MPC MAJOR RESEARCH PAPER

LOSS REWRITTEN:
OLIVIA AND JACK, THE LANGUAGE OF LETTERS, AND THE RHETORIC OF
THE LOSER

ANNELIES C. A. FUJARCZUK

Dr. Jaigris Hodson

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Abstract

This paper considers the discursive strategies deployed in Olivia Chow's 2014 Toronto mayoral concession speech in comparison to those of the Letter to Canadians penned by Jack Layton in 2011, and the resulting influence on her electoral trajectory as a pol. Layton's letter was published shortly after the New Democratic Party's (NDP) Federal electoral surge to Official Opposition status, a first for the far-Left party in Canadian history, and would serve as an New Democratic ideological keystone. Chow's rhetoric invoked Layton's words and the historical circumstances of their authorship. This project explores the relationship between public address and political epistolary traditions, and the narrative bond they create between author and speaker, and reader and audience. Most specifically it considers how an intertextuality between Chow and Layton's documents contribute to political ethos and the greater progressive ideological narrative to which they both belong.

Theorists discussed in substantial measure include Allen (2000), Corcoran (1994), Hall (2009), Neville-Shepard (2014), Parrish (1954), Rabinowitz (1987), and Weaver (1982).

Keywords: Olivia Chow, Jack Layton, political communication, Canadian politics, municipal politics, NDP

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Dedication

To Mom, for telling me to use my words.

To Dad, for never being short on them.

Most specifically to Peter, for asking me why I never did an MBA.

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Introduction

Concession speeches tell the stories of loss. They are discursive tales of quest and failure, hopeful epics with definitive points of terminus. Declarations of candidacy, victory speeches, and inaugural addresses portray hopeful aspirations for the future, while the concession act draws electoral curtains for the would-be pol.

It would stand to reason then that Olivia Chow's concession speech, delivered the night of October 27th, 2014 upon her failed bid to be elected mayor of Toronto would preclude statements of optimism, hope, and enthusiasm. However, while she would be scrutinized carefully over the course of the Toronto municipal election from without, Chow's concession speech would prove to be a decisive exercise in the reclamation of her power from within. A piece of narrative self-construction and self-representation, her speech cultivated a familiar confidence and intimacy with her public, and emboldened her support base.

On the opposite end of the communicative spectrum from the language of public address and open discourse, the epistolary tradition presents the opportunity for private exchange, introspective contemplation, and personal musing between writer and reader (Hall, 2009). If a speech is an open dialogue delivered by an orator that evokes an immediate response from the audience, the letter can be understood as an engaging discourse that yields a response over a longer period of time, predicated on the implied relationship between author and reader.

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Jack Layton's Letter to Canadians, penned shortly before his death in 2011, represents that narrative intimacy at surface level. With an addressee and author clearly defined, the letter upheld the progressive ideology of Canada's Federal New Democratic Party (NDP) and presented Layton's personal sentiments of pride in, and appreciation for the party's unprecedented electoral success in 2011. After years of Third Party status, the NDP had become Canada's Official Opposition for the first time in the nation's history. Though Layton wrote in spite of a Federal Conservative Party victory, his letter would become an ideological keystone for the NDP. Beyond this, it became canonical not only for the story of the Canadian political project but for the concession Chow gave on election night, 2014 as well.

Chow's address invoked the language of letters. Traditional salutations of "sincerely" and "congratulations" insinuated themselves seamlessly into her prose, while direct addresses to members of her support base underscored a writer-reader relationship. While Chow would make heavy use of these second-order epistolary conventions, she also made subtle, intertextual reference to and at times quoted directly from the text of Layton's letter. Chow concludes her speech almost verbatim from Layton's final meditation on love, hope, and optimism, transubstantiating the ideological spirit, power, and agency of his letter into her concession. This intimate rhetorical approach is unique, as the literature below will reveal that concession speeches are traditionally highly publicized discursive acts wherein speakers avoid personal revelation and shift focus to the populace (Corcoran, 1994).

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This project will consider the rhetorical methods Chow used to build her concession speech, and what the implications and motivations for that speech mean when considered in the overall narrative of Toronto's 2014 mayoral race and her career as a politician. Though this election was municipal and non-partisan, Chow's legacy as a prominent member of the Federal NDP is diametrically opposed to that of the victor John Tory, as the former leader of the Provincial Progressive Conservative Party. Chow's language and references to Layton will be studied to consider how her concession contributes to a larger narrative of progressive thinking in contrast to the Conservative (and conservative) values championed successfully in Toronto in October 2014.

Secondly, this project seeks to explore the function of the epistolary in political rhetoric and communication. Chow's speech accomplishes more than telling the story of an unsuccessful mayoral bid, and this project will determine how the use of epistolary tropes upheld that endeavour.

Lastly, this project will consider the overall political implications for Chow's synthesis of public address conventions with the epistolary tradition. It aims to determine what Chow's discursive strategy reveals about political narratives, communication, and the Canada project.

First, a literature review will discuss the history of public address with specific focus on the political acknowledgement ritual and concession speeches. Further, the review will consider the epistolary tradition and its intersection with political communication. Then the project's central research questions will be distilled and enumerated fol-

lowed by a research methods section in which the rationale for the coding schema will be explained. This will be followed by an analysis of the coded text as can be found in the project's appendices and back matter. Lastly, the results and implications of the analysis will be synthesized, explored, and reflected upon in the discussion and conclusion sections.

Literature Review

Public address and the establishment of genre: Parrish and Weaver

Parrish, persuasion, and the pol. Corcoran (1994, discussed below) refers to the concession speech as “a penultimate act of democratic politics [...] a psychodrama” (p. 116). As a performative and scripted act of acknowledgement, the concession speech is predicated on a series of rhetorical standards, or a “silent grammar” (Corcoran, 1994, p. 115) of sorts. This ‘grammar’ provides the syntactical expectations for concession and sets it apart it from other discursive exchanges such as the victory speech or inaugural address. However, such differences appear to be narrative minutiae when considered before the broader study of public address. Thus to engage in the study of Chow’s concession speech and its relationship to the mayoral election and the significance of its resonance with the ideology of NDP, we must first consider the broader question of what a speech might be.

In his 1954 essay *The Study of Speeches*, Parrish attempts to answer that question by looking to the classical study of rhetoric to establish a theory of cohesive speech con-

struction. He attempts to discern a system by which we can determine if what we are reading, watching, delivering, or listening to is in fact a speech.

Insofar as political communication is concerned, Parrish suggests that though the topics of debate and discussion in the political arena will have changed from the original philosophical treaties and debates on which he predicates his work, the methods of discussion and argument remain very much the same from age to age. (1954, p. 61). Parrish argues that the principle means available to the speaker to persuade his or her audience are character, content, logic, arrangement, motivation, and style (1954, p. 74). This is important to the project as we can still use the methods of Parrish's historical rhetors to study the discursive strategy underlying Chow's speech. This is to say that though she is separated from Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Longinus, Francis Bacon, George Campbell, Hugh Blair, and Richard Whately (Parrish, 1954, p. 68) by hundreds and in some cases thousands of years, Chow's speech would use the same means to achieve the same persuasive ends for her audience, only the topic of her argument would have changed with time. In as much as Parrish measures the success of the speech act by the speaker's ability to use the available means of persuasion to influence an intended audience (1954, p. 75), this project will assess how Chow reinterprets and deploys strategically the rhetorical means at her disposal to address and persuade her audience.

Parrish (1954) suggests that looking to sophists and historical rhetors must be the means of establishing a theory by which we can read public addresses (p. 61). In assessing their work, he distills an imperative for the speech genre that will support my inquiry

into public address as he concludes that speeches can be characterized by urgency and directness, and simple vocabulary, style, and structure (p. 64). This estimation provides insight into the fundamental question of what a speech might be by identifying its constituent parts. This method is considered further in Medhurst's (2010) assessment of Parrish's essay. Medhurst contextualizes the sparse literature on the study of speeches at the time of Parrish's (1954) publishing, and further details the artistic criteria Parrish (1954) used to evaluate a speech (2010, p. 42).

Later theorists build upon Parrish's (1954) study of historical rhetoric to inform political and social communication. Gronbeck (2004) discusses the relationship between rhetoric, politics, and the birth of political communication in 20th century American discourse. He does this by examining the Athenian oratory of Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle (p. 136-138), the Roman rhetorical theory of Cicero and Quintilian (p. 138-139), the Renaissance writing of Petrarch, Lorenzo Valla, Savonarola, Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke (p. 139-142), and concludes with a contemporary application of those theories in the work of Hannah Arendt and Jurgen Habermas (p. 142). Similarly, Hall (2009, discussed below) would study the letters of Cicero as a point of origin for a contemporary analysis of politeness in the sociolinguistic theories of Goffman, Brown, and Levinson (p. 6).

In light of the connections drawn between current discourse and historical rhetorical practice as illuminated by Parrish (1954), Gronbeck (2004), and Hall (2009), we can then understand contemporary political communication as a modern reinterpretation of

classical rhetorical standards, delivered to and governed by the people. As Gronbeck (2004) suggests, civic communication “is an extension of a centuries-long effort to understand relationships between “rhetoric” and “politics”” (p. 151). Chow’s speech presents us with the opportunity to understand how her rhetorical methods, codified by centuries of practice, enable her to communicate and contribute to the larger electoral narrative of not only the municipal election in Toronto, but also her career as a politician.

Genre, rhetoric, and losers.

To understand how Chow uses her concession speech to reveal a larger political narrative, we must then determine what constitutes a concession. Weaver (1982) builds upon Parrish’s (1954) theory of speech constitution in her exploration of the rhetorical rituals of victory and defeat acts in American Presidential campaigns from 1952 to 1980. As Parrish identifies a tonal register of urgency and directness, Weaver defines the content of those registers.

Her work is foundational for the study of concession speeches, as she would be cited directly in Corcoran (1994) and further literature on the concession genre (Howell, 2011; Neville-Shepard, 2014; Ritter and Willyard, 2005; Welch, 1999). Weaver’s work builds upon Parrish’s (1954) conditions of urgency and style and formalizes the concession as a genre unto itself by positing “situational” and “substantive” conventions for concession speeches (1982, pp. 480-481). These conditions are important because they identify the common concession tropes against which Chow’s speech will be read. Weaver’s conditions for the acknowledgement act can be identified as follows

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1. Losers must concede before victor may make victory statements;
2. Personal telegrams sent from conceders to victors are an integral component of the situation;
3. In the absence of a formal concession, the obligatory telegram assumes central importance as a focal point for the victory response statement;
4. Each victory statement is a response to a statement of concession;
5. The losing candidate appears personally, surrounded by family, to a group of supporters;
6. The winning candidate appears personally but is not necessarily surrounded by family or supporters;
7. Incumbency affects these general practices, particularly with regard to how much emphasis the victor places on the message of concession. (1982, p. 483-484).

In conventions two, three, and seven, Weaver makes specific mention of the delivery of telegrams and the message of concession from loser to victor. This ritual represents a private, communicative exchange of power, and acknowledgement of defeat between the victor and loser.

This acknowledgement is important because the telegram in effect occupies the communicative space of both the epistolary and public address, as it is a scripted com-

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muniqué between writer and reader, yet intended to be read aloud. It is a hybrid document, both private and public, in that it is drafted under the guise of privacy between loser and victor but intended to be publicized. It is addressed only to the victor, signed only by the loser, and contains language only for the winning candidate, and yet according to Weaver (1982) it is well established and expected that the telegram will be dictated and broadcast to a waiting audience. What is most unfortunate about the obsolescence of the telegram and Weaver's publishing in 1982 is that this project seeks to explore the relationship between written text, public address, and the political project. Had there been a telegram exchanged between Chow and Tory, the source material and data would yield much richer analysis and discussion. However, as Chow's campaign ran in 2014, long after the practice of exchanging telegrams had passed, we must then understand the telegram in contemporary terms as a phone call or email between the victor and loser.

Weaver further outlines the substantive conventions for concession specifically as "thanks, unification, emphasis on continued opposition, and support" (1982, p. 483). Victory speeches share a point of contact with concession statements as they also consist of statements of thanks and calls for unification, but add a third component of statements of humility (1982, p. 485). This would become the foundation for concession frameworks from which Corcoran (1994), Howell (2011), Neville-Shepard (2014), and Ritter and Willyard (2005) would temper and design their own theoretical standards for the acknowledgment act in the American Presidential theatre.

Theorizing concession speeches: Corcoran and Neville-Shepard

Presidential concession. The study of Olivia Chow's concession speech reveals some gaps in the literature on concession, particularly as her bid was for a municipal office. Granted, that municipal posting was for the office of Chief Magistrate of Canada's largest city, but literature on the subject of Canadian municipal political address was not readily discovered during the research phase of this project.

Literature on the subject of Canadian political communication has been conducted largely at the Federal level. Fletcher (1998) explores the implications of globalization on French Canadian identity within the larger Canadian national mosaic, and Paré and Berger (2008) maintain the national scope to examine the marketing strategy of the Conservative Party of Canada for the 2006 Federal election. Small, Giasson, and Marland (2014) present a comprehensive volume on Canadian political communications with respect to media theory, civic discourse, and new media, but research that attempts to analyze and codify specifically Canadian public address at any other levels of government, more specifically concession speeches, is increasingly difficult to find.

Concession speech research has been produced in some volume within the theatre of American Presidential races, but little has been produced for the study of Canadian municipal elections. For this reason, Corcoran's (1994) continuation of Weaver's (1982) research is essential to provide the most robust possible background and literary foundation of political public address theory.

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Corcoran uses Weaver's (1982) situational and substantive conventions for concession speeches to establish four formulaic components for the concession speech as observed from Presidential concession from 1952-1992. He identifies

1. A periphrasis of defeat and congratulating of the winner;
2. A call to unity behind the winner at the behest of the loser;
3. An extolling of the democratic process; and
4. A commitment to continue fighting for his/her cause (Corcoran, 1994, p. 115).

Corcoran identifies a common "subsidiary theme" (1994, p. 115) in many Presidential concessions as an appeal to young people. He identifies that losing candidates often make a direct appeal to younger members of their support base, but is unclear as to what that paean aims to achieve (Corcoran, 1994, p. 115). This project aims to distill what larger, narrative motivation may lie behind Chow's call to young voters while Corcoran's standards and themes will inform the coding schema.

Losing outside of the dialectic.

In contrast to Weaver (1982) and Corcoran (1994), Neville-Shepard (2014) suggests that the conventions of concession speeches only apply to the candidates within a two-party dialectic. By analyzing the concession speeches of Eugene McCarthy, Ralph Nader, and Harry Browne, Neville-Shepard presents a rhetorical standard for Independent

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candidates that stands apart from canonical literature where they may “deny failure and reject the opportunity for a graceful exit” (2014, p. 228).

Neville-Shepard suggests five substantive conventions for third-party concession speeches

1. Thanks for supporters;
2. Acknowledgement and victorious reframing of results;
3. Indictment of the two-party system;
4. Calls for continued opposition without unification behind the victor; and
5. Polarizing rhetoric (2014, p. 218-221).

These conditions will be used to inform the crafting of the schema against which Chow’s speech will be read. What is most important to note from Neville-Shepard’s work is the confluence of his second condition, the victorious reframing of results with Corcoran’s (1994) “periphrasis of defeat” (p. 115). Though Corcoran’s structure operates within the Republican-Democrat binary and Neville-Shepard considers Third Party and Independent candidates, both look to the concession speech as an opportunity to redefine the implications and meaning of defeat.

This is pertinent to the project to determine how Chow as a municipal contender and former NDP MP redefined and potentially used her defeat to contribute to her career trajectory and mobilize future political endeavours. Until 2014 Chow had been a Federal

New Democrat and under her husband's stewardship, the NDP saw unprecedented success in the 2011 election that vaulted the party from official Third Party status to the Official Opposition in the House of Commons. In coding the references Chow makes to Layton's letter, I hope to reveal what influence if any at all, her association with a Third Party might have on the delivery and reception of her speech.

What the literature thus far reveals is the specificity and nuance of the concession genre. In light of the standards outlined by Weaver (1982), Corcoran (1994), and Neville-Shepard (2014), to deliver a concession speech requires more than a conciliatory nod to the electorate's decisions. Parrish (1954) refers to "the genus, speech" (p. 67), and this taxonomical metaphor for discourse illuminates the complexity of the, in a continuing metaphor, concession 'species'. It is the result of an adherence to and performance of several substantive rhetorical conventions that must be observed carefully and delivered thoughtfully. For the purposes of this project, we will be looking specifically to the interplay between Chow's observation of spoken rhetorical conventions and scripted traditions.

The political language of letters and narrative: Hall, Rabinowitz, and Allen

The pol as scribe. This project seeks to explore how the act of writing intersects with the motivations of campaigning politicians. Hall's (2009) analysis of the relationship between politics and letter writing as viewed through the work of Cicero will be consulted to contrast the political language of letters with traditional political speech rhetoric.

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In a similar fashion to Parrish (1954), Hall (2009) looks to classical rhetorical figures to explicate the act of political letter writing, and dissects the appropriateness of different modes of expression and address as determined by political context. This is to say that depending on the motivation and desired outcome on the part of the politician, Hall examines the virtues of writing a letter over direct public address.

He argues that the deployment of a letter conveyed a deep sense of respect and high estimation for its recipient because of the Roman privileging of politeness or *dignitas* (Hall, 2009, p, 2-7). This is significant for the research in that Chow could be providing commentary on the way she esteems her support base by favouring epistolary language over traditional political rhetoric. In this way, Hall's research will be used to determine how Olivia Chow used political epistolary tropes and established a narrative with Jack Layton's Letter to Canadians. Hall's work may also illuminate some of the motivations or implications of Layton's letter; how it's original purpose has been translated into a greater political message in its re-expression through Chow's speech.

Like Parrish (1954), Weaver (1982), Corcoran (1994), and Neville-Shepard (2014), Hall (2009) identifies a rhetorical framework common to political epistolary correspondence as

1. Expressions of thanks and appreciation;
2. Pledges of support;
3. Assertions of pleasure;

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4. Requests;
5. Emphatic language;
6. The writer entrusting his/her dignity to the recipient; and
7. The commemoration of family ties and mutual services (p. 7-24).

In observing Hall's framework, it becomes clear that his standards for political communication stand in direct opposition to those posited by Parrish (1954). Where Parrish identifies urgent, simple, and direct vocabulary and style (1954, p. 64), Hall identifies an embellished vernacular, full of sentiment verging on flattery, memory, and high-context rhetoric. The struggle between Hall (2009) and Parrish (1954) points to a central discursive tension at the core of Chow's speech and the overarching theme of opposition Chow must reconcile within her address. As much as the epistolary can be characterized by narrative binaries of writer and reader, speech and script, so too can this project be identified by the tension of rhetorical opposition: winner and loser, Left and Right, progressiveness and conservatism.

Further, Hall's framework is important because it reveals several points of contact between the concession genre as defined by Weaver (1982) and Corcoran (1994) and his definition of the political epistolary. Most notably there is a consonance in Weaver's substantive conventions of "thanks, support, and unification" (1982, p. 483) and Corcoran's "call to unity behind the winner at the behest of the loser" (1994, p. 115) with Hall's conventions of the expressions of "thanks and appreciation, pledges of support, and the

commemoration of mutual services” (2009, p. 7-24). For the purposes of this research we can understand a call for unification to bear the same rhetorical implications as the reciprocity and common goals called for in Hall’s commemorated mutual services convention.

Paraphrasing, narrative, and meaning. Hall’s (2009) conventions for political epistolary present rhetorical plot points in a much larger communicative paradigm. Each expression of thanks, pledge of support, assertion of pleasure, request, emphatic plea, and commemoration of mutual relationships (p. 7-24) indicates that political epistolary, much like the concession speech, is not just a delivery of information, but rather an act of story telling; an act in Corocran’s (1994) “psychodrama” (p. 116). It is the relationship between writer and reader, speaker and audience that this project seeks to explore at its most basic level, and for this reason we must look to the broader communication theory of narrative to inform that study.

Rabinowitz (1987) negotiates the relationship between narrative and reading, and how the reader comes to the understanding of text. He explores the relationship between reiteration and paraphrasing to reveal the larger implications of “twin principles” (Rabinowitz, 1987, p. 17). This is to say that reiterating an earlier text reaffirms that text’s legitimacy while simultaneously transforming its meaning to provide commentary on the current narrative context. This is important for the study of the intertextuality between Layton’s letter and Chow’s speech. Text that comes from Layton’s letter reflects the twin principle as it is exercised in Chow’s concession.

With particular study of Chow's deployment of the epistolary, the twin principle helps probe how any reference to Layton's letter might reveal the larger political context of her mayoral bid and future aspirations. To this point, Rabinowitz (1987) further suggests that, "to understand—a text is to imitate it in some way, to produce something "around" (*para*) it that is new but that bears some clear relationship to the original text." (Rabinowitz, 1987, p. 18). What this means is that in choosing to 'imitate' Layton's text, Chow could be drawing a relationship between his political landscape in 2011 her circumstances in 2014, producing new meaning about her defeat and the Federal NDP surge.

Intertextuality. Rabinowitz's (1987) twin principle gestures toward the concept of intertextuality. As each discrete or "twinned" phrase refers to the other, so too do the discrete texts that bear a rhetorical interconnectedness. Allen (2000) locates the origins of intertextuality within the semiotic works of Saussure, Bakhtin, and Kristeva. He traces its narrative lineage through Barthes, Genette, Bloom; Feminist and Post-Colonial theory; and assesses its prevalence in contemporary discourse with focus on the culture industry.

Allen (2000) would be supportive of further communication theorist's work with relation to speech acts and politics, particularly Bazerman (2004) and Warnick (2007). He also shares a point of confluence with Parrish's (1954) identified methods of persuasion. Allen (2000) identifies intertextuality as a means by which to allude to, among other things, the character of the referred object, much in the same way Parrish (1954) identifies character to be a method of rhetorical persuasion. Intertextuality will be important to

this project for its affordance to illuminate Chow's strategic discursive motivations to refer to Layton's letter. These motivations will be considered in the research questions below.

Research Questions

Political communication then, as revealed by the literature above, is a narrative tapestry comprised of interwoven methods of discourse, rhetorical means, and discursive conventions. This research seeks to analyze their confluence in the concession speech of Olivia Chow with particular focus on public address standards established by Parrish (1954), concession conventions established by Weaver (1982), Corcoran (1994), and Neville-Shepard (2014), and the epistolary tropes observed by Hall (2009). In coding her language for these features, the project hopes to distill a larger narrative meaning for the speech, and determine what its implications for the Canadian political project are. To do so, this project seeks to explore and provide insight on the following three questions

1. How does Olivia Chow's 2014 municipal concession speech adhere to the traditional conventions of concession?
2. What are the results of Chow's deployment of epistolary tropes in her concession speech?
3. What does Chow's allusion to Jack Layton's Letter to Canadians reveal about political narratives?

Data Collection

In probing the above questions, this project aims to qualify political language. From the base unit of the word to the intertextuality of Layton's letter and Chow's speech, to the much larger political narrative story those words collectively tell, this project seeks to put the political linguistic tradition under a proverbial microscope. Thus, data for this project is textual and will take the form of a transcription of Chow's remarks sourced from a CP24 broadcast recording of her concession speech, and a copy of Jack Layton's Letter to Canadians.

Chow delivered her speech on the evening of October 27th, 2014 in Toronto, Canada. The recording was accessed publicly through CP24's Youtube channel. Layton's letter was made public on August 20, 2011 in Toronto, Canada, and available for transcription from the NDP's website.

Methods of Analysis

Devising a schema. This research will be conducted qualitatively and inductively through discourse and content analysis. Parrish (1954), Weaver (1982), Corcoran (1994), Neville-Shepard (2014), and Hall (2009) establish framework criteria which define the parameters of public address, concession and victory speeches, and epistolary conventions, and I have used those devices to craft a coding schema. Pursuant to these canonical frameworks, Corcoran (1994) identifies a sub-clause in addition to his four substantive conventions for concession as an appeal to youth (p. 115). In light of his observation, I

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have used that subsidiary theme to embellish the descriptors (detailed below) for the concession code.

In the analysis of Chow's speech, it is important to be mindful of her career as a Federal Member of Parliament for the NDP. Though the election Chow ran in was non-partisan, her legacy as a New Democrat positioned her outside of the Right/Far Right dialectic represented by her opposition, former Ontario PC Leader John Tory and Tea Party/Independents Rob and Doug Ford. Neville-Shepard's (2014) conventions will inform the design of my coding schema particularly with regard to the condition that third party speeches reframe disappointing results with the language of victory.

The descriptors have been sourced directly from the work of Parrish, Weaver, Corcoran, Neville-Shepard, and Hall. The descriptors for the Concession code are Reiteration of campaign values (Weaver, 1982), Periphrasis of defeat (Corcoran, 1994; Neville-Shepard, 2014), Congratulation of winner (Corcoran, 1994; Weaver, 1982), Extolling of democratic process (Corcoran, 1994), Commitment to continue fighting (Corcoran 1994; Weaver, 1982), and Appeal to young people (Corcoran, 1994).

The descriptors for the Victory code are Statements of Humility as found in Weaver, 1982.

The descriptors for the Epistolary code are sourced directly from Hall (2009) and are Commemoration of family ties and mutual services (expression of reciprocal and mutually valued relationships) Writer entrusts dignity to correspondent (reputation management and insurance) Emphatic language, Requests, and Assertions of pleasure.

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The descriptors for the hybrid Concession, Victory, and Epistolary code are Expressions of thanks and appreciation and Pledges of support/expression for unification, both as found in Corcoran (1994) Hall (2009) and Weaver (1982).

The descriptors for the Public Address code are sourced directly from Parrish (1954) and are direct, urgent, and simple language.

By looking to the conventional rhetorical frameworks indicated in the literature from the theorists above, I have devised a schema to code and analyze the textual content of Chow's speech. I have used the public address frameworks of Parrish (1954), the concession standards of Weaver (1982), Corcoran (1994), Neville-Shepard (2014), and the epistolary tropes of Hall (2009) (see Table 1 and Appendix 1 and 2). I will employ that schema to code for language belonging to the conventions of Concession, Victory, Public Address, and Epistolary. To ensure that the categories are exhaustive, I have identified a fifth category to account for the overlap in Weaver, Corcoran, and Hall's models. This category will be defined as Concession, Victory, and Epistolary and contains only the codes for expressions of appreciation and thanks, and calls for support and unification. These five categories will be used to code Chow's speech to reveal which discursive convention is deployed most often, where it occurs in the speech, and what rhetorical effect it achieves.

Rhetorical measurement. The text of Chow's speech will be broken down into sentence fragments to categorize each textual unit as accurately as possible without focusing on individual words and losing context. Coding at the sentence or phrase level will

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not yield accurate results, as one sentence may be comprised of language belonging to two or more codes. Weaver (1982) employs a similar method analyzing fragments of Jimmy Carter's 1980 concession speech as evidenced by her assessment of the fragments "lets the people make a free choice" and "the best one [transition] in history" (p. 486).

For example, the phrase "This election has never been about me, it's about all of us coming together" (6:31) can be coded as both Victory and Concession, Victory, and Epistolary due to "This election has never been about me" being an expression of humility, and "it's about all of us coming together" is a call to unity. For this reason that phrase will be broken into two constituent fragments, "This election has never been about me" and "it's about all of us coming together". In circumstances where a sentence belongs exclusively to one code was entered into that code in entirety.

The following abbreviated exemplar table shows each code with an illustrative phrase of sample text:

Table 1: Abbreviated exemplar table

Code	Descriptors	Sample Text
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Concession	<p>Reiteration of campaign values</p> <p>Periphrasis of defeat</p> <p>Congratulation of winner</p> <p>Extolling of democratic process</p> <p>Commitment to continue fighting</p> <p>Appeal to young people</p>	Now it's not the result we had hoped for, but I want to congratulate John Tory on running an excellent campaign.
Victory	Statements of humility	This election has never been about me
Concession, Victory, and Epistolary	<p>Expression of thanks and appreciation</p> <p>pledges of support/ expression for unification</p>	All of us stand here ready to help you as you get to work on making Toronto a great city.
Epistolary	<p>Commemoration of family ties and mutual services (expression of reciprocal and mutually valued relationships)</p> <p>Writer entrusts dignity to correspondent (reputation management and insurance)</p> <p>Emphatic language</p> <p>Requests</p> <p>Assertions of pleasure</p>	Friends, I believe that love is better than hate. That hope is better than fear
Public Address	Direct, urgent, simple	our city has a new mayor.

In the above table, the sentence in the concession code has been entered in entirety as each clause can be identified by the concession conventions of both Weaver (1982) and Corcoran (1994). “Now it’s not the result we had hoped for” can be understood as a periphrasis of defeat according to Corcoran’s model, and “I want to congratulate John Tory on running an excellent campaign” can be understood as a congratulation of the winner by the loser according to Weaver’s model. The text in the Victory category is an expression of humility, common to Weaver’s (1982) substantive conventions for Victory address. In the subsequent category, the text belongs to the epistolary tradition at both the first and second order as Chow references the literal language of a letter, the language therein being emphatic and affirmative of a mutual relationship predicated on NDP allegiance. Chow’s pledge of support to the newly elected mayor is common to the substantive conventions of concession, victory, and epistolary and has been coded as such. Lastly, Chow makes an objective statement of fact when she shares that Toronto has elected a new mayor. The directness and simplicity of this statement identifies it as belonging to the category of Parrish’s (1954) public address.

Application of the narrative. A discussion of rhetoric, public address conventions, and epistolary framing only provides a lens through which to read Chow’s speech. To borrow from Parrish (1954), these methods comprise only one way of interpreting previously mentioned “genus, speech” (p. 67), but they do not in themselves distill meaning. To do so I have turned to the overarching taxonomical communicative class that en-

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compasses public address, the epistolary and rhetoric and looked to narrative theory. As this project seeks to make sense of political language, the coding schema organized the units of speech themselves, while the encompassing narrative lens theorized the greater meaning of the story told by those coded words.

After coding Chow's concession speech, I coded Layton's letter using the same schema. The results of that coding process have been read against Chow's speech with a narrative lens. I interpreted the results of Layton's codes against Chow's speech using Rabinowit's (1987) twin theory to understand how reference of the former in a concession altered or redefined the circumstances of Chow's defeat. This will contribute to the project's synthesis of public address and epistolary theories as Chow's speech employs the language of letters to draw a parallel between speaker and audience with the writer and reader.

I coded Layton's letter using the same schema used to code Chow's speech to contextualize the political motivations behind her concession's concluding remarks. Much like Parrish's (1954) observation of the duality between speeches and "compositions intended to be read in private" (p. 64) and Corcoran's assertion that the concession speech is a "perversely public invasion of privacy" (1994, p. 128), Chow's speech capitalizes upon the reciprocity and intimacy of the epistolary and narrative process identified by Hall (2009) and Rabinowitz (1987). The results of that coding yielded the following analysis.

Analysis

Loss without defeat. Using the codes and associated descriptors outlined in the methods section, Chow's speech suggested a nuanced approach to loss, a political trajectory that extended beyond Toronto's municipal election, and a heightened awareness of the relationship between spoken and scripted communication. While Chow's speech tells the story of an election lost, it does not tell the story of a politician defeated. Looking to Table 2 (Appendix 1), the language of the concession code reveals an adherence to, but hopeful reinterpretation of Weaver (1982) and Corcoran's (1994) substantive conventions for concession. Chow adheres to the form of Weaver and Corcoran's stipulation for convention in that she reiterates her campaign platform (Weaver, 1982) uses a periphrasis of defeat (Corcoran, 1994) congratulates the winner (Weaver, 1982) extolls the democratic process (Corcoran, 1994), calls for continued opposition (Corcoran, 1994; Weaver, 1982) and makes specific appeal to young people (Corcoran, 1994) but the content of each standard she meets is not voiced in "painful personal resignation" or "disarming revelation" (Corcoran, 1994, p. 128) but rather in hopeful optimism.

Most notably, Chow opens her speech with a periphrasis of defeat as outlined in Corcoran (1994) when she states, "Now it's not the result we had hoped for, but I want to congratulate John Tory on running an excellent campaign" (0:16). Chow's statement at once acknowledges her loss without engaging the language of failure, and "circumvents defeat by seizing the initiative to declare the winner" (Corcoran, 1994, p. 115). Her decision to refer instead to unmet hopes followed by best wishes for the victor even going so far as to offer him felicitous applause (0:34) indicates a hopeful and optimistic tone.

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Chow follows Weaver's (1982) conventions for concession by enumerating the important issues of her campaign platform, but she imbues this language with a sense of optimism when she states

And John, you know that children are going to school hungry in this city. Too many young people are looking for jobs, and too many families are looking for affordable homes. And too many people are stuck in traffic gridlock, and too many people are living in poverty. (0:59)

Though she adheres to traditional concession rhetoric by performing a "reiteration of strong campaign issues—a sub-division of the continued opposition category" (p. 484), a political blazon of sorts, Chow simultaneously underscores the acknowledgement of her defeat with an allusion to previous Federal victory.

This becomes clear when the above text is considered in response to a section from Layton's letter. The above passage bears striking resemblance to, and comparative narrative intimacy with Layton's itemization of New Democratic ideology in his Letter to Canadians, similarly coded in the concession code of Table 2 (Appendix 2)

We can build a prosperous economy and a society that shares its benefits more fairly. We can look after our seniors. We can offer better futures for our children. We can do our part to save the world's environment. We can restore our good name in the world. We can do all of these things because we finally have a party system at the national level where there are real choices; where your vote matters; where working for change can actually bring about change. (para 10).

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Chow's repetition of "too many people" echoes the repetitive rhetorical device Layton espouses in his letter, "we can". Though Chow was observing Weaver's (1982) convention for concession by reminding her constituency of the platform she ran on, she did so while invoking the victorious narrative of the NDP Federal surge in 2011. As will be discussed further in the next section, this relationship is significant as it reveals an intertextuality between both addresses, and contributes to the overall narrative of both Chow's municipal campaign and the Federal stage she has performed on.

Building on the rhetorical momentum of this ideological optimism, we can observe a strict adherence to Corcoran's (1994) fifth sub-clause of concession speeches with an appeal to youth, voiced in tandem with a commitment to continued opposition (Weaver, 1982). Chow directly addresses the young people in her audience, both physical and perceived. She extolls their "enthusiasm," "idealism," "brave ideas" and "faith that things can always be better" (5:20) and encourages them to "stay engaged, stay involved" (5:42).

Within the context of a concession speech, the encouragement for continued engagement can be understood as a commitment to fighting for her electorate, particularly for Chow's youth caucus. However, within the context of Chow's history as a Federal member of the NDP, and in concert with Layton's words to New Democratic youth in his letter

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Your energy, your vision, your passion for justice are exactly what this country needs today. You need to be at the heart of our economy, our political life, and our plans for the present and the future. (para 9)

we can understand this plea as a gentle, but ideologically fixed call-to-arms. In this way, Chow is not so much asking her young supporters to remain engaged for the sake of a better informed citizenry of Toronto, but perhaps to renew their vigour for partisanship in light of future-oriented debate.

This is a tactic that Corcoran (1994) observes in the 1992 concession speech of George Bush. Bush shares a “special message with young people of America” instructing them “do not be deterred” by the “difficult period” and “fire of a campaign year or the ugliness of politics” (p. 112). As Bush makes explicit mention to the “ugliness of politics”, Chow makes direct mention to the “political life” to which she wants her young supporters to remain committed. In this way, we can see Chow following Bush’s plea (and by extension, adhering to Corcoran’s sub-category) for his young supporters to remain engaged in partisan discourse and action.

The Concession code also contains text for continued opposition beyond the purview of young voters. In two instances specifically, Chow calls for continued vows of opposition as observed by Weaver (1982), Corcoran (1994), and Neville-Shepard (2014). She encourages her constituency to “keep on fighting for what you believe with each other and for each other” (5:43), and declares pointedly that, “As for me I’m going to keep fighting, I’m going to keep fighting for the causes that matter. You know that.” (7:30).

During the preparation of this project, Chow followed through on her commitment to “keep fighting for the causes that matter” and announced her candidacy for the 2015 election (Payton, 2015; Rider, 2015; Warnica, 2015) in the Toronto riding of Spadina-For York. What her recent decision reveals is the depth of the commitment and vigour that underscored her calls for continued opposition in her 2014 concession. Though we cannot be certain if Chow had always intended to run again for Federal office, the hopeful optimism found in her concession speech served as a point of entry, a rhetorical prelude to this new campaign.

Lastly, the text in the Concession category is characterized by the narrative theme of progress. Though Chow delivered a speech that terminated her candidacy, her rhetoric inspires hope and forward-thinking idealism. She paraphrases and reiterates her campaign’s value of progress in accordance with Weaver (1982) using both literal and illustrative language, “Yes to a progressive city” (3:58), “Yes to a new vision for a great city” (4:12), “moving this city forward” (5:09), “it doesn’t end on election night” (5:11), and “to make progress on the life long journey to end child poverty and achieve equality” (6:38).

These codes remind the audience of Chow’s commitment to progress, a very loose catchall from her campaign platform, couched in the present and future opportunities for the City of Toronto. However, in the larger political narrative of her career they speak to Federally held values of the NDP as evidenced by Layton’s call for “a country of greater equality, justice, and opportunity.” (para 10).

The victorious long game. In light of the ways Weaver (1982), Corcoran (1994) and Neville-Shepard (2014) define concession standards, what is perhaps most atypical about Chow's speech is the appearance of Weaver's (1982) substantive victory conventions; In two separate instances Chow performs acts of humility. In her opening, she deviates from her script, momentarily interrupting herself to state "our city, awe, oh thank you" (0:07). Chow uses the collective pronoun thus subverting her own authority as a candidate for the Chief Magistrate's office extending ownership of the city to the populace, and pauses to thank the audience for their appreciation. This sentimental response is indicative of the "humility and [...] pledge of dedication" (Weaver, 1982, p. 485) and subversion of authority common to the victory address.

Further, Chow engages (at least the performance of) humility with the ethotic appeal, "This election has never been about me" (6:31). Her deployment of humility as identified by Weaver (1982) enhances the ethos of her candidacy: Chow appears modest, humble, and appreciative of the mutual relationship between herself and her volunteers, values presented by Hall (2009). And yet if we expand the narrative scope from the Toronto municipal election to Chow's overarching political career, these words seem to be alluding to a much larger motivation that undercuts Chow's pursuit of the Mayor's office. Read against Layton's statement regarding the New Democratic cause that is "much bigger than any one leader" (para 6), an intertextuality emerges between Layton and Chow that privileges ideological motivation above the authority and legitimacy of the candidate.

Chow's reference to the text of Layton's letter invokes not only the words themselves, but also the framing devices (or "plots") touted by the Federal NDP in the last general election, the character propaganda used to consolidate the memory and image of Layton, and the larger political narrative to which Layton and the NDP belong. This intertextuality, as Allen (2000) suggests, is a strategic and decisive act of authorship. He states "Authors of literary works do not just select words from a language system, they select plots, generic features, aspects of character, images, ways of narrating, even phrases and sentences from previous literary texts and from the literary tradition" (Allen, 2000, p. 11). Chow's reference to Layton's words communicate a tactical and mindful appropriation of the victorious tone in which they were written. In adopting Layton's text for her own purposes, Chow imbues her temporary defeat with a sense of purpose; This is to say that while she may have lost the figurative municipal sprint, she maintains her viability and legitimacy as competitor in the Federal marathon.

The language of letters. Chow's place within the Canadian political narrative contributes to the scripted rhetorical conventions she deploys in her concession. In addition to invoking narrative theory, she also makes use of the epistolary tradition. Her strategic deployment of the epistolary can be observed in two manners: observation of the conventions established by Hall (2009), and a literal deployment of the language of Jack Layton's letter to Canadians. In the case of the former, Chow renders her audience as figurative letter recipients by saluting them directly. She addresses them as "friends", and reaffirms their "family ties and mutual services" (Hall, 2009, p. 25). In this case, Chow's familiar use of "friends" connotes the perceived ideological family she and her electors

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constitute. She consolidates these bonds by confirming, “I see so many familiar faces here tonight, here in this room” (2:56), “I am so proud of each and every one of you” (3:14), and “This is a good city filled with good people” (6:56).

Chow switches to the imperative mode to amplify her “superlative adjectives and other emphatic expressions” (Hall, 2009, p. 15) common to the epistolary tradition by demanding, “here’s the thing I want you to remember most of all, keep the faith” (4:14). Beyond this, as Hall (2009) observes that political letters “frame a courteous request” (p. 14) as Chow implores her audience, “So it’s up to us to make hope happen, all of us” (4:52), and “what can we do with each other for each other? Then go out and be the answer yourself” (7:10). What Chow is asking for is nothing short of defiant, wide-scale opposition (an extension of the conventions identified by Corcoran [1994] and Neville-Shepard [2014]) and yet she has entrenched her “socially delicate task” (Hall, 2009, p. 13) with idealistic rhetorical flourish, adding an “element of urgency and insistence to the request in a conventionalized and acceptable manner” (Hall, 2009, p. 13).

Perhaps the greatest indicator of Chow’s use of the epistolary is her direct reference to Layton’s Letter to Canadians. Layton famously concluded his letter by musing “My friends, love is better than anger. Hope is better than fear. Optimism is better than despair. So let us be loving, hopeful and optimistic. And we’ll change the world” (para 11). By stating, “Friends, I believe that love is better than hate. That hope is better than fear. And I think you do too”, (8:00) Chow systematically synthesizes each of Hall’s (2009) conventions for political epistolary into three sentences. She does so by using the

address of “Friends” to assure the audience of their mutual relationship and camaraderie. Recalling Layton’s language also invokes the memory of the victory they shared during the Federal NDP’s electoral surge in 2011. Adjacent to this memory is the allusion of Chow’s marriage to the Federal Opposition Leader (a literal mutual tie), imagery that consubstantiates the ideological family ties of the members of the NDP and the figurative mutual relationship they represent. Chow then makes emphatic statements by repeating optimistic beliefs, each fragment beginning with “that”. In doing so she adds a rhythmic cadence to the already sensational declarative language that drives toward a conclusive statement of shared values, “And I think you do too” (8:06). Chow’s allusion to Layton’s letter serves to synthesize Hall’s (2009) framework for conventional political letters and bolsters her audience’s resolve in spite of the momentary defeat.

In highlighting the textual interplay between her speech and Layton’s letter, Chow not only consolidates Hall’s (2009) conditions for the political epistolary, she also synthesizes the theoretical approaches of epistolary, narrative, and intertextuality through which we analyze her speech. Her reference to Layton’s letter is an act of Allen’s (2000) intertextuality and paraphrasing at the first and second order. Firstly, she literally paraphrases his words as Layton originally wrote, “love is better than anger” and she said, “love is better than hate”. In front of an audience where everyone would be familiar with Layton’s text, Chow’s paraphrasing appears to be an intentional and tactful appropriation of the ideology behind those words. Secondly, in applying Rabinowitz’s (1987) twin principle, Chow’s reinterpretation of the original Layton text serves to communicate the legitimacy of her own campaign in spite of her defeat.

Codes of public address. What is perhaps most fascinating about Chow's speech is the scarce amount of text that codes as purely public address according to Parrish (1954). According to Parrish's framework of public addresses as instances of direct, urgent, and simple language, Chow's speech ventures into that rhetorical territory only briefly, stating "our city has a new mayor", (0:12), "and I say this again now" (0:46).

The remaining text of the Public Address code, despite objectively and directly reporting Chow's actions leading up to her speech delivery, echoes the epistolary nature of the previous category. She makes use of apostrophe and addresses her opposition by name, and speaks directly to them as if they were physically present in the room, or the figurative addressee of a letter, "And to Rob, we continue to pray for you and for your family. I wish you a speedy recovery, Rob" (2:16). Chow directs the discourse of her speech in the same manner when she thanks her supporters, creating an exhaustive periphrasis not, as Corcoran (1994) would have of defeat, but rather of address, "To all the volunteers and supporters and donors, everyone who has put their heart and soul into building this great city," (3:02). By extending the periphrasis beyond the acknowledgement of defeat to the salutation of her volunteer force and supporters, Chow reveals the foundational interplay between the act of concession and the tradition of letter writing in her address.

Chow rests her speech on a statement in the indicative mode about the nature of faith. She states, "There is a great definition of faith that goes like this: Faith is the confidence that what we hope for will actually happen" (4:22.) She draws attention to the id-

iom's simple, evidence-based phrasing without rhetorical embellishment by the urgency of an immediate repetition, "Yes, faith is the confidence that what we hope for will actually happen" (4:41). In doing so, Chow briefly roots her speech in Parrish's (1954) tradition of public address before returning to the emphatic and imperative mood of Hall's (2009) epistolary in the subsequent line, "So all of us here have the power to bring hope through our action. So it's up to us to make hope happen, all of us" (4:52).

Intersecting acknowledgment and epistolary. In as much as Chow's speech brings together her municipal race with her Federal legacy, so too does her rhetorical strategy synthesize discursive approaches. The code of Concession, Victory, and Epistolary was established to account for the considerable overlap in theoretical frameworks between Weaver's (1982) acknowledgement act theory, Corcoran's (1994) concession standards, and Hall's (2009) political epistolary theory. It looked specifically for expressions of thanks and appreciation, and pledges of support and unification as both conventions are common to acknowledgement and political letters.

Chow weaves together the substantive conventions of Weaver (1982) and Corcoran (1994) with the epistolary structure explored by Hall (2009) to both congratulate and discursively navigate her speech to specific recipients. We see this in two instances most clearly, when she address Doug Ford, "And to Doug Ford, congratulations on stepping in on very difficult and challenging circumstances and giving it your all" (1:58). Once again, Chow expresses her appreciation and congratulations using the direct address of the epistolary format to refer to the other contenders of the evening, "And to all the can-

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didates who put themselves forward as mayor, as city councillors, as school trustees, thank you for your commitment to our city” (2:45).

Her speech further reveals an underwritten language of letters as she addresses her opposition directly, even going so far as to enhance the writer-addressee dynamic by employing the direct object structure of the accusative case, “Congratulations John, I wish you all the best” (0:48). In this phrase we have an explicit deployment of the rhetorical binary of I/you, victor/loser, speaker/audience, writer/addressee, which gestures toward Chow’s reclamation of discursive agency and power despite her loss.

Language in the Concession, Victory, and Epistolary code also hints at traditional epistolary salutation rhetoric by Chow’s use of terms such as “congratulations” and “sincerely” repeatedly throughout this category. Such linguistic choices suggest a careful appreciation for framing Chow as an agent of power, as a speaker and author, and not a defeated politician.

In contrast, the text contained in the same category for Layton’s letter (see Table 2) bears a few cursory phrases and lacks the breadth of its correlative case in Chow’s speech. This is remarkable considering the category codes specifically for letter-writing conventions as they intersect with political discourse, and Layton’s letter codes only four instances. This deserves specific focus as Layton was a politician engaging in the act of letter writing, and on only four brief occasions did those two projects intersect in a much longer letter. While Layton’s letter bore the formal markers of a letter—an addressee and an author—and benefited from his authority as the Leader of the Official Opposition, he

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did not use his letter as an opportunity to capitalize on the affordances traditionally associated with the political letter as identified by Hall (2009). While Chow's speech makes substantial use of letter writing conventions and electoral acknowledgment, Layton's letter, penned specifically to reflect upon election results shows almost no instances of such an occurrence.

Where Chow's speech reflects Hall's (2009) epistolary conditions for emphatic language, Layton's letter reflects Parrish's (1954) criteria for a speech. Layton is direct, urgent, and his vocabulary is simple in style, stating, "I believe in you" (para 9), and "I want to thank each and every one of you for your thoughtful, inspiring, and often beautiful notes, cards, and gifts" (para 1). His text lacks the rhetorical flourish of Chow's speech, communicating in the almost derelict austerity and ruthlessly efficient indicative mode ("I believe", "I want").

Discussion

Chow's discursive design of her concession reveals to us that speech concerns itself equally with audience interpretation and reception as much as it does with her agency and candidacy. Rabinowitz (1987) reminds us that "there can be no reading without a reader" and that there is a significant "distinction between literal meaning and interpretation" (p. 20). In making a concerted effort to identify several addressees such as John Tory, Doug Ford, Rob Ford, all municipal candidates, her volunteer base, donors, and supporters, the members of the audience become de facto 'readers' of her speech.

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This focus on the audience speaks to the larger narrative and rhetorical motivations underlying Chow's speech. Rabinowitz (1987) states further

An author has, in most cases, no firm knowledge of the actual readers who will pick up his or her book. Yet he or she cannot begin to fill up a blank page without making assumptions about the readers' beliefs, knowledge, and familiarity with conventions. As a result, authors are forced to guess; they design their books rhetorically for more or less specific hypothetical audiences (p. 21).

As the author of her speech, Chow made assumptions about, in this case, the audience's beliefs, knowledge, and familiarity with her career as a politician and New Democratic convention. We can then understand her reference to Layton's letter as an indirect appeal to the progressive values espoused and championed by her late husband in 2011, the same values held dearly by the audience in front of her. Though the 2014 municipal election in Toronto was largely a victory for Conservative politics (a career Tory was elected and the runner-up can be characterized as a fringe/Tea Party candidate), Chow's speech reanimated the fervor her progressive audience and their ideology by referring to Layton's letter.

The epistolary then operates at the meta-level of communication to tell Chow's audience something without saying it explicitly. Layton's letter is not source material for Chow's conclusion so much as it is a means of persuading her audience to renew their convictions in progressive ideology. As Parrish (1954) and Allen (2000) identify character as a means of rhetorical persuasion, Chow's deployment of the epistolary mobilizes

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character at two levels. Firstly, it recalls the character of Layton the author, the public figure, the pol. This charges Chow's audience with a renewed sense of Hall's (2009) common goals and mutual services (in the sense that they would have worked and served together in previous campaigns). In this way they are unified in their memory of Layton and emboldened to take up his cause, to continue in the orange and green "trooping of colours" (Corcoran, 1994, p.115).

Secondly, Chow's use of the epistolary recalls the character or spirit in which Layton's letter was penned: one of victory, pride, and optimism. We see Allen's (2000) theory of intertextuality as Chow's reference to Layton's letter is a strategic selection of "aspects of character and imagery" (p. 11) from the 2011 campaign that saw unprecedented NDP success in the general election. By extension, Chow appropriates that character of victory, pride, and optimism for her own campaign despite her defeat. Further, Rabinowitz's (1987) twin principle suggests that in referring to Layton's letter, Chow translates that sentiment into her own speech, off-setting the discouragement of loss.

This becomes evident when considering an entry in the epistolary code, Chow's quotation from Layton's letter and her choice to paraphrase the text "love is better than anger" (see Appendix 2). Chow deviates from the original text and states instead that, "love is better than hate" (8:01). This paraphrasing could be construed as innocuous. Chow might just be replacing "anger" with a slightly more provocative synonym for greater theatricality; after all, Corcoran (1994) would remind us that the concession is the penultimate act in a "psychodrama" (p. 116). However, in consideration of Chow's audi-

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ence and the level of familiarity they (and she) have with the letter, it suggests that Chow intentionally changed the language to effect desired changed and response.

Rabinowitz (1987) presents two possibilities that motivate the paraphrasing language. From a narrative perspective, it allows the writer/speaker to perform a rhetorical act of self-construction by alluding to something or someone else. He suggests that paraphrasing can “be used in the wider sense of an imitation or transformation, with the recognition that imitations are by definition imperfect” (p. 17). This imperfection, illustrated by Chow’s substitution of Layton’s term “anger” with her choice of “hate” is “a translation into new terms that need not be judged in an on/off binary fashion in terms of equivalence (synonymous/nonsynonymous), but that can rather be evaluated along a continuum of greater or lesser adequacy or appropriateness” (Rabinowitz, 1987, p. 17).

This notion of “appropriateness” is discussed in Hall as a means of reputation management when confronted with conflict and aggression, “in the face of personal insult, a vigorous response was perfectly appropriate, provided that it was proportionate to the initial injury” (2009, p. 5).

Looking then to Chow’s defeat on election night as a gesture of considerable political upset and personal injury, her decision to make literal use of the epistolary and deploy Layton’s rhetoric (thus reminding everyone of her own political legitimacy as a former Federal NDP shadow cabinet member and matriarch of the ideological NDP family) can be located on Rabinowitz’s (1987) ‘continuum’ of appropriateness as a proportionate response to the insult of loss. Chow is meeting and resolving her current failure by invok-

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ing past victory. The epistolary then becomes a rhetorical tool in both form and content as it affords Chow with the narrative means and substance to confirm her own political credibility. In short, it gives Chow the chance to tell a story other than loss.

By referencing the words of a Federal opposition leader in a municipal context, Chow literally performs a “translation into new terms” (Rabinowitz, 1987, p. 17) of Layton’s letter. Her choice of words re-appropriate the journey won and lost by the Federal NDP in the expansive Canadian body politic in 2011 (and simultaneously the personal journey won and lost for Layton as the original author of the letter and Leader of the Opposition) for the microcosm of Toronto politics and Chow’s quest for mayoral election.

This is significant because as Neville-Shepard (2014) argues, political candidates outside of the two-party dialectic (as Chow arguably could be seen in this race) use concession speeches as an opportunity to reframe defeat in victorious terms

It is not surprising that third party candidates reframe election results as indicting victory. Welch noted, “Whereas a major party candidate would only be considered successful if he won the election, a third party or independent candidate’s success is not necessarily measured by winning or losing an election but by whether he was able to affect the campaign and shape what issues were discussed.”” (Neville-Shepard, 2014, p. 219).

Therefore we see the epistolary becoming a means for a victorious redefinition of the election results in spite of Chow’s defeat.

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Further, Rabinowitz (1987) states

Indeed the very institution of interpretive criticism betrays a belief that understanding is manifested in restating—and in making those restatements public. The question, then, is not whether works can be paraphrased, but rather how one determines what constitutes an adequate or acceptable transformation of the original. Paraphrases differ, after all, not only in their accuracy, but also in their emphasis and in their perspective. Different kinds of imitations are adequate under different circumstances, since the imitator's decisions about which features are essential and which are secondary will depend in part on his or her purposes (Rabinowitz, 1987, p. 18).

What this means is that for Chow to be seen as a legitimate politician in spite of her defeat, she relies on Rabinowitz's conditions of public restatement and transformation using the rhetoric of the NDP and the text of Layton's letter. This brings together and consolidates the public address conventions of Parrish (1954), the concession standards of Weaver (1982) and Corcoran (1994), and the epistolary theory of Hall (2009).

Chow's speech extolls the virtues of progressive ideology in spite of her loss by weaving together the discursive power of paraphrasing and intertextuality established by Rabinowitz (1987) and Allen (2000) with the public address, acknowledgement, and epistolary theories of Parrish (1954), Weaver (1982), Corcoran (1994), Neville-Shepard (2014), and Hall (2009).

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As Parrish (1954) demands emphatic and repetitive language, we see this manifest rhetorically in Chow's definition of "faith" (4:28). Weaver (1982) calls for reiteration of the campaign platform, and we see this in Chow's inventory of Toronto's "too many" (0:59) problems in the Concession code. Corcoran (1994) asks for a paraphrasing and repetition of results in the periphrasis of defeat, which we see when Chow admits, "it's not the result we had hoped for" (0:18). Hall (2009) requires the same practice of repetition in the convention of commemorated family ties and mutual services which Chow performs when she states "I see so many familiar faces here tonight in this room. I am so proud of each and every one of you" (2:57).

Looking through the lens of the narrative, we see how Chow's speech brings together many discursive strategies. As Rabinowitz states "a reader can only make sense of a text in the same way he or she makes sense of anything else in the world: by applying a series of strategies to simplify it—by highlighting, by making symbolic, and by otherwise patterning it" (1987, p. 19) Chow uses the varying traditions of the epistolary, public address, and acknowledgement act methods to communicate to her audience her agency and legitimacy as a pol in spite of her municipal defeat. By paraphrasing Layton's letter, she reanimates the character and memory of New Democratic success in the past, thus using it to redefine the circumstances of her loss. In reminding her audience of her affiliation with the Federal NDP and her figurative position within the party, she fortifies the credibility of her campaign despite her defeat. That political ethos may in time prove to be a boon to her newly announced Federal run for the 2015 election. In a continuing motif

from Corcoran's (1994) 'psychodrama', Chow's concession may not have been a penultimate act but rather the municipal plot point of a much larger political paradigm.

Conclusion

Olivia Chow's concession speech on the night of October 27th, 2014 was many things: structurally formulaic, hopeful, partisan, but it was not a traditional concession. In contrast to what theorists may posit on its purpose, Corcoran editorializes it as a "ritual recanting of one's most private dreams" and a "ritual sacrifice" (1994, p. 128), it was neither contrite nor was it in any way marked by the bitterness of sacrifice. In comparison to traditional language of concession speeches, Chow made use of the formal conventions identified by Weaver (1982), Corcoran (1994) and Neville-Shepard (2014), but reframed the language with forward-looking and optimistic rhetoric in the face of decisive defeat.

That optimism was the result of the confidence established between the politician and her support base, and the text of Jack Layton's Letter to Canadians. In deploying the epistolary tradition in a public address, Chow fostered an intimate and familiar discourse with her audience. That confidence allowed her to remind them of her legacy with a Federal party enjoying unprecedented success, thus resolving the momentary disappointment and upset of municipal defeat. Chow stood before her audience not just as an also-ran for Toronto's highest office, but as the figurehead of a much larger ideological family and progressive movement that, as Chow said herself, "doesn't end on election night" (5:11). That movement is part of a much larger electoral trajectory that may have never been intended to conclude at Toronto City Hall. As we now know (Payton, 2015; Rider, 2015;

LOSS REWRITTEN

Warnica, 2015) Chow's concession speech may in time prove to have been nothing more than a stump speech reiterating New Democratic ideology on the road to the office of the Member of Parliament for Spadina-Fort York.

In weaving together her concession speech with the rhetoric of Jack Layton's Letter to Canadians, Olivia Chow told many stories. She recollected to her audience the political legacy that brought her to the podium in the first place, she reminded them all of the work they had completed together, and she mused about the adventures she has yet to face. Her concession in this way ended not with a point of finality, but rather a mark of exclamation.

Appendix 1

Table 2: Chow's concession speech coded for public address and acknowledgement tropes.

Code	Descriptor	Text
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LOSS REWRITTEN

<p>Concession</p>	<p>Reiteration of campaign values</p> <p>Periphrasis of defeat</p> <p>Congratulation of winner</p> <p>Extolling of democratic process</p> <p>Commitment to continue fighting</p> <p>Appeal to young people</p>	<p>Now it's not the result we had hoped for, but I want to congratulate John Tory on running an excellent campaign.</p> <p>I respect Mr. Tory's commitment and determination.</p> <p>I phoned him a few minutes ago tonight</p> <p>congratulations John,</p> <p>And John, you know that children are going to school hungry in this city. Too many young people are looking for jobs, and too many families are looking for affordable homes. And too many people are stuck in traffic grid lock, and too many people are living in poverty.</p> <p>And congratulations as well to all the councilors and school trustees who are elected tonight.</p> <p>Yes to a progressive city.</p> <p>Yes to a new vision for a great city.</p> <p>So I'm speaking above all to the many young people who put their faith in our vision of our city. And all of us, all of you, have a role to play in</p>
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LOSS REWRITTEN

Victory	Statements of humility	our city awe, oh thank you This election has never been about me
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LOSS REWRITTEN

<p>Concession, Victory, Epistolary</p>	<p>Expression of thanks and appreciation</p> <p>pledges of support/ expression for unification</p>	<p>I wish you all the best.</p> <p>And I sincerely wish you all the best as our mayor.</p> <p>All of us stand here ready to help you as you get to work on making Toronto a great city. We will give you a hand.</p> <p>And to Doug Ford, congratulations on stepping in on very difficult and challenging circumstances and giving it your all.</p> <p>And to all the candidates who put themselves forward as mayor, as city councilors, as school trustees, thank you for your commitment to our city.</p> <p>it's about all of us, all of us here, all of us coming together</p> <p>Thank you for all your help, for your good work, and for your determination through this long campaign.</p> <p>I especially want to thank to the people of Toronto who welcomed me over the past seven months into their homes, their places of worship, places of business, their neighbourhoods, and even their lives.</p> <p>Thank you most of all to everyone who said Yes to</p>
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LOSS REWRITTEN

Epistolary	<p>Commemoration of family ties and mutual services (expression of reciprocal and mutually valued relationships)</p> <p>Writer entrusts dignity to correspondent (reputation management and insurance)</p> <p>Emphatic language</p> <p>Requests</p> <p>Assertions of pleasure</p>	<p>Friends, friends, friends,</p> <p>John you've just been given an opportunity to do something about it.</p> <p>I want you to know that despite our differences I admire your determination as well.</p> <p>I see so many familiar faces here tonight here in this room.</p> <p>I am so proud of each and every one of you.</p> <p>And here's the thing I want you to remember most of all.</p> <p>Keep the faith.</p> <p>So all of us here have the power to bring hope through our action. So it's up to us to make hope happen, all of us.</p> <p>It's something we all commit ourselves to, in big ways and small ways every day.</p> <p>This is a good city filled with good people, and our hearts and our hard work are greater than any challenge if we work together. And ask that</p>
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LOSS REWRITTEN

Public Address	Direct, urgent, simple	<p>our city has a new mayor.</p> <p>and I say this again now</p> <p>And to Rob we continue to pray for you and for your family. I wish you a speedy and complete recovery, Rob.</p> <p>To all the volunteers and supporters and donors, everyone who has put their heart and soul into building this great city,</p> <p>There is a great definition of faith that goes like this:</p> <p>Faith is the confidence that what we hope for will actually happen.</p> <p>Faith is the confidence that what we hope for will actually happen.</p> <p>It doesn't end on election night.</p>
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Appendix 2

Jack Layton's Letter to Canadians coded for public address and acknowledgement tropes

LOSS REWRITTEN

Concession	Reiteration of campaign values	Unfortunately my treatment has not worked out as I hoped.
	Periphrasis of defeat	please don't be discouraged that my own journey hasn't gone as well as I had hoped.
	Congratulation of winner	You have every reason to be optimistic, determined, and focused on the future.
	Extolling of democratic process	Answer them by recommitting with energy and determination to our work.
	Commitment to continue fighting	Remember our proud history of social justice, universal health care, public pensions and making sure no one is left behind. Let's continue to move forward. Let's demonstrate in everything we do in the four years before us that we are ready to serve our beloved Canada as its next government.
	Appeal to young people	<p>They are going to be doing remarkable things in the years to come to make this country better for us all.</p> <p><i>To young Canadians:</i></p> <p>Hope and optimism have defined my political career, and I continue to be hopeful and optimistic about Canada.</p> <p>Young people have been a great source of inspiration for me. I have met and talked with so many of you about your dreams, your frustrations, and your ideas for change. More and more, you are engaging in politics because you want to change things for the better. Many of you have placed your trust in our party.</p> <p>There are great challenges before you, from the overwhelming nature of climate change to the unfairness of an economy that excludes so many from our collective wealth, and the changes necessary to build a more inclusive and generous Canada.</p>

LOSS REWRITTEN

Victory	Statements of humility	<p>But that cause is much bigger than any one leader.</p> <p>I have been privileged to work with each and every one of you.</p> <p>It has been my role to ask a great deal from you. And now I am going to do so again.</p> <p>As my time in political life draws to a close</p> <p>My colleagues in our party are an impressive, committed team.</p>
Concession, Victory, Epistolary	<p>Expression of thanks and appreciation</p> <p>pledges of support/expression for unification</p>	<p>I want to thank each and every one of you for your thoughtful, inspiring and often beautiful notes, cards and gifts.</p> <p>It has been a privilege to lead the New Democratic Party and I am most grateful for your confidence, your support, and the endless hours of volunteer commitment you have devoted to our cause</p> <p>when we will succeed, together.</p> <p>I believe in you.</p>

LOSS REWRITTEN

Epistolary	<p>Commemoration of family ties and mutual services (expression of reciprocal and mutually valued relationships)</p> <p>Writer entrusts dignity to correspondent (reputation management and insurance)</p> <p>Emphatic language</p> <p>Requests</p> <p>Assertions of pleasure</p>	<p>Dear Friends,</p> <p>Your spirit and love have lit up my home, my spirit, and my determination.</p> <p>So I am giving this letter to my partner Olivia to share with you in the circumstance in which I cannot</p> <p>To other Canadians who are on journeys to defeat cancer and to live their lives, I say this:</p> <p>You must not lose your own hope.</p> <p>My only other advice is to cherish every moment with those you love at every stage of your journey, as I have done this summer.</p> <p><i>To the members of my party:</i></p> <p>we've done remarkable things together in the past eight years.</p> <p><i>To the members of our parliamentary caucus:</i></p> <p>Our caucus meetings were always the highlight of my week.</p> <p>Colleagues, I know you will make the tens of thousands of members of our party proud of you by demonstrating the same seamless teamwork and solidarity that has earned us the confidence of millions of Canadians in the recent election.</p> <p><i>To my fellow Quebecers:</i></p> <p>On May 2nd, you made an historic decision. You decided that the way to replace Canada's Conservative federal government with something better was by working together in partnership with progressive-minded Canadians across the country. You made the right decision then; it is still the right decision today; and it will be the right decision right through to the next election.</p>
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LOSS REWRITTEN

Public Address	Direct, urgent, simple	<p>Tens of thousands of Canadians have written to me in recent weeks to wish me well. So I am giving this letter to my partner Olivia to share with you in the circumstance in which I cannot</p> <p>I recommend that Hull-Aylmer MP Nycole Turmel continue her work as our interim leader until a permanent successor is elected.</p> <p>I recommend the party hold a leadership vote as early as possible in the New Year, on approximately the same timelines as in 2003, so that our new leader has ample time to reconsolidate our team, renew our party and our program, and move forward towards the next election.</p> <p>Treatments and therapies have never been better in the face of this disease.</p> <p><i>A few additional thoughts:</i></p> <p>There will be those who will try to persuade you to give up our cause.</p> <p>Canadians will be closely watching you in the months to come.</p> <p>You have elected a superb team of New Democrats to Parliament.</p> <p>All my life I have worked to make things better.</p> <p>Canada is a great country,</p> <p>We can be a better one –</p> <p>My friends, love is better than anger. Hope is better than fear. Optimism is better than despair. So let us be loving, hopeful and optimistic. And we'll change the world.</p>
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