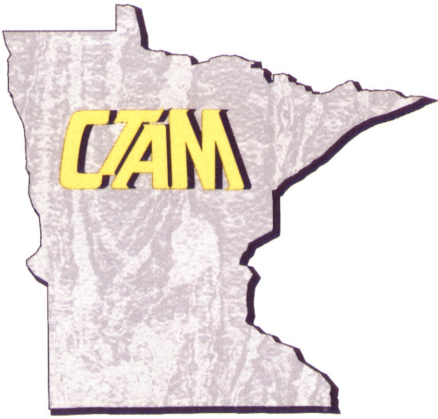


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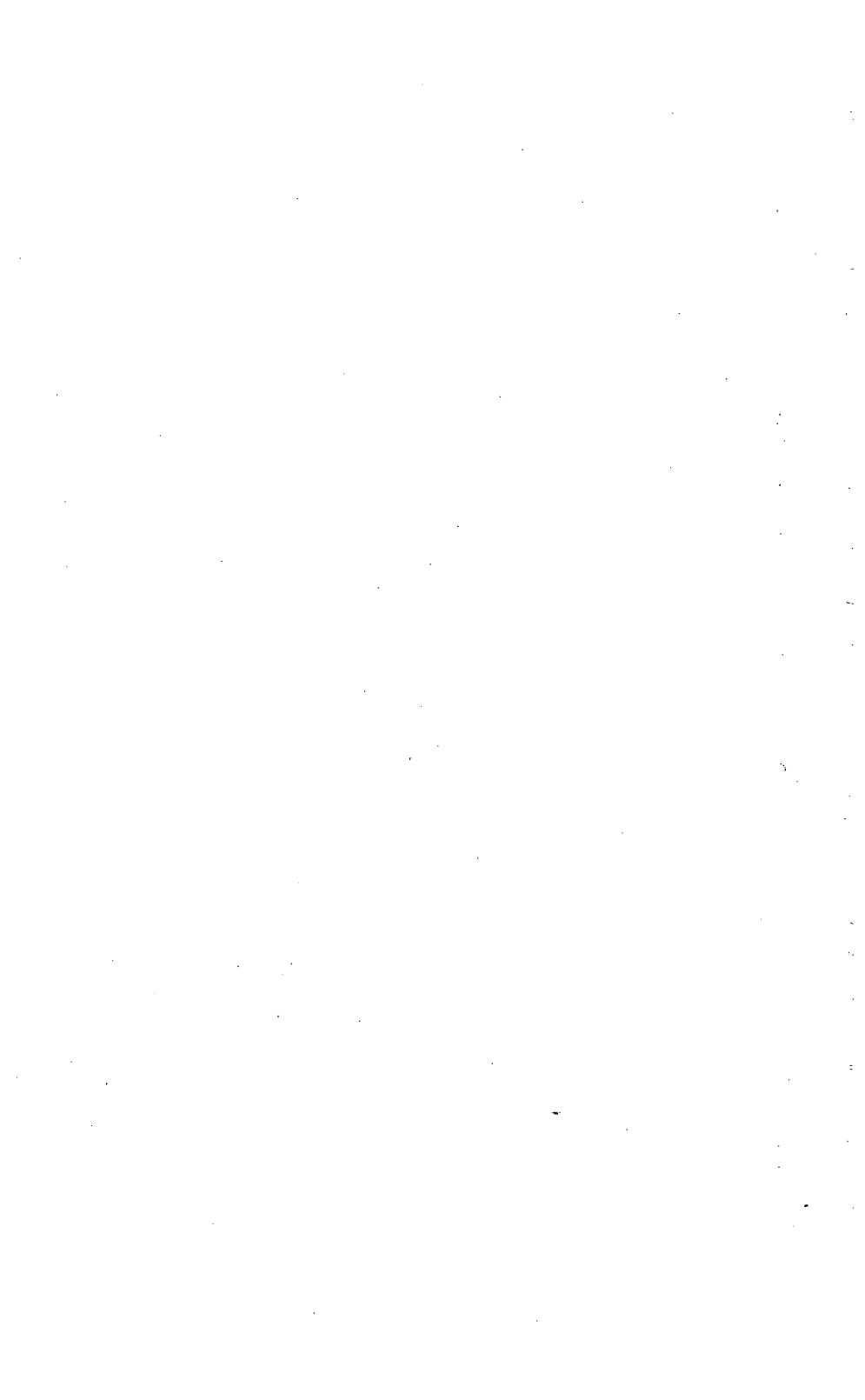
**“Incorporating Instructional
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Rationale for Implementation”**

**“(Dis)Empowering Brothers
and Sisters: The Rhetorical
Process of Disfellowship
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The Call for manuscripts goes out in the fall of the year and the deadline for submissions is in March of the following year. Details of how to submit are given in the Call which is sent to all members and all departments, and is announced in SPECTRA and the CTAM Newsletter. Book review ideas should be queried with the editor in advance of the submission date. Book reviews are generally published if accepted and on a space available basis. All articles are read anonymously by two Associate Editors. All author identification markings are removed from the articles, and no editor reads the work of a colleague. Associate Editors may submit articles to the journal, but their work must go through the process of blind review, just as any other submitter. The Journal Editor facilitates the process and makes final decisions based on the Associate Editors' recommendations and comments. If there are any questions about the process, please direct them to the Journal Editor.

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Incorporating Instructional Technologies:
A Critique of the Rationale for Implementation

Keith Green
Ridgewater College

Rather than starting with what we want to accomplish, and then examining how technology might be used to achieve those goals, we more often approach our computer decisions with the attitude: "This technology exists; we've got to have it." The result: Educational computing is largely technology-driven rather than curriculum-driven (Bromely 1998).

In the past few years, we have seen an explosion of computer technologies in education. Primarily spurred by the internet, e-mail, and educational software, more and more classroom instructors are looking at ways to incorporate computer mediated instruction into the classroom. Traditionally a province of highly technical fields, computer aided instruction is now expanding into all disciplines at all levels. Billions of dollars have been devoted to wiring schools for internet access, purchasing computers, installing software, and creating multi-media classrooms (Ruppert 1998).

The rationale for this investment in instructional technology seems self-evident. Our students will be living and working in a technological environment in which computers interact with humans in virtually every component of their lives. They must be technologically literate, as able to communicate as effectively via e-mail as on a telephone. The education system at all levels must help facilitate this technological literacy, and as a response to this need, many faculty members are seeking out ways to use instructional technologies in the classroom to prepare students to enter this technical world.

However, the assumptions on which the incorporation of this technology is premised must be examined. Much has been written about the overall drive to marry traditional education with technology, addressing the sheer lack of conscious decision making in incorporating these technologies:

There is an *a priori* presumption that the addition of new technologies brings automatic benefits. Other innovations—the use of paid consultants, for instance—are routinely planned with attention to the subtle hazards of vested interests, mixed motives, unforeseen effects, and the like, but the special status of technology renders it largely immune from such

considerations (Bromley 1998).

Although concerns about the unbridled emphasis on incorporating instructional technologies at a macro level are of serious concern, this paper will take a much narrower focus, critiquing my own assumptions in the incorporation of instructional technologies in my Speech and Theatre classes at Ridgewater College, a 2 year comprehensive community college. I aim to not only address where those assumptions are flawed, but to also address appropriate uses of instructional technologies in such a classroom.

Inappropriate Uses of Instructional Technologies

During the development of the instructional technologies I have been using, I have justified the time needed to develop those items (and the cost required to attain the appropriate hardware and software) by believing that our students must graduate from Ridgewater College being very computer literate, comfortable accessing the internet, using e-mail, and in general being able to navigate the internet much as we expect students to navigate a library. Since our students are going to be living in a technological world, employed in careers in which computers are as common as pens, pencils, and paper, I felt it was important for me to do "my part" in encouraging the development of this computer literacy, much as we have such emphases as "writing across the curriculum" or "thinking across the curriculum."

To be blunt, my assumptions were wrong; if not wrong they were at the least misdirected. For several reasons, as discussed below, I now feel my current emphasis on incorporating instructional technologies in an oral communication classroom has been misplaced pedagogically, misplaced personally, and misplaced professionally.

1. As Marshal McLuhan so aptly observed, "The medium is the message." Nowhere is this more insightful than in its application to instructional technologies. In teaching speech and theatre, to reduce what I teach to something that can be conveyed via digital format is a diminishing of the interdependent complexities of human communication to an act of simple data transfer. Phillips (1993) stated, "Electronic communication is the antithesis of face-to-face human talk." The core of the speech courses I teach, especially the basic, hybrid course, is the very fluidity and negotiative aspects of attempting to come to some mutual understanding in this thing we call communication. In other words, I teach that human communication is absolutely imprecise. Yet, by inferring by usage that concepts of human communication can be taught via Netscape I am in effect diminishing the value of the very dynamic nature of communication I profess.

2. Teaching itself is a communication act with its own dynamics and fluidity, and to again reduce it simple data transfer ignores the sponta-

neous nature of this very human endeavor. I am very comfortable that if all students need are directions or basic facts, dehumanized digital data transfer may be highly appropriate. However, when attempting to teach students not only the concepts of human communication, but to do so in such a way as to trigger enthusiasm and involvement, any mediated communication falls short. On our campus many of us have refused to teach any performance class via ITV just because one cannot replicate the public speaking dynamic via mediated contexts, and having the student performing, experiencing and reacting to those classroom dynamics is a major part of the learning experience. Since the digital transfer of information presumes one can reduce "speech learning" to a few strokes of the keyboard, to make this computer mediated communication a core part of my speech pedagogy is antithetical to the very concepts we are attempting to teach.

3. Students learn from teachers, not from mediated information dissemination methods:

The most important professors and teachers for me were effective much more because of their emotional excitement and how they conveyed it, and the emotional bonding they had with students, and not simply because of their intellectual knowledge.

The professors were creating an exciting, emotionally engaged learning experience, and I'm willing to be proven wrong, but, in my own experience, that exchange has got to be face-to-face (Sclove interview, *Thought & Action*, 1998).

Regardless of how students get the basic data, to come to an understanding of that data, to transform data into information, requires the live interaction with a person committed to aiding the student's understanding and application of the data. When we rely too heavily on instructional technologies, we diminish the importance of that human interaction suggesting the human component is incidental to the learning process. Hodas (1993) argues that such a reduction of the complexity of teaching to data transfer is an erroneous conclusion:

This didacticism posits education as the transfer of information from a repository to a receptacle, a cognitive diffusion gradient across a membrane constituted not by the rich, tumultuous, contradictory social process that situate the student, the teacher, and the school within society, but solely by the "instructional delivery vehicle." By this light, of course, nearly any organic, indigenous school practice or organization will be found wanting, since schools intend to promote many outcomes ahead of information transfer.

4. Technologies can hide teaching weaknesses. I find myself relying on instructional technologies to add a spark of excitement to a topic I have found uncomfortable or uninspired in teaching. For example, I find myself creating animated PowerPoint presentations on basic communication theory concepts, not because they are more educationally sound, but to reinspire myself in addressing the same issues repeatedly. Furthermore, the sheer time used to create those visual components is stolen from what could otherwise be used to create more dynamic in-class activities and assignments to teach the same materials and, simultaneously, which engage the student in the very human communication we teach. Most instructors, especially those teaching at the freshman and sophomore levels, have discovered the ease of lecture and the difficulty of facilitating quality student involvement. Thus, by adding a multi-media component, an internet search assignment, or some other use of the technology, I am avoiding the real issue—I need to be better at developing quality teaching methods for that topic in that classroom at that moment. To use instructional technologies as an integrated component of an overall pedagogical approach is not inherently wrong; however, when that component is used as an attempt to avoid addressing teaching weaknesses, those problems get ignored.

This concern leads to a related issue, that of using instructional technologies as a vehicle to alleviate teacher boredom versus as a method of truly enhancing student learning. As a teacher of only freshman and sophomore classes, largely teaching the same course in multiple sections semester after semester, a malaise can set in. Accordingly, I look for ways to reinvigorate myself, with instructional technologies being one of those. As Noble (1998) observed, "Last but not least, behind this effort are the ubiquitous technozealots who simply view computers as the panacea for everything, because they like to play with them." However, as I teach in public speaking, one of the largest mistakes speakers make is making choices based solely on what the speaker wants, ignoring the dynamics of the audience relationship. Again, by incorporating instructional technologies to alleviate my boredom, I am engaging in the very process I profess students should avoid.

5. Pragmatically the more the classroom relies on technology, the more problems that will arise from when the technology does not function properly. Again, as I teach my public speaking students, anytime a speaker cannot give his/her speech without his/her visual aids, the speaker has placed too much emphasis on those aids. Instructional technologies should be an aid, not a replacement: "From a pedagogical perspective, the point of injecting new technology, rather than to add nonessential frills to the basic communication course vehicle, is to deal with recognized shortcomings in the process" (Donovan 1995). Thus, over-reliance on these technologies is a violation of the very concepts we teach our students.

6. In Minnesota today, higher education, especially at the junior college level, is being pushed to graduate "skilled" workers to help ad-

dress the statewide labor shortage. There is a strong emphasis on purely technical skills, with a diminishing focus on liberal arts:

Wherever one looks in American education these days there is an emphasis upon teaching programs that will prepare students for the immediate needs of corporations, the ability to write Web pages, for example, rather than for students' enduring educational needs (Winner 1997).

The more those of us in the liberal arts attempt to fulfill this demand for technically literate students by some form of technological infusion, the more we minimize the humanness of what we teach. Likewise, the more time I have students spend accessing the internet, taking quizzes online, or communicating via e-mail the less time I am using to focus on what I really should be doing—the teaching of face to face human communication.

7. It is not my job to teach students how to use computer technologies. Rather, it is just the opposite:

Part of our [speech educators'] imperative is to help people deal with the problems of loneliness and alienation from which they suffer now and which will grow more severe in a virtual reality society. That means more than learning **about** how people related to one another, it means teaching them **how** to relate to one another (Phillips 1993; emphasis mine).

My job as a speech professional is to teach students the “how to” of effective human communication. Up until very recently I believed I should add this as a component to the course, until I realized I was adding it for two basic, and misguided, reasons: I thought it was fun, and I was getting bored teaching the same material over and over again. As part of my sabbatical I have tried to determine how my use of instructional technologies will enhance student learning in Speech Communication, and I have yet to determine exactly how that would occur.

A related erroneous assumption is that our students need to be immersed into computer technology in order to be competitive in today's economy. These students, for the most part, have grown up in a push-button, technological world. Although they may not have learned specifically how to use Microsoft Word, more importantly they have learned to take technology for granted as an ever present aspect of their lives. They are accustomed to using technology for entertainment (video games, vcr's), for cooking (microwaves), and for communication (cell phones, pagers, internet). For those of us growing up either prior to PCs or as PCs developed, we had to assimilate this new way of doing things into our lives—

we had to replace the old with the new. However, given these students have grown up with the technology, their assumptions of the technology's accessibility is so much greater than those of us a bit older. Accordingly, the need to engage in intensive computer training is, I believe, much lower than we anticipate.

Coupling the students' assumptions of accessibility with the fast changing nature of operating systems and software from esoteric to ubiquitous, and the need for concentrated computer training drops dramatically. These students will be accessing very user-friendly computers with highly intuitive interfaces running powerful, yet highly simplified software. More and more the cryptic DOS command lines are a thing of the past being replaced by the graphical user interfaces of Windows 95, Windows 98, and the Macintosh operating system. So many of us are self-taught in these systems; why do we assume our students will not be as able as we to accomplish the same, more quickly with simpler systems?

8. Regardless of advertisements and articles for computers, instructional technologies, with few exceptions, do not save time, energy, effort, or especially money. In the last two years I have logged literally hundreds of hours on the computer trying to develop and implement technological aids to learning. The result has been minor, with more time spent trying to figure out how to do something than actually producing a result. Although I am now more able to anticipate the difference between a long-term, labor saving effort and a long-term, labor intensive effort, I find more and more of my time and energy spent on sitting at the computer just "dinking around" versus really accomplishing valuable, measurable results for my classes. The reality of computer mediated instruction is its highly time and resource intensive nature:

Experience to date demonstrates clearly that computer-based teaching, with its limitless demands upon instructor time and vastly expanded overhead requirements—equipment, upgrades, maintenance, and technical and administrative support staff—costs more not less than traditional education At the same time, the use of the technology entails an inevitable extension of working time and an intensification of work as faculty struggle at all hours of the day and night to stay on top of the technology and respond, via chat rooms, virtual office hours, and e-mail, to both students and administrators to whom they have now become instantly and continuously accessible (Noble 1998).

I, as many, bought into the assumption that the incorporation of computer technologies would save time and increase my "productivity." Except for being able to produce course materials faster for students, my

productivity in the sense of working on my courses and with my students has actually dropped dramatically, while my time on task has increased.

We all know that hardware and software is very expensive. To date, I have spent approximately \$15,000 on getting myself "set up" to develop instructional technologies.

Certainly, the institutional economic costs can be considerable. These include preliminary financial investments in hardware and software (including initial purchase, installation, maintenance, troubleshooting, and repair), training time, curriculum (revision) costs, and the short term productivity loss often associated with a learning curve (Donovan 1995).

I have found "the more you have the more you need." Computer mediated instruction is, in effect, a technological money pit:

I think it is a real myth that technology will lower costs for education. It will help access and it will make it more available and affordable. But I don't think it will lower costs. Once you get on the treadmill of upgrades, keeping up with them is pretty awesome (Ruppert 1998).

I have become concerned about my choice to invest my instructional dollars in equipment I cannot in good faith justify as having created the benefits I had hoped for. Additionally, the technology changes so rapidly there is ongoing pressure to upgrade to bigger, faster, and newer equipment. When I think of what I could have been doing with those dollars for my Speech classes and my Theatre class, I begin to doubt my choice to take the technological path.

9. Instructional technologies can be the "laminated notes" of the 21st century. As teachers, we must "plan for spontaneity." Although seemingly oxymoronic, good teaching requires planning to establish a learning environment in which students feel free to follow lines of thought and discussion without being trapped by an agenda. We have to be ready to alter plans for the day, if not the whole session, based on student interaction. The danger with instructional technologies is that the time involved to create such elements as multimedia presentations, interactive lessons, and web-based testing minimizes the ability of the teacher to immediately and comfortably make adaptations to classroom dynamics. Personally, I have used computer generated projections, and even then I found myself scrambling to find a place around the screen for additional items I had not even planned to address. It was not a lack of appropriate planning on my part; rather, students broached those issues and I had to respond to that interest. The more we rely on preplanned and programmed teaching via instructional

technologies, the more we move away from the immediate adaptability and responsiveness good teaching requires.

Beneficial Uses of Instructional Technologies

Given the preceding pages of criticism attacking the use of instructional technologies, the reader may erroneously draw the conclusion I am opposed to their use in any fashion. Instructional technologies, specifically computer mediated communication of course materials, is no better nor worse than any other media at our disposal, such as overheads, video, or even the ubiquitous handout. Each has its ability to be very effective at aiding the teacher in unique and helpful ways. Likewise, each can be horribly overused or misused, creating a barrier between the student, the teacher, and the material.

Just as with any instructional aid, instructional technology must be employed for the right reasons and in the right fashion. The preceding pages addressed why not to use these instructional aids; however, there are some very solid reasons for using and ways of using this developing technology.

1. For my pedagogical style, the most useful benefit of a web site is that students have the ability to access all course materials whenever they need, providing they have internet access. Students will still receive all handouts in class, just as they are accustomed; however, if they lose a handout or miss class, they can access the web site and simply print a copy of the needed materials. In effect my web site serves as a repository of course materials, making them accessible to students at their discretion. A nice benefit of the web site is my own ability to work on my courses whether at the office or at home and not have to carry files of handouts with me.

An additional benefit of the internet would be allowing students to access their grades whenever they desire. Assuming security issues are appropriately addressed, posting grades online will actually provide for greater privacy for the student, and will allow them to immediately respond to the instructor with questions about that grade. Students have the right to know their standing in a course at any time during the session. An online gradebook, available 24/7, fulfills that obligation quite nicely.

2. The most obvious benefit most educators tend to note immediately about the internet is the ability of students to access research materials from around the world. Just like a library, students need to have at hand a wide range of research materials; however, as we are all well aware, students must be instructed how to critically evaluate materials found on the internet. Regardless, I know the internet has proven itself invaluable to me in researching not only professional issues, but also in researching personal needs. To not have our students incorporating the internet into their research options would be a true disservice to those students.

3. One of the more exciting opportunities I believe the internet

offers is the ability to communicate with individuals world-wide, potentially creating global learning communities. Although computer mediated communication should not replace face-to-face contact, in settings where immediate communication is simply impossible, the internet provides an exciting channel of interaction. The potential for students to engage in cross-cultural communication, to directly discuss cultural differences, to enlighten the students of different world views is irreplaceable.

4. When moving away from the internet and addressing multimedia components, there are likewise some exciting possibilities. Multimedia presentations, especially stand-alone programs, provide an excellent opportunity to communicate data, especially if that data is rather mundane in nature. With some multi-media authoring, recognition/recall exercises can be created, enhancing a student's rote memorization of core terms and concepts. Some of the work done in human anatomy is an excellent example of this application. In my Stagecraft class, one component I must address early on are the basics of shop safety and tool usage. Given the number of students, I see this as an area in which a stand-alone interactive multimedia presentation may be very effective in transmitting the necessary data, thus minimizing the time I must devote to address the same issues in class.

5. Using computer mediated learning can tap into a student's interest in those forms of communication. Students today are accustomed to experiencing the world in a mediated format, and many students enjoy accessing information in those ways. The excitement of something new and different can be a very effective educational delivery tool; however, just like one or two classroom videos are intriguing, five or six become predictable and boring. An overuse of any technology can backfire quickly.

An additional concern with the creation of one's own multimedia is that students today expect a lot from mediated communication. The influences of television, music videos, and computer games have created an expectation of high levels of production quality. The sheer learning curve, hardware, and software required to attain those production qualities is enormous, and the return is highly, highly doubtful. Thus, for the average classroom teacher, simpler, shorter, and less interactive forms of multi-media presentations should be the norm. In other words, instead of trying to compete with the slick productions of professionals, create presentations that are purposefully simpler and less involved.

6. Lastly, a reason for using instructional technology that must be mentioned, albeit a highly troublesome reason, is that in our culture today, one very important measure of an effective educational experience is the student's exposure to technology. In a very thought provoking essay Steven Hodas argues that technology has become "...essentially semio-magical, using up-to-date machinery to signify modernity and believing that the transformative power resides in the box itself rather than in the uses to which it is put" (1993). Accordingly, school efficacy is measured by the

quantity of computers and other displays of technology:

When prospective students and their parents visit the campus, when members of the board of trustees gather for their occasional meetings, campus administrators and info-preneurs can parade them past the rooms full of high tech equipment to enthusiastic choruses of "oohh" and "aaahs." A similar visit to a classroom in which students have just mastered, for example, the basic issues in Plato's "Protagoras," would simply not have the same, riveting impact. For that reason, teachers who try to engage young minds with conventional methods such as reading and discussion but without the use of powerful computers and flashy video displays, now face a distinct disadvantage. In education as everywhere else, we live increasingly in a world of visual imagery. When the evidence of successful learning is hidden quietly away within a young person's mind, what is there to show parents, trustees and grant administrators who demand to "see tangible results"? (Winner 1997)

Thus, as we continue to seek out financial support for our classes, whether through institutional means or through external funding sources, to be able to demonstrate "tangible results" can result in greater funding and support, hopefully for even non-technological components of the educational delivery system. Although questionable, the status quo is that technology is "sexy," technology sells.

Conclusion

The paradox surrounding the current rush to make all aspects of education dependent on computers has disturbing implications that are being ignored at all levels of decision-making (Bowers 1998).

This essay has been an attempt to consider the appropriate and inappropriate reasons and uses of instructional technologies in an oral communication educational setting. Education today is being pressured from all constituencies to incorporate instructional technologies, and as one who rushed in to employ this technology, I now see a more careful consideration of its use is absolutely necessary. Furthermore, as professional educators we must retain our role as a gatekeeper of pedagogical appropriateness and to be very cautious of pressures from legislators, administrators, colleagues, advertising, and even our own students to use computer technology, regardless of its actual educational value. Prior to using any edu-

cational technology, we must first be confident it will fulfill an important educational role, then proceed cautiously, not allowing ourselves to get sucked into what could be a technological black hole.

Certainly our students must be computer literate to succeed in the 21st century. However, students must be equally "human literate," able to function effectively face-to-face. As teachers of communication, we must celebrate our unique role in providing students those most basic of skills.

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(Dis)Empowering Brothers and Sisters:
The Rhetorical Process of Disfellowship by Jehovah's Witnesses

Daniel Cronn-Mills

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1994 meeting of the Religious Speech Communication Association, New Orleans, LA.

The Jehovah's Witnesses are considered to be one the largest and most influential non-traditional Christian religions in the United States. The Witnesses are best known for their active proselytizing. The door-to-door witnessing process is recognized as a form of recruiting to attract new members to Jehovah. However, just as Jehovah's Witnesses actively attempt to draw new members into the fold, they are just as quick to shun current members who violate community/congregation standards.

The Jehovah's Witnesses have a practice they term "disfellowshipping." The practice involves shunning current members whom, for one reason or another, no longer meet the strict requirements for membership as a witness of Jehovah. My study utilizes interviews with current Jehovah's Witnesses in order to investigate the rhetorical strategies employed in disfellowshipping a member. The article provides an analysis of (dis)empowerment issues and practices in the Watch Tower Society organization.

A determination of (dis)empowerment and the Jehovah's Witnesses' necessitates a specific perspective be employed. I utilize an interpretive approach to explore dimensions of (dis)empowerment evident in the discourse of Jehovah's Witnesses. The goal of the interpretation is to provide meanings by "placing structures of signification into an intelligible frame" (Bochner, 1985, p. 44). Third, the interpretive position does not allow distinctions to be drawn between fact and value, truth and belief. According to Schutz (1970), "there are no such things as facts, pure and simple" (p. 228). The interpretive research looks for agreement between persons and wishes to keep the "conversation going" through a variety of descriptions and interpretations, rather than settle the issue with "Facts" and "Truth" (Bochner, 1985, p. 44). Simons (1990) believes any "truth" (lower case "t") "will be situated, contextual, contingent--true for particular purposes; true under a given set of circumstances; true assuming the validity of taken-for-granted premises" (p. 17).

Interpretive investigations of communication focus on the study of meaning and the way individuals use communication to make sense of their worlds. The interpretive approaches are grouped together because they all have in common the search for meaning of human interaction (Bochner, 1985; Patton, 1990; Putnam & Pacanowsky, 1983). An interpretive approach is appropriate for studying dimensions of (dis)empowerment

in a discursive community because power is generated and perpetuated from within and by a specific community, in this case, Jehovah's Witnesses.

I examine the discourse of Jehovah's Witnesses for patterns in their oral discourse. Guba (1978), Polkinghorne (1983), and Patton (1990) address the process of pattern identification. According to Patton (1990), the purpose of an inductive approach is to allow dimensions to emerge from the data, rather than the imposed application of a priori hypotheses and variables (P. 85). The patterns are identified using a process Polkinghorne (1983) compares to the Miller Analogies Test: "'line is to 'draw' as 'music' is to 'face', 'song,' 'ears,' or 'act'" (Gruber & Gruber, 1972, p. 271).

The first step in an inductive study, according to Patton (1990), is the process of identifying and categorizing the primary patterns in the data. The data are read and placed within at least one possible topic area. A passage, due to its plurivocality may belong in more than one topic area. Guba (1978) labels the process "convergence." Convergence is simply figuring out what goes with what. The researcher begins to identify patterns by reviewing a variety of examples.

Patterns are tested by re-examining the data examples to determine if the pattern is applicable. Guba (1978) provides two criteria to judge categories: internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity. Internal homogeneity is the degree to which data in a category or pattern fit together. External heterogeneity is the degree to which categories or patterns are clear and distinct.

The pattern identification process continues "until an account can be given which clarifies the data in the fullest manner" (Polkinghorne, 1983, p. 272). Geertz (1973) calls a full accounting of the data "thick description."

The identification of the pattern which gives meaning(s) to the text is gained through insight, an insight which is not derived from the application of precise mathematical procedures, but through the support of plurivocal evidence (Polkinghorne, 1983, p. 238). The evidence is plurivocal because discourse is open to multiple interpretations. The possibility of multiple interpretations indicates the process of pattern identification does not provide for prediction. Rather than prediction, the purpose in qualitative analysis is the *interpretation* of the human realm, a realm available to us through "direct communication that people have with each other" and "through written and artistic communication" (Polkinghorne, 1983, p. 239).

Using the pattern identification process I look for patterns in the discourse of the Jehovah's Witnesses. The process is not "carved in stone," but rather serves to provide direction for myself and my readers.

Qualitative data can be derived from in-depth, open-ended interviews. According to Patton (1990, p. 24), the interview is the primary way in which a researcher can frame the perceptions, hopes, aspirations, feelings, and knowledge of people. Interview data consists of "direct quotations from people about their experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge" (Patton, p. 10). Gathering responses to open-ended questions, as

Patton observes (p. 24), provides the researcher with an opportunity to understand and frame patterns without having to employ predetermined questions and categories.

The data for the study are interviews with members of a local congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses. The face-to-face interview, according to Polkinghorne (1983), is the richest source of data for a researcher examining the structures of human interaction. Contacts had already been established with members of a local congregation. The relational establishment is necessary because, as Polkinghorne (1983, p. 268) notes, "a researcher needs to be more than simply ask questions in a proper way; he needs to establish a relational context in which the subject will feel free and will be encouraged to reveal his experiences as they have appeared to him." The members were more than willing to engage in a discussion. I discussed the issue of interviewing members with the overseer of the congregation. The overseer had no difficulties or problems associated with an "outsider" interviewing active Jehovah's Witnesses in the congregation. All interviews were held with the full consent of those involved and tape-recorded for transcription and analysis. All interviews were held at a time and place of the interviewee's discretion. The most common time, as recommended by the overseer, was immediately following a congregational meeting; the most common place was in a private room at one of the local Kingdom Halls. Interviews were also held at other times and locations including private residences, if the interviewee so desired. Request has been filed and exemption granted by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects to conduct the interviews with Jehovah's Witnesses (IRB #: 198-92-EX).

Analysis

The interviews with Jehovah's Witnesses reveal an oral revolving around "either/or" patterns, themes, and categories. Either/or patterns, themes, and categories are dichotomies which serve as a framing system for understanding the discourse of Jehovah's Witnesses. A focus on family is the primary either/or pattern which emerged for illuminating dimensions of power in Witness' discourse.

Jehovah's Witnesses use a dichotomy-oriented language to construct a symbolic family—which also identifies who is not part of the family. The notion of family is strong in the Jehovah's Witnesses and represents a sense of identification with other members. A strong sense of family can signify cohesion and commitment for persons involved. "Family" indicates who belongs and who does not belong. The pattern of family is analyzed by discussing two emergent dichotomies: Family versus Christendom; and Siblings versus Outsiders.

The family is constructed by the interviewees as an extension of the household we grew up in. The family construct exists on two levels.

The first level is kinship and study of the congregational family of Jehovah's Witnesses. The second level is the spiritual family of Jehovah. Witnesses symbolically construct identification on both levels through explicit use of the term "family." Family on the congregational level serves the purpose of increasing study in Jehovah's ways. Jehovah's Witness 13 states "there are two areas where study should be, ah, vital part of our routine. First of all when it comes to us as individuals when we engage in personal study, and, of course, when we study as a group, as family. . . . it's [study and preparation] going to build a stronger faith in us as a family circle of the family group." A second category of the congregational level is the family as a source of happiness—"consider *The Watchtower* of November under an article, 'Youths: You're Part in a Happy Family, a United Family'" (Jehovah's Witness 37). The spiritual family of Jehovah is associated with the future. The future family of Jehovah rests in his promise of an eternal life in a paradise on earth. Jehovah's Witness 30 notes, "[we await] the prospect of eternal life as part of Jehovah's universal family" (Jehovah's Witness 30).

The opposite of the Christian family, according to interviewees, is Christendom. Christendom is a construction used by Jehovah's Witnesses to symbolically represent all religions of the world which claim to be Christian, but are not followers of Jehovah. Christendom is seen as the false Christianity of the world. The construct of Christendom as created by Jehovah's Witnesses, violates the tenets which frame the Christian family. The studying which occurs in the Christian family is contrasted to the lack thereof in Christendom. Jehovah's Witness 11 states, "no, actually, no, really, religion in Christendom teaches God's family, they don't teach about the, ah, kingdom, in fact, most people in Christendom, if you asked, 'what is God's kingdom?' they couldn't answer that." The familial support and kinship of the Christian family is contrasted to death in Christendom. Jehovah's Witness 14 claims "if you examine the religions in Christendom, you examine the war efforts: Catholics killing Catholics, Protestants killing Protestants, Lutherans killing . . . all the way down the scale." The hope, which infuses the lives of Jehovah's Witnesses, is not part of Christendom. The reason hope does not exist is because "Christendom has not done that [placed faith in the family of Jehovah]" (Jehovah's Witness 30). The framing of Christendom in opposition to the Christian family provides Jehovah's Witnesses with easily identifiable reasons to remain with in and study in the family of Jehovah.

The second emergent dichotomy in the interviewees' discourse on family orientation is siblings versus outsiders. Siblings—brothers and sisters—are integral to an understanding of the construction of family for Jehovah's Witnesses. The terms "brother" and "sister" are not uncommon in Christendom religions, but usually serve as an honorary title denoting persons who have reached a certain status in the organization. Catholic women and men who have taken a special vow of commitment are designated as sisters and brothers. Regular members of the congregation are not

identified with family terms and are designated a lower status in the Catholic hierarchy. Jehovah's Witnesses use sibling terminology in a more comprehensive fashion.

First, the use of family-specific terms provides for consubstantiation with another Witness. The introduction of an individual as a brother or sister immediately signals to a Witness they are meeting another Witness. Jehovah's Witness 07 notes, "whenever we say 'brother' or 'sister' we know we are speaking about someone who is one of Jehovah's Witnesses." The symbolic family may also be used to present a sense of identification to those outside the Jehovah's Witnesses. The use of "brother" and "sister" signifies to an "outsider" the Witnesses are a close-knit group who supports each other. The process was noted in a demonstration of a counseling session between a Witness and a householder: "I know you can't make all our meetings right now, but maybe on Sunday and meet Brother ex-Smoker and Sister ex-Gambler, and maybe that would help you too show you can fight" (Jehovah's Witness 05), and Jehovah's Witness 27 notes, "many of our brothers and sisters do street work regularly and are sometimes noticed and recognized as an exit of this system of things before it goes up into flames, figuratively."

Second, the symbolic referent to family has the ability to extend beyond the walls of a local Kingdom Hall. One interviewee comments the sense of family provides support: "you can go to any Kingdom Hall anywhere and they would take you in as a brother and sister and treat you wonderfully, no matter where you go" (Jehovah's Witness 07). A third category of the symbolic family is the special love between siblings. Love is a powerful emotion attracting and binding people together and providing a sense of familiarity with others. Jehovah's Witness 02 believes "attractive also is the love shown between witness . . . for one thing, in a general sense, when I come to meetings of Jehovah's Witnesses or go out with others in the field, I guess the one reason we call each other 'brother' and 'sister' is because it feels that way, you know how families that are tight. You know, they are brothers and sisters."

The symbolic family of Jehovah's Witnesses is reinforced by comparing it to the lack of family love in Christendom. According to Jehovah's Witness 11, "if they [non-Witnesses] had true love, they wouldn't be killing each other. They would have stood for their brothers and sisters around the world no matter what nations they lived in." Further, as stated by Jehovah's Witness 21, "last week, ah, Jehovah's Witnesses held the first-ever international convention in St. Petersburg, Russia. There was Russian brothers from all over the former Soviet Union and many interested persons from St. Petersburg. Many and were baptized. Several of our brothers attendance there. Our Russian brothers convey their love and greetings to those here." The love between Witness brothers and sisters is not just a happenstance occurrence; the love is predicated by Witness' studying practices: "that's the main thing, that we follow his [Jehovah's] teachings. And

his teachings were that we love one another as brothers and sisters. It is a requirement" (Jehovah's Witness 03).

Religious studying is the final category in the symbolic family of Jehovah's Witnesses. The family serves as a focus group to perpetuate studying the *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures* and other Witness publications. The integration of the symbolic family and studying often begins when one is first introduced to Jehovah's Witnesses. Jehovah's Witness 11 states, "when I start studying with the Witnesses at that time, there were two brothers who came over . . . [and later] I went to my first meeting, and had a lot of people come up to me and ask if I wanted to study and stuff, and all the friendliness you do get when you go to a hall, saying 'hellos' and asking if I wanted to study, and I said I did. I had several brothers want to study with me." Another interviewed Witness notes, "a couple of sisters had come knocking at my door, they offered me *The Watchtower* and *Awake!* magazines, and I accepted, and I think about a month later . . . the sister that had contacted me originally moved away, and what happens when people move away, if they have some people who show interest in their territory they will give it to another sister to call on her" (Jehovah's Witness 03).

Jehovah's Witnesses reinforces the symbolic family by providing oppositional forces. I have identified the oppositional forces as the "outsiders." Outsiders are external to the symbolic family of Jehovah. The oppositional force of Outsiders is constructed by the interviewees on two levels. The two levels are disfellowshipped and apostates. Disfellowshipped persons exist—and do not exist—in the reality of Jehovah's Witnesses. Disfellowshipped persons were once a part of the Witness family, but violated standards for appropriate conduct of Jehovah's Witnesses. A person disfellowshipped from Jehovah's Witnesses no longer exists in the eyes of the congregation. A Witness may not engage the disfellowshipped in conversation, study, or any other activity. The disfellowshipped are to be treated as if they never existed. Witnesses do not attempt to bring the truth of Jehovah to those who have rejected the promise of an eternal life. The disfellowshipped carry the burden of gaining forgiveness if they wish to re-enter Jehovah's symbolic family. A complicated and extensive process must be undertaken by the disfellowshipped if they wish to return. Jehovah's Witness 03 provides an understanding of the disfellowshipping process:

A disfellowshipped member . . . was once one of Jehovah's Witnesses and he had done something that was an . . . offense worthy of disfellowship. You've probably heard of the shunning, that's what people call that—the shunning. Basically, the scriptures say that if you have a brother who sins against you that you should—and it talks about you should cast him

out—it's not like you just cast him out—you did something really bad, "you're out of here!" It's not like that at all. Usually, the person is counseled, and probably counseled several times and then they will come up before a judiciary committee if they do not change that behavior. And they are told of the possibility of being disfellowshipped and they are told they had the chance to—basically you need to see the wrongdoing and have to repent and change, and basically be sorry for doing it. And if they don't change . . . it is announced at the congregation and that means we can't speak to that person at all.

A disfellowshipped person loses the benefits and advantages provided by being a Jehovah's Witness. The disfellowshipped lose their symbolic family, the promise of eternal life, and any acknowledgment of their existence by other Jehovah's Witnesses.

The second category of "outsiders" is apostates. An apostate is symbolically constructed as an "enemy" to the family of Jehovah. An apostate is characterized as any person who actively preaches and/or teaches against Jehovah and Jehovah's Witnesses. An apostate may be someone who has been disfellowshipped or who views the witnessing of Jehovah as a threat and attempts to countermand Witness' teachings:

My [biological] brother belongs to a religion back East, it's called the Restored Israel of Jahweh. And the leader of this group . . . used to be one of Jehovah's Witnesses. But years ago some teachings were clarified and he disagreed with them, and he broke away and he became what we call an apostate—someone who actually teaches against the true teachings. (Jehovah's Witness 03)

He left the Witnesses, so we refer to him as apostate. . . . apostate is somebody who's in rebellion against God and his organization or his purpose . . . those who were once Witnesses who turn against us. Who outright campaign against Jehovah's Witnesses, would particularly be apostate. (Jehovah's Witness 11)

One specific characteristic of the apostate is the increased activities against Jehovah's family. Mainstream Christian religions, according to the interviewees, are responsible for much apostate activity. Jehovah's Witness 10 states:

as a general trend, people, in general, seem to be less receptive than they use to be, as you look back on years past. . . . I think it's the churches [of Christendom], their churches tell them to say that. Because almost every one is exactly the same words. 'I don't have time,' 'I have my own religion,' 'I'm not interested.' Almost word for word" and "witnesses are persecuted, well, in the United States they are persecuted a whole lot. We have religious freedom in the United States, but there are other countries around the world where we have been banned."

Jehovah's Witness 11 notes, "they [Witnesses] would be persecuted for their teachings. Christ said, 'I was persecuted and you will be also,' and not for who they are, but for what they were teaching. . . . You know, so again, it was pointing out to be the lord's family." Witnesses actually look forward, however, to the increase of apostate activities because such conditions mean Armageddon is approaching. Jehovah's Witness 11 supports the construction of an increase in apostate activities signaling the end: "Jehovah's Witnesses are not going to stop, are not going to give up their preaching, and the next thing they're going to do, they're going to attack Jehovah's people. Once they attack Jehovah's people, that's when Armageddon will happen."

The construction of the symbolic family provides a framework of security and protection from the threats of Christendom. The family is a household shelter for Jehovah's Witnesses. Jehovah's family is a place to grow and study, a place to prosper, and a place to find communion with one's "brothers" and "sisters."

Interpretation

The dichotomies appearing in the family theme provide specific references for illustrating a splitting process evident in the discourse in Jehovah's Witnesses. Jehovah's Witnesses place great importance on the members who are part of their family. Persons on earth are joining and extending the heavenly family on earth. The extended family of Jehovah generates a strong sense of love and commitment to the Witness organization. Love is a powerful emotion which can bring people together affording them the opportunity to maintain and sustain the family, the emotion of love, and the common goal which binds them together.

The dichotomy of Christian family versus Christendom is further impacted through an interpretation of physical manifestations. The dichotomy indicates a rhetorical splitting as evidenced by discourse which perpetuates specific physical manifestations. Jehovah's Witness' oral discourse identifies specific physical behaviors of family members. Physical

manifestations of family include presentation of self, proselytizing, and studying. The framing of appropriate physical behaviors compels Jehovah's Witnesses to engage in behaviors indicating they understand and are willing to follow Jehovah's teachings. Physical manifestations indicate to whom one one's allegiance—Jehovah or Satan. The appropriate and inappropriate behavioral actions are addressed by Jehovah's Witnesses 20 and 03, respectively:

A person, to be a Jehovah's Witness, has to, first of all, have moral qualifications. A person must be baptized, must be living a clean life. . . . Not living with someone there are not married to . . . a person will not be gay, a person will not be a smoker, or a heavy drinker, a drunkard that is . . . no smoking. In a broad sense, without going into volumes, a person would be living up to bible principles. (Jehovah's Witness 20)

If you are truly one of Jehovah's Witnesses you don't, you don't, for one thing you don't use foul language. . . . We don't see R-rated movies. We don't try to influence ourselves adversely, or against what would be pleasing to him [Jehovah]. It's not be pleasing to him for us to partake in things like R-rated movies because it can get you into wrong thinking. Thinking about things are very often, very often movies are very violent or sexually oriented. You don't want to put yourself into that situation. And there are also people that will go out to the bars and party and drink. They had a good time last night because they can't remember a thing. . . . They [non-Witnesses] tend to be very political, very involved in political issues. Where Jehovah's Witnesses or Christians stay neutral. (Jehovah's Witness 03)

An interpretation of the rhetorical splitting of physical manifestations in the language of Jehovah's Witnesses' provides a researcher with specific insight into the discursive community. First, discourse framed within a physical manifestation provides Jehovah's Witnesses with the ability to assess the behaviors of members and determine if they are following (i.e., appropriately comprehending) Witness processes. The looming potential threat of "disfellowship" from the family of Witnesses by failing to display the appropriate comportment of family themes and patterns addressed above effectively restrains the behavior of congregational members.

The splitting of physical manifestations may enhance understanding of the patterns. Witnesses, in their proselytizing activities, do not go

publishing with a permanent partner. A Witness will go public with any member of their congregational family—basically, who ever may show up at the Kingdom Hall. As one Witness notes, “At the meeting for field service, we are assigned a car group, four or five depending how many we can fit in a car, and then we go out from there. In fact, this is one way we get to know people in our congregation” (Jehovah’s Witness 02). Members also tend to seek the familiarity of the “family” outside the Kingdom Hall. Congregational members tend to socialize together outside of Witness-oriented activities. The amount of time spent together during the week on all the above-mentioned meetings and sessions provides for a high level of familiarity among the congregational members. Witnesses seek out the familiarity to provide a stabilizing factor against the forces of Satan they face every day in their work and proselytizing activities. Witnesses are not dissimilar with most other organizations that associate with others outside the physical organizational setting. Jehovah’s Witness 15 provides a reference to the intense amount of time spent in the company of the congregational family, “And, huh, then I became a dedicated, a baptized Witness a couple of months later [after a divorce from an outsider]. . . . Anyway, I decided, I kept busy. *Brothers* at the Kingdom Hall always had me over, invited me over. Did a lot of activities, played a lot of tennis, things like that.”

Finally, the splitting process enacted in physical manifestations articulates the congregational standards for socializing with outsiders who do not enact the appropriate patterns. Specifically, Jehovah’s Witnesses discourage family members from unnecessary interactions with non-Witnesses. Necessary interactions with outsiders include proselytizing to spread Jehovah’s word, or studying with persons interested in Jehovah’s ways. Witnesses are encouraged to avoid worldly associations and to strengthen their interactions with the family of Jehovah:

The last time the circuit overseer was here he warned that sometimes we make excuses to yourselves to make it seem OK for worldly associations . . . it’s just a tactic to force us away from Jehovah’s organization . . . At the very least this [worldly interactions] could expose the Christian in me to unwholesome association and even could even lead to becoming romantically involved with an unbeliever. (Jehovah’s Witness 35) [Questions one should ask when engaging in worldly interactions include] number one: Do you pursue righteousness when it comes to your taste in music, dress, and, huh, or grooming, or do your worldly peers dictate what you listen to and wear? Ah, second, do you maintain high standards of speech and conduct when outside of the congregation? Ah, three, do you avoid worldly association or are you socially . . . or

perhaps even romantically involved with worldly? Four, have you set high theocratic goals for yourself or is your heart set on a career in Satan's dying system of things? (Jehovah's Witness 37)

The method of disfellowship utilized by Jehovah's Witnesses allows the organization to carefully control the individuals whom they believe belong inside and outside of the Watchtower Society. The explication of behavioral principles provides concrete standards for determining the efficacy of membership in the society. The rhetorical processes of bridging and splitting illuminate the means by which disfellowship is rhetorically enacted.

Implications

An inductive-interpretive approach allows the researcher to explore implications that emerge from the discourse. The analysis and interpretation illuminate the relationship between discourse and power. Dimensions of power permeate communication and reality. According to Kramarae, Schulz, and O'Barr (1984), "power . . . results from human activities and interactions. It is a system of relationships running through the whole of society, producing incongruent and often conflicting definitions of reality" (p. 15). According to Foucault (1978), power is omnipresent in discourse:

not because it has the privilege of consolidating everything under its invincible unity, but because it is produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one point to another. Power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere. (p. 93)

Power is traditionally conceived of as the "willful assertion of control over another—the power of taking" (Jones, 1988, p. 127). According to Foucault, however, the relationship between discourse and power is "a multiplicity of force relations" (in Martin, 1988, p. 9). Force relations are "relations of power which take specific forms in particular societies, organized, for example, through relations of class, race, gender, *religion*, and age" (Weedon, 1987, p. 110, emphasis added).

First, Jehovah's Witnesses involves negative and positive forces evident in their discourse. Foucault argues power is manifested in two forms. First, power has a repressive function with the ability to actuate "no" or "thou shalt not." Repressive power is a negative force displayed in discursive formations designed to "constrain and oppress human beings" (Woodhull, 1988, p. 168). Second, power has a positive function with the

ability "to generate new [discursive] forms" (Woodhull, 1988, p. 168). Power in the discourse of Jehovah's Witnesses, in line with Foucault's conceptualization of the two forces of power, is framed by the splitting function they employ in their discourse. The dichotomous patterns are reinforced in the extrapolation of power in Witness' reality. The force of the negative is energy expended to perpetuate the negative side of the split. The potential of the positive is the energy expended to maintain and sustain the reality of the positive side of the split.

The force of the negative pervades a non-Witnesses' range of actions. Jehovah's Witnesses contest the force of the negative by generating a positive counter force. The force of the negative, therefore, draws the Witness family closer together. The purpose of the family system is to provide protection against those outside the family. Here, Jehovah's family provides the power of positive protection against the force of the negative. Force-of-the-negative reality is appalling to followers of Jehovah.

The force of the negative hinders persons' ability to make a free and rationale choice. Humans retain their ability to choose, but lack an understanding of the full range of possible choices when influenced by the negative force. Recall negative power, according to Foucault, is the ability to actuate "no"—to articulate what should be done and should not be done by humans. However, the only options are "no." Non-Witnesses, for example, may choose between two candidates for a political race—but both choices are still negative forces and, thus, under the influence of Satan. Persons may choose between being a Methodist or a Catholic; but both choices are still a part of Christendom and under the influence of Satan. The ability for a non-Witness to choose is limited to options provided by Satan—all options which would be "no" for a Jehovah's Witness. However, a person, once witnessed to about Jehovah, has their choice *and* free will "activated." A person now realizes their choices go beyond the negative force.

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A Feminist Rereading of
Tennessee Williams's The Glass Menagerie

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Feminist critics have made significant contributions to the rereading of canonical literary texts. This enterprise of examining and revising is not an easy task, but a necessary one if a new light is to be shed on works which have only been previously studied using a structure system created by patriarchal powers. These new criteria have been not only explored, but also questioned and revised by feminists for quite a few years now. As Annette Kolodny stated in "Dancing Through the Minefield: Some Observations on the Theory, Practice, and Politics of a Feminist Literary Criticism," critics study a literary work, "not so much by the work itself as by the critical technique or aesthetic criteria through which it is filtered, or rather, read and decoded" (Kolodny 110).

Many works have been reread, but there is still much to be done. It seems the more well liked a writer is, the less apt his or her work is to be investigated using a sometimes dark and critical eye. I feel this has been the case with Tennessee Williams. His work has been often criticized from the homosexual perspective, some critics espousing that he pioneered new ground by bringing certain controversial issues to the forefront, others saying that he did not do enough, and was guilty of selling out to an economic agenda by disguising the serious issues in heterosexual lamb's clothing. The fact that he confronted these issues at all has, however, won him critical sympathy.

Feminists, too, have been lenient on Tennessee Williams because they are part of a brotherhood-sisterhood connection that seeks to enlighten the public, even if the issues appear in print as watered down or disguised. Another group that has been kind to Tennessee Williams is Southerners who have adopted him as one of their own, and none have devoted themselves more protectively to him than New Orleanians. Here, thousands celebrate his birthday each March at an annual Tennessee Williams Festival complete with birthday cake and tea. They participate in Stella and Stanley shouting contests, cover the city with Williams memorabilia, and hold daily tours of his personal homes and haunts in the French Quarter. To speak critically of Tennessee Williams in this setting is to take a risk.

As a tenth generation New Orleanian woman, raised in the traditional patriarchal pattern that relegated women to taking care of the affairs of the home while men went off to start businesses, attend college, and see the world, and the Catholic philosophy that a woman's role is to provide children for her husband and Church, I feel I can add a certain perspective to the feminist discourse and critical study of Tennessee Williams. And so I intend to explore The Glass Menagerie using a feminist perspective and

concentrating on three widely held feminist assumptions. I will focus on the separate sphere philosophy, the patriarchal power structure, and the silencing of women, though strong in character they may be.

The Glass Menagerie presents a fertile field for the exploration of the separate-sphere philosophy. By the beginning of the 1800s, the women's liberation movement which Mary Wollstonecraft and other early feminists had promoted was quickly dying and women were being encouraged to stay at home with husband and family and find their power in the domestic sphere. This idea, espoused by Catherine Beecher and rooted in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, defines women's domesticity as not only natural, but powerful, preaching that from the enviable position of mother and homemaker, women can "rule the world." Beecher encouraged women to stay at home by advocating her theory: "There [the home] let every woman become so cultivated and refined in intellect, that her taste and judgement will be respected; so benevolent in feeling and action; that her motives will be revered; — so unassuming and unambitious that collision and competition will be banished; — so 'gentle and easy to be entreated,' as that every heart will repose in her presence..."

Women were being led to believe that by tending the home fires they were indeed wielding power. In truth they were merely following, and once again giving into, the dictates of a male-oriented society that encouraged women to stay at home. Men, quite emphatically, wanted their women subordinate to them and ignorant of the public sphere where the decisions, which ruled their lives, were being made. Dr. Mary Lowe-Evans, Director of Women's Studies at the University of West Florida University, sees in this theory a manipulative male power structure determined to confine women to a separate place. She explains, "That place [a woman's domestic environment] was a sphere of influence complementary to, but decidedly separate from, the public arena that men 'naturally' inhabited." She continues, "The separate-sphere philosophy was so seductive and powerful that it retains tremendous appeal even today." (Lowe-Evans 35) In her book, *Frankenstein: Mary Shelley's Wedding Guest*, Evans investigates the implications of this separate-sphere philosophy and applies it to Mary Shelley's novel, *Frankenstein*, demonstrating how this separateness plays a dramatic role in Shelley's male and female characters. She cites numerous examples of how men and women occupy different and separate spheres within society, the women relegated to the world of the home and men to the world of politics/business.

This separate-sphere philosophy is also evident throughout *The Glass Menagerie*. Tom, the main character and narrator finds himself trapped by the same circumstances in life as Amanda, his mother, and Laura, his sister. However, he has a means of escape and an avenue of hope, not available to the women. Tom can find refuge in a number of outside places such as the fire escape, the movies, the bathroom at the warehouse, and eventually "long distance." By getting out of the home, Tom is able to save

himself from the madness into which Amanda and Laura are doomed. When he finally leaves the apartment at the end of the play, Tom joins not only the brotherhood of his deserting father who was able to find freedom and adventure in Mexico, but other male travelers of the world as a Merchant Marine. As Tom leaves he speaks, "I descended the steps of this fire escape for the last time and followed, from then on, in my father's footsteps, attempting to find in motion what was lost in space." *The Journal of American Culture* explains that "Tom's escape is an admission of both his own incompleteness and his desire to become complete" (Click 44).

A feminist might also add that as a male, he was able to escape his trap unlike the women characters. Amanda and Laura are left behind, confined to their home and the "dead, smoking candles." Harold Bloom put it very succinctly, "Tom's ability to distance his experience, to protect himself from the debilitating atmosphere of the apartment makes him different from Laura. Laura does not have this refuge, she is unable to detach herself completely from the situation and she is destroyed by it" (87). Tom asserts his manliness by insisting on pursuing his life outside the home. He declares to his mother, "I go to the movies because — I like adventure... I like a lot of adventure" (51). Amanda buys into this argument accepting the male quest for adventure as a given, responding, "Most young men find adventure in their careers" (51).

When describing his sister, Tom relegates her to the domestic domain, claiming, "I guess she's the type that people call home girls" (52). Amanda, defending her daughter, once again betrays her own deeply-rooted sense that a woman's worth is tied up in her home and family by answering, "There's no such type, and if there is, it's a pity! That is unless the home is hers, with a husband!" (53). She continues, "... as soon as Laura has got somebody to take care of her, married, a home of her own, independent [but only from Tom and her mother, not on her own] — why, then you'll be free to go wherever you please, on land, on sea, whichever way the wind blows you" (53). Laura must never entertain the thought of travel or adventure in her life. She is to go from one house to another, not because it is the path she has chosen, but because she has no other viable choice.

Jim, the gentleman caller, also has escape routes open to him. He has his job at the warehouse, his night class in radio technology, and his mobility to function in the public world outside the home. He has even been to Chicago where he visited the "Century of Progress" exposition and was impressed by the Hall of Science. As with all the male characters in *The Glass Menagerie*, including the departed husband, traveling the world functions as an acceptable means of escape from everyday life. Laura explains her world to the gentleman caller, "I don't do anything — much. Oh, please don't think I sit around doing nothing! My glass collection takes up a good deal of time. Glass is something you have to take good care of" (98). Even Jim's fiancée, Betty, is destined to be confined to the

home. He describes Betty to Laura, "She's a home-girl like you, and Catholic, and Irish, and in a great many ways we — get along fine" (107). Women must remain in their domestic sphere as limited as it is. "Their private world looks out on the social world in the same way that their windows look out on the alley" (Scanlan 177).

Tennessee Williams opens his play with stage directions describing the Wingfield apartment as "one of those vast hive-like conglomerations." The beehive is a place where the Queen bee rules, but is nonetheless confined. The male worker bees are allowed the freedom to leave, experiencing the adventure of a larger world; the Queen, while she is the ruler of the hive, is confined to its domain. Amanda's past life of suitors and servants, as well as her present is centered in the domestic sphere. Even when she must leave the home, her forays are rooted in the domestic sphere. Strapped for money, Amanda takes on employment, first by selling brassieres in the women's department (the extension of a woman's home) of Famous-Barr and then by vending *The Homemaker's Companion* magazine for women, by women, and to women, from her home. Amanda feels the trap, but cannot escape it because she does not know how to leave her domestic sphere and the traditional expectations of women behind. She cries out, "I know so well what becomes of unmarried women ... barely tolerated spinsters living upon the grudging patronage of a sister's husband, or brother's wife! — stuck away in some little mousetrap of a room — encouraged by one in-law to visit another — little birdlike women without any nest — eating the crust of humility all their life!" (34).

If women do break out of their confining domestic roles, their jobs are dull and monotonous and require no great skill; this, in turn, results in a low expectation of their capabilities. Luana Donnels O'Malley in doing a feminist reading of Maria Irene Fornes talks about the work of women. She points out that "whereas the repetitive tasks are the expression of a particularly feminine brand of creativity, learning is perceived as 'men's work,' and is therefore a forbidden means of self-discovery" (O'Malley 112). Women are relegated to the mundane, repetitive tasks such as selling magazines or mastering the typing chart, while men are able to improve their minds by writing poetry as Tom does or "learning" radio technology like Jim. They are encouraged to get smarter by virtue of their maleness because this task requires a more difficult, linear, masculine mentality. Knowledge for men is a means of escape. By reading and writing, Tom acquires personal freedom and the power to plan his departure and by attending night school Jim can plot his way up and out of his situation.

Amanda falls into the trap of relegating knowledge to the man's domain. She more than once insists that she cannot understand technology or science, "Mr. O'Conner, can you tell a burnt-out fuse? I know I can't ..." (86). Tom is seen reading the newspaper in scene 1 and both Tom and Jim read the *Post Dispatch* in scene 6. Laura, on the other hand, only "reads" her high school yearbook, which contains a picture of Jim.

Amanda also has to face the inescapable fate of failure on her "special" domestic level. Women have been given the power to act as civil guardians, yet it is an impossible task, as the men they raise leave the home to operate in the public arena. Lowe-Evans found this to be true also of Shelley's character, Margaret Saville. She explains, "This conflict between women's responsibility to maintain the moral order and their limited opportunities to do so is unresolved in the remainder of *Frankenstein*" (39). If a woman is to be domestically effective she must keep a lovely home as well as produce capable men who can function in the public arena. Amanda fails both her husband who has deserted his family and with whom the audience sympathizes at times, and her son who also abandons his familial responsibilities. So though she has been lured into domestication by the promise of possessing a sacrosanct power as a wife and mother, we see that she, and any other woman, is not successfully able to control the men in her life nor her own future.

Laura has a very small world available to her. She has her home where she is comfortable in the less threatening, inanimate world of the Victrola and her glass menagerie. James Reynolds in his critical essay, "The Failure of Technology in *The Glass Menagerie*," sums up Laura's predicament. "For Laura, the phonograph provides ... escape from the pressures of earning a living in a commercial world, relentless memorizing of charts to serve business interests. Unlike the typewriter, the mechanics of which are so alien to her temper that she throws up in class, the phonograph is soothing" (Reynolds 525). Laura has her typing chart and shorthand book at home, and here she attempts her practice work, but when she steps outside the home, she fails. Even when she decides not to go to the secretarial school, she hides out in the art museum, the birdhouses at the Zoo, and the Jewel Box, a place that raises tropical flowers even in the winter. Each and every one of these places are still within a women's domain, however, evoking such typical metaphors that equate women with museum displays, captive birds and delicate tropical flowers in a cold, demanding man's world. Amanda reports, "I put her in business college — a dismal failure! Frightened her so it made her sick at the stomach. I took her over to the Young People's League at the Church. Another fiasco" (53). Laura can't succeed at the typing school or the church because she has violated the separate-sphere philosophy. Because she cannot cope with the reality of the public sphere which has destroyed her self-image, she retreats into her private world of unreality.

In the closing scene, Tom again asserts his place as a man allowed and eager to roam the public world with his fellow male travelers, "I descended the steps of this fire escape for a last time and followed, from then on, in my father's footsteps, attempting to find in motion what was lost in space" (115). As he delivers these lines, Laura and Amanda appear in their home, and Laura prepares to blow out the candles, plunging her domestic sphere into blackness. Williams's women hide from the public arena and

possess only limited and fragmented mental abilities, while male characters exhibit creative mentality and an interrelatedness with the natural world.

As noted earlier the separate-sphere philosophy is based on the traditional power structure of a patriarchal society and the repercussions of this order have a profound effect on women, their roles, and their self-image. There can be little doubt that Tennessee Williams used the underlying tenets of a male-dominated society which at times troubled him and his own self-image as a foundation for his play.

Because *The Glass Menagerie* is a "Memory" play explains Paul T. Nolan, it "differs from either a confessional format or the involuntary recall of stream-of-consciousness expressionism because in the Memory Play we see not only exclusively what the narrator consciously wants us to see, but also see it only in *the way* he chooses that we should" (Parker 519). As soon as the play begins, it is obvious who is in control. Tom is not only a main character, but the narrator and stage manager as well. He possess the power to transform the past, set the scene for the present, and decide the future — powers which the male segment of society has historically owned. Tom introduces his powerful abilities, "I give you truth in the pleasant disguise of illusion. To begin with, I turn back time. I reverse it" (23). His use of the personal pronoun, I, imparts the potency of his position as he continues, "I am the narrator of the play, and also a character in it ...I am using this character [Jim] also as a symbol ... I think the rest of the play will explain itself..." (23). And it does, but from a decidedly male point of view.

In his stage directions, Williams reveals this vantagepoint when he dictates, "The narrator is an undisguised convention of the play. He takes whatever license with dramatic convention is convenient to his purposes" (22). The male representative is not only unmasked, as there is no need to hide his all-powerful presence, but he is also commanded to "take" what "is convenient to his purposes." Tom can also choose when to end the play and does so by commanding Laura to blow out the candles. The women characters are relegated to male dependency.

In the introduction to *Making a Spectacle*, a collection of critical essays, Lynda Hart underscores this dominant male perspective in dramatic literature by calling the theater "a genre laden with male-created females" (3). In a 1961 biography of Williams, Signi L. Falk presents the traditional reading of Laura. She writes, "For, through her timidity, her suffering from the friction between Tom and Amanda, and her retreat into the world of dreams, Laura evokes genuine sympathy" (76). From a feminist point of view, I question this statement. Does Laura warrant our sympathy? Falk continues, "She is the appealing one of those who must be cared for, loved and understood" (76). And I ask again: Does Laura warrant our sympathy? This point of view puts women in a subordinate position and makes them dependent on male protection. But Falk is not finished, he persists, "Her charm and delicacy win the audience" (76).

Are these really redeeming qualities for a dysfunctional woman to possess? Again I argue: *Does* Laura warrant our sympathy? Should Laura be respected for, and encouraged to use, her ability to charm and win through delicacy? Echoing the male belief is Williams's own description of Laura as "exquisitely fragile."

Feminists would point out once again the subordinate position this allots to the female. John Timpane, attempting to give a modern reading to *The Glass Menagerie* falls victim to the male jargon himself. He points out, "Male dominance is of little interest; Williams's plays feature some of the most inert male protagonists in drama. Instead, the emphasis falls on something literature needs: an authentic and authoritative depiction of female foolishness, limitations, and error." What Mr. Timpane fails to address is why the women appear foolish — because they are pandering to male expectations (?); what those limitations are — confinements imposed by a patriarchal society (?); and whose definition of error do these women fit — is it error at all (?). But more poignant than all of these questions, is the overriding problem that history has held, and is still holding, the male point of view as an authentic and authoritative approach to portray the female experience. Neither Amanda nor Laura ever realizes that their lack of self-worth or value is rooted in a male-centered world. As they try to follow the models of female behavior that have been established for them, they become only further mired in the quicksand of a patriarchal society. And if they do not conform, they face self-doubt as well as failure. They become "little birdlike women without any nest" (34).

The male characters do question the emptiness in their lives. Even if they err in their quest to find the right answers (the father who abandons his family, the boy who runs off to join the merchant marine, the man who thinks too highly of his limited potential), they have at least taken control. The male characters are allowed to roam the outside world and Tom looks forward to the impending war as a means of escape for his entire generation of restless young men. "Adventure and change were imminent in this year. They were waiting around the corner for all these kids. Suspended in the mist over Berchtesgaden, caught in the folds of Chamberlain's umbrella" (57). He uses the words "all these kids," but what he really means is all these men, women would not be going anywhere.

Jonnie Guerra in her critical essay, "Beth Henley: Female Quest and the Family-Play Tradition" says that the mainstream American family-play tradition "has privileged male characters and their familial and societal responsibilities and banished female characters to live in the shadow of their fathers, husbands, and sons" (119). She goes further to explain that the lives of these females are shaped by male family members. This is quite evident in *The Glass Menagerie* when Amanda pointed out that when a young girl is seeing a young man it was up to her father to talk to the minister about the boy's character. Later she pesters Laura, "All pretty girls are a trap, a pretty trap, and men expect them to be" (70).

Even Laura's dead father is still affecting her life: his displayed portrait that seems to light up of its own accord, the postcard from Mexico which makes several appearances and the Victrola records which Laura plays over and over again even though her mother disapproves. In scene 6, Laura becomes so nervous at Jim's arrival that she runs to the Victrola and plays her father's records. The music "softens the air and gives her strength to move through it" (75). The portrait of the father who "was out all hours without explanation! — Then *left! Goodbye!*" hangs on the wall, a grim reminder of the power a man can wield over women even in his absence. He is still, after all, a man of action. The male who goes against the grain, who dares to live outside conventional society, can still retain his power. A woman, however, who tries to go against the social structure of society becomes a misfit who is made to pay for her deviance as "barely tolerated spinsters living upon the grudging patronage of a sister's husband or a brother's wife..." (34). Much more can be said on the subject of father's ever-pervasive spirit and its influence on the other characters (see Louis K. Greiff's "Fathers, Daughters, and Spiritual Sisters: Marsha Norman's 'night Mother and Tennessee Williams's *The Glass Menagerie*'") but let it suffice here to encapsulate the extent of the power of male dominance over the female characters by pondering the deep implications in Jim's phrase, "Look how big my shadow is when I stretch" (102).

Tom, Jim, and even the departed Father figure are indeed the privileged elite. They are allowed to come and go as they please, they can understand science and write poetry, they have their dinner prepared and their homes cleaned, they have women waiting for them to act. In scene 1, Amanda calls to Tom, "We can't say grace until you come to the table" (24) and in scene 3, she laments, "How do you think we'd manage if you were — [fired]" (41). When Amanda speaks of her seventeen gentlemen callers, she recites a litany of all their accomplishments from being vice-president of a bank to becoming the "Wolf of Wall Street." No women are given any grandiose accomplishments in the play; we see only housewives who read the *Homemaker's Companion* and ineffectual young, virginal girls like Laura and Betty. And rather than accomplishments, we see only failures: Amanda picking the wrong husband, not keeping Tom happy at home, not finding a man for Laura, not selling enough magazines and Laura not completing typing school, not being able to socialize at the church, having to wear "gay deceivers" because her breasts are not large enough.

In a patriarchal society, women depend on men and this dependence, in turn, validates the male psyche. It not only gives him a purpose, but a subordinate. Amanda begs Tom not to leave "...till there's somebody to take your place" (53). This seemingly innocent plea negates the fact that Amanda and Laura could take care of themselves or that they could, perhaps, be better off without a man at all. In a male-centered world, any man is better than no man.

Another feminist concern is that women have been forced to use the guise of idiocy to achieve an end. Amanda is no exception. Because she has been preconditioned and because it has worked for her in the past, Amanda takes on the role of the unintelligent female. She asks Tom, "Is my head so transparent?" (58). She then allows Tom to say to her and get away without rebuke, "I don't see why you have to think at all" (60). Hopefully today's mothers would not allow a son to speak to her in such a way, but the rash of TV talk shows tell us differently. Not too much has changed as we see young sons who talk proudly of striking their mothers and who don't think twice about yelling foul words or obscenities at their mothers in front of millions of viewers. And the mothers seem to tolerate this behavior or feel inadequate to stop it, deferring to a "boys will be boys" attitude.

In her critical study, Jonnie Guerra examines how dramatist Beth Henley "traces the female characters' experiences of nothingness back to their mother." She explains how mothers collude in perpetuating the patriarchal order by passing on their inadequacies and male-centered biases to their daughters. I find this to be true of the Amanda/Laura relationship. Laura has become convinced of her inferiority, not because she has a limp, but because Amanda feels this may inhibit her in finding a man. She has been ingrained with this fallacy, not only by a male-centered society, but also by her own mother. Amanda has convinced her daughter that a woman's prime source of self-esteem and self-worth is in being beautiful and finding a rich husband, proving that inadequate mothers like Amanda participate in the continuation of these devastating patterns in their daughters' lives.

Stereotypically female behaviors such as submissiveness, negative self-image, and insecurity about their bodies are quite evident in *The Glass Menagerie*. Nicholas O. Pagan reiterates this image in his critical essay, "Tennessee Williams's Theater as Body," when he points out that, "Throughout Williams's plays it is generally the women who demonstrate the greater concern for their physical attractiveness. Amanda, for example, in *The Glass Menagerie*, shows her awareness of the chronic need of the female to attract the male when she stuffs "Gay Deceivers" into Laura's dress ... (100). Laura has internalized these feelings and though she rejects the stuffings, she also rejects the hope of catching her man. Much more can be said concerning this theory and its implications in the mother/daughter relationship, as well as its effect on the other relationships in the play, but the main point is that until women can move beyond the debilitating structures set for them by the patriarchy, until they can take control of their lives, and pass this on to their daughters, nothing will change. They will continue to lead lives which have been historically delineated by a male-centered society.

Williams also assigns feminine language to his female characters. For example, his direction to Amanda is, "She flounces girlishly toward the kitchenette," while in the very next stage direction he makes it un-

mistakably clear that "Tom throws down the paper and jumps up with a groan." Laura sits in a delicate ivory chair and Amanda has a dainty white handkerchief that she uses delicately while Tom feels most at home on the strong iron of the outside fire escape. Whenever Amanda is guilty of taking action it is cast in a derogatory light. Tom recalls that his mother sold magazines, "the type of journal that features the serialized sublimation of ladies of letters who think in terms of delicate cuplike breasts, slim tapering waists, rich, creamy thighs...." He then continues to further fragment the female body.

Sexuality in *The Glass Menagerie* also takes on a patriarchal behavior code. As Williams attempts to reconcile the flesh with the spirit, the male characters are allowed to mix the two, while the women must only exist in the world of the spirit. Tom announces, "Man is by instinct a lover, a hunter, a fighter ... (52). Tom is a man, a worker, an adventurer, but also a poet and thus composed of both the flesh and the spirit. Jim also has instincts of the body as well as the spirit and he looks forward to enjoying both the public world of his career and the spiritual world of his marriage to Betty. Neither Amanda nor Laura is allowed to dwell in the animal world of the flesh. Laura gets ill at even the prospect of entertaining a gentleman and she is thought to be much too delicate to take on an emotional relationship. Amanda has failed in her foray into the sexual world, crushed by her husband's animal instinct to roam, she must now be satisfied with the memories of her pre-sexual conquests, the memory of her "seventeen gentlemen callers."

In her critical study, "Feminism and Theatre," Sue-Ellen Case denounces the idea that theatre is a mimetic art, arguing that the drama is not an accurate account of actual history. Plays, she asserts, are only the playwright's representation of what he or she thinks is actuality from a patriarchal bias. She attacks "theatre traditions as forums for patriarchal ideology that repressed actual historical women" (Case 62). O'Malley follows this tack when she cites Barbara Walker, author of "The Skeptical Feminist" and a feminist who explores the traditional roles into which women have been slotted. She says this constitutes a form of enslavement that results in what has been called "women's work." This type of activity, she informs us has been regarded by men as "natural pleasures" of a woman and has been presented as such in much of our literature. But Walker argues that "the real reason women undertake the demanding and demeaning tasks ... is hardly that they find it natural, but rather that they feel trapped. The average woman's socialization in patriarchal society points her towards wifedom as the only job she is fit to do" (O'Malley 103).

Women have learned to adapt to patriarchal oppression and have attempted to use their ordinary experiences as a means to bring value and worth to their lives. Everyday tasks in a domestic domain allow women some amount of control and power. Even such a commonplace thing as housework can reveal significant information about a woman. These in-

sights serve to raise new questions concerning the ways women's domestic tasks have been portrayed throughout literary history by male writers. In *The Glass Menagerie*, Williams portrays Amanda cooking meals, badgering Tom about his eating habits, and attempting to make the apartment look nice, as if this was a natural (expected) role for a mother. As feminists we would have to read more into these lines and wonder just why she feels the need to constantly nag her son, clean the apartment, and "properly feather the nest and plume the bird" (37).

Besides submissiveness to patriarchal tenets, another feminist concern is that of women's silence, their lack of a voice to speak out against oppression. When we examine Harold Bloom's words, "*The Glass Menagerie* though it has achieved a firmly established position in the canon of American plays, is often distorted, if not misunderstood, by readers, directors, and audiences," it sounds as if new insight is about to be revealed. However, he continues, "The distortion results from an overemphasis on the scenes involving Laura and Amanda and their plight, so that the play becomes a sentimental tract on the trapped misery of two women in St. Louis. This leads to the neglect of Tom's soliloquies — speeches that can be ignored or discounted only at great peril."

Bloom acknowledges the women's problem of being trapped in their homes with stifled voices, but wants to make sure they do not overshadow the greater and seemingly more important problem, that of making sure Tom's speeches are heard. It is obvious he feels this male voice is more significant than those of the women in the play. In *The Glass Menagerie*, Tom is indeed the speaker, the narrator, the one in control; he speaks not only to the other characters, but to the audience as well. Jim, the gentleman caller has a voice, too, and is improving himself by taking public speaking classes to expand his career opportunities and enable him to communicate in the world of men. Even the father speaks loudly from his exile exerting control on the women in the story.

Laura is the silenced one and Amanda, though she does talk has little of value to say. Explaining Laura we see that she has the least to say in the play, she has no long, revealing speeches or conversations. Most of the time she fumbles to call forth just a few coherent words. Instead of sympathizing with her as many male critics have asked us to do, feminists should question why having a slight limp affects the ability to speak. When Laura goes to the church social, she again loses her power to verbalize in the outside world, even one so closely aligned to the domestic sphere. Amanda tells us, "I took her over to the Young People's League at the church. Another fiasco. She spoke to nobody, nobody spoke to her" (53). Her brother, Tom, describes Laura as "terribly shy and lives in a world of her own and those things make her seem a little peculiar to people outside the house" (66). How about the people inside the house? Does Laura's silence not seem strange to them? Or are shy, silent women acceptable as long as they remain in their limited domain?

In Williams's stage directions for the scene between Laura and Jim, he informs the audience that, "She can hardly speak from the almost intolerable strain of being alone with a stranger ... Laura's voice is thin and breathless" (88). When Laura and Jim begin discussing their high school encounter, Jim asks, "Why didn't you say something, then?" To which Laura answers, "[breathlessly]: I didn't know what to say, I was — too surprised" (92). Because Laura has believed she is worth little or nothing, she is surprised that Jim even recognized her. Silence, after all, amounts to non-existence and Laura is all too familiar with this state.

One of the reasons women have remained silent even today is that they have traditionally been relegated to waiting for men to make decisions which they are expected to follow without question. Williams has Laura act according to this model when he directs her character with the words, "She looks at him [Jim] speechlessly — waiting ... He speaks gently" (107). Just after this scene, Jim tells Laura he won't be calling her again and as her speech breaks down completely, she barely responds, "[faintly]: You — won't — call again? (107). Hearing of his impending marriage to Betty, Laura stops talking altogether and Jim beseeches, "I wish that you would — say something" (108). But Laura only "bites her lip" and responds with a "gestural symbol," handing him the broken unicorn (Van Laan 249). Jim then asks Laura why she is giving it to him and Laura only nods, then he asks again and Laura can only utter "A — souvenir" (109). For the next and final six pages, Laura only says one more word, "Yes," a stereotypical self-sacrificing response as she wishes Jim happiness.

Tom, on the other hand, is on the brink of self-discovery and escape. As Amanda and Laura pantomime their closing actions which are only visible "as though through soundproof glass," Tom begins his lengthy, final speech. He is in control of his life because he has a voice and this voice has reverberations which, like his physical body, will travel beyond the confines of his home and into the world.

On an even broader scale, it is evident that this traditional male perspective of women is not confined to the white race of which Williams writes. In the past ten years there have been various productions of *The Glass Menagerie* portrayed with an all-black cast. The oppression women face, it seems, is not relegated to any particular race, color, or creed and feminists must be sure to include the black experience in their search for new perspectives on works of the canon. Black women have sometimes found themselves marginalized by more aggressive white feminists, but they, too, must step up and challenge the way not only men, but other women, interpret their experiences.

In October of 1989, Tazewell Thompson directed *The Glass Menagerie* at the Arena Stage in Washington D.C., noting in the program for the performance that "in the period following World War I approximately one million African Americans migrated to industrial cities like Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit and St. Louis (the play's setting) hoping for better em-

ployment and education" (Burns 267). The play was performed with few changes in the script, most notable of those was that Amanda returns not from a D.A.R. meeting but from a meeting of Delta, a black sorority, Jim O'Conner's name was changed to Jim Conners and the allusion to his drinking was deleted and ragtime piano music and the music of Duke Ellington and Ethel Waters was substituted.

The futility of Laura's future, her handicap, and her lack of an employable skill also reflect the social and racial problems of the black experience (Burns 269). In Whitney J. LeBlanc's production at the Lorraine Hansberry Theatre in 1991, similar changes in details were also effected, but a main point made was that it is no longer acceptable to "... presume the experience of a single group or race is the only experience a play should reflect." The director points out that *The Glass Menagerie* evokes many traditional problems found in black families — the absent father figure, lack of self-esteem, the imposition of past generational values on the present generation, and rebellious youth. At the Tennessee Williams Festival in New Orleans, Louisiana, Carl Walker presented an insightful and believable production of *The Glass Menagerie* with an all-black cast. His great accomplishment was not that racial boundaries completely disappeared, but rather that black women's problems dealing with a male-dominated world are just as credible and valid as those of white women.

The Glass Menagerie, a widely staged, traditional favorite, certainly lends itself to an array of feminist rereadings. The separate-sphere approach affirms the historical confinement of women to the home by men who position themselves in the world of politics and business. Amanda, Laura, and Betty live in opposition to Tom, Jim, and the Father. An investigation into the patriarchal order uncovers the sanctioned negation of women, their value and their self-worth. Women struggle to validate their lives, consciously and unconsciously, but the fight against the male order is not an easy one. Laura retreats into an unreal world of glass objects and Amanda sees her hopes and dreams dashed on a male beachhead. The feminist assumption that women have been historically silenced is evident throughout the play, both covertly and overtly. Laura has virtually no voice at all, stumbling over words and phrases, while Amanda, though she prattles on, sometimes incessantly, has nothing of value to say.

Williams also makes use of many religious symbols in his work. Early in the play, Amanda looks at Laura "with a martyred look" and then continues with a "sweet suffering stare" (29). Laura has come to recognize this sacrificial stance of her mother and to understand its implications. She comments, "Mother, when you're disappointed, you get that awful suffering look on your face, like the picture of Jesus' mother in the museum" (33). And here we see the typical patriarchal comparison of motherhood to the suffering icon of the mother of Jesus. This heavenly model of a perfectly self-sacrificing and self-effacing mother image has been held up to women to emulate. Men have said you only have to do this and you can

achieve self-worth. Of course, this is virtually an impossible expectation. Women are doomed to fail and this, in turn, perpetuates self-doubt and dependency. When Amanda tries to flatter prospective magazine purchasers, she pays these women the highest form of compliment she can, knowing they will feel uplifted, "Heaven have mercy! — You're a Christian martyr, yes, that's what you are, a Christian martyr (38). During the scene when Tom and Amanda are not speaking to each other, Williams calls for the "Ave Maria" to be heard softly, again alluding to Amanda as the Mother of God.

The character of Laura recalls the Blessed Virgin Mary icon. As she prepares for the arrival of her god, the gentleman caller who will bring her salvation, she "... stands in the middle of the room with lifted arms ... devout and ritualistic. A fragile, unearthly prettiness has come out in Laura; she is like a piece of translucent glass touched by light, given a momentary radiance, not actual, not lasting" (69). This description likens Laura to the Virgin Mary, and then should we not expect that she will indeed remain a virgin. This icon is especially common in a patriarchal society in which men value the innocence of a virgin for marriage, yet because of his "natural" animal instinct, seeks to deflower as many women as he can. This standard, of course, does not apply to women who are required to have no "natural" animal instinct.

Williams uses other religious symbols such as the candelabrum from the Church of Heavenly Rest which is used when the lights go out just after dinner — the Last Supper image. These same candles light Jim's way as he goes into the living room to keep Laura company and seems to throw light especially on him. Later Williams informs the audience that Jim has a charm "which lights her [Laura] inwardly with altar candles" (97). After Laura hears the devastating news of Jim's impending marriage, "The holy candles on the altar of Laura's face have been snuffed out" (108). Then follows the final emotional death of Laura as Tom commands her at the close of the play to "Blow out your candles, Laura — and so goodbye ... [She blows the candles out.]" (115). Other evidences of Christian theology in *The Glass Menagerie* consists of bells tolling, guilt and punishment, sin and suffering, salvation, heavenly lights, the spiritual female, and virginity.

These and many other approaches to rereading this play reveal how established perceptions have influenced culture, literature, and the lives of women. I have not even touched on such possible topics of feminine discourse as "women and madness," the Cinderella myth, the caged bird and other symbolic images, male/female oppositions, or the unreal worlds of women. Nor have I explored aspects such as Freud and psychoanalysis, the Romantic man, and the actual physical space assigned to male/female characters on stage, autobiographical, historical/sociological, or economical data. Time and space constraints make it impossible to tackle all of the theories in a single paper. Additional theoretical models are listed in the references section.

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The Health Care Service Industry:
"Health Maintenance Organizations"
A Pilot Study of Image Perceptions

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Examining structural, organizational, and cultural communication circumstances that affect health care provider and consumer relationships (Sharf & Kahler, 1996) is potentially one of the most complex, challenging, and rewarding areas of scholarly inquiry (Brashers & Barrow, 1996). This study takes the position that health care provider relationships could include not only consumers and potential consumers but also health care employees, supervisors and the overall community. One area from which to observe the interaction of these relationships is the internal and external images (e.g., service and information) created by health care institutions and the subsequent affects of these images on various related publics.

As consumers of service and information we tend to act upon what we hear and see, which in a cumulative fashion equates partly to our perceptions (positive or negative) of a provider's image. Consumers are becoming more circumspect and discriminating, forcing organizations to examine the quality of services they provide and how they communicate with the public. This is particularly true of the health care industry (including not-for-profit hospitals and for-profit Health Maintenance Organizations), which has undergone fundamental economic, competitive, and a service oriented change (Albert, 1989; Berlin Ray & Donohew, 1990; Kreps & Thornton, 1992; Sharf, 1993; Zook, 1994). Furthermore, despite the increasing amount of evidence that effective communication (in all areas) between consumers and health care providers is essential, studies conducted in numerous medical contexts shows a preponderance of substandard communication by health care institutions (Hines, Moss, & Badzek, 1997).

Consumers of health care services are increasingly skeptical of the health industry. The hospital's image from an altruistic provider (i.e., the organization's primary consideration is the medical well being of humans) to a corporate conglomerate (HMO) has not only increased consumer skepticism but has also promoted attention toward alternate health care systems in hopes of finding a more personal quality of service.

The paradox for the hospital and health care industry is creating an image that satisfies health care consumer needs and expectations (e.g. that the provider's primary consideration is medical attention and care) without appearing to be an impersonal multi-level corporation. The creation and maintenance of external image implies that there is a connection to the perceived image of the external constituents. Invariably, if the external image perceptions of health care institutions are to be shaped to meet external expectations, then the internal image perceptions must also be

addressed. In other words, health care providers must evaluate how internal image is created and how it transfers to the consumer and the community.

This study examined some of the characteristics that define today's health care arena: health care, service orientation, and internal/external image of health care institutions. Furthermore, this research is based on an initial study of a for-profit health maintenance organization (HMO). The intentions of this study were to investigate a relative void concerning the implications and consequences of employee and consumer image perceptions associated with an HMO.

Theoretical Perspectives

The health care service industry has experienced an incredible growth over the last twenty years. During the mid 1980's the American public consumed a staggering amount of health care services, spending approximately \$455 billion annually (Ginzberg, 1984). More recent estimates indicate expenditures of more than \$1 trillion annually (Pedersen, Douville, & Eberlein, 1994). As the health care industry grew so did the public's image of health care to that of "big business," resulting in consumer frustration, confusion and skepticism (Albert, 1989; Elbeck, 1987; Larkin, 1989; Frasca & Schnieder, 1988; Friedman, 1985; Higgins, 1989; Johnson, 1991).

Providers of health care have an increasing negative image dilemma and are becoming increasingly aware that this issue must be addressed. This presents a daunting task, but before providers can begin determining their role (e.g., altruistic vs. corporate perspectives) in society they must have a clear grasp of themselves. In other words, what type of effect does the organization have on itself on it's own internal image (Cole, 1989; Daniels, Spiker & Papa, 1997).

Internal Image

According to Marken (1990), corporate image (internal/external) is defined as the perceived sum of the entire organization, its objectives and plans. This includes the company's products, services, management style, communication activities, culture and action toward the community. The image of health care providers is a direct result of the services provided by the people who work at the health care institution (Elbeck, 1987).

To remain competitive and respond to consumer expectations organizations must develop a service-oriented culture. Albert (1989) posits that organizations which have developed a reputation for high quality service did so by creating an internal environment or culture that is responsive to people. He also concludes that if employees are supposed to accord quality service to others they should be receiving the same quality services

from management (e.g., favorable treatment, adequate technology, personal concern, etc.). Favorable activities toward internal publics (i.e., employees) should transfer to favorable activities toward external publics (i.e., consumers).

Goodman and Ruch (1981) advert to analogous results by suggesting that attention given to the effectiveness of internal communication can, in turn, improve the overall qualities of internal attitudes. Health care providers are becoming aware of their image problem (Kelsey, 1990) and are starting to realize that satisfied employees translate to satisfied customers. All of these viewpoints suggest that the overall culture (learning of values) of an organization plays an important part in creating an internal (employee) image which affects external (consumer and community) opinion.

Organizational Culture

The culture of the health care organization contributes to a positive or negative image of that particular provider (Nordstrom & Allen, 1987). Elliot Jacques (1951) provides an applicable definition of culture:

The customary or traditional ways of thinking and doing things, which are shared to a greater or lesser extent by all members or the organization and which new members must learn and at least partially accept in order to be accepted into the service of the firm. (p. 25)

Similar definitions can be seen throughout organizational cultural literature (Thompson, 1967; Geertz, 1973; Folb, 1976; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Kreps, 1984; Barnett, 1988; Cluff, 1989). Goldhaber (1990) provides a summation of culture in relation to values and image. He suggests that organizational culture is concerned with the nature of explanations about what it would be like to work in an organization. These explanations, whether they are written in a mission statement or not, should be clear. Unclear value or mission statements are central to the challenge of creating a positive image.

Consumers determine the quality of health care primarily on their interaction with provider employees. Thus, if there is an internal image problem (e.g., between employees and the organization) there will also be an external image problem between consumers and the health organization (Albert, 1989; Burke, 1989; Larkin, 1989). The health care industry is facing serious external image problems and must recognize that the investment of creating positive relationships among internal constituents has a direct bearing upon the satisfaction of external constituents (Kelsey, 1990) and the survival of the organization. Again, the relationships between consumers and health care providers are unclear.

External Image

According to Hicks (1986), increased competition, different reimbursement plans and declining hospital occupancies have transformed the landscape of American medicine. Health care institutions are being forced to hunt for more clients through aggressive advertising, promotion, and community awareness (Albert, 1989). Intensified competition has also forced health providers to expand in specific areas such as technology, art of care, and clientele education. Hospitals now contemplate aligning themselves with joint ventures, allowing diversification and becoming more marketable with the rise of health maintenance organizations (Albert, 1989). This expansion, as posited by Albert, has resulted in two things: changed customer expectation and the newly acquired stigma of big business.

Lack of public confidence is another major issue facing hospitals (Larkin, 1989). Patient cost consciousness, the side effects of physicians' loss of self esteem, consumerism, and changing societal expectations are also contributing to a decline in hospitals' public image (Friedman, 1985). If health care customers become dissatisfied with a provider they will report their experience to nine or ten people who tell others, resulting in the perpetuation of negative images (Albrecht & Zemke, 1985). In other words, negative image producing activities are not only sustained by the actual consumer but also shared with the consumer's friends and associates.

One area of satisfaction is found in the consumer expectancy of personal touch (the feeling that the health care provider is interested in your personal well being versus viewing you as an income source). Consumers seem to miss the altruism (the notion that doctors live and act for the interests of others) in health care. In numerous articles (e.g., Berlin Ray & Donohew, 1990; Kelsey, 1990; Kreps & Thornton, 1992) it is noted that consumers miss personal contact when receiving care. Naisbitt (1982) describes this yearning for personal touch as a natural by-product of society's evolution toward high technology. Consumers of health care seem to be limited in their ability to make judgments about the care provided in terms of technological machinery (Higgins, 1989).

Corporate news and communications have a dramatic effect on a company's image (Johnson, 1991). Besides advertising, Larkin (1989) notes that there is an abundance of negative media coverage impacting the health care industry image. The hospitals' damaged image is being addressed by consumer marketing strategists, but it is not enough. Johnson (1991) suggests that the answer to the problem cannot be solved by increasing spending on sophisticated marketing advertising. Efforts through the media often fall short from a perceived lack of source credibility (Judd, 1984).

These concerns have added to the consumer image perception of the health care as "big business," which has damaged their economic stability (Johnson, 1991; Geist & Gates, 1996). This indicates that the consumer has realized a new power in regard to exploring options available in

the competitive health care market (Albert, 1989). Consumer attitudes show that the consumer perceptions of health care providers are hazy at best (Johnson, 1991), and the health care industry must become keenly aware of their image (Albert, 1989; Friedman, 1985; Kelsey, 1990; Larkin, 1989).

Rationale

Consumers of health care are becoming increasingly skeptical, resulting in image problems for health care institutions. Media information about user services is confusing consumers, while simultaneously, consumers are becoming more sophisticated in terms of health evaluation based on high expectations. If consumers are skeptical of not-for-profit hospitals, how are they responding to health care providers (HMO's) that are profit-oriented, market driven, and competing for their business? This is the focus of this study.

The community's image of health care is created by the media, health care employees, users and non-users, programs presented to the community, and the sense of community citizenship portrayed by the HMO. Providers must know what image they project and how the public reacts to this image. If image is a problem, providers must assess their organizational culture to determine how internal image is created and how it transfers to the consumer and the community.

Since little information is available in terms of the image perceptions surrounding health care maintenance organizations a study was needed. This initial research endeavored to evaluate an HMO's strengths and weaknesses in terms of its current image as perceived by management, employees, and community users and non-users. The following research questions provided a starting point in this type of descriptive research.

- RQ1:** Is there a difference between HMO internal image perception by employees and supervisors?
- RQ2:** Is there a difference between HMO external image perception by HMO users and non-users?
- RQ3:** Is there a difference between HMO image perceptions by the HMO and community?

Method

Descriptive research was selected to evaluate HMO image perceptions across all publics. This type of research method allows for the description of beliefs, attitudes, values, preferences, or behaviors (Tucker, 1981). Tucker notes that descriptive studies are also useful when the researcher exercises no control over independent variables, yet wants to describe relationships.

The data collecting technique used was a survey which allowed for: (1) the viewing of things as they are without the intent of affecting the outcome; (2) can be seen as a nondisruptive investigation made by an outsider looking in; and (3) considers the entire population of a group or an exemplary sample of that population (Anderson, 1987). Survey methods also allow for the comparison of relationships by correlations and comparing people of different categories on the same subject (Severin & Tankard, 1979)

Participants

Participants consisted of HMO supervisors (N=20), HMO employees (N=20), HMO community users (N=34), and HMO community non-users (N=34). The Sampling frame (N=108) for the HMO and the community came from a medium size southeastern city. The HMO participants were randomly sampled according to the classification of supervisors and employees. For the community, a purposive random sample was utilized to assure and control an even disbursement of various demographic characteristics (e.g., voters, gender, age, income level, number in the household, length of time in the area, and HMO user/non-user).

Instrumentation

Since this study was concerned with various image aspects of an HMO, a survey research instrument was designed for the collection of data. Along with the demographic information, the instrument contained a series of 15 statements related to various image aspects of the HMO and its community. In order to address the research questions asked, the same instrument was distributed to each subject. The instrument asked each participant to rate each statement on a Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree).

Procedure

As a pilot study testing an image perception instrument and gauging initial image perceptions, only a small sample was utilized. Individual t-tests required only a small sample but the multivariate statistics applied to each research question required a somewhat larger sample. Since there was a concern about how to achieve adequate responses from a small sample on a limited budget, a purposive, quota sampling procedure was adopted with students from an upper level communication interviewing course selected to administer the instrument.

Assistants were carefully trained in data collection techniques and in the ethics of conducting surveys. Assistants were given specific instructions about when and where to collect data. They were told to find

a user and non-user from each of the designated areas of the city, which accounted for a wide variety of people and demographics included on the instrument. The demographic questions allowed us to check the breadth of the sample.

Analysis of Data

The standard statistical software program (SPSS-X) was utilized for analysis. First, individual t-tests were run for each research question group to determine the mean scores and significance on any one statement between the two groups. This technique assisted in pinpointing any specific areas that could be utilized by the participating HMO. This particular test was important to the research because a more detailed analysis of the information was a requirement of the participating HMO.

Multivariate F tests were then run to compare overall image perceptions of each group. This provided the primary statistics for each research question and allowed for a determination of statistical significance across all statements between each group.

Results

RQ1: Asked if there was a difference between HMO internal image perceptions by employees and supervisors. Table 1 shows the mean scores on individual t-tests and indicates areas of significance (see following page for Tables 1 & 1a). Table 1a shows the statistical significance across all statements for employees and supervisors.

As summarized in Table 1a, the results indicate that overall there was no significance in the relationship between supervisor and employee HMO image perceptions $p = .332$ with a mean score of 3.77. The summary of Table 1 showed significance on statement (M). The supervisors see the HMO as a more convenient place to obtain health care than did the employees, $p = .008$. The mean score for the supervisors was 4.5 compared to 4.0 for the employees.

Table 1
T-test Mean Score Summary
Employee / Supervisor

		Employee	Supervisor
S-A	The HMO is a good corporate citizen	3.8	4.0
S-B	The HMO is more concerned with providing for your health than your ability to pay	3.5	3.6
S-C	The HMO is up to date on modern technology	4.0	3.8

S-D	The HMO is an attractive health care facility	4.2	4.0	
S-E	The HMO is concerned about its effects on the community	3.8	3.9	
S-F	The HMO cares about its employees	3.4	3.7	
S-G	The HMO has a good image with its community	3.6	3.5	
S-H	The HMO donates financially to the community	3.4		3.5
S-I	The atmosphere at the HMO is friendly	4.0	4.2	
S-J	The HMO donates time to the community	3.5	3.4	
S-K	Services are reasonably priced	—	—	
S-L	The HMO pays lots of personal attention to its patients	4.0	3.9	
S-M	The HMO is a convenient place to obtain health care	4.0	4.5**	
S-N	The HMO gets involved with the community outside of providing health care	3.4	3.3	
S-O	HMO employees act like good people while at work	4.1	4.0	

** p < .01

Table 1 a
Multivariate Test of Significance
Employees / Supervisors

	Value	Approx. F	Hypoth. df	Error df	Sig.
S: A-O	.81223	1.54493	14.00	5.00	.332

RQ2: Asked if there is a difference between HMO external image perceptions by HMO users and non-users. Table 2 shows the mean scores on individual t-tests and indicates areas of significance. Table 2a shows the statistical significance across all statements for employees and supervisors.

Table 2
T-test Mean Score Summary
HMO Users / Non-users

		Users	Non-users
S-A	The HMO is a good corporate citizen	3.88	3.35
S-B	The HMO is more concerned with providing for your health than your ability to pay	2.76	3.05
S-C	The HMO is up to date on modern technology	4.0	3.35**
S-D	The HMO is an attractive health care facility	3.52	3.52
S-E	The HMO is concerned about its effects on the community	3.64	3.9
S-F	The HMO cares about its employees	3.64	3.23*
S-G	The HMO has a good image with its community	3.64	3.64
S-H	The HMO donates financially to the community	2.94	3.29
S-I	The atmosphere at the HMO is friendly	3.76	3.29
S-J	The HMO donates time to the community	3.47	3.17
S-K	Services are reasonably priced	3.29	2.64*
S-L	The HMO pays lots of personal attention to its patients	3.29	2.88
S-M	The HMO is a convenient place to obtain health care	4.0	3.5
S-N	The HMO gets involved with the community outside of providing health care	3.30	3.09
S-O	HMO employees act like good people while at work	3.05	2.88

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 2 a
Multivariate Test of Significance
HMO User / Non-users

	Value	Approx. F	Hypoth. df	Error df	Sig.
S: A-O	69929	2.79050	15.00	8.00	.020*

$p < .05$

A summary of Table 2a showed significance $p = .020$ between the user/non-user image perceptions of the HMO for research question two. The mean score for users was 3.47 and the mean score for non-users was 3.25. Users have a somewhat stronger image perception on the agree side than do non-users.

Individual t-tests showed statistical significance on statements C, F, and K. For statement C (the HMO is up to date on modern technology) users' image perception (agree: 4.0) in this category were larger than non-users (3.35), $p = .004$. For statement F (the HMO cares about its employees) users' image perceptions (3.64) were larger than non-users (3.23), $p = .030$. For statement K (services are reasonably priced) users' image perceptions (3.29) were slightly on the agree side compared to non-users (2.64) slightly on the disagree side, $p = .042$.

RQ3: Asked if there is a difference between HMO image perceptions by the HMO and Community Table 3 shows the mean scores on individual t-tests and indicates areas of significance (see the following page for Tables 3 and 3a). Table 3a shows the statistical significance across all statements for the HMO and Community.

A summary of Table 3a showed significance ($p > .000$) between the HMO and the community. Image perceptions mean score for the HMO was 3.77 agreeing and the mean score for the community was 3.3 slightly agreeing.

Table 3
T-test Mean Score Summary
HMO / Community

		HMO	Community	Combined
S-A	The HMO is a good corporate citizen	3.9	3.66	3.75
S-B	The HMO is more concerned with providing for your health than your ability to pay	3.55	2.91**	3.18
S-C	The HMO is up to date on modern technology	4.0	3.72	3.83
S-D	The HMO is an attractive health care facility	4.1	3.51*	3.73
S-E	The HMO is concerned about its effects on the community	3.85	3.48	3.62
S-F	The HMO cares about its employees	3.45	3.42	3.43
S-G	The HMO has a good image with its community	3.55	3.72	3.66
S-H	The HMO donates financially to			

	the community	3.4	3.21	3.28
S-I	The atmosphere at the HMO is friendly	4.15	3.60*	3.81
S-J	The HMO donates time to the community	3.4	3.30	3.33
S-K	Services are reasonably priced	3.75	2.93*	3.24
S-L	The HMO pays lots of personal attention to its patients	3.85	3.15*	3.41
S-M	The HMO is a convenient place to obtain health care	4.35	3.93*	4.09
S-N	The HMO gets involved with the community outside of providing health care	3.30	3.09	3.16
S-O	HMO employees act like good people while at work	4.05	3.30**	3.41

*p < .01 **p < .001

Table 3 a
Multivariate Test of Significance
HMO / Community

	Value	Approx. F	Hypoth. df	Error df	Sig.
S: A-O	68866	5.45605	.15	.37	.000*

* p < .001

The summary of Table 3 showed significance in 7 of the 15 statements as seen below:

Statement B: The HMO is more concerned with providing for your health than your ability to pay. The mean for the HMO was 3.55 on the agree side and the mean for the community was 2.91 slightly disagreeing, p = .001.

Statement D: The HMO is an attractive health care facility. The mean for the HMO was 4.1 agree and the mean for the community was 3.51 leaning toward agreeing, p = .008.

Statement I: The atmosphere at the HMO is friendly. The mean score for the HMO was 4.15 agree and the mean score for the community was 3.60 leaning toward agreeing, p = .004.

Statement K: Services are reasonably priced. The HMO scored a mean of 3.75 toward agreeing while the community scored a mean of 2.93 slightly disagreeing, p = .002.

Statement L: The HMO pays a lot of attention to its patients. The mean score for the HMO was 3.85 toward agreeing and the mean score for the community was 3.15 slightly on the agree side, $p = .004$.

Statement M: The HMO is a convenient place to obtain health care. The mean score for the HMO was 4.35 agreeing and the mean score for the community was 3.93 toward agreeing, $p = .009$.

Statement O: The HMO employees act like good people while at work. The mean score for the HMO was 4.05 agreeing and the mean score for the community was 3.30 slightly agreeing, $p = .000$.

Discussion

This study was conducted to initiate a line of research describing the image perceptions of employees, supervisors, users and non-users of a for-profit Health Maintenance Organization, an area meager in "image" literature. Its secondary purpose was to test an image perception instrument. Probably the one statement that this study best supports is that of Johnson (1991), where it was said that the consumers' image of health care is "hazy" at best. The population for this study was small as in most pilot studies, but the implications, while not statistically generalizable, are that consumers' perception of HMO's are very similar to hospitals and health care overall.

The results of research question one suggest that the HMO employee/supervisor internal image perceptions are similar with respect to the HMO's culture and overall operation. Recall that corporate image is defined as the perceived sum of the entire organization (Marken, 1990) and culture involves the customary ways of doing things which are shared by the members of the organization (Jaques, 1951). As Goldhaber (1991) notes, explanations of culture should be clear and central to creating a positive image. The mean scores for supervisors and employees suggests that both publics are closely aligned in their perception of the organization, although neither could be deemed as indicating a strong positive organizational image perception. This begs the question as to whether or not the organization has created clear value/mission statements which may be represented in the current employee image perceptions. Consequently, these perceptions could have an impact on the institutions' internal image thus impacting external images also.

The results of research question two suggest that there are differences between user and non-user image perceptions of the HMO. The user scores were higher than those of non-users were. In the final analysis, neither sets scores indicates a clear consumer image of this particular HMO. Although this tested statistically significant, it would be hard to generalize due to the size of the sample, and again "neutral" appears to describe these two groups.

Statement (K) asked each public to rate if services were reasonably priced. Users had a much higher agreement rank than non-users. The design of this study did not provide a way to determine what particular factors were affecting non-user perceptions. Cost consciousness and consumerism as described by Friedman (1985) are two areas that have contributed to a decline in the public's image of health care providers. Responses from both users and non-users showed a neutral to neutral negative HMO image perception. The scores for these two publics appear to support Friedman's findings.

The image of a health care institution is in part the result of providing personal attention/touch (Elbeck, 1987; Kelsey, 1990). User and non-user scores on two statements should be mentioned in relation to the Elbeck/Kelsey studies. Statement (L) asked if the HMO pays personal attention to its patients. Users slightly agreed while non-users slightly disagreed. While this is not a strong statement for the users it does suggest that more attention could be given to patients. The negative score by non-users brings up the question of whether the amount of attention given to patients is a contributing factor for their non-use. Statement (O) (HMO employees act like good people while at work) could also have implications here. Users were neutral and non-users slightly disagreed. If users have a marginal opinion of how employees act like good people while at work this could be transferred to non-user perceptions.

The results from research question three suggested (Table 3a) significant ($p = .000$) differences between the HMO and community image perceptions overall and across many individual statements. Combined community scores were just slightly above the neutral range of the scale while the HMO combined mean scores were close to the agree mark. This difference is further illustrated by looking at the 7 statements that ranked significant on individual t-tests (Table 3).

Recall that statement B (the HMO is more concerned with your health than payment) and statement K (services are reasonably priced) both refer to consumerism and cost considerations, which are areas that have contributed (Friedman, 1985) to hospitals' image problems. The HMO scores were in the agree range. The community on the other hand scored on the disagree side of the scale. This evidence suggests the possibilities for similar image problems in this area, similar to those experienced by hospitals.

Statement I (...the HMO is friendly), statement L (HMO pays a lot of attention to its patients) and statement O (...employees act like good people while at work) all address the issue of health care image in relation to personal attention and touch on the studies of Elbeck (1987) and Kelsey (1990). The HMO scores clearly fell on the agree side for (S-I), (S-L), and (S-O). The scores for the community were also on the agree side but significantly lower than the HMO scores. If consumers deter-

mine the quality of care on interaction with employees (Albert, 1989; Burke, 1989; Larkin, 1989) and if the image of a health care institution is also the result of providing personal attention/touch (Elbeck, 1987; Kelsey, 1990), then the evidence suggested by these statements should prompt consideration from the HMO.

The last 2 statements that rated significantly are those of a physical nature. Although the literature did not address these areas they are nonetheless a factor in the HMO overall image. For statement D (the HMO is an attractive facility) and for statement M (the HMO is a convenient) the HMO score was securely in the agree range. The scores for the community, while positive, were significantly lower. Both community scores were significantly lower than the HMO image perception. These differences could suggest that more attention need be paid to the community's image of the HMO in regards to physical HMO properties.

Conclusion

Studying organizational communication in health care is an important area of scholarship for communication researchers. Evidence from this pilot study may suggest that HMOs are experiencing image problems similar to those of hospitals. This is especially evident in the areas of cost, consumerism, personal care and patient satisfaction. To what degree the difference exists is not known due to a lack of quantitative data on hospitals in this area. Another consideration in the findings is the size of the sample population. A larger study would provide a stronger basis for conclusion, but due to the even distribution across age groups, income levels and geographical locations, we believe the findings could be similar.

These results also suggest the need to carry out a larger scale study in different geographical locations, specifically to quantitatively determine the differences between not-for-profit health care institutions and for-profit HMO's. Such a study might further break down the areas of image perceptions into departments, fields, doctors, nurses and various other aspects involved in the providing of health care.

The designed image perception instrument appeared satisfactory for the purpose it was intended, although it could be further refined in several areas. One area could be to conduct a detailed evaluation as to statement or item validity and reliability. While the instrument was tested on a focus group, more rigorous statistical measures should be incorporated. This might help to better define image perceptions. Additionally, the Likert section of the instrument could be more exact in terms of perceptions by increasing the selection range from 5 to 7. Another addition to the instrument could be the combination of closed and open-ended questions to allow for a deeper understanding of answers and feelings by including a form of content analysis. This would allow for a more exact analysis in

any given area. For example, what kind of personal attention is needed in the area of cardiology? Would the service of transportation make the HMO a more convenient place to obtain health care?

The issue of health care service-oriented providers will continue to grow in the future. Recognizing the intensity of consumer concerns about the health care field should be a full time job for the industry. But that is not enough; it is what health care providers do with this information that will make the more sophisticated public react. Increased consumer understanding is the first step. The HMO involved in this study understood this and gave full support regardless of the findings. Clearly, if other health care providers will follow in this direction and make the extra effort to initiate changes, consumers will be more responsive and more understanding of health care overall.

Note

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The Rhetoric of Dance: A Pedagogical Essay

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Introduction

Anyone who has attempted to develop an appreciation of classical dance to students at any level will recall what a difficult project it was. Most students, even at the college level, have seen only "The Nutcracker." Certainly more than the theatre and even the symphony, dance has the power to intimidate students. They often perceive it to be an arcane art form practiced by a distinct and sometimes unhealthy minority of their peers.

For students currently taking dance classes – primarily young women — that challenge of teaching an appreciation diminishes: they understand the power of dance, as well as the discipline and athleticism it requires. But those of us interested in promoting the theatre arts, of which dance is surely a part, realize that it is at least as important to nurture audiences as it is to develop performers. We are involved in a pedagogical agenda to instill a sophisticated, profound and abiding appreciation of the performing arts that will extend well beyond a student's college years. This is an ambitious project indeed!

Ten years of trying to nurture an appreciation of classical dance in non-dancing college students has taught me that there are, in fact, effective ways of reaching students who have neither seen a great deal of ballet nor taken a dance class. The lesson plan below outlines one such exercise.

Purpose

There are three objectives to this exercise: (1) to give students the opportunity to display, in measurable ways, their analytical powers while watching videos of contrasting productions; (2) to put students in touch with their own choreographic and stylistic preferences when watching dance; and (3) to measurably increase students' confidence in their ability to intelligently perceive and discuss dance as a theatre art. By perceiving dance as a theatre art, I mean something more than the notion of dance as a succession of movements set to music. Rather, I try to instill in students the notion of dance as a succession of collaborative, rhetorical strategies made by everyone involved in a dance production, including the dancers, the choreographer, the composer, the lighting, set and costume designers, and of course the audience itself.

The Lesson

The power of this lesson derives from the stark contrast between two choreographed versions of the same well-known story: "Romeo and Juliet." First as Shakespeare's play and later in dozens of operas, poems, dances and movies, the story should be well known to college and high school students. Of all the memorable moments in the play, none is more famous than the balcony scene. Thus, I have chosen this scene to use as an example.

There are two well-known ballet versions of "Romeo and Juliet." The first is Russian, choreographed by Lavrovsky and danced by two stars of the Bolshoi Ballet, Natalia Bessmertnova and Mikhail Lavrovsky (the choreographer's nephew). It was produced in 1975 and is available from Kultur Videos. The second is English, choreographed by MacMillan, and danced by the famous pair, Margot Fonteyn and Rudolph Nureyev, in a 1966 production also available from Kultur. Both these versions contain the balcony scene, in which the two lovers swear their devotion to one another. In dance, of course, since there are no words, the dancers must display their love for one another according to choreographed directions. But there is more: sets, lighting, costumes, use of the musical score, and orientation to the audience all contribute to the total aesthetic – and, I would argue, rhetorical – effect. The goal in this lesson is to get students to articulate the contrasts between these two radically different productions.

The Instructions

Cue both videos to the start of the balcony scene. Show both balcony scenes all the way through without stopping. I suggest showing the Russian version first, since it is very sparse in its design and very strict in its use of the ballet vocabulary. Then show the English version, which is technically more elaborate and choreographically more theatrical. The Russian version lasts about seven minutes; the English, about nine.

A. Macro-Impressions.

As the tapes play the first time through, have students write down what I call "Macro-Impressions." These are brief, one- or two-word phrases that capture their visceral reaction to watching the scenes. Examples might be "ethereal" or "bittersweet" or "passionate." These are the kind of descriptors a newspaper critic might use in reviewing the ballet for a mass audience. They describe not so much the specific behavior witnessed, but the viewers' reaction to that behavior. There are no right or wrong answers here, only spontaneous assessments.

Once the students have watched both tapes and compiled lists of Macro-Impressions, have them share these reactions in small groups or

large discussion, focusing on the contrasts between the two productions. Have them write their reactions on the board. A definite pattern will emerge. Chances are, most students will prefer the second (English) version because they find it more accessible. However, more experienced dance watchers and dancers will find a lot to enjoy about the Russian version as well. By articulating what they see, they can "teach" less experienced viewers about the more sophisticated elements of dance.

B. Micro-Details.

Next, play both scenes through again. This time, instruct students to look for what I call the "micro-details" of each scene. By these, I mean the small, concrete details of the production that really stick out for the viewer, particularly the second time through. These involve somewhat longer descriptions of the dancers' behavior, such as, "He grabbed her wrist and looked as though he was going to kiss her, but didn't." Or "He lifted her like a she was a statue or a trophy he was showing off to the audience." Or it may include elements of production, such as "The English version was filled with pockets of shadow and light, while the Russian version was flat in its lighting."

As you field these comments, organize them into categories, such as Romeo's Movements, Juliet's Movements, the Couple's Movements, Relation of Steps to Music, Sets, Lighting, Costume, Orientation to Audience, etc. Again, the contrasts should be marked. The English version will be easier to describe because it includes many gestures and activities we recognize from everyday life; the Russian version is more arcane because it maintains a strict classical dance vocabulary.

C. The Rhetoric of Dance: from Micro to Macro.

In this final step, ask students to draw relationships between the initial Macro-Impressions they sensed after the first viewing to the later Micro-Details they observed after the second viewing. The relationships may be murky at first, but they will soon become clear. The micro-details should build directly to the macro-impressions. For example, the micro-detail, "He grabbed her wrist and she turned around, then she turned away in embarrassment" will naturally lead up to the macro-impression, "passionate." Or the concrete observation, "He carried her around stiffly, almost strutting as he lifted her from one side of the stage to the other" will build to the macro-impression, "arrogant." Similarly, technical design should also have micro-to-macro connections, and they too will be consistent.

After these connections have been made, encourage students to start developing Rhetorical Visions for these two scenes. For the purpose of this assignment, a rhetorical vision should be a two-or three-sentence

statement which articulates the cumulative, intended aesthetic effect of the dancers, the choreography, and the technical elements on the audience. Stress to the students that such effects do not take place by accident; rather, they are the consequence of much effort on the part of both artists and technicians who have a particular goal in mind: to present this balcony scene in such a way that you will be moved to feel certain emotions. These emotions, in turn, will relate to other emotions you would feel if you watched the rest of the ballet because the entire production is staged with certain effects in mind! What makes these productions rhetorical is the level of collaborative, contrived and (internally) articulated effort on the part of everyone associated with them. Like a team of expert lawyers performing in the courtroom, the dancers and those who support them have undergone years of training and experience to reach this moment of rhetorical artistry. Their goal, with respect to the audience, is to make it all look effortless.

Conclusion

The success of this lesson depends upon the students' ability to perceive the differences in these two dance productions. But 10 years of utilizing this exercise have shown me that even the most inexperienced dance viewers can spot the differences. Like two samples whose variance had been deliberately maximized, the Russian and English versions of "Romeo and Juliet" will prompt numerous, spontaneous comparisons (the macro-impressions) which can then be honed down into observable, verifiable behaviors (the micro-details). By successfully completing this exercise, students can display some analytical powers they didn't know they had, and they can also discover their own aesthetic preferences. Dance should become less intimidating and more accessible for all of them. And by adopting a rhetorical perspective as the lesson culminates, students will realize that in dance, as in any theatrical endeavor, very few things happen by accident.

Storytelling with a Goal: Reviewing Course Material

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This exercise is designed to help students review communication terms and can be used as an in-class review activity. In a hybrid communication course, this activity works well in the interpersonal communication section.

New students of communication (students in a basic communication course) may begin using communication terms in their everyday conversations. For example, they may use the term pathos instead of emotions. This activity replicates the use of communication terms in our everyday conversations.

Activity

Prior to the activity ask students to list three of their favorite stories. The stories can be personal stories or stories about events that happened to someone else (perhaps a friend or family member). Students often enjoy telling these amazing or humorous stories.

The following topics may help students think of fun stories:

Your best day at work.
Your worst day at work.
Your best vacation.
Your worst vacation.
Favorite family story.
Favorite story about a friend.
Favorite story about living in a dormitory.
Favorite story about a pet.
Favorite story about moving.
Favorite story about a party
(The list of favorite stories offers the students some possibilities, but they can tell another story.)

After the students list three of their favorite stories, divide students into dyads. Tell the students that they will tell their partner a story. The stories do not have to be serious or completely true. In fact, exaggeration and humor are effective in the stories. The goal of the activity is to use at least five communication terms correctly while telling the story. In order to complete this task, tell the students they will need to be descriptive and creative while telling their stories. Encourage students to relax and have fun.

In addition, provide students with a list of terms from the textbook. This list can also serve as a study guide. Give students time to think about their stories and mark the terms they will incorporate.

The students may find this activity difficult or even humorous. Remind them that they need to use communication terms from the list and review for an exam.

Debriefing

The following questions can be used to debrief this activity:

1. What happened?
2. Was the activity easy or difficult?
3. Were you able to use at least five terms?
4. Why or why not?
5. How many terms did you use?
6. How many terms did your partner use?
7. How realistic was this activity?
8. Do you use communication terms outside of class?
9. Has your vocabulary changed as a result of this course? If so, how?
10. What terms need further explanation before the exam?

Appraisal

This activity offers students the opportunity to have fun telling a story, demonstrate their knowledge of communication terms, and review for an exam. Students demonstrate their comprehension of communication terms and prepared for an upcoming exam.

Caveat Emptor: Pedagogy On A Collision Course With
Political Correctness

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In their book entitled *The Shadow University: The Betrayal of Liberty on America's Campuses*, Alan Charles Kors and Harvey A. Silverglate invoke the words of Catherine MacKinnon from her book *Only Words*, in which she says, "the law of equality and the laws of freedom of speech are on a collision course in this country."

Kors and Silverglate see MacKinnon propounding the notion that the content-neutral approach accorded freedom of speech decisions in the Supreme Court perpetuates a non-level playing field insofar as when this liberty is "[given] simultaneously to 'dominant' and 'subordinated' groups, [this] inevitably reinforces the power of the dominant group." Kors and Silverglate see this ostensible inequality as a threat to the very heart and essence of the university education in the use of the questionable premise, which necessarily diminished the cogency of the argument. This premise suggests that members of oppressed, victimized and historically marginalized and repudiated groups deserve an "upper hand as it were," for as long as everyone has the same degree of speech liberties, hegemony will persist, with the oppressed never quite given a chance to catch up. A head start of sorts must be given to level the playing field. MacKinnon makes the argument that "the more the speech of the dominant is protected, the more dominant they become and the less the subordinated are heard from."

Kors' and Silverglate's retort is compelling when they say, "what an astonishing expectation (and power) to give to students: the belief that, if they belong to a protected category, they have the right to four years of never being offended. What an extraordinary power to give to administrators and tribunals: the prerogative to punish free speech and expression of people to whom they choose to assign the stains and guilt of historical oppression, while being free, themselves, to use whatever rhetoric they wish against the bearers of such stains." Their analogy in continuation of this argument is equally compelling: "No one who defends trial by jury over popular justice in a murder trial is called a defender of murder; such a person is seen, by all, as a defender of trial by jury. The defender of free speech, however, is forever being told, on American campuses, that he or she is seeking, specifically, to make the campus safer for 'racism,' 'sexism,' or 'homophobia.'" Kors and Silverglate are clearly in the Miltonian and Millian tradition of freedom of speech, seemingly contrary to political correctness and its attendant policies and realities. The chipping away of these liberties is ominous at best and catastrophic at worse: "Repression deprives us of what, intellectually, we need

the most: critical thought, candor, unfettered inquiry, knowledge, and plainspoken mutual criticism. Universities could blaze new trails in these regards; they do not. It protects no person's dignity to be sheltered from freedom. One cannot save liberty by destroying it. Liberty is the exception, not the rule, in human history and in the world today, and once lost, in belief or practice, it is simply gone."

Given the spate of allegations against instructors for using language in the classroom that is deemed offensive, fostering racial and sexual discrimination, or choosing texts that are not construed as politically correct, we are clearly caught up in a vortex of symbol using paralysis, made to feel fearful about raising the very issues which allow us to communicate some of the most pointed lessons about, and profound implications of language. Neither are students sheltered from this pall of fear. One need only look at the proliferation of speech codes aimed at controlling the speech behavior of students, with cases such as "The Water Buffalo Affair." But rightly so, Kors and Silverglate believe that the "marketplace of ideas" cannot be undermined, especially when broaching issues that have contributed to and have been the cause of the preponderance of divisiveness and foment in this country: "Issues of race touch raw historical, political, moral, and psychological nerves in American life. The very depth of racial tension, however, should lead us to want to know how individuals think on such matters, the better to deal, in the open, with the realities we face. The very intractability of racial tension should prevent us from closing any door of inquiry into its roots and mechanisms."

These issues might certainly give pause to instructors who have confronted some of the above mentioned dilemmas, for erring on the side of linguistic conservatism might be the only option if risk taking could culminate in an allegation, termination, or both. I have taught two upper division courses, both of which were risky propositions, and potential grist for the politically correct mill: Freedom of Expression and The Rhetoric of Comedy. These two courses have proven to be two of my most successful pedagogical endeavors with overwhelmingly positive student response. I attribute the key to success in both courses to well thought out objectives, appropriate readings and well-fashioned assignments, tailored to each course. With all curricular considerations, I approached the courses with intellectual acumen, but never with intellectual tentativeness.

In the designing of the course Freedom of Expression, the objective entails familiarizing the student with the issues circumscribing the role of language in a democracy as seen primarily through the prism of judicial opinions and legal and communication scholarship. A myriad of communication modalities are examined including "fourth estate" and "fifth estate" media. Readings include Thomas Tedford, *Freedom of Speech in the United States*, Barton T. Carter, Marc A. Franklin and Jay B. Wright, *The First Amendment and the Fifth Estate: Regulation of Electronic Mass Media*, a com-

pilation of original opinions of the most important Supreme Court cases, and two volumes of essays which function in a point/counterpoint fashion, *Speaking of Race Speaking of Sex: Hate Speech, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties* and *Words That Wound: Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech, and the First Amendment*.

Given the inherent risks in a course like this, a caveat emptor is articulated as a statement of approach:

As I am sure you have already surmised from perusing the text materials, we will be broaching some very thorny and very controversial issues. There is no getting around that fact! It is this instructor's contention that in order to maximize our class discussions as well as your individual work—all facets of a given issue must and will be raised for scrutiny. The raising of conflicting viewpoints on the instructor's part in no way implies ideological promotion or abnegation, but rather exemplifies a viable pedagogical tool for engendering intellectually invigorating discussion. And if the instructor does choose to give voice to a personal opinion, do not construe that as a sign of intimidation or an implicit threat to your grade if your opinion contravenes the instructor's. In short, no one will be penalized for the point of view expressed per se, however, you will be evaluated on the grounds of how cogently you support those points of view. Part and parcel of the above discussion, the instructor would respectfully make the following point. Although I have not in the past been inclined to use the kind of [verbal and nonverbal] language which is at the center of many of the cases we will be examining in this course, by the same token, I am disinclined not to use the same language if pertinent to the discussion. The language would be used by the instructor as a means of paraphrasing, quoting verbatim from the cases, or constructing appropriate examples for application purposes. Never will the language be implemented for purposes of engendering gratuitous shock or embarrassment. In short, in our pursuit of attempting to understand the issues undergirding the First Amendment, the instructor sees no legitimate reason to teach the course as a series of "bleeped bloopers!" This approach would seemingly undermine our efforts. If you have any individual or collective concerns about this statement, let us deal with them in a timely fashion.

I think that this statement facilitates an open and candid classroom environment, devoid of the hypocrisy that too many instructors succumb to.

The assignment for this course include two response papers, a final research paper and a case presentation. In the case presentation assignment, each student is assigned a case in which he/she provides a summary of the case, discusses the majority and dissenting opinions (if any), and unravels the complexities of the case along with the attendant issues spawned from the case. The students have consistently done an excellent job of ferreting out the ways in which the Supreme Court's stance impacts upon the prism through which one views everyday communication.

The course *The Rhetoric of Comedy* presents unique challenges insofar as the course material does not explicitly reference and is not directly buttressed by the Constitution and the Supreme Court opinions. I think the course comports avoids the pitfalls articulated by Kors and Silverglate as well as the objectives of an advanced communication course which serves the liberal arts/interdisciplinary mission. The course is approached both chronologically and topically with main topics including Personality and Humor; Biology and Physiology of Humor; Major Theories of Humor (including a sweeping survey of primary artifacts beginning with Aristophanes, Horace, Persius, Juvenal and Swift). American humor is an important part of the course, broached by examining topics such as political cartoons, film and comic theory, and television and comic theory. The last third of the course poses the greatest risks with topics such as Women's Literary Humor, Black (Gallows) Humor, African-American Humor, International Humor and the Ethics of Humor, given the impulse that many instructors have in misconstruing issue avoidance and silence for multicultural sensitivity.

The caveat emptor for this course propounds an argument resonating in *The Shadow University*. (I say resonate since I crafted this statement approximately one and a half years before exposure to the book:

As I am sure you have already surmised from perusing the course materials, comedy asks us to engage any and all ideas realized in a myriad of genres, implementing a multitude of *modus operandi*. Comedy broaches—by its very nature—subjects and themes related to those oft avoided general topics: sex, politics and religion! These topics are laden with controversy and serve—fortunately or unfortunately depending on your perspective—as the cornerstone of comedy. In short, comedy flies in the face of tradition and reverence. In light of these observations, this course is neither for the "faint of heart" nor for the easily embarrassed! But let this instructor assure you that the results will be fruitful and compatible with

the goals of a liberal arts curriculum. Ostensibly, it might seem as if political correctness has been jettisoned for no good reason, but do appreciate the fact that morality and conscience are integral to the comic form. Yes, you will encounter some raw, racy, even raunchy verbal and visual discourse. Although I have not in the past been inclined to use the kind of [verbal and nonverbal] language which is central to much comedy, in facilitating class discussions, by the same token, I am disinclined not to use the same language if pertinent to the discussion. Teaching the course as a series of "bleeped bloopers" would seemingly undermine our efforts. If you have any individual or collective concerns about this statement, let us deal with them in a timely fashion.

The assignments appropriately and successfully complemented the course. Paper #1 is the application of a comic theory to a classical artifact (e.g. Aristophanes, Plautus, Terence). Paper #2 is the application of a comic theory to a 17th, 18th, or 19th c. English, French or American artifact (e.g. Pope, Jonson, Congreve, Voltaire, Moliere. Anna Cora Mowatt, Royall Tyler, Mark Twain). Paper #3 is the application of comic theory to an American film or television artifact. The most daring assignment I've ever designed and executed in my teaching career is the "Stand-Up Comedy Routine." Below is part of the assignment description:

This assignment affords you the opportunity to explore your comic talents, firstly byperforming a stand-up routine. This routine will be performed with an appropriate ambience, in a tightly controlled setting, conducive to this type of communication. You may go the on-liner route, or the story-telling approach, you may choose to create scenarios using different personae, or you may do a traditional monologue. What should be the theme, the subject matter, the mode of delivery? This is entirely up to you. You might think that that satire is your expertise, and you happen to be interested in politics. Given these observations, you might decide to use the newspaper as a prop, reading passages from the paper and providing satiric commentary. If you think you enjoy some musical talent, and you might create lyrics for a song. You might even discover a heretofore hidden talent for impersonations. It goes without saying, but I will state it for the record, that, regardless

of the approach used, you are ultimately attempting to elicit an appropriate response to communication which you perceive as humorous. And of course, your material will be original!

One of the major stumbling blocks in tackling the material is determining when deprecation and effacement are not perceived as humorous: e.g. a physically challenged comedian may make jokes about being physically challenged; a gay or lesbian comedian may make jokes about being gay or lesbian; an individual from a particular ethnic group may make jokes about the group. But if anyone outside of these constituencies attempted to make jokes of that temperament, all kinds of P.C. flags would be raised. Although somewhat of a generalization and there are certainly exceptions to the rule, a high degree of acumen is called for. Many of us are aware of how many celebrities and public figures find themselves in public relations damage control mode, with the resolution usually a strained apology, diminished ethos—with the invariable explanation—"I didn't mean any harm; it was just supposed to be funny!" For example, Governor Jesse Ventura's joke about the St. Paul and the Irish on David Letterman forced an apology, which ill-conceived humor oftentimes necessitates. Both courses allow the students to understand the centrality of context in all communication ventures.

On March 12, 1999, The Chronicle of Higher Education published an article entitled, "Wisconsin Scales Back Its Faculty Speech Code." The revision to Wisconsin's speech code is a welcome and salutary sign. In fact, the article states that the Faculty Senate's "vote [was] a symbol of academe's emergence from the P.C. era." The key section of the new code reads:

Adherence to the right of freedom of speech and to the principle of academic freedom requires that all thoughts presented as ideas or the advocacy of ideas in instructional settings, if they are germane to the subject matter of the course being taught, must be protected. This applies to the ideas of faculty and students alike. The maintenance of intellectual freedom through the open expression of ideas will sometimes be unavoidable hurtful. Some hurtful expressions, however, play no meaningful role in the free exchange of ideas; they may, indeed, inhibit that exchange, thereby denying some individuals full participation in the learning experience. These expressions are those that clearly derogate and debase a student or students on the basis of gender, race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or disability. Accordingly, all expression germane to the

instructional setting—including but not limited to information, the presentation or advocacy of ideas, assignment of course materials, and teaching techniques—is protected from disciplinary action. A student who finds that an instructor uses expressions that are hurtful to him or her is strongly urged to discuss these concerns with the instructor. If for some reason this is not possible, or does not produce results the student finds satisfactory, he or she is urged to contact his or her advisor, the instructor's department chair, or the dean of students for mediation.

This clearly is a step towards militating against, what Kors and Silverglate call, "the shadow university"—"the structures built, almost without debate or examination, to 'educate,' or more precisely, to reeducate, far from the accountability of the classroom." We must begin to reclaim the classroom in the spirit of "free and unfettered debate among free individuals."

If you would like complete copies of either or both of the syllabi, you may send your request to: Adrienne E. Hacker Daniels, Department of Communication, University of St. Thomas, LOR/303, 2115 Summit Ave., St. Paul, MN 55105.

Instructional Use of C-Span to Enhance Student Learning

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A primary objective in the development of my classroom assignments is to construct activities that convey theoretical understanding and illustrate correlation between theory and real world application. Theory and the application of theory should be woven into the fabric of knowledge. The use of C-SPAN videotapes, available from the Public Affairs Video Archives at Purdue University, provides a unique opportunity to meet this teaching objective. Communication scholars have acknowledged the use of C-SPAN as a teaching tool in resources such as *C-Span in the Communication Classroom: Theory and Application* (Muir, 1992).

The C-SPAN application to be described in this article is useful in the Cross-Cultural Communication and Mass Media courses. This particular analysis focuses on how we define what connotes sensitivity & insensitivity with diversity issues and how journalistic interpretation can affect our perception via mass media.

This particular C-SPAN application addresses Ross Perot's 1992 presidential campaign. It exemplifies how C-SPAN can be used in the classroom to enhance instruction. In the spring, 1992 businessman Ross Perot rose from relative obscurity and within seven months received 19% of the popular vote in the 1992 presidential election. His climb in public awareness was affected by positive and negative interpretations of Perot. One of the negative interpretations dealt with the belief Perot lacks sensitivity with diversity issues. This interpretation is relevant in my Cross-Cultural Communication and Mass Media courses. I recognized this as an opportunity to use C-SPAN as a teaching resource and to teach students how researchers study such issues. Again, this particular case study exemplifies how C-SPAN can be used to study a wide range of topics.

C-SPAN tapes analyzed in this project were obtained from the Public Affairs Video Archives (located at Purdue University). The Archives provided me with an index listing all of Perot's presentations delivered during the presidential campaign period (January-November, 1992) that were covered by C-SPAN. A total of 55 presentations are available on videotape. Fourteen of these videotapes, that are representative of Perot's presentations (in content, context, & formats), were selected for analysis.

Individuals seeking C-SPAN tapes relevant to particular subject areas can easily obtain tapes by contacting the Public Affairs Video Archives, Purdue University, Stewart Center, G-39, West Lafayette, Indiana 47907. Phone numbers are 800-423-9630 and 317-494-9630. The Public Affairs Video Archives staff is very helpful in assisting callers to narrow their focus on particular topics and sub-topics.

The hypothesis for the aforementioned analysis was that Perot's presentations would contain statements conveying insensitivity with diversity issues. This hypothesis was based primarily on newspaper reports

of Perot's July 11, 1992 to the NAACP convention. The *Washington Post* reported "Perot drew a cool reception when he referred to blacks as you people'" (*Washington Post*, July 12, 1992). The *Chicago Tribune* referred to Perot's use of "you people" and "your people" as "a gaffe in his speech that offended some in the audience as racially insensitive" *Chicago Tribune*, July 12, 1992).

There is no widely accepted paradigm for analyzing a speaker's sensitivity with diversity issues. What connotes sensitivity? What connotes insensitivity? Playing the tapes in class, allowing students to draw their own conclusions regarding Perot's sensitivity, can promote lively discussion and enlighten students on the role of mass media in creating public perceptions.

Surprisingly the data (videotapes) disproved the hypothesis that Perot's presentations would contain statements conveying insensitivity with diversity issues.

The following is a collection of representative statements made by Perot (regarding diversity in America). Dates of the statements are in parentheses. These statements convey sensitivity with diversity:

"Our diversity is our strength, we've turned it into a weakness If you hate people I don't want your vote" (10/11/92). "If you don't mind living in a society where one out of eight women are raped I don't want your vote" (5/5/92). "We're not gonna turn the clock back. Segregating would hurt the economy" (3/18/92). "Our country will not be great until we are all united and equal I cannot be free until we are all free" (7/11/92).

Use of C-SPAN tapes to study this subject is particularly relevant in that the C-SPAN index helps define the sample to be studied and the tapes provide literal verbal meanings, indirect nonverbal meanings, and context for speeches. Transcripts provide literal statements but the videotapes frame the literal statements. This type of inquiry rests on what is said and equally important on how it is said.

The classroom format described in this report can be applied with other speakers and with a variety of issues. C-SPAN videotapes allow the viewer to interpret public figures in their own words, without mass media interpretation. Public presentations can be studied in their entirety (rather than selected excerpts). Thus, C-SPAN videotapes are innovative teaching tools that enhance student understanding.

Individuals interested in learning about similar types of C-SPAN applications in the classroom can contact C-SPAN in the Classroom, 400 North Capitol Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20001. Phone numbers are 800-523-7586 and 202-737-3220. This organization specifically promotes understanding of C-SPAN and how C-SPAN applications can benefit the classroom.

Fadiman, A. (1997). *The Spirit Catches you and you fall down: A Hmong child, her American doctors, and the collision of two cultures*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 339 pp. \$24 (cloth).

In his book, *The Call of Stories: Teaching and the Moral Imagination*, Robert Coles reminds us that:

The whole point of stories is not "solutions" or "resolutions" but a broadening and even a heightening of our struggles—with new protagonists and antagonists introduced, with new sources of concern or apprehension or hope, as one's mental life accommodates itself to a series of arrivals: guests who have a way of staying, but not necessarily staying put (p. 129).

The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down (TSCY) is a complex and compelling story. It provides no solutions or resolutions. It does, however, provide a detailed and heartfelt exploration of the interaction between two cultures, Hmong and mainstream American. Reading TSCY forces the student of intercultural communication to accommodate him or herself to those guests alluded to by Coles and in so doing asks the reader to contemplate the drastically different worldviews that can, and in this case do, make intercultural communication so challenging.

Best described as a literary documentary, TSCY chronicles the plight of Lia Lee, a Hmong infant who for several years was regular patient at Merced Community Medical Center in Merced, California. Lia's illness was elusive but manifested itself in regular seizures. Through Fadiman's research of the case, we find that Lia's illness was defined differently depending on the cultural allegiance of the person doing the defining, with the American doctors defining her seizures as a complex physiological problem and the Hmong assuming Lia's seizures resulted from her being caught by the spirits and forced to fall down. Needless to say, these competing definitions were not terribly compatible, leading to a tragic and disturbingly predictable result. A result that Fadiman concludes was caused by "cross-cultural misunderstanding."

Understanding the misunderstanding is the objective of TSCY. Completing this task requires that Fadiman clarify the Hmong worldview as it pertains to illness and American medicine, detail the reaction the physicians had to this worldview, and explore the way this chasm might have been bridged. Fadiman succeeds on all counts, herself becoming a bridge across profoundly different cultures. To understand the Hmong perspective on Lia's illness, Fadiman digs deep into the history of the Hmong people. She summarizes this history by explaining that "for as long as it has been recorded, the history of the Hmong has been a marathon of bloody scrimmages, punctuated by occasional periods of peace, though hardly any of

plenty" (p. 13). There is the persecution of the Hmong at the hands of the Chinese in the 1700s. There is the Hmong fleeing this persecution to the highlands of what are now Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. And there is the costly help given by the Hmong to America during the war in Vietnam.

At first glance one might think these historical facts would matter little to the interaction between a Hmong family and its doctors in 1980's Merced. Fadiman suggests otherwise. Weaving an appropriately complex cultural narrative, she concludes that:

The history of the Hmong yields several lessons that anyone who deals with them might do well to remember. Among the most obvious of these are that the Hmong do not like to take orders; that they do not like to lose; that they are not intimidated by being outnumbered; that they are rarely persuaded that the customs of other cultures, even those more powerful than their own, are superior; and that they are capable of getting very angry (p. 17).

Fadiman's portrait of the Hmong is far more nuanced and sensitive than the above generalizations would suggest. She is, however, careful to point out that the history of the Hmong matters here and that like any cultural community there exist a number of core features on which the Hmong worldview rests, features that are not ubiquitous but are very common.

The cultural features outlined above, combined with sincere religious conviction, converge to form the definition the Lee family gives to Lia's illness. Lia's parents, Foua and Nao Kao, are by almost any definition kind and loving parents. Yet they virtually refuse to follow the advice of their American physicians. The problems are multi-faceted, of course, with language barriers clearly playing a role. But the real issues go far beyond language. Foua and Nao Kao simply would not, could not, and did not want to believe the diagnosis of Lia's illness. The complexities of the Lee's resistance are beyond the scope of this review but are perhaps best summarized by Nao Kao who complained that "...the doctors wouldn't let us give just a little medicine because they didn't understand about the soul" (p. 100).

Nao Kao was right. The doctors did not understand about the soul, and they had no real desire to do so. They did, however, have a keen desire to see to it that Lia was given her "appropriate" dosage of medicine. Most of the time she was not. The struggle over what kinds and how much medicine should be given to Lia becomes the central tension of the book, with the doctors wanting Lia to take more medicine than the Lees are generally willing to give. Lia spends years coming in and out of the hospital. The physicians assume (and discover with blood tests) that the Lees are not complying with their instructions. For their

part, the Lees were scared and confused about the plight of their daughter. They even lose their daughter to the state for a short period of time. There is, as the subtitle of the book suggests, a cultural collision going on here. And neither side is willing to budge.

The frustrations of the dedicated staff at Merced Community Medical Center are presented in great detail by Fadiman. She pays particular attention to the husband and wife in charge of Pediatrics at MCMC, Neil Ernest and Peggy Phillip. These two individuals emerge as excellent physicians and compassionate individuals. Yet they were never able to figure out a way to solve this complex case. At one point in the book Neil is quoted as saying of the Lees, "it felt as if there was this layer of Saran Wrap or something between us, and they were on one side of it and we were on the other side. And we were reaching and reaching and we could kind of get into their area, but we couldn't touch them. So we really couldn't accomplish what we were trying to do, which was to take care of Lia" (p. 48).

The book is arguably at its strongest in its exploration of what might have been done to bridge the gaps suggested by Dr. Ernest's Saran Wrap metaphor. Fadiman treats the physicians very fairly, as they seem to deserve, but is nevertheless troubled by the inability of the physicians and hospital staff to communicate across cultures. She explains that:

...to the residents and pediatricians who had cared for her since she was three months old, there was no guide to Lia's world *except* her chart. As each of them struggled to make sense of a set of problems that were not expressible in a language they knew [Western medicine], the chart simply grew longer and longer, until it contained more than 400,000 words. Every one of those words reflected its author's intelligence, training, and good intentions, but not a single one dealt with the Lee's perception of their daughter's illness (p. 259).

Citing the work of Harvard psychiatrist and medical anthropologist, Arthur Kleinman, Fadiman suggests that those handling Lia's case might have made some progress by at least asking the Lees a few simple questions, questions such as What do you call the problem? What do you think caused the problem? and What do you fear most about the sickness? Throughout the book, Fadiman also cites the work of Communication scholar Dwight Conquergood, giving him high praise for his work with the Hmong. She explains that unlike so many others, "Conquergood considered his relationship with the Hmong to be a form of barter, 'a productive and mutually invigorating dialog, with neither side dominating or winning out'" (p. 37).

Fadiman concludes the book by suggesting that while it might well be difficult to get doctors to accept highly relativistic positions such as Conquergood's, it should be possible to "...avoid the kind of blind spot that made a Merced health department employee once write, about a child from a family that views the entire universe as sacred: 'Name: LEE, LIA; Principal Language: HMONG; Ethnic Group: HMONG; Religion: NONE'" (p. 276). She has a point, of course. *TSCY* is an excellent book that would make a valuable supplementary text for a course in intercultural communication (I have used it as such). Not a simple narrative in which mainstream American values emerge victorious, *TSCY* provides its readers with guests willing to teach about the value, complexity, and most importantly, necessity of intercultural communication. The book is not a particularly easy read, however, and might be best suited for an advanced undergraduate or a graduate course. Given the significant Hmong population in Minnesota, *TSCY* might be a particularly useful book for those teaching in and around the state.

Reference

Coles, R. (1987). *The call of stories: Teaching and the moral imagination*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

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Bizzell, Patricia, and Bruce Herzberg. *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present*. Boston: Bedford Books, 1990.

The future is changing in many ways, ways which can affect writing in our respective fields. Articles that explore this reality in any of the following ways are welcome. . . . (call for articles, Fourth Annual Phorum Symposium, Iowa State University, 1996)

When I received this call for articles for a graduate conference, I was immediately intrigued. What does this mean to me, as a new scholar in a changing discipline? What does this mean to any of us in the academy? This call for articles signals many things, most clearly a desire to explore the future of writing. It also indicates a request to explore the future of rhetoric itself, and what rhetoric will mean to writing in coming years. That topic is the subject of this article: the future of rhetoric as I see it, after looking at it from within two different "camps." To think I could accurately discuss the future of rhetorical thought is pompous, to say the least. However, I want to frame this discussion by using a specific rhetorical tool: Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg's important textbook *The Rhetorical Tradition*. This collection of rhetorical scholarship marks the future of rhetorical studies in many ways, and this article will elucidate the ways I see *The Rhetorical Tradition* fitting into an old/new tradition of rhetorical history.

In his introduction to *Rethinking the History of Rhetoric*, a multidisciplinary volume on the rhetorical tradition, speech communication scholar Takis Poulakos notes that he and several other "rhetorical critics and theorists" find that they are "swept up by the contradictory sentiments of jubilation and worry" (2) when they think about rhetoric's current place in the academy. Historically, the rhetorical tradition's "identity" was maintained through its affiliation with speech communication (2). However, the exclusivity of that relationship has changed: rhetoric is now part of several different modes of inquiry. Rhetoric is no longer in the sole charge of speech departments. Multi- and interdisciplinary approaches to rhetoric have begun to flow in various academic veins; Poulakos chooses POROI (Project on Rhetoric of Inquiry) at the University of Iowa as an example. And he isn't sure if he likes these changes.

Poulakos goes on to describe his reasons for the emotional/professional chaos:

Are we to celebrate rhetoric's expansion outside the disciplinary tracks marked by a history of rhetoric's affiliation with speech and receive its newest devotees from other disciplines as our allies? . . . Are we to take rhetoric's multidirectional growth as a sign of an oncoming triumph or as an indication of a pending disaster? (2)

He provides no concrete answer to his question; instead, he recognizes the contributions of scholars like Hayden White, Paul de Man, Thomas Kuhn, and Paul Ricoeur (none of them speech communication scholars) to these interdisciplinary conversations in rhetoric. According to Poulakos, these differences in approach to the rhetorical tradition provide conflict and controversy, but have also bound rhetorical scholars together in a shared purpose: "to address rhetoric's new role in this recently established interdisciplinary setting within the academy" (2).

The Rhetorical Tradition, published in 1990 and edited by Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg, establishes a significant contribution to this multidisciplinary approach to rhetorical scholarship. Bizzell and Herzberg, two English scholars, have provided a volume of essential readings for rhetoricians, and have done so from the perspectives of a discipline other than speech. Surprisingly (or maybe not), the "rhetorical traditions" established by the book appear quite similar to the one cherished by Poulakos and his speech colleagues. What does that similarity mean for English, or for speech, or for any other "traditional discipline" (with currently recognized institutional boundaries)? Who can legitimately incorporate the rhetorical tradition as part of its disciplinary scholarship?

In this article I address how Bizzell and Herzberg's *Rhetorical Tradition* influences this multidisciplinary approach to rhetoric and its historical tradition. I will first outline some assumptions this article is based on, including my own desires for the growth of rhetoric. Next I will explain how *The Rhetorical Tradition* supports this multidisciplinary approach to rhetoric, setting up speech communication and English as the "allies" the title suggests. Ultimately, I would like to see departments of rhetoric more fully established in our colleges and universities; finding money, space, and personnel for those departments is another matter. A more viable alternative, to my thinking, is trying to reestablish the rhetorical tradition in English without speech departments trying to reclaim their "lost property." It will take a unified effort from rhetoricians on both side of the "rhetorical divide" to make that reestablishment possible. *The Rhetorical Tradition* is one of the first bridges built to cross the chasm. In this day of budget cuts and academic downsizing, bridging the gap between the rhetorical traditions established in speech and English departments is the only way to ensure the survival of rhetoric's rich history. We must join forces to be sure that *our* rhetorical tradition, the one shared by both departments and by all humans who study communication, is never lost.

Assumptions of and desires for the discipline of rhetoric

I come to this essay with many assumptions about rhetoric and how I envision my future within rhetorical scholarship. Some ideas assume the form of desires: I want to play a part in reshaping rhetoric within speech and English to fit more closely with these assumptions. I know

what I assume is not often a widely held (or widely supported) position. I don't mind.

I define rhetoric as Sonja Foss and Karen Foss do in their text *Women Speak*: "humans' use of symbols for the purpose of communicating with one another" (23). That simple definition is more complex than the words indicate. Rhetoric and its history are an integral part of any discipline that examines human communication. Obvious (and historically established) choices for "receiving" part of the rhetorical tradition include English and speech communication; some not-so-obvious choices include mass communication, sociology, and anthropology. As Poulakos notes, rhetoric and its history have been most closely allied with speech communication in the twentieth century (2). English departments have appropriated what they liked or needed to help writing skills become more introspective and purposeful: for instance, the canon of invention, or the use of persuasion to make clear arguments. Much of what English departments use of the rhetorical tradition depends on who is in charge: departments of composition scholars may reach back to Plato for their rhetoric, while literary critics may disregard any rhetoric.

When I think of the rhetorical tradition, I see all of it, from Plato to Albert Kitzhaber to Raymie McKerrow, as important to human communication scholars. I feel no need for personal boundary establishment; instead, I traverse disciplinary boundaries to find the communication scholar who best fits my notions of rhetoric (or whatever the case might be) and incorporate that scholarship within my work. Because I have personal and professional ties to both speech communication and English, the disciplinary boundaries seem unimportant and, in some ways, bothersome. Why worry about them? I have built my academic career through studying many kinds of communication, and many versions of the term *rhetoric*; why do I need to label them as discipline-specific? As often I can, I avoid disciplinary labels for my work. I belong to national speech and English organizations, and attend conferences held by both sets of scholars.

In writing this article, then, I assume these underpinnings to my argument:

- rhetoric *can* exist as a multidisciplinary entity, because I participate in such a rhetoric, as do others. My work is accepted by both speech and English academic entities: conferences, classes, and scholars.
- the history of rhetoric has much to offer all communication scholars.
- disciplinary identities for rhetoric(s) are already established, and I am not likely to change the minds of "separatists" with one essay.

I do not want to detail all these assumptions, but I do wish to be honest about them; my desire to “come out” is a large part of this article. Maybe, if I admit my “rhetorical preference,” I will find more scholars like me, and we can form a community which actively desires this multidisciplinary rhetorical tradition. My assumptions fuel my claim to see *The Rhetorical Tradition* as the first bridge built to span the rhetorical chasm between speech and English. With this article, I am one person, bravely (stupidly?) admitting my bias; I have not much academic history to put behind this argument. I do know, however, what I’d like to see for my academic future, and I base my arguments about Bizzell and Herzberg’s text on those hopes for my future scholarship.

“Separatists” and the rhetorical chasm

This cavalier argument about crossing rhetorical boundaries does not always hold weight with scholars in English and speech communication; plenty of “separatists” still populate departmental ranks. Reasons for encouraging different disciplinary definitions of *rhetoric* are evident in numerous texts. Speech historian Giles W. Gray notes that the lack of distinction between what was “speech” and what was “English” led to the establishment of a specific professional organization for speech scholars (10). In November of 1914, the National Association of Academic Teachers of Public Speaking withdrew from the National Council of Teachers of English during the annual NCTE convention (Gray 11). This desire to become a specific discipline grew from the lack of respect given to rhetorical tenets by English teachers: “During most of the nineteenth century, teachers of rhetoric had forgotten that the classical theory of rhetoric included *five* canons, rather than three” (Gray 10, italics in original). In part, then, this desire for a discipline named “speech communication” comes directly from the rhetorical tradition and its academic treatment. Gray’s comments indicate that “speech teachers do it better,” and that the rhetorical tradition should be left in their care. Another speech scholar, Robert C. Jeffrey, indicates that the “breath and purpose” (24) was given to the new association of speech teachers by the desire to commit themselves to “academic approaches to teaching speech” (24). This academic approach includes the history of rhetoric, since much of the study of oratorical excellence is also the study of the “players” of early rhetorical theory. What seems true for Gray and Jeffrey is the desire to remain closely allied with the rhetorical tradition that has been linked with speech communication for its short disciplinary lifetime. When the speech scholars left the NCTE meetings in November of 1914 (Gray and Jeffrey), they took with them the rhetorical tradition; they wish to hold onto it. That desire to clutch the history of rhetoric to speech’s academic breast may be due in part to their previous fights: they fought to establish themselves as a discipline, and what they “captured” in the process should remain with them.

However, English scholar James J. Murphy asks questions of his (our) discipline that echo, in some ways, the desires of Gray and Jeffrey. In the first chapter of Murphy's book *The Rhetorical Tradition and Modern Writing*, he notes that English composition studies need "curricular courage of a high degree" to "recombine the shattered elements of human literacy" (10). According to Murphy, the way we teach composition is not fruitful, nor is it particularly honest. English scholars tend to think "English departments are a final product of some natural evolution, a sort of divine, immutable origin of the species as we now know it" (4). Instead, he claims, we are a product of previous rhetorical history, and we have forsaken that history in the interest of simplicity: "We may well have thrown out the baby of literacy with the rhetorical bathwater" (9). We now need to be sure to acknowledge the debt we owe to previous rhetoricians and the ties we have to a rhetorical tradition that stresses both oral and written rhetoric. Because we have neglected much of this rhetorical breadth, we need to ask our discipline some difficult questions, what Murphy calls "shocking questions":

should we have dispensed with orality in English departments after speech departments split from them in the 1920s and the 1930s? should literature be used to teach writing? should listening skills be taught regularly? should teaching assistants be allowed to tamper with these delicate processes? should speaking exercises (oral composition) be coordinated with writing exercises (written composition)? (10-11)

Trying to find answers to these questions will help us resolve what Murphy calls our two sins against "rhetorical morality" (9): abandonment of the rhetorical tradition and its ties to writing, and a despair and bewilderment towards the feeling that we cannot begin to right (write) the wrongs done to students during our rhetorical "abandonment."

This crossroads of rhetorical history is where I see the entrance of Bizzell and Herzberg's *Rhetorical Tradition* (which I refer to as RT). Bizzell and Herzberg's text makes an active effort towards acknowledging the fullness of the rhetorical history that informs composition studies and rhetorical studies in English.

The Rhetorical Tradition and its establishment of "allies"

According to Patricia Bizzell, *The Rhetorical Tradition* started out as a "gesture" from Bedford Books to English departments. Bizzell comments that Bedford didn't have high hopes for the collection (interview); they intended to publish it in conjunction with a companion volume, *The Critical Tradition*, and expected RT's success to be tied to the success of the pair

of books. Instead, *RT* became instantly popular with rhetoricians from both speech and English departments. No one had ever put together a volume of original texts with an emphasis on pre-twentieth century works; Bizzell knew there was a need for such a volume (interview) and capitalized on that need. *RT* became exactly what scholars had been looking for: a collection of texts spanning the centuries that focused on the epistemic use of rhetoric.

Bizzell knows that the title implies that the book is a canonical representation; however, she says the name was decided for them as the book evolved, mostly due to Bedford's intentions to publish it with *The Critical Tradition* (interview). That "canon" suggestion is not intentional, and the editors acknowledge the same:

By including [many different kinds of] work in a volume that has the seemingly monolithic title of *The Rhetorical Tradition*, we hope to suggest that although there is indeed a tradition that scholars will benefit from sharing, it cannot be regarded as fixed and never-changing. Any "tradition" will include multiple voices, though at any given moment some voices will be louder than others. (vi)

By hearing these multiple voices, Bizzell and Herzberg begin the (postmodern) bridge construction between the "speech tradition" of rhetoric and its English counterpart. Rhetoric scholar Virginia Allen also notes these connections in her review of *RT*: "The editors acknowledge 'the provisional quality of the tradition,' and in the most admirable rhetorical spirit, they reveal an expectation that the canon they have proposed will be open to negotiation" (209). This lack of predetermination is part of what makes Bizzell and Herzberg's text so appealing: they immediately admit that their selections are open to criticism and change and disarm the charge of "cultural hegemony" (Allen 209) associated with canon establishment. Because of that possibility for change, *RT* makes itself the opening "structure" in this new speech/English rhetorical tradition.

How the structure of *RT* encourages change

The volume is organized into five sections of rhetoric: classical, medieval, Renaissance, Enlightenment, and twentieth-century rhetoric. It also includes a general introduction to rhetorical history. Each section of rhetoric includes a short introduction to the time period and important topics that influence the development of rhetorical thought at that moment in history. Bizzell notes that the only obvious choices for inclusion were Plato and Aristotle; some choices presented themselves as *relatively* obvious, like Erasmus and Campbell, but Plato and Aristotle were the rhetori-

cians that *had* to be in the text (interview). After that, Bizzell and Herzberg were open to suggestion. They knew they had embarked upon an interdisciplinary journey when they began *RT*, but they did not know how interdisciplinary their search for rhetoricians would be. Their journey led them to the knowledge that composition studies (the original impetus for the book) is "on the cusp between speech communication and English" (interview). That kernel of knowledge indicates, to me, the understanding that *RT* is truly the bridge I believe it to be.

The general introduction and the introductions to each section provide another indication that construction between the speech and English rhetorical traditions has begun. Bizzell remembers that, if she and Herzberg couldn't justify including a scholar in a section but still wanted her to be part of *RT*, they would include that name in the introduction to the appropriate section: this gesture "sowed the seeds" of that particular writer (interview), so someone reading *RT* could pick up that name and begin further exploration of the "unincluded" rhetorician. An example of this gesture is the inclusion of Hildegard of Bingen in their introduction to medieval rhetoric. Bizzell and Herzberg note that Hildegard "corresponded with clergy and political leaders of the highest ranks and advised them through her knowledge of doctrine and her prophetic visions" (375). An alert reader will surmise from this acknowledgment that Hildegard probably has written works extant somewhere in the rhetorical tradition; finding them and studying them might be an interesting project. Taking on that kind of exploration is exactly what Bizzell and Herzberg hoped scholars would do with these "side notes" to other rhetoricians (interview).

Hildegard of Bingen's inclusion here is significant, even though she does not specifically belong to the speech or English versions of the rhetorical tradition. I have previously studied Hildegard's rhetoric, and it is full of feminist expressions of power, tradition, and strength. As a rhetorician, I gained insight into current feminist theory by delving back into time to unearth Hildegard's directives to twelfth-century German king Frederick Barbarossa (Cronn 1). My exploration of Hildegard's written work enhances my knowledge of both the speech and English traditions of rhetorical thought: her use of woman-centered power can be understood as part of the interpersonal (speech) communication tradition of rhetoric, and her use of literary figures in her *Symphonia armonie celestium revelationum* figures into part of the English rhetorical tradition. But why divide up her "kinds" of rhetoric? Instead, why not accept her status as a powerful female rhetorician of the Middle Ages, no matter what tradition she belongs to? Her inclusion in Bizzell and Herzberg's text allows us to appreciate her as a rhetorician, instead of as a rhetorical pawn for one side or the other in the turf wars of rhetoric.

Professional commentary on *The Rhetorical Tradition*

Book reviews of *RT* were generally positive. Three significant scholars published reviews of the volume in three of the most significant journals in composition/rhetoric: Richard Leo Enos in *Rhetoric Review*, (Fall 1990), Virginia Allen in *Journal of Advanced Composition*, (Winter 1991) and Theresa Enos in *College Composition and Communication* (February 1991). All three reviewers had positive comments for *RT*; all seemed to recognize the significance of the volume for composition studies and companion disciplines. Richard Leo Enos notes that "the bibliographic essays do not discriminate by field; excellent scholarship is cited from such disciplines as English, speech communication, classics, and philosophy" (193). He compares *RT* with significant volumes that come before it, like Thonssen and Baird's *Speech Criticism* and Golden, Berquist, and Coleman's *The Rhetoric of Western Thought* (194). He notes a few places for improvement—the inclusion of Ong, Bitzer, Corbett, and Kinneavy in the twentieth-century section, for instance, and the lack of women and minority rhetoricians—but his praise for the volume outweighs his damnation. The book review by Theresa Enos is similar: she praises *RT* for its "richness of interdisciplinarity" (100), and she makes this telling statement:

Those of us teaching rhetoric out of English departments have been waiting for a comprehensive collection of primary readings, especially a collection for graduate courses in rhetoric in English departments, because the anthologies we have been using in our graduate courses have come out of speech communication. (100)

Her comment indicates that she feels the "rhetorical split" between speech and English; for her, *RT* is an English-centered text. However, with her earlier acknowledgment of interdisciplinarity, she still seems to support my claim that *The Rhetorical Tradition* is indeed a bridge between the rhetorical traditions of speech and English. She and Richard Leo Enos argue for that bridge with their mostly praise-filled reviews of the text.

On the other hand, Virginia Allen is less forthcoming with her appreciation. Though she is pleased to see the text emerge in the field, Allen is uncomfortable with *RT*'s "stated preference for works which are 'epistemic and ideological'" (210); those preferences may lead Bizzell and Herzberg to some overgeneralizations (usually in their introductions) that lead scholars to incorrect assumptions. Allen also objects to some of Bizzell and Herzberg's conclusions about Alexander Bain and his association with faculty psychology (210-211). These two points of contention stand out most clearly in her review.

Allen does comment on the positive contributions that *RT* makes to rhetoric. The last paragraph of her review makes sure that readers know her arguments with the text are relatively minor:

Despite these quibbles, however, let me be clear in saying that Bizzell and Herzberg have undertaken and carried through an enormous job for which they need to be heartily congratulated and thanked. Somebody needed to do it. (211)

Allen's comment that "somebody needed to" compile such an anthology sums up the general professional opinion of *RT*: someone needed to edit such a book. Several disciplines—not just English, not just speech—will benefit from the scholarship collected here.

Conclusions: implications of professional carpentry

At the beginning of his book review of *The Rhetorical Tradition*, Richard Leo Enos articulates several questions related to the mission of the volume. In essence, he asks the following:

- what are the merits of this collection for the discipline?
- what does this collection try to do? What service does it provide?
- where does the book "fit" with existing scholarship?
- what task(s) does it leave us to do? (192-193)

Enos's questions cannot be answered now, even five years after the book's publication. My current answers to his queries follow here.

The merits of this collection are its interdisciplinary approach to the history of rhetoric and its depth of that coverage. This collection tries to tie several "disciplines" of rhetorical inquiry together in the hopes of illuminating common threads between them. The book fits in with existing scholarship in this way: it stands as the one collection of original works on rhetoric by many historically important scholars. There are collections of essays about multidisciplinary rhetorics/approaches to rhetoric (like Poulakos's *Rethinking the History of Rhetoric* or Richard Andrews's *Rebirth of Rhetoric*), but this volume is the one where Plato and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. are bound in the same pages. This volume leaves us to the exploration of the rhetorical tradition through the use of our curiosity and insight, not just our disciplinary "rules" for who should be included.

My rhetorical training impels me to add these questions to Enos's list:

- who, if anyone, is harmed by this collection?
- and the flip side of this question:
- who is helped by the book?

For me, the answers to these questions are easy. I can see very little harm to anyone thanks to this volume; what I see instead is help. Scholars like me, who desire to cross the "rhetorical divide" between speech and English traditions of rhetoric, are helped in our cause to build our bridges thanks to this text. Placing the bridge planks becomes easier, because Bizzell and Herzberg have provided a kind of blueprint for our work. Our rhetorical scholarship will then help to join, eventually, the rhetorics of speech and English together to make the rhetorical tradition even stronger, and even more important to liberal scholarship on the post-secondary level.

The Rhetorical Tradition also provides support (albeit indirect) of what I do in the classroom. Though I have yet to teach a class that requires this text, I draw from its ideas in both my speech and writing classes. For example, each class learns of *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*, ideas that come from Aristotle. Which tradition should I claim for Aristotle? I choose to claim him, the marine biologist, as a rhetorician whose ideas apply to both speech and writing. Bizzell and Herzberg's text provides some credence for my teaching behavior; my decision is similar to their inclusion of rhetoricians from many traditions. Specific rhetorical ideals belong to both speaking and writing.

In the introduction to his edited collection *Rebirth of Rhetoric*, Richard Andrews notes that "'Rhetoric' is not a term to embrace lightly; it is too pockmarked. . . ." (2). Andrews details some of the factors that have marred rhetoric's "skin": the term's association with flattery and empty speech, Plato's criticism of it, and its implications/indications of simple stylistic concerns. He argues that "The contributors to this book and I see more than the surface of rhetoric. Underneath the pockmarked skin, as it were, we see a frame that is alive and strong" (2). I agree with Andrews' assessment of the term: *rhetoric* has been used and abused throughout its long history, and we have yet to agree on a definition. Instead, what we have is a collection like Bizzell and Herzberg's *The Rhetorical Tradition*. We are then asked to decide where this troublesome umbrella term *rhetoric* fits with a book like this one. My argument here is that the term is only enhanced and made more useful by such a collection as *The Rhetorical Tradition*. The volume provides interesting examples of discourse written by many different rhetoricians. It gives us a place to begin our rhetorical inquiry, or amplify it with more details. *The Rhetorical Tradition's* multidisciplinary focus allows us to imagine that bridge I have described, carefully constructed with the touchstones of rhetoric in its middle, stretching over the chasm between speaking and writing.

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St. Olaf's Case Against Communication

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In the fall of 1994, I looked forward to being a faculty member at St. Olaf College in Northfield, MN. It enjoyed a strong reputation in general, but more specially, in the area of Speech and Theatre. The Department of Speech and Theatre was one of the oldest in the state, having numerous graduates that had gone on to distinguished careers in both the area of communication and theatre. The joy of teaching there did not last long. It is ironic that this institution of higher education, supposedly founded to foster the liberal arts, made the decision to eliminate the speech communication program and major in the very year the department was to celebrate its 50th anniversary. What is even more ironic, is that the decision came without any warning and without any consultation with the members of the Speech and Theatre Department, a clear violation of the procedures as outlined in the faculty manual for St. Olaf College.

During the Spring of 1996, I was appointed Chair of the Department as the previous chair was going on a sabbatical leave. Prior to that time, work had begun on the development of an oral communication program across the curriculum (ORC), in order to provide basic instruction in oral communication skills for the general student body. This program was being developed to allow faculty in other disciplines to include within their courses, instruction and experiences in oral communication. The Speech and Theatre Department did not have enough staff to provide the number of courses necessary to meet the demand, and the administration felt it could not allow the department to hire more instructors.

At that time, the Dean of the College expressed to me that he was very supportive of the communication side of the department. He stated he recognized the need for a strong department and that he would work to increase the number of individuals we had on tenure line tracks in order to give the department a sense of stability. I took him at his word. It now is clear this was a mistake and I should have asked for him to put his statements in writing.

In the fall of 1997, at the opening of the school year, the Dean expressed to me that he was not sure he could support the tenure review for the person presently occupying the only tenure track position in speech communication at that time. This came as a surprise not only to the department, but also to the individual faculty member. This faculty member was one of the outstanding teachers in the department, working closely with students as an effective advisor, and with students establishing a major presence at undergraduate honor conferences. During the course of the year, the case was built to show the administration this faculty member was indeed worthy of retention and tenure.

At this same time, a new administrative organizational structure was established, with several associate deans appointed to work with the Dean of the College. Their task was to look at the future path to be taken since it had been expressed that St. Olaf College would have to make some reductions due to an over commitment of financial resources. A staff plan unveiled the previous year, made it clear that the Department of Speech and Theatre would have to reduce by eliminating one position by the fall of 1998 and possibly a second position by the fall of 1999. The Department was working on this staff plan, identifying which positions to be eliminated.

During the fall and early winter of 1997-1998, The Dean announced that he and the Task Force of the Associate Deans would be developing a new faculty staff plan to be presented in the spring of 1998. As part of this process, the Associate Dean for the Fine Arts made arrangements to meet with me to gather information about the Department of Speech and Theatre. This information was provided. She attended several classes within the Department in order to gain a greater understanding about what we taught in our classes, as she had no knowledge of just what was covered in our discipline. She also asked to be a guest at our Department meeting on February 16, 1998. During the course of that meeting, as we were discussing issues related to future staff planning, she suddenly said, "How would it be if we just dropped the speech communication major?" This took the entire department by surprise and when she was asked why she made that statement, her response was "Oh, it is just a thought that occurred to me while I was taking a shower." Needless to say, the department immediately supplied her with information as to why that thought should have gone down the drain. In fact, in an e-mail from the Associate Dean for a follow-up meeting, dated February 21, 1998, she stated:

What I really wanted to do . . . was to just confirm that the discussion we had last week, and the good information I received following the meeting -- from you, from tenured faculty with whom, as you know, conversations had already been planned, and from _____, from whom I wanted to hear more about her understanding of the discipline of Speech Communication, . . . (comments) were all very helpful in clarifying for me your departmental understanding of the Speech-Theater major and the relationships among the three tracks, as well as in filling out the data information which had not been clear in the Data Book.

For the next several weeks, the Associate Dean kept asking for additional information, as to the number of students in the program, the

number of graduates, the types of classes taught, who taught what, the size of the classes, etc. In each case the information was provided. Each time any information was sent via e-mail or delivered in person by me, the question was always asked, "Why do you need all of this information." Her response was always very general, simply saying that she needed this in order to get a fuller understanding of our department.

During this same time period, a committee of faculty members from the Department kept working with the Oral Communication Across the Curriculum (ORC) Coordinator, a professor from the Political Science Department. Speech Faculty members served as contact persons for those in other departments that were already presenting ORC courses as well as helping others in the development of possible courses.

On the morning of April 8th, without any warning, without any consultation between the Administration and the Department, the Dean of the College invited the tenured members of the Department and me to meet with him in his office. It was at this time that he announced to us that the Associate Deans and he had decided to eliminate the speech communication major and cut the staffing in department, which would mean the retention of only one faculty member in speech communication. This was done without any previous warning, without any previous consultation with the department (which is a clear violation of the procedures as outline in the faculty manual at St. Olaf), without any planning as to how this would affect the students currently in the program. That afternoon this decision, along with others, was presented to the faculty of the college, along with a report that was suppose to outline the reasons for the decisions. When we asked our Associate Dean why the department was cut, she indicated that the criteria were in the report we received that afternoon.

Immediately our department drafted a response to the Dean of the College and the Associate Dean. We asked specifically for them to tell us how we did not meet the criteria for retention of the department and the major. They could not nor would not answer our questions. It became clear that the cuts were made simply because the faculty in the Speech Communication area of the Department were all nontenured and it was an easy way to eliminate the positions.

The Speech Communication area of the Department and the major clearly met every single one of the criteria listed. Our response to the criteria is summarized as follows:

1. Central and explicit appeal to the mission of the College: The College catalog clearly stated that the mission of the college was to prepare students in the "art of effective communication skills," which was also a clear aim of the mission of the department. We asked how our major did not meet this criterion and never received an answer.

2. Programs at the center of the liberal arts curriculum are to be highly favored: Since the discipline or oral communication had its begin-

ning with the dawn of liberal arts, with teachers such as Aristotle, Cicero, Quintillian and others, we were not sure how this criteria was measured in relationship to the major. We did notice that departments normally not associated with the term "liberal arts" such as biology, chemistry, education, management studies, nursing, social studies education and statistics were maintained.

3. Health of the College's entire academic program over that of any of its units: We asked how our department was not contributing to the overall health of the college's academic program. Again, we never received an answer.

4. Good Staff Planning manages the amount of resources available etc.: Again, we asked how our major has caused any problems in relationship to these criteria and received no answer.

5. A large number of majors or concentrators is a significant factor in staff planning: The Department of Speech and Theater was the 10th largest in number of majors on the campus. Of those majors, the majority were in Speech Communication. We had more majors than another department in the Fine Arts, yet that major was kept. We asked how this criterion was applied and again, no answer.

6. Programs with strong majors/concentrators are in better stead than programs with weak majors or concentrations: We asked how the committee had applied these criteria to our department. What were the weaknesses in the speech communication major? Again, no answer was received.

7. A tradition of strength in a program (e.g. a national reputation) is an important factor in staff planning: The speech communication major at St. Olaf was highly recognized across the nation. Graduates of the program had been accepted into some of the strongest graduate programs of the nation because of the strength of the major. Students in the program had received numerous awards and honors of a scholastic nature due to the strength of the program. Many had articles published in scholarly journals as well as programs presented at strong academic scholarly conferences. We asked how this was applied and again, no answer was received.

It is clear that the criteria listed in the staff-planning document were not applied evenly and fairly to all departments across the campus. One could easily reason that there was a hidden agenda in the planning of the Dean and the Associate Deans in their decision.

At the same time as the letter from the department was sent to the Administration of the College, it was also posted on CRTNET. The department felt that it was necessary to bring this drastic action to the attention of the larger academic community in the area of oral communication. The department asked for letters of support and hundreds were received from outstanding educational institutions across the nation, as well as from alumni of the program. The Administration ignored every letter. One distinguished alumni of the program, who was also a former faculty member at St. Olaf, and was presently teaching at Texas A & M University, in a letter

to the Associate Dean of Fine Arts, wrote, "Enclosed please find my diploma from St. Olaf College, 1975. It is no longer worth anything to me." A sentiment felt by many former graduates of the institution.

The department continued to try to convince the administration that the speech major could be kept with a revision of the staffing and the requirements of the major. Several possible plans of action were submitted and all were refused consideration by the administration. In meetings with the Associate Deans and the Dean of the College, it was clear their mind were made up, and no evidence of any kind, would change it. This became clear when even the ORC Committee members from other disciplines at the college, put forth its support that in order for the ORC to work at St. Olaf, a strong communication program and faculty needed to be maintained. In fact, several of the national consultants working with the ORC program withdrew from their association with the program and St. Olaf, as they stressed that in order for any program of this type to work, a strong communication major and department was needed on a college campus. It was stated very well by one when she said, "I must emphasize that a legitimate speaking-across-the-curriculum program cannot be sustained without the infrastructure of a speech communication curriculum and faculty with the appropriate expertise to teach it."

In the place of the speech communication major, the staff planning document suggested that "an interdisciplinary communication emphasis" program could be developed with courses being presented by faculty from disciplines across the campus that had "existing expertise." When the administration was asked to identify those faculty or what their "expertise" was in communication, they could not do so. The staff-planning document also called for the ORC process to continue but with virtually no involvement from professionals in oral communication. At a time when communication skills and the understanding of the principles of communication are considered vital to success upon graduation, one cannot understand how a college of the liberal arts could cut such a program.

In an attempt to further inform the academic community at large about what was happening at St. Olaf, another letter was sent to CRTNET in mid May of 1998. The letter contained information as to the per student cost of the major in Speech Communication, which amounted to only \$661.00 per student. It was interesting to note that two majors in the area of Fine Arts cost more, with the music major costing \$1,169 per student and the dance major at \$826.00. The average cost per major on campus at that time was only \$603.00. As a cost saving measure, it seemed strange that a low cost major in speech communication should be cut. This seemed especially strange when it was noted that a small college, with only 2,800 students, paid the President at St. Olaf \$148,432 in 1996-97, with fringe benefits of \$22,812, bringing his total compensation to \$171,244 and where the treasure of the college received approximately \$125,000 for the year.

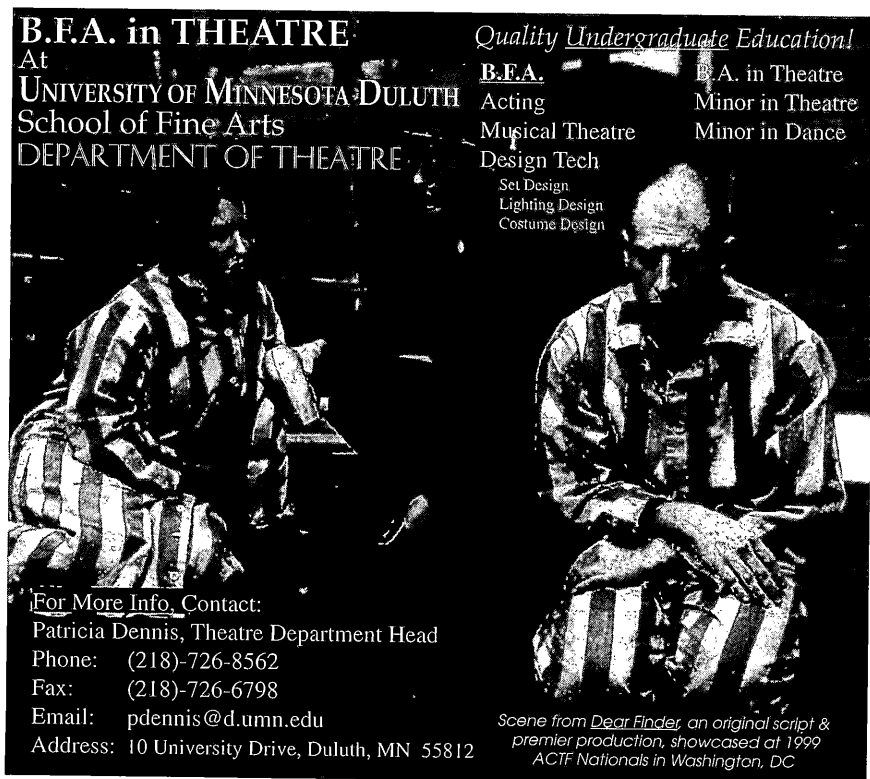
After the above information was sent, it came to the attention of the administration of the college. The Dean of the College called and said that President and he wanted to have a meeting with me to discuss the letter sent to CRTNET. I told him that I would be happy to meet with them but only if I could have another person attend the meeting with me. The request was refused. However, on Wednesday, May 13, I was working in my office alone, and the Dean came to the office and asked if we could meet. I had no conflicts and could take the time, and invited him into my office. At that time, the Dean told me that while he supported and believed in the right of free speech, it was his opinion that the material I sent out on the internet was not appropriate and I should not have done so. I in turn told the Dean that I felt it was important. It was necessary to alert my colleagues across the nation about what was happening, that a department and major in our discipline was being canceled simply because we were not tenured. I went on to state that this type of action is what has saved departments, such as at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln. The Dean's response was "Nebraska is a large research institution (public) and so that it may have been appropriate there but not here at a small private liberal arts college." I went on to state that I felt it my professional responsibility to bring this issue to the attention of my colleagues across the nation.

At the meeting, the Dean and I discussed the verbal support he had given me about the speech communication department when he and I first had meetings after his appointment to Dean of the College. In those meetings, he had said he wanted to strengthen the speech communication faculty, and would work to get the department another tenure-track line. The Dean did agree with me that he had indeed made those statements, but that in the last six month (1997-98), he had changed his mind. He did not say what caused him to change his mind when asked. I responded by telling him that this caused the department and me to have a lack of trust in his statements.

I left St. Olaf at the end of May 1998. Since that time, the one faculty member in speech communication that was on a tenure-track has been denied retention. When she asked to be given the reasons for non-retention, she was told that no reasons had to be provided. She choose to appeal the decision. A faculty committee was appointed to investigate the appeal and decision, following procedures established in the faculty manual. The committee found that there were no grounds for the action taken by the Administration, and that she should be reappointed. However, actions by the committee are not binding, and the Administration basically said thanks, but no thanks, and has terminated the individual's appointment.

In addition to the above, all other speech communication faculty member on staff during the 1998-99 academic year have been terminated. Three new fixed term positions were approved, with one position being for three years, one for two, and one for one. This would seem to indicate that within three years, the department would be down to one person that

would be in the area of speech communication. This is a sad case for a college that once was considered to have one of the strongest departments in oral communication in the upper mid-west. For a college that desires to be known as an "Outstanding College of the Church," this is a poor beginning to the new millennium. Let us hope that with the light of the new century, the Administration recognizes the error of their actions, and works to reestablish the speech communication major once again.



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