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about a Key Component of Inoculation Theory**

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All submissions should be in Microsoft Word. References should follow the latest edition of the American Psychological Association style manual. Three paper copies and a diskette copy should be included with each submission. A detachable page with author affiliation should be included with the paper copies. All submissions should be received by February 8, 2010, to insure full consideration for publication.

Updated submission information for volume 40 will be available in October of 2009 at the website for the Speech and Theatre Association of Missouri – www.stamnet.org

Submissions can be sent to:

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**Threat Explication:
What We Know and Don't Yet Know about a
Key Component of Inoculation Theory**

Joshua Compton

Abstract

Many contemporary persuasion scholars consider threat to be a prerequisite for conferred resistance to influence through the process of attitudinal inoculation. Yet, despite its significance, we know very little about the nature or function of threat. This essay focuses attention on this single variable, arguing that a better understanding of threat leads to better understanding of how attitudinal inoculation confers resistance. Directions for future research are offered.

This is an essay about one variable in one theory in one subset of persuasion scholarship: threat in attitudinal inoculation theory in resistance to influence. Such a singular focus could call into question this essay's utility for the larger community of communication and persuasion theorists. But as I'll argue in this essay, plucking a key variable from an established theory of influence, inspecting the variable from both conceptual and methodological perspectives, and then crafting future research propositions from these findings is more than an intellectual exercise. Acts of theoretical and conceptual explication—particularly intensive study of prerequisite variables—return us to fundamental interests of theory development and understanding. A better understanding of inoculation theory particularly means a better understanding of communication generally.

Inoculation theory was only about thirty years old when Eagly and Chaiken (1993) dubbed it “the grandparent theory of resistance to attitude change” (p. 561). But this youthful grandparent is, as Compton and Pfau (2005) put it about a decade later, “far from retiring” (p. 116). Contemporary scholars continue to build robust research programs on this theory, making great strides in understanding how inoculation works and in identifying optimal conditions for its efficacy. Recent research is taking the theory into new domains, like front group stealth campaigns

(Pfau, Haigh, Sims, & Wigley, 2007), and into new types of resistance, including resistance to spiral of silence effects (Lin & Pfau, 2007). As we look ahead to future inoculation research inquiries, I join scholars (Pfau, 1997; Compton & Pfau, 2005) who have encouraged inoculation researchers to take another look at this grandparent's early years, returning to its infancy for a better understanding of how, and under what conditions, inoculation works as a resistance to influence strategy. No other fundamental inoculation construct is more fitting for such scrutiny than threat. Inoculation hinges on threat, yet there is much about it we don't yet know.

Threat was there from the beginning, in one of McGuire's (1964) earliest explanations for how inoculation works:

[T]o be effective the prior defense...presumably should be threatening rather than reassuring about the belief. An obvious way of threatening him is by pre-exposure to weakened forms of the attacking arguments. (p. 201)

Years later, Pfau (1997) called threat "the most distinguishing feature of inoculation" (p. 137) and he and a colleague concluded: "[I]noculation is impossible without threat" (Compton & Pfau, 2005, p. 101). When inoculation messages successfully generate threat, inoculation treatments usually work. When messages fail to elicit threat, inoculation treatments usually fail.

One might think that, because threat serves as a requisite for inoculation, we would have a nuanced understanding of what threat is, how threat functions, and how threat plays into the process of resistance to influence. But even as we have more nuanced understanding of how inoculation confers resistance—with some of the most recent scholarship exploring underlying attitude constructs like attitudinal nodes (Pfau, Ivanov, et al., 2005)—we know comparatively little about threat.

Why? What has caused threat to slip under the radar in much of the inoculation scholarship? How could one of the most fundamental features of inoculation—no, perhaps *the* fundamental feature of inoculation—be one of the least understood? One answer may be the theory's namesake—the medical analogy.

Medical Analogy: Clarifies and Confounds

Inoculation theory's namesake offers an elegant, creative explanation for how attitudes can be rendered resistant to subsequently stronger persuasion attempts. The medical analogy sums up the theory neatly: Just as a medical inoculation confers resistance by introducing a weakened virus to an otherwise healthy body to spur the production of antibodies to make the body's defenses stronger, exposure to weakened counterattitudinal arguments triggers the production of counterarguments to make the mind's defenses stronger. Medical inoculations lead to bodies that resist viruses; attitudinal inoculations lead to minds that resist persuasion. The medical analogy functioned as an explanatory beginning with the earliest descriptions of the theory (e.g., McGuire, 1964), and in the subsequent decades, scholars continued to use the analogy to explain how inoculation confers resistance.

McGuire intended for the analogy to do more than name his theory; he also meant for the analogy to guide further theoretical development (Compton & Pfau, 2005). In one early study, for example, McGuire and his colleague encouraged "pursuit of the medical analogy" (McGuire & Papageorgis, 1962, p. 34). Where the analogy excels is in creating an explanation for the counterarguments thought to play an active role in conferred resistance. Counterarguments are like antibodies, so making more strengthens the attitude, much like making more antibodies strengthens the body. But it is more difficult to find the connection between medical inoculation and threat, or the motivation for counterarguing. With the medical inoculation, the healthy body's response to the offending agent is an automatic response of a healthy immune system. But with attitudinal inoculation, the threat component is more deliberate—motivated, it seems, by the conscious awareness that a position might soon be under attack. Perhaps this is why threat received scant attention in the early decades of the theory. Its medical counterpart was an automatic, assumed process, so the attitudinal component was also assumed.

If the inoculation analogy led scholars to this assumption, the analogy may have limited early theoretical development of inoculation. It wouldn't be the first time. Other scholars have pointed out that a close reading of the analogy limits inoculation scholarship (e.g., Rogers & Thistlewaite, 1969; Wood, 2007), and Compton and Pfau (2005)

observed some “monumental findings about the process of inoculation...do not closely fit the medical analogy” (p. 124).

The analogy likely affected early directions of inoculation research, leading inoculation scholars into different avenues of inquiry. The analogy may have also influenced how inoculation was treated in early inoculation research: as a primitive concept, assumed but not measured.

Early Research: Threat as Primitive Concept

Threat was offered as one of the earliest explanation for how inoculation triggers a process of resistance. Yet surprisingly, despite its importance in theory development, inoculation researchers largely ignored threat in their research designs. “Its presence was only assumed in McGuire’s inoculation research and in all inoculation studies during the 20 years that followed” (Compton & Pfau, 2005, p. 126)

Inoculation researchers began measuring threat in the late 1980s, with Pfau and Burgoon (1988) making the first effort. A version of their threat scale (based on another scale developed by Burgoon and his colleagues (1978)) continues to be the standard measure of elicited threat in contemporary inoculation scholarship. The threat scale usually consists of five bipolar adjective pairs: nonthreatening/threatening, not harmful/harmful, unthreatening/intimidating, not risky/risky, and safe/dangerous (e.g., Pfau, Compton, et al., 2004), and the scale boasts impressive reliability, often ranging from 0.88 and 0.97 (Wan & Pfau, 2004). While most inoculation studies use this scale or a close variant, some contemporary inoculation studies continue to assume threat and do not measure it (e.g., Banerjee & Greene, 2006; Jalnawala & Wilkin, 2007).

These two characteristics of early inoculation research limited our early understanding of threat in the inoculation process of resistance: the inoculation analogy and treatment of threat as a primitive construct. Beginning in the late 1980s and continuing through more than 20 years of inoculation research, scholars measured for threat, using its presence as a manipulation check for assessing inoculation’s efficacy. Threat became the indicator for whether inoculation “took.” But there’s more to know about threat than if it merely *is*. The more important question: *What is it?*

So, What Is Threat?

Two kinds of threat are purportedly at work during inoculation. When McGuire first began talking about threat in his explanations for how inoculation confers resistance, he was talking about “inherent threat” (McGuire, 1970, p. 63). Inherent threat is generated by the mere presence of counterattitudinal content, resulting in the jarring effect of encountering arguments that challenge an existing belief, attitude or position.

In subsequent studies, McGuire introduced a second type of threat—explicit threat in the form of a forewarning that an existing attitude would likely be assailed. With forewarning, inoculation messages didn’t just present counterarguments; inoculation messages also warned of future attacks against existing beliefs, attitudes or positions. McGuire and Papageorgis (1962) conducted the first inoculation study to incorporate explicit forewarning, and their results confirmed that forewarning enhances inoculation’s efficacy. Inherent plus explicit threat confers optimum resistance.

Many contemporary inoculation studies focus on explicit threat more than inherent threat. For example, in one study by Pfau and his colleagues, threat was “operationalized as a forewarning of one or more impending challenges to attitudinal integrity” (1997, p. 189). In another, the researchers note in their description of the inoculation message: “The first paragraph [forewarning] of the inoculation messages was designed to elicit threat” (Pfau et al., 2008, p. 311). With this approach, threat *is* forewarning, or explicit threat.

Inoculation research does not measure the two separate sources of threat—inherent threat generated by the mere presence of counterattitudinal content and explicit threat elicited by a forewarning of an impending challenge. It is unclear which is more responsible for inoculation’s elicited threat. Wood (2007) recently pointed this out in her study: “[E]licited threat is likely a result of exposure to both the warning and the counterarguments, but it is unknown from the current methodology how much each contributes” (p. 373). We know successful inoculation messages generate threat. We don’t yet know the precise sources of this threat—or if the sources matter.

Further, the most commonly used threat measurement (a Likert-type scale using bipolar adjective pairs) measures participants’ awareness

of their feelings of vulnerability to an impending attitude attack. We know less about the affective dimensions of threat. What does threat feel like for those inoculated? One leading inoculation scholar argued that inoculation's threat is not the same thing as fear generated by a fear appeal (Pfau, 1995). If the threat in inoculation is not like fear—an argument that, while sound, needs empirical validation—then what is it? Pfau and his colleagues' (2009) recent finding that anger-based inoculation messages confer more threat than happiness-based inoculation messages suggests dynamic affect features are at work in the process of inoculation. Surely threat, the motivating force in inoculation, has some dynamic affect features as well. Future scholarship should consider what affect is involved when inoculation messages generate threat.

The seemingly simple question—*What is threat?*—has a complex answer. Threat can be both inherent and explicit, but scholarship up to this point hasn't teased out which type of threat does what in the process of resistance (Wood, 2007). In fact, we don't have strong empirical validation that both exist. From the time inoculation scholars began measuring threat in the late 1980s, studies have employed inoculation messages with both forewarning (explicit threat) and preemptive refutation (inherent threat). We also know more about the cognitive dimensions than the affective dimensions of threat. Indeed, although threat is the most affect-rich component of inoculation, it is usually treated as a cognitive dimension, as a way “to get people to acknowledge the vulnerability of their attitudes to potential counterattitudinal influence” (Pfau et al., 2009, p. 76). This tells us more about what people think about threat than what they're feeling during threat. Future inoculation research should consider both types of threat (inherent and explicit) as well as more components (affective and cognitive) of threat.

We can add one additional layer to this discussion of threat: individual differences. Most inoculation research that measures threat looks only at two groups—those inoculated (experimental condition) and those not (control condition). But threat may affect individuals differently. One recent study found, for example, that inoculated females experienced more threat than inoculated males (Pfau, et al., 2008). Another found that elicited threat is affected by pre-existing attitudes toward the issue and attitude certainty (Wood, 2007). We may need to

modify our question from the simple *What is threat?* to *What is threat for whom?*

When Does Threat Matter?

In his early writings, McGuire (1964) suggested that threat's impact is strongest during the interim between the inoculation message and the eventual attack message. He writes: "[T]he motivational stimulation from the threatening refutational defense would result in the believer's accumulating more supportive material for the truism *during the week following the attack*" (McGuire, 1964, p. 209, emphasis added). Contemporary inoculation research also points to this interim as a critical part of the inoculation process (e.g., Pfau et al., 1997). With this take on threat, threat matters most *after* the inoculation message, motivating those inoculated to prepare for the impending persuasive challenge.

McGuire (1964) offered another explanation for threat's impact when considering explicit forewarning as threat. He writes:

[A]ny extrinsic threat to the truism (e.g., a forewarning that it will be attacked), presented to the believer before the defense material, should increase his motivation to assimilate the material and hence enhance its immunizing effectiveness. (McGuire, 1964, p. 210)

When an explicit forewarning is used to launch an inoculation message, threat works by motivating a close reading of the remainder of the message. With this approach to threat, threat matters most *before* and *during* the inoculation message. This contrasts with the earlier argument that threat is most important *after* the inoculation message.

If we stop here, we have a rather clear-cut explanation for the two times threat matters during inoculation, and the explanations seem clearly linked to the two types of threat. With inherent threat, threat matters during the interim between the inoculation message and the eventual attack message. With explicit threat (forewarning), threat matters before and during the inoculation message.

But a closer reading of McGuire's early writings suggests that there is not such a clear distinction. McGuire (1961) explains: "...[T]he shock value of the contemporaneous presentation of the refutational defense, which suggests to him that his beliefs are not as invulnerable as he thought, serve to provoke his interest in and utilization of the

supportive arguments” (p. 185). My reading of this explanation leads me to believe that both inherent and explicit threat affects motivation to attend to the information presented in inoculation messages. Perhaps we can make a similar argument about the interim between the inoculation message and the subsequent attack message: Both inherent and explicit threat are at work during this interim as well.

We should also consider an additional point of time when threat may function during the inoculation process: the attack. Inoculation messages warn about the attack message, so when it comes, it’s likely that people are having strong reactions to it. They presumably recognize it as a threat and experience threat. Extant inoculation scholarship has not measured threat at the moment of attack, during the attack, or after the attack. We’ve ignored threat at the time we’re assessing whether inoculation worked.

To this point, I’ve treated threat as an either/or event—it either exists or it doesn’t exist after the inoculation message. But I think threat is more dynamic than static, that it ebbs and flows during the inoculation process. For example, Compton and Pfau (2005) wondered if implicit threat might accumulate with each refuted counterargument in the message—an additive effect. If one counterargument is threatening, perhaps two counterarguments are even more threatening. Threat likely varies during the interim as well.

Together, these explanations indicate that explicit threat (forewarnings) and inherent threat (presence of counterarguments) affect how an inoculation message is processed, and that threat, in general, is at work during the interim between the inoculation message and the attack message and perhaps even beyond the attack message. Which type of threat matters at what point in the process is unclear (Wood, 2007). We also don’t yet know whether threat levels fluctuate during the process of resistance—and if so, whether threat levels at various points in the process of inoculation matter in terms of optimal resistance. To figure this out, research could model a study (Pfau et al., 2006) that looked at how counterarguing output changes during the interim between the inoculation message and the attack. By assessing counterarguing output during the post-inoculation message delay, the researchers were able to determine that counterarguing output was robust. In addition to measuring counterarguing output, researchers could also measure threat levels during the interim. It is possible that, because threat is assumed to

be the catalyst for counterarguing, and counterarguing output remains robust during the interim, elicited threat may also remain robust. Future research should delve further into the process, looking at threat during various points of the inoculation process—pre-inoculation message, during the inoculation message, after the inoculation message, during the interim, pre-attack message, during the attack message, and after the attack message. Such research would involve interrupting inoculation and attack messages for measurements (Pfau et al., 2009), which might be complicated, but the findings would greatly add to our understanding of threat.

A more complete understanding of what threat is (inherent and explicit, cognitive and affective) and when threat matters (before, during, and after the messages and interim) are two ripe areas for future inoculation scholarship. Pursuit of these two areas also raises additional questions about threat in inoculation, and some of these questions are explored in the remainder of this essay.

What Would *More* Threat Do?

How much threat is optimal for resistance? The threshold is unclear (Compton & Pfau, 2005), although some have speculated that more threat leads to more resistance (Wyer, 1974). McGuire (1964) described the ideal amount of threat this way: “threatening enough to be defense-stimulating, but not so strong as to overwhelm the truism” (p. 202). It’s an important standard. If the counterattitudinal content is too strong, or too convincing, the inoculation message could boomerang. But if it’s not strong enough, it won’t trigger the work necessary for resistance. Further, we have to consider incidental effects of stronger threat. For example, Pfau and his colleagues (2004) found that greater threat lowers attitude certainty, perhaps thwarting resistance efforts.

Contemporary inoculation research has tried to pinpoint the ideal degree of threat with more precision. One study in particular has implications for our understanding of threat. Compton and Pfau (2004) created four types of inoculation messages: strong counterarguments with strong refutations, weak counterarguments with weak refutations, strong counterarguments with weak refutations, and weak counterarguments with strong refutations. They predicted that the matched argument strength would be more effective than mismatched

argument strength in conferring resistance, and they found some evidence that it was. But a more important finding in the context of this essay related to threat. They reasoned that the weak/strong condition would not generate sufficient threat. Contrary to their prediction, all four conditions generated threat. The authors reasoned that the explicit forewarning in each condition was enough to generate threat— independent of the varying strengths of counterarguments and refutations. While Compton and Pfau's (2004) study offers more insight into argument strength and its relationship to inoculation's efficacy, much more work needs to be done to discover how argument strength influences threat and resistance.

Scholars often point to low levels of threat as explanations for when inoculation doesn't "take hold" as well as expected (e.g., Godbold & Pfau, 2000). Yet, other research indicates that successful threat manipulations can lead to weak inoculation effects. In one study, threat was significantly greater with those inoculated, yet impacts of inoculation treatments were, as the researchers put it, "anemic" (Pfau et al., 2008, p. 316). In the Compton and Pfau (2004) study, four separate inoculation conditions elicited threat, but only one condition conferred ultimate resistance to the attack message in terms of attitude toward the issue. While elicited threat seems to be a requisite for inoculation (Pfau, 1997, but see Wood, 2007), it is not sufficient to confer optimum resistance.

We should bear in mind that in two decades of measuring threat levels in inoculation, we haven't seen inoculation treatments elicit more than moderate levels of threat, or threat levels much beyond the mid-point on the measurement scales (Compton & Pfau, 2005). In some studies, elicited threat rises above significance levels (when compared to control groups), but is still quite weak (e.g., Pfau, Compton, et al., 2006). We don't know what would happen if inoculation messages were to trigger strong levels of threat (Compton & Pfau, 2005). Would we find a simple positive relationship, whereas more threat leads to more resistance? Or, is it possible that high threat levels would lead to a boomerang effect? We already know that threat lowers attitude confidence—would strong levels of threat obliterate it?

Then there are methodological questions about increasing elicited threat. How would we manipulate stronger threat levels in inoculation scholarship? In an early study, McGuire operationalized *high*

threat as four counterarguments and *low threat* as two counterarguments in inoculation messages, and in another, he manipulated threat by refuting some counterarguments but not others (McGuire, 1964). Compton and Pfau (2005) wondered if visuals might be used to increase the threat component, much the same way Nabi's (2003) research used visuals to elicit stronger affect in the process of inoculation. A recent inoculation study used a photograph to accompany a print-based inoculation treatment (Pfau, et al., 2008). Researchers could also design video inoculation messages that visually depict someone's attitude challenged, e.g., a group of pre-teens trying to get another pre-teen to smoke a cigarette.

Scholars should also take a closer look at the content of forewarning messages. Burgoon and his colleagues (1976) found that that when there's a 50-50 chance an attitude attack might occur, threat is higher. Some of the most recent inoculation scholarship has moved from warning about impending arguments to warning about impending argument strategies. For example, Pfau, Haigh, and colleagues (2006, 2008) warned against visuals as a persuasive medium in their inoculation messages, an inoculation strategy they called "generic preemption of the influence of visual images" (2006, p. 154). When warning about the effects of news photographs, the threat manipulation didn't take (Pfau, et al., 2006); when warning about the effects of news visuals, the threat manipulation did take (Pfau, et al., 2008). Inoculation messages could include explicit mentions of the cognitive and affective dimensions of the impending attack message, under the assumption that a combination of cognitive and affective arguments is more threatening (Ivanov, Pfau, & Parker, 2009).

At this point, we have limited understanding of what happens if we add strong threat to the inoculation process. A more fundamental question might be: *How* do we add strong threat to the inoculation process? Using visuals and modifying the forewarning component of inoculation messages could be viable options.

What *Else* Does Threat Do?

McGuire and other early inoculation pioneers assumed that threat motivated counterarguing, an explanation consistent with information processing research (e.g., Petty & Cacioppo, 1989). But

more recent inoculation scholarship is suggesting a much more nuanced—and active—role for threat in the process of resistance. Pfau and his colleagues (2004) did not find a direct link between threat and counterarguing. Instead, threat enhanced involvement levels, which then impacted counterarguing. Further, threat had a direct impact on attitude accessibility, which then facilitated resistance to the final attack message. In another study, threat was linked to elicited anger, which then promoted resistance (Pfau, et al., 2001). Other research reveals that threat derogates the image of the source of the attack message (Pfau et al., 2000), increases irritation (Jacks & Devine, 2000), and decreases attitude certainty (Pfau et al., 2004). We are accumulating an impressive body of research that suggests threat is doing more than motivating counterarguing. Threat has side effects. Some of the side effects appear to enhance the process of resistance (e.g., attitude accessibility and issue involvement), while others may thwart the process (e.g., attitude certainty).

Compton and Pfau (2009) recently proposed that threat might also be affecting behaviors. They posited that inoculation messages—and particularly the threat component of inoculation messages—lead people to turn to their social networks for dialogue and reassurance. Perhaps, Compton and Pfau (2009) surmise, this dialogue serves to strengthen the inoculative effects of the treatment message and spread some of the inoculation to others along social networks, something they call “spreading inoculation” (Compton & Pfau, 2009, p. 10). Their work moves discussions of inoculation theory from intrapersonal to intrapersonal considerations, suggesting threat affects more than what goes on in peoples’ minds during the process of inoculation.

Future research should look at a larger picture of threat in the inoculation process. Although the link to counterarguing is important to a better understanding of the traditional explanation for how inoculation confers resistance, much more seems to be at work when we introduce threat to this resistance to influence strategy.

Conclusions

Threat is a critical component in attitudinal inoculation, yet threat is also a mysterious process. As we move forward with inoculation scholarship, taking it into new domains and delving deeper into its

mechanisms, we can't neglect its fundamental components. Inoculation theory warrants the label Eagly and Chaiken (1993) gave it: "the grandparent theory of resistance to attitude change" (p. 561). Tracing its ancestry shows that threat played an important role in this grandparent's childhood, and I believe that threat will continue to play an important role in this grandparent's golden years.

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Giving Voice: The Use of Interactive Theatre as Professional Development in Higher Education to Reduce Alienation of Marginalized Groups

Carol J. Maples

Abstract

This case study focused on the use of Interactive Theatre as professional development in higher education. The guiding question centered on how Interactive Theatre, as professional faculty development, gave voice to marginalized individuals in higher education, as viewed through the lens of Critical Race Theory. Findings articulated the need for innovative professional development, such as Interactive Theatre, to address the issues of diversity. What the researcher found particularly striking was the impact not only on the faculty and teaching assistants who participated in the workshops but also on the members of the Interactive Theatre troupe. The implications of this inquiry could impact K-12 and higher education institutions as they address the issues of diversity and giving voice to the marginalized, thus creating truly inclusive campus climates.

Introduction

University and college faculty members are not systematically prepared either through their graduate education or ongoing on-campus faculty development programs to manage difficult interpersonal situations which are driven by diversity issues (Bell, Washington, Weinstein, & Love, 1997). Daniel (2007) found African American and Latino/a students' experiences in higher education to be characterized by feelings of marginalization and conflict. Consequently, Daniel contended an inclusive environment is not attained simply through the recruitment and selection of students of color but postulated that higher education institutions must look beyond the statistics of racial identification. Furthermore, Chenoweth (1999) argued that higher education institutions have realized admitting a diverse student population is only the start of building a diverse campus. Nonetheless this realization, as Chenoweth

found, did not ensure a prejudice free environment in higher education institutions. Wlodkowski and Ginsberg (2003) further recognized the need for higher education to respect diversity and create a safe, inclusive, and respectful learning environment. The authors, consequently, advocated for a type of interactive theatre but the theatre programs described in the literature were limited to role playing. Little mention of Boal's (1985) *Theatre of the Oppressed* much less *Interactive Theatre* was found in the literature (Banks, 2006; Burgoyne et al., 2005; Reybold, Flores, & Riojas-Cortez, 2006). Although literature on multicultural education and professional development referred to Friere's (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, there was limited reference to Boal's (1985) *Theatre of the Oppressed* much less *Interactive Theatre* (Banks, 2006; Burgoyne et al., 2005; Reybold, Flores, & Riojas-Cortez, 2006).

In 2000, the Center for Research on Learning and Teaching (CRLT), at the University of Michigan, utilized theatre to create a sketch addressing multicultural education. The CRLT Players Theatre Program developed from that initial sketch, and, by 2006, expanded their offerings to 20 sketches. During the 2005-2006 academic year, "the Players performed more than 85 times for over 5,000 faculty, graduate students, and administrators" (Center for Research on Learning & Teaching, 2007, p. 2). The CRLT Players Theatre Program has inspired similar programs in other locations, one of which was the unit of analysis for this case study inquiry. Thus, examining an *Interactive Theatre* program, based on the CRLT Players Theatre Program, through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT) was the focus of this single case study inquiry. Given that, CRT theorists utilize common situations to investigate perspective through the power of stories, thus giving voice to the marginalized in order to gain a better understanding of how race is viewed (Delgado & Stefancic) and since storytelling is the basis for theatre this genre for investigation was warranted.

Conceptual Underpinnings

Creating a learning environment that is safe, inclusive, motivating, and meets the needs of diverse learners, while promoting justice and equity in society are all goals of higher education, according to Wlodkowski and Ginsberg (2003). The authors further explained, in order to meet this moral obligation, marginalized groups must be given a

voice. The guiding framework for this study, consequently, is Critical Race Theory which advocated the use of storytelling as an effective resource for giving voice to the racially oppressed. The CRT movement emerged during the 1970s to study and transform “the relationship among, race, racism, and power” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 2). The themes, consistently identified by scholars (Bernal, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billing & Tate, 1995; Parker & Lynn, 2002), are the following:

1. Critical Race Theory acknowledged race had historically been, and continued to be, a fundamental organizing principle in United States society.
2. Critical Race Theory contended, far from being the exception, racism was endemic to American life.
3. Critical Race Theory emphasized importance of giving voice to racially marginalized members of society.
4. The goal of Critical Race Theory was social justice (Bernal, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Parker & Lynn, 2002).

Critical Race Theory Origins

Historically, Critical Race Theory split from Critical Legal Studies due to impatience with Critical Legal Studies’ lack of progress in affecting change in the legal system that concentrated on race and racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). These researchers argued that Critical Legal Studies neglected to address race and racism in its analysis for social transformation. Exacerbating the effectiveness of Critical Legal Studies even more was the dismissal of lived experiences and histories of those oppressed by institutionalized racism (Delgado & Stefancic; Yosso, 2005). While newly emerged from Critical Legal Studies, CRT members still pursued the goals of Civil Rights legislation (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Initially, therefore, CRT framed its critiques in black versus white terms. Now, as the movement has evolved, other people of color and women, who initially felt silenced, have also been included (Brayboy, 2005; Chang, 1993; Chon, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Williams, 1997).

Education through the Lens of Critical Race Theory

The difficulties people of color face in educational institutions have been examined through the lens of CRT (Ladson-Billing & Tate, 1995). In fact, members of CRT have challenged educational institutions' claim to color-blind objectivity, meritocracy, and equal opportunity (Bernal, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Solorzano, 1997; Yosso, 2005). Furthermore, the application of CRT, according to Solorzano (1997), can be used in education to inform theory, research, pedagogy, curriculum, and policy. Therefore, CRT can be applied as a lens to examine depths of race and racism in higher education and the institutions' dedication to social justice.

Applied to education, Yosso (2005) asserted, CRT was "a theoretical and analytical framework" (p. 74) that confronted the impact of race and racism on institutions, culture, and discourse. The author further described CRT as a "social justice project that works toward the liberatory potential of schooling" (p. 74). Yosso summarized CRT as focusing on the knowledge, skills, and abilities of socially marginalized groups that are not recognized, much less acknowledged, thus, without voice.

Social Justice and Giving Voice

Giving voice to marginalized people through storytelling is essential for Critical Race Theory in order to achieve social justice (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Storytelling is vital to give recognition and acknowledgment to the lived experiences of people of color, according to Delgado and Stefancic. The authors further explained CRT theorists rely on the perspective revealed through stories for people to improve understanding of how Americans view race. Delgado and Stefancic, additionally, argued that analysis of accepted stories and narratives, for presumptions of inferiority which perpetuated marginalized groups to conceal their humanity develops into contradictory narratives or counterstories (Delgado & Stefancic). According to these authors, the use of counterstorytelling was found to be valuable in giving voice to marginalized groups. Also recognized by the authors, is the concept that CRT theorists have found when persons are challenged to imagine being nonwhite in a cultural hegemony, it is difficult to make race an issue.

Compelling stories can be very helpful under those circumstances, in order to understand what life is like for those who are marginalized. Thus the stories give voice to those marginalized groups (Delgado & Stefancic).

Delgado and Stefancic (2001) further contended stories provide a powerful function for minorities. According to the authors, “Stories can name a type of discrimination; once named can be combated” (p. 43). Moreover, storytelling has the power to reduce alienation of marginalized groups who find themselves invisible and silent. Giving voice, therefore, is an essential step in achieving social justice. Storytelling is the basis for theatre, thus, the voice for many is heard through the art of theatre.

Interactive Theatre

Brazilian theorist Paulo Freire’s (1970) pedagogy of learning evolved from the basis of theatre and was about the action of doing (Freire, 1970). Accordingly, Freire viewed students as those oppressed by a hierarchical pedagogical process and suppressed by the educator in charge. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire contended action and reflection were essential components for developing true praxis. Dialogue was necessary for addressing a “world which is to be transformed and humanized” (p. 77). Freire’s (1970) approach to students being actively involved in their education by engaging with their teachers was the inspiration for Boal’s development of *Theatre of the Oppressed*. Similar to Freire, Boal’s (1985, 1992, 2006) approach to address oppression has been to actively engage the oppressed in their emancipation process. Theatrically, this stressed play-building and participatory performances rather than a one-sided presentation (Schutzman & Cohen-Cruz, 1994). Applying the premise of the *Theatre of the Oppressed Interactive Theatre* has evolved. Although used extensively to address social justice issues worldwide since the 1950s, use of *Interactive Theatre* as professional faculty development in higher education is relatively new. Moreover, Wlodkowski and Ginsberg (2003) recognized the need for higher education to respect diversity and create a safe, inclusive, and respectful learning environment. Therefore, this investigation, using the lens of Critical Race Theory, addressed the role of *Interactive Theatre* as Professional Faculty Development to give voice

to marginalized groups. Specifically, the following questions guided this inquiry:

1. Why is *Interactive Theatre* used in professional development for faculty in higher education?
2. How does *Interactive Theatre* give voice to marginalized groups as viewed through the lens of Critical Race Theory?
3. What impact does *Interactive Theatre* have on empowering faculty to address the issues that come from giving students a voice?

Methods

Participants

The participants for this single case study were comprised of: (a) graduate students serving as teaching assistants participating in an interactive theatre professional faculty development workshop ($n=3$), (b) faculty participating in an *Interactive Theatre* faculty professional development workshop ($n=5$), (c) the program leader for an *Interactive Theatre* faculty professional development program ($n=1$), and (d) randomly selected troupe members of an *Interactive Theatre* program ($n=6$).

The researcher purposefully selected (Creswell, 2003) a Midwest university which had an *Interactive Theatre* as professional faculty development program in place for four years. The program researched was developed from direct collaboration with the University of Michigan, which is regarded as the leader in using *Interactive Theatre* as professional faculty development and was identified by the University of Michigan faculty as an outstanding program. Merriam (1998) based purposeful sampling on the premise of wanting “to discover, understand, and gain insight . . . [to] select a sample from which the most can be learned” (p. 61). Snowball sampling was noted by Merriam (1998) as the most common form of purposeful sampling and was the selected form utilized by this researcher. Snowball sampling strategy involved empowering the *Interactive Theatre* program leader, faculty, and graduate teaching assistants study participants to recommend others as good subjects for interview (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). The focus group

was selected randomly from troupe members of an *Interactive Theatre* program used for professional development. The goal of the focus group was to develop a sample rich in insight, perception, and information in order to guide the study.

Data Collection and Instrumentation

Interview Protocols

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain deeper insight and triangulate data gathered from observations and document analysis. Two face-to-face audio-recorded interviews with the *Interactive Theatre* program leader were conducted. The first interview protocol was developed in regards to Critical Race Theory concepts. The second interview protocol was developed from the results of analyzing faculty, graduate assistants, and focus group interviews. The interview guide for faculty and graduate assistants followed a protocol of questions related to the characteristics of giving voice as seen through the lens of Critical Race Theory. These semi-structured interviews were conducted consisting of experience and opinion open-ended questions (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003) relating to *Interactive Theatre* as a professional development vehicle.

Each interview was audio-recorded and later transcribed by the researcher. Member checking was conducted to verify the accuracy of the transcripts and confirm for each participant that their stories were portrayed as intended (Fraenkel & Wallen). Participants were instructed to contact the researcher to make necessary corrections. Changes were made to comply with the requirements delineated in the letter of informed consent. Field notes were taken by the researcher during the interview process to record information not reflected on the audio-tapes. Triangulation of the data occurred through the use of rich, thick descriptions provided from the interviews, field notes, document analysis, and observations during interviews (Creswell, 2003; Fraenkel & Wallen; Merriam, 1998).

Focus Group Protocol

The researcher also facilitated one focus group meeting to gather data from the troupe members of an *Interactive Theatre* program used for professional development. The focus group protocol was selected because, as noted by Krueger and Casey (2000), “a range of ideas or feelings that people have” (p. 24) was necessary. The focus group consisted of a random sampling of troupe members involved in the *Interactive Theatre* program being studied. These students were selected based on being determined as information-rich participants (Krueger & Casey, 2000). The focus groups’ conversations were audio-recorded and transcribed by the researcher at a later date. The focus group took place at the research site lasting less than one hour. The facilitator used slightly modified questions based on the same focus of questions as used in the interview protocol for faculty and graduate assistants. Additional questions for the leader’s second interview were developed from the faculty, graduate assistants, and focus group interviews.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data collection and analysis, according to Merriam (1998) must be a simultaneous process. The researcher gathered and analyzed data concurrently, pausing periodically to fill in gaps, in order to get the most holistic picture possible. The researcher ended the official data collection process with occurrence of duplication and repeats of data. The constant comparative method was utilized for further data analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Merriam, 1998).

In order to triangulate the data, semi-structured interviews were conducted with some participants. The semi-structured interviews provided acquisition to comparable data from other participants of the study. This information was used in tandem with the field observation data and the focus group data compiled in order to gain a greater understanding of the phenomena being studied. In order to maintain consistency of direction, the researcher was the only interviewer in this study (Wiersma, 2000). Each of the interviews was audio-recorded, then transcribed verbatim. The transcriptions were then coded for themes among the participants’ responses. The themes from the coding were based on the Critical Race Theory concepts found in the review of

related literature. The CRT concepts used to guide the development of themes focused on giving voice to marginalized groups and empowering faculty to address issues that develop from giving marginalized students a voice.

Additionally, in order to frame the themes for giving voice to marginalized students, categories in regard to empowering faculty to address resulting issues were used. The individual review of the transcripts, field observations, logs, notes, diary, and document analysis and patterns of responses elucidated by the coding categories allowed the researcher to look for consistency and triangulation (Creswell, 2003). The process was iterative in nature. Saturation was determined by the level of redundancy in participant responses.

Document Analysis

The analysis of documents was based on the themes developed from the coding of the interview transcripts. The documents that were included in the analysis involved literature and a website describing the *Interactive Theatre* program, including uses, and goals. The university's policy on diversity was examined for alignment with the goals of the *Interactive Theatre* program, in addition to the themes developed through interview coding. Additionally, the *Interactive Theatre* program is part of the university's *Difficult Dialogues* program, a project to promote academic freedom and constructive dialogue on campus. Documents were, therefore, analyzed from the *Difficult Dialogues* program including literature and the website. Other documents were analyzed as suggested by the leaders of the *Interactive Theatre* and *Difficult Dialogues* programs, respectively, utilizing the developed protocol.

Observation Analysis

Observation was also used in order to develop rich, thick descriptions of the phenomenon of using *Interactive Theatre* as professional faculty development. Observation was utilized to obtain detailed evidence as to how social situations appeared to participants in the focus group and what meanings various factors have for participants. Observation was also employed during individual interviews of the *Interactive Theatre* program leader, faculty, and graduate assistants. The

observation categories included setting, interactions, activities, language, nonverbal communication, what was not happening, and the researcher's own feelings. The observations were then analyzed in conjunction with the themes developed from the coding of the transcripts of the interviews and focus group.

Findings

The overarching question guiding this qualitative inquiry was “How does *Interactive Theatre* as professional faculty development give voice to marginalized individuals or groups in higher education, as viewed through the lens of Critical Race Theory?” The study was viewed through the lens of Critical Race Theory employing the following four basic tenets:

1. Critical race theory acknowledges that race has historically been, and continues to be, a fundamental organizing principle in United States society.
2. Critical race theory contends that, far from being the exception, racism is endemic to American life.
3. Critical race theory emphasizes the importance of racially marginalized members of society telling their stories.
4. The ultimate goal of Critical race theory is social justice (Bernal, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Parker & Lynn, 2002).

The following two themes related to the impact of *Interactive Theatre* as professional development for giving voice to the marginalized and empowering faculty emerged as data were analyzed: the role of awakening and the role of empowerment.

The research sought to answer the following questions:

1. Why is *Interactive Theatre* used in professional development for faculty in higher education?
2. How does *Interactive Theatre* give voice to marginalized groups as viewed through the lens of Critical Race Theory?

3. What impact does *Interactive Theatre* have on empowering faculty to address the issues that come from giving students a voice?

Why is Interactive Theatre used in professional development for faculty in higher education?

Although the *Interactive Theatre* program was designed to prepare faculty to address issues of diversity, the researcher found consistent acknowledgement of the usefulness for training teachers in general. None of the participants interviewed believed there was any required diversity training at their University. Only the program leader indicated there was a diversity training option among several other teaching improvement workshops available for teaching assistants. All faculty and graduate assistants shared they made a conscious decision to participate in the *Interactive Theatre* program. Many specifically talked about recognizing a need for training in dealing with issues of diversity. Even the few faculty participants who felt they already possessed the skills to address diversity, due to the nature of their areas of expertise, or felt it was not necessary in their particular courses, conceded an awakening to the need for this type of interactive training.

With a self admitted bias for theatre, Professor Hepburn, the *Interactive Theatre* program's leader, explained the phenomenon of the program's ability for going around people's defensiveness:

I'm a theatre person. I have learned from personal experience how actually doing the theatre is so much more potent than seeing it. Seeing it can be very potent. I have learned through my own personal experience how powerful performing in the theatre—exploring an issue through theatre is. There's a phenomenologist who talks about theatre being a laboratory for human existence. I think it really can be a laboratory where you explore and learn about what it means to be human. There's a quote that goes something like this, "You cannot defect from an insight; you cannot unsee what you've seen." And I think that the *Interactive Theatre* can help people see in that way.

Furthermore, there was a consensus among the interviewed participants that the *Interactive Theatre* programs were certainly memorable.

How does Interactive Theatre give voice to marginalized groups as viewed through the lens of Critical Race Theory?

Tracing the lineage of the style of interactive theatre utilized by the University's *Interactive Theatre* program leads directly to Boal's (1985) *Theatre of the Oppressed*. This style of theatre incorporates storytelling in order to give voice to marginalized groups who too often are alienated and silent. The scenes developed for the *Interactive Theatre* program studied purposely give voice to people marginalized by diversity. Many of the faculty recounted lasting impressions of particular individuals portrayed. The faculty and graduate students interviewed admitted to being oblivious to the thoughts and feelings of the individuals depicted before seeing the presentations. This new consciousness came not from uncaring bigotry or being unaware of diversity but from simply not having experienced these issues firsthand. The faculty and graduate students interviewed spoke about the tactic of ignoring or squelching any possible discussion that might be confrontational or hurtful. They had not realized the hurt and anger that came from the need for voices to be heard.

As valuable as the presentations were for the faculty and graduate assistants interviewed, the troupe members expressed their own conscious raising from being the one to give voice to the marginalized. During the focus group interview, many of the troupe members told about the profound effect experienced from inhabiting someone who usually remains silent. Additionally, some of the troupe members found they were more understanding of some of the unsympathetic characters portrayed. The actors were not condoning prejudicial behavior but expressed a realization of the background influencing this behavior. Some of the troupe members discussed learning how ineffective it was to tell or sometimes even to yell at someone to get them to change for the better. They felt a strong realization of the importance of dialogue and hearing everyone's voice.

Professor Hepburn reiterated the influence of theatre for the performers is often even more powerful than for that of the audience. According to Professor Hepburn,

“Theater can be a transformative experience for people but maybe more so for the people who do it even than for the people who are audience members.” During the focus group interviews it was obvious this was true for the troupe member actors who had researched and embodied these characters for numerous presentations.

One such actor, Judd, talked about his new perspective towards the homophobic character he portrays stating, “Before interactive theatre it was kind of a shallow understanding, typically the stereotype.” Judd further explained how different his character is from himself explaining:

In order to answer the questions, and improvise the scene, you really have to understand the character, which helped me to realize that by preaching at someone who is like that you will never change their opinion or help them grow as an individual. And it’s kind of changed the way I approach people who have that oppressive type personality.

Another actor, Mandy, also spoke about becoming a “much more open-minded person” and how she sees “stereotypes where I didn’t see them before.” Being involved in making sure voices are heard has “made me a more confident individual and made me more passionate about advocating for the rights of others.” Michelle reiterated the power of giving voice stating, “It’s understanding where each other and the characters are coming from. Sharing and understanding what the point of the whole process is.” Andrew spoke about one of the characters in a scene as being a “scared little girl from a small town” who is afraid. He summed up the idea of giving voice explaining “doing *Interactive Theatre* has been about putting yourself in other people’s shoes.”

Ms. Lawson, a faculty participant in the *Interactive Theatre* program stated,

I think my conversations got better. I think I was more able to make sure all people represented within the fictitious stories we talked about had a voice. Making sure that the students were thinking of all aspects, instead of just making a snap judgment based on their experiences or their own religion or culture.

The *Interactive Theatre* program has given voice through the purposeful portrayal of marginalized individuals and thoughtfully

researched scripts. The faculty, graduate assistants, and troupe members all acknowledged what the researcher observed during one of the presentations as another avenue for giving voice. The talkback session is a powerful component for giving voice. As one faculty member described, you have the opportunity to ask questions you would not pursue outside of the theatre setting. In response the individuals being portrayed get to share their thoughts and feelings that would otherwise remain silent. As powerful as the dialogue is during the talkbacks, on a whole other level is the opportunity for those that step into the scene and are fully engaged in the world presented.

What impact does Interactive Theatre have on empowering faculty to address the issues that come from giving students a voice?

Although many of the faculty and graduate assistants shared their hesitation during early presentations to become an intervener, all that finally took that extra step agreed it was an influential experience. One of the faculty members felt actual participation as an intervener was so effective he recommended everyone “should be coerced in a way to participate more,” even though he, himself was very hesitant at first. Most of the faculty and graduate assistants interviewed shared their new found confidence. This confidence described was not only for handling diversity issues that occur but the feeling of empowerment to not only acknowledge and embrace diversity but to instigate the dialogue that gives voice to the many silent and marginalized individuals.

As one of the troupe members, who is a graduate assistant and also teaches, explained,

I started to realize this really works. These are the tools you need. So I feel really great to be able to help facilitate discussion like this and I’ve done it. I’ve felt very comfortable in doing so with younger people. The lessons they can learn from each other are invaluable. Absolutely.

All of the faculty members and graduate assistants spoke about the *Interactive Theatre* program giving them their own safe space to practice. Many talked about gaining confidence even from seeing colleagues intervene and try different tactics. Those that actually stepped

into the scene as an intervener shared feelings of fright that were at times quite strong. This experience, however, was used to gain the skills, as well as the confidence to attempt these acknowledgments and dialogues in their own classes.

Emerged Themes

Using the data set and the predetermined codes, the following themes emerged: A) Awakening to diversity and the need to acknowledge and incorporate the ramifications; and B) Empowerment of the participants to address diversity. These two themes related to the influence of participating in the *Interactive Theatre* programs as audience and troupe members are depicted in Figure 1.

Awakening

The first theme to emerge from the data was the role of awakening to effect change in the classroom. The faculty and graduate assistants recognized their own blindness to issues of diversity. This was exemplified through awakening to the participants' a) avoidance of diversity issues that might result in conflict or uncomfortable discourse; b) unseen or not easily recognized diversity; c) relevance to curriculum; and d) the need for a safe space to discuss issues derived from diversity. As shown in Figure 2 these themes are illustrated.

Empowerment

The second theme to emerge from the data was empowerment for teachers to address diversity in its many forms and to encourage their students to do the same. The participants spoke to the concept of teaching students rather than subjects. This idea was supported by *Interactive Theatre* presentations demonstrating many of the areas diversity affect students sharing a common course. Many of the participants indicated newly felt empowerment a) to strive for all voices to be heard in the classes; b) for best practices learned from watching colleagues participate in an *Interactive Theatre* sketch; c) from resources developed from participating in sketches; and d) from collegiality developed across disciplines. In Figure 3 these themes are illustrated.

Conclusions

The *Interactive Theatre* program was found to have made memorable impressions on not only faculty and graduate assistants as targeted audience members, but also on the troupe members and program leader. Many reported a newfound consciousness when it comes to diversity issues. They became aware of their use of avoidance as a tactic for handling diversity.

In addition, the researchers concluded the newfound consciousness to not avoid diversity issues or possible difficult dialogue in conjunction with the need to give voice, brought the need to create a safe space. Several faculty and graduate assistants talked about making sure everyone felt comfortable, supported, or at least safe to speak their mind in class.

Many of the participants interviewed spoke specifically about their determination to make sure everyone's voice is heard. The confidence expressed to give this voice and tackle diversity issues came from several aspects of involvement in *Interactive Theatre*. The description of the results of being part of the programs could be characterized as best practices for teaching. These best practices included modeling, resources, curriculum improvement, and collegiality across disciplines. Many felt they had gained new resources or tools from which to draw. Several commented on changes in their curriculum to incorporate diversity issues. All of the conclusions based on the study findings are represented in Figure 4.

Implications for Practice

The implications of this inquiry for application in higher education could also impact PK-12 institutions as they address the issues of diversity, professional development and the training of teachers. After analysis of the study findings, the researcher noted the importance of being conscious of avoiding diversity issues, thus recognizing the various diversities among students, including backgrounds. This recognition was applied to the relevance of diversity to all courses and the need for a safe space for students to share their voices.

The study findings also revealed the importance of empowering teachers with resources necessary to establish a safe and conducive

climate for giving that voice to all students, especially the marginalized. The researcher found empowerment came from participation in the *Interactive Theatre* program due to the opportunity for teachers to learn and practice various best practice techniques in their own safe space. The teachers participating in the program were also empowered through modeling from colleagues and establishing new collegiality relationships across disciplines.

Also found through the study was a lack of required diversity training at the University. It was indicated that other training in diversity was available, but as with the *Interactive Theatre* program, it was optional. Therefore, if colleges and university administrations are serious about diversity, it must assess the entire campus climate and make systemic changes, from reviewing student recruitment and faculty hiring practices, to requiring effective teacher training which includes diversity issues, and assessing curriculum development processes to ensure that giving voice to diversity is practiced and not just preached at the institution.

The study findings indicated that awakening and empowerment are essential to giving voice to the marginalized. The faculty and graduate assistants interviewed described an awakening to their avoidance of diversity issues, the need to recognize diversity openly, relevance to their classes and students, and the need for a safe space to acknowledge diversity and ensuing issues. Additionally, the faculty and graduate assistants who participated in this study felt empowered by their participation in the *Interactive Theatre* program to address the issues of diversity through giving voice, resources acquired, collegiality established, and best practices modeled. However, other questions were raised that suggested the need for future study.

Recommendations for Future Research

The results of this study should contribute to the current body of research and literature on *Interactive Theatre* as professional development to address issues of diversity as well as best practices for teaching. This increase in minority students has brought expectations of educational gains and sensitivity to racial issues at all levels of schooling in America, including higher education. According to Swail (2006), however, minority students are failing to persist due to campus climate

and lack of social and academic integration. The failed persistence by minority students is compounded by faculty in higher education who “are not systematically prepared either through their graduate education or ongoing on-campus faculty development programs to manage difficult interpersonal situations which are driven by diversity issues” (Bell et al., 1997, p. 276). Hargrove (2003), furthermore, argued that ongoing professional development created to meet the challenges of diverse student populations was inadequate. It is therefore recommended that additional studies be conducted on the use of *Interactive Theatre* for professional development in higher education to address issues of diversity.

Due to the willingness of the faculty and graduate assistants to participate in the *Interactive Theatre* programs a study is recommended that includes participants who do not volunteer for but are required to participate for this type of diversity training. The faculty and graduate assistants shared a desire to improve themselves in regards to diversity issues. They were therefore open to the professional development possibilities offered by the *Interactive Theatre* program. This was true even for the participants who were unwilling to become interveners. A study of participants required to participate in diversity training utilizing *Interactive Theatre* as the professional development is, therefore, also recommended.

Additionally, apprehension was expressed by the program leader specifically in regards to the affect on some participants. Another recommendation, therefore, relates to the impact an *Interactive Theatre* presentation has on individuals. The program leader cautioned that in addition to the positive affect for some people:

It’s potent enough it might possibly have some real negative affects for some people. And we don’t have counselors there to debrief people. Which is another difference between Boal and psychodrama. In psychodrama, there’s a very kind of clear debriefing procedure. There’s a way to de-role people if they need de-roling. Boal isn’t interested in that, doesn’t think that is necessary, but that’s an ongoing discussion within the Boal community. It comes up at conference. When we’ve had discussions, it has come up and I agree. But I don’t

know how to...we have all of these performances, how do we? We don't have a process for doing that.

Therefore, an additional recommendation is for a study of an *Interactive Theatre* program that utilizes counselors. Moreover, due to the relatively new emergence of using *Interactive Theatre* as professional development, a final recommendation is for longitudinal studies. The program leader expressed awareness concerning:

How do you change someone in an hour or an hour and half workshop? And yet, when we did our research, people talked about how memorable the experience was. My best guess is that for some people, what they saw will not make sense to them until it needs to. Until something in their own life happens that all of a sudden, "Oh, now I remember that."

The above recommendations were beyond the scope of this inquiry, but merit further study.

Concluding Overview

This single case study examined whether voice was given to marginalized groups through the use of *Interactive Theatre* as professional development for faculty in higher education. The findings of this inquiry suggested an awakening to issues associated with diversity and empowerment to address those diversity issues were results of having participated in the *Interactive Theatre* program. Through individual interviews, focus group, observations, and examination of documents, the researcher found that awakening to issues associated with diversity resulted from participation in the *Interactive Theatre* programs.

Additionally, the data set found participants felt empowerment to address those issues as a result of having participated in the *Interactive Theatre* program. Moreover, these results were found to be true for participants in the study whether their involvement was as audience members, such as the faculty and graduate assistants, troupe members, or program leader.

From this data set it was suggested there is a need for longitudinal studies on the impact of *Interactive Theatre* as professional development not only on faculty and graduate teaching assistants, but

troupe members, and students. Furthermore, the investigation found there is a need to research the effect on students of faculty participants and the effect when *Interactive Theatre* is presented specifically for students.

Finally, based on the findings, the answer to the question of “Does *Interactive Theatre* give voice to the marginalized?” is a resounding “yes.” By using marginalized individuals’ voices and stories, modeling techniques, and allowing people to practice these techniques in a safe space, participants felt empowered to address issues of diversity and giving voice. For some educators, however, the use of theatre may seem unorthodox. Nevertheless, if the mission of an educational institution is to address issues of diversity, including giving voice to those that are marginalized, then administration and faculty must be open to new and innovative forms of professional development such as *Interactive Theatre*.

According to the leader of the Interactive Theatre program at the center of this study:

There’s no way to convince everybody else of it, you know. You can’t. You can’t tell people [about] theatre. I can’t just tell people theatre is amazing and if you do this work--if you do this work from this perspective, it can be eye-opening and unexpected, in earth shattering ways. But you can’t tell anybody. They have to experience it.

This is the road I have tried to follow as a teacher: living my convictions; being open to the process of knowing and sensitive to the experience of teaching as an art; being pushed forward by the challenges that prevent me from bureaucratizing my practice; accepting my limitations, yet always conscious of the necessary effort to overcome them and aware that I cannot hide them because to do so would be a failure to respect both my students and myself as a teacher.

- Paolo Freire, Pedagogy of Freedom

Figure 1

Path to empowerment.

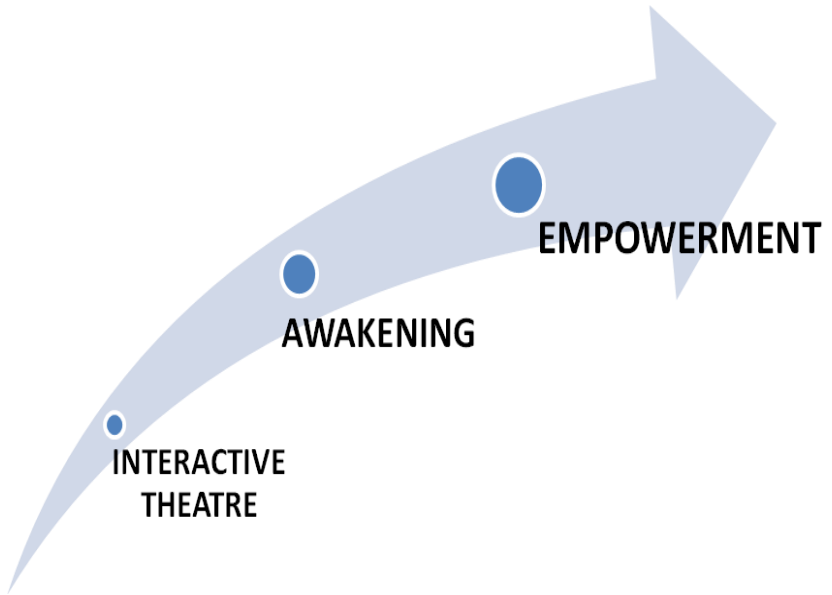


Figure 2

Awakening to issues of giving voice.



Figure 3

Empowerment results from participating in *Interactive Theatre*.

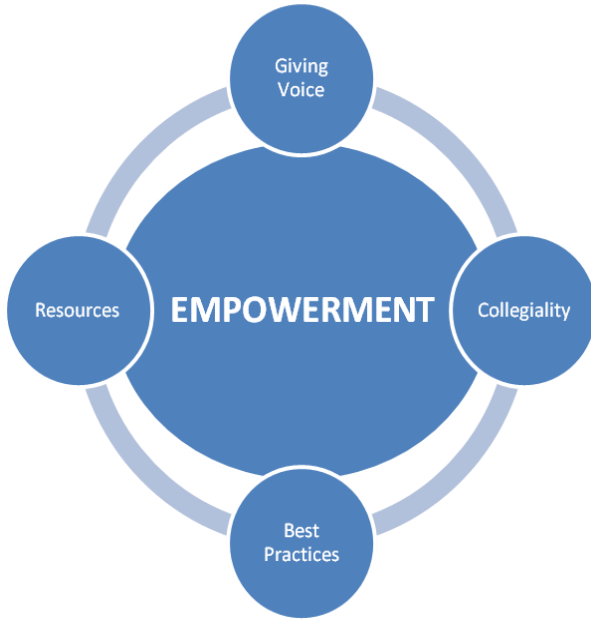
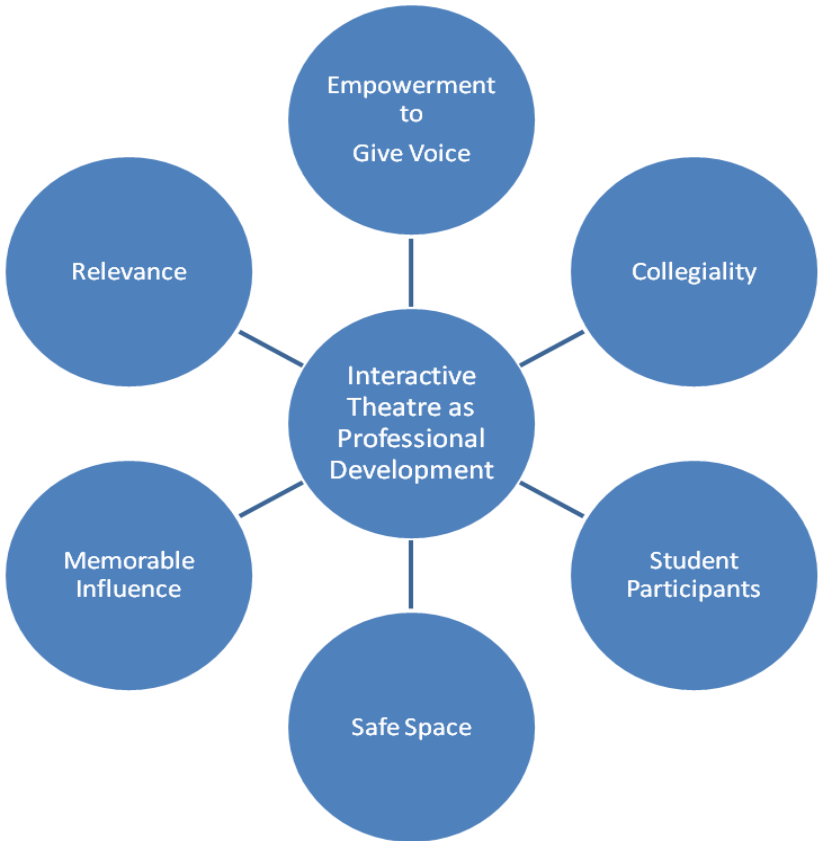


Figure 4

Conclusions based on study findings.



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**Metanarration:
MLB Handling of Barry Bonds Home Run Record Season**
David Nelson

Abstract

The 2007 baseball season has been marred with the controversy of Barry Bonds is he the true record holder of the home run record or should there be a asterisks by his name. Baseball as an institution has tried to create the cultural model that it is America's game and that the possibility that Bonds has links to steroid usage taints that image. Professional baseballs image, beliefs, and practices as an institution with the Bonds controversy is what will be examined and how it communicates it to the public. The identity that it presents communicates that Bonds is not what baseball is about, but the games history creates another identity they would like to forget.

Introduction

Sports provide an outlet for fans to cheer on their heroes of their hometown and razz the villain's of the opposition team. The division of fans could not have been more obvious as seen in the summer of 2007 when Barry Bonds was in the process of surpassing Hank Aaron's life homerun record of 755 home runs. With the record broken debate has echoed throughout the sports pages and talk radio shows have discussed should there be an asterisk placed alongside Bonds name. How will this record be remembered in what is now referred to as baseball's steroid era? Baseball has been marred with controversy over its history. The steroid controversy has been discussed by the media, fans, and even congressional hearings to spotlight the issue.

Major League Baseball (MLB) has a long and storied history. In 1910, the President of the United States Howard Taft endorsed baseball by saying "the game of baseball is a clean straight game" (as cited by Anderson, 2001, p. 106). Because though the game of baseball had been graced with such praise during the 1900s, reporters of the time ignored accusations of game fixing (Vogit, 1983). The relationship between the

media and baseball has been described as symbiotic (Anderson, 2001), because of the bond between the two entities that is generated over a long baseball season. Reporters would travel with the team and get to know them not just as athletes, but as individuals.

There have been several scandals and issues in baseball history include the Pete Rose betting scandal that led to his lifetime ban, the segregation of baseball until Jackie Robinson played, and the many drug scandals including the use of cocaine and amphetamines by ballplayers. Now MLB is dealing with steroid and human growth hormone usage amongst its players. MLB over the past few years has tried to present itself as trying to stamp out illegal drug usage through press conferences and releases. Rhetoric is used by the organization to create a voice that is a “source of authority and resource of identity” (Cheney & McMillan, 1990, p. 97).

The MLB has long maintained the rhetoric that it is America’s pastime. The enduring popularity of the game means that it is a game full of historical records often repeated by fans and athletes alike. One of these, the all-time home run record, was broken in the 2007 season. Allegations of steroid use throughout the league from the press helped further fan suspicion of the broken records and, perhaps more significantly, the integrity of the game. This caused MLB to answer concerns brought by the press to answer fans’ concern to help maintain and reconstruct its image and identity. Bonds was made the problem, not the leagues’ ignoring of steroid usage. As an organization, MLB is represented by a commissioner who serves as the main spokesperson for the MLB. Since 1998, Bud Selig is that person and he is one of the main vessels of MLB rhetoric to the public. The paper will examine how Bud Selig’s rhetoric shifted to help rebuild MLB identity, rhetoric, and integrity with the public. This image rebuilding is continuing and may continue for years to come for the MLB. The paper will explore the rhetoric of Selig as it followed Bonds breaking Hank Aarons home run record up until the Congressional hearings that took place January 15, 2008.

The paper will examine previous research that examines organizational rhetoric, epideictic rhetoric, and metanarration and the role it plays in audience perceptions. Second, Bud Selig’s responses will be discussed to understand its rhetorical role of handling allegations of steroid usage and Barry Bonds’ record breaking season. Conclusions will

be drawn from the commissioner's rhetoric and actions and then implications of MLB organizational rhetoric attempting to reestablish its image to the public.

Organizational rhetoric

Redding (1987) discusses how organizations create rhetoric to influence audiences. To understand organizational rhetoric influence in society it allows for close examination of persuasions role in the human experience in an organized society (Cheney & McMillan, 1990). Understanding the goals of the organizational is important because, "much is to be gained by broadening our inquiry to include the organized, organizational nature of much of today's communicative environment" (1990, pp. 95-96). Organizations create an entity that represents its affiliation "Whether we speak of PACS, community groups, politics theology, or interest groups, contemporary rhetors are hardly individuals without affiliation" (Crable, 1986, p. 62).

Organizations craft messages as directives from management that are accessible to the public, directed at non-employees, and represent the entire organization (Cheney & McMillan, 1990). An organization's rhetoric helps generate support for its benefit while focusing on system maintenance and growth (Simon, 1976). Rhetoric helps structure a desired image for the public to consume. How organizations communicate their image shapes the public determine their view of the organization. Judgment of organizational rhetoric is based on public messages (Cheney & McMillan, 1990) which presents only the external identity to an audience.

Organizational rhetoric is shaped by the hierarchy of the organization (McMillan, 1990). Organizational rhetoric is used to help maintain control (Weber, 1978) of its image through policies and rules of its organization. How organizations communicate their message and craft their identity and image varies "directives, charters, memos, announcements, advertising, policy statements, informal exchanges, public relations, resolutions, issue advocacy, image management, treaties, lobbying efforts, declarations, performance appraisals, doctrines, surveys, annual reports, and so forth" (Cheney & McMillan, 1990, p. 99). The communication creates a tone for the organization's standards, and identity for employees and the public. Crable (1990) states clearly

that discourse that is created by organizations and makes it organizational rhetoric.

Organizational rhetoric such as that of MLB looks to create a notion of the organization and how they handle problems within the league to the public. Crable (1990) furthers this notion of organizational support: “organizations themselves exists in a world in which their survival depends on interactions/transactions with other organizations, are not their efforts to secure the support of these others inherently ‘rhetorical’ in ‘reality’” (p. 124). The success of an organization’s rhetoric therefore needs to support the ideas presented to the audience. As an organization MLB’s survival depends upon two groups: the fans and corporations that may want to be associated with the league. If neither support the rhetoric of the MLB on an issue such as illegal drug usage, could cost it millions of dollars in advertising revenue and corporate sponsorship.

Epidictic Rhetoric

Epidictic role within discourse seeks praise or blame of a group or individual based on the attitudes, beliefs, and norms of the speaker. The goals or characteristics of the speech create a self-enhancing result. To do that the speaker tries to create long-term goals, frames-of-reference, and establish in-group and out-group behaviors. This process is an attempt to create credibility for the speaker and the topic to which they are covering.

As an organization to help maintain MLB identity that it is a game of integrity leadership employed the use of epidictic rhetoric. This allowed for Selig to self categorized MLB. Hogg and Abrams (1988) describe the effects that self-categorization and social comparison have. Emphasis on self-categorization is placed on perceived similarities between the self and in-group members and differences between out-group members. Importance is placed upon attitudes, beliefs, norms, and speech styles. The social comparison manner reflects self-enhancing outcomes. This helps boost members’ self-esteem by viewing in-group members in a positive light and out-group members negatively. Intergroup behavior is what maintains the group’s positive self image. Hogg and Williams (2000) discuss how a group creates social belief

structures and ideologies that point out the status of the group, stability of status relations, and legitimacy of status relations.

Selig's arguments are based upon praise and blame instead of enthymeme or examples (Aristotle, 1954, I. ix) to help defend the identity of MLB. The rhetoric conventions within MLB to maintain its identity and values (Sullivan, 1991). Selig's use of epideictic rhetoric narrates the story that helps reestablish the ethos or character of the game and its identity. The speaker shifts blame or praise to other individuals or organizations which are the goal of epideictic rhetoric (Halloran, 1982). It is also important that rhetoric is one that of character that is not a sycophant or of a detractor (Sullivan, 1993). Another important element epideictic rhetoric is its long term goals. "Epideictic speeches are given by leaders in order to make the populace more amenable to later arguments on more focused topics" (Condit, 1985, p. 286). Allowing for an organization to address current future issues on the subject at hand and establishes a frame of reference for organizations narration on the topic in the future.

The function of epideictic is not only to lay praise or blame, but to help to create a platform for organizational rhetoric from present and future actions (Beale, 1978). It allows for the organization to create rhetoric that excludes or includes events or persons. The inclusion and exclusion within MLB rhetoric allows for the organization to set the tone in how it wants to be viewed by the public. The practice of epideictic rhetoric allows for them to present themselves as a virtuous individual (Hauser, 1999) or in the case of MLB organization. Epideictic rhetoric can present ethical problems in that its function can be abused by a speaker to get audience approval (1999). The story presented can be distorted to be a means to an end.

Metanarration

Metanarration is sequence of events that allows for an organization to structure a message, idea, or occurrence to help regain trust of an audience or control of the story. The narration of the event is a multiple step process. The incident or event is taken in by the audience, if it is seen as a failure, the organization constructs a narrative of the events or incident and releases it through the media, and then the media narrated the events and constructs what has taken place. (Venette,

Sellnow, & Lang, 2003). The story in the media is viewed as the principal way the audience understands the event or incident. From this point the organization decides if the wish to respond to the story as it is constructed by the media. If the organization does not respond to the media constructed narrative then they may respond with denial, evasion of responsibility, reducing the offensiveness of the act, correcting the wrong, or mortification (Benoit, 1995). If the organization disagrees with the story they then reconstruct the story by restructuring the facts and filling information gaps. The organization then responds to newly created second narrative.

The metanarrative allows for the speaker to edit the story until it is accepted by an audience. The narration is created by the speaker and is presented to the audience. If the audience challenges the story the speaker then alters the story and resubmits the story to the audience. This cycle of altering the story continues until the story is found acceptable by the audience. The MLB story of dealing with Bonds and steroid issue in the summer of 2007 challenged the wholesome image of baseball as America's pastime a game for the family to enjoy.

Not only do organizations create rhetoric for an audience, but the rhetoric is rejected by the audience then a secondary rhetoric is created to answer audience concerns. If an organization does not like the explanation of events, the organization tries to re-explain the story. In the re-explanation of the story the organization does not deny significant facts of the occurrence. It can be considered "an effort to protect their [an organizations] image or reputation, organizations often attempt to change the primary narrative, not negating the original story, but rather by retelling the story in a more favorable way" (Venette, Sellnow, & Lang, 2003, p. 220). Venette et al. (2003) argue that organizations use a metanarration to reconstruct their original rhetoric when dealing with a crisis or issue.

Metanarratives are an important asset as they allow organizations the ability to reshape perceptions outside the group. The main goal of the metanarrative is that it "provides a deeper understanding of how narrative functions in organizational practice and how stories are reconstructed to fit organizational plans and purposes" (Venette, Sellnow, & Lang, 2003, p. 220). This has been explored from the public relations aspect by Bardhan (2003), politically by Thomas (2007), and rhetorically investigated through memorials by Blair et al. (1991).

According to Venette et al. metanarration is derived from Fisher's narrative paradigm (2003). The rationale behind Fisher's (1984) narrative perception is that the world is a set of stories and individuals choose and then re-create a story to meet their lives. Individuals thus determine how logical the narrative is by how coherent it is. The MLB story, and the image it likes to portray, is that it is baseball is Americas' pastime, but the steroid scandals, Mitchell report, and the Congressional hearings have forced MLB to answer concerns from fans and the media. As an organization, the rhetoric of MLB can be seen as failing so it has been trying to recreate its image and identity through metanarratives.

MLB Use of Metanarration and Response

Baseball's overall image has presented itself as America's pastime by sports journalists since the mid-nineteenth century (Anderson, 2001). The current controversy of steroid usage amongst its players is being compared to the Black Sox scandal of 1919 (Verna, 2007). During what has been dubbed "the steroid era," and heightened by Barry Bonds chasing and breaking the Hank Aarons home run record. MLB has been pressed to answer the allegations that the game and some of its records are tainted. Suspicion of steroid use started in 1998 when Mark McGwire broke the single season home run record held by Roger Maris the same year. McGuire admitting to using androstenedione after it was found in his locker (Heath, 2005). This is when the media and public started to suspect the integrity of the players and of MLB.

1998 was the season that fans started coming back to the game after the 1994 strike, because of the homerun race between Mark McGwire and Sammy Sosa. This helped bring back the casual fan (Cunningham, 2008; Deford, 2007). So, MLB focused on the bottom line of attendance and revenue records (Cunningham, 2008). MLB's concern is on not on steroid use, but fans and advertisers interested in the game.

Selig had to start addressing the issue in 2004 when President Bush requested that professional sports organizations examine their drug testing policies in his State of the Union Address (Associated Press, 2004). John Walters, the director of the White House's National Drug Control Policy, stated that "The president has had a personal involvement with Major League Baseball, and he's particularly concerned that it's bad for players, it's bad for the sport, it's bad for

young people and he's calling for them to fix it" (as cited by Associated Press, 2004, para. 24). The president's plea furthered the discussion of steroid use in professional sports amongst the public and the media.

Steroid allegations continued and in 2005 the House Government Reform Committee discussed the issue of steroid use with current and past players. At the hearing there were several notable moments. Mark McGuire, Sammy Sosa, and Rafael Palmeiro all denied or did not comment on using steroids. Jose Canseco also testified and stated that steroid usage was common during his playing days (Barrett, 2005). The hearings put MLB and its steroid policy under pressure. Selig's reaction to the hearings was that there is no room for steroid use in MLB and that anyone caught using them will be suspended (2005).

Allegations of ballplayers usage was also spotlighted by Jose Canseco's book *Juiced* which named players who used steroid. In response to the book, Selig stated "it's just absolutely sheer nonsense. And I have been as intimately involved in this sport as any person on the face of the earth. And that just is not so" (As cited by Bloom, 2005, para. 4). Selig went on to say on the subject that, "I'm very sensitive about this subject, but I think the sport has adjusted. We've done everything we can do for now" (as cited by Bloom, 2005, para. 16).

Over the past couple of years, MLB has been defending itself and its drug testing policy and knowledge of steroid usage amongst players. To defend the honor of league and the game it enacted with the Players Association to ban the use of steroids. During this time Bonds was creeping towards breaking the home run record and in August 2007 Aaron's record of 755 was surpassed. This record breaking event was the cause of much controversy, because "Selig has been troubled by Bonds' march to the record and torn about the role that he has played in that quest" (Brennan, 2007, para. 5). Bonds had long been suspected of being a steroid user (Sheinin, 2007). Baseball steroid testing policy was not enacted until 2004, and many in the media and in the public blame Selig for the tardiness.

Speculation occurred for months, if Selig would attend Bonds' record breaking home run 755. He avoided questions from reporters when the issue came up at press conferences (Associate Press, 2007a). Selig did show up, but stated that he would not participate in any celebration of this record breaking moment. When the home run was hit he had to be coerced into standing up, though he kept his hands in his

pockets the whole time (Smith, 2007b). Selig also chose not to meet with Bonds after the game to congratulate Bonds for his accomplishment, but did talk to him on the telephone (Associated Press, 2007b). Selig did release a statement after the game stating “I congratulate Barry Bonds for establishing a new career home run record. Barry’s achievement is noteworthy and remarkable” (mlb.com, 2007, para. 3). Paralleling Selig’s reserved congratulations, the detachment between MLB and Bonds when he broke the record could be seen at the post game press conference. The backdrop for Bonds was the San Francisco Giants team logos this is in comparison to backdrop for McGwire which was MLB logos (Associated Press, 2007b). As an organization, MLB has made it clear that it wants to separate itself from Bonds and his accomplishments amongst the steroid allegations that have surrounded the sport and its players over the past several years.

More pressure has been placed upon MLB when the Mitchell report came out in December 2007. This investigation which took a year and half to compile by former U.S. Senator George Mitchell scrutinized steroid use by MLB players and the league’s steroid policy and policing. The report concluded by stating that over the past twenty years the league and its players were responsible for the steroid era in baseball (espn.com, 2007). After the Mitchell report Congress had hearings in January 2008 to question MLB’s steroid era and policies. Selig’s response at these hearings was that accountability needs to be taken on the issue and that it starts with the commissioner (Fendrich, 2008a). At the hearings, Selig admitted that the league’s lack of response to the steroid problem exacerbated the issue (Bryant, 2008). Bonds was mentioned at the hearings and Selig’s response was that the Giants should have voiced their suspicion of steroid usage to the league (Fendrich, 2008b). Selig focused the problem on the individual organizations and players for informing the league of potential steroid use, thus, shifting the steroid problem from the MLB, to the teams and players. The metanarration of the MLB has shifted in recent months from focusing on Bonds to Roger Clemens, Andy Pettite, and other popular players. MLB has been working hard to create a narrative to reconstruct its public image over last 5 years due to congressional hearings that took place in early 2008 and the Mitchell report and mainstream and alternative media outlets.

Conclusion and Implications

As the spokesperson for the MLB, Selig has worked hard over the years to construct baseball's image as America's pastime. The steroid controversy is not the first time that that MLB has had to deal and try to regain the public's confidence about the integrity of the game. The summer of 2007 brought the steroid controversy to the forefront, because of allegations made against Bonds. MLB's ignoring of the steroid problem for several years forced Selig to respond to the issue by authorizing the Mitchell report and testifying to congress that the league's drug policy has helped rid the game of steroid usage.

When Selig has had to deal with Bonds' record breaking season, Selig has made it clear with his words and actions that he was not happy about Aaron's record being broke under a cloud of suspicion. There were no photo opportunities with the commissioner and Bonds, he ignored questions from the press asking if he would attend the game to view the record breaking moment, had to be goaded into standing up, did not applaud the after the home run, and released a short, terse statement about the moment. Selig's actions were painted as not only a major problem, but as the poster child for the steroid issue and minimized the praise from MLB towards Bond's accomplishments.

Selig being the face of MLB, made his actions and words were diminish Bonds and his accomplishments as much as possible. The commissioner would have rather not dealt with Bonds, but there was pressure from the press and the public to see how he reacted. The actions of the MLB created as much distance as it could from Bonds, because of the steroid allegations. The steroid era is something that MLB would like to forget as soon as possible through its rhetoric Selig tried to create distance from Bonds and his accomplishments in the 2007 season. Embracing Bonds would mean that MLB is embracing the steroid era like it had done in the past. In the summer of 2007, Bonds was made the scapegoat and not part of MLB's America's pastime image. Selig's later rhetoric on the issue of steroids shifts blame to the teams and players. MLB presents steroid use as an issue that should have been handled at the local level. Selig's rhetoric portrays one that the steroid problem is one the commissioner should have to deal with. The blame for Selig having to deal with Bonds should have been dealt with by the San Frisco Giants.

The organizational rhetoric of the players' union was not examined, future research could examine it from that organizational perspective and how MLB spun the Bonds situation. Other questions such as race, the fans, culture, and Bonds' perspective were not examined. Altering the perspective examined changes how the situation could be viewed and provides a fuller understanding of the issue. MLB has struggled with finding a narrative that the public finds acceptable to explain steroids and how it has altered the game. Investigating this instance helps create an understanding of how organizations must also deal with its past so that it must move on forward to the future.

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**Hierarchies Flip:
The Departed wins, *Smith* Loses**
Van Roberts & Mark Goodman

Abstract

Warner Brothers introduced Smith, a crime drama which promised to show crime from the perspective of both the cops and the bad guys. By the third episode, the CBS audience abandoned the show and so did the network. A Burkean analysis indicates that Smith failed because it flipped ideological hierarchies. However, Warner Brothers, the producer, may have been the winner anyway.

The television show with the ideological twist failed in three weeks. The movie relying on the same ideological proposition was successful at the box office. The fate of the television show *Smith* and the movie *The Departed* shows the economic power of a cross platform approach to marketing by Warner Brothers. From a different perspective, the success of *The Departed* and the failure of *Smith* is evidence of the power of ideology to create a mass media audience.

Antonio Gramsci theorized the power of the mass media to generate support for the dominant ideology. The media creates the illusions of a lifestyle as being the norm for the cultural order, explains Gramsci (1971). That lifestyle is achievable through the development of consumptive power (12). The power to participate as consumers in the dominant ideology of American culture gives people a sense of class consciousness (Dines and Humez 1995; Butsch 1995; Sholle 1988; Newcomb and Hirsch 2000; Gitlin 2000; Lull 2003). As a result, explains Gramsci, people create "particular alliances," reflecting their position in the capitalist structure (1992, 126).

These consumptive alliances become the basis for the development of audiences for particular television shows or films, argues media theorist John Fisk. In effect, people are attracted to television shows, which present ideological positions which agree with their ideological positions. Similarly, people tend to make purchases based upon their ideological positions. Stuart Hall continues the line of logic

developed by Fiske. Successful shows have to develop an ideological following, argues Hall. An ideological following is an indication that the signifiers of the producers of the mediated text generally share a meaning with the signifieds of the receivers decoding the program.

Kenneth Burke was among the first communication scholars to argue the power of ideology to shape how people think. "An 'ideology' is like a god coming down to earth, where it will inhabit a place pervaded by its presence," writes Burke (1966, p. 6). Ideologies create hierarchies on which societies are ordered. The positions preferred within the culture are at the top of the hierarchy while the positions in opposition are at the bottom of the hierarchies. The positions at the top of the order are associated with "god terms" and the positions at the bottom of the hierarchies are assigned negative language (1966, p. 378).

When a television script or a film conforms to the hierarchy, then the good guys defeat the bad guys because the good guys present the proper behaviors and values. John Wayne is the sheriff (a god term), wears the white hat, treats women properly, protects the innocent, and preserves law and order. For his proper conduct, Wayne receives the respect of other men, wins the heart of the prettiest woman, and gains a position of power in the society.

The bad guys wear black hats, mistreat women, kill innocent people, and destroy the social order. They end up dead or in jail. But as Burke points out, people are fascinated by crime because it represents a world that most people do not understand. The other side of the hierarchy creates a mystery, explains Burke (1966, p. 15). By learning about crime and criminals, people seek to gain linguistic control over crime. The ability to name something removes the mystery from the behavior, restoring the sense of order to the disorder of criminal behavior. Crime makes for a good story line, continues Burke, because "antithesis is an exceptionally effective rhetorical device" (1966, p. 19). However, the existence of the hierarchy always implies the ability to "reverse the order" of the hierarchies, writes Burke (1969, p. 140). Evil would then triumph over good. The privileges of the top of the hierarchy go to the people at the bottom of the hierarchy, explains Burke (1969, p. 141). If the goal is to find scapegoats (1966, p. 19) among the people in power in the dominant culture, then reversing hierarchies reveals how the powerful misuse authority to create a corrupt system.

The creators of *Smith*, intentionally or not, swung a Burkean sword, hoping to draw an audience attracted to the mystery of the perfect crime being investigated by the expertise of the perfect crime fighters—the FBI. CBS promised a series in which both ends of the hierarchy were placed in competition. Ray Liotta would lead a gang of high end robbers; Chris Bauer would direct an elite FBI squad in pursuit of the criminals nicknamed “Smith.” *Smith* was not a binary opposition of good versus evil, but an ideological dialogue between good and of evil.

Our content analysis of the three episodes of *Smith* explains why this plot strategy failed to build a television audience. However, this paper goes beyond the plot to consider the economies behind the decisions made by Warner Brothers to produce a series based on a Burkean sword act. Playing with hierarchies and ideology was unsuccessful as a television plot, but may have helped build an audience for *The Departed*. This movie advertised during the first **three weeks** of the series before opening at box offices. From a marketing perspective, the audience for *Smith* and for *The Departed* were likely to be ideologically similar. *The Departed* also created a Burkean dialogue between the hierarchies and ideology of good and evil, the difference being that the movie was successful. *The Departed*, the story of a policeman who infiltrates his Boston neighborhood crime operation, won Academy Awards for best movie and best director. The movie grossed \$132 million at the box office (<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0407887/business>) before going DVD.

In our paper, we will explore the dialogue between good and evil in *Smith* and *The Departed*. We will explain the failure of one and the success of the other from ideological and Burkean theoretical frames. Our discussion will explore the narrative implications. As Burke writes, "The drama, more than any other form, must never lose sight of its audience: here the failure to satisfy the proper requirements is most disastrous" (1968, p. 37).

Smith

The short-lived dramatic crime caper series *Smith* debuted September 19, 2006, as a part of CBS-TV's prime time Tuesday night line-up after *NCIS* and *The Unit*. This offbeat series cast *Goodfellas* actor Ray Liotta as an unscrupulous criminal mastermind behind a gang

of professional crooks that perform carefully orchestrated high stakes crimes. Subsequently, CBS-TV aired the second and third episodes of this continuously plotted drama on September 26 and October 3rd before the network axed the series for low Nielson ratings. Before CBS-TV canceled *Smith*, producer John Wells had lensed four more episodes that later became available for viewers to download. This analysis, however, confines itself to the first three, aired episodes.

Smith, however, does not qualify as the first time that a prime time network had launched a series from the perspective of hoodlums. Previously, NBC-TV had broken ground with *Heist*, an amoral criminal series that debuted on March 22, 2006, and survived for seven episodes before network executives scuttled it. FX Network unveiled a similar program titled *Thief* on March 26, 2006, and *Thief* ran for six episodes before it met a similar fate. Like *Smith*, *Heist* and *Thief* both told stories from the standpoint of the lawbreakers. Moreover, these wrongdoers were neither reformed individuals working for law enforcement as a way to keep from serving prison sentences in the tradition of ABC-TV's *It Takes A Thief* (65 episodes between 1968 and 1970) nor a variation on the theme like either CBS-TV's *Switch* (68 episodes between 1975 and 1978) where an ex-cop and an ex-con pooled their dubious talents to run a detective agency. Later came ABC-TV's *Hardcastle and McCormick* (67 episodes between 1983 and 1986) where a retired judge teamed up with a paroled convict to pursue criminals and solve unsolved crimes. What distinguishes *Smith* from *Heist* and *Thief* is that CBS-TV pulled the plug on its series even more quickly than NBC-TV or FX did on their respective shows. Furthermore, unlike either NBC-TV or FX, CBS-TV had acquired a reputation for itself as the law and order network since 2000 with shows such as *NCIS*, *CSI*, *CSI-Miami*, *CSI-New York*, *Criminal Minds*, *Cold Case*, *Numbers*, and *Without A Trace*.

In all likelihood, the cancellation of *Smith* must have been a foregone conclusion since the show appeared to be living on borrowed time from the outset. A content analysis of this daring, unusual series and the constraints that television as a medium imposes on narrative development illustrate why *Smith* never had a realistic chance to develop into a long-running series. A number of reasons account for its demise.

First, *Smith* focused on a faction of criminals who showed little remorse for their actions. Traditionally, in films and television shows, the criminal is synonymous with the villain. Ironically, the felons in

Smith are the protagonists rather than antagonists. Consequently, since audiences are skewed to sympathize with the protagonists in a television show, viewers must have found themselves experiencing some cognitive dissonance. Indeed, this ambivalence on the part of audiences may be reflected perhaps in the Neilson ratings that indicated that the program lost a percentage of its audience during the second half-hour. Moreover, *Smith* encouraged them to identify and empathize with protagonists who qualified more as villains than heroes. Charlie (Iranian actress Shohreh Aghdashloo) commissioned high-end crimes. Bobby Stevens (Ray Liotta) plotted the robberies down to the smallest detail. Bobby's crew consisted of a paroled convict Tom (Jonny Lee Miller), a sociopath, Jeff (Simon Baker), who was prepared to steal from or kill anybody without a qualm; a scheming slut, Annie (Amy Smart), who relied not only on her brains and beauty to commit crimes for Bobby but also for herself; the wheel man, Joe (Franky G), who accommodated the crew's automotive needs, and gambling addict Shawn (Mike Doyle), an explosives expert over his head in debt with a loan shark.

A second reason for the demise was that *Smith* departed drastically from CBS's programming formula. The message of the Tiffany network's law and order shows could be summarized simply: "Crime does not pay." This conservative ideology clashed with the premise of *Smith*. Instead, crime pays in big bucks, sizzling sex, and excitement galore. Only one gang member, Shawn--primarily a supporting character--died in the first episode. Shawn's death added a dose of realism to the premier episode because it shows that nothing is perfect in the world of *Smith*.

Conversely, *Smith* depicts law enforcement at its nadir. Despite the vast resources at its disposal as one of the world's foremost crime fighting organizations, the Federal Bureau of Investigation makes little progress in their efforts to identify the anonymous criminal genius that they have designated as *Smith* though they do generate several marginal leads about Annie. At best, the Federal agents function as a Greek chorus that provides expository information about the criminals' exploits; otherwise, law and order proves wholly ineffectual.

Smith depicts FBI Agent Dodd (Chris Bauer) and his fellow agents as second string supporting characters that lack both the charisma and good fortune of the protagonists. Dodd is balding, overweight, and dull, hardly the type of character to generate fan enthusiasm. Further, the

FBI received little airtime, although there is a promise that later episodes will bring them to the forefront. Dodd's only contribution to the show is to name Bobby Stevens character as "Smith." In the first episode when the FBI investigated the museum heist, Dodd singled out this character as the focus of their investigation.

This ideological clash between law and order shows and a crime show is emphasized as the audience began the evening with CBS watching *NCIS* and *The Unit*. Presumably, CBS figured the middle-aged male audience for the other two shows would want to switch from fighting the bad guys to joining the bad guys.

Ironically, the criminals in *Smith* have more to fear from their own rivals in the underworld. By episode three, a dead criminal's loan shark Big Art Jackson (William Lucking) begins to create some anxiety in the gang. The more curious that Jackson grows about the deceased gang member, the more that he interferes with the protagonists and their criminal activities. Meanwhile, a thuggish ethnic family member came out of the woodwork in the second episode to wreck revenge of the guy—Jeff—who murdered his brother on the seashore. Ultimately, criminals and ordinary citizens wind up getting closer to the crime crew than the FBI.

Third, audience demographics inevitably contributed to downfall of "Smith." Stereotypically, prime time female characters are lovers, mothers, or occasionally the evil woman. The misogyny in *Smith*, however, is unmistakable. The women are depicted as either untrustworthy or openly wanton in their lack of respect either for the law or lawful institutions. At the same time, these women are independent, determined, and ruthless.

Bobby's wife Hope suspects that her husband is up to something bad, although she never comes out and accuses him of skullduggery. She inquires constantly but without fanfare about Bobby's work, his out-of-town trips for a cup manufacturing firm, and eventually tries to shadow him through traffic without arousing his suspicion. Ironically, Hope is the one out on parole, although it remains unclear if Bobby was connected to the circumstances. Nevertheless, as suspicious as Hope is about her husband, she confides in nobody else her fears that Bobby is up to no good. All she wants is to start their lives over again and live a quiet peaceful existence in the suburbs that won't force them to uproot their family and send them off to someplace else.

Meanwhile, Annie makes Hope look like a proverbial Girl Scout with her own infamous activities. She sleeps around with anybody who can advance her monetary needs and pays off another Las Vegas dancer for credit card information about big spenders. Eventually, she sets up a daring nighttime credit card robbery with Jeff and Tom to steal information from a credit card company. Tom and she had a prior relationship that both Bobby and Jeff have to remind Tom that she was not responsible for his getting apprehended and sent to jail. Similarly, when Agent Dodd and his people try to pry information about Annie out of an African-American prison inmate, the inmate refuses to divulge anything because he has his own ideas about revenge on Annie when he gets out of stir.

Shawn's wife Macy (Valarie Rae Miller) is the third example of women in *Smith*. Compared with both Hope and Annie, Macy is a saint, except that she has her own shortcomings, too, that don't put her in such a saintly light. She constantly nags Joe about Shawn's mysterious whereabouts and then she sleeps with Joe. Finally, as there is Charlie, about whom we know the least. She manipulates Bobby into committing more capers and she is prepared to protect him against his boss who wants to fire him because of his mysterious activities.

These women are strong, they control their own sexual behavior, and they are dangerous. Not one of them meets the expectation of lover or mother.

The fourth reason for the demise of *Smith* was that retained its criminal intensity. The series contained little comic relief. In fact, what little comedy that the show generated was extremely dry. During the first episode, before they are about to leave for Pittsburgh to carry out an art theft, Tom reveals to his cohorts that his parole officer has placed an ankle monitor on him to keep track of his activities. Nevertheless, Shawn manages to remove the monitor without triggering its alarm and they affix it to a house cat that Jeff took from a woman with whom he had a one-night stand.

To CBS' credit, the network may have been trying something unique with *Smith*. The trailers promised a program in which the audience would view the crime from both the perspective of the criminal gang as well as the FBI (See Guest 2006, Barnhart 2006, Gilbert 2006.) The lack of development of the FBI characters in the first three episodes meant this did not occur.

The program's strength was its considerable sophistication in playing with the good versus evil ideology. The story line seemed to want the audience to identify primarily with Bobby and Hope. These are two people who we see as a family working hard to raise their children and struggling to overcome financial woes. This is the good. Bobby's solution is to commit crimes without any sense of guilt or remorse. This is the bad. However, Jeff and Annie are genuinely bad, which makes Bobby out as sort of the hero for the good since he keeps them controlled. The FBI should be the heroes in a contest with the evil of the bad guys. But, the inept FBI cannot keep up with Bobby's criminal genius. So, the FBI is stupid and Bobby is smart. These twists and turns in ideology and heroes complicate the ability of the viewers to find a comfortable chair from which to understand the show. While some viewers may have liked these twists, apparently most people did not. *Smith's* ratings consistently dropped in the second half hour. Like *Heist* and *Thief*, *Smith* failed to cement an audience and convince CBS-TV that it was worth saving. *Smith* aligned the sympathies of the audiences with criminals, some of whom were incredibly amoral and definitely not role models while it alienated females in its depiction of duplicitous women.

The Departed

The premiere episode of *Smith* ran just before the Warner Brothers crime drama *The Departed* opened at theaters. Indeed, CBS-TV advertised the first episode as being presented with limited commercial interruption by *The Departed*. The audience demographics for *Smith* and *The Departed* matched. *Smith* was produced by Warner Brothers. This hints at an interesting idea. By hyping *Smith*, Warner Brothers could attract an audience to which it intended to advertise *The Departed*. If *The Departed* attracted many of the television viewers to the theater, then *Smith* would be a financial success for Warner Brothers. If *Smith* survived in the ratings, so much the better for the studio.

So, what we may have here is a television show that Warner Brothers created to fail. Warner Brothers drew the male demographics to the television with its narcissistic values and in-your-face sexuality so the studio could convince those same people to go to the movie theater to see *The Departed*.

This Martin Scorsese film won four Oscars with a cast of stars: Leonardo DiCaprio, Matt Damon, Jack Nicholson, and Martin Sheen. The film opened October 8, 2006, and made \$26 million the first weekend. The star power created the consumptive ideology in the minds of America public, particularly with an advertising budget of \$42 million (<http://www.the-numbers.com/movies/2006/DPRTD.php>).

The key to the story line was the inside look at the twin oppositions of the dominant ideology—the inner workings of the police and the plots of organized crime. Damon infiltrates the mob for the state police; DiCaprio becomes an informer for the mob by joining the state police. The tension of the movie pulsates around the circle closing around Damon and DiCaprio as each suspects the other of being the double agent.

The film gives the audience the voyeur position from which to watch violence from the safety of the cultural hierarchy. In real life, the audience sits in the middle of the cultural hierarchy, neither violent nor victims of violence. *The Departed* assumes the audience places the police are at the top of the cultural hierarchy and the mob at the bottom. However, the film twists these polar positions as the police use violence to maintain order and the mob relies on violence to retain control. Good looks like evil; evil acts like good. DiCaprio is the good guy who is the bad guy; Damon is the bad guy who really is the cop. Ideological positionings have inconstant and arbitrary meanings; there are no cultural values except those imposed by the violent wills of men. DiCaprio is discovered first and is shot dead, but the film ends with Damon's assassination. The ideological truth was that both men were too dangerous to the cops and the mob to be allowed to survive.

Conclusion

Warner Brothers sought to create an audience for a new movie, *The Departed*. They spent \$42 million on advertising to convince the target audience for the movie that this is a film they wanted to see. Warner Brothers hired some big names to make the movie a reality and to attract people to the theater. However, the commercial value of the film depended upon the quality of its ideological presentation. From the perspective of Gramsci, Fiske and Hall, the film's commercial value was directly impacted by this ideological presentation. The capitalistic

structure of Warner Brothers gave the capitalistic corporation a multiple media platform from which to promote the film.

Smith failed so *The Departed* could succeed. Warner Brothers created a television show with an ideological twist. Warner Brothers promoted the reformulated ideology to build an audience for the first three weeks of *Smith*. Warner Brothers promised a new crime show for a new angle. In effect, *Smith* reversed the cultural hierarchies and created cultural meanings which alienated a conventional, Tuesday night audience. However, the television show was part of a marketing strategy that successfully generated an audience for *The Departed*, an R-rated movie with its own ideological identity crisis. The ideological strategies that initially attracted an audience to *Smith* alienated them from television, but induced them to the movie theater.

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Educational Reform and Global Competitiveness

Speech by Governor Bob Holden

Given at the Cooperating School District Spring Conference 2009

Westview Middle School, Riverview Gardens School District

St. Louis, Missouri

April 30, 2009

Before I begin I would like to again acknowledge the recipients of the teacher scholarships and the Missouri Gold Star School winners. Congratulations to each and every one of you. I also want to extend a personal thank you to all of the school board members, superintendents, school administrators, and community leaders who have made the commitment to be here this evening. I appreciate your dedication to serving your community, and investing time and energy into your districts, your communities, and our future generation of young people.

I want to start out by stating that I am optimistic about our future. The changes that I have seen in our education system, from the time I was a first grader in a one room school house in Birch Tree, Missouri, through my term as Treasurer, where we started the Dollars & Sense Program and later helped pass the MOST legislation, and later Governor, when I fought for increased funding for education, character education, math academy, National Board Certification and School Report Cards, the changes have been remarkable. All of the issues I will touch on this evening can be addressed and be solved. We have redesigned our education system in the past, we have added grades, established a co-ed classroom, and desegregated. It is not an impossible task. We need to understand our nation's history, but realize our current students will be entering a new and more complex world. China has become more and more dominant in the international arena, for every "A" student we have in the United States, China has 1,200. It is not viable to compete with them on quantitative levels due to their massive population, but we must compete by matching if not exceeding the quality of education we provide our youth. If we can prepare our children to face a globalized world, we can lead our cities, state, region and country to its greatest days in the new age of globalism. No greater opportunity can be bestowed on the next generation than to prepare them

for success when they assume the mantle of leadership for their generation.

The Underperformance of Our Educational System is Solvable

The most important questions concerning education should be: “Is this in the best interest of the students?” The answer to this simple question should be our guide when debating educational improvements. We as a nation, region, state and community are facing two parallel crises, one being education quality and the second a weakening economy, both in which the solutions are interwoven. The first crisis being a weakened national economy brought on by globalization. The second crisis is an educational system that was developed for a different time and a different economy, and is failing to keep pace with the rest of the world.

Let me stress that time and circumstances are not on our side, the world is not waiting for us. We must change and adapt or watch our influence, power, prestige, and leadership continue to diminish in the marketplace, seats of governments, and in world commerce. Charismatic leadership and national education crisis reports will not halt our weakening influence in the world unless we are willing to change, make some tough decisions and support visionary leaders at all levels of our society, who are willing to provide the leadership necessary for our success.

Let me address our economic situation first. In the past our economy, and the success of our nation, was based on each region utilizing its people in agriculture and manufacturing and in the most productive way possible. With each generation, advancing technologies led to greater benefits, but also the use of fewer people to produce more goods. The days of mass production and assembly line manufacturing being the foundation for our country’s wealth are at their end.

In today’s global environment we have two competing forces working against each other, people versus technology, but for the first time on a global scale. As Thomas Friedman has said, “the world is flat. No society or culture is protected from the globalization process.”

For over 200 years, our economy relied on manpower for our agricultural and manufacturing dominance, while being protected from undue foreign influence. Due to our abundant national resources,

geography, strong work ethic, our cultural heritage, a transforming educational system, and protectionist policies, we were able to slowly develop and later dominate global geopolitics and the global economy as a world power. In particular the Midwest thrived in this atmosphere. We became the breadbasket and manufacturing hub for the world. All of our institutions from governing to education evolved during this time period. But beginning in the 1960s we have witnessed the most rapid changes in history.

Speaking at the Missouri Dropout Prevention Summit last week, Bob Wise, Former colleague, West Virginia Governor and current President of the Alliance for Excellent Education, shared with me a very telling statistic, “the time American workers spend doing routine manual tasks and routine cognitive tasks has declined significantly since the 1960s as automation and computers have taken over their responsibilities.” There is more technology in a modern car than was used to put the first man on the moon. Over this same period, the time workers spend performing high-level cognitive tasks has dramatically increased, and in general, jobs are demanding much higher skill levels.

A recent report published by Partnership for 21st Century Skills stated, “in 1967, the production of material goods and delivery of material services accounted for nearly 54% of the country’s output. By 1997, the production of information products and the delivery of information services accounted for 63% of the country’s output. Between 1995 and 2005 alone, the US lost 3 million more manufacturing jobs and created 17 million more service sector jobs. You can see the shift that is occurring. Today, more than 75% of all jobs in the US are in the service sector of our economy.

Andrew Schleicher, a leading expert on education reform has stated, “our world economic advantage was due to our ‘first-mover advantage’, which the US gained after WWII by massively increasing educational investments. Today, the US risks being left behind in quantity terms, but more recently in quality terms.” He summed up his thoughts about America’s future, “There is no place to hide”.

In prior generations, if an individual did not have the educational skills needed to lead a business, there were jobs available on the farm or in a factory. If an individual had a good work ethic, the help of unions or family ties could provide them with a middle class living. When the individuals could not fit into this society, they became our failures being

housed in our prisons. Then we passed “3 strikes and you’re out” laws and built more prisons. As our prison population continued to increase, we built more prisons and added geriatric wards to take care of our aging prison population. Our corrections system costs the taxpayer \$23,000 per year per prisoner, but we are only paying \$9,500 to educate a child. Are we spending our tax money wisely? Do we have the education system for the 21st century? I do not think so, and this is why.

In the 1960s, the United States was ranked number 1 in terms of the number of individuals who had successfully completed high school or the equivalent qualifications. But by the 1990s we were ranked 13th. We are still making progress, but the facts are that other nations are making much faster progress. Korea for example, was ranked 27th in the 1960s in percentage of the population with a high school degree or the equivalent, today they rank #1.

Fareed Zakaria has said these results are defined less by American decline than by the “rise of the rest”. New York Times columnist David Brook states that, “America’s lead over its economic rivals has been entirely forfeited. With many nations surging ahead in school attainment ...our skill slowdown is the biggest issue facing the country”.

One of the biggest hurdles we must overcome is the perception that all we have to do is be better than our neighboring schools, communities or states. No longer is it relevant to compare our drop out rates or test scores with those in our neighboring communities, states or region. We must compare and compete in a global community, and the indicators suggest that we are no longer leading the industrialized world in high school graduation rates or in key academic subject areas. We must accept and adopt a more global outlook.

In the early 1960s, the United States produced the highest high school completion rate among the Organization for Economics Cooperation and Development members, or the OECD. By 2005, we had slipped to 18th out of 23rd among OECD members with available data. Post secondary graduation rates aren’t any better, with the United States slipping from 2nd to 15th among the same group of nations.

We are losing 7,000 young people everyday - they are dropping out of school. We lose 100 students in Missouri every day. Put another way, 3 out of 10 students will never graduate from high school. I was visiting with Greg Wendt, a friend of mine who is on the National Board

for Teach for America; he was telling me “only 1 in 10 students in low income communities will graduate from college”. 12% of our high schools (or 1 school in every 8) are labeled ‘drop-out factories’. We have 31 in Missouri: 11 in the St. Louis area, 7 in the Kansas City area, 6 in Southeast Missouri, 4 in the Southwest, and 3 additional schools located in rural Missouri. It is estimated that the drop-outs from the class of 2008 will cost the US economy \$391 billion dollars over their lifetime. With a High School diploma and a post-secondary experience, we could move a cost to revenue – from a tax user to a tax payer. Each percentage point saves the taxpayers billions of dollars.

That is the dropout data, but what about the other third of the students who are receiving a diploma, which says they are prepared to go into the work place, or attend one of our colleges or universities? Our failures go beyond the 7,000 students that drop out each day; it is the quality of education the other 7 out of 10 students are receiving. One-third drop out, One-third aren’t qualified, that is 6 out of every 10 students – that is not success.

I mentioned the OECD data earlier; the organization is financed by the 30 industrialized democracies together with additional partner countries and economies that make up almost 90% of the world’s economy. These countries take part in the PISA assessment, or the Program for International Student Assessment. It is the most widely accepted global student achievement testing program. They assess the sort of skills that are increasingly necessary in our globalized and digitized world, and will be critical to our success in the future. These skills help train individuals to apply what one has learned to solve unfamiliar problems, and communicate those solutions. We can’t say this does not affect us, 1 in 5 jobs in the United States are already tied to the international economy; and those numbers are increasing every day.

To perform well on the PISA, students must be able to not only recall the facts, but must be able to apply their knowledge of math, reading, science, to solve problems in unfamiliar settings. Let’s think of this as a sports competition:

- *Basketball is reading* – We rank 15th out of 27th in basketball competitions. Studies have shown that PISA reading scores were a better predictor of later success than grades given by classroom teachers.

- *Swimming is science* - We rank 21st out of 27 in swimming. Many believe sciences are the foundation for our 21st century economy and our survival.
- *Rowing is Problem Solving* – We rank 24 out of 27 in rowing.
- *The Triathlon is Math* – We rank 25 out of 27 in the triathlon.

I see no gold, silver or bronze in the numbers. In fact, I wonder how many of these coaches would be retained. Independent studies have confirmed that the skills measured by the PISA exams directly correlate with success later in life.

It is time to put everything on the table. No sacred cows – no excuses. I can show you success or failure in every set of circumstances but that doesn't matter.

We must have success; and we must be willing to experiment and change until we find success. In fact, if you look around the country and around the world, you can find success on every continent and in every set of circumstances.

In a recent conversation I had with Bob Wise he said, “we must invest in a wholesale rethinking of the high school experience itself.” That is where we are finding the greatest drop off in student performance. I might add we need substantial work at the middle school levels as well. A colleague of mine, Former North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt, who was one of the early leaders in education reform, was talking with me about education the other day and he stressed, “We must make our public schools places of learning. We need to create national and world class standards that are clearer and higher than state-by-state standards we now have. Today our students choose from 286 different math courses and nearly 50 varieties of algebra.” Recently, the National Association of Secondary School Principals identified breakthrough high schools. In each of the schools these elements were found:

- A personalized environment
- Collaboration
- Reform curriculum
- And effective leadership

During my years as State Treasurer, later as Governor and now my travel, as Vice Chairman of the Midwest U.S. China Association, and my work with the Chicago Institute for Global Affairs, I have had the opportunity to listen to many experts on education reform, see real success being achieved in all kinds of classrooms, and see the excitement in the eyes of young people who have been challenged, responded to these challenges, and enjoyed success. Here are some of my thoughts I hope you will consider:

- If you haven't already, put an international program in your school from pre-K to the senior year. When I made my first trip to China as your Governor, my family and I visited an elementary school educating 8,000 students. All spoke excellent English, and our sons were very impressed.

Three years ago, I was invited to speak to a Chinese International Language Conference where they were encouraging their Universities to partner with Universities outside of China to support the teaching of the Chinese language and culture around the world under the umbrella of "The Confucius Institute". I was able to help Webster University become the university designated to be the home for a Confucius Institute in S. Louis. All of these experiences illustrate why a global education should be pre-K on up. It should include:

1. Knowledge of world regions, cultures, and geo-political and international issues
 2. Skills in communicating in a language other than English
 3. Value, respect and concern for other cultures and people
- We should compare our student performances by acceptable international standards.
 - Embrace technology and use it for teacher preparation and student learning. Keeping them connected with the rest of the world and with knowledge not easily attainable in every community.

- We need to lobby the President, Congress, Governors, Business and Legislative leaders to set the bar high, help with funding and accountability, and encourage them to take action.
- Do not water down your evaluation process, or rewrite and lower the threshold for full funding of your programs.
- Strengthen our core requirements: English, reading, language arts, world languages, history, cultural studies, mathematics, economics, sciences, geography, American history, study of governments, civics and decisions making, health and nutrition.
- Create interdisciplinary courses, simulations, and capstone projects - be creative, and try new approaches.
- Facilitate team work, using technology, work with people from around the state, country and even globally to address the problems you are facing. They might be having the same problem.
- Strengthen requirements for passing from grade to grade, tied to the understanding of the subject matter.
- Support longer school days, more homework, longer school years, and year round schooling if the content is improved and expanded. By the time a U.S. high school student graduates, they have been in school a year less than most students in advanced societies.
- Be willing to change school boundaries and consider school structures.
- Should where you live be the sole determining factor for where you go to school? What is wrong with allowing students to enroll in the district where their parents work?
- Allow students to transfer from one public school to another public school if their original school is underperforming or if the student is underperforming. And close schools that are not performing.
- Allow Mayors to take control if the school has not met specific standards for 5 years.
- We should come up with creative ways to pay teachers more who are performing above the benchmark, or are working in difficult circumstances. It can be a National Board of

Certification award, merit pay, career ladders, advance education achievements, etc.

- Increase pay for teachers that get advanced degrees in subject areas.
- Sign contracts between your school and the colleges and universities who are providing your teachers, guaranteeing their abilities.
- Look at new methods to attract high quality and knowledgeable people in the teaching profession.
- Develop a fast track system with appropriate oversight and peer review.
- Develop quality alternative school programs for those students who have special circumstances or needs.
- Require schools to provide healthy breakfasts, lunches and snacks. If we want our kids to learn to eat healthier we should set better examples.
- Put a regular physical education program back in the schools.
- Full funding for early education programs, the Parents as Teachers program, should be in place.
- And constantly work to get the parents involved, they have a responsibility to this cause as well.

The Partnership for the 21st Century Skills, wrote in a 2009 release, that successful learning environments break through the barriers that separate schools from the real world, educators from each other, and policy makers from the communities they serve. Students must leave the education system as thinking, reasoning individuals, who are competent in both written and verbal communication. The days of only lecturing at the front of the room with memorized material is over and technology is moving society in the direction of internationalism, and global distance learning. Yet, many schools continue to reflect their Industrial age origins with rigid schedules, inflexible facilities, and fixed boundaries between grades, disciplines, students and classrooms.

We need to break out of these rigid and inflexible concepts of what our education system has become. We must embrace a diverse and complex world of people, places, and ideas. The Midwest has led our country in two historical transformations in the past. It is now time to

lead in the third. Just imagine the possibilities if we intentionally and purposefully designed our high schools for the 21st century. We must find innovative and creative solutions to the challenges we face in our communities, states, and regions. We must reform our curriculum, overhaul our educational structure, and reestablish our nation's place as a leader in learning.

Through my work as the Founder of the Holden Public Policy Forum at Webster University, and Chairman of the One Bright Future Foundation, I will continue to focus on the issues that confront America and challenge our region, our national, and our global competitiveness.

I will continue my efforts to build partnerships with those of you who are committed to restoring Midwest competitiveness in the global economy and are committed to excellence in education. I encourage each and every one of you to collaborate with others here in the audience and out in each of your communities. This is something we must do to ensure a bright future for our children.

We have created a website where you can send your ideas, share your challenges, propose projects, and relate your success stories so that others can read, learn and take action. The web address is www.OneBrightFuture.org ; it is up and running now, and I encourage each of you to visit the site. This forum will provide a centralized location to share your best-in-practice methods with the people here in this room this evening and for anyone with a vested interest in education.

The time spent wringing our hands is wasteful; as I said in the beginning I am an optimist. Failure is not acceptable, and "No, it can't be done" is not an answer, it is an attitude. Your job, my job, our job, is to figure out how. Education was my ticket to all that I have had the opportunity to see, to do, and experience. I am the product of that one room school house, teachers who cared, attended one of our universities and later participated in the Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government for Government Executives. I am totally committed to improving public education for our children. I want to talk about what is working in our schools, ideas and programs that are on the cutting edge of technology and information. I will gladly be your partner, join me and participate in this mission and through our website.

Thank you.

Bob Holden served 12 years in statewide office in Missouri as Treasurer and Governor. While serving in elected office Holden worked on behalf of several educational reforms and programs, including MOST, Parents as Teachers, Character Education, School Report Cards, A+ Program, and the Missouri Math Academy. He is the founder and leader of the Holden Public Policy Forum at Webster University and is a member of Webster's teaching faculty. He also serves as Vice-Chairman of the Midwest US-China Association and most recently established the One Bright Future Foundation, a not-for-profit public policy organization.

Educational Reform and Global Competitiveness: The Role of Speech and Theatre Education

Scott Jensen

In April of this year former Missouri governor Bob Holden gave a speech calling for educational reform. To his credit, Holden has actuated his concerns through a long list of legislative action, philanthropic and civic activities, and most recently the *One Bright Future Foundation*. At the same time Holden was speaking to his audience in the Riverview Gardens School District of St. Louis, our speech and theatre colleagues were celebrating their students' accomplishments at the MSHSAA state speech and debate tournament, putting final touches on spring productions, and getting ready for the annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the Speech and Theatre Association of Missouri. This chronemic coincidence is noteworthy, for as one contemplates the former governor's call for educational reform and global competitiveness, it becomes clear that speech and theatre educators have an important role to play in reaching the goals and responding to the problems outlined by Governor Holden.

Holden says the most important guide for us when considering educational concerns should be "Is this in the best interest of the students?" He seems to operationalize this into a concern for creating effective leaders. Consider these observations and calls found in his speech...

- "No greater opportunity can be bestowed on the next generation than to prepare them for success when they assume the mantle of leadership for their generation."
- "Charismatic leadership and national education crisis reports will not halt our weakening influence in the world unless we are willing to change, make some tough decisions and support visionary leaders at all levels of our society, who are willing to provide the leadership necessary for our success."

As he calls for leadership from both the students we teach and those in a position to effect educational reform, Bob Holden outlines the climate

that is threatening the quality of our education, the steps toward a stronger approach to education for the future, and the goals we must seek as we prepare our students “to assume the mantle of leadership.” The question for us—how does speech and theatre education fit within this call for change?

At a number of levels, speech and theatre education is central to Holden’s vision for our move to quality education. A good place to begin is by examining what research says about the importance of communication skills in our approach to teaching today’s young people. In a study asking graduates to reflect on the approach to education most critical for their current positions and the future, communication was front and center. In one survey ten years ago, focusing on business school graduates, educators and employers both agreed that interpersonal and oral communication skills rated among the top four of nearly 20 critical competencies necessary for success after graduation (Tanyel, Mitchell, and McAlum, 1999). These results have remained consistent in more recent research. Former students-now employed professionals rated skills in oral communication among competencies and skills central to careers, while abilities in interpersonal relational skills, problem solving, and critical thinking were rated essential in the 21st century work force (Zekeri, 2004). A study published last year in *Education Week* reported the seven survival skills necessary for individuals to excel in the workplace, succeed in college, and emerge as effective leaders. All seven are skills nurtured through experiences in the speech and theatre classrooms, on the stage, and at forensic tournaments. The skills are critical thinking and problem solving, collaboration and leadership in teams and groups, adaptability and learning skills as opposed to technical skills, initiative, effective oral and written communication, accessing and analyzing information, and curiosity and imagination (2008).

As the teachers and students in these incredible classrooms, we understand the role speech and theatre classroom and co-curricular education plays in the lives of students, particularly those who seek learning experiences that equip them for life. Our challenge is communicating the role our disciplines play to the rest of the world. As we become further imbedded in a culture of standardized testing as our prime measure of excellence, we neglect realities around us. I have observed students becoming less comfortable with interaction that is not behind a computer screen or cell-phone text. I have observed growing

discomfort and ineptness with disagreement over controversial ideas. When students would rather turn in an assignment electronically than risk engagement with me as the instructor, or apply for a job by sending a resume' via email instead of making more personal contact, they circumvent the importance of face-to-face interaction and begin a conditioning process that will make them ill-equipped to communicate effectively later in life. When disagreement over critical issues of the day is characterized by name calling, dogma, and an endorsement of media sound bites over our own critical examination of issues as opposed to respect for diverse views, advocacy centered on issues and framed in respect, and open-mindedness we lay the foundation for the failure of the democracy we have come to love. We teach the theories, concepts, and skills that Holden calls for when he says, "Students must leave the education system as thinking, reasoning individuals, who are competent in both written and verbal communication." When he tells us "The days of only lecturing at the front of the room with memorized material is over..." he is calling for a collaborative, creative approach to learning that we in speech and theatre have been using in our classrooms since I was a high school student 30 years ago. In short—we are postured to be the leaders of educational reform... leaders by example.

An essential step in preparing students for success is motivating them to *want* to succeed. Holden tells the somber story of today's high school completion rates. His bottom line is six out of every ten students drop out or are not qualified to succeed in life after high school. If this is true we must work to keep kids in school, and empower them with the skills to succeed. While "core" curriculum is important, I have already alluded to the skills today's employers want to see in their future workforce. Teaching students to express themselves creatively and clearly, think critically, and advocate with reason and respect is at the very heart of every play rehearsal, debate practice, and speech and theatre classroom experience. It is valuable to give speeches in the history classroom, and to meet in groups to discuss a science experiment or recently read story. At the same time, it is *essential* to equip students with the abilities and knowledge to perform these assignments in school, and later in life. Making speech and theatre education a more codified, central element of our students' educational experience is paramount to achieving the success called for by the former governor. Deasey (2002), in making the case for arts education, notes five important outcomes that

illustrate how our classrooms prepare well-equipped students and citizens. Consider how our students demonstrate higher abilities of creative self-expression, a greater willingness to risk-take, higher levels of creativity and imagination, greater proficiency in reading comprehension, and are both more open to and effective in contexts of cooperative learning. Now re-visit what researchers are calling for in tomorrow's leaders, and what Holden calls for in our schools of tomorrow. The internal consistency among these studies and observations is compelling, as they all point to the value of speech and theatre education. Our job is to make these connections less implicit and more explicit within our schools, and in the eyes of our students, their families, and their employees.

Holden conveys a passion for globalization of our classrooms. Three years ago I traveled to Serbia, Kosovo, and Macedonia as a representative for the National Communication Association. Joined by a graduate student at the University of Miami and an undergraduate student at Towson University, I was charged with creating a strategy for teaching and demonstrating debate to high school and college students. While a second language to these students, English was the primary language spoken in each school we visited. We met amazing students who created student newspapers, yearbooks, annuals of student-authored research papers, art work and photography, and speeches that would easily have set the curve in American high schools...all in a language that was literally foreign to them. What struck me most was their passion for being creative and finding ways to use speech and debate to express themselves and connect with others. They wanted to win their debates and persuade with their speeches, but foremost in their minds was using their debates and speeches as ways to succeed in a world that is ever-changing. They realized the power of communication as *the* tool for success.

The challenges of promoting speech and theatre education in our schools are not new, nor are they easily met. It was during my STAM presidency that we fought against the proposed combined language arts certificate. Our advocacy—written and oral—was integral in preventing the elimination of the speech and theatre teaching certificate in Missouri. That same advocacy must find its way to our PSO meetings, offices of our principals and superintendents, the curriculum of our colleagues in other disciplines, the expectations of those who will employ our students,

and the minds of our students. Holden notes the four characteristics of breakthrough high schools as identified by the National Association of Secondary School Principals. Three of these are defining characteristics and outcomes of speech and theatre learning experiences: a personalized environment, collaboration, and effective leadership. There are studies, powerful personal testimonies, and calls for education reform that all tell our story quite effectively. These need to translate into photocopies on our principals' desks Friday afternoon—some light weekend reading. They should be shared with parents who want the best for their children and ought to know how their child's speech and theatre experiences are part of the formula for success. What we do best is communicate—it is time to put that best foot forward.

Speaking primarily about the college experience, Morreale and Pearson (2008) advocate the importance of communication education in the near and distant future. They remind us as educators that we should celebrate the essential role we play shaping the future of our students. They reinforce what so many others have noted—communicating effectively is central to determining how our students will navigate their way through life. Additionally, they issue a call to our deans, presidents, principals, and superintendents. “Administrators within and outside the communication disciplines...should recognize the imperative of the communication discipline and of communication instruction. This study suggests that academic institutions ought to ensure that all of their students graduate with the communication competencies necessary to succeed personally and professionally in their lives (239).” In the next few months we will make resources available on the STAM website that can assist in the very advocacy I urge herein. It will include bibliographies and other resources, lesson plans, and strategies for promoting our disciplines within our schools and communities. I hope all my STAM colleagues will contribute to this dialogue with the stories, their resources, and their energies. In the short-term, I encourage all of us to contribute our best practices in and out of the classroom to www.onebrightfuture.org. As Holden suggests, this website can become a forum for sharing the ideas that motivate our students and improve our schools. Speech and theatre approaches can—and *should*—be front and center in this forum. We can make that happen. Ours is a powerful community, equipped with the most eloquent, creative, fair-minded, and passionate educators I know. Morreale and Pearson offer us an

important reminder that what we do matters. We already know that. It is time others get the point as well.

Governor Holden provides a sobering wake-up call to the state of our education system. At the same time, he expresses optimism about the future. I share that optimism, largely because I know the formula for success. It is largely what Holden calls for in this April speech, but even more, a very simple combination. Teachers teach to their potential, helping students find their voices and potential. A collaboration occurs when these two things happen that will pave the way for an amazing future for our students and our society. That collaboration already happens in our schools on a daily basis. And at nights on the stage. And on weekends at neighboring schools. We call it speech and theatre education. We call it plays and forensic tournaments. What we could call it is the example by which our schools can succeed in the future.

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Becoming a Better Listener: The Listening Log Project

Tony Docan-Morgan & Virginia McDermott

*To listen well is as powerful a means of communication and influence as
to talk well - John Marshall*

Objective: The objective of this assignment is to have students reflect on their listening habits and improve their listening skills.

Approximate Time Required: This assignment takes approximately 2 weeks to complete, although it can be shortened or extended. The assignment should take approximately 10-minutes to explain.

Materials Needed: Students should be provided with an assignment description and evaluation rubric (see Appendix). Students will also need to purchase a small memo-book or small spiral notebook.

Rationale: Regardless of context, listening is a salient feature of our everyday interactions. Johnson (1996), for example, highlights that people spend 45% to 70% of their time listening to others, and in certain contexts (e.g., classroom lecture or speech) listening is the primary activity in which we engage. Perhaps even more powerful, Purdy (1991) remarks, “among the basic skills we need for success in life, listening is primary” (p. 4). There is no surprise, then, that listening is an important topic in the basic communication course (Johnson & Long, 2007).

What to Do Before the Assignment: The Listening Log Project can be assigned on the day the topic of listening is covered in class. If the instructor prefers, however, it can be assigned before the topic of listening is covered so as to incorporate students’ observations about the assignment during classroom discussions and activities. When assigning the Listening Log Project, students should be given an assignment description and comment form (provided in the Appendix). The instructor should make clear the learning/performance objectives and the assignment requirements. Students should be informed that the assignment entails three phases: (1) keeping a log of your listening habits

and others' habits; (2) attempting to make personal changes in your listening and recording them in your log; and (3) writing a reflection paper about your experiences.

When explaining the requirements, the instructor should tell students to purchase a memo-book or small spiral notebook and to carry it on their person along with a pen or pencil for the first two phases of the assignment. Students should be informed that during the first phase, they are to monitor and record their listening behavior, including types of listening in which they engage (e.g., *empathic*), obstacles to effective listening (e.g., *preoccupation*), forms of ineffective listening (e.g., *pseudolistening*), and effective listening strategies (e.g., *perspective taking*). For phase one, students should include at least two entries per day for seven straight days.

Students should also be informed that after seven days, they will begin the second phase of the assignment, which prompts them to change their listening habits. In particular, they are to reflect on what listening habits and obstacles they might be able to improve (e.g., more back-channeling and controlling obstacles; less defensive listening and preoccupation) and spend another seven days making conscious efforts to change their behavior. Similar to the first phase, students should record at least two observations per day in their memo-books, but also include their attempted changes and a description of the results. Finally, students should be told that for the third phase, they will complete a 4-5 page reflection paper addressing their experiences throughout this assignment. Requirements for the reflection paper are listed in the handout at the end of this chapter.

What to do During the Assignment: While students are completing each phase of the assignment, the instructor should check in with students either individually, in small groups, or as an entire class. For example, the instructor might want to facilitate classroom discussions about students' experiences with the assignment during the first and second phases. During the assignment, it is important for the instructor to inform students about transitioning from phase one to two and from two to three so as to keep students on track.

What to do After the Assignment: Once students have completed and submitted their listening logs and papers, the instructor should lead a

debriefing session, which can include a discussion of student experiences, course concepts, and goals for future improvement. The instructor should also consider raising pertinent discussion questions, including the following: What did you learn from this assignment? How did you overcome obstacles to listening and ineffective listening habits? What did you learn about others' listening habits? What makes one a "good" listener? What other course concepts arose throughout this assignment (e.g., attribution, perception, nonverbal communication)? Such a discussion may be used to segue into upcoming course material.

Assignment Description: The Listening Log Assignment

Learning/Performance Objectives

By the time you complete this assignment you should be able to effectively:

1. Name, explain, and provide examples for each of the 5 types of listening (e.g., *discriminatory, appreciative, evaluative, and empathic*).
2. Identify obstacles to effective listening (e.g. *preoccupation, prejudice, lack of effort*), and forms of ineffective listening (e.g., *pseudolistening, monopolizing, selective listening, defensive listening*) you experience.
3. Engage in effective listening (e.g., *perspective take, suspend judgment, paraphrase, be mindful, control obstacles, backchannel*).

Assignment Overview

For this assignment, you will (1) keep a log of your listening habits and others' habits; (2) attempt to make personal changes in your listening and record them in your log; and (3) write a paper about your experiences.

Phase 1: For seven straight days, keep a listening log.

Begin by purchasing a memobook (small, pocket-size spiral notebook). For seven straight days, monitor and record your listening behavior. After your encounters with others (e.g., one-on-one, group, over the phone, on the computer, in class, with family, friends, coworkers), take notes about your listening behaviors, as well as the behavior of others with whom you are interacting. You need to have at least 3 entries per day. In addition to addressing the above questions, provide the following details at the beginning of each entry: Date and time, event location, context or interaction partner(s).

Focus on the following questions:

- What types of listening are you doing (e.g., *appreciative, comprehensive*)?
- What obstacles to effective listening are you experiencing (e.g. *preoccupation, prejudice, lack of effort*)?

- What forms of ineffective listening are you experiencing (e.g., *pseudolistening, monopolizing, selective listening, defensive listening*)?
- What types of effective listening strategies are you using (e.g., *perspective taking, paraphrasing, controlling obstacles, backchanneling*).
- What are the results or outcomes of your listening habits?
- What listening behaviors do you notice others use or fail to use?
- Identify a “good” and “bad” listener and log their behaviors, as well as how their behaviors affected your interaction with them.

Phase 2: Change your listening habits for the better.

After you self-monitor and record your listening habits for 7 days, reflect on what listening habits and obstacles you might be able to improve (e.g., more backchanneling and controlling obstacles; less defensive listening and preoccupation). Spend 7 days making conscious efforts to change your behavior. Record your observations in your memobook. You need to make at least 2 entries per day. Provide the following details for each entry: Date and time, event location, context or interaction partner(s), attempted changes, description and result.

Phase 3: Write your reflection paper.

After you spend time keeping your listening log, reflecting on yourself and others, and attempting to improve your listening skills, write 4-5 page paper addressing the following points:

- What types of listening were you doing most often? Which types seem to be the most difficult and why?
- Discuss the obstacles to effective listening (e.g. preoccupation, prejudgment, lack of effort) and forms of ineffective listening are you experienced (e.g., pseudolistening, monopolizing, selective listening, defensive listening), as well as their effects on your interactions.
- What behaviors, habits, and/or obstacles did you attempt to change during the second phase of this assignment? Please provide specific examples. What were the results or outcomes of these changes?

- Discuss the behaviors of the “good” and “bad” listener you observed/interacted with, as well as how their behaviors affected your interaction with them.
- What do you need to continue to improve as listener and what will you do to attempt to improve?

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