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Tennessee Speech Communication Association

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All papers should be sent to the editor. Authors should sumbit two copies of their manuscripts, each under a separate title page also to include the author's name and address. Manuscripts without the identifying title pages will be forwarded by the editor to a panel of reader-referees who will represent the varied interests within the discipline.

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Interpersonal Orientations of Speech Anxious Students
Bob Ambler

During the past decade concern for students who have difficulty with the communication process has emerged in the Speech Communication field. Special instructional strategies and programs now exist to remedialize what has been classified as stage fright, communication apprehension, communication anxiety, reticence, speech anxiety, and shyness.[1] The symptoms of and the helping strategies for those persons whose behaviors and attitudes generally fall within the above list vary, but they all tend to avoid communicating at least in some specific situation because of perceived punishments related to the act of communication. The programs for instructional improvement, one of which has been recently described in this journal[2], have varied at the several schools where they have developed, at least in part because of the type of student for which the program was designed to serve, as well as the nature of the rest of the curriculum into which the specialized program had to fit. The procedures for identifying and notifying students for whom the specialized courses or programs would be appropriate also vary.[3] Paper and pencil tests (most frequently some form of the PRCA) and announcement of a specialized program followed by instructor interviews are two of the most popular means of selecting students for enrollment into specialized classes for communication avoidant students.[4]

One ramification of the varying nature of the selection process is that the communication tendencies of the students in the different programs may vary considerably, necessitating the application of different instructional strategies for helping a particular group of students in a given program. This essay presents results concerning the communication orientations of students in one such class for communication avoidant students at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and examines the implication of the students' communication orientations for instructional strategies. Specifically, the article examines the differences between FIRO-B[5] scores for students selected for a special communication avoidant class and scores for students enrolled in the regular section of the basic course. Both were sections of a large multi-sectioned basic speech course in Public Speaking. Since the instructional program mentioned in this study focuses on public speaking anxiety, the discussion section will compare the results obtained with a previous report of communication orientations, as measured by the FIRO-B, in an instructional program that focuses on reticence.[6]

Context of the Speech Anxiety Program

The Public Speaking Course at the University of Tennessee is multi-sectioned, and serves the curricular requirements of a number of colleges, including Agriculture, Business, Communication, Education, and Human Ecology. The course focuses on developing the ability to prepare and present an oral presentation before an audience. Students must present at least three graded speeches to the class. In the Spring of 1977, a special section of this class was developed for "Speech Anxious" (SA) students.[7] The course was designed to incorporate the basic purposes of the traditional classes, and to provide special training in techniques for reducing and coping with the nervousness experienced during and in anticipation of speaking. Ultimately, the goal of the class was that students would develop greater confidence and competence in performing the skills necessary for achieving an effective oral presentation. The course was designed to accomodate students required to take the Public Speaking class as part of their curriculum, but whose excessive fear of the formal speaking situation would reduce their liklihood of completing the course. Since the specialized program supports and is an integral part of the Public Speaking class, efforts have been focused on speech anxiety as opposed to reticence or other difficulties more related to the interpersonal level of communication, and while our special section for speech anxious students probably includes a certain percentage of students who are reticent, or more generally apprehensive about communication, there is also a substantial number of students enrolling in the class who report that they feel uncomfortable about communicating in other situations than giving a speech.

Students in the special section of the Public Speaking class either identify themselves during the preregistration period for the subsequent quarter (the class is designated in the timetable of classes for registration/preregistration as being for speech anxious students only) or they are identified by the Personal Report of Public Speaking Apprehension (PRPSA)[8], which students in the regular sections of the class take and self score on the first day of the term. In the latter case, students with higher scores are advised to consider enrollment in the special section for speech anxious students (though they may stay with the regular section). In any case, a student encrolling in the special section class is required to obtain the instructor's permission. The instructor of the special section class[9] attempts to screen students to assure the appropriateness of the class for the student. The instructor makes a subjective judgment (based on his discussion with the student) as to whether the student is indeed "speech anxious" or whether he/she is seeking enrollment in the class for inappropriate reasons, i.e., supposed ease of the class.

Procedure and Design

During 1981, I decided to begin administering the FIRO-B questionnaire at the first of the quarter in the special section for speech anxious students. Dr. Roy Ambrester[10] of the UTK Speech Dept., and I had found the FIRO-B

particularly useful as a tool for developing insight concerning one's interpersonal communication behaviors in the Interpersonal Communication course, and I felt that it might have potential for some diagnostic work in the special section of the Public Speaking class. The initial results using the FIRO-B in the SA Public Speaking class yielded results that were interesting because of their comparisons with averages we had found in the Interpersonal Communication class. The comparisons with the Interpersonal Communication class were not completely appropriate because Interpersonal Communication is not required as is Public Speaking, and Interpersonal Communication requires student presentations which are graded. What was needed was a comparison with students enrolled in the regular Public Speaking classes. Subsequently, I asked students enrolled in the regular sections of the class during the Summer of 1981 (N = 105) to complete the FIRO-B to provide a more appropriate comparison. I continued to administer the FIRO-B at the first of the quarter for the special SA Public Speaking class. The data for the special section class reported in this analysis is based on the completion of the FIRO-B by 96 students enrolled during the Winter, Spring, and Fall quarters of 1981, in the special SA Public Speaking class.

Before presenting the results, an explanation about the FIRO-B is in order. The FIRO-B is based on William Schutz's theory of interpersonal behavior. Schutz claims that people relate to other people to fulfill three different needs (1) inclusion, (2) control, and (3) affection.[11] We have a need to be a part of the group (inclusion), we have a need to influence and be influenced by others in the group (control), and we have a need to be close to certain other members of the group (affection). Each of these need areas includes both an expressed and a wanted component, the latter being less manifest that the expressed area. Schutz hypothesized that different persons have varying levels of each of these needs. Consequently, the test yields six different scores, each of which can vary from a low of 0 (representing very little of the stated need) to a high of 9 (representing a large amount of the stated need): (1) Expressed Inclusion, i.e., "I try to be with people," (2) Wanted Inclusion, i.e., "I like other people to invite me to things," (3) Expressed Control, i.e., "I take charge of things when I'm with people," (4) Wanted Control, i.e., "I am easily led by people," (5) Expressed Affection, i.e., "I try to get close and personal with people," and (6) Wanted Affection, i.e., "I like people to act close toward me."

No **a priori** predictions about differences between non speech anxious (NSA) students and speech anxious students (SA) were hypothesized, but the same comparisons which Rosenfeld and Frandsen had made in comparing the FIRO-B scores of reticent versus non-reticent students were conducted.[12] They had predicted that non-reticent students would score higher than reticent students on all dimensions of the FIRO-B, that reticents would want more control than they express, and that reticents would want more affection than the Rosenfeld and Frandsen Study, independent t tests were used to compare each dimension (expressed inclusion, wanted inclusion, expressed control, wanted control, expressed affection, and wanted affection) of the FIRO-B. Dependent t tests (t test for paired differences) were used to compare the expressed against the wanted needs for inclusion, control, and affection for both speech anxious and non speech anxious students. Unlike the Rosenfeld and Frandsen study, though, comparisons were conducted separately for male and female students as well as for the whole group together.

Results

Table 1 compares the means of the FIRO-B scores for the regular sections of the Public Speaking class and the special SA Public Speaking sections. These are broken into means for male and female students because our previous work with the FIRO-B in the Interpersonal Communication class had suggested gender differences on the measure. Such differences are also suggested by the normative data which Schutz presents for male and female high school students.[13]

TABLE 1

FIRO-B SCALE	Public Speaking Regular Sections		Public Speaking Anxiety Sections	
	Males (n=46)	Females (n=59)	Males (n=45)	Females (n=51)
Expressed Inclusion	4.24	4.59	3.69	4.92
Wanted Inclusion	4.02	4.10	3.96	4.04
Expressed Control	3.50	2.97	1.69	1.76
Wanted Control	2.59	2.46	3.58	3.16
Expressed Affection	3.52	3.92	3.02	3.84
Wanted Affection	4.72	5.51	4.69	5.82

Results of the t comparisons between means as shown in Table 1 are presented in Tables 2, 3, and 4. Table 2 presents the comparisons for the total group (both male and female), while Tables 3 and 4 present the results for males and females, respectively.

Tables 2, 3, and 4 show that the only dimensions of the FIRO-B on which non speech anxious and speech anxious students differed are the expressed control and wanted control dimensions. Note, however, that while both expressed and wanted control differed significantly between the two groups for the males, the females only approached significance on the wanted control comparison ($\underline{t}$ = − 1.783; df = 108; p $\langle$.10). Reference to the means for the different groups in Table 1 demonstrates that speech anxious students have higher wanted control scores and lower expressed control scores. These differences appear to be greater for the males than for the females.

Comparisons between expressed and wanted scores on each of the three need areas showed that all subgroups (male and female, nonspeech anxious and speech anxious) wanted more affection than they expressed, but this was particularly true for the SA females. The SA groups, but not the NSA ones, wanted a higher level of control than was expressed. Finally, there were no significant differences between expressed and wanted inclusion for any of the groups though the difference for SA females approached significance ($\underline{t}$ = 1.926; df = 49; p $\langle$.10), with the expressed scores being slightly higher than the wanted scores for that group.

Discussion

The results of the present study are in some ways consistent with the findings of Rosenfeld and Frandsen's comparison of reticent and non-reticent students on the FIRO-B. (See Table 5 for comparison of overall means between studies.) In both studies, the "communication avoidant" group wanted more control than they expressed, while the comparison group did not. In both studies, the "communication avoidant

TABLE 2

COMPARISONS OF FIRO-B SCORES: NON SPEECH ANXIOUS AND SPEECH ANXIOUS STUDENTS [TOTAL GROUP: MALES AND FEMALES]

A. Independent t Comparisons for Total Group (N=201)

EI_{nsa}	vs.	EI_{sa}^{1}	=	.323	WC_{nsa}	vs.	WC_{sa}	=	−2.806**
WI_{nsa}	vs.	WI_{sa}	=	.147	EA_{nsa}	vs.	EA_{sa}	=	.851
EC_{nsa}	vs.	EC_{sa}	=	4.261***	WA_{nsa}	vs.	WA_{sa}	=	− .378

B. Dependent t Comparisons for Total Group

EI_{nsa}	vs.	WI_{nsa}^{2}	=	1.307	EI_{sa}	vs.	WI_{sa}	=	1.030
EC_{nsa}	vs.	WC_{nsa}	=	2.070*	EC_{sa}	vs.	WC_{sa}	=	−4.848***
EA_{nsa}	vs.	WA_{nsa}	=	−6.280***	EA_{sa}	vs.	WA_{sa}	=	−7.583***

[1]To be read: "expressed inclusion of non speech anxious compared with expressed inclusion of speech anxious."
[2]To be read: "expressed inclusion of non speech anxious compared with wanted inclusion of non speech anxious."

* p < .05   ** p < .01   *** p < .001

group wanted more affection than they expressed to a greater extent than the comparison group. In both studies, "communication avoidant" students expressed less control than the comparison group.

There the similarities end, since Rosenfeld and Frandsen found that their reticent students expressed less inclusion and affection than non-reticents as well as wanted less inclusion than non-reticents. No such difference in inclusion an affection scores (expressed or wanted) emerged in comparing non speech anxious and speech anxious students. In fact, it should be noted that differences between inclusion and affection scores for reticents and non-reticents were large enough that Rosenfeld and Frandsen felt justified in using a combination of the expressed inclusion and affection score (but not expressed control) as a potential identification measure for reticent students.[14] On the contrary, the results of the present study would suggest that the expressed and wanted control dimensions of the FIRO-B

TABLE 3

COMPARISONS OF FIRO-B SCORES: NON SPEECH ANXIOUS AND SPEECH ANXIOUS
STUDENTS   [MALES ONLY]

A.   Independent t Comparisons for Total Group   (N=91)

EI_{nsa} vs. EI_{sa} [1]	= 1.120		WC_{nsa} vs. WC_{sa}	=	-2.134*
WI_{nsa} vs. WI_{sa}	= .087		EA_{nsa} vs. EA_{sa}	=	.986
EC_{nsa} vs. EC_{sa}	= 3.787***		WA_{nsa} vs. WA_{sa}	=	.055

B.   Dependent t Comparisons for Total Group

EI_{nsa} vs. WI_{nsa} [2]	= .546		EI_{sa} vs. WI_{sa}	=	- .560
EC_{nsa} vs. WC_{nsa}	= 1.889		EC_{sa} vs. WC_{sa}	=	-3.795***
EA_{nsa} vs. WA_{nsa}	= -3.210**		EA_{sa} vs. WA_{sa}	=	-4.530***

[1]To be read: "expressed inclusion of non speech anxious compared with expressed inclusion of speech anxious."
[2]To be read: "expressed inclusion of non speech anxious compared with wanted inclusion of non speech anxious."

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

would be better predictors of speech anxious students. It is, of course, necessary to keep in mind that these results were derived from different types of programs. There is every reason to believe that Rosenfeld and Frandsen's "reticent" students differed significantly from our "speech anxious" students. It seems likely that Rosenfeld and Frandsen's reticents and non-reticents are each more homogeneous groups (Note the means in Table 5). While the exact selection process they used is not clearly stated, their article implies a highly selective process for assigning reticents to their special classes. Note also in Table 5 that their non-reticent group expresses and wants more

TABLE 4

COMPARISONS OF FIRO-B SCORES: NON SPEECH ANXIOUS AND SPEECH ANXIOUS
STUDENTS   [FEMALES ONLY]

A.   Independent t Comparisons for Total Group   (N=110)

EI_{nsa} vs. EI_{sa} [1]	= - .861		WC_{nsa} vs. WC_{sa}	=	-1.783
WI_{nsa} vs. WI_{sa}	= .090		EA_{nsa} vs. EA_{sa}	=	.184
EC_{nsa} vs. EC_{sa}	= 2.456*		WA_{nsa} vs. WA_{sa}	=	- .717

B.   Dependent t Comparisons for Total Group

EI_{nsa} vs. WI_{nsa} [2]	= 1.223		EI_{sa} vs. WI_{sa}	=	1.926
EC_{nsa} vs. WC_{nsa}	= 1.116		EC_{sa} vs. WC_{sa}	=	-3.059**
EA_{nsa} vs. WA_{nsa}	= -5.712***		EA_{sa} vs. WA_{sa}	=	-6.287***

[1]To be read: "expressed inclusion of non speech anxious compared with expressed inclusion of speech anxious."
[2]To be read: "expressed inclusion of non speech anxious compared with wanted inclusion of non speech anxious."

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

inclusion than our non speech anxious students by almost a point and a half, while their reticents expressed and wanted less inclusion than our speech anxious students. This reflects the possibility of a more highly selective process for discovering the ''communication avoidant'' students for special classes, but it also suggests that their non-reticent group was assigned more selectively. The process of defining the non speech anxious group was not selective (students in the regular sections of the Public Speaking class were simply asked to complete the measure), and there are reasons to believe that there may have been a few students in the sample who might otherwise have been in the special section for speech anxious students. The reason for this is that the sample was taken during the Summer quarter, and this is the quarter in which University of Tennessee Knoxville does not

TABLE 5

MEAN FIRO-B SCORES FOR STUDENTS IN PRESENT STUDY
AND ROSENFELD-FRANDSEN STUDY

FIRO-B SCALE	Ambler (1982) (Comparing Public Speaking Anxiety)		Rosenfeld-Frandsen (1972) (Comparing Levels of Reticence)	
	Non Speech Anxious (n = 105)	Speech Anxious (n = 96)	Non-Reticent (n = 58)	Reticent Students (n = 38)
Expressed Inclusion	4.44	4.34	5.79	3.24
Wanted Inclusion	4.07	4.00	5.50	3.21
Expressed Control	3.20	1.73	3.45	2.00
Wanted Control	2.51	3.35	4.92	5.16
Expressed Affection	3.74	3.46	4.18	1.76
Wanted Affection	5.16	5.29	5.03	3.95

offer a special section of the Public Speaking class for speech anxious students due to limited enrollment. In the Fall, Winter, and Spring quarters, when the speech anxiety class is offered, there are students who report high speech anxiety (as measured by the PRPSA) but who choose to remain in the regular section of the class. Thus, given the fact that there was no special section option, there probably was a higher percentage of speech anxious students mixed in the group that the present study has been referring to as the regular section group. This is a methodological difficulty which can be resolved by collecting the FIRO-B data during a quarter in which the speech anxiety class is offered.[15] The overall figures for the Rosenfeld and Frandsen non-reticent group is still much larger than for the non speech anxious group, which suggests that the non-reticent group may have been more than a random draw from a basic communication course.

The results of the present study, combined with the Rosenfeld and Frandsen study, suggest that in a program where the primary concern in dealing with communication avoidance is with public speaking, the control dimension of the FIRO-B may be a more important predictor of whether a person is qualified for the program, while in a program where a broader range of communication avoidance behaviors are the concern, the expressed inclusion and affection scores are better predictors of qualification for the program. One way of testing this general hypothesis would be to compare scores on the FIRO-B with scores on measures of public speaking anxiety (such as the PRPSA) and with scores on more general measures of communication apprehension (such as the PRCA-24[16] without the public speaking items) with a population that exhibits a broad range of scores on the different measures. If the hypothesis suggested is valid, then public speaking anxiety should be more related to the control scores on the FIRO-B, specifically smaller expressed scores and larger wanted control scores, and communication apprehension, or similar tests of interpersonal avoidance or apprehension, should be more related to the inclusion and affection dimensions than is the measure of public speaking anxiety.

Implications for Teaching

Let us assume that, as the data in this study suggest, persons with high public speaking anxiety are characterized by relationship orientations toward others in which they do not attempt to influence others every much, and would prefer that others influence them. This implies that there are ways in which we as speech teachers may relate effectively to the highly speech anxious student.

Speech anxious students have a difficulty with the public speaking situation at least partially because the situation is one that **commands** attention; it is a position of assumed responsibility. A number of speech anxious

students do not see themselves as exercising control effectively, nor do they see themselves as assuming responsibility because the speaking situation in class is by its nature a position of influence, they are quite understandably uncomfortable. The position is inconsistent with the interpersonal rhetorical strategies they have developed to navigate their transactions. Being low in expressed control, they do not care to tell anybody what to do. This makes the situation in which they are asked to deliver a **persuasive** speech (as opposed to an informative speech) especially difficult (even to find a topic).

Speech teachers can encourage the speech anxious student to cope with these inconsistencies. First, we can help them with the matter of topic selection. We already encourage students to give themselves plenty of lead time, thinking about topics early, and picking a topic about which they care. But, these ideas are particularly important for the speech anxious student, and should receive special emphasis. I explain these suggestions to the anxious students in light of my own experience, because I think they have been helpful to me. My FIRO-B, scores indicate that I am low on expressed control, and high on wanted control. I believe that I am speech anxious to some degree. I am not enthused about telling other people what to do. It even takes a bit of extra energy generating this essay which I am presently sharing with you. So, I have to convince myself that the work is worth the effort, and should be done regardless of any external reward or punishment system. That is never easy. Right now, I think the ideas I am developing are worthwhile, but there are many past research projects I have attempted that failed, thus allowing me to avoid the communication situation. I share my experiences, therefore, with my students as I share them with you. I let them know that I have some strategies that work for me in certain situations, and I encourage them to try them. I do not present my answers as their answers, but I encourage the students to examine their experiences and other people's experiences with the idea that they will get their answers about what works best for them from a variety of sources.

I think it is also important that students recognize their tendencies and preferences in relating to other people and how these may affect thinking, feeling, and behaviors in all the activities which are required to give an effective oral presentation. In this sense, a speech teacher can use the FIRO-B not only as a diagnostic tool, but as an insight tool which will allow students to perceive how personal orientations can maintain a person in a systematic pattern of avoidance. Presently I ask the students to take the FIRO-B at the first of the course, and later I return it to them and discuss the implications of their scores to the process of preparing for and delivering oral discourse. It is important in this process that the appropriate kinds of reservations about the test scores be made (they may tell you something about yourself, but they may not). I have found that this kind of insight about one's communication, coupled with a discussion of the way one's own self-talk contributes to anxiety can be immensely helpful to many students in the special section class.

We must remember that the different programs at colleges and universities designed to help students with communication difficulties are not working with the same population of students. This is the case partially because they operate in differing social and curricular structures and because the programs have different goals and therefore will tend to identify different types of students as those most in need of assistance. "Communication avoidance" is a multi-faceted problem, and we are only beginning to understand the breadth of potential tools for encouraging students to develop a positive approach to communication. If we recognize fully the teaching value of the experiences of ourselves and other people, then we will come closer to getting the full learning value from the available teaching tools.

NOTES

[1]See for example Gerald M. Phillips (ed.), "The Practical Teachers' Symposium on Shyness, Communication Apprehension, Reticence, and a Variety of Other Common Problems," **Communication Education**, 29 (1980), 213-263, and Gerald M. Phillips (ed), "Coming of Age in the Academy: A Symposium," **Communication Education**, 31 (1982) 177-223.

[2]Bob Ambler, "The Speech Anxiety Program at UTK: a Class for Students with High Public Speeaking Anxiety," **The Journal of the Tennessee Speech Communication Association**, 11 (Spring, 1985) 1-6.

[3]Differences in procedures for identifying communication avoidant students for the different programs are reported in the Symposium in the July, 1982 issue of **Communication Education**, by Jan Hoffman and Jo Sprague, "A Survey of Reticence and Communication Apprehension Treatment Programs at U.S. Colleges and Universities," **Communication Education**, 31 (1982) 185-193 and Karen A. Foss, "Communication Apprehension: Resources for the Instructor," **Communication Education**, 31 (1982) 195-203.

[4]Hoffman and Sprague, 1982, 187, and Foss, 1982, 196-197.

[5]The FIRO-B (Fundamental Interpersonal Relationship Orientation-Behaviors) is a test devised by William C. Schutz, **The Interpersonal Underworld** (Palo Alto, California: Science and Behavior Books, 1966), which is designed to examine the extent of a person's needs for other people in three broadly defined need areas. The general nature of the test is described later in this paper.

[6]Lawrence B. Rosenfeld and Kenneth D. Frandsen, "The 'Other' Speech Student: An Empirical Analysis of Some Interpersonal Relations Orientations of the Reticent Student," **The Speech Teacher,** 21 (1972) 296-302.

[7]This special section of our Public Sspeaking class for speech anxious students is described in more detail in Ambler, 1985, 1-6.

[8]The PRPSA and the initial version of the PRCA for college students can be found in James C. McCroskey, "Measures of Communication-Bound Anxiety," **Speech Monographs,** 37 (1970) 269-277.

[9]The author of this paper is and has been the instructor of the special section of Public Speaking for speech anxious students since its initiation in the Spring of 1977. In that sense, the program is very much like most of those reported by Hoffman and Sprague, 1982, 187, which are directed by a single faculty member.

[10]The concepts incorporated in the FIRO-B test have been valuable enough to our Interpersonal Communication class that Professor Ambrester, who teaches most of our courses in that area, has included a substantial discussion of the test and its relationship to interpersonal behaviors in his book: Marcus L. Ambrester and Glynnis Holm Strause, **A Rhetoric of Interpersonal Communication,** Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1984, pp. 227-240, 251-264, 289-301.

[11]Schutz, 1966.

[12]Rosenfeld and Frandsen, 1972, 298-299.

[13]Will Schutz, **FIRO Awareness Scales Manual** (Palo Alto, California: Counsulting Psychologists Press, Inc., 1978).

[14]Rosenfeld and Frandsen, 1972, 300-302.

[15]Since this study has been completed, additional data on the relationship between the FIRO-B and communication apprehension has been collected on a larger sample. A paper by the author of this article summarizing the updated results, "Communication Apprehension and People Orientations," will be reported at the SCA 1986 Annual Convention in November in Chicago.

[16]See Virginia P. Richmond and James C. McCroskey, **Communication: Apprehension, Avoidance, and Effectiveness** (Scottsdale, Arizona: Gorsuch Scarisbrick, Publishers, 1985), 111-112.

Communication Training for Legal Professionals

James A. Benson
and
Judith M. Thorpe

Reflecting back upon his career, a prominent lawyer observed, "I realized just how much of a lawyer's work involved dealing with people—listening to clients, developing rapport with them, handling them, educating and persuading judges and opponents. . ."(Goodpaster, 1975, 5.)

His observation serves well as a prelude to the topic which is the focus of our paper. It is becoming increasingly apparent that speech communication professionals possess a growing body of knowledge and insight which could assist lawyers to pursue more effectively important aspects of their practice which deal with instrumental people: their clients, important witnesses, judges and other attorneys.

Numerous investigations have documented that communication skills are highly important if a lawyer aspires to succeed. Perhaps the most fundamental indicator of this importance is the fact that much of a lawyer's time is spent communicating with others.

The observation of Shaffer, that 90% of a Lawyer's time is spent in talking and listening (Hunsaker, 1980, 423), is supported by an observational study of lawyer's rated as "good general practitioners" by their Dallas colleagues. These observations revealed that the lawyers studied did, indeed, spend a major part of their workday in interpersonal contact: transmitting information, interviewing, rapport building, advising, explaining, negotiating, and consulting (Decotiis and Steele, 1977, 30-32.)

This paper examines the importance "to lawyers" of four types of communication skills: advocacy, cross-examination, interviewing and interpersonal. It also explores specific types of knowledge and skills which communication experts could teach lawyers to use or to use more effectively.Finally, consideration is given to how professionals in communication might go about attempting to market their expertise to the legal community.

Importance of Skills
Advocacy

Advocacy skills are essential as a lawyer approaches the task of attempting to meet the needs of a client. Initially, these talents must be applied in establishing the necessary rapport with a client, so that the client will trust the lawyer and, as a result, will be cooperative (Nizer, 1980, 21.) Successful building of trust is what one legal expert terms the **matrix of meaning** (a realization of how the lawyer's abilities are suited to fulfill the client's needs), which he suggests is **critical** if a lawyer hopes to gain the necessary information to be able to handle the case effectively (Willett, 1985, 250.)

If the case is taken to trial, **vior dire** is another time the lawyer must rely upon effective advocacy skills. Not only does the attorney use these skills to obtain the needed information from a prospective jury member, but advocacy talents should be employed in a manner which will foster a positive image with the jurors who are chosen to hear the case. The **accuracy** of information obtained in **voir dire** to determine which persons should sit on the jury depends, in part, upon establishing a comfortable relationship with the persons being questioned during jury selection. As a result, one in three admitted that they deceived the lawyer during voir dire (Bennett and Ciampa, 1981, 33.) Another reason to utilize advocacy skills to foster an amicable relationship during **voir dire** is suggested during **voir dire** by an experienced legal observer: a negative impression created during **voir dire** may adversely influence the jury member's acceptance or judgment of a lawyer's information during a trial (Givens, 1981, 16.)

During a trial, advocacy skills are probably going to be particularly influential during both the opening and the closing statements.The opening statement has potential to be an important message for several reasons. This speech comes at a crucial point in a trial: at a time when the jury is the most relaxed (and, perhaps the most receptive, to information) and at a time when the jury is probably looking for someone to make sense out of what the case is all about (Swanson and Wenner, 1981, 17.) The opening statement is a key message because it is delivered while the jury is beginning to make an important decision—a judgment about whether the attorney is trustworthy. This assessment will undoubtedly influence their view of the merits of the lawyer's arguments, evidence and questions. Finally, the opening statement is a significant message because it usually influences how the remainder of the trial will go. Some lawyers indicate that a good opening statement sets the stage for all that follows (Givens, 1981, 16.)—that if the opening statement goes well, evidence flows into place more fluidly and it is easier for the jury to make sense out of the evidence presented (Swanson and Wenner, 1981, 17.)

A closing statement also requires application of advocacy skills. In this speech, attorneys attempt to help the jury make sense out of the information they have heard and to determine what that information means, in terms of the innocence or guilt of a client. It is important that the attornies project an aura in their style which suggests that they have confidence that the jury realizes the merits of their case. It is equally important that the advocates adapt their

messages to the needs of the jury, avoiding an information overload, employing advocacy skills in a manner that important points are emphasized, and phrasing ideas in simple terms (Givens, 1981, 56.)

The lawyer also needs to consider the potential impact of the advocacy skills of their witnesses. The witness ought to use advocacy skills effectively to project **credibility** (Stano and Reinsch, 1982, 198.) and they should be able to express their thoughts in a manner which facilitates comprehension of information by the jury (Nizer, 1980, 23.) As one lawyer puts it, the best witness is one who is humble (Golab, 1986, 31.)

The increasing use of expert witnesses has generated a need for lawyers to assist such witnesses to employ positive advocacy skills. Utilization of expert witnesses is so extensive that lawyers can easily locate them in the yellow pages of many cities (Lynch and Mitby, 1985, 21-22); they are as common in the court room as the lawyers themselves (Rossi, 1985, 18.) Legal authors indicate, however, that such witnesses often generate a negative image to a jury. They typically need assistance from the lawyer using them to present an effective demeanor and attitude, to make their testimony more appealing for a juror to digest and to accept; often, by verbalizing extensive qualifiers for their observations, they may project a lack of confidence in their opinions. (Daniels, 1985, 52.)

Even the placement of a lawyer's witnesses during a trial may have substantial impact upon the jury. One seasoned lawyer recommends that a wise attorney will place witnesses with the strongest advocacy abilities first and last. A strong initial witness, he reasons, may predispose the jury in a favorable manner to less impressive witnesses who follow, while a strong final witness leaves the jury with a powerful last impression (Nizer, 1980, 20.)

Recent studies have verified that lawyers acknowledge the importance of possessing strong advocacy skills. Surveys of lawyers in California (Schwartz, 1973, 325-333.) and in Kentucky (Benthall-Nietzel and Nietzel, 1975, 12.) revealed that strong majorities of the lawyers surveyed perceived the abilities to construct and present strong oral arguments, to negotiate, and to speak persuasively as important and essential to their practices. The California lawyers also indicated that these advocacy skills are valued more strongly the longer the lawyer has been practicing. A more recent national survey discovered that trial lawyers assessed four advocacy skills as extremely important: sounding sincere, generating a credible image, convincing a client that the lawyer is acting in the client's best interest, and fluent speaking skills (Thorpe and Benson, 1983, 11.)

The significance of advocacy skills in a trial are, indeed, substantial:

> A trial is a contest judged largely upon the persuasive ability of the two litigants. . .the intrinsic merits of any case are mediated by the persuasive impact of the messages which present the case and the persuasive skills of the individuals who present them (Parkinson, Geiser and Pelias, 1983, 16.)

Cross-Examination

Cross-examination skills also are important "lawyering" talents. In a trial setting, an attorney is dependent upon cross-examination talents to cast doubt upon the testimony of opposing witnesses, to raise questions about the credibility of a witness, and to make a jury aware of inconsistencies or essential admissions in the comments of a witness.

The impact of cross-examination upon a trial is estimated by one experienced lawyer as extremely substantial—90% of an attorney's cases are won by cross-examination of witnesses of the opposition, rather than by the direct testimony of one's own witnesses. (Nizer, 1980, 24.)

It is critical for an attorney to realize **when** to use cross-examination. Examination of a witness whose testimony is not damaging is a waste of time; examination of a witness whose comments are irrefutable can actually damage one's position in a trial.

A lawyer also must be able to utilize **productive techniques** in cross-examination. For example, careless eliciting of information may allow an opposing witness to repeat damaging information; an inappropriate method of questioning may arouse jury sympathy for your adversary's witness; and unwise selection of cross-examination questions might allow the person being questioned to withhold the admissions you are seeking or to ramble and confuse the issue (Stano and Reinsch, 1982, 197-211; Gottlieb, 1986, 134-157.)

Knowledge of effective cross-examination techniques is also an important consideration for the attorney's witnesses. A witness can generate credibility and a desirable image by using the right communication techniques. They can also undermine the impact of their information if their communications suggest uncertainty, deception or an unfavorable image to the judge or jury. Expert witnesses often need to be coached to utilize communication styles which enhance the latent credibility their testimony should contain; they also should be trained to communicate in a manner which suggests an appealing demeanor and which emphasizes clear expression of technical information (Lynch and Mitby, 1985, 48.)

As one might expect, practicing attorneys agree that cross-examination skills are essential to their careers. Over 90% of a national sample of trial lawyers indicated that cross-examination abilities are extremely important to their practice (Thorpe and Benson, 1983, 9.) In fact, more lawyers rated cross-examination as an extremely important skill than any other communication skill which was examined in this study.

Interviewing

Although successful handling of a legal case requires extensive reliance upon the ability to conduct effective interviews, many lawyers, several of whom have practiced for years, indicate that they do not possess high levels of skill in four essential interviewing skills: the ability to phrase effective questions to obtain the desired information,

skill to ask effective follow-up questions to elicit more in-depth replies, listening skills, and being able to use techniques to determine whether information provided by their clients is honest (Thorpe and Benson, 1983, 8.) For each of these same skills, these trial lawyers indicated that few of them feel that they were trained well by their undergraduate or law school to interview:

Skill	Percent feeling well trained	Percent saying little or no training
Asking effective questions	8.3	29.7
Asking effective follow-up questions	8.3	30.9
Listening	17.1	23.2
Methods to determine honesty of information	1.2	63.1

(Thorpe and Benson, 1983, 13)

Other researchers have found data which attests to the importance of interviewing skills; general practice lawyers report that they spend a major part of their workday in interviewing encounters (Decotiis and Steele, 1977, 30-32) and a variety of types of lawyers rate interviewing among the most important skills which they use (Baird, 1978, 265-268; Schwartz, 1973, 325; Benthall-Nietzel and Nietzel, 1975, 12.)

Two of the most important uses of interviewing talents occur when the lawyer interviews a client and when they participate in jury selection.

Interviewing is critical for the lawyer to gather the information needed to handle a case effectively (Willett, 1985, 250.) It is essential that the lawyer's interviewing methods generate a feeling of trust in the client—what Miller suggests to be the **ultimate** factor in an interview (Miller in Willett, 1985, 251.) Engendering trust requires appropriate use of techniques to show interest in one's client, to establish rapport with them, to ascertain an understanding of the client's information and to determine when the client may not be telling the truth. The importance of these factors is suggested by Smith's study, which indicated that communication behaviors exert more influence upon the outcome of such interviews than does the length of the interview (Smith in Willett, 1985, 249.)

A lawyer also depends upon interviewing skills to make judgments about potential jurors during **voir dire**. Effective interviewing techniques enable the attorney to project a positive and favorable image to the jurors selected, with the goal in mind of making the jurors more receptive to the information of the lawyer during the trial.

The importance of interviewing skills to effective cross-examination is obvious. Knowing which type of questions to use with a particular type of witness, how to phrase questions to control the cross-examination session, and knowing appropriate interviewing behaviors for a given situation equip a lawyer to make cross-examination efficient, effective and productive.

Sadly for the lawyer—but happily for the communication expert—interviewing skills have largely been ignored by law schools (Stevens, 1973, 551-707; Galinson, 1975, 355.)

Interpersonal

Utilization of interpersonal communication abilities permeates virtually all aspects of the lawyer's handling of a trial. Seasoned lawyers indicate that effective use of nonverbal communication techniques, for example, helps them and their clients to project positive images (Peskin, Summer, 1980, 7.) and enables them to establish rapport with a jury (Givens, 1981, 16.) They also use nonverbal communication to facilitate recognition of and retention of important ideas by the jury (Givens, 1981, 15), as well as to control, distract, or intimidate the opposing lawyer (Nizer, 1980, 22; Givens, 1981, 15.)

The ability to interpret correctly the nonverbal communication of others is essential to processing information from one's client, to select jurors wisely (Bennett and Ciampa, 1981, 30), and to know when to proceed with or abandon a line of cross-examination (Stano and Reinsch, 1982, 208; Nizer, 1980, 23.)

Reading the nonverbal communication of a jury or a judge can indicate when they do not understand the lawyer's information, whether their disposition toward you and your case is positive or negative, or whether it is necessary to make adjustments, such as when a jury is fatigued.

Being aware of one's own nonverbal communication can prevent counterproductive generation of meaning, such as unintentionally lending significance to a point of the opposing attorney by taking notes during his or her speech (Stano and Treinsch, 1982, 208) or calling undue attention to a minor mistake by your witness by appearing anxious (Nizer, 1980, 23.)

Although the importance of interpersonal communication has long been recognized by the Speech Communication profession, it has not been given similar recognition by law schools (Stevens in Benthall-Nietzal and Nietzel, 1975, 375.) It should not be surprising, then, to learn that lawyers are not skilled in using interpersonal communication techniques (Decotiis and Steele, 1977, 31; Thorpe and Benson, 1983, 11) and that they report little or no training in many of the interpersonal communication skills in undergraduate and law schools (Thorpe and Benson, 1983, 13.)

Advocacy

The previous section established a variety of ways in which use of communication skills is important to a lawyer for advocacy, cross-examination and interviewing purposes. This section examines types of training which a communication expert might provide to lawyers.

While a host of basic skills might be provided to lawyers by persons in communication (such as training in public speaking, persuasive strategies, listening, message organization), our attention is focused upon specialized types of training recommended by findings of studies and by observations of legal professionals.

A series of studies by Michael Parkinson and his associates (Parkinson, 1981, 22-32; Parkinson, Geisler and Pelias, 1983, 16-22) have examined language variables which are associated with successful and unsuccessful verdicts in civil and criminal trials. Their findings are perhaps best interpreted in relation to what these researchers identify as the rhetorical roles assumed by the main participants in a trial. The **plaintiff's** role is to establish that they have been wronged. To fulfill this role, the plaintiff must present substantial information to prove their claim, they must demonstrate to the jury how they were wronged, and it is probably important that they provide a great deal of specific information about how the wrong occurred. Content analysis of excerpts from transcripts of trials illustrated significant variance in language use among plaintiffs who won their case and those who lost. Successful plaintiffs spoke more (were more likely to present specifics and to give large amounts of information to the jury) and they used more adverbs and adjectives (commonly employed to assign motives to the acts of others.) Unsuccessful plaintiffs, on the other hand, were prone to use more abstract language (increasing the likelihood that claims of harm or the act in question might be vague or unclear to the jury.) (Parkinson, Geisler and Pelias, 1983, 16-22.)

The **defendants** in trials have the rhetorical role of casting doubt upon the evidence of the plaintiff. To do this, one would expect them to use abundant specific information, to use language which would disassociate themselves from the alleged wrongdoing, and to use language in a manner which projected a favorable image of themselves. In a nutshell, that is what distinguished successful from unsuccessful defendants in both civil and criminal trials. Those who won their civil cases used more specific descriptions (nouns with physical referents) and avoided associating themselves with the wrongdoing by using significantly more third-person pronouns. Their unsuccessful counterparts in civil trials used substantially more first-person pronouns and verbs which referred to themselves, both of which tended to associate themselves with the wrongful act. In criminal trials, successful defendants used substantially more grammatically correct sentences and more polite language (projecting a pleasant image), while unsuccessful defendants distinguished themselves with significantly more references to themselves (association with the alleged wrongdoing.) (Parkinson, Geisler and Pelias, 1983, 16-22.)

The **plaintiff's attorney** assumes the rhetorical role of successfully creating the impression of injustice to his or her client and of establishing that the defendant should be held responsible for the act. To do this, one would assume them to present substantial information to verify their claims, to emphasize the suffering and injustice their client has suffered, and to focus the jury's thinking about how the sitiatuion ought to be rectified. Analysis of the language usage of successful attorneys indicated linguistic choices which addressed this role. They spoke more (presenting more information); they used more emotionally laden language (such as honor and justice); they focused more upon the future (how things should be); and, in criminal cases, they exhibited a more aggressive style (reflecting, perhaps, a concern about the injustice.) The unsuccessful attorney's language in civil trials tended to focus more upon the present (rather than past harm or future justice) and presented a more complete description of events (verbs with subjects and predicates), rather than description of the abstract concepts of justice and honor. In criminal cases, the language of these attorneys was more conditional (expressing less certainty) and more hyper-correct, grammatically (perhaps suggesting a carefully planned strategy.) In short, the language of the successful plaintiff attorneys seems to be more suited to their rhetorical role in a trial than is the language of their unsuccessful counterparts (Parkinson, Geisler and Pelias, 1983, 16-22.)

The role assumed by the **defense attorney** is that of encouraging the jury to weigh the facts and to be objective. One could expect them to raise questions about the accuracy of the description of past events and to remind the jury of the legal precepts which should be used to determine guilt or innocence. Successful defense attorneys in civil cases used more language which was specific, rather than abstract (relating to the concept of objectivity), while in criminal trials they used language with more references to abstract concepts (like justice and honor), more questions about past events (challenging the veracity of the charges abainst their client) and more legal jargon. Language variables associated with failure in civil trials were the use of more abstract language (nouns without physical referents), more negative language, and more present-tense language (reflecting, perhaps, less exclusive attention to questioning the accuracy of the description of past events.) (Parkinson, Geisler and Pelias, 1983, 16-22.)

A second linguistic approach to legal communication is equally intriguing. Swanson and Wenner posit the theory that use of the appropriate **sensory language** may be a key to success in the courtroom. Persons in the Western culture, they suggest, tend to rely upon one of three sense modes to process information: visual, auditory or kinesthetic. The different manner in which these three types of persons process information is illustrated in the following responses to the question, "Please describe what you observed:"

Auditorily-dependent: ''I was walking along Sunset, *listening* to my radio, when all of a sudden I *heard* a piercing *screech* followed by a *loud crash*. I saw a woman *screaming*. Just then I *heard* the windshield shatter.''

Visually-dependent: ''I had a *clear view* of the accident. I saw a *blue Plymouth* with *black smoke* coming from the tailpipe run the *red light* and hit the *yellow* car broadside. At that point I *saw* a woman who *looked frantic* searching for a way out of the car. Yes, I *saw* a *bloody mess*. That's what I *saw.''*

Kinesthetically-dependent: ''Oh, I *felt* just *terrified* when I *sensed* that the Plymouth was going to hit the other car. *I felt so helpless* when I *realized* that that woman was *trapped*. Yes, I saw the woman *struggling* and was *shocked* when I heard that *terrible* man in the Plymouth *scream* in *pain.''* (Swanson and Wenner, 1981, 14.)

The theory suggests that a lawyer who adapts his/her language to the sensory mode of the jurors is most likely to establish positive rapport with them and to have maximum effectiveness, since the information is being presented in the mode which is easiest for the receiver to process. One discovers the sensory mode of jurors during voir dire by listening to the predicates, nouns, verbs and adjectives; one can also determine the sensory mode by asking purposeful questions during voir dire—questions which elicit descriptions by the jurors. One's witnesses can be directed to use the appropriate mode during cross-examination via the questions asked by the lawyer. In opening and closing remarks, the lawyer can couch thoughts in the appropriate sensory mode of the jury. As the authors put it: ''paint a picture'' for a visual person, ''orchestrate the testimony'' for an audit heart'' of the kinesthetic individual (Swanson and Wenner, 1981, 18.)

Although one of these linguistic concepts is based upon analysis of selected portions of trial transcripts and the other is a theory, the implications of the two concepts are fascinating. If validated, the ideas imply ways to apply content analysis in a practical fashion. The speech professional could assist a lawyer in understanding the language concepts, could provide analysis of the lawyer's language styles, and could consult in a trial situation, helping a lawyer to ascertain the sensory modes of a jury and to utilize the appropriate sensory mode in his or her cross-examination and speeches of advocacy. In similar fashion, assuming the Parkinson findings are valid, assistance could be given to assure that the lawyer and their client use language styles associated with success and avoid styles which are linked with failure.

Nonverbal communication appears to be another fertile area for advocacy assistance. although lawyers may rate the importance of these communication modes as less important, seasoned and successful lawyers indicate that they use nonverbal communication for several predetermined purposes in a trial. They use it to establish credibility; they employ kinesics to mark the structure of a message, to emphasize main ideas, and as a mnemonic device to assist jury recall of key arguments (Nizer, 1980, 23; Givens, 1981, 16, 55-56.) They employ proxemics to help them relate to a jury and to convey authority and confidence (Givens, 1981, 55)—and they even use nonverbal communication in deliberate ways to control opponents who are trying to distract a jury while they are talking (Nizer, 1980, 22.) Lawyers also use haptics, to show concern for their client by touching them or to indicate the lawyer's intense feeling by touching their own chest (Givens, 1981, 56.)

The potential for application of communication theory and skill to enhance advocacy presentations of witnesses is equally rich. Studies of witness communication have found that linguistic traits can assist a witness to project a desirable image (using courtesy markers and avoiding powerless rhetoric, for example), to generate credibility (use of correct grammar and avoidance of hedge words), and to avoid connecting oneself with the injustice being contested (avoidance of self-references)—all of which can have a bearing on the outcome of a trial (Parkinson and Parkinson, Conley in Stano and Reinsch, 1982, 200.)

Lawyers suggest that teaching a witness how to use kinesics to visually suggest a positive image can make the witness more appealing to a jury (Peskin, Summer 1980, 7) and that a lawyer's positioning when cross-examining a witness can either aid the witness to portray self-confidence and sincerity to the jury (if they are looking toward the jury while answering cross-examination) or can encourage the jury to perceive an undesirable image of the opponent's witness (Givens, 1981, 55.) A unique strategy, like having the client deliver the opening statement, is an advocacy tactic which is credited with substantial influence upon the success of an American Indian trial (Bennett and Ciampa, 1981, 33.)

Cross-Examination

The most obvious transfer of communication expertise to legal cross-examination would be to provide training about **when** to cross-examine witnesses, about **how** to select appropriate questions so that one controls the witness and also elicits the desired information, and the **techniques** of effective cross-examination, such as aiming to get small admissions, knowing how the respondent is likely to answer before asking a question, asking for facts rather than interpretations, and realizing when to abandon a line of questioning or how to jump question sequences when you suspect that the witness is canned or is lying.

Application of language concepts to cross-examination training may prove fertile, as well. Loftus, for example, found that a cross-examiner who used immediate [e.g., Did you see **the** (versus **a**) headlight?] who used **vivid** language (e.g., the auto **smashed**, rather than **collided**) obtained higher estimates of auto speeds and greater estimates of damage from witnesses (Loftus in Stano and Reinsch, 1982, 204.)

Communication experts could also train cross-examiners to phrase questions in a manner to elicit responses which were consistent with the sensory language modes of jurors.

Nonverbal expertise could be used to train lawyers to use proxemics effectively to assist in cross-examination. One such use would be to employ proxemics to make deception by a witness more uncomfortable (Peskin, Spring, 1980, 8); another would be to use proxemics to heighten the anxiety of a witness whom the attorney suspects may be ready to make an important admission (Peskin, Spring, 1980, 9.)

The training of communication skills to witnesses who will be cross-examined—a task which many authors indicate lawyers frequently neglect—is another application of the communication expert's talents. In addition to preparing the witness in terms of what to expect during cross-examination (Phillips, 1984, 274) training is needed in areas like using effective language strategies, employing nonverbal techniques like eye contact (to suggest credibility) and kinesics (to project a calm, confident image), as well as the reading of nonverbal communication, so that the witness understands when a judge or jury member does not understand what the witness is trying to tell them (Lynch and Mitby, 1985, 48.)

Interviewing

One needed skill which the interviewing expert can contribute to many legal professionals is the art of using a variety of types of questions purposefully. One legal observer laments that lawyers tend to use too many closed questions in their interviews of clients and of prospective jurors (Bonora in Dancoff, 1981, 29.) The importance of using a variety of open and closed questions to project a favorable image upon those one is questioning, to avoid intimidating jurors (who, in turn, may deceive the lawyer), or to discover the sensory language mode of jurors is apparent from discussions earlier in this paper.

You will recall that lawyers in one national survey indicated that discerning whether one's client is telling the truth is a problem for them—and a skill which they feel they lack. Techniques such as use of mirror questions, open questions and the reading of the nonverbal during responses to questions are skills which educational communicators teach students every term.

Perhaps one of the most valuable skills which interviewing training develops is that of listening. Two legal observers lament that listening skills are **trained out** of lawyers (Bennett and Ciampa, 1981, 32.) Given the potential benefits which a lawyer can accrue from careful listening—ranging from detecting a lack of trust on the part of their client to a chance to determine the sensory language mode of a juror—there are probably few more important abilities for a lawyer to possess than the ability to listen well.

Rapport is vital to a successful relationship with the lawyer's client. It is also a relationship which many lawyers have difficulty fostering:

> No formula and no form book exist for client interviewing and counseling. It is more like a painting than an equation. Unfortunately, that has lured many lawyers into giving it little consideration. As a result, they do it poorly, haphazardly, and in a fashion calculated to produce client dissatisfaction, poor business and poor practice. (Howarth and Hetrick, 1983, 63.)

Understanding how to use nonverbal communication techniques like those embodied in Wassmer's acronym, SOFTEN (Smile, Open your posture, Forward lean, Touch, Eye contact, and Nod) (Wassmer, 1979, 32-34) to facilitate mutual trust and to build rapport can be provided from lecture notes in practically any interviewing class.

Potential for Consulting or Training

Since the mid to late 1970's, the legal profession has made tremedous use of experts in a number of ways. First and foremost, they are relying more and more upon the expert witness. Jan Golab calls this the age of the expert witness:

> ...the last twenty years have seen enormous growth in the abundance and complexity of legal matters, especially in the technological details that litigations concern. (Golab, 1986, 28.)

Of particular interest to our discipline is one expert witness, Marilyn Lashner, a Ph.D. in communications from Temple University. While writing her dissertation in the 1960's, Lashner turned her content analysis expertise into a methodology to analyze the quality of news coverage. She now conducts scientific analyses of news and other communication, measuring statements, implications and innuendos. She uses this analysis to provide legal advice on malice and injury to reputation in suits which involve libel or invasion of privacy (Golab, 1986, 75-76.) The function which Lashner addresses is one which might also be assumed by other communication experts who have skills in content analysis.

To be realistic, few of us can probably foresee a career as an expert witness. However, we might consider providing market research for legal firms. One of the best known companies providing such service is comprised of experts in human behavior, rather than legal professionals. Litigation Sciences, a Palos Verdes, California, firm, specializes in product liability, antitrust, breach of contract, corporate criminal defense and major tax dispute litigation. They help an attorney define the behavioral component of overall trial strategy; their business is essentially to understand people and to understand the social and psychological processes that take place during a jury trial. The concept for Litigation Services was born in 1977 when Donald Vinson, a University of Southern California professor, was hired by IBM in a $300 million antitrust case to recruit a shadow jury which sat in the courtroom and provided daily feedback. Complying with IBM's wishes, Vinson formed a surrogate jury, matched demographically to the actual panel, which observed in the courtroom daily and was available each evening for detailed interviews. (Dancoff, 1981, 22.) For those of us trained in audience analysis, debate and argumentation,

interviewing and interpersonal communication, the possibility of using our expertise in this fashion, although perhaps highly ambitious, does exit. People with backgrounds similar to ours are working as trial behavioral consultants for a relatively new organization, The Association of Trial Behavior Consultants. Such an organization might provide the first step in pursuing consulting opportunities.

However, for a majority of us in the academic environment, time may not permit such extensive consulting work. Perhaps the most practical suggestion for us comes from Mr. Gary Hunt, Associate Director of Continuing Legal Education for the Tennessee Bar in Nashville (Hunt, October 26, 1986.) Mr. Hunt confirms the fact that lawyers do not have adequate skill training in communication, even though a recent survey indicates that law schools are placing increased emphasis upon communication training (Nobles, 1985, 21.) Hunt suggests that the most practical place for the academic specialist to begin is with the local bar in his or her community. Mr. Hunt suggests that every local bar generally meets at luncheon meetings and that they are always eager for speakers. He recommends that those who are interested in training/consulting offer their services as a luncheon speaker, usually for free. From this opportunity, workshops and training sessions can be offered at a future time. The ultimate goal of such volunteering to speak for free is to provide a one-hour workshop at an annual meeting of a group like the state meeting of the American Bar Association. The key to obtaining such workshop invitations seems to be through networking and building credibility at a local level, Hunt feels. He also indicates that a fee of $1000 for three workshops at a state association meeting is not unrealistic.

One might also offer workshops independently, of course. Curtis offers ten valuable tips for one who desires to market such workshops:

1. A private or closed seminar often produces a better turnout than an open seminar, which is aimed at a general audience.

2. Having the workshop at a well-known hotel or country club may increase attendance by 10-20%.

3. Scheduling morning sessions (8:30-11:00), which reduces room, food and beverage expenses, can achieve a better turnout because of lowered costs to participants.

4. Currently, one of the most successful promotional techniques is the three-way seminar. For example, a law firm, accounting firm and a bank jointly invite their clients to a private seminar. This means exposure to 30 to 100 qualified prospects at one time. You gain credibility by associating with other professionals. Three-way seminars also spread the costs and work load and generally guarantee a good turnout.

5. An effective program will provide useful and "how-to" information. The program should include support material, such as an outline, reprints of articles, or a workbook. People will forget what you told them, but they can refer to reference materials (with your name) later.

6. Since the most successful seminar requires 10 to 12 weeks to prepare, design your program so you can repeat the seminar with minimal effort.

7. The most important part of the seminar is the follow-up. Allow enough time to answer questions after the presentation. People have personal concerns which they do not want to disclose in a group.

8. Print your name, address and phone number everywhere on your workshop materials. People will refer to the material later.

9. Send people who attended the workshop a follow-up letter, encouraging them to communicate with you in the future. Also send them articles with your business card attached.

10. Do not hide from participants during breaks in the workshop or at the end of the workshop. The more accessible you are for discussion, the better you can build rapport. (Curtis, 1986, 62-64.)

Cathy Bennett, a human relations consultant who makes her living counseling lawyers in trial techniques, and John Ciampa, a trial lawyer and professor of interactive telecommunication at New York University, provide inspiration for many of us. They are creating a videodisc game which they hope will revolutionize legal instruction. The purpose of their videodisc is to help lawyers become intensely aware of verbal and nonverbal communication occurring at any given moment in a trial: from the subtle, nervous leg movements of a juror reacting to a question during **voir dire,** to the obvious stammer of an expert witness who is challenged on a crucial point of testimony. The videodisc helps the lawyer to become aware of the communication being expressed. At this point, the disc stops, and the lawyer is asked to determine how they would interpret the communication and how they would react to it. They then can view how other legal experts would interpret and respond to the communication episode. (Bennett and Ciampa, 1981, 30.)

Lawyers need to be excellent students and practitioners of communication. Who is equipped to train them more effectively, more efficiently and more thoroughly than teachers of communication and specialists in advocacy, like the debate coach? Echoing a suggestion made by Tom Willett a year ago:

> A(n)...area for improving communicative skills for lawyers is through convention programs, seminars and workshops. As public school teachers have developed "in-service" instruction, so could the legal profession. (Willett, 1985, 254.)

Perhaps all that needs to be done is for the communication specialist to make the first move.

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Boundary Spanners As Organizational Communicators: An Empirically and Theoretically Suggested Competency Model and Curriculum
Stanley K. McDaniel

Introduction. In discussing the management of information Shapero (1985) made the following claim:

> A strong case can be made that anything that improves the quality and quantity of information available to a professional and/or improves the professional's ability to receive, process, apply, and transmit information will improve that professional's productivity.

This description of the dependent relationship between productivity and organizational communication generates an interest in boundary spanning activities (BSA) and boundary spanning personnel (BSP) within and among organizations. The literature indicates that without boundary spanning communication the ability of an organization to receive, process, apply, and transmit information suffers. The organization becomes vulnerable to its environment because it lacks information needed for strategic decision making.

This article examines, therefore, the nature and functions of BSA and BSP within American organizations, especially organizations concerned with rapidly changing technology. The discussion includes a review of literature germane to this topic, followed by a statement of generalizations about BSA and BSP. Using these generalizations to describe a possible competency model for BSA and BSP, this paper concludes with a tentative proposal for preparing boundary spanners educationally.

Literature Review. Keller and Holland (1975) studied boundary spanning roles in a research and development organization. They discovered that BSA differ substantially depending on the interorganizational relations and context. When the organizations which are spanned have conflicting goals the boundary spanners can experience strong role pressures and tensions due to conflicting expectations for performance.

Adams (1976) presented an overview of BSA that emphasized negotiation, persuasion, and conflict resolution. He recognized that organizations need to communicate with other sytems to receive input and to dispose of their output, and that this need requires specialized boundary spanning roles.

He emphasized the psychological problems BSP may encounter in their roles. Their distance psychologically and geographically from their parent organization, their need to be sensitive to the preferences, needs, beliefs, attitudes, and norms of external organizations may create suspicion toward them, and a desire to monitor closely their behaviour by the parent organizations. BSP must reflect their own system to the outside and reflect the outside to their system. These activities open the door to suspicion toward themselves from inside and outside. Role conflict, therefore, may characterize BSA, to which boundary spanners must adjust.

Adams discussed at length the problems BSP encounter as negotiators. He observed that the success of BSP required skills in human relations. BSP must neutralize their perceived low trustworthiness and loyalty from within and their perceived low credibility from without.

Aldrich and Herker (1977) examined the functions served by boundary roles, the generation of boundary units and roles relating organizations to their environments, and the environmental and organizational sources of variation in the structure of boundary roles.

They reported that BSA include information processing and external representation. First, boundary roles serve as a main line of organizational defense against information overload. BSP may serve as information transmitters, filtering incoming information and facilitating information communication into their organizations. BSP act selectively on relevant information, summarizing it and then directing it to the units that need it. When the information is complex and cannot be quantified easily BSP must engage in "uncertainty absorption." They must draw inferences from perceived facts and communicate to insiders only the inferences.

Second, BSP act to counter the tendency of organizations to move toward a state of internal compatibility and compromise. Internal pacifism, if prolonged and hallowed as corporate culture, can isolate the units of organizations from important external influences. Left unchecked this isolation can jeopardize the effectiveness and threaten the survival of the organization. BSP may counter this trend by continuously scanning the environment for new technological developments, innovations in organizational design, and relevant trends in related fields. This role prevents the organization from premature ossificaiton and from becoming mismatched with its environments. Aldrich and Herker suggested, therefore, that an organization's ability to adapt to environmental contingencies depends in part on the expertise of boundary role incumbents in selecting, transmitting, and interpreting information originating in the environment.

The authors also recognized that much of the information to which BSP must attend comes from the outside, and that the directives given from the core of their parent organization may be no longer relevant in light of their most recently received information. BSP will inadequately perform their responsibilities, therefore, if they only receive information and follow policy. They must go beyond policy and respond situationally in order to keep their organization adequately informed and adapting to changing environments. Aldrich and Herker hypothesize, therefore, that an organization's ability to cope with environmental constraints depends in part on the ability of BSP to achieve a compromise between organizational policy and environmental constraints, and to choose strategic moves to overcome constraints.

Third, Aldrich and Herker argue that as organizational complexity increases and as technology requires increased internal differentiation the organization will be unable to depend upon informal BSA, and will formalize the position and the functions. They suggest that organizations with mediating technology, such that link clients or customers with each other, should have the highest proportion of boundary roles. Organizations with long-linked technology (food processing) will attempt to buffer most of their units from the environment, and will have a lower proportion of boundary roles. Organizations with intensive technology, which depend upon the object being worked on (a hospital) will also buffer most of their units and roles from the environment. They should also have a lower proportion of BSA, except that the high degree of professionalism their staff members practice includes a great deal of boundary spanning in order to keep abreast of changing technology.

Concerning the power bases upon which BSP may draw, the authors suggest that expertise probably is their primary power base. BSP are expected to exercise discretion and to be able to recognize contingencies. The information that filters into an organization from BSP is often their inferences from raw data they have received. They create, in fact, organizational intelligence, and once created intelligence tends to be accepted. To the extent that their created intelligence enhances their organization's ability to adapt adequately, they will be able to exercise power based on their expertise.

Aldrich and Herker conclude from their analysis that boundary spanning roles link environmental characteristics and organizational structure, with the further stipulation that organizations face multiple environments and can have a variety of boundary roles for units with different structural characteristics.

Schwartz and Jacobson (1977) examined the place and function of the liaison person (boundary spanner) within an organization. They classified all members of the organization into three roles: group members, liaison, and isolate. They obtained a record of the regular dyadic linkages that occured during a given time within the organization, and graphically illustrated these linkages. Then they removed from the illustration those linkages that involved the liaison persons within the formal structure of the organization. After removing the liaison linkages the remaining communication pattern demonstrated visually the critical location of liaisons within the static picture of the network. With the exception of a few bridge contacts there were no regular working relationships among the separate extant groups. They concluded that liaisons are essential to creating the total organizational structure, and that their removal destroys the connected unity of the organization.

Next, they executed a field study to discover the demographic, interactional, and functional characteristics of the liaisons within the organization. They found that promotion into a managerial or administrative position increased liaison activity, but that such a position is not a necessary condition for assuming a liaison communication role. Liaisons also had a broader span of contact than nonliaisons, and liaisons were early knowers who provided early dissemination of information through the organizational network. They also concluded that the liaison functioned as a dyadic opinion leader for nonliaison group members, and in this role they influenced the formation and change of attitudes.

Tushman (1977) studied the existence and the characteristics of special boundary roles as one means for innovating organizations to accomplish cross-boundary communication. Tushman argued that the innovation process demands information flow across organizational boundaries, but because each organization and even each subunit within an organization generates its own idiosyncratic norms, values, time frame, and coding scheme, communication impedance builds up. To deal with this impedance organizations develop special boundary roles—individuals who translate contrasting coding schemes. They mediate the transfer of information from external information areas into the organization's communication network.

Tushman separated the organization into intra-department, intra-laboratory, and extra-organizational communication domains. He defined communication stars as those individuals in the top fifth of the intra-department communication distribution. He divided project tasks into four categories: basic research, applied research, development, and technical service. For each task he also considered the stability of its environment and the extent of its interdependence with other areas of the organization.

He discovered that the communication needed for organizational innovation and productivity occurred in a two-step process. The majority of the technical staff received the information by speaking with the internal communication stars who in turn were strongly linked to other areas in the larger organization. This indicates that BSP contribute to the innovation process by linking their work areas to external information domains.

Tushman found that projects with more complex information processing requirements consistently have more boundary roles than projects with less complex information processing requirements. For example, research projects have more boundary spanning roles than technical service projects. Projects facing a changing

environment have significantly more roles per project than projects facing a stable environment. Projects with substantial task interdependence have significantly more roles per project than projects with little task interdependence. Thus, BSA seem to be a way of dealing with work-related uncertainty.

Leifer and Delbeoq (1978) developed a theoretical framework for analyzing determinants and functions of activity at the boundaries of organizations. They assumed that information about environmental contingencies must reach organizational decision makers in order that they may decide appropriately, relevant to environmental conditions and contingencies. This perspective identifies boundary spanning as an essential activity within the adaptation process. They defined an organizational boundary as the demarcation line or region between two systems that protects their members from extra systemic influences and that regulates the flow of information, material, and people into or out of each system. With this definition and assumption the authors arrived at several conclusions about the functions of BSP in organizations.

First, they described BSP as exchange agents between the organization and its environment and as advocates of change, responsible for changing the attitudes, perceptions, and values of organizational members. Second, they argued that BSP must reduce the stimuli emerging from technological, economic, demographic, and cultural conditions, and compose it into information relevant for the organization's goal attainment.

Leifer and Delbeoq described their theoretical model of BSA at the organizational/environmental interchange in terms of two major areas of activities. First, boundary spanners attend to aspects of the environment as a function of: 1) what they are told to pay attention to, 2) their own wants, needs, and personalities, 3) some attention cues based on past experience, 4) how and in what context they expect that information to be utilized, and 5) cues based on whether or not the information is redundant. Second, boundary spanners select out of the total perceived environment some subset for transmission internally to the organization.

Spekman (1979) investigated the power base of BSP. He hypothesized that the potential dependency relationships, growing from the ability of BSP to absorb uncertainty for others, would provide a power base for BSP. He examined BSP as influence agents and he focused on their relationships with those constituents with whom they regularly interact during the performance of their jobs.

He described the organization as an interdependent, decision making system with the primary goal of reducing the degree of uncertainty with which it contends. Organizations consist of specialized units, each contributing toward the organization's mission, but also creating communication impedance boundaries. Boundary spanners function as information transfer agents, keeping units in contact and integrated with the organization and its environment. It is not, however, uncertainty per se that confers power, but rather it is the ability of the boundary spanner to cope with uncertainty that determines the degree of power achieved.

Spekman found a positive correlation that suggests coping with uncertainty fosters a greater dependency as the perceived level of uncertainty increases. He also found that the power base of BSP results primarily from their ability to gather and filter information considered crucial by their constituents. This study indicated, however, that while expert power emerged as the dominant power base, its effective utilization may be tied to a combination of noncoercive power bases by BSP.

Tushman and Katz (1980) examined the gatekeeping function within communication networks. They defined gatekeepers as those key individuals who are both strongly connected to internal colleagues and strongly linked to external domains. They investigated the relationships between the existence of gatekeepers and subunit performance for different types of tasks, and the role played by gatekeepers in mediating external information.

The authors argued that communication difficulties facing organizations directly relate to organizational differentiation. Organizations and their subunits develop local languages and orientations, a locally shared semantic and cognitive field to define, label, and organize a complex reality. This local orientation and coding scheme permits those who share them to operate efficiently within their immediate spheres. When communicating with those who do not share their coding scheme and technical language, however, work related communication becomes less efficient and more costly. Lack of linguistic commonality functions as a communication impedance. Organizations face, therefore, a paradox. The local languages and coding schemes facilitate the achievement of immediate goals, but at the same time obstruct the acquisition and interpretation of needed information from external areas.

Tushman and Katz suggest that gatekeeping may handle this paradoxical situation. Gatekeepers belong to an organizational communication network and can understand and translate contrasting coding schemes. They can gather and understand external information, then translate this information into meaningful, useful terms to their parent organization. They hypothesized, therefore, that gatekeepers function as primary lial sources of information for an organization. The authors conducted this investigation within a research and development facility, and defined gatekeepers as those individuals who were in the top fifth of their intra-department communication distribution. They categorized the organizational tasks as basic research, applied research, development, and technical service.

The data supported the idea that gatekeepers may act to reduce the communication impedance between local and external areas by training, directing, and socializing their fellow colleagues. It appears that gatekeepers enhance project members' ability to communicate with external areas. The gatekeeping role also became more vital when the tasks were the more local development and technical service projects.

The data also indicated that supervisors are not necessarily effective linking mechanisms to external domains. The relationship between external communication and project performance, however, differs for those supervisors who are also gatekeepers as contrasted with those supervisors who are not gatekeepers. The performance is highest when the supervisor is also a gatekeeper. Gatekeepers, therfore, play a key role in communication networks, a role that differs from but complements the supervisory role.

Tushman and Scanlon (1981) investigated the characteristics of boundary spanners and the extent to which they link their subunits to more than one external area. They described BSP as internal communication stars, frequently consulted on work related matters and with substantial communication with areas outside their unit. These individuals have necessarily strong external and internal links in order to gather and transfer information from outside their subunit.

This study focused on a research and development facility that performed basic research, general research, development, and technical service tasks. The authors discovered that stars had more lab experience and were located at higher levels in the organization than were nonstars. Stars were more externally oriented than nonstars and their internal linkages were based on both formal and informal mechanisms.

They also found significant differences by task category. There are more stars as supervisors in technical service projects than in research or development projects. Supervisors in the more organizationally defined and routine technical service projects are more likely to have requisite task information than are supervisors in the more universally defined and more complex research or development projects.

Stars in research projects are significantly more professionally oriented than are stars in the other categories, while stars in technical service projects are more strongly oriented toward operations. A professional orientation refers to gathering general technical/scientific information, and an operational orientation refers to information gathering focused on more specific organizational objectives. Stars seem to be oriented toward information areas that are most crucial to their project's work requirements.

Tushman and Scanlon (Antecedents, 1981) asked, how are decision makers in organizations linked with external information areas, and what are the antecedents of boundary role status? They argued that specialized units are created within organizations to deal with homogenous tasks, that boundaries are erected to separate subunits from external areas, that local norms, values, and languages evolve in order to facilitate the specialized unit's work, and that this specialization creates obstacles to information processing between a unit and external areas. Communication boundaries are created by the idiosyncratic language/coding schemes, and by the development of local conceptual frameworks. Units create their own specialized semantics, and it becomes necessary to recode at boundaries between units if extra-unit communication is to occur. Someone must convert words into the second semantic space while retaining meanings held in the first semantic space.

Boundaries can be spanned effectively, therefore, only by individuals who understand the coding schemes and are attuned to the contextual information on both sides of the boundary, enabling them to search out relevant information on one side and disseminate it to the other. This process includes: 1) obataining information from outside units, and 2) disseminating this information to internal users.

The authors identified three communication roles: internal stars, external stars, and boundary spanning individuals. Internal communication stars engage in more than one standard deviation above the mean number of intra-department communications. External stars are individuals in the top fifth of the extra-department communication distribution. Boundary spanning individuals are both internal and external communication stars.

The data indicated strong support for the hypothesis that those nominated as valuable sources of new information and ideas are BSP. There was also strong support for the hypothesis that boundary spanning is more than a function of formal position in the hierarchy. Also, internal stars were those percieved as technically competent by their peers, and perceived competence was more significant than position in the hierarchy. Finally, this study supported the hypothesis that individuals who are strongly linked to professional areas are more professionally oriented, while those linked to operational areas are more locally linked, receiving their major input through formal channels of the organization.

This study supported the conclusion that BSP must be able to translate across communication boundaries and be aware of contextual information on both sides of the boundary. Second, the data strongly supported the claim that extensive internal and external communication are necessary conditions for information boundary spanning, but not sufficient conditions.

As to the antecedents of boundary spanning roles, the authors found only that perceived work related competence was a basic determinant of informational boundary spanning.

Katz and Tushman (1983) investigated the influence of boundary spanning supervisors on the turnover and promotion of their project subordinates in an engineering firm. They identified and defined two boundary spanning communication roles: 1) gatekeepers link project colleagues to key sources of information both inside and outside the organization, and 2) internal liaisions link project colleagues only to sources of information within the organization.

They tested two hypotheses: 1) project members working for boundary spanning supervisors are more likely to remain with the organization than are project members working for supervisors who are not boundary spanners, and 2) project members working for boundary spanning supervisors are more likely to receive promotions to

management than are members working for supervisors who are not boundary spanners.

The data failed to support the second hypothesis, but the first received strong support. Project members reporting to gatekeeping supervisors had a significantly lower rate of turnover than did engineers assigned to supervisors who were either nonboundary spanners or only internal liaisions. They found that 80% of subordinates, twenty-five years of age or less, remained with the company if they reported to a gatekeeper, but only 33% remained who reported to a nongatekeeping supervisor. Apparently only a gatekeeping supervisor has strong positive effects on the early socialization and development of young employees. What differentiated young stayers from leavers was their level of contact with their project and departmental supervisors; that is, their degree of vertical communication and integration. What really made the difference was the high level of vertical interaction between the gatekeeping supervisors and their young engineering subordinates.

The authors concluded that because they are well connected professionally and organizationally, gatekeepers are particularly qualified to meet the breaking-in concerns of young professionals. The high levels of interpersonal contact between gatekeeping supervisors and young project engineers facilitates socialization and results in more accurate expectations, perceptions, and understanding about one's role in the project and in the larger organization.

Summary/Competency Model. The foregoing literature review provides an empirical and theoretical foundation for making several generalizations about the person who is or would be a boundary spanner. The critical communication roles of boundary spanners for keeping organizations adaptive indicate the need to have an operational definition of boundary spanning from a communication perspective. Specifically needed is a competency model description to guide in developing educational and training programs that will prepare individuals to function as boundary spanners. The following discussion provides a first step toward these goals.

The literature suggests that we may describe the competencies of boundary spanners in four general areas: interpersonal skills, general communication skills, perceptual skills, and personality strengths (see Figure 1).

Interpersonal skills of the boundary spanners must meet certain minimum requirements. BSP must excel in dyadic communication, where communication flow is one-to-one in a mutually reciprocal exchange of information, questions, feelings, disagreements, and nonverbal messages. Second, BSP must understand the techniques of conflict resolution and be able to use them in the dyadic, group, and public communication situations. BSA, as the research indicates, bring together people and perspectives with differing and disagreeing coding schemes and semantic references. Out of such clashing encounters BSP must synthesize the information needed to resolve conflict in such a way that the parent organization adapts successfully. Third, BSP must understand and employ the techniques of productive human relations. BSP must behave toward others as facilitators, not irritators or dictators. BSP lack a coercive power base, and they must rely heavily on the credibility they possess, as perceived by both insiders and outsiders.

General communication skills include those behaviors and concepts that we associate with public speaking. BSA inherently include persuasion. The research indicates that advocating policy, attitude, belief, and perspective modificaion to insiders and outsiders constitutes a major and critical role for BSP. Boundary spanners, therefore, must understand and apply skillfully the theories and techniques of persuasion through public address. Second, BSP contribute significantly to their colleagues as professional mentors, corporate socializers, and skills trainers. These roles require an understanding and skillful application of teaching techniques, especially techniques proved effective in technical and adult education. Third, the research indicates that BSP communicate data from the macro environment into the parent organization, and that the data must be made relevant. This role demands the employment of skills that produce successful technical speechmaking, skills that BSP must understand and master. BSP have to communicate from the outside to the inside with accuracy, clarity, interest, and relevancy of information. Fourth, BSP must possess a rich vocabulary. Although not a specific communication skill, it belongs here because the above listed communication skills and most of the skills remaining for discussion can only be performed by a person with a depth and breadth of words, concepts, and images with which to conceptualize, translate, and communicate.

The research suggests that successful BSA depend upon the perceptual skills of BSP. When personnel predictably "see" things alike, then the organization that must innovate and adapt in a turbulent environment faces an intolerable situation. Comfort, complacency, and predictability reduce personal and organizational stress in the short run, but may kill the organization in the long run. Organizations need "seers" who understand conventional wisdom and the "way things are," but who "see" what should be and can be in spite of organizational parochialism and groupthink.

BSP must, first of all, understand the concept of corporate culture, and then understand the cultures of both their parent organizations and the outside organization into which they span at any given time. Without this understanding data will remain just data. The role of BSP requires taking data and translating it into new configurations that might not and probably should not fit comfortably into the corporate culture of their parent organizations. Creating and communicating new configurations from existing data requires the ability to translate the coding scheme of an outside organization into the coding scheme of a parent organization (see Figure 2). These skills indicate a need for BSP to understand and apply the insights and techniques of semantics, general semantics, and cross-cultural communication.
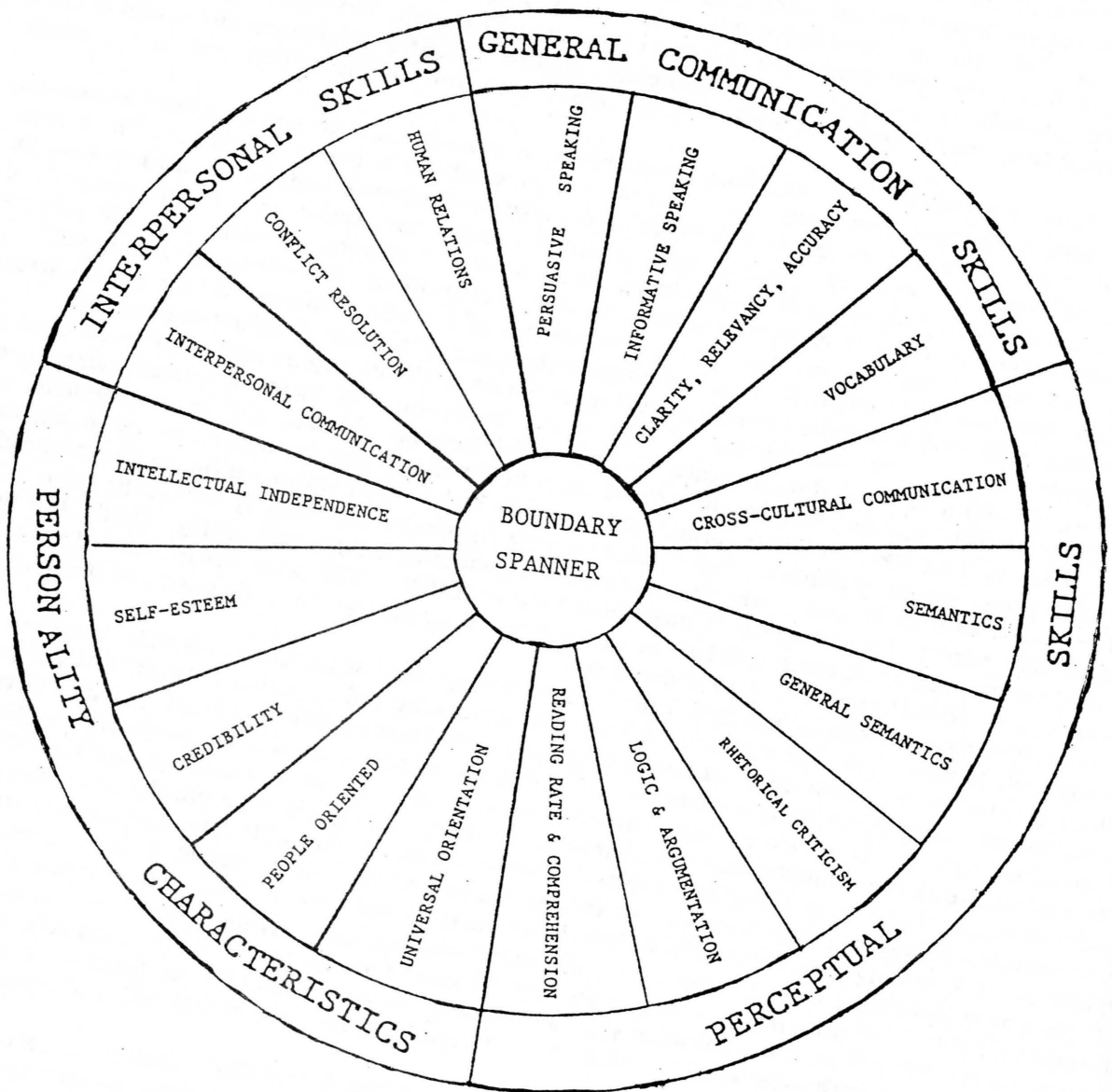
Areas of Boundary Spanning Competencies

Figure 1

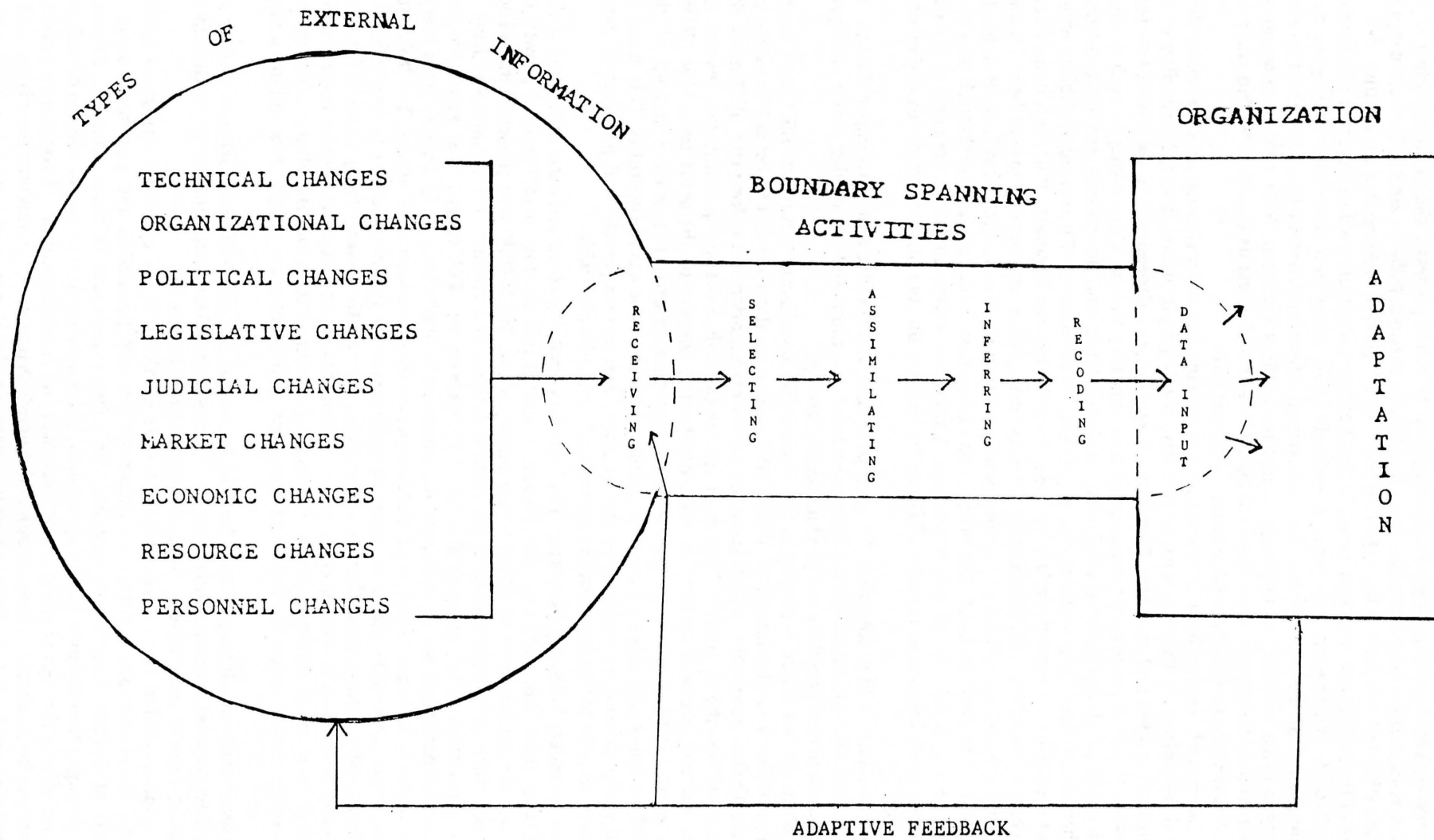# The Boundary Spanning Communication Process

Figure 2

The perceptual skills of competent BSP must also prepare them to discriminate between the essential, the important, and the trivial as it comes to them in the flow of information input. They must filter the input, absorb its uncertainty, and then create from the essential and the important that intelligence their parent organizations need for survival. This function suggests that competent BSP will possess a clear understanding of the deductive and inductive reasoning processes, practice both, and be able to detect fallacies created by their inappropriate use.

Competent BSP will also have a high reading rate and a high comprehension and retention rate of what they read. Many of the studies reviewed here revealed that boundary spanners read widely, that this reading kept them partially informed, and therefore prepared to provide input where and when their colleagues needed it. The problem competent BSP must resolve is to use at maximum efficiency their time for reading and for reflecting upon their reading in order to "see" its implications and to recode it for input. Related to reading professional and technical materials is the matter of professional linkages. Research suggests that membership and participation in professional associations encourage and prepare competent BSP.

Finally, the research implies that BSP should possess certain personality characteristics. Because they operate on the fringes of organizations they live with uncertainty, conflicting demands, and the possibility of being held in suspicion by both insiders and outsiders. Sometimes they must act independently in violation of current policy and precedent when the most current information indicates that they should. Competency in such situations requires people with a well developed sense of self-esteem, self-confidence, and the courage and independence of mind to act upon their convictions. The research also argues for the essentiality of perceived credibility within BSP, and that without credibility all other boundary spanning faculties become impotent. BSP must understand, therefore, the components of perceived credibility and consciously develop those components in their behavior and person.

BSP link individuals, subunits, and organizations, and they do this through people. BSP must, therefore, be people oriented. They must genuinely like people and like working with people. The research may imply that they should be more people oriented than task oriented. They achieve their goals and the goals of their organization through people, both inside and outside. This implies that the linkage function demands competence in human relations skills.

BSP must also have a high tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty, and must enjoy change. The research demonstrates that BSP assimilate the ambiguous and the uncertain, and out of this create intelligence for their parent organizations that hopefully will produce healthy change.

Finally, although not stated explicitly in the research reviewed here, competent BSP must have a universal orientation, not just a local orientation. While BSP need a local orientation to get the job done for the home office, such a limited perspective will ill serve the parent organization in the long run. BSP must always see the universal and not just the particular. They must ask the difficult, irritating questions that involve the long term perspective, not just passively accept the easy, comforting answers of the short term view. While they find themselves employed by a particular corporation, they must reserve a significant amount of themselves as employees of humanity, whose goal transcends current production and quarterly profits. They must, in behavioral terms, hold world citizenship, acting upon trans-cultural and trans-organizational perspectives, but using those perspectives to keep the parent organization economically and ethically viable.

Educating Boundary Spanning Personnel. The boundary spanning communication model and the competencies model emerging from this discussion (See Figures 1 and 2) indicate that organizational growth and technical innovativeness are not functions of technical competency alone. While BSP must possess technical competence in their specialty, they must also possess skills, understandings, and characteristics that come from nontechnical studies and experiences. The four general areas of competency for BSA suggest that university personnel from many different departments can contribute to the education of BSP (See List 1). Faculty from every department listed already teach concepts, skills, and develop personality characteristics needed by BSP. Developing an educational program for BSP, therefore, requires some boundary spanning activity among selected members of those listed university departments. They should produce a more refined competency statment for BSP and a more accurate model of the BSA communication process. Then they should integrate existing courses and new courses into a curriculum of study and development to match the communication model and to produce the competencies. As a first step in this direction the following discussion points out some possibilities within existing courses of study.

Interpersonal skills development exists already in several disciplines. Departments of Speech offer courses developing interpersonal communication and conflict resolution skills. Departments of Psychology offer courses with laboratory experiences to develop productive human relations skills.

General communication skills development may be obtained in the current offerings of several university departments. Persuasive and informative speechmaking and persuasion are standard course offerings by Departments of Speech. Speech Departments also offer experiences in argumentation, debate, and group discussion through intercollegiate forensic programs. Skills development in the techniques of technical and adult education are offered through Deparments of Technical and Adult Education. If vocabulary building courses do not exist they can be developed in consultation with English Departments. In this area there is the need for numbers of words and the need to think and to perceive in images. English Department courses in world literature, studying the classics of western and non-western cultures can significantly contribute here.

Boundary Spanning Qualifications and Academic Departments Offering Courses Toward Qualification

Skills, Characteristics, Education	University Department
I. Interpersonal Skills	**I. Interpersonal Skills**
1. Interpersonal Communication	1. Speech
2. Conflict resolution	2. Speech
3. Human relations	3. I/O Psychology
II. General Communication Skills	**II. General Communication Skills**
1. Persuasive speaking	1. Speech
2. Informative speaking	2. Speech/Adult Education
3. Clarity, accuracy, relevancy	3. Speech/English
III. Perceptual Skills	**III. Perceptual Skills**
1. Cross-cultural communication	1. Speech/Anthropology
2. Semantics	2. Speech/English
3. General semantics	3. Speech/English
4. Enthymeme	4. Speech
5. Logic & reasoning	5. Speech/Philosophy
6. Reading rate & comprehension	6. English
IV. Personality Characteristics	**IV. Personality Characteristics**
1. Independence of mind	1. Psychology
2. Self-esteem	2. Psychology
3. Credibility	3. Speech
4. People oriented	4. I/O Psychology
5. Universal orientation	5. Philosophy/Anthropology

List 1

Perceptual skills are somewhat intangible and undefinable, making it difficult to relate such skills to specific courses. It seems, however, that Departments of Anthropology offerings in cultural anthropology will develop the ability to "see" new worlds as the student perceives how other societies perceive their worlds. Courses in world religions, offered through Departments of Religious Studies also develop the ability to "see" and to understand entire universes differing from the perspective of the American student. Study in semantics and general semantics will provide an understanding into the nature of words and how we use them, and more importantly, how words use us. Departments of English may offer such courses. Departments of Philosophy offer courses that develop understanding and skill in using inductive and deductive logic and in detecting fallacies of reasoning. A Speech Department can develop the student's ability to become a rhetorical critic of communication content. Critical analysis of the commmunication created by a society constitutes an effective approach to discovering and understanding the culture of that society. The classical concept of the "enthymeme," a deductive argument based on the listeners' conceptions of the "good," the "desirable," and the "expedient," provides a powerful construct for discovering the culture of any corporate group.

The least open to curricular planning and development of boundary spanning competency are the personality characteristics. Many, if not all, personality characteristics are set by home and early experiences, long before the student enrolls in the university, or even in high school. Some possibilities exist, however. Many studies done by rhetorical scholars have established clearly the nature of source credibility. A person can understand and develop this essential characteristic through special topics courses offered by Departments of Speech. Departments of English can assist in developing increased reading rate, comprehension, and retention. Professional linkages could be greatly promoted by the advisors and departments of the students' technical majors. Upper division students could be required to join the major professional association related to his or her major, read extensively in the professional literature during undergraduate as well as graduate study, and be encouraged and subsidized to attend the annual meetings of the national or regional professional association representing the students' major.

Developing a universal perspective is a matter that is problematic, because that is supposedly why general education courses exist as graduation requirements. There is, however, abundant evidence to indicate that students politely tolerate (sometime not so politely) such courses, and "get them out of the way" in order to get on with their technical major. This value orientation toward the immediately pragmatic may be the major obstacle to producing boundary spanners in adequate numbers and skills for our industrial and technical health. On this point, no suggestion is forthcoming here.

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The Strange Case of
Samuel Beckett vs. Artistic Freedom in Theatre

Thomas Pallen

In 1957, Samuel Beckett wrote **Endgame**, a script that begins with the following stage direction:

> Bare interior. Grey light. Left and right back, high up, two small windows, curtains drawn. Front right, a door. Hanging near door, its face to wall, a picture. Front left, touching each other, covered with an old sheet, two ashbins. Center, in an armchair on casters, covered with an old sheet, **HAMM**. Motionless by the door, his eyes fixed on **HAMM, CLOV**. Very red face. Brief tableau.[1]

The passage goes on to describe at length a series of actions by Clov that precedes the opening dialog. Throughout the script, Beckett distributed other stage directions that indicated blocking, character interpretation, and pauses in dialog.

Beckett had established this pattern of elaborate stage directions in his earlier play, **Waiting for Godot**. The opening set description reads tersely enough, "A country road. A Tree. Evening." But here, as in the later **Endgame**, Beckett provides descriptions of actions ("Estragon, sitting on a low mound, is trying to take off his boot. He pulls at it with both hands, panting. He gives up, exhausted, rests, tries again. As before."), movements ("advancing with short, stiff strides, legs wide apart"), and emotions ("irritably. . .gloomily. . .feebly").[2]

Alan Schneider directed the first United States production of **Endgame**, at New York's Cherry Lane Theatre, in 1958. He communicated closely with Beckett and followed the playwright's instructions precisely. In "Waiting for Beckett: A Personal Chronicle," Schneider described Beckett's stage directions for this play as, "essentially and specifically valid." explaining that he followed those directions faithfully and expected actors and designers to follow suit.[3]

Later in the same article, Schneider noted, "Throughout, I kept constantly in touch with Sam, letting him know all about our ups and downs, and continuing to question him in detail—his answers always opening up new vistas and new possibilities."[4]

Here, we have one possible paradigm for theatrical production, a director who maintains close contact with the playwright and makes every effort to follow the writer's wishes precisely. This model is fairly typical of first productions of plays, or, as in this case, a premiere in a major theatre center of a particular country, sitations in which the playwright is likely to take an interest in the production and remain open for questioning. It also typifies revival productions of the works of certain playwrights, notably the 1984 revival of **Death of a Salesman**, with which Arthur Miller worked as extensively as with the premiere of **Salesman** in China. This approach to production does not by any means indicate a weakness or lack of originality on the part of the director. Rather, it represents a legitimate and respectable artistic choice, the decision to follow the playwright's intention as expressed through dialog, stage directions, and, if possible, direct contact.

There exists, however, another potential prototype, a production in which the director chooses to interpret the playwright's script more broadly, even if the interpretation results in what some would consider a violation of the writer's vision and design. This model comes into use most frequently as a result of one of two conditions. On the one hand, the director may have seen a faithful production of the play in question and, like David Hays approaching the design of Schneider's **Endgame**, determined "to do everything exactly differently."[5] This directorial choice may emerge from a feeling that the faithful production was flawed in some way or from that sense of artistic experimentation, investigation, and expression that has led artists through the ages to revisit old themes and subjects. On the other hand, the director may decide that the play as written would not communicate its ideas to a modern audience. This latter approach has led to a great many reinterpretations of Greek, Roman, Elizabethan, Neoclassical, and Restoration dramas.

Having dubbed the first model "faithful," I will label this one "conceptual," meaning that the director brings to the play an idea different in some way from the playwright's own. When this approach meets the scripts of deceased playwrights, the director stands on safe ground, at least until the concept encounters the challenges posed by audiences and critics. Difficulties can occur much earlier, though, when the playwright is still alive to dispute the director's concept.

Such a problem struck the 1984 American Repertory Theatre (ART) production of **Endgame**. Director Joanne Akalaitis took a conceptual approach to the play by setting it in an abandoned subway tunnel. Writing in **Theatre**, Jonathan Kalb provided the following description of David Stein's scenography:

Broken steel girders outline the top of the back wall, which is about twenty feet high and made of metal plates. . . . To the left and right are partial lifesize subway cars, situated diagonally, no track in sight, as if strewn there by a tremendous explosion. Their windows have no glass and are charred at the top edges, indicating a fire. The electric lights on the cars are unaccountably illuminated, as are a line of theatre striplights offhandedly lying in a rubbish pile in front of Nagg and Nell's ashbins. Centered in the floor of black mud is a large puddle that reflects the various stage lights, and beside the pool is a charred human body.[6]

The production also featured a score by Philip Glass that included introductory and incidental music. According to **Theatre Crafts**, "The set and music of the ART production was [sic.] anticipated as being part of an exciting new interpretation of a modern classic" by artistic director Rober Brustein and his company.[7]

Samuel Beckett did not see it that way. Or, to be more accurate, Fred Jordan, the Vice President of Grove Press, did not see it that way. After attending a preview performance, Mr. Jordan reported what he had seen to Barney Rossett, President of Grove Press, whose company publishes the American editions of Beckett's works and who acts as the writer's American agent. Mr. Rossett, in turn, contacted Beckett, who lives in Paris and, like Mr. Rosett, never actually saw the ART production. Beckett subsequently ordered his New York lawyer, Martin Barbus, to file suit to stop ART from opening and running **Endgame**. According to accounts published in the **New York Times** and the **Washington Post**, Beckett objected to the departure from his scenic description, to the Glass score, and to the casting of two black actors in the roles of Hamm and Nagg, which, according to Beckett, "Introduced the topic of 'miscegenation' into the play."[8]

Jordan, Rossett, and Garbus each commented on the ART interpretation. A **New York Times** article quoted Rossett as claiming that, "Beckett, for better or worse, writes in an extremely precise way. . . . Apparently, some people believe in a play only the dialogue counts. With Beckett, the silence, the set, the costumes, the lighting all count. It's all of a piece. The same article cites Garbus as arguing,

> For example—some of Beckett's plays are set in the desert. . . . He's very much interested in images of aridity, desperation. Here they have images of water. Beckett's plays deal with timelessness. This production takes place in a subway after a nuclear holocaust. It might be a valid vision. It is not his vision.

Jordan added, "Beckett doesn't want to be interpreted. (He has said in the past,) by interpreting me, you destroy my meaning."[9]

On Beckett's behalf, then, Mr. Garbus, "Threatened to file suit in U.S. District Court in Boston to stop the theatre from staging 28 planned performances of the play on the grounds that the author's copyrights had been violated."[10] This suit raises an interesting and vital question. How far do the playwright's copyrights extend? Do they simply keep theatre companies from producing a script without paying royalties or do they commit the director, designers, and actors to following the script's text, both dialog and stage directions, to the letter?

Current copyright law protects the playwright's text in two ways. First, no one may use the text or any part of it in any way without the original author's permission. Second, no one may produce the play without the original writer's permission. In either case, these protections endure for the life of the playwright plus fifty years and permission is usually obtained not directly from the writer but indirectly through a publisher or agent.

The first of these provisions received a test in 1968 from Arthur Miller. A company called the Wooster Group had invited Miller to attend a rehearsal of a 45-minute segment from **The Crucible** that they planned to incorporate into a new production titled **L.S.D.** Miller refused permission to use the segment and a letter from Miller's agent, Steve Sultan, to the Wooster Group's Artistic Director, Elizabeth LaCompte, stated that, "Mr. Miller feels, strongly, that extensive use of language, characters and scenes amounts to an unacknowledged complete rendering of the play." Nevertheless, the Woster Group opened **L.S.D.** with the **Crucible** segment cut to 20 minutes but still present. Mr. Miller subsequently had his lawyer, John A. Silberman, threaten to seek an injuction that would stop the show because, "Any and all performances or other uses of **L.S.D.** constitute an infringing use of. . .valuable and protected copyright."[12]

The Beckett case addrsses the second provision of copyright law, asking to what extent a production company must adhere to the playwright's text. This question has led to two incidents within recent years, one in which the playwright stopped a production. (The playwright was Edward Albee, the play **Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?**)

Theatre Arlington in Arlington, Texas, attempted to produce **Woolf** with an all-male cast. I can remember hearing for years rumors that Albee originally intended the play to be performed in this manner, rumors that obviously do not sit will with the playwright. Albee sued the theatre to stop production, contending successfully that an all-male production violated the intentions of his script. A UPI dispatch quoted Mr. Albee as saying that, "Several aspects of the plot, such as the disclosure of an hysterical pregnancy by one character, make a homosexual version ludicrous." Albee also maintained that, "All the copies of my plays have a number of clauses which say that they must be performed without any changes or deletions or additions and must be performed by actors of the sex as written."[13]

Mr. Albee's first claim makes a great deal of sense; his second statement, however, is not quite true. In published and acting editions of Albee's scripts, as in scripts by other playwrights, a version of the following boiler-plate paragraphs usually appears on the verso of the title page:

Anyone presenting the play shall not commit any act of omission by which the copyright of the play or the right to copyright same may be impaired.
No changes shall be made in the play for the purpose of your production unless authorized in writing.[14]

While Albee is correct about additions and changes, he is mistaken about the gender of actors or characters, although the judge in this case held for the playwright.

Similar statements appear in the American editions of Beckett's plays as published by Grove Press.[15] Note that the second paragraph does not state whether permission for changes should be secured directly from the playwright or from an agent or publisher.

In the instance of the **Virginia Woolf** production in Texas, a court decided that these conditions had been violated. Samuel Beckett's lawyer, however, settled out of court, apparently feeling that the playwright's rights had not been sufficiently violated to secure a judgment against the ART. As is the case with most laws, the copyright statutes contain more grey than black and white.

To recapitulate, the ART production of **Endgame** bothered Beckett and his agent and lawyer in these respects: 1) ART set the play in an abandoned subway tunnel rather than in the space described by Beckett, who called for a bare room with two small windows, a door, and a picture; 2)the ART production included music by Philip Glass, whereas Beckett had not indicated music in his script; 3) the cast included two black actors, playing Hamm and Nagg; 4) a puddle of water appeared on stage as part of the setting.

An examination of each of these points seems in order, beginning with the puddle of water objected to by Mr. Garbus. To support his feelings about the puddle, Mr. Garbus contended that, ''Some of Beckett's plays are set in the desert. . . . He's very much interested in images of aridity, desperation. Here they have images of water.''[16] Mr. Garbus may be correct in claiming that **Endgame** contains images of desperation. As for images of aridity, they certainly occur in other Beckett plays, but not in this one. Beckett states that one of the two windows looks toward an ocean. Both Hamm and Clov discuss this ocean, and Nagg and Nell reminisce about their honeymoon near a lake. The fact that ''Some of Beckett's plays are set in the desert'' has nothing to do with this play, which Beckett set in a structure located on the edge of a sea.

The objection to racially-mixed casting raises an issue that is simultaneously more serious and more ridiculous than the puddle of water. Barney Rossett protested the use of Ben Halley, Jr., and Rodney Hudson in the roles of Hamm and Nagg in a letter to Robert Brustein, claiming that ''two of the actors are purposefully black'' and that their presence led to a production that ''wants to know about miscegenation,'' since a white actress played Nell.[17]

Since Beckett, Rossett, et.al. based their threat to sue on copyright law, the text of the play becomes the proving ground for the validity of this objection. At various points in the script, stage directions describe Hamm and Clov as having ''very red'' faces, Nagg and Nell as having ''very white'' faces.[18] The dialog contains only one reference to skin color. About two thirds of the way through the play, Hamm asks, ''Am I very white?'' to which Clov replies, ''Not more so than usual.''[19] Neither dialogue nor stage directions contains any direct statement that identifies any character racially. Beckett does not provide any explanation as to why Hamm's face is ''very red'' while his parents' faces are ''very white,'' or why Hamm, with his ''very red'' face should ask whether he is ''very white.''

Jonathan Kalb felt that the racially mixed cast ''implies that these four people are simply arbitrary survivors who happened to be trapped together when the bomb exploded,'' a notion that ignores the obvious familial relationship linking Hamm, Nagg, and Nell.[20]

Ignoring for the moment the concept of miscegenation, a case could be made that while a black person might well be described as having a red face, having a black character ask if he is ''very white'' seems every bit as ridiculous and contradictory as having a male character describe his hysterical pregnancy. In opposition to this position, consider that the spirit of the two plays in question differs considerably. **Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?** is a dark, menacing play about human relationships. **Endgame** also treats human relationships, but in a comic spirit. Conversations between Hamm and Clov embody the spirit of vaudeville or burlesque routines. The almost farcical nature of the action becomes apparent at the very start of the play when Clov, attempting to check the view from the windows, continually forgets that he needs a stepladder to reach them and then fails to realize that he does not need the ladder to uncover the ashbins in which Nagg and Nell reside.

Given this pervasive comic atmosphere and Hamm's ruddy countenance, it seems fair to ask whether Hamm's question should be taken seriously. Indeed, the absurdity of having a blackHamm ask, ''Am I very white?'' seems absolutely right for the play. The juxtaposition of black, red, and white also suits Akalaitis' overall attempt to suit the play to a modern audience living in a world in which these three skin pigmentations possess connotational permutations that did not exist when Beckett wrote **Endgame**. Furthermore, giving Hamm a black father and a

white mother, far from introducing the subject of miscegenation, makes the same kind of sense as having each parent ensconced in an ashbin.

In a resolution opposing Rossett's objection to the presence of black performers, Actors Equity stipulated that, "The union of stage actors' strongly abhors any suggestion that nontraditional casting is inappropriate in Mr. Beckett's "Endgame," which speaks to the universality of the human condition.""[21]

Nor does the use of music specifically violate the intention of Beckett's text, particularly the music of Philip Glass. Glass is a member, indeed one of the founding members, of a school of music referred to by critics as "minimalism." His compositions feature repetitive, pulsing ground phrases beneath rhythmic figures separated in identity only by occasional small alterations in tone or timbre. According to Jonathan Kalb, Glass's score of **Endgame,**

> sounds like a steel drum and guitar pulsing in quick syncopation as a deep, repeating electric bass line creates an ominous, epic undertone and another string instrument (a zither?) builds a sense of progression with a treble melody. Primitive rhythms on ultramodern instruments, like rock and roll tribal dancing.[22]

Would the presence of such music violate Beckett's dramatic intentions? While the stage directions do not stipulate music, neither do they insist upon any absence of music. Many of the conversations between Hamm and Clov embody images of change that is not change, Beckett's expression of the familiar French epigram, "Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose."[23] This same theme permeates Glass's music, making the score and the script eminently compatible. In a **New York Times** review, Mel Gussow felt that the music also complemented the scenery, terming Glass's score "peripheral but supportive, a fierce scraping, like the sound—to extend the underground imagery—of a subway car careening off the track at high

Finally, I come to the matter of the ART's subway setting. Beckett describes the physical location of the action as an empty room with two high-placed windows and a door. The dialog of the play suggests but does not explicitly state that Hamm, Clov, Nagg, Nell, and an anonymous boy are the last remnants of the human race. The play does not contain any direct reference to a disaster or catastrophe that might have reduced the population to these five individuals. Apparently, other species have nearly disappeared as well. Hamm orders Clov to kill both a rat and a flea because they might serve as progenitors for another human race.

The room described by Beckett suggests a partially-buried shelter in the midst of a desolate landscape, with the sea on one side and barren land on the other. For the first U.S.production, Alan Schneider and his designer, David Hays, used the Cherry Lane Theatre's stage itself to realize this setting. As Schneider explained,

> After (Hays) had submitted several designs, all of which were rejected, we discovered that the stone-and-brick walls of the Cherry Lane stage were marvelously available and suited to represent Hamm and Clov's "shelter"—even to the extent of having a doorway at the proper location for Clov's "kitchen." This discovery provided us with a most useful and authentic interior whose actual walls and floor produced sound of great effectiveness and which could be lit well and simply. How to manage the windows posed our only problem; eventually, and with Sam's wholehearted approval—we painted them, complete with window frames, boldly and theatrically on the wall at the back. (One part of the frame was made practical to allow for its opening near the end of the play.)[25]

Today, we have largely forgotten the concept of the fallout shelter that would have naturally occurred to us as a setting for this play in the 1950's. With that image dead, director Akalaitis and designer Douglas Stein sought an equivalent and settled on an abandoned subway tunnel. They believed that this environment would convey Beckett's setting to theatre audiences in contemporary Boston, a city possessing a subway system.

The design alters Beckett's stage directions in several specific ways. First, Stein took Beckett very literally in regard to placing the two windows "high up," locating them so high on the set's upstage wall that they were nearly hidden from the audience. Clov reached these lofty portals by climbing two ladders built into the wall.[26] The presence of these integral ladders unfortunately obviated much of Clov's wonderfully farcical business with the "steps " business described in great detail by Beckett in the opening stage direction:

> CLOV goes and stands under window left. Stiff, staggering walk. He looks up at window left. He turns and looks at window right. He goes and stands under window right. He turns and looks at window left. He goes out, comes back immediately with a small stepladder, carries it over and sets it down under window left, gets up on it, draws back curtain. He gets down, takes six steps (for example) towards window right, goes back for ladder, carries it over and sets it down under window right, gets up on it, draws back curtain. He gets down, takes three steps toward window left, goes back for

ladder, carries it over and sets it down under window left, gets up on it, looks out of window. Brief laugh. He gets down, takes one step towards window right, goes back for ladder, carries it over and sets it down under window right, gets up on it, looks out of window. Brief laugh. He gets down, goes with ladder towards ashbins, halts, turns, carries back ladder and sets it down under window right, goes to ashbins, removes sheet covering them, folds it over his arm.[27]

The diminution of this burlesque dumbshow, particularly at the very start of the play, is unfortunate. None of the critics or the complainers mentions how Akalaitis handled this or other places in which Clov forgets or remembers the "steps."[28]

Aside from the ladders, the presence of burned and abandoned subway cars, theatrical striplights in a trash heap, and a charred human body certainly complicates Beckett's "bare interior." Reviewer Mel Gussow noted that, "Douglas Stein's set is the opposite of an empty room. . . . One could consider the set a visualization of what Clov refers to in the play as a 'muck-heap'."[29]

Beckett's challenge to these alterations produced the following results in an out-of-court settlement with the ART's Artistic Director, Robert Brustein. First, the ART agreed not to use Beckett's name in any advertisements for the production unless they also contained the following statement, written by Beckett or by one of his representatives:

> Any production of **Endgame** which ignores my stage directions is completely unacceptable to me. My play requires an empty room and two small windows. The American Repertory Theatre production which dismisses my directions is a complete parody of the play as conceived by me. Anybody who cares for the work couldn't fail to be disgusted by this.[30]

Second, the company agreed to insert a sheet into the program that repeated these denunciations and reproduced Beckett's description of the set. This page also included "A statement from (Barney) Rossett which decried ART's refusal to stop the production, remove Beckett's name from it, or indicate that it was an adaptation."[31] The opposite page of the insert carried rebuttals from Artistic Director Brustein, arguing that, "Plays are living documents, that the effort to make a theatre company observe every parenthesis in the text will turn the theatre into a waxworks."[32] According to Hillary DeVries, writing in the **Christian Science Monitor**,

> A printed statement of supposrt (from) James Leverett, a director of the theatre Communications Group, called the action by Grove Press and Beckett 'deeply disturbing' and one that 'seems to be denying the basic energies of the collaboration that distinguished theatre from the other arts.'[33]

A number of writers have raised their voices to oppose Beckett's attempted interference with ART's production. In defense of Stein's scenography, Mel Gussow maintained that, "If we accept the metaphorical setting of the play to be a bunker in a world after the nuclear holocaust—a view that is supported in the text—then Miss Akalaitis could be credited with having made a defensible scenic interpretation." He also upheld the ART's respect for the play itself, noting that, "The director has not only respected the meaning of the dialogue, she has been attentive to the author's pauses, silences and intonations. . . . this is a valid representation of the original work."[34]

Alice Hale, writing in **Theatre Crafts**, cautioned that,

> The potential danger here seems to be that modern plays will become museum pieces after their first (and supposedly definitive) production. . .While the impact this could have on directors is clear, the threat to a designer's work is also visible.[35]

Dan Sullivan, of the Los Angeles **Times**, defended the director's position as a collaborative artist while claiming that,

> It was time, then, for a playwright of stature to speak out in defense of the text. But when you look at Beckett's specific objections to ART's 'Endgame' production, you wonder if he doesn't demand more allegiance to the text than it's in the nature of the theatre to allow—more than would be healthy even if the theatre could allow it.[36]

Finally, Jonathan Kalb added,

> A 1985 audience comes to a performance of **Endgame** with a very different consciousness from that of the audience which saw the play when it first appeared in 1957. The distinctly contemporary set of facts and prejudices they carry into the theatre

color their perceptions of the play in ways that a shrewd director does well to appreciate.[37]

None of these writers mentioned the rather intriguing possibility raised by Barney Rossett, that a director who wishes to interpret a play be allowed to do so, provided that the resulting production is clearly labeled. Directors such as Peter Brook and Harold Prince already do this as a matter of course. We have had "Peter Brooks' Production of **Marat/Sade**, for example, and, more recently, "Harold Prince's Production of **Candide**." While this presents an engaging solution to the copyright problem, it also conjures the specter of programs and posters proclaiming, "John Doe's Interpretation of Alan Schneider's Production of Samuel Beckett's **Endgame**." Printers, at least, would love it.

Fortunately for the ART, Beckett and his associates did settle out of court and their objections probably helped rather than harmed the production by drawing critical and spectatorial attention to this **Endgame**. In her **Theatre Crafts** article, Alice Hale compared Beckett's actions to other recent intrusions upon theatrical interpreation, including the insistence by Music Theatre Internaitonal that companies wishing to produce **Fiddler on the Roof** use the origianl Jerome Robbins choreography and the possibility of "restrictions. . .on the construction and operation of Audrey II," the maneating plant at the center of (**Little Shop of Horrors**).[36] These two examples, like others cited by Hale, involve requirements explicitly stated as part of a licensing agreement between publishers or agents and a production company. The Beckett challenge was not so straightforward.

Stein and Akalaitis did not violate a clause in a license. Rather, they exercised the kind of artistic interpretation traditionally understood as a prerogative of designers and directors, the right to translate the script's stage directions into a visualization that suits the production and the audience at hand. This is a right that playwrights deny at their own risk, since, as Alice Hale contended, interference with the directorial or design process "might limit possible future production of their works."[39] Faced with a dictatorial playwright, companies might well choose to produce other scripts while waiting for the copyright to expire. If a playwright insists upon controlling every detail of **mise-en-scene**, many directors and designers will bypass that writer's work in favor of a script that keeps open the door marked "Artistic Freedom."

It seems very likely that the unwritten guarantee of a share in the creative process drew designers and directors to theatre in the first place; cancellation of that guarantee could easily drive them out again. While some playwrights would no doubt see this as an attractive situation, the theatre would find itself a considerably poorer art form as a result.

Finally, while the question of racially-mixed or nontraditional casting calls for a separate study, I want to return to it briefly. Had Mr. Rossett not raised this question in regard to ART's **Endgame**, would anyone have noticed it? Unfortunately, little evidence exists upon which to base an answer.

A few years ago I directed a production of Archibald MacLeish's **J.B.**, in which black actors played both Mr. Zuss and Mr. Nicles, the two circus employees who assume the roles of God and Satan as the drama proceeds. This production took place in a small Southern town with an economy based largely upon industry and agriculture, and on a university campus known for its conservative taste in practically everything. In this atmosphere, where adverse comments regarding my casting choices would seem quite natural, they proved almost nonexistent. Indeed, the only direct reference to race that I can recall hearing came from a colleague of mine in the Philosophy Department. To begin a discussion session after one of the performances, he remarked in a semi-jocular tone, "I've always known that Satan was black, but I didn't realize that God was, too."

Racially blind casting occurs far less often in theatre than in opera, where the practice has gone unquestioned long enough that having Placido Domingo play Pinkerton to Kathleen Battle's Cho-Cho-San would not bother or even effect audiences or critics in the least, provided that both singers performed well. The producers and directors of opera base their selection of performers upon questions of talent and reputation rather than race. Their color blindness has by now become part of the conventions of opera production. While followers and practitioners of "legitimate" theatre might consider many of opera's conventions ridiculous, they would do well to imitate this one.

Notes

[1]Samuel Beckett, **Endgame**, trans. Beckett (new York: Grove Press, 1958), 1.

[2]Samuel Beckett, **Waiting for Godot** (New York: Grove Press, 1954), 6,7,8.

[3]Alan Schneider, "Waiting for Beckett: A Personal Chronicle," **Chelsea Review**, Sept., 1958, 3,9-17,19-20; rpt. in **Twentieth Century Interpretations of ENDGAME**, ed. Bell Gale Chevigny (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 18-19.

[4]Schneider, 21.

[31]Hale, 21.

[32]Kastor, C9.

[33]Hillery DeVries, ''Playwrights Dispute: Testing Theatre's Collaborative Role,'' **Christian Science Monitor**, Dec. 19, 1984, 24.

[34]Gussow, C13.

[35]Hale, 65.

[36]Sullivan, 41.

[37]Kalb, 88.

[38]Hale, 69.

[35]Hale, 65.

[5]Schneider, 20, explains that Hays made this determination after seeing photographs of the original Paris production of **Endgame**.

[6]Jonathan Kalb, "The Underground **Endgame**," **Theatre**, Spring, 1985, 88-89.

[7]Alice Hale, "Whatever Happened to Poetic License?" **Theatre Crafts**," 19:5, 64.

[8]Dan Sullivan, "Playwright vs. Director: Who Has the Last Word?" Los Angeles **Times**," Feb. 10, 1985, 41.

[9]Kastor, Elizabeth, "Beckett's Blast," **New York Times**, Dec. 13, 1984, C9.

[10]Kastor, C9.

[11]Samuel G. Freedman, "Miller Fighting Group's Use of Segment from 'Crucible'," **New York Times**, Nov. 17, 1984, 14.

[12]Freedman, 14.

[13]UPI, "Albee Seeking to Close an All-Male 'Woolf'," **New York Times**, Aug. 3, 1984, C5.

[14]These are the standard paragraphs used by Samuel French, Inc., in scripts. Other publishers use similarly worded statements. In this case, the paragraphs come from John Guare's **The House of Blue Leaves** (New York: Samuel French, 1971), 2. As in most scripts, this page also contains lengthy statements regarding production royalties and copying of the script.

[15]For **Endgame**, the copyright statement reads as follows: "All Rights Reserved. . . . CAUTION: This play is fully protected, in whole, in part, or in any form under the copyright laws of the United States of America, the British Empire including the Dominion of Canada, and all other countries of the Copyright Union, and is subject to royalty. All rights, including professional, amateur, motion picture, radio, television recitation, public reading, and any method of photographic reproduction, are strictly reserved. For amateur and stock rights, apply to Grove Press, Inc....", Beckett, **Endgame**, /ii/.

[16]Kastor, C9.

[17]Freedman, Samuel G., "Actors Equity Protests Beckett Cast Criticism," **New York Times**, Jan. 9, 1985, C17.

[18]**Endgame**, 1, 2, 9, 14.

[19]**Endgame**,64.

[20]Kalb, 90.

[21]Freedman, "Actors Equity. . .," C17.

[22]Kalb, 89.

[23]See for example, **Endgame**, 4, 13-14, 45.

[24]Mel Gussow, "Stage: Disputed 'Endgame' in Debut," **New York Times**, Dec. 20, 1984, C13.

[25]Schneider, 19.

[26]Kalb, 89.

[27]**Endgame**, 1.

[28]For example, **Endgame**, 28, 73.

[29]Gussow, C13.

[30]Quoted by Kalb, 88.

Higher Education in Communication:
A Survey of Colleges and Universities
In Tennessee and the Southeast
James R. Walker

Introduction

The discipline of communication has for some time followed the first of the three maxims carved by the ancients on the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. As the discipline matured, it began to "know thyself" by studying the development of its educational programs.[1] Scholars have examined perceptions of masters and doctoral programs,[2] the teaching of speech communication in secondary schools,[3] the status of broadcast education in colleges and universities,[4] the future of graduate education in communication,[5] employment trends for speech communication graduates,[6] and areas of growth in graduate study in communication.[7]

This research focused on **national** trends in the development of communication in higher education. The analysis of communication studies in specific regions of the country has been largely neglected.[8] The study reported here helps to correct that situation. It analyzes student demand, faculty needs and graduate program growth for programs in communication and journalism at colleges and universities in Tennessee and the rest of the southeastern United States. Identifying some of the trends in communication higher education will help us to plan wisely, increasing the strength of our departments and the prominence of communication study in Tennessee and the region.

The data reported here were obtained from a recent study of departments of speech communication and journalism in this region, commissioned by the College of Communication and Fine Arts of Memphis State University.[9] This study concerned both the overall discipline of communication and three areas of study within the discipline: mass communication, theory and criticism, and corporate communication.

For this study, mass communication was defined for the respondents as the study of mass media messages, their producers, and the impact of those messages on various audiences and cultures. It included the study of telecommunications, broadcasting, journalism, media regulation and policy, media history, media criticism, mass communication processes and effects, and the administration of media organizations. Theory and criticism was defined as the theoretical and critical analysis of communication in a variety of settings. It included the study of rhetoric and public address, political communication, film, and dramatic literature. Corporate communication was defined as the study of communication directed by both private and public organizations to audiences outside and inside organizations. It included the study of public relations, organizational communication, and related fields.

The results of this study address five questions:

1. What percentage of these departments are offering degrees in mass communication, theory and criticism, and corporate communication?

2. Is mass communication, theory and criticism, or corporate communication producing the greatest growth in student hours?

3. What is the anticipated demand for new faculty in each of these areas during the next five years and the next ten years?

4. How many undergraduate and graduate students are planning to enter doctoral programs in communication?

5. How many departments are planning to develop new graduate programs during the next five years?

Method

In October of 1985, questionnaires were mailed to the heads of all departments of either speech communication or journalism at all four year colleges and universities in 12 southeastern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The names and addresses of these 261 department heads were obtained from the most recent listings of the Speech Communication Association and the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. Two follow up mailings were made at three week intervals to department heads who had not responded to the initial questionnaire.

Ultimately, 139 of the 261 questionnaires were returned, providing a very respectable response rate of 53 percent. The response rate for Tennessee colleges and universities was slightly higher, 56 percent.[10]

Results

Department heads indicated the areas of communication in which they granted undergraduate and graduate degrees. A very high proportion, 87 percent, of the Tennessee colleges and universities surveyed offered a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science in mass communication. Forty percent offered the BA or BS degree in theory and criticism, and 40 percent offered the BA or BS degree in corporate communication. In this, Tennessee closely resembled the overall region: 88 percent of the rest of the schools in the Southeast offered the BA or BS degree in mass communication, 33 percent in theory and criticism, and 36 percent in corporate communication.

Mass communication was overwhelmingly cited as the area producing the largest growth in student hours during the last five years. In Tennessee, 67 percent of the department heads cited mass communication, seven percent cited theory and criticism, 13 percent cited corporate communication, and 13 percent gave no response. In the remainder of the Southeast, 66 percent of the department heads named mass communication, 12 percent named theory and criticism, 21 percent named corporate communication, and one percent did not respond.

Unlike many other academic disciplines which, due to declining enrollment, need fewer new faculty members, speech communication and journalism are experiencing a steady demand for new faculty. Tennessee department heads indicated that during the next five years they plan to hire an average of 2.53 new faculty per department (1.53 in mass communication, .47 in theory and criticism, and .53 in corporate communication). Others Southeastern department heads predicted a slightly greater need, 2.66 new communication faculty members (1.56 in mass communication, .61 in theory and criticism, and .49 in corporate communication). Only 13 percent of the Tennessee department heads and 11 percent of the other Southeastern department heads predicted no need for new faculty members.

Because ten year forecasts of faculty needs are more difficult to make than five year forecasts, the ten year estimates in this study produced more conservative hiring expectations. During the next ten years, Tennessee department heads expect to hire an average of 3.6 new faculty per department (2.0 in mass communication, .67 in theory and criticism, and .93 in corporate communication). Other Southeastern department heads predicted a slightly greater need, 4.26 new communication faculty members (2.49 in mass communication, 1.0 in theory and criticism, and .77 in corporate communication).

Despite the steady demand for new faculty, department heads believe that only a small number of their current students plan to pursue doctoral degrees in communication. Tennessee department heads expected an average of 1.5 seniors and .9 masters students to pursue the Ph.D. degree in communication. Forty percent of the Tennessee department heads expected no seniors and 73 percent expected no masters students to pursue doctorates.

Department heads from the remainder of the Southeast had greater expectations. These respondents indicated that an average of 1.9 of their current seniors and 1.6 of their current masters students plan to pursue the Ph.D. in communication. Thirty-eight percent of these department heads predicted that none of their seniors and 57 percent predicted that none of their masters students would pursue the doctoral degree.

Although these doctoral student figures are not encouraging, department heads still have a strong interest in developing new **masters** degree programs. When asked if they had any plans for developing new graduate programs during the next five years, 27 percent of the Tennessee department heads and 29 percent of the other Southeastern department heads indicated that they currently had plans to develop a new graduate program in communication. With only a few exceptions, these were masters degree programs.

Conclusion

The results of this study show some clear trends in higher education in communication. However, these results should be interpreted in light of two factors. First, the inclusion of journalism and speech communication departments in the sample indicates that departments with mass communication programs were overrepresented in the survey. The strength of mass communication in both numbers of departments and credit hour production is partly accounted for by this mass communication bias in the departments surveyed. Second, data was not obtained from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville's Department of Speech Communication, from Vanderbilt University or from Memphis State University.[11] The absence of figures from these larger programs may mean that the survey's results underrepresent the Tennessee demand for new faculty and students planning to attend doctoral programs. Despite these qualifications, the survey yielded five significant conclusions.

First, as indicated by the number of departments offering degrees and the growth in student hours during the last five years, mass communication is clearly the most popular area of study in communication. This is true even though mass communication programs were overrepresented among the respondents. This overrepresentation does not completely explain why over 85 percent of the departments offer degree programs in mass communication, and why in over 66 percent, it has been the area of strongest growth in student hours during the last five years. In addition, faculty demands over the next decade are seen as substantially greater in mass communication than in theory and criticism or in corporate communication.

Second, department heads anticipate a steady growth in faculty positions during the next five years with a somewhat slower growth during the following five years. While many fields are experiencing a decline, heads of speech communication and journalism departments in Tennessee and the Southeast are optimistic that a substantial number of new faculty will be needed for at least the next decade.

Third, department heads anticipate that very few students will pursue doctoral degrees in communication upon completion of either their undergraduate or masters degree. The professional orientation of today's students seems to be confirmed by their limited interest in doctoral programs.

Fourth, over one department head in four anticipates the development of a new degree program in the next five years. Most of these will be masters programs. If these predictions are correct, the number of graduate programs in communication in Tennessee and the rest of the Southeast will expand rapidly in the near future.

FIGURE 1
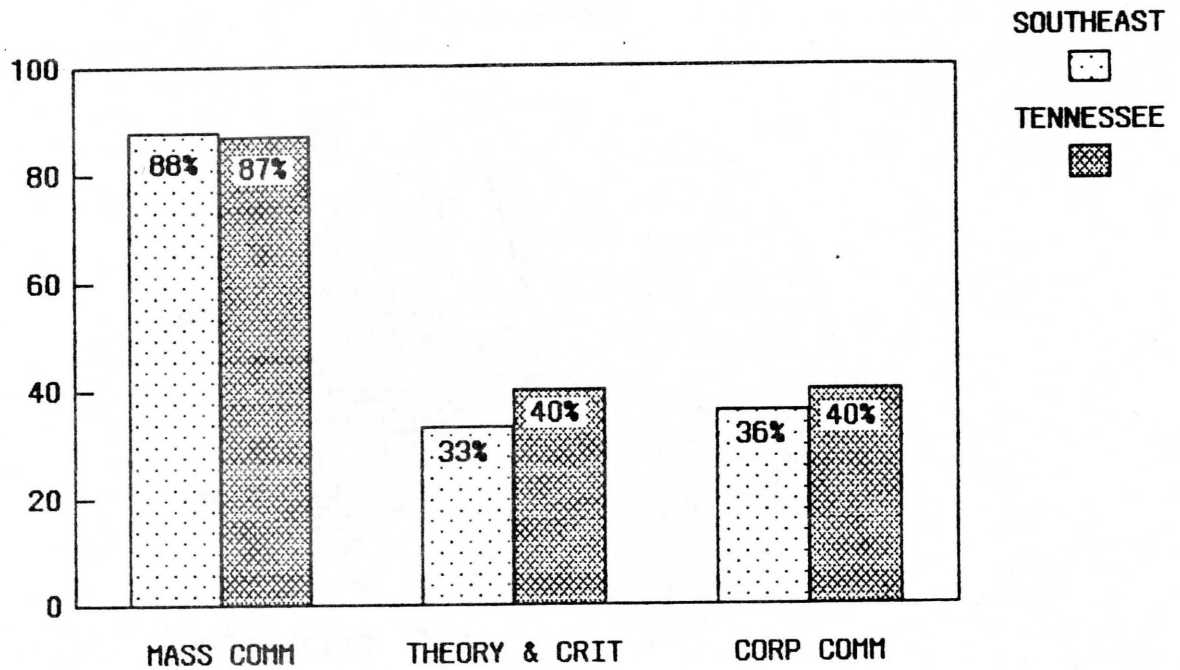## PERCENTAGE OF DEPARTMENTS WITH BA DEGREE MAJORS

SOUTHEAST

TENNESSEE

FIGURE 2
AREA PRODUCING THE LARGEST GROWTH IN STUDENT HOURS
DURING THE LAST 5 YEARS

SOUTHEAST
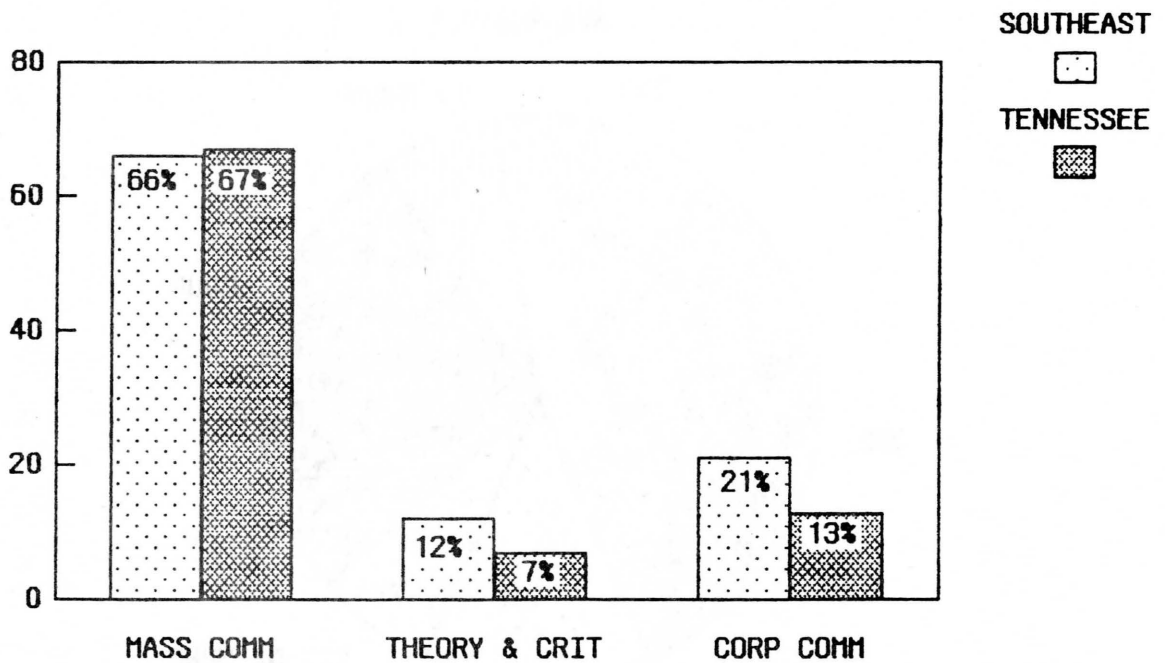
TENNESSEE

FIGURE 4
NEW PH.D. FACULTY NEEDS NEXT 5 YEARS

SOUTHEAST
AVERAGE=2.7

TWO — 32%
THREE — 13%
FOUR — 8%
FIVE — 10%
SIX OR MORE — 9%
NONE — 11%
ONE — 18%
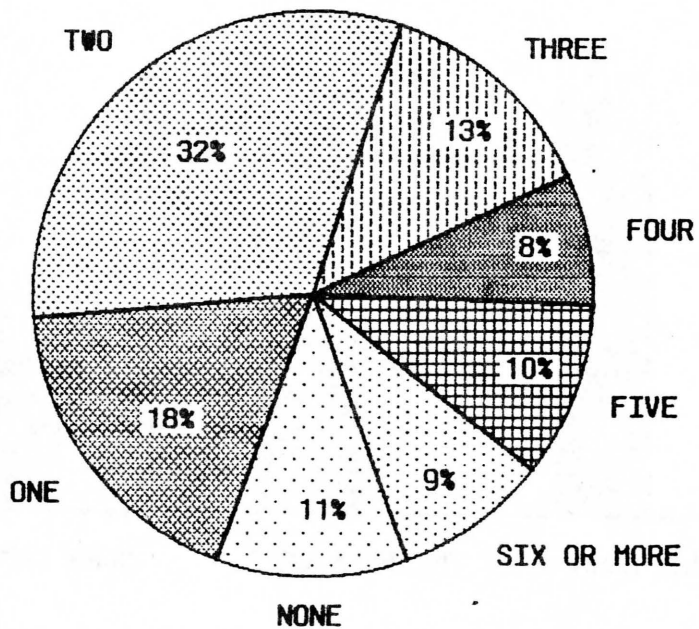
FIGURE 3
NEW PH.D. FACULTY NEEDS NEXT 5 YEARS

TENNESSEE
AVERAGE=2.5

TWO — 13%
THREE — 7%
FOUR — 20%
ONE — 33%
FIVE — 7%
SIX OR MORE — 7%
NONE — 13%
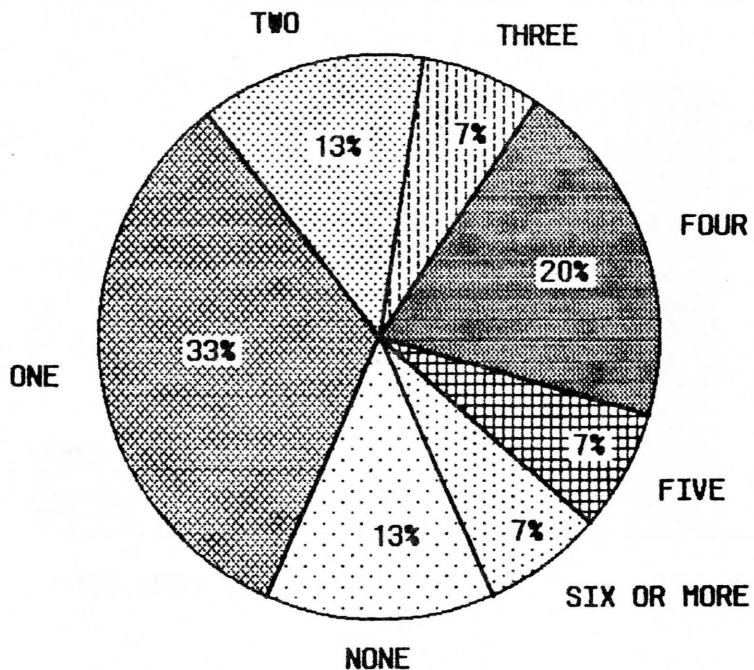
FIGURE 7

NUMBER OF SENIORS PLANNING
TO ENTER A DOCTORAL PROGRAM
SOUTHEAST   AVERAGE=1.9

TWO 17%
THREE 6%
FOUR 3%
FIVE 5%
SIX OR MORE 7%
ONE 15%
NONE 38%
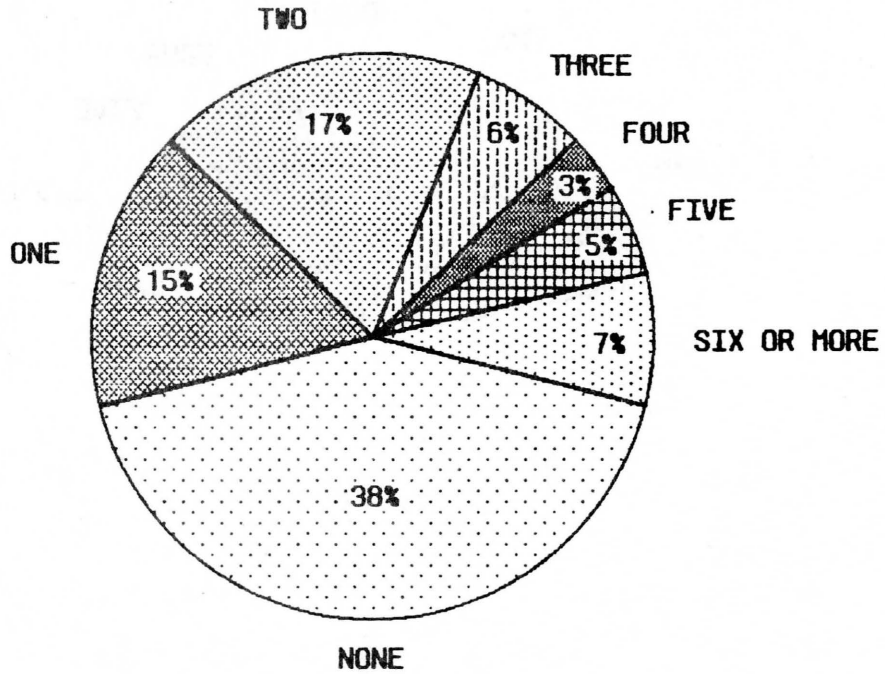
FIGURE 5

NUMBER OF SENIORS PLANNING
TO ENTER A DOCTORAL PROGRAM
TENNESSEE   AVERAGE=1.5

TWO 13%
THREE 7%
FIVE 7%
SIX OR MORE 7%
ONE 27%
NONE 40%

47
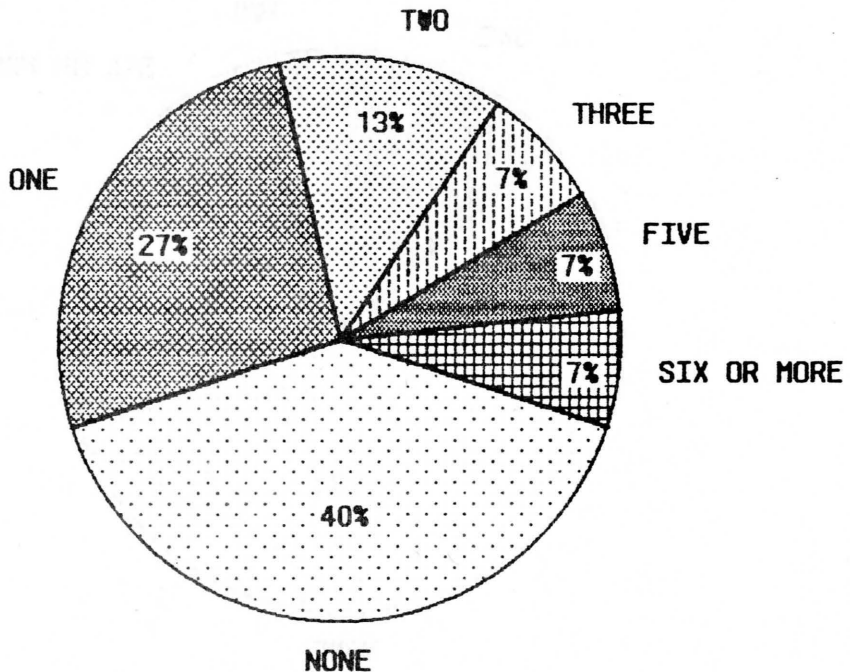
FIGURE 8

NUMBER OF MASTERS STUDENTS PLANNING

TO ENTER A DOCTORAL PROGRAM

SOUTHEAST   AVERAGE=1.6

THREE

TWO   FOUR

FIVE

ONE   .SIX OR MORE

7%   7%

9%

2%

11%

8%

57%

NONE
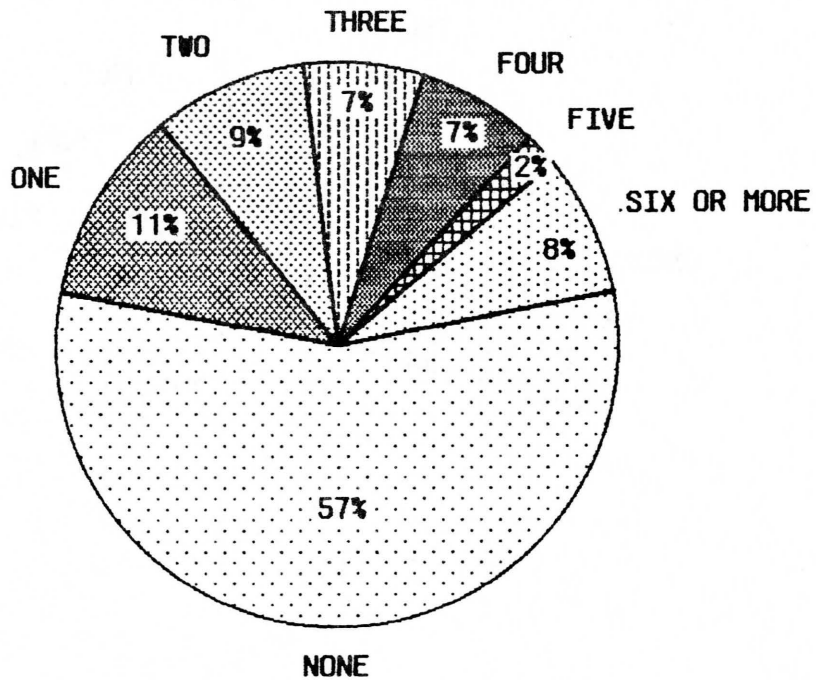
FIGURE 6

NUMBER OF MASTERS STUDENTS PLANNING

TO ENTER A DOCTORAL PROGRAM

TENNESSEE   AVERAGE=.9

TWO

ONE   SIX OR MORE

13%   7%   7%

73%

NONE
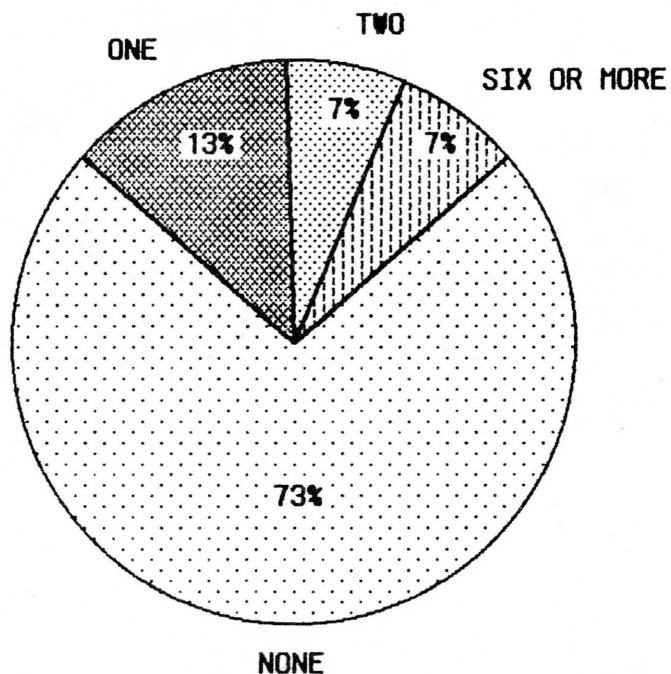
Fifth, differences between Tennessee departments of communication and other departments in the Southeast were few. Tennessee institutions of higher education anticipated hiring slightly fewer new Ph.D.'s during the next decade and expected fewer of their seniors and masters students to attend doctoral programs. These differences, however, should not be taken to mean a lesser level of activity or growth in Tennessee programs. They are most likely the result of an underrepresentation of larger Tennessee departments among the respondents.

Overall, the future of communication education in Tennessee and the rest of the Southeast looks promising. The results of this study forecast a steady growth in the demand for new faculty and new graduate programs, especially in mass communication. The "self" that we are coming to "know" appears to be in good health.

Notes

[1] I leave it to the reader to decide if the discipline of communication has conformed to the other two maxims: "Nothing too much" and "Give surety, and trouble is at hand."

[2] Deborah A. Roach and Larry L. Barker, "An Evaluation of Masters Programs in the Speech Communication Discipline," **Communication Education**, 33 (1984), 69-71: Renee Edwards and Larry Barker, "Some Perceptions of Highly Regarded Doctoral Programs in Speech Communication," **Communication Education**, 28 (1979), 301-305: J. Renee Edwards and Larry L. Barker, "Perceptions of Highly Regarded Doctoral Programs in Selected Areas of Speech Communication: 1982, " **Communication Education**, 32 (1983), 63-68.

[3] Cassandra L. Book and Edward J. Pappas, "The Status of Speech Communication in Secondary Schools in the United States: an Update," **Communication Education**, 30 (1981), 199-208.

[4] Harold F. Niven, "Colleges and Universities Offering Work in Radio and Television," **Journal of Broadcasting**, 1 (1956-7), 97-110; Harold F. Niven, "Fourteenth Survey of Colleges and Universities Offering Courses in Broadcasting," **Journal of Broadcasting**, 19 (1975), 453-454; Garland C. Elmore, "The Status of Broadcast Education in Institutions of Higher Learning," **Communication Education**, 32 (1983), 69-77.

[5] Gerald A. Hauser, "Searching for a Bright Tomorrow: Graduate Education in Rhetoric During the 1980's," **Communication Education**, 28 (1979), 259-270; Jesse G. Delia, "The Future of Graduate Education in Speech Communication," **Communication Education**, 28 (1979), 271-281.

[6] David Clavier, Theodore Clevenger, Jr., Susan Eide Khair, and Marvin M. Khair, "Twelve-Year Employment Trends for Speech Communication Graduates," **Communication Education**, 28 (1979), 306-313.

[7] William F. Eadie, "Earned Degree Trends in Communication Studies, 1960-1976, " **Communication Education**, 28 (1979), 294-300.

[8] For one recent exception to the national bias in studies of communication in higher education, see Paul D. Shaffer, "An Analysis of the Importance of Selected Course Areas to Television News Internships in Tennessee," **Journal of the Tennessee Speech Communication Association**, 12, No. 1 (1986), 11-15.

[9] The original purpose of the study was to survey the level of student demand for the College's proposed doctoral program in communication.

[10] Questionnaires were received from the following Tennessee colleges and universities: Austin Peay State University (both Speech Communication and Theatre, and Communication Arts Major responded); Carson Newman College; David Lipscomb College; East Tennessee State University; Freed-Hardeman College; Lee College; Middle Tennessee State University; Southern College; Tennessee State University; Tennessee Technological University; Trevecca Nazarene College; University of Tennessee, Chattanooga; University of Tennessee, Knoxville; and University of Tennessee, Martin. The author wishes to thank these schools for their cooperation with the survey.

[11] Memphis State University's departments of communication and journalism were not included because they originated the survey.

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