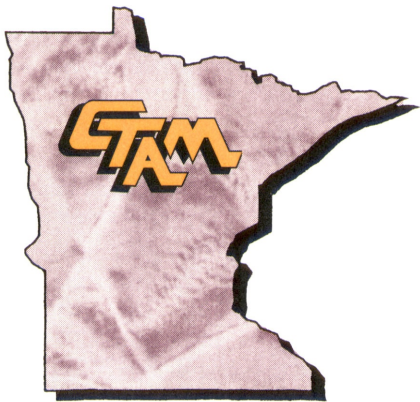


VOLUME 24  
1997



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Hate Speech on Campus:  
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COMMUNICATION & THEATER ASSOCIATION OF MINNESOTA  
JOURNAL



# COMMUNICATION AND THEATER ASSOCIATION OF MINNESOTA JOURNAL

Volume 24

Summer 1997

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# COMMUNICATION AND THEATER ASSOCIATION OF MINNESOTA JOURNAL

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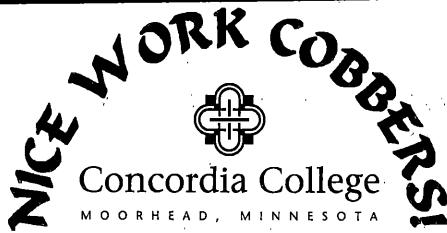
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## Congratulations to the Concordia Forensics Squad for another outstanding year:

### National Individual Events Tournament

- ◆ Quinn Arnold--quarterfinals in After Dinner Speaking
- ◆ Travis Boerboom--quarterfinals in Duo Interpretation and Prose Interpretation
- ◆ Tammy Frisby--quarterfinals in persuasive speaking and extemporaneous speaking; 3<sup>rd</sup> place in impromptu speaking
- ◆ Rick Purrington--quarterfinals in Dramatic Interpretation, Duo Interpretation and prose interpretation; 6<sup>th</sup> place in After Dinner Speaking
- ◆ **14<sup>th</sup> place overall school sweepstakes winner**

### Minnesota Collegiate Forensics Association State Tournament

- ◆ Top individual speaker; Travis Boerboom
- ◆ Individual championships in:
  - Dramatic Interpretation--Travis Boerboom
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  - Impromptu Speaking--Tammy Frisby
  - Lincoln-Douglas Debate--Quinn Arnold
- ◆ **Sweepstakes Champions for a 6<sup>th</sup> consecutive year**

paid for by Alumni Backers of Concordia Forensics; Heather Riddle Kimm, acting chair.

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

This is my last issue as editor of the CTAM Journal. The experience has been a joyful one, and one that I will miss. A new editor has been selected, and will be announced at the upcoming convention. I feel very confident that the journal will continue in a tradition of quality.

Unbelievably, the CTAM Journal was again honored at the CSCA Convention as the top state journal in the region; and once again, we were fortunate enough to have one of our authors, Rebecca Ann Lind, receive a Manuscript Award, for her article on "Women in British Broadcasting." These recognitions have meant a lot to me, and should tell you something about the strength of this organization, and the realization of visions established many years ago by the founders of CTAM. CTAM's vision for its journal has been carried out by many before me, and I am happy to be part of its unfolding history.

Once again, there are many people to thank: the officers and associate editors listed on the first page, my editorial assistant Megan Taylor, the office staff at Concordia, and especially my colleagues in the SCTA Department. Cindy Carver, as chair, has been especially helpful, providing suggestions as well as financial support. I cannot thank her enough. Richtman's Printing in Fargo has been with this project all four years, and their clean and accurate work has always been appreciated. My family has been especially gracious and supportive. And, finally, thanks goes out to all those who have submitted their work. The journal is only as good as the submissions that are at the beginning of the editorial process.

"Standing at the gate" for four years has increased my understanding of the importance of our mission at the state level. A journal such as ours is at the front line of scholarly battle, and as such provides a necessary outlet for unique work. There are essays that would only be published here, due to their specialized topics or to their experimental quality, but we should never assume that this puts us on a secondary level to other journals. In fact, the nature of research published at the state level possesses a freshness and a vigor that many regional and national journals could envy. It has been my pleasure and privilege to help bring this research to print. Thank you, CTAM, for four years of rewarding work.

## CTAM JOURNAL MISSION STATEMENT

The *Communication and Theater Association of Minnesota Journal* is the scholarly journal of the Communication and Theater Association of Minnesota. It is also an outlet for innovative teaching methods as well as issues of discipline-related importance. All theoretical and methodological approaches are welcome. The CTAMJ encourages contributions from scholars and practitioners who comprise all segments of the journal's

readership, including K-12 educators, graduate school, community college, college and university groups. The journal welcomes theoretical and applied articles and teaching suggestions from both the theater and communication disciplines. All general articles will be blindly reviewed by capable scholars in the appropriate field.

No work will be accepted or rejected purely on the basis of its methodology and/or subject and/or the geographic location of the author(s) and/or the work affiliation (secondary/college level, department, etc.) of the author(s). Author sex, race, ethnic background, etc., are never considered in making editorial judgments. The demands of the disciplines of Speech Communication and Theater are key factors in the editorial judgments made. But, when making editorial decisions, all attempts are made to balance these demands with the needs and interest of the journal's readers.

The journal is guided by three key principles:

- \* TO PROVIDE AN OUTLET FOR THE EXPRESSION OF DIVERSE IDEAS.

- \* TO PUBLISH HIGH QUALITY SCHOLARSHIP IN THE DISCIPLINES OF SPEECH COMMUNICATION AND THEATER

- \* TO MEET THE JOURNAL-RELATED NEEDS OF CTAM AND ITS MEMBERS

## EDITORIAL POLICY

The Call for Manuscripts goes out in the fall of the year and the deadline for submissions is in February of the following year. Details of how to submit are given in the Call which is sent to all members, departments and announced in SPECTRA. Book review ideas should be queried with the editor in advance of the submission date. 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.

[Special Note: In 1991, the CTAM Journal published an article titled "The Nature of the Basic Course in Speech Communication." Based on information provided by the submitters, one of the authors, Diana K. Ivy (Texas A&M), was inappropriately omitted from the list of authors. The correct authorship should be: McQuillen, J.S.; Ivy, D.K.; & Stano, M.]

## Hate Speech on Campus: Issues, Cases, and Administrative Responses

Donald Fishman, Boston College

Joyce Lindmark, Boston College

During the past decade, there has been an alarming increase of attacks against minority groups on college campuses. These attacks have been directed principally at Blacks, Hispanics, women, Jews, and homosexuals. In one incident, a fraternity held a party featuring a "Harlem Room," where fried chicken and watermelon punch were served and students wore black face (Hodulik, 1990, p. 574). In another incident, a fraternity held a mock slave auction, where slaves answered to the anonymous call of "Nigger" (Hodulik, 1990, p. 573). In yet another case, anti-Semitic leaflets were placed on cars in a campus parking lot at a major research university (Beck, 1989, p. A23). Howard Ehrlich, research director at the National Institute Against Prejudice, reports that "[s]ince 1987, incidents of racial and ethnic harassment have occurred on about 300 campuses" (Shoop, 1991, p. 12). In May of 1990, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching released data gathered from a survey of 500 university presidents who believed that racial and ethnic tensions on campus were increasing. The report concluded that "the idyllic vision so routinely portrayed in college promotional materials often masks disturbing realities of student life, including racism, sexism, and anti-Semitism" (Hustoles & Connolly, 1990, p. 5).

The catch-all term for these attacks on minority group members is "hate speech." Rodney Smolla (1992) defines hate speech as a "generic term that has come to embrace the use of speech attacks based on race, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation or preferences" (p. 152). Fraleigh and Tuman (1997) define hate speech as "insults, slurs, or epithets directed to a group of people, based upon a shared characteristic of that group" (p. 170). Accordingly, hate speech is language that denigrates others through "insults" and "group epithets" aimed particularly at immutable characteristics of an individual, such as race, ethnicity, or sexual orientation. Kent Greenawalt (1995) observes that the intensity of the hate speech is also influenced by the identity of the speaker, the tone of voice, the context, the prior relationships between the speaker and addressee, and whether such communication occurs in a face-to-face incident or whether the language is directed at individuals who are not in the immediate audience (pp. 48-49).

In response to the increasing hate speech attacks on campus, college and university administrators have felt a legal and moral responsibility to

protect students and employees from harassment. Fraleigh and Tuman (1997) observe that by 1992, more than one hundred colleges had adopted hate speech codes (p. 175). Some schools have resourcefully hidden a hate speech code within a more generalized anti-harassment policy.<sup>1</sup> However, whatever classification scheme is employed, all of the codes are designed to restore a civil atmosphere on campus and to penalize students who offend others or create an intimidating, hostile, or offensive environment.

The discussion about hate speech codes has become one of the most emotionally-charged and difficult issues that a university encounters in the 1990s. It is a vexing issue without simple answers, and it has led to a painful debate between critical race theorists and civil libertarians. These groups often have been allies in campus politics, but the debate over hate speech codes has turned them into bitter adversaries. Critical race theorists contend that hate speech codes are based upon compelling values such as equal protection, the desire to promote tolerance, and respect for human dignity (Hayman, 1995, pp. 57-108). They argue that because hate speech is "not speech at all," and because the Fourteenth Amendment ensures equal opportunity for all citizens, hate speech can be regulated. Civil libertarians, on the other hand, believe that hate speech codes conflict with First Amendment values and compromise the traditional commitment of universities to safeguard academic freedom and not to proclaim orthodoxies of language and thought in the classroom or on campus.<sup>2</sup>

The purposes of this paper are three-fold. First, we will outline the theoretical justifications of proponents of hate speech codes. Second, we will examine hate speech cases arising from the University of Michigan and University of Wisconsin, two important instances where the courts have ruled on the constitutionality of such codes. Third, we will discuss the options open to administrators who confront the issue of whether and how to regulate hate speech on college campuses.

### *The Theoretical Case for Hate Speech Codes*

The theoretical position for adopting hate speech codes is based upon a series of closely-related arguments anchored upon the companion assumptions that minority groups have suffered irreparable harms, and that hate speech codes are necessary to foster tolerance and respect for human dignity.

The most widely-cited argument for adopting hate speech codes is that they will safeguard individuals from physical, mental, and psychological harms. Mari Matsuda (1989), one of the leading advocates of critical race theory, insists that "victims of vicious hate propaganda experience

physiological symptoms and emotional distress ranging from fear in the gut to rapid pulse rate and difficulty in breathing, nightmares, post-traumatic stress disorder, psychosis, and suicide" (p. 2336). Matsuda argues that the cumulative effect of racist speech serves to reinforce previous injuries and to perpetuate the status quo of institutionalized white supremacy (p. 2334). Because of the nature and severity of these injuries, Matsuda maintains that racist speech should not receive the protection of the First Amendment.

Second, critical race theorists contend that the First Amendment is not absolute, and that there are several areas where freedom of speech is restricted to enhance the health and safety of the community. For instance, defenders of hate speech codes point to the similarities between hate speech and regulations on obscenity and fighting words. In *New York v. Ferber* (1982), the Supreme Court held that child pornography could be regulated by the states. The Court reached this decision not based upon the content of the images, but due to the fact that "a state's interest in safeguarding the physical and psychological well-being of a minor is compelling" (p. 747). MacKinnon (1993) argues that the Court's decision means that "if the harm of speech outweighs its value, it can be restricted by properly targeted means" (p. 91). Matsuda similarly concludes that hate speech codes should be permitted on campus to protect the psychological well-being of young and impressionable minority students (1989, pp. 2370-2371).

Third, critical race theorists employ the "fighting words" doctrine from *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire* (1942) to justify their position to regulate hate speech. Lawrence (1990) maintains that racist speech is the functional equivalent of fighting words when such speech is directed at an individual in a face-to-face confrontation. The chief purpose of such speech is to inflict harm or to incite violence, not to foster an exchange of ideas. Lawrence (1993) explains that "[w]hen racist insults are hurled at minorities, the response may be silence or flight rather than a fight, but the preemptive effect on further speech is the same" (p. 68). Lawrence (1990) also argues that racist speech should fall under the fighting words doctrine because it is only intended to incite harm and does not convey any idea other than hate.

Fourth, critical race theorists draw heavily upon the Fourteenth Amendment to bolster their case for hate speech codes. They point out that *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) held that segregation of public schools was unconstitutional because it stigmatized Black students as inferior. From this premise, Lawrence (1990) reasons that:

Segregation serves its purpose by conveying an idea. It stamps a badge of inferiority upon blacks, and this badge communicates a message to others in the community, as



well as to blacks wearing the badge, that is injurious to blacks. Therefore, *Brown* (1954) may be read as regulating the content of racist speech. As a regulation of racist speech, the decision is an exception to the usual rule that regulation of speech content is presumed unconstitutional (pp. 439-440).

In Lawrence's (1990) interpretation, the Supreme Court held that Fourteenth Amendment considerations outweigh the First Amendment. In *Brown* (1954), the Court rejected the notion that Black students were inferior and ordered all schools to be desegregated. Therefore, Lawrence argues that racist speech inherently creates conduct that renders minorities incapable of achieving equality. The utterance of a racist epithet immediately fosters a stigmatized reality that injures minorities and reinforces the cultural norm that racism is acceptable (1990, p. 444). Lawrence contends that the reinforcing nature of such speech is so powerful that Americans no longer even realize that they are constructing a reality that does not allow for racial equality: "The racist acts of millions of individuals are mutually reinforcing and cumulative because the status quo of institutionalized white supremacy remains long after the deliberate racist actions subside" (1990, p. 443).

A fifth argument for regulating hate speech is based upon the premise that it is analogous to harassment. The law of harassment recognizes the individual's right to not be repeatedly exposed to unwanted messages in the confines of a private dwelling. Many states have drafted phone harassment policies that make it a crime to repeatedly call an individual who does not want to hear a particular message. Alan Brownstein (1994) argues that a similar type of law should be written to protect individuals from racist messages. Such a law would have to "determine that the speech at issue is of uniquely low value, that it causes significant harm, and that it violates the autonomy interests of the victim" (p. 217). This type of regulation would be most applicable to a dorm room where each student is domiciled in a private dwelling. In addition, Brownstein contends that the university as a whole could be considered a closed environment, where an individual is unable to avoid hateful messages in his or her day-to-day activities on campus. By this logic, if a student could prove that s/he had been the victim of constant racist speech, which would be viewed as being of low value, and intending to cause harm, then the student could likely win a harassment suit (p. 217).

A sixth argument to support a hate speech code relies upon the existing law to carve out an "intentional infliction of emotional distress" harm. Drawing upon cases in employment law where workers have collected damages for a hostile work environment, Richard Delgado (1982)

urges the development of a narrowly-written racial speech tort to cover the same harm. The law would allow minorities to obtain damages for the effects of racist speech which by its very nature causes an "intentional infliction of emotional distress" (Delgado, 1982).

Overall, the arguments in favor of a hate speech code rely heavily upon the premise that minorities are harmed by such speech and that racist speech should not be a protectible form of communication. Massey (1992) summarizes the most prominent harms associated with hate speech: "[L]oss of self-esteem, economic and social subordination, physical and mental stress, silencing of the victim, and effective exclusion from the political arena" (p. 105). Critical race theorists argue that racist speech should be treated like obscenity or fighting words where the courts have recognized that suppression of speech is outweighed by the good of the community. These arguments would allow universities to enact speech codes that will protect students from hate speech which denies them an equal opportunity to receive an education. At the same time, proponents of hate speech codes maintain that the codes do not impinge upon the First Amendment because the only speech being regulated is "racist speech" that expresses no particular ideas.<sup>3</sup>

### *Court Cases: Michigan and Wisconsin*

As one would expect in this era of widespread litigation, the intellectual arguments that have arisen about hate speech codes have found their way to the courts. During the past decade, two major federal district court decisions have ruled on the constitutionality of hate speech codes on First Amendment grounds. These courts have been in agreement in refusing to uphold codes that regulate speech principally because it is "offensive." But the circumstances and the concepts employed in the two decisions differ widely.

#### *The University of Michigan Case*

During the fall of 1987, the University of Michigan began to experience a series of racial incidents. A flyer was distributed on campus that declared an "open season" on Blacks. It referred to Black students as "saucer lips," "porch monkeys" and "Jigaboos" (*Doe v. Michigan*, 1989, p. 854). The atmosphere in Ann Arbor was exacerbated by a disc jockey at an on-campus station who permitted racist jokes to be broadcast. At a

demonstration that resulted from this incident, a student displayed a Ku Klux Klan uniform from a dormitory window (*Doe*, p. 854).

Initially, the administration at the university attempted to ignore the incidents. But events coalesced to prompt an administrative reaction. On March 5, 1987, the chairperson of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Higher Education of the Michigan House of Representatives held a public meeting to address the problem of racism at the university. The various speakers were critical of the university's response to racial incidents and accused the administration of ignoring the problems of minority students. The chairperson of the subcommittee declared: "Michigan legislators will not tolerate racism on the campus of a state institution . . . Racism has no place in this day and age" (*Doe*, p. 854). The chairperson wanted to hold a meeting with the president of the university and threatened to postpone budget appropriations for the university if effective action was not taken (*Doe*, p. 854). In addition, after a campus-wide meeting about the incidents, a student organization announced that it was going to file a civil rights suit against the university (*Doe*, p. 854).

In light of the highly publicized criticisms of the racial incidents, the University of Michigan responded by creating an anti-racial harassment policy. Unfortunately, the rules were not enforced. In December of 1987, the university president resigned, and a temporary president assumed the responsibility of creating a more effective code. The revised code prohibited "[h]arassment of anyone through word or deed or any other behavior which discriminates on the basis of inappropriate criteria." The acting president, presumably anticipating difficulties, provided a rationale for the new code:

Just as an individual cannot shout "fire!" in a crowded theater and then claim immunity from prosecution on the basis of exercising his right of free speech, . . . students at a university cannot, by speaking or writing discriminatory remarks which seriously offend many individuals beyond the immediate victim, and which therefore detract from the necessary educational climate on a campus, claim immunity from campus disciplinary proceedings (*Doe*, p. 855).

After twelve drafts by the president and the director of the Office of Affirmative Action, the revised policy was unanimously adopted by the University's Board of Regents on April 14, 1988, effective May 31, 1988.

The policy divided campus activities into three tiers. The first tier included outdoors on the university grounds and what was termed the public parts of the campus. These areas allowed the broadest range of discourse. Only physical violence or destruction of property was punishable in these areas. Also, publications sponsored by the university

such as the *Michigan Daily* and the *Michigan Review* were expressly cited as not being affected by the new regulations. The second tier consisted of speech and conduct in university housing, which were regulated by the standard provisions of the leases for those settings. The third tier included educational and academic centers, such as classrooms, libraries, laboratories, and recreational and study centers. Here, the policy applied to:

Any behavior, verbal or physical, that stigmatizes an individual on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, creed, national origin, ancestry, age, marital status, handicap, or Vietnam-era veteran status (*Doe*, p. 856).

Repeatedly, the policy warned about speech and conduct that "creates an intimidating, hostile, or demeaning environment for educational pursuits, employment, or participating in University-sponsored extra-curricular activities" (*Doe*, p. 856).

Under the code, a person who believes that his or her rights have been violated has two options. The individual can either file a formal complaint with the university or seek informal counseling with university officials or at a counseling center. Depending on the individual's course of action, the administration is expected to create sanctions that are acceptable to both the victim and the assailant. If an agreement is impossible, then a formal complaint would be filed. The administration would conduct an investigation and determine whether there is enough information to hold a formal hearing. If it was determined that a hearing was warranted, the university would create a panel of four students and one tenured faculty member to determine the consequences.

After the Michigan harassment code was enacted, the Office of Affirmative Action distributed a pamphlet designed to explain the new policy. The pamphlet provided examples of sanctionable and unsanctionable speech. Some examples of sanctionable speech: "A flyer containing racist threats distributed in a residence hall"; "Racist graffiti written on the door of an Asian student's study carrel"; "A male student makes remarks in class like 'Women just aren't as good in this field as men,' thus creating a hostile learning atmosphere for female classmates." In addition, the pamphlet had a another section entitled "YOU are a harasser when. . . ." This section provided examples of sanctionable behavior such as "[y]ou exclude someone from a study group because that person is of a different race, sex, or ethnic origin than you are"; "You tell jokes about gay men and lesbians"; "You display a confederate flag on the door or your room in the residence hall" (*Doe*, p. 858).

In a section of the pamphlet entitled, "Questions About Discriminatory Harassment," a question was posed, "What about freedom of speech?" The answer provided was that "[t]he University recognizes and respects the fundamental right of free speech. But freedom of speech does not include the right to harass or injure others." In the same section of the pamphlet, another question raised was "[w]hat about classroom discussion?" The answer provided was that "The University encourages open and vigorous intellectual discussion in the classroom. To reach this goal, students must be free to participate in classroom discussion without feeling harassed or intimidated by others' comments" (Hustoles & Connolly, 1990, p. 45).

In response to the code, a psychology graduate student took legal action. The student adopted the anonymous name of John Doe to protect his identity. Doe's specialty was the field of biopsychology, which he described as the "interdisciplinary study of the biological basis of individual differences in personality traits and mental abilities" (Doe, p. 858). Doe claimed that he studied issues concerning biological differences between the sexes and races. He filed suit because he feared that charges would be raised against him under the harassment code. He believed that his right to openly discuss such issues in the classroom was being restricted. In contrast, the university argued that the purpose of the policy was not intended to restrict intelligent discussions in the classroom.

Doe raised two objections to the policy. First, he claimed that the policy was overbroad and that a statute regulating speech must be narrowly defined to address a specific problem if it is not to violate the First Amendment. Second, Doe argued that the statute was vague. His claim was that "A statute is unconstitutionally vague when 'men of common intelligence must necessarily guess at its meaning'" (Doe, p. 866). In an opinion written by Judge Avern Cohn, the federal district court of the Eastern District of Michigan upheld both of these claims. Cohn found that while the university's attempt to protect groups and create an atmosphere conducive to learning was laudable, the university included within its policy a substantial amount of verbal conduct and behavior that is protected as speech under the First Amendment. Cohn held that the code was overbroad because "it sweeps within its ambit a substantial amount of protected speech along with that which it may legitimately regulate" (Doe, 864). In addition, Cohn found the code void for vagueness because "it is simply impossible to discern any limitation on its scope or any conceptual distinction between protected and unprotected conduct" (p. 867).

The court granted John Doe a permanent injunction for those portions of the policy restricting speech activity but denied the injunction to the sections of the policy regulating physical behavior. After the ruling of the court, the university decided to create an "Interim Policy on Discriminatory

Harassment" written to reflect the requirements of the court and to allow time for campus-wide consideration of what kind of permanent policy should be created. The Interim Policy remained under consideration for the 1994-1995 academic year.<sup>4</sup> The university subsequently abandoned the hate speech code.

### The University of Wisconsin Case

The University of Wisconsin enacted a hate speech code in 1988. Like the underlying impetus for Michigan's code, Wisconsin's "Design for Diversity" plan was adopted as a response to rising incidents of harassment of racial minorities and gays. The code was directed at speech that: (1) was racist and discriminatory; (2) was targeted at particular individuals; (3) addressed issues of race, gender, religion, color, creed, disability, national origin, and age; and that (4) created an intimidating, hostile or demeaning environment for university activities (*UWM Post v. UW System*, p. 1172).

The plaintiff was a group of nine individuals collectively known as (another) "John Doe." John Doe brought suit against the university's hate speech code, arguing that it was an impermissible, content-based regulation. The University Board of Regents contended that the code applied only to speech that was likely to incite violence (*UWM*, p. 1173).

Unlike Michigan, Wisconsin had adopted a different approach to the hate speech code issue--one based upon the "fighting words" doctrine. In the 1942 decision in *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, the Supreme Court held that "fighting words" were a category of expression which is generally unprotected by the First Amendment. The Court's definition of "fighting words" stated that they were likely "by their very utterance" to "inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace" (*Chaplinsky*, p. 571).

The *Chaplinsky* (1942) decision dealt with a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses who was convicted for calling a policeman a "Goddamned Fascist" after the latter had asked him to cease distributing handouts on a public street. The Court noted that the test for determining whether such words became "fighting words" would be:

... what men of common intelligence would understand would be words likely to cause an average addressee to fight ... The English language has a number of words and expressions which by general consent are "fighting words" when said without a disarming smile ... Such words, as

ordinary men know, are likely to cause a fight . . . .  
(*Chaplinsky*, 571, 573).

The District Court in the Wisconsin case delivered its opinion using a two-step analysis. United States District Court Judge Robert Warren first examined the Wisconsin code to see if it met the test enunciated in *Chaplinsky* (1942): Was it language addressed to a particular individual that naturally tended to provoke injury? Warren instead found overbreadth problems because the code discouraged speech that was unlikely to provoke violence as well as speech that was provocative. Having determined the code constituted overbreadth, Warren turned to a balancing test. The University of Wisconsin Board of Regents argued that the code's benefits outweighed the costs to free speech because it served four compelling interests: increasing minority representation, preventing disruption of educational activities, assuring equal educational opportunities, and contributing to order and safety on campus (*UWM*, p. 1176).

Under Warren's formulation, to serve as an example of "fighting words," a comment, epithet, or expressive behavior had to (a) be racist or discriminatory; (b) be directed at an individual; (c) demean the race, sex, religion, color, creed, disability, sexual orientation, national origin, ancestry, or age of the individual; and (d) create an intimidating, hostile or demeaning environment for education, university-related work, or other university-authorized activity (*UWM*, p. 1172).

Applying Warren's interpretation, the first factor failed to meet the "fighting words" standard because it did not "state that the speech must tend to cause an immediate breach of the peace" (*UWM*, p. 1172). The second factor, while meeting the criterion that speech must be directed at the addressee, similarly failed to meet the "fighting words" doctrine because it was not made specific that the speech, which presumably could create a violent reaction, would "always tend to incite such reaction" (*UWM*, p. 1172). Accordingly, Warren feared that this provision might be applied to situations where no breach of the peace had occurred. The third factor, demeaning a person's race and other attributes, did not require that the words incite an immediate breach of the peace (*UWM*, p. 1172). The fourth factor, creating an intimidating and hostile environment, failed to meet the *Chaplinsky* (1942) standards because the provisions covered violent and non-violent situations and were therefore overbroad (*UWM*, p. 1172).

Warren therefore ruled that the University of Wisconsin had failed to meet the standards spelled out in *Chaplinsky* (1942). He granted summary judgment to the plaintiff on the basis that the Wisconsin code was vague



and overbroad, including protected and unprotected speech (*UWM*, pp. 1173-1177).

The current status of the "fighting words exception" for hate speech is even more confused. In 1992, the Supreme Court seemed to eliminate fighting words as well as hate codes from special consideration in *R.A.V. v. St. Paul* (1992). But effect of the *R.A.V. v. St. Paul* decision on hate speech codes is not altogether clear. In a book written immediately prior to the *R.A.V.* decision, Smolla (1992) concludes that "the 'fighting words' doctrine remains alive" (p. 161). He identifies a situation where a verbal attack that presents imminent physical danger is directed at an individual. Smolla argues that "[a] statute aimed at hate speech that only penalizes these 'fighting words' confrontations and that is applied to require a governmental showing of imminent danger in every individual case, would be constitutional" (p. 162). Smolla added that "such a statute or regulation might be symbolically valuable, for it at least makes some statement concerning human dignity and the repugnance of hate speech" (pp. 161-162).

Calvin Massey (1992) views the implications of *R.A.V.* (1992) as two-fold. On the one hand, the *R.A.V.* (1992) decision continues the "Court's hostility to governmental censorship of ideas, no matter how odious." On the other hand, *R.A.V.* (1992) increases the government's burden when applying the "fighting words" doctrine. Massey states that "if government seeks to forbid only some fighting words, they must sustain the burden of proving that their selection of a category is not motivated by the desire to suppress the expression of particular ideas (p. 179).

Massey provides an example to illustrate his argument. He claims that the "banning of fighting words only at high school football games is probably permissible in the wake of *R.A.V.*" The ban would be justified "either because it seeks to control the secondary effect of such speech (violence resulting from immature, passionate rivalry), or lacks an evident government motivation to suppress the expression of an idea unrelated to the violent reaction invited by the banned speech, or selects one venue for prohibition of the heightened prospect for violence" (p. 179).

It is reasonable to conclude that the *R.A.V.* (1992) decision has not eliminated the "fighting words" doctrine as a viable approach to regulate undesirable speech. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court failed to determine the boundaries of prohibited speech under that doctrine. The case instead conveyed a strong warning about content-based restrictions, but the Court avoided any discussion germane to creating useful guidelines for a hate speech ordinance or code. Furthermore, one still must infer the outer and inner boundaries of speech that can be penalized. Massey suggested one interpretation: "When hate speech degenerates into a personalized,

focused attack on another person, under circumstances where the auditor is reasonably likely to retaliate with violence or where the abuse is so invasive of recognized personal privacy that it can not be avoided, it can be restricted" (1992, p. 186). But the Court has not directly affirmed or rejected the "fighting words" doctrine in the context of a campus hate speech code.

### *Administrative Responses to Hate Speech*

The decisions in the Michigan and Wisconsin cases struck down specific hate speech codes, but the persistence of speech codes at other universities indicates that administrators still will have to confront the underlying issues surrounding hate speech on campus. There are *three main principles* that should inform careful decision-making:

1) A university that is considering an anti-harassment code should reflect on the experiences of institutions that have adopted one.<sup>5</sup> Although there is no single, recognized figure, as of March, 1991, restrictions on speech had been adopted at approximately 200 colleges and universities across the country (Flint, 1991, p. A3). It is unclear how many of these institutions still maintain their policies and how many have abandoned or modified them in the light of recent federal court decisions.

The most well-known hate speech code controversies have arisen at Research I universities and colleges, whether public or private. The common denominator seems to be the degree of diversity of the student population. Thus, Brown University has a policy (albeit directed at "harassment" without mention of the word "speech") which is similar to the policy formerly in place at the University of Wisconsin. The status of codes at three schools--Stanford University, George Mason University, and SUNY-Brockport--illustrate situations in which institutions have implemented or attempted to implement their own version of a hate speech code based upon their understanding of the boundaries set forth by the courts.

Stanford University adopted its "Free Expression and Discriminatory Harassment Policy" in June of 1990. It is instructive to note that as of 1993, forty-five percent of the entering freshman class were minority group members (Bernstein, 1994, p. 147). As did other campuses, Stanford had encountered racist incidents and developed its policy in response to them. The core of the Stanford policy is as follows:

Speech or other expression constitutes harassment by personal vilification if it:

- a) is intended to insult or stigmatize an individual or a small number of individuals on the basis of their sex, race, color, handicap, religion, sexual orientation, or national and ethnic origin; and
- b) is addressed directly to the individual or individuals whom it insults or stigmatizes; and
- c) makes use of insulting or "fighting" words or non-verbal symbols.

From its inception, the Stanford policy was controversial (Hentoff, 1992). Students and faculty disputed its value in the *Stanford Daily* and in other public forums. Initially, the policy withstood attack because of the widespread belief that a private university had more discretion than a public university in establishing rules governing student behavior. A second reason for its persistence was the accompanying detailed *Comments* which explained the legal basis of the policy, as well as answering questions about ambiguous phrases such as "discriminatory harassment" and "intent" to insult. The Stanford code made a serious attempt to anticipate major criticisms of codes in general and to alert members of the Stanford community about what is actually prohibited under their speech policy. A third reason for its persistence was that Stanford University launched an aggressive counter-attack, arguing that the State of California was attempting to violate Stanford's own right of freedom of speech by restricting its ability as a private institution to voice its own opinions and to establish regulations against what it perceived to be "discriminatory harassment." In particular, Stanford believed that it had the freedom to proscribe "fighting words" and "gutter epithets" on campus (Calvert, 1995, pp. 2, 6).

In *Corry et. al. v. The Leland Stanford Junior College* (1995), a group of current and former students led by Robert J. Corry launched an attack against Stanford's hate speech code, alleging violations of their freedom of speech. A large part of the 1995 decision hinged upon whether a private university could impose restrictions upon its students that violated a California statute designed to provide private post secondary students the same safeguards available to all students under the California State Constitution. Calvert claims that the statute itself was enacted in 1992 with the specific intention to protect students from "political correctness," "hate speech codes," and that it deliberately "foists upon private post secondary institutions in California such as Stanford and the University of Southern California, the trappings of a public university for purposes of students speech rights" (p. 6). This controversial California statute is unique, but other states may consider enacting an analogous provision that impose restrictions upon the free speech rights of private university. While

such a move may ultimately scare campus administrators away from adopting hate speech codes, it also raises the troubling issue of the scope of state control of private institutions ("Stanford Gives Up Legal Battle," 1995, A40).

The George Mason University (GMU) case is a prominent example of a state institution that developed a hate speech code around the principle of "offensiveness." GMU holds a week-long social event called "Derby Days" to raise money for charity. One of the activities held in the cafeteria of the student union included members of Sigma Chi Fraternity dressing as caricatures of "ugly women." At the fall 1991 program, one student put on black face, used pillows to represent breasts and buttocks, and wore a black wig with curlers. Several students complained, and the dean of student services penalized the fraternity by barring it from holding social or sporting events for a two-year period. Sigma Chi sued the university, claiming violations of its freedom of expression. The federal district court agreed with the fraternity and prevented the university from imposing any discipline upon the members of the fraternity on the grounds "that a state university may not suppress expression because it finds that expression offensive" (*Iota Xi Chapter of Sigma Chi v. George Mason University*, 1991, p. 795). Moreover, the court insisted that "a state university may not hinder the exercise of First Amendment rights simply because it feels that exposure to a given group's ideas may be somehow harmful to certain students" (*Iota Xi Chapter of Sigma Chi v. George Mason University*, p. 793).

A third example comes from SUNY-Brockport.<sup>6</sup> In October of 1990, SUNY-Brockport enacted a "Code of Student Social Conduct." Included within the list of *Major Violations of the Code* was the item:

"Racial, religious, ethnic, physical disability, and sexual orientation harassment. (This includes statements or actions which are intended to denigrate or humiliate a person or group of persons because of their racial, religious, or ethnic backgrounds, physical disability, or sexual orientation. Examples may include such things as slurs, jokes, graffiti and physical assault.)"

Like the University of Michigan's Interim Policy, the SUNY-Brockport Code was vague and overbroad, although it did not rely on the language of the workplace. However, a small group of disenchanted faculty, meeting over the period of a year, persuaded their colleagues and the administration to excise the provision, thus saving it from almost sure defeat in a court challenge. The object lesson for any institution contemplating a new or revised code is to give serious consideration to the legal parameters that the courts have identified in the existing cases.

2) An administration should carefully review the educational benefits and harms of a campus code prior to enacting one. Colleges and universities have more than a legal obligation to their students to maintain an environment conducive to the pursuit of education. This obligation is not met if some students, based upon inherent characteristics, "are made to feel unwelcome and are thereby inhibited from fully participating in the life of the community for reasons unrelated to their capacity to benefit from or contribute to it" (Sandalow, 1991, p. 23). It is possible that controls are needed to foster this environment.

However, this obligation must be balanced against the search for truth that is the paramount end of a university. Moreover, "[U]niversities, because of their communal character, have a special capacity to answer obnoxious speech . . . forcefully and promptly." Therefore, a university [should be] "the last place where people are inhibited by fear of punishment from expressing ignorance or even hate, so long as others are left free to answer" (Schmidt, 1991, p. A4).

In addition, one of the still unresolved issues is whether codes help or hinder diverse populations to live together in a campus community. In columnist Ellen Goodman's (1993) view, colleges today "are proving grounds for all the issues of diversity and shifting power relationships in the wider society." They are "struggling to hold together communities while supporting individual rights" (p. A1). Goodman (1993) suggests that the codes may inhibit the cooperative behaviors that they hope to foster. That result inheres within the legalistic framework of the codes which encourage hyper-sensitivity to slights, filing grievances, and assessing blame. Instead, non-regulatory initiatives such as campus town-halls meetings and sensitivity sessions during student orientations may engage a wider range of students and have a more lasting impact on campus life than a hate speech code.

Another unresolved issue is whether a code will increase communication or inhibit it. It is possible that the code will have a chilling effect on the communication of both the victim and the victimizer. The victim, wishing to be free of further vilification, may be silenced or may treat even an unintended slight as "fighting words." And even one who is not an active victimizer may "feel uncertain of how [his or her] casual utterances may be heard, felt, and construed by others" (Michelman, 1992, p. 343). The likely effect of this self-censorship is that insults will be driven underground and left unresolved.

3) A code, if adopted, should be carefully crafted and applied within appropriate contexts. If a university adopts an anti-harassment code, it presumably makes two assumptions. One is that there is an important educational purpose in communicating a message of support to

the victims of hate speech (White, 1994, p. A48). At the same time, the institution assumes that adopting a code will improve the condition of "disparaged" groups. This conclusion has yet to be demonstrated by comparing *similar* campuses *with* codes to those *without*, in terms of the *climate* and *experiences* of their students (*emphasis added*) (O'Neil, 1992, p. A10).

Several administrative options would appear to "pass constitutional muster." First, wherever possible, the institution should walk the path of least resistance and punish conduct without reference to the words which may accompany it. Examples would include defacing property, disrupting scheduled university events, and the physical intimidation or harassment of a student, without reference to the "disrupter's" motive.

Second, it is likely that a university can base an harassment policy on the narrow "fighting words" exception to the First Amendment. This would allow the university to prohibit *offensive or demeaning speech* that is *directed towards an individual* and *intended* to cause a *direct, immediate, and serious injury*, such as a face-to-face racial epithet. However, the policy should avoid specifying categories of hateful speech, which would create the content-based restrictions prohibited by the *R.A.V.* (1992) decision.

Third, any code should be written clearly and applied consistently. For example, a code's prohibitions are more likely to succeed if the code differentiates campus spaces and reserves the greatest protection for dormitories or other places where students live. In that setting, students cannot turn and walk away from abusive language or action and thus any harmful effects are greatly magnified.

Fourth, a group of representative stakeholders should make policy recommendations after conducting hearings on the extent of harassment problems within the university. Members of the university community should have an opportunity to respond to the recommendations prior to the issuance of a report to the President and Board of Trustees/Regents.

Finally, a code should be only one component of a comprehensive program to prevent harassment and to deal with it if it occurs. The program also could include counseling, mediation, educational programs and, where necessary, the addition of minority faculty members and administrators if they are not represented on campus (Tatel, 1990, p. B3).

## Conclusion

Colleges and universities will confront the tensions posed by cultural diversity well into the twenty-first century. It is within this context that

they must fulfill their mission of maintaining an environment in which free inquiry and expression can flourish. In an academic setting, there is little room for restrictions upon speech. Institutions may prohibit threats and verbal assaults, but more importantly, members of the academic community should respond to even the most offensive speakers and their ideas with more speech. To the extent that offensive speech outrages the academic community, it also will energize that community to speak against the very sentiments being expressed.

The hate codes that have been adopted during the past decade have been stop-gap measures. Many have been successfully challenged in the courts, and still other institutions have abandoned enforcement of their existing codes. The best long-term solutions for dealing with the problems of bigotry and hatred are a commitment to civil discourse; an on-going series of university or college programs on multi-culturalism, diversity, and tolerance; student publications that deal openly and fairly with racism, sexism, and discrimination; a formal process to report and address persistent pattern of abusive remarks and harassment; and a recognized forum to decry intolerance.

In his widely acclaimed book, *Freedom of Speech in an Open Society*, Rodney Smolla (1992) observes that one of the most vexing problems for a open society is whether it should "tolerate speech designed to spread intolerance" (p. 151). This is a difficult question to answer, but the response should not be to criminalize speech. The claims made by the critical race theorists indicate that bigotry and discrimination exist, and that the problems are widespread (Post, 1995, p. 291). In addition, no rhetorical sleight-of-hand can deny the good intentions of a multitude of college administrators who have embraced legal remedies in the form of codes designed to stop the spread of hatred. But, in the long run, the values of tolerance, civility, and respect for human dignity can only be achieved by persuasion and openly airing disagreements, not by adopting punitive and coercive measures. As Haiman (1993) notes "[l]egal limitations on hate speech are not only likely to be counterproductive, they are simply not the most effective way to deal with the problem" (p. 34).

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>It is difficult to classify these codes. For example, the terms "hate speech" and "harassment" codes are used interchangeably on many campuses. In fact, some of the hate speech codes were modeled on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's guidelines on sexual



harassment. As a result, some codes use language and concepts borrowed from employment law, such as "intimidating environment," "hostile workplace," or "implied threat." Greenwalt provides a provocative discussion that views a "college campus as a kind of workplace" and he discusses analogies between the college campus and a "workplace." See Greenwalt, 96-98. See also Lawrence White, "Hate Speech Codes that Will Pass Constitutional Muster," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 25, 1994, A48.

<sup>2</sup>See *Keyishian v. Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York*, 385 U.S. 603 (1966). Writing for the majority, Justice Brennan declared, "Our nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom, which is of transcendent value to all of us and not merely to the teachers concerned. That freedom is therefore a special concern of the First Amendment, which does not tolerate laws that cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classroom."

<sup>3</sup>For an insightful criticism of this position, see Franklyn S. Haiman, *Speech Acts and the First Amendment* (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1993), 26-48.

<sup>4</sup>Telephone conversation with Betty Brenay, Administrative Secretary, Office of the Provost, University of Michigan, October 21, 1994, and a presentation to the Senate Assembly by Gilbert R. Whitaker, Jr. on September 20, 1993.

<sup>5</sup>The authors have on file copies of codes or policies from Brown University, the University of Michigan, Stanford University, SUNY-Brockport, and the University of Virginia. They have undocumented knowledge through telephone calls and newspaper accounts of several additional policies.

<sup>6</sup>With special thanks to Professor Peter Kane, SUNY-Brockport, for providing a copy of the "Codes of Student Social Conduct" as well as a fascinating account of the work of the committee which succeeded in getting the speech/harassment provision deleted from the Codes.

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## Viewers Evaluate the Usefulness of Advisory Warnings about Violent Television Content

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### *Introduction*

One means by which the U.S. media industry has attempted to regulate itself is by the use of warning or rating systems. The motion picture industry has utilized a system of rating films for many years, and the television industry has just introduced a similar system of its own. However, even before the TV rating system, broadcasters have long taken it upon themselves to air periodic warnings about potentially problematic nature of graphic, explicit, or adult program content. According to Slater & Thompson (1984, p. 858), "it is clear that, with the trend toward deregulation of broadcasting and the demise of the Television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters, the warning statement may function for television in a manner similar to the function of the movie code, both to warn parents about content but also to, in some measure, provide a kind of liability insurance for the message distributor." Such a warning or rating system may provide either generalized or specific warnings about the nature of the potentially objectionable content.

Warning and rating systems seem a useful tool for broadcasters, since they afford broadcasters the opportunity to air potentially objectional content yet still protect viewers who don't wish to see such content. Yet Wurtzel & Surlin (1978) point out that the choice between airing problematic content preceded by a warning and deleting potentially objectionable material is a difficult one. Further, ratings and warnings are not necessarily the definitive answer to the problem of objectionable content. Wurtzel & Surlin mention the two main opposing arguments that appear in discussions of rating systems, which can be applied to advisory warnings as well: ratings can be seen as a prior restraint on a creative process, or as allowing greater freedom to address controversial issues in a sophisticated manner. Regardless of the ultimate resolution of that argument, however, some say that such systems are not specific enough. Excessively broad warnings (or ratings), Wurtzel & Surlin write, may be "almost as worthless to many viewers as no advance warning at all" (1978, p. 19). A further potential problem is that, as some critics have charged, "the warnings may produce a boomerang effect, drawing people to watch certain programming in much the same way pornographic movie producers lure their audiences with prominent references to their 'X' ratings" (Wurtzel & Surlin, 1978, p. 19).

Wurtzel & Surlin conducted the first of a very small number of audience surveys intended to measure the effectiveness and usefulness of advisory warnings. They found that the contemporary system of warnings influenced viewing decisions of only 24% of respondents, even though 96% of respondents were aware of the warnings. Interestingly, additional analysis of those 24% who indicated that the warnings influenced their viewing behavior showed that of those individuals, 39% did not watch the program, 37% watched but with increased caution, and 24% watched with increased interest.

When asked what type of warning/rating system would be most useful, 57% of respondents preferred specific warnings, 21% preferred a number or letter rating system (such as the TV industry has just created), and only 16% favored retaining the system of general warnings then in use.

Herman & Leyens (1977) conducted a similar study in Belgium. Belgian television uses three different types of viewer advisories (violence, sex, and other) as well as three different levels of advisories. One level is a relatively benign "implicit" advisory, by which the audience hears an audio message warning of the type of potentially objectionable scenes. The second level is an "explicit" warning in which the broadcaster makes some "qualification" about the content. The third level is a "white square" warning, in which the same "explicit" warning is aired, but a small white square is seen in the lower right corner of the screen throughout the program.

Herman & Leyens studied all the films aired in a certain time slot on Belgian television from 1972 through 1975, and found that "movies with advisories have a larger audience than movies without them" (1977, p. 50), and that "the warning about the content has a greater impact upon the audience than the levels of seriousness" (1977, p. 51). Their conclusion was that "qualifications make the movies more desirable for the television viewers" (1977, p. 53).

In their 1984 study, Slater & Thompson asked viewers whether there should be televised warnings, if parents frequently see warnings, if warnings influence decisions regarding children's viewing, and if parents favor a rating system for programs. They found that 90% of respondents favored warnings, 70% see warnings, 75% use the warnings to make decisions about children's viewing, and 60% agree with a rating system.

More recently, continued viewer support for warnings and/or ratings was found by Lind & Rarick (1992). Their survey found that 85.3% of respondents favored rating programs or placing warnings before a potentially problematic program is broadcast. In fact, a system of warnings and/or ratings was the most highly endorsed of six different methods of controlling broadcast content (besides ratings/warnings, these included, in order of viewer preference: Limiting objectionable content to certain times or channels; individual viewer

complaints; industry self-regulation; citizens groups; and government regulation).

However, there is no recent research on the extent to which viewers consider advisory warnings useful, nor the extent to which actual viewing behavior (of both adults and children) is affected by such advisories. Therefore, this research is a continuation and update of previous studies investigating such matters. Furthermore, this research focuses specifically on advisory warnings preceding violent content. Even though the informal "system" of providing warnings or advisories investigated here has been supplemented by the new TV ratings system, it is important to understand how useful any such system is to viewers faced with violent content. The new ratings system has not been in place long enough for it to become fully incorporated into the television landscape, and therefore cannot yet be evaluated by viewers on the same level or from the same perspective as can the advisory warnings. Furthermore, the new system may yet be revised; thus it is important to understand the usefulness of the advisory warning system.

This research addresses not only the impact of the advisory warnings themselves but also makes comparisons across four program genres (newscasts, newsmagazines, reality shows such as *Cops* and *Rescue 911*, and fictional entertainment), and explores the extent to which viewers find violent content objectionable or at least bothersome or disturbing. This research was guided by the following four research questions:

- RQ 1: To what extent do viewers report being bothered or disturbed by violent content?*
- RQ 2: How familiar are viewers with advisory warnings preceding violent content?*
- RQ 3: How useful do viewers consider advisory warnings preceding violent content, and where do viewers think such warnings should be placed?*
- RQ 4: How do advisory warnings preceding violent content affect viewing behavior?*

In order to address these questions, a telephone survey was conducted in the Chicago Metropolitan area in the Spring of 1994. Using systematic random sampling of city and suburban phone books, 535 interviews were completed by a team of trained interviewers. Interviews lasted an average of 15 minutes. For confirmation, call-backs were made to five percent of the interviewees. The response rate of 40% (1340 eligibles were contacted to conduct the 535 interviews) is less than ideal, and must be acknowledged. (In our contemporary telephone environment, telemarketers seem to have affected people's willingness to participate in phone surveys.)

A structured, closed-ended questionnaire which was pretested extensively

contained seven main sections. Respondents were first asked about their opinions about violence on television in general and about the extent to which they viewed various program genres (newscasts, newsmagazines, reality shows, fictional entertainment). The next four sections of the interview each focused on one of these four genres, and presented respondents with the same questions for each genre. Respondents were asked their perceptions of and reactions to the amount of violence in each genre, and their awareness of and reaction to violence advisories in each genre. After each of the four genres was discussed individually, viewers were asked additional questions regarding their perceptions of violent content in general, and the usefulness of advisory warnings in general. The interview concluded with a short set of demographic questions.

The achieved sample was 36.6% male, 63.4% female, and 77.6% white, 22.4% non-white. 35.0% of respondents were aged 18-34, 27.3% were aged 35-49, and 37.8% were aged 50 and up. Most (45.7%) were college graduates, but 29.5% had a high school education or less, while 24.8% had attended business school or college, but did not have a college degree. The sample contained 26.75% political conservatives, 19.6% liberals, and 37.8% "middle of the road;" 15.9% described themselves as "none of the above." The average amount of television viewing was 3.46 hours per day, with a standard deviation of 2.61 hours.

## *Results*

*RQ 1: To what extent do viewers report being bothered or disturbed by violent content?*

Research Question 1 allows an investigation of whether viewers find violent programming objectionable, or at least problematic. It is important to consider this in a study evaluating the usefulness of advisory warnings--if the content is not seen as presenting any problems, why should there be any warnings before it is broadcast? Survey questions which addressed this issue asked respondents how much violence they feel is portrayed on television in general, and how bothered they are by violence on television in general. Individuals responsible for children under the age of thirteen were asked additional questions about the perceived impact of violent content. Respondents were further asked whether they think each of the four genres (newscasts, newsmagazines, reality shows, and fictional entertainment) contain a reasonable amount of, too much, or very little violence.

Respondents clearly indicated they think there is too much violence on television. Fully 78.8% said that TV in general portrays "too much" violence,



while only 18.5% said there was a "reasonable amount" of violence on TV. A mere 2.7% said television in general has "very little" violence.

Table 1 shows that a large proportion of the population believes there is "too much" violence in three of the four genres investigated. Newscasts are perceived as the most violent, followed closely by fictional entertainment. Newsmagazines are clearly seen as the least violent of the genres. Note that in all cases, the tables provide the percentage of respondents who chose a particular answer. In all cases, that figure represents the percentage of those who provided a response for the given question. For example, some individuals said they never saw reality shows, and couldn't answer questions about them; those individuals are not included in the tables. Similarly, not all individuals surveyed were responsible for children under the age of 13; those individuals are not included in tables reflecting attitudes or behaviors regarding children, violent content, and advisories.

*Table 1*

Amount of violence perceived in each of four genres. (In Percent)

	Newscasts	Newsmagazines	Reality Shows	Fiction
Too Much	50.0	17.2	41.2	47.5
Reasonable Amount	42.6	55.8	48.9	36.2
Very Little	7.4	27.1	9.9	16.4

When faced with violent content they find unpleasant, most viewers (about half in all genres) change the channel. Table 2 shows what viewers report doing when faced with disturbing violent content. However, even though changing the channel is the most prevalent response to violent content in all genres, viewers are less likely to change the channel when unpleasant violent content appears during the news than when it appears in another genre--more viewers will just look away momentarily from news than from any other genre. Furthermore, approximately one-quarter of all respondents who report being disturbed by violent content will keep watching the program, regardless of genre.

Table 2

Viewing behavior when violent content is perceived, in each of four genres. (In Percent)

	Newscasts	Newsmagazines	Reality Shows	Fiction
Change Channel	48.7	56.7	54.4	58.1
Keep Watching	25.5	22.2	25.8	20.9
Look Away	13.4	10.0	9.1	9.1
Turn Set Off	8.8	8.6	8.0	9.7
Turn Sound Down	3.6	2.5	2.7	2.2

Table 3 describes the percentage of viewers who have turned off the television or changed the channel in response to content they thought was too violent for them to watch. Compare Table 3 to Table 4, which describes the percentage of viewers who have turned off the TV or changed the channel in response to content they thought was too violent for children to see. Viewers seem much more protective of children than they are of themselves, since they are much more likely to abandon violent content in all four of the genres when children are present. Newscasts are abandoned more often than are most other genres, while newsmagazines are abandoned least often.

Table 3

Viewers who have turned off the TV or changed channels due to content that was "too violent" for themselves to see in each of four genres. (In Percent)

	Newscasts	Newsmagazines	Reality Shows	Fiction
Yes	49.7	29.9	46.9	54.5
No	50.4	70.1	53.1	45.5

Table 4

Viewers who have turned off the TV or changed channels due to content that was "too violent" for children to see in each of four genres. (In Percent)

	Newscasts	Newsmagazines	Reality Shows	Fiction
Yes	71.4	52.8	64.8	76.9
No	28.6	47.2	35.2	23.1

*RQ 2: How familiar are viewers with advisory warnings preceding violent content?*

Survey questions which address Research Question 2 include those asking whether respondents have seen violence advisories in each of the different genres, and whether they have seen warnings other than those specifically advising about upcoming violent content.

As Table 5 shows, there is an obvious difference in the numbers of viewers who have seen violence advisories in newscasts and newsmagazines, and those who have seen violence advisories in reality shows and in fictional entertainment. Nearly two-thirds of the sample has seen violence advisories in the latter group of programs.

*Table 5*

Viewers who have seen violence advisories in each of four genres. (In Percent)

	Newscasts	Newsmagazines	Reality Shows	Fiction
Yes	49.9	44.1	64.8	69.6
No	50.1	55.9	35.2	30.4

Respondents were also familiar with warnings for other types of problematic content (i.e, besides violence). A total of 88.2% had seen such warnings, and, as will be discussed below, more than half of those said the warnings helped them make viewing decisions.

*RQ 3: How useful do viewers consider advisory warnings preceding violent content, and where do viewers think such warnings should be placed?*

Research Question 3 is answered by asking respondents whether they think advisories should be aired prior to violent content in each of the four genres, the usefulness of warnings other than those specifically advising about upcoming violent content, and the usefulness of various placements of warnings (in program listings, before the program, during commercial breaks within the program, etc.).

As Table 6 shows, viewers are strongly in favor of airing advisory warnings prior to the broadcast of violent content. Between 80% and 90% of respondents said such warnings should be aired, depending on genre. News seems to receive a slightly different response than do the other genres, however; it is the only genre hovering around the 80% rating--all others are closer to 90%.

Table 6

Viewers who think violence advisories should be aired in each of four genres.  
(In Percent)

	Newscasts	Newsmagazines	Reality Shows	Fiction
Should	81.3	89.7	89.4	89.6
Should Not	18.8	10.3	10.6	10.4

As mentioned above, viewers are familiar with warnings regarding violence, as well as warnings about other types of potentially objectionable content. Individuals who indicated they had seen the warnings were asked two follow up questions. When asked how useful the warnings were, 35.3% said they were very useful, 39.5% said they were kind of useful, and 25.1% said they were not useful. A second follow-up question asked people who had seen warnings if the warnings had ever been helpful in deciding whether they wanted to view the program. 20.4% said the warnings were very helpful, 37.8% said they were sometimes helpful; others who had seen the warnings said the warnings were seldom (20.0%) or never (21.8%) helpful in making viewing decisions.

Individuals who, on the other hand, said they had never seen such warnings were asked a single follow up question. 24.6% of these individuals said that type of warning would be very useful to them, 36.1% said the warnings would be kind of useful, and 39.3% said the warnings would not be useful.

A description of the perceived usefulness of placing advisory warnings in different locations is contained in Table 7. The most useful location is seen as right before the program begins--three-quarters of respondents said that would be "very useful," while only 8% said it would not be useful. Advisory warnings in program listings and on-air advertisements were also judged useful, but not nearly as useful as warnings aired immediately prior to the broadcast. The least useful location for advisory warnings was judged to be a constant display (like that used in Belgium)--nearly 45% of respondents said that would not be useful.

Table 7

Viewer evaluations of the usefulness of various placements of advisory warnings. (In Percent)

	Program Listings	Ads on TV	Print Ads	Before the Program	Commercial Breaks	Constant Display
Very Useful	52.4	50.1	39.5	76.0	41.1	35.9
Kind of	27.8	32.2	34.2	16.0	28.7	19.7
Not Useful	19.8	17.7	26.3	8.0	30.2	44.3

*RQ 4: How do advisory warnings preceding violent content affect viewing behavior?*

The questionnaire used in this research focused on Research Question 4 by asking respondents whether the warnings make them more likely to pay more or less attention to the upcoming violent content in each of the four genres, and whether individuals have prevented children from watching content preceded by a violence advisory. The questions asked depended on whether the individual had in fact seen violence advisories in the program genre in question. Those who said they had seen violence advisories were asked how it affected the amount of attention they paid to the show (Table 8). Further, those who said they had seen violence advisories who also were responsible for children were asked whether they had prevented a child from watching that content because of the advisories (Table 10). On the other hand, respondents who said they had not seen violence advisories in the genre were asked how they thought such an advisory might affect the amount of attention they paid to the show (Table 9).

Table 8 shows that for many respondents, violence advisories make no difference in the amount of attention paid to the show. However, in the case of newscasts, newsmagazines, and reality shows, many more viewers pay more attention to the show than avoid the show, after seeing advisories. Only in fictional entertainment was this pattern reversed. Comparing Table 8 (those who had seen violence advisories) and Table 9 (those who had not) reveals some interesting findings. Generally, but particularly regarding newsmagazines, individuals who have not seen violence advisories are less likely than those who have seen them to believe they would make a difference in viewing behavior. These individuals also perceive they would be less likely to pay increased attention to the program, compared with the responses of those who have actually seen the advisories.

Table 8

Effect of warnings on level of attention paid to the program following a violence advisory, in each of four genres: Respondents who have seen violence advisories. (In Percent)

	Newscasts	Newsmagazines	Reality Shows	Fiction
Pay More Attention	32.9	35.2	30.2	19.2
Avoid the Show	21.7	19.0	21.0	30.4
No Difference	36.7	37.4	41.0	42.6
It Depends	8.8	8.4	7.8	7.7

Table 9

Potential effect of warnings on level of attention paid to the program following a violence advisory, in each of four genres: Respondents who have not seen violence advisories. (In Percent)

	Newscasts	Newsmagazines	Reality Shows	Fiction
Pay More Attention	26.1	25.8	29.5	22.7
Avoid the Show	28.4	20.6	21.7	34.0
No Difference	38.3	44.6	44.2	38.0
It Depends	7.3	9.0	4.7	5.3

Table 10

Viewers who have prevented children from watching a program due to violence advisories, in each of four genres. (In Percent)

	Newscasts	Newsmagazines	Reality Shows	Fiction
Yes	57.3	71.2	66.7	86.1
No	42.7	28.8	33.3	13.9

### Discussion and Conclusions

This phone survey of 535 adults in the Chicago Metropolitan area indicates that television viewers are indeed bothered by violent content, both in

general and in terms of the specific program genres of newscasts, newsmagazines, reality shows, and fictional entertainment. Respondents are bothered by violence to the extent that they often turn off the television or change the channel--both to protect themselves and their children from exposure to disturbing violent content.

Many respondents were aware of viewer advisories in general and as regards violent content. However, the extent to which viewers are aware of advisory warnings seems to have declined from the level of awareness Wurtzel & Surlin found in 1978. Eighteen years ago, the television audience was more aware of viewer advisories than at the present time.

Advisory warnings are fairly useful to respondents, as evidenced by the strong pattern of support for airing warnings in the different genres, but the warnings seem not to have lived up to their promise as a means of fostering informed decisions on the part of the television viewer. Across all four genres studied for this paper, approximately 40% of respondents said the violence advisories made no difference in the level of attention they paid the show.

However, even though many viewers said the warnings made no difference, the results of this study seem to lend support to the work of Herman & Leyens (1997), who found that advisory warnings can make a program more desirable to the viewers. This "boomerang" effect is evident to a certain extent in the present research. In many cases, violence advisories led viewers to pay increased attention to the violent content than would have otherwise been the case.

Another finding of this research is that individuals respond to advisories in newscasts differently than they do to advisories in other genres. More people said advisories "should not" be aired before violent content in newscasts than in any other genre. Fewer people who had seen violence advisories said advisories made "no difference" in the level of attention paid to newscasts, compared to the other genres. Fewer viewers have prevented children from watching a newscast containing a violence advisory than is the case in any other genre. This pattern supports the previous research of Lind & Rarick (1992) who found viewers more willing to accept ethical breaches in news than in entertainment programming, and Lind (1995), who concluded that viewers do not like their access to news limited. Although advisory warnings are not inherently "limitations," perhaps they are perceived as such by some viewers.

Future research is necessary to understand the relationship between advisory warnings and news, and compare that relationship to the relationship between advisories and other genres. Additionally, this cross-genre research has proven useful; much more is needed in order to uncover, describe, and explain the differences and similarities that have begun to be uncovered here.

Finally, future research is needed (once the new TV ratings system has

become better established) to investigate the usefulness of that new system, and to evaluate whether (and how) it might be altered to provide the additional information critics feel is necessary for the audience to make critical, informed viewing choices. Several previous studies discussed above found that viewers preferred advisory warnings over a system similar to the one used to rate motion pictures--yet the television industry has chosen the latter as its model. How will the TV audience respond to the new system? To what extent will the ratings be recognized and understood? How valuable will the information provided by the ratings be? To what extent will the ratings influence viewing decisions? To what extent will the system prove useful in protecting vulnerable populations, such as children? Clearly, questions such as these are important and should be addressed. Such information would be valuable not only to viewers, including parents and children, but also to broadcasters and policy makers.

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## Rhetorical Transformation in Kerouac's *On the Road*

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Jack Kerouac is often misunderstood by his critics and idolized by his followers. In ancient Greece, Kerouac would have been honored as a rhapsode, a wandering poet who embodied the wisdom of his era (Enos 1978), and yet such honor has constantly eluded him. In holding up a mirror to the culture of his time, Kerouac caused some to grow excited by what they saw (for example, Ken Kesey), and others to be agitated at what he implied (Podhoretz 1958, and Will 1988, for instance). In a culture that often kills its messiahs (Menken 1994), Kerouac lived and died by evoking his supporters--who subsequently caged him and turned him into an icon--and by provoking oppositional pressures. Ultimately, Kerouac died a martyr's death. Willingly or unwillingly, he became a cultural "hero" who gave a spirit to an age and an identity to those resisters who struggled against the forces of conformity.

Kerouac spent his adult life chronicling his existence in thinly-veiled autobiographical novels, through which he shared with his audience the trials and exultations of his experience. Such behavior was hardly unusual for a young author growing up in twentieth-century America. J.D. Salinger, Norman Mailer, Kurt Vonnegut and scores of other writers were all similarly engaged in chronicling their lives. Yet Kerouac is somehow *different* from his literary contemporaries; his writing does more than merely contribute to the bulk of American letters. This "more" needs to be contextualized. For instance, many writers wrote "better" and are more celebrated for their art; they can be found canonized in our University's English departments. Yet Kerouac is both an icon and iconoclastic. Until recently, he was not appreciated by University literature professors (and now is only tentatively so). Kerouac and his fellow "Beat" writers have existed for decades on the fringes of academic scholarship and institutional respectability.

In spite of his institutional neglect, and in spite of the fact that most of his novels have never sold well, Kerouac accomplished something to which most writers aspire, but few achieve. Through the careful documentation of his existence and thought, and with his careful eye toward tensions and potentialities in U.S. culture, Kerouac was able to make a significant mark on American society and to help modify in fundamental ways important aspects of our psyche. Kerouac redrew many of the cultural maps upon which American intellectual and social terrain is situated, and he instigated a revolution in consciousness. This consciousness, understood broadly as a

humanizing and rebellious attitude, peaked in the turbulent 1960s but remains today an important, though lesser force, in American society.

The impetus for an examination into the implications of Kerouac's role in influencing American society comes from the following sentiment. John Clellon Holmes, Beat novelist and friend of Kerouac, reflecting on the excitement of the 1960s, writes, "[A] new vision is abroad in the land, a vision that was fathered by my generation's attitudes and antics, a vision that perhaps can be best understood by understanding us" (1967, 12). Holmes argues that in order to understand the changes that were taking place in the 1960s, scholars must first understand the people of his generation, specifically the core group of artists and bohemians known as the "Beats." The Beats, as John Tytell writes, "[W]ere the creative souls of the fifties" (1976, 30). Kerouac was the central visionary and spokesperson of this group that included cultural luminaries such as William Burroughs, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Allen Ginsberg, Michel McClure, Amiri Baraka/Leroi Jones, and Gary Snyder. Kerouac's vision was instrumental in articulating the group's consciousness and in giving it thematic unity. Extending beyond this group, Kerouac's *On The Road* projects the primary vision for what in the late 1950s and early 1960s promised to be a "new" age. As Ann Charters explains:

In the intensity of the vision he had of his confused life [Kerouac] caught the dreams of a generation: the feeling that at some point some thing had been together, a romantic ideal that called on the road just ahead. To this generation Jack Kerouac became a romantic hero, an archetypal rebel, the symbol of their own vanities, the symbol of their own romantic legend. (1973, 22)

Reviewing Kerouac's book for the *New York Times*, Gilbert Millstein called *On The Road* "[t]he most beautifully executed, the clearest and the most important utterance yet made by the generation Kerouac himself named years ago as 'beat,' and whose principal avatar he is" (1957, 27).

From the vantage point of 1996, a discussion of Kerouac's influence may seem anachronistic. The promise and potential of the 1960s counter-culture have been shattered by reactionary forces, especially the "Reagan Era," and the rise in power of the G.O.P. Repression and authoritarianism are everywhere on the rise, both in this country and throughout the world, and the new Congress, with its "Contract," continues to calcify a stultifying systemic social order. Whatever gains the Left has made since its strength in the late 1960s have steadily eroded. Accentuating the problem, as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe explain, is the fact that the social analysis of Left politics is less sure of itself and its monumental task:

Left-wing thought today stands at a crossroads. The "evident truths" of the past--the classical forms of analysis and political calculation, the nature of the forces in conflict, the very meaning of the Left's struggles and objectives--have been seriously challenged by an avalanche of historical mutations which have riven the ground on which those truths were constituted. (1985, 1)

Why, then, study Kerouac and his vision, a vision antithetical to the dominant values that currently control our nation? Why struggle for plurality, change, and multivocality in a political climate that increasingly champions a monolithic silence?

Kerouac *deserves* further study. The social movements that Kerouac has been identified with, calling for reform, freedom, sexual liberation, and a new and less material cultural outlook, were powerful enough to make a permanent mark on American culture and to usher in a range of resistance narratives and alternative lifestyles that were simply unthinkable in the drab grayness of 1950s America. As anthropologist Pierre Anctil explains, "Kerouac's experience . . . brutally highlights the post-war spectacle of a triumphant, arrogant and self-satisfied America comfortably installed in the contemplation of its material wealth" (1990, xviii). In contrast to this brutality and base arrogance, Kerouac served as a vocal point of resistance emphasizing compassion and diversity.

In exhorting America to actualize a new purity of heart and cultural expression, Kerouac engaged in a symbolic restructuring of American values. Specifically, the significance of *On The Road* demands elaboration for what it can suggest about the future, our future, one that can benefit from an increased moral imagination. As American leadership and culture play an instrumental part in promoting what has been called a "fascist" social, cultural, and political consciousness (Gross 1980), individual acts of resistance, particularly those that attempt to revive alternative spaces upon which to construct identity, are necessary. Within this context, Kerouac's writing exemplifies the means of envisioning that empowers people to take control of their lives and to reject the dominant forces that constrain their thoughts and their actions. Thus, this study of Kerouac is a study of rhetorical transformation.

### *Naming as Rhetorical Action*

Writers, speakers, and poets have always been persuaders; they use language to articulate visions and to reinforce social realities. From the ancient rhapsodes onward, the mythic-poetic episteme has played a

dialectical role with logos in the functioning of Western culture. While the norms of myths and poetry change over the years, and while new epistemologies may rise in time to challenge the supremacy of old poetic norms, the fact remains that human knowledge is largely based in language, metaphor, and narrative (see Burke 1969; Foucault 1970; White 1987; and Whorf 1956). On a less philosophical level, the relationship between a writer and his or her rhetorical intent is often overt and explicit. As William Burroughs explains, novelists attempt to change the world with their work:

[Writers] are trying to create a universe in which they have lived or would like to live . . . . Sometimes, as in the case of Fitzgerald and Kerouac, the effect produced by a writer is immediate, as if a generation were waiting to be written. (qtd. in Clark 1984, "Epigraph")

Do writers write generations? In a sense, they do. "Generations" are rhetorical constructs, identifications that people make with symbols. To name a generation involves localizing reality and limiting its experience to a particular politics for a particular group of people. In other words, people join generations, they are not born into them, and these affiliations are based partly upon experience, but mostly on the internalization of a collection of symbols, fantasies, biases, and ideologies (McGee 1975). As Michael McGee explains, these collectivities "are not objectively real in the sense that they exist as a collective entity in nature; rather, they are a fiction dreamed by an advocate and infused with an artificial, rhetorical reality by the agreement of an audience to participate in a collective fantasy" (1975, 240). Within any single generation, there has to be some unifying theme, and this has to be supplied by a cultural/rhetorical agent (although it seldom derives from a single personality alone). Because generations are rhetorically constructed, we can speak of generation "gaps" or of people belonging to generations to which their age does not chronologically correspond. Generations are thematic and have a resonant voice or vision that unifies the people who claim membership.

The intensity of Kerouac's influence in American culture is indicative of a vision with a high cultural resonance. The phrase "cultural resonance" is another way of saying that a vision has meaning within the context of a group of people who subscribe to similar beliefs, values, or judgements. Visions function as rhetorical phenomena because they speak *to*, as well as *from*, a certain audience. By "rhetorical," I suggest that Kerouac's vision is a strategic argument that negotiates between competing world views, and creates a third.

Rhetoric, as evoked in this essay, means a system or strategy of meanings and/or negotiations, embodied in argument or narrative, that

invite participation and expansion. Rhetoric is an invitation to *be* something, to change, to imagine the possible (Poulakos 1984). People are born onto the planet, but are placed into the world. This act of placement is a form of becoming: rhetoric is the opportunity to actualize this transformation. The condition of rhetoric, therefore, involves the ultimate democratic experience, for it offers a perspective, gives reasons for it, and encourages individual participation and change. Society is the expression of a collective rhetorical will; within society, a rhetorical vision is a specific instance of a communal construction of social reality. Rhetorical visions, such as Kerouac's, differ from other visions by building upon a prevalent shared network of group fantasies, projections of an ideal world, a world that can become; they project this image onto a popular front for stronger group identification. The stronger the group identification, the more "real" reality becomes for that group. Correspondingly, the stakes also rise. "Culture wars," which can be conceptualized as conflicts between competing rhetorical visions, are accentuated by higher spiritual and material antes.

Rhetorical visions, comprised of fantasy themes--codes for identification and persuasion--were originally discussed by Ernest G. Bormann (1972). In his essay, Bormann discusses how groups of people coalesce around in-group dramas that serve as repertoires for group identification and meaning. Within groups, people signify, and their significations establish the parameters in which understanding is created. Signification occurs as the result of dramas that compile to form extended narratives. To the extent that these dramas involve large groups of people, their "meanings" become "reality," a symbolic reality. The narrative that gives structure to this meaning is what Bormann calls a "rhetorical vision" (1972, 398). The rhetorical vision, in short, is constructed of fantasy themes that extend throughout the group, creating a group culture. As this group grows in size and significance, as it grows public and widespread, it becomes a vision that competes with the dominant vision of a society. The rhetorical nature of visions derives from its implied confrontation with the recalcitrance of the status quo. The greater this confrontation, the greater the dynamism of the vision.

It is not defensible to argue that a single dominant rhetorical vision existed to direct dissent among the various resistance and counter-cultural movements in the 1960s. However, it is feasible to argue that Kerouac's *On The Road* embodies the most mature expression of his personal vision that played a significant role in reweaving patches of the social fabric of this country's culture. With the 1957 publication of *On The Road*, a vision of social revolt was named and became identified as a national movement. The naming of a revolt is often more important in giving that revolt social

significance than the actual revolt itself (Derrida 1985). In American society, at least, revolt is often dialectical--few movements, if any, have overturned American society. What becomes important in any study of American social movements is not the fact that people revolted, but that they were able to publicly *name* their discontent and to focus their energies in a rhetorical/political manner (see Steward, Smith, and Denton, 1994). Chronic discontent often exists in all societies, particularly those as socially/materially oppressive and racist as American society was in the 1950s and 1960s, and continues to be. Discontent, however, cannot metamorphize into social change unless it is directed into a particular symbolization. Discontent needs focus and discipline in order to generate change and opportunity. The act of naming is the rhetorical act of focus and discipline. As Michel Foucault explains:

Rhetoric defines the spatiality of representation as it comes into being with language; grammar [or visions that serve as a kind of cultural grammar] defines in the case of each individual language the order that distributes that spatiality in time. This is why, as we shall see, grammar presupposes languages, even the most primitive and spontaneous ones, to be rhetorical in nature. (1970, 84)

Seen another way, social revolt, as any type of rhetorical endeavor, has to be "entitled." Rhetorical action names a situation, sums up events, and otherwise makes sense out of material reality. Human experience is a rhetorical experience that is shaped by visions or narratives, and guided (or goaded) by hierarchy and ideology (Burke 1966, 359-79). As Edward Schiappa explains, "The categorizing function of language can be a form of symbolic inducement; different terminologies prompt us to perceive the world in different ways" (1992, 9; for elaboration, see Gregg 1984). Historically, *On The Road* acted as an important symbolic inducement to fuse together a diverse range of Americans. Historian Bruce Cook discusses, in non-disciplinary terms, the process of entitlement and how it relates to Kerouac:

Perhaps it was only that the time had come at last for just such an explosion of interest and *On The Road* only supplied the necessary fuse. Or maybe this was the kind of book that spoke so directly and eloquently to the generation that was waiting for it and that it needed only to be announced to be recognized. However we account for it, there can be no doubt that it was through Jack Kerouac and his book that the general public become instantly aware of the Beat Generation. (1971, 72)

The book did more than merely make the country "aware" of the Beat Generation, it created the condition of knowledge that gave the signifier, "Beat Generation," cultural significance and resonance. As Cook documents, *On The Road* "spoke" to Kerouac's generation. In speaking to a "generation," the text creates its audience (c.f. Park 1982). But how does a text "speak"? Kerouac spoke to his generation because his text constructed that generation, as it helped construct the generation of young people in the 1960s.

The connection between the "beatniks"--Kerouac's followers in the late 1950s--and the "Hippies" they were to become, is well documented (George and Starr 1985). The connection between the two groups is best exemplified by Neal Cassady, who has the dual honor of being the first "Beat," as well as the first "Hippie." Accentuating the importance of Cassady in the genealogy of the 1960's counter-culture, Cook writes:

The presence of Neal Cassady [known in *On the Road* as the protagonist Dean Moriarty] in the Merry Pranksters [the prototype hippies that emerged around Ken Kesey in Palo Alto as the result of secret CIA LSD tests] offered to those who might have looked with skepticism on the group some evidence of continuity. He was a link with the genuine Beat past. (1971, 198)<sup>1</sup>

With Cassady, we must broaden our analysis. He is much more than the link between two stages of the counter-culture. Rather, he is the epitome of the Beat consciousness. Kerouac's writing style and narrative logic heuristically intersect with Cassady.

### *"Beat," Rhetorical Style, and Madness*

It is not just *what* Kerouac wrote that gave the counter-culture its identity; it is *how* he wrote it as well. Kerouac's theme in *On The Road* is freedom, and his writing style, which he described as "spontaneous prose," was the vehicle of this freedom's vision and expression. His approach to writing was modeled after jazz musicians. In a *Paris Review* interview, Kerouac explains the influence of "jazz" and "bop" in his work:

Yes, jazz and bop, in the sense of a, say, a tenor man drawing a breath and blowing a phrase on his saxophone, till he runs out of breath, and when he does, his sentence, his statement's been made . . . that's how I therefore separate my sentences, as breath separations of the mind. (Berrigan 1968, 83)

Style, it must be remembered, is itself a substance of knowledge, a reality that argues self-consciously for its own presence in the world. As Kenneth Burke explains, style is a strategic intervention on behalf of a persuader: "These strategies size up the situations, name their structure and outstanding ingredients, and name them in a way that contains an attitude toward them" (1973, 1). This is especially true for Kerouac, whose writing style enacts a merger between content and experience. As Kerouac explains:

The prose is what I believe to be the prose of the future, from both the conscious top and the unconscious bottom of the mind, limited only by the limitations of time flying by as your mind flies by with it. (qtd. in Charters 1967, 9)

According to Holmes, Kerouac's writing style was "seeking to free the whole range of his consciousness to the page--the consciousness that was one continuous, vivid flow of sense-data, associations, memories, and meditations" (1967, 81).

As spontaneous prose is the vehicle for Kerouac's vision of an experience unfettered by the demands of corporate America and the stifling conformity of the middle-class status quo, the catalyst for Kerouac's fantasy-theme alternatives is Neal Cassady, Dean Moriarty's legendary prototype. Cassady lived the life that Kerouac so carefully documented in *On The Road* and he is testament to the revolutionary potential of a new social consciousness. According to Gregory Stephenson,

What the Cassady figure represents in American literature and culture is a populist mysticism: the reemergence of a heterodox, syncretic, religious impulse that has previously found expression in such figures as Whitman and Henry Miller. The Cassady figure is an embodiment of transcendental primitivism--the American response to the cultural-spiritual crisis of Western civilization to which such movements as dadaism, surrealism, and existentialism have been the European response. (1990, 170)

Born in the back seat of a jalopy as his parents were traveling across the country to find work during the Great Depression, Cassady was a man attracted to the cracks and holes of life in the modern era. Raised on the streets of Denver, and in pool halls, reform schools, and libraries, Cassady rejected the fabrication of American culture by government and industry, and instead pursued his own vision of life based on the joys and exultations of experience. Looking back on his writing of *On The Road*, Kerouac explained: "I wanted to give a concise poetic opinion of Neal. They used to put guys in the nut house for that [his lifestyle] in the days of Christopher Smart" (qtd. in Charters 1967, 9).



Kerouac's allusion to Christopher Smart in reference to Cassady is significant. Smart was an eighteenth century English poet who was plagued his entire life by both debt and madness (see the *Directory of National Biography* 1921). He twice served time in Bedlam, an infamous English madhouse. Accentuating both problems was Smart's affinity for taverns and for his art; he pursued both with such intensity, at the expense of other obligations, that he was unable to provide for his wife and children. On several occasions, Smart was arrested by his creditors. In many ways, Cassady is similar to Smart. A poet who lived, rather than wrote his poetry, Cassady existed on the verge of madness. Accentuating his life's intensity were alcohol and drugs. Cassady was frequently unable to provide for his family, especially when he was in jail or prison--he served two years in San Quentin for selling two marijuana cigarettes to undercover police officers--or he was otherwise lost to the world during his numerous national and transcontinental wanderings. For Kerouac, both Smart and Cassady are men on the verge of experience/insanity, people who prescribe their own reality rather than digest the reality given to them by society. In Cassady, Kerouac sees "a kind of holy lightning . . . flashing from his excitement and his vision" (1957, 8).

While an identification between Smart and Cassady is not exact, there is, nevertheless, a sense in which the comparison between them exemplifies the core of Kerouac's vision for America. Central to Kerouac's vision is freedom. This freedom is different than the freedom celebrated in American's political mythology (Parenti 1994). Kerouac is not interested in the myths of economic or political freedom. These shallow cultural myths are irrelevant for Kerouac; they are absent in Kerouac's cultural conversation. Kerouac is not interested in traditional politics and traditional understandings of power. Rather, he is interested in a transcendental freedom, the freedom that both Smart and Cassady embody: freedom to be "mad," mad for life, hungry for experience. Kerouac's freedom breaks the bonds of marriage, family life, work, and traditional American corporate experience. It is a freedom that verges on religious ecstasy (both in the sense of Western and Eastern mysticism).

The word "beat" itself, coined by Kerouac, has many connotations that relate to the above discussion. First, "beat" implies rhythm, especially the free-flowing rhythm of experimental jazz. Kerouac and the other beats were jazz enthusiasts and frequently read their poetry to jazz accompaniment. Kerouac recorded three poetry albums, one of which is a dialectic between Kerouac and two famous jazz musicians (Zoot Sims and Al Cohn).<sup>2</sup> Second, in the sense that it was commonly or popularly understood, the word "beat" referred to being broken, beaten down, pushed to the margins of existence by a cruel and hostile world. This sense

of the word refers to people who, like Cassady or Al Hinkle, were from the streets, petty criminals, the children of street urchins and other marginalized victims of American capitalism who were crushed by the Great Depression. In the first public discussion of the "Beat Generation," Holmes explains this connotation of "beat":

More than mere weariness, it implies the feeling of having been used, of being raw. It involves a sort of nakedness of mind, and ultimately, of soul; a feeling of being reduced to the bedrock of consciousness. In short, it means being undramatically pushed up against the wall of oneself. A man is beat whenever he goes for broke and wagers the sum of his resources on a single number and the young generation has done that continually from early youth. (1952, 10)

Third, and finally, "beat," as Kerouac came to insist toward the end of his life, represented a religious experience; it meant "beatitude," a Catholic condition of blessedness (Sorrell 1982). In an important sense, all three of these definitions represent a similar theme: to be "beat" was to be in another time--to be in your body physically, but to be outside of the solidarity that people generally feel for one another. The rhythm of the drums, the desolation of the streets, the bliss of beatification--all imply a break with normal time, a transcendence of the mundane. All three conditions lead to new perspectives of the world. To be "Beat" is to force one's self, or to be forced, to explore new forms of consciousness and being. Such experience is frequent in *On The Road*:

[F]or a moment I had reached the point of ecstasy that I always wanted to reach, which was the complete step across chronological time into the timeless shadows, and wonderment in the bleakness of the mortal realm, and the sensation of death kicking at my heels to move on, with a phantom dogging its own heels, and myself hurrying to a plank where all the angels dove off and flew into the holy void of uncreated emptiness . . . I thought I was going to die in the very next moment. (1957, 143)

The temporal dimension to Beat identity is important to emphasize because a person's sense of being is always associated with a particular historicity (Foucault 1977). By taking a non-standard approach to time, as Kerouac frequently does in *On The Road*, in which he has hallucinations that take him back and forth in time and confuse the present and the past, Kerouac challenges the reification of consciousness as it is experienced by most Americans. In an important sense, all three definitions of "Beat" are conditions of liminality--discussed more fully elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

In a famous passage in *On The Road*, Kerouac describes the madness that he pursued in his life, the madness he found in Neal Cassady. This madness strikes at the core of Beat for Kerouac: it embodies all three notions discussed above. In particular, the passage represents the fact that Kerouac believed "true" experience could not be found in the safety of conformity and middle-class values:

. . . I shambled after as I've been doing all my life after people who interest me, because the only people for me are the mad ones, the ones who are mad to live, mad to talk, mad to be saved, desirous of everything at the same time, the ones who never yawn or say a commonplace thing, but burn, burn, burn, like fabulous yellow Roman candles exploding like spiders across the stars and in the middle you see the blue centerlight pop and everybody goes "Aww!" (1957, 9)

In recognizing madness (in the form of intense desire) as a virtue, as Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari would do years later when they declared that "desire produces reality" (1983, 30), Kerouac vindicates the unrecognized genius of men on the margin of high experience. In a sense, the "mad" ones that Kerouac worships are "anti-ego"; their sense of self and others dissipates and they merge, schizophrenically, into the bliss of experience. This experience burns with intensity and life. For a few moments these men bring to the fore the brilliance of human potential and desire that escapes commodification and commercialization. These are the geniuses who live their poetry rather than write it (Burke 1984, 74-79), the pious people who are true to the perceived nature of their selves,<sup>4</sup> the unsung artists and cultural heroes that push back the walls of human limitation and perception; these are the men who live and die to release the human being from the cages of our own construction.

In studying people like Cassady, Kerouac saw an aura of brilliance emanating from the spirits of frantic men who pressed the forms of their existence to the limits of experience. The fact that these actions were done in madness--or in other disregard for the constraints or limitations of the body--seemed only to add appeal to their calling and legitimize the authenticity of their motives. Thus, these personalities--best exemplified in Cassady, but later in Ken Kesey and in the Grateful Dead--attained an almost saint-like status among their followers as holy prophets opposing the caution and conformity of post WWII America (see Wolfe 1968).

## Conclusion

In celebrating the margins of experience and the intensity of life, and in glorifying the struggle between the individual and the bourgeois ego that threatens to create compliant citizens in the capitalist social order, Kerouac helped develop the commitment and attitude of a larger American culture that was beginning to struggle with the tensions and contradictions of society in ways that Cassady magnified. Philosophically speaking, Kerouac's *On The Road* reveals "the split between the unity of a culture as it exists symbolically and the individual's actual fragmentary and contradictory experience of that culture" (Hunt 1981, 241). Hunt's observation compliments the approach to Kerouac that my study embraces. By recognizing the split--through the aid of a focused narrative that graphically names and illustrates the problem--the reader of Kerouac's book becomes capable of *modifying* the larger, confusing culture. Kerouac's vision of an alternative social and cultural reality contributes to the identity of localized cultures of interacting group members.

These groups constantly grow and network and contribute to an awareness through which members live privately articulated narratives and stimulate in others a feeling that the world has order, structure, heroes, villains, saints, dreams, and art (Bales 1970, 152). Robert Bales, the psychologist who first documented the importance that fantasy plays in achieving group coherence and in influencing interpersonal behavior, explains the importance of narrative in structuring people's perceptions:

In the fantasy of a group culture, as in a work of art, things are closer to the heart's desire than in the everyday world . . . [The fantasy] contains images of men and women, elders and children, gods and devils, animals, plants, and minerals. Images of time unfold, the seasons change, and the great adversaries of destiny loom and clash. (1970, 152)

The recognition of the split between culture and the role of the individual enable people to participate in an alternative shared fantasy. Kerouac's genius in *On The Road* is his ability to accentuate an alternative narrative and to localize it in the desires of many young people in this country and throughout the world.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the Cassady/Kesey/Acid/CIA connection, see Lee and Shlain (1985). The Merry Pranksters included the young Jerry Garcia and others who formed the Grateful Dead and provided music for the "acid

tests," public mass LSD parties that took place in different cities throughout the United States. LSD was legal until 1966.

<sup>2</sup>These three albums were repackaged and remastered in 1990 and appear under the Rhino label.

<sup>3</sup>My paper, "A Liminal View of *On The Road*" is currently under review.

<sup>4</sup>For a larger discussion of piety in Burke's work, see Rosteck and Leff (1989). Kerouac and Ginsberg romanticize Cassady as a poet of the highest order and claim that he inspired them to create their work.

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## Evaluation of International Students' Speech Performance: A Dilemma of Expectations

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### *Significance of the Problem*

Foreign students constitute a significant factor in American institutions of higher education. During the academic year 1985/86, 343,777 foreign students were enrolled in American institutions while in the year 1991/92 figures rose to 420,000 students (Scully, 1986; Smolowe, 1992). Many graduate schools already acknowledge the significance of the foreign student factor, as approximately half of total enrollments are comprised of overseas students in areas such as engineering and computer science (Altbach, 1985; Altbach, Kelly & Lulat, 1985; Scully, 1986). One study of the monthly cost of living expenditures of international students, excluding tuition, shows that foreign students spend approximately \$1,575,174,000 in these top five receiving states alone: California, New York, Texas, Massachusetts and Illinois (O'Connell, 1994). They are quickly becoming a factor that cannot be ignored.

Despite the large number of foreign students in the United States, few studies have been carried out on the topic of foreign students, and there has been a tendency for decisions regarding overseas students to be based on political or diplomatic reasons, rather than the welfare of the student (Altbach, 1985). Existing literature on foreign students seems to concentrate in areas such as the adaptation process typically undergone by the foreign student in a new cultural environment and on the relation between academic success and such various factors as age, sex, marital status and language proficiency (Altbach, Kelly & Lulat, 1985).

The research literature examining foreign students generally deals with language proficiency which is considered to be one of the reasons why some foreign students show unsatisfactory academic performance (Heikinheimo & Schute, 1986; Altbach, Kelly & Lulat, 1985; Putman, 1961). Almost all American institutions of higher education have their own standards of English proficiency as a requirement for admittance of foreign students. According to one of the managers at the International Services at a large mid-western university, foreign students have to satisfy two linguistic test requirements for admission; the 500 TOEFL exam and an individualized English placement exam. Other American universities have similar requirements. This procedure, however, does not seem to guarantee prevention of linguistic difficulties in class, especially in such

activities as reading assignments, note-taking and understanding exams, among others (Putman, 1961).

Besides these difficulties in general academic work due mainly to linguistic differences, there is the requirement in many classes to speak in front of native speakers. According to the literature, public speaking in front of native speakers of the language poses a problem for foreign students for a number of reasons. First, foreign students manifest a fear of appearing foolish in front of peers and teachers, and feel stripped of their real selves and their real language capacities (Ludwig, 1982; Yook & Seiler, 1990; Yook, 1993). Hull (1978) states that clearly the area in which most students perceived difficulties was related to speaking in the classroom and cites a young woman from the former West Germany as saying that it is hard for foreign students who cannot speak and act spontaneously and who cannot express their thoughts accurately.

In addition to generally being required to speak up in most classes, there are courses which specifically require students to present speeches. Public speaking courses are feared even by native speaking students and no doubt can pose even more of a problem for the foreign student. Therefore the study of foreign students in U.S. speech performance classes merits our attention.

Yook and Seiler (1990) conducted a study investigating the concerns of Asian students in speech performance classes. In this study, in-depth interviews show that Asian students face cultural as well as linguistic barriers, in the form of a lack of understanding about expected classroom behaviors and assignments. As Hoff (1979) points out when she coined the term "education shock," international students can be disoriented by the novelty of the educational system itself, and not just by general cultural adjustment problems often referred to as culture shock. Among the causes of education shock is the fact that international students' cultural expectations of perceived classroom roles may be different from the North American culture's expectations.

On the other side of the coin, it is altogether possible that it is not only the international students but also their instructors who are experiencing culture shock in the classroom. If expectations of foreign students are not fulfilled, and their teachers are unable to fully understand and relate to their students, then it is possible that teachers will feel a sort of helplessness in their interactions with foreign students, thus similarly resulting in a form of education shock for them also. Therefore a discussion of how to adapt to the increasing diversity of our classrooms merits our attention. Scafe and Kontas (1982) offer advice to instructors of multicultural classrooms. They state:

In a bicultural or multicultural class, effective instruction

and constructive feedback is dependent upon (1) the teacher's awareness of his or her own expectations as being culturally based and (2) the expansion of these expectations to adapt to students from differing cultures, with the explicit affirmation that several alternative ways of speaking are valid, depending on the situation (p. 252).

The next section will present a review of literature on cultural differences in public speaking. Then an explanation of the methods used to investigate the research question as well as what results were found will follow.

### *Review of Literature*

#### Cultural Differences in Ways of Speaking and Meaning of Speech Itself

Different cultures attribute different values to the communicative act of speaking. This should be understood by the instructor in order to be able to help the foreign student learn the skills of public speaking. The underlying cultural value attached to the act of speaking by international students may be the main obstacle to their successful performance in the public speaking class. For example, the Paliyans of South India communicate very little throughout their lives and even become almost completely silent by the age forty. Verbal, communicative persons are regarded as abnormal and often offensive (Gardner, 1966, p.368).

For Native Americans, speech constitutes an unnecessary intrusion in the learning process and the culture stresses the importance of observation and participation. African American culture also seems to make greater use of direct observation, rather than expended verbal explanations in their classrooms (Edwards, 1983). Besides differences in cultural beliefs about the act of speaking itself, some authors note that persons from different cultures tend to organize their ideas differently during public speaking.

Several articles have dealt with the difference between speech patterns of Native American students and students of the mainstream north American culture. The first difference was that Native American students seemed unorganized and seemed to be "rambling". Careful analysis showed that these students did not use any sort of markers to show where the speech was headed, but just moved from one main point to another. The authors posited that for the Native American speakers, the relationships between topics is implicit, that is, that the main points are implicitly related to the subject of the speech, thereby negating the necessity of markers or signposts to show relationships (Cooley & Lujan, 1982).

Similarly, Koester & Lustig (1991) state that linear organization of speeches is inconsistent with prior training of students from such diverse cultures as Japan and Saudi Arabia. For these students indirect, circular forms of organization are considered more natural. The authors state that acknowledging the limitations of our own research findings and the cultural parameters of the prescriptions and descriptions we provide in the classroom allows students and teachers alike to learn from diversity, rather than ignore it. These are only a few selected examples of cultural differences of international students that may affect their speech performance.

### Evaluation of International Students

One study of international students in speech performance classes by Yook & Seiler (1990) found that students feel that instructors have low expectations of their speech performance. These low expectations may result in a self-fulfilling prophecy as the following excerpt indicates. One student stated "In their [instructor's] minds they have already thought we are a foreigner . . . [instructors think] I expect this, so I am just going to give an acceptable [grade]" (p.65).

Another study by Yook (1993) found that there were serious concerns about being fairly evaluated. International students were concerned that their evaluations were not fairly assessed, given their linguistic and cultural differences. Their definition of fair evaluation was an assessment of their efforts that is not excessively high nor too lenient, but rather at a level that takes into account their linguistic situation. Clearly, the issue of fair evaluations is of serious concern to international students.

For their part, instructors of speech communication also echo this concern. One speech instructor expressed her relief that at last someone was going to do a study of international students because she was exasperated at trying to get the Japanese students in her class to participate, to no avail. Subsequently, this frustration may translate into low grades for students, especially if participation in class discussion is built into the overall evaluation. It seems that instructors and students alike are looking for a solution to the evaluation issue. Both want an equitable measuring stick by which they can evaluate and be evaluated fairly. To be able to address this issue of fair evaluation of international students' speech performance, current practices utilized by instructors of speech communication need to be examined. In order to learn what the current status of evaluation practices is and to learn from others' past experiences with evaluation issues, the following question is asked in this study:

*RQ: What measures, if any, are taken by instructors of speech communication in evaluating international students' performance fairly in speech performance classes?*

### *Method*

In light of the concern with evaluation of international students' performance in class, including speech presentations, assignments, and participation, five in-depth interviews lasting between thirty and forty minutes each were conducted on this topic. All the interviews took place during the same quarter. Only instructors who had past experience teaching a speech performance class in which one or more international students were enrolled were included in this study. A speech performance class, for the purposes of this study, is a class where three or more speeches are required.

The questions used in the interviews were uniform across interviews. The questions were based on the works of Yook and Seiler (1990) and Yook (1993). These studies discussed the perceptions of international students as well as Asian students in particular about having to present speeches in a second language. Material about their concerns over the issue of fair evaluations was chosen to be addressed as questions to the instructors in the present study.

The interviewees were instructors of speech communication in two large Midwestern universities who had a range of teaching experience between one and twenty years. A wide range of instructors' teaching experience was sought when selecting interviewees to make the sample of interviewees as representative as possible. Two instructors were at relatively early stages in their teaching careers with less than three years of teaching experience. One was at an intermediate level with six years of teaching. Two were more experienced with fifteen to twenty years of teaching.

Both sexes were roughly equally represented with three of the interviewees being female and two male. Each of the three categories of teaching experience level chosen for this study (novice, intermediate, and experienced) was equally represented by male and female instructors. The exception was the intermediate level, at which only a female instructor could be interviewed. As the instructor's sex was not expected to be an important factor in the present study, this sample was considered appropriate for its purposes.

*Results***General Trends in Adaptation to International Students**

All of the instructors seemed to acknowledge that there were differences between what they could expect from "mainstream" north American students and from international students in terms of public speaking. However, they didn't seem to think that the issue of fair evaluations was one totally unique to international students. Four of the five instructors interviewed stated specifically that this was not a new situation for them as they had to evaluate minority students and "at-risk" students who needed special consideration in evaluation also.

All five of the instructors interviewed spoke of giving international students more "leeway" in their written and speech assignments by placing less emphasis on structure. This reduced emphasis on structure translates into two concrete adjustments that instructors are making for international students: more flexibility in terms of timing and more emphasis of key words rather than specific syntax or semantics.

For example, three of the five instructors interviewed mentioned that they have less stringent time requirements in terms of speeches because they feel it is hard in a second language to find exactly the right expression, resulting in a longer or shorter speech than expected. Two of the four mentioned that they give students extra time sometimes during out of class hours to finish up tests too. In this way, they seem to be cognizant of and acknowledge the linguistic difficulties that international students are having.

In addition, all of them mentioned that they are more flexible in terms of grammar and structure, looking less for the right expression but more at whether students had mentioned key concepts. For example, in written assignments and tests, they would look for key concepts. All of them mentioned that they took off a minor number of points, for example when international students made grammatical errors such as verb tense consistency that may need correction for improving writing skills. In these instances, they would make marks and point out their errors and take off a nominal number of points. In other cases where more help in English proficiency was needed, they were directed to writing skills clinics or English as a Second Language classes to procure further assistance. One instructor mentioned that she would start off the quarter by presenting a lecture on rhetorical styles in different cultures, but would also point out that the North American logically consistent style was the one that was the most appropriate for use in American classes, although other styles were valid elsewhere.

**Evaluation of Speeches**

Specifically in terms of speech assignments, they mentioned that there were very rare instances where they did not understand the students' speeches. Although the accents and grammatical structures may be different they all managed to understand the main points of what the students were saying. Some mentioned that they had however referred students with strong accents to ESL classes or asked them for their speech outlines or to write out their entire speech. A recent study by Yook (1996) indicated that emotions such as disgust and anger can affect ratings of non-native speakers negatively. Therefore, the following question was asked as tactfully and a non-evaluatively as possible: "Do you believe that the extra effort made in understanding international students' accents may in any way affect your evaluation of them?" Responses to that question indicate that instructors took that need to make an extra effort for international students into stride. The instructors stated that they felt that they needed to make that extra effort as part of their job, and that consequently they believe that having to exert extra effort in order to listen to different accents didn't affect their evaluation excessively negatively. Overall, instructors didn't seem to think that accent differences made a big difference in their evaluation of international students because one would normally expect linguistic difficulties with non-native speakers. In other words, being willing to be flexible and exerting more effort in listening to international students' speeches was considered a part of their expected duty as instructor.

**Topic Choice and Audience Adaptation**

One interviewee mentioned that the linguistic difficulties were not a significant problem in his view because students' willingness to communicate their message to others in class, their preparedness and their credibility as a speaker presenting on a topic they are knowledgeable about really could work very far in their favor. All of them mentioned that international students seemed to be happy and eager to share aspects of their cultures with North American classmates, as manifested by their topic selection for speeches. While all five instructors mentioned that they avoided "singling out" the international student about aspects of the student's own culture in class discussions, they felt international students often felt comfortable in choosing aspects of their own culture as speech topics. These were considered topics that were appropriate for them because they would be credible sources on the topic of their own cultural experiences.

However, one instructor mentioned an area in which international students may need assistance. This area concerns topic selection and presentation. Sometimes international students don't realize that their topics may be somewhat different than other American students' expectations of speech topics. US students share more cultural knowledge with other U.S. students about what topics may interest their audience and why than do international students. Consequently international students may need more assistance in creating personal relevance of their topics to the American students in their audience.

### General Summary

Overall, the five speech instructors interviewed seemed experienced in and sensitive to the situation of linguistic difficulties that international students are facing. What some instructors didn't have in terms of experience to guide them seemed to be overcome by their sensitivity to the difficulties faced by international students. In conclusion, there seemed to exist an expectation that all students regardless of whether they be native or non-native speakers need to conform to the standards north American standards of speaking and writing in their speech performance classes.

However, the instructors seemed to acknowledge that as international students were speaking in a second language, this standard could not be rigidly and consistently adhered to. The instructors dealt with this dilemma by taking off nominal points in order to reinforce the point that students' linguistic proficiency needed improvement, as well as specification of the error for future correction. They also gave international students some leeway in terms of time limits and looking for keywords instead of flawless grammar. In some cases, instructors gave international students information on campus clinics that provide further assistance in English. However, they still considered being flexible to linguistic difficulties as being an expected part of their role as instructor.

### Additional Strategies Used by Teachers

In the interviews, additional useful strategies that are being used by these five instructors in helping to assure fair evaluation of international students emerged. While some of these strategies are not directly linked to the fair evaluation issue, they are nonetheless worth mentioning here. If these strategies help promote an open and inclusive learning atmosphere, international students will be more encouraged to interact with the



instructor and procure assistance when needed. Thus some strategies move indirectly to help instructors fairly assess international students' performance by promoting mutual understanding of the cultural differences involved.

One instructor mentioned that on the very first day of class, he made an attempt to learn how to pronounce the names of international students the way that they wanted their names pronounced. In this way, he mentioned he felt that he was making them feel more comfortable at being acknowledged as an important part of the class. Another instructor mentioned that she deliberately uses small group activities that help the international students get accustomed to speaking in front of a few people before they have to address the class as a group. The success of this activity would depend, as would all activities, on how sensitive you were to the diverse needs of your students. Some international students feel alienated in small groups because of their lack of linguistic competence and the lack of their ability to "jump in" to the discussions as North Americans seem to be able to do naturally. This may accentuate the problem and have the students become even more anxious about speaking in front of the whole class. Therefore instructor attention is necessary to make this suggestion work.

One instructor also mentioned that she has the class use the E-mail to discuss group questions outside of class. She asks that they use the E-mail at least twice in the quarter and gives them discussion questions. In her view this activity seems helpful not only in extending much needed discussion time that can't always be had during class sessions, but also in that it creates a perceived intimacy between students so that international students may open up more. In addition, they have the time that they may need in correcting grammatical errors, or looking up words in the dictionary, that may not normally be afforded in face-to-face group discussions.

Still others give international students the option of referring to a dictionary when they are taking tests, or giving them extra time to finish off tests because of their linguistic differences. All of them looked for key words instead of looking at the structure of how the information was presented in speeches and written assignments. They were also sensitive to the possibility of "singling out" the international student, but they made it clear that they could share aspects of their culture if they wished, especially when dealing with topics such as intercultural differences in interpersonal communication or else when they are choosing a topic for their papers or speeches. One instructor began her quarter talking about differences in rhetorical styles of various cultures and then talking about the appropriateness of the direct logical style for American college classes. She

also mentioned that she gives the discussion questions to students ahead of time so that international students may have more time to prepare their answers.

Finally, one instructor said that it helps her to be in the perspective of the international student if she asks herself "what if I were to give a speech in a second language such as Japanese or French?" This suggestion may encompass the above suggestions because if instructors try to envision themselves in the position of the international student speaking in a second or third language, they will naturally become more sensitive to their plight. The five speech instructors interviewed seemed to have a certain sensitivity, albeit in varying degrees, to the situation that international students are faced with and to be doing some concrete things that seem to be working and that could work for other instructors with international students in their classes.

### *Discussion*

The ultimate problem in evaluation lies in whether to hold one standard for all students of diverse cultures and evaluating them according to this uniform yardstick. Siler and Labadie-Wondergem (1982) state that the application of a uniform yardstick to measure all students becomes harmful when applied indiscriminately to students of all backgrounds. That is, if minority students fail to measure up to acceptable standards of the overculture, they are penalized for non-conformity. A similar point is being made in the present study in reference to international students.

On the other hand, however, a different argument can be voiced on this issue. One may say that by overcompensating for the handicaps of the foreign student, one may forfeit the whole purpose of teaching the course. In other words, proponents of this view may say that if students enroll in public speaking classes, there is a certain level of performance that is expected of them that they need to measure up to.

Again, the key word "knowledge" or "awareness" can help solve this dilemma. First, teachers should be aware of the cultural nuances influencing a foreign student's performance, and secondly, the students themselves should be aware of the fact that there are certain principles that are being taught in the public speech class that may be different from the students' traditional views of speaking. With this knowledge, the students can at least make a conscious choice by knowing that adhering to certain principles will affect their performance and ultimately, their evaluation in class. In other words, as Dauplinois (1980) states, "If students are provided specific instruction about styles appropriate in both cultures and then given

the opportunity to practice these styles, they can make decisions regarding the appropriateness of communication behavior and can discern the consequences of the lack of appropriate behavior" (p. 85).

The instructors who were interviewed all seemed to be aware of the linguistic factors that are involved in the evaluation of international students' performance in speech communication classes, but only one or two seemed to be aware of the additional cultural factors that could also affect performance, such as cultural patterns for speaking, addressing people of authority, nonverbal differences etc. This is one area that instructors of multicultural classrooms could become more sensitive to. Concluding from the five in-depth interviews held with speech instructors, they are currently using many strategies to not only try to be fair in their evaluations, but also to help international students deal with the pressure of speaking in a second language. These strategies should be shared with instructors of speech communication and other classes where public speaking is a large part of the class activities or requirements in order to assure that international students are not penalized for their inherent linguistic and cultural differences.

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Exploring the Rift:  
The Puritan Ban on Theatre in the 17th Century

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TOP STUDENT PAPER

At the very beginnings of civilization, storytellers gathered the community together in an intimate setting and told them, through narration and dramatic gestures and sounds, where they came from and where they were going. Myths about heroes and legends of gods taught the people about good and evil, and how to distinguish between the two in their own lives. It was in these settings that theatre and religion were simultaneously born.

It is difficult to discern when theatre and religion became separate entities. We do know, however, that in the Christian tradition, theatre and religion have been intertwined in a love-hate relationship for almost 2000 years. Each was a persecutor of the other at one time or another. The slaughter of Christians was part of Roman "theatre," and Christian theologians like Augustine have condemned theatre and its audiences. But the two have become one on occasion as well: "The Greek definition of *drama* . . . comes close to the conception of *liturgia* . . . because both refer to a public act or a special performance" (Schnuesenberg xxi).

Perhaps one of the most remembered events, in church and Theatre History both, is the Puritan banishment of theatre in England between 1642 and 1660. Because theatre troupes were connected to the noblemen that patronized them, they were outlawed when the monarchy was overthrown. But why did the church want to rid the world of theatre when the English Stage had, in the same century, witnessed its greatest flourishing in the works of William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson? There are several answers to this question. The church saw much in the theatre that threatened the morals of church goers. Also, some historical "Church Fathers" in the Christian tradition had condemned theatre. But there seem to be social and political reasons for the Ban as well. In this paper, we will see how some of the historical factors and situations of the Seventeenth Century influenced the Puritans' decision against theatre.

*A Biblical Basis for the Condemnation of Theatre*

Why did there exist a Christian anti-theatre sentiment throughout the church's history? There is little Biblical basis for such sentiment. The

ancient Hebrew tradition had no theatre and the Old Testament does not mention theatre anywhere. Edwin Wilson and Alvin Goldfarb explain the reasons for the lack of theatre in that the Hebrews were a nomadic people. Because they seldom settled down to develop urban population centers, the establishment of public theatres had no time to develop. The Hebrews did have religious reasons for not having a theatrical tradition as well:

David S. Lifson . . . has noted that during the Biblical period Jews were forbidden to attend the pagan theater. A prayer from the period underlines this fact: "I thank thee, my Lord, that I spend my time in the temples of prayer instead of in the theaters." Some commentators believe that this injunction against theater stems from the Second Commandment in the Bible: 'You shall not make a graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above or in the earth beneath.' According to this theory, "any likeness" was interpreted to include a performer impersonating a character on stage. (9)

The New Testament contains no direct references to theatre either, except as a building in Ephesus, mentioned in Acts. Paul had told the Ephesians that the gods they were worshiping were not actually gods. The silversmiths of the city who made the idols the people worshipped felt threatened by the loss of business which resulted from Paul's mass conversions, and roused up the people:

When they heard this, they were enraged and shouted, 'Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!' The city was filled with confusion; and people rushed together to the theatre, dragging with them Gaius and Aristarchus, Macedonians who were Paul's travel companions. Paul wished to go into the crowd, but the disciples would not let him; even some officials of the province of Asia, who were friendly to him sent him a message urging him not to venture into the theatre. (Acts 19: 28-31)

The theatre was connected with the "pagan" goddess, Artemis, and this passage could give later writers like Augustine scriptural basis for the rejection of theatre as pagan

Despite the apparent shortage of Biblical passages condemning theatre, church leaders found ample scriptural texts to support their prejudice against the theatre. Clement of Alexandria found his basis in the teaching of Jesus. ". . . since the Christian could not serve two masters, he ought to maintain his distance from the theatre which did not serve Christ" (Schnuesenberg 12). Tertullian, too, used Scripture to renounce theatre (16).

John Northbrooke in 1577 wrote "A Treatise against Idlenesse, vaine playes, and Enterludes" which used a dialogue between two characters, Youth and Age, to discuss the evils of the theatre. In the treatise, Northbrooke uses authors like Augustine and Cicero, as well as a Biblical basis for the condemnation of theatre. On page 24, Age explains to Youth that Christians were not created to participate in dishonest "excesses" like theatre and other idle pastimes, but that "We are borne to more weightie matters, and greater studies. Therefore St. Paul sayth: Whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." This saying is in 1 Corinthians 10:31. Later Northbrooke quotes the Psalms:

David also made his prayer to God, saying: O Lorde turne away mine eyes from regarding vanitie, and quicken me in thy way. Saint Ambrose upon these wordes, calleth Stage playes, Vanitie, wishing that he coulede call backe the people which runne so fast thither, and willet them to turne their eyes from beholding of such Playes and Enterludes. The lyke saying hath Saint Augustine. (62)

Furthermore, Northbrooke admonishes men from attending the theatre where, although only male actors were to be seen on stage, they might look upon the women in the audience with lusting Beyes. Jesus says this is a form of adultery in Matthew 5:28 (64).

Biblical basis for church policy seemed to be a necessity in Puritan England. In one interesting case, the City of London, which was having problems with "plagues" and "riots" due to the theatre, actually paid Stephen Gosson and Anthony Munday "to think of the theoretical arguments [against theatre] and find authority for them in the Bible and the Ancients" (Heinemann 35)

The most common Biblical bases for the rejection of theatre by the church in Puritan England deal with the Commandments against idolatry (Exodus 20: 4-6), neglect of the Sabbath (20: 8-11), and (with a stretch) lying (20:16). Again we see how authors and church leaders interpret the Bible to fit their purposes. The historian Brian Morris lists Phillip Stubbes as one of these authors. In Stubbes' *Anatomy of Abuses* (1583), he writes, "Do [contemporary plays] not maintain bawdry, insinuate foolery and renew the remembrance of heathen idolatry?" Morris claims that "the key word in the passage from Stubbes is 'idolatry'. He realized that the attention which the plays commanded is not unlike the involvement of worship" (Heinemann 20). Stephen Gosson and Rabbi Busy linked theatre to dishonesty and said that "disguise is sinful and imitation a form of lying" (31).

One of the strongest arguments against theatre was that the performances of plays on Sunday was drastically reducing church

attendance, Elizabethan and Jacobean era theatres were known as virtual dens of sin where prostitutes and the like could be found. For church leaders, it was easy to use the Fourth Commandment to attack this phenomenon. Remembering the Sabbath and keeping it holy did not include attending the theatres and viewing the secular, and often bawdy, plays of the time. One of the most influential leaders to use this argument was Bishop Lancelot Andrewes who, in his *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, "numbered playgoers on the Sabbath among those ill employed (Schneusenbergs 28). In addition, he listed theatre in the same category as "wonton dancings" and could thus condemn the theatre using Mark 6:22: the story of Herod's daughter (28).

By the time of the 1642 Ban on theatre, however, plays were no longer being performed on the Sabbath. King James I had seen to it in 1603 that performances on Sunday were abolished under penalty of law (33). In this case, the Puritans could not use the Fourth Commandment as a justification for the Ban. They were threatened by other aspects of the theatre, though, as we shall note later.

### *A Long Anti-Theatre Tradition*

The Puritans in 17th century England were not the first to declare that theatre was not entirely virtuous. Many historical figures, some of whose writings the Puritans used for their arguments, deplored theatre, calling it vain, unethical, and evil. The first of these important names is Plato. Plato lived in Greece during its "Golden Age," a time when theatre flourished and plays were performed at the City Dionysia, a festival in Athens honoring the god of wine and revelry. While the participants in the dramas were given the roles of "priests" during such festivals, Plato was suspicious of these actors. He theorized that actors were by nature soulless and untrustworthy. In his *Republic* he states that imitation, "mimesis," is bad and possibly corrupting to children, and therefore he wanted no poetry that had to do with imitation allowed in his "ideal state" (Annas 95).

A similar suspicion of actors was held by Plato's pupil, Aristotle, although for the latter this was based more on the actors' drinking problems. By Aristotle's time, theatre had largely moved into the secular sphere. Actors who had risen to "stardom" began to take on a lavish lifestyle. In his work, *Problems*, Aristotle "asks the reasons for [actors'] general depravity and attributes it to their having to spend most of their time in making a living and to their intemperance" (Pickard-Cambridge 280). Aristotle can be given credit for a long-standing prejudice against



actors, as many great minds throughout the centuries have referred back to him

There were numerous theologians of the early Christian church that attacked theatre as impious and evil. By the time of Jesus, the theatre of Rome had largely degenerated into crude spectacle. Mime troupes originating in Greece specialized in risqué skits, and even performed sexual acts on stage (Mime troupes were the first to include women on stage, and were castigated for this by Roman critics [Wilson and Goldfarb 71]). The Greek classics of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides were adapted by Roman playwrights like Seneca into bloody displays of violence. Toward the end of the Roman Empire, "the slaughter of early Christians by lions was viewed by the Roman populace as a spectacular diversion (Wilson and Goldfarb 70). Historians list events like these under the heading of "Theatre." One of the first theologians to address the theatre as a vice was Justin, who in 177 A.D. wrote that theatre belonged to the devil (Schnuesenberg 11).

Another critic of this era was Clement of Alexandria, who warned Christians against attending theatrical performances: "He tells the Christians that their teacher, Christ, had not led them into the theatre, which as the seat of evil, was a meeting full of wickedness where everything "was directed against Christ" (12).

Tertullian was another theologian who was angered by the Christians' attendance of theatres. He had witnessed some of the atrocities that were part of the degenerated form of Roman theatre. Indeed, being an audience member was a conversion experience for him:

Tertullian . . . describes how the sight of Christians tortured and dying initiated his own conversion: he saw a condemned Christian, dressed up by Roman guards to look like Attis, torn apart alive in the arena; another, dressed as Hercules was burned alive. He admits that he, too, once enjoyed 'the ludicrous cruelties of the noonday exhibition,' watching another man, dressed as the god Mercury, testing the bodies of the tortured with a red-hot iron, and one dressed as Pluto, god of the dead, dragging corpses out of the arena. Tertullian, like Iranaeus, connected the teaching of Christ's passion and death with his own enthusiasm for martyrdom. (Pagels 87,88).

For him, theatre was "pagan" and "diabolic." He considered it a form of "idololatry." "Idololatry" is a "perversion of the true world and this perversion must be considered the greatest insult of the creature toward his creator" (16).

An even greater influence than Tertullian's on later thinkers was that of Augustine, 200 years later. Augustine saw the fall of Rome as a punishment from God for the Romans' "idolatry." Furthermore, "since the Roman theatre originated in connection with a pestilence, he compares that theatre itself with a spiritual pestilence" (26).

Through the influence of these people, and the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 A.D., theatre largely disappeared for several centuries. It wasn't until the middle ages that theatre was slowly reborn within the protecting walls of the church. Around 965 A.D. extended religious chants in story form called "tropes" were added to the liturgies of church services (Wilson and Goldfarb 89). Over the next 300 years, these tropes evolved into full dramas. Eventually the dramas were performed outside the church building in the form of mystery and morality plays, such as *The Second Shepherds' Play* and *Everyman*. As the dramas moved farther from the church, burlesque characters were added to "appeal directly to the audience's delight" (Bacon 9).

It wasn't long before church officials began to complain that the religious dramas were becoming too secular. They did not feel it was right for Christians to learn about religious matters through the emotion aroused in the audience by actors, especially in regard to the bawdy antics of the burlesque characters. Abbe Herrad of Landsberg "denounced certain church plays because they were too whimsical and disorderly" (17,18), and a document written in 1475 called the *Bordesholmer Marienklage* made it clear that theatre was not the way to righteousness:

[N]either a play nor a mockery, should evoke a deep emotional response in the audience, moving them to compassion and piety. What is denied here, implicitly at least, is the very essence of dramatic portrayal; the *Bordesholmer Marienklage* was clearly intended to function solely in terms of its words and not by means of gesture, impersonation, or dramatic action. (18,19)

Martin Luther especially took the position above in regard to Passion Plays. By dramatizing events in the life of Jesus, Luther felt that the audience was not getting a true theological and religious experience of the death of Christ. Instead, the Passion Plays "could only be inspired by a sentimental conception of religion and to him this was unacceptable" (43). Luther, however, did not oppose all theatre. He felt that many classic plays, like those of Terrence, contained wise ideas from which students could learn (64).

*Political Reasons for the Ban in 1642*

Although the Puritans were not the first to reject the theatre, it was not only the traditional and Biblical precedents that had already been set which influenced their decision. The Puritans were very selective this time in only banning theatre and plays of the time, unlike Plato, who objected to all forms of poetry involving "mimesis" and Northbrooke who lumped plays into one group with other "idle pastimes." According to Margot Heinemann, the fact that theatre was more harshly restricted than "rope-dancers, acrobats and jugglers (who would seem on the face of it just as idle and corrupting)" (Heinemann 236), was because of the more political intentions of the Puritan leaders. She notes that one member of the court, Sir William Davenant, "successfully persuaded the Cromwellian government to allow operas" (236).

It was clear at this point that the Puritan leaders saw in theatre the degeneration of society, but not, suggests Heinemann, just because of the idleness of the players. The fact was that theatre as an institution was becoming a serious opponent to the church. Theatre was at this time not only passively taking churchgoers away from their spiritual duties, but was outwardly attacking the church in its dramas.

Early Puritan attacks on theatre were based on the reputations of the actors on the stage. William Perkins objected to "boys dressed up as girls and denounced 'lascivious representations of love matters' in plays and comedies" (Heinemann 33). But later the effects of plays on the public became noticeable. The theatre began to cause civic disorder: Plays during the week "encouraged apprentices to absent themselves from work. . . . They caused traffic jams and spread infection in time of plague: and they gave an opportunity for the unemployed and idle to meet in riotous assemblies" (Heinemann 32).

Beyond these "civic" problems, an anti-Puritan sentiment began to arise in late 16th and 17th Century dramas, which was obviously not unfounded. The long-standing religious prejudice was viciously directed back at the church, and especially its leaders, by the wit of playwrights such as Ben Jonson and John Marston. Throughout literary history, church leaders had been the butt of jokes. "Religious hypocrisy and pompousness has always been a rich source of humor, from Chaucer's Monk and Friar to Wilde's Canon Chasuble and Trollope's Mr. Slope" (73). In the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Century, many Puritan members of the Court were actually patrons of theatre companies, and had strict control over the content of the plays through their censorship (16). In an extreme case, a publisher of Martin Marprelate's work, which made fun of bishops, was

hung for treason in 1593 (73). Nevertheless we have references of humor at the "clergy's expense from this period.

In *The Alchemist*, by Ben Jonson, two church officials, Pastor Tribulation Wholesome and his deacon Ananias, are shown as greedy "collection agents" who are constantly demanding offerings to the poor orphans which they use for themselves. Wholesome and Ananias are outwitted through the play by Subtle, the alchemist and Face, the housekeeper. At one point, Subtle reminds the audience of the Biblical Ananias in the New Testament:

Out, the varlet

That cozened the Apostles! Hence, away!  
Flee, mischief! Had your holy consistory  
No name to send me of another sound,  
Than wicked Ananias? Send your elders  
Hither, to make atonement for you, quickly....

All other hope of rooting out the bishops.

Or th' Antichristian hierarchy, shall perish,  
If they stay threescore minutes. (Act II)

In the passage above we can see Jonson's cynicism of bishops and church hierarchy.

Likewise, we see an anti-church sentiment in the plays of John Marston. In *The Dutch Courtesan*, Marston goes beyond Jonson's stereotypes: "Puritans are swindlers or diseased brothel-keepers.... He thinks it funny to make his 'worshipful, rotten, rough-bellies bawd', Mary Faugh, call herself one of the Family of Love, and 'none of the wicked that eat fish o' Fridays'" (Heinemann 82).

Thomas Middleton also attacks religious hypocrisy. Middleton's mouthpiece character, Allwit the "profiteer-cuckold," in his play *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* derides Puritan women, saying, "Go take a nap with some of the brethren, do/ and rise up a well edified, boldified sister. (III.ii.78)" (Heinemann 84).

The church leaders were not at all ignorant of these attacks by playwrights. It was even more fuel for their condemnation of theatre. William Crashaw, upon hearing of a play called *The Puritan*, in which two disreputable characters were given the names Nicholas St. Antlings and Simon St. Maryoveries (two existing Puritan congregations), preached the famous Paul's Cross Sermon of 1607 denouncing stage plays. Note the reference to Babylon, connecting theatre to pagan idolatry, thus echoing Augustine and Tertullian:

The ungodly plays and interludes so rife in this nation, what are they but a bastard of Babylon . . . a hellish device (the devil's own recreation to mock at holy things)? Nay, they

grow worse and worse, for now they bring religion and holy things upon the stage. . . . Two Hypocrites must be brought forth, and how shall they be described but by these names, Nicholas St Antlings, Simon St Maryoveries? Thus hypocrisy and a child of hell must bear the names of two churches of god, and two wherein God's name is called on publicly every day in the year, and in one of them his blessed word preached every day. . . . Yet these two shall be by these names miscreants thus dishonoured, and that not on the stage only, but even in print. Oh, what times are we cast into that such wickedness should pass unpunished! (Heinemann, 76)

The "wickedness" did not pass unpunished much longer, though Crashaw probably did not live to see the punishment go into effect. In 1642, when the Puritans under Oliver Cromwell took control of the English Parliament, theatres in London were declared illegal, and remained that way for almost two decades.

### *Summary*

As we have seen, it is hard to tell at first glance where the Puritans got their reasons for their policies against theatre. Upon further study, however, a strong tradition of scholars and theologians, church leaders and philosophers can be appealed to in the argument against theatre and similar manifestations of "idolatry" and "idleness." Included in the list are Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Justin, Ambrose, Clement, Tertullian, Augustine, and Luther.

We also see, by delving deeper, how the ancients and 16th and 17th Century Puritans in their writings legitimized their Anti-Theatre arguments using the Bible, which contains only one mention of a theatre (Acts 19). Those who have interpreted Scripture to say that theatre is ungodly use the Ten Commandments in Exodus. The Commandments include admonishments against idolatry, neglect of the Sabbath, and bearing false witness, all of which theatre was said to involve. Other passages that were used are found in Psalms, Matthew, Mark, and I Corinthians, etc.

The Ban on Theatre in 1642 was probably most directly related to the theatre of the time period. The playhouses were seen as dens of wickedness, where bawdy performances took place, and prostitutes and degenerates numbered among the groundlings that frequented the plays. Theatres were linked to riots and disease as well. Ultimately significant in

the eyes of the Puritans, though, were the attacks and jokes aimed at the church itself within the plays.

The events that led up to, and included the Ban were some of the most destructive in the relationship between church and theatre. Since that time, the relationship has never been the same, but it is still there. Huge Passion Plays are still staged annually in Spain and Germany, and churches in American towns are constantly writing new "liturgical dramas" like those of Medieval times. However, some denominations and groups within the church do not hold such a positive view of theatre. Some fundamentalist denominations oppose such forms of secular entertainment as cinema. Agendas of Religious Right groups include the cutting of government funds for the Arts and Humanities, upon which many theatres depend. The division between church and theatre is not as distinct as it has been in the past, but the relationship between the two is ever changing. The Ban in 1642 is only one episode in the continuing story of rifts and reunions of church and theatre.

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## Drama as a Pedagogical Tool in the Research Methods Course

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Utilizing drama for teaching research methods is suggested as a viable tool for engaging students in the process of the research "production." This essay presents a play entitled *The Power of Touch* written to be used in a research methods course, discusses the process of using this technique, and addresses the relative merits of this approach for the classroom.

### *Drama as pedagogy*

From teaching foreign languages (Corney, 1995) and cultural criticism (Case, 1988; Dola, 1988) to teaching chemistry (Hall, 1995), drama is making its way into the classroom as a pedagogical tool for awakening students' interest in subject matter. The Science Museum in South Kensington, London is attracting women of different ages by learning about chemistry and the role played by women in the field of scientific discovery through the use of a dramatic presentation. Hall (1995) states that women in the South Kensington program are starting to realize that hard science can be an enjoyable experience.

This essay argues for communication scholars to consider using drama in research methods courses. To an undergraduate student the concepts presented and discussed in a typical research methods course (e.g., sampling, variables, Hawthorne effect, significance testing) can be daunting and, possibly, may deter students from pursuing the study of communication. The following is an excerpt from an interview with a female returning student, age 43:

*"I was scared to death to take my undergraduate research methods course. I have never been good at math or understanding scientific jargon. So, I waited until the last minute to take the class."*

Drama can serve to reduce fear in students who are averse to research courses. In a dramatic presentation illustrating the concepts, process, and ethics of the research experience students can explore scientific research methods in a nonthreatening context and in a more conversational style than a typical lecture. Multimedia approaches are often more beneficial to students than single media presentations of material. Similar to the use of CD-ROM interactive software, the student can immerse him/herself in the world of the researcher's role as presented in

the dramatic script, asking the same questions as the researcher, taking the same paths, and reporting the results from his/her perspective.

Speech Communication has a long history of dealing with pedagogy through multiple media (Athanases, 1991; Downs, Javidi, & Nussbaum, 1988; Stucky, 1995) and yet, while we know that multimedia, multisense exposure to information increases the likelihood of learning (Brown, 1985; Gimmetstad & Dechiara, 1982; Lashbrook and Wheelless, 1978) there seems to be a gap in the application of that particular knowledge in the applied world of teaching research methods.

Perkins (1994) called for scholars to examine what it means to bring drama into the classroom or to use drama as a tool for critical thinking. She argues that the classroom already is a rhetorical site where performance occurs, typically, however, as a structured lecture performance. Narrative and drama theorists argue that our understanding of the world is structured by the stories we tell to explain our experiences (Bruner, 1987; Burke, 1985; Fisher, 1984; Josselson & Liebich, 1996; Langellier, 1989; Park-Fuller, 1995; White & Epston, 1994). Performance, through its ability to arouse emotion, establishes identification, and connects us to new experiences, alters our narrative explanations by teaching new stories and modifying existing ones.

Gourd (1977) suggests that audience members are actively involved in processing the message content of a dramatic presentation. Scholars in theater and performance studies (Conquergood, 1992; Perkins, 1994) propoort that performance may be viewed as a rhetorical relationship between the actors, the writers, and the audience. Bertolt Brecht (1964) argues that an audience should be critically involved in the performance and with the characters. He assumes that audiences (students) desire to be entertained by learning and critiquing. He suggests that drama as a pedagogical tool to illustrate ideas, generate discussion and critique is the (or should be ) the purpose of drama (1964). The teacher/professor may serve the "alienation role" that Brecht recommends by pulling the students back from engagement in the performance and facilitating the process of looking at the ideas critically.

Even if the dramatic script is silently read rather than performed out loud in class there is a rich body of literature which supports the efficacy of bibliotherapy. "Biblio" is a Greek term meaning book and "therapeia" a Greek term meaning service. Reading drama is believed to have the power to bring about insights, foster understandings, change attitudes and opinions, and teach novel information (Miller-Rassulo & Hecht, 1988; Shrank & Engels, 1981; Warner, 1980; White & Epston, 1994). McInnis (1982) suggests that the process of this type of learning progresses through four stages; (1) identification--the reader experiences a closeness toward a



character or situation and there is a level of emotional investment; (2) projection--the reader interprets or infers as to the motives involved in the reading and then applies those to his/her life; (3) catharsis--the verbal or nonverbal expression of emotion in relation to the experience; and (4) insight--the reader recognizes him/herself in the symbols and the characters and can see him/herself enacting the same events.

Reading a script that enacts the events of a social scientific research project may not engender an emotional catharsis. This reading, if accompanied by critical and thoughtful discussion facilitated by the teacher or the students themselves, may allow the students to identify with the researcher, the research process, and project him/herself into the action, ask the same questions, battle with the same obstacles, feel frustration at certain complications, increase understanding, and achieve clarity of difficult terminology and process. Post-performance critical analysis and discussion has been found to increase involvement, problem-solving skills, and insight (Saper, 1967; Valentine & Valentine, 1983).

When a student vicariously experiences the research process, whether the process includes qualitative or quantitative methodology, s/he can see the entire production for all of its strengths and production flaws. In the case of the proposed script, *The Power of Touch*, the student can experience the experimental research process from preproduction planning (design), casting (subject selection), rehearsal (pilot testing and/or coder training), to performances (implementing methods), to end-of-the-run reviews (results and discussion). The research process can be discussed as analogous with a dramatic production. The student learns to realize that although the reviews may not always be stellar for every research production, like a dramaturg, s/he can gain insight glancing at the entire production process. Not only, then, is the reward for the student based on experiencing course content in a less threatening atmosphere but, may be developing an awareness of the creative process which is necessary to be an effective researcher.

Rogers (1969) and Lashbrook and Wheelless (1978) all stress the need of the student to actively participate in the educational process, engaging both feeling and intellect. This essay argues that the use of drama in the classroom to provide students with an experiential learning situation that integrates feeling and intellect while experiencing research methods in action.

Ultimately, the use of a dramatized script in the research methods classroom may provide behavioral modeling. Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1976) suggests that an individual will learn certain skills by modeling those skills in relevant contexts. Also implicit in this theory is that by modeling certain behaviors an individual will become desensitized to any

apprehension or fear of the skill and therefore will move toward self-efficacy in the behavior (Pollich, Ellickson, Reuter, & Kahn, 1984). Bandura's (1976) work indicates how communication competencies develop and how new competencies may be taught via modeling. Using drama as a pedagogical tool to teach the research process provides a model for students, creates increased identification with the characters, and decreases the cognitive and emotional distance of the spectator with the subject matter (Ben Chaim, 1984; Berleant, 1991). Social learning emphasizes the role of modeling as central to the learning of new behavior. Dramatic representations offer a structure to provide modeled behavior in an experiential context. Decker and Nathan (1985) stress that modeled behavior must be: (1) distinctive, (2) meaningful to the observer; (3) not too complex, and (4) observable. The challenge is to provide modeled behavior that meets these criteria while remaining salient to the students.

### *The Play is the Thing*

This essay suggests the use of drama to teach concepts of research methods and model behavior of a social scientist. To be maximally effective, messages must be adapted to the specific audience, therefore, a brief play, "Power of Touch" has been developed and applied in a research methods course. The content of this particular play addresses key concepts and issues in research methods, particularly: development of research questions and hypotheses, literature review, sampling, measurement, validity, reliability, experimental design, researcher effects, main effects, interaction effects, and significance. The entire script takes the research methods student through all five stages of the research process: conceptualization, operationalization, methods, analysis & results, reconceptualization (Frey, Botan, Friedman & Kreps, 1991). The play makes it possible for students to compliment the academic discussion in the text and in class with a more contextually based experience of the concepts in the play.

The script addresses certain ethical issues in research and represents particular attitudes toward conducting research. Joe, the businessman who hires Professor Collins to conduct this study at his business, embodies the everpresent confused curiosity that many students express when initially confronted with a research methods course: How does this work? Why do you do that? What is the bottom line? Professor Collins is the mouthpiece who articulates specific concerns regarding the research design and the implications of the study. Carl, the statistician sidekick, plays the devil's advocate and provides a dim comic relief. Potentially, these characters can

communicate the message that the research process is not all that daunting, but can be creative and rewarding.

### *Implementation of the Play*

I recommend integration of *The Power of Touch* script into the research methods course after the students have been introduced to the concepts of research questions and hypotheses. Questions and predictions by the client (Joe) initially propel the script. An earlier introduction to the philosophy of research and even a cursory introduction to inductive and deductive theory building may be helpful.

I have found that the implementation of the script should precede classroom discussion of concepts such as design, sampling, operationalization, triangulation, analysis, and significance. When it is time to discuss these concepts in the course, the play has already provided a contextual framework for the concepts and the student has a more concrete point of reference.

One way to use this script in the classroom is to have actors from the theater department (or your own students) rehearse the script and present a reading of the script for the class. When I use the exercise, I have students volunteer to read parts. Students do not need to prepare in advance, but I often give them at least a weekend to explore the script and their role. I recommend that the instructor give pre-production directions to the performers to keep the tone of the performance light and fun. In addition, I suggest that the instructor try to encourage the actor who plays Carl to tease rather than be lecherous.

The length of time to read/perform the script is typically 35-45 minutes. For a fifty minute class period you may want to close your session with an overview of the study dramatized in the script--perhaps a quick overview of the hypotheses, variables, design, and summation of major findings. During the next class period, I recommend that you devote a minimum of 50 minutes to the discussion of the script, the characters, the study, the research terminology, and to the findings. The discussion schedule and subsequent study questions developed for each class should reflect the educational objectives of the course and individual instructor. A typical question to initiate discussion might be: Can you talk me through the different stages of the research process that these characters went through?

I typically end each class period (when appropriate) with questions relating the material covered in that class period to the script. For example, on the day that the course covers experimental design I will

conclude the class period with several questions soliciting information about *The Power of Touch* experiment: What kind of design did they use? Why did they use a control group? Why the speculation about pretesting? What are the independent variables? Dependent variables? What is the design statement?

I will always include several questions on exams asking the students to analyze and critique the different elements of the research process used in *The Power of Touch*. Sample exam:

\*List the hypotheses at the heart of *The Power of Touch* study.

\*List the null hypotheses

\*List the independent variables.

\*List the dependent variables

\*Were the subjects randomly selected?

\*Were the subjects randomly assigned?

\*Did all of the scales used to measure the dependent variables have a reliability coefficient of .80 or higher?

\*How did they measure changes in productivity?

\*To the best of your knowledge, what threats were there to internal validity?

\*To the best of your knowledge, what threats were there to external validity?

\*Explain what the research findings were regarding the variable of satisfaction.

\*What is the "main effect" discussed in the findings? What is the "interaction effect?"

\*Explain why the researchers wanted to follow-up the study with measures over the course of a calendar year.

### *Customized Scripting*

The use of *The Power of Touch* script may not be desirable or applicable for all research methods courses. What makes the use of drama in the classroom interesting is the potential of developing your own script customized to highlight the concepts germane to the particular course. The initial step in the development of a script is to list the course content that you wish to illustrate or communicate. What are the crucial concepts you want to illustrate and weave into the storyline? It is a fine line between too little information and too much. Too much information and you run the risk in talking "at" your audience and giving the audience information overload. Too little information and the exercise loses potency as an experiential vehicle. The most difficult task is to translate the concepts into

conversational language while maintaining the credibility of the information. My experience with *The Power of Touch* is that the degree to which the lines come "trippingly off their tongues" has a lot to do with the natural qualities of the actors who present the script. Some presentations of the script come off as more "lecturing" than others.

Next, you may want to take the storyline from a research project conducted by yourself or a colleague. This may give the script more of a sense of reality than *The Power of Touch*. *The Power of Touch* was designed to be slightly unrealistic and detective "film noir." While the events, dialogue, and characters in the play are fictional, the concepts, research problems, and processes are grounded in a solid base of information.

The most complicated task, of course, is to weave your concepts into a play format using familiar characters and a plotline which mirrors a typical dramatic plot. If possible, attempt to script some tension into the plot. Valentine & Valentine (1981) outlines the following as a format for dramatic structure: *Build* (the rising action, introduction of characters, introduction of research questions, hypotheses, establish setting); *Crisis* (Tension mounts and there may be a change in direction, possible a character who interferes with the research project, possible a problem with the project itself); *Climax* (the moment of the most intense energy, possibly the results, possibly an outcome of a relationship you have developed in the script); and *Denouement* (the falling action, results and discussion, reconceptualization of the study, resolution of relationships).

It is advisable to conduct a pilot testing of the script on a sample of students before you integrate it into the classroom. A focus group may provide the necessary feedback necessary to edit the script where necessary and make additions where there are unintentional gaps in information.

### *Student response*

The true test of efficacy of using drama in the classroom has been the response of students. Overall, students who have been exposed to the script *The Power of Touch* in my research methods course have found the script helpful in providing them with a method for examining behavioral roles that typically would occur only in professional settings. The students are able to experience the research process in a reasonable time frame and in the shared environment of the classroom. The play introduces concepts in a format that increases identification and facilitates learning. A sampling of student comments includes:

*"The script helped me apply the concepts and terms (learned) in class to an actual study."*

*"It's one thing to memorize what is a variable and what is validity and spit it out on a test. It is another thing to see how these are used in practice."*

*"I took this class because it was required, but I ended up seeing how this research stuff can be applied to my job in my organization. I'm glad we examined the experiment used in the in-class script because I got some ideas of how to test the effectiveness of certain programs at work."*

*"It was kinda corny, but cool."*

Although, I will be reworking the script to exclude corniness and include more "coolness," the process of including drama in the classroom has been rewarding and profitable for both me and my students. Ultimately, I propose that the use of drama as a pedagogical tool is a viable option not only in performance studies courses but also in the research methods course.

### *The Script:*

## ***The Power of Touch***

### **Act One**

#### **Scene One**

*Sam Spade style costumes and/or accompanying music might be used to set the tone for the interaction. The soft golden light of sunrise peeks down a corner alley and trash is strewn about. We see the shadow of a person lurking around the corner of a trash bin. Six foot two or three, large build. He steps out from behind the bin, lights up a cigarette and . . . coughs.*

*An attractive fair-haired woman emerges from the back door of some establishment and steps into the alley. She glances in the direction of the cough.*

**Prof (woman):** Gotta give up those things.

**Joe:** Professor Collins?

**Prof:** Yes.

**Joe:** Ma'am, I've got a proposition.

**Prof:** Look buddy . . .

**Joe:** No . . . a consulting job.

*Light fills the alley. Morning has broken. We see clearly now that the man has on a suit and tie. He looks remarkably like (Fill in the*

*blank with a current media personality or local identity of interest).*

*She has a lab coat on over a pair of worn jeans and reading glasses perched on her head hold her hair in place.*

**Joe:** I want you to . . .

*Music swells.*

. . . assess if . . . well, if body massages are a good thing to have at the office.

*She stands, eyes wide, mouth agape. She looks both ways down the alley and ducks around the corner.*

**Prof:** Follow me.

## Scene Two

*They enter a small diner. The kind with sticky counters and a juke box against the wall that still has Bee Gee's tunes to choose from. Joe puts his 50 cents in the jukebox and pushes his selection--the theme from "(students fill in the blank)."*

**Prof:** So, Mr. . . .

**Joe:** Joe

**Prof:** Mr. Joe

**Joe:** No, just Joe, Ma'am . . . Joe.

**Prof:** So, Joe. How do you know me? What do you want? And is this legit?

**Joe:** Yes, I'm sorry about how I came across a little earlier. I didn't mean to startle you, all this talk of body massages and all.

*He offers her a cigarette and she takes one. She leans forward as he lights her cigarette from across the table.*

*I heard about you from a friend--Carl.*

*A smile slowly creeps across her face.*

Yeah, I can see you remember him. He and I went to school together at (fill in your college or university) back in '85. He says that you two worked together on a consulting project for (fill in a local organization). He says you're the best at what you do. That's why I came to you.

**Prof:** (Smiling). I'd hate to think what he told you about me as a referral for consulting job on . . . body massages?

*Joe inhales deeply on his cigarette then crush's it out slowly.*

**Joe:** Only that you are "good with the details" as he says fondly. I've got an idea for my company and I want to know if you can help me carry it out. I need the help of someone who can assess the effectiveness of massages on my employees.

*She chuckles and then quickly stifles the urge to laugh. She puts out her cigarette, folds her hands under her chin and listens.*

I know it sounds odd but I've been doing some reading in the business journals and the holistic health magazines and it seems that shoulder rubs, body massages, reflexology, and the like seem to have personal benefits and also may benefit employee productivity.

**Prof:** You mean employees who get massages work more productively? *She leans further forward on her elbows.* What line of business are you in, Joe?

**Joe:** Oh, I'm sorry. You don't even know who I am. I am Joe Chakra, owner and CEO of (fill in the name of your city ) Data Processing. I have over 300 employees and we are sure to grow within the next year. After reading this stuff on massage I really thought it would be interesting and beneficial for my company to experiment with this idea of massage in the office. Not full body massage, mind you, merely shoulder rubs every three hours as the employee is working at his/her terminal. You see, almost all of my employees are stationed at a computer terminal for eight hours a day.

**Prof:** So, what exactly do you want to know?

**Joe:** I want to know if shoulder rubs given to employees at three hour intervals throughout the day increases the worker's productivity, increases employee satisfaction, and/or positively effects the organizational climate.

**Prof:** You seem to think that this will have a positive effect on your business or you wouldn't invest money in this project. What do you predict will happen?

**Joe:** Predictions seem silly to me. But, I would bet that those employees who received the shoulder rubs would be more productive, be more satisfied, and the office would ultimately be a friendlier place to work in! I tell you, even if the office talk changes from (fill in current event in the news) to this it would be a blessing!

*He laughs to himself and the prof stares across the room and absently brush her long hair off her shoulder and pulls her glasses from on top of her head down over her nose. With one swift move she reaches into her lab coat and pulls out a pad of paper and a pencil.*

**Prof:** It's certainly worth a try then! Actually, I think it's a good idea. You have a hunch, you've done some reading on the subject, you have formulated your research question and even proposed a hypothesis. You've accomplished the first phase of the research process.

**Joe:** I did all of that? I guess I did. So what do you think? Should I hire a masseuse and have her give everyone a shoulder rub and then give them a survey? This is where I need your help.

*The professor lays her pencil and pad down, looks furtively over her shoulder for a server, and catching the eye of a server she adds . . .*



**Prof:** This may take a while. How about some coffee and some breakfast? We'll give Carl the bill.

## Act Two

### Scene One

*Lights come up and we see the Prof sitting at a conference table in a glass enclosed conference room. Her chair is tilted sideways and she is deep in a conversation with a dark Italian man who looks approximately 32, with curly black hair, dressed casually, yet with style. He is leaning forward obviously intent on listening to every word she is saying. We see him smile and say something, then she throws her head back in laughter. They are laughing as Joe enters the conference room with three coffee mugs and thermos.*

**Joe:** Did I miss something?

**Prof:** Nope, just catching up on old times. Carl was reminding me of antics that I would rather forget.

*She smiles broadly at Carl. Carl looks at his watch.*

**Carl:** Well, time flies . . . Let's have at that coffee and get started, I have a meeting at the Governors Office at noon. What is the plan for this research project and what is my part? Do I get to give the massages?! How about I test all of the potential masseuses for skill level. Have each one give me a 1/2 hour massage. I could get into that!

*Prof looks at Carl with mock reproach.*

**Prof:** Some things NEVER change.

**Joe:** You wish, Carl. Professor Collins and I . . .

**Prof:** Pamela, please . . .

**Joe:** Pamela and I have come up with a brief outline of what we will be doing. We decided to bring you on board to help with the statistics.

**Carl:** Using me for my head again and not my body . . . how disappointing.

**Prof:** Carl . . .

**Carl:** Okay, okay. What is the research plan? Are you just going to do a survey?

**Prof:** It would be useful to do a survey after implementing the massages but that wouldn't provide us with any evidence. We need to do an experimental study to assess the association between massage and the three questions of productivity, satisfaction, and organizational climate.

**Joe:** Why?

**Prof:** Oh, let's say that in a survey of your secretarial staff we found that

75% of these workers increased in productivity after you gave them massages. There might be any number of explanations for the increase in productivity. For one thing, secretaries might be systematically different in some ways from other employees who didn't receive the massages.

**Joe:** How can we avoid things like that with an experiment?

**Prof:** Well, we start by forming groups that are alike on all factors. Equivalence is accomplished by random assignment and in some cases matching.

**Carl:** Pam, you can't be sure groups are alike on all factors just because you randomly assign people to them.

**Prof:** True. Randomization only makes it probable that groups are alike. The larger the sample the more likely it will be that the groups will be alike.

**Joe:** Yeah, but what if our groups are still unlike in ways that may be important?

**Prof:** One strategy is to use matching. Participants are matched according to characteristics that might influence outcomes. They are then randomly assigned to control and experimental groups.

**Joe:** So, you might match an employee by gender and then randomly assign them to a control or experimental group?

**Prof:** Yes, but even if you used that factor for matching, that would be only one. The groups might be unequal in other things.

*Carl puts his hand on Pamela's arm and leaves it there.*

**Carl:** You may want to do a lot of premeasurement of the employees then.

*She looks at him, down at his hand, back at him, then slides her arm out from under his hand.*

**Prof:** You seem to be getting a bit carried away. Pretesting should be minimal if done at all. In this case, yes, there will be some pretesting using satisfaction measures and measuring the organizational climate. But, we want to avoid weighing down the employees with too much pre-testing. Pre-testing can influence the way people respond on latter tests. In this case we can use personnel records to get additional data.

**Joe:** So, the groups still may not be identical?

**Carl:** They will be as equal as possible. That is why it is important to replicate studies to see if the same results occur.

**Joe:** Will one group be an experimental group and another a control group?

**Prof:** We really need many groups, but, I think we can answer your questions with three groups.

**Joe:** Three! I hope this doesn't cost me extra. I thought we needed

only an experimental group and a control group.

**Carl:** More groups are more exciting because you can test a lot of different things. Each group can be exposed to slightly different things. Two groups are a minimum requirement.

**Prof:** *Laughing.* Excitement. Leave it to you to bring that in as a variable! Really, though it is more interesting to test more things. I am concerned, however, with the number of participants that we have. You have 300 employees, and we need at least 100 employees in each condition. That allows us a maximum of three. Once we start minimizing our numbers in each condition the results begin to be watered down. I see us as having three groups: One control group and two manipulation groups. The experimental manipulation will be massage but also duration.

**Joe:** The control group gets no massage at all, is that right?

**Carl:** *Under his breath.* Yeah, poor suckers.

**Prof:** Yes. A control group receives no treatment at all. But, to be fair and ethical I recommend that you offer these employees massages AFTER the study is completed so that they don't feel slighted. This alone could screw up our findings!

**Joe:** Oh, what am I getting myself into?!

*He stands and begins pacing the floor.*

**Prof:** You're nervous? Don't be. This is exciting . . .

**Carl:** *Muttering.* You said it, I didn't!

**Prof:** . . . You are joining the ranks of some very astute business managers. The research done to date on this subject is minimal but it indicates a strong trend for effectiveness. If your prediction is true, based on the previous findings, you could make a lot more money next year by implementing this program!

**Joe:** True, true . . .

**Prof:** Let's not get the cart before the horse though. The previous research indicates effectiveness but none were controlled studies. And none manipulated duration of massage as a variable. I feel that is important based on a few studies in the medical journals. So, I see the three groups as 1) control group, 2) massage for ten minutes every three hours and, 3) massage for 30 minutes every three hours.

**Carl:** Phew. That will be one tired masseuse!

**Prof:** You know, that is something we need to talk about. The hiring of the massage therapists. Carl was kidding when he said he would "audition" the massage therapists . . .

**Carl:** *Interrupting.* No I wasn't!

**Prof:** . . . anyway, he has a point. We need to make sure that the quality of massage is comparable across conditions.

**Joe:** Could we just assign one masseuse to each group. I'm thinking of costs here!

**Prof:** Think about it Joe. Have you ever had a bad massage?

**Carl:** There is NO SUCH THING!

**Prof:** *Ignoring Carl.* Come on. Have you ever had someone give you a neck rub for ...oh...ten seconds, with a featherweight touch and then say, "Okay I'm done. Feel better?"

*Joe and Carl smile in agreement.*

**Prof:** Okay. Let's compare that to a professional neck rub which gets into the muscle, relieves stress, and is invigorating. All I'm saying is that if we assign one massage therapist to one group and another to another group any differences we may find may have more to do with his/her massage style than the massage or duration itself.

**Carl:** We can't have ONE therapist for 200 people!

**Prof:** But we can train our particular massage therapists to give the neck massages in a certain way and "test" them for quality control throughout the process. These therapists also have to be randomly assigned to participants.

**Joe:** *Sitting.* Hmmm. All of this training for one week or so of massages!

**Carl:** *Chuckling.* Now for the really BAD news.

**Prof:** Well, Joe, I think you are underestimating the time involved a bit. I think we need to implement this program over the course of one month. Not one week.

**Joe:** *Standing back up.* One month!

**Prof:** Sit down. Relax. Remember you are investing in a potentially moneymaking venture! Most of the previous research seems to indicate results only after the novelty factor wore off. One week is just not enough time.

**Joe:** *Pouring more coffee.* Want any?

*Carl and Pamela shake their heads no.*

**Joe:** Okay. So tell me the procedures. How are we going to do this?

**Prof:** After randomly assigning all 300 employees to one of three groups we will give them all the same measures. I suggest a general workplace satisfaction measure and an organizational climate survey to ascertain the satisfaction and perceptions of climate BEFORE they receive the massages. Then we will assign each trained massage therapist to certain participants. I suggest two weeks into the study we rotate the therapists so that each participant is exposed to multiple therapists. Then, at the end of the month we will give each participant the same measures.

**Joe:** The same measures? But, didn't they already fill these out before?

**Prof:** Yes, but this is the way we can compare their level of satisfaction and perceptions of climate BEFORE the experimental manipulation and then AFTER. Hopefully, any significant changes may be attributed to the manipulated variable/s.

**Joe:** What about productivity? Will we measure that with a paper and pencil measure?

**Carl:** Well, I doubt if we would do that because that would only get at their "perceived" productivity. I suggest we look at the organizational paper trail measuring productivity. Whatever YOU use to measure productivity of the staff. We need to track those measures to see if there are differences throughout the course of the month.

**Joe:** Are the surveys you talked about trustworthy?

**Prof:** That's a good question. We need to think about if we are assessing satisfaction and perceived climate reliably. The satisfaction measure I want to use has a Cronbach's alpha reliability rating of .89 and the climate measure has a rating of .75.

**Joe:** I don't get this reliability thing.

**Carl:** Technically it means that it is measuring what it is supposed to be measuring over many trials. The items all correlate with one another and so they are measuring the same thing. If there was no relationship between the questions, we call them items . . . then the correlation would be zero. If there was a complete match between items the correlation would be One.

**Joe:** Then a rating of .75 means that the items are related much better than zero, but not quite 100%.

**Prof:** Essentially.

**Carl:** Pam, I do have a question. What if there is an employee who just doesn't like to be touched. If he/she finds the massages irritating. We are assuming everyone will love it.

**Prof:** Good question. *She taps her pencil on the table.* We need a manipulation check of some sort. Those people will clearly surface when we analyze the data. But we probably need to do a mid-point assessment to see if the massages are relaxing for participants. That is the objective, anyhow. Perhaps we can do a brief interview with each participant throughout the process. Maybe just have them E-mail us a message about the massage after the third week.

**Carl:** That's not specific enough. I suggest that we E-mail all employees a three-item survey getting their feedback after each week.

**Joe:** Whoa, Overload.

**Prof:** Okay. Every other week. That way we'll know if the manipulation is doing what it is supposed to be doing --relaxing the employee!

**Carl:** *Standing Well*, I have to be going. Call me when you need me to train those massage therapists!

**Prof:** You'll be the massage prop. *Laughing*. A kind of training dummy. . . no pun intended.

**Joe:** We should have this up and ready to go by October.

## Scene Two

*In Joe's spacious office. The experiment has been completed and the data analyzed. Joe is seated in a large leather chair with Carl seated across from him on the leather couch. They seem relaxed and happy.*

**Joe:** You are a fool, man. You know that?

**Carl:** Why, because I won't let her know that I'm interested? She turned me out before. Why would I think anything has changed. Besides, it's all business now.

**Joe:** You never know unless you . . .

*Pamela enters the room with a stack of computer print outs and a bound report.*

**Prof:** Hey guys, you ready for the good news?

**Carl:** Elvis is alive and masquerading as (Fill in current U. S. president)?

**Prof:** Carl . . . *She rolls her eyes. Sits on the couch beside Carl and crosses her legs.*

Actually, Joe, we found significant results in several of the analyses we ran.

**Joe:** Significant to whom?

**Prof:** Statistically significant. But, practically, I would say that your money was well spent. You may have a process here that will increase your employees productivity and their satisfaction with their work. I still have more questions about altered perceptions of the organizational climate.

**Carl:** What these print outs indicate is that, for example, satisfaction with one's job increased significantly after the massages. The effect sizes were much larger for the group that had the longer massages. The significance level was set at .01. This means that we would find this effect less than one time out of 100 by chance.

**Prof:** Yes, the differences between each group would not be likely to occur by chance reasons alone. There is too much difference for that.

**Carl:** The significance test doesn't indicate *why* the differences occurred or whether they are important. It merely reports that there is something going on here that can not happen by chance alone.

**Joe:** We can't tell why we got effects?

**Carl:** Well, we know that the experiment was internally valid. We used random assignment, manipulation checks, reliable instruments. Because these things were controlled we have a pretty good idea that any effects were due to our manipulations.

**Prof:** There were a couple of glitches.

**Joe:** Oh?

**Prof:** Two employees chose not to participate after the first week due to personal preference. They found the experience to be distracting rather than helpful so they dropped out.

**Joe:** Does that screw us up?

**Carl:** Not really. Since we are starting with a relatively small subject pool it could have hurt us if more people dropped out. It's hard to generalize with so few subjects.

**Prof:** But, as it happens, we lost only one participant in each of the experimental groups rather than both from the same experimental condition.

**Joe:** Okay. So, in the end, what did we find?

**Prof:** Well, we looked at three variables: productivity, satisfaction, and organizational climate. We need to go back to our hypotheses to see if our predictions were supported. I can say that the data indicate that hypotheses one and two are supported and hypothesis three received partial support.

**Joe:** What were the hypotheses again?

**Carl:** Hypothesis one was our prediction that intermittent shoulder massage would increase your worker's productivity.

**Prof:** Records indicate that there was a significant increase in productivity for both experimental groups. The 10 minute massage group increased productivity by 15% and the 30 minute group increased in productivity 25%.

**Joe:** Hmm. Let's just give them full body massages and see what happens!

**Carl:** Probably nobody would want to get ANY work done!

**Prof:** The control group's level of productivity actually decreased by 3%.

**Carl:** Which leads us to, hypothesis two where we predicted that intermittent shoulder massage would increase worker satisfaction.

**Prof:** The data indicate that there was a correlation--a relationship--between duration of massage and satisfaction with their job. The longer massages had a much greater main effect size on satisfaction than the shorter massages. There was, however, an interaction effect with gender.

*Joe looks puzzled.*

**Carl:** Basically, the longer massages affected women's satisfaction more than men's.

**Prof:** Yes, but there was a significant effect for both genders, just stronger for women than for men.

**Joe:** So, correlation is a relationship. And it indicates the strength of that relationship?

**Prof:** Exactly.

**Carl:** Lastly, the prediction that the intermittent massages would positively affect organizational climate was partially supported.

*Pamela is smiling at Carl. She thinks, "he's very handsome when he is serious for two minutes."*

**Prof:** All three groups indicated that the climate in the offices improved because of the massages. But the results were just barely significant. I have to say we didn't really define what we meant by climate clearly. There was some confusion as to how we were operationally defining climate. I think that this study needs to be replicated with a clearer operationalization of organizational climate. The "ol call for further study" is needed!

**Joe:** Not with my money it doesn't!

*They all laugh.*

**Prof:** The worst is over. I think you can be confident in implementing this process in your workplace. It will turn out to be cost effective!

**Carl:** I suggest you monitor the productivity and satisfaction for the first year of the program, though. Long-term follow-up data are usually more telling than merely one month.

*Pamela looks at Carl and grins.*

**Prof:** Does that mean we may be working together for a whole other year!

**Carl:** Hopefully . . . *Looking at Joe.* Unless you have a policy against consultants of yours dating on off-hours.

*Joe shrugs as if to say, "it doesn't bother me." Then he slips out the door.*

**Prof:** Are you asking me out?

**Carl:** It looks that way.

**Prof:** What do you have in mind?

**Carl:** Maybe dinner, a movie . . .

**Prof:** Sounds good . . .

**Carl:** Perhaps a little off-duty massage . . .

*She looks at him sternly, and opens the door to exit.*

**Prof:** Now you're pushing it.

**Carl:** Okay, okay . . . *He flicks off the lights and follows her out the door.*



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## TEACHER'S WORKBOOK

### Reunion: Sixteen Variations on a Dyadic Dialogue A Classroom Exercise

Marion Boyer, Kalamazoo Valley Community College

In my community college classroom of oral performance students I use several activities to help students develop their interpretive skills. I wrote the following "Reunion" exercise as a brief, deliberately ambiguous conversation between two individuals. The dialogue allows for a variety of interpretations, all within the familiar context of a reunion. I utilize this exercise early in the course to demonstrate to students the numerous ways nonverbal vocal and kinesic cues transmit meaning.

Students collaborate to develop their scene in dyads. Scene variations are written to involve both mixed gender and same gender dyads. The students are given fifteen minutes to create a convincing portrayal of the reunion scenario they are assigned. The student pair decides between them who will play character A or B. They are restricted to the script; no lines may be added or deleted.

As the pairs play out their scenes I ask the class to determine which of the reunion scenes the other dyads are portraying. This engenders mindful audience listening and some critical analysis.

We have fun with this exercise. It allows for freedom of imagination and demonstrates to students the range of possible interpretations within a simple dialogue. As students actively construct the meaning of each line in the dialogue relative to their characters, they discover ways to perform physically and vocalize effectively. Facial expressions, well-timed pauses and body posture and gestures make each dialogue performance distinct and true.

After all of the pairs have performed the discussion that results may take several directions. In the oral performance class we talk about the ways silence communicates between characters, and with an audience, to build tension or strengthen humor. Choices the students make about how they move into the scene, sit, stand, and move their bodies all reveal to an audience the attitudes of the characters in the scene. In many cases the scenes lead to interesting insights regarding the ways we stereotypically portray characters--such as the elderly or children. We talk about the range of emotions the characters are feeling and the ways an interpreter might display those emotions. Finally, it is the variety of options the interpreter has within the framework of a simple dialogue that students talk

about most often. These options are guided by the skills of the students in their abilities to empathize with characters' emotions, to identify the nature of the relationship within the scene, and to use their voices and their bodies to convincingly portray their interpretation of the conversation. Because these same communication skills are fostered in the public speaking course and interpersonal communication courses, I have used this exercise in those classes, as well, to demonstrate the power of nonverbal communication.

### *The Reunion*

**Directions:** You will perform a short scripted dialogue with a partner. You have fifteen minutes to prepare your scene to perform for the class. You are required to speak only the lines as they are written, no improvisation or deletions. You will be assigned the scene variation you will perform. You must decide between yourselves who will play character A and who will be character B. The only props you may use are two chairs.

**The scene:** Two individuals bump into one another at a reunion.

**A:** Hey! Oh! I'm surprised to see you here.

**B:** Why wouldn't I be here?

**A:** Never mind--that wasn't what I meant. Well . . . anyway . . . you haven't changed at all.

**B:** Really? You have [./?]

**A:** What?

**B:** Changed.

**A:** Oh. Yes. Well, I guess I have. It's hard to really believe how long it's been. My life's changed a lot. But anyway, what about you?

**B:** Nothing to report.

**A:** Sure [./?] (begins to move away) I was going to get something to drink--can I get you anything?

**B:** (responds nonverbally -- invent your own response here -- a grunt, head

shake, nod, insolent stare, flirty gaze. . .)

\* on lines 4 and 9 this notation [./?] indicates the line may be interpreted as a statement or as a question.

### Variation #1 - *The High School Reunion*

Scene characterizations-- Assume a high school reunion after several years in the school's cafeteria.

1) A teacher and nervous former student meet who were often in conflict with one another in class years ago. The student did not want to have to face this particular teacher ever again. The teacher remembers this student very well.

2) Two old high school sweethearts, both currently married to other people, haven't seen each other in 15 years but find one another still very attractive.

3) Classmates who are reunited after 10 years. One is still smitten with the other and wants to rekindle the flame of passion they had for each other in high school. The other is definitely not interested.

4) At a 20 year high school reunion two former classmates meet. One was extremely popular, voted most likely to succeed. The other classmate was not particularly popular in high school and still resents the popular student. The popular student doesn't even remember the classmate but in this conversation heartily pretends to recognize and remember the other.

5) Former high school athletic star meets former high school brainy but awkward student. The star is now an assistant coach of an unsuccessful team at the high school. The brainy student is now very smooth and confident and a wealthy entrepreneur.

6) Two former classmates who are not at all interested in having a conversation with one another but since they bumped they feel obligated to speak to each other to be polite. They are both distracted throughout the conversation because they would rather be talking to someone else if they could only locate that person. Throughout the conversation they scan the room, occasionally recognizing other people.

7) Two former friends who despised one another by graduation over a bitter rivalry. Mutual friends tricked them both into coming to this tenth reunion hoping these two would finally reconcile.

8) Two classmates meet again after 20 years. One has a distinctly improved physical appearance since high school, while the other looks every bit 20 years older.

### Variation #2 - *The Family Reunion*

Scene characterizations-- Assume an annual reunion of a large family gathered together in a rented hall.

1) Two family members collide at the reunion, one of whom married the person they both loved. They haven't seen one another since the wedding five years ago. The hurt is still sharp, just below the surface, but they are trying not to make a scene. They are keenly aware that family members are watching the conversation and hoping for the best.

2) Two very elderly grandparents who do not like one another collide at the reunion. Each line is an attempted insult--for example, "surprised to see you here" may be intended or heard to mean, "thought you'd be dead by now."

3) Two family members who are acting hearty and pleased to see one another actually bitterly despise each other. One, perhaps, cheated the other in a financial deal.

4) One family member deliberately collides with the other to use the conversation as an occasion to pry confirmation of some scandalous rumor about the other. The nosey one is trying to be subtle, but the other clearly knows what is happening.

5) Two women--one is very obviously pregnant--collide. The other woman is unmarried and very aware that her biological clock is ticking.

6) Two family members collide at the reunion. One is the family "problem person," recently released from jail. The other is very uncomfortable talking to the family ex-con. The problem person is enjoying the family member's discomfort and likes making him/her squirm.

7) Two children collide and imitate the adult conversations making fun of them by playacting like grownups.

8) The current spouse collides with his/her mate's former spouse. (The divorced spouse is currently married to another family member and therefore is attending the reunion.) They have a history of tension between them.

The *Antigone* TV Interviews:  
An Activity for the Introductory Theatre Course

Barbara Mackey, University of Toledo

When teaching an introductory theatre course, one constantly looks for pedagogical methods that will involve the students more deeply than the traditional lecture/discussion format. As teachers have observed and studies have shown, the larger the class, the more likely that discussion will be dominated by just a few student contributors. Another problem entails reaching the student on his or her own level. In attempting to begin with what the student knows, the instructor often discovers that many undergraduates lack the ability to relate to an historical period previous to their own. Even World War II is ancient history; the world of the fifth century Greeks unimaginable.

It was to solve the problems of involvement and reaching the student on familiar territory that I devised the assignment of the *Antigone* TV interviews. Few students lack familiarity with TV talk shows. In addition, I chose *Antigone* over other Greek dramas because of the universality of the theme of youthful rebellion against tyranny. Few students have escaped an experience with generational conflict, whether with a parent, teacher, or employer.

I approach this assignment after first supplying background information on the Greek theatre, the Greek religion, and the myth of the House of Atreus. This is done through lecture and textbook reading. The students are then reminded that the reading of Sophocles' *Antigone* is due for the next class meeting. (It is also on the syllabus.) I briefly describe the characters of Creon, Antigone, Ismene, the Guard, Haemon, and the Theban Elders, and I outline the plot situation at the beginning of the play. (Eurydice, Teiresias, and the Messenger may be added, but their characters are less developed and give the students less to work with.) With only this minimal information, the students are asked to sign up for one of these roles or for an interviewer assigned to a specific character. They do not need to restrict themselves to their own gender. I use sign-up sheets with numbered slots so that roughly an equal number of class members sign up for each choice.

The students are told that when they read the play in preparation for the next class, they are to concentrate on learning as much as they can about the character they signed up for. Since this is usually the first play read in the semester, I say a few words about character analysis. I tell them to read the play from the point of view of their character, so they can

describe the other people and events in the drama from their character's perspective and attitude. I ask them to list what he/she says, what he/she does, and what others say about him/her. They should be able to construct a brief but plausible biography of the character.

In the next class period, as preparation for the role-playing, the students sit together in character groups and are asked to select five adjectives they feel best describe their character. These should be five different adjectives, not synonyms. They are to substantiate their choice of adjectives by specific reference to the script. Secondly, they are to list the decisions their character makes and describe why their character makes those decisions. A secretary should write down the findings of the group and then have each member sign the sheet for group credit.

Meanwhile, those who volunteered to be interviewers also sit together and share with one another suggestions for the questions they plan to ask. They should try to achieve an insight into the personality and actions of the character they will interview so that they can ask probing questions about that character's beliefs and motivations. After the role-playing, each interviewer hands in his or her questions for credit.

When this preliminary phase is finished, each group chooses one of its members to role-play their character in the interview situation. Since in a general education introductory theatre course few may feel confident in front of an audience, I have the whole group of Antigones or Haemons sit in front of the class together, while the other groups provide the audience. Although one student is designated to answer the interviewer's questions in the first person, that student may be coached by someone else in his or her group. Another "Antigone" can even take over and answer questions if the chosen one feels tongue-tied. I have seen students who said they would never talk in front of the group actually open up and become an additional role-player in this situation.

The talk show format seems to hold the audience's attention, and quite a few of those involved take on their characters with sincerity. The group members who do not speak are able to feel a part of the group from a non-threatening position. Some of the interviewers even imitate popular TV talk show hosts, to the appreciation of the audience. This adds to the enjoyment of the lesson, while still providing probing questions which reveal the character's attitude and motivations.

Knowing what concepts I would like the class to receive from the study of *Antigone*, I additionally prepare a list of discussion questions to follow the interviews. However, in most cases I find that what I want the students to learn from the play comes out in the interviews. I can then use my questions to simply summarize what the class has witnessed. Examples of follow-up questions might be: Who is the tragic hero of this play? Why?



What are the play's themes? Are they universal? Are they relevant to today? What are some modern counterparts? How would you re-write the story of *Antigone* putting it in our culture today? What changes would you make? What would you keep the same?

I have used this lesson plan at two universities: Bowling Green State University and University of Toledo, and I have used it in sections of between 25 to 50 students. In each case, I found that the students were interested in what was happening, were more involved with the ideas in the play, and were more responsive both in the group preparation and in the concluding discussion. Class members who had not yet contributed in class played their roles with surprising depth and sincerity. More volunteered during the concluding discussion than had spoken previously.

The format of the TV talk show could easily be adapted to another drama. I am planning soon to try it with *A Streetcar Named Desire*. However, the preparation and role-playing are more effective if they can be done in one 75-minute or 2-hour period, as it is difficult to complete in one 50-minute period.

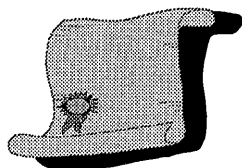


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## Adopt-A-Race: A Fieldwork Approach to Teaching Race Relations Courses

John Okegbe Bello-Ogunu, Oakland University

### *Introduction*

"Though we lived side by side throughout the South, communication between the two races had simply ceased to exist. Neither really knew what went on with those of the other race."--(Excerpt from Griffin's (1960) *Black Like Me*.)

### The Nature of Race Relations in America

To a large extent, Griffin's expression exemplifies the nature of race relations in today's America. "America faces a widening racial gap. We are becoming what sociologist Andrew Hacker has called 'two nations, separate, hostile and unequal'" (Iggers, 1993). In fact, many in America have argued that race relations in America today are at their worst level since the racial unrest of the sixties, and blame it on racism. Others agree. According to Topsfield Foundation (1994), racism has played a key role in American history as a nation--the wars against Native American tribes, the enslavement of Africans, and discrimination against immigrants--were all based on the belief that some peoples were inferior. Hacker (1995, p. 20) argues that race has always played a central role in America's history. According to Hacker, almost a century after the abolition of slavery, America's Black population subsisted under a system of controls. But, there is no doubt that some progress has been made, especially between 1950 and 1970. With the help of the Civil Rights Movement, various anti-racism civil rights laws were enacted. Today, all previously acceptable overt racist attitudes and behaviors are no longer tolerated by most Americans, and previously government-sanctioned racist practices are a thing of the past. However, "just because most Americans now consider racism unacceptable doesn't mean racial discrimination is down" (Mouat, 1995), nor does it mean that the relations between the races in America are getting better--far from it.

## The Need for Interracial Communication Competence

Racial events in recent years suggest that race relations in America is seriously ill and in urgent need of major repairs. "The Willie Horton advertisements in the 1988 presidential election, the emotional reactions to a gang rape in New York's Central Park in April, 1989, and an elaborate hoax to frame a Black man for the brutal murder of a pregnant white woman in Boston in January, 1990, indicate that racial animosity lurks very near the surfaces of our urban veneers" (Nichols, 1990, p. 54).

More recent cases of racial conflicts reflect worsening relations between American racial groups: the 1992 Rodney King beating and the attendant racial unrest following the initial acquittal of the four white police officers accused of the beating; the 1994 O. J. Simpson trial and the re-emergence of racial division following his acquittal in 1995; the mysterious burning of some Black and white churches across the nation, and the frequent reports by the mass media of racial unrest in various U.S. communities, high schools, colleges and universities--all suggest that America today is more racially isolated and segregated than most would like to admit.

Still, there are other important reasons why today's students must have the necessary interracial communication knowledge and skills to function effectively in 21st century multicultural America. "In the 21st century, racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. will outnumber whites for the first time. The 'browning of America' will alter everything in society, from politics and education to industry, values and culture" (Henry, 1990, p. 28). According to Henry, already 1 American in 4 defines himself or herself as Hispanic or nonwhite; and if current trends in immigration and birth rates persist, the Hispanic population will have further increased an estimated 21%, the Asian presence about 22%, Blacks almost 12% and whites a little more than 2% when the 20th century ends. Henry further contends that by 2020, the number of U.S. residents who are Hispanic or nonwhite will have more than doubled, to nearly 115 million, while the white population will not be increasing at all. Thus, by the year 2056, when someone born in 1990 will be 66 years old, "the average" U.S. resident, as defined by Census statistics, will trace his or her descent to Africa, Asia, the Hispanic world, the Pacific Islands, Arabia--almost anywhere but white Europe.

The preceding projections, no doubt, will have some impact on U.S. educational system. For example, the faces of our campuses, classrooms, offices, and dormitories, in terms of the racial and cultural make-ups of the student body, faculty and staff, will be transformed. The academic and social curricula also will be different from what they are today. In fact, some reports suggest these expected changes are already fast taking place

in such states as California, Florida, New York, and Texas. Yet in spite of all these predicted changes and their attendant consequences, all Americans who live within the continental limit of the U.S. are expected to and must learn to co-exist in harmony as one people, one nation, or else, in the words of Dr. Cornel West of Harvard University, "in the end, we go up together or we go down together" as a nation.

America is *e pluribus unum*--one formed from many. Therefore, it is imperative that we learn to "understand people of other cultures and their pattern of communication not only to decrease misunderstandings, but also to make the world a safer place in which to live" (Gudykunst and Kim, 1992, p. 2). I contend that the task of building and maintaining healthy race relations in America is the responsibility of all, including academic institutions. Although many teachers of interracial communication and race relations courses have and continue to employ various pedagogical methods to enhance their students' understanding of the subject matter, for the most part, such methods are often limited to classroom exercises and on-campus related activities.

These methods include, but are not limited to, in-class dyadic or group discussions, analyses of related films, role-play, dramatization of appropriate/inappropriate behaviors, short reaction papers and journal entries. In some cases, students may be required to attend a cultural diversity lecture or workshop on race and racism. In order to achieve better results, academic institutions must adopt alternative and more effective approaches to teaching race relations courses to their students. One such alternative approach is "ADOPT-A-RACE." The objective of this paper is two-fold: to introduce a different and practical approach to teaching race relations courses in U.S. academic institutions, and to encourage active and meaningful interracial/interethnic communication on and beyond our high school, college and university campuses. The advantages of ADOPT-A-RACE over some of the traditional methods of teaching race relations courses, as well as its drawbacks, will also be discussed.

### *What is Adopt-A-Race?*

ADOPT-A-RACE is a practical pedagogical tool grounded in theory, which requires learning beyond regular class work. It is specifically for a course in race relations as it would be difficult to integrate it into a larger course, such as intercultural communication. ADOPT-A-RACE is a semester/quarter-long "mini-" field experience in race relations which requires students to "adopt" and conduct an extensive study of a different race, using a person from that race as their primary source of data for the

study. This allows the student to experience the realities of racial differences while experiencing an interracial relationship on a personal level at the same time. The primary objectives of the field experience are four-fold: first, to help students understand that we (humans) are like in many ways but have some key differences which must be bridged; second, to enable them understand the role of communication in relational development; third, to help students reduce their uncertainty about interracial encounters; and fourth, to help students practice interracial communication skills in order to minimize misunderstandings and promote friendship when they communicate with people from a different racial background.

### Application

The application of ADOPT-A-RACE involves three different but interrelated stages. The first stage involves the adoption of a race. Students are asked to select a race different from their own and to "adopt" a person from that race for a semester-long study. The adoptee could be a fellow student, professor, staff, co-worker, church member, or a neighbor in the student's home-town. Next, drawing upon their theoretical knowledge of race and race relations from on-going classroom lectures, discussions, and assigned readings, and with the help of a interracial encounter interview-guide provided by the teacher, students construct a set of interview questions.

The second stage of ADOPT-A-RACE involves facts-finding. Using their interview questions as their primary research tool, students engage their adoptees in continuing, directed discussions. The primary purpose of these discussions is to learn and gain a better understanding of their adoptees/races. To the extent possible, they also participate in various race-specific activities and rituals as part of their study. For example, a white adopter may participate in cooking African-American "soul" foods, observing and/or participating in Black church services, including Sunday worships, weddings, naming ceremonys, or funeral services. In the same spirit, the Black adoptee may participate in cooking his or her white adopter's ethnic foods (e.g., Polish-American, Italian-American or Irish-American ethnic dishes), observe and/or participate in white church services. Both the adopter and the adoptee are expected to include home-visits as part of their study. Mid-way through the semester, mid-term field report sessions are scheduled in which students share their up-to-date field experiences with their classmates.

The mid-term report is necessary for three reasons: first, it allows

students to express any concerns, fears, frustrations, and satisfaction that they might have in readiness for the second half of their fieldwork. Second, it allows them to share some useful field tips among themselves. Third, students are able to review the relevance of theories to practice at this stage of their practicum, and in so doing develop a better understanding of the interconnectedness of theory and practice. The student at the end of the semester or quarter should be able to apply his or her theoretical knowledge of the subject matter to real-life situations, and be able to explain to others why those situations occurred in the first place.

The third and final stage of ADOPT-A-RACE involves a final report. In the final two weeks of the semester, students share their overall field experiences with the class and offer recommendations for improving race relations on their campuses and in their communities. A comprehensive description of the above stages can be found in the APPENDIX section of this paper.

### **Advantages of Adopt-A-Race**

ADOPT-A-RACE has many advantages over the more common traditional conceptual approach to teaching race relations courses. First, it encourages the student to leave his or her race-comfort zone and experience the realities of the "world" of other racial groups, perhaps for the first time in his or her life. Second, it reduces the uncertainties often associated with interracial encounters. "Interacting with people from other cultures and/or ethnic groups is a novel situation for most people. Novel situations are characterized by high levels of uncertainty and anxiety. When we reduce uncertainty about others and ourselves, understanding is possible" (Gudykunst and Kim, 1984, p. 10). Third, unlike other similar methods which sometimes involve such in-class exercises as role-play, dramatization of racial differences and related appropriate behaviors, film show-discussions, or required journal entries on race issues, ADOPT-A-RACE provides the student many opportunities to literally experience different races on a continuing interpersonal basis. Such direct and meaningful experience encourages respect and appreciation for racial differences, reduces interracial misunderstandings, and promotes positive race relations.

Fourth, unlike many other race relations courses whose practicums do not include members of the target race, ADOPT-A-RACE provides the adopted race/person an equal opportunity to learn about the race of his or her adopter. Fifth, unlike the rigid schedule and the high costs often associated with many other fieldworks, ADOPT-A-RACE is inexpensive and allows students to set their own work schedule. Finally, because of its

domestic nature, ADOPT-A-RACE offers both the race relations student and his or her adoptee a non-threatening, relaxed and friendly learning environment. However, its many advantages notwithstanding, the method has a few drawbacks.

### Some Limitations of Adopt-A-Race

One of the drawbacks of ADOPT-A-RACE is that it does not allow for a broader study of the target race. Because students interview and interact with a very limited number of persons (usually from one family unit) from the target race, their knowledge of the race is often limited. Another drawback of this approach is racial imbalance. The race relations teacher may find himself or herself in a predominantly white institution where there are a few or no Black students in most classes, and/or in which most of the white students come from all-white communities, and had little or no previous contacts with Black people. The danger in such situations is that only a few students--those who come from multicultural communities or who had previous experience with Blacks, are more likely to see the need for the project and, therefore, would be more receptive and appreciative of the cross-cultural experience than those students from strictly white communities.

Another limitation of ADOPT-A-RACE deals with student resistance to talking and learning about race and racism. Tatum (1992, p. 5) identifies three sources of student resistance to talking and learning about race and racism: (1) Race is considered a taboo topic for discussion, especially in racially mixed settings. (2) Many students, regardless of racial-group membership, have been socialized to think of the United States as just a society. (3) Many students, particularly White students, initially deny any personal prejudice, recognizing the impact of racism on other people's lives, but failing to acknowledge its impact on their own. Thus, the race relations student who is unable to overcome these barriers may approach the field experience simply as another "final project" for a grade and nothing more.

ADOPT-A-RACE also poses one minor ethical problem. In some cases, strong intimate relationships (friendship) between the researcher and the "studied" individual(s) may develop. Trust and respect between the two may have been established and developed. Yet at the end of the semester, in some cases, the relationship will come to a permanent end, leaving the subject(s) of the study empty and feeling "used." However, it must be noted that such an unfortunate outcome is not limited to ADOPT-A-RACE. It is an inevitable experience often associated with prolonged



studies involving humans. Put differently, it is an unfortunate experience beyond the control of the researcher. But unlike many other studies involving human subjects, ADOPT-A-RACE provides the adoptee many opportunities to also study and know more about his or her adopter/race. Thus, both the adopter and the adoptee leave with a new body of useful knowledge about each other's race and culture.

### *Conclusion*

The only way we will get along better is for people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds to talk openly and respectfully with each other (Topsfield Foundation, 1994, p.1). However, for such communication to occur, we must seek and be given the opportunity to do so. ADOPT-A-RACE provides the student with such opportunity. But ADOPT-A-RACE is only a teaching tool, and like any other tool, its effectiveness depends on the competence of its user. Thus, for it to be effective in achieving the desired learning objective, the teacher must be professionally competent. This includes, among other qualities, the ability to create a nurturing and friendly learning environment that encourages and promotes students' positive attitudes toward learning.

The effectiveness of ADOPT-A-RACE also depends on the interracial competence of the teacher. In addition to academic qualifications, the race relations teacher needs to recognize, understand, and respect the social, political and economic histories of the respective racial groups. He or she needs to recognize and understand the dynamics and the benefits of cultural pluralism in a multicultural world. Still, the teacher's ability to manage his or her personal prejudices and be sensitive to students' concerns, fears, frustrations or complaints is another key to the success of ADOPT-A-RACE as a teaching tool. ADOPT-A-RACE is not a perfect pedagogical tool. Yet, when compared to similar tools, if it is used correctly, it is probably the most effective and inexpensive educational practicum in courses which deal with race relations.

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## Appendix A

### *The ADOPT-A-RACE Mini-Fieldwork Guidelines*

#### Purpose:

The primary purpose of this project is to learn and understand people from other races, their patterns of communication, and their worldview, in order to minimize misunderstandings when we interact with them.

#### Instructions:

**Step One.** "Adopt" a person from a different race other than your own. The individual could be a student, faculty/staff, co-worker, church member, or a neighbor in your home-town.

**Step Two.** Drawing upon your theoretical knowledge of race relations from on-going class lectures, discussions, and assigned readings, construct a set of interview questions to be used in your fact-finding discussions with your adopted person/race. The construction of your questions should be guided by the interracial encounter interview-guide provided below. However, you are free to ask questions beyond the areas suggested in the study guide.

**Step Three.** Using your interview questions as your primary research tool, conduct a semester-long, in-depth study of your adopted person/race

through series of directed discussions.

**Step Four.** Prepare an in-depth report of your racial findings. Study the report thoroughly and be prepared to share it with the class in a 15 to 20 minute presentation at the end of the semester.

**Step Five.** A well-written (typed) summary report of no less than 10 and no more than 15 pages of your race relations findings must be submitted one week prior to your presentation.

**Advice:**

**\*Conduct your interviews with an *open mind!***

**\*Listen very carefully to your adoptee, and make sure you understand his or her responses to your questions. Where necessary, ask for clarifications through examples. Don't hesitate to ask follow-up questions or to ask for more specific answers.**

**\*Conduct your interviews with patience and respect for your adopted race. Be careful not to send unintended messages through your nonverbal behaviors and actions during your discussion sessions. Don't be afraid to ask tough but necessary questions; yet, be sensitive to racial and cultural differences.**

**\*Finally, be prepared for the unexpected. All races do not see the world the same way! And remember: *No race or culture is monolithic!***

## **Appendix B**

### ***ADOPT-A-RACE Mini-Fieldwork Interracial Encounter-Interview Guide***

Find out about the following issues/topics as they relate to the general racial perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and practices of your adopted race.

**A. General questions about race relations and racism: Experiences, perceptions, and beliefs.** [The information in section A was taken from Topsfield Foundation's (1994) "The Busy Citizen's Discussion Guide on racism and race relations."] The primary purpose of the following questions is to allow the student to listen to his or her adoptee's accounts of race, racism, and race relations in general, especially in America. They allow the adoptee to tell his or her own "story."

1. What is your racial, ethnic, or cultural background?
2. How have your background or experiences contributed to your attitudes about race relations (in America)?
3. Have you experienced racism personally? Have you seen it in practice?

Has it affected you or people you know? How would your life be different if you didn't have to deal with it?

4. In what ways do your attitudes toward persons of other racial or ethnic groups differ from those of your parents?

5. As you think about your own attitudes, do any of them run counter to the ideals that you hold? If so, how do you deal with that internal conflict?

6. You probably have heard expressions of prejudice from family members, friends, co-workers, or neighbors. How do you think they learned their prejudice? How do you feel when you hear these expressions? How do you react?

7. How often do you have contact with people of other races or ethnic groups? What is that like?

8. Do you have friends of other races? If so, how did you get to know them? Is it hard to make friends with people of other races? If so, why?

9. Many white people have friends of other races, but they often see these friends as "exceptions to the rule." Why do you think this is so?

10. How do you help your children (or brothers, sisters, parents, boy/girl friend, husband/wife) deal with racism? How do you help them understand race relations?

**B. Special Topics:** The selection of the topics in this section is aimed at broadening the scope of the interracial communication between the adopter and the adoptee, and to encourage a gradual move from their initial "I-It" level of communication to "I-You" or "I-Thou" level [from impersonal to interpersonal level of communication].

1. Religion: General discussion

2. Welfare System/Reform: General discussion

3. Affirmative Action: General Discussion

4. Race, Racism and the American Legal System: General discussion

5. Interracial/Interethnic Adoption: General discussion

6. Interracial/Interethnic Marriage: General discussion

7. Discrimination: General discussion

8. Racial-Ethnic-Gender Equality: General discussion, including, but not limited to, employment, education, housing, politics, and the law

9. Educational Opportunities For Blacks: General discussion

10. Home and Business Ownership Opportunities for Blacks: General discussion

**C. Miscellaneous:**

1. The Elderly: General discussion about care, respect, their place/role in the family and in the community, etc.
2. Family: General discussion, including the nature of "family"-- e.g., extended family system, the relationship between members of the family, especially between parents and their children; the role of grandparents in the family and children's attitudes toward their old and weak/sick parents, etc.
3. Nursing Home: General discussion
4. Hairdo, Dress, Food: General discussion
5. BPT--("Black People's Time")

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## True Stories: Engaging the Other by Performing Personal Narratives

Daniel Heaton, Capital University

The performance of personal narratives is not a new phenomenon. People in all cultures have told stories for various reasons since people developed the ability to speak. Until recently, however, the use of personal narratives as performance texts in theatre and interpretation classes has met with disdain. Some instructors of oral interpretation and acting prefer the use of "tried and true" literary texts as performance selections in the classroom. There is certainly merit in performing prose, poetry, and dramatic literature of well-known, published authors; indeed, the field of oral interpretation was founded as a means of achieving understanding of literary texts. However, with the shift to performance studies comes a shift in texts considered appropriate for performance. The types of texts used in current performance courses include traditional literary texts as well as family narratives, cultural texts, personal texts, social texts, political texts, and texts from popular culture. In this essay, I describe an assignment I use in my oral interpretation class that uses students' personal narratives as the texts we explore through performance. I refer to their narratives as True Stories.

In my attempt as an educator to recognize and to celebrate the diversity of students enrolled in my courses, I have designed an assignment that allows each student to have a voice in class. The assignment has three components: a written text, a performance of the written text, and a discussion of the performance text.

### *Written Component*

For this assignment, each student writes a brief account of something that actually happened to him/her. The story could recount the student's most exciting event, most embarrassing occurrence, most life-changing experience, or most interesting trip. Or the story could simply be a childhood remembrance, an event from the recent past, or even something totally boring, as long as it actually happened.

Requirements for the written text include: (1) the story must be very short, no more than one page typed and double-spaced; (2) must be written in first-person; (3) the student must be the main character; (4) the student must not tell anyone else in the class which story is his/hers; (5) the author should not identify him/herself by name in the text (change names if

necessary); (6) the author should not write about an experience that involved other members of the class or that any one in class would recognize.

### *Performance Component*

Each student will receive the story of someone else in the class. No one should attempt to discover the identity of the author of the selection s/he receives. If an author discovers who is performing her/his story, s/he should not let the performer know it is his/hers.

Once each student receives a story, s/he should begin memorizing it as soon as possible. I encourage students to try to forget that the stories were written by classmates and to pretend they found them in a prose anthology. This request has the effect of both estranging the student from the author of the text and relieving the student of the burden of guessing who wrote the piece. Additionally, students are then freed to create speakers based on the texts they receive, rather than on their knowledge of their classmates. I also make this request as a way of facilitating a discussion of author's intent after the performances.

As they read through the stories, students should try to imagine what type of person might tell this story; to whom might this story actually have happened? The main task of the performer is to create a character who could legitimately tell this story. Additionally, each performer should create a situation in which the character might tell the story. I encourage them to be creative--any interpretation is possible as long as the text supports it. Props, costumes, light and sound equipment, and alternative room arrangements are all allowed provided they enhance our understanding of the text and facilitate the identification between the performer and the character.

### *Discussion Component*

After the performances, we sit in a circle. I ask students to consider what they learned from the performances, both practically and theoretically. Usually when we discuss performances of texts we focus only on what the performer did, why s/he did it, what worked and what did not; however, with this assignment we have the added dimension of being able to speak to the author of a text. Such circumstances facilitate more theoretical discussions of representation and authority.

I first ask the performers to articulate their mental, physical, and

emotional processes when preparing for the performance. Discussions often focus on such topics as anticipating performance anxiety, memorization techniques, specific performance choices, such as the character's voice and body position, and technical considerations.

Next, I ask students to critique their own performances. Again, we focus on processes: what did s/he feel during the performance; what did s/he think about during the performance; what knowledge, as a performer, did s/he gain?

Finally, I ask the authors to respond. They do not have to reveal who performed whose story, especially if the subject matter was highly personal, but they do need to articulate their responses to seeing and hearing someone else perform their stories. Sometimes authors are surprised at how accurately the performer has recreated his/her actual experience. Sometimes authors barely recognize the story as their own because the performer's portrayal of the speaker was so different from the actual speaker.

Eventually, I try to steer the discussion toward more theoretical issues. My experience in the introductory performance course has been that students are not fond of discussing theory; therefore, rather than explain theories of representation, textual authority, and gender first, I usually try to get students to articulate their own theories before we discuss what performance scholars have to say. So far, students have addressed such issues as the relationship among performer, character, and author, and authority, voice, and authorial intent.

### *Variations of the Assignment*

One variation of this assignment includes an additional written component. Students often benefit from writing an imagined autobiography of the character in the story. Acting students respond well to the use of the autobiography, especially in acting classes that focus on dramatic realism in characterization. The autobiography provides useful background information for the actor to help round out the character, as well as aids in the physicalization of the character. Imagining the life the character might have lived is crucial to creating a believable character on stage.

Another variation of this assignment occurs later in the semester when students create critical performances of a text they previously performed in class. In the critical performances, students create new performances designed to raise awareness of social issues. They may focus on an issue specifically addressed in the text or they may use images, words,



characters, or excerpts from the text to make a social statement. Some students invariably choose the true story text as the basis of their critical performance, thus expanding even further the uses of the personal narrative in the classroom.

### *Conclusion*

One of the goals of this performance is to get performers to realize that their interpretations of others' texts, whether personal narratives, cultural texts, or literary texts, are subjective. I believe there is value in helping students articulate the reasons for their interpretations, not only from a performance perspective, but also from a cultural perspective. The student who is able to explain why s/he sees the world as s/he does is one step closer to understanding the diversity of perceptions and experiences that exist in the world than students who see only through their own eyes. Since, quite often, students receive texts written by people of another race or gender to perform, the student gets a rare opportunity to adopt a perspective other than his/her own. This assignment also points out to authors, who thought their way of experiencing an event was the only way, that no two people see the world exactly the same way. The texts one constructs are never totally objective in their view of the world.

### Sample True Stories

The following examples are stories written by former students in my oral interpretation and oral communication classes. I selected these stories as representative texts not because they are any better or worse than any others, but because I was able to contact these students and gain their permission to use them. These three are true animal stories. Enjoy:

*I remember my first pet. It was a duck. I got that duck when I was just a baby. It was so little and cute. Anyway, I use to play with this duck in the backyard every day. It got on the neighbors' nerves because of the quacking. Plus my mother and aunt didn't care for it. You see, I won this duck at the fair. This duck got bigger and older, but I still loved him. He was so pretty. Well, one weekend I had to go to a friend's house for a slumber party. And my mother never let me go anywhere. I went to the party and had a good time with my friends. So I got back on Sunday and we were eating a big dinner at my aunt's house. My aunt was supposed to be taking care of my duck while we were gone. I kept on asking my aunt*

*where the duck was. At the end of the meal my aunt tells me that we had duck for dinner. My aunt killed my duck and fed it to us for dinner. I cried for days and refused to talk to her. God, that was awful. It was a good way to remember your first pet. (Jonathan Toot)*

*We used to live at Zoeller's house. We had to haul manure out of that little white barn over there. That is where we used to keep hogs at. Well, we started forking out the manure. When Dale and I got to the point where we had to move the feeder, we pushed the feeder to a clean spot. When I hear Dad drop his fork. I turned and looked and there stood Dad holding his leg. I didn't think much about it, so I went back to work. I kept forking and after about five or ten minutes had passed I went over to where Dad was and he was still holding his leg. So finally I went over to see what was the matter. I asked Dad what was wrong. He didn't say anything, he just let go of his pant leg, and out came a dead rat at the bottom of his pant leg. After that day, I was a little scared to go fork manure but when we had to haul manure Dad would take bailing twine and tie it around the bottom of his pant leg. (Glen Fruth)*

*Well, the way I remember it, my grandfather went to a carnival and ran into some guy who had a monkey for sale. Now, for some reason, he thought that the monkey would make a good pet so he bought it and brought it home. The next thing I know, there is this monkey chained into the corner of the basement, throwing fruit around, and making a mess. I don't really remember what kind of monkey it was; I was only eleven at the time, but I remember that it was very small, only about one foot tall. The worst thing about the monkey was that it would get worked up every time you get within twenty feet of it, so we had to put scotch into its water dish just so you could get close enough to pet it. Once my grandfather found out we were giving him booze, he decided to get rid of it. So he took the monkey to a farm auction and sold it. (Jason Furguele)*

## BOOK REVIEWS

Sacks, Peter. *Generation X Goes to College*. Chicago, Illinois: Open Court, 1996.

Peter Sacks' *Generation X Goes to College* is a thought-provoking book that questions whether the college professor is a relic of a bygone era. How often in recent years have teachers remarked that: "Students appear bored and indifferent," "They lack motivation," or "Few seem to be reading assignments, yet many expect A's and B's."? Still others are irritated when students question the credibility of their lectures claiming "it's only your opinion." The situation has left educators and students demoralized. This is especially trying in places where student evaluations weigh heavily in the tenure or promotion process. Sacks claims that the teacher who does not give into the "A-Mart" mentality is especially vulnerable to student evaluations that are negative. This was Sacks' situation; tenure committee members were critical because student evaluations were negative. The committee failed to probe the deeper reason.

Sacks concludes that there is a culture war going on in the classroom between Generation Xers and their Baby Boom professors. Although cautious about stereotyping, Sacks notes that the current student population is the first generation to be raised in a postmodern world. Postmodernism is shaped by a move from respect for authority to a climate of anti-authority and cynicism. It is shaped by a paradigm shift from a belief in the objectivity of a rational world order to a subjectivity that sees the world as fragmented and calls into question the legitimacy of any notion of "truth."

Why is this book important for a communication professor? Sacks, a journalist, reaches his conclusion by a rhetorical analysis of the discourse and nonverbal behaviors in the contemporary classroom. He uncovers a communication conflict right before our eyes. This can be a starting point to raise communication issues of perception, building rapport, and the role of values in persuasion to a generation that values practicality. This conflict touches very close to home and is relevant. It brings alive the age old debate articulated by Plato and the Sophists over the issue of the objectivity or relativity of "truth." But there is a new twist to the debate when Sacks attributes communication technologies as the source of the current conflict. These technologies have shaped the postmodern paradigm because media are vehicles that entertain by promising immediate gratification, yet they enhance a hyperconsumerism that gives the perception that anything we want is at our fingertips. All we have to do is

pay our money. Consumers have become passive before the spectacle of consumerism. Media technologies have given the perception of a fragmented world where everyone's opinion is equal and that institutional authorities are out to deceive by making the consumer their victims. Added to this has been the perception of abundance that is implicit in the American mythos since WWII that promises the right to succeed thus creating a sense of entitlement and feelings of victimage when instant success becomes elusive. Sacks feels that since WWII higher education has been "democratized," giving the impression that anyone is entitled to achieve success in college and the "customer is always right." Academic administrators have supported this notion resulting in a cycle where professors "spoon feed" students by giving them only what they want to hear. This helps maintain enrollments that will keep administrators happy and insure job security for professors. The end result is that everyone loses, including the students that give up the hard work ethic of Horatio Alger, as a way to self-fulfillment, in favor of the ethic of the "IQ-challenged waif" Forrest Gump, who stumbles into instant success that promises the "triumph of idiot culture."

One could sense cynicism toward cooperative learning styles, generated in an era of postmodernism, as you read this book. Sacks plays into the postmodern cycle of personal victimage that he criticizes. A reader could get a sense of finger pointing; I don't think that was Sacks' intention. Readers must be careful to avoid the illusion that the past offered the perfect approach. Although competition is part of life, the mythos of Alger also had its shadow side as well. The book would be more balanced if Sacks could acknowledge this.

Sacks, in an anecdotal style, relates how the problem affected him. He needed to maintain his job amid negative evaluations, so he gave his students whatever they wanted. At the same time he went "undercover" as a researcher and observed what happened. He did a survey of 150 students. He found that for eight out of ten college students the most important trait in a college instructor was either to be entertaining, friendly, warm, an easy grader or accommodating of individual needs. At the same time he found that seventy percent of the students studied less than two hours a day for their entire course load. (55-57). Sacks gave in to the students and received his tenure but admits his solution was not the best, as he sacrificed his standards and fed into the cycle.

A better way the communication conflict can be solved is by a give and take between the conflicting paradigms. There are no simple solutions but an ongoing dialectical discussion of the issues and self-reflection. Sacks encourages giving students computer and video projects that will enable multi-media class presentations. This will give students a sense of





relevancy, and hopefully, as the technology is used in the class, students and professors will develop critical tools to evaluate good and bad use of the media. At the same time, Sacks claims, we cannot lower standards to the level of passive students but must develop forums to discuss the issues openly. Sacks says we need to publish class averages with grades. Rigorous performance criteria need to be in place for any course. Administrators need to examine grade distributions and how they make tenure decisions. Sacks suggests that the time has come to demystify college education as a need for everyone and promote vocational schools as legitimate alternatives.

Sacks could follow his own advice as he went through the tenure process. Why not discuss the problem openly with his own students? Why not take this as a moment of learning and teaching for the tenure committee? Sacks admits his fears; it could be there was no willingness on the part of the others to enter the conversation. Yet maybe that is his own mythos of Horatio Alger and the Baby Boom Generation speaking when Sacks failed to enter a dialogue. Sacks saw this as a win-lose situation. He needed to win. Any alternative would have made him very vulnerable, but maybe a lesson of courage in the midst of social forces that overwhelm is what his students needed to learn. Courage would be in dialoguing about the problem with the students. Generation Xers can identify with this sense of being overwhelmed and the fear of acting with courage. This is a generation sensitive to feelings. This can be a strength. Sacks does not credit this generation for its strengths.

Sacks' book is worth reading because it opens up an important area of discussion that until recently has not been clearly articulated and has taken place in whispered tones of fear. To his credit, Sacks has promoted discussion of this issue on his own campus. Sacks' discussion does give a concrete illustration of Lyotard's abstract concepts of postmodernism and modernism. This book provides material for discussion in the communication classroom and the faculty lounge because it gives relevancy to the traditional communication principle that groups are shaped by and shape the rhetorical situation. This reminds students and teachers that in analyzing audience demographics one must also consider not just social class, gender, or race but the generational and ideological mythos of any group. However, communicators must also be aware how their own generation shapes them and can contribute negatively or positively to a conflict. Self-reflection and open dialogue seem to be the key. Wouldn't this be a great learning experience for the communication classroom where often we teach the rules of good communication but do we apply them to ourselves, making teaching a self-reflective process? Maybe the idealism of the Baby Boomer is too rooted in me, but I trust that there is hope for

Generation X! True, not everyone is open to discussion, but can we as Baby Boomers let go of our need to compete to win and trust that Generation X is open to conversation?

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Kean College of New Jersey

Schiappa, Edward ed. *Warranting Assent: Case Studies in Argument Evaluation*. Albany: State University of New York, 1995.

Many faculty find that textbooks lack the original essays and research necessary to stand alone. They are then forced to supplement the text with additional articles or course packets. Dr. Edward Schiappa has saved us the effort by editing a useful volume of essays that could effectively supplement an undergraduate or graduate argumentation textbook.

The purpose of this collection is to demonstrate effective argument evaluation. Unlike rhetorical criticism, argument evaluation seeks to "render a specific normative judgment" about an artifact. The point of the book is not to extend theoretical discussions about argumentation. The goal is to demonstrate "the ability to utilize and apply a theory to explicate and evaluate an argument." Each of the essays in this collection accomplishes this goal effectively. Along the way they inform the reader about a wide variety of theoretical perspectives and demonstrate the utility of argument evaluation of contemporary discourse.

The first three essays in this collection highlight epistemological perspectives to argumentation. These essays use case studies from the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, George Bush's Gulf War speeches, and the decisions leading to the Challenger disaster. They highlight the value of argument criticism using conspiracy argumentation, narrative theory, and presumption.

The second section concerns ethical evaluation of arguments. They demonstrate the ethical perspectives of Henry W. Johnstone, Wayne C. Booth, Dennis G. Day and Thomas R. Nilsen. The authors examine arguments by the New Lutheran Church, President Reagan's Grenada invasion justifications, and Justice O'Connor's dissenting opinion in *Metro Broadcasting, Inc. v. FCC Opinion*.

The third section of the book explores the political dimensions of argumentation. These essays use examples from the sanctuary movement, fetal versus women's rights, and the debate over the ballistic missile defense system. Argumentation analysis helps reveal the ideological underpinnings of these issues and how they function for audiences.



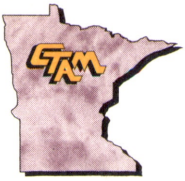


The final set of essays use a common artifact, *the 1986 Final Report of the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography*. These essays not only demonstrate different theoretical perspectives, but also the complexity involved in public arguments. The authors use argumentation theory from areas such as causality, objectivity and the public sphere to evaluate various aspects of the report. The different conclusions reached by the writers help reveal the influence of theory in argumentation evaluation.

I have used this book in my argumentation courses to show students how argumentation theory may be applied critically to contemporary situations. This book is a valuable guide to showing how the ideas of theorists such as Stephen Toulmin, Robert L. Scott and Walter R. Fisher can be applied to evaluate argumentation. As a supplement to any argumentation theory course, I would recommend this collection.

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