-breaking discoveries in [specific areas for women, by women, such as] women's health" (177). Positionality as a tenet of feminist methodology calls for decentering the white male subject in research, allowing for a multiplicity of voices (for example, Hillary as a different voice in an exclusionary space) and diverse issues (specifically for this dissertation, silence and listening) to be brought to the forefront. Basing research on situated knowledge of women allows feminist researchers to approach new ways of seeing and understanding what and how we come to know women's positions. (177). Moreover, positioning Hillary as the center of this research allows for new ways of understanding rhetorical silence and listening. Since Hillary is positioned as the first woman to access the Presidential debate stage from a major party, it is hoped that new information can be discovered about rhetorics of silence and listening to further understand how a woman might navigate her presence in an exclusionary

space, and to gain rhetorical insight for other women who will gain access to this space in the future.

Positionality is also a condition that accounts for researcher's experience and situated knowledge in the context of the study and how that knowledge shapes the interpretation or analysis of the study. For instance, my own positionality, a white cis gendered woman, can relate to my subject on the level of race, gender, and sexual orientation. Other identity markers that differ can be called into play in how situated knowledge relates to silence and listening. For instance, my experiences on silence and listening are unique and shape meaning. My experience of imposed silence or commanding my own silence is the experience learned while growing up and concerns protecting family image and "secrets" that others should not be privy to or should not be spoken about. My own experiences with harassment at work where speaking out would be punished by other's disbelief or fired from my job also shapes how I make meaning of the data. The position I take on silence also comes from my own experiences of inability to speak out when unfair situations occurred. For instance, early in my working career, and as I entered male dominated spaces, and interacted with a boss who explicitly stated that while my work was better and I exceeded quotas as the new employee, it would be my male counterpart who would be the recipient of the prestigious award because "he" would be the head of a household someday and "he" would need it on "his" resume. My interpretations and analysis on listening are shaped by lessons learned that there are multiple logics and one of those logics learned was that my body did not belong in this exclusionary space, or that it was less important than "his." This position extends to other bodies that do not conform to what is considered normative for that time.

I use a gendered lens in relation to power dynamics and situated knowledges from both the subject and the researcher. With that in mind, and with the theories expressed by Glenn on silence and Ratcliffe on listening as gendered attributes, positions collide on how silence and listening are employed by different bodies and thus, complete objectivity cannot be guaranteed when description, interpretation and analyses are made. Feminist research methodology, however, does not claim to be an objective methodology because each description or interpretation is in the hands of the researcher and my own situated knowledge.

Along with positionality, feminist methodology is also concerned with, as Calafell mentions above, the "embodied subject." Feminist methodology negates the idea that the mind functions separately from the body. That is, knowledge is not obtained only through pure rational thought, but in concert with the body and bodily enactments. Hesse-Biber explains that mainstream research associates the body with "irrationality, emotion, and deception." On the contrary, a feminist commitment to embodiment posits that any ideology that privileges the mind as the "disembodied" aspect of pure reason also privileges one kind of body; this normative privilege continues to be extended to the universal rational male (Hesse-Biber *Handbook* 15). Noting that my introduction to this dissertation demonstrates that the history of rhetoric has suppressed the role of the body due to the continuous binaries of mind over body, reason versus emotion, absence or presence, and masculine opposed to feminine, only the rational survived inclusion into dominant public spaces. By exploring how the employment of silence and listening through verbal as well as bodily enactments can be rhetorical resources remains true to a feminist tenet of embodiment.

Once these tenets have been accomplished, making the research known is important to feminist work. Feminist research builds upon previous research as all research supposedly does. It is important to continue and add to the work that feminist scholars have begun and continue to do. The importance of this tenet in feminist methodology, along with the others, became clearer as my background research uncovered paradoxes in how silence and listening are positioned in discourse and how they are embodied or disembodied depending on the form or the body—male or female. Bodily enactments traditionally associated with gender reinforce stereotypes of women's and men's ethos. For instance, on one hand when the subject position is male, invoking silence and listening can be a powerful position or location of authority and credibility (Brummet). A woman's enactment of silence and listening, on the contrary, is a sign of submissiveness, weakness, emotion, a victim in the realm of the feminine (Kramarae; Wood; Glenn; Ratcliffe; Tannen; Ratcliffe) whose authority is questioned. Gender also underwrites positionality. Tannen and Ratcliffe note that women have been generally positioned as an audience (listener), not rhetor (speaker), and that speaking has generally been privileged over silence and listening. This assumes that women, who employ silence and listening cannot be positioned as strong rhetors or subsequently, strong leaders. These assumptions are indications that further research and explanation is needed in this area. It is my intention to explore how rhetorics of silence and listening embodied through a woman's position in an exclusionary space can be called upon as benefits to women's rhetorical strength instead of as a disadvantage, and make my results known.

As the case in point that I study in this dissertation, exclusionary space refers to the idea that there has been no room or space in general election debates for a body that does not fit a universal male norm, at least until 2016. Hillary's position or situatedness within the exclusionary space of the general Presidential election debates is important for the simple reason that no woman has been in this position. Furthermore, Hillary, as the subject of this dissertation, is also important because her positioning is also a paradox. Research demonstrates that women who transgress exclusionary spaces are inclined to be positioned unfavorably.[44] While Hillary is situated as the first woman candidate to win access to the general election debate stage, she is also positioned as the other, the illegitimate flawed body, transgressing a male dominated space. By focusing on how this candidate, a woman, negotiates her situatedness by employing silence and listening may "open" possibilities for more women to occupy such spaces instead of being excluded. Lastly, because debate is a mode of rhetorical performance, Hillary's employment of silence and listening through bodily enactments, motions, movements, gestures, facial expressions, as alternative rhetorics will be described as she navigates her position on that stage. Therefore, to maintain focus on positionality and embodiment, I look at how one woman, situated in an exclusionary space, has employed silence and listening as rhetorical resources, through her motions, gestures, and other bodily enactments, during her debate performance. Her subject position, as the first woman to occupy that space, is important to keep in view when articulating the site and a method for this study.

[44] Statistics showed that prior to entering the race in 2015, Hillary's approval ratings were at their highest. Once she entered the race, her popularity ratings began to fall.

Site

To study the rhetorics of silence and listening, I used a case study of a stage, long dominated by men in the United States, the Presidential debates during the general election of 2016. The Presidential debate stage is a viable site to situate my study because a rhetorical analysis of silence and listening has not been attempted there *and* given the fact that women have not had a presence in this venue. This stage is also a highly public forum. Each debate was broadcast in different locations at different times. Debate one occurred on September 26, 2016 at Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York, moderated by Lester Holt, anchor of "NBC Nightly News." [45]

Debate two, in the format of a Town Hall[46] Meeting, occurred on October 9, 2016 at Washington University at St. Louis and was moderated by Martha Raddatz from ABC news and Anderson Cooper from CNN. A Town Hall format gave voters the chance to directly ask the candidates questions.

[45] The first debate was considered a typical format for debating. The moderators instruct the audience to applause as they are introduced, but to hold all other applause until the end of the debate. The audience is instructed to be courteous to each candidate and refrain from any noise-laughter, sighs, applause, or other signs of disturbances that could distract or delay the debate. Candidates are introduced and walk onto the stage. The moderator then instructs the candidates about protocol. The first debate comprises of a question to the candidate, who then has two minutes to respond. After two minutes are up, the opposing candidate will have two minutes to rebuttal. Then the initial candidate may once more comment on the rebuttal. Each candidate can see the time and both know when their time is about to expire. The moderator will then direct attention to the other candidate, giving them permission to speak. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=855Am6ovK7s

[46] The second debate was called a Town Hall discussion, where, audience members were able to interact with the candidates. See Kristina Fennelly's work where she describes the importance of distinguishing the debate format and the Town Hall format as two different formats that change the ambience of deliberative debate and its effect on the individuals debating). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FRlI2SQ0Ueg

Debate three is formatted differently from one and two.[47] Formatted in five segments, each candidate had more time for discussion instead of having to depend only on a two-minute response time. They also had an extension of 10 minutes to discuss and interact upon the issue. This debate was held on October 19, 2016 at Thomas and Mack Center at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas and was moderated by Chris Wallace from Fox News.

Using a feminist methodology with a method to analyze the employment of silence and listening as rhetorical choices on the debate stage offer additional ways to explore and analyze these two rhetorical strategies as well as revealing the complexities of employing alternative rhetorics in exclusionary spaces or in any space for that matter.

Method

Feminist Description and Interpretation

In order to enact my methodology, the method I employ invokes feminist description to pay attention to rhetorical performance. Feminist description considers both presence and absence; speaking, silence, and listening; language and bodies; inclusions and exclusions. Following the works of feminist research scholars such as Erin Frost, along with Royster and Kirsch, among others, this method recognizes that the description and analysis in this study is not the only perspective, but rather a call for many potential "re-framings" (Frost 185). This method "widens understandings of what constitutes rhetorical performance, accomplishment, and

[47] Debate 3 is formatted in 5 segments with 15 minutes for a 2 minute response and then 10 minutes of discussion: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ye0Xblp_Nb0

possibilities," and that out of the many possibilities to choose for description and analysis, those choices affect the development of what we or how we come to know. (Royster and Kirsch 29).

A feminist descriptive and interpretive approach to the analysis will be combined, integrating silence and listening as rhetorical arts drawn from feminist scholars Glenn and Ratcliffe. Using techniques portrayed by these two scholars along with the theoretical and methodological approaches drawn from other research scholars who have been attentive to silence and listening create a feminist lens for description. I borrow from other feminist scholars, including Jessica Enoch, Alice Rayner, Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gisha Kirsch, Lauren Rosenberg, Kathleen Yancey and Renea Frey, whose techniques of contemplation, reflection, deep listening, and mindfulness provide language for feminist descriptions. My descriptions are also derived from composition and communication scholars who have recovered voices and listened to voices for recovery, such as Campbell, as well as Moffett, and Johannesen and Huckin's work on silence. I applied this method to seek answers to my research questions: "How does Hillary employ a rhetoric of silence in her debate performance?" and "How does Hillary employ a rhetoric of listening in her debate performance?" My method accords with the methods articulated by feminist scholars such as Kathleen Ryan, Calafell, and Royster and Kirsch, where information is explored systematically but leaves open possibilities for identifying emerging forms (in this case, of silence and listening) and understanding them from my own embodied position as I explained in my methodology section.

The theory of rhetorical listening is implicit and explicit in the method of this study. Hence, the line of where rhetorical listening begins as method will be merged with where

description and interpretation are implemented. To clarify, Ratcliffe's work has instantiated a technique where theory and method merge. Using her four moves of rhetorical listening is synergistic in that it works as method and theoretical application. I will be using rhetorical listening as the researcher who must stand under the text—the silence and listening deliveries of Hillary Clinton. I will not be able to ask my subject to expand, to qualify, to elaborate, or explain her verbal, non-verbal, performative gestures, or any performances enacted on the stage. It will be left to what I have described as standing under the text, washing over the text as Ratcliffe explains rhetorical listening and, following up on that (as Rosenberg describes), remaining in a "doing nothing" stance in order to reflect upon the subject's performance. It will also entail reflection on my part on how Hillary in such a short time span of 2-minute responses without any time to contemplate and reflect on answers deploys these rhetorical arts.

It is important to note that a feminist description accounts for the different perspectives that will be interpreted no matter how diligent I am in objectively describing the events for my readers. That is, description, interpretation and analysis are not guaranteed full objectivity when employed. Feminist rhetorical researchers are aware of biases that come with any research and recognize that feminist research does not claim to be an objective methodology. Some elements will be lost based on my own notions of what is important to describe. Feminist description in this project means to watch, describe, contemplate, and reflect on what I see in order to capture as much of what is given, but to also take note of what is absent as I, the researcher identify such absences. However, it is also up to the researcher, as Rosenberg asserts, to be vigilant in such observations and systematic in its method.

Describing women's experiences is important to feminist research. This does not eliminate men's experiences, but rather, puts the focus on women if the subject of study is a woman. My study attempts to interrogate feminist rhetorical arts within the context of a woman's experience. Therefore, it is important to note that similar or different results could be derived if I were centering Hillary's opponent in this work. It is also important to note that my analysis will not center interpretations of her opponent's performance, nor the commentators, since they are not the subjects of the study. Their words will be described in the context of describing the scene that I am interpreting and analyzing regarding Hillary, but it is beyond the scope of this study to extrapolate any meaning from their work unless it helps to describe the background or circumstances.

Because I am looking at Hillary's performance, with an emphasis on Hillary's embodiment of silence and listening, I describe her movements and gestures in detail rather than her opponent's. However, while feminist description considers both presence and absence; speaking, silence, and listening; language and bodies; inclusions and exclusion, I work to take a stance of neutrality in these descriptions by describing moments during the debate when I identified what might be themes characterized by Glenn and moves characterized by Ratcliffe. By neutrality I mean that I attempt to describe exactly what is happening so my audience sees what I see. My descriptions are, nonetheless, motivated by feminist commitments. As Rosenberg explains, "our goal as researchers can--should--be to give that attention to people's accounts of their experiences, as well as in our gathering and interpreting of data and in reporting it" (25). Therefore, I too am the listener and use what Ratcliffe notes as standing under the text in order to

do rhetorical listening throughout my reviews of the debates and describe the context of Hillary's rhetorical deliveries of silence and listening. I applied this method to seek answers to my research questions: "How does Hillary employ a rhetoric of silence in her debate performance?" and "How does Hillary employ a rhetoric of listening in her debate performance?"

Data Collection

Phase One: **Timing and Notes**

In my first attempt to collect data, I watched video footage of each debate multiple times. In a first viewing, I documented the timing of utterances and pauses (or where utterances discontinued) on a spreadsheet. For this task, I did not pay attention to what was said or how it was said but clocked the timing of each utterance—by the moderators, Hillary, and Trump—noting the beginning and ending dialogues and the spaces of non-utterances between them. I then moved the timings to the printed transcripts. For the next two debates, I noted the timing on the transcripts instead of an excel sheet, deeming this way more efficient.

While I used official transcripts to ensure for accuracy in my representation of the debates, my main source of data collection was taking detailed notes on the video replays of the broadcast versions of each debate. This allowed me to focus on Hillary's embodied performance and delivery. These notes initially included an excel spreadsheet, but switched over to the printed transcripts, where I kept track of candidates speaking times, silent time and deliveries, (silent time included pauses by the candidate in the case of interruptions by the moderator, other candidate, or any circumstances that may create moments of non-utterance). I also kept track of interruptions/interjections and interactions within the debate discourse between the moderator,

the candidate, the opponent, and the audience. In another column, I was also able to document what happened prior to, during and following each performance of silence and listening. This coding included the bodily enactments, verbal components, and situational effects of these performances. After transferring times and information from the excel sheet to the transcripts (for the first debate), I only used the transcripts therein, where I also repeated this move again for the first debate. I then color coded where I viewed interruptions, movements, non-verbal, verbal enactments. Color coding allowed me to view emerging themes or patterns that followed the theoretical taxonomies I employed (as I explain below) as well as those that emerged throughout the debates that did not seem to fit into preexisting categories.

Phase Two: Listening

Listening to the videos without making assumptions is the work of rhetorical listening. It took time to use this approach, as I read into the text instead of doing nothing and letting the dialogues wash over me, standing under the text. My first tendency was to view it as I would perceive what was happening instead of letting the text flow. Letting myself watch the video without a pen to write or a computer to type, allowed me to watch. Instead of thinking over what the candidates were saying, I had to train myself to stand under their text and let the dialogue move forward. Finally, reading the transcripts several times while trying to hold assumptions at bay allowed me to practice rhetorical listening. Following this kind of move, I began to write down (feminist) descriptions.

Phase Three: Creating Descriptions

I watched the videos again to write down the descriptions of events as I saw them and could then transcribe them to communicate the events to my readers. While each debate ran the length of one hour and thirty minutes, stopping the video at each comment, move, performance of gestures, a blink of an eye or a wink, was tedious and time-consuming. This approach took up daily sessions of listening and writing. For a week, and after the first viewings, I continuously reviewed the video repeatedly for each debate. Non-stop viewing and reviewing, pausing, rewinding, and writing down the descriptions, as I moved forward through the video until it was completed. I was able to capture descriptions of the first debate to analyze silence. I also clocked pauses, interruptions, and cross talk (or over talking each other simultaneously) of each of the candidates.

Once I created the descriptions, I went back over them with the video replay to capture what I might have missed in my description. For instance, a smile with the verbal response, or a frown with a performative gesture, or eye movement. I did this for all three debates.

Coding

Once I had this information written down, I began to code the information based on Glenn's categories and Ratcliffe's moves. I then cut out the different categories and put them in separate piles based on silence and another based on listening. I did this separately for silence and then for listening. Each time I did this, I was able to see added moments within each playback that would go into either pile.

My next move was to look at what was not included in the fixed categories and describe to the best of my ability how these other categories could be codified. I created themes for these left over non-categorical elements and then began to narrow my themes down to specific categories. For instance, there were a huge number of impositions within the debates. Some were very short quips and some were interruptions where a candidate completely took over the conversation. These needed to be parsed out and differentiated. I did this by creating Tables.

Tables[48]

I began making a chart for each pile of categories and moves that I had accrued. To maintain order and structure of each of the two rhetorical arts, I have provided separate tables corresponding to Silence in Chapters 3 and 4 and listening in Chapter 5. For instance, in Chapter 3, I first designated the theme/category that I assembled through coding and bracketing out similar instances. I then quoted verbatim the dialogue from each of the candidates and or the moderators taken directly from the written transcripts that are also found in the video replays. Next, I described the dialogical moments as I viewed them from the video replays--what was happening at the time, what movements are performed, what eye contact was being made, what facial expressions were delivered.

[48] In order to create a more efficient mode for the reader to remember the categories and moves, I include the tables in their respective chapters instead of listing them in this chapter. The complexity of description and interpretation calls for close reading and referral back to the tables occasionally. I chose to include these tables in their respective chapters instead of listing them here because of the complexity of their characteristics and moves that would be better served in each chapter to remind and act as reinforcers to Glenn's taxonomies and Ratcliffe's approach, as well as the themes that emerged from my coding.

I then determined where a silence delivery possibly occurred. From there, I explained, interpreted, and offered some analysis at the moment of description (to prevent readers from having to refer back to the dialogue at a later time), with regard to how each of these non-discursive moves fit into each of the categories that demonstrated a possible delivery of rhetorical silence. There were numerous examples of Glenn's characteristics of rhetorical silence, therefore, I added a chapter on opening silences where I interpreted Hillary embodying characteristics that did not fit into Glenn's taxonomy. I repeated the procedure for Chapter 5 to describe, interpret, and analyze how Hillary may have employed rhetorical listening, and to explain any divergence from the techniques used in Chapter 3 that could be better analyzed via rhetorical listening in Chapter 5.

Limitations of This Study

This study is limited by the inability to know specifically Hillary's intentions for her silence deliveries as well as her listening moves. Interpretations are based on what is seemingly paralleling the categories of rhetorical silence, and the moves of rhetorical listening. There is no way to know her actual intentions, but this study is set up to identify how her performance is congruent to the categories of rhetorical silence and the moves of rhetorical listening.

Another limitation is my own inability of knowing how to rhetorically listen and deliver silence. The learning curve for understanding how to stand under a text was an obstacle. Overcoming this obstacle took practice and time to review the theory along with the methods that Glenn and Ratcliffe provide. Practicing these two rhetorical arts was, and continue to be

difficult, but also allows me to experience what Ratcliffe has asserted: rhetorical listening is indeed hard work.

One last limitation concerns the debate format and the timing imposed on candidates responses in debates one and two. Debate three has a more amenable set up to explore silence and listening.

Summary of Findings

This study demonstrated how rhetorical silence and rhetorical listening might be deployed by a woman in an exclusive venue that has previously been occupied solely by men. Through my descriptions and interpretive analysis drawing from, but not exclusively to, Glenn's rhetorical art of silence and Ratcliffe's approach to rhetorical listening, I identified several categories (Glenn) and moves (Ratcliffe) of how Hillary employed the two rhetorical arts I also was able to differentiate them from earlier works by finding ways that open and broaden these arts beyond Glenn's and Ratcliffe's initial strategies. Categories that opened for silence include "paving the way" for other rhetors; "basketing her silences" for later use. Rhetorical listening opened through expanding upon Ratcliffe's moves in such motions as "disavowing troubled identifications;" "transcending debate culture;" and "witnessing listening."

Determining and interpreting how these arts might be employed also opens both rhetorical arts to not only some bodies, but by rhetors who will take the time to study how these arts can be deployed. That is, this study demonstrated the hard work of rhetorical silence and listening and by *learning* how to use them could benefit debate performance specifically, and rhetorical performance generally. The results of this study can be seen in the next three chapters.

In the next three chapters I detail the specifics of my coding and the analysis that emerged from this research. Chapters 3 and 4 explore how silence was performed by Hillary in the general election debates. Chapter 5 focuses on how Hillary employed rhetorical listening.[49]

[49] I present a table of each in their respective chapters. The tables for silence are located in Chapters 3 and 4 and those for listening are located in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3: FINDINGS: RHETORICAL SILENCE

On September 26, 2016, Lester Holt, the moderator of the first Presidential general election debate introduced the democratic nominee for President, Hillary Clinton, onto the stage at Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York. This was a watershed moment in history as a woman walked onto the debate stage. The magnitude of that moment was most likely not lost on anyone, especially Hillary. As her name was called, Hillary followed the conventional protocol when entering. Wearing a red pantsuit, she walked toward the middle of the stage, smiling, reaching it before her opponent, who had been introduced immediately after her own introduction; she then crossed the middle of the stage to be the first to reach out a hand. With a quick handshake, nod, and brief verbal hello, she turned to the audience, smiled, and waved. In her next movements, she pointed in acknowledgement to someone in the audience, widening her smile. She was then first to walk over to Lester Holt, the moderator, to shake his hand. She once again waved to the audience before going to her assigned podium. Where Hillary had already engaged with the audience without verbal delivery, her opponent did not engage with the audience. He walked to his podium and stood watching Hillary greet the audience.

In these first moments of her appearance, Hillary has only spoken two words, but has silently delivered several messages through her movement, expressions, and her gestures. A quick hello and handshake, less cordial welcome to her opponent, a more cordial welcome to the moderator, and two instances of bold welcoming cues were sent to the audience through her motions, including facial expressions and bodily gestures.

This non-verbal performance signals two acts of rhetorical silence—purposeful persuasion and resistance. Cheryl Glenn notes that meaninglessness does not exist even in a delivery that has no sound. Something is always happening that makes meaning. First, Hillary's bold moves without sound became a persuasive rhetorical resource, a rhetoric of silence, as it moves forward her message that she is a strong candidate. By taking agency to walk across the stage first, she has broken two exclusionary spatial binaries already--crossing over to her opponent's side, and the binary of men only in that exclusionary campaign space. She then alerted the audience that she arrived, attending to them by acknowledging them twice. With such directed attention to the audience, Hillary has in a sense invited the audience to come along with her, exhibiting or attempting to establish an immediate relationship with the audience. Second, this form of rhetorical silence resists the stereotype that a woman faces when she is seemingly too bold or too aggressive; Hillary also resists adhering to media suggestions that she exercise caution in her own aggressiveness. Through what looked like a comfortable, engaging demeanor, Hillary deflected the idea that a woman cannot be first. Her bold moves to cross the aisle first, to first shake the moderator's hand, and to be the first to address the audience demonstrates a variety of rhetorical strategies delivered through silence.

Introduction

This chapter began with the introduction of Hillary Clinton onto the 2016 Presidential general election debate stage at Hofstra University. This chapter then follows her entry onto that stage by further describing and analyzing how she employed rhetorical silence throughout her participation in the three general presidential debates leading up to the election of 2016. While I

watch and listen for how she employed rhetorical silence during her debate, it is not the main form of delivery she used. The debate forum calls for quick responses within an allotted time limit. Therefore, too much silence would be considered a liability. Hillary's main delivery could thus be characterized as verbal. I will, however, be investigating silence—both purposefully used and imposed--as opposed to investigating traditional vocalization of delivery in a debate. However, vocalizations will be interrogated as I contextualize her silence in the debate.

Patterns such as stillness, pauses, and turn-taking can be identified in each of the candidate's performance, but these were not included in my analysis unless that stillness, or the pauses, or the turn-taking took a turn out of the ordinary protocol for debate performance. Pauses are sometimes defined as temporary arrests from specific action (speaking) and are not always part of an active function of silence (Ephratt). Yet, the literature demonstrates that silence is action. It is the action of silence delivery as deliberate that is being traced in this dissertation, however, deliberate silence cannot be known completely. A pause that may signify disagreement, or restraint from speaking, may be displayed but silence on its own does not always coincide with a predetermined or known function for that delivery. In a void during which no one is speaking, for example, there seems to be no apparent function for the silence. Such a delivery thus requires interrogation. There are also silence deliveries when something is not said, or responded to, or a question that goes unanswered or is avoided. There are many embodied silence deliveries such as smiling, crying, wincing, rolling eyes, to name a few, which are rhetorical moves situated within the context of the debate exchange that were identified and described.

However, just as connotation and denotation affect meaning in words symbolically, arbitrarily, and ambiguously, the embodiment of physical movement can also convey a variety of meanings. A vigilant, rhetorical eye can gain clues from these gestures, glances, positioning, and facial expressions that accompany silence. By carefully watching and ruminating over Hillary's various moves made on the stage, I looked for opportunities where she conveyed meaning through a rhetoric of silence. However, while even the slightest wince was interrogated, I was not privy to Hillary's actual intentions in such gesturing. Because Glenn emphasized this when she discusses the "function of specific acts" and how they are interpreted and how they affect readers (audiences) in a variety of ways depending on the "social-rhetorical context" in which these acts occur ("Unspoken" 9), the situation—what happened before, during, and after silence was delivered—will be taken into consideration in each exchange.

To organize the focus of this research, in Chapter 3, I approach the rhetoric of silence in three ways: (1) I identify specific forms of silence (i.e. how it is delivered and when it was delivered) using Glenn's rhetorical taxonomy of silence. (2) Once I identify a form, I include it into one of the several categories named during the extensive coding process. Within each grouping, I describe the circumstances surrounding the moments of silence delivery. (3) I then give an interpretation of each of the dialogic events within that category. Finally, after identifying Glenn's taxonomy, Chapter four will present a second table and demonstrate where I point to new possibilities for form and functions of silence thus expanding the categories initially used by Glenn and contributing to rhetorical studies of silence.

In Chapter 2, I detailed the work by Glenn and other scholars who locate silence as a form of oppression or a "lamentable essence of femininity, passivity, emptiness, stupidity, or obedience" (Glenn, "Unspoken" 2). Contemporary feminist rhetorical scholars were prompted to study silence as an alternative rhetoric because the discourse surrounding it as gendered and negative had become so pervasive. Focusing on silence as rhetorical strategy, Glenn set out to uncover, resist, and transform the negative optics silence had been given when employed by, or attributed to, women. Through a series of publications over the last 15 years, she seized the opportunity to reassess functions of silence and speaking as working simultaneously. She also reevaluated silence as it relates to rhetorical power and gender in multiple public spaces. Her studies resulted in the following taxonomy: engendering silence, witnessing silence, attesting silence, and commanding silence. Included is an inferred category but not explicitly stated and described by Glenn which I call "imposing silence." Table 3 provides a brief overview and reference for how I used each of Glenn's categories to code the debates. Thereafter, I use the categories to organize the chapter, devoting subsections of this chapter to discuss and analyze how these silences were employed by Hillary as I present examples of dialogue from each of the debates. I detail the moments and explain how silences were performed, commenting on the patterns (and their significance), as well as individual silences that were important in characterizing each debate.

Table 3: Glenn's Taxonomy and Characteristics of Rhetorical Silence

Glenn's Categories of Silence	Description of Characteristics
Engendering	I look at the situational circumstances where customary notions of silence as a power hierarchy are used, but where the strategy or the rhetorical resource is bound in the understanding that such a differential exists. Silence is considered weak for women but strategic for white men reifying social structures and hierarchy. Power is diffused based on the situated knowledge of the silenced. You are placed in a position filled with norms and you must know what those norms are and who they are for.
Imposing	I look at the moments where silence was demanded of Hillary. Glenn noted that what was not commanded by the tribe in her study was then imposed by the dominant culture. Silencing someone using some negative demand or imperative. Opposite of commanding: imposing implies demanding another not to speak. It is not chosen by the speaker.
Commanding	I look at moments where Hillary may have used certain embodied enactments to silence herself such as pursed lips, a shift in demeanor. Where Glenn notes that some groups are coded to be silent for several reasons: fear of losing cultural capital; identity; preserve professionalism; deter negative implications; "postpone power," they will command themselves to be silent to appease a dominant narrative.
Witnessing	I refer to the various forms where amplifying silence by breaking silence is employed and/or whereby Hillary might be recognizing after witnessing her own silence that it is time to interject her voice.
Opening	Places where I find spaces of possibilities for silence as a rhetorical resource not mentioned by Glenn or other researchers--possibilities for rhetorical silence that have been overlooked in the past. These are in Table 4 in the next chapter.

Table 3: **Glenn's Taxonomy and Characteristics of Rhetorical Silence**

Engendering Silence

Glenn illustrates the context of "engendering" silence by identifying spaces that give rise to the reiteration of gendered norms. In other words, these are the spaces where acts may seem natural, but are performed based on long held traditions of what gender should be or should do. By interrogating this category within the focus of Hillary's debate performances (movement,

gestures, eye contact, what happed before and/or after the delivery of silence) regarding rhetorical silence, I analyze how Hillary performed this type of silence as she navigated her position whether it was maintaining, resisting, or transgressing traditional gendered norms for silence.

During the first debate, as her opponent spoke at length in response to the first question, Hillary's demeanor was poised, looking at her opponent mostly, but consistently glancing at the audience, writing notes, then glancing at the audience again, then back at her opponent. She had no discernable affect in her expression. Her head was tilted up and she did not have a full smile, but she did not frown—she had an almost smile. I call this her neutral stance, as it was what mostly frequently characterized her performance throughout the debate.

Hillary did not ever demonstrate an angry expression, call out when it was not her turn, or frown throughout the first two debates. She complied to the gendered norm of pleasantness, not too shrill, not too loud, not too emotional. Her pose was just right: a perfect demeanor for a woman as defined by culturally acceptable codes for women, such as not looking angry or making sure to smile, signifying the "self-silence effect" for beauty mentioned in the study by Schrick et al., as well as Bosker's interpretation of Sor Juana's engendered silence as a way to appease dominant authority. As described, this performance of silence suggests Hillary's eagerness to obey the rules and show where tradition is and has been cemented over time. With that said, Hillary also complied with the rules most of the time when engaging in making claims for her policies. She did make claims against her opponent as debate protocol calls for when

countering an argument. Obeying the rules was also demonstrated in recognizing time limits and ending her speaking time when asked.

Obeying the Rules

One obvious example of Hillary using silence to mark her attention to rules was her adherence to time rules. Each candidate was allowed two minutes to answer questions. From the very start of the first debate, Hillary began her 2-minute response to the question from Lester Holt and exactly at two minutes and three seconds, she stopped speaking. Marking this adherence, the moderator thanked her: "Secretary Clinton, thank you."

It may seem silly to include this simple comment from the moderator, Lester Holt, but its importance lies in the fact that Hillary ends her response before the moderator had to say, "your time is up." Especially in context of an opponent who frequently went over time, Hillary does seem to relinquish her space, yielding her power of voice in order to "obey" the two-minute response rule and in so doing enact her gendered position. In almost every instance, Hillary abides by the two- minute debate protocol. She stops speaking when the time is up or when the moderator says her time is up. By contrast, her opponent exceeds the time limit on several occasions. For example, during the second debate, the candidates are provided with a chair to sit when not speaking. During Trumps' remarks between the time markers 1:01:37 and 1:03:38, Hillary remains seated looking at him as if she was (seemingly) intently listening to him. She continuously holds her head turned toward him with eyes open wide and quietly sits while he speaks. After two minutes the moderator indicates to Trump that he has reached his maximum of two minutes. Hillary continues to look at Trump when Raddatz states:

Martha Raddatz: Mr. Trump, your two minutes is up (D2 1:03:38).

Trump does not seem to regard the time warning and continues:

Donald Trump: And one thing I have to say.
Martha Raddatz: Your two minutes is up.

Trump again ignores the warning and continues by speaking over Raddatz

Donald Trump: I don't like Assad at all, but Assad is killing ISIS. Russia is killing ISIS. And Iran is killing ISIS. And …

Trump continues to disregard the time signals and the moderator.

Trump has now gone over his time but continues talking while the moderator is attempting to stop him. All this time Hillary remains quiet, does not make a motion to stand, but she does make eye contact with the audience as Trump utters the words, "the dumbest deal" during this extended delivery. When he says this, Hillary looks at him with her eyes focused on him as he looks at her while he is saying this. Once he looks away, Hillary then turns her eyes to the audience and tightens her lips with a partial smile (it could be considered a smirk) while shaking her head side to side as if saying no, no, no. She then stands up knowing that it is her time to speak. She has a huge smile on her face as she continues looking at the audience and then turns her head a little, as she is now enacting outright laughter as Raddatz tries to intervene Trump's monologue: "Mr. Trump…Mr. Trump, …."

During this exchange Hillary seldom speaks over the moderator or takes up more than her allotted time, which again indicates her adherence to the rules. Raddatz gains the floor and

continues while Hillary is now laughing a bit with the audience; Raddatz continues to question Donald Trump:

> **Martha Raddatz**: Mr. Trump, let me repeat the question. If you were president...

The audience laughs as well with Hillary as she is looking at the audience while Raddatz continues:

> ... what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? And I want to remind you what your running mate said. He said provocations by Russia need to be met with American strength …. (D2 1:04:27).
> **Donald Trump:** OK. He and I haven't spoken, and I disagree. I disagree (1:04:31).
> **Martha Raddatz**: You disagree with your running mate?

Raddatz and Trump continue in a dialogue whereby Raddatz reminds Trump about answering the question. Hillary remains standing (possibly because it was her turn to speak and she is anticipating that she will soon be afforded the opportunity to respond). She begins to write notes on her podium during some of the Trump/Raddatz exchange[50] all the while continuing to make eye contact with her audience. After writing a few things, Hillary now sits back down and Trump and Raddatz continue to discuss Syria. At 1:07:24, Hillary is asked to respond. Trump began speaking at 1:01. Hillary's smirk, laughter, and note taking demonstrate embodied acts of non-verbal gestures that demonstrate a form of rhetorical silence. That is, these kinds of gestures suggest that Hillary is being attentive to the question and to her audience. Except for the smirk and her laughter once during Trump's exchange with the moderator, there is little expression on her face. However, when Trump mentions Obama's name and makes a few remarks about her, as mentioned earlier, her facial expressions change. She purses her lips.

[50] It is important to note here that during the Ferraro/Bush debate, Ferraro was highly criticized for notetaking since this performative act took away eye contact from her audience. Ferraro was accused of not connecting to her viewers (Baaske).

Throughout the debates, similar instances took place whereby Hillary remained silent when her opponent maintained the stage (referencing an Adler and Towne category, stage-hogging, meaning one talks until they need to catch their breath, or someone stops them). We might infer, then, that throughout the two debates Hillary subscribed to a normative performance of "doing silence correctly," referencing West and Zimmerman's notion of "doing gender," and Tannen and Ballif's theories, wherein silence is attributed to women and speaking is traditionally attributed to men.

Indeed, rarely does Hillary break timing protocol, even when it may seem that she has exceeded her time limit. For instance, and again during the second debate, when she goes overtime it is in context of being interrupted and that interruption causes a delay in completing her sentence, thus seeming as if she broke the rules. Beginning at 41 minutes and 10 seconds of the second debate, the following dialogue entailed:

> **Hillary Clinton:** So I thought that what he said was extremely unwise and even dangerous. And indeed, you can look at the propaganda on a lot of the terrorists' sites, and what Donald Trump says about Muslims is used to recruit fighters, because they want to create a war between us (D2 41:10).

During the last few seconds of Hillary's dialogue, and where she is directing her attention to the audience, the viewers can see Trump pointing at the moderators and then at the clock. Hillary now walks over to the other side of the stage, holds her arm out while speaking to the audience, as if to embrace the audience. She then walks back to her podium where Trump is standing and who is still signaling to the commentators.

Hillary continues:

> **Hillary Clinton:** And the final thing I would say, this is the 10th or 12th time that he's denied being for the war in Iraq. We have it on tape. The entire press corps has looked at it. It's been debunked, but it never stops him from saying whatever he wants to say. (D2 41:44).

Trump does not wait for any signal from the commentators and continues to interject:

Donald Trump: That's not been debunked.
Hillary Clinton: So, please …

Trump adds a comment again while Hillary continues within the time limit; she remains silent seemingly composing herself when there is an interruption of thought:

Donald Trump: That has not been debunked.

Hillary persists in completing her message to the audience about finding more information through her website:

Hillary Clinton: ... go to HillaryClinton.com and you can see it (41:48)

By this time Trump begins to speak as Hillary is ending her remarks and as she returns to her podium. Trump speaks in defense of himself:

Donald Trump: I was against—I was against the war in Iraq. Has not been debunked. And you voted for it. And you shouldn't have. Well, I just want to say... (41:50).

Raddatz now interjects so that the debate can move forward:

Martha Raddatz: There's been lots of fact-checking on that. I'd like to move on to an online question...

In the next comment, Trump indicates that Hillary went over the time limit

Donald Trump: Excuse me. She just went about 25 seconds over her time (42:03 emphasis added).
Martha Raddatz: She did not (D2 42:05).

We see here where Hillary has made some critical remarks against her opponent and where Trump defends himself as Hillary begins to complete her ending statement. Noting time was almost up, Hillary begins to invite the audience to verify her information by going to her website. Noting the timing where there were only seconds in between quips, the dialogue was somewhat overlapping. While her opponent commented while she was speaking, Hillary quickly ends her

response. The moderator denies the subsequent claim that Hillary went overtime and thus corroborates Hillary's ethos and adherence to the rules.[51]

Where Glenn positions silence as something feminine and simultaneously negative in her study of talking over another speaker, I see that a possible purposeful refrain from speaking out or over the other voice is a reclamation of silence. If Hillary did not refrain, the episode could rise to yelling over each other's voice. Glenn does not explore this idea fully in her theory. That is, in this instance, I am reminded of Hillary's situated knowledge. In her political career Hillary has been exposed to negative representations from media in many of her attempts to speak out. This is true in the more recent events when she was speaking in front of Congress during the Benghazi accusations. When Hillary did speak out in a loud voice (or what the media labeled "loud"), she was stigmatized for speaking out. Such experience may be a catalyst for Hillary to refrain from speaking over her opponent's voice, especially if his voice is louder. One may see this as an imposition on Hillary, required gendered adherence, but I see it as a rhetorical use of silence or what Thomas Huckin explains in terms of a cautionary functional use of silence or "discretional silence." Hillary's caution or rhetorical silence could have something to do with the double bind that plagues women. While Glenn mentions the oppressiveness of imposing silence, she does not mention the idea of a double bind theory when discussing this category. Enacting silence during these kinds of impositions may be a strategy to fend off the dilemma of the double bind.

[51] As a note and perspective, the transcripts call some of the interruptions (Crosstalk), interruptions due to the number of places where the transcripts did not pick up the words because both were talking at the same time. However, upon close inspection, the crosstalk is often due to one candidate speaking over the other during the candidate's speaking time.

Engendering silence in a debate is an occasion that gives rise to silence as a space to dominate one's opponent. Where the above examples demonstrate that the gendered norm to acquiesce to protocol by staying within the boundaries by Hillary remained intact, it also demonstrates how Hillary refrained from interrupting her opponent in some instances when he went overtime even when the moderators did not interrupt Trump or warn him that his time limit had expired. Rarely did Hillary interrupt her opponent; instead she stayed within the boundaries of the gendered codes for speaking and silence.

Trump violates the time rules in the first two debates as seen in the above example. In debate one, Trump begins to speak and after two and a half minutes, the moderator, Lester Holt, tries to stop Trump, but Trump continues for another fifteen seconds while Hillary watches and remains silent. During Trump's turn, Hillary refrains from speaking, and she does not interrupt. She stands behind the podium, watching her opponent as he speaks, keeping an eye on her audience, and looking down at her notes intermittently.

We can also see how Hillary adheres to gendered and social codes in another instance in debate one. After protracted speaking by Trump, Lester Holt successfully takes over, saying, "Let me let Secretary Clinton get in here" (D1 14:56). This interjection affirms the imposition of silencing Hillary and the gendered expectation that Hillary needs Holt's permission to speak, again invoking a gendered traditional norm.

At another juncture, Hillary's adherence to the rules can be observed during the beginning minutes of the second debate, during which each of the candidates were to answer the first question posed by an audience member:

> **Patrice Brock**: The last debate could have been rated as MA, mature audiences, per TV parental guidelines. Knowing that educators assign viewing the presidential debates as students' homework, do you feel you're modeling appropriate and positive behavior for today's youth (D2 1:34)?

At the conclusion of Patrice Brock's question, Hillary responds within the two-minute time limit (finishing at 3:34). Once she finishes, she walks back to her chair while Trump begins his response. After two minutes (5:44), Trump continues without any admonishment or reminder of time limitations. In fact, after twenty seconds over time Anderson Cooper repeats the question indicating that Trump has not responded directly to the question:

> **Anderson Cooper**: Thank you, Mr. Trump. The question from Patrice was about are you both modeling positive and appropriate behavior for today's youth ….. (D2 6: 05)

During this time Hillary remains in what I call a neutral position. That is, she maintains a stance behind her podium looking at her opponent while he speaks, her body facing the audience, but her head directed toward her opponent; no other facial expression is observable, although she does seem to be listening. During this exchange with the moderator, Trump is then given more time to respond but after a minute into his response, Cooper again reminds Trump that the question concerned modeling behavior:

> **Anderson Cooper:** So, Mr. Trump……. Just for the record…… (D2 7:29)
> **Donald Trump:** I've said things that, frankly, you hear these things I said. And I was embarrassed by it. But I have tremendous respect for women.

Once again Hillary remains in a neutral stance as the moderator and Trump continue to dialogue between the two of them; Hillary's voice is silent as she is not included in the conversation. However, in the video, the spit screen allows us to see Hillary's expressions throughout. While verbal silence on Hillary's part continues, visual rhetoric is taking over. At the time the next dialogue starts--7:29, Hillary's expression changes slightly. She begins to press her lips together as Trump continues:

> **Donald Trump:** And women have respect for me. And I will tell you: No, I have not. And I will tell you that I'm going to make our country safe. We're going to have borders in our country, which we don't have now. People are pouring into our country, and they're coming in from the Middle East and other places…. (D2 8:06).
> **Anderson Cooper:** Thank you, Mr. Trump.

Trump does not stop talking.

> **Donald Trump:** Right now, other nations are taking our jobs and they're taking our wealth (D2 8:31)
> **Anderson Cooper:** Thank you, Mr. Trump.

Trump completes his response at 8:06 but attempts to continue talking about issues not related to the question. He is stopped at minute 8:31 of the debate, having begun his response at 3:36 after Hillary finished, effectively going 3 minutes over his allotted time. This occurs three times over the course of the debates, during which Hillary remains silent and watches a two-way conversation between the moderator and Trump, in effect demonstrating and reifying a gendered history where a woman must sit and be quiet while men are given more time to speak. With respect to Glenn's concept of engendered silence, Hillary seems to yield her power of voice to "obey" the rules. However, there is evidence through visual rhetoric and her facial expression that she was uncomfortable in this position. In the third debate, Hillary is likewise silent during exchanges between the moderator and Trump, and again maintains a neutral stance, but intermittently interjects visual rhetoric that indicates amusement when the moderator, Chris Wallace in this case, engages in two-party dialogue with Trump.

Debate 3 gives another instance where Hillary remains quiet while the moderator Chris Wallace and Trump have a discussion and where she is not included in the conversation. First, Trump uses a declarative statement to intercede during Hillary's speaking time:

> **Donald Trump**: I'd like to mention one thing: Trump Foundation, small foundation. People contribute. I contribute. The money—100% goes to different charity, including a lot of military. I don't get anything. I don't buy boats. I don't buy planes. What happens, the money goes in … (D3 58:50)
> **Chris Wallace:** Wasn't some of the money used to settle your lawsuit, sir?
> **Donald Trump**: No, we put up the American flag. And that's it. They put up the American flag. We fought for the right in palm beach to put up the American flag (D3 1:00:20)

Hillary demonstrates a different reaction to the questioning of Trump's charity. She has what might be called a snarky look: a slight smile with eye movement that fluctuates between the two men to the audience and then back again. She looks to be trying to hide laughter and is seemingly smug in her facial expressions. She watches each one as they go back and forth with one-line questions and answers. Nonetheless, she does not interrupt verbally.

As a moment of departure from Hillary's "neutral stance," in the third debate, while Trump is responding to the first question, Hillary's stance is slightly different. She does *not* have a neutral facial expression but one that might be called steely: a look that one may want to be cautious about approaching. However, once Hillary begins responding to the questions, she reverts back to her "neutral stance" (a nonverbal cue or impression that she is giving her opponent the respect of dutifully listening to his responses), a look that one gives in a situation where a listener is attentive to the speaker but without any other nonverbal accentuation, such as a nod of agreement, or disagreement, a smile of approval, a frown, etc.

In summary, Glenn described "engendering silence" as circumstances where someone is placed into a subordinate position because it is "the norm"—one speaks only when spoken to and has permission to speak back. Glenn states that one's position, identity or situatedness allows for inside knowledge or "knowing" that position—I am a woman; therefore, I am silent. What may

seem natural is only a manifestation of what has been reiterated over time and power relations are reified by keeping the "subordinate figures in their place" (Glenn, *Unspoken* 33). Even Hillary's visual rhetorics, whether her neutral stance, her smiles, her looks out at the audience, did not speak over the noticeable silencing of Hillary in this case. Therefore, the question still concerns us whether Hillary employed a strategy of rhetorical silence by obeying the rules. In similar fashion, the next category explores the gendered effect of positioning women as silent (or imposing silence on women). While this section demonstrates Hillary's propensity for "obeying the rules," and the possibility that this stems from the dilemma of the double bind, the next section begins to give us more insight into whether using rhetorical silence is a way to subvert imposition by strategically positioning "oneself" as "silent woman," just as Glenn had found in her study of academic women.

Imposing Silence: "Wait; Wait a minute; One Second; Excuse me"

Imposing silence is not isolated within Glenn's taxonomy. Instead, Glenn used it in opposition to "commanding" silence, or a way to explain how commanding silence works. She did not parse out instances of imposed silences, where, in my research, I felt it important to point out this nuance because it demonstrates where silence is initially forced/imposed on someone, so that rhetors know what to look for and to resist this form of silencing. Parsing out the moments where silence was imposed on Hillary helps to reveal later how employing silence can be used as a strategy to resist or transform imposed silences. Specifically, imposing silence upon another is preventing another from speaking. Analysis of this category resulted in the largest number of occurrences of silence, indicating a possible overall hostile rhetorical situation or pernicious

circumstance. Imposing silence became a normative condition throughout the first two debates because it was allowed so many times. Therefore, creating the explicit category helps to demonstrate where impositions occurred and further shows how Hillary navigated some deliveries of rhetorical silence in context of such impositions.

The marker for silencing Hillary was enacted through continuous interjections by her opponent and, at times, the moderators. Repeatedly Hillary attempted to speak when it was her turn, but often she was prevented from speaking. For example, she was interrupted seven times in the first thirty minutes of the first debate. Trump also interjected his voice, projecting it over hers, seven more times within four minutes in the first debate. In the second debate, within a time frame of one minute and thirteen seconds, Trump interjected during Hillary's speaking time eight times with 72 seconds (D2 23:39-24:51). In total, Trump interjected no less than eighty times in the first debate and no less than fifty times in the second debate in various ways.[52] By contrast Trump only interjected Hillary and the moderator ten times in the third debate. The following sub-sections demonstrate examples of how silence was imposed on Hillary through imperative exclamations, doubling up on impositions, and talking over.

Imposing Imperatives

"Wait," "wait a minute," "one second," are words that Trump uses declaratively to impose silence. He uses these imperative exclamations throughout all three debates He also imposes silence when he refuses to let the moderator interrupt him or limit his time. This, too, indirectly imposes silence on Hillary. For instance, in the following dialogue, Trump speaks at

[52] These interjections and dialogue can be found in the transcripts in the appendix.

length but never responds directly to the moderator's question, a pattern found throughout the debates. During this next exchange from debate one, Trump is asked to clarify a statement he has made about Hillary's judgement or her look:

> **Lester Holt**: "I just don't think she has the presidential look …". (D1 1:32:59).
> **Donald Trump:** You have—**wait a minute. Wait a minute**, Lester. You asked me a question. Did you ask me a question? You have to be able to negotiate our trade deals. You have to be able to negotiate, that's right, with Japan, with Saudi Arabia. I mean, can you imagine, we're defending Saudi Arabia? And with all of the money they have, we're defending them, and they're not paying? (D1 1:32:60, emphasis added).

Holt attempts to intercede however, Trump continues:

> **Donald Trump:** All you have to do is speak to them. **Wait**. You have so many different things you have to be able to do, and I don't believe that Hillary has the stamina.
> **Lester Holt: Let's let her** respond.
> **Hillary Clinton:** Well, as soon as he travels to 112 countries and negotiates a peace deal, cease-fire, release of dissidents, opening new opportunities in nations around the world, or even spends 11 hours testifying in front of a congressional committee, he can talk to me about stamina (D1 1:33:32)

Trump verbally cuts off Hillary

> **Donald Trump:** The world—**let me tell you**. **Let me tell** you. Hillary has experience, but it's bad experience. We have made so many bad deals during the last—so she's got experience, that I agree.

Here, when Trump is interrupted by Holt, we can also see the commentator suggesting that "we" (the moderator and Trump), should both "let," or give Hillary permission to, respond, acknowledging imposed silence as well as its gendered patterns. In another instance in the same debate but discussing President Obama's citizenship, Trump interjects:

> **Donald Trump:** But **let me** just **tell you**… (D1 1:01:20, emphasis added)

We see in the above example that Trump interrupts Hillary by using the imperative, "let me tell you" not only once, but twice for emphasis to seemingly demand that she become silent while he talks. He turns directly to face her, moves toward her, and speaks directly to her. In the second instance, Trump also does this even when Hillary is not speaking. He directs his attention to her, turning to her and states, "let me *just* tell *you."* He seemingly addresses Hillary as if he needs to lecture her, thus keeping in tune with Tannen's notion of women becoming the listening audience while men remain in the dominant form of speaking. Trump uses this phrase in two other places in debate one, which suggests he is reproaching her.

In the third debate, Trump uses the imperative "wait one second" (D3 1:20:47) in the middle of his own sentence to prevent being interrupted by Wallace who is signaling to Trump that time was up. Trump waves his hand to Wallace, accentuating his verbal message with non-verbal communication. While Trump is not specifically imposing silence on Hillary, he is taking away her time, which in turn imposes silence. Trump uses the "wait" imperative twice verbally in the third debate. If, however, you include the non-verbal motion, he uses it three times. He also uses "let me talk or let me say this" at five different times during the third debate. Meanwhile, Hillary uses the imperative "let me say" or "let me respond" or "let me translate" five times, and she uses "wait" once as an imperative for the others to let her speak.

It's Okay to Impose if you say "Excuse Me"

In addition to terms such as "wait," Trump also uses the term "excuse me" to impose silence on either Hillary or the moderators. This occurs a total of eleven times—seven in the first

debate and five times in the second. For example, in debate one before Holt can finish his question, "Why is your judgement better than….?", Trump jumps in:

> **Donald Trump:** And when he—**excuse me**. And that was before the war started. …. (D1 1:20:41, emphasis added)

Trump interjects with a few words and then quickly exclaims, "excuse me," which prevents Holt from continuing. Trump does not acknowledge that Holt was speaking first. While "excuse me" is considered a polite term, in this context and with his delivery (including the tone, rate, emphasis, pitch, ad inflection), it functions as an imposition. The instances where Trump uses this term are demands rather than polite intercessions, and thus imposes silence on Hillary and on Hillary again through the moderator.

Interjections: Doubling Impositions and Speaking Over

The following examples come from all three debates where Trump interjects impositions while Hillary is speaking. He not only says them once, he doubles and even triples on his impositions. Emphasis is added to demonstrate a pattern:

Debate one:
I **did not. I did not**. I do not say that (16:58)
You haven't done it. You haven't done it (20:32)
Who gave it that name? —who gave it that name? (28:47)

Debate two:
It's just words, folks. **It's just words**. (10:17)
And yet she **didn't know** the word. She **didn't even know** that word (22:34)
No, **it hasn't. It hasn't**. And **it hasn't** been finished at all (20:35)
Well, I just want one—**just one** thing (31:30)
That's not been debunked; That's not been debunked (41:45)

Debate three:
And **defend yourselves. And defend yourselves**. I didn't say—**and defend yourself**. (32:41)

> **Wait til you see**—this is going to be the great Trojan horse. **Wait til you see** what happens in the coming years (1:17:54)

These are just a few of the double impositions placed on either Hillary or the commentators throughout all three debates. In the first forty minutes of the second debate he uses 14 double phrases. While doubling the phrases may be a form to fill up space or silence, it also prevents others from continuing or intervening because it reduces pause time for the speaker. It was an effective way to maintain verbal dominance.

Another demonstration of a pattern of silencing comes in the form of interjecting one word when the other is speaking.

> **Hillary Clinton:** Well, you know, once again Donald is implying that he didn't support the invasion of Iraq. I said it was a mistake. I said that years ago. He has consistently denied what is—
> **Donald Trump: Wrong**. (D3 1:12:19)
> **Hillary Clinton**: —is a very clear fact that before the invasion
> **Donald Trump**: **Wrong**. (D3 1:12:22)
> **Hillary Clinton:** That before the invasion he supported it…. Google Donald Trump Iraq and you will see the dozens of sources which verify that he was for the invasion of Iraq.
> **Donald Trump**: **Wrong**. (D3 1:12:34, emphasis added in all three instances)

Like the double impositions, the single interjections of "wrong" impose silence on Hillary, either by creating diversion to place the focus on himself, or by taking time away from Hillary (stealing time) for instance, in several conversations we can see how time is taken up by interjections.

Trump interrupts by interjecting his voice when someone else is speaking, which resulted in taking time from Hillary (another imposition):

Trump interjects other kinds of comments by talking over Hillary as she is speaking:

> **Donald Trump:** That's called business, by the way.

Once again, by talking over Hillary who does follow the debate protocol of ending her speaking within time, Trump is in effect stealing time from Hillary and the audience as well:

> **Anderson Cooper**: Secretary Clinton, you can respond. Then we have to move on to an audience question. (D2 23:41)
> **Hillary Clinton:** Look, it's just not true. And so please, go to...

Trump talks louder over his opponent which causes more time to be consumed.

> **Donald Trump:** Oh, you didn't delete them?

In this instance, Trump does not use his imperative exclamations but simply talks louder and over Hillary, thus inviting the *moderator to suggest that Trump "allow" Hillary to speak:*

> **Cooper:** Allow her to respond, please.

As evidenced in both the above instances the moderator had to step in, again taking up even more time from discussing the issues. The moderator's directive gives credibility to Hillary's compliance to the rules, but at the same time, giving her permission to speak ("allow her to speak"), reinforces the concept of engendering silence.

Another time Trump does this comes in debate three. As explained in chapter two, debate three is different because the forum allocated candidates more free time to express their views and, thus, each took up more time that in a traditional debate protocol. Here Trump is taking up time by repeating prior statements but does not stop speaking when the moderator interjects and mentions that we have heard this before:

> **Donald Trump:** We're entitled because of the laws that people like her passed to take massive amounts .... (D3 1:01:25).
> **Chris Wallace: We heard this** (emphasis added).

During this time Hillary seems staunch in her stance which is to say that while she is in her regular stance of eyes on Trump as he speaks, and she has no reaction, she moves her body a bit more. It may be impatience, or it may be that she wants to jump into the conversation. She is tightening her lips while Trump is speaking. The impositions and interjections during an opponent's speaking time can also be a form of silencing because it inadvertently causes the opponent to work harder during the debate. This can be seen when Hillary, in trying to overcome impositions, attempts to persist in using verbal responses.

She persisted but to no avail

Despite the impositions that seemingly silence Hillary, she does attempt to resist the imperative exclamations by employing embodied enactments that demonstrate her efforts to speak out or to interject her voice. Trump begins his response to the moderator's question:

> **Donald Trump:** I think we have to get NATO to go into the Middle East with us, in addition to surrounding nations, and we have to knock the hell out of ISIS and we have to do it fast, when ISIS formed in this vacuum created by… (D1 1:16:38).

After Trump's two minutes had expired, Hillary purses her lips, turns to the audience half closing her eyes, then shifts her head to the right at her opponent, then back to the audience with pursed lips upturned, then looks at Trump, puts the microphone up to her mouth, looks at the audience and opens her mouth to speak. Hillary for the first-time cuts Trump off but he does not stop. Trump went overtime by 17 seconds when Hillary interjected her voice. However, her attempt to intervene is met with an imperative. Watching her demeanor while the moderator and Trump continued to converse for about two and a half minutes, Hillary does try to interject:

> **Hillary Clinton**: Lester, **we've covered**...

Donald Trump: No, **wait a minute**. (D1 1:18:57)

Trump imposes an imperative. Again, Hillary persists but to no avail

Hillary Clinton: We've covered this ground….

Trump again interrupts by doubling his impositions twice:

Donald Trump: When they formed, **when they formed**, this is something **that never should have happened**. **It should have never happened** (D1 1:19:17, emphasis added).

In the above dialogue, when Trump doubles up with his phrase "this should never have happened," Holt interrupts Trump to focus on the issue, but to no avail. Five minutes into the dialogue between Holt and Trump, Hillary begins to shift her stance—using bodily gestures, such as shoulders, head movement, and changing facial features that seemingly signify discomfort with the imposed silence. Hillary had first alerted Holt to Trump's repetitions, but she was interrupted by Trump. Again, she persisted but Trump continued talking. When her last attempt failed to stop Trump from speaking, Hillary's shoulders began to relax; she was no longer shifting forward; she then turned toward Trump, fell back into her neutral stance and remained silent.

Hillary stops speaking. She tilts her head slightly downward, lowers her eyelids, purses her lips. Trump raises his voice when she attempts to speak, and then he turns not only his head but full body, toward her, speaking with a raised voice directly to her. Hillary refrains from interjecting and smiles as she turns from looking at his gaze at her, when he emphasizes that "it should never have happened," back to her audience.

Holt takes over:

Lester Holt: Mr. Trump, a lot of these are judgment questions. You had supported the war in Iraq before the invasion. What makes your...

Trump interrupts the narrator; Hillary does not react other than to watch Trump as he continues:

> **Donald Trump:** I did not support the war in Iraq. (D1 1:19:27)
> **Lester Holt:** In 2002...

Trump interjects again

Toward the end of the dialogue between Holt and Trump, and where Trump has again interrupted Holt, Hillary begins to laugh, looks straight ahead at the audience, smiles, puts her head down, then up, but never interrupts; her silence becomes obvious through her non-verbal embodied enactments. She has an expression on her face that could be considered an incredulous look; then she again looks at the audience as Trump continues to speak and Holt continues to try to get him to specifically answer the question. She looks as if she wants to jump into the conversation, but she does not. Hillary is tightening her lips while Trump continues:

> **Donald Trump:** The record shows that I'm right. When I did an interview with Howard Stern, very lightly, first time anyone's asked me that, I said, very lightly, I don't know, maybe, who knows? (D1 1:19:58).

Hillary begins to shift her body and her facial expressions now. She turns to the audience with wider eyes, looks straight out and then turns back to watching Trump as Trump continues:

> **Donald Trump:** Essentially. I then did an interview with Neil Cavuto. We talked about the economy is more important. I then spoke to Sean Hannity, which everybody refuses to call Sean Hannity. I had numerous conversations with Sean Hannity at Fox. And Sean Hannity said—and he called me the other day—and I spoke to him about it—he said you were totally against the war, because he was for the war.

At the beginning of banter between both men, Hillary initially was positioned in her regular stance, standing up straight, looking occasionally at her opponent, occasionally at the moderator(s), and occasionally forward, toward her audience. After the dialogue continued Hillary began a series of embodied motions: She first gazes straight ahead at the camera, or at the

audience. She then begins but then fluctuates between pursed lips and forming a slight smile, as if amused or stunned at the dialogue she and the audience are witnessing. She returns to pursing her lips. Hillary takes a deep breath while looking at the audience again but refrains from speaking.

These movements demonstrate something different from her normal stance, perhaps impatience as she silently (verbal silence) waits for the dialogue to end or for an opening to successfully navigate from silence to utterance. She does not make any verbal utterances, however. Instead, she scratches her cheek, looks at the audience, gives a laugh when Holt begins to interject. This laugh seems to signal that maybe she is amused, perhaps, by the back and forth of these two men taking up oxygen and space, interrupting, and levying imperatives on each other. All the while, Hillary remains outside of this dialogue as if removed from this space, because there does not seem to be a place to intercede.

This kind of imposition, or positioning Hillary as the "other" or the outsider who is watching, demonstrates what Tannen and Ratcliffe proclaim as a silence that positions her as part of the audience instead of a dominant speaking position in a debate where she is a participant. Indeed, here, Hillary is part of the audience, so to speak. However, as I will explain later in my analysis of commanding silence, Hillary's embodied fluctuations that accompanied her silence deliver rhetorical impact. We see in Hillary's performance at this interval notions of both imposition on her as well as a possible strategy on her part to divert that imposition and maybe connect with her audience.

The Moderator Effect

Trump was not the only one who imposed silence on Hillary. The moderators also imposed silence on Hillary by allowing her opponent to interrupt on so many occasions. This is evidenced above when we saw that Hillary's opponent had been allowed to speak for two minutes but then was given another three minutes to clarify what did not make sense in the first two minutes. When this happened, Hillary did not interject. She pursed her lips but did not interrupt.

In the first debate, the moderator does not stop Trump from speaking or going over his allotted time. Trump can speak out when it is not his turn. On the contrary, when Hillary speaks out of turn, she is immediately reproached. She quickly retreats and is silent, once again obeying the rules. Given the patterns of the first debate, the moderators of the second debate were more compelled to try to enforce the time rules. However, they had difficulty keeping Trump from interrupting Hillary and imposing silence on her.

While the moderators were more forceful in stopping Hillary's opponent from usurping time in the second debate, they were nonetheless compliant once again in allowing Trump to clarify his position, thus giving him more time to speak. Silence was imposed on Hillary while he was given extra time to speak. For example, in the second debate Raddatz asks the following question about Syria:

> **Martha Raddatz:** …if you were president, what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? (D2 59:25).

Trump talks for two minutes but not about Syria. He then turns to Hillary on several issues. The moderators do not interrupt. He continues until the Raddatz redirects his response but allows him to continue.

> **Martha Raddatz**: Mr. Trump, let me repeat the question. If you were president... (laughter from the audience) ... what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo (D2 1:04:31)?

In this example, not only does Trump take time to directly speak to his opponent, but the moderators allow him extra time to speak about the issue. During the time that Trump takes to speak and directly speak to Hillary personally, she remains quiet.

Perhaps because the third debate allowed for more speaking time, the moderator was more consistent in equal time for each of the candidates, but with that said, the moderator allows short quips that interrupt Hillary, such as interjecting one word like "wrong," as mentioned previously.

The episodes just described demonstrate scenes that play out continuously in speaking and conversational situations. Deborah Tannen discusses the oppressive nature of women being silenced by a speaker, and how the women must assume the secondary role of listener. Kramarae, from a muted group theoretical perspective, explains this in terms of "circles overlap[ing] whereby the masculine overrides the feminine circle rendering it invisible" (10). Hillary was forced into silence by her opponent, it may seem, but her silence delivery can be interpreted many ways. Recognizing speaking is the privileged form of communication and men occupy that space, Glenn's theory of engendering rhetorical silence claims that women may choose to be silent because to force the issue is to fall into a double-bind, speak out and risk being called disruptive, argumentative, aggressive, or remain silent and weak. Following this

reasoning, Foss et al. note that a form of combatant persuasion or argumentative debate is critiqued by feminist scholars in favor of a more invitational persuasion.[53]

The form of silencing by Hillary's opponent is a culturally persistent occurrence, whereby the woman is silenced and will not voice over the speaker. From this perspective, Hillary's silence was forced, but she could have rejected that position and voiced over her opponent. She could have chosen to speak out, but it would have been a delivery of speaking over her opponent.[54] As Tannen's research demonstrates, men turn into lecturers forcing women to listen in conversations where she is feeling, "pinned involuntarily in the listener position" (Tannen, "You" 124).

So far it seems as if Hillary is modeling a normative gendered position—she is obeying by being the silent candidate. Detailing the numerous times that silence was imposed and creating a separate category allowed me to demonstrate how a debate climate can become engendering. Such detail also demonstrates how gendered norms are imposed on Hillary and therefore a seriously concerning matter, since I am looking for strategies that resist traditional norms, and other ways that transgress normative space instead of maintaining them. Important to

[53] As per my literature review, the idea of argumentation in debate or the idea of rational deliberation often falls into a category of adversary. Foss & Griffen contrast combative persuasion versus invitational persuasion. Sylvia Burrow wrote about gendered argumentation noting that women are positioned to be more communal and cooperative where argument become spaces of combat using metaphors of war, "knock em out; etc. These are exclusionary places again omitting women's bodies in direct combat zones.

[54] Beginning here, the idea of the double standard makes its appearance. I recall Jamieson's double-bind theory and Ratcliffe's idea of Bathsheba's Dilemma. Also, Burrows gendered argumentation research, Wood's instrumental versus expressive language, and Tannen's work on argument cultures are demonstrated in the first 30 minutes of this debate. Burrow's notes that transgressing discursive norms "disadvantages women because women cannot engage in aggressive modes associated with competence, power, authority, and so forth without encountering double binds or harmful stereotypes" (239). Julia Wood also presents the socially constructed norms where masculine discourse is typically direct, forceful, and dominant while feminine discourse is typically cooperative. Tannen notes that debate over public issues is often expressed in the language of "agonism and combat" (4).

remember, Glenn's taxonomy was developed with the idea that there is knowledge behind these normative acts. Situated knowledge, as a tenet of feminist theory and methodology, is important to keep in mind during the moments where Hillary's silence seemingly is imposed. [55] Where one is positioned gives way to the knowledge of where one can go within that position. Just as the studies (reviewed in chapter two) by Covarrubias and Windchief demonstrate, there can be deferred power in one's own silence. Without denying engendered and imposed silences, then, in the following sections I track Hillary's strategic command of silence, identifying how she negotiated her positioning in order to rhetorically use silence.

Commanding Silence

In the previous sections, I identified how Hillary demonstrated a pattern of bodily enactments when Trump imposed silence. The importance of that pattern comes to light in this section which centers the commanding of silence at work in the debates. According to Glenn, commanding silence is the rhetor's opportunity to deliver silence purposefully. That is, the rhetor remains silent on purpose. There is a difference in the context of speaking and non-speaking where imposing silence or silencing by the other speaker is much different than imposing silence on oneself. Commanding silence, according to Glenn, can be considered an eloquent silence,[56] a silence that one commands on oneself so as not to create disruption.

[55] Sandra Harding's view about Standpoint Theory; Royster's view looking out within; According to Harding, Feminist standpoint theory states that Knowledge is socially situated, and marginalized groups are socially situated in ways that make it more possible for them to be aware of things and ask questions than it is for the non-marginalized.

[56] Borrowing from Cicero, Michal Ephratt describes eloquent silence as 'one of the great arts of conversation.' She noted that perceived silence as the interactive locus of turn-taking during discourse was a simple and eloquent way of "allocating the floor" (1910). As with the studies mentioned in this dissertation, Ephratt noted that silence in speech studies and linguistics in the 1970s was closely associated with negativity, passiveness, impotence and death. It was treated as absence: absence of speech, and absence of meaning and intention but that silence in more recent

For this study, I used Glenn's notion of commanding silence to indicate when Hillary seems to prevent herself from talking over her opponent, especially when her opponent is speaking and refuses to stop (as we saw previously under imposing silence). While it may be difficult to ascertain Hillary imposing silence on herself, I looked to moments when bodily movements changed from her usual pose—looking at Trump when he spoke, writing something down, looking at the audience, and repeating these gestures—to more distinct facial expressions like scratching her cheek, closing her eyes and slowly opening them, or looking at the audience in an extended length of time with her eyes wider than usual (as if surprised). Hillary's demeanor changes in several instances where 1) her opponent went overtime and the moderators did not intercede, 2) when Trump made statements that were clearly not about the issue or question asked, and 3) when he turned to her and confronted her specifically through verbal communication and —through what Hall terms proxemics—taking up space that is culturally specified as Hillary's (including walking over and into what would be considered her space, standing in front of her and directly asking her questions, and making statements that seemingly one would make to admonish children if they did something wrong). When her opponent goes overtime, or when Trump interrupts, Hillary does not verbally respond most of the time, but she does purse her lips, move or tilt her head slightly, or close and open her eyes fashioning an exaggerated blink.

studies has been renamed as something that works in combination with speech. There is eloquent speech and thus there is eloquent silence. This eloquent silence is the silencing of oneself when another is speaking. Like turn-taking and, also, what Glenn might categorize as commanding silence as a rhetorical strategy-purposely remaining silent.

Throughout all three debates, Hillary uses each of these motions individually and at times in combination. She tightens her lips quite often when Trump interrupts her speaking time, and especially when he does speak through extended time that was not allotted for him and where the moderators did not intercede or interject. Hillary delivers this form of silence when Trump takes over the speaking, interrupting her over a hundred times. Hillary also purses her lips and turns to the audience with wide eyes when Trump makes negative claims about her, or when he looks directly at her while speaking to her personally. Noticing Hillary's physical changes is possible because Hillary kept to similar bodily and facial gestures throughout both debates, except during intense moments already described and further explained in the following subsections. I propose then, that commanding silence can be interpreted when we look to specific embodied actions, such as when she purses her lips.

Pursed Lips - Deferring Power

We saw in the preceding section that during the first debate, both Holt and Trump engage in a two-way back and forth during which time Hillary stands silent on the debate stage. Once again, a woman is positioned as an outlier, in the margins, seemingly unable or unwilling to join the conversation. This exclusionary back-and-forth happens 3 times in the first debate and again in in debates 2 and 3. However, Hillary's embodied cues give some insight as to her situatedness during these dialogues between the moderator(s) and her opponent as well as to her relationship to silence. By watching closely, it could be seen that her most often used facial expressions—including a smile or a straight face, no smile—morph into what I call pursed lips. During specific moments of silence Hillary presses her lips tightly as she watches the other two speaking back

and forth. This look also emerges when Trump takes more than the allotted time for his response, as well as during the times he speaks over her voice when it is Hillary's turn to speak. As mentioned, she generally remains silent while it is her opponent's time, looking at him while he was speaking, and she either writes something down, smiles, or look at the audience. Yet, when the time limit is reached, she also remains silent as he continues to speak. She does not interrupt generally.

Upon closer review of the videos, it may have been difficult for Hillary to counter Trump's aggressiveness without becoming louder and more aggressive herself while he uttered imperatives. Keeping a watchful eye on Hillary's bodily performance when Trump's two minutes were up, we can see a noticeable change in her facial motions and expressions. She tightens her lips, turns her head away from her opponent toward the audience and then back to her opponent, all the while keeping her lips slightly pursed with a slight upturn, but the smile is gone. This slight movement becomes more obvious when she waits for her opponent to complete his speaking time—one described in the previous section.

We see Hillary commanding silence (purposely remaining silent), using this gesture more often after the first thirty minutes of the first debate as interruptions by her opponent become more frequent. I say purposely here because Hillary at any time could have rejected impositions by speaking louder, becoming more aggressive, and talking over her opponent and the moderators. However, during the first two debates, she does not resort to speaking out, instead, she purses her lips at various moments. Using this bodily enactment enables Hillary to refrain from speaking, deferring her power to speak, and yet, we can see that she may have been

working hard to remain silent. Such command of silence on Hillary's part is how she delivers silence rhetorically, all the while transforming a potentially antagonistic battle, which I will discuss below when I describe "opening silences" (see also in Table 3.2).

Watching the debates repeatedly, focusing not only on gestures and expressions, but on timing, I noted that when Hillary does interrupt her opponent, he responds in turn by interrupting her interruption. His seeming insistence on having the last word, or the unwillingness to give in to someone else's persistence, creates a setting of almost constant noise. Possibly recognizing that she would have had to yell much louder in an uncomfortable voice in order to reclaim her time in these situations, Hillary negotiates her priorities for speaking and silence. Perhaps because of her own lived experiences in politics and how she had been represented before in similar situations (speaking out, being emotional, keeping silent), she was aware of her position as a woman or as a woman politician. With situated knowledge of how she could be represented if she did raise her voice, Hillary consistently refrains from talking over Trump's interruptions. As mentioned, Trump interrupts eighty-five times in the first debate alone. Possibly recognizing that her persistence in the debate exchange in the first debate would be counterproductive to pushing forth her message, she seems to have chosen a different strategy than voicing over her opponent's interruptions.

I initially categorized this embodied performance of pursed lips as a form of deferring power, wherein Hillary was consistently silent while her opponent faced her directly and questioned her specifically that insinuated some wrongdoing on her part. Another close review however, in the context of her positionality, may give more insight as to how she may be

negotiating space. In other words, her moments of silence seemed to allow her to refrain from raising her voice. While she watches Trump interrupt her and hears his voice get louder and louder, she purses her lips. Moments like these demonstrate Hillary's embodied command of silence. By looking out into the audience, adopting an incredulous expression, and then turning toward Trump with pursed lips, Hillary enacts a silent form of communicating with her audience once again. Thus, her silence becomes rhetorical and strategic because it allows her to make meaning without inviting the negative notions or stereotypes that surround women in exclusionary spaces. By commanding silence in this way, Hillary is embodying rhetorical silence.

The next section demonstrates another way that Hillary delivered silence after her opponent impositions her by positioning himself directly in front of her, or when he positions his head toward her and directs his eyes at her.

You, you, you!

> **Donald Trump: You** are going to approve one of the biggest tax cuts in history. **You** are going to approve one of the biggest tax increases in history. **You** are going to drive business out. **Your** regulations are a disaster, and **you're** going to increase regulations all over the place. (D1 22:58, emphasis added).

As indicated by this example, whereas Trump often uses "you" to direct his responses to Hillary specifically, Hillary uses not only phrasing but silent body language, including facing forward and eye contact, to direct her remarks to her audience. She does not confront Trump directly. For example, in the first debate toward the end, when Hillary speaks out against some of Trump's characterizations of her and her husband, she does not face Trump or try to make eye contact

with him. Instead, Hillary directs her eyes on the audience. By contrast, Trump on the other hand continuously turns to Hillary and directs his words to her with the pronoun "you," as I described above. In each of the cases where Trump does this, Hillary appears calm, but she purses her lips, refrains from smiling, looks out at the audience, or looks at him but without any other indication of a reaction.

In another instance, Hillary adds to her pursed lips a slight eye roll when listening to the following:

> **Donald Trump:** Well, **you** owe the president an apology, because as **you** know very well, **your** campaign, Sidney Blumenthal—he's another real winner that you have—and he's the one that got this started, along with **your** campaign manager, and they were on television just two weeks ago, she was, saying exactly that. So **you** really owe him an apology. **You're** the one that sent the pictures around your campaign, sent the pictures around with President Obama in a certain garb. That was long before I was ever involved, so **you** actually owe an apology. (D2 16:44, emphasis added)

When Trump mentions Sidney Blumenthal, Hillary's natural pose and smile changes. Again, she purses her lips. This time, however, she rolls her eyes ever so slightly as she turns away from the audience toward Trump to make eye contact as he gazes directly at her while speaking. Trump continues to use the "you" pronoun when discussing Bernie Sanders as well and facing Hillary:

> **Donald Trump:** … unlike the Bernie Sander's race, where **you** won, but not fair and square, in my opinion (D2 17:50).

When Trump mentions Sanders here, Hillary turns her head away from looking at him, turns toward her audience, and smiles. She then increases her smile as Trump continues to speak, looking at her directly. At the same time, she slowly opens and closes her eyes. She looks at him for a brief second, then turns back to the audience and purses her now smiling lips. These

embodied motions seemed to signal an attempted connection with the audience while distancing herself from engaging in a rebuttal of Trump's comments.

In the third debate, Hillary is noticeably tightening her lips when Trump comments:

> **Donald Trump:** It's a criminal enterprise. Saudi Arabia giving $25 million. Qatar, all of these companies. **You** talk about women and women's rights. So these are people that push gays off buildings (D3 58:20).

As Trump repeats the word "you" directed to Hillary in this dialogue, Hillary laughs and then tightens her lips. She looks directly at the audience with what seems to be a smirk or a slight smile, but then her lips are pressed tightly together as Trump continues to emphasize the you pronoun:

> **Donald Trump:** And I want to tell **you**, they hate the Clintons because what's happened in Haiti with the Clinton Foundation is a disgrace. And **you** know it and they know it and everybody knows it. (D3 59:20, emphasis added)

During the time Trump is speaking and directing his conversation directly to Hillary, Hillary shifts her attention to look directly at the audience. She seemingly does this with a smirk or a slight smile, but then her lips are pressed tightly together as Trump completes his comments. Hillary shifts her body and begins to speak saying, "Well." But she says no more when Trump raises his voice to talk over her, which makes it difficult for her to respond unless she speaks over him. She does not speak over him and Trump continues to speak using the pronoun "you" several more times. He shifts away from her as if talking to the audience, but then shifts back to directly speaking to her using "you" continuously. He then uses "you" (and I want to tell you) to directly appeal to the audience, then goes back to directing the "you" to Hillary. With these last remarks, where "you" and "they" become confusing as to who he is directing attention to,

Hillary goes back to looking at the audience, no smile, just tightened lips, shifts a little, scratches her chin, and then looks directly at the audience. When the last words about "hating the Clintons" are delivered, Hillary gives the pursed smile smirk while looking at her audience.

The idea of using the pronoun "you," in the above conversation, has different connotations depending on the context. The context that Trump is using this pronoun seemingly is one that attributes blame or a negative connotation. At times, it is difficult to assess who he is addressing, switching from Hillary, and then to the audience. Nonetheless, the direct function of the pronoun seemingly put Hillary into an engendered position. Hillary then must find ways to demonstrate agency. She does this by way of verbal silence and using her body employing facial gestures, audience eye contact, and other physical motions such as scratching her chin, and pursing her lips to display possible concern on her part, by the pronoun imposition.

Just as engendering and imposing silences are important categories to describe and interpret, so too is commanding silence. Commanding silence is more difficult because we cannot assess the actual intentions of the rhetor. Some background on the rhetor, the values, the lived experiences, and cultural implications of silence are necessary to analyze silence delivery. Hillary's position in politics helps us to understand that possibly her silence was on her own terms. However, without the next category of analysis, it may have been more difficult to ascertain if Hillary did in fact command silence employing the expression of pursed lips and other embodied actions. While Glenn does not explore further the notion of how engendering silence, imposing silence, and commanding silence interact, my analysis below demonstrates how they are not mutually exclusive categories.

Hillary, as a woman, and as a political icon in the media for decades, is necessarily aware of the stereotypes that go with the word "angry." She has been represented as an "angry," "shrill" woman in the past (Bystrom; Campbell). Thus, the situation giving rise to or engendering silence may have given Hillary an opportunity to engineer silence as a rhetorical strategy. Hillary's performance of silence (not voicing over her opponent) and taking a breath instead may have been a cautious recognition of how she has been represented in media. Stopping the crosstalk (meaning she did not voice over her opponent during his speaking over her) may have looked as if she was silenced, but her quick interjections during her opponent's quick pauses allowed her some rhetorical efficacy. For example, her interjection of, "Well Donald, I know you live in your own reality, but those are not the facts" (Hillary 21:35), was, in effect, a rhetorical act of "silence interrupted" because she most often did *not* engage in voicing over and took advantage of the silence (a pause delivered by her opponent) to speak out with a quick insertion of words with meaning in between his stage-hogging (as Adler and Towne refer to disregard for timing). A woman in this situation who has experienced interruptions knows the consequences of countering over-voicing with their own over-voicing. To deploy rhetorical power, Hillary combined her own silence with taking advantage of Trump's quick silences to interject her voice.

In this case, a woman may choose to be silent in order not to be forced into using a communication style that is combatant, antagonistic, or a style not of her own choosing. Therefore, she maintains what Aristotle claims a "position of grace." Having been subjected to media scrutiny in the past, she would be aware that any kind of outburst or slightest hint of raising her voice or using any delivery with agonistic tones may result in negative optics because

she is a woman. However, by not engaging in a belligerent tone that could create an antagonistic atmosphere, silence on Hillary's part may have garnered her a position of dignity. While it may mimic an engendering moment whereby, she is subjugated to silence, it may also be read as a space where she shows eloquence, a term that Kathleen Jamieson refers to when discussing the double bind ("Eloquence"). It is also a notion mentioned by Royster who advocates that rhetors "create a space in which [their] eloquence can be heard" ("Traces" 64). If Hillary had tried to over-voice Trump, she may have been looked upon as the angry woman. The double-bind was in effect at these moments. However, because she did not voice over her opponent, the viewers were left to assume what Hillary's silence meant. Hillary's gestures, pursed lips, eye contact with her audience were important moves, however. Delivering silence may have rearranged the moment to benefit her own rhetorical goal—relating to the audience and creating a space where her eloquence might have been heard. Using this kind of silence, as explained by Glenn, acknowledges conventions and gendered codes for women and men still exist, but changes the narrative that surrounds it. For Glenn, the rhetor must immediately identify the convention and change the route and find ways to subvert those conventions and, and in this case, transform the nature of debate. When Glenn studied rhetorical women, she noted the various constraints that were put on women's rhetorical abilities (chastity, obedience, humility), which were values proper for women in earlier times. Those kinds of values are still imbued in our language as is theorized by several rhetorical feminist scholars (see, for example, Ballif; Royster; Glenn; Lunsford; Wood) and divides language as instrumental/expressive, aggressive/humble, and

antagonistic/cooperative. In these few moments, Hillary does not escape these categories but "chooses the effect as opposed to being subordinated by it" (*Unspoken* 28-29).

Given that silence is often a better optic for subordinate bodies than lashing out or raising a voice to match their opponent, silence can be purposefully chosen, and I propose that Hillary employed rhetorical silence to resist negative representations that she had experienced in the past and that could haunt her again. She also resisted 'imposed silence.' This becomes the rhetor's art or the maneuver used when the speaker has experienced consequences of speaking out. Hillary created a "both/and" effect to subvert the double-bind.

While I have discussed in the previous category, the assumption of commanded silence, the notion that Hillary is silent on purpose, the next category supports that assumption. In working through these categories and parsing out each movement by Hillary and by identifying impositions by her opponent, we can now see where Hillary *amplifies* her own silence—which is the subject of the next section. We can also see how these categories can blend in or overlap with one another. Due to the large amount of impositions by Hillary's opponent, these categories often occur simultaneously. We now move to Glenn's category of witnessing silence. Glenn acknowledges that this category implicitly employs the personal pronoun "I," in that the rhetor, or speaker, is stating, "I" am witnessing my own silence. Therefore, the rhetor is claiming and attesting to her knowledge that she is being or has been silent.

Witnessing Silence

Glenn's definition of witnessing silence is clarified when she explains amplifying silence by breaking the silence or articulating the silence. Silence in a debate format may be viewed as

weakness or surrender or in some cases, viewed as having nothing to say or insufficient knowledge," as we saw from one of Johannesen's meanings of silence. Glenn positioned silence as strategic when it is amplified and when the reason for silence is known--announced by the rhetor themselves. An audience may see only one side of a silence delivery, the one where the rhetor is made to "not speak" but the silence is not understood completely by the audience. According to Glenn, there are three reasons to witness silence 1) to amplify the inner knowledge one is experiencing; 2) to amplify the urgency of an event that one experiences; 3) to amplify the urgency of their purposeful silence. While Trump was interjecting, or issuing imperatives during the first debate, it seemed that Hillary was positioned to be the silent, almost an audience-like, "other" candidate who would not get to say much. When she seemingly witnessed her own silence throughout the first debate and appears to amplify it in the second debate, however, her performance demonstrated how these impositions were seemingly subverted or resisted.

The appearance of Hillary's witnessing of her silence is described in the next three sub-sections that demonstrate a pattern of situated knowledge on Hillary's part in all three sections. The first sub-section demonstrates urgency. The second sub-section demonstrates how she seemingly amplified the urgency. The final section demonstrates how she appears to amplify her purpose in being silent.

Not Speaking (Inner Knowledge)

The first exchange below that occurred in the first debate demonstrates one element of Glenn's witnessing silence—to amplify the inner knowledge of the speaker. Only the rhetor can say whether that silence is intentional or not: I will announce my silence so you can know what I

know or what I do not say. When Trump delivers a comment to Hillary using the word "you," as discussed previously, for example, Hillary remains silent until Trump completes his comments about her policies. However, when the moderator initiated the beginning of the next question (see dialogue below), Hillary breaks her silence, this time also amplifying (her previous silence) by stating that she knew what might happen, so she was prepared with a response. Further on we see that she references her silence in the second debate:

> **Lester Holt:** Let me get you to pause right there, because we're going to move into—we're going to move into the next segment. We're going to talk taxes...
> **Hillary Clinton: That can't—that can't be left to stand**.
> **Hillary Clinton: I kind of assumed** that there would be a lot of these charges and claims, and so... (D1 24:00, emphasis added)

Hillary explains that she prepared to be silent. Her comment, "I kind of assumed" gives a hint of her situated knowledge. Her statement: "that can't be left to stand" indicates she is now ready to speak out of the urgency of clarifying her opponent's statement.

In another example, when she is not given time to explain herself in the first debate, as noted below, she witnesses that she was indeed silent—see second snippet--in the second debate. From debate one:

> **Hillary Clinton:** So we have taken the home page of my website, HillaryClinton.com, and we've turned it into a fact-checker. So if you want to see in real-time what the facts are, please go and take a look. Because what I have proposed... (D1 24:26).
> **Lester Holt:** We want to remind the audience to please not talk out loud. Please do not applaud. You're just wasting time (D1 24:27).

Hillary references the above exchange in the second debate, thereby witnessing her silence:

> **Hillary Clinton: I told people** that it would be impossible to be fact-checking Donald all the time. **I'd never get to talk about anything I want to** do and how we're going to really make lives better for people. (D2 19:32)

In the first instance, Hillary does not take up time to disregard Trump's remarks. Instead she defers the power of speaking to Trump by directing her audience to her webpage; she employs a rhetoric of silence recognizing that there is not enough time (signifying "obeyance of the rules") to counter claims made by Trump. Time is also an important resource as evidenced by the moderator's concern.

That she witnessed silence in debate one is attested to by Hillary in debate two where Hillary declares her own silence—stating it would be impossible to fact check all the possible statements by her opponent. Attesting to silence during the second debate justifies her silence in the first debate but also serves as a rhetorical tactic to get her audience to review her webpage. This amplification maintains her silence but at the same time reinforces her message.

The next time Hillary seemingly witnesses silence comes later in debate two, also where she demonstrates the urgency to subvert Trump's impositions.

Amplifying Urgency

Once again, witnessing silence is evident when Hillary acknowledges her silence. She gives us insight to her understanding of her own silence or insight into the fact that she does command her own silence. This time there is an urgency to attesting to her own silence. In the section on imposing silence, we see long sequences where Hillary remains silent when the moderators and Trump are conversing. The following dialogue from debate two is a window for us to see how Hillary witnesses silence. This is a long sequence, but it demonstrates how Hillary commands silence during the exchange and then witnesses her own silence:

Cooper: We have to move on. (D2 23:38)

Donald Trump: You did that. **Wait a minute**. **One second**. (emphasis added)
Anderson Cooper: Secretary Clinton, you can respond, and then we got to move on.
Martha Raddatz: We want to give the audience a chance.

Trump interrupts while Hillary continues to look at Trump with her natural stance:

Donald Trump: If you did that in the private sector, you'd be put in jail, let alone after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress.
Anderson Cooper: Secretary Clinton, you can respond. Then we have to move on to an audience question. (D2 23:41)

Hillary now turns to the audience but does not change her expression.

Hillary Clinton: Look, it's just not true. And so please, go to...

Trump interrupts and the moderator interjects and admonishes Donald Trump:

Donald Trump: Oh, you didn't delete them?
Cooper: Allow her to respond, please.
Hillary Clinton: It was personal e-mails, not official.

Trump interrupts, Hillary continues to keep her eyes on the audience:

Donald Trump: Oh, 33,000? Yeah
Hillary Clinton: Not—well, we turned over 35,000, so...

While Hillary is saying this, she continues to look at the audience. Trump interrupts:

Donald Trump: Oh, yeah. What about the other 15,000?
Cooper: Please allow her to respond. She didn't talk while you talked. (24:03)
Hillary Clinton: Yes, that's true, I didn't. (24:07)

The exigence that called for breaking silence was the continuous accusation about Hillary's emails. To contextualize this urgency, over the course of many months in media representations Hillary was accused of destroying emails when she used a personal server for Government purposes, but there was no proof that these emails were anything other than personal. To deflect attention from Trump's accusations, Hillary intercedes (in similar fashion to a trial lawyer who

objects to a statement by a witness during a trial). In the above instance, the moderator not only admonishes Trump, but this time verifies Hillary's ethos in that she did not interrupt her opponent maintaining her recognition of the rules. Hillary takes advantage of this opportunity given by the moderator and alerts her audience to the fact that she deferred silence on purpose. The audience can now see that Hillary is aware of her silence. A close look at the next statement demonstrates how Trump engenders silence by situating Hillary's silence in a form that has connected women with a specific stereotype:

> **Donald Trump:** Because you have **nothing to say** (D2 24:09 emphasis added).

Trump's accusation of "nothing to say" mimics a stereotype often associated with silence as a weakness and its intersection with gender. Again, looking at Johannesen's meaning of silence as "insufficient knowledge" plagues women. Trump's interjection, "you have nothing to say" increases exigency for rhetorical response and witnessing silence, and therefore speaking out here may have been an attempt to neutralize the stereotype or disarm Trump's accusations. Hillary offsets Trump's comment by offering her audience insight into her silence, that she delivered a purposeful silence and gives a reason as to why she commanded her own silence. That is, we do not have to guess anymore because Hillary declares not only her silence but her intentions for silence as well. Hillary ignores Trump's comment as she continues:

> **Hillary Clinton:** "**I didn't in the first debate,** and **I'm going to try not to** in this debate, because **I'd like to get to the questions that the people have brought here tonight to talk to us about**" (D2 24:10, emphasis added).

It is at this moment we find out that she purposely commanded silence delivery. Hillary, in the above banter, is witnessing and attesting to her own silence in the first debate. The circumstances

in the first debate—the interruptions, the loud voice, the talking-over by her opponent--did not call for speaking out at the time. Hillary takes advantage of witnessing her own silence to determine what to do with it in the future. Credibility is added when the moderator for the second debate, Anderson Cooper, defends Hillary's observance of the rules, stating "She didn't talk while you talked." Hillary also indicates that she will continue to command silence to allow for her audience to speak (In debate 2, the town hall meeting format allows for questions from the audience).

As indicated by these examples, Hillary is communicating with her audience by witnessing her silence; it is now a strategy of which the audience has been made aware, and as audience members, they can begin recognizing how Hillary's silence is in fact rhetorical. This mirrors examples discussed in chapter two: Sor Juana's move to have her audience make meaning of her silences by amplifying, "I shall now be silent" as interpreted by Bokser.[57] Bokser notes that Sor Juana's actual words, "hear me silent," connoted that there is more to learn from her silence. Also, this can be inferred from Emily Gonzalez' employment of silence that she herself amplified after completing her 6-minute silent delivery during her speech about the gun shooting at her school in Florida. By comparing Hillary's silence delivery and its amplification to Bokser's analysis of Sor Juana's declaration of her own silence, "hear me silent," it is easier to understand how Hillary employed a rhetorical maneuver in similar fashion.[58] As mentioned in Chapter two, Sor Juana, according to Bokser's analysis, amplified her silence to let her audience

[57] Bokser interpreted a poem that Sor Juana had written. The actual words were "Here me silent;" I complain mutely" ("Rhetoric of Silence").
[58] We can also see how this is like Glenn's analysis of Anita Hill and Lani Guinier witnessing silence-keeping silent only until after the hype and media had ended.

know about her own silence, which in turn, alerted her audience to see through this silence or the meaning of this purposeful silence. Silence, while at first seen as a weakness or a concern, was then explained (amplified) to emphasize the important work of that silence. This can be seen in what Emily Gonzalez did in her speech about the shootings in Parkland. She was silent and people/crowds worried about her, but when she explained that her six-minute silence was a signifier for the time that it took for students to be shot at her high school, her audience understood the function of her silence. The above conversational exchange between Trump and Hillary demonstrates a similar strategy. The next sub-section describes another instance of witnessing silence to demonstrate the urgency of purposeful silence. This follows almost immediately after the previous exchange.

Amplifying Purposeful Silence

In other areas of each of the first two debates, there are instances where witnessing silence is used by Hillary as a rhetorical maneuver, but she does not overtly attest to her silence. She responds to Trump's impositions of silence on her, but she does not specifically announce her silence. In these instances, Hillary *does* make motions to interrupt and interject her voice. This happens several times in the first debate and several times in the second debate. However, it is important to note that Hillary's interjections come toward the end of each debate, perhaps suggesting that Hillary is realizing that there is little time left and she needs to announce her silence. She had up to this point yielded to imposed silence and now sees or witnesses her silence as something that needs to be corrected. An hour and eighteen minutes into the first debate, for example, Hillary calls attention to Trump's interruption:

Hillary Clinton: Lester, we've covered... (D1 1:18:56)
Donald Trump: No, wait a minute.
Hillary Clinton: We've covered this ground.

While this is an attempt on Hillary's part to get back to the issues, her intercession here also demonstrates an attempt to move the conversation forward, letting the moderators know that they need to get to the next question. As revealed above, Trump continues speaking about the same incident, extending his time on a topic that was already allotted maximum time and asserting the imperative "No wait" when Hillary interjects. In some ways, her interjection may be called an interruption, but he has already gone over his time as he does many times during the debate and the moderator did not stop him. Finally, during the last minutes of the first two debates, Hillary interjects, only to encounter another imperative statement "no wait"; yet she does not wait in these last moments of both debates. Hillary persists this time. Noting the time of almost 1 hour and nineteen minutes, and with only minutes left in the first debate, Hillary decides to speak out, letting the moderator then take over to stop Trump from continuing.

In debate two there are several instances where Hillary interjects, ceasing her silence or, as Moffett has termed it, turning off her silence. For example, in another instance, Hillary witnesses silence when she interjects after she has completed her response within the two minutes and, in a rare moment, interrupts Trump because he has made a statement that she does not agree with, corrects him, and asks the audience to fact-check:

Martha Raddatz: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. Mr. Trump?
Donald Trump: First of all, she was there as secretary of state with the so-called line in the sand, which...
Hillary Clinton: "No, I wasn't. I was gone. **I hate to interrupt you,** but at **some point**…." (D2 1:01:42, emphasis added).

Trump opens his mouth to speak, but Hillary quickly continues.

Hillary Clinton: "we have to do some fact checking here" (D2 1:18:57).

Up to this point of the exchange, Hillary had remained silent, with pursed lips. At 1:18:57—the last seven to ten minutes of the second debate—she begins interjecting herself more into the conversation. In the above exchange, Hillary turns to Trump and directly confronts him. This is a move that has not been seen prior to this moment. While she turns her head his way, she closes her eyes to continue to interject as he tries to talk over her, and then she positions her upper body extending her head facing him while making her point. It is not Hillary's turn to speak, but she continues to push her argument and defend herself against what Trump has commented on about her, and this time she seemingly uses her body to impose silence on her opponent. However, it is important to note that we see Hillary verbally positioning herself in an apologetic mode when she states, "I hate to interrupt you," which is another symbolic gendered gesture that has been associated with women and a feminine style of delivery (Kramarae; Tannen; Campbell). Nonetheless, Hillary persists in completing her claim that Trump gives no adherence to facts. While not explicitly stating that she has been silent, as in the first example, she alludes to the fact that it is time to interject, knowingly, apologizing, stating also, "but at some point" (noting an implied conclusion that she must speak out), and that apology and reference to time acts as a symbolic gesture of witnessing not only that she had been silent, but is now speaking out. Hillary is employing an enthymeme whereby we the audience must infer that she must speak out. Trump then comments as she does return to her seat at her podium:

> **Donald Trump:** You were in total contact with the White House, and perhaps, sadly, Obama probably still listened to you. I don't think he would be listening to you very much anymore.

At this statement Hillary remains seated but she does make a head gesture and tightens her lip while looking at him as he continues to speak.

Let's Do the Shimmy—Or Shaking Things Up

While the above three instances demonstrate knowledge, urgency, and purpose as silence work, Hillary also witnesses or attests to her silence through a unique embodied enactment—what I call the shimmy—where she attests to her silence with a quick shoulder shake. She in a sense shakes off her silence. After waiting approximately six minutes in the first debate for Lester Holt and Trump to complete their tête-à-tête, as described in a previous section of this chapter, Hillary seems to shake it off. Trump has been discussing the Iraq War. The moderator is also complicit in this kind of imposed silencing since he does not stop Trump from going overtime. Hillary remains composed; she purses her lips about the time her opponent first commented, facing her directly, as she looks on making direct eye contact. Trump continues speaking while she now scratches her chin, then looks at the audience, then looks back and scratches her cheek. She then looks down at her notes, moves her expression slightly, perhaps a slightly sarcastic look or an incredulous look, but remains stoic with her eyes toward her opponent and then at the audience every few seconds and back at her opponent. Hillary tries to interject at one point, but to no avail. When she attempts to speak up, her opponent continues to speak, his voice becoming louder while Hillary remains patiently quiet, but with pursed lips. Hillary once again attempts to speak; her opponent immediately delivers a verbal direction

stating, “no, wait a minute.” Hillary’s expression begins to turn to irritated, evidence by her tightening her lips further and then turning to the audience. The quick head turns back and forth and eye movements and pursed lips create a visual of irritation. When trying to stop him, he voices over her voice using a louder tone, and once again she looks at the audience, looks down, is silent except for the head movements, pressing her lips.

While the two men continue the conversation, ignoring her presence, erasing her from the debate, she begins to engage with the audience, perhaps because by this time it is no longer irritating but amusing, since by now she has a slight smile. She is smiling with wide eyes as if to say, “seriously, do you believe this?” Or it could be a thought about, “hey, I am still here.” Throughout, she has maintained eye contact but now it is a relaxed amusing expression that she makes. Finally, after the moderator and her opponent finish their discussion, Hillary is asked to speak. After remaining almost totally silent for approximately 6 minutes, Hillary smiles incredulously, shimmies her shoulders, delivers a silent laugh and says, “Whew,” “OK.” With this bodily movement following her refrain from verbally speaking for six minutes, Hillary indicates witnessing silence and attests to it with a smile, a laugh, and a triple shrug that brings her shoulders back and forth, not up and down.

With this movement and the accompanying facial expression, Hillary makes a connection with the audience as they seem to laugh with her. While silence is imposed upon her by both men, we see how she makes silence work for her. With an incredulous look at the audience, closing her eyes for a second, then opening them as if in seemingly disbelief with what she is not only hearing but seeing—two men taking up the speaking stage—she creates a moment of

laughter for the viewer. It is the strength in her body movement, the shimmy, as if she is trying to shake it all off, alerting her audience to her silence during the last six minutes. Again, her employment of silence is working for her as it allows her to achieve a rhetorical effect by engaging with her audience. Her smile, almost a laugh, portrays a strength in performance—she does not yell, scream, or get entangled in the two-man dialogue. She is calm and proceeds to unpack what just happened. She stays calm and persuades on.

Conclusion

This chapter described, interpreted, and analyzed how silence (specifically categorized by Glenn) was employed by Hillary during the three Presidential general election debates. I identified the categories of Glenn's taxonomy that demonstrates the pervasive gendered rhetorical obstacles that Hillary faced during her performance on the debate stage. Following the descriptions of these rhetorical circumstances, I analyzed the engendering sites that imposed silence by investigating the form and function of Hillary's silence delivery, and the circumstances on the stage surrounding the silence delivery. It was evident that Hillary employed rhetorical silence based on Cheryl Glenn's taxonomy—silence was engendered, Hillary did command silence through embodied acts subverting the impositions made on her by her opponent. Through investigating and interrogating the exchanges by the two candidates and reviewing the videos, it was found that Hillary witnessed silence, exclaimed her silence deliveries, and that her command of silence was a seemingly purposeful rhetorical strategy to resist her opponents demands to be silent. It was further evidenced that new forms and functions emerged as possibilities to employ as rhetorical silence.

While my own interpretations sometimes depart from Glenn's, her work largely structures the analysis in this chapter. In the next chapter I move on silences that did not fit cleanly into Glenn's categories that she generalizes with the term opening silences. Indeed, Glenn encourages future exploration of silence, leaving room for finding the employment of silence for multiple purposes in multiple contexts. While chapter four identifies rhetorical possibilities that emerged in my analysis of the debate, some of the examples mentioned above also fall into this category. This means there is necessary overlap in the chapters, where I repeat some examples but analyze them anew. Chapter four also demonstrates continued interactivity among discrete categories of silence. Thus, while some of the sub-sections identifying opening silences are new, others emerged in combination with exchanges that occurred throughout the debates discussed and analyzed above.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS: OPENING RHETORICAL SILENCE

Opening Silences

As discussed in chapter 3, in addition to using specific categories to define and characterize types of rhetorical silence, Glenn also encouraged further research to open the field to emerging silences and left "opening silences" as a category designated to possibilities yet to be explored. My research found possibilities that emerged from my coding beyond Glenn's initial taxonomy. My research also identified ways that silence potentially opens the exclusionary space of political debate for transformation. More specifically, I considered how Glenn's work could be expanded and adapted to debate forums by incorporating other scholars' work, such as that by Moffet, Johannesen, Huckin, and Royster. I have included in this table the category about imposition but used it in this chapter as how Hillary, herself, imposes silence.

Where Glenn did not flesh out the categories or analyze each of the categories to their fullest, there are some instances where I took up that feat. For instance, as we saw, Glenn did not separate the two forms of silence—imposing silence and commanding silence. Moreover, she did not extend the notion of engendering silence nor did she expand on how a rhetoric of silence engages all categories at once. While again we see overlap among the categories and within the dialogues of the three debates, the overlap demonstrates how a rhetoric of silence is interactive and interchanging through not only the absence of utterances, but the embodiment of gestures, eye contact, glances and gazes, and as we will see, spatial positioning. Opening Silences broadens Glenn's work as it takes over where Glenn left open a space for further research looking for silence in different places. These categories are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Opening Silences as Embodied Agency and Relationality

Paving the Way	Enactments that demonstrate agency and purposeful persuasion through embodiment
Yes, it is all about *You* - the Audience That is	Commanding silence of oneself to give to others. Bokser's Sor Juana asks us to hear her silence or her oppressed voice and make connections that they may not see or hear. This idea creates collaboration with the audience.
A Basket of Strategies	Several times Hillary commanded silence only to bring it to our attention later. She is deferring power, storing it up for later delivery: she is using silence as a strategy to speak out.
You Go First; no you; Well, Nobody…	This space opens silence in ways that creates agency as well as questioning how silence is working?
Moving Beyond Sit Down and Don't Speak	Regendering Debate Silence as Rhetorical—Subversion through negotiating and re-engineering space. Hillary "regenders" silence through movement by her shimmy and complying to traditional codes of etiquette and dignity

Table 4: Opening Silences

Opening Silences as Embodied Agency and Relationality

Paving the way

The opening narrative at the beginning of chapter three chapter demonstrates how employing silence is a rhetorical strategy in other spaces beyond Glenn's categorization, specifically the debate platform where Hillary Clinton stepped onto the stage of the first debate of the 2016 Presidential general election. Exercising strength in her motions, facial expressions, crossing over spaces, glancing at and reaching out to the audience gave Hillary's audience the first glimpse at how a first lady, a first woman elected to the New York Senate, and a first major candidate walking across the general election debate stage for the first time, exercised agency through a rhetoric of silence.

As mentioned in my review of scholarship on silence, silence can be delivered in several forms and for several reasons. For this dissertation the form of silence delivery becomes a rhetorical silence when the silence is doing rhetorical work. There was no rule for Hillary to cross the stage or address the audience twice. It was her protocol, and possibly her political experience, to stage that delivery. Hillary's performance walking onto that stage, gaining agency using a rhetoric of silence, paved the way for the employment of an alternative rhetoric. Other ways of opening silence can be observed as well. While Hillary encountered some roadblocks as Trump imposed silence on her, she found ways not accounted for by Glenn where she could use silence to her benefit. Other instances of opening silence emerged, four of which I explore below.

Yes, it is All About "You"—The Audience That Is

At the end of the first debate, Lester Holt concludes his final statement by indicating that some issues were not covered: "That concludes our debate for this evening, a spirited one. We covered a lot of ground, **not everything as I suspected** we would" (D1 138:05 emphasis added). Holt may have been alluding to the approximately eighty-five interruptions in the first debate (and unknowingly anticipating the fifty interruptions in the second debate). Hillary addresses this concern in the second debate when she witnesses silence and explains her reasoning to command silence. In previous sections (imposing silence) we saw the emphasis on the term "you." I again emphasize the word y*ou* in Trump's comment to Hillary and I emphasize Hillary's reasoning:

> **Donald Trump:** …. **you** have nothing to say" as he looks directly at Hillary (D2 24:09, emphasis added).

Hillary turns off her silence by explaining her silence and prefaces future silence with

the following:

> **Hillary Clinton:** I didn't in the first debate, and I'm going to try not to in this debate, **because** I'd like to get to the questions that the people have brought here tonight to talk to us about (emphasis added).

Identifiable as witnessing silence, Hillary informs us of her silence, why she was silent in the first debate, and why she would continue to use silence going forward. Following Moffet, we can see how Hillary seemingly can turn silence on and off at her own command and then alert us that she is doing so. While I did not look for intention, she aids in my analysis by explaining her rhetorical silence. That her next comment confirms her silence allows us insight into her rhetoric of silence as strategy. Hillary informs us that her silence was intentional. In the above statement, however, she also verifies that her silence was not because she had nothing to say, but because she was more concerned about what her audience had to say. Hillary acknowledges her concern for audience interaction. She embraces her audience and gives them space to ask their questions. This juncture is also important because it demonstrates how rhetorical silence works within the confluence of imposed silence, engendered silence, commanding silence, and witnessing silence, along with amplification or speaking out. It further substantiates the concept that speech and silence are not mutually exclusive.

This relationship between speech and silence is previewed by the concept of non-combatant persuasion or of invitational rhetoric mentioned by earlier feminist rhetorical scholars such as Gearhart, followed by Foss and Griffin; it also is reminiscent of Buchanan's articulation of *Regendering Delivery*, and work on feminine styles by Campbell as well as Dow and Tonn. In short, Hillary uses silence to pay attention to the audience. Her concern for giving the

audience as much of a chance to hear the candidates stand on the issues as possible is evident in her claim when she amplifies her silence. Hillary also gives her reasoning for this silence explicitly "*because* I'd like to get to the questions that the *people have brought here tonight to talk to us about*" (emphasis added).

Hillary continues to demonstrate the importance of her audience using rhetorical silence seen in the next example. Trump tries to extend his accusations regarding her emails and her silence ("you have nothing to say"), but Hillary further commands silence by disregarding his comment and subsequently reiterating concern for her audience.

> **Donald Trump:** … and Get off this question (D2 24:22).

Hillary responds to Trump's interruption and delivers her own accusation with a quip about Republicans leaving him before she starts to discuss the audience:

> **Hillary Clinton:** OK, Donald. I know you're into big diversion tonight, anything to avoid talking about your campaign and the way it's exploding, and the way Republicans are leaving you. **But let's at least focus**… (D2 24:23 emphasis added)

Hillary is interrupted again with a short quip from Trump:

> **Donald Trump:** Let's see what happens...

Before Hillary can continue, Trump interjects again.

*(**Crosstalk**): Trump speaks over Hillary's voice*

Anderson Cooper then directs Trump to let Hillary respond. Again, we see the command to allow her to speak:

> **Anderson Cooper**: Allow her to respond.
> **Hillary Clinton:** ... on some of the issues **that people care about tonight**. Let's get to **their** questions. (D2 24:33 emphasis added).

Note that Hillary extends her explanation of silence delivery to demonstrate her concern for the audience needs. In the next instance, Anderson Cooper recognizes Hillary's concern and her attempt to address the audience questions but is interrupted by Trump. Cooper begins:

> **Cooper**: We have a question here from Ken Karpowicz. He has a question about health care. Ken?

Trump interrupts before Ken can speak

> **Donald Trump:** I'd like to know, Anderson, why aren't you bringing up the e-mails? I'd like to know. Why aren't you bringing... (D2 24:38).

Trump interrupts Cooper when Cooper explains, but Trump continues to negate Coopers comment:

> **Cooper**: We brought up the e-mails.
> **Donald Trump:** No, it hasn't. It hasn't. And it hasn't been finished at all.
> **Cooper**: Ken Karpowicz has a question.
> **Donald Trump:** It's nice to—one on three (D2 24:53).

When the moderators finally attempt to hear from another audience member, Trump interrupts to tell the moderators that they have not spent enough time on the emails. Although Hillary is quiet while this is occurring, she continues to keep her eyes on the audience, occasionally looking at Trump. On the other hand, Trump seems to be disregarding the audience, paying attention instead to the moderators only. By employing rhetorical silence in this way, Hillary demonstrates how an alternative rhetoric can be used strategically to effectively demonstrate her concern for her audience. This performance of concern highlights the disregard Trump has for his audience and signals Hillary's strength in relating to them, demonstrating how Hillary employed a relational rhetoric of silence.

This is not the only account that demonstrates relational silence in the debates. Looking at the above exchange prior to her amplified concern for the audience, Hillary seemingly listens to Trump who responds with a personal pronoun again— "*you* have nothing to say." Hillary employs a rhetoric of silence by disregarding the personal comment (I use the term 'personal' to indicate Trumps direct assertion of the term *you* and his direct gaze toward Hillary). Silence can be defined by "what is not said." She is effectively silent in response to the personal comment and addresses her concern for the audience instead.

Hillary demonstrates how she in a sense "regendered" silence by navigating the space in order to show herself creating distance from Trump and simultaneously embodying care for her audience. This is in distinct contrast to Trump's embodied movements. For example, various times Trump focuses attention on Hillary by facing her directly, looking at her, and using the word "*you*" to address her:

> **Donald Trump: You** go to New England, **you** go to Ohio, Pennsylvania, *you* go anywhere you want, Secretary Clinton, and *you* will see devastation where manufacture is down 30, 40, sometimes 50 percent. NAFTA is the worst trade deal maybe ever signed anywhere, but certainly ever signed in this country. (D1 20:40).

He continues constantly using the term 'you', directly facing her and raising his voice:

> And now **you** want to approve Trans-Pacific Partnership. **You** were totally in favor of it. Then *you* heard what I was saying, how bad it is, and *you* said, I can't win that debate. But **you** know that if **you** did win, **you** would approve that, and that will be almost as bad as NAFTA. Nothing will ever top NAFTA. (D1 21:12)

During this address, Hillary is silent, looking at him as he directs comments about her directly talking to her. He continues his address with a direct insult:

> **Donald Trump:** So we're going to get a special prosecutor, and we're going to look into it, because **you** know what? People have been—their lives have been destroyed for doing one-fifth of what **you've** done. And it's a disgrace. And honestly, **you** ought to be ashamed of yourself. (D2 16:44)

Hillary seemingly commands silence by using her body to disregard some of the "you" comments. As previously mentioned, Hillary keeps her focus on what we consider a rhetorical goal—the audience. Her facial expression, eye contact, and the positioning of her body forward supports the idea of an eagerness to address the audience. In contrast to the way Trump employs the personal pronoun, you, the following example demonstrates how Hillary embodies the term "you" in the first debate by keeping her attention on the audience:

> **Hillary Clinton:** I want us to invest in **you.** I want us to invest in *your* future I also want to see more companies do profit-sharing. If *you* help create the profits, **you** should be able to share in them, not just the executives at the top. I've heard from so many of *you* about the difficult choices **you** face and the stresses that **you're** under. So, let's have paid family leave, earned sick days. Let's be sure **we** have affordable child-care and debt-free college. (D1 6:50)
> **Hillary Clinton:** And so what I believe is the more we can do for the middle class, the more we can invest in **you**, **your** education, **your** skills, your future, the better we will be off and the better **we'll** grow. That's the kind of economy I want **us** to see again. (D1 12:00 emphasis added).

This use of "you" is especially effective in context of Hillary's silence when she is called out with the pronoun "you" by Trump. That is, disregarding remarks made by Trump about her demonstrates how she respects the audience's time and her own time to deliver messages she wanted the audience to hear. Rhetorical efficiency is also a goal for a rhetor. Hillary uses silence to ensure that she is responding and attending to the audience. She also uses it to demonstrate that Trump is not the focus of her attention.

A Basket of Silences[59]

As I mentioned, some of Hillary's silences that fall into Glenn's taxonomy can also be observed as emerging possibilities for the employment of silence delivery. Hillary, by deferring to silence, banks a "basket of strategic silences" to use in the future. For instance, when Trump repeatedly mentions Hillary's 30 years in politics (five times in the first debate, and twice in the second), she is initially silent in response. Midway through the second debate, *however,* she takes advantage of her earlier silences as a strategy to speak out and address her audience:

> **Hillary Clinton:** You know, under our Constitution, presidents have something called veto power. Look, he has now said repeatedly, "**30 years this and 30 years that." So let me talk about my 30 years** in public service. I'm very glad to do so (D2 56:20, emphasis added)

With this comment we can hear how Hillary takes advantage of rhetorical silence for future exchanges in the debate. Throughout the debates Trump admonishes her for spending 30 years in politics accomplishing nothing. Each time he does this she ignores his statements or refrains from commenting on them in the immediate moment. Finally, however, when Hillary remarks in the example above, "so let me talk about my 30 years…," she effectively enlists her previous silences, letting them work for her rhetorical purposes. Rather than immediately commenting, Hillary uses Trump's assertion later to her advantage. She is silent, she waits, she puts it in the back of her mind, in her basket of rhetorical strategies, and when she sees an opportunity to turn silence off, she does so. This move of seemingly letting silence work for her, she is seemingly

[59] A basket of silences is a play on words. On September 9, 2016, at a campaign fundraising event, Hillary used the derogatory phase "a basket of deplorables" to describe half of Trump supporters. The next day she expressed regret for "saying half." In her apology, she noted that Trump deplorably amplified hate speech.

able to later speak out. Moffet expresses the important work of silence delivery stating that "people who can suspend discourse, [may] think and speak better when they turn it back on" (240). We evidence Hillary turning it back on after suspending discourse.

Negotiating timing proved key to Hillary breaking silence strategically. Up until the end of the first two debates, Hillary generally commanded silence through embodied actions such as pursed lips, the shifting of her body, and starting to form what might be an utterance but then recoiling her lips back into a smile of compliance—refraining, relaxing her shoulders in acquiescence to silence and smiling at the audience during some of the many times that her opponent interrupted. However, as time became short, Hillary finally spoke out. For instance, the following exchange demonstrates that Hillary remained silent until Trump concluded his long commentary that went over time. Trump comments on Hillary's lack of stamina and Holt begins to address the final question (notice the double impositions by Holt and Hillary):

Lester Holt: We are at—we are at ….

Hillary interrupts.

Hillary Clinton: Well, one thing. One thing, Lester.

Holt Interrupts.

Lester Holt: Very quickly, because we're at the final question now.
Hillary Clinton: You know, he tried to switch from looks to stamina. But this is a man who has called women pigs, slobs and dogs, and someone who has said pregnancy is an inconvenience to employers, who has said...

Trump interjects.

Donald Trump: I never said that.

Hillary continues.

Hillary Clinton: .... women don't deserve equal pay unless they do as good a job as men.

Trump interjects.

Donald Trump: I didn't say that.

Hillary continues.

Hillary Clinton: And one of the worst things he said was about a woman in a beauty contest. He loves beauty contests, supporting them and hanging around them. And he called this woman "Miss Piggy." Then he called her "Miss Housekeeping," because she was Latina. Donald, she has a name.

Up to the time that the moderator announces moving to the next question, Hillary remains silent, but when the moderator attempts to move on, Hillary refuses to abandon her attempt at a rebuttal. She uses a double imposition this time. Hillary's silence to that point gave her the opportunity to negate the moderator's desire to move on. By reclaiming time that the moderator "owed" her, Hillary commands the floor without raising her voice or being argumentative (terms that are often detrimental to women's ethos). Time was running out. By commanding silence throughout the debate, holding onto to silence as a strategy in her basket, Hillary can negotiate her position to speak with strength and without becoming agitated or excitable, which would have garnered immediately gendered optics for a woman on this highly mediated stage. Instead, she comes back with an argument that put Trump on the defensive. Hillary gains control of the situation in which she may have seemed to be powerless and submissive. Hillary, by timing her silence delivery, pocketing her silence, and then speaking out, found rhetorical opportunity to negotiate space. I consider this one of the stronger moments that demonstrates how a rhetorical art of silence

becomes strategic and results in a stronger voice, a way to use silence as an opportunity to eventually speak out.

This reasoning may be considered in the third debate in that it was the last debate and revealed a marked shift in Hillary's performance. Creating a more formidable stance, Hillary seizes the opportunity of time and turns her silence off to speak out about her policies.

You Go First; No, You; No You! Well, Nobody Will Go

In the first debate, we see a strong, proud woman, walking out onto the stage where no woman had gone before. She walks over to the middle of the stage, crosses the middle of the stage, shakes hands with her opponent. During the second general election debate, we see Hillary, once again, walking out to the middle of the stage, first to get to the middle, curtly greet her opponent, but with no handshake. During the last debate both candidates walked onto the stage. Hillary smiles and waves to the audience. She stops a few feet before her podium, moves no further, turns her whole body to face the audience, smiles and waves. At the same time Trump walks straight to his podium. After waving to the audience, Hillary proceeds straight to her podium. This time neither candidate walks to the center to greet the other. This move means something, but it is not clear whether Hillary initiates the audience wave as a way to stall walking to the center, so she could ponder to see what her opponent did, or whether she is more interested in her audience and thus greeting the moderators and her opponent are not a priority. Was she stonewalled by her opponent? Did he once again impose silence on Hillary? What was silence doing? Can this be a display of Johannesen's cautionary silences, a warning, a gesture of unfriendliness? Was either of the candidates guarding themselves? Who silenced who at that

moment? It may have been a directive by the debate committee to forego this formality. In any of these cases, silence is again at work. The reason for silence delivered here is unknown; it could be the fault of the running tension of the last weeks of a presidential campaign. It could have been a premonition of a colder, more agonistic debate than the previous two. In any event, it is evident that Hillary does not initiate the first move toward the podium, but she does initiate a rhetorical goal to remember the audience through her embodied action of looking at the audience, smiling, and waving. By doing this, perhaps Hillary is employing rhetorical silence as a precautionary method.

Moving Beyond Sit Down and Don't Speak

Throughout my analysis, we see how Hillary recasts or "regenders" silence through embodied behaviors in the above categories, and to an extent we see how Hillary subverts negative comments by employing silence deliveries through her facial expressions—eye contact, moving her head back and forth between the opponent, the moderator, and the audience. This sub-section describes how silence may be engendered once again by the imposition of another form—trespassing personal space.

Edwin Hall's description of hidden dimensions is an appropriate description of how silence can be imposed without verbal expression. In each of the debates we see how space was maneuvered by Hillary and her opponent. Comments that were negative and interjected into the conversation subsequently deferred attention from one candidate to the other, interruptions also directed attention from the initial speaker, thus, with attention deflected from the speaker, this becomes a hidden dimension of how a candidate can seemingly impose silence on another. Also,

even shifting eye contact can demonstrate that something is going on and could also be a hidden dimension of silencing. These are difficult to interpret but close attention to these nuances can implicate interpretation. According to cultural theorists, the embodiment of these performances is subject to cultural interpretations (Hall; Hofstede; Acheson). Any one of these components that take away space from Hillary (camera shifts to opponent because of an interjection, or shaking one's head in disagreement, or an unpleasant look when the other candidate does not seemingly agree with what is being said) impose hidden dimensions of silencing. Recall how I described Hillary's countenance throughout the debate while her opponent was speaking—little to no facial movement, neutral stance demonstrating a seeming, if nothing else, respect for the opponent's time and space.

Whereas timing protocol for responses were to be two minutes in the first and second debates, and two minutes for the first response in the third debate, this did not include spatial time. In other words, there was also no protocol named for spatial interaction. Where the candidates maintained their position behind their respective podiums in the first and third debates, spatial performance was not differentiated regarding movement. However, gestural performance differed. Trump bodily directs his attention toward Hillary when he responds to the debate questions. As indicated by the position of her own body, Hillary keeps her focus on her audience when she speaks.

The second debate allowed for movement beyond the lectern. This allows the candidates to present themselves in a variety of ways. In the second debate Hillary maintains a position on the stage where she either stands up looking at her audience when it is her turn to speak, or she

goes back to her area where her podium and chair are positioned. Hillary does not move toward what might be considered space of her opponent—the area that surrounds the lectern and chair appointed him. Upon completion of her speaking time, she always returns to her chair and never remains standing while it is Trump's turn to speak. This is not the case for her opponent. Trump's verbal performance includes profuse interruptions, but his spatial movement also includes interrupting or moving into what, culturally, might be identified as his opponent's space. To impose upon another limits the other's ability to speak out as well as denies the other's visibility. In other words, both acts can be considered imposing silence.

By consistently crossing into Hillary's path or behind when it was her turn, Trump seemingly may be imposing silence. The debate stage does not seem to allow for much movement in each of the candidate's personal space. Trump meandered around the stage behind Hillary, sometimes walking closely behind her as she spoke. This is a moment when one may feel the presence of another and immediately become distracted, turn around, or move away. This is also a moment where Trump takes the emphasis off Hillary (in effect silencing her) and garners attention for himself through his slow meandering, raising his head toward the ceiling, or moving back and forth.[60] In some instances, this pose appears menacing and, from the angle of the camera, overpowering. Looking closely and following his moves, it is seemingly less conspicuous depending on the camera angles. Nonetheless, he manages to put the focus on himself when it is her turn to speak, thus potentially weakening or limiting her rhetorical power

[60] This is the moment whereby I mention that Chris Matthews and Terry McAuliffe discussed various physical means to silence Trump.

and engendering the space (returning to age old conventions of women's invisibility in public spaces).

During these instances Hillary remains calm and poised. She does not take her eyes off her intended audience. She does not flinch. Hillary's rhetorical strength may have been weakened by a seemingly menacing meandering, but Hillary embodies strength by physically distancing herself from her opponent spatially, and through embodied acts when addressing the audience, remaining stoic despite Trump's movements. As we saw in the previous category, Hillary turns the tables in some instances, more noticeably in the third debate, and takes up space by not allowing Trump or the moderator to keep her from presenting her position on an issue.

Hillary exemplifies a rhetoric of silence by navigating her space consistently and navigating the impositions made upon her by the constant movement by her opponent. She maintains a physical distance from her opponent, does not engage in rebuttals, and engages with her audience throughout the first two debates. By remaining still she enacts silence rhetorically. Again, she is engendered by silence but is also regendering silence by strengthening the idea of rhetorical dignity.

In contrast her opponent often looks down, or up, meanders around the stage, and directs his attention at his opponent or at the moderator throughout the second debate. All the while, Hillary's silence and stillness suggest a steady ethos during these moments. Watching the replay of debate two, times when it was Trump's turn to speak, his voice heightens as he moves in—his body and head turn to his right, directing his gaze straight at Hillary. He looks at her and inserts his comments. At one point, Trump faces Hillary and directly admonishes her with the

command, “Go back and take a look at those commercials” (D1 16:44). Hillary keeps her focus on the issues and the audience, deploying her power with rhetorical silence. By re-engineering the concept of what it means to employ silence, Hillary “regenders” silence as a form and function of rhetorical strategy.

Conclusion

Building on Glenn’s interpretive lens, in this chapter I found new places where Hillary employed embodied rhetorical strategies. By leaving open possibilities for diverse practices of rhetorical silence to emerge, I expanded Glenn’s interpretive framework identifying what new forms and functions of silence delivery seemingly deployed by Hillary’s embodied acts and her positioning within some of the traditional pernicious debate circumstances. In some instances where it seemed as if Hillary reiterated traditional impositions of silence, I identified where she seemingly also resisted, subverted, and transgressed those impositions by employing rhetorical silence. She took advantage of silence delivery from her first moments on the debate stage, and throughout her performance by strategically expanding Glenn’s categories of commanding silence and witnessing silence to pave the way for other rhetors to join this exclusionary stage, and keeping her audience as one of her main rhetorical goals, basketing silence, and moving beyond gendered norms for women in exclusionary spaces.

While this and the preceding chapter identified how Hillary employed rhetorical silence in the 2016 Presidential general election debates. Chapter 5 will identify and analyze the same debates using the concept of rhetorical listening.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS--RHETORICAL LISTENING

Hillary Clinton traversed the binary of an exclusionary space—the Presidential General Election Debate stage—in her first debate in Hempstead, New York. A few weeks later, on October 9, 2016, Hillary is now again standing in front of an audience in St. Louis where the second debate is being held.[61] Through a Town Hall style debate, the candidates are to be asked questions directly by members of the audience. A coin toss has determined that Hillary will be first to address a question. From a viewer's point, facing the candidates, both candidates are stationed in the middle of the stage; Hillary is on the right and her opponent, Donald Trump, is to the left of her. Audience seating is arranged in circular fashion, whereby audience members at each end are positioned about three feet from the candidates' station, thus creating a circular space for everyone in the room, where the moderators complete the circle. The moderators' backs are in view, while the candidates and the front of the stage are seen by the viewers. The moderators are positioned directly in front of the candidates but with approximately six feet in between them. From the camera angles, it is indeterminable whether audience members are behind the moderators. If so, then this part of the audience's view of the candidates is blocked. Each candidate's "station" consists of a counter-height chair (approximately eighteen inches wide) on the right of a side table (a table that looks like a short podium but with a flat surface for notes, also about eighteen inches wide). Approximately four feet of space separate the candidates' stations. Both candidates are seated in their respective chairs when the moderators,

[61] The October 9th, 2016 Town Hall debate: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FRlI2SQ0Ueg

Anderson Cooper and Martha Raddatz, introduce the first audience member, Patrice Brock, to ask a question.

At the very moment that Brock stands up, Hillary turns her head toward her, smiles, and stands up moving toward Brock. Hillary walks to her right toward where Brock is speaking and stands quietly facing Brock until the question is completed. Trump remains seated. From the camera angle, the viewer (the tv audience) can see the back of Hillary's head and the face of Patrice as she speaks. We can see Hillary shaking her head up and down as Brock is completing her question. While this does not mean Hillary is necessarily *rhetorically* listening (or listening at all, since Adler and Towne's functions of listening include pseudo-listening—pretending to be listening or selective listening for what only concerns the listener), Hillary's response, her movement toward Patrice, and her eye contact suggest she might be. In a debate scenario, when the candidate has only 2 minutes to capture, think about, and then respond to a question, it is difficult to assess whether a candidate has stood under the text and let it wash over them (terms used by Krista Ratcliffe), all the while "do[ing] nothing" (a term Lauren Rosenberg coins in her research). However, when Brock finishes asking the question, Hillary takes another few steps closer to her, makes eye contact with her, thanks her for the question, and then asks her own question, "are you a teacher?" Brock responds affirmatively. It is these first moments of the second debate, when Hillary asks a simple question but also performs embodied action, that suggests she is rhetorically listening to her audience member.

From the above description, Ratcliffe might say Hillary stood under the text of the audience member's question, such that even though Brock did not state her own occupation,

Hillary was able to immediately extrapolate part of the questioner's positionality. Hillary's embodied act of moving toward the audience member and subsequent question demonstrate the rhetorical power of listening that acknowledges the identification of a speaker (the audience member). Working within Ratcliffe's definition of rhetorical listening, Hillary's engagement with her audience immediately highlights the relationship between bodies, identities, and differences in play in this interaction. As reviewed in chapter two, the idea of listening rhetorically means moving beyond exterior understandings of others, which allows for deeper engagement of ideas in a variety of conversations, cultures, and situations whether those ideas are stated or implied.

Introduction

The last chapter identified how Hillary employed rhetorical silence as a form of alternative rhetoric to negotiate her participation in a historically exclusionary space. Rather than fit into a standardized style of masculine versus feminine form of delivery, we saw how employing a rhetoric of silence offers an alternative for rhetors who must navigate not only an exclusionary space, but one that is under pernicious circumstances, where agonistic tactics are in far more abundance than usual. In this chapter, I continue this work of analyzing alternative rhetoric in exclusionary spaces by turning to Hillary's use of rhetorical listening in her debate performances. While William Benoit has stated that a functional analysis of debate explores attack, acclaim, and defense, I identify places where a less argumentative rhetorical art such as Ratcliffe's may be employed by Hillary. I apply Ratcliffe's method of rhetorical listening alongside Jacqueline Jones Royster's and Gisa Kirsch's method of strategic contemplation that

calls for reviewing, ruminating, and reflecting upon Hillary's debating performance. Drawing from their approaches discussed in Chapter 2 to identify, describe, and analyze Hillary's debate performance, I show how rhetorical listening shifts possibilities for navigating exclusionary venues.

Recalling from Chapter two, the four moves of Ratcliffe's approach to rhetorical listening include the promotion of understanding of self and other, proceeding from an accountability logic, locating identifications across commonalities, and analyzing claims as well as the cultural logics within which claims function. Ratcliffe describes her theory of rhetorical listening as a trope for interpretive invention, meaning one takes a stance of openness toward a person, text, or culture ("Rhetorical" 1). According to Ratcliffe, a stance of "openness" allows rhetors to better understand each other's approach during a conversation or interaction. Interpretive invention allows the rhetor to "foster conscious identifications" that facilitate communication ((("Rhetorical" 26). I argue that at various moments in the presidential debates Hillary situated herself within this place of openness, which consequently allowed her to have a better understanding of not only the questions asked of her in each debate, but the people asking the questions, giving Hillary better opportunities for deeper engagement of ideas in her responses. Furthermore, I show how Hillary's embodied performance of rhetorical listening facilitated communication and understanding otherwise not possible.

To organize the focus of this research and analyze the debates, I approach my analysis of rhetorical listening in a somewhat similar way that I approached silence, but because of the complex nature of listening, there are some differences. First, paralleling my work within

silence, to study listening I use Ratcliffe's framework to *identify* specific forms of listening. The difference, however, between identifying silence versus listening is the difficulty in recognizing listening as a *form* because it is mostly an unseen action. Whereas silence is marked by the absence of sound, I demonstrate how listening is hinted at through subtleties of a rhetor's embodied movements—gestural positioning, eye contact, even laughter. I also rely on verbal contextualization and responses to others to identify *when* and *how* rhetorical listening might have been happening and what forms it takes. Indications of listening, as evidenced through response, might be delivered, for example, through the rhetor's close attention to the details of a question or a stated comment during a conversation. Standing under Hillary's performance, paying close attention to embodied acts and contemplating the context of Hillary's responses thus allows me to identify where the four moves that Ratcliffe theorizes as rhetorical listening in specific forms might occur. These methods also allow me to pay attention to what emerges that either expands upon Ratcliffe's approach or opens rhetorical listening beyond Ratcliffe's specific moves. One important point I kept in mind in doing this work is Ratcliffe's statement that "[a] listener's desire cannot control how other readers, writers, speakers, or listeners will, in turn, receive the listener's desire, discourse, or actions" ("Rhetorical" 34).

In this chapter, I present a table (Table 4.1) to display Ratcliffe's discreet moves as well as how I approached identifying the moves in Hillary's debate performance. Despite the limitations of seeing these moves as distinct (which Ratcliffe clearly denies), I do *begin* my analysis with these discrete categories, as reflected in Table 4 below.

Table 5.1: Krista Ratcliffe's Approach to Rhetorical Listening

Name	Defining characteristics
Rhetorical Move #1 Promoting understanding of the self and other	I look for patterns where Hillary stands under the text. To do this, I look for places where Hillary's response reflects her understanding of her position and another in her interaction with everyone involved in the debate including her opponent, the moderators, and the audience. I look for places where Hillary's embodied acts promote interaction with others.
Rhetorical Move #2 Proceeding from within an accountability logic	I look for places where the candidate acknowledges mistakes, holds oneself accountable for their own logic recognizing that their own logic may not be agreed upon with the other. I look for places where Hillary takes responsibility for her actions and for her recognition of the other's viewpoint that is not in agreement with her own. Accountability logic implies recognizing that no one lives autonomous lives, despite the Western value of individualism. I look for places where Hillary stands under the notion of interdependence and dwells within the conflict instead of defending or denying position.
Rhetorical Move #3 Locating identifications across commonalities and differences	Drawing from Ratcliffe's second move, I look for places where diversity is promoted and where there are places of common goals. The audience consists of various identities and I look for how Hillary employs identification across commonalities as well as differences. Self-identification is only important in how it is understood in context of myself and the other whether there be commonalities or differences. When there are troubled identifications, I look for her engagement (embodied acts as well as response) in the role of the rhetorical listener.
Rhetorical Move #4 Analyzing claims as well as the cultural logics within which claims function	I look for places where claims are made and/or supported using a cultural logic, possibly an illegitimate knowledge (knowledge that is not mainstream, such as discussing identity in debate).

Table 5.1 (See Chapter 2 for a comprehensive description of Ratcliffe's approach)

In the following sections, I briefly remind readers of each move in Ratcliffe's approach to rhetorical listening and explain in more detail how I tracked each of the moves. I describe the circumstances surrounding the moments of listening and the spaces where listening seems to be occurring as well as describing how these spaces are utilized. I present examples or snippets of

dialogue and describe how Hillary's performance invokes a particular move. I detail the moments and timing and explain how each move is enacted, commenting on the patterns I identified (and their significance), as well as individual deliveries of listening that were important in characterizing each debate. From there, I demonstrate the fluidity of the four moves and how they intermingle with one another. Finally, I point to new possibilities for the form and functions of rhetorical listening that emerged in my research but do not fit into Ratcliffe's framework, thus opening rhetorical listening in other ways. I begin with Ratcliffe's first move.

Rhetorical Listening Move #1: Promoting understanding of the self and other

Putting it into Multiple Perspectives: Everyone has something to say

The first move in Ratcliffe's approach, promoting understanding of self and other, is a negotiation with oneself and another, and a collaboration of understanding. It is about self-awareness, or in more active terms, being aware of oneself, and it includes introspective work. An obstacle for identifying or practicing this move, which is central to this study, is the debate format itself. The debate format creates some complications for practicing and identifying this move, which Ratcliffe explains as "acknowledging the existence of" the other's "discourse and listening for (un)conscious presences, absences, and unknowns. It also involves consciously integrating this information into our world views and decision making" ("Rhetorical" 29). Traditionally set up for rhetoricians to reject each other's point of view based on what is merely *present* in the discourse, debate becomes a difficult venue for this aspect of rhetorical listening, an aspect that Ratcliffe's approach does not take into account, which this study introduces and works to overcome (as a limitation to the applicability of rhetorical listening).

Despite this obstacle, the example of Hillary's interaction with her audience member, Patrice Brock, in the second debate, demonstrates how this move begins the process of rhetorical listening in a debate format. Ratcliffe explains, "Standing under our own discourses means identifying the various discourses embodied within each of us and then listening to hear and *imagine* how these discourses might affect not only ourselves but others" ("Rhetorical" 28, emphasis added). In other words, promoting *self*-awareness means to "stand under" another's ideas and not to dismiss those ideas. Hillary's embodied action of moving closer to Brock can be interpreted as embracing the idea that to understand or stand under the question asked by Brock is also to stand under, reflect, and hear Brock beyond her question. To foster new ways of hearing texts, a rhetor must *strategically* contemplate (a term that Royster and Kirsch introduced into their research methods) what the text is saying without immediate reaction. In the venue of debate protocol, I emphasize the term, "strategically," based on the time limitations placed on a rhetor's ability to reflect. Taking in the text without taking a position is difficult to immediately actualize, even without the time constraints of a debate. Ratcliffe does admit to an ideal that may be hard to meet because refraining from reaction and immediate response to someone else's text is a performance that must be learned and practiced. In a debate, this practice is even more critical because of timing. Thus, refrain from instantaneous response is valuable in order to overcome immediate reaction to something read or heard. The debate protocol called for Hillary to respond first to the first question, of which her opponent will also attempt to respond to the question. With that said, Hillary has little time to reflect on the question before responding. I propose that Hillary's move toward Brock and posing a question functions to delay Hillary's

direct response to Brock's question. There is a caveat to this notion, however, when executing rhetorical listening in a debate format.

Most often, and another complication for this part of my study, debate contenders do not have the privilege of face-to-face communication with an audience where there will be enough time to create meaningful dialogue and create effective interactive communication. Within the debate structure, candidates must often engage with questions and responses within a specific time frame. Nonetheless, in any format, the debating candidate is trying to achieve the rhetorical goal of communicating with and persuading their audience/viewers/electorate ultimately to vote for them. Therefore, to negotiate Ratcliffe's first move of promoting self and other, a candidate must rely on understanding her audience both prior to and during the debate. Ideally, the rhetor takes caution to learn the issues they present to an audience This means that the first move of Ratcliffe's theory and method implies that it is incumbent on the candidates to know and understand their electorate and have a well-grounded understanding of self and knowledge on key issues they are promoting. This mirrors the ethos found in debate procedures that David Zarefsky, as well as Benoit, advocate—the rhetor will improve the chances of making accurate judgments if their knowledge is well-grounded in the subject matter and they are perceptive of their audience world view ("Political" Zarefsky).

Given these limitations of the context of debate, the first requirement for Hillary to follow Ratcliffe's first move is to understand she is involved with multiple perspectives from all over diverse geographical and political communities and platforms. Therefore, in order to demonstrate an understanding of self and other in these debates, Hillary would have to promote a

self in relation to her policy views and acknowledge them with the audience's perspectives. This is difficult in a debate since the candidates are going to present opposing views with little time to reflect, contemplate, and do nothing in order to stand under the text of their audience, their opponent, as well as the moderator. But candidates can nonetheless acknowledge their own view and positioning and show respect for others' viewpoints and positionalities. As the researcher, I contemplate where and how Hillary seemingly follows this move.

As a case in point, I elaborate and describe more fully the example of Patrice Brock, the audience member described at the beginning of this chapter, who asks the first question of the candidates in the second debate:

> **Patrice Brock**: Thank you, and good evening. The last debate could have been rated as MA, mature audiences, per TV parental guidelines. Knowing that educators assign viewing the presidential debates as students' homework, do you feel you're modeling appropriate and positive behavior for today's youth? (D2 1:15).

Only one minute into the second debate and with an audience unknown to the candidates beforehand, the format makes it unlikely that a candidate would know who Patrice Brock is (her background, her interests, her reasons for the specific question she asks) or have the time to engage in further reflection on the question asked by Brock. Rather, according to debate protocol, candidates are encouraged to simply answer Brock's question with an immediate response of how they themselves, as a politician, would respond, without regard for the meaning the question has to Brock—who she is, and what education means to her. By following Brock's

question with her own, however, Hillary was able to open up the underlying[62] meaning of Brock's and thus allow Brock the opportunity to identify herself as a teacher and how her definition of teaching as "a moral obligation to her students" might be related to her identification. An identity of "teacher" can mean many things, but Ratcliffe's articulation of rhetorical listening as involving understanding self and other situates the rhetorical listener to see or explore the identification as to what it means to the specific individual.

Thus, even without access to her intentions, I propose that we can identify Hillary practicing rhetorical listening when she takes the extra few seconds to move closer to this audience member and attempts to interpret the subtle words that Brock uses within her question that specifically centers Brock:

> **Hillary Clinton**: Well, thank you. Are you a teacher?
>
> *Patrice shakes her head affirmatively*
>
> **Hillary Clinton**: Yes, I think that that's a very good question, because I've heard from lots of teachers and parents about some of their concerns about some of the things that are being said and done in this campaign (D2 1:34)

Here, Hillary seems to extrapolate part of the questioner's identity by responding with a question for Brock. Whereas another rhetor may simply not be concerned with Brock's identity, or may assume she is a teacher, or may not even consider her positionality important and thus may not instigate a connection by asking any questions, Hillary's own question combined with her embodied act of moving closer to her audience member demonstrates the motion of a listener

[62] I am using the term underlying because Ratcliffe has borrowed a term "leigein" from Heidegger which is interpreted to mean "lay" or "laying under" which is where the term "standing under" was derived. I use underlying to mimic Ratcliffe's inverse method and in this case would turn the term underlying into lying under. That is, what meaning is lying under Patrice's question?

(Hillary) willing to recognize and interact with the meaning that lies under the question of the audience member (Brock). Hillary, however, does not just assume, she seeks to make certain her assumption is correct. In a possible strategic move as well, Hillary may be using her own question to bide time to contemplate Brock's question or develop her own response.

Further working with Ratcliffe's definition of rhetorical listening, as mentioned earlier, allows us to see how Hillary's engagement with her audience immediately highlights the relationship between her body and that of the audience member, whose identities and differences come together as a collaboration of understanding. Physically moving *toward* Brock, Hillary also moves beyond the exterior understanding (of an audience member with a question about Hillary's modeling of behavior), which allows Hillary time for deeper engagement with Brock (negotiating conversation about teachers' responsibility and model behavior). The embodied movement on Hillary's part, shaking her head, moving closer to her audience member, continuous eye contact, and the words expressed in conversation *with* Brock, exhibits the promotion of understanding of the other—Ratcliffe's first move. Moreover, this double movement results in giving Hillary more context to reflect on Brock's question. I interpret Hillary's moving closer to Brock, identifying Brock as a teacher even when Brock did not state it specifically (before being asked), as well as shaking her head affirmatively, direct eye contact, and inquisition to confirm her own assumption of Brock's identity as a teacher, as embodied acts that model or move toward a stance of rhetorical listening.

Along with the first example using Brock's opening question during the Town Hall debate, and drawing from Royster and Kirsch's method of strategically contemplating all of the

elements such as ruminating, reviewing, and reflecting upon Hillary's moves, there are several other instances where I see Ratcliffe's first move in Hillary's embodied acts. In debate one, for example, Hillary's response to Lester Holt's first question points to another instance of her promoting understanding of the self and other. Holt's question is as follows:

> **Lester Holt:** There are two economic realities in America today. There's been a record six straight years of job growth, and new census numbers show incomes have increased at a record rate after years of stagnation. However, income inequality remains significant, and nearly half of Americans are living paycheck to paycheck.
>
> Beginning with you, Secretary Clinton, why are you a better choice than your opponent to create the kinds of jobs that will put more money into the pockets of American workers (D1 5:54)?

Hillary, as a debate contender, must recognize who the answer is going to serve and reflect upon the question and her response in the short time allotted for the candidates. Because there is little time to reflect, it is incumbent on the candidate to have some sense of her audience beforehand, as mentioned previously. Hillary responds to this question within the two minutes and then Trump comments after she speaks. After Trump's turn, Hillary, rather than move on to another question, or refute Trump's comments, however, Hillary continues to promote understanding of self and other when she continues:

> **Hillary Clinton**: My father was a small businessman. He worked really hard. He printed drapery fabrics on long tables, where he pulled out those fabrics and he went down with a silkscreen and dumped the paint in and took the squeegee and kept going. (D1 11:30).

In this follow up, Hillary self-identifies as the daughter of a father who paints fabric, a response which attempts to create a bond with the audience that might position her upbringing as one that may or may not correlate with the audience with regard to class, race, and/or gendered identity.

Thereafter, Hillary continues to offer ways for the audience to understand how she understands herself as well as them through her use of pronouns:

> And so, what I believe is the more **we** can do for the middle class, the more **we** can invest in **you**, **your** education, **your** skills, **your** future, the better **we** will be off and the better **we'll** grow. That's the kind of economy I want **us** to see again (D1 12:00, emphasis added).

In the above statement, Hillary gives her audience some insight as to who she is in relation to them. That is, she states she wants to work for the middle class. She positions her background as one that signifies similarities with growing up middle-class (instead of emphasizing her current class status). Hillary's personal claim that includes identifying her father as a fabric painter positions her in different ways. She does not say she is middle-class, but she *promotes* the idea that she *understands* because she has experienced a lifestyle where her father printed fabrics, which may give an impression of middle-class status. She also makes the point of using the term "we," even though she is not middle class. The use of "we" several times may appeal to those who are middle class. She then ends the statement and incorporates everyone with the term "us."

Hillary's dialogue converges and diverges with her audience ("Rhetorical" 32). This occurs when Hillary states that "what *I* believe, is, the more *we* can invest in *you*." She juxtaposes "we" in the same sentence as "you." In her first response, Hillary can be viewed as employing Ratcliffe's first move of promoting understanding of self (and father as an extension of self) and other (those who are middle class) and connecting with them, collaborating with the other as if "we" can work together to get things done. Looking closely, it is the first move of promoting understanding of self and other that Hillary seems to be navigating, thus directing the conversation back onto the audience or centering the audience instead of focusing merely on the

self, but also weaving her "self" *with* the other (the audience). The two incidences described and analyzed above demonstrate that Ratcliffe's first move can be identified in Hillary's performance. The next section identifies Ratcliffe's second move and how it might have been performed by Hillary.

Rhetorical Listening Move #2: Proceeding from within an accountability logic

How do I Account for this? Let Me Count the Ways

For Ratcliffe, another facet of rhetorical listening (proceeding from an accountability logic) recognizes one's accountability for their actions with regard for others. According to Ratcliffe, a part of the definition of accountability considers that "we are indeed all members of the same village, and if for no other reason than that...all people necessarily have a stake in each other's quality of life" (Ratcliffe, "Rhetorical" 31). Accountability logic implies recognizing that no one lives an autonomous life, despite the Western value of individualism. "Accountability logic," explains Ratcliffe, suggests an ethos be maintained "that, regardless of who is responsible for a current situation, asks us to recognize our privileges and non-privileges and act accordingly" (31-32). This move does not merely focus on *understanding* the discourses (of others) but encourages rhetors to *stand under* the discourse of others and think about the rhetorical negotiations that are required within the logic of varied discourses. Recognizing now that there is no universal truth, for Ratcliffe, the question is not *whose* discourses do we negotiate, but *how* do we negotiate the varied discourses?

I extend this to the context of a general election debate forum to mean that the community is the whole of the United States, where each of the candidates is running to be

President. Therefore, each candidate is moving their dialogue in accordance with an audience of viewers living in America, each of whom has a stake in each other's lives. Ideally, candidates must be extra vigilant on this platform in order to consider their constituents who may or may not agree with their policies. Accountability logics are also, as Ratcliffe claims, one step further in the direction of attaining identification across commonalities and difference. That is, this second move extends the process of deep reflection and consideration imperative upon a rhetorical listener who must consider not only the constituents they identify with, but those with whom they differ. The rhetorical listener tries to stand under the other's text, to let it wash over them, and to reflect on it so as to not overwrite it with their own agenda.

In the following dialogue from debate 3, I identify this move of rhetorical listening when Hillary and Chris Wallace take part in discussing the following issue that Wallace presents:

> **Chris Wallace:** … I want to focus on two issues that in fact by the justices that you name could end up changing the existing law of the land. First is one that you mentioned, Mr. Trump, and that is guns. Secretary Clinton, you said last year, and let me quote, "the Supreme Court is wrong on the Second Amendment."
>
> Now, in fact, in the 2008 *Heller* case, the court ruled that "there is a constitutional right to bear arms but a right that is reasonably limited." Those were the words of Judge Antonin Scalia, who wrote the decision. What's wrong with that (D3 6:25)?

The moderator, Wallace, is explaining the issue on guns, whereby he quotes Hillary first and then Supreme Court Justice Scalia. He is specific in what he wishes Hillary to discuss: her statement about the Supreme Court. In response, Hillary remarks:

> **Hillary Clinton:** Well, first of all, I support the Second Amendment. I lived in Arkansas for 18 wonderful years. I represented upstate New York. I understand

> and respect the tradition of gun ownership. It goes back to the founding of our country (D3 7:01).

Hillary first makes the claim of support of and respect for the Second Amendment and then reiterates its importance in history. In this response I see Hillary demonstrating accountability logic by recognizing that she is not living an autonomous life because she is noting her constituents' regard for tradition (history). "Accountability logic," explains Ratcliffe, also suggests an ethos be maintained "that regardless of who is responsible for a current situation asks us to recognize our privileges and non-privileges and act accordingly" (31-32). This move focuses on understanding the discourses of the constituents who own guns. That is, the logic of these constituents adhere specifically to what is stated in the Second Amendment—their right to bear arms without anyone infringing upon those rights. The privilege of owning a gun is the protection by the government from infringement. Hillary seemingly recognizes the privileges of gun owning constituents when she overtly states that she respects gun owner rights and the tradition of gun ownership. Noting Ratcliffe's assertion that it is important to remember the past, I identify this move through Hillary's comment about respect for tradition, our founding fathers, and the Second Amendment. The next snippet by Hillary demonstrates Ratcliffe's notion of negotiation and proceeding from an accountability logic:

> **Hillary Clinton: But I also believe** that there can be and must be reasonable regulation. Because I support the Second Amendment doesn't mean that I want people who shouldn't have guns to be able to threaten you, kill you or members of your family. (D3 7:40, emphasis added)

This subsequent snippet above indicates that Hillary may be recognizing and negotiating the non-privileges that are latently implicated in owning guns in the 21st century. Ratcliffe states that

we should not ignore the past, and its traditions, but we should always maintain an awareness of its impact on the present. Today, non-privileges may be in the form of the dangers that come with possibilities of accidents, harm to others, violence from misuse of guns. Hillary explicitly states her belief about reasonable regulation regarding the implications of gun ownership today. That is, through her statement of support for those who own guns followed by her explicit concerning statement of what guns can do (the non-privileges) and that not everyone should have guns—recognizing the logics of those who support more gun safety regulation--Hillary is paralleling the move of proceeding with an accountability logic. Even though the Second Amendment does not delineate on who should and should not own guns, Hillary acknowledges that in present time, we should take precautions.

These two snippets parallel Ratcliffe's second move of "proceeding with an accountability logic," and that we all have a stake in each other's quality of life and demonstrate how Hillary is negotiating her view with her varied constituent's views, those who own guns and those who wish for more regulation. To further explain, this move requires a focus on the discourses of others and it also requires one to be accountable for their own logics when there are varied discourses (such as in the case of discourses of gun control). In the above two snippets, while Hillary accounts for her fondness for tradition, "I understand and respect tradition" and "I support the Second Amendment," she simultaneously inserts another logic (support for gun control), what she counts as a reasonable Second Amendment interpretation ("but I also believe in reasonable regulation"). Hillary injects her concern for the safety of others, or a concern in the stake of other's lives. This both/and fulfills Ratcliffe's second move in that it "encourages

rhetors to stand under the discourse of others and listen to the rhetorical negotiations that are required within the logic of varied discourses" ("Rhetorical" 32). Ratcliffe also states "A logic of accountability invites us to consider how all of us are, at present, culturally implicated in effects of the past (via our resulting privileges and/or their lack) and, thus, accountable for what we do about situations now, even if we are not responsible for their origins" (Ratcliffe, "Rhetorical" 32). Hillary accounts for the privileges and non/privileges of gun ownership. This notion of the Second Amendment is a viable example because of the multiple logics associated with it, and, because it is a part of our Constitutional history where we had no say in its rhetorical initiation but must be accountable for its effects today. Hillary's responses seemingly parallel Ratcliffe's second move and from here, I now turn to Ratcliffe's third move in her approach to rhetorical listening that I identified in several more of Hillary's responses.

Rhetorical Listening Move #3: Locating identifications across commonalities and differences

Stronger Together

The third move in Ratcliffe's theory of rhetorical listening recognizes common ground as well as differences. Ratcliffe explains that it is more likely for people to gravitate toward places of common ground when attempting to identify with and understand one another. However, Ratcliffe invites her listener to doubly focus on "consciously locating our identifications in places of *both* commonalities *and* differences" ("Rhetorical" 32, emphasis added). That is, rather than a single focus on commonalities, this aspect of rhetorical listening invites rhetors to accept

differences into one's worldview so as not to "erase or gloss over" differences between oneself and others ("Rhetorical" 32).

However, to understand the third move about identifications, we must keep in mind the second move, wherein, "we all have a stake in each other's quality of life" and share the same space ("Rhetorical" 31). The debating stage is a space where candidates can exchange ideas, where ideas are heard and can be questioned by the audience to make sure the candidates are accountable for their ideas. The third motion demonstrates where a rhetorical listener does not just claim or proceed from the logic that we should all get along or agree but goes deeper into the meaning of how we can get along when we don't have much in common and vehemently disagree. Ratcliffe is making the assertion that we were all born into a circumstance, a place, a village that we had no control of, but we should be accountable for how we act now as we continue to always have regard for our past. Ratcliffe is not saying one should forget history. On the contrary, Ratcliffe's approach seeks answers to how we can "have a stake in each other's lives" recognizing differences as well as commonalities. A rhetorical listener stands under a text to be able to reflect on and recognize the context and its meaning, identifying commonalities and differences without losing accountability. In the following dialogue, Hillary's words seemingly parallel Ratcliffe's description of rhetorical listening across commonalities and differences. Along with commonalities, Ratcliffe explains that rhetorical listening offers the opportunity for listeners to understand discourse dissonance or differences of opinions, or differences that come from socially constructed notions about identity. That is, Ratcliffe discusses differences in identity, such as race, and extends her theory to other identities such as republican, democrat,

mother, father, etc. She asserts that any differences in identity require exploration into what that identity means to each individual and to further examine how identity is personal and unique. What one experiences within one specific identity can be a different experience than someone else's experiences, who may or may not share a similar identity. In other words, nothing should be taken for granted. Ratcliffe explains that with acknowledgement of differences in identity comes an awareness of the disidentifications (or moments of difference), that make us attentive to power plays that are ideologically (un)fair and result in “troubled identifications" ("Rhetorical" 66). Such troubled identifications can be resolved if one person can practice rhetorical listening. The identities that are different can be heard and then discussed. Ratcliffe notes, "If troubled identifications are visible" to the rhetorical listener, then it "becomes possible to negotiate" within the dialogue (66).

The following snippet of conversation by Hillary demonstrates how this move works:

> **Hillary Clinton**: I have a very positive and optimistic view about what we can do together. That’s why the slogan of my campaign is “Stronger Together,” because I think if **we work together**, if we **overcome the divisiveness** that sometimes sets Americans against one another, and instead we make some big goals—and I’ve set forth some big goals, getting the economy to **work for everyone, not just those at the top**, making sure that we have the best education system from preschool through college and making it affordable, and so much else (D2 2:50, emphasis added).

Here, Hillary explicitly acknowledges differences, (divisiveness) which is rarely done in debates. Although framed in terms of a common goal or cause, this recognition of differences indicates that Hillary has listened to her prospective constituents and understands that they are not all the same. Hillary juxtaposes the terms “overcome divisiveness” with the idea that such division creates discord (setting Americans against one another). She also recognizes the power

differentials or power plays when she comments on "not just those at the top." Hillary is also enlisting another one of the ideas that Ratcliffe identifies as part of rhetorical listening: that we are all part of a community and we all have a stake in that community. She continues by explicating differences in their specificity and how regard for differences accommodates what is at stake for the future:

> **Hillary Clinton**: I want to be the president for **all Americans**, regardless of your political beliefs, where you come from, what you look like, your religion. I want us to **heal** our country and **bring it together** because that's, I think, the best way for us to get the future that our children and our grandchildren deserve. (D2 3:32).

While she acknowledges differences, here, Hillary shows herself standing under the text of a grand narrative of America, in which "all" are included. She juxtapositions "all Americans" with having different beliefs and identities. With further reflection, however, we can see how Hillary's response implies that the grand narrative does not represent everyone equally because while it underlies the policies that are constituted for all, it does not always work perfectly (thus the need to "heal"). Therefore, her statement *if we overcome the divisiveness that sometimes sets Americans against one another* signifies her understanding that the national discourse is divided, there is more than one discourse that surrounds us.

While I do not know for sure what she is using as context, I am saying that by standing under the text of two different cultural logics, that of "all Americans" and that which recognizes differences based on religion, economics, and education, Hillary is paralleling Ratcliffe's third move. According to Ratcliffe, a rhetor must take in the multivariant audience views and the different or even "illegitimate knowledges" that are represented by that audience in order to

employ the third move of rhetorical listening (Stenberg 259).[63] Ratcliffe states that "dialogue emerges as a dialectical conversation that questions the process of dialectic, a conversation that seeks not the clarification and rigidification" of either commonalities or differences, "but rather the murky margins between" where discourse converges and diverges ("Rhetorical" 31-32). When Hillary discusses her desire to represent "all Americans," she is negating the either/or of a divided logos in favor of a "coexistence of ideas" ("Rhetorical" 24). That is, we can identify where Hillary looks not just at commonalities, but also at differences in Americans' identity, as well as in their political and religious beliefs.

In another instance during debate two, I can identify employment of move three through Hillary's actions and words by reflecting on her relationship with multiple identities.[64] The following exchange demonstrates how identity is recognized as a possible discordant factor between republicans and democrats. Again, noting Ratcliffe's assertion that working within similarities and differences is a facet of rhetorical listening, I identify where Hillary explicitly states that she worked with a faction of Congress whose principals were different from hers. Continuing to be questioned about her ability to model behavior, Hillary gave some examples of how she, as a political representative and model for political behavior, herself has modeled behavior in politics in the past. Hillary further responded to the initial question about modeling behavior with the following statement:

> **Hillary Clinton:** You know, with prior Republican nominees for president, I **disagreed** with them on politics, policies, principles, but I never questioned their fitness to serve. (D2 8:17).

[63] Illegitimate knowledges were discussed in chapter 2 as knowledge that deviates from mainstream discourse.
[64] Ratcliffe speaks to issues on race and gender but also notes that identification is not limited to these concepts. Commonalities and differences can be applied to other forms of identity, such as Republican and Democrat.

In this comment, Hillary is expressing her cognizance of difference, but she is also expressing how people can work together even when their achieved identities are different. For instance, in the next statement, Hillary discusses finding common ground among differences:

> **Hillary Clinton:** I worked very hard and was very proud to be re-elected in New York by an even bigger margin than I had been elected the first time. And as president, I will take that work, that **bipartisan work**, that **finding common ground**, because **you have to be able to get along with people** to get things done in Washington. (D2 58:09).

Hillary continues to express unity surrounding commonalities or finding common ground through bipartisanship-a collaboration of commonalities as well as differences. Hillary continues to stress her cooperation with those who are in opposition with her own views:

> **…** And it's not just because I **worked with** George W. Bush after 9/11. And we have to work more closely with our **partners and allies** on the ground (D2 1:00:43, emphasis added).

Here she describes how she worked with her opposition, then the President, who had a different ideology. By spending time acknowledging differences (opposing ideologies with a Republican President), accepting and celebrating differences as well as seeking commonalities and similarities (working closely with partners and allies), Hillary is demonstrating that she rhetorically listens and signals her willingness to continue to do so. Somewhat different than demonstrating listening *in the moment*, she nonetheless affirms a commitment to rhetorical listening. She is, in effect, locating identifications across commonalities (with her political allies) as well as differences (across the aisles of Congress) and seeking commonalities across differences in working with others in Congress who have a different perspective than her own.

Troubled Identifications

For my last example of Hillary's employment of Ratcliffe's third move, I turn to Hillary's comments on issues that, in previous elections, had not come up as an issue because Presidential debate candidates had been tentative to speak about the topic of identity (Holmes).[65] I also explicitly name this section using Ratcliffe's term of "troubled identifications" which I mentioned earlier in my description of Ratcliffe's third move. Ratcliffe emphasizes that race and gender are not discussed openly in dominant discourse, which also reflects the racial and gendered dominance of the U.S. Presidency that is based on the similarities of whiteness and males. Ratcliffe also posits that by using rhetorical listening, one can identify troubled identifications and therefore negotiate instead of denying or ignoring the discourses that include such identifications. From this stance the parties can work toward a goal of generating more productive discourses. I identify Hillary performing this move in the following snippet from Debate one, when she begins a dialogue on the importance of racial issues:

> **Hillary Clinton:** Race remains a significant challenge in our country. Unfortunately, **race still determines too much**, often determines where people live, **determines** what kind of education in their public schools they can get, and, yes, it **determines** how they're treated in the criminal justice system. We've just seen those two tragic examples in both Tulsa and Charlotte (D1 43:46, emphasis added).

[65] David G. Holmes, a communication scholar writes that, other than a restrained, sometimes tacit defense such as the dialogue in the Kennedy-Nixon debates, the prospects of race or identity related issues were seldom prominent or primarily addressed in presidential campaign debate rhetoric even during the racially explosive years of the civil rights movement. In similar fashion, in the stirring years of the second wave of the women's movement, gender was not a prominent issue on the Presidential general election stage, more so than civil rights issues. If the issues of identity were addressed, it was in ideological form, speaking of the past, but not in ways that reform would be necessary or social change added to the liberal platform (Holmes).

With this statement, Hillary goes where debaters seldom go, according to Holmes. She discusses an ideology that opposes an American dominant value of meritocracy.[66] Rather, she discusses an alternative ideology that the state of American equality is based on race (racially determined). The effect is to open a conversation about differences in ideologies. Hillary follows this opening with a discussion about identifications across differences when she speaks about communities and police working together:

> … And we've got to do several things at the same time. We have to restore **trust between communities** and the police. We have to work to make sure that our police are using the best training, the best techniques, that they're well prepared to use force only when necessary (D1 44:49).

When Hillary uses the term "between," she is telling us that there are differences between communities and those who protect communities. The idea of restoring trust invokes accountability logics where we share the same space and thus must be accountable for the effects of how we use that shared space (training, techniques, preparedness). Therefore, she is bridging differences within that shared space.

Using a previous comment by Hillary (her very first comments in the second debate), she also mentions the idea of working together:

> **Hillary:** I want to be the president for all Americans, regardless of your political beliefs, where you come from, what you look like, your religion. (D2 3:32)

In this statement, rather than ignoring identity as was the case, more than not, for previous debates according to Holmes, Hillary brings it to the forefront immediately in her second

[66] Meritocracy is the notion that regardless of anyone's identity, one can achieve the American Dream based only on their individual efforts negating any social forces in their lives.

appearance on the stage by mentioning multiple identities, including religious identities. Interestingly, Hillary uses the phrase "President for all Americans" and puts all into a single category. This can be interpreted in several ways. Ratcliffe's move might invite us to break down "all" in order to explore ways to be president for all Americans within their commonalities and differences; we could also follow Ratcliffe to focus on Hillary's use of "regardless of," which presupposes that multiple identities exist. I see Hillary employing Ratcliffe's move that embodies "hearing intersecting identifications with race to facilitate inclusion and cross-cultural communication" ("Rhetorical" 17), but she is doing this in the context of a debate where it could be possible trouble for her audience who cannot relate to this sense of "all." In other words, there may be some audience viewers who might have a "troubled identification" with the term "all Americans" in that it also includes those who do not fit the dominant form of whiteness (48). Consequently, by qualifying "all Americans" with "regardless," Hillary has stepped away from traditional debate discourse and broaches dialogue on troubled identifications. By broaching the usually considered awkward conversation of identity, which to this point had largely remained absent in general election debate discourse, I identify Ratcliffe's third move being employed.

Rhetorical listening also entails conscious listening to what is not heard; what was not heard in the first two debates was a productive conversation on gender and other issues of identity.[67] Gender was referred to once in the first two debates when Hillary speaks about equal pay for women. In the third debate, however, gender comes up in several ways. These other

[67] Identity includes gender, sexual orientation, as well as other political debate transgressions that Holmes also referred to as steering clear of identity politics. President Obama was the first President to initiate a conversation about Stonewall only after his election and in his first inauguration address.

gendered issues, as well as sexual orientation, were discussed openly by Hillary throughout debate three, as seen in the following exerts:

> **Hillary Clinton**: For me, that means that we need a Supreme Court that will stand up on behalf of women's rights, on behalf of the rights of the LGBT community (D3 3:50).
>
> It is important that we not reverse marriage equality… (4:05).
>
> I strongly **support *Roe v. Wade*, which guarantees a constitutional right to a woman to make the most intimate, most difficult in many cases decision**s about **her health care** that one can imagine. And in this case, it's not only about *Roe v. Wade*. It is about what's happening right now in America. So many states are putting very stringent **regulations on women** that block them from exercising that choice to the extent that they are defunding **Planned Parenthood**, which, of course, provides all kinds of cancer screenings and other benefits for women in our country (12:24).
> I want to make sure that **women get equal pay** for the work we do (33:55).
>
> I went to Beijing and I said **women's rights are human rights** (46:30).
>
> But I'm not going to slam the door on **women and children (**1:21:55)
>
> I want to enhance benefits for low income workers and for **women who have been disadvantaged** by the current social security system (1:31:30).

These instances can be described as possible forms of rhetorical listening because she is looking at the socio-political context of accountability logic and how those claims have been "erased or glossed over" through years of presidential contests. Invoking gender suggests that Hillary has heard those absences and is, thus, listening rhetorically (32).

Ratcliffe states that "by theorizing identification as metonymic places of commonalities and differences, discourses converge and diverge" ("Rhetorical" 32). This contour of Ratcliffe's third move is identified when Hillary once again introduces identity into the conversation.

Hillary discusses difference and gives the audience the heads up that she has already listened to those whose identities are different from what is considered the dominant group in America:

> **Question from audience member** (no name given): Hi. There are 3.3 million Muslims in the United States, and I'm one of them. You've mentioned working with Muslim nations, but with Islamophobia on the rise, how will you help people like me deal with the consequences of being labeled as a threat to the country after the election is over (D2 34:02)?
>
> **Hillary Clinton:** Well, thank you for asking your question. **And I've heard this question from a lot of Muslim-Americans across our country**, because, unfortunately, there's been a lot of very divisive, dark things said about Muslims. And even someone like Captain Khan, the young man who sacrificed himself defending our country in the United States Army, has been subject to attack by Donald (D2 35:00, emphasis added).

Here Hillary seemingly tells us she is listening--"I've heard" -- and then she begins to talk more about identity and how identity creates division which in turn increases Islamophobia. Hillary thus moves from listening to rhetorical listening by going on to explain the importance of a cultural logic that explicates how to converge and diverge within the differences that Muslim groups must contend:

> **Hillary Clinton**: **I've worked with** a lot of different Muslim groups around America. I've met with a lot of them, and **I've heard how important it** is for them to feel that they **are wanted and included** and part of our country, part of our homeland security, and that's what I want to see.
> It's also important I intend to defeat ISIS, to do so in a coalition with majority Muslim nations. Right now, **a lot of those nations are hearing** what Donald says and wondering, why should we cooperate with the Americans? And this is a gift to ISIS and the terrorists, violent jihadist terrorists.

Ratcliffe maintains that rhetorical listening shifts the conversation from speaking only of the self, to working hard to hear the other. Again, I note Ratcliffe's proclivity for a "dialectical conversation" that allows for "differences to converge and diverge" ("Rhetorical" 32). I identify

where Hillary parallels Ratcliffe's move by centering the conversation on identity differences, the divisiveness created by identity differences, and working through those differences. Hillary is facilitating identification across differences, all the while she is forewarning of a danger in stereotyping groups of people that would in turn create more division.

In summary, within the debate format, and although debates are about persuasion, Ratcliffe's third move involving identification is not about persuasion precisely. It is about coming together within our commonalities and our differences. Employing this move in the debate format can work as a possible strength and strategy to invite the audience to also work together by helping them stand under the texts and recognize such commonalities and differences. This may not be outright persuasion but a way to find solutions to troubling identifications. This move works within coming together, or taken from Hillary's campaign slogan, becoming "Stronger Together," transforming language through a dialectic conversation that also allows for awareness and acceptance of differences ("Rhetorical" 32). Hillary demonstrated how she accounts for creating a stronger community through rhetorical listening that works with and within troubled identifications.

Rhetorical Listening Move #4: Analyzing claims as well as the cultural logics within which claims function

Negotiating with multiple perspectives

Ratcliffe describes her fourth move in her approach to rhetorical listening as "analyzing claims as well as the cultural logics within which claims function" ("Rhetorical" 33). She explains that a "claim is an assertion of a person's thinking," and a cultural logic is a "belief

system or a shared way of reasoning" ("Rhetorical" 33). Recognizing the multiplicity of logics that abound (such as in the case of gun control), Ratcliffe steers away from the idea of one universal truth. To explain her rejection of this idea, Ratcliffe comments on how claims can be made within a cultural logic of conservatism, or a religious logic, or a logic that advances liberalism. When someone makes a claim, they are using a belief system, or a logic that is culturally known to one culture but not constituted among other cultures and that may or may not be the same as another's belief system. Ratcliffe's point is that "rarely do arguments and analyses of arguments focus on the cultural logics that ground such claims" (33). In other words, when a claim is made, Ratcliffe is saying that multiple logics are not taken into consideration when accounting for the claim, nor are multiple perspectives regarded when disputing the claim. She is pointing out the limitation of the ideology of one truth, one logic. Rather than dwelling on the "one truth" notion when analyzing claims, then, rhetorical listeners look under the claim for the (sometimes) multiple belief systems that inspire that claim.

An example of where I identified how Hillary's performance mirrored the employment of Ratcliffe's fourth move considering multiple logics comes when we see Hillary working once again with another audience member's question:

> **Audience Member (not named)**: Thank you. Affordable Care Act, known as Obamacare, it is not affordable. Premiums have gone up. Deductibles have gone up. Copays have gone up. Prescriptions have gone up. And the coverage has gone down. What will you do to bring the cost down and make coverage better? (D2 24:53).

Hillary moves from the far righthand stage to where the audience member is seated

> **Hillary Clinton**: … And I'm going to fix it, because I agree with you. Premiums have gotten too high. Copays, deductibles, prescription drug costs,

> and I've laid out a series of actions that we can take to try to get those costs down. (D2 25:30).

There are several identifying aspects in Hillary's response that I see that invoke Ratcliffe's moves. First, Hillary responds by paraphrasing the audience member's claim, but I note that she also answers this claim by paying attention to the details of the question when she is paraphrasing and, thereafter makes her own claim, which speaks to her audience member's concern about ACA. Adhering to the idea that "rarely do arguments and analyses of arguments focus on the cultural logics that ground such claims" (33), Hillary, is simultaneously stating her understanding of, and agreement with, the audience member. Hillary is explaining the complexity and the necessity of ACA. Furthermore, she alludes to having the audience self-consciously listen when she states:

> But here's what **I don't want people to forget** when we're talking about reining in the costs…" (D2 26:00, emphasis added).

This is reinforcing the idea that she encourages her audience to hear what is under the text. By stating explicitly that she doesn't want people to forget, she is also reinforcing her own understanding of what is under the text. She then explains this understanding in the following excerpt:

> **Hillary Clinton:** … when the Affordable Care Act passed, it wasn't just that 20 million got insurance who didn't have it before. But that in and of itself was a good thing. I meet these people all the time, and they tell me what a difference having that insurance meant to them and their families (D2 26:10)

Hillary first commented on what she and her audience member agreed upon (the commonalities of what is wrong with ACA), then begins to account for the logics of her claim that will fix (thus acknowledging the claim of the other) the concern/claim her audience member mentioned. She

gives several reasons for keeping ACA, but she also accounts for who loses if her claim is not realized, thus reaffirming the legitimacy of the audience member's original claim as well as her own responsibilities for improving ACA rather than repealing the act:

> I want very much to **save what works** and is good about the Affordable Care Act. But **we've got to get costs down**. We've got to provide additional help to small businesses so that they can afford to provide health insurance. But if we repeal it, …, all of those benefits I just mentioned are lost to everybody, not just people who get their health insurance on the exchange. And then we would have to start all over again. Right now, we are at 90 percent health insurance coverage. That's the highest we've ever been in our country (D2 27:30).

Taken as a whole, the example above demonstrates Ratcliffe's fourth move. First the rhetor either makes a claim or a rebuttal. In this instance, Hillary is accounting for her rebuttal against the repeal of ACA and responds to the claim or concern of her audience question. Hillary does not simply agree with or disagree with the claim about its cost, rather, she further explains the costs of repealing ACA, acknowledging the validity of the audience member's concern given the cultural logic in which it has been advanced. She contemplates how ACA and her constituents are affected by both a possible repeal and by maintaining what is good about the act. She challenges the costs (again recognizing her audience member's concern), but she also identifies and accounts for the good it is for most people. She then explains how a simple regard for the issue is not enough, nor is a simple challenge enough to manage the issue of universal health care. Recognizing the multiplicity of logics that abound in this issue, Hillary is steering away from the universal idea of one truth—either it is good or bad. Instead she is stating that it is good, but it is costly, and while costly, it can be improved, not repealed. I identify Hillary analyzing the

claim as well as the cultural logics within which her claim and the audience member's claim function.

The above example demonstrates once again the complexity of rhetoric in a debate format and how rhetorical listening unearths the buried logics that can go unnoticed especially in a forum where quick responses are the norm. Hillary demonstrates how Ratcliffe's fourth move can be a powerful art when employed in this kind of scenario and the complex nature that comes with the art of rhetorical listening overall when uncovering and negotiating multiple logics. I have given examples to demonstrate where I have identified how Hillary employed each of Ratcliffe's four moves. Given the multifaceted movement of Ratcliffe's approach, I am limited to a few examples. Each move was followed by an example of how I interpreted how Hillary paralleled each of Ratcliffe's moves. However, in order to demonstrate the complexity of her approach, I offer in the next section a way to visualize how rhetorical listening in motion works with one of Hillary's conversations.

Rhetorical Listening in Motion

While Ratcliffe divides her approach to rhetorical listening into four moves, and while each is distinct in its own way, there is also much more interplay among the four moves than we saw in the last chapter for Glenn's categories. That is, where Glenn's taxonomy of silence suggests each is discrete, Ratcliffe identifies her approach as a process, whereby each of the moves intermingle within one another, and may or may not depend on one another in some instances, thus complicating the explanation of how rhetorical listening may be working or how we might identify it on a debate stage. Using the term "move" is based on the idea that each

attribute is interactive and does not reflect linear modality. Each move is fluid, simultaneously progressing and, while, at times, independent of each other, each may act in coordination with one or two other moves, at times building on one another. Just as Eileen Schell and K.J. Rawson express in their book, *Rhetorica in Motion*, rhetorical listening is not static; it too is always in motion. Like pointing out Glenn's inference of imposed silence and making it a separate category, something Glenn does not do, I point out Ratcliffe's moves in a diagram as a process always in motion, something Ratcliffe does not do. To demonstrate these moves, I include an earlier dialogue on gun control and follow it with a diagram depicting the fluidity of rhetorical listening in motion—each of the discreet steps, no longer linear, in relation to one another. Within the conversation we can see how Ratcliffe's 4 moves are not distinct but are interrelated.

> **Hillary Clinton:** Well, first of all, **I support** the Second Amendment. **I lived in Arkansas for 18 wonderful years**. I represented upstate New York. I understand and respect the tradition of gun ownership. It goes back to the **founding of our country**. **But I also believe** that there can be and must be reasonable regulation. Because I support the Second Amendment doesn't mean that I want people who shouldn't have guns to be able to threaten you, kill you or members of your family.

Each snippet of Hillary's short conversation above depicts a move from Ratcliffe's approach as seen in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Ratcliffe's Rhetorical Listening in Motion

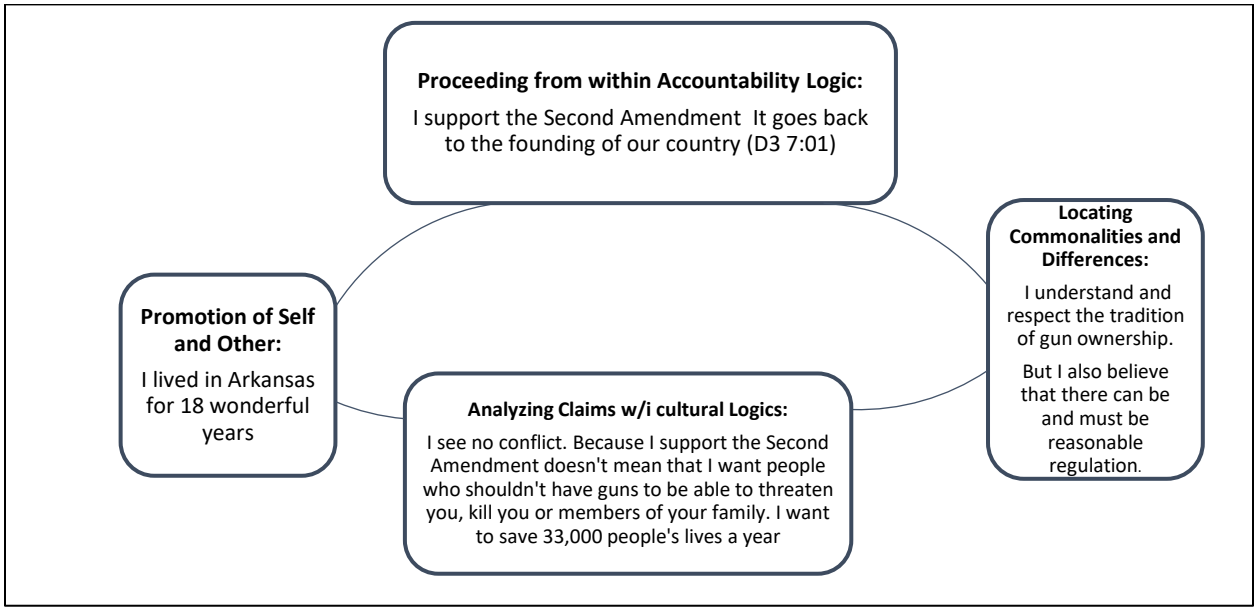

Figure 1: Rhetorical Listening in Motion

Hillary is reinforcing my claim that she is rhetorically listening because she proceeds from within accountability for one logic which is support for the Second Amendment and support for tradition of which both invoke the second move. Hillary then lays out her own claim, "I see no conflict" and accounts for another logic--more gun control. Hillary analyzes her claim within the cultural logic of safety which shifts her into Ratcliffe's fourth move, but she is also positioned in the third move--awareness of commonalities and differences. Thus, she moves back and forth between Ratcliffe's second, third, and fourth criteria for rhetorical listening. Upon further reflection and inspection from standing under her text, I can see how she employs the first move as well. While promoting an understanding of herself, she also promotes Arkansas as a wonderful place to live, implying promoting understanding of the people of Arkansas. The

complexity of rhetorical listening becomes more apparent as we witness it in motion, as each comment interacts with one another to demonstrate the fluidity of Ratcliffe's approach.

Now that I have explained and identified where rhetorical listening is mirrored in Hillary's performance, I now turn to what emerged during data coding and what I identified as possibilities for expanding and opening rhetorical listening as a concept. This next section identifies places where Hillary's embodied performance demonstrates rhetorical listening moves that fall outside the framework of Ratcliffe's approach or expands beyond her existing moves. More specifically, I identify three moves that emerged as I looked for rhetorical listening: "When troubled identification cannot be bridged," "Transforming debate culture," and "Witnessing rhetorical listening."

Opening Possibilities of Rhetorical Listening

In the process of listening for Hillary's rhetorical listening, I found that not all her embodied performances fit into the framework outlined by Ratcliffe; Hillary, in a sense, pushed beyond the boundaries of how we conceptualize the term. I use the term "beyond" the way Joseph Harris uses it: as "going beyond the text to include a sense of the ongoing conversations that texts enter into—a sense, that is, of how writers draw on, respond to, and rework both their own previous writings and those of others" (Harris, qtd. in Yancey 3). Substituting rhetors for writers, in addition to applying Ratcliffe's framework, I look beyond Ratcliffe's approach for the ongoing conversations and how Hillary seemingly draws on, responds to, and possibly reworks the traditional notions of debate dialogue. What was found in the coding was that rhetorical listening can be employed in pernicious circumstances even when some do not choose to hear

the voices of the other. The three expansive moves include "When Troubled Identifications Cannot be Bridged," "Transforming Debate Culture," and Witnessing Listening," and are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Opening Possibilities of Rhetorical Listening

	Opening Possibilities for Rhetorical Listening in Motion
When Troubled Identifications cannot be bridged	In places where the debates became extremely polemic, patterns that expand Ratcliffe's moves of rhetorical listening emerged and were identified. That is, a pattern emerged where Hillary does not engage in Ratcliffe's move of identification of commonalities. What emerged was a different way a rhetor may account for discriminatory language.
Transforming Debate Culture	Patterns that open possibilities and expand rhetorical listening in debate formats emerged and could be identified through Hillary's performance. Possibilities emerged through Frey's theory of mindfulness; Royster and Kirsch's strategic contemplation; and Rosenberg's notion of "doing nothing."
Witnessing Rhetorical Listening	An emerging pattern was identified that opens the possibilities for mentoring audiences to become rhetorical listeners. In this move, I identified places where Hillary becomes a mentor for rhetorical listening

Table 5.2 Opening Possibilities of Rhetorical Listening

After identifying Ratcliffe's moves, I identified certain spaces where Hillary may have come up with some alternative practices that expand Ratcliffe's approach or go beyond Ratcliffe's approach to rhetorical listening. The first expansion comes when it becomes difficult to bridge differences, but where disidentification can be a move that employs rhetorical listening.

When Troubled Identifications cannot be bridged

This section describes an emerging pattern where I identified how Hillary uses some portions of Ratcliffe's approach but also adjusts the moves to navigate troubling instances in an

environment where conflict is heightened by negative rhetoric. The first move I identified is specific to a venue that Ratcliffe does not discuss, the debate venue. This venue is different from some of the previous studies and variant venues in which a rhetor might practice rhetorical listening--a debate venue reinforces a place where argument is expected. In other words, argument, according to Zarefsky, is a legitimate form of discourse in a debate. This works if candidates maintain Zarefsky's definition of argument that reflects the relationship among claims, reasons, warrants, and enthymemes thus making Ratcliffe's four moves sufficient. However, if argument is defined in Deborah Tannen's terms, as a tendency to dominate, to win, to lose sight of purpose, then such a venue can use additional assistance beyond Ratcliffe.

I identified places during the debate where moving away from Ratcliffe's approach for rhetorical listening was possibly enacted by Hillary. In some circumstances Hillary seemingly foregoes locating any commonalities and ceases to identify and negotiate the differences that are stated by her opponent. Hillary's rejection of negative language was identified in several instances. In the following snippet, Hillary uses a phrase that she repeats several times:

> **Hillary Clinton:** And the question for us, the question our country must answer is that **this is not who we are**. That's why — to go back to your question[68] — **I want to send a message** — **we all should** — to every boy and girl and, indeed, to the entire world that America already is great, but we are great because we are good, and we will **respect** one another, and we will **work** with one another, and we will **celebrate** our diversity (D2 10:02).

I identify Hillary acting upon or calling out negative language and she further acts upon such language by calling for our country to act upon negative language. When Hillary states that she

[68] See my section on "Don't Mind Me" to account for her comment about going back to the question.

wants to “send a message,” she is translating listening into “language and action” by the act of sending out that message (Royster, “Traces”). Hillary hears discriminatory language but does not identify with discriminatory language, or using Dianne Fuss’s term, she “disidentifies” with negative language (Fuss in “Rhetorical” 49). Ratcliffe borrows from several theorists to blend their ideas of identification (Freud), consubstantiation (Burke), and disidentification (Fuss) into her theory of rhetorical listening. Borrowing from Freud, Ratcliffe explains that identification is “a place where conscious and unconscious rhetorical exchanges transpire" or a place to develop common ground. Burke also looks for commonalities (Freud in “Rhetorical” 49). Similarly, Fuss looks at disidentification where one takes a detour of their own ideas and meanings to explore the other in order to not only come together in common ground but to recognize their own differences between each other, and ultimately come together. In that, Fuss too looks for common ground. However, I argue here that Hillary, when taking that “detour,” did not accept the differences and declared, "this is not who we are;" she takes a leap assuming her constituents would follow her call to action. Her call to action considers Royster’s call to turn listening into language and action. Hillary’s comment, “I want to send a message,” is her call to action and she asks others to do the same.

In this instance, Hillary asks that not only she, but the country listens to how we can translate listening into action. Hillary turns that listening into action language—we “respect,” we “work with,” and we “celebrate” our diversity.” By further stating that “this is not who we are,” Hillary is disavowing any commonality with negative or discriminatory language. Like Michael Dyson’s insistence that “the unwritten codes of conduct within black communities” must be

called out (qtd. in Ratcliffe, "Rhetorical" 187), Hillary is rejecting negative language and then translates listening into language by asking for action through accountability. In other words, when there is not common ground, one can still be a rhetorical listener, and a stronger rhetorical listener, by not just calling out, but opposing unacceptable discrepancies in discriminatory language.

Ratcliffe does not specifically specify how overt discrimination can be handled in such a scenario. Hillary seemingly has chosen not to take up identification with her opponent. Rather, she chooses to identify the problem and disidentify when a dialectic conversation cannot be negotiated (or when a dialectic of unity and diversity cannot be negotiated). I follow what Barbara Harlow states in Fuss, "the practice of cross-identification becomes an urgent political imperative whenever the dominant ideology invokes a discourse of natural boundaries to categorize, regulate, and patrol social identities" (Harlow in Fuss "Identification" 8). Hillary demonstrates a way to disavow such domination by turning listening into language and action by stating that "we all should send a message."

I argue that this emerging pattern found in my coding expanding rhetorical listening is important because Ratcliffe's theory of rhetorical listening encompasses the idea that race and gender discrimination can be overcome through the four moves in her approach. However, Ratcliffe's moves are more geared toward the notion that people want to change, want to understand, and want to come together but do not know exactly how to accomplish such a task. The emergence of Hillary's action expands rhetorical listening as it helps the rhetor find a way to open possibilities. Here, Hillary could not accept an understanding of self with the other. She

could not share ideas and negotiate the differences she heard from her opponent. One could say that Hillary failed to rhetorically listen, and this would be the case if following Ratcliffe's moves only. However, I argue that Hillary's listening helped her to recognize what to do when ideas cannot be bridged, and what to do during a debate when the language being used does not allow for identification across commonalities and differences. Thus, when the detour of the other finds troubling the identifications that are unethical, Hillary rejects them, exclaiming, "this is not who we are." She does not leave it at that, but instead, acts upon her own disidentification.

Transforming Debate Culture

One of the reasons for studying alternative arts such as rhetorical listening is the element of pernicious discourse that can intensify in debate settings. I assert that Hillary employed rhetorical listening on some occasions when the debate discourse became overly negative. As mentioned in previous sections, Ratcliffe did not study this kind of venue and therefore, exploring it here is helpful because it opens debate spaces for rhetorical listening to be examined as a viable art. While the debate venue may not seem to be the most congenial place that provides two candidates the opportunity to engage in dialogue when they disagree with one another, it may be the location that most needs to engage in rhetorical listening when argument becomes heightened or more pernicious. Rather than allowing a negative dialogue to continue, I argue that patterns emerged in my coding demonstrating how the hard work of rhetorical listening in the forms of strategic contemplation and "doing nothing," a rhetor can create a debate culture that reflects a less polemic ambiance behind the debate podium.

In Chapter one I discussed Deborah Tannen's concept of argument culture. While debate one and two had heated moments between the candidates, the third debate featured much more combatant dialogue—both in content and tone. This may be because Hillary did not remain as silent in this debate as she did in the first two, or it could be due to the more open format of the third debate. It also may be a derivative of the moderators who set the tone for the debate. I noticed a pattern in the kinds of questions that were asked of the candidates and how these questions could stir some antagonism between candidates:

> **Chris Wallace**: Let me bring in Secretary Clinton. **Were you extremely upset**? (D3 9:21).
>
> **Chris Wallace:** Mr. Trump, you are calling for major deportations. Secretary Clinton, you say within your first 100 days as president you'll offer a package that includes a pathway to citizenship. **The question really is why are you right and your opponent wrong?** (D3 16:30).
>
> **Chris Wallace**: Mr. Trump, thank you. Same question to you, Secretary Clinton, basically **why are you right and Mr. Trump is wrong**? (D3 19:17)
>
> **Chris Wallace**: Can you really say you kept your pledge to that senate committee, and what happened and what went on between you and the Clinton foundation. **Why isn't it what Mr. Trump calls pay to play**. (D3 56:40).
> **Chris Wallace**: [Mr. Trump] Wasn't some of the money used to settle your lawsuit, sir? (D3 1:00:00)

Each of these questions could provoke a binary that creates a right vs wrong or a win/lose dynamic. The questions lead to calling out their opponent for being "wrong," instead of creating an atmosphere of proceeding from an accountability logic that asks candidates to use an approach that leads to a less polemic atmosphere that encourages a dialectic conversation. The questions instead place the candidates in a defensive mode, creating a more agonistic atmosphere between the candidates as well as between the moderator and the candidates. Noting this, I

identify moments where Hillary deflects the negative part of the questions and responds by reformulating a question into a positive response. I identified where Hillary employs a form of Rosenberg's theory of "doing nothing" at times when confronted with these kinds of questions. For instance, Hillary does nothing about using the term "wrong" to accuse or reinforce the moderator's attempt to stir controversy in that her opponent was wrong. Instead, in one instance, I identified how Hillary turns the question "why is your opponent wrong?" into a positive response. I offer context for her response below before identifying Hillary: First Trump makes some claims about Hillary's position:

> **Donald Trump:** First of all, she wants to give amnesty, which is a disaster and very unfair to all the people who are waiting in line for many years. We need strong borders…. (D3 17:10).

Trump expresses Hillary's position which is directly opposite his position. He continues to make a claim that is in opposition to Hillary's stance:

> **Donald Trump**: Now I want to build a wall. We need the wall. The border patrol, ICE, they all want the wall. We stop the drugs, shore up the border. One of my first acts will be to get all of the drug lords, we have some bad, bad people in this country that have to go out. We'll get them out, secure the border, and once the border is secured, at a later date we'll make a determination as to the rest. But we have some bad hombres here and we're going to get them out (D3 17:10-18:50).

After this comment, Wallace then asked Hillary to prove Trump wrong:

> **Mike Wallace**: Mr. Trump, thank you. Same question to you, Secretary Clinton, basically why are you right and Mr. Trump is wrong? (D3 19:09)

Hillary, looking at Trump throughout his reply, now turns to the audience and begins:

> **Hillary Clinton**: As he was talking, I was **thinking** about a young girl I met here in Las Vegas, Carla, who was very worried that her parents might be deported because she was born in this country, but they were not. They work

> hard and do everything they can to give her a good life. … (D3 19:17, emphasis added).

At first glance, this may seem like Hillary is not listening at all, let alone listening rhetorically. She explicitly states that when Trump was talking, she was thinking about something else. I propose that we can also see Hillary refusing to take the bait of agonistic debate and instead doing nothing but thinking, reflecting, and contemplating, which in turn allows her to elaborate on all claims made by her opponent, by those claims inferred from her reflection of the young girl, and possibly Hillary's own cultural logics. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, a response that does not directly respond to the question can be a strategic way of listening, contemplating, and reflecting on what has been said and what will be uttered as well. Hillary's next comment alludes to Trump's underlying logic, explaining his claim by "agreeing" instead of instigating an either wrong or right response to her opponent's comment, and instead Hillary can make her own claims while strategically disavowing his:

> **Hillary Clinton: And you're right**, I don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending parents away from children … (D3 20:00, emphasis added).

By strategically contemplating Trump's logics, Hillary can now deflect an explicit accusation of wrongfulness and instead create a vantage point from which to explain her own cultural logics.

Since some provocations did not come from the candidates initially, in order to tone down heightened rhetoric, it becomes incumbent on both or either one of the candidates to stand under the text and diffuse agonistic attacks, blame, or even bullying. Rosenberg's theory of reflection works well in this kind of situation, and following that with strategic contemplation of language, expands the moves and opens possibilities for rhetorical listening on the debate stage.

Ratcliffe advocates a divergence from the either/or but does not give us insight as to how to go about it in a debate format. I identify a way to do so through Hillary's performance.

There were also instances where insults were imposed by both candidates, but where Ratcliffe does not detail specifically how climate can be toned down in a debate, I looked to Rosenberg's theory once again of doing nothing but listening. I identified patterns where Hillary ignores insults and continues to respond to the question that was asked, maintaining focus on the initial issue, even when, at times, some accusations or insults were administered during her speaking time. During these instances, Hillary does not address the insults, but rather, continues her train of thought throughout her allotted speaking time. By ignoring the imposed insults, I argue that Hillary employs a form of rhetorical listening offered by Rosenberg.

One more example of opening possibilities for rhetorical listening during a debate was the pattern of Hillary's proclivity to bring issues back into focus. Noting this pattern, I looked to Renea Frey's notion of mindfulness that I explained in Chapter 2. The idea behind mindful thinking is to bring back your stance to the place where it was left. It is also a subset of meditation along with reflection and introspection (Frey; Kirsch). That is, sometimes when attempting to listen, our minds wander, and we need to bring them back to the matters at hand. Kirsch promotes mindfulness, as well as introspection (a form of awareness of the self), and deep reflection as a way to "enable rhetorical agency" (Kirsch W2). Hillary seems to be invoking mindful listening as well as other forms of listening when she repeats or paraphrases or calls to mind caution. Hillary enacts mindful listening on several occasions when she repeats back words or phrases when questioned and brings the audience back to the initial issue:

> **Hillary Clinton**: You mentioned the *Heller* decision, and **what I was saying that you reference**, Chris, was that I disagreed with the way the court applied the Second Amendment in that case (D3 7:58).

In this example, Hillary reaffirms what she initially stated, thus helping her audience listen to the initial point. She is mindful of the question and helps the audience become mindful as well. There are numerous other instances in the debates where Hillary brings the audience back to the initial topic. For instance:

> **Hillary Clinton: But let's talk about the question you asked, Lester**. The question you asked is, what do we do here in the United States? That's the most important part of this. How do we prevent attacks? How do we protect our people? (D1 1:15:05).

Here, Hillary points out that the initial question has been lost whether because other logics or interruptions interfered with the sequential flow of the claim and subsequent reasoning, or simply because she does not want to make any assumptions about whether the audience is in the same mindful space. For instance, after quite a bit of dialogue and back and forth on particular issues where the point or initial point got lost in the ongoing dialogues, Hillary often attempts to vocally bring back the original concerns. The following excerpts demonstrate other places where Hillary seemingly employs mindful listening:

> **Hillary Clinton**: **I'd like to get to the questions** that the people have brought here tonight to talk to us about (D2 24:10)

> **Hillary Clinton:** ... on some of the issues that people care about tonight. **Let's get to their questions**. (D2 24:33).

> **Hillary Clinton:** You know, children listen to what is being said. **To go back to the very, very first question** (D2 1:14:11).

Hillary's attempts to refocus on initial concerns when they got lost in the commotion of polemic dialectics suggests she is rhetorically listening to the concerns of the audience of the debate. In these cases, I identify the spaces where the real issues important to the campaign were brought back to the surface for the audience to reflect on thoughtfully. as Kirsch would say. In several instances Hillary took the initiative to make this known and regain focus on the issues. To do this, I argue that there must be some reflection and strategic contemplation on her part to remain focused and or turn the conversation back to the issues.

Alternative strategies that invoke listening that have been connected to rhetorical listening, such as mindfulness, reflection, and contemplation help the rhetor gain a sense of composure, help the audience listen to the candidate's views, and turn down the temperature of heated debates that when not aware of how to move forward with one's stand, or argument, may intensify negative debate discourse. Bringing this back to the tenets of rhetorical listening, keep in mind the forces underlying rhetorical listening that "by focusing on claims and cultural logics, listeners may still disagree with each other's claims, but they may better appreciate that the other person is not simply wrong but rather functioning from within a different logic" ("Rhetorical 33) or in the case of insulting language, turning language into mindful, thoughtful, and contemplative action. I now turn to the last pattern that emerged in my coding, witnessing listening.

Witnessing Listening

This move is like Glenn's notion of witnessing silence. Just as Hillary commanded silence and then witnessed her silence by articulating it, I identified places where Hillary also witnesses her listening. In the following comment, Hillary seemingly attests to her own listening:

Hillary Clinton: Well, **just listen** to what **you heard** (D1 1:01:46).

I see Hillary working within Ratcliffe's framework recognizing that everyone has a responsibility for what we hear and how we process that information. With that said, I see this phrase as an expansion to Ratcliffe's approach. It is a liminal space where I identify Ratcliffe's move about accountability, but Hillary takes it further. That is, her words, while literally asking the audience to "just listen" and then asking the audience to listen again "to what you heard" moves from the essentialist notion of listening as natural to listening as hard work, as Ratcliffe advocates. Parsing out the two words "just listen" can also mirror Rosenberg's "do nothing" as in "just" or "only" listen and nothing else. Therefore, in this context, Hillary is asking her audience to rhetorically listen as she infers that she has listened. This idea expands or opens up Ratcliffe's approach. Again, it is important to remember the cautionary phrase by Ratcliffe that I emphasized at the beginning of this chapter, "[a] listener's desire cannot control how other readers, writers, speakers, or listeners will, in turn, receive the listener's desire, discourse, or actions" ("Rhetorical" 34). I cannot know Hillary's intentions, but I interpret her command to the audience as an indication of her deep reflection followed by strategic contemplation as to how to respond and at the same time to teach her audience to rhetorically listen as well.

Another instance of witnessing listening occurs when Hillary amplifies a declarative statement to her audience. She tells the audience:

> **Hillary Clinton:** Well, let's **stop** for a second and **remember** where we were eight years ago (D1 14:58, emphasis added).

In this one declarative sentence, Hillary is telling her audience to reflect on something. She is asking the audience to contemplate where they were years ago, to remember another time.

Hillary invites the audience to, in effect, "do nothing" (stop) and reflect (remember). Remember means to think back or reflect upon a previous time. She is also cautioning the audience to "do nothing" in the sense of not making any immediate judgements. Ratcliffe claims that listening is not a simplistic notion of just hearing what one is saying but works as a challenge to "consciously listen" (Ratcliffe 8). Hillary is encouraging the audience to "stand" under the text. Ratcliffe notes that by "listening to listening, I not only heard but began to see the moves of, and the *possibilities* for, rhetorical listening" ("Rhetorical" 43, emphasis added). I see Ratcliffe's statement as an invitation to open possibilities expanding her moves by asking us to listen to listening also. Royster and Kirsch also invite us to "reflect" instead of delivering an immediate response. These two authors suspend speech in order to foreground an undercurrent of rhetorical listening—the silence of reflection. Hillary is offering her audience that same invitation to "reflect." Hillary is also employing Rosenberg's notion of "doing nothing" as a trope for doing nothing else so one can listen.

A rhetor's goal is to employ rhetorical appeals, or in Ratcliffe's case, rhetorical "arts" to create an effect of acknowledgement with her audience. She is not speaking to them; she is speaking *with* them. In the above comments by Hillary, however, she witnesses her listening or uses language as action to expose what she had heard. In the dialogue above there is reason to interpret her move here as asking her audience to also listen along with her rhetorically and make no quick judgements.

The last incident to demonstrate the act of witnessing listening by Hillary comes from a comment she makes after Trump has discussed the issue of President Obama's birth certificate. Hillary does not accept his explanation and explains to the audience:

> **Hillary Clinton**: And clearly, as Donald just admitted, he knew he was going to stand on this debate stage, and Lester Holt was going to be asking us questions, so he tried to put the whole racist birther lie to bed (D1 1:01:46).

Hillary openly explains above and below what she is listening to as she continues:

> **Hillary Clinton**: But it can't be **dismissed** that **easily**. He has really started his political activity based on this racist lie that our first black president was not an American citizen.

While bringing up the complications of identity politics, trouble identifications, and explicitly stating that her opponent manufactured a "racist birther lie," Hillary's words stating "it can't be dismissed that easily" can be interpreted as her witnessing what she has listened to and calling it out for the audience to listen too. Ratcliffe notes that rhetorical listening is hard work. Hillary is making that known that hearing something must be heard harder. That is, listen for the underlying message, the cultural logic of the statement made about the first black President.

This section on expansion of Ratcliffe's approach has demonstrated that possibilities still exist to open rhetorical listening and more specifically, increasing possibilities for opening rhetorical listening in a debate format. In addition to revealing how Hillary demonstrates rhetorical listening as defined by Ratcliffe, my analysis of the debates also reveals aspects of rhetorical listening that exceed Ratcliffe's definition and offer new possibilities for rhetorical listening by disavowing discriminatory language, by transcending an argument culture, and by acting as a mentor for rhetorical listening through her own witnessing of listening.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined, described, and interpreted how rhetorical listening may have been employed and identified in Hillary's performance during the 2016 Presidential general election debates. I described Ratcliffe's moves in her approach to rhetorical listening as she lays them out in linear fashion. I described the context of the debate dialogue to give readers the opportunity to see the words as they were written up in the transcripts as well as defined in the delivery by Hillary. By rhetorically listening, strategically contemplating, reflecting and ruminating throughout the transcripts and videos, I identified Ratcliffe's four moves mirrored by Hillary through an exploration of Hillary's embodied acts and responses. Used as an alternative rhetoric in a debate, we can see how rhetorical listening promotes understanding of the self and other; how it can be employed as a function of accountability; how employing this alternative rhetoric can help locate identifications across commonalities and differences; and lastly how to analyze claims as well as cultural logics. I have also identified emerging moves mirrored by Hillary's performance that expands Ratcliffe's approach, and how rhetorical listening can function even in the very overdetermined space of the debate stage.

While Hillary did not employ rhetorical listening or rhetorical silence in all aspects of the debate, I have called out places where, based upon the process and categorizations and other theories called into relief, it is evident that each of these arts could be identified and benefit future feminist rhetors. Once identified in how they are employed or emerge in a debate format, studying these arts prior to the occasion may indeed be useful to feminist rhetors and feminist rhetorical scholars.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

> For feminists are concerned with nothing if not arguing that *improbable impossibilities* are indeed *possible" (*Ratcliffe *"*Bathsheba's*" 95).*

Introduction

The 2016 Presidential election results present a rich opportunity for rhetoricians to study debate discourse. More importantly, however, it is a rich opportunity for feminist rhetorical scholars to investigate the tools of the rhetorical tradition as one of the obstacles of women gaining leadership in fields where men dominate. I am intrigued by the fact that no woman has yet made it to the Oval Office as the Commander in Chief, and now, especially, it is more concerning when one who is as qualified as Hillary Clinton was unsuccessful in her run in 2016. Starting with Deborah Eicher-Catt's prognosis that the trope of "it's just a matter of time" is incorrect, that it is more about the matter of discourse, I turned to the conventions of the rhetorical tradition. Finding out that there is a dominant notion that women would do well by adopting a masculine style to win over their opponents did not seem to be enough of a reason to prevent entry into exclusionary spaces—spaces dominated by men. I thus turned my focus on questioning traditional forms of evaluative tools to concentrate on alternatives to the rhetorical tradition.

I questioned the kind of rhetor and the kinds of tools that have been used that hold the keys for entry into the white house. I also questioned why, after 2,500 years, and given the amount of studies that demonstrate women are at a disadvantage in positions of leadership, there is a persistent discursive double bind that continues to background women's rhetorical

competency. From studies by contemporary feminist rhetorical scholars who have begun to seek alternatives to the tools used for evaluative purposes, I found an interest in continuing the quest for alternative rhetorics that women might find useful when entering male dominated fields that may demand specific rhetorical styles of delivery. Therefore, I set out to explore how alternative rhetorics might be identified in the very male dominated Presidential debate discourse when one of the contenders is a woman. Exploring alternative rhetorics may be important to transform the conventions of the rhetorical tradition that perpetuate a long-standing notion that women's rhetorical competency does not equal that of the traditional male rhetor. Noting that this is a contention of feminist rhetorical scholars and for these scholars to find other ways, I have been particularly intrigued by specific alternative rhetorics—the rhetorical arts of silence and listening. I wanted to explore whether these two alternative rhetorical arts could be identified in a debate format, just as traditional tools have been employed and analyzed throughout our debating and rhetorical history.

The purpose of this study, therefore, was to explore how Hillary Clinton, the first female nominated for President, may have employed alternatives to the conventions of the rhetorical tradition during the three Presidential general election debates in 2016. This study specifically set out to explore whether the addition of alternative rhetorics to conventional tools of the rhetorical tradition could be identified in a debate format. Several concerns were considered: How did Hillary Clinton employ the rhetorical arts described in Cheryl Glenn's taxonomies of silence? That is, if Hillary did employ silence as a rhetorical art, could it be identified by using the characteristics that Cheryl Glenn named in her study? The second concern involved the

rhetorical art of listening, another alternative rhetoric to the customary tools used in the rhetorical convention. The question I sought to answer was how did Hillary Clinton employ rhetorical listening as defined by Krista Ratcliffe as well as other feminist rhetorical scholars' theories who attended to rhetorical listening? With these questions in mind, an exploratory study was done to determine if these two rhetorical arts could be identified in the debate performance of a female rhetor. Lastly, this dissertation also set out to answer the question of how such an exploration of rhetorical silence and listening can inform feminist rhetoric and composition studies.

By using a feminist rhetorical analysis, description, and the use of rhetorical listening not only as theory, but as my method, to describe and identify Cheryl Glenn's and Krista Ratcliffe's theories in Hillary's performance in the three national presidential election debates, I was able to respond to my research questions. Chapters 3 and 4 were dedicated to identifying, describing, interpreting and analyzing the delivery of silence as a rhetorical art employed by Hillary. I was able to identify moments where Hillary's embodied acts mirrored the characteristics of Glenn's theory of rhetorical silence. Furthermore, in Chapter 4, I was able to identify and explore what Glenn calls opening silences, silences which emerged as significant through my coding. Chapter 5 focused on my second question, tracking how Hillary Clinton navigated rhetorical space in her three Presidential General election debates through rhetorical listening, both as defined by Ratcliffe and in other ways proposed by feminist scholars who have been attentive to rhetorical listening.

The characteristics and moves were identified in various places in all three of the debates. Furthermore, I identified places where Hillary seemingly opened silence and enhanced or expanded the moves in Ratcliffe's approach. Just as some feminist rhetorical scholars have recast, or recovered voices in the tradition, Hillary's performance of standing under the text of debate discourse and dialectical conversation navigated space through her mindfulness, deep reflection at times, and strategic contemplation when negotiating the cultural logics of self and other. Hillary did not seem to be inhibited by the discomfort of exploring race and gender and other identity markers that have been absent in the past debates and may have even opened this space for women and men to discuss in future debates.

This final chapter will summarize, interpret, and elaborate upon my findings and will also attend to my subsequent research question: How does this study inform feminist rhetoric and composition studies? I begin with a summary of findings for silence in Chapters 3 and 4.

Summary of Findings: Rhetorical Silence

To explore how Hillary deployed rhetorical silence, I drew from Glenn's work on rhetorical silence using her taxonomy. I used a feminist methodology and a feminist descriptive method, along with using the method and theory based on Ratcliffe's notion of "standing under the text" as interpretive invention, attempting to rhetorically listen for the many ways Hillary used silence in the debates. In order to identify silences, I used the interpretive framework and the discreet categories provided by Cheryl Glenn, whose work has been transformative in the field's understanding of the rhetorical function of silence. In Chapter 3, I was able to identify moments where Hillary's embodied acts mirrored Glenn's initial categories of rhetorical silence.

These categories included engendering, commanding, and witnessing silence, as defined by Glenn. Additionally, I also included the implicit category, "imposing silence," a category inferred by Glenn but not included in her taxonomy.

Drawing from the work of Glenn's interpretive invention, using feminist methodology borrowed from Royster and Kirsch, Rosenberg, and Ratcliffe, I employed a method that involved ruminating over the myriad of embodied acts located in video replays of Hillary's performance. Through the coding process, I identified patterns of embodied acts, such as pursing lips, initiating utterances, and then refraining from uttering a verbal response, as well as bodily movements, such as the shimmy, that accompanied Hillary's uses of silence that paralleled Glenn's initial categories. Using a feminist description and interpretation combined with deliberative reflections and contemplation allowed me to both recognize silences as defined by Glenn specifically.

Chapter 4 identified emerging categories, which I argued, opened possibilities for employing rhetorical silence in a debate forum. Five opening categories emerged: Paving the way, it's all about the audience; a basket of silences; you go first, no you; and moving beyond oppressive silencing.

The category I called "paving the way," for example, gives future rhetors ideas of how to use silence as well as other alternative rhetorics that they may strategically implement in a debate format in various forms. This category focuses on the audience and paves the way for non-verbally and simultaneously presenting oneself as the candidate and inviting the audience into the debate. I found places where rhetorical silence is a possibility to attend to the audience and

bring them in where the listening audience becomes more important than the speaker (where the audience becomes the subject instead of the object).

Another opening category was "a basket of silences," or saving silence (turning silence on), or pocketing silences for a rainy day. That is, when troubles start multiplying, there are a basket of silences saved (commanded) and then amplified (witnessed), which in effect worked to subvert the platitude that silence means "she has nothing to say," or she has insufficient knowledge (according to one of Johannesen's meanings of silence). Similarly, a precautionary silence, "you go first; no, you" alludes to a strategic employment of silence when the opponent's actions are unknown. Employing silence delivery to the opponent but keeping the audience engaged is a form of strategizing during those moments of uncertainty. The final category that emerged was the agency that Hillary employed when her opponent intentionally or unintentionally dominated the debate stage. Hillary refrained from uttering verbal commentary about the movement by her opponent, and instead, kept her focus on her intended rhetorical goal of attending to the audience's needs. Had Hillary done any other kind of act, her rhetorical ability may have been compromised by the dominance of her opponent. The interpretation and significance of these embodied acts are described in the next section.

Interpretation of Major Findings—Rhetorical Silence

Incorporating rhetorical silence into the rhetorical tradition

This study corroborates some of the results presented by various feminist rhetorical scholars that alternatives to the tradition can be employed and identified in various venues. This study substantiates my call for exploring the debate venue, in this case, the 2016 Presidential

general election debate, to determine if a rhetorical art of silence was employed by Hillary Clinton. While recognizing the importance of the rhetorical tradition for evaluating rhetors, I also understand from the literature presented in this study that the rhetorical tradition has worked better for some groups of people better than other groups, such as women. The interpretations from my findings indicate the importance of studying the rhetoric of silence as an embodied art that moves evaluation away from only looking at the dominant male form of rhetor, that alternatives to the traditional appeals can be identified, that these alternatives can subvert the plague of the double bind all the while helping to transcend an argument culture and maintain women's voice in political debate.

Not your typical male rhetor

This study was stimulated by the concern that the trope of "it's just a matter of time" is really a matter of discourse before a woman becomes the President, which also stems from the power dynamics associated with the tradition's dependency on being male and the centuries old tradition that gave men more credence in their speaking deliveries by the mere fact that the male form was the only credible character form in the rhetorical tradition (Campbell). This study demonstrates that Hillary's ethos is intact for merely appearing on the debate stage as a viable candidate in the Presidential general election debates.

From the analysis, I identified Hillary's employment of Glenn's categories of rhetorical silence. As the first female ever to occupy the general election Presidential debate stage, she not only seemingly employed Glenn's categories, but opened possibilities for uses of rhetorical silence when the debate stage becomes a situation of impositions that create obstacles for women

rhetors. Through extending Glenn's categories and observing how Hillary embodied acts of silence, I found that the rhetorical art of silence can be employed and identified not instead of but, rather, alongside traditional tools of rhetorical practices. While I was able to identify places where embodied acts of silence were seemingly performed, Hillary's dominant format was speaking out, where the use of traditional tools could still be explored and evaluated in a different study.

Subverting the double bind

Past studies noted in this research project have shown how the double bind works to hinder women's rhetorical agency, if not stop it completely.

The results of this study on rhetorical silence demonstrates how the use of alternative rhetorics may be a step for women rhetors and other rhetors to subvert the beleaguering double bind. Glenn's categories were identified in Hillary's performance as well as categories that emerged through the coding process. Interpretive analysis found that the doubling of imperatives or the interjections that continued to impose silence on Hillary are cause for concern. However, to subvert the double bind, Hillary commanded and witnessed silence. Using what feminist scholars and feminist rhetorical scholars call "situated knowledges," Hillary commanded her own silence. It was evidenced in subsequent dialogue and in subsequent debates, we were able to see how Hillary witnessed her own command of silence delivery. Hillary let the audience know her intentions for her silence, thus sidestepping the double bind theory that women are either silent because they know little about the issue, or they are too aggressive if they do speak out. Hillary employed a "both/and" function by both, first, employing silence (turning silence on) and

then by turning silence off by attesting to her own silence (witnessing her silence). Furthermore, in opening silence, she utilized her "basket of silences" to speak out at other times, again negating any notions that she was silenced by someone other than herself, which had the effect of marking her agency. Each of these embodied acts worked to diffuse the dilemma of the long-standing double bind that plagues women's rhetorical agency.

Silence has also been associated with the idea that it is an oppressive trait in women's rhetorical style, that she must speak out or render a representation of weakness or "knowing nothing." On the other hand, if a woman does speak out, she runs the risk of being labeled as too aggressive. I garnered places in Hillary's performance where using rhetorical silence as an art, and where she was able to seemingly balance the tightrope, if not subvert it, in her rhetorical silence delivery. The embodied acts of silence I identified in Hillary's performance created a space for silence as a strategy. Explorative results indicated that Hillary was able to navigate both by "doing silence" and asserting herself when she chose to turn silence on and off. While this does not mean the double bind was defeated, I did identify through Hillary's performance a way to navigate and negotiate the space where a woman is framed by the double bind. If Hillary had interrupted her opponent or continued to raise her voice, experience tells us that media representation might have been negative. She would have risked the label of being too aggressive. Hillary also risked the label of being weak and too passive to be a leader, or from past experiences with media pundits, being too conniving.[69] Hillary subverted those notions by

[69] During Hillary's emotional moment in New Hampshire, media were quick to pounce on the notion that because of her so-called masculine style, her emotion was a conniving attempt to gain sympathy.

commanding her own silence and witnessing her command of silence. If Hillary did not amplify her silence, negative labels may have been applied to her performance of silence. Just as Bokser's Sor Juana knew how silence could be her strength and not oppressive, I demonstrated where Hillary might also employ the arts as seeming strengths to her rhetorical performance. Thus, by recognizing that there are alternatives to the rhetorical tradition's tools, such as the rhetorical art of silence, it may be possible to learn how to navigate the double bind, or Bathsheba's dilemma, as Ratcliffe calls it, or in this case "Hillary's dilemma" of dogging the various media representations of either too aggressive or not a strong leader.

Paving the way is another important finding in this section that diminishes the double bind. That is, by walking onto the stage and making the first moves through embodied acts of silence, she made clear that women also belong on that stage. Hillary paved the way for other women who want to occupy that stage. Hillary demonstrated strength and confidence, as well as relating to her audience before she even spoke. This is also evidenced in the theme "You go first, no you…" where Hillary maintained a rhetorical goal of keeping the dialogue all about the audience. In each of the three debates Hillary was able to keep her focus on the audience even when interruptions and interjections could have been distractions.

A pattern also emerged that I categorized as, "It's all about you—the audience." Hillary amplified her silence to let the audience know she was working *with* them to make sure their concerns were answered. She told the audience that it is about them numerous times when she witnessed silence. She also demonstrated this when she refrained, at times, from indulging or matching crosstalk that took away time from her viewer's concerns.

While this study on rhetorical silence demonstrated places where rhetorical silence deliveries can influence and possibly detour the double bind, it also recognizes that the dominant mode of delivery in a debate is verbal. However, this study does strongly demonstrate the importance of embodied acts when performing on the debate stage and that rhetorical silence is a viable art to evaluate a rhetor's ability in addition to the traditionally employed rhetorical tools.

Transcending the argumentative debate discourse

While I discussed some spaces where engendering occurred in all three debates, and where I noted impositions that evoked silence by Hillary, there is another kind of imposition that was not considered by Glenn—that of insults or attacks. When Hillary commanded silence during times of imposition, she also demonstrated how silence delivered as rhetorical acts are strategically employed during such moments. Impositions were found to be places where her opponent inserted imperatives to keep her or the moderators from speaking (unless they wanted to engage in heightened levels of voicing), as well as places where insults were emphasized (where Hillary's leadership was questioned, or where the Obama administration was questioned).

As noted in the past literature by William Benoit, negative comments, or insults are typical in debates and, as further noted by David Zarefsky, claims against the opponent's position are used to strengthen the speaker's appeal. In the three debates, both candidates used insulting, chiding, taunting, and attacking their opponent. Benoit and Jayne Henson's work using functional analysis demonstrates that this kind of sparring is routinely used in debates. Deborah Tannen also mentioned how the debate culture, or an argument culture, has been normalized in politics.

By describing and interpreting how silence was employed during delivery of insults gives some insight as to how silence delivery works to transform the nature of such attacks or insults and thus, transforms the nature of the debate itself. While silence was not the prominent mode of delivery by Hillary, and while Hillary also did some sparring in the three debates, there were some significant moments where Hillary employed silence as rhetorical strategy. Benoit's studies indicate that some rhetors may return an attack or an insult, or they may defend themselves from the attacks. I looked for places where insults were used that seemingly silenced Hillary or demonstrated that silence might have been imposed because of the insult and whether she seemingly deployed silence instead of returning an insult. I interpreted the employment by Hillary as (1) an imposition of silence was evidenced; and (2) silence delivery was strategic when the insults were ignored. That is, I interpreted a silence delivery when Hillary does not engage in returning an imperative or an insult (an eye for an eye) or defending herself, but instead, continues speaking about the issue rather than defending herself against a negative claim or insult. Rather than increasing the nature of the back and forth dialogue that could detour the debate from issues at hand, Hillary pursed her lips, engaged with the audience, refrained from interjecting, In other words, she commanded silence in order to keep the debate on track, at least on her part. Then as mentioned, she witnessed some of those silent moments in later minutes of the same debate and/or in subsequent debates. Where the double bind was deflected in these instances, I also interpreted the ways Hillary has made a woman rhetor prominent.

Where Have all the Women Rhetor's Gone?

One reason for this study was to take up Royster's call to find voices of women rhetors so they are not obscured or erased. The results of my analysis on rhetorical silence demonstrate Hillary's strength in her rhetorical ability in places where she embodied rhetorical silence, such as paving the way for future women to occupy this stage. The focus on women rhetors must continue, whether it be recovery, recasting, or regendering to keep their voices in the mainstream and to acknowledge their strengths. This dissertation represents the embodied acts of the first woman to achieve presence on the general election Presidential stage and how she navigated that stage through the art of rhetorical silence. My analysis shows a woman walking onto the stage for the first time and demonstrating rhetorical agency and relationality. This is the point I wish to expose in this research. Hillary in her entry onto the stage to the last moments of the third debate maintained a formidable presence through embodied acts of rhetorical silence even when moments may have detoured her from staying the course. Throughout my analysis, I demonstrated how Hillary recasts or "regenders" silence through embodied behaviors in Glenn's categories and beyond, and to an extent we saw how Hillary subverted negative comments by employing silence deliveries through her facial expressions—eye contact, moving her head back and forth between the opponent, the moderator, and the audience. We then saw how silence was engendered by the imposition of another form—trespassing one's personal space, and how such engendering was subverted by Hillary's commanding silence once again when her opponent took up physical space during Hillary's speaking time. Her refrain from utterances on the special interference allowed her to continue her dialogue to her audience. The rhetorical art of silence

was identified in some of Hillary's embodied acts on this stage in all three debates and that cannot be erased.

In the end, Hillary resisted imposition by employing rhetorical strategy through silence as agency—confirming her right to occupy an exclusionary space previously denied to women. Hillary employed rhetorical silence as relational, engaging with the audience in both debates through forms of embodied acts. Hillary subverted traditional spaces by deploying power through silence deliveries at opportune moments and shaking off impositions. Hillary seemingly has transformed the notion of silence as oppressive. By employing preset categories of rhetorical silence that Glenn provides and by opening silences in all the right places, Hillary transgressed engendered sites by resisting or subverting traditional gendered codes. She also transgressed her own engendered media representations by doubly subverting her own image as well as the gendered image of silent women. Hillary articulated the first claims against her opponent, whereby inferring that she used a masculine style of rhetoric, but also instilled her own form of rhetorical strategy by employing rhetorical silence when she wished to turn silence on and when she wished to turn it off. Thus, she empowered her own embodiment of rhetorical strategy. Hillary reengineered eloquence and dignity as forms of rhetorical silence strategies and navigated agonistic circumstances of an exclusionary space by employing silence on her own terms.

While I have listed the findings and my interpretations of Hillary's employment of rhetorical silence, I now present the findings for the employment of rhetorical listening.

Summary Findings: Rhetorical Listening

The over-arching discovery found in my analysis of listening was how listening is fluid, continuous, always in motion. Hillary demonstrated this as she refrained from responding immediately to questions from her audience, the moderators, and her opponent. She demonstrated rhetorical listening in motion as she called for inclusion, spoke *to* and *with*, and invited the audience to engage in rhetorical listening with her as she listened to her own voice promoting care and vulnerability when she promoted self and other. Hillary also called for her audience to take care in dismissing information so easily. That is, she encouraged her audience to take care in listening to what was just heard.

Through a feminist description of Hillary's performance, embodied acts and verbal utterances, I was able to identify places where Hillary's performance paralleled Ratcliffe's approach to rhetorical listening. Ruminating, washing over, and reflecting over the responses made by Hillary to determine whether she promoted understanding of the self and other, I was able to identify this move in several instances in all three of the debates. I was also able to identify Ratcliffe's second move--proceeding from within an accountability logic whereby Hillary took care to not just understand her own self but the logic that was the undertow of not only her opponent's claims, but also her constituents and the audience members who asked specific questions. Most importantly, Hillary was able to proceed from one move to another locating identifications across differences as well as commonalities. I identified places where troubled identifications were explained with logic and where Hillary analyzed her opponent's as well as her audience's claims through an accountability of cultural logics that are different

among the diverse groups that make up the viewing audience. I identified places where Hillary did not retreat from opening the conversations of race and gender. Hillary thus embodies one of Ratcliffe's specific purposes of rhetorical listening. Ratcliffe specifies that rhetorical listening works as a code for cross-cultural understanding in a way that "help[s] us to hear discursive intersections of gender and race/ethnicity" (Ratcliffe, "A Trope" 196).

Along with identifying parallels to Ratcliffe's approach to rhetorical listening, I was able to identify places that either expanded Ratcliffe's approach, such as transforming the debate culture and witnessing listening, whereby Hillary became a model for extending the process to her audience and teaching them the art of rhetorical listening. I also identified where the debate format may need help with Ratcliffe's approach to rhetorical listening. Here I identified ways that Hillary opened rhetorical listening in her own path through mindful listening, reflection, and strategic contemplation. Through the process of disavowing the kind of negative rhetoric that embraces stereotypes and discrimination, Hillary enacted a kind of rhetorical listening that is necessary in places where discussions are closed because of the difficult nature of the conversation. I identified places where Hillary gave insight into how to respond to negative rhetoric or how to not respond to negative rhetoric and help her audience to listen rhetorically by turning language into action. Hillary was able to bring in the audience, not just invite the audience to hear her ideas, but went further in asking the audience to do the hard work of rhetorical listening. She invited the audience to be active in hearing and as Rosenberg suggests, "do nothing" but hear what they just heard. Rhetorical listening calls for reflection and

contemplation to muse over the words and not let them escape reflection as opposed to merely hearing.

Another important point that this study finds is that Hillary was able to find "other ways" to transgress the tumultuous debate format. Rhetorical listening, through standing under the text, was helpful, but the notion of "doing nothing" was essential for Hillary in order to calm the heightened argumentative ambiance that was at times filled with insults and interruptions by all parties. Mindfulness was also a factor in bringing the focus of the debate back to the audience needs. However, at times, I identified places where Hillary could be seemingly subverting and resisting agonistic tendencies that dominate the rhetorical tradition by employing additional elements to rhetorical listening as strategy. These alternative rhetorics of mindfulness, deep reflection, and strategic contemplation were demonstrated at moments when Hillary refrained from indulging in arguments and continued to give her reasons and accounts for her claims. She did not digress or become distracted, or raise her voice, or commit to returning attacks.

Confirming Ratcliffe's assertion that listening is hard work, this study identified the moves in Ratcliffe's approach which also confirmed that listening, indeed, is hard work. It is an embodied act that uses the body to not merely just hear, but to work to consciously hear, to use interpretive invention, to stand under the meaning of one's own logic as well as the other to identify places of commonalities and differences. Adding to Ratcliffe's moves and opening listening, it was found that deep reflection in the form of doing nothing, as well as strategic contemplation or rigid rumination is necessary to recognize how language is activated for various purposes and then to identify with the multiple logics or disavow those logics if they

cannot be bridged, to acknowledge truths, not shy away from the language of disavowed logics, but use language responsibly and with accountability.

Another important finding in this exploratory study is that Hillary is consistently doubling her rhetorical listening work: she is working to rhetorically understand her opponent all the while working to get the audience to understand her views by helping the audience listen to all views, to stand under the text of all views, including the views of her opponent. While she rhetorically listens, she also gets the audience to rhetorically listen. While I did not know about the audience's rhetorical listening because it is beyond the scope of this project, it is still an important aspect of rhetorical listening because listening involves an audience, but Hillary is also the audience in a debate.

One more important finding from my analysis of rhetorical listening, ruminating, and standing under the text of the three debates is the idea that the debate format is not particularly conducive to rhetorical listening. That is, the first debate does not allow for much time to reflect, to do nothing, or to listen rhetorically because such actions are so heavily dependent on and constrained by time. While there is a little more room to strategically vie for time in the second debate, I interpreted Hillary's moves to stall for time when answering her audience members' questions as a potential strategy of rhetorical listening. In the third debate, the allocation of ten-minute intervals for conversation and negotiation allowed for better deployment of rhetorical listening. While this dissertation does not specifically evaluate the differences in debate procedure, it did find more opportunities in debate three to embody acts of rhetorical listening. With these findings, the following section is an interpretation of my findings.

Interpretations of Major Findings—Rhetorical Listening

Enhancing the Rhetorical Tradition

Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, along with other feminist rhetorical and communication scholars have long been concerned with the notion that men created a specific universal form characteristically white, male, powerful, and individualistic, and thus began to study alternative ways to subvert that notion. Studying past literature and recognizing that the traditional appeals do not work for everyone, I explored the alternative rhetoric of listening and found that the specific moves could be identified in Hillary's performance on the debate platform. The moves used in Ratcliffe's approach to rhetorical listening offered Hillary alternative means to navigate her presence on the 2016 Presidential debate stage and from this finding may offer alternative means for other rhetors. Hillary employed Ratcliffe's move using multiple logics on the debate stage. She was also able to stand under the logics of others as well as her own and negotiate commonalities and differences that move away from the traditional appeals that have been dictated by men for so long. This finding begins to disintegrate the notion of the ideal model and rhetorical strategy for public speakers and writers, introduced by Aristotle, that only a competitive universal monologue that is logical, rational, and linear can be applied. The findings in this study demonstrate that rhetorical listening, a process that is fluid, dynamic, and non-linear, can be identified as an alternative to be used in debates. The moves Hillary made when making her claims, listening to the claims of others, and accounting for the multiple logics that are located behind such claims, parallel Ratcliffe's approach and indicate that there is a move from linearity to a dialectic that calls for negotiation. David Wallace's assertion that "long

standing perceptions that draw from the idea that winning an argument belongs to one position, that is, one who has gained dominance over others using a linear form of logic" can be further explored using the more fluid approach of rhetorical listening (W20). My interpretations of Hillary's deployment of rhetorical listening is that the notion of one true logic is dispelled when using rhetorical listening and that seemingly we can move away from an either/or logic as I demonstrate in the next section.

Breaking the Binary

Studies in chapters one and two, of this dissertation, noted that women get stuck in a conundrum that leaves them with little to no options to define their own rhetorical identity. Identifying areas where Hillary paralleled the employment of rhetorical listening as an alternative to the typical feminine/masculine styles that have been attributed to her help us to take note of how the binary that plagues women's rhetorical competence can be subverted, not just by deploying rhetorical silence, but also through the embodiment of rhetorical listening. The binary effects have institutionalized the prominence of male agency especially in political leadership positions. but the results of this study demonstrated ways Hillary was able to navigate her position away from the double bind that marks her rhetorical performance as incompetent. Hillary witnessed her own listening, and not only did she witness her own listening, she seemingly asked the audience to rhetorically listen as well. Mentioned in chapter one, women are often discouraged from listening to their own voices which then precludes them from discovering other ways to rhetorically perform in areas that have been occupied predominantly by men or spaces that are unfriendly and pernicious for women. This study found that Hillary did

not just respond to or reject dominant discourses, but also paralleled Ratcliffe's approach, as well as opening rhetorical listening of her own making to resist the masculine/feminine dichotomy. Hillary deployed listening as a rhetorical art that altered both the make-up of the traditional map in our rhetorical history, as well as her own political rhetorical trajectory constructed through media representations. Hillary recognized multiple perspectives and identified her own logics in accord with other logics, for example the diverse perspectives on gun control and gun safety and recognition of respect for the Second Amendment. Through these kinds of moves, Hillary replicated Ratcliffe's moves that dispels the notion of one logic. While breaking the binary, Hillary was able to transform some of the heated climate of the debate culture in her three debates.

Transforming the climate of the debate stage: No longer an either/or

In Chapter one, I described Deborah Tannen's work on what she called *The Argument Culture,* where adversity and verbal exchange becomes negative and at times highly bombastic. Both candidates delivered insults and raised their voices. While they both engaged in this kind of delivery, studying Hillary's delivery, I was able to identify parallels to and variations of Ratcliffe's rhetorical listening moves as well as moves theorized by Rosenberg, Royster and Kirsch, and Frey. Using a "do nothing but listen" approach advocated by Rosenberg, Hillary was able to stave off some of the agonistic climate that could have ensued. During the interjections of "wrong," or insults, such as "nasty woman," when it was her turn to speak, Hillary remained composed. At times she refrained from delivering an immediate response and, instead commanded a refrain from addressing the question of whether one is right or wrong, turning the

conversation into something more positive. In some instances, she continued speaking on the issue at hand instead of calling out her opponent as "wrong" thus refraining from engaging in the proverbial "either you're with us or against us" dichotomy that an argument culture defined by Tannen assumes. By using Rosenberg's method of "doing nothing," Hillary was able to make her claim or respond to a viewer's claim, account for that claim within not only her cultural logics, but by understanding and negotiating the cultural logics of those who might not always agree.

I mentioned that Tannen's explanation of an argument culture is derived from moments where rhetors are too quick to take offense, or too quick to attack, too insensitive to others, or even too impatient to refrain from responding to an offensive comment, where, on the other hand, a rhetorical listener does not respond immediately. While not knowing officially her intentions, I claim that by not immediately responding to interruptive comments at certain times, Hillary is practicing the art of "basketing her silences," or strategically contemplating and being mindful during moments signified by her persistence in sticking to the issue at hand. Using mindful listening, along with these other methods of rhetorical listening, Hillary was able to keep the audience engaged with the issues instead of losing sight of the issues while engaging in a bombastic delivery against her opponent. Where Hillary has embodied the art of rhetorical listening, she is keeping within the feminist tenet of maintaining exposure of her own rhetorical strengths as I explain in the next section.

Erasure no more

One of the most important findings when exploring Hillary's employment of rhetorical listening was her recognition of commonalities and differences. Holmes mentioned that the

predominantly white male profile of the Presidential candidate played a part in leaving identity out of the debate discourse. I identified numerous places where Hillary embraced the notion of race, gender, and sexual orientation and brought these points into the debate. For too long, gender has been left out of the conversation on general election Presidential debate floors. Hillary was able to bring to the surface, not only gender, but other identities as well. While this study was not on how Trump employed rhetorical listening, I found that when Hillary did speak about identity (whether she discussed Muslims, black-Americans, or gender), she spoke at length while her opponent did not spend much time speaking about these issues. Trump spoke for 1 minute and 20 seconds on the issue of race and identity in one part of the debate where Hillary spoke at length. He did not elaborate and spoke less on this issue than any other issue following those in the past where discussions on identity were tentative. On the contrary, Hillary employed rhetorical listening when speaking on this issue and was outspoken, assured, strong, and confident in what she was saying. This is an inverse of men and women's rhetorical styles. Perhaps this is an indication of how the "other" is more knowledgeable on this subject based on lived experiences and do not refrain or have to refrain from identity discussions. While analyzing Trump's dialogue was not in the scope of this dissertation, it is important to note that future studies could interrogate the time Trump spent on this most important issue versus Hillary's timing on the issue to bring into focus the presence and absence of such dialogue. By using rhetorical listening, a candidate becomes aware of the cultural logics that have gone unnoticed or have been erased in the dialogue of Presidential campaigns and debates. I identified where Hillary's performance paralleled Ratcliffe's move of negotiating troubled identifications. Future

debaters could take the time to learn this move in order to bring not only the self but the other into the conversation. With that said, Royster's notion of turning listening into language and action by focusing on identities came into play in this debate.

Along with the inclusion of other identities into the conversation, it could also help to include lost or dismissed voices of which Royster also mentions. Lost political voices of women who have advocated for gender equality—Shirley Logan, Barbara Jordan, and now Hillary Clinton—could be invoked instead of refraining from speaking of these strong women rhetors. This speaks to Royster's other concern about tradition, when she asks, "How could we have a sense of tradition when presumably our information about these types of activities is so limited?" ("Traces" 229). This notion speaks to the concern that women's voices are not invoked or quoted on the debate stage or on the campaign trail.

In other words, to advance alternative goals, feminists need to be able to be in prominent political positions and those positions cannot be forgotten. Royster prompts the notion of erasure when she states, "we have long since ceased to remember the individual women as they existed in their own time" "predetermining their absence, deficiency, or unimportance," and, "We no longer call out their names" or acknowledge their accomplishments ("Traces" 6). An overwhelming number of women have "rhetorical competence" (61), but rarely are their names invoked.

Today we are at the intersection of so many identities. Where women once worked in spaces where there was a question of belonging, we know now it is not a valid question. Not only do feminist rhetorical scholars search to address Royster's concern to acknowledge women's

accomplishments, this study acknowledges the importance of listening to their silences so we can invoke their names going forward. This might be the most important reason for summoning the rhetorical arts of silence and listening and how they were employed in Hillary's performance, if only to acknowledge the importance of rhetorical feminist scholars' journey to find "other ways" to gain rhetorical efficiency and remain in our nation's political consciousness.

Implications for Rhetoric and Composition Studies

This study demonstrates how, through interpreting and analyzing Hillary's performance, how a rhetor possibly moves an audience beyond the initial emphasis of Glenn's and Ratcliffe's theoretical points. This section addresses my third research question: What does the study of rhetorical silence and listening bring to rhetoric and composition studies. This study not only identifies rhetorical art concepts, but the analysis delineates exactly how rhetorical silence and listening can be employed. Each category of Glenn's taxonomy was interrogated and defined and interpreted according to the dialogue of the subject of this study. This finely parsed delineation has not been done on Presidential general election debates primarily when one of the candidates is a woman. Scholars can use these descriptions and interpretations to learn and teach students how to employ silence rhetorically.

Rhetorical listening was also investigated in snippets of dialogue where I could identify parallels to Ratcliffe's moves and I described and interpreted each move. These descriptions can be used as a template for specific moves to learn and teach future rhetors for debate. Assignments can be integrated into the curriculum that include not only reading, viewing media, but also debate analysis to teach rhetorical silence and listening.

Along those lines, with the description and interpretation of expanding Ratcliffe's moves, composition and communication educators, as well as all educators, may use the idea of witnessing listening by using mindfulness, strategic contemplations, and reflection when creating and explaining assignments. There are times when students remain silent out of fear of speaking out and asking questions for various reasons. The result of this fear is an unevolved paper that may not address the assignment's purpose. That is, the paper they submit has little to do with the assignment instructions. Rather than placing the blame on student's ability, an instructor can put themselves in a "do nothing" stance when they ask the student to describe their understanding of the assignment's instructions. The professor can then reflect on the students understanding of those instructions, become mindful by going back and listening to their own wording of the instructions to understand how the student is listening in comparison to what the instructor intended. This means spending more time on student's work, however, in the long run, it may teach the instructor how to listen to their own instructions and seek to understand how students will understand those instructions. That is, if a professor contemplates about the cultural logics of the student instead of centering the assignment on how the professor sees it, there could be an epiphany of how to reword the instructions.

This idea is not different from Ratcliffe's purpose for her theory of rhetorical listening, but it does expand her theory by bringing the instructor to a place of reflecting on their own cultural logics and giving the student the opportunity to speak out. Reflecting on how the student interprets the prompt may help the professor learn where differences begin and by employing a "do nothing" stance which in turn may not only give that silent student time to express their

understanding of the assignment, but ways for the instructor to see absences in their own instructions.

Another benefit this study suggests is that when there is troubled identification and marginalization at various rhetorical moments, silence and listening as rhetorical arts can be employed to navigate stereotypical language such as--"the woman who has nothing to say." Students could learn how to use these arts to deflect such stereotypes. That is, when the double bind becomes a problem on the campaign trail or in another kind of debate, knowing how these arts work can be considered a valuable alternative if strategically and knowingly applied. Students may learn through classroom activities how to apply these arts for future deployment. This dissertation identified where and how Hillary's performance possibly paralleled the characteristics and moves of these arts, but if rhetors studied and prepared to deploy them purposely, they may be effective rhetorics to navigate and negotiate spaces where women are excluded.

Expanding the venue to include other exclusionary spaces may be a benefit to the field as well. One place would be in the engineering discipline, especially mechanical engineering, where women representation lags their male counterparts. Composition classrooms can be think tanks, or "reflection spaces" for rhetorical arts of silence and listening in technical communication and help students recognize when they need to stand under the texts of controversial rhetoric that do not serve them well and reflect, be mindful, and strategically navigate their own responses to negotiate "ways" once "in" exclusionary spaces.

By teaching the arts of silence and listening, students can begin to go deeper in their reflections, refraining from immediate responses, commanding silence on their terms, and witness their silences to engage in standing under the texts. For instance, argumentation and debate fields could explore these two arts in order to add to their student's ability to engage in dialectic conversations, dialectic unity, and negotiation with their opponents. Mastering these arts in these disciplines may increase the level of debate discourse in such a way that it no longer is a venue that relies on dominance and winning, but instead, a venue that relies on corroboration and integration of ideas.

Lastly, recognizing the importance of continuous exposure, such as references to past rhetors that we often hear—Martin Luther King, Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt, and other historical figures—we can begin to invoke women's voices and voices that have for too long been absent in the political field. Making this research known, may alert rhetors to the importance of keeping our rhetorical heroines in the discourse. Rhetoric and composition students who study feminist rhetorical scholarship can focus on current discourse by women who are running for political office. It would be important to teach rhetorical listening to students by having them listen to the current women who have announced their candidacy. The insistence of defining success in the form of the male rhetor and the gendered effects that stem from that that tradition can be identified in the words of women who are running for President. That is, can they hear the absence of past women rhetors when studying this form of political rhetoric? Recognizing the strengths in these women rhetors through alternative rhetorics can reclaim their voices. As women advance in politics, they should include voices of the past. For example, I

washed over Royster's words realizing that I have not heard any of the candidates now running for office mention a woman rhetor in their speeches or their bids for president. When Kamala Harris or Elizabeth Warren or even Hillary Clinton announced their candidacy for President, women's historical accomplishments, nor any quote from a rhetorical woman were invoked. Harris announced her presidency on Martin Luther King Day, but few noticed that this day was 47 years and 2 days later than when Representative Shirley Wilson announced her presidency on January 25, 1972. Nor was there a mention of her name in Harris's speech. She did mention Harriet Tubman squeezed in between Frederick Douglass and Martin Luther King.[70] Elizabeth Warren mentioned Martin Luther King, but no woman was mentioned. Harris and Warren are also considered firsts--Harris was the first African American woman elected Senator in California, and Warren, first woman senator elected in Massachusetts.[71] These implications also lead me to consider questions for more research.

Questions for Further Research

There are several questions that future studies could address. The first one I would be interested in researching is analyzing the interdependence of silence and listening. That is, where does silence delivery by a rhetor begin and end, and where then does rhetorical listening begin? A study to parse out this very nuance of silence and listening could advance this knowledge.

[70] Harris speech went "Let's remember when abolitionists spoke out and civil rights workers marched, their oppressors said they were dividing the races and violating the word of God. But Fredrick Douglass said it best and Harriet Tubman and Dr. King knew. To love the religion of Jesus is to hate the religion of the slave master." http://www.ktvu.com/news/transcript-kamala-harris-kicks-off-presidential-campaign-in-oakland

[71] Warren did mention that she was the first woman, "No woman had ever won a Senate seat in Massachusetts, and people said it would be "too hard" for me to get elected. ". https://www.masslive.com/politics/2019/02/read-elizabeth-warrens-2020-announcement-speech.html

Future work in this area includes addressing the concerns for women debaters, who may be positioned on the Presidential general election debate stage. While this study begins this process, now that there are more women in politics hoping to stand on that stage as well as other local and Congressional debate stages, more work can be done in this area to demonstrate how these arts are employed. For instance, following the work in this dissertation, it might be important to further advance the study of these two arts by studying how Hillary's opponent also employed rhetorical silence and listening and whether his employment of these arts could be identified through the characteristics and moves laid out in this dissertation. A comparative study to demonstrate how these arts are employed by both candidates could be helpful to analyze through a gendered lens.

Another study that could be implemented concerns the traditional rhetorical appeals. While the traditional appeals of logos, ethos, and pathos are important in evaluating debate discourse, the analysis of alternative rhetorical arts studied here demonstrated that there are other ways of evaluating debate dialogue. By recognizing multiple logics, rhetorical listening is shown to enhance the traditional appeal of logos. Recognizing that rhetorical listening is not linear and is always in motion may affect how the traditional appeal of logos is also employed, just as Lindal Buchanan has studied the regendering of ethos.

With the increase of women in Presidential campaigns, future studies can include the comparison of women rhetors who do achieve higher poll numbers in the Presidential campaigns and those who do not. Questions can be studied as to the use of these rhetorical arts in campaign discourse and eventually whether they make an impact on election results.

Another future study that, while not the emphasis of this study, but emerged through my analysis was the tempo of debate rhetoric and its agonistic properties in these three debates. My analysis demonstrated a possible effort by the moderators to enhance the "either you are right, or you are wrong" response from the candidates. A study on audience preferences as to the future of debate protocol would be of interest to political candidates and debaters. Perhaps agonistic, or more argumentative conversations are preferred. A study on whether audiences really want a more thoughtful debate would be an important concept to research for furthering the knowledge of debate culture and how to employ rhetorical arts. A study of such could also speak to the question of how audiences perceive silence and listening deliveries by the rhetor.

Where the traditional prepared rebuttal may not be sufficient, it is not a consolation prize to know, however, that Hillary's attempt and effort did pay off as successful, that is winning the debates according to the polls, because she did not the win the election. Confrontation is inevitable in debates, but it does not mean that it needs to be agonistic and rise to a level where no one speaks, or everyone speaks, over one another or thinks over the other. While this study did not concern itself with the issue of why Hillary won the debates, but lost the election, it would be important to study whether the electorate cares about debate protocol and whether the electorate prefers a more heated, agonistic style of politics as a "battle" where candidates stir or heighten the intensity of a campaign and media excess. Even then, rhetorical arts of silence and listening could be used metistically for women to overcome the nature of that battlefield.

Conclusion

My concluding remarks must reiterate the final reasons for studying the employment of silence and listening in Hillary's debate performance. That is, it is important to mark this time in history, to recognize Hillary's seemingly use of alternative arts, and to demonstrate how alternative rhetorical arts can be employed as strengths. In other words, I want to keep true to the feminist tenet of making this research known as well as keeping true to Jessica Enoch's call to "listen to their silences," Royster's call to turn language into action;" as well as Royster's call to invoke women's voices from the past. Publishers in Texas have already resolved to take Hillary out of the history books. Other women rhetors are also excluded from major texts. Employment of alternative rhetorics of silence and listening may help women to find strength to invoke and reiterate women's voices in order to seal them into the American consciousness.

This study recognizes how Hillary has seemingly paved a path for future possibilities when employing alternative ways to navigate exclusionary space. The trope of *inevitability* described by Eicher-Catt as one of impossibility seems to still be in effect since Hillary did not win the election. Hillary did not become the occupant of the Oval Office, and thus, the trope's impossible circumstance seems to haunt our discourse. However, this dissertation suggests that by rearranging the discourse, co-opting the negative discourses of silence and listening, we create evolving tropes--*making the impossible possible* and *paving the way* for others to negotiate the spaces that are difficult and new to bodies that have been excluded.

My initial fear for this study was how does one study silence and listening in a venue that is dependent on speaking or where the privileged mode is speaking. After commanding my own

silence and witnessing my own listening through learning and practicing rhetorical listening, strategic contemplation and reflection, and then applying my knowledge to the text-transcripts, videos, and verbal utterances of my subject, what emerged overall is that rhetorical listening and silence are most applicable as rhetorical arts on the debate stage. While it is vital to realize and acknowledge apprenticeship in recovering and reclaiming feminist "ways" and alternative rhetorics, knowing and mentoring alternatives also emerged in Hillary's performance.

As a rhetorical political scholar, Hillary helped bring rhetorical silence and listening to her audience by being part of and witnessing her own agency in helping others to become part of a rhetorical subversion. If Hillary did not weave a dialectic of unity in these debates, she at least wove a dialectic of negotiation that fulfills Ratcliffe's purpose in theory of rhetorical listening. Glenn states that pursuing work in alternative rhetorics is a hopeful continuation of the work feminist rhetorical and communication scholars have begun. The use of rhetorical silence and listening in the debate forum may re-shape the tradition from impossible to possible in ways that women rhetors are free to invoke the voices of the past, if not for any other reason than:

"…we feel that for too long our leaders have viewed politics as the art of the possible. And the challenge now is to practice politics as the art of making what appears to be impossible possible." (Hillary Rodham 1969).

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