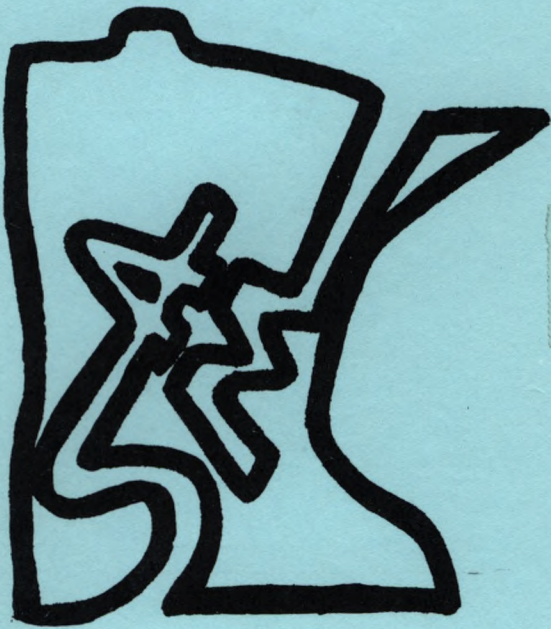


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St. Cloud State University

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THE SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF MINNESOTA JOURNAL

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EDITOR'S PAGE

The Speech Association of Minnesota Journal is an annual publication of the Speech Association of Minnesota. Manuscripts dealing with a wide variety of issues and ideas related to Speech Communication and Dramatic Arts are encouraged. Contributions may be either (1) an article of 1000 to 4000 words, written in formal or informal style, and ranging in content from the theoretical/speculative to the pedagogical/pragmatic, or (2) a broadside, in effect, a brief essay of about 500 to 700 words, written in an informal style and discussing or outlining such diverse matters as teaching tips, classroom exercises, observations about our profession, the state organization, or any other developed statements relevant to Speech/Theater policies, programs, and practices in secondary schools and colleges.

Two solicited articles are provided for your consideration. Both contributors are well-known for their teaching and research. Bill Howell and Paul Keller offer visions for the field of Speech Communication from their wealth of experience. I found their arguments interesting and convincing and invite you to explore and discuss the possibilities implied by their respective contributions. The contributions by the other authors are in accordance with the suggestions offered by Howell and Keller. The authors use the tools of the discipline to interpret varied communication contexts, while uplifting the ethical dimension of our craft. With my appreciation to the authors, the articles are offered for your consideration and discussion.

A special thanks goes to the editorial staff: Becky Kroll, Glenn Stocker and Jeanne Cook. Also, my thanks are extended to Art Grachek and the Speech Communication Department at St. Cloud State University for their support and assistance with the Journal. In particular, Ginny Jacobson, our departmental secretary, is appreciated for her typing and administration of numerous details associated with printing of the Journal. All the staff and authors have made the task of putting the Journal together an enjoyable one for me. Thanks to each contributor and to you, the members of the Speech Association of Minnesota, for your support and readership.

Persons interested in publishing in the Journal should submit to the editor three copies of their article or broadside for consideration by the editorial staff. Articles submitted for publication in the 1984 Journal should be submitted by 1 March 1984. Send your article to: Ron Arnett, Speech Communication Department, 215 Performing Arts Building, St. Cloud State University, St. Cloud, Minnesota 56301.

SPOTLIGHT ON A MINNESOTA TEACHER

IN RETROSPECT - AND BEYOND

William S. Howell \*

To one approaching retirement it is mindboggling to review a professional career. Mine encompasses fifty years of studying and teaching speech communication. Included are related activities such as debate coaching and departmental administration.

There were only two years of high school teaching. The remaining forty-eight involved the Universities of South Dakota, Wisconsin and Minnesota, mostly Minnesota. For eighteen years I was Associate Chairman of the University of Minnesota Department (then the Department of Speech and Theatre Arts). I was also Chairman for five years and along the way I served a term as President of the Speech Communication Association, which had just changed its name from the Speech Association of America.

The record includes very few boring interludes, many bizarre experiences, and an amazingly consistent enjoyment of what I was doing. More than anything else, my review of the past half century calls up exciting interactions that were fun. Folks in speech communication are stimulating and enjoyable companions. My many joint ventures with them were satisfying and rewarding.

As I look back at activities in the field of speech communication I'm impressed by the number of specializations we have served. Medicine, agriculture, varied sciences, engineering, social and governmental agencies, many branches of the military, these and other vital occupations have relied on us to help them improve their ability to communicate through spoken interaction. Fortunately this dependence is not only continuing but increasing. This leads to a question that may be highly important in these difficult times when survival cannot be taken for granted. Are we ready to accept as our primary task an adjunct function, enabling persons in assorted vocations and professions to do their jobs better?

Recognition of the adjunct function integrates us not only with our academic associates but with the community. "Outreach" is a current buzz word on campuses these days. The University of Minnesota Study Group on Outreach defines it as "the obligation to extend the faculty's teaching, research/scholarship, and service beyond the campus or to predominantly atypical students or individuals not necessarily perceived as students." I believe our self-concept is shifting in that direction. We are finding in expanded outreach one answer to a survival-type question often asked by our constituents, "What have you done for us lately?"

---

\* William Howell is Professor of Speech Communication at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

When I was President of the Speech Communication Association I built my presidential address around the change in priorities we are now reviewing. I said that when we assess our field of study we often ask the wrong questions. We tend to ask, "Where are we?" and "Where are we going?" We should be asking, "Who needs us?" and "What are we doing for them?" Since that speech more than a decade ago the second set of questions has been heard more frequently than before, in part because difficult financial circumstances force education to justify itself tangibly.

#### Frontiers Old and New

Balancing obligations to school and community is for many of us a challenging frontier. However, speech communication is an evolving, everchanging field and those of us who labor therein know that adjusting to frontiers is a continuous omnipresent challenge. Some frontiers are with us and others are on the horizon.

Regrettably, managing a frontier is a difficult and often a long term process. One doesn't cross one of our frontiers and settle down to live happily ever after. This may remind the reader of a dynamic definition of success: "movement toward a worthy goal." Crossing a frontier demands maintaining momentum. If we slow or stop, we fail.

However, premature charging ahead to develop a new frontier is as risky for us as it was for our ancestors who opened up the American West. If one disregards timing and readiness of people and circumstances, exploration of a frontier can have surprising and distressing consequences. I learned about this the hard way, many years ago.

In 1969-70 I was an SCA vice-president and had inherited major responsibility for planning the national 1970 convention. At the time I had been cruising around the world in projects of intercultural communication so perhaps I can be excused for my conviction that communication across cultures should be our convention theme. But what I did about it was not excusable. Without clearing my plans with upper level management I contacted the Kiwanis and Rotary clubs in Hongkong, and arranged for hotel rooms and space for the convention. I scheduled most convention sessions in the morning and left afternoons free for convention attendees to become acquainted with the many aspects of the fascinating Hongkong Third Culture. The Hongkong Chamber of Commerce joined the Rotary and Kiwanis in assuring me that their hospitality in these matters would exceed our expectations. Transportation was, of course, a problem. The 747 Jumbo Jet wasn't yet in service but was scheduled to be available soon so I reserved two, one to leave early and one late from California, and one to return early and one later from Hongkong. The travel cost Los Angeles - Hongkong was about what it cost to fly from East to West coast, USA.

What a magnificent moment when I told the Administrative Committee of SCA that I was planning to have our 1970 SCA Convention in Hongkong! I remember that the Committee tried to be gentle with me in pointing out the absurdity of my proposal. Clearly, it was an idea whose time had

not come. Since then ICA and SIETAR (The Society for International Education, Training and Research) have held conventions in other countries, the Global Village concept has prospered, and satellite communication brings us together at a geometrically increasing rate. But I remember that 1969 Administrative Committee with great affection. Although there was a little forehead tapping they made great concessions. I had my convention in a multi-cultural city, New Orleans, and the theme was the one I proposed, intercultural communication. But I still regret our missing the opportunity to be the first academic communication association to recognize the intercultural realities of our profession by holding our 1970 convention in Hongkong.

It was too early to move aggressively on that frontier, but we are now gradually advancing on a derivative frontier. This is the necessity to deal with communication across cultures more competently than we do. At first introducing intercultural communication seems a minor change--add a course or two and away we go. What is disturbing is that most courses we teach are mono-cultural. And to claim to be multi-cultural every topic we deal with must be given an intercultural dimension. Such revision of the curriculum is impossible with current personnel. Probably 95% of the persons teaching speech communication have negligible knowledge of its cross-cultural complexities. So, telling teachers to make their courses intercultural isn't quite going to achieve the millennium.

So, progress on the conversion to multi-culturality will be tedious and slow. Fortunately the ideal of making education multi-cultural is getting a lot of support. Also, an increasing number of people with experience in other cultures are coming back to school. They demand intercultural communication education in their curricula, for they know that their difficulties away from home come preponderantly from their inability to understand and communicate with the host culture.

A frontier advancing upon us far more rapidly than intercultural communication is another somewhat new spinoff in our curriculum, organizational communication. Across America, schools of business are in a bad way. Some years ago the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration discovered that the bottom third of their MBA's were more successful in their business careers than the top third. Understandably, the lack of correlation between success in school and achievement after graduation causes concern. Now higher education in business is being blasted right and left for turning out number crunchers who can't handle human relationships.

How does this concern us? David Lilly, head of the University of Minnesota School of Management, answers this question. In March 1981 he said "Communication is all important if you are going to be a working member of society. If you have the technical ability and you're unable to communicate, it's of no use."

Business needs us, on campus and off. Not only the organizational specialization but many of our interpersonal, persuasion, and group methods courses help people work together effectively. It took a long

time but finally the educators in business are realizing that management is not an exact science. Rather, it is a messy art.

Immediately, there are opportunities. At Minnesota our business school is requiring an extra speech course of pre-business students and an additional more advanced course of senior majors. This dumps a thousand or more extra students per year in our lap, which is also a problem. But it also makes it necessary to work out a long range joint venture. Which takes me back to early in this paper when I discussed our "adjunct role." How does this affect our present and future students in post-secondary education?

In the future speech communication majors--Bachelors, Masters and Ph.D.'s--will expect to have careers in something other than speech communication. They will plan their education pointing toward the position they hope to fill, in public health, business, government, whatever. Their vocational preparation will include a substantial amount of speech communication. Because the importance of their communication competence is being recognized increasingly, those with a solid foundation in speech communication will enjoy a competitive advantage over other job seekers whose qualifications are purely technical.

Recently one of my newer Ph.D.'s dropped in to announce that she had been appointed an assistant professor of management in a highly respected school of business. The appointment was unusual because she had never had a course in business. I told her she was the "point" in our opening up a new frontier. She and, I hope, a multitude of others, will help schools of business incorporate principles of humane interaction in their programs. We can help business education become people conscious and communication competent. We are an essential adjunct to business education.

I consider progress on these two frontiers, organizational communication and intercultural communication, to be of equal importance. Both are intrinsically joint ventures with other disciplines. Both will test our ability to work with people who are different than we are. We are busily crossing boundaries that a few years ago were uncrossable. Perhaps the future of the business we are in requires that we cooperate in many more collaborative projects, joining forces with new associates to help in whatever uses they make of speech communication.

#### The Fork in the Road

We in speech communication are approaching a fork in the road, a juncture where some of us will choose the branch to the left, others bear right. There is no middle path. Each of us confronts an either-or decision, an alternation that is mutually exclusive. Like a traveller we will choose one or the other, but not both.

The signpost tells us, those willing to modernize their thinking about spoken interaction, go to the right. Those who prefer perpetuating the past, go to the left. The newly paved highway to the right was constructed for two reasons: (a) our behavioral science methods leave too



much unexplained, and (b) brain research over the past decade proves that a communication competence we have ignored exists and is the major source of innovation, creativity and empathy.

We all wish to include innovation, creativity and empathy in our teaching of spoken interaction. To be blunt about it, we aren't doing this now. The sixty-four thousand dollar question is, will we, can we go beyond what can be quantified and explained to the more powerful processes of out-of-awareness information processing used in innovative interaction?

The above paragraphs are admittedly abstract. To make the new frontier tangible let us look at how a child develops into a talking human adult.

A child learning to speak does little analysis and planning ahead. Events happen and the youngster responds with physical activity that increasingly includes verbalization. Those of you who are parents have marvelled at your child's ability to adapt and adjust. At an early age your offspring became skilled at reading your mood, learned when to beg for an ice cream cone and when to stop wheedling. This diminutive individual entered school capable of adjusting to complex social situations, behaviorally and with speech. The exciting thing about this competence in communication is that it was accomplished out-of-awareness. There was no knowledge of process. Learning was intuitive, or as the modern researcher would say, information was processed holistically.

School in our Western society brings holistic learning to a screeching halt. The child is required to substitute conscious analysis for intuitive response. From first grade on only the cognitive and the conscious are respected in the curriculum. "Plan and do" replaces "cope with change." The social skills the child brings to school deteriorate because these are based upon an out-of-awareness natural meshing of self and situation, something not recognized in school. Soon the youngster learns that only the explainable, analyzable, quantifiable and predictable are intellectually respectable. Put away childish things, says the school, and devote your mind only to what you can identify and consider consciously. In Western culture cognition is king.

Like the behavioral scientists we imitate, we in speech communication have been and are "plan and do" people. Our goal has been to help our students and clients become better anticipators. Our notion of successful communication has been to plan an interaction and make it happen as planned. Perhaps we are ready to recognize that none of us is smart enough to guess right about what other people will do when they interact with us. Anticipation is fine as far as it goes, but at least as important is the ability to adjust to the unexpected, when it happens. Handling the surprising development has had little of our attention. Yet, this is where creativity, innovation and empathy most often occur.

For those of us who wish to move ahead in developing interactive communication the next step is to become familiar with recent brain research and its application to interpersonal communication. A great

deal remains to be done in developing teaching methods, hypotheses and research design. But the beginning has been made. I'm listing here some first essential readings for those who are willing to expend some effort to increase creativity in the field of speech communication. Join me in exploring our new option. Take the right-hand branch at the fork in the road. It is destined to open up a new frontier of competencies in spoken interaction.

BASIC READINGS TO PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING OF CREATIVITY  
IN SPEECH COMMUNICATION

Joseph E. Bogen and Glenda M. Bogen, "The Other Side of the Brain III: The Corpus Callosum and Creativity," Bulletin of the Los Angeles Neurological Societies 34:4 (October, 1969) pp. 191-220.

W. Timothy Gallwey, The Inner Game of Tennis (New York; Random House, 1974).

Michael S. Gazzaniga and Joseph E. LeDoux, The Integrated Mind (New York: Plenum Press, 1978).

Hugh Gunnison, "Fantasy Door Approach: Merging the Left-Right Hemispheres," The Personnel and Guidance Journal (March, 1982), pp. 403-406.

William S. Howell, The Empathic Communicator (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1982).

John P. Kotter, "What Effective General Managers Really Do," Harvard Business Review, 60:6 (November-December 1982), pp. 156-167.

Ronald Kotulak, "You and Your Brain," The Chicago Tribune (June 1-6 inclusive, six articles, 1980).

Henry Mintzberg, "The Manager's Job: Folklore and Fact," Harvard Business Review, 53:4 (July-August 1975), pp. 49-61.

Robert E. Ornstein, The Psychology of Consciousness (New York: Penguin Books, 1975).

Carl Sagan, The Dragons of Eden: Speculations on the Evolution of Human Intelligence (New York: Random House, 1977).

Roger Sperry, "Some Effects of Disconnecting the Cerebral Hemispheres," Science, 217:24 (September, 1982), pp. 1223-1226.

A PILOT STUDY OF THE SPEECH CONTEST IN DISCUSSION

Don Sikkink \*

Introduction

It is impossible to document who sponsored the first "competitive" discussion contest. However, we know the first contest in Wisconsin was held at River Falls State Teachers' College in 1940 and we know that by 1952, fourteen states, including Minnesota, held statewide discussion events. 1 It might be fun if we could return to that River Falls Contest and listen to the judges as they came back to the teachers' lounge. Would they be shaking their heads and wondering aloud about how one is supposed to judge in this event? Certainly, such comments, as the following, can be heard today:

1. Students do not cooperate in the solving of the problem. Instead, they work hard at promoting themselves at the expense of group progress in order that the judge will notice them and select them for final rounds.
2. Little appropriate information is shared in these discussions. Students tend to contribute the information they have, even if it is not appropriate. There tends to be a "dis-organizing" of the discussion topic in order to fit in available information rather than contribute only information appropriate to solving the "real" questions in front of the group.
3. Interpersonal skills of active listening, paraphrasing, supportive questioning, etc., are frequently neglected in favor of aggressive pushing of individual positions.

These potential problems with a competitive discussion contest were outlined by Howell as early as 1968 when he wrote:

The great threat to cooperation in contest discussion may be directed toward getting favorable attention rather than toward solving the problem . . . . Techniques for getting high ratings tend to replace techniques for learning about and for finding the best solution to the problem. 2

It was problems such as these which motivated a pilot study of the competitive discussion contest at the Apollo High School Speech Festival in February, 1982. The purpose of this paper is to report on that pilot study.

---

\* Don Sikkink is a Professor of Speech Communication at St. Cloud State University. He notes that Mike Cheeley, the Speech Instructor at Apollo High School in St. Cloud, is in a sense a second author since it was Mike's encouragement and volunteering of the Apollo Festival for experimentation that made this paper possible.

### The Pilot Study

The following changes from conventional competitive discussion procedures in Minnesota were used:

#### Change 1:

Each discussion group was given a specific question to answer instead of the usual practice of having students discuss an "assigned task." The group participants were instructed to complete, as a group, no more than a one page written answer to that question by the end of the 60 minute period assigned to them (e.g., in Round 2, the specific question was, "What can be done to improve productivity in the United States?").

Rationale for Change 1: By having a specific task to complete, it was believed there might be more focus on cooperation and it was also felt that by judging the "product" of these discussions as well as the participants, a key element now neglected in evaluation would be included.

#### Change 2:

Each judge was asked to write a single free form "flow" type critique sheet for the group, rather than individual comment sheets for each participant. Copies of this sheet were made and distributed to each participant at the end of the tournament.

Rationale for Change 2: It was assumed that this change would give the judges more time to observe because s/he had fewer forms to write on and it would also help the judge to focus on the idea of "group process" as the key element in the contest.

#### Change 3:

Judges did not immediately rank or rate the individual participants or groups. Instead they listened to and wrote comments for the three separate groups they judged. At the end of Round 3, judges were asked to give the tabulation room a list of the 4-8 contestants they felt did the best job. It was possible that all persons listed could come from the same group.

Rationale for Change 3: This change stemmed from the belief that since we have no way initially to establish groups of equal ability, ranking 1-2-3 within a group is unfair, and that a method of judging which takes place after hearing all three groups compensates for the unfairness of unequal groups.

#### Change 4:

After all three rounds were completed, each student participant was allowed to list the names of 4-8 other participants they felt contributed most to the success of their groups. They were told these ratings would be part of the process of determining awards. Students could not list someone from their own school.

Rationale for Change 4: It was hoped that by giving students part of the final decision process as to who gets an award,

aggressive individual actions designed to bring "self-attention" at the expense of group progress might be controlled.

Change 5:

Final award decisions were based on: (1) ratings of the written answers prepared by the students and ranked by the judges, (2) the judges' listings of the best 4-8 participants, and (3) the participants' listings of the 4-8 best participants. Those results determined the selection of an all-festival discussion team with equal awards given to each student selected, instead of the conventional 1st place, 2nd place, 3rd place award system now used in most contests.

Rationale for Change 5: It was felt that discussion is a group activity and thus a team award is more appropriate than individual awards.

In order to provide for evaluation of these changes, a survey form was sent to all student participants, judges were asked to react in writing and orally, and the coaches of discussion participants were encouraged to react. In addition, certain numerical tabulations were completed. Results from these various modes of evaluation are given below.

Student Reactions

Few students in the Apollo Contest had previous discussion experience to use as a frame of reference; thus, we delayed collecting reactions from the twenty-two participants until the conclusion of the competitive speech season. The survey form was sent to all twenty-two students from ten schools in April, 1982. Ten students out of the twenty-two, representing five different schools, provided check list answers to six specific questions, with open ended comments also possible on each of these questions, and then provided a general reaction statement at the end of the survey form. Unfortunately, because of the anonymous nature of the student reactions, there is no way to know if these evaluations came from students who ranked high or low in this contest.

The tally of the number of students responding in a certain way for each question, along with a summary of comments, is provided below:

1. An all tournament discussion team was selected and members of it received an equal award instead of a 1st, 2nd, 3rd place award system.

(Check one of the following.)

- (2) I prefer this group award system.
- (5) I prefer a 1st, 2nd, 3rd system of awards.
- (2) Both award methods are equally acceptable.

The only written comments came from the students favoring the group award system. They liked the altered system because it took away the pressure of seeking a first place award. We can only guess at why half of the respondents prefer the 1st, 2nd, 3rd place system. Perhaps it is habit from having been in other individual speaking events where such 1st, 2nd, 3rd place awards are provided, or perhaps it is part of the competitive urge

to get one's "own" trophy?

2. Instead of using individual critique sheets, the judges wrote group comments on a ditto master and a copy was given to each member of the group.

(Check one of the following.)

(2) I prefer this method of evaluation.

(4) I prefer receiving an individual evaluation sheet.

(4) Both evaluation methods are equally acceptable.

The two comments made in favor of the group evaluation method noted that it allowed them to see reactions of the judge to the other members of the group. The two comments urging traditional individual critique sheets argued that in the past it has helped them prepare for the next round.

3. The judges did not rate each group but instead listened to all three groups and then picked the 4-8 persons they felt were best.

(Check one of the following.)

(4) I think this system is fairer than ranking each group.

(4) I think that ranking each group is fairer.

(2) I think both methods are equally fair.

Students who liked this system felt it was fairer if the judge heard everyone and then made a decision. The students who opposed this type of system noted that it is impossible to schedule the contest so that every judge hears every student, which they feel limits this form of rating.

4. At the end of the contest, each student participant was allowed to list the names of 4-8 other students they felt were best and this information was used in the final ratings.

(Check one of the following.)

(3) I like having students rate each other.

(6) I do not like having students rate each other.

(1) Rating or not rating is O.K. with me.

All comments made were from students who opposed this system. One student felt it was unfair because it excluded participants from their own school; one noted that it was unfair because of the way groups were put together, and several students worried about cheating. The author of this article was shocked by how quickly some of these students had figured out how to "win"; that is, you can increase your chance of a high rating by listing the 4-8 poorest contestants and that way avoid giving a vote to the "good" person who otherwise might collect more votes than you! This comment was made on three of the student survey forms. There is some evidence to suggest that not only had students thought their way through to this conclusion by the time that this survey was completed a month and one half after the contest, but in fact some of them had actually used such a method during the contest.

5. At the Apollo contest it was necessary for each group, each

round, to prepare a written answer to the question they were given.

(Check one of the following.)

(1) I thought having to prepare a written report improved the discussion.

(9) I thought having to prepare a written report hurt the discussion.

(0) I thought having a written report made no difference.

Reasons for the clear vote against the written report were obvious in the student comments. They disliked the time pressure and felt that too much time was used figuring out how to do the report and too little time was involved in actual discussion of the question.

6. In selecting the award winners we used (1) judge rating, (2) student ratings, and (3) ratings on the written answers prepared by each group.

(Check one of the following.)

(3) I prefer a system of selecting award winners which uses several judgments such as done at Apollo.

(4) I prefer an award system based on judges' ratings as is usually done.

(3) I find both methods equally acceptable.

There was no consistent pattern in the written comments made by the students on this item.

The general, open-ended reactions by the students at the end of the evaluation form were diverse, but two points emerged. The student participants probably would have rated the experiment more favorably if (1) there was a way for each judge to hear every contestant and (2) if the written report for each round of the contest had been eliminated.

#### Reactions by Judges and Coaches

All judges and coaches were invited to provide reactions. One judge and one coach provided extensive written comments, one coach and one judge provided limited written reactions, and five coaches provided oral reactions. The following statements summarize those reactions:

1. There was consensus that the written report part of the study had not worked and had caused confusion and pressure. There was a feeling that the students spent far too much time figuring out how to write the report and far too little time on topic interaction.
2. There was general agreement that having students rate others is probably a mistake. The desire to win may get in the way of honesty and it was felt that these temptations are undesirable.
3. There was general support for the idea of more experimentation and for use of group awards. It was felt that such awards could emphasize the group nature of the contest and might contribute to greater cooperation in the rounds.

Additional AnalysisRanking of the Reports

Since the requirement to prepare a written report produced material not usually associated with the competitive discussion contest, it was possible to examine judging consistency of written materials. Those results are reflected in the three tables below. The same four judges that were used in all three rounds had been rotated and were instructed to give a I to the best written report, a II to the second best written report, and a III to the other two reports for each of the three sets of reports. Our conclusion is that consistency was generally high and does not appear to be a problem.

Round 1

Group	Judge 1	Judge 2	Judge 3	Judge 4
A	III	II	III	II
B	I	I	I	I
C	II	III	II	III
D	III	III	III	III

Round 2

Group	Judge 1	Judge 2	Judge 3	Judge 4
A	II	II	II	II
B	III	I	III	I
C	I	III	I	III
D	III	III	III	III

Round 3

Group	Judge 1	Judge 2	Judge 3	Judge 4
A	III	III	III	III
B	I	I	I	II
C	III	III	II	I
D	II	II	III	III



Student Ratings of Each Other

Student ratings are also an element not usually associated with discussion contests so additional numerical analysis seemed appropriate. It was decided to compare the rating choices of the ten "best discussion" students selected as members of, or alternates to, the "All Festival Discussion Team" with the twelve students not selected for the All Festival Team. What was compared was how many of the persons who were named to the All Festival Team were correctly selected. The results are below:

<u>Groups</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>No. of Correct Choices</u>	<u>Average Correct</u>	<u>No. of Incorrect Choices</u>	<u>Average Incorrect</u>
1. Discussants selected as alternates or members of All Festival Discussion Team	10	22	2.20	28	2.80
2. Discussants not selected for the All Festival Discussion Team	12	49	4.80	20	1.67

The results are surprising! Even if we correct this data for the built-in error factor that occurs because members of the festival group could not vote for themselves and, thus, could not make one correct choice, we cannot account for the size of these differences. Is it possible that students who wrote critical comments about student ratings because cheating might occur were actually describing what they did? This possibility is supported by the fact that only 2 of 10 of the All Festival Team group picked more correct than incorrect people, while 10 of the 13 non-festival group picked more correct than incorrect!

General Conclusions

I first should note that these contest changes were carried out with no serious difficulties or major readjustments in a typical festival schedule. This encourages me, and I hope others, to continue to experiment with modifications in the competitive discussion format.

Two of the contest changes were clearly rejected by the participants, coaches, and judges. These were:

- (1) the use of student ratings, and
- (2) the use of a written report at the end of each round.

I fully accept the rejection of student ratings and I would not recommend their use. I am less certain about the use of a written report. The goals for that change still seem sensible and lead me to propose another pilot study using a modified version of the written report idea. As an example of a possible modification, we could request an outline report instead of a complete report or we could experiment by keeping the groups together with discussions occurring in Rounds I and II, with report writing being reserved for Round III.

The results on group awards, group critique sheets, rating after judging all rounds, and making group awards rather than individual awards were mixed enough to encourage continued study. In addition, one change not attempted in this pilot study should be studied. It involves the concept of team discussion. Howell refers to this approach in his work:

. . . some tournaments have included discussion "teams" of four or more members, each representing a school. These are prepared upon a general topic area. At the tournament the teams are given a specific problem within the overall topic and, in a limited time, work out recommendations on its solution. Usually a team is given about three hours to develop and word a written report. The reports are judged and the teams are ranked on their success in solving the problem. 3

A modification of the Howell proposal would be an interesting experiment. It would involve having each school who has 5-8 students out for discussion enter those students as a team. Schools with less than 5 student entries would combine their entries with other schools to form 5-8 person teams. We should attempt to provide at least three 60 minute periods of competition with the first two periods devoted to discussion and the last period devoted to the preparation of a written report. Judges would observe and judge the discussion sessions and the written reports. The best team would be selected based on the judges' report.

I continue to feel that the present method for conducting competitive discussion in Minnesota is open to considerable criticism. The contest tends to do what Howell predicted in 1968--it encourages students to engage in communication behaviors that produce high individual ratings rather than rewarding skills in problem solving and group interaction. Minnesota coaches have a healthy attitude about contest work and considerable talent in working with students. It is my feeling that we need to harness that skill in solving the problem of handling competitive discussion.

#### ENDNOTES

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"A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NEWSMAGAZINE  
IMAGE PROJECTION AND LANGUAGE BIAS"

John O. Burtis  
William Schenck-Hamlin \*

The prevalence of the mass media has created a need to study images projected via various media in behalf of a primary source. The phenomenon of human dependence on images, that are substituted for personal observation and experience, is explained by Lippman when he writes:

(T)he real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many pre-mutations and combinations. 1

As a result, perceptions are based on what media sources say about people, places and events which results in a substitution of images for the direct contact we might never have obtained.

It is important to realize that many of our images are formed from our experiences in this "pseudo-environment" (which is inserted by the mass media) between the stimuli--events, people, thoughts, etcetera--that make up our real environment, and ourselves. 2 We know our world very indirectly and we don't have the resources or inclination to perform more than a perfunctory test on the stimuli we receive. In addition, with much of the world, if we can't learn about it from the media, we know nothing about it. In effect, media sources have created a pseudo-reality in which we all live.

It is important to determine what kind of reality is shaped for us because the features presented to the public are selected based upon media personnel perceptions of the salience of each issue. This study is concerned with measuring the images projected by one media source--the weekly newsmagazine.

Newsmagazines perform a process of selection wherein they pick the particular events and issues they want to cover from the various available stimuli. There are two general ways that we can be affected by this "editorial" process. Newsmagazines affect us by what they print and by what they ignore. In addition, newsmagazines can influence us by putting a slant or bias to the information they pass on.

Kurt Lewin developed the analogy of a system of gatekeepers to explain the first possible effect. 3 Schramm writes:

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\* John Burtis is the Director of Forensics at Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota and William Schenck-Hamlin is an Assistant Professor at Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas.

No aspect of communication is so impressive as the enormous number of choices and discards which have to be made between the formation of the symbol in the mind of the communicator, and the appearance of a related symbol in the mind of a receiver. 4

Westley and MacLean explain that the gatekeeper is responsible for selecting the abstractions from an object, event or person that are appropriate to the needs of the intended receiver. The gatekeeper then transfers the abstractions into a symbol system and transmits them to the receiver over some channel. 5 The role of this gatekeeping process is that:

The mass media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of political figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about. 6

The key is exposure to the material, not persuasive direction of the material.

The second possible effect is created by suggestions of opinion direction that media sources may add to the news. An individual news source may make suggestions about a particular theme which the audience is free to follow or ignore. An integral part of these suggestions is the bias authors add to the news by "loading" their language.

Recent studies have utilized varied and highly technical methodologies and measuring tools. All of them have been able to identify a leaning or bias in the media source they surveyed. Zook, for example, used evaluative assertion analysis (a very complex approach suggested by Osgood, Saporta and Nunnally) 7 to gain a quantitative measure of the author's intensity and bias toward his subject matter. 8

In spite of the potential for gatekeeper and/or language bias effects very little attention has been focused on the differences of language bias between various newsmagazine sources.

Comparisons have been made among newspapers, newsmagazines and television to identify differences among them but very little work has been done on the differences among particular newsmagazines which are by definition much closer to each other in format and mode of presentation. In the past, when Time, U.S. News and Newsweek were used in the same research they were considered a representative sample of the newsmagazine population. Perhaps it was this belief in their appropriateness that led researchers away from efforts to distinguish among the three sources.

An additional area of concern with the scope of prior efforts is that most studies have not contrasted two individuals and the images projected for each on the same events and issues. When two people are contrasted the contrast is not made over a period of time on the same events. In as much as measurement of language bias can best be accomplished with a

specific subject as a focus, it is reasonable to expect that research be conducted using several media sources focusing on at least two political leaders concerned with similar issues.

This study is designed to identify the difference in coverage across three newsmagazines, for two different political leaders, over a substantial period of time but with a single general issue of common concern to each leader. Focus will be directed upon the pseudo-reality created by newsmagazines in the U.S. for President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel during the period when peace was the goal of both. The peace movement is studied from its inception in November 1977 to the first Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories in June 1979. "Newsmagazines" are operationalized as selected issues of the weekly newsmagazines: Time, Newsweek and United States News and World Report. These magazines were selected because they utilize very similar formats, tend to cover the same issues (both of which enhance the comparison process) and are edited with a national audience in mind. Studies by Weiss and Rivers indicate that they are the most heavily read magazines by the American public and political leaders which testifies to their wide appeal. 9 10

In accordance with the general purpose of this study, two research questions are addressed. (1) What image was projected for each man across all three newsmagazines? (2) How did the image projected for each man differ among the three newsmagazines? The general method was created by the authors because of a dearth of similar past attempts. Any reliance on past methodologies is noted below.

#### Stimulus Material

The events selected for use in the final study were (1) Sadat's visit to Israel in November, 1977; (2) The first breakdown in the talks that resulted from Sadat's visit, in January, 1978; (3) The Camp David talks in September, 1978; (4) The final peace treaty in May, 1979; and (5) The first Israeli withdrawal from occupied Egyptian territory in June, 1979. The criteria for the selection of these events were: (1) that both Sadat and Begin participated in the same event; (2) that their participation was recorded in the same article; (3) that all three newsmagazines recorded the same event on the same week; and, (4) that the event signaled a significant change in the momentum of the peace process. All events that met the above criteria were selected for this study.

Subjects were given two books in order to complete the study; a stimulus book and a book filled with answer sheets. The first book contained the sets of statements describing Sadat's or Begin's participation in one of the five events from one of the three newsmagazines. This resulted in a total of thirty sets of statements for each rater—one for each of the two leaders in each of the three magazines for each of the five different events.

As an improvement over past research efforts, Ss were given a better idea of the context in which they were rating the political leaders through the use of a set of sentences from each news story. This meant

that the raters got as many as fifteen statements from each article about a political leader before having to rate his/her image of the situation being described. Fifteen statements were randomly selected from each article where more than fifteen direct references to either Sadat or Begin occurred. If fewer than fifteen statements appeared, all were included.

Only material attributed specifically to the newsmagazine and making a direct reference to Sadat or Begin as the subject of the statement was extracted for the study. In order to reduce the possible effects of pre-existing political attitudes, all proper nouns, dates, places, references to specific times and religions were changed to descriptive pronouns. A subscript was substituted for any direct reference to Sadat or Begin. Only one subscript was used in each set of fifteen statements. For example, "Sadat was attacked by Begin for damaging the prospects for peace" would be changed to "Mr. X was attacked by a foreign leader for damaging the prospects for peace." 11

The sets of statements were randomly ordered to reduce order and fatigue effects as well as to keep subjects from guessing the time sequence or source referred to in the sets of statements. Subjects were instructed to give their first impression of what they read.

The second book contained the image dimension items used to evaluate Sadat and Begin as well as a favorableness dimension evaluation of each of the leader's participation in the actual event. Twenty semantic differential-type items, were selected from past works on favorableness of language bias, credibility and image. 12 These sets of items were used to rate each set of statements. The polarity of the items was randomly reversed to prevent response bias, and the semantic differential-type items were randomly ordered to reduce fatigue effects.

#### Subjects

In a pretest, the degree of variance between all raters and the level of internal reliability both indicated that at least fifteen to twenty raters would be required to get the standard error down to a moderate level. In the end, forty undergraduate college students volunteered to take the asked survey. Because of the nature of the research, only native speakers of English were accepted.

#### Dependent Variables

Except for the items covering favorableness of language bias, which is not a source image construct (favorableness in language bias is one of the dependent variables but was not considered in the factor analysis), all items comprising the sources' image were submitted to orthogonal, principle components factor analysis with varimax rotation. 13 The cut-off value for factor extraction was set at the standard eigen-value of one. This was done to insure that the hypothesized dimensionality of the source's image was borne out in the experiment. For a factor to be considered a variable dimension and to be used in the subsequent analysis, three criteria must have been met: (1) An item must have a

primary loading of .60 with no secondary loading .40 (2) At least two items must meet the first criterion for a dimension to be extracted; (3) Each dimension meeting criterion (1) and (2) must have an internal reliability estimate of .60 or above.

The above criteria were met in the following manner. The eighteen items used in the experiment resulted in a three factor synthesis for source image measurement which suggested the three dependent variables for further analysis. The first factor was labeled "Credibility" and was composed of the intelligence, virtuous, trained, informed, competent, high character, bright, honest, unselfish, expert and trust items. The second factor was labeled "Extroversion" and consisted of the bold, extroverted and aggressive items. The third factor was labeled "Composure" and consisted of the relaxed and composed items. Two items, "Sympathy" and "Poise," were removed after failing to meet the above criteria.

Four composite variables were constructed. Each composite was formed by taking the same z-scores for each item included in the factor. This procedure was performed to standardize the unit of measure for each item so that linear additions could be made. The resulting score was divided by the number of items that went into the composite. This calculation was cosmetic and merely made the resulting means easier to read and understand.

Cronback's alphas coefficient--at the .01 level of significance--was used to determine interrater reliability, or consistence across raters in their judgments of the material. Because of the size and nature of this experiment, it was necessary to control for the experiment-wise error rate. All mean contrasts using the "Least Significant Difference" (LSD) test were applied at a significance level of at least .01. Because there are 70 contrasts for each dependent variable, each contrast must be tested at the .01 alpha level to reduce the experiment-wise error rate.

A randomized block ANOVA, blocking on rater, was used to analyze interaction between magazine and event; event and political leader; magazine and political leader; and magazine, event and political leader.

### Results

The third level interaction effect was the most effective in predicting the magazine's perceptions of all four dependent variables and thus comes closest to explaining what was really happening in the data. The third order interaction between Event, Political Leader and Magazine was significant at the .0001 level throughout the test and typically accounted for 2 or 3 percent of the model's variance (Figure 1). With all three factors interacting--as typically occurs in the real world--further insight can be provided into the processes and circumstances through which newsmagazines paint the pictures in our minds that we refer to as images.

The best example of the information to be gained from insight into this third level interaction is provided by the treatment afforded Sadat by Time in each of the five events. After starting the peace process--event one--Sadat withdrew from the resulting talks--event two. This

TABLE 1  
FACTOR ANALYSIS OF SOURCE VARIABLES

MEASURES	VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX			COMMUNALITY $h^2$
	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	
TRUST	0.71740	-0.03217	0.35525	.65
BRIGHT	0.73359	0.32710	0.18489	.67
HIGH CHARACTER	0.73069	0.05422	0.34882	.66
COMPETENT	0.75104	0.34597	0.22218	.73
INFORMED	0.71791	0.36744	0.13645	.68
UNSELFISH	0.65619	-0.30096	0.25734	.59
EXPERT	0.74489	0.37058	0.15137	.72
HONEST	0.75273	-0.05031	0.22244	.66
TRAINED	0.72684	0.36736	0.09637	.68
VIRTUOUS	0.65953	-0.07705	0.26113	.51
INTELLIGENT	0.74576	0.38441	0.08142	.71
EXTROVERTED	0.15619	0.66064	0.09214	.47
AGGRESSIVE	0.02817	0.81618	0.09696	.68
BOLD	0.05431	0.80809	0.15095	.68
COMPOSED	0.30082	0.13077	0.70309	.60
RELATED	0.21627	0.14178	0.83594	.82
POISE <sup>a</sup>	0.36470	0.40048	0.64881	.71
SYMPATHY <sup>a</sup>	0.57633	-0.32207	0.33618	.55
ICommon Variance	55%	25%	20%	100%
ITotal Variance	36%	16%	13%	65%

<sup>a</sup>rejected for not meeting .60 primary, .40 secondary criteria



characteristic of being unpredictable may have helped Sadat in diplomatic circles, but, conversely, hurt him in the magazines' projections (Figure II).

Time had just declared Sadat to be "Man of the Year"--in honor of his efforts to obtain peace--a few weeks before he stopped the talks. As a result, Time's Language bias and perceptions of Credibility dropped from the most favorable toward Sadat in event two. It took all five events, the last three of which were positive steps toward peace, for Sadat to regain the highly favorable support of Time that he had enjoyed at the outset.

It is important to note this slow recovery because events three and four were the Camp David accords and the signing of the final peace treaty. These were very significant steps toward peace and yet Time still didn't treat Sadat as favorably as when he started the process. Time was cautious with its praise until after the final treaty was signed and implementation had begun--event five.

In this case, the third level interaction among Newsmagazine, Political Leader and Event, provides us with two interesting pieces of information. (1) Time reacted very differently to certain political figures than the other newsmagazines. Perhaps, Time sees particular political leaders as capable of dramatically changing the course of history. Such leaders are cast in a more heroic role by Time's writers. (2) Time varies its perspective of an individual to a greater degree than the other two magazines. They are far more "up and down" in their interpretations of people; apparently willing to fluctuate the content of their coverage according to their perceptions of the leader and the event to a greater extent than U.S. News and Newsweek.

It is important to note at this point that the favorable treatment of Sadat in event one followed by much less favorable treatment of Sadat in event two was not a characteristic of Time magazine alone. Both U.S. News and Newsweek responded in much the same manner to Sadat in event one and event two. However, both U.S. News and Newsweek were significantly more restrained in their initial support of Sadat than Time was and it did not take all five events for Sadat to slowly and systematically recover the good favor of U.S. News and Newsweek. In fact both U.S. News and Newsweek continued to fluctuate in their favorable treatment of Sadat from event to event: at times apparently reporting positive impressions of the man and at other times negative ones. In the case of U.S. News and Newsweek there appears to have been a minimum of residual perceptions from one event to another while Time moved slowly and evenly up and down the favorableness scale, apparently building upon the perceptions of past events.

#### Discussion

The results of this effort indicate that Time viewed Sadat as a causal force in the Mideast peace movement while U.S. News and Newsweek tended to regard the situation as the primary causal force for the peace movement. None of the magazines viewed Begin as a causal agent in the peace

FIGURE I  
ANOVA SUMMARY FOR LANGUAGE BIAS

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS <sup>a</sup>	MS <sup>a</sup>	F	PR2F	%VA
MODEL	68	1029.11	15.13	9.41	0.0001	R <sup>2</sup> = .36
RATER	39	248.15	6.36	3.96	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .09
EVENT	4	365.04	91.26	56.77	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .12
MAGAZINE	2	83.35	41.68	25.92	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .03
POL-LDR	1	10.54	10.54	6.56	0.0106	r <sup>2</sup> = .004
MAG*EV	8	171.62	21.45	13.34	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .06
EV*P-L	4	39.23	9.81	6.10	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .01
MAG*P-L	2	44.45	22.22	13.82	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .02
MAG*EV*P-L	8	66.73	8.34	5.19	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .02
ERROR	1129	1815.00	1.61	----	-----	r <sup>2</sup> = .64
TOTAL	1197	2844.11	-----	----	-----	-----

ANOVA SUMMARY FOR CREDIBILITY

MODEL	68	380.51	5.60	11.79	0.0001	R <sup>2</sup> = .41
RATER	39	160.27	4.11	8.66	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .17
EVENT	4	104.25	26.06	54.94	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .11
MAGAZINE	2	13.54	6.77	14.27	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .02
POL-LDR	1	2.83	2.83	5.96	0.0147	r <sup>2</sup> = .003
MAG*EV	8	43.45	5.43	11.45	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .05
EV*P-L	4	22.70	56.75	11.96	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .03
MAG*P-L	2	12.09	6.05	12.74	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .01
MAG*EV*P-L	8	21.38	2.67	5.63	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .02
ERROR	1129	536.57	.48	-----	-----	r <sup>2</sup> = .59
TOTAL	1197	917.08	-----	-----	-----	-----

<sup>a</sup>rounded to nearest hundreth

FIGURE I CONTINUED  
ANOVA SUMMARY FOR COMPOSURE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS <sup>a</sup>	MS <sup>a</sup>	F	PR2F	%VA
MODEL	68	644.20	9.47	8.03	0.0001	R <sup>2</sup> = .33
RATER	39	213.73	5.48	4.65	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .11
EVENT	4	183.12	45.78	38.81	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .09
MAGAZINE	2	59.04	29.52	25.03	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .03
POL-LDR	1	20.54	20.54	17.41	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .01
MAG*EV	8	71.25	8.91	7.55	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .04
EV*P-L	4	13.83	3.46	2.93	0.0200	r <sup>2</sup> = .007
MAG*P-L	2	22.01	11.01	9.33	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .01
MAG*EV*P-L	8	60.68	1.59	6.43	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .03
ERROR	1131	1334.06	1.18	----	-----	r <sup>2</sup> = .67
TOTAL	1199	1978.26	----	----	-----	-----

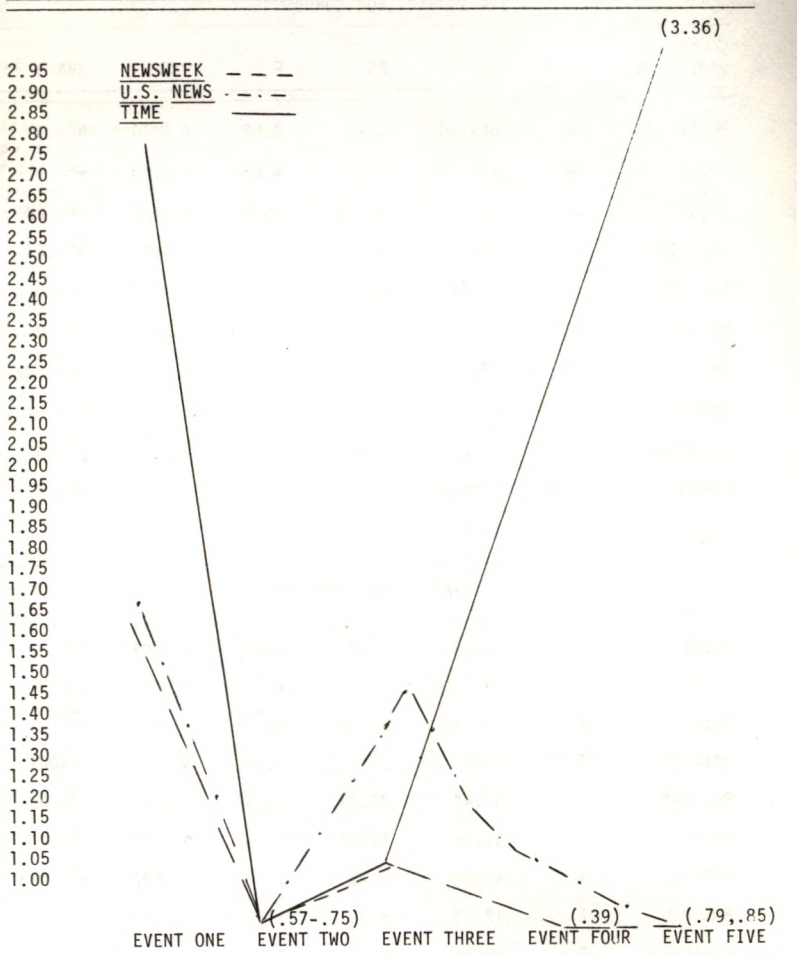
ANOVA SUMMARY FOR EXTROVERSION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	SS <sup>a</sup>	MS <sup>a</sup>	F	PR2F	%VA
MODEL	68	619.91	9.12	9.46	0.0001	R <sup>2</sup> = .36
RATER	39	308.30	7.9	8.20	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .18
EVENT	4	111.72	27.93	28.98	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .07
MAGAZINE	2	1.81	.91	0.94	0.3910	r <sup>2</sup> = .001
POL-LDR	1	33.44	33.44	34.70	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .02
MAG*EV	8	91.86	11.48	11.91	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .05
EV*P-L	4	4.59	1.15	1.19	0.3130	r <sup>2</sup> = .003
MAG*P-L	2	12.63	6.32	6.55	0.0015	r <sup>2</sup> = .007
MAG*EVP-L	8	55.55	6.94	7.20	0.0001	r <sup>2</sup> = .03
ERROR	1129	1090.05	.97	----	-----	r <sup>2</sup> = .64
TOTAL	1197	1709.95	-----	----	-----	-----

<sup>a</sup>rounded to nearest hundredth

FIGURE II

LANGUAGE BIAS MEANS FOR SADAT ACROSS ALL FIVE EVENTS AND THREE MAGAZINES



process. For example, Time constantly referred to the past lives of the two men in such a manner that the reader is left the impression that Israel without Begin would be different but inherently unchanged. Concurrently, Time conveyed the impression that Egypt and the rest of the Mideast would be altered in an historical sense by the absence of Sadat.

Time made constant references to the past so that its specific ramifications to the present were clear. For example, Time used the following statements to describe Sadat at various stages of the peace process. In event one Time wrote: "Once regarded as an impetuous dandified mediocrity, he has become more cautious since he succeeded Gamal Abdel Nasser as President in 1970." 14 In event two, Sadat was described by Time in the following manner:

Scarcely two months earlier, Sadat had dramatically transformed the politics of the Middle East with his "sacred mission" to Israel....By calling Kamel home, the Egyptian President has transformed the area's politics again, but this time for the worse. 15

This pattern was continued throughout the five events and seems to indicate the position that Time maintained regarding Sadat's historic role in the Middle East.

In addition, Time tended to present the facts while using evocative and dramatic words to further emphasize their importance. For example, Time made the following references: "Sadat's visceral reaction," 16 "(Sadat was) almost reverential," 17 "the courageous and moderate Sadat." 18 This "language flamboyance" was evident in the projection of both political leaders although Sadat was by far the recipient of its strongest and most favorable effects.

In contrast, although U.S. News and Newsweek couched some of the facts they presented in what appears to be dramatic description and made several references to the past, this research documents that a distinction between the magazines based on their language bias does exist in treatment of certain political figures. Both U.S. News and Newsweek were very similar in their coverage of Sadat and much less flamboyant than Time (See Figure II). This further attests to the difference between Time and the other two magazines in their view of the causal forces operating in the area. Only Time singled out Sadat as a primary mover of events. In addition, none of the three magazines took a similar view of Begin.

Apparently, Time's coverage was affected by what it expected of Sadat. In event one Sadat was treated with significantly more favorable language bias by Time than either of the other two magazines. Time then proclaimed Sadat to be "Man of the Year" and was obviously disappointed when he pulled out of the peace talks just a few weeks later in event two. In fact, Time reacted to Sadat's seemingly inconsistent behavior with less favorable language bias than either U.S. News or Newsweek. Three more events had to pass before Sadat finally regained the same level of support from Time that he originally enjoyed. This information

becomes even more important when one realizes that events three and four were the Camp David talks and the signing of a peace treaty--both of which were very significant steps toward peace.

As Time attributes Sadat with the causes for action in the peace process, it is reasonable to expect a stronger reaction to his steps away from peace than from U.S. News and Newsweek which took a more situational perspective and therefore couldn't fault Sadat as strongly with the breakdown. Obviously, Time embraces a different version of pseudo-reality than either U.S. News or Newsweek.

It is important that these conclusions be kept in perspective. Little doubt remains that quantitative and qualitative differences exist between newsmagazines in their perceptions of the world. These differences are important because they measure the variety of symbolic meaning available to the readers of newsmagazines.

In a very real sense the symbolic reality presented by these newsmagazines will become the pseudo-reality of a reader's environment. Meaning is created only through the signals which are directly observable and the symbols which are presented in lieu of the actual stimuli. Therefore, newsmagazines serve a primary role in the fabrication of a person's perceptions of the environment.

In addition, a newsmagazine may serve a confirmatory function to a reader looking for additional information regarding a particular attitude. These magazines may very well validate the attitudes they helped create one week earlier.

Future efforts might well be directed toward measuring the extent and effects of Time's commitment to the past. It would be valuable to know the extent of this relationship and how it effects reader's perceptions of the news and the people involved in the news.

In addition, in as much as Time was significantly more flamboyant than the other two magazines in its presentation style, future efforts should be concerned with the effects of these differences. For example, work by Tannenbaum and Lynch suggest that scales for measuring the sensationalism of an article are possible to construct and can provide further information regarding the potential impact of an article. It would be interesting to discover which of the three magazines would be considered the most sensationalistic using such measures. A reasonable hypothesis might be that Time is more sensationalistic because it was stronger in its language bias and image construct manipulations. Time's language is certainly more flamboyant than either of the other two magazines. It would also be interesting to discover the effects of these differences in presentation style on believability of the story and the subject portrayed.

#### ENDNOTES

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4. Wilbur Schramm, Mass Communications (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1949), p. 289.
5. Bruce Westley and Malcolm MacLean, "A Conceptual Model for Communications Research" in Dimensions in Communication: Readings Second Edition ed. Campbell and Hepler (Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1979), p. 64.
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8. Mervin Zook, "How U.S. Magazines Covered Objectors to World War II," in Journalism Quarterly (Autumn 1971), pp. 550-554.
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10. William L. Rivers, The Opinionmakers (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 55.
11. The following example is a change that was made according to the operational definition: Egyptian President Anwar Sadat got a hero's welcome as he paid his first visit the next day to Sinai's caravan city. After flying to El Arish, he prayed in the sands of the Sinai and placed a wreath on the war tomb in honor of Egyptian soldiers who died in action. Then in a moving ceremony, Sadat kissed a huge Egyptian flag and raised it over El Arish. This paragraph was changed into the following material. Person X got a hero's welcome as he paid his first visit to the city. Person X prayed in the sands of the desert. Person X placed a wreath on the war tomb in honor of his country's soldiers who died in action. In a moving ceremony, Person X kissed a huge flag of his country and raised it over the city.
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CONCEPTS AND CASE

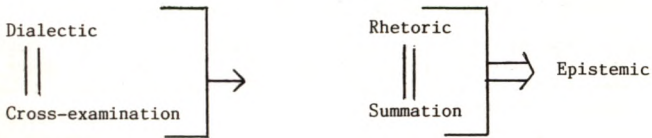
Kathleen A. Heaney \*

As an undergraduate speech major, a tutor and a debater, I have been intrigued by some fascinating processes which I expect to continue to be involved with through law school. This paper proposes to define the relationship of certain of these processes and to synthesize them.

The relationship of the processes of dialectic and rhetoric is parallel to that of cross-examination and summation argument in forensic speaking. Applying this relationship to the epistemic view of rhetoric shows dialectic to be a necessary precursor to the epistemic function of rhetoric. This relationship may be observed in forensic speaking, exemplified particularly in the celebrated Scopes trial.

Part I of this paper proposes a conceptual framework: The functions of dialectic and rhetoric are separate and distinct, dialectic preceding rhetoric. Cross-examination is dialectical and summation argument is rhetorical. The epistemic function is reaffirmed and observed solely in the rhetorical process, not in the dialectical. Part II sketches the Scopes trial in order that the theoretic structure (I) may be applied to significant practice (II) in Part III.

I



Cross-examination and summation argument may be considered as subsets of the dialectical process and the rhetorical process. Let us first examine cross-examination and dialectic.

Austin Freeley teaches that in cross-examination a "questioner should try to elicit responses that will lead to admissions, contradictions, or other advantages that he/she may use effectively later in constructive speeches or rebuttal. 1 Cross-examination is a part of debate

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\* Kathleen Heaney is a 1982 graduate of Gustavus Adolphus College. This paper was accepted and presented at the Undergraduate Honors Conference in the Communication Arts and Sciences at Memphis State University, May, 1982.

which Ehninger and Brockreide insist is a cooperative critical inquiry. 2 A process of inquiry is cooperative and a consensus is sought, according to Gulley; without predetermination, it is a discussion to solve a problem. 3 At least, the impossibilities are eliminated. Dialectic is similar.

Dialectic is defined as 1) "The art of arriving at the truth by disclosing the contradictions in an opponent's argument and overcoming them; 2) Any method of argument or exposition that systematically weighs contradictory facts or ideas with a view to the resolution of their real or apparent contradictions." 4 The dialectic spirit is also one of inquiry and investigation. Plato does not allow the dialectician to stoop to emotional appeals nor to the use of probabilities--for probabilities endanger any likeness to the truth. Aristotle ascribed to dialectic the negative function of excluding ideas from consideration. In Book I of Aristotle's Rhetoric he describes dialectic as rhetoric's counterpart and concludes that like rhetoric it is applicable to any subject. Solmsen compares Aristotle's and Plato's use of dialectic: "The term dialectics has for Aristotle a softer meaning than for Plato--the meaning of a conversationally plausible inquiry rather than as a metaphysically compelling demonstration. Dialectic is the argumentative technique of the social, practical, deliberative and 'alternative sciences'." 5

Both dialectic and cross-examination precede the use of rhetoric and summation argument, respectively. Both are processes of inquiry and have no predetermined end. Rather, they are a means by which to eliminate the impossibilities of a problem at hand. "There is never an argument, in the true sense of the term, about facts," writes Weaver. "When facts are disputed, the argument must be suspended until the facts are settled. Not until then may it be reasoned, for all true argument is about the meaning of established or admitted facts." 6

Whether you believe with Plato that dialectic is a means of discovering the truth or with Aristotle that it is used as a means of discerning the impossible from the possible, dialectic must occur prior to the rhetorical process.

After all the evidence and facts have been gathered in the cross-examination, each advocate presents his summation of the trial. "The lawyer is an advocate. When he undertakes a case, his business is to do what he properly can to win it. Whether he wins or loses will depend to some degree upon the statute and the common laws, and upon the prevailing mood and attitudes of the company within which the case is tried. But the result will also depend on how well he marshals, arranges and presents the evidence, upon his skill in speech." 7 The summation allows the lawyer to advocate a proposition to the judge and jury; the goal of this speech is predetermined; the competition is two-sided and a decision must be reached. The summation is rhetorical.

Once the truth has been discovered with dialectic, according to Plato, then rhetoric is used to persuade the masses. Plato does not use rhetoric immediately because it may lack in logical resource (Phaedrus) and because it does not have its roots in universal principles (Gorgias).

Fredrich Solmsen states that Aristotle conceives rhetoric as being a useful art which can operate in the social medium for the purpose of doing something. It "enables a person 1) to maintain truth against falsehood; 2) to advance discussion where definitive proofs are impossible to attain; 3) to expose irregularities in argument as well as to see both sides of a controversy; and 4) to defend himself with reason as well as with physical strength." 8 Aristotle considers rhetoric as an art when it assumes a form in which one may distinguish between potential and actual. When rhetoric assumes such a form, it becomes a picture and the potential for persuasion may be actualized. 9 Aristotle separates rhetoric from metaphysics and uses instead the principle of the practical good.

Neither rhetoric nor summary argument typically employs question and answer discourse. Both are discursive and advocate a position after the facts have been established. The similarity is apparent in the court room: "The court could admit the facts into the record, but the process of legal determination would deal with the meaning of facts, and it could not go beyond saying that the facts comport, or do not comport, with the meanings of other propositions. Thus its task is to determine their place in a system of discourse and if possible to effect a resolution in accordance with the movement of the dialectic." 10 Rhetoric and summary argument by nature are parallel to each other.

Dialectic and rhetoric are two separate and distinct entities, as are cross-examination and summary argument. However, the dialectical process and the rhetorical process are often combined within a rhetorical arena, as Weaver points out:

In any general characterization rhetoric will include dialectic, but for the study of method it is necessary to separate the two. Dialectic is a method of investigation whose object is the establishment of truth about doubtful propositions. Aristotle in the Topics gives a concise statement of its nature. 'A dialectical problem is the subject of inquiry that contributes either to choice or avoidance, or to truth and knowledge, and that either by itself, or as a help to the solution of some other such problem. It must, moreover, be something on which either people hold no opinion either way, or the masses hold a contrary opinion to the philosophers, or the philosophers to the masses, or each of them among themselves.'

In other words, dialectic is a process of inquiry via questions and answers, in which the impossibilities are eliminated and the possibilities are brought into focus. It has no predetermined end. Rhetoric uses probabilities found in the dialectic, and advocates them to the audience with a predetermined end in mind. Dialectic is a necessary and distinct stepping stone to the rhetorical process, as cross-examination is to summation. Again, Weaver explains:

There is, then, no true rhetoric without dialectic, for the dialectic provides that basis...without which rhetoric has nothing to work upon. Yet, when the disputed terms have been

established, we are at the limit of the dialectic . . . Rhetoric passes from mere scientific demonstration of an idea to its relation to prudential conduct. That is why rhetoric, with its passion for the actual, is more complete than mere dialectic with its dry understanding. 12

Let us now apply the distinction between dialectic and rhetoric to the germinal concept of viewing rhetoric as epistemic. If cross-examination and summation argument are two separate functions in the court room, and if these parallel dialectic and rhetoric, then dialectic and rhetoric are also separate functions. It is in the rhetorical function that rhetoric becomes epistemic.

Scott reasons that if truth be known and communicable, then we are left with two options of discourse: "a neutral presenting of data among equals and a persuasive leading of inferiors by the capable." This attitude is rejected by Scott upon the logical extension of Toulmin's analytical argument. If analytical arguments are to be true, then they must both be timeless, yet settled for all time. This conclusion is a reductio ad absurdum. Rather, Scott proposes, it is by acting and in action that (one) is enabled to know." 14 We create truth moment by moment. Scott also forwards Ehninger's and Brockriede's argument that debate can be a cooperative critical inquiry in which truth can arise. I suggest that the inquiry (or dialectic) is a necessary preliminary function to lead us to the truth, but it is only in the rhetorical process that truth can be known. The dialectic does not create truth, it merely eliminates the impossibilities. It is only in the rhetorical process that probabilities are advocated and truth can be created. You do not act in the dialectic; you act in the rhetoric because you advocate action. Scott says, "Man must consider truth not as something fixed and final but as something to be created moment by moment in the circumstances in which he finds himself and with which he must cope. Man may plot his course by fixed stars but he does not possess those stars; he only proceeds, more or less effectively on his course." 15 Dialectic rules out which stars are impossible to follow; rhetoric shows us which stars to follow.

## II

The relationship between dialectic-rhetoric and cross-examination -- summation argument is apparent daily in the courtroom. In order to better examine these concepts in action, consider the case of the celebrated Scopes trial. A summary of the circumstances of "The Great Monkey Trial" sketches the scene.

Purpose: The purpose of the trial was twofold. On the first level it was a question of whether Thomas Scopes was guilty of violating the Butler Bill which had outlawed the teaching of evolution. It was, "An act prohibiting the teaching of evolution theories in all universities, normal or other public schools of Tennessee, which are supported in whole or in part by the public funds of the State and to provide penalties for the violation thereof." 16 The succeeding three sections declared that 1) the Bible story must be taught, 2) it was a misdemeanor if violated -- charging \$100 to \$500 in fines, and 3) the bill was enacted

in the public welfare. 17 The text in question was Hunter's Civic Biology. This question was resolved by the jury within nine minutes.

On a secondary level, the purpose was a confrontation between the modernists and the fundamentalists, or between William Jennings Bryan's interpretation of the Bible and Clarence Darrow's campaign against "oppression, bigotry and ignorance fostered by an intellectually hamstrung church." 18 Two years earlier Bryan published in the Chicago Tribune an offer to any university professor of \$100 if he would sign an affidavit saying that he descended from the ape. Darrow (who had backed Bryan three times in presidential campaigns) replied with fifty questions. Bryan never responded. Bryan would answer those fifty questions on the witness stand during the Scopes trial. After eight days of confrontation a resolution was obtained. One leading international newspaper expressed amazement that William Jennings Bryan, "a leader and progressive in politics, and for years a bitter enemy of the reactionary political elements of America, could have been so misled as to adopt a position on a scientific question usually held by clerical reactionaries." 19

Period and Place: The Twenties were a time of lost innocence. Standards and morals were being abandoned and people tried to cling to anything solid in this up-side-down world. William Jennings Bryan's fundamentalist movement provided that something to cling to. James Sayer expounds upon this idea in Clarence Darrow, Public Advocate:

Since it was seen that nearly every social factor was in the midst of change and reinterpretation, many individuals looked to religion to provide the necessary solid foundation for the meaning of life. Fundamentalist religion provided its adherents with a safe place away from the raging trouble of the world. 20

Dayton, Tennessee: seventy-five percent of the people live in rural areas. The religion that dominates is Fundamentalism. The majority of the people were "hardworking, honest people to whom religion is a vital and social activity necessary to them." 21 To the rest of the world, evolution might have been a working hypothesis but to these people it uprooted the basis of their belief. Julius Haldemen describes this scene as "the super-heated, jazzy atmosphere of a Billy Sunday revival." 22 In this small town circus, Bryan and Darrow -- The Great Commoner and the Attorney for the Damned -- would contend with each other. The clash of these men was a clash of ideas and ideals.

Participants: William Jennings Bryan wanted to oppose evolution not only throughout the South, but through the whole country with the end goal of an amendment being added to the Constitution eliminating the teaching of "man's descent from the ape." Stone writes, "Hidden beneath the anti-evolution movement was an attempt to bring the state under the control of the church, William Jennings Bryan's church." 23 Bryan had changed since Darrow had backed him in the presidential campaigns. As Darrow explains:

The one time sense of humor that softened his nature had been driven out by disappointment and vain ambitions . . . He did

not grow old gracefully. Instead of disarming the enemy with a smile and a joke as once was his wont, he now snarled and scolded when anyone stood in the way of his dreams . . . His speculations had ripened into unchangeable convictions. He did not think. He knew. He had always been inordinately conceited and self-confident, but he had not been cruel or malignant. But his whole make up had evidently changed, and now he was a wild man at bay . . . . 24

Clarence Darrow had resolved for himself "an apparent dichotomy between his melioristic impulse and his perception of social determinism" 25 which had troubled him in his early years. His words and thoughts had to be true, otherwise he could not be true to himself. Lincoln Stephens wrote that Darrow's intrinsic quality was his "power of imagination; molded by his parent's own sympathies, and quickened by voracious reading and intense living, this power of sympathetic imagination led to his characteristic tolerance and to an unusual degree of identification with the inward struggles and sufferings of other human beings. The role of defender was natural for him." 26 This philosophical patchwork of Nietzsche, Lombroso, Tolstoy and Darwin is expressed in Darrow's book, Crime: Its Causes and Treatment. (e.g., He defines crime to be an act forbidden by the law of the land, and one which is considered sufficiently serious to warrant providing penalties for its commission. It does not follow that this act is either good or bad; the punishment follows for the violation of the law and not necessarily for any moral transgression.") 27 "His ideas were more factual and scientific rather than philosophical and metaphysical . . . Darrow took great interest in the developing fields of biological evolutionists," Sayer reports; and "Darrow became a committed agnostic who believed that the only purpose of religion was to fool those individuals who had not carefully considered the biological creation of life." 28 Even though Darrow declared himself an agnostic, his friends declared him a true Christian. Irving Stone concludes: "If religion is love, as it surely is, then Clarence Darrow was one of the most religious men who ever lived and his pessimism a purer well spring of spirit than all the founts of faith . . . a great emphasis (was put) on the sanctity of the individual, the value of a man's life, and the value of justice." 29 Maybe Darrow was the second coming of the Good Samaritan.

It was in Dayton, Tennessee, that Darrow was allowed to air openly his views to a national and international audience that awaited. He did not quarrel with an individual's belief in God. His quarrel was with people who would close their minds to education and science. He quarrelled with people who tried to force their dogma on others, like Bryan's crusade against evolution. Darrow felt "that the issue (of evolution's defense) had to be joined, that Bryan and his world's Fundamentalist Association had to be stopped, not in their own beliefs or practice of fundamentalism, but in trying to force their religion upon the rest of the country." 30

Thomas Scopes: A youthful, blonde high school teacher, very well liked in Dayton, who planned with four other gentlemen to test the Butler Bill.

John T. Raulston: A judge of the 18th Tennessee Circuit Court. He has been described as "a generously built man, perpetually smiling, six feet tall and was fond of referring to himself as 'jist a reg'lar mountin'eer judge.'" 31 He was a man with a strict religious upbringing and a re-election staring him in the face. He was presiding over a trial the whole nation was watching and was wondering whether or not he was a fair and judicious man. He ruled expert testimony inadmissible.

The jury: Out of one hundred men they ended up with eleven church members and one who got there occasionally. There were six Baptists, four Methodists and one Disciple of Christ. The ten farmers and one shipping clerk did not believe in evolution, but were not against being convinced in its favor. A school teacher with "a flowing moustache, strongly suspected by the prosecution of (being) too scientific was questioned by them on Monday, but he stood his ground, convinced the judge of his neutrality, and in the end, went unchallenged." 32 These twelve men who thought they were getting ringside seats were rarely present during the trial.

The prosecution: Their position was that Tennessee had the sovereign right to pass any law it wanted and could refuse to let teachers teach a lesson they saw unfit. Bryan would be their religious expert -- he left his job of selling real estate in Florida to offer his services.

The defense: Malone tried to establish that the theory of evolution had more than one interpretation and these interpretations were even conflicting. The last thing Malone wanted to establish was that science claimed man had sprung from a monkey. Hayes was the chief of staff for the defense because he could spot a loophole or technicality at fifty feet. He was a close friend of Darrow's, and is described as "penetrating, witty and certainly ranked next to Darrow as one of the most outstanding liberal lawyers of his generation." 33 Darrow was the city slicker with the mannerisms of a country lawyer. He believed that "Education was in danger from the source that had always hampered it -- religious fanaticism," 34 and that "the Fundamentalists were an insidious potential for destruction." 35 He said to his friends, "If a Florida real estate man can afford to get in that case, I suppose I can." 36

Parameters: The act was performed in a heated courtroom, literally and figuratively. It was in the cross-examination that Darrow gathered his facts in order to advocate in the summary his stance against the Fundamentalist movement. Darrow's ability to gather facts was severely limited on the sixth day when Raulston ruled that expert testimony was inadmissible. He based his ruling "on the claim that neither religion nor evolution was on trial, that Scopes was on trial for violating a specific Tennessee law." 37 Because of this ruling on expert testimony and Raulston's ruling on other technicalities, critics said that "any hope of a favorable decision in the lower court collapsed." 38 One expert agreed to get on the stand, even with Raulston's ruling. That expert was William Jennings Bryan.

Postscript: After Darrow's plea, Raulston read the jury a chapter of Genesis, and "thereupon charged the jury, stressing that if Scopes were

found guilty he would be fined from \$100 to \$500 and that if found guilty without a stated amount the fine would be \$100." 39 It was this same erroneous ruling that would allow the Tennessee Supreme Court to dispose of the case. William Jennings Bryan won the battle, and lost the war. He died three days later.

### III

#### A. Cross-examination as dialectic.

If cross-examination is parallel in nature to dialectic, then we should see in the trial an elimination of the impossibilities by an investigatory means. The cross-examination of Bryan by Darrow was an elimination of the impossibilities in order to establish facts which he would use later in his summation. Darrow's belief in the factual and scientific evidence is apparent in the cross-examination.

- Darrow - "You have never in all your life made any attempt to find out about the other peoples of the earth? How old their civilizations are, how long they have existed on the earth -- have you?"
- Bryan - "No sir, I have been so well satisfied with the Christian religion that I have spent no time trying to find arguments against it. I have all the information I want to live and die by."

Darrow was always wondering, doubting and seeking. He knew the Bible as well as Bryan did and he kept pushing Bryan.

- Darrow - "Mr. Bryan, do you believe that the first woman was Eve?"
- Bryan - "Yes."
- Darrow - "Do you believe that she was literally made out of Adam's rib?"
- Bryan - "I do."
- Darrow - "Did you ever discover where Cain got his wife?"
- Bryan - "No sir, I leave the agnostics to hunt for her." 41

Darrow would emphasize his points by pounding his fist on the table. At one point he split his shirt at the elbow, got mad, and ripped it off.

The questioning then turned to the critical subject of how long it took to create the universe. Bryan was adamant in his reply that the sun was created on the fourth day. Darrow finally got Bryan to say that those days might have been periods. This admission punctured Bryan's stance on Fundamentalism, Paola Coletta writes that Bryan was:

. . . considered to be a defector from Fundamentalism in having admitted that a day of creation could have been longer than twenty-four hours. Having conceded a point to interpretation, he destroyed the authoritarian position of Fundamentalism, while Modernists saw that he had finally confessed his lack of



study of the work accepted as commonplace in the leading pulpits of most Christian churches and of every university. 42

Bryan, like Charlie Brown who dropped the pop fly and lost the game, came home a goat instead of a hero. The Scopes trial is said to have "symbolized the last major offensive and . . . subsequent decline in the prominence (of the Fundamentalist Movement)." 43

Darrow had now proved that the Bible was open to interpretation. The cross-examination eliminated the possibility that the Bible was not open to interpretation. This sets the stage for Darrow's summation.

#### B. Summation as epistemic

Darrow advanced to the jury with his arms folded and told them the facts, Haldemon relates; "Frankly, he said, the only hope to get a decision on the Constitutionality of the law was to take it to a higher court. This, he pointed out, could not be done with a hung jury. It was essential that they should agree on the verdict." 44 Even though Darrow's summation in the Scopes Trial was not one of his finest, you can still see the characteristic development of his logical appeal. He typically adopts two major lines of argument differing in form or two types of argument to establish a single contention. Clarence justifies his client by using causal analysis. He assumes the causes of a given act in terms of motive or social forces and uses specific evidence as a qualifier.

Darrow had established in cross-examination that the Bible is open to interpretation. In summation he uses that fact in an argument from consequence to warn the jury: if they accept the close-mindedness of Bryan's Fundamentalism, then severe consequences can occur:

If today you can take a thing like evolution and make it a crime to teach it in the public schools, tomorrow you can make it a crime to teach it in the private schools and next you can make it a crime to teach it from the hustings or in the church. At the next session you may ban books and newspapers. Soon you may set Catholic against Protestant and Protestant against Protestant, and try to foist your own religion upon the minds of men. After a while, Your Honor, it is the setting of man against man and creed against creed until with flying banners and beating drums, we are marching backward to the glorious ages of the Sixteenth Century when bigots lighted faggots to burn men who dared to bring any intelligence and enlightenment and culture to the human mind. 45

Darrow realized that he could not convince a jury whose religion was predominantly Fundamentalist that their religion was stifling and that the Tennessee law was unconstitutional. So he shifted the focus and addressed the wider audience. Darrow expanded the rhetorical arena and used the rhetorical process to bring enlightenment to the world. Of course, this truth is not fixed. As stars in the heavens disappear from view only to again come to prominence at a later date, so, too, do the theories of evolution and creation. They are again being raised to prominence in

Alabama courts, the Mississippi legislature and in many other rhetorical arenas.

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RHETORIC AND ORGANIZING:  
A LOOK AT THE INFLUENCE OF RHETORIC ON ORGANIZING  
IN AN EARLY WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ORGANIZATION

Becky Swanson Kroll \*

Background

The United States has witnessed two discernible periods of organized, publically visible feminist activity. The first began in the mid-1800's and culminated with the constitutional amendment granting women suffrage in 1920. Questions remain today about why this earlier movement apparently dissipated; why the movement organizations were unable or unwilling to sustain their work beyond the symbolic victory of the vote.

The second wave of visible activity began in the mid- to late-1960's and has since grown and multiplied to represent a diversity of individuals, groups, and viewpoints. Our discipline's scholars have attended to the rhetoric of this movement through a number of studies illuminating rhetorical choices, strategies, and effects of particularly the earliest stage of organized activity. Hancock (1972) and Campbell (1973) provide a useful foundation in their criticisms of the early women's liberation rhetoric. Hope (1975) offered a comparative analysis to point out both the similarities and differences between women's liberation and the black liberation movements, again focusing on the rhetoric at the earliest stages of the movement. McPherson (1973) assessed the communication techniques of the women's liberation front, and Rosenwasser (1972) distinguished between the stages and branches of the burgeoning movement.

This study builds upon the heritage of this earlier work but attempts to take the rhetorical analysis of the women's movement one step further. The assumption investigated in this research concerns the role of rhetoric in the organizing which creates, sustains, and promulgates a social movement. Tools of rhetorical criticism are applied to the organizational discourse of early movement groups in order to understand how women collectively constructed a new social reality and a "script" to guide their actions toward their desired future order.

The study undertaken here draws from the "organizing" perspective recently offered in our discipline as an alternative to the prevailing paradigm in organizational communication. This approach challenges the traditional approaches in organizational communication which result in dominant attention to established, complex organizations, typically profit-oriented structures viewed from a management perspective. Many other kinds and forms of human organization exist; methods appropriate for the study of movement and voluntary organizations (long the domain and outlet for women's talents) is long overdue in organizational communication research.

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\* Becky Swanson Kroll is an Assistant Professor of Speech Communication Colleges of St. Catherine and St. Thomas, St. Paul, MN.

This study applies tools of rhetorical criticism to describe, explain, and evaluate the organizing process of an organization instrumental in founding and carrying out the women's movement in the Twin Cities of Minnesota. The Twin Cities Female Liberation Group (TCFLG) existed from 1969-71, the first cities-wide, public feminist organization described as "movement central" during the earliest stage of the movement. Fantasy theme analysis is applied to the evidence about human organizing in this case example, to explain the influence of the movement rhetoric on the movement organizing.

#### Rationale

The "communication as organizing" perspective provides the philosophical underpinnings which guide this study. This approach has been advanced and developed by Weick, Hawes, and Johnson. Weick (1969) suggested: "Assume that there are processes which create, maintain, and dissolve social collectivities, that these processes constitute the work of organizing, but that the ways in which these processes are continually executed are the organization." (Weick, 1969, p. 1) Hawes (1974) argued that these processes are communicative and that communication scholars should study social collectivities in an effort to understand "...how organizations come into existence in the first place, how such patterned behavior evolves, how the collectivities maintain themselves, and how they disengage." (Hawes, 1974, p. 500) Johnson (1977) elaborated, suggesting that people must be symbolically co-oriented in order to coordinate their behavior and accomplish their jointly determined goals. As individuals construct consensus, make decisions, and develop organizational goals and structures, they execute the organization through the ongoing, communicative process of organizing.

This view of organizing as a communicative phenomenon is salient particularly for the study of movements, because the organizations which carry out the intended changes of the movement do so in the context of the movement's rhetorical activity. Smith and Windes (1976) further argue that the need for sustained collective action is what distinguishes movements from other social and rhetorical activities. They emphasize the need to examine exigencies of mobilization in movement rhetoric, the "appeals designed to integrate the behavior of adherents and to create agencies for propagating persuasive messages." (Smith and Windes, 1976, p. 2)

The approach proposed by Smith and Windes, however, is not adopted for the purposes of this study. They suggest identifying both motivational and mobilization appeals, specifying that they are complementary but distinct. A preliminary paper utilizing this distinction to analyze the "first wave" women's movement rhetoric at organizing conventions from 1840-1860 found that mobilization appeals are highly implicit rather than explicit at the outset of the movement. Smith and Windes do suggest that the critic may have to examine discourse from small groups and private meetings to ferret out strategic mobilization responses. This study, however, assumes that there is a relationship between the general rhetoric of the movement and the small group discourse of its constituent organization/s. The intent, in fact, is to analyze the influence of

the rhetoric on the internal organizing. From this perspective, the understanding of movement mobilization can be sought in different rhetorical forms.

Bormann recently argues that it is through the sharing of dramas (participation in fantasy themes) that humans come to be symbolically and socially cooriented. They come to share similar constructions of social reality through response to rhetorical dramatizations, resulting in a symbolic convergence which provides both foundation and guidance for the organizing process.

Bormann's theoretic orientation is the overarching perspective drawn from his work on fantasy theme analysis. It is described and labelled as follows:

The symbolic convergence theory of communication is a social scientific explanatory general theory which accounts for the way groups of people come to share common symbolic ground. The theory is symbolic in that it deals with the human tendency to interpret signs and objects and give them meaning. The account is a convergence theory because it explains the way communication can bring two or more private symbolic worlds into a common sentiment, emotional involvement, and commitment to symbols. The basic communication process by which people experience symbolic convergence is the dynamic process of sharing group fantasies.

(Bormann, unpublished paper, n.d.)

This perspective provides the foundation and method for this study. Fantasy theme analysis is proposed as the most effective means of understanding and explaining movements and their resulting organizations. The fantasies inherently incorporate both motivation and mobilization for those who share in the interpretive dramas. The fantasies further provide implicit norms and directives which guide the organizing process that advances the movement.

#### Method

The critical tools and method utilized for this study, then, are those of Ernest G. Bormann, first explicated in "Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision: The Rhetorical Criticism of Social Reality," published in 1972. Bormann's development of fantasy themes and rhetorical vision grew from early studies of communication in small groups, triggered by the work of Bales at Harvard (1970). Bormann's initial work concentrated on the functions and effect of dramatizing in small group communication, but was eventually extended to the study of communication in larger public communities, including concerns as diverse as interpersonal advice (Kidd, 1974) and political cartoons in a presidential campaign (Bormann, Koester, Bennett, 1978).

According to Bormann's perspective, the fantasy theme is the basic unit of analysis for the rhetorical critic. It is a dramatic message which may in the small group evoke verbal and nonverbal participation as

members "share" a common interpretation and thus discover common attitudes, values, and emotions. As a tool in the study of larger communities, Bormann has described the key concepts as follows:

Fantasy theme analysis as rhetorical criticism is a humanistic critical study of the messages created by people as they develop a group or community consciousness, raise others to that consciousness, and try to sustain the consciousness among community members.

A rhetorical fantasy theme is Bales' dramatizing message as used by speakers, journalists, publicists, organizers, and so forth in public messages. A fantasy theme is an interpretive narrative, for the most part, which provides a coherent and artistic dramatization of a fictitious or historical event. The rhetorical fantasy appears in the manifest content of the message as a drama which includes characters who enact a scenario within a given scene.

A fantasy type is a recurring scenario in a body of discourse. When a community shares a series of fantasy themes which are all quite similar in their story-line, heroes and villains and emotional evocations and values, these taken together form a fantasy type.

(Bormann, unpublished paper, n.d.)

Fantasy theme analysis typically involves discovery and interpretation of key fantasy themes and types through scrutiny of the constituent elements, such as heroes, villains, scene, plot, and settings. Here, the focus was particularly on the plot or script in the fantasy types. This was assumed to provide the direction and guidance for organizing efforts and is delineated and interpreted accordingly.

For this study, newsletters of the Twin Cities Female Liberation Group (TCFLG) were used as the material for analysis. Sixteen issues of the TCFLG newsletter from November 1969 through May, 1971 were analyzed to discover the key fantasy themes and types. The newsletters varied in length, context, and authorship with an open editorial policy allowing any material by women to be published. Typically, each issue included reports of TCFLG meetings, committees, and associated groups, plus letters, stories, poetry, and reports by a range of individuals. All pages of each newsletter were reviewed to discover fantasy themes; recurring and similar fantasies were grouped into key fantasy types. These served as the basis for discovering the basic "script" of the rhetoric of this early movement group.

To then discover the influence of the rhetoric on the organizing, attention turned to the meeting and committee reports contained in the same issues and pages. These materials were reviewed to discover the basic rules and norms, methods and procedures, and the content of group discussions and conflicts. This allowed delineation of the "organizing" process of the group, or the way in which the members operationalized their rhetorical ideal of the fantasy type's "script."



Finally, the analysis of meeting and committee reports was continued over the two years of the group's existence. In particular, analysis followed the problems and issues about "organizing" that arose and continued over the life of the group and those that precipitated its demise. Discussion about how the original "script" and its operationalization aided and impeded the organizing of TCFLG is used to illuminate and evaluate the influence of the rhetoric on the early organizing.

This criticism of the "script" embedded in the fantasy types, its operationalization in the TCFLG organizing rules and methods, and tracing of resultant problems and conflicts over time constitute the method for this study. The results and conclusions are reported in the succeeding sections of this paper.

### Results

The Script. The rhetoric of the early women's movement, as dramatized in the newsletters of TCFLG, provides a basic, rudimentary, and quite blunt interpretation of women's role. Emphasis on the victimization of women created a universal heroine, often a housewife and always isolated and devalued by society. In the recurring fantasies, she is portrayed as a martyr, lauded for her suffering, and encouraged to come together with other women to demand change:

I AM FEMALE....

In this country, I AM LED TO BELIEVE that marriage, housework, and child care are the highest goals to which I may aspire. I am rarely encouraged or allowed to develop my talents and abilities for fear that I may lose what is called "femininity."

I HAVE LEARNED ABOUT "FEMININITY." In my woman's role, I am frequently prevented from securing a good job, no matter what my level of education. I am systematically paid lower wages than men for the same work. I am barred from advancement in the white collar business world...I am not organized....

IF I AM UNMARRIED OR WITHOUT A MAN, I have little economic security....

I AM SCORNE AS A WOMAN... yet I am held responsible for providing all of the most basic human needs in this society...and am the head of one out of every ten American families....

I am ready to demand great changes...social, economic, political...which will benefit women and all oppressed peoples...and hopefully provide us with a more human society in which to live.... 1

Emphasis on the universality of oppression builds cohesion and reinforces the call for collective female action in order to accomplish change. The following fantasy type further emphasizes the rationale and need for unified efforts for change:

If in fact housewives could form a powerful armed organization, women would no longer say, "I'm just a housewife." Instead, the phrase, "I'm just a housewife" would arouse low murmurs of admiration and respect and Boy Scouts would dream of running a household....

The need for women to escape housewifery is fundamentally the need to escape the control of the husband in order to defend the rights of women in general, not to debate the relative merits of one kind of work versus another. Whatever women do will always be found insignificant and unworthy for some reason until the collective aggression of the male sex is stopped cold by the collective strength of women. 2

Collective salvation becomes the early script for change in the discourse. The writers portray collective action as the only response to the isolation, conditioning, and victimization of women. In this fantasy type, the difficulty--even impossibility--of accomplishing change individually is the implicit moral, substantiating the collective action script:

Women, on the other hand, have no daily experience in combined resistance; our ordinary life teaches us nothing but to endure in silence. We need a separate liberation movement in defense of our rights because, without it, the entirety of society, co-ed liberation movements included, is nothing but a giant engine to parcel us off, one by one, as servants to individual males. 3

In the beginning movement, collective salvation is portrayed as being achieved quite simply through and with all other women coming together--a universal sisterhood. The following fantasy theme illustrates the action, hope, and emotional intensity of the rhetoric of the pro-woman line:

Sisters for centuries you have struggled with the foot on your neck. Now we will join together and push away the foot. We will stand up and be proud. Be of courage, my sisters. Each of us is unique. Each of us is beautiful. Each of us is meant to be free.

Reach for the sky with one hand and take hold of your sister's hand with the other. Our womanhood has made us all sisters. We must rise together to be free....

We must look to each other for solace. We have been isolated from each other. We must learn about each other and unite for freedom.... Together we must create a new society, a new world--where all people are free. 4

The "script" for the early movement capitalizes on the feelings of unity derived from the universal victimization of women. It offers hope and glory in the potential of the "sisterhood" which will collectively

change the world. The general promise--"collective salvation"--offers a very clear, simple, and very optimistic script for the early organizers. The early organization's members drew from this "script" in creating the rules, methods, and procedures for their work.

Operationalization of the script. The rhetorical script of the TCFLG offered a non-hierarchical union of all women, who embrace in a comprehensive and all-encompassing sisterhood. Simply by coming together, the women begin the change process. Access is total--no explicit restrictions of membership are imposed; in fact, the rhetoric purports to speak to all women in all situations. Their organizing would join women of all ages, races, and backgrounds to "hold hands" on a fully equal basis to inaugurate their own salvation. The following newsletter report about consciousness-raising groups articulates the early TCFLG communication style:

Several small consciousness-raising groups have begun meeting. The basic philosophy of CR groups is that women are experts on women. At meetings we do intensive "verbal research" by speaking about and analyzing our thoughts, feelings, and experiences to come to a clearer understanding of the basic attitudes and assumptions accepted by ourselves and society in general. In the process we are developing a solid political basis from which to act and directions for a free society. 5

By extension, the organization's rules treat all members equally in all their methods of operation. Openness and participation by all in decisions is celebrated as women's way to operate. Every woman is counted as a "verbal expert" by virtue of her experiences as a woman, and it was assumed that she had a contribution to make toward organizational decisions. Reports of early meetings describe the method of asking every woman present her opinion on a given decision. Unity is desired and often required; the same reports indicate that if the women could not reach consensus on a decision, all but emergency decisions were postponed until a later time. A related group, The Collective, articulated and emphasized this process in their work in writing a position paper:

We think the method we used in writing the Document was also important:

1. Each section was discussed by the entire group. An outline was made of all the ideas we wanted in the section.
2. An individual or a few people were assigned to put the outline into coherent form. Some sections were collectively written, others individually. But the ideas were always the product of the entire group.
3. All sections were edited, sentence by sentence, in the entire group. If everyone was not satisfied with the wording the section was rewritten and re-edited until all were satisfied.... 6

The rhetorical script affected the entire philosophy and all facets of the TCFLG's operation. The ideal "script" rejects the predominant social machinery as evil, and implies that women's efforts can be and

will be different. The group then denounces hierarchy, specialization, and bureaucratic methods and structures. The following describes the principles of operation for TCFLG, reflecting the degree to which they emulate the values of the early rhetoric:

Through this open organization, this non-structure, women can evolve new ways of making decisions for society as a whole--we need never have a situation like the current one in which we are fighting a war nobody wants. We are learning to appreciate the unique contributions of very diverse kinds of women and to apply their ideas seriously to our own lives--so that we can one day non-structure all of society so that there is no such thing as a "minority group" but where every group and kind of class of people by whatever kind of criteria are used to define their separateness, is respected and honored for its own contributions, and is able to associate freely with everyone else. We are learning to avoid leadership, whether iron fist or charisma, because we each want to make our own free decisions, and we want them to be influenced and enhanced, not directed, by other women--so that we can do away with the dominating, hierarchical, pecking-order-status-seeking type of organization that leads corporations, unions, churches, governments to ride roughshod over everyone, especially women. 7

The style of organizing and communication adopted by TCFLG was in direct keeping with the collective salvation fantasy types' "script" reflected in their rhetoric. The choices reflect the operational expression of the means of change promised in that recurring fantasy. And for a while, it seemed to work. In particular, the glory and promise of "collective salvation," the alternative and celebrated "women's way" of doing things attracted women to the new movement and to the early organizing efforts. It contributed a great deal to building a strong, emotionally committed membership for TCFLG. As time went on, however, problems and issues concerning their "script" began to surface.

Problems encountered in implementing the script. The script of the early organizing was very effective in launching the early organization. It provided a clear, unambiguous, and simple prescription for change in the promise of "collective salvation." The motivation for doing things differently was clearly present in the group shared fantasies and effectively operationalized in the "open organization, non-structure" adopted by the TCFLG. The simplicity of the ideal script eventually proved to be a weakness in the actual organizing experiences as TCFLG grew in size and complexity. Problems began to surface and were dramatized in the newsletters.

The first difficulty reflected in the organizational reports concerned rhetorical differences between women. While the utopian rhetoric encompassed all in the new "sisterhood," factions emerged around rhetorically defined differences which separated women. A married women's group began meeting separately, expressing their felt differences from the predominantly single membership of the organization. 8 Another group

meeting expresses frustration at not knowing how to support a black woman encountering employment discrimination. 9 Further evidence that internal differences were emerging and undermining the ideals of sisterhood began to surface in letters to the newsletter from women who felt unwelcome or outside of the "core group" of the organization:

I myself after a hard day's work find that I would much rather listen to plain English than to someone who talks in 3 and 4 syllable words. Do we not want to be heard by other working women, and if so we must talk in language they can understand. It can't be just the people who are in the women's lib now, and I am not putting them down, I realize they have worked very hard and we would be nowhere at all without them. But shouldn't there be room in women's liberation for other women with other ideas and different experiences? 10

As a fairly new interested party at these meetings, rather than feel that I was indeed really welcome, I felt out of place and ostracized. First I felt it was because I wore a dress, nylons, makeup and was conventional in my general appearance. I began to think that since I was alone in this attire, I was not really one of the "group." 11

The second major problem that surfaced early concerned office and organizational procedures. The script's operationalization called for women to work together in all facets of the TCFLG, without hierarchy, specialization, or leadership. Unfortunately, the salvation script contained little in the way of specific methods of coordination or communication to guide the details of their efforts. Their early efforts attempted to introduce some structure, but via procedures in keeping with the script principles.

The newsletter expressed an open editorial policy, calling for contributions and volunteers but acknowledging shortages of time and resources. Volunteers to "woman" the literature tables and staff the office were solicited by definition of tasks and a contact phone number. The need for funds was expressed early on and became a chronic organizational theme, but the members sought to find a solution that would not mitigate against the rhetorical principles--"we will not ask for dues and exclude members, but rather rely on pledges from those who can afford it." 12

Slowly more elaborate procedures did develop. As the same group of women worked on a regular basis in the office or on the newsletter they began to assume roles and leadership emerged. They systematized work norms and information networks, although largely on an informal basis. A core group of tasks specialists did emerge, but tempered their responsibility with allegiance to the ideals:

These women are responsible for the newsletter getting out on time. Any woman can come to the office to work on the newsletter. Detailed procedures are in the office so any woman can come and do whatever needs to be done that she feels like doing. 13

Other attempts at communication and coordination among interested women were in the same form of low-structure, high access procedures to preserve the collective intent of the script:

Sign-up sheets are now in the office for theatre, literature, self-defense classes, the literature table at the U., and various speaking dates. A woman who wants to work in one of these areas should come in or call the office and sign on. A star by the name means that woman will set up the first meeting. Put up a sign-up sheet for any activity or purpose you want. 14

As time went on, these informal procedures were not sufficient or effective. Increasingly detailed procedures, specialization, and divisions were required. The newsletter staff became functionally and financially independent. A notebook of procedures and a filing system were instituted. The TCFLG established committees to deal with finances and office work. Orientation meetings were offered to train new women in office operations. A subscription policy for the newsletter was discussed. Committees were increasingly used to tackle specialized and more complex procedural issues, but never given the authority to make decisions without ratification by the open-to-all, non-structure meetings of the entire organization. The proliferation of committees and their sometimes limited success in solving problems and including all women stimulated one woman to provide the following tongue-in-cheek drama about the TCFLG's organizing process:

#### Note on the Mind Body Division

To all women who may feel (at times) to fall apart (mind from body) from lack of love:

- 1) It is doubtful in the extreme that this should happen (fall apart).
- 2) Should this happen, Women's Liberation will organize a demonstration-support committee to put you back together again.
- 3) Should the demonstration fail to materialize, you should try to set up committees between both your parts (mind and body) thereby forming a committee of 2 for women's liberation. Should your body fall into different locales and you fail to set up communication with your mind, try coordinating your body part via somatic electric energy, thereby forming a bigger committee for women's liberation.
- 4) Should this also fail, rest your self with the satisfaction that there are now 3-4-5- (or whatever number) distinct entities of you--better to carry on the revolution. WE CAN NEVER LOSE. 15

Within the first year of TCFLG's existence, then, members had encountered several discrepancies between their script/rhetorical ideals and what they were able to accomplish organizationally. In their internal organizing, they had discovered significant differences between and among women, contrary to the script ideals which had motivated them to come together in the first place. They had to face charges by women of differ-

ent backgrounds and experiences that their organization was not open, did not welcome all or any women. They could not create a rhetorical consensus on how to implement their sisterhood ideal in supporting minority women, and they had to face the fact that few women of poor, working, or minority background were among their membership.

Further, the members had to contend with increasing confusion and differences over ways to run the office and newsletter. They were caught between the abstract ideals of their organizing script and the here-and-now problems of developing routines and procedures for their increasingly complex and ambitious organizing work. The membership in fact moved toward increasing specialization, division of labor, and formalization of office work and coordination mechanisms. But every committee and routine was subordinated to the ideal of open meetings with full participation by all members. By always tempering these developments with their original script ideals, they achieved only partial solutions and charges that "nothing worked" began to surface and became chronic themes. The discrepancies between their ideal script and actual practice were becoming increasingly evident and the TCFLG problems became unavoidable.

At this point, the organizational members had to somehow account rhetorically for these emerging differences. Two different strategies were tried in response to the difficulties. The first was the "prison guard theory" which attempted to account for differences among women. The second was a revival and slight revision of the ideals by the founders. Neither was successful in resolving the growing tensions between ideal and practice.

Just before a weekend Feminist Retreat, held about a year after the TCFLG was established, several members circulated a paper entitled "The Prison Guard Theory," written by women's movement members in California. The paper accounted for differences among women by categorizing and judging them. The basic definition of the prison guard was directed toward women unsympathetic to the movement in general:

A Prison Guard is a woman who systematically works to maintain male supremacy. She serves as a model of permissible female behavior. It is her job to identify and stop women who are breaking the rules. If she is unable to deal with the trouble makers herself, she informs men of the difficulty, whereupon they call out their troops. 16

The analogy goes on to identify variations of the prison guard who populate the women's movement. Four types are described to aid detection and to allow women "...to become quick and accurate in our ability to stop and publically call a guard, a guard." The theory calls for the group to eliminate "guards." The first type they paint is the "Goody-Goody," who can be identified by the "silver sweet smile of sisterhood" which she uses to do away with "true revolutionary feminists" and thus create a "boring" movement. The "Girl Scout" type is the hard worker, "happiest when organizing stupid seminars, classes, and demonstrations." The "Humane Revolutionary" is categorized as the most dangerous. She is into collectives and alternative life styles, sometimes a lesbian, and

somehow "avoids work but is able to travel around visiting various members of the movement." The fourth type is the "Accommodator" who tries to patch up differences between revolutionary feminists and guards, "Asking for endless explanations.... She's mainly concerned with wasting your endless time." 17

While these dramas attempted to account for differences between women, both in general and in internal organizational dynamics, they did so in a way that was explosive for the organization. This category system mirrored some of the roles that typically emerge in task groups and organizations, but dramatizes them as destructive to the women's movement. At the retreat, women participating in the Prison Guard fantasies used them to attack individual women, especially those living with or married to men. This was a breaking point for many women; a number left feeling very alienated from the organization. Others responded by counter-attack and charges against the organization for its inability to work with all women. The prison guard theory did not resolve the problems TCFLG had encountered concerning differences among women; indeed, it served as a wedge to further divide women within the organization. By this point, the TCFLG was beginning to lose participants and its internal organizing was dominated by conflict and simmering dissension.

In response to the organizing issues and conflicts that had surfaced within the first year, one of the TCFLG founders and key publicists responded with an explanation of the group's problems in the context of the original script and ideals. Helen Victry (pen name for Nicki Mugli) offers the perspective of the TCFLG founders via this reinterpretation and slight revision of the original script:

I have new information about the Revolution on Mr. Dick's farm. You may recall the first revolution there was a failure, because females had been ignored and the revolution resulted in a hierarchy of the "most oppressed animals." Well, the Hen wrote me an angry letter about it. Here it is, and I apologize for my mistake:

First of all, I would like to thank you for writing the history of our revolution. It has been ignored by other sections of the press...However, something sticks in my craw. You made it seem like the female animals only got themselves together after the male animals had made their so-called "revolution of the most oppressed." You made it seem like we had no internal problems ourselves. I'd like to lay the truth, and make this clear....

In the long period questioning, agitating, and demonstrating that preceded the so-called revolution of the males, the females, in fact, had most of the ideas. But yet, our work was largely limited to encouraging the males and cleaning up the mess left in the barnyard after their rallies. Eventually female caucuses sprang up, since we could see our ideas were not being considered by the males.



Next we met together to see just what our own problems were. Soon internal problems arose. I must confess I played a large part in undermining female unity. I am a Hen. We hens all felt terrible about the egg situation. Eggs are all we have for children, until they hatch, and waiting for the fluffy little darlings to come out was the only joy we had in life then.

At one meeting I stood up: "We have been talking for weeks about problems. I've heard about the mares and their fences, and the cow and her milk for long enough. I want to talk about my problem....Next thing I knew the goose was standing up. "I think we should deal with my problem. The creek is polluted. The only way we can save our very lives is to join with males and help them. We can't be male-haters. Also, what's wrong with being cute and flirty, if that gets the creek cleaned up?"

I said, "Alfalfa! What does the creek have to do with my eggs? I've been around since the beginning and I haven't got my problem solved yet!"

The mare said, "Why are you so hostile? Just because you hens were first to get together, you resent the rest of us. Sure I used to think only workers could force change--mares and stallions together. But I changed my mind, and now you act like I shouldn't be here? What's eating you?"...

But if only we had listened to the ewe! She said to us, "This squabbling is a sign of our hostility. And it grows from the way we are forced to live, trapped by fences, dirtied by filth, our motherhood made a mockery and a burden. We are together because our rage at these things is boiling over. We let our rage boil over on our sisters. If we can find ways to attack the injustices, we will stop pecking at each other. We must talk about eggs, like Hen says, but there is a limited amount we can do for any of us, until we are strong enough to take the whole farm. We must gather our strength and do whatever we can for each of us. Let's make the struggle for sisterhood just as important as the struggle against injustice."

There was silence for a while. Then: "You don't understand." "My problem is tearing me apart." "How can you talk about sisterhood, you intellectual?" So we lost; we didn't stand up for each other and we lost our chance. When we finally understood, we won, but it wasn't easy. So that's how it was... Soy Protein forever!

#### THE HEN 18

This barnyard fable captures many of the problems the TCFLG had encountered--differences between animals, conflict over allegiances with men, and the friction between the first animals (hens) and later joiners parallel TCFLG issues. The interpretation and solution offered by the ewe's analysis harken back to the sisterhood and collective unity offered

in the original script. The writer attempts to adapt the early rhetoric, acknowledge problems between women, and account for the internal difficulties but advocates the collective salvation mechanism as the only true solution.

The author of the barnyard fable and other founders began to develop and promote further solutions drawn from the earlier rhetoric. They advocated a commitment of all members of 6 minutes per newsletter, or one hour every 5 months, as a mechanism to distribute the work among the "sisterhood." They discounted age differences and suggested the "generation gap" was a temporary state that could be overcome by all women coming together. They argued that the non-structure was necessary so that "individual women would have complete control over what they would do and would not do...." 19

These attempts to maintain the original script succeeded for a time, but eventually the simmering conflict erupted. In early 1971, a proposal was made and adopted to transform the TCFLG into the Twin Cities Female Communication Center (TCFLCC). The proposed organization was drastically different from the TCFLG non-structure, calling for a policy board of 21 members, including representatives of the TCFLG small groups (e.g., newsletter, office staff, etc.) and 13 representatives of "recognized female liberation groups" within the Twin Cities.

The proposal unleashed all of the differing perceptions about the organization and the conflicts among its membership. The founders attacked the proposal as violating the organizational goals and ignoring all that had been accomplished in the first year. Others began to write to the newsletter and present their competing dramatizations of the TCFLG's weaknesses, failures, and the sins of the founders:

Despite the stated purpose, i.e., the politically impartial umbrella group, Tickflug has functioned in a highly political manner behind the title of the Twin Cities Female Liberation Group. What developed around Tickflug was a severe case of "office syndrome"--that is, once we have an office, we have a movement....Once established the Tickflug proceeded to alienate anyone who would not go along with their bullshit. For example, the idea of non-structure, participatory democracy, consensus decisions, came to be identified as the female way to get things done--it was morally correct. The fact it didn't happen to work seemed to bother no one as long as it was not brought out in the open. 20

Tickflug is further charged with being saturated with a simplistic "pro-woman, anti-male" line which discounted any alliances with males and acknowledged no barriers of class or race among women. Minority and gay women are cited as feeling unwelcome or "turned off" by the group's lack of structure, open political line, or ability to get work done.

A full-fledged battle among all factions within the organization ensued. TCFLG was totally paralyzed as different sides presented competing dramas about the organizational history and the intentions and

motives of different factions. The challengers won this battle, but lost support of most of the members. They did not have the allegiance or ownership the first generation had established, and they "won" an empty shell of the old organization. TCFLCC died in two months.

How the Rhetoric Aided and Impeded Organizing. The original script, drawn from the early movement rhetoric, was effective in launching the TCFLG organization. The promise of change through collective strength drew women together and the ideals of the rhetoric provided motive and guidance to attempt new forms of organizing. The emphasis on access, shared work, and participation in all facets of decision-making and organizing were attractive and encouraging for the organization's membership.

There were obvious weaknesses as well. The original script was simply too simple; it could not account for differences among women and offered little guidance for the actual organizing process. As the TCFLG membership grew, these weaknesses created increasingly severe problems for the more diverse membership and the growing organizing demands. It is argued here, however, that the fundamental problems were not within the script itself. Rather, the fatal weaknesses came from the inability or unwillingness of organizational members to adapt the script and accommodate rhetorically the problems and differences they encountered.

What finally broke up the TCFLG was the inability to use the script ideals flexibly, as a guide to the future rather than a rigid prescription for "right" and "wrong" methods for organizing. Those who created the rhetoric had been engaged in simultaneously breaking new rhetorical ground and establishing the collective means of carrying on the movement. What had been so effective in drawing women to the movement and building consciousness in the early groups seemed to them to be the "right" choice for their further work. They had created and believed strongly in the new rhetoric's ideals and saw their work as the inevitable struggle to implement the desired changes. When they saw organizational problems they sought explanation in the original script which had served them well in the past. Although their collective work was yet imperfect, it was still in their eyes far better than the "other world" traditional structures.

Newcomers were probably most attuned to the problems but sensitive to their own status on the edges of the organization. They tried to criticize and point out the discrepancies between the ideal and the practice, but met the divisive judgments of the prison guard theory or the same rhetoric reworked to reinterpret new events. Finally, in frustration they proposed a new structure remarkable in its deviation from the original script. They felt the need to resurrect the failing organization, a critical step in order to achieve some standard of efficiency and effectiveness. When this was met with resistance by the founders, the newcomer factions dredged up an entire litany of the past sins and failings of the organization. They turned on the originators and attacked them for having tried to do what their rhetorical ideals required them to do. The practical newcomers saw the past as "luxuriously idealistic," inhibiting new participants and organizational effectiveness. Founders saw imperfections, but clung to their visionary script. Instead of

recognizing and appreciating what had been accomplished, newcomers crucified the founding members for failing to achieve the ideals which they espoused, and they rejected the ideals and the original script as well.

One of the major problems was the long period of time that the ideals were used to mask and limit dissent and any discussion over the organizing process. It was probably due to both the hopes and dreams of the founders, who did not wish to admit failure and give in to traditional methods, and the limited willingness of less experienced and accepted newcomers to challenge the "party line" of the organization. Whatever the reasons, it deferred the conflict. As time went on, the script and organizing were increasingly out of synchronization, while the unacknowledged and unattended problems simmered and grew. Finally, the conflicts erupted but the differences had grown beyond accomodation. Instead of rhetorical adjustment to new experiences, the organizational members were faced with explosive, polarized and strongly competing fantasies and scripts. The ideals had been used to cloud and constrict the channels of communication until the sole choices were strongly opposed either/or organizing scripts.

#### Conclusions and Lessons: A Guide for Further Research

The preceding discussion illustrates the degree of explanation and understanding afforded by the use of fantasy analysis in the study of organizing in a single case example. Delineation of fantasy types in the early movement discourse allowed discovery of the ideal "script" for organizing, which was embedded in the rhetorical reality constructed by the movement members. Analysis of communication about organizing provided an understanding of how the case organization "operationalized" their ideal script with organizational norms and rules compatible with the rhetorical reality of the new movement. Further analysis of the content of group and organizational communication helped identify key issues the case organization encountered in implementing its script. Finally, evaluation of the way in which the case organization coped with these problems provides some insight into the influence of rhetoric on the organizing process.

Obviously, what is presented here is specific to the single organization studied. It is also the product of rhetorical criticism, and thus the "lessons" are based on both the capabilities and limits of the critic. However, just as methods of rhetorical criticism and fantasy theme analysis have proven useful to the study of small group communication, it is assumed here that these methods can be fruitful in further studies of organizing organizations. Repeated case studies can build a body of knowledge about the influence of rhetoric on organizing, and how organizations cope with these influences. Further research can help determine if regular patterns of influence and response exist, contributing to our understanding of organizing as a communicative enterprise.

The "lessons" derived from this study are offered with this spirit and intention. The findings of this study suggest some issues to be considered in further research. They are presented here in the hope that they might further research about the interactive effects of rhetoric

and organizing. While this study focused on a movement organization, possible relevance to other kinds of organizing are also mentioned in the following discussion.

1) The Effects of Rhetoric on Organizing. In this case, the rhetoric had a substantial effect on the organizing process. The "collective salvation" script established a whole constellation of values, motives, and assumptions about the merit of women coming together. This script launched TCFLG and provided the guiding principles for all organizational methods of operation.

The script itself was borne from the earliest stages of the women's movement, where the rhetors were striving to break up and challenge old rhetorical ground in order to implant a new consciousness. The fantasies at this stage were extreme and simplistic, very blunt characterizations that provided the strongest contrast and the strongest judgments of the prevailing social reality. Accordingly, the "script" was overly simple and extreme. The universal heroine, the homogenization of all women, and the dichotomized victimization/salvation was to a major extent a product of the rhetorical needs at that stage of the movement.

It is possible that the findings of this study are generalizable. The "script" of any beginning organization is by necessity extreme and far over-reaches the capabilities of its participants. New movement groups must paint the evils of the old and the promise of the new. New business organizations must offer incentives for its "pioneers," those willing to take a risk and challenge the unknown. A new organizational script may ask for superhuman member commitment, set overly idealistic goals, require new and different procedures and methods, or some combination of the three. In order to attract converts and capitalize on their resources, the "script" must promise and demand extraordinary things for its participants. One of the major rhetorical tools for doing so is to build the distinct consciousness, the description of how and why this group is different and does things differently. The sense of community is a prerequisite for the new organization.

As the organization is built on the original "script," it also builds strong beliefs and commitment on behalf of its founders. In this case study, the tenacious allegiance to the original script by the first generation was an advantage in inaugurating the organization, but proved eventually a stumbling block to organizational change and adaptation. The founders believed in the success of the script, but their success precipitated the very issues which challenged the script--diversity among the membership and increased demands for specialization and division of labor. When the first generation responded with rigid reliance on the initial plan, they engendered resentment by those who sensed weaknesses in the script. The rhetoric continued to influence the organizing process, but became a barrier to change rather than a guide to the future.

Other organizations may well experience the same tensions. As founders create and launch a successful "organizing" plan, they become convinced of its strength and relatively blind to its shortcomings. Yet these successes may precipitate organizational growth and maturity which

make the plan, appropriate for the early stage, quickly outdated and dysfunctional for the greater and later number of organizational participants. The "new guard" has less allegiance and commitment to the original plan and may be more sensitive to its weaknesses. Their challenges, however, are inhibited by the ownership and beliefs of the founders or "old guard."

If this is indeed a problem that may be faced by a number of organizations, attention ought to be equally directed to how organizations cope with these probable or inevitable problems in implementing their script. One way to do so is to consider the lessons of this case study from the opposite angle--to consider ways in which the organizing influenced the rhetoric.

2) The Effects of Organizing on Rhetoric. In this case study, the TCFLG organization encountered challenges to its script from the early days on. The major problem, however was not in the script itself but the rigid reliance on the script which blocked adjustment and revision. While this may well be understandable (as discussed above in the influence of the rhetoric on the organizing) it obviously led to the demise of the TCFLG amid bitter acrimony. The alternative would have been for organizational members to use the actual organizing experiences from the outset to feed back into and revise the rhetoric and script. If the ideals and practice could have been continuously readjusted to keep the experiences and ideal script in synchronization, the TCFLG members could have capitalized on the merits of each rather than ending in polarized and mutually exclusive choices that essentially ended the TCFLG and its proposed successor, TCFLCC.

There are several key reasons this readjustment and revision did not take place:

- 1) There was no clear mechanism for integrating new members. New women were attracted to the movement and the TCFLG, but many felt different and unwelcome. Their charges were ignored or denied, creating resentments and conflicts that simmered over a long time.
- 2) The first attempt to revise the script was punishing and divisive. The "Prison Guard Theory" failed to acknowledge differences in a way that helped, rather than hurt organizational members. Instead of resolving problems, further resentments built and simmered.
- 3) The founders clung to the script. When the prison guard theory failed, they revived the original script and sought to explain away or smooth over the differences and conflicts. Because of their "ownership" of the original rhetoric and their artistry in using these tools, they did deflect the conflict and resisted any changes for a longer period of time.
- 4) The organization had blocked communication channels that

would have allowed revision and change. Due to the lack of integration of new members, the divisive judgments of challengers in the prison guard theory, and the skills and ownership of the founders in reoffering the script, conflicts were not dealt with for a long period of time. Factionalism and divisiveness grew and conflict finally erupted as the polarized, dichotomized choices of organizational structure.

The TCFLG built up a pattern of denying conflict and limiting access to the rhetoric and script that was unhealthy for participants and unproductive for the organization. The final battle of competing proposals was but a symptom of their conflict avoidance and a product of the resulting factionalism and simmering resentments.

Other organizations may experience different problems in matching their organizing with their rhetoric and script, or they may experience different degrees, sequences, or configurations of the problems met by TCFLCC. It is argued here, however, that the underlying principles of tension and change probably affect other kinds of organizations. Static plans do not cope well with change; new and later participants do not function well if they have no access to the rhetoric and script which guides the overall collectivity. Without organizational channels and mechanisms to accommodate new people and account for new experiences, resentments do grow and conflicts eventually surface. The form of these channels and mechanisms, as well as their effectiveness will undoubtedly differ from organization to organization, as the problems differ. Future study of how organizations develop mechanisms to cope with such problems (or fail to) can do much to increase our understanding of organizing as it contributes to rhetoric.

Rhetoric and organizing are both human communicative experiences. This study attempted to use the tools of our discipline to better understand the influence of rhetoric on organizing and the converse, the possible influence of organizing on rhetoric. Hopefully, the method used here provided a rationale and the case study offered some insight that might be used to further our understanding of the interactive influence of rhetoric and organizing as dimensions of human communication.

#### ENDNOTES

1. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 5, March (1970)\*
2. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 1, November 11, 1969.
3. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 7, April (1970)\*
4. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 7, April (1970)
5. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 1, November 11, 1969.

6. From The Document, dated November, 1971, distributed preceding a day-long conference on December 11, 1971. The Document was originally available at a mailing address listed as 420-8th St. S.E., Mpls., Mn. 55414. It was later available for \$.50 at Amazon Bookstore, Minneapolis, Mn.

7. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 17, September, 1970.

8. The Married Women's Group carried the following announcement in the first issue of the Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter:

We cannot ignore the commitment we have made to ourselves and our husbands. We are aware of the weaknesses in the social system of this country and of the institution of marriage in particular. We have made a decision to adapt our lives to marriage. The alternatives open to single women are not available to us. We live with our choice.

9. The following discussion was reported in Issue No. 7 of the Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter:

Shirley Chisholm, the black Congresswoman from Brooklyn, on a talk show said that she was more discriminated against as a woman than as a Negro (black) when she ran for Congress.

When this was brought up at the WAMS meeting with respect to how we showed our support for Earlene Adams the group did not seem to know how we could support the black women in their struggle for rights. Some people who have been in close contact with the rights movement feel that the Negro women are stronger in relation to their men than are the white, and also that black men in climbing up out of their oppression are more male supremacist (if such a thing is possible) than the white men....

10. From a letter signed by Rosa LaBelle, Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 7, April (1970).

11. From a letter signed by Kathy Weesner, Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 7, April (1970).

12. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 14, July, 1970.

13. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 16, August, 1970.

14. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 16, August, 1970.

15. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 17, September, 1970.

16. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 18, October, 1970.

17. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 18, October, 1970.



18. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 23, February, 1971.
19. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 27, May, 1971.
20. Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter, No. 26, April, 1971.

\*Issues of the Twin Cities Female Liberation Newsletter were not numbered by page. Some of the early issues did not carry year dates, but could be fairly accurately placed by sequence. Dates in parentheses reflect the lack of printed dates.

The TCFLG newsletters are available in the Women's Resource Collection, the Minnesota Women's Center, University of Minnesota, 306 Walter Library, Minneapolis, Mn. 55414.

THE MAY 4, 1970 KENT STATE INCIDENT

Reports in Contention:

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest  
The Ohio Grand Jury

Patricia Arneson \*

Government portrayal of the May 4, 1970, Kent State incident as reported by the President's Commission on Campus Unrest varies remarkably from the Ohio grand jury's findings. Fact suppression and the distinct timing with which the media revealed their findings contributed significantly to the discrepancies supporting the reports' decisions and recommendations. A brief historical overview of the incident will assist in clarification of certain issues later presented in this ethical evaluation. Kent State exemplifies a place and time in which college campus personnel were active pursuers of accurate current national event understanding.

THE INCIDENT

Kent State University (Kent, Ohio) was the scene of a campus revolt against the United States' invasion of Cambodia. The Ohio National Guard was summoned to suppress the demonstrators. Their intent was tragically effective; their open fire killed four students, nine others were injured.

On Friday night, May 1, there was rioting by a crowd of students and others in the town of Kent; although Saturday was quieter, Governor Rhodes, responding to a request from the mayor of Kent, arbitrarily fixed an 8 P.M. curfew for students. He also, without warning, called out the National Guard on late Saturday afternoon. By 10:30 that night the Kent State ROTC building had burned down and National Guardsmen had moved onto campus. On Saturday and Monday, officers and men of the National Guard occupied the campus of Kent State University. This was done without request from the university president, Robert White. National Guardsmen hurled tear gas canisters ... and Guard officers shouting through bullhorns ... ordered students to disperse. On Monday afternoon, two girls and two boys were shot to death, and nine other students were wounded. Classes were being held throughout Monday right up to the time officers and Guardsmen fired sixty-one shots ... No National Guardsmen sustained serious injury .... 1

Perceptions of the four day event are in dispute. Reports support various sides of the issue.

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\* Patricia Arneson is a 1983 graduate of St. Cloud State University and a graduate student at southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL.

MEDIA COVERAGE

As the events in Kent escalated during the first week of May, 1970, the national news media gave them wider coverage. Evasive, inconsistent reports appeared as news sources struggled vigorously to obtain first information about the scene. In an early release issue (which was later rectified), the Kent-Ravenna Record-Courier on May 4, 1970 reported, "2 Guardsmen, 1 Student Dead in KSU Violence." Numerous verbal rumors further clouded perceptions of the event. An example includes, "The leftist news media tried to create sympathy for the slain students by printing high school portraits, not photos showing that they had become hippies." 2 On May 13, 1970, in the Garrettsville, Ohio, edition of the Town and Country Trader, the following comment appeared on the editorial page:

Wake Up!! Mr. and Mrs. America  
'Let the Silent Majority Be Heard'  
Put an End to ...

Punkism, hooliganism, cowardism, hippyism, agitorism, draft dodgerism ... TAKE ACTION NOW!! Visit your college children often - make surprise visits - "See Them in Action!" Is your child in college misbehaving? 3

These samples are indicative of countless reports disseminated by the mass media.

MISINTERPRETTED COMMUNICATIONS

Local, state, and national authorities gave prompt attention to the personal and public reactions to the events which occurred that first weekend in May. "A number of investigatory bodies were appointed, and as their reports became known they provoked rather than stilled controversy." 4

Although no official injunction was sought or obtained, John Huffman (executive assistant to Vice President for Student Affairs Robert Matson) began to work on a proposed "State of Emergency" definition. A Guard officer implied to Huffman that a State of Emergency permitted "no gatherings or rallies at all." This was the subject of a distributed leaflet which falsely implied that the previous days' destruction had led to "the Governor's imposition of a state of emergency ... [which] prohibited all forms of outdoor demonstrations or rallies - peaceful or otherwise, ..." twelve thousand copies of that false statement spread throughout KSU. 5

On June 13, President (Richard Milhous) Nixon announced the appointment of a nine-man President's Commission on Campus Unrest (PCCU), chaired by former Pennsylvania Governor Wm. Scranton. A brief synopsis of political events leading to the assignment of the Scranton Commission will help unravel the Commission's final conclusion as presented publicly October 1, 1970.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND: PCCU

On May 1, 1970, President Nixon referred to campus activists as "these bums ... blowing up the campuses." 6 However, the week of May 18, President Nixon wrote personal letters expressing sympathy to the parents of the students. 7

May 5, 1970, Nixon stated in a speech to the nation concerning the Kent incident, "When dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy." 8

On May 21, 1970, "Education commissioner James Allen, in a meeting with the U.S. Office of Education employees, spoke of 'the disasterous effect that this (the Cambodia) action has had on education throughout the country.'" He was fired by the President on June 10 for criticizing Nixon with respect to his insensitivity to student concerns. 9

The first intimation that President Nixon planned to convene a commission came on May 25, when Presidential news aide Herbert Klein disclosed that "a high-level commission to get to the bottom of the facts" would soon be appointed. On the same day Joe Eszterhas wrote in his article, "Ohio Honors Its Dead," that another press aide, Gerald Warren, "clarified" Klein and said the purpose of the commission "wouldn't necessarily be to get to the bottom of the facts of the shooting," but that it would be a "broad study." 10

While the Scranton Commission was preparing to start its investigation, Attorney General Mitchell, on July 20, 1970, said that there were "apparent violations of federal law" involving both students "and guardsmen." He further stated that the Justice Department would take action with a view to prosecuting violators "if Ohio authorities do not." 11

President Nixon appointed Scranton as chairman of the PCCU and empowered him to subpoena witnesses. Through imposition of a time limit on the investigation, however, this important advantage was virtually nullified. 12

PCCU DECISION

The commission failed to come up with any explanation for the shooting at Kent State, and, in the belief that the Justice Department would convene a government grand jury, avoided touching on any possible criminal aspects of the Ohio National Guards' conduct. The commission stated that, "Although the killings constituted a national tragedy it was not a unique tragedy. Only the magnitude of the student disorder and the extent of the student deaths and injuries set it apart from similar occurrences on numerous other American campuses during the past few years." 13

POLITICAL BACKGROUND: OHIO GRAND JURY REPORT

Mitchell's statement on July 20, 1970 was "a blunt warning to Governor James Rhodes, and coming on top of Portage County Prosecutor Ronald Kane's demands for state financial aid to launch his own grand jury

inquiry - an effort that Rhodes had thwarted because of Kane's announced determination to subpoena the governor as a witness - it left the Republican leader with no alternative." 14 Less than a week after the Mitchell statement, Governor Rhodes announced the convening of a special Ohio grand jury to investigate Kent State. "This action effectively stifled Kane and, at the same time, relieved the Justice Department of any role in the killings until after the grand jury released its findings." 15 Pressured into a corner politically, Rhodes had to conform to Mitchell's request and from that action these words were written:

It is evident that the Portage County special grand jury investigation was a fraud from the start. It was summoned at the direction of the Republican State Attorney General, a friend of Governor Rhodes, who assigned two other political friends, Seabury Ford [chairman of the Republican Executive Committee of Portage County] and Robert Balyeat, to direct proceedings of this special grand jury with Ronald Kane, the Republican County prosecutor. 16

"The F.B.I. conducted a general inquiry and then turned its report over to Portage County Prosecutor Ronald J. Kane. A Justice Department official flew to Ravenna in mid-June to tell Kane that the department had no plans to call a federal grand jury. Meanwhile, Kane made it plain that he was interested in identifying for prosecution those students who had participated in Monday's rally on the commons." 17 Questions enveloped the entire incident, ranging from the chair appointment of Wm. Scranton, to the political implications involved in reaching some verdict of punishment in the affair. Thus, the stage was set.

#### DECISION DISCREPANCIES AND ACTION

The grand jury handed down 30 indictments covering 25 defendants and 43 offenders, ranging from disorderly conduct to burning the ROTC building. None of the 25 was a Guardsman. They were students and non-students, and Dr. Thomas Lough, a member of the faculty. 18

The jury found the guard essentially blameless, condemned the university administration, which "fostered an attitude of laxity, over-indulgence, and permissiveness with its students and faculty to the extent where it can no longer regulate either. The university has obviously contributed to the crisis it now faces [by] the overemphasis it has placed ... on the right to dissent." 19 Kent State University President Robert I. White was found guilty of negligence.

The Ohio grand jury ruled that the troops "fired their weapons in the honest and sincere belief and under circumstances which would have logically caused them to believe that they would suffer serious bodily injury had they not done so." This conclusion contradicted both the Justice Department's summary of the F.B.I. report, (which found the shootings "not necessary and not in order" and names six guardsmen who "could be held criminally responsible") and the President's Commission on Campus Unrest which concluded the soldiers' lethal volley as "unnecessary, unwarranted, and inexcusable." 20

Amidst all the inconsistencies that appear, the media continued its attempt to persuade citizens that "no pertinent facts seem to be in dispute." 21 To further insure that the testimony given to the grand jury would be secret, Portage County Common Pleas Judge Edwin R. Jones sealed off the courthouse to the news media entirely.

Kent State University President Robert I. White, was granted one press conference and one student-body conference; however, he was admonished to "refrain from any critical comment regarding the report of the Special Grand Jury ... and shall refrain from any comment regarding his [or others'] testimony ... before said Special Grand Jury or any other proceedings." 22

President White opted not to hold any special conferences; instead, "He issued a short written statement: 'It is impossible for me to make comment ... without critical comment.' A Cleveland federal court heard White's plea for lifting the Ohio judges' ruling, and affirmatively responded on October 29." 23 The following week in Washington, White responded publicly to the Ohio grand jury's decision.

White said that "the grand jury report was inaccurate, disregarded clear evidence, and if pursued in all its nuances, would eventually destroy not only Kent State but all major universities in America. The right to dissent is not a right to destroy. The academic opportunity is not to be considered a sanctuary for those who disobey the laws. But neither is the academic community a place where ideas - no matter how offensive - are to be suppressed .... The comments in a grand jury report about campus speakers are judicially naive as well as fundamentally unworkable and ultimately undesirable." But White would not be pushed further. The grand jurors had "made every effort to report honestly, though they exhibited a 'mis-understanding' of higher education." 24

After a year and a half of investigations by the F.B.I., the Scranton Commission, the Ohio Grand Jury, and various local law-enforcement agencies, almost nothing had been done, either by the federal government or by the state, to pinpoint responsibility for the death of four students.

#### ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS

The Kent State issue, amidst all possible confusion, directs itself to one main issue: power. Each act demonstrated power in some form either to attain or sustain power already present. The students wanted to cause change of attitude towards Cambodia and thus used power. The government and state desired to suppress change by asserting its own power. The media asserted its power in formulation of public opinions, and in fact each person who decides any opinion toward any issue asserts power. Rollo May proposes that there are five levels of power present as potentialities in every human being's life: 1) The power to be; 2) Self-affirmation; 3) Self-assertion; 4) Aggression; and 5) Violence. 25 Each of these phases of power were abundant at Kent State the first week-end in May, 1970.

Interestingly, two of the four students killed at Kent State were "not involved in the protest at all. One was dressed in his ROTC uniform and was going across campus to take a test in war tactics, and another was on her way to a music class. The moral of this is clear: there are no innocent bystanders anymore. This implies something about the solidarity of human beings -- the fact that we are all part of the tragic event." 26 Merely by existing we are forced into a situation of power. This classic example of negative competitive power resulted in four deaths and nine injuries.

In viewing the Kent State incident from an ethical basis of communication standpoint, several main points are projected: 1) values necessary to utilizing this standpoint from a personal perspective; 2) the legal definitions imposed and their implication; and 3) how we react to those implications while striving to adjust these constraints to our perspective of equality and ethical responsibility. Noted authorities in the communication field have expressed their views on ethics, and it is in forming my opinion that I will include these with respect to the Kent state incident.

#### PERSONAL ETHICAL STANDPOINT

Wallace outlines four moralities which he believes are basic to the "welfare of our political system: respect, or belief in the dignity and worth of an individual; fairness, or belief in the equality of opportunity; freedom coupled with responsible exercise of freedom; and belief in each person's ability to understand the nature of democracy." 27 According to Wallace, therefore, ethically the students of Kent State as individuals had the opportunity (right) to demonstrate responsibly their beliefs on the Cambodian issue, while encouraging persons to be open to understanding their perspective. Two key words complicate this simple opinion. I refer to "opportunity (right)" and "responsibility."

Nilsen defines the term "right" to refer to actions that maximize the good as a moral basis for ethics. 28 The right to free expression is granted as a Constitutional freedom, increasing the good as a means of facilitating stronger support for our values. Flynn notes that ethical responsibility is judged by the "interrelated criteria of 1) communication intent; 2) nature of the means employed; and 3) accompanying circumstances as these three factors combine to enhance or undermine human rationality and choice-making ability." 29 Therefore, one must impose personal values in determining whether an event is or is not communicated in a manner which would unjustly influence oneself.

In determination of this decision, a person must allow their views to remain open to possible change. Rogge develops a "largely situational perspective in which ethics of communication are not to be measured against any 'timeless, universal set of standards. Ethical criteria should vary as the factors in the ... situation vary,'" he informs. 30

#### LEGAL ETHICAL STANDPOINT

Feinberg quotes the late Justice Felix Frankfurter, "The demands of

free speech in a democratic society as well as the interest in national security are better served by candid and informed weighing of competing interests, within confines of the judicial process." 31 Regardless of the implied guilt charged by the various committees, underlying personal biases and communication complications, the judicial process exists. What exists as a foundation when this becomes corrupt? Emerson recognizes that "if a system is to survive, a search must be made for ways to use the law and legal institutions in an affirmative program to restore the system to effective working order." 32 Laws then intervene to protect rights. This, in itself, poses a paradox.

The Ohio grand jury found primary guilt lying with the administration for not imposing stringent rules by which persons should abide while residing in that institution. By administering regulations, the academic environment would inhibit its purpose, to provoke thought. Again one is destined to opening up viewpoints in order to allow the best possible ethical decision to occur. Nilsen provides, "Hierarchical structure and authority appear to be essential to human organizations. But if human dignity is to be preserved, the structure must be flexible enough to adapt to the changing needs of people and the authority limited, conditioned, and exercised with prudence." 33 By not utilizing any form of touchstone as bettering possible ethical judgments, one is in fact acting unethically.

In a complex situation, one must attempt to understand all possible sides contributing to the situation. Consequently, for things to be understood clearly, there must be a constant conflict or debate between opposing ideas. In exercising control over oneself, persons must internally dissent in order to maintain an optimal viewpoint on any given issue.

#### ADJUSTMENT AMID CONSTRAINTS

Acting on this position is a part of realizing the importance and firm ground taken in personal ratification of that stance. Nilsen intercedes, "We can know the good, but unless we have an inclination to do good, the knowledge is of little value. There is no more fundamental ethical principle of impartiality" than this. 34 In demonstrating the views that particular students observed, they stood for their beliefs. In taking a personal stance, they acted in an active manner, not merely accepting the inevitable. Buber believes that "I-It relations only become evil when they master our life and shut out dialogue." 35 Dialogue was, throughout the incident, nearly nonexistent. Attempts to persuade were present both on the sides of students and the National Guard, however, through actions and symbols repulsive to the opposition. Instead of resolving the issue sanely, the inhumane act of killing occurred as a result of unethical nondialogue.

In becoming violent as a means to gain power, the protesters exemplified "decent people so intent on crushing a foul enemy that they [became], in small but distinct ways, to resemble that enemy," as Hentoff explains the nature of oppression. 36 Rebelling against the very society one is caught up in has plagued man from the beginning. Thoreau, in



On Walden Pond, demonstrates this just as clearly as the students obsessed with a nonviolent goal that warm day in Kent.

McCloskey augments Mill's infallibility argument as he defines the right to expression. "To establish an absolute right of expression ... would involve claiming that no matter what the consequences of expressing a view, no matter how much harm was done, what evils and injustices resulted, the mere possibility that a belief may be true would justify according it absolute freedom of expression." 37 Thus, in order not to become entrapped in our viewpoints, we cannot block another's expression. The courts, in essence, both derived this same conclusion in reference to the Kent State affair. The Ohio grand jury would not deny the National Guards right to fire, and the President's Commission on Campus Unrest would not deny the students free expression.

Repeatedly, consideration of context arises. Significant First Amendment doctrine includes an ad hoc balancing of interests approach. "These justices felt that each case must be decided on its own merits, with the interest at stake weighed and balanced in each case." 38 Under attack, the National Guard presumptuously did not pause to examine the merits of the students' expression. From their vantage point, obviously, the scales were weighed very heavily away from the students. The danger of not fully understanding the situation when some type of action is necessary can be readily.

Monro states, "Conscientious action on the basis of half-understood and ill-digested moral beliefs is just as dangerous as actions based on false beliefs." 39 To suppress any possible action on these grounds will, according to Mill, do more harm than good. 40 Once more the entangled interpretation of the First Amendment implying liberty of communication arises, complicated further by the actual scene of the situation and reflex-response reactions. A deliberation of 'equality' must ensue in considering the students' right to demonstrate and the National Guard's right (granted under order) to suppress.

Richards defines the first principle of justice as: "the greatest equal liberty of communication compatible with a like liberty for all ... [in which] basic liberties must be assessed as an interrelated system." 41 Deciding each case as a matter of its own merits in terms of denying liberty is justifiable, Dworkin clarifies, "because they are compromises necessary to protect the liberty or security of others, and not because they do not ... infringe the independent value of liberty." 42

To suppress is to overpower. To determine equality is to understand why the National Guard shot four Kent State students on May 4, 1970. One must realize what the students were demonstrating on that fateful day. In understanding the situation entirely, one must look to underlying factors in the actions that promoted themselves. Brownmiller implies that once we accept a basic truth we must look toward the cultural elements that "promote and propagandize these attitudes." 43

People respect that which they give credibility to, and that to which credit is given is promoted. Government may be easily used as an

example here because of the major role its credibility played in the Commissions's decisions. Bruce Ladd shares, "To the extent that a government is believed, it will function effectively. To the extent that a government is doubted, it will inevitably fall short of its goals." 44 "To condemn a message as untruthful solely because it stems from a suspect source and before directly assessing it, is to exhibit decision-making behavior" detrimental to society. 45 What the message actually signifies, regardless of the means by which it is communicated is what must be heard in drawing conclusions necessary to one's own ethical understanding.

Throughout the KSU incident, symbolic representations were abundant, from the National Guard dress, to the Constitution's burial near Kent State's Liberty Bell, to the insinuations represented by demonstrators' raised hands. On symbol-using capacity, the ethical standard advocated by Wieman and Walter is clear: "Communication is ethical to the degree that it enhances human symbol-using capacity, fulfills the need for mutual appreciation understanding, and promotes mutuality of control and influence." 46 Berger clarifies this as he informs, "It is communication that must be protected. Moreover, it is not claimed that such acts become communicative simply because the author intends them to be. Rather, they became communicative acts for that reason and the fact that they have features that suit them for the conveying of ideas." 47

#### PERSONAL INTERJECTION

Communication exists in many forms, both audible and inaudible. Ethical communication is based primarily on personally derived standards. Situation context and past experience greatly affect how we feel about the communication relayed. What happened at Kent State was a compilation of varying standards coupled with a devastatingly thorough communication crisis. The reports are in, the decisions have been permanently recorded; yet the quest for the truth remains. It is my opinion that the fault does not lie primarily with the administration (as the Ohio grand jury placed it), or with the students (as the F.B.I. reported), or even with the unknown (as the Scranton Commission maintained), but that each and every person involved that contributed in any way to the situation lies partially to blame.

One cannot be formally charged for differing ethical standards (it would be unethical to presume that all standards would unite), or for displaying an attitude of ignorant closed-mindedness, which the demonstrating students, National Guard officers, and jurors did. None can be punished for the actions committed as a result of their position unless acutely aware of the unethicity of it. Personal awareness, despite being a victim of circumstance, will be the one to convict.

It was a time of gut-raging fear, hatred, and spontaneous action. Kent State was the place in which these strong emotive forces came together. May 4, 1970, was the date on which four students died as a result of this unity. Only through complete personal imposition of highly ethical standards can unity such as occurred on Kent campus be denied from conspiring anew.

ENDNOTES

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7. "Kent State: What Happened?" Newsweek, November 23, 1970, p. 34.
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A VISITING VOICE

SCANNING THE AMBIENCE OF SPEECH COMMUNICATION

Paul W. Keller \*

ambience: n. the mood, character, quality, tone, atmosphere, etc. particularly of an environment or milieu (Random House Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged).

Jeremy Bentham, 19th Century English philosopher, is supposed to have said, "The word ought ought never to be used." In that neat turn of the phrase he let us see again how hard (impossible?) it is to talk about life in a value-free way. Theory, research, teaching -- whatever their methods -- emerge inescapably as the carriers of value systems.

Since this essay takes that conclusion to be self-evident, it turns "naturally" to examining the values that pervade our field, the atmosphere they create, and it dares to venture one person's judgment about what might beneficially be injected into that atmosphere.

If that is to be done, the word "ambience" is more useful for our purposes than is "atmosphere." It reaches in more directions, includes more subtleties, digs more deeply. And in the end, if one pursues it diligently, it can yield a picture of the forest usually hidden by the trees.

It is going to be my thesis that the purposes of the field of speech communication, rightly-conceived, are humane, liberating -- and subversive, but that they have been homogenized, and in some cases violated, by the culture they have helped to create. Getting a clearer sense of our ambience will, I believe, provide the signals we need for staying on our proper course.

Just because the "feelings" that course through a human being cannot be "seen" or precisely measured or somehow quantified, we do not deny their reality and significance. In the same sense, just because describing an ambience is a somewhat subjective task we do not deny the importance of making the attempt. Hence, onward! When we ask, "What is the ambience of our field -- its mood, character, quality, tone, atmosphere?" Three dimensions surface with special boldness:

1. We reflect the culture more than we effect it.

Institutions, we know, become more conservative the older they get. Our field is no exception. We began, in 5th Century (B.C.) Greece, as a dynamic part of the effort to introduce and maintain democracy in the

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\* Paul Keller is Professor Emeritus of Speech Communication at Manchester College, North Manchester, IN.

midst of autocratic governments. But now we have become the handmaidens of whatever cause needs espousing. Our trainees are available for political action, regardless of its virtue or vice. Our consultants are in demand all over the country to oil the wheels of corporations -- good and bad. Our skilled media graduates work their trade with few questions asked.

We have become The Great Implementers. One of the clear marks of our ambience is our capacity for adaptation. For the question, "Should we do it?" we have substituted the question, "How should we do it?" Our craft has become primarily a service occupation: if something goes wrong with the communication circuits, the smart thing is to call in the speech communication consultant. The "feel" of our field is that of a mirror rather than that of a searchlight probing new possibilities. We reflect the culture. We keep it running as it is.

Compare my experience with your own. As a teacher of speech communication, the late 60's and early 70's were a painful experience for me. I wanted to believe that the spoken word was at the center of (1) the development of every human being, and (2) the creation of a just society. That being true, I told myself, people interested in speech communication would be more involved than the mainstream in efforts to save the culture from itself. But it did not seem to work out that way. Speech communication people often turned up as promoters of the status quo. Rarely were they found among the social activists of those years. Aside from the small circle of committed inter-collegiate debaters, it was business as usual. I noted that those who saw themselves as change-agents, outside the field, put distance between themselves and those who seemed only preoccupied with lubricating the machinery already in place.

If that description is at all accurate, it stands in sharp contrast to one of the propositions offered by Franklyn S. Haiman in his recent keynote address to the Central States Speech Association Convention:

"The doctrine of speech communication," he said, "is radical and subversive. This is so because whenever one freely speaks what one thinks or feels one may upset the apperception of unquestioned authority or pierce the fog of unchallenged mysticism. Whether in the realm of government, religion, business, schools, or the family, he or she who speaks up presumes by the very act of doing so to influence the decision-making processes of that institution. To be seen and not heard is the role of subjects in an authoritarian system. To speak is potentially to express an individual difference of perception, of need, or of interest. It is often to be disputatious, to be a trouble-maker, requiring those who have previously been in control of the situation to accommodate themselves to new forces, to reckon somehow with viewpoints they may have tried to ignore." 1

The contrast between Haiman's proposition and the "adapter" quality I have mentioned previously underscores this dominant tone in our ambience. We have had, and still have, some "Caucuses" (action-oriented groups) in our profession. But they have been far from mainstream

expressions of the field and, in fact, have inspired columns of critical comment in Spectra. It is mischievous, some of the commenters say, to "politicize" our profession. Speech, we are reminded, is itself amoral -- simply a tool that can be used for good or for evil. ("Guns don't kill people. People kill people.")

Looking at our profession from the outside one would have to conclude that its dominant tone is carried in what Herbert Simons has called a "systems-oriented rhetoric,"<sup>2</sup> a rhetoric of the "haves" -- a rhetoric which hopes to dampen down conflict, make dissent appear unkind and inappropriate, and ennoble whatever is already established -- a sort of Mobil Oil rhetoric.

This cannot be the place in which to ponder why such a rhetoric is seductive for our field. There is the obvious lure of money; communication consulting insures that one need not wait to get all one's rewards in heaven. But beyond that there is the possibility that conservatism is endemic to our profession. We may be, by definition, tuned in to what is, rather than to what could be; eager to adapt, facilitate, empathize, relate, etc. The point is made not to have us point a self-accusatory finger, but to encourage more self-understanding where so dominant an element is present.

I cannot be concrete about it, but I believe that any list of those who have helped bring about social change would contain far fewer speech communication backgrounds than would a comparable list of those who espoused and encouraged the status quo. That in spite of the fact that we have struggled traditionally to see to it that the measure of "worthy" speech never separated what was "effective speech" from what was "responsible speech." "Responsible speech" has, for us, always been defined as that which enables justice, promotes democratic principles, and encourages individual growth. By implication it has always stood against injustice, exploitation, discrimination, and the like. So to ponder this first feature of our ambience is an exercise in trying to understand the distance between precept and practice.

2. We are increasingly seduced by the hope that we can be value-free.

There was a time, roughly twenty years ago, when our field suffered from what might be called a Rodney Dangerfield syndrome. Rhetorical criticism was the most influential wing of the profession, and it had built a substantial tradition. Occasionally there were critics, like Lyndrey Niles, who said, "We have been spending more time with the dead than with the living." But a far deeper discontent was stirring over what was seen as our failure to find an empirical base for our research. "We get no respect" was the refrain. Articles in sociology, psychology, political science, touching on matters related to communication, seldom cited communication researchers. We were definitely behind in the footnote sweepstakes. The explanation was that we simply had never developed an adequate methodology for behavioral research.

In the intervening years we have caught up. We have worshipped



at the shrine of the goddess of co-variance. We have tightened up our theory-making, developed methodologies especially adapted to oral interaction, and have established research journals that have found use in other disciplines as well as our own. And in this process we have moved away from a value-centered orientation. The ambience necessary for the move had to be one in which description, limitation, isolation, control were elevated and judgment, integration, and holistic speculation were kept to a minimum.

The search for respectability continues to color our ambience. It sets the tone for our professional meetings and busies us to the point that there is little time or energy available for examining the philosophies from which our choice of research topics spring. We have now developed a body of behavioral studies large enough to spawn a whole cluster of future studies whose object can be past studies -- a world of studies about studies. There are still efforts to understand what values bend our culture -- in rhetorical analyses, ethical studies (notably the labors of Richard L. Johannesen),<sup>3</sup> and in examination of the role of dialogue in human communication. But our ambience is heavily weighted in the direction of "objectivity" and that trend appears likely to continue.

### 3. We are essentially optimistic.

The mood of our field is essentially positive. It subscribes, in theory at least, to the notion that freedom of speech will, in the long run, produce the best community. It believes that most human problems -- both individual and societal -- are tractable. It therefore looks for ways in which persons and organizations can increase their self-awareness, believing that once awareness is achieved constructive behavioral change is possible.

It sees itself as a channel through which conflicts and differences among people can be used to enrich relationships rather than destroy them. It accepts the fact that along with the inordinate power of the spoken word there go responsibilities. Where societal relations or individual relations have broken down, communication, it acknowledges, has likely played a role, and will have to play a continuing role if human good is to be salvaged from the experience.

The mood of a speech communication professional meeting is gregarious, serious, and future-oriented. I have tried to describe the chief elements in the ambience of the field. Now I want to devote the final section of the essay to suggesting what might be added to that ambience to make it more nutritious.

### An ambience for the future.

An ambience, I have said, cannot be viewed directly. It has to be inferred from examples of the behavior of those who have been exposed to it. I want to take a look at three such examples that are suggestive. First, the example of St. Augustine. He taught speech (rhetoric), you will recall, for thirteen years before he left the field to become a

theologian. He left the field because his values changed. Looking back on his early days he says, "I admired Hierius (the orator) more because others praised him than for the accomplishments for which they praised him." <sup>4</sup> Elsewhere, pinning the love of adulation on himself, he says, "It was my ambition to be a good speaker, for the unhallowed and inane purpose of gratifying human vanity." <sup>5</sup> Once he admitted to himself that vanity was not an adequate value, he began to ask what greater satisfactions there might be in life for him. That led him to philosophy, and eventually into theology. He reflects an ambience, throughout the history of our field, that has fed vanity. Plato saw it in the Sophists, and resisted it as energetically as he could. It is a part of our heritage regarding which we have to be constantly on guard.

A second example is to be found in Lyndon B. Johnson. Robert A. Caro's recent biography of Johnson shows him to have been a dedicated, sensitive teacher of speech in two high schools in South Texas, before moving to Sam Houston High School in Houston. <sup>6</sup> There, in a whirlwind year, he made public speaking an immensely popular course, and took his debate team to the state finals. He was praised for his competitive drive and for his insistence on excellence. Were he teaching today he could be the darling of the "get tough" school of thought. But at the beginning of his second year, an opportunity in politics presented itself, and he seized it. If Caro is to be believed, this man's prime passion in life was the lust for power. He developed to a fine art the ways of getting his hands on power and consolidating it. The evidence is that in that process he used people freely and exploited them whenever necessary. He emerges as a prime example of one who became a very "effective" practitioner of speech communication, but who violated, repeatedly, the humane values on which the field rests. Even when he espoused good causes (e.g., civil rights, rural electrification, etc.), he did so, it appears, for the wrong reasons. Speech is an avenue to power. Our ambience needs to have in it the impulses toward what Rollo May calls "nutrient power" rather than "exploitative power."

A third example involves a Superior Court judge in a midwestern city. He has been highly newsworthy because of his innovative, humane modes of sentencing. He proves repeatedly to be empathic with both the perpetrator of the crime and the victim. His creative approach has led to an impressive rehabilitation record among the offenders he has dealt with and, in the process, has produced a new spirit of community in that city. For our purposes, the significant thing is that he attributes part of his shift, from a rigid conservatism as a freshmen college student to his present willingness to struggle for humane justice, to his presence in some college speech courses. That is the reflection of the kind of ambience, I believe, we are just walking into.

The essence of communication is the search for human community. That search is advanced every time persons arrive at healthy self-concepts. We need to nurture an ambience, therefore, that rewards healthy individuals for the building of healthy communities. In concrete terms, we need to cultivate the mood that keeps us moving ahead in arenas like these:

1) Increased understanding of the unique contributions male and female communication can make to human community.

2) Increased insight into how community can be built through communication across cultural and racial lines.

3) Exploration of human dialogue and its special role in the development of individual identity.

4) Development of ways to put communication to work in channeling the energy of conflict into the building of community.

5) New clarity regarding what constitutes social justice and how "responsible speech" can help achieve it.

An ambience is a dynamic thing. By a "heave of the will" (as William James would say), we can have a hand in determining the flow along which it will carry our field.

ENDNOTES

1. Franklyn S. Haiman, "Speech Communication: A Radical Doctrine?" Keynote address for Central States Speech Convention, Lincoln, Nebraska, April 8, 1983.

2. Herbert W. Simons, "Mobil's System-Oriented Conflict Rhetoric: A Generic Analysis," The Southern Speech Journal (Spring 1983), pp. 243-254.

3. See Richard L. Johannesen, Ethics in Human Communication, 2nd Ed., (Waveland Press: Prospect Heights, IL., 1983).

4. St. Augustine, Confessions (Penguin Books, N.Y., 1961), pp. 84-85.

5. Ibid., p. 58.

6. Robert A. Caro, Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power (Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., 1982).

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Speech Communication Department  
St. Cloud State University  
St. Cloud, MN 56301

