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Can Make A Difference
In Communication Assessment

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HOW THE STATE ASSOCIATION CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN COMMUNICATION ASSESSMENT¹

Judith K. Litterst, St. Cloud State University

The year 2000 will be a very important one for schools across the country. While the prognosticators of all sorts of new technologies anxiously await a move to a new century, educators will hope that goals set by President Bush for America 2000--six standards for improved national education²--become a reality. Keeping in step with national initiatives, Governor Arne Carlson of Minnesota has launched a counterpart program, Minnesota 2000, which involves in part "changing the way we educate kids, so they are prepared for life in a global society when they graduate" (Carlson, 1991). A big part of this change is the move to a proposed state rule (which could become effective for the 1996-97 school year) based on seven graduation outcomes and 63 competencies identified by the Minnesota Department of Education. "This State Board of Education proposal, when implemented, would be the first in the nation to require graduates to demonstrate achievement of learner outcomes rather than completion of a set number of courses and credits" (Minnesota Department of Education, 1991).

In examining these seven graduation outcomes, it becomes fairly obvious that oral communication competencies are very much a part of what each student is expected to learn, especially competencies 1, 3, 5, and 6. In order to learn productive fulfilling lives in a complex and changing society and to continue learning, the graduate demonstrates the knowledge, skills, and attitudes essential to:

1. Communicate with words, numbers, visuals, symbols, and sounds.
2. Think and solve problems to meet personal, social and academic needs.
3. Contribute as a citizen in local, state and global communities.
4. Understand diversity and interdependence.
5. Work cooperatively in groups and independently.
6. Develop physical and emotional well-being.
7. Contribute to the economic well-being of society.

Assessment is one of the essential aspects of education that is outcome-based, and for a system such as the one above to work, it is important to have a clear and well-thought-out assessment plan.

William McMillan, Director of Assessment and Program Evaluation for the Minnesota Department of Education, notes that

What assessment tools to use, what knowledge and skills to assess, how standardized to be, how to use the information--our answers to these questions will help to shape the character and effectiveness of educational programs. Outcome-based approaches--instead of relying on assessment to sort and classify students into As, Bs, Cs, and Ds--are used to promote student learning, provide accountability, and collect and evaluated information on the effectiveness of education programs. (McMillan, 1991, p. 3)

Since the discipline of speech communication is so strongly represented in the proposed graduation rule, it is extremely important that professionals in our field work actively to ensure that communication assessment is carried out properly and according to Speech Communication Association standards. If speech communication professionals do not get involved during this crucial time period, we may find ourselves with an assessment program that is neither sound nor desirable.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest the role that the state association can play in the issue of communication assessment. Communication assessment is a topic that can unite the Speech Communication Association with regional and state associations, can unite states with one another and allow for exchange of wisdom on assessment, and can unite K-12 and post-secondary educators with one another. While many of the suggestions presented here are specifically geared to current initiatives in Minnesota, other suggestions can aid state organizations elsewhere.

DO STATE ASSOCIATIONS CURRENTLY SEE A NEED FOR INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNICATION ASSESSMENT?

In a preliminary survey of the central states region state speech communication associations on their involvement in communication assessment conducted by this author in the spring of 1991, it appears that the interest in communication assessment comes not just from those at level K-12, but also from college and university members. Most of the respondents felt that state association involvement in communication assessment was extremely important (ranks of 9 and 10 on a 10-point scale). All respondents felt that state association interest in communication assessment would grow in the next several years along with state and national trends in assessment. As one respondent noted, "If the people in the

profession do not undertake the responsibility, others will." Another indicated that, "If we do not initiate a cooperative response within our speech discipline, we will face some undesirable test selected for each school by a central authority." Yet another respondent indicated that, "We must take a leadership role in assessment or it will never get done."

Why Should State Associations Get Involved?

Maybe the question that should be asked instead is, "How can state associations afford not to get involved in matters of communication assessment?" At the K-12 level alone, it has been noted that the activity of assessing speaking and listening has doubled since 1981, and almost three-fourths of the states have identified speaking/listening skills and either have or are developing a statewide assessment of speaking/listening (Van Rheenen & Halliday Casmir, 1990). The state of Minnesota, for instance, in 1988 developed model learner outcomes for language arts education and suggested guidelines for program assessment (although they stopped short of a statewide assessment in speaking/listening). Elsewhere, the trend toward large-scale assessment is very real, but it also comes at a time when the discipline is still wrestling with very important questions about assessment. Moore (1991) addresses the fact that major issues of defining competence and determining appropriate assessments still confront communication competence researchers. He also encourages that the users of assessment tools be concerned with issues of reliability, validity, and bias. Yet, the discipline's caution must be balanced against the various state agencies' needs for assessment tools. Taylor (1988, p. 4) is on target when he says, "The real challenge facing our profession is finding appropriate assessment procedures that are acceptable to administrators of state testing programs." If state associations do not offer involvement in communication assessment matters, officials at state agencies will move toward procedures that are simply most available and most expedient.

In Minnesota, the primary mission of the Communication and Theater Association of Minnesota centers on education, and assessment is certainly an integral part of any educational program. The state of Minnesota is not alone in this general mission. The constitutions of various state associations in the central states region also see their roles as very strongly associated with educational aims. This includes: (1) to make the speech, theatre, communication programs of the state vital educational forces; (2) to integrate the efforts, interests, and abilities of teachers, school administrators, and

professionals in applied communication toward the improvement of speech, theatre, and communication education programs; and, (3) to be an advocate for education in competent speaking and listening at all levels of education from Kindergarten through College (Daniel, 1991). In the very first issue of *Network*, a newsletter of the SCA Educational Policies Board and the Director of Education Services, James H. McBath notes, "State-wide improvements in communication education are achieved through grassroots work by dedicated individuals within each state (1991, p. 1)." Members of state associations are individuals that can and should do that grassroots work to accomplish the goals noted above.

But, how effective are state associations in accomplishing this aim of state-wide improvements in communication education? It seems that instead of placing energies and focus here, associations continue to wrestle with mundane problems of membership, satisfying multiple constituencies, resource availability, information transfer, and professionalism (Daniel, 1991). Discussion amongst members of the regional states' advisory committee at last year's Central States Communication Association convention recognized that more time should be spent on legislative issues, teacher certification, member in-service, and other activities to advance the educational goals the organizations profess to support. John Kay from Wayne State University contrasted the "reality" of state association action with the "vision" and said that we needed to start supporting innovation and viewing ourselves and our organizations as advocacy groups.

Looking at this from a different direction, there is a need to have a place where professionals, particularly those at the K-12 level, can not only network with one another, but where they can go to get information about what is occurring in the discipline in general and at the National Office. Part of this need may be met through two fairly new publications: (1) *Network*, the brand new SCA newsletter which is designed to provide news about state, district and local communication education policy issues; and, (2) *Speech Communication Teacher*, a quarterly magazine now in its sixth year of publication which prints articles on pedagogical issues. In referring to the newsletter, McBath writes that

... our state efforts will be more successful if we create a network of state reporter-representatives and provide means whereby they can share ideas regularly. The newsletter also can be a vehicle for announcing materials that are available from the National Office or elsewhere.

In addressing the issue of communication assessment

specifically, at the business meeting of the SCA Committee on Assessment and Testing at the SCA annual meeting in Atlanta, members realized that a key problem facing those of us with interests in assessment is the matter of information dissemination. A good deal of exciting work is being done in the field, but it is not getting out to the people (our constituencies in state organizations) who need it the most. It is sensible to disseminate research and other work on assessment through the state associations, since they are the single place that communication professionals gather in the state.

So, we have a basic problem here. The National Office is most interested in getting information, ideas, initiatives, curricular materials, and other information out to speech communication professionals. And, on the other hand, teachers, administrators, and members of the various boards of education need that information to make informed and wise decisions about education in speaking and listening. the vehicle for the most effective transmission of information and for active work is the state organization--if it is energized for involvement.

Who In The State Association Should Be Involved?

Although colleges and universities have their own particular interests in communication program assessment³, when considering state association involvement, it makes sense for K-12 and post-secondary educators to join forces in communication assessment efforts in the state. A number of individuals in our discipline--particularly at the college and university level--have been involved in research and special task force work in the area of assessment. They can and should serve as resource individuals for their particular states. Likewise, individuals at the K-12 level who have particular concerns, needs, and questions about assessment must provide their input. It is also important to include within the state association active membership individuals from appropriate communication or language arts committees who can represent the concerns and needs of the state. With representation from these diverse constituencies, a more satisfactory dialogue can be developed on matters of communication assessment.

It is also important to have active involvement of the association's executive board in supporting assessment efforts. This support can be provided by instituting a position in the organization's structure devoted to assessment work. Within this structure, it is important to have organizational top-down commitment. The executive board of the state association must be

willing to make assessment a priority activity. It is also important for the executive board of the state association to discover and work with the individuals within the state who have both interest and expertise in communication assessment. As one respondent to the regional survey noted, "State association people know the workings of state boards and offices of education. They can possibly be influential in assessment matters."

Sometimes the problem centers on assessment "education." Some states are interested in getting oral communication coursework required at the high school level, but counter resistance because K-12 assessment is too frequently "test" driven. Those doing the assessing are unaware of the diversity of acceptable assessment approaches--some which can include portfolio analysis and other non-paper-pencil approaches, so oral communication is left out of the curriculum because of a perceived lack of an assessment approach. This seems to be a very shortsighted way of building curricula. Professionals who are concerned with assessment issues can involve themselves with the Speech Communication Association Committee on Assessment and Testing and, through work with other colleagues nationwide, can develop more knowledge about the whole area of communication assessment. This knowledge can be brought back to the state level where assessment issues become issues of necessity and reality. Currently, the Minnesota Language Arts Assessment Committee is considering the use of a public speaking assessment instrument (Morreale & Taylor, 1991) recently developed by individuals in SCA's Committee on Assessment and Testing.

What Can State Associations Hope To Accomplish In Assessment?

Because the membership of state associations includes individuals at the K-12 level and postsecondary institutions, they can maintain a dialogue with one another regarding actions occurring statewide and needs for assessment. State associations can effectively establish a partnership with individuals from these various constituencies to work on assessment from various directions: from the direction of general communication assessment research, from interests in test and measurement, and from the pragmatic angle of classroom assessment and teacher empowerment.

Another thing that state associations can hope to accomplish in the communication assessment efforts is to maintain connections with the national association. It is extremely important for state associations to have strong and active representation at both the regional and national conventions. State associations should take seriously the reports that they are asked to disseminate at

conventions, and should designate individuals from the association to gather papers and attend sessions that can provide information for the membership at-large. State-of-the-art work in communication assessment is presented at these professional conventions, and state associations can obtain a great deal of valuable and useful information.

State associations can also hope to accomplish an effective network of individuals from other states who are also working on issues related to communication assessment. As noted earlier, *Network*, a newsletter of the Speech Communication Association Educational Policies Board and the Director of Educational Services, provides an ideal vehicle for state networking. They are asking state associations to report on what is being done in the state to promote K-12 communication education, and to report on developments in terms of the status of oral communication education in the state.

The state association can also make a commitment to work actively with the state department of education on communication assessment matters. Those professionals in the state with interests in assessment can serve as resource people for state agencies, and they should be encouraged to serve on committees examining communication assessment issues.

How Can State Associations Contribute Directly To The Assessment Effort?

There are a number of ways that state associations can get actively involved in communication assessment. Key individuals in the state can write articles for their state journals on the topic of communication assessment, particularly as it relates to needs and changes in their own state. In addition, articles can provide local state readership with information on assessment work done through the Speech Communication Association.

Another way that state associations can highlight assessment is by providing programs at their annual conventions on the topic of assessment. Several state associations in the central states region report featuring assessment programs at their conventions. It would also be possible to provide teacher in-service in communication assessment as part of the annual convention. For instance, K-12 teachers could be given training in using some of the available communication assessment instruments.

A third way that state associations can provide direct support in communication assessment issues is to establish a task force on assessment. While some states in the central states region report having various committees who have worked amongst themselves or

with the state department of education on assessment matters, Missouri and Minnesota are two states who have established state association task forces on assessment. The Minnesota Assessment Task Force was established for the following purposes: (1) to gather data on communication assessment practices in the state both K-12 and postsecondary; (2) to maintain a close connection with the Speech Communication Association and the Committee on Assessment and Testing, and serve as a clearinghouse for information on communication assessment for the members; (3) to act as a liaison with the Department of Education Office of Assessment; and, (4) to provide a vehicle for transmission of information on assessment to state association members at the annual convention and through its publications.

CONCLUSION

Too oftentimes people complain because they feel they lack power or information to affect meaningful change. Yet, unfortunately, the complainers often have at their disposal effective and efficient means for accomplishing change. State speech communication associations can and should be at the forefront of issues that affect their discipline. If they sit back and bemoan problems in the state, if they shirk responsibility for the status of oral communication in the state, they are ineffective. If, on the other hand, state associations are bold enough to take the initiative on matters such as communication assessment, they maintain strength and meet the missions that were formed to serve.

NOTES

¹Presented at the Central States Communication Association Annual Convention in Cleveland, 1992; Minnesota State Showcase Program--The State Association and Assessment: K-12 and Colleges in Partnership.

²The six national goals state that by the year 2000, (1) All children will start school ready to learn; (2) The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent; (3) American students will leave grade four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive

employment in our modern economy; (4) U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement; (5) Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship; and, (6) Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

³See the special edition of the *Association for Communication Administration Bulletin* (April, 1990) which is devoted to communication program assessment and assessment applications.

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JIM JONES AND THE RHETORIC OF ULTIMATE COMMITMENT

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There is no institution devised by man which the power of speech has not helped us to establish.

Isocrates, Antidosis

On November 18, 1978, nine hundred thirteen U. S. citizens living in the Peoples Temple outpost in Jonestown, Guyana, followed a call to suicide issued by their spiritual leader, Jim Jones. In the weeks immediately following, American mass media portrayed Jim Jones in a way that minimized the role his rhetoric played in the suicides, characterizing him as a "charismatic cult leader," who exercised "coercive control" over his followers and who had "massacred" them. While many Americans had never heard of Jim Jones prior to November, 1978, the fact remains that Jones was a minister, ordained by the Disciples of Christ, who for ten years prior to the emigration to South America, operated a religious organization in California, protected by all the laws of the land. Scholars from various fields have shed light on what took place in Guyana. Hall (1981, 1987) has developed an analysis of the Peoples Temple as an "other-worldly" sect that foresaw the end of history and envisioned itself as the elect community that would people the new world. Conway and Siegelman (1978) sought to explain temple members' actions in terms of "sudden personality change" that they argued were almost typical in California during the seventies. Chidester (1988) has analyzed historical examples of mass-suicide, and has explored the various ways in which U. S. citizens have distanced ourselves from the events that took place in Guyana, comforting ourselves in the belief that such a tragedy could not take place in the United States.

These scholarly accounts of the Peoples Temple history and the tragic final moments provide much that is valuable to us in our efforts to understand this event. What is missing, however, is a rhetorical analysis of the discourse that created, defined and persuaded Jim Jones' followers.¹ Initial accounts of the event focus on the macabre aspects of the suicides, minimizing the role of discourse within the community as it existed in Jonestown, and questioning whether temple members had any "choice" in the conditions of their existence (Kilduff and Javers, 1978). Yet, Jones established the Peoples Temple in Ukiah, California, in 1965, and

by 1970 had established an ongoing public campaign to attract visitors and potential members. This campaign was carried out through a vast body of public messages, in the form of newsletters, pamphlets, and sermons, which were broadcast to Bay Area listeners by KFAQ radio. In these early years, audiences had the choice to ignore Jones. Many dismissed Jones, but a sizeable number of listeners liked what they heard, and were curious enough to seek more information. Kenneth Burke's comments on Hitler's rhetoric in *Mein Kampf* apply as well to Jim Jones' rhetoric: "Here is the testament of a man who swung a great people into his wake. Let us watch it carefully . . . Let us also try to discover what kind of 'medicine' this medicine-man has concocted, that we may know, with greater accuracy, exactly what to guard against" (1973, p. 191). It is profitable, therefore, to analyze Jones' public discourse to determine and understand the world into which he invited his audience.

Since Jones' initial contact with people in the early seventies took place within his role as a Christian minister, I will examine his discourse as it compares to mainstream Christianity. It is my contention that Jones was not a Svengali who hypnotized, brainwashed or coerced his followers, but a rhetorician, armed with the skills we provide our students in communication courses, who articulated a symbolic world that was persuasive to his audience. I shall argue that Jones' rhetoric represents an effort to blend Christianity with politics, parapsychology and with various brands of mysticism, and is characterized by selective use of scripture, appeal to scientific rationality, and dependence on the appearance of "proof." As such, Jones' configuration of religion and politics appealed to a particular type of auditor; one who was susceptible to appeals to rationality, social justice, and Christian unity and who evidenced a need for a "leader" to guide their pilgrimage toward "Truth." This study will consider four features of Jones' rhetoric. First, I will examine Jones' epistemology, conceived as the grounds on which his followers could "know" what was "true." Second, I will analyze his cosmology, which refers to his portrayal of the workings of the universe. Third, I will reveal his theology, which articulates Jones' view of God and Jesus within the universe. Finally, I will consider Jones' prescriptions for action within the world thus constructed. In so doing this study seeks to explain how Jones' rhetoric altered for his audience the meaning of life, of sacrifice, and of death.

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO JONES

During the early seventies most members of the Peoples

Temple would have asserted that their church experience was not much different from that of most church-going Christians. In his public discourse, whether newsletter or sermon form, Jones was careful to place the Peoples Temple within the Disciples of Christ denomination and used the Bible abundantly as evidence for his conclusions. However, Jones also maintained, the Bible did not represent a dependable source of truth. Consequently Jones' characterization of the conditions under which something may be said to be true, or known, serves as the foundation of his rhetoric.

Jones' Epistemology

Jones argued that the Bible was flawed, and therefore suspect, because it contains contradictions and implies condonement of "abominations." Jones referred frequently to internal inconsistencies in the Bible. In one newsletter, Jones provided a list of one hundred pairs of passages which stand in contradiction, involving questions such as Jesus' lineage, the number of animals on Noah's Ark, etc. (1970b). Beyond the contradictions, Jones identified biblical passages which condone such abominations as injustice to women, slavery, cannibalism and human sacrifice. Jones stated: "It is written in the King James version of the Bible that all scripture. . . is inspired by God and profitable. . . Certainly all honest Christians can accept this. If, however, one is referring to the bloody systems of sacrifice that we read in our mistranslated Bibles, then no sensitive human being could accept it. Even the Bible disagrees about the practice of sacrifice and offerings" (1971a). While Jones did not ever publicly state that the Bible is devoid of truth, the errors it contained reduced its utility as a source of truth to the members of Jones' audience.

Claiming that "one error in the Bible refutes the dogma of infallibility of the Bible" (1971b), and that worshipers needed someone to act as interpreter of the Bible, Jones placed himself at the center of "truth." Warning the Bible was not only an ineffective source of truth for the layperson, Jones argued it was also a dangerous weapon should it fall into unskilled hands: "Again we re-emphasize the need for a Prophet to be involved in the interpretation of Scripture. . . . Divine Prophetic qualifications are required for the ministry in these uncertain times where there are so many voices in the land. . . . One better have an experienced professional, meaning a God-ordained Prophet, to guide them or the result will be more devastating to one's spiritual health than the horror that would result if you were to attempt to practice medicine on one's self or others without a license" (1971a). Emphasizing the mandate that

the "interpreter" must be "sent," Jones revealed the qualities by which his audience would recognize their Prophet, telling them, "you need a prophet who has proven his honesty and supernatural power to guide you" (1971b).

The obvious conclusion, that Jones himself had already proven both his honesty and his supernatural power, was articulated by an anonymous "voice" which spoke after Jones' sermon, saying: "[Pastor Jones] is a Messenger of God qualified to preach as proven by just a few of the following miracles that took place in our last healing rally. . . This is just one more instance of the astounding work of this dynamic Prophet. He is a Prophet in example, and indeed COMPLETELY qualified to tell us what are the truths applicable to our time from the Bible" (1971a). Public claims for Jones' supernatural powers, including the ability to cure illness, raise the dead, and so on, were standard in Jones' discourse, usually articulated by an anonymous voice.

Thus Jones argued that the Bible contained truth only as mediated through himself. There were no consistent criteria to determine which passages contained truth and which did not. When Jones used a passage from the Bible for the purpose of evidence, the audience could assume that the passage contained truth. The completeness of the argument depended on faith in Jones' qualifications, specifically manifested in his gift of prophecy. Jones' proclaimed "power" took its place as part of an elaborate argument that placed Jones at the center of knowledge and truth, at least as far as the interpretation of the Bible was concerned.

Jones' Cosmology

Jones' peculiar epistemology served as the basis for a view of the cosmos, presented through his public discourse to the members of Peoples Temple, that deviated from mainstream Christian views. While some of his thinking was grounded in traditional Christian theology, Jones depicted the universe as moving and changing through the agency of human psychic and physical effort, at both the individual and collective levels. Human thought and belief, claimed Jones, "are the origin and source of all things gained or lost" (Sep, 1970). Human thought was characterized as a "generating force," responsible for all good and evil. Wrong thinking would lead to physical ill for the individual: "Fear, anger, selfishness and weakness . . . little by little are creating diseases even now in your physical bodies" (1970b). Society, too, suffered from collective wrong-thinking, an argument Jones supported by reference to an "influenza epidemic which destroyed twice as many lives as were destroyed in

all the battles of World War I and followed closely as an aftermath: hate is a negative force." The power of hate, Jones continued, "is dividing America and our world and bringing us closer to the holocaust that I have prophesied about" (1970c). In this case, "holocaust" referred to the race and class-based revolution that Jones predicted in sermons throughout his career.

Evidence for the power of thought was threefold: biblical, historical and personal experience. In providing biblical support for his claims on the power of hate, Jones stated: "It is not the thing, but the fear of the thing that is evil, as the scripture states 'perfect love or God casts out fear.' The Ruling power on this plane of consciousness is right-thinking. As the *I Am* of old, and I affirm today, 'as a man thinketh in his heart, so is he'" (1970b). Historical support for the power of hate included his observation that war, which is the highest manifestation of hate, is always followed by epidemic. Jones claimed that in war, "hate has been projected into the ether, thus intensifying the potency and even creating certain strains of germs of the diseases that have reached epidemic proportions in the last epochs of history" (1970c). Jones used his own experience to prove the power of thought. Shifting from the power of hate to the power of love and right-thinking, Jones argued:

Any of the scores of people in the Temple who have observed my ministry over a period of 21 years, can give you case after case to study which will verify that I determined a Divine (Good) thought and such people as Mrs. Phillips . . . was healed (of a fatal disease . . .) *on the exact date in August* that I prophesied or projected thought to bring it about. I could recite countless other examples each week of my ministry! Beloved reader, I know this is a power. We have thousands of cases in our archives that can prove the effectiveness of what evolution of compassionate thought has achieved through me as a Divine Instrument. (1970c)

In accordance with the power attributed to thought, Jones' sermons modified the notions of Heaven and Hell. While mainstream Christian denominations might disagree about the precise meaning of Heaven and Hell, these notions figure importantly in Christian theology as part of a system of reward and punishment. In contrast, Jones characterized Heaven and Hell as immediate experience, and a function of the relative "rightness" of an individual's thought: "neither Heaven nor Hell are geographic locations, but rather conditions of mind or states of awareness or consciousness in which you live" (1970c). Rather than pursuing spiritual reward in the hereafter, Jones advanced the notion of

Heaven on Earth was a more immediate goal. The temple community, and later, the outpost in Guyana, were often referred to as "Heaven on Earth," and "the Promised Land."

Having removed Heaven and Hell from his worldview, Jones imposed reincarnation as the doctrine that best accounts for "cosmic justice." In order to understand reincarnation within Jones' scheme, it is important to understand his depiction of consciousness. Jones claimed that there are basically two planes of human consciousness: the material and the rational. The material plane, sometimes called the earth plane of consciousness, was characterized by attachment to earthly things such as food, money, clothes, and so on. According to Jones, most humans live entirely in the earth plane, and consequently do not understand the power of thought. The material plane limited the individual, for "the material plane accepts social injustice to be an inevitable part of or way of life." The rational plane of consciousness, on the other hand, reflects an understanding of the power of the mind and uses that power for good. The rational "is a higher plane of thought where we do not consider all things as material, but rather as objects that we have defined as beautiful in our own minds" (1970b).

The process by which one ascended from the material plane to the rational plane was reincarnation: ". . . before we can reach to heaven, paradise, or the extra-terrestrial dimensions, we must overcome the earth plane by spending as many cycles in the school grades of life necessary to conquer the seven deadly sins" (1970b). Jones portrayed a progression from one life to the next, in which the individual attempted to learn the lessons necessary for spiritual growth. Comparing the relationship between earlier and later incarnations to the relationship between the individual as a child and as a mature adult, Jones insisted: "The two are of the sameness in the sense only of continuously becoming the complete or whole person" (1971c).

Consequently, Jones outlined a cosmos in which the individual was in a constant state of evolution which, in the ideal, progressed in the direction of the rational plane. While this stance clearly deviated from the view maintained within mainstream Christian religions, Jones supported this commitment to reincarnation with an abundance of biblical "proof":

One of the early apostles of the church, writing in our scriptures declared that God hated Esau before he was born or from birth, and loved or preferred Jacob. This statement in our Bible is inconsistent with any other doctrine except reincarnation . . . In Malachai, 4:5, God said he would send

again, or reincarnate Elijah the prophet before coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord, and God clearly reincarnated Elias (which means Elijah) as John the Baptist as in Matthew 11:13-15. (1970b)

Reincarnation, always supported by his privileged readings of scripture, figured importantly in most of Jones' sermons. Since the majority of Peoples Temple members came to him from other, traditional, Christian churches, it was therefore incumbent upon him to ground his proof in a source he knew was already recognized by his audience.

Jones offered further support for his doctrine of reincarnation in his audience's general agreement that God is good. Beginning with the abstract acceptance of the goodness of God, Jones observed that there were still inequities in the world that clearly existed. Claiming reincarnation was the only way to explain the apparent injustice, Jones insisted: "God could not be love nor could he be just if he were to create people as most theologians state and send them directly to the earth, some being born blind, or like vegetables due to retardation or other crippling diseases, while others are born with every talent and all the riches of this world's resources. Then, at the end of the earth's life, all believers go to the same heaven, no matter what handicap they have had and all the unbelievers go to a hot and burning hell" (1970b). Thus Jones established a human standard of good and justice, insisting that any understanding of God must be consistent with that common-sense standard.

To the biblical and common-sense evidence for reincarnation Jones added "scientific," "empirical" proof. Jones referred frequently to "studies in age regression through hypnotherapy which have proven that people were taken back to a time before their birth and provided documented descriptions of former lives." Jones' need to ground his claims in "science" ignored the dubious scientific merit of hypnotherapy and found additional support in the authority of respectable people who believed in reincarnation: "Henry Ford, Thomas Edison, U.S. General Patton, Thomas Jefferson, several former presidents, as well as a host of leaders in every field of life throughout the Christian world." To all this evidence Jones added detailed accounts of his experiences with prophecy which, he argued, proved the reality of reincarnation (1970b).

The significance of Jones' portrayal of reincarnation is twofold. First, the argument for reincarnation provides a demonstration for how his epistemology operated within the Peoples Temple. Critical analysis reveals that Jones' argumentation and use of evidence would not be likely to persuade individuals with any skill in critical

thinking. It was thus necessary to have a certain degree of faith in Jim Jones in order to compensate for the weakness in his arguments. Second, reincarnation as a central doctrine of the Peoples Temple allowed Jones to place a greater degree of importance on individuals' action than is the norm within contemporary Christian doctrine. Reincarnation fostered a commitment to right action, as defined by Jones, and thereby figured importantly in temple members' interpretation of their hardships in Guyana, and in the act of suicide. In order to understand the symbolic relationship between reincarnation and "good works" within Jones' worldview, it is important to understand how he portrayed God and Jesus Christ.

Jones' Theology

"God" is a term used often by Jones in his public discourse, and occasionally the term comports with traditional concepts. Close analysis of the contexts within which the term is used, however, reveals that "God" could hold a wide variety of meanings. Sometimes "God" was synonymous with the abstract notions of "good" and "love." Consistent with the centrality of human thought in Jones' philosophy, Jones' discourse more often locates "God" within the human mind: "That there is a God is a necessity of thought, for we cannot conceive of the finite without at the same time having the idea of the infinite" (Jones, April, 1974). Occasionally, but no less significantly, "God" appeared to be a veiled reference to Jones himself, such as his declaration: "God is love. So, therefore, the instrumentality that embraces the most of God becomes the vehicle of incarnation of God in the earth plane" (1971d). More importantly, Jones' ability to heal the sick, prophecy and raise the dead were placed as evidence that Jones himself was the "instrumentality that embraces the most of God," and was, therefore, "the incarnation of God in the earth plane."

Comparable to Jones' modification of "God" is his alteration of Jesus Christ. Contemporary Christian thought holds that Jesus was the son of God and his death removes guilt of sin from the shoulders of the believer. Acceptance of Christ's death as an atonement for human sin is a defining characteristic of Christianity. In Jones' theology, Jesus was a great man whose death was heroic, but not atonement: "The basis for nearly everyone's religion today is injustice. The Son of God, the pure, the immaculate, the innocent is sacrificed for the guilty; it is a complete form of escapism. This proves Jesus' heroism, but no more does away with man's sin than a school boy volunteering to be flogged for another would eliminate the negligence or irresponsibility of the other student" (1971b).

Moreover, Jones rejected the idea of the virgin birth, arguing that the virgin birth has been a point of contention throughout the history of Christianity, and that most intelligent people reject virgin birth as "unreasonable." While Jones made abundant use of the word "christ" in his sermons, it was usually generalized as "the christ," and did not refer to Jesus. Jones' argument rendered Jesus a hero, but mortal nonetheless, thereby creating a divinity that Peoples Temple members would readily recognize in the person of their pastor.

Jones' discourse reflects his awareness that he diverged from mainstream Christian thought. Jones publicly derided most Christianity as unjust and ineffective, and reportedly considered other churches to be indulging in what Marx called the "opiate of religion." Indeed, Jones attributed the current political problems to an unhealthy Christianity: "Communism did not win a battle 90 miles from our shores. This Christian nation which pays lip-service to the Acts of the Apostles that demands equality and justice for all, lost it" (1970e). Rather than indulge in a Christianity that current events proved to be unjust and ineffective, Jones created a Christianity wherein Jesus functioned only as a supreme example of goodness. The duty of Peoples Temple members was to strive to be as "Christ-like" as possible, so that they could achieve good for the world in this life and, in so doing, be reborn on a higher plane in the next life cycle. Salvation was won not by mere acceptance of the atonement provided in Jesus' death, but rather in doing the "Christ-like" deeds dictated by Jones from his pulpit.

Jones' Prescription For Action

Within the universe depicted in Jones' rhetoric, "worship" meant "service to your fellowman." The argument justifying this good works focus was based on a passage from Matthew, which states "ye shall know a tree by the fruit it bears," which Jones interpreted to mean that "an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit." In Jones' worldview good results constituted evidence for the "good (God)-ness" of both action and actor, as well as an infallible sign of right-thinking.

Jones' discourse crafted labels under which temple members could unite and act in a manner consistent with Jones' goals. "Christian Socialism," "Apostolic Equalitarianism," and "Human Service Ministry" provided tidy banners blending Christianity and politics, with which Jones' followers could identify. "Positive activism" was the term that brought Jones' philosophy to bear on the material world. Based on the passage from Matthew in which Jesus

praises his followers for feeding the hungry, clothing the naked and so forth, Jones established a general model for "positive activism."

Under the rubric of positive activism Jones encouraged his audience to "flood good thoughts" into the atmosphere to bring about "peace and social justice for mankind everywhere" (1970c). "Flooding thought" might be viewed as a psychic parallel to the prayer that regularly takes place in Christian churches, but prayer is usually conceived as directed to a particular receiver (God), who has the power to make some response. Flooding thought, on the other hand, implied the power of individual and collective human thought.

Loving one's enemy and doing good in the face of evil were important in positive activism. These recommendations are not wholly inconsistent with traditional Christianity. However, in contrast to the Christian portrayal of motives for these actions, Jones argued for these actions in terms of efficacy: "Antagonism and hate, when forgiven in others and sublimated in ourselves is our source of great power. Lust and the so-called sources of evil nature, when properly forgiven and sublimated, is the source of greater power still" (1970c).

On a more pragmatic level, Jones recommended aid to those less fortunate than his audience, offering his actions as a model. Jones cited his own adoption of children of other races "in the face of our racist society," his donation of time and money to establish programs for drug addicts, criminals and prostitutes, and so forth. Jones claimed to have deposited money in banks that had suffered terrorism during Vietnam War protests; Jones detailed his contributions to the American Indian Movement in the San Francisco bay area. The power gleaned from these instances of positive activism were alleged to have resulted in Jones powers of prophecy, as well as success enjoyed by the Peoples Temple.

Positive activism also included gifts of time and (preferably) money to the programs of the Peoples Temple. Jones asked his audience to give directly by donating goods to the temple and purchasing "blessed" trinkets, or indirectly by patronizing businesses owned by the Temple and its members. Jones demanded complete commitment on the part of his hearers, claiming that the degree of personal commitment would psychically determine the potential for success. Similarly, while each individuals were directed to love all people, they must "allow no love to exceed the love of the Cause" (1970a).

For the auditor who was not yet a part of Jones' organization, the most important first step in positive activism was to go and join

the Peoples Temple, or at least to go and witness Jones' ministry in action. Messages targeted at wider audiences reflect Jones' effort to be all things to all people. References to healing and prophecy were veiled enough not to alienate the skeptic; references to God and Jesus were ambiguous enough not to offend Christians, but were used sparingly; references to the political and social effectiveness of Jones' programs were detailed and lively. The auditor who was sympathetic to the cause of equality and justice was invited to visit the temple, see its good work, and participate in Jones' humanitarian community.

While the public documents were constrained to portray positive activism in terms acceptable to the culture at large, secondary sources suggest that within the Peoples Temple compound in Ukiah, positive activism included the abandonment of family ties in the interest of communal living as well as the administration of severe physical punishment to children and adults alike for infraction of Jones' rules. Positive activism might mean having sexual relations with Jim Jones, or with a partner of his choosing. For some members of Jones' "inner circle," positive activism meant signing blank or incriminating letters as a "sign of faith" in Father Jones (Mills, 1979). For everyone in Peoples Temple, positive activism meant absolute and unequivocal obedience to Jones' word. Ultimately, this meant moving to Guyana and joining their prophet in death.

CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of Jones' rhetoric has deliberately set aside any consideration of immediate context and had sought to reconstruct Jones' world through a description of his public discourse. Jones' world reflected enough parts of the larger Christian context within which it existed to attract particular audiences, but significantly deviated from that larger context. Jones' was a world where God meant Good and vice versa, Jesus was heroic but mortal, and both God and Jesus were subordinated to the power of human mental processes. It was not Jesus' death that was seen to provide for human salvation, but rather reincarnation from one stage of development to the next. Within this world we can understand that "life," "death," "sacrifice" and "suicide" held meanings for Jones' followers that diverge from those implicit in traditional Christianity.

Jones used public discourse to articulate a philosophy which placed himself as the locus of Truth. Through a spiraling exercise of logic, Jones formulated a rationality that held as its only constant that Jim Jones knew the truth. This singular constant was hidden

within an excess of "proof" -- from the Bible, from history, from authorities, from Science, and from demonstration upon demonstration. Declaring "You cannot believe in that which you cannot see," Jones assumed the corollary, that one must believe that which one does see. Hence, Jones' attempt to conjoin his philosophy with empiricism and science. Through his constant claims that his philosophy was "logical," "scientific," and "rational," Jones created a worldview in which followers did not have to rely on mere faith, unseen and abstract, but could, rather, point to demonstrations, and to scientific proof of its Truth. Thus, the ubiquitous presence of "proof" served to disguise the fact that the leap of faith was as large, if not larger, than in most of contemporary Christendom.

Jones' world privileged outcomes as the defining characteristic of "good." This quality of Jones' worldview had wide-spread and tragic consequences, for placing results as the criteria for "good" facilitated the habit of allowing ends to justify the means. If one followed Jones' reasoning, it was impossible to judge as evil something which could be construed as good, because good fruit was a "sign" of a good tree. So, for example, the severe physical punishment of young children was justified because it yielded the desired modification of behavior. In their commitment to prevent totalitarianism, Jones' followers acquiesced their rights and freedoms to a man who would, tragically, enact totalitarian rule within their community.

Richard Weaver, declaring all language is "sermonic," argued: "We are all of us preachers in private or public capacities. We have no sooner uttered words than we have given impulse to other people to look at the world, or some small part of it, in our way" (1970, p. 224). Weaver's comment does not imply that other people have to accept the world uttered through language. People are free to reject one world in favor of another.

This essay has tried to reveal Jones' qualities as a "medicine man." Medicine man he may have been, but significantly, magician he was not. What Jones was able to do, he did predominantly through the force of rhetoric and persuasion. Hindsight is always 20-20, yet this analysis of the discourse from as early as 1970 suggests that the framework for symbolic meaning in suicide was being set even then. We can observe the paraphernalia of force in the final moments in Jonestown, but it is inaccurate to dismiss what happened in Guyana as a function of force over rhetoric. It was Jim Jones' rhetoric that created the institution we knew as the Peoples Temple; it was his rhetoric that led to its tragic demise.

NOTES

¹Scholars interested in rhetorical analysis of Jones' words and writings will find a collection of his sermons and messages in an appendix to an unpublished masters thesis by Nelson (1981).

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PREPARING FOR THE IMPROMPTU SPEECH: A WORTHWHILE CLASSROOM ENDEAVOR

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The impromptu speech is a misused and underrated activity in most public speaking classrooms. This paper reviews several prescriptive approaches to impromptu speaking, and offers suggestions for the design and execution of an impromptu exercise.

Most writers agree that impromptu speaking is a form of speech delivery that involves little or no preparation (e.g., Gronbeck, McKerrow, Ehninger & Monroe, 1990; Wilson, Arnold & Wertheimer, 1990). Writers also appear to agree on the amount of consideration given to speaking "off the cuff." This review of public speaking texts published between 1979 and 1992 found no text whose discussion of impromptu speech extended beyond two pages. A lack of attention to the impromptu speech is puzzling because one text refers to it as the most common form of public speaking (Masterson, Beebe & Watson, 1989), and because the inevitability of having to speak impromptu is often mentioned (e.g., Devito, 1990).

When writers do address impromptu speaking, it is usually to dissuade students from practicing this method of delivery. Emphasis is placed on the drawbacks of speaking impromptu; it doesn't permit attention to such factors as audience analysis, researching, language style and organizational strategy. Although it is acknowledged that impromptu exercises offer practice at "thinking on your feet" (Glen & Forman, 1990, p. 186), basic speech texts favor extemporaneous speech delivery. This paper does not attempt to challenge the merits of extemporaneous speaking. Rather, it suggests how impromptu exercises can encourage students' efforts to speak extemporaneously.

Prescriptive approaches toward impromptu speaking suggest that they have a place in public speaking classrooms. Such approaches have included a variety of suggestions and on-the-spot organizational strategies (e.g., Brooks, 1980; Byrns, 1981; Heun & Heun, 1979; Lucas, 1989; Makay, 1992; Vasile & Mintz, 1980), as well as sets of procedures for enacting impromptu exercises (e.g., Nelson & Pearson, 1981; Verderber, 1982).

A common thread of advice to impromptu speakers is that there is no reason to fall apart. Lucas (1989) offers the opinion that speakers who stay calm and organized "should do just fine" (p. 235). Glen and Forman (1990) recommend that speakers use the pause time they have before (as well as during) the speech to plan, rather

than "panic with worry that you cannot make it through" (p. 186). In addition, speakers are urged to draw from their own experience, keep their remarks brief and *never* apologize. As this advice would have it, nothing is worse than a panicky impromptu speaker who rambles and hedges.

This paper argues that initial feelings of uneasiness prompted by impromptu speaking may facilitate students' willingness to prepare for forthcoming speeches. However, this is true only when students believe that the classroom communication climate will support their efforts. Speaking exercises can be designed to promote favorable learning climates by incorporating topics which allow students to self-disclose (see Littlefield & Sellnow, 1987).

Nelson and Pearson (1981) describe an impromptu exercise which encourages self-disclosure among classmates. An instructor begins by composing a list of "easy" topics such as "my hometown," or "this college," etc. Then, a student draws a topic and speaks for two minutes. Sevitch (1982) has commented that easy topics such as "how I spent my summer vacation" probably have little educational value. This criticism is too harsh because students sometimes spend vacations in ways that are interesting and informative to other students. Furthermore, Sevitch's (1982) point fails to acknowledge one great benefit of the impromptu exercise, which is that it familiarizes students with others in the classroom. It is not necessary that topics be complex. What is important is that students feel challenged, and most probably do feel challenged by the prospect of giving a speech without preparation.

Verderber (1982) describes a more detailed version of the impromptu exercise. In Verderber's exercise, the instructor begins by preparing a stack of index cards with words and phrases like "violence on t.v.," "sex in the movies," etc. Next, the first speaker selects three cards, picks one to speak on, has three minutes to prepare, and then must speak for three minutes. Just before the first speaker begins to speak, the second speaker selects three cards, picks one to speak on, has three minutes to prepare (while the first speaker is speaking), and so on. This procedure ensures that each student will have an equal amount of time to prepare, but it leaves the last speakers with the discarded cards of previous speakers, and with little idea of what's left in the deck. Furthermore, when speaking impromptu, a lot can go wrong in three minutes.

The impromptu exercise described herein advocates a time limit of between one and two minutes. First, the instructor begins by preparing a "Fun Deck" of topics from which to speak (see Appendix). Unlike the Nelson and Pearson (1981), and Verderber

(1982) exercises, topics in the Fun Deck suggest organizational strategies that speakers might use. For instance, suppose a speaker selects the following topic: "Talk about a risk you've taken recently. How did it work out? Was it a calculated risk?" The speaker should be able to envision a three-step organizational strategy. Or, if the speaker wants to focus on one aspect of the topic, then, for the purposes of this assignment, that too, is acceptable.

With the Fun Deck created, the instructor reads each topic to the class and places each card on a table next to a podium. This step encourages interest in the exercise and enables students to know potential topics they might select.

Next, it is explained that students will speak on a first-come, first-serve basis. The instructor also explains that after a student has spoken on a topic, (s)he should take that card back to their seat so no-one else can select that topic. Students are then encouraged to "seize the podium."

It may surprise some that these guidelines promote a rather orderly process. There is rarely a rush to go first. Although students who do so have their choice of topic, this also means that they have the least time to prepare. In contrast, students who hear a topic they like, but wait to prepare, are faced with the risk of having "their topic" taken by someone else.

The process turns into an instructional game, with a certain degree of strategy involved. The anticipation that builds as one waits to speak is relieved upon completion of the performance. In short, a win-win situation is created where each student "wins" simply by doing the speech.

On the other hand, if the instructor chooses to rate some efforts as being better than others, the following five criteria may be used to evaluate impromptu speeches:

1. Did the student make an attempt?
2. Did the student's attempt meet the time limit?
3. Was the speech coherent?
4. Was the speech interesting?
5. Was the main point of the speech summarized?

Each criterion can be rated on a scale from zero to one.

One can surmise from these criteria that impromptu speaking should be treated as an exercise rather than as a major assignment. The impromptu speech should not be used to discriminate between different levels of speaking skills; that function is better served by assignments which require students' careful preparation. However, if used correctly, impromptu exercises can make students feel more comfortable in the classroom; thereby reducing their level of

apprehension about speaking in that context.

This paper argues against the position taken by Wilson, Arnold and Wertheimer (1990). These authors suggest that because impromptu speeches do not permit preparation, one will not "learn very much about the *art* [sic] of public speaking by beginning with this method of delivery" (p. 53). This position fails to acknowledge the initial resistance that many students have toward public speaking. Impromptu speeches play on spontaneity, and such spontaneity encourages students to develop more favorable attitudes about their speaking assignments.

One irony of the impromptu exercise is that it leaves students with a vivid reminder of the importance of speech preparation. Many speakers walk away from impromptu exercises reflecting upon what they said well, what they forgot to say, and what they shouldn't have said. Reflection permits learning, which can be used in future speeches.

In addition, since most (if not all) speakers are at least a little anxious on the day of the first impromptu exercise, students learn that nervousness is normal. If impromptu activities are conducted more than once during the semester, many students will probably recognize that their apprehension is lower than it was initially. These reduced feelings of apprehension may facilitate development of speaking skills.

It should be recognized that impromptu exercises may affect different students differently. For instance, highly apprehensive students may become more apprehensive after speaking impromptu. In addition, students who are not very disclosive may not benefit from impromptu exercises. (These "guesses" are testable.) The impromptu exercise does tend to promote a sense of being in it together though, and such classroom comradery should not be underestimated. When students feel that their efforts are supported, greater efforts may be made to learn the art of public speaking.

APPENDIX

A Sample of Topics From The Fun Deck

1. Talk about a recent conversation you've had that sticks in your mind. Tell why this conversation is memorable.

2. How are women and men similar? How are they different? Explain why you think they are similar or different.
3. Comment on the steps this university has taken to ensure that students practice "safe sex." Are students getting the message? How do you know?
4. Wild Card! Talk about anything you want.
5. Talk about a friend who is quite different than yourself. How is this person different than you? How is it that you're able to maintain this friendship?
6. If there was something you could do over in your life, what would it be and why would you do it over? How would you do it this time?
7. What is it about public speaking students that public speaking teachers fail to realize?
8. Respond to the comments of the person who just spoke.
9. Provide suggestions concerning topics that aren't, but should be, in this Fun Deck. Give a reason for each topic that you mention.
10. Talk about a time when you acted differently from the way you truly felt. What made you act differently?
11. Tell about a dream you've had that is recurring, and explain how this dream is significant to your life.
12. What issue (or issues) causes the most disagreement between your parents and yourself? Tell their side of the story first, then your side.
13. Discuss an interesting class that you've taken at this university, and tell why this class was interesting.
14. Tell us about the lyrics of a song that you find interesting. How do you interpret these lyrics?
15. What do you make of this impromptu exercise? Describe advantages and disadvantages of impromptu speaking.

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ORGANIZATION-BASED AIDS EDUCATION: MEETING THE CHALLENGE

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With the Center for Disease Control predicting that 365,000 Americans will have contracted AIDS by 1992, I am continually amazed that companies seem to think they will not be affected by this problem. . . . If management doesn't believe safer sex education has a place in the workplace, they are going to pay dearly in insurance premiums and work disruption while their employees pay dearly with their health or that of their families. Training on any health issues should be designed so workers can bring information home to their families and friends. AIDS education can save lives. --Winslow (1990)

Of the many serious issues confronting the organization, few are more pressing and more controversial than AIDS. No current workplace issue is causing such confusion, disruption and fear among workers (Wagel, 1988). And, despite the best efforts of medical researchers, AIDS will be with us for the foreseeable future. As Brandt (1988) put it, "Even if we could immediately end all further transmission of the virus, we would be dealing with the disease for decades to come" (p. 413).

AIDS is clearly a communication event of complex proportions. It forces discussions of disease and health. It asks people to talk about sexuality. It brings groups traditionally stigmatized--intravenous drug users and homosexuals--to the forefront of conversation. Even the concept of "AIDS" itself, as a rhetorical entity, is abstract. Sontag (1988) made the point nicely that AIDS, as a disease, is a linguistic construction used to characterize a whole spectrum of conditions, from HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) positive, to ARC (AIDS Related Complex).

The above are not the sorts of topics traditionally thought of as part of the organizational communication environment; however, the time has come to make them a part. As a workplace issue, AIDS may change the organization more than any single event in American history other than wars, and organizational America must respond. The purpose of this article is to outline the form that this response should take. Specifically, I will argue that to deal successfully with AIDS in the workplace, the organization must adopt the role of educator, and give that role the energy and credibility it merits.

Organizations obviously already administer significant amounts of employee education. According to Gordon (1991), American organizations with one-hundred or more employees spent over \$43 billion on formal training in 1991, a 5% decrease from the 1990 total, amounting to more than 36 million people being trained. In this paper it will be argued that organizations need to redirect a relatively small portion of this money toward AIDS education because, more than having the opportunity to educate, organizations have the obligation to educate their workforces about AIDS.

The remainder of this paper will explore the dynamics of an organizationally-based AIDS education program. The discussion will open with an overview of the organization as a communication environment. From that perspective we can then examine why AIDS merits the sort of attention that I am advocating. I'll then turn to organizational responses thus far. Finally, I will present the components of an AIDS curriculum that could be implemented in some form in all organizations, be they large or small.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT

As a communicative context, the organization is a picture of dizzying complexity. In both small and large organizations communication takes place at individual, dyadic, group, inter-group, and technologically mediated levels. Issues including power, networks, communication fidelity, status, and relationship development all serve to confound communication efforts. AIDS and other health issues are an additional component to this already crowded communication situation.

Concerns with health are not new to the organization by any means. Ilgen (1990) illustrated the historical development of such concerns as proceeding from a focus on safety, to ergonomics, to employee wellness. None of these focuses, however, are sufficient to deal with the complex combination of sociological, biological, and psychological factors that constitute the AIDS crisis.

Understanding the systemic nature of organizations is important when assessing organizational events, including health and wellness communication efforts, because organizational social systems are communication networks (Katz & Kahn, 1978). As networks, communication efficiency, feedback loops, message directionality, coding, and translation problems across boundaries because of specialized sub-systems are just some of the issues that will impact communication effectiveness. A recognition of systemic complexity, then, needs to be built in to any organization education agenda.

One of the most challenging issues inherent within the organizational system is the identification and performance of roles. Katz and Kahn (1978) have gone so far as to define the organization as an "open system[s] of roles" (p. 187). The specific nature of which sort of roles are performed will, of course, vary with the nature of each organizational setting. The role of greatest consequence in this paper concerns the over-all persona of the organization. In order to meet the challenges of AIDS, the organization must adopt the role of educator. If this is a role not commonly played by a given work place, then the ambiguity is bound to lead to certain fidelity problems.

Message fidelity refers to the level of correspondence between messages as they are sent versus received (Pace & Faules, 1989). Distortions can occur on an individual level (e.g., selective perception, the ambiguity of language, inconsistent verbal and nonverbal components, etc.), as well as at the organizational level (e.g., influence of hierarchy, systemic restrictions on information flow, the impersonalization of the communication environment, etc.). The implementation of an AIDS education program, within the complex, role-laden communication environment of the workplace, must overcome the obstacles of the environment. If the program violates the expected role behavior of the organization, then steps must be taken to either open up the organization's role options, or change the perceptions of the organization members. Both tasks add communicative complexity onto an already challenging project.

A NUMERICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR ATTENTION

From a "how many" point-of-view the AIDS crisis is frightening and, to say the least, confusing. Though Africa suffers from the greatest amount of AIDS cases ("AIDS imperils," 1991), the United States is the fifth most affected (of reporting countries) country by AIDS, based on number of cases per capita, behind only French Guiana, Bermuda, Bahamas, and Congo (Feuerstein and Lovel, 1989). By 1996 AIDS is expected to be the leading cause of death among men ages 25-44 in Wisconsin ("AIDS might be biggest," 1990), and by the end of 1991 predictions are that AIDS will be the fifth leading cause of death for women, ages 15-44 ("U.S. overlooking women," 1991); some 5-10 million people worldwide are estimated to be HIV-positive, and the cost of care for AIDS patients in the U.S. by 1994 is estimated at over \$10 billion annually ("AIDS costs will top," 1991), while the estimated direct and indirect costs to employers in 1991 is estimated at over \$55 billion (Wagel, 1988); and, in March 1990, President Bush declared war on AIDS, claiming

that AIDS had killed 76,000 Americans, over 35,000 in 1989 alone, prompting the country to commit \$3.5 billion to research (Warren and Carroll, 1990).

Banta (1988) reported that by 1991, 270,000 Americans will have AIDS, costing the country \$60 billion; the center for disease control estimates that 1 out every 22 individuals who requests testing is HIV positive ("Publicly funded HIV," 1990), bringing the total estimate of individuals who are actually infected with the HIV virus in 1990 to 1 million people, with many or most of them unaware of their infection; and, one in every five-hundred students has the HIV virus ("Study: 1 in 500," 1990).

Do the above numbers "communicate?" Do they, in and of themselves mandate a social or medical or educational or organizational response? Probably not, for just like any form of communication, "numbers" are subject to interpretation. Some have interpreted the numbers as justification for spending money on research and education while others offer the numbers as the justification for the denial of civil rights. Regardless of how one uses the amounts in framing his/her arguments, the rhetoric of quantification prompts the question: "How much is enough?"

This question lies at the heart of both program development to deal with AIDS, and discussions of whether AIDS merits the amount of private and governmental money being spent on it. Indeed, a growing number of people are suggesting that the numbers do not justify spending more money on AIDS-related programs (e.g., Krauthammer, 1990). My interest in this paper does not concern the amount of money being spent on research. The question posed in this section is: "Do the numbers merit attention by organizations?" The answer must surely be "Yes." If the numbers are correct, organizational America stands to lose tens of thousands of its most energetic, most productive workers over the next decade, leaving a gaping hole in the workforce that will take years to fill.

As measured by both cost to humanity and profit for the organization, then, clearly it is in the best interests of the organization to take a close look at the quantification of AIDS. Organizational responses, however, are usually slow, even when their best interests are at stake. Response rates, the forms that responses take, response styles, etc., are subject to the cultural milieu (Louis, 1985) of the organization.

Understanding organizations as cultures has emerged as both a common and heuristic paradigm. Scholars such as Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo (1982), Pettigrew (1979), Schein (1985), and Smircich (1983) have advocated the position that organizations can

reasonably be understood as systems of shared meanings and understandings. A cultural approach to organizations, then, is a recognition of the importance of organization members' values, beliefs, and expectations.

Organization cultures and sub-cultures will have a profound impact on all organization communication efforts, including and especially those such as sensitive health and sexuality issues. Cultures change only slowly and cultural resistance to a change or a program will effectively kill that program's chances for success. An organizational focus on AIDS will, in most cases, be a communication environment change of such magnitude that employee reaction may go beyond individual responses, to the level of a cultural response. At that point, in order for the change to be successful, the organizational membership will have to be brought into the innovation effort (Fidler & Johnson, 1984). In other words, in order for acceptance to occur, the program will have to become successfully embedded in the system of meanings and understandings that constitute the normal, daily lives of the organization membership.

The Organizational Response Thus Far

The dynamics of establishing a "corporate response" to AIDS are daunting, both practically and philosophically, but are certainly not impossible (Franklin et al., 1989). A variety of sources have laid out a response agenda. The *AMA Management Briefing* (1988) argued that AIDS must be treated on two levels: The response to the person infected, and the response to the individuals who react to those infected with panic, confusion, and misinformation. Employee programs should include at least referral to medical and psychological help for the victim, information concerning benefits, personal support, and education for co-workers to alleviate their fears (founded or not).

It further recommended that a specific AIDS policy be in place. The policy should include a special coordinator, assuring confidentiality, encouraging reporting, assurance that full employment will continue until such time as the employee cannot perform his/her duties, and requests for understanding and compassion from co-workers.

In most respects the AMA statement reflects other calls for corporate responses (Bayer and Oppenheimer, 1986; Campbell, 1989; DiBlase, 1987; Gini 1989). These calls consistently center around what appear to be the three generally accepted workplace concerns: (1) legal questions of discrimination, (2) insurance concerns associated with the high medical costs of treating AIDS, and (3)

human relations issues of balancing the problems of treating victims humanely while dealing with employee fear (Aberth, 1985).

Unfortunately, reflected in many of the above "humanitarian" calls for corporate responses is the consistent theme of money. Just as discussions of sexual harassment often-times boil down to recommendations against harassment because the lawsuits are expensive, discussions of AIDS policies often get mired in discussions of the economic best interests of the company. Letchinger (1986) put the issue compactly:

Some employers have responded to this dilemma simply by firing, or refusing to employ, people with AIDS. That course, however, is risky because the latter are, in increasing numbers, filing lawsuits based on state and federal handicap discrimination statutes. Such lawsuits are difficult and expensive to defend and often bring companies adverse publicity. (p. 58)

And so, Letchinger advocated a comprehensive educational program in an effort to head off public relations and legal embarrassments. Similarly, Nowlin and Stockham (1988) wrote that "If employers are not motivated to develop policy to insure fairness, they should be motivated by the fear of costly litigation" (p. 24). But, perhaps Banta (1988) put the issue of the complexity of business concerns most chillingly. He wrote:

There are, however, limits to what can be expected of employers. . . . At times, the best interests of the infected employee are at odds with those of others. It must also be remembered that AIDS is an epidemic, and the number of people, including heterosexuals, infected with HIV, ARC, and AIDS is greatly expanding each year. In these circumstances, steps to protect the public safety are very much in order, even if they flatten a few individual rights. (p. 149)

A critical problem faced by anyone searching the literature of corporate responses to AIDS is the lack of comprehensive surveys of businesses, and the lack of clearly reported survey results. Although a variety of reports exist (e.g., *AMA Management Briefing*, 1988; Gini, 1989; Levine, 1986), the most recent and comprehensive is supplied by *Training* magazine. According to its survey (Lee, 1991), in 1991, 20% of U.S. corporations had some sort of formal AIDS policy, while 22% had programs for AIDS education. These numbers represent decreases from the 1990 figures, which showed decreases from 1989 totals. In short, it is clear that organizations have made no significant changes in the way they deal with AIDS from 1989-1990.

To summarize, we can conclude that the corporate response, thus far, is one mostly of words. This is a communication response predicated on the assumption that a written policy is a sufficient mechanism to control a host of organizational concerns, such as length of coffee breaks, attendance, and AIDS. A variety of problems, however, can be identified with this response.

Problem one: Confusion exists as to what a policy is or is not. Is a policy a written statement? does it need to include a corporate education program? does it need to comprehensively cover the organization's options in cases of employees with AIDS? Indeed, isn't "no policy" in effect an AIDS policy, whereby AIDS is either being ignored, is assumed to be covered under existing policy, or is handled on a "case-by-case" basis?

Problem two: Confusion exists as to who, exactly, has a policy. Given that there is no agreed upon understanding of what constitutes policy, it is not surprising that there is difficulty in identifying those who have policies in place. Employees have the right to know where their organizations stand in relation to the AIDS crisis. This stance needs to be part of the policy, and explicit policy needs to be part of every organization.

Problem three: Is policy the same as action? The answer is "no." Policies are responses to social and human crises in an attempt to avert legal repercussions. Corporations are responding for the wrong reasons. So, rather than communicating their role in the human system, they may actually be presenting an image of themselves as financially driven machines.

Problem four: Most policies offer two components. They encourage individuals to seek out testing and they make a statement against discrimination. Each of these components is flawed. First, encouraging employees to seek out testing demonstrates an ignorance of (1) the stigma attached to AIDS victims, i.e., they must be drug users or homosexuals, and (2) the hesitancy of people to want to know what is wrong with them. Second, statements against discrimination are very different than actions against discrimination. A claim on paper will not guarantee that the claim is demonstrated. This is, of course, a critical cultural issue. Espoused values that are not enacted--companies that don't walk like they talk--contribute to confused cultures. People are unsure just what the company is or believes.

Problem five: It is unclear how much education is included in those AIDS policies that advocate education. It is also unclear what the education component should consist of (required versus voluntary, throughout the company or for selected management or

personnel, format that the education will take, justifiable expense for this form of "non-technical" education, etc.). The little that has been written about corporate AIDS education tends to portray it as making information available for individuals who voluntarily choose to seek it out. This strategy, of course is not education, for it neglects the fact that many individuals will not seek out such information because it is too sensitive, or too technical, or too time consuming to absorb, or it appears irrelevant to them, or for any of a dozen other reasons. Additionally, making the information voluntary ignores the stigma of AIDS. Those who seek out such information will very likely be branded as homosexuals, drug users, or sympathetic to such groups.

Problem six: A single policy overlooks systemic and cultural complexity referred to earlier. An organization's sub-cultures form around shared perceptions. No single policy, because of its one-directional nature, will be able to address the needs and concerns, and answer the questions of individuals and groups throughout an organization of any size. Policies are just too limited to adequately serve this function.

BEYOND POLICY: THE ORGANIZATION AS EDUCATOR

My purpose in this section is to outline an AIDS education program that organizations might adopt, and discuss the implications of both the program and the new role of organization as educator. I will argue that the corporation must go beyond a policy of intolerance of prejudice and discrimination; it must act to end prejudice and discrimination. Policy is response, education is action, and it is education that must play the most central role in any corporate AIDS agenda (Gini, 1989; Lutgen, 1987).

I will thus advocate a corporate education program of compassion and sensitivity to a human and social dilemma, rather than a response predicated on the corporate "bottom line." Obviously I am not the first to strongly encourage employee AIDS education. However, like Mello (1990), Ormsby et al. (1990), Patterson (1989), and Ross and Middlebrook (1990), I am arguing that education is more than an option; it is a necessity.

The dynamics of any educational program are complex. The credibility and viability of any program revolves around both the philosophy of its design as well as its administration (Keeling, 1988). Organizations have a history of addressing the technical training needs of their workplaces. AIDS education, however, is a whole new challenge. As an educator, the organization must address three critical communication challenges: Its philosophy of education, its

curriculum, and the administration of it program. Each of these will be discussed below, beginning with philosophy.

AIDS education philosophy. A philosophy of corporate AIDS education must speak to two issues. First, even though there is no risk of casual infection, surveys consistently indicate that people fear AIDS and fear being around those who have AIDS (Trebilcock, 1989). The problem for the education program then is not one of generating data that shows minimal risk, but rather one of protecting individuals from discrimination while also helping others understand and treat AIDS victims humanely.

The second issue, drawn from the first, concerns this problem of building acceptance. Hughey (1987) found that people are sometimes willing to help in situations where they are not totally aware of the facts, and that knowledge of the facts was not the same as acceptance of the victims. Hughey suggested that a campaign aimed at getting volunteers needs to remember that AIDS victims are viewed with less sympathy and as more immoral than victims of either Toxic-Shock or Legionnaire's disease. Thus, if we extrapolate to the organization, it would be an error for the organization to assume that presenting "the facts" will accomplish a goal of acceptance.

Given the above, I am suggesting a four-part corporate AIDS philosophy:

PHILOSOPHY: To non-judgementally reach out to all employees toward the goals of:

1. Updating them on the most current medical knowledge, including AIDS transmission, infection, treatment, and the state of AIDS on the world community;
2. To introduce the human, social impact of the disease, beyond its status as a medical condition;
3. To promote, through awareness, compassion and understanding rather than fear and rejection;
4. To reject discrimination, termination, moral judging, or on-site antibody-testing.

It should not be surprising that this educational philosophy looks something like a mission statement. Corporate education needs to be conducted from the position of core corporate values. Each section of the statement emphasizes a slightly different condition. Part one is appropriate because long term learning and acceptance must be knowledge based. Thus, though one could assume some short term behavior changes based on emotional appeals, the goal of education is long term attitude and belief

change, so that behavior change can be sustained. This is, of course, an attempt to accomplish widespread cultural acceptance by introducing a values/beliefs shift, and letting the behavioral changes follow.

Part two of the educational philosophy is, in abbreviated form, the reason for devoting the time and money to the program. The impact of AIDS on individuals, families, society (including the workplace) must be made known. People cannot be allowed to think that AIDS is something that happens in San Francisco, New York and Africa. Part three of the educational philosophy is important because the goal of any educational program is to accomplish "bottom up" learning and understanding. If workers can learn to see AIDS through a perspective of compassion and understanding rather than glasses tainted with fear and prejudice, then they will act as their own sources of justification and learning.

Finally, part four of the philosophy is necessary because the organization needs to present a unified corporate position. Termination, discrimination, and antibody testing are inconsistent with a position of non-judgment. This may seem clear with termination and discrimination, but less clear with the testing debate. Testing is very controversial and its advantages are questionable (Gunderson, Mayo, and Rhame, 1989). Obviously insurance companies want corporations to test both potential and existing employees for AIDS, and may tempt the organization with lower insurance premiums.

Testing has legal implications (beyond the scope of this paper) as well as practical implications. One of the most serious criticisms against testing is that it is virtually impossible to assure the confidentiality of the results. McAdam (1989) wrote that the issue of privacy should be of the utmost concern to employers, because victims may suffer discrimination and abuse if their condition is made known to the general public. The public fears AIDS. The only way to ensure confidentiality, McAdam noted, is by not collecting the information in the first place. "Where that information can be seen, copied or carelessly discarded, you run the risk of wantonly destroying someone's life" (p. 14). Testing at the workplace is of limited value for the employee and should be avoided.

AIDS education curriculum. My proposal is for a seven hour, seven week, formal curriculum coupled with a long term informal curriculum. Each session is proposed to be one hour long: Forty-five minutes devoted to content, fifteen minutes devoted to participants completing workbook assignments. The workbook will serve to facilitate monitoring employee involvement, acceptance or rejection

of content, and application of material. This proposal is consistent with that advocated by Mello (1990), Ormsby et al. (1990), and Patterson (1989). The trainers should be a combination of internal and external experts.

Hour one of the formal program should be devoted to general health and physical and mental wellness. The point of a general introduction is to remind the participants that AIDS is ultimately a question of health, rather than a question of lifestyle, or behaviors, or types of persons. Such a first session also introduces this sensitive issue in a non-threatening, relatively neutral fashion. It thus should help the participants move into the more specific content with a somewhat more receptive attitude.

Hour two will turn its attention directly to AIDS as a clinical issue. This will be a straightforward, factual presentation of the various facets of AIDS as a specific health issue. The content should include forms of transmission, current research toward finding a cure and forms of treatment, who tends to be affected and why, and definition of critical terms. For example, this session will do away with euphemisms like "bodily fluids," and recognize specific terms like "blood," and "semen." This is intended to be an hour of data presentation toward the goal of content knowledge. Loscalzo (1987) made the point for this hour succinctly: "An employee who is well educated regarding the means of transmission of AIDS will be hard pressed to sustain the burden of showing that his refusal to work with an infected co-worker was based on a reasonable good faith perception of a hazardous working condition" (p. 555).

Hour three will be directed away from AIDS as medical condition and focus on AIDS as social-communicative issue. In this hour the participants will look at issues like homophobia, morality, the social/linguistic construction of AIDS, societies' responsibility to AIDS sufferers, and the media's role in creating social attitudes toward AIDS issues. The critical point of hour three is to move the participants away from us-them portrayals of AIDS, and toward an understanding of AIDS as something that affects all of society.

Hour four will tackle the question of AIDS as a workplace issue. By this time in their training the participants should be prepared to face themselves and their ability to understand co-workers with AIDS. In this hour the complexity of the corporate response will be addressed, including the company's responsibility to all of its employees, its desire to treat those with health issues in the most compassionate manner possible, its legal requirements, and its policy of dealing with AIDS, including the class currently being taught.

Hour five will be a speaker from the community whose goal will be to acquaint the participants with the extent of AIDS in the immediate community, and what is being done. This speaker will highlight the community resources that are available for both physical and psychological treatment for those with AIDS (or ARC, or HIV infection). This person will also discuss community bases for anonymous testing for anyone interested in pursuing that option.

Hour six will expose the participants to a number of people who actually have AIDS. These people might be volunteers who work at the site, or they might be volunteers from the community at large. In either event, the purpose of the exposure is to drive home the point that AIDS is not some mystical condition that happens to gays, drug users, and certain celebrities, such as Liberace, Rock Hudson, and Magic Johnson. It is something that happens to the person standing in front of the room, or sitting next to the worker, or to the worker him/herself. It is a human issue of concern to all. Hour six puts a face on AIDS.

Hour seven will serve as a wrap up and processing session. The hour will be devoted to questions, clarification, and a general reinforcement of what has preceded in the classes. The hour will also introduce the participants to the long term educational efforts of the company and the forms that this education will take in its informal education of employees.

This informal educational program could include at least the following. (1) An AIDS resource library. By having the formal classes, the participants should be able to avoid the side glances from others when they go to seek out information. After the classes, this seeking out is for more information, a situation quite different than that of seeking out the information first. The library should contain at least books, pamphlets and videos that will serve to highlight the information discussed in the classes.

(2) An on-going informational campaign, distributed through company communication outlets, such as newsletters and bulletin boards. The information might contain advances in research, new or existing community resources, the status of the company training, new resources available, and other health and wellness related information.

Administrrating the AIDS education program. The philosophy is easy; it costs no money to articulate or create. The curriculum and administration of it, on the other hand, do cost, both in talent and time. When setting up an education program it is important that the company devote considerable effort toward the question of administration, for the program will take a lot of talent and energy

to set up and deliver. For this reason, the first administrative recommendation is the creation of both a site specific and corporate AIDS task force. This may be composed of individuals who already have obligations with the company, upon which is added AIDS education. The better choice would be a task force given the job of employee health only, including AIDS. A task force would help assure that AIDS and/or health communication policy is communicated efficiently and effectively.

The following administrative recommendations are intended to (1) enable the program to be delivered both efficiently and effectively, and (2) assure that the program delivery is in accordance with the stated educational philosophy.

First, dismantle any system for AIDS testing. Testing is inconsistent with the AIDS education philosophy discussed above. Second, allocate a budget and budget administrator. Third, create resources and modes of dissemination. Fourth, create methods whereby employees can be brought to the training, or the training can be brought to the employees.

Fifth, determine a procedure whereby employee participation can be monitored. Sixth, set up health issue counseling services as part of the program. This is a critically important step. By increasing awareness certain results are bound to occur. Some will be tested and be found positive, some will wonder whether they should be tested, some will need to talk about friends or family members with AIDS, some will want to talk about co-workers with AIDS. The point is, as Sketchley (1989) noted, counselling is necessary to combat the fear, apprehension, and questions that confront both the HIV positive individual as well as the person struggling to come to terms with a new health issue.

Seventh, train in-house, with both in-house and out of house specialists. Eighth, do not punish employees for attending. In other words, because attendance is required, employees should not be docked their normal pay. And, ninth, all employees should be required to attend, both management and labor.

CONCLUSION

As an organizational communication issue, the AIDS crisis is amazingly complicated. In this paper I have argued that the organizational response to this social/workplace tragedy should be in the form of education, rather than the form of simple policy as is the norm at present. Only education will successfully embed AIDS awareness with the social system and cultural fabric of the organization communication environment. In an effort to guide this

educational response I outlined the philosophy, curriculum, and administration of a potential AIDS education program.

The program that I outlined has some serious strengths and limitations. For strengths, it is grounded in theory, manageable, and comprehensive. It is consistent with other recommendations for education programs, and it introduces the issues in a way that recognizes the complexity of the organizational communication environment. A serious obstacle, however, stands in the way of its adoption. Even though the proposal is for a relatively low cost program, the proposal itself is predicated on the assumption that cost is a minor consideration. Though I can afford that luxury as I sit in my office, I have a feeling that when viewed from the dollars and cents reality of the training director's office, this program will look quite different.

But should it? The question that must be asked is "should cost be the driving force behind employee health and well-being?" The answer is "no." I have already given the figure of over \$43 billion being spent on employee training. The money is there, the only question is how it is to be spent.

AIDS is one of the foremost health crises in history, with severe implications for the workplace. The time has come for organizations to embrace their role as educator and lead the societal response of compassion for the sufferers of this disease.

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PORTRAIT OF MINNESOTA FATHERS

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INTRODUCTION

An irresistible and invincible folklore surrounds the father-daughter relationship in white, middle class, Western cultures. Characteristic of this mythologized relationship is a fond, affectionate, doting and vaguely covetous attitude of the father toward the daughter (Arcana, 1979). In turn, the daughter's mythologized prescription is fear, idolization, and hero-worship of her father (Arcana, 1979). The father can model the possibility of independence and mobility for the child (Dalton, 1986; Owen, 1985; Williams, 1987) and be the primary link to success in the adult working world. As Owen commented: "The father as patriarch, apparently invulnerable, in control, is one of our most powerful mythologies...fathers do represent...social power" (Owen, 1985 p. ix). The nature of the father's relationship to his daughter and the limits of their emotional expression with each other are at the heart of this mythologized father image.

In light of this mythologized father-daughter relationship, the current study attempted to explore the perceptions that Minnesota college women have regarding their relationships with their fathers. The authors were interested in issues such as, the role the father had in raising the daughter, the closeness of the father-daughter relationship, and the extent of communication and emotional expression between father and daughter.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Child-Parent Relationships

The literature abounds with information on adolescent-parent relationships. Most studies conducted have used adolescents between the ages of 12 and 18 years, but few of these studies focus detailed attention on the father-daughter dyad. Furthermore, very little research has explored the interpersonal relationships between young adults (over 18 years of age) and their parents.

Relationships are established and maintained through the verbal and nonverbal interaction that transpires between the parties. A few studies have investigated the interaction between parents and

their adolescent children. Youniss and Ketterlinus (1987) found that female adolescents tended to talk much more openly with their mothers than with their fathers. These young women often presumed that their fathers would be disinterested or judgmental if they expressed their true thoughts or feelings to their fathers. Consequently, the daughters felt that their mothers knew them better as individuals than did their fathers. Similar findings were reported for sons in this study.

Youniss and Smollar (1985) investigated several elements of adolescent-parent interactions. The majority of female and male adolescents described their relationships with each parent as being asymmetrical, however the quality of those relationships was quite different. The asymmetry in the father-daughter relationship stemmed from the father's attempts to exercise authority or control over the daughters, whereas in the mother-daughter relationship, it stemmed from the daughter disclosing intimate information to her mother. When communicating with their fathers, the daughters were more likely to be closed and guarded. Overall, the father-daughter relationships were characterized by distance and lack of acknowledgment of each other. According to the authors, this distance contributed to the mystification of the fathers. They were perceived as figureheads by their daughters, rather than as real people.

The quality of any relationship partially depends on the amount of time that the two parties spend with each other. Williams (1987) suggested that fathers spend 20-60 minutes per day with their male and female infants. More time is spent with infant sons than daughters. During the second year of life, fathers begin to withdraw from their daughters, spending less and less time with them. This withdrawal continues through the daughter's adolescence (Williams, 1987). William's notions are partially supported by research. Embedded in the detachment and distance between fathers and daughters found by Youniss and Smollar (1985) is an element of time: fathers and daughters apparently spent little time with each other.

In a study of how much time adolescents spend with their parents, Montemayor and Brownlee (1987) found that both male and female adolescents spend relatively little time alone with their fathers. Most of the times that the participants reported being with their fathers, their mothers were present as well.

White, Speisman, and Costos (1983) were interested in the continuity between adolescence and early adulthood with respect to family interaction patterns. Using 22-26 year olds, the authors

found interesting differences in the adult males' relationships with their mothers when compared with the adult females' relationships with their mothers. Unfortunately, the authors neglected the young adult-father relationships in their analysis, claiming that it was too complex and not as clear cut as the young adult-mother relationship. The potential complexity of the father-adult child relationship begs for scholarly analysis and understanding.

Emotional Expressiveness In Partner-Child Relationships

Sade and Notarius (1985) observed that mothers tend to be more emotionally expressive than fathers in family relationships. Their observations correspond to the traditional depiction of women as filling expressive roles and men as filling instrumental roles. The assumption is that instrumental role behaviors do not require emotional expressiveness. In fact, emotional expressiveness impedes a man's ability to execute his instrumental role effectively (Balswick, 1982).

The phenomena of female expressiveness and male inexpressiveness is well documented in the literature (Dosser, et al., 1986; Lewis and McCarthy, 1988; Saurer and Eisler, 1990; Solomon and Norman, 1982). Dosser, et al. (1986) suggest that male inexpressiveness is part of "a rigid and narrowly defined role prescription for masculinity [which is]...restrictive and presents males with difficulties in relationships" (p.243).

Today, however, popular literature (e.g. Biller and Meredith, 1975; Powell, 1979) and scholarly literature (e.g. Balswick, 1982; Chodorow, 1974; 1978; Dosser, 1982) remind us that greater expectations are placed on fathers to provide care and nurturance to their children. Care and nurturance are behaviors associated with the expressive roles commonly assigned to women, and require skills in expressing and understanding emotions. The nature and extent of emotional expression between fathers and adult daughters has not been the subject of scholarly research, except in the thousands of studies on father-daughter incest and on sex-role development.

SUMMARY

The literature reviewed has addressed aspects of parent-adolescent relationships, parent-adult child relationships, and emotional expressiveness in males. Few empirical investigations of father-adult daughter relationships have been published, save for those which address father-daughter incest. Currently, very little scholarly information is available on the healthy father-daughter relationship. The pervasive assumption seems to be that it would be somehow inappropriate for a man to have a close relationship with

his daughter, possibly because closeness between men and women suggests sexual involvement. Perhaps the complexity of the evolving father-daughter relationship explains the paucity of research in this area.

Little is known about the daughters' perceptions of the fathers' participation in raising them, their perceptions of the closeness of the father-daughter relationships, and their perceptions of shared emotional expression with their fathers. The current study was undertaken to address these three issues. This report is part of a larger study of relationships between adult daughters and their parents.

METHODS

Subject Selection

Participants for this study were obtained from a mid-sized public university in a northern midwest state. Announcements in all introductory and advanced level Speech Communication classes and advertisements in two issues of the campus newspaper informed potential participants of the study. Each participant was paid a small stipend of \$10.00 for her participation.

Eighteen white college women between the ages of 18 and 23 years responded to the announcements and participated in the study. Although no attempt was made to control for background information, such as home town, parents' occupations, number of siblings, etc., (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984) the participant group presents a rather homogeneous picture. The homogeneity is partially due to the demographics of the institution attended by the participants.

To obtain a maximum amount of information from the participants, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies were employed. The details of each type of methodology have been described elsewhere (Spillers and Katz, 1990). Details pertinent to this report will be described here.

Qualitative Data. The researchers obtained qualitative data from in-depth interviews and interviewer field notes. The interviews were semi-structured in nature. The researchers used a set of general questions to guide the interactions with each participant. These general questions encompassed three areas: career, family communication, and relationships with parents. Pertinent to this report are the questions addressing relationships with parents. See Spillers and Katz (1990) for details on how the interviews were conducted and how the field notes were used.

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of the qualitative data involved in-depth reading and rereading of over 270 pages of interview transcripts and over 90 pages of interviewer field notes. The researchers used analytic induction to organize and categorize information while searching for patterns and themes. Through this initial reading process, seven major topic categories emerged. Those topics which circumscribe the father-daughter relationship will be reported on in this paper.

RESULTS

Involvement In Raising Daughters

Sixty-one percent (11 out of 18) of the participants reported that their fathers had limited direct involvement in raising them. This limited involvement began early in their lives and continued through the present time. All of these fathers worked outside of the home and were gone much of the time. Hence, primary responsibilities for child care fell to the mothers, most of whom also worked outside the home.

In recalling their early years of growing up, several of these women had vague recollections of moments spent with their fathers. Most of their memories were of times spent with their mothers:

When I was younger it was more just trivial things and surface needs that I needed satisfied, and my mom was there for that....My mom has always been more understanding and there to listen....My mother was always the one who made the decisions -- the one that you went to....My mom did most of the decision making. I'd never ask dad anything.

For many of these eleven women, the detached involvement of their fathers continued through the present. Three participants, however, have noticed their fathers trying to become more involved in their adult lives:

My father right now is going through a thing where he feels that he was never really close to us. Now he's trying to establish a closer relationship....I've talked to [my dad] more in this school year than I think I have in 15 years....Before, I could talk to my mom about anything, and I hardly ever talked to my dad. Well, now I've talked to my dad a ton more about this [male] relationship, and it's like he's had more to say about it. That seems backwards to me.

Although these fathers did not have much direct involvement in their daughters' lives, they exerted a strong influence over their daughters' behavior, choices, and decisions. This influence was

usually rule and discipline related. These women continue to feel their fathers exerting rule and discipline related influence over their lives:

My dad had a stronger influence on me than my mother because when he says something, you'd better listen because he just says things that he feels need to be said....My dad was the one who set the rules....For career choices and big serious decisions that I have to make, I go to my dad.

These eleven women leave the impression that their fathers were neutral or uninterested in getting to know them as people. Involvement and emotional support for their children, even as young adults, was not of concern to these men. These fathers saw their role in the family as provider and disciplinarian. These two aspects of a parent role do not require frequent direct contacts between parent and child.

The remaining third of the participants described how their fathers were more actively involved in their lives. This involvement began early and continued through the present time. For these individuals, involvement did not necessarily mean that fathers and daughters were emotionally close:

My dad and I talked about sports and career. He's really interested in what I'm doing. When we were younger, I remember him being around. I don't remember him never being there....My father was always spending time with us, but he was more of a doer than a talker.... My father cares about what his kids are doing. I'm the motivator for him -- trying to get him to go biking with me or run races with me.

Three of these women described lives with their fathers which paralleled traditional father-son relationships. In each of these cases, however, the daughter's femaleness was respected and she did not feel treated like a "son." Involvement in the daughter's life was not related to the presence of brothers, as all three participants had older or younger brothers.

Closeness Of Father-Daughter Relationship

Half of the participants described the relationships with their fathers as being neutral or somewhat close. These relationships were characterized by the parties getting along, although not spending much time together. They did not participate in many activities together and they did not talk with each other very often:

[My father] wasn't around much, but when I was with him, it was just so nice to be with him. He was always in a good mood....I get some terrific letters from my dad that I put away

in a special place. They mean so much to me....Dad and I are close, but not as close as Mom and I. He's more on-the-surface-type person.

Although fathers and daughters got along, the daughters wondered aloud if their fathers knew how to have a relationship with a daughter that transcended the provider and disciplinarian roles:

My father grew up on a farm with one brother. He didn't have a lot of girls around. I think he's still not sure how to relate to a daughter and just what these girls are all about.

Each of these women described their attempts to get to know their fathers. In getting to know fathers, they did not have long conversations full of intimate self-disclosures, as they did with their mothers. Instead, they sought out a mutual interest and participated in activities with their fathers. Two of these women described sharing an interest in cars. Others talked about engaging in athletic activities (e.g. biking, running, tennis, basketball) with their fathers. One woman described how she followed her father around the barn and learned about animals from him. In all of these cases, the daughters sought out activities in which their fathers were interested; none spoke of their fathers seeking activities in which they (the daughters) had an interest. It seems that the daughters who had built strong relationships with their fathers had done so on the father's terms.

Five of the eighteen participants (27%) described relationships that were distant or forced. In all five cases, the women saw their fathers as being domineering, autocratic, and authoritarian. These relationships were characterized by a mutual lack of respect. In some cases, an open antagonism existed between father and daughter:

We don't get along real well. I find myself often times doing what he doesn't want me to do just because he doesn't....If I have an idea of something I want to do, I'll sit down and work it out on paper. I'll show it to him and he'll still treat me like it's not a decent idea. It makes me angry....It's more of a relationship where you talk when you need to....The only day he had off in 2 years was Saturday. We didn't see a lot of him. But then, as we got older, we really didn't want him around. ...I never had any respect for my dad. It's more like a forced situation. Now that he's becoming sober, I'm not real sure that I like the person that he is."

Four of the women (22%) described close relationships with their fathers. These close relationships were not necessarily characterized by intimate emotional expressions nor frequent time

spent together. Rather, they seemed to be characterized by mutual respect for each other, and by dimensions that exceeded the bounds of the provider and disciplinarian roles.

Me and my dad have always been close friends. We were close because he coached me for three years and we've gone up to Canada a lot....Me and my dad were a pair, and my mom and brother were a pair....My relationship with my father was excellent. The affection wasn't there but the knowledge of how he felt about me and how I felt about him was great.

Roles In Conversations At Home

One third of the participants described their fathers as dominating family and individual conversations. These same six women described their fathers as being domineering in other respects as well. Four of them had previously described distant or strained relationships with their fathers. These fathers would often steer conversations in the directions of impersonal topics (e.g. cars, sports, politics, business). Five of the six women also described their fathers as having poor listening skills:

[My father] is frank, to the point of being blunt--brutal....He didn't listen at all. He had a tendency to show us what we were doing wrong....My dad wasn't a bad father, he just didn't know how to talk to people.

Eight of the women (44%) described how detached they thought their fathers were from family interactions. These men did not participate verbally in conversations, nor did they listen. At best, they seemed to listen only when something interested them:

He's kind of quiet. He'd say that he'd been on the phone all day and in meetings and it's kind of nice to be quiet with us girls. But sometimes I think he just tunes us out....I've always wished that he would listen more and maybe take an interest in what his kids' wants and needs are....My dad just sat at the dinner table half listening, like he really didn't care. He would catch bits and pieces of things that interested him; otherwise, he would read the paper.

Four of the eighteen women (22%) described fathers who participated freely through talking and listening. These men allowed others to participate freely as well. These women recalled conversations in which everyone had equal opportunity to participate, although not everybody participated to the same degree.

Emotional Expression At Home

Over eighty percent of the participants reported that their fathers had poor or limited emotional expression at home. This lack of expression included positive emotions, such as love, caring, and pride, as well as negative emotions, such as sadness, fear, and disappointment. Half of these women could not identify things that made their fathers happy, sad, or disappointed. Nor could they describe how their fathers showed these emotions. Anger was the only emotion that these participants consistently recognized in their fathers:

[My father] wouldn't express his feelings much. He would just expect you to know how he felt....I have a hard time reading him in terms of if he's happy or if he's sad.... Anything that deals with absolutes, he's great; but when it comes to emotions or anything, he really has a hard time with feelings....It seems like he's either angry or he's not angry.

Several of these women wished aloud that their fathers had been more expressive at home:

I was really hurt by [the lack of emotional expression]....He never talks about his feelings. A lot of men don't -- and it sucks. It hurts me so much. Bad part is they pass it on to their kids.

Four of these 15 women described how their fathers kept tight control over their emotions. These women saw connections between their fathers' lack of emotional expression and their physical and mental health. Two fathers were recovering alcoholics; one father had a heart attack; one had been clinically diagnosed with depression and had contemplated suicide.

In two additional families in which limited emotional expression was the norm, other relationships were affected, according to the participants. One woman attributed her brother's alcoholism to the pervasive emotional detachment among all family members. A second woman described how her parents' divorce was a surprise to her father because he was so emotionally detached from himself and from his spouse.

In only two families were the fathers at all willing to express their emotions, according to the participants:

[My father] is very caring, but he doesn't always know how to show it. He's becoming more and more affectionate....My whole family is expressive, even my dad. He hardly ever gets angry. He seems to take care of things before he gets to the angry stage."

SUMMARY

The results of the current study support previous research on father-child relationships (Williams, 1987; Youniss and Smollar, 1985) and emotional expressiveness of males in western cultures (Dosser, 1982; O'Neil, 1982). Most of the fathers in the current study were emotionally detached from their daughters and other family members, and over 80% lacked the ability to be emotionally expressive at home. For 60% of them, their communication with their daughters was reported to be regulating or controlling in nature.

The daughters, for the most part, did not seem to like this arrangement, although the majority of them seemed to accept it. Almost half of them expressed anger, resentment, or disappointment at the state of their relationships with their fathers. They were not pleased that their fathers seemed detached from them and other family members; they were not pleased that they had difficulty reading their fathers' emotions; and they were not pleased that their relationships with their fathers lacked intimacy. Yet, they talked as though they accepted this state of affairs as "the way things are," and resigned themselves to not trying to change the situation. These young women seemed to want more from their fathers -- more involvement, more nurturing, more closeness. Educators (both K-12 and post-secondary) are increasingly concerned with "quality of life" issues for their students' future lives. Schools now frequently address issues of family life education. An appropriate question to ask is how educators can address this apparent gulf between the needs and expectations of daughters and their fathers in families of the future, how young males can best be educated to prevent the cycle of emotional detachment and little involvement between fathers and daughters from being perpetuated. Clearly further research into the whole area of father-daughter communication is needed, and research which focuses on family communication pedagogy in the father-daughter context seems particularly important.

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SENDING MANAGEMENT TECHNOLOGY ABROAD: CRUCIAL DIMENSIONS IN EFFECTING A MANAGEMENT TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER TO CHINA

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Many of our impressions of other nations are generated and fossilized on the basis of current world business and economic relationships. Framing these relationships within a cultural perspective can be helpful in dispelling inaccurate and hurtful stereotypes. Many of the same barriers that confront the cultural anthropologist are faced by the international business expatriate. Unfortunately, the business-person usually lacks the intercultural training afforded the anthropologist before cross-cultural contact. Business relationships are not somehow supracultural. There is not a supreme, universal business etiquette that can be followed in all circumstances. Many cultural and communication variables are intricately woven into practical business transactions. The opening paragraphs of this essay will explore the ramifications of culture on international economic relations in general, followed by a discussion of communication and business in China.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIES

Different nations possess limited resources from which they may produce goods, exchange them for other goods and services, or simply consume. International economic relations refer specifically to the exchange process that occurs between nations. That exchange process is the result of the factors of distance and independence. There is both physical and cultural distance between various nations, as well as a sense of autonomy that separates economically distinct nations. The cultural distance is created by a complex interaction of dimensions of cultural variability, which is itself influenced in large part by history and ecology/resources (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988). Independence, both economic and political to some extent, derives from diverse economic interests, goals, technology, and resources (Hakala, March, 1988, personal communication). According to traditional economic models, separate nations should produce and export in areas where they have a comparative advantage in production, and import in those areas where they lack the necessary factor endowments. Different types of economic ideologies (i.e. centrally planned vs. free market) pose a problem to trade and

contribute to the images nations construct of one another. Ideological differences emerge in the form of problems in monetary policy, the pricing of goods and services, trade policies, distributing profit and ownership in joint ventures, repatriating earnings, and merging differing functions and roles in corporate and diplomatic units.

Despite the barriers to coordinated production, there are definite benefits to international trade and business cooperation. Both nations in an agreement are exposed to increased markets, lower prices for the same goods, the dissipation of risk in a venture, the acquisition of new technology, foreign resources, foreign capital and expertise, additional avenues of credit, additional revenues and an overall increase in national welfare. With regard to joint ventures, Paleczny-Zapp (1987) suggests there is a new phase developing in socialist-capitalist economic relations. She notes that "Cooperation is being undertaken in many fields, including science and technology, work on joint projects and the long term organization of production process with shared responsibilities for management, finance, and trade" (p. 2).

Nonetheless, cooperation consists of much more than the technological aspects of a joint venture. There are a host of cultural variables that, when overlooked, present major stumbling blocks for international business arrangements. These barriers include culturally influenced perceptions and interpretations, differing thought patterns and cognitive schemata, culturally derived norms and expectations for interaction, and other basic components of intercultural communication. Additionally, there are stereotyped images based on economic relations that must be overcome if success is to be achieved in the international marketplace, images that are deeply rooted through many years of ideological conflict and competition, images that are not easily put aside when negotiating critical philosophical differences in a joint venture agreement including the transfer of equipment and know-how.

The remainder of the essay will discuss the transfer of management technology to China in the wider context of Sino-American economic relations. It is important to note the connection between international business relations with the PRC and foreign policy relations. Many cooperative business ventures hinge on current national policy toward China, both in terms of access to technology which the U.S. permits and the degree to which China looks to the U.S. to fill its technology needs. Specifically, this essay will briefly outline the current Chinese economic system and policies, the United States' interests in, and current policies toward China, and the intercultural communication dimensions pertinent to

a management exchange/technology transfer with China.

Sino-American Relations And Economic Exchange

China's current importance in the global economic system, and potential significance in the world market, is obvious; however, the difficulties present in reaching that market are not so obvious. For that reason, the purpose in selecting China as the focus of the present essay can be seen as three-fold: 1) China is the world's most populated nation, representing a vastly untapped market and grossly underdeveloped industrialized economy; 2) Recent political events within China and the United State's response will undoubtedly affect modernization efforts and internal reform; and 3) The differences in culture between North Americans and Chinese are numerous and very complex (i.e. thought patterns, perceptions, goals, values, etc.), presenting the international business-person or diplomat with a great many variables to consider when interacting in the Chinese culture.¹ The implications of these cultural variables with regard to management technology transfers are particularly complex and must be understood given the importance of future goodwill and cordial relations between the U.S. and China. In fact, these cultural variables have pertinence to any interaction with the Chinese, be it political, economic, private, or public.

The need for examining international relations between China and America is sorely visible. The extensive failure rate of American expatriate managers is astounding. Mendenhall et al. (1987) state that American companies are losing approximately \$2 billion every year in direct costs associated with expatriate failures. The average cost to U.S. multinational corporations of sending an expatriate manager abroad ranges anywhere from \$150,000 to \$250,000 per year (Tung, 1986). These costs do not reflect the indirect costs of failure the corporation experiences, such as lost market opportunities and reputation damage. It is evident that there are gains to be made by improving a manager's ability to relate cross-culturally. Obviously, managers and those involved in technology transfers are not the only ones who can benefit from improved skills in this area; but for present purposes, the focus will be on the transfer of management/technology abroad and the skills needed to cope effectively with cultural differences.² Taking the preceding discussion into consideration, the question arises as to what it is exactly, that characterizes the Chinese economic, and socio-political environment that differentiates it from other international corporate settings?

THE CHINESE SYSTEM

The People's Republic of China is the third largest country in the world, geographically; and is the most heavily populated nation with 1.037 billion people as of 1984 (Osborne, 1986). Yet despite its plentiful labor force, large physical size, and rich supply of natural resources, the World Bank places China's Gross National Product (GNP) per capita at just over \$300 (Heinz, 1986).³ That places it in the same category with countries such as India, Haiti, Somalia, and Sudan. Considering its relatively low national income, it excels compared to those countries in terms of personal welfare; i.e. higher life expectancy, lower infant mortality, and levels of nutrition. It also fares comparatively well in economic and financial conditions such as showing consistently higher growth, lower inflation, greater industrialization, surpluses in current accounts columns, large investment inflows, fairly large foreign exchange reserves, and less reliance on concessional foreign aid (Heinz, 1986). While China is clearly an under-developed (or lesser developed) country, it stands in marked contrast to other nations in similar economic conditions.

China does have its fiscal and economic woes however. Even though labor is plentiful, skilled labor, managers, scientists and technicians are in short supply. The industrial sectors are crippled by inappropriate management systems, distorted prices, inadequate distribution systems, lack of mobilization in the labor force, lack of prompt and competent service, and capital costs that cannot be adjusted to reflect changes in the interest rate. In addition, many state-owned enterprises are dependent on subsidies for survival. China also has a very limited basic infrastructure which inhibits any drive to modernize. Their current economic situation has forced the Communist Party controlling the state to reevaluate the current direction of their economy and to consider drastic reform policies. However, despite reform and modernization efforts under Deng Xiaoping, there has been consistent resistance by communist hardliners who suggest that reform and "opening up" policies are pushing China too far toward the "West" and eroding Party leadership. These internal conflicts occupy a key position in the formation of U.S. foreign policy toward China.

The 12th Central Committee of the Communist Party prepared a decision statement in 1984 outlining defects in the current system and how the reform would need to take shape in order to remedy those problems. The Committee stated that the current "rigid economic structure ... cannot meet the needs of the growing forces of production." Among the major defects cited were:

1. "No clear distinction has been drawn between the

functions of the government and those of the enterprise;

2. "Barriers exist between different departments or regions;
3. "The state has exercised excessive and rigid control over enterprises;
4. "No adequate importance has been given to commodity production, the law of value, and the regulatory role of the market; and
5. "There is absolute equalitarianism in distribution."

They conclude that these defects have resulted in a loss of enterprise vitality; specifically in the areas of worker enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity. The combination of enterprises lacking decision-making power and the attitude of everyone "eating from the same big pot" simply did not provide an atmosphere conducive to growth (Swift, 1985, p.81). The startling aspect about the Committee's decision paper is the frank manner in which they discuss defects in the system. Furthermore, they propose several very liberal means of instituting and effecting change. Granted, the paper contains a lot of apologetic discourse and justificatory rhetoric explaining the necessity for past conditions having been the way they were, but the simple fact that free market principles are so clearly advocated in an ideologically Marxist system is truly astounding. The decision statement proceeds to set forth what is called a "Responsibility System" based on the tenets of responsibility, authority, benefit, and the combination thereof. It revolutionizes (in theory) the traditional Chinese enterprise, making it a "truly, relatively independent economic entity ... a producer and operator of socialist commodity production that is independent and responsible for its own profit and loss and capable of transforming and developing itself and that acts as a legal person with certain rights and duties" (Swift, 1985, p.81). Many reform-minded leaders are beginning to "view domestic and external variables in a mutually interactive manner"; Deng Xiaoping declared, "China's modernization...must not only make use of other countries' experience. We must also avail ourselves of foreign funding...It is now time to use our opportunities" (S. Kim, 1989).

In 1987 the Thirteenth Party Congress convened and again internal reform and modernization were the central issues. Only, after close to a decade of "opening up", the criticisms were much more prevalent. The Chinese leadership was facing no little embarrassment domestically because of high rates of inflation brought on by reform policies. Nine years of reform advances had

been met by inflation levels of between 7-9%. Many consumers began to equate price reform with price increase. "The ever-increasing linkage between domestic and foreign policy means that a nation's external behavior - and its perceived legitimacy or illegitimacy - directly affects the legitimacy of political leaders at home" (S. Kim, 1989). The reforms initiated under Deng tend to legitimate the ambitious and resourceful entrepreneur, not the selfless, sacrificing, party cadre (Levine, 1989). These types of movements appear to be increasing the anxiety level of a good many party officials. In light of the Central Committee's policy statements, what has the Chinese modernization entailed? Moreover, has the modernization to date been effective?

The modernization program encompasses four areas in order of priority: agriculture, industry, science and technology, and defense. In each of these areas central planning has been reduced as a whole from specific production targets to general guidelines. Enterprises are experiencing increased freedom to enter into production of new types of goods and to use market forces to dictate production quantities. There is a growing tendency toward a more rational pricing system with increased flexibility in setting prices by the semi-independent enterprises. Also, enterprise profit taxes are being instituted by the state, allowing the managers to now retain at least some of the extra profits to reinvest in the enterprise from which they were generated. These notions of self-management, and specifically profit retention, are alien to the centrally planned system of China. Instead of turning over all production and profits to the state, the managers may now gear production to meet market demand and control supply to set prices. Furthermore, as mentioned, they may now utilize these newfound profits for the development of their own enterprise (Heinz, 1986; Swift, 1985).

The Chinese reform is also introducing interest-based financing for capital construction, increased enterprise authority in employment decisions, and increased mobility for factory workers along with adjustments in wages reflecting relevant job factors. All of these innovations are in marked contrast to the traditional, centrally planned Chinese enterprise. In addition to these changes in the overall system, several programs have been implemented to improve the basic economic infrastructure of the country. Perhaps the most notable effort of which has been the designation of Special Economic Zones.

A Special Economic Zone (SEZ) is basically an experimental dose of market economy planning in a socialist laboratory (Osborne, 1986). The SEZ's are essentially open doors to attract foreign

investment with the hope of bringing relatively advanced technology to China. The four SEZ's, ShenZhen, Xiamen, ZhuHai, and Shanton, were established during the 1983 restructuring of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade (formerly the Ministry of Foreign Trade). These four original zones have been, or will be in the future, joined by 14 additional coastal cities and the island of Hainan in offering tax incentives (as low as 15% compared to the average rate of 50%), flexible labor policies, customs exemptions, access to domestic markets, and moderate land and labor costs to investors (Swift, 1985). The Chinese are relying on these SEZ's to set the pace for their modernization and help to restore the lost ground given up during the cultural revolution (1966-1975). The SEZ's have already combined to produce a rapid increase in the amount of foreign investment in China placing the zones in a strategic role in China's modernization strategy (Lo, 1985).

Other changes in the area of foreign trade have to do with the internal structure of the Chinese trading organizations. Prior to the reform, all import and export transactions were conducted by a central foreign trade corporation which interacted with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and paid taxes directly to the Ministry of Finance for all enterprises which participated in any foreign trade. However, after the restructuring, local import/export commissions were set up, overseen by a central foreign investment control commission, thus offering greatly increased autonomy to local agencies and enterprises (Osborne, 1986). In contrast to previous times, selected enterprises are now allowed to choose their own import and export agents. This forces the local specialized Foreign Trade Corporations to compete for export and import business (other than in key commodity areas which are still centrally controlled).⁴ Enterprises now have contract signing authority, giving them more control over purchasing decisions and permitting foreign firms to deal directly with production units instead of working through intermediary FTC's. The effect of these changes will be to speed up and simplify import/export transactions and to make them more profitable (Swift, 1985).

The ominous question at this point is, how long will this reform movement last? In order to lay to rest such fears, then Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang explained that "China's policy of opening to the outside world for economic and technical cooperation is essentially 'irreversible'" (Swift, 1985, p.12). Many hope that is the case; but China's "open door" must lead to a commitment to lasting reform, economic, legal, and social, providing an atmosphere of stability and pragmatism. Heinz (1986) suggests that it is true,

"The current leadership [is] taking steps to institutionalize the new order" (p.8). Those steps include membership in the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and an application to GATT. Furthermore, as China signs investment treaties and trade agreements with multiple nations, they will become dependent upon, and influenced by, world markets and the performances of international economies. Former Premier Ziyang further substantiated his claim to a China committed to reform by noting that total foreign capital used by China has reached \$14.6 billion per annum, accounting for roughly 15% of their capital construction investment for the five year plan of 1981-1985. During 1984, private foreign investment alone expanded 34%, reaching a high of \$2.66 billion. Some of that increase came from the establishment of 700 joint ventures and 26 wholly foreign firms in 1984 (Swift, 1985, p.12). In the 1979-1986 period U.S. firms signed a total of 304 direct investment contracts with mainland China promising to be worth at least \$2.7 billion (Wei, 1990).⁵ However, recent events in the PRC cast some doubt on the commitment to social reform on the part of the Chinese government. This commitment to social reform will inevitably influence any progress to be made in industrial sectors, as well as international commitment to Hong Kong's continued development in light of the imminent transfer of sovereignty in 1997.

Foreign investment and joint ventures are crucial to China, for they hope to finance the current development/modernization with the sale of exports, not by accumulating a large foreign debt. Joint ventures also offer China the opportunity to divide the risks and profits according to equity share; acquire valuable technology; place the marketing of products into the hands of the more experienced foreign partner; benefit from real capital transfers into China; and gain access to hard currencies or expand their industrial capacity with minimal losses of hard currency (Osborne, 1986, p.65; Swift, 1985, p.13).

On the whole, it appears that China's economy is drastically changing, and it looks as if it is change of a lasting sort. In 1988, Under Secretary Armacost stated that "the U.S.-China relationship has been normalized in every sense of the word. We have substantial cultural, economic, and trade contacts, and these are growing rapidly." Eagleburger (1990) reaffirmed the current administration's resolve to maintain open channels with the PRC, "The China of the 1980's - despite the appalling tragedy of Tiananmen Square - has come a long way from the era of the Gang of Four...Deng Xiaoping redirected the path of China's modernization

effort...that charted a dramatically new course of economic and political reforms...bringing freedom to publish, to speak, to travel, and to engage in private economic enterprise." Consequently, the question of where American interests lie should be raised; and what factors may inhibit increasing those interests?

U.S. INTERESTS

Sino-American relations have progressed tremendously in the last two decades. In 1979, relations were "normalized", and after a U.S. - China trade agreement was signed, China was granted Most Favorable Nation (MFN) status in February of 1980. The United States now classifies China as a "friendly non-allied country." Most of the progress made can be attributed to China's inward thrust to modernize its economy (Heinz, 1986). The United States is currently China's third largest trading partner and second largest source of direct investment. Heinz (1986) notes that Sino-American trade rose more than 40% between 1982 and 1985, totalling \$8.1 billion in 1985. Total current American investment at that time was approximately \$1 billion (p.5).⁶ Conversely, China is now our tenth largest trading partner (fourth in Asia) amounting to \$17.8 billion in 1989 (Solomon, 1990). Clearly the American business community has an interest in China and its economic reform. In fact, some analysts feel that China has strategically cultivated a powerful constituency in the U.S. that values stability in Sino-American relations due to expensive and delicate economic ties (Levine, 1989).

Relations with China mean substantial economic benefits for the United States, including expanded market opportunities, an outlet for relatively obsolete technological equipment and access to raw materials and intermediate goods; not to mention the political and strategic benefits of favorable relations with China (Jepsen, 1984; Paleczny-Zapp, 1987). Specific policy objectives were articulated by Eagleburger (1990): 1) to nurture a strategic relationship with China in an effort to draw the Chinese out of isolation and engage them in problem-solving processes on major international issues; 2) to encourage China to use its influence in reducing tensions in East Asia; 3) to engage China in a wide variety of exchanges that will encourage political and economic reforms and improve human rights; and 4) to increase economic and commercial relations, enabling movement toward a market-oriented economy. The underlying assumption is that as China becomes more involved, or entangled, institutionally with other nations it will become increasingly more difficult to revert back to isolationist behaviors, and as economic reforms progress, political and social reforms will be

mandated. In fact, through a myriad of official and quasi-official, individual and institutional arrangements, China and the U.S. "are now linked in an elaborate network" (Levine, 1989). U.S. policies have for the past twenty years attempted to attend to the subtle interplay of economic, political, and social interests that merge to form the dynamic relationship with China. These policies are consistent with the fundamental principle of American diplomacy expressed originally by Thomas Jefferson, "National interest of the U.S. demands first and foremost 'peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations'" (Leach, 1990). Despite the benefits and the advancements made by Chinese reform efforts, and aside from the added political complexities of the Tiananmen Square tragedy, doing business with China is often quite difficult.

Most joint venture partners face stringent requirements to earn foreign exchange in order to repatriate profits. Heinz (1986) states that "many U.S. executives indicated that...a venture can only repatriate profits if it earns enough foreign exchange to cover them - period!" (p.10). He further suggests that joint venture partners face limited legal protections and frameworks, overpricing of production inputs, and an environment that lacks many of the institutions deemed necessary by American investors for private business to succeed; i.e. a private credit system, and a very limited official credit system. Firms doing business in China may also face an investment situation with no protection agreement, and an unfavorable investment environment fraught with complex administrative structures and inconsistent policies; not to mention suspect quality of labor and management personnel and uncertain access to domestic markets (Lo, 1985; Wei, 1990). Lo (1985) suggests that many of these problems are systemic in nature and not a result of a focused effort to cheat the foreign investor. After all, China's four modernizations are dependent upon the influx of outside capital and technology.

It is not to be forgotten that the joint venture partner still faces a Chinese system which, despite the many efforts at reform and modernization, remains entrenched in the central planning ideology with long term goals of self-sufficiency. That not only makes business transactions cumbersome, bureaucratic, and time consuming, but also gives rise to speculation about the assuredness of long-term business commitments. With that speculation come fears relating to the irreversibility of technology transfers should political alignments shift. Additionally, American businesses worry about the effects of economic and technological parity upon competitiveness in the global market. Wei (1990) suggests that one

of the major problems facing U.S. businesses in the global market is the steadily declining technical superiority of U.S. products. It seems that U.S. investors have aided the creation of their own competition before, seen in the cases of Japan and South Korea. Jepsen (1984) suggests that there are both advantages and disadvantages to better trade relations with China, but he concludes that the advantages outweigh the latter in the final analysis. Long term benefits of better strategic accord, strengthening cultural affinity, and the realization of humanitarian imperatives all provide infinitely more satisfaction and security than an irrational fear of industrial and technological equality which threatens to displace the American market share.

Unquestionably problems and difficulties exist in Sino-American relations, but Heinz (1986) suggests that many American businesses have in the past created some of the problems for themselves by failing to understand the Chinese decision making process and ways of interaction adequately. It was mentioned earlier that China presents an environment much different than those most multinational managers are accustomed to. It follows then that an increased awareness and understanding of the norms for interaction will facilitate relations in all areas, whether it is in the realm of trade negotiations or interpersonal management relations. At this juncture the asymmetry of cultural perspectives must be bridged, and as noted earlier, that can be a very difficult assignment. However, it is an assignment that must be tackled by the expatriate manager in order to effect a successful business transaction or cope with a new corporate 'culture'. The age of the "quick-buck" trader in the untapped market of China is gone. Now managers of multinational firms are playing for position inside the Chinese arena during what are essentially formative stages in the development of that market; it is a game of patience (Levine, 1989).

MANAGEMENT COMMUNICATION

Given the present complexity of Sino-American relations, with MFN status still a divisive issue in Washington, Chinese students in the U.S. lobbying for increased sanctions, and human rights violations still occurring in China, intercultural communication between Chinese and U.S. nationals in the business arena is stressful at best and impossible at worst. Due to the fact that management inherently involves human relations, cultural variables immediately become salient. In a particular case study of a large multinational firm conducting a joint venture in China, Hendryx (1986) found that "Personnel management was the greatest single

challenge to the Joint Venture" (p.63). The challenge has only become more pronounced by recent events.

Structurally, Chinese organizations are characterized by bureaucracy. They often are very departmentalized, with many persons in diverse management positions who hold real authority. Many times all managers of all departments will need to be consulted in order to make a decision which is directly related to only one department, and really bears little consequence for outside departments. Furthermore, since decision making is traditionally done by consensus, the process can at times seem not only endless, but fruitless. This bureaucratic, internal decision-making system often confronts an expatriate manager who is ignorant of the detailed and necessary consensus rituals that must be performed in order for anything to be accomplished. This is merely one example of the numerous types of situations in which an understanding of pertinent communication variables is specifically crucial for effecting a management technology transfer with China.

The expatriate manager in China must learn to deal with all "classes" of people (for they do exist even in a "class-less" society) from official Cadres to the common laborer. He must also come to recognize that even within China there are differing conceptions of what "Management Modernization" means. To conservative elements who resist fundamental changes, modernization means the implementation of scientific procedures. To the more liberal factions, it constitutes far reaching, fundamental changes in organizational structure and functions. But whatever "modernization" means, it is not synonymous with Westernization. Tung (1986) suggests that there is a common misconception among expatriate managers in China that modernization implies Westernization. There seems to be little else that produces as sure a result as an expatriate manager exhibiting to the Chinese the all too familiar posture of cultural imperialism. Of particular relevance here is the notion that effective communication is characterized by "equal status" interaction (Amir, 1969). The interaction must be such that one culture is not construed, or does not appear, to be superior to the other culture; additionally, the interactants must recognize each other as social equals and offer necessary levels of respect in order for communication to be successful.

The expatriate manager is likely to encounter other problems such as differing ideas about the functions of various departments. For instance, the role of the finance department in a Chinese enterprise is basically one of reporting to the state, whereas the American manager is accustomed to utilizing reports generated from

the finance department for internal decision-making. Additionally, in traditional Chinese companies, the marketing department has generally consisted of a group of designers and engineers, not a market survey team; and the sales group has filled little more than the role of order taker. The expatriate manager must learn how to circumvent the system to accomplish the purposes of the business, but also must maintain the social order and harmony of the enterprise. Additionally, the fact remains that no matter how modernized the Chinese become, they cannot escape the reality that their political system affects all aspects of their daily lives. That kind of political relationship to daily life has no parallel in the West. Consequently, the Chinese are at once attempting to satisfy both a political and economic agenda. "The type of dichotomy between business management and political management that is characteristic in the West does not exist in China" (Zamet and Bovarnick, 1986, p.15). That is due to the existence of officers and managers in China who are not only business executives, but usually are party officials as well. That situation can create severe conflicts when an expatriate manager is advocating a particular business position which his fellow Chinese associates do not accept because of their political ideology. To be sure, Chinese and American political ideologies are based on disparate value orientations, and any attempt at successful business transactions must be sensitive to these cultural differences.

It is in critical situations of the type mentioned that a sensitivity to pertinent cultural and communication variables becomes crucial. If it is true, as Hofstede (1984) suggests, that culture is the "collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another...the interactive aggregate of common characteristics that influence a human group's response to its environment" (p.25); then it can be inferred that "culture influences organizations through societal structures such as...political systems..." (Adler et al., 1986, p.299). Given these assumptions concerning culture, the value of understanding Chinese culture for the expatriate manager becomes obvious. As mentioned earlier, it is often in situations where such cultural understanding is lacking that the American business person creates problems for him or herself.

Hendryx (1986) cites difficulty in communicating as the most significant problem in managing overseas, or management/technology transfers. He indicates that the problems manifested in communication due simply to language barriers are only the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Zamet and Bovarnick (1986) suggest that,

"China presents an environment so different from that normally encountered by multinational companies that their standard practices need reinterpretation to be effective in China" (p.13). Essentially, there is a need for adaptation.

ADAPTIVE MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

Adaptation is central to intercultural management communication. The core of adaptation is change; particularly change in personal and social behavior (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p.208). However, identifying exactly what constitutes adaptation, or that which it specifically represents is somewhat elusive. Some have equated adaptation with acculturation, albeit incorrectly. For that matter, the term acculturation itself has a history of vague, conflicting definitions. Perhaps the meaning is uncertain because the process itself is altogether undefinable in concrete terms. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) suggest that culture by its very nature is adaptive; that cultural change is merely a process of "adjustments to newly perceived needs as presented by life's conditions" (p. 88).

In general, the intercultural adaptation/effectiveness literature can be said to consist of speculative personality typologies that when acted out might contribute to the potential for adaptation or effectiveness.⁷ The contributions of Adler's (1985) "multicultural man", and Bochner's (1977) "mediating man" are characteristic of this approach. Other effectiveness research has focused on behavioral attributions (Triandis, 1976), attitudes, traits and skills (Brislin, 1981; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1984; Hammer, 1987; Hammer, Gudykunst and Wiseman, 1978; Harris, 1973), and performance (Klemp, 1979). For example, one study defined adaptation/effectiveness as 1) the ability to deal with psychological stress, 2) the ability to communicate effectively, and 3) the ability to establish interpersonal relationships (Hammer, Gudykunst, & Wiseman, 1978). Other studies have emphasized general characteristics of effective performance, such as cultural empathy, belief in mission, and the ability to complete a task (Cleveland, Mangone, & Adams, 1960). Gudykunst and Hammer (1988) suggest the following understanding of adaptation:

Intercultural adaptation refers to the fit between individuals and their environment. Individuals who have adapted to "foreign" environments have worked out a "good" fit between themselves and their environment. (p.111)

Such an understanding allows for multiple means of intercultural adaptation operating on a continuum (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988). Gudykunst (1979) suggests five points along the continuum: 1)

non-acceptance or avoidance; 2) substitution; 3) addition; 4) synthesis; or 5) re-synthesis or innovation. Herskovits (1938) also appears to allude to a continuous process of adaptation;

where both original and foreign traits are combined so as to produce a smoothly functioning cultural whole which is actually an historic mosaic; with either a reworking of the two cultures into a harmonious, meaningful whole to the individuals concerned, or the retention of a series of more or less conflicting attitudes and points of view which are reconciled in everyday life as specific occasions arise. (p. 136)

This approach is consistent with much of the current theorizing on intercultural adaptation (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Kim, 1978; 1989). It goes beyond an exchange of traditions, or cultural information, to allow for the emergence of complex patterns of adjustment; patterns that involve the whole being of a person rather than simply social behavior. Adaptation from a communicative standpoint means the identification and internalization (acceptance) of significant foreign symbols (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 209). Furthermore, given that people acquire their cultural patterns through interaction with others (i.e. it is a social process), it can be said that one develops a relationship with a new environment (social or otherwise) through communication. The ability to communicate within the Chinese environment is crucial to forming the necessary relationships in a management technology transfer.

Hofstede (1984) has proposed four cross-cultural dimensions on which most cultures will differ in their approach to business: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism/collectivism, and masculinity/femininity. However salient these dimensions may be, it is the author's feeling that all may be subsumed under one interaction concept when dealing with the Chinese in the international business arena. That concept is the notion of "face" or the "saving of face". Face has direct implications for other cultural dimensions, such as those identified by Hofstede (1984); all are mediated in some form or another by the notion of face. The expatriate manager must recognize the collective aspects of "group face", national face, face strategies used to deal with uncertainties, and norms of behavior in superior-subordinate relationships. In fact, the concept of face will meet the manager in most all aspects of transferring management technology to China. Whether the issue is contract/venture negotiation, employee motivation, advancement, retraining, adjusting the function or relationship of a particular department, or dealing with secrecy in internal employee affairs, the expatriate manager will confront the problematic concept of "face".

Managing Face

Reeder (1987), in an article concerning the peculiarities of doing business in Asia, suggests that the single most important concept in cultural relations is "face". He notes that pride and dignity assume a universal status in their importance throughout the world, but that nowhere are they as significant as they are in Asia. Virtually all other communication variables in China are mediated by the demands of face. The idea of saving face is well known in Eastern cultures, more so than in Western; although Goffman (1959, 1976) popularized the concept to some degree in the communication literature.

Petronio (1984) defines "saving face" as "a process of restoring an impression of self for others when one is out of face, in wrong face or when there is a loss of face" (p.29). That definition can be expanded to include the restoring and preservation of impressions of self and others, denoting the aspects of the concept's other-centeredness and avoidance dimension. Goffman (1959, 1976) suggests that individuals learn a variety of face-saving strategies to be employed primarily in situations where embarrassment may occur. That employment requires that they possess the insight to discern the myriad of possible interpretations for a given action (verbal or nonverbal). Of course, discerning a norm violation is not altogether impossible when one is interacting within a familiar social structure. However, interacting outside of the familiar context is another matter. Often, one is ignorant of the rules for communication and the boundaries for violating face are easily crossed. In situations where one is ignorant of communication norms and rules of interaction, it takes a conscious effort on the part of the actor to save face, both for self and other. The actor must address the problematic event along a continuum based on two specific dimensions; namely, the negative character of the event, and the actor's responsibility for the event (Buttny, 1987). Regardless of where the utterance falls on the continuum, a communicative norm has been violated and requires a strategy to be employed in order to save face.

Both losing face and causing the loss of face have serious consequences. To most Americans, "covering your tail" is not an altogether foreign idea, but the concept of "face" differs from the American notion of "tail" in that face embodies a collectivist perspective, not an individualistic one. It is to a great degree much less selfish. Asian cultures, which rate high on Hofstede's (1984) collectivism scale, are very concerned with such matters as group reputation, collective identity, and an aversion to all manifestations

of selfishness. Hofstede suggests that collectivistic societies, such as the Chinese, are "controlled by a need for not losing face...Face is lost when the individual, either through his action or that of people closely related to him, fails to meet essential requirements placed upon him by virtue of the social position he occupies" (p.151).

Often saving face may manifest itself to the manager as insensitivity, rudeness, idiosyncrasy, or simply as disinterest and failure to give input. For example, the expatriate manager may present a faulty plan to a group of production line workers, who know very well that the plan is flawed. However, these line workers may avoid giving comment for fear of causing the manager to lose face. When the plan fails, the manager will be confused and frustrated, not only by the failure of the plan, but by the lack of constructive input by the workers. Thus, the manager must not only be aware of these face-saving strategies, but also must possess the ability to deal with them communicatively when they surface. It may be in areas such as these that most expatriate managers encounter their gravest problems; whereas most possess plenty of technical expertise, few may really know how to adapt their expertise to the culture they find themselves in. For example, traditionally in China the area of personnel has been a matter of "internal affairs," taken care of by the state. Yet, "modern management" in the eyes of the American manager requires that first and foremost he select the right people, set goals, provide the proper motivation and follow up on his workers. But if personnel is handled at the state level...? Obviously some fancy negotiation footwork has to be done, presumably without causing anyone loss of face and hurting your enterprise's relations with the state.

Reeder (1987) sets forth certain basic rules that an expatriate manager can incorporate into his repertoire in order to improve his chances for success in a management transfer:

1. Appearance is more important than truth. This rule is not too difficult to comprehend once it is understood that often the one whose face is being preserved is your own. The Chinese will work just as hard to protect your image as they will their own.
2. Compliment, never criticize. The Chinese prefer "education through question and suggestion;" that is they would rather a person see their own error and through subtle persuasion correct it. Graciousness is always appreciated.
3. Don't put people on the spot. A relaxed social atmosphere is more desirable.

4. Never show anger. Besides the denigrating effect of anger toward the recipient, anger in Chinese culture is a characteristic of the peasant (a class notion they have strived very hard to remove). For that reason alone, the business person should avoid displays of anger.
5. Trust and goodwill are more important than a contact. A corollary to this rule could be, your actions prove your intent.
6. Be sincere. Sincerity signifies a long term relationship; this will earn the manager the respect of those in the Chinese community.

It is essential that the expatriate manager use these rules and become practiced at recognizing, interpreting, and dealing with the complex Chinese social and cultural system. He must set aside to the best of his ability his own cultural "filter" and assume the mask of the Chinese. Whatever preconceptions, culturally-specific ideals, or environmentally defined ways of doing things the manager carries with him as baggage must be set aside. In so doing all problems will not dissolve, but at least the American business person will avoid "creating problems for himself" in addition to those barriers already present in the economic system. As Argyle (1991) notes, "special skills are required to make sure that others do not lose face" (p.40); a certain degree of host communication competence is essential to effective communication, and the concept of face is central to host communication competence in China. Maintaining social harmony boils down to ensuring and protecting the "face" of all who are involved.

CONCLUSION: THE INTERACTION OF FACE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Congressman Jim Leach (1990), before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, quoted B.H. Liddell Hart saying, "Never corner an opponent, and always assist him to save his face. Put yourself in his shoes-so as to see things through his eyes. Avoid self-righteousness like the devil-nothing so self-blinding" (p.9). The position of many lawmakers regarding Sino-American relations after the June 4, 1989 incident was one of allowing a traditionally xenophobic China to temper its own reputation both at home and abroad without forcing the issue through outside pressure. The assumption was that by preserving national face, as much as possible, diplomatic bridges to democracy would also be preserved. Ultimately free enterprise must be accompanied by free expression (Leach, 1990). Just as we see

face-saving strategies operating at top diplomatic levels, face-saving strategies must operate at the negotiation table and at every stage of a transfer of technological information and equipment to China. Given the systemic problems pointed out earlier, a "way out must be found for the Chinese negotiators" (Lo, 1985). A successful joint venture requires the mutual understanding of situations and circumstances which impact the business environment. Strategic cooperation rests in the hands of legislators with all of the U.S. interests in mind, business expatriates employing face-saving strategies, and Chinese entrepreneurs who do not perceive hegemonist motivations from U.S. partners. The goal is engagement, to pursue contacts that encourage reform, not isolation which inevitably leads to a reduction in national welfare in all respects (Eagleburger, 1990). Reforms that tear away at the foundation of the centralized authority structure test the stability of the Chinese political system. Central Party leaders are hard pressed to preserve order amidst the revolutionary change and reduction of real centralized power. Expatriates and international business-persons must remain sensitive to the issues which permeate such a volatile national posture.

Given the significance of the present Sino-American economic relations, it is imperative that the American business community, in coordination with political officials, work to establish a "vigorous policy of trade and technology transfer" (Jepsen, 1984, p.121). Long term objectives, political, economic, and strategic, imply a need to interact effectively within Chinese culture. Thus, it can be concluded that an adequate understanding of the complex intercultural communication variables, particularly the concept of "face", is tantamount to success in terms of international relations with the Chinese. It has been demonstrated that cultural and communication factors are relevant for one type of technology transfer, that of management. Clearly the same or similar factors will apply to other transfers and joint venture relationships; in essence, whenever dealing cross-culturally with the Chinese.

Hendryx (1986), in conducting a case study of a Sino-American technology transfer, concludes that overt legal complications are far from the only barriers present in a joint-venture, technology transfer relationship. As mentioned before, he cites personnel problems as the most difficult area confronting the expatriate manager. He suggests that in the proverbial "next-time" a joint venture is entered into, there should be a much greater emphasis upon understanding and negotiating management philosophies, rather than exerting undo energy in working out

technological issues. He notes the significant problem of overcoming the ideological differences, for which the Chinese have an apropos expression, "Tung chuang yi meng", meaning 'Same bed, different dreams.'" "In the end," Hendryx states, "it is the human resources of the organization that determines the outcome and not the technology" (p.66). Hofstede (1984) echoes that sentiment, concluding that organizations are undeniably and inextricably culture-bound. Likewise, so are the theories set up to explain people's behavior within those organizations. Therefore, in order for a given individual to operate within those organizations effectively, or for that matter to understand the culturally infused theories about organizational behavior, one must first grasp with some degree of completeness the cultural definitions within which that organization is found and formed. Then, interaction can begin yielding mutual respect.

NOTES

¹For the purposes of the present essay, [North] America will be synonymous with the United States for lack of a substitutable noun referring to United States nationals.

²When machinery, equipment, and information are transferred from one place to another, technology is transferred - that is the definition from the point of view of the United States. The Chinese, however, only view a technology transfer as occurring when there is a licensing agreement, the transfer of rights of production and patents, advice, consultancy, coproduction, designs, plans, and other services. This narrow definition leaves out any purchase of advanced equipment which requires operating instructions; the production technology acquired in these purchases is listed as part of ordinary trade. A clear example of the types of conflicts that can arise during business transactions (Wei, 1990).

³Although the 1984 World Bank figures put China's per capita GNP at US\$ 310, and 1987 IMF figures cite US\$ 273/capita, most scholars agree that China's GNP is artificially low. The closed nature of China's communist economic system results in different factors comprising the GNP, as well as the fact that it is estimated in RMP (Ren Min Pi), which when figuring a US\$/RMP exchange rate has traditionally been overestimated.

⁴Swift (1985) notes that although the Central Planning Committee allows the prices of non-strategic goods and commodities to fluctuate freely, they continue to control commodities that account for well over 50% of the Gross National Product.

⁵Acting Secretary Eagleburger, in a statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 7 February 1990, cited U.S. investment in China at \$4 billion as of 1989.

⁶Current U.S. assets in China are valued at approximately \$3-4 billion (Williams, 1989; Solomon, 1990).

⁷To simplify the present investigation, the terms "effectiveness" and "adaptation" will be assumed to carry complementary meanings pertaining to satisfactory adjustment in the host culture by the expatriate or sojourner. This approach is warranted by the research of Ruben & Kealey (1979) and Hawes and Kealey (1980). Ruben & Kealey (1979) posit a multidimensional conceptualization of adaptation consisting of culture shock dynamics, general adjustment, and effectiveness. They report findings that suggest "adjustment and effectiveness are functionally, if not conceptually, related" (p.38). Hawes & Kealey (1980) derived four indicators of overseas effectiveness (i.e. personally and family adjusted, professionally competent, and interculturally active), thus positing a relationship between adjustment and effectiveness.

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78 RADIO COMES TO THE UPPER MIDWESTERN FARM

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Farming was the American way of life throughout the first century and a half of this country's existence. The industrial revolution, however, began a transition from a rural to an urban way of life for most Americans. With the industrial revolution came the beginnings of electronic media. What role did the electronic media play in hastening that transition? This paper presents the case of radio's introduction to the Upper Midwestern Farm as a way of examining the relationship between the electronic media and the American way of life in the twentieth century.

At the beginning of the twentieth century isolation and backwardness were two perceived curses of American rural life. Because farming was still a prominent lifestyle -- close to 42% of all Americans lived on farms at the turn of the century (*Historical Statistics*, 1975, p. 900) -- agricultural policy makers deemed modern modes of communication to offer both an opportunity and a barrier to overcoming these problems. Radio, in particular, held great promise for relieving the farm population of the loneliness which cut them off from the exciting economic and cultural developments experienced by their urban counterparts. The difficulty with radio was that, initially, it required skills and equipment which the farmer did not possess. The United States Department of Agriculture deemed federal encouragement of farmers' radio use an important policy.

Aside from the United States Department of Agriculture, however, few other government agencies or policy makers were concerned about the rural audience for radio. Communication historians, for the most part, have glossed over the significance of this population. Typical of this approach is the undergraduate text *Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting*, by Sterling and Kittross (1990). They note:

Radio basically was an urban medium in its early years. Cost and poor reception kept farm families from owning sets, although buying increased rapidly when stations offered market and weather reports and when county extension agents explained radio's technicalities and expense and its potential benefits to the farmer. (p. 81)

Sterling and Kittross are correct in their outline of audience availability and the slower acceptance of radio by farmers. The rural

audience for radio during the 1920s started out small in numbers, but the percentage of farm homes owning radio compared to general households possessing radio was really quite impressive: in 1923 there were an estimated 400,000 households with radio sets throughout the United States (*Historical Statistics*, 1975)--145,000, according to a survey conducted by county agricultural agents, were on farms (*Agriculture Yearbook*, 1925). A central question facing communication policy makers throughout the twentieth century is: do minority audiences require government's aid in securing access to contemporary forms of information? Minorities are defined in terms of numbers, and often in terms of social class membership. For communication policy purposes, minorities are defined in terms of limited tastes and interests. The agricultural audience qualifies as a minority on both counts. Because of their minority status, a study of the rural audience for radio offers a valuable case study of the government's efforts to secure information services to a select group within the broader population.

This paper examines the policies of the United States Department of Agriculture to reach out to American farmers by way of that marvelous twentieth century innovation, wireless telephony (or what we now refer to as radio). In particular, this paper focuses on the upper midwestern states of Minnesota and Wisconsin. These two states share many similarities for the purposes of this study, but of greatest value are the difficulties experienced by Minnesotans and Wisconsinites due to weather, and the farsightedness of both states' agricultural educators and policy-makers in establishing their leadership in agricultural extension.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RATIONALE

How do scholars set about retelling the past? Time imposes a number of limits on the researcher's approach due to the lack of opportunity for first-hand experience. For this project the focus is limited to the rural audiences of the states of Wisconsin and Minnesota from 1920 until 1930. This period represents the time when radio first became a popular medium. Wisconsin and Minnesota were the selected venues because they were predominantly agricultural and therefore subject to national governmental policy concerning agriculture. Furthermore, the upper midwest was often isolated due to the lack of extensive transportation links and adverse winter weather conditions. Studying the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin offers a particularly useful perspective on the value of radio to these audiences.

The specific research questions directing this effort are first,

what were the living conditions of farmers in the upper midwestern region during the first third of the twentieth century? Identifying living conditions (albeit, in only the broadest of terms) of this population provides an understanding of the kinds of necessities and choices facing these people. Second, how did rural audiences learn about radio? Addressing the question of how rural citizens learned about radio should provide some insight into the process of information dissemination. Third, what kinds of promises did radio hold for most rural audiences? The answer to this question should identify the most persuasive messages for the rural audience; those messages which resulted in rural audiences' adoption of radio.

LIFE DOWN ON THE FARM

As early as 1897 Minnesota's farmers were told they needed to diversify their production of goods as a way of improving finances and their social condition. However, diversification as a policy proved inadequate. A rise in farm prices during the 1910s led to a period of expansion of farmer borrowing. While prices rose debts were easy to pay. However, once loans peaked and farmers were saddled with repayments, the value of farm products declined.

Census statistics show a steady decline in the percentage of the total population who lived on farms starting in 1900 when close to 42% of the population lived on farms to 1940 when only 23.2% of the population lived on a farm (*Historical Statistics*, p. 900). According to the *Yearbook of Agriculture*, "between 1920 and 1930 the net migration from farms, mostly to the cities was 6,000,000, with three fourths of the migrants under 35 years of age" (1934, pp. 207-209). By 1932 the short-lived agricultural boom of the 1910s had all but disappeared (Clark, 1989, pp. 132-133).

One particular hardship for farmers of the era involved getting crops from the farm to the market. Transportation for people in the upper midwest was a rather haphazard affair during the early part of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, transportation was also a vital link between the farmer and his/her market. For example, an important rail line existed from Minneapolis/St. Paul to Duluth, but areas west of this line were not served. North of Duluth, farming communities could rely on water transportation via Lake Superior only 7 months out of the year. By 1930, 58% of all farms had cars (*Chronological Landmarks*, 1990, p. 54). Data on farmers' automobile ownership prior to that date were not available, but *Chronological Landmarks* indicated that the percentage of farmers owning automobiles had not changed by 1940. Regardless, automobile/truck ownership would not imply mobility, necessarily.

Because farmers sought to locate in areas with the most desirable topography, drainage and social conditions, farms in East Central Minnesota and Wisconsin were distant from one another during the 1920s and 1930s. Going to market meant traveling poor roads. Principal trading centers in both Wisconsin and Minnesota were connected by good gravel roads, but other communities had primitive roads which were impassable in wet or snowy weather. Bringing crops from widely scattered farms to the cities was often a difficult proposition.

Prominent media theorists, Marshall McLuhan and Harold Innis among them, have focused on the relationship between transportation and communication as establishing cultural unity; to this day the military refer to roads and railways as routes of communication. Modern modes of both transportation and communication helped revolutionize life in the twentieth century, particularly business practices.

Mary Mander, in her article on "The Historical Debate about Broadcasting in the Twenties", reveals that lawmakers relied on transportation legislation as a blueprint for establishing communication law (1984, p. 176). Social commentators saw radio as providing a new technological link to farming, the world's oldest industry. The belief of the age was that both transportation and electronic technology could offset and possibly find solutions to the myriad of problems which plagued the rural communities in the upper midwest during the 1920s and 1930s. It was clear that radio held great potential for changing the lives of rural dwellers.

Radio's power to change the lives of all of its listeners was readily apparent by the early 1920s. Conferees at the four Hoover-sponsored radio conferences acknowledged this power when they argued that station operators ought to broadcast in the public interest. Mander's analysis of broadcast legislation notes that "public interest was equated with service to the listener" (1984, p. 176). Bruce Bliven wrote in *Century Magazine* that radio would "do much to create a sense of national solidarity in all parts of the country and particularly in remote settlements and on the farm" (1924, p. 149).

HOW RURAL AUDIENCES LEARNED ABOUT RADIO

While cultural unity was indeed an important feature of radio's service to its listeners, the more immediate value and more instant appeal of radio to the farmer was the provision of weather and market reports. Susan Douglas reports that the Weather Bureau of the USDA began sponsorship of the work of broadcasting

pioneer Reginald Fessenden in the early 1900s (1987, p. 124). The early (1915) wireless telegraphy work of Professor Earle M. Terry of the University of Wisconsin consisted of weather reports specifically targeted at local farmers (G. Douglas, 1987, p. 145). Market reports were also communicated by way of the wireless telegraph. In fact, the Bureau of Markets established a subscription service for these reports in 1920 (*Agriculture Yearbook* 1920, 1921, p. 134): "The Daily Radio Marketgrams' are wirelessly at 5 p.m. each business day, and are received by hundreds of amateur wireless-telegraphy operators within a 200-mile radius of Washington." These wireless operators then relayed the telegraphic information to farmers' organizations, shippers' organizations, newspapers, and other marketers of farm products. Some newspapers installed their own equipment so as to receive the information directly (*Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1920, p. 134). The wireless telegraph network was extended by way of stations of the Post Office and the Navy Department, along with another 53 stations operated by state agricultural colleges (*Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1922, p. 22).

Beyond newspapers, universities and extension agencies, a number of banks and telephone companies also actively distributed market information. On September 21, 1921, a Wisconsin paper called the *Weekly News Letter* reported that 3,000 subscribers in 19 towns of an Illinois rural telephone company received by radiophone daily market news and quotations. St. Louis University relayed the market reports. The phone company's special radio office handled the work of receiving and sending the messages to its subscribers. Local newspapers advertised the service. The plan was that at certain hours each day the subscribers simply "listened in" as the market reports were read over the radiophone. Many individual banks and other commercial and agricultural agencies received the radiophone market reports (*Weekly News Letter*, 1922). It would appear from the articles found at the Wisconsin State Historical Society archives that newspaper writers perceived the market information service to be of such great value that the dissemination of the information often entailed the cooperation of the entire agricultural community. The *Springfield Daily Republican* reported that this network involved several hundred receiving stations in Wisconsin and adjacent states. Recipients of this service included banks, county agents, farmers and "other people especially interested" along with newspapers (1922). A *Milwaukee Sentinel* article published during this same period noted that the state of Wisconsin boasted 75 such receiving stations where the market information was made available to the public (1921). In September

of 1922, the *Appleton, Wisconsin Post-Crescent* reported a weather variation on this process: Howard Eberhard . . . not only listens for the daily weather predictions, but also lets passers-by have the benefit of them. The traveler will find attached to Mr. Eberhard's mail box placards such as 'warmer today,' 'fair tomorrow,' or 'rain in east parts of the state.'"

Once the so-called radio-telephone was popularized "the aspiration of the Bureau of Markets [was] promptly to place daily national market information in the hands of *all* producers, and it . . . [then] experiment[ed] with the wireless to determine the practicability of utilizing that medium of dispatch." The rural agricultural journal *Orange Judd Farmer* identified one particular goal radio could offer farmers: "To make the American farmer the best informed farmer in the world is the aim of these agencies, and equal progress during the coming year will go far toward securing that result" (1922). The USDA was committed to using radio to serve the farm population: "Now any farmer who has an adequate receiving set may get full market reports from the air in practically every part of the United States" (*Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1923, p. 28).

Many of those farmers who had sets used their telephones to then relay the reports to neighbors who did not yet possess a set (*Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1923, pp. 45-46). *Chronological Reports* (1990) estimates that 7 million farmers (or 22% of the 31,490,000 people living on farms in 1923) had telephones in their homes.

Getting Radio To The Farmer: Radio's Promises

Having the means for radio communication and convincing farmers of the value of such communication were two very different matters. The Department of Agriculture, as evidenced by the *Agriculture Yearbooks* throughout the 1920s, were keenly aware that radio offered the possibility of change for farmers, but they were faced with the problem of how to encourage use. Throughout the twentieth century scholars have been paying attention to how people come to use new technologies. Most germane to this effort is the model of diffusion which has long been applied to the study of rural populations. In *Diffusion of Innovation* (1962), Rogers indicates that: There are four crucial elements in the analysis of the diffusion of innovations: 1) the innovation; 2) its communication from one individual to another; 3) in a social system; 4) over time.

Diffusion of innovation has applicability to the study of how the press presented radio's promises to rural audiences. Of the four stages which Rogers identified (information or knowledge stage;

persuasion stage; decision or adoption stage; and confirmation or reevaluation stage), the mass media are most dominant in the information stage. This paper will focus only on the first two stages.

Information Stage

The function of the media at the information stage, according to Rogers, is to "create an interest in an innovation and create an understanding of it which facilitates the completion of subsequent stages" (Kraus and Davis, 1976, p. 128). During the 1920s newspapers were a crucial channel of communication about radio, true to the expectations of the diffusion model.

One particular application of newspapers spreading the good news about radio compared the operations of hearing and radio. This article appeared in the *Pine County Courier* of Sandstone, Minnesota and offered a technical explanation of how radio worked. This common sense approach made radio a more accessible concept for potential rural users of the technology (Shuman, 1924). In Minnesota, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* was the first metro daily to start a radio column which ran on Sundays. The *Minneapolis Journal and Tribune* soon after published an article on how to construct a radio set. Interviews with rural dwellers of this period suggest that sets constructed from crystal radio kits were prevalent among lower income farmers of their acquaintance. Information about set construction would have had great value for interested readers of this newspaper.

Articles explaining what radio was and how to use it appeared throughout the 1920s in many farm periodicals. An Iowa publication entitled *Wallace's Farmer* offered "suggestions on points to observe in installing a wireless station" in 1922. It is notable that at this early stage in radio's development, the publication identified A.M. Price as being "in charge of the Radio department" of Wallace's Farmer Service Bureau. This article identified factors such as "construction of the aerial", "protection from atmospheric strays", and "the make-up of the receiving set". The article included a schematic drawing entitled: "Essential Parts of Radiophone Receiving Station." A New York publication called *Country Gentleman* was still publishing explanatory articles about radio in 1928 and 1929.

Other Agents of Diffusion

The land-grant universities of the upper midwest and related agricultural extension agencies also played an important role in popularizing radio for rural audiences. As already noted, universities throughout the country were actively involved in

wireless experimentation and development. Their functions included building stations and providing programs. Agricultural colleges and departments of agriculture at various university campuses took a leadership role in the provision of USDA weather and market reports as well as the farm features targeted at various members of the farm household.

County agents placed receivers in their offices for the dissemination of agricultural news and actively encouraged farmers within their jurisdiction to use the "modern marketing method." Furthermore, county agents offered demonstrations of radio use and exhibits at county fairs as well as national agricultural conventions (Farrell, 1925, p. 1143). A cow tester from Blue Earth County, Minnesota wrote on May 22, 1925:

The radio bug stung me as well as others and the result [sic] I invested in a portable set. This I carried with me along with the rest of my equipment and set it up each evening in the various member's houses. During the long winter evenings just past, I, as well as my members, have taken a great deal of pleasure in the radio. Radio brings the world to the isolated farmer, brings him the market and weather reports, the latest news bulletins, concerts, from the cities and the dance music from the best dance orchestras in the country. (Wallace's Farmer, p. 1097)

According to *Farm Broadcasting-Minnesota*: "The 'know-how' needed to build a radio transmitter arrived in Minnesota during 1920" (Baker, 1981, p. 7). Radio pioneer C.M. Jansky helped put a station on air at the University of Wisconsin, and by late-1920 he was instrumental in establishing the University of Minnesota's station WLB. Although hampered by an irregular schedule when it first began service, WLB offered weather and USDA market reports. By 1924 WCCO in Minneapolis competed with WLB, but the Minnesota extension service had programs on both stations (Baker, pp. 164-167).

Persuasion Stage

Newspapers were instrumental in the persuasion stage as well. From the materials perused, it seems that rural newspapers established links between themselves and the provision of radio service. Newspapers in the state of Wisconsin actively encouraged farmers to obtain their own receiving equipment (*The Janesville Gazette*, 1921).

Agricultural magazines of the era often featured articles by farmer-cum-journalists. A number of these pieces were testimonials

about radio's value to the farmer. Certain themes resounded, such as radio's ability to save the farmer money by way of timely weather and market reports; radio's ability to warm a winter night and to break the isolation of rural life; the capacity of radio to educate, edify and lessen the distance between city and farm.

Farmers' magazines were filled with articles which held out the promise of radio to the common farmer. *Hoard's Dairyman*, published out of Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, introduced the concept of the "radiophone" to its readers in a June 30, 1922 article entitled "Radiophone and Agriculture":

One of the 'missing links' between producer and consumer has been found. The radiophone may help to fill some of the gap between the farmer and his city neighbors. . . . Not only are farmers brought in closer touch with the city by market reports, weather information, and agricultural news, but they are entertained with concerts and lectures on two days of each week. During the past winter season concerts by many famous artists were broadcasted from Madison. (p. 805)

Another 1922 article in *The Dairy Farmer* took note of the myriad of benefits farmers could derive from using the radio. Sub-headings within the article included phrases like "A Boon for Dairy Farmers"; "Has Great Practical Value"; "Will Mean Greater Profits"; and "Will Aid Marketing." Under the first sub-heading the author wrote: "No matter where he lives, how far he is from town, how bad the roads are or how limited his immediate resources for pleasure, the dairyman can now adjust the receivers of his radio at will and bring to himself many of the advantages of the city (Adams, p. 278).

A later piece in *Hoard's Dairyman* noted radio's value to farm economy as well as two other themes deemed of importance to the American farmer in the 1920s and 1930s: maintaining a cultural connection to the community and keeping young people down on the farm. The following excerpts appeared in 1927. An editor's note identified the author as a transplanted Chicagoan who was "a fine illustration of a city bred girl making 'good' on the farm."

Let us consider for a moment just how [radio] affects the farmer and the father of the family. Daily it brings him the weather report. Many times this knowledge for one day is worth far more than the original cost of the radio. In our section of the country [Marsden, Wisconsin], where the most valuable crop, tobacco, is raised, this knowledge at planting time and again at harvest is invaluable. Very often we have frost before the tobacco is all in; and with a warning many acres may be cut, piled, and covered with hay to save. . . .

Then on Sunday when the blizzards howl in the winter and the snow lies so deep without that it is impossible to get to church, the family draw up their chairs and with open Bible and hymnals before them enter into the services of worship that come to them through the ether from churches many hundreds of miles away. . . . The problem of keeping the young people on the farms is half solved with the installation of a radio. All young folk want a good time, and you can make it possible for them to have it in their own homes instead of in the dance halls of the nearby towns. (p. 852)

Clearly, the Department of Agriculture and agricultural journalists were engaged in a campaign to encourage farmers to use radio. A national survey in 1926, conducted by the National Farm Radio Council¹ reinforced the legitimacy of this campaign:

Importance of radio in the marketing of farm products is illustrated in the National Farm Radio Council survey by reports from 43 states, more than 46% of the replies giving specific examples of case savings effected by the use of radio Typical of hundreds of reports of the farmer's use of radio in marketing is this one from a farmer living near Keytesville, Missouri: 'Radio reported hogs due to drop in two days. Shipped at once. Saved \$150. In same week put off haying because of storm warning. This prevented heavy loss of hay.' (*American Farm Bureau Federation*, p. 1)

Radio seemed to be making good on its promises.

CONCLUSION

During the 1920s and 1930s farmers in the upper midwestern states of Minnesota and Wisconsin were clearly afflicted by isolation. Backwardness is much too loaded a term to deal with, but it is fair to suggest that so-called 'modern' amenities were slow to reach the farm in the early part of the century because of distance from the city and economic priorities. Radio did much to bridge the gap of isolation, both in terms of information and entertainment.

The Department of Agriculture actively pursued a campaign to encourage use of radio by farmers and they were joined in these efforts not only by the Colleges of Agriculture, but also by the extended agricultural community—including banks, newspapers, and the post office. There appeared to be a somewhat unified effort to relay this economically vital weather and market information to the farmer.

Newspapers and agricultural magazines were active agents of diffusion; articles demystified and generally simplified radio as an enticement for farmers to make use of it. Articles of testimony from

farmers who had been early users of radio had great persuasive power, especially when they could report specific savings derived from listening to radio's market reports.

These benefits suggest that government's role in getting radio to the farmer and then encouraging use of the medium were highly valued. Certainly without the radio farmers would have been even more economically disadvantaged and culturally disenfranchised than they already were. Such prospects really do give pause with respect to the contemporary communication policies faced by the Federal Communications Commission. If by virtue of one's occupation or chosen domicile, one is prevented from receiving channels of modern information we create a class of informationally disenfranchised citizens, are we not running the risk of stratifying our society in ways that are potentially dangerous? The Department of Agriculture obviously took pains to prevent such an outcome.

Farmers in the upper midwestern states continued to leave their rural homes throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s. Life was difficult in this period of low prices and eventual economic depression. The difficulties of transportation between the farm and the marketplace tended to exacerbate the problems farmers experienced. Policy makers saw radio as offering the promise of a better life for the rural citizenry. Radio, it was hoped, would offset the difficulties of weather and poor road conditions, and allow farmers to take advantage of weather and poor road conditions, and allow farmers to take advantage of advanced knowledge about market prices and university-disseminated information so as to get better prices for their goods. Furthermore, cultural programming on the radio could possibly bring the cultural advantages of the city to the farm, thereby dispelling the myth of the country bumpkin.

But contrary to the fondest hopes of policy makers, and writers like the transplanted Chicagoan quoted above, radio did not help "keep 'em down on the farm". They had heard about 'Paree' and Kansas City and they had experienced the increasingly more difficult hardships of farm life during periods of economic depression. Radio may have helped hasten the farm exodus during the 1920s and 1930s. Nevertheless, radio developed and continues today as a social unifier, connecting people to ideas and ways of thinking which mark us as Americans.

NOTES

¹The National Farm Radio Council was established in 1925 "through the co-operation of leading agricultural organizations, U.S. Government Bureaus, the farm press, and other group working

together to make radio of the greatest service to agriculture" (p. 4).

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TEACHER'S WORKBOOK

The "Teacher's Workbook" section of the *CTAM Journal* is devoted to innovative teaching methods, observations, and syllabi. Readers of this section will find ideas that are applicable immediately to the classroom. We're pleased to include the following four pieces and encourage readers to submit their own good ideas for future issues of the journal.

STORIES AND STORY THEATRE

Janet E. Rubin, Saginaw Valley State University

Increasingly in our schools, budgetary realities are conflicting with changes in mandated curriculum, requiring teachers to look for innovative and creative ways to provide arts experiences without additional resources. One way to meet this challenge is to provide classroom experiences in theatre which afford artistic and active learning opportunities of academic merit. Of the forms of theatre available to the teacher, story theatre lends itself particularly well to classroom application. Clearly acknowledging a literary heritage, it is an ideal performance vehicle for integrating theatre into the study of reading, language arts, and communication. The use of a narrator relates it to storytelling, literature, oral interpretation, and reader's theatre. It is an appropriate form for examining verbal and nonverbal behaviors as well as for creating empathy and understanding of characters. Because it makes use of dramatic elements in a presentational way which relies more upon imagination than embellishment, it is ideal for classroom performance.

STORY THEATRE

As described by Spolin and Sills, principal developers of the format, the following are primary characteristics of story theatre.

- Incorporates the storyteller's narration into dramatic scenes.
- Does not require props, scenery, or extensive technical knowledge. If used, props are minimal.
- Players use body movement and space objects to convey the story.

- They work in simple open space, creating settings with vocal sound effects and minimal lighting, with only an occasional need for blocks and ramps to give shape to a set.
- Sense of time and space is effected through the narration and dialogue of the performers (Spolin, 1986).

Adaptation

Using a portion of Rudyard Kipling's "The Elephant's Child" from *Just So Stories*, the teacher can see how literature can be changed from story to story theatre. In the latter, the players are sometimes numbered rather than identified by character, as this allows students to undertake multiple roles. To facilitate organization and staging, a cast list showing all roles assigned to each player should be available to all student actors. In the following adaptation, performers function both as characters and as narrators and one actor has been specifically assigned a narrative function. This adaptation remains quite close to the original version of the story, thereby retaining the literary values which first attracted readers to Kipling's curious pachyderm.

Original Version

But it was really the Crocodile, O Best Beloved, and the Crocodile winked one eye--like this!

"Scuse me," said the Elephant's Child most politely, 'but do you happen to have seen a Crocodile in these promiscuous parts?'

Then the Crocodile winked the other eye, and lifted half his tail out of the mud; and the Elephant's Child stepped back most politely, because he did not wish to be spanked again.

'Come hither, Little One,' said the Crocodile. 'Why do you ask such things?'

"Scuse me," said the Elephant's Child most politely, 'but my father has spanked me, my mother has spanked me, not to mention my tall aunt, the Ostrich, and my tall uncle, the Giraffe, who can kick ever so hard, as well as my broad aunt, the Hippopotamus, and my hairy uncle, the Baboon, and including the Bi-Colored-Python-Rock-Snake, with the scalesome, flailsome tail, just up the bank, who spansks harder than any of them; and so, if it's quite all the same to you, I don't want to be spanked any more.'

'Come hither, Little One,' said the Crocodile, 'for I am the Crocodile,' and he wept crocodile-tears to show it was quite true.

Then the Elephant's Child grew all breathless, and panted, and kneeled down on the bank and said, 'You are the very person I have been looking for all these long days. Will you please tell me what you have for dinner?'

Story Theatre Version

In the following segment, actor #3 plays the Crocodile, actor #2 plays the Elephant's Child, and actor #1 plays the Narrator.

- #3: But it was really the Crocodile. Winks one eye.
- #2: (politely) 'Scuse me, but do you happen to have seen a Crocodile in these promiscuous parts?
- #3: The Crocodile lifted half of his tail out of the mud. Winks other eye and rises slightly.
- #1: And the Elephant's Child stepped back most politely, because he did not wish to be spanked again. E.C. moves slightly.
- #3: Come hither, Little One. Why do you ask such things? Beckons E.C.
- #2: (politely) 'Scuse me, but my father has spanked me, my mother has spanked me, not to mention my tall aunt, the Ostrich, and my tall uncle, the Giraffe, who can kick ever so hard, as well as my broad aunt, the Hippopotamus, and my hairy uncle, the Baboon, and including the Bi-Colored-Python-Rock-Snake, with the scalesome, flailsome tail, just up the bank, who spanks harder than any of them; and so, if it's quite all the same to you, I don't want to be spanked any more.
- #3: Come hither, Little One, for I am Beckons E.C. again.

the Crocodile.

Crocodile cries loudly.

#1: And he wept crocodile-tears to show it was quite true. Then, the Elephant's Child kneeled down on the bank. E.C. moves to Crocodile. Kneels.

#2: (breathless, panting) You are the very person I have been looking for all these long days. Will you please tell me what you have for dinner?

Objectives

Use of story theatre in the classroom can be supported by identifying numerous academic objectives whose achievement is promoted through this format. The following are representative of drama/theatre objectives related to story theatre.

The student will:

- Develop and use a range of techniques to understand a character as actor and/or viewer.
- Use dramatic action to communicate and transform mental images.
- Use imagination to form and express thought, feeling, and character.
- Identify and use vocal techniques to express a variety of characterizations.
- Improve understanding of self and others (similarities and differences) through expanding role repertoire.
- Create characters using presentational and representational styles.
- Examine relationship between theatre and other arts.
- Explore and practice the need for ensemble in theatre production.
- Develop and use the skill of analysis in creating characters.
- Expand depth and scope of aesthetic judgment by experiencing theatre of diverse styles, modes, and genres.
- Use imagination in character development (Michigan State Board of Education, 1989).

In addition to drama/theatre objectives, story theatre can be utilized to assist in achieving communication objectives. The following are representative of those which apply to listening and speaking.

The student will:

- Recognize the importance of the medium on the message.
- Listen in order to imagine.
- Infer meaning from both verbal and nonverbal cues.
- Demonstrate proficiency in the use of pauses.
- Demonstrate proficiency in the use of stress and pitch to vary meaning.
- Demonstrate vocal variety.
- Recognize and have control over nonverbal signals in communication.
- Demonstrate the use of gesture and bodily movements to reinforce ideas.
- Recognize that meanings vary based on paralanguage (i.e., tone, volume, pitch, rate, etc.).
- Speak with proper articulation and pronunciation.
- Participate nonverbally in story characterizations and dramatizations (Michigan State Board of Education, 1991).

Due to its flexible nature, story theatre can accommodate many types of literature and be successfully utilized at various instructional levels. Material selection should be based upon literary and theatrical merits as well as interests and abilities of the students. Adaptations of fables, myths, folk and fairy tales, fiction, and biography can all be staged in the classroom. Practical, artistic, and educational benefits can be accrued as students engage in and appreciate this unique approach to learning about theatre and communication.

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CHANGE AND COMMUNICATION

LaDonna M. Geddes, Northwest Missouri State University

Change is a part of life. The rate of change, however, which we all experience has become known as an enigma of our time. Experts have acknowledged that the kind and quantity of change we experience influences our productivity, our interpersonal relationships, and our entire life style. It is important for each of us to become sensitized to the change we are experiencing at any given point in time so that we can better understand how that change is influencing: 1) our participation in the communication situation--interpersonal, group, or public; 2) our participation in the communication act.

What does all of this mean to you? Stop and think about where you are right now. What are some of the changes that have occurred in your life within the last year or even the last month? How are those changes affecting you on an *intrapersonal* basis? Are you experiencing a lot of psychological noise--e.g. are you easily distracted, having trouble concentrating, unable to focus your thoughts on the task(s) at hand? Are you experiencing physiological noise--e.g. can't sleep, feel lethargic, don't eat as well as usual, etc.? Are you responding or reacting to people and situations? Is this your usual mode of behavior? Using the following questions as a very general guide, explore the impact of recent changes you have experienced upon your life and, subsequently, your communication behavior. How have those differences influenced you on an *intrapersonal* basis? How have your intrapersonal reactions influenced your behavior and relationships with others in *interpersonal* situations, group situations, and public speaking situations?

--Have you moved so that your living style is different? If so, how is your living style different? Do you have to deal with your problems, questions, and concerns alone instead of having someone you know, trust and are comfortable with to talk to? Do you have to develop new friends without any knowledge of their background, integrity, goals, values, etc.?

--Has your environment changed so that you are no longer a known entity but, instead, are now a stranger? Do you have to re-establish a reputation? Do people feel believe you when you explain something to them or do you think they are skeptical, waiting for evidence you are being honest? Do you feel as though you are a VIP or a nobody?

--Do you miss the known, the familiar, the comfortable? What do

you miss most? Why do you miss it? What did "it" really mean to your life? Are there any substitutes for whatever it is you miss? Can it be replaced in any way? If so how? By what?

--Has there been an important emotional loss in your life, or the life of someone important to you, recently? A loss of trust in someone? An end to a relationship? A divorce? A serious illness? A serious accident?

- GOALS:**
1. To sensitize the individual to the history he/she is bringing to the communication situation.
 2. To explore the impact of the history of the individual upon the transactional nature of communication.

LaDonna M. Geddes, Northwest Missouri State University

Teaching goal setting, focus, and audience analysis provides a constant source of challenge in the classroom, regardless of level. A goal portrait is a tool which can be used to accomplish all three in a somewhat creative, relaxing manner. In this instance, the phrase goal portrait is used to mean a self-portrait in which the student depicts himself/herself by using visual representations of their goals; it may even include sayings which reflect parts of their philosophy of life. For example, if the student is a photography buff, the portrait could include a picture of a camera; if the student wants to travel, the portrait could include a travel brochure or a passport; if the student wants to live on a farm, the portrait could include a picture of a farm; if the student believes that "repetition is the key to success," a caption saying that could be pasted somewhere in the portrait. The portrait can be simple or complicated and complex. It is important, however, the student be as honest as they possibly can at this particular point in their lives. Specific directions to be given the students are as follows.

GUIDELINES

1. Illustrate your goals as clearly as possible. You may use photographs, illustrations from catalogs and magazines or, if artistic, you may draw your pictures. Your categories should include the following areas: education, career, money, relationships (family, friends), dream home, travel, material possessions, recreation, and wild card--create your own category. [The preceding categories were adapted from "Achieve Your Goals," *Success Strategies for the 90's*, Elaina Zuker, NAFE, n.d.]
2. Put yourself in the center of your Goal Portrait. Use a photograph or draw a caricature.
3. Use colors to express your feeling about the things in the portrait--e.g. red=most active elements; yellow=most joyful elements; blue=most romantic elements; and so forth according to your personal associations.
4. Try to make your portrait as realistic as possible.
5. Use symbols to represent whatever you cannot otherwise illustrate--e.g. a \$ for money.
6. Include words of affirmation on your portrait--e.g. if you want

a red Ford convertible, an affirmation might be "I now own a fantastic new red Ford convertible and am having a ball with it."

It is important the student realize that the Goal Portrait signifies what they want at a certain point in their life; it is not molded in concrete. As time passes and things change, goals are achieved or change.

The students can be given 3-4 minutes to explain their goal portrait to the class as a whole. The class should take notes on the information shared and write a summary analysis of the demographics of the class. This summary analysis can then be used as a basis for selecting speech topics and designing speaking strategies. In addition, the individual's goal portrait can be used as a basis for selecting speech topics, pursuing research, and applying principles of communication to various goals as the course progresses.

Goals for the Assignment:

1. To provide the student with an opportunity to develop a clear focus regarding where he/she is now with regard to their own goals and aspirations.
2. To provide the student with an opportunity to establish parameters within which he/she can establish learning, professional and personal goals.
3. To provide students with a starting premise relevant to audience demographics and analysis.

USING SELECTIVE SPEAKER ORDER TO IMPROVE STUDENT MOTIVATION

David E. Williams and Russell D. Hart, Texas Tech University

Motivating students is one of the primary challenges facing public speaking instructors. Student motivation is a process which involves specific actions designed to initiate student interest and desire in a particular class or learning in general (Brophy, 1983; 1987; Wlodkowski, 1978.) Student motivation can be altered by the status of the student-teacher relationship as well as the instructor's choice of teaching strategies.

Richmond (1990) has provided useful insight into how student motivation can be increased through proper management of the student-teacher relationship. She, first, notes that instructor's attempts at coercion are not effective and generally have negative effects on the student's motivation and the instructor-student relationship. Coercion should only be employed in cases of extreme disciplinary problems. Richmond adds that when a positive instructor-student relationship is developed, there is greater opportunity to employ expert and referent power with the student thus increasing motivation to perform well. She concludes by suggesting "It is probable that motivation and learning are mutually causal, those who are more motivated learn more and those who learn more become more motivated" (p. 194). Christophel (1990) found that teacher immediacy (physical and psychological closeness between student and teacher) will also enhance student motivation and thus learning.

However, student motivation need not be limited to an instructor-student relationship. Numerous instructional techniques, such as creating different speaking contexts, using impromptu speeches and conducting modified speaking contests, can be used to generate a stronger desire among students to excel in their presentations. These techniques have frequently been employed by instructors to help student's motivate themselves to perform better in a speaking exercise. Finally, instructors can also increase motivation through a rather simple process of manipulating the speaker order to create an environment in which students strive to perform as well as their peers. This technique, which will be detailed below, is designed to increase student motivation by providing average to inferior speakers with a peer model whom they can strive to match in performance excellence. The remainder of this

paper will, initially, provide a rationale for the use of a selective speaker order. This will then be followed by a description of how the selective speaker order is employed.

RATIONALE

A class of 20 to 25 students will generally be divided into four or five speaking groups for each presentation assignment. Little thought is given to the make-up of these groups as students are typically arranged either alphabetically, on a volunteer basis, or by the luck of the draw. Even though students are grouped randomly as if they were all at an equal level of competency, that is rarely the case. As Dean and Levasseur (1989) note "Inevitably, communication educators find themselves dealing with students performing on a diversity of skill levels within the basic course. Varied skill levels are especially obvious in basic public speaking courses where some students, due to high school experience, forensics work, or simply innate talent demonstrate clear mastery of basic organizational, research, writing and oral performance skills that keep others floundering" (p. 133-134).

Frequently, when students are placed in one speaking section for the entire semester they will become more cognizant of the presentations given by those in their own group. Our experience suggests that students will show greater concern over the topic selection and speech preparation of those who give presentations on the same day that they do. We would suggest that this comparison between group members increases as the semester progresses and students begin to evaluate their own performance in comparison to those in their own group. Some students will be satisfied with their presentation as long as nobody in the group was clearly superior. A superior speech given the day before will not cause concern because their own speech is not being viewed with an immediate comparison to the better presentation.

This tendency for inter-group comparison can become problematic in the development of some students' speaking abilities. A student of average natural speaking talent will become frustrated if he is in a group with three superior speakers. Even if his grades and comments are favorable, continually giving inferior speeches to those in the group might hinder his desire to improve. Likewise, a student may suffer if she has the potential for improvement but those in the group have equal or less natural talent. If she is satisfied that her speech is viewed adequately or favorably in comparison to those in the group she may not be motivated to become a better public speaker.

The use of selective speaker order allows the instructor to use the inevitable inter-group comparison as an instructional tool. By placing a superior speaker in each group the instructor will provide the rest of that group with a peer model. "Peer modeling" is one of 22 behavior alteration techniques (BAT's) developed in the "Power in the Classroom" research program (Kearney, Plax, Richmond, McCroskey, 1984; 1985). Peer modeling allows the instructor to convey to the class that classmates who should be respected are enacting a particular behavior, therefore, you should enact the same behavior. Placing superior speaker in each group will function like a peer modeling tactic.

USING SELECTIVE SPEAKER ORDER

The previously mentioned obstacles to student motivation can be removed with the use of a selective speaker order. For this technique to work properly the instructor must:

1. select the five best natural speakers in the class and
2. develop speaker sections with one of these individuals in each group.

Identification of the five best speakers must be done quickly, before the first graded speech assignment. The most helpful way to identify these speakers would be through the use of an ungraded speech during the first or second week of class. This should be a short (2 to 3 minutes) presentation such as a speech of introduction. Through this presentation the instructor will be able to identify those who are comfortable with public speaking and have some natural presentation abilities. While listening to these speeches the instructor should look for those general qualities that are found in strong classroom presentations. Primarily, instructors should look for students who have an awareness of physical delivery skills, display vocal quality and variety, appear confident, and utilize structural elements such as clear transitions and a recognizable conclusion.

Beyond the initial speech assignment, the instructor can do a couple things to help further distinguish the top five speakers. The class can be surveyed to discover who has had previous public speaking classes, communication performance courses, or public speaking experiences (i.e. forensics, theatre, sales, conducting meetings). The instructor may also choose to assume that a student in the communication major will probably be a better speaker than a non-major although this is not always true.

Five students will probably not clearly emerge as better public speakers than the rest. Most likely there will be two or three

superior speakers and then the instructor will have to make a closer distinction in selecting the rest of the group. However, once the top five have been selected the instructor can then begin developing a strategic speaking order with one of the top five speakers in each group. The remaining students should then be placed in groups in random order.

When using this technique the instructor must avoid four pitfalls.

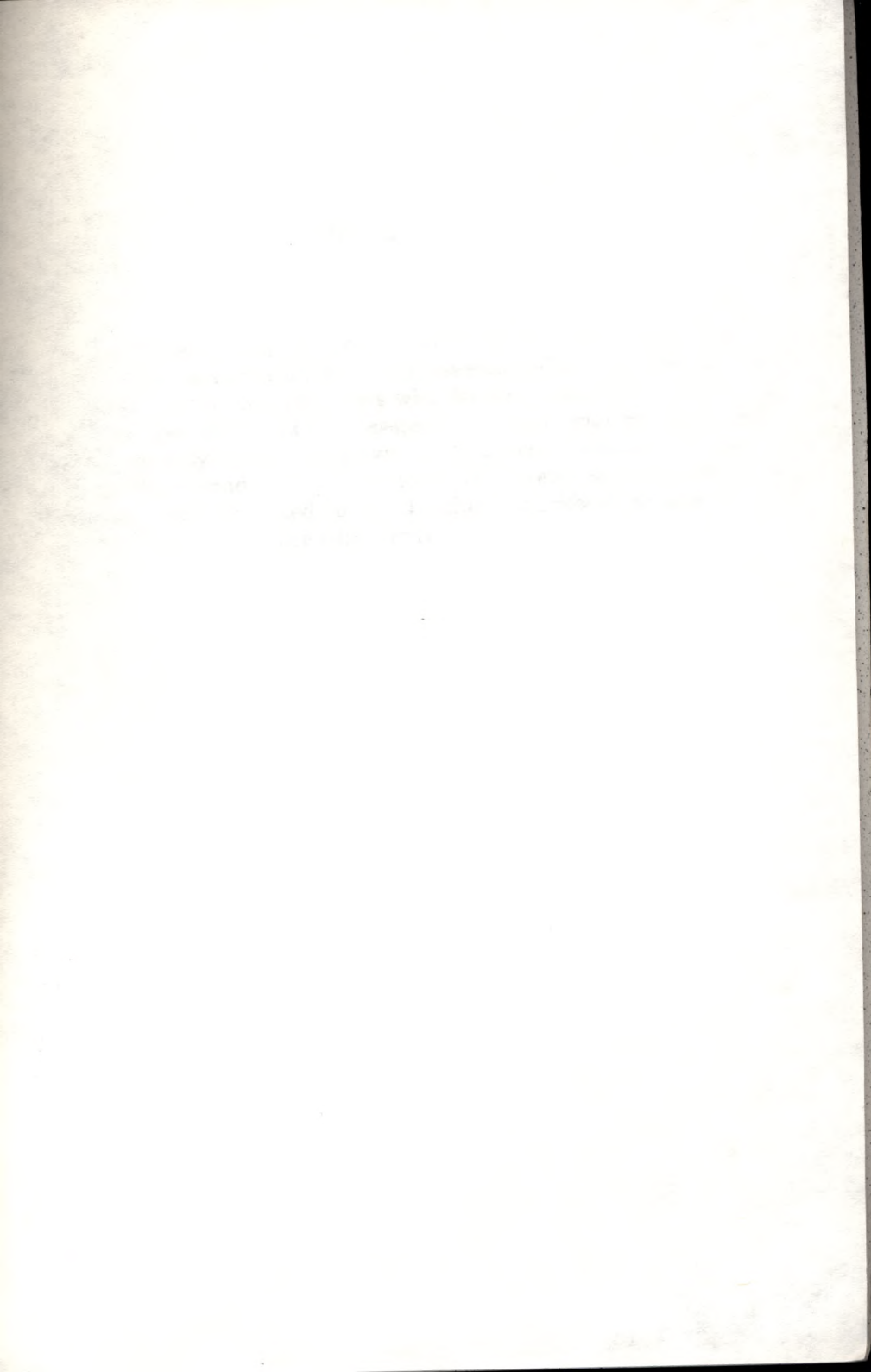
First, the instructor should not try to rank all of the students according to their ability. To do so would be difficult as most students will be at about the same level of ability. This could also cause the instructor to develop a bias as to how well each student can perform. Second, when selecting the top speakers, the instructor must neither automatically assume they should receive the best grades nor should they place higher expectations on them. Third, instructors should continue to encourage improvement among the top speaker in each group. This will help prevent the top speakers from becoming content with the feeling that they will be the best speaker of the day. Finally, when a student does not make the initial top five (especially if they do poorly on the short presentation) the instructor must not determine that the student is not capable of improving and giving good or superior performances.

The selective speaker order offers instructors the opportunity to take one small part of the public speaking course that is usually given little thought and turn it into a motivational tool. The technique can be used with minimal difficulty as most instructors already conduct some type of initial ungraded (or low point value) speaking assignment. Even if the five students initially selected do not end the semester as the five best speakers, they will likely be good speakers and the purpose of the selective speaker order will still be served. This technique will help ensure that each student has one good speaker in their group whom they strive to match. The technique also helps limit the possibility of a student becoming too frustrated when placed in a group of superior speakers.

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