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Editorial Comment

Leadership and Liberal Arts in an Age of Smart Machines And Dull People: A Call for the Rhetors

When our corporate leaders make strategic decisions that change the lives of workers, our nation, and our environment, they decide with the resources their MBA degrees have provided. They have computer generated charts and graphs, complete with in-depth statistical analyses and conclusions made with the latest decision making models. They make the "bottom line" for the next quarterly report so clear and so rational that only those who would wildly abandon conventional wisdom reject the "obviously best" decisions. No doubt our national wealth and productivity have increased by using computers and the models are "smarter" than those who use them, if those leaders know only their immediate, parochial perspectives, if they manifest weaknesses in the basic processes of reasoning and communication, then I doubt if they can promote the long term welfare of the worker, our nation, and the human family, no matter what machines and models they use. I ask specifically, is there a place in the corporate board rooms of America for the perspectives of Pericles, Petrarch, and Descartes? Is there a place and a need for the canons of rhetoric and philosophy to converse with the canons of managing productivity, profits, and personnel?

As past cultural crises called for "rhetors" who in turn led their generations into the Classical Golden Age, the Renaissance, and the Age of Enlightenment, I suggest you can hear a similar call today. The title of this editorial comes from two keynote addresses delivered recently at the first Liberal Arts and Business Symposium, sponsored by the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Dean Larry Ratner of the UTK College of Liberal Arts spoke on "Making Connections: Leadership and Liberal Arts." Dean Warren Neel of the UTK College of Business Administration spoke on "The Post-Industrial Society: Age of Smart Machines and Dull People." The more I reflected on their comments the more I experienced those comments as a call for "rhetors" to intervene in a cultural crisis. I address my comments, therefore, to the academic descendents of those ancient, medieval, and early modern rhetors who today teach speech communication to college and university students.

Dean Neel summarized the crisis in one statement: "Smart machines and dull people do not advance humanity." He claims we have lost our human identities to serve a post-industrial society, thus producing professionals lacking personal balance, roots, and a sense of identity. We enjoy freedom of the body in our work woth our smart machines, but we have failed to produce the quality of mind and spirit needed to enhjoy freedom of the mind.

Patricia Galagan, editor of **Training and Development Journal**, echoes Dean Neel's disturbing statements in the July, 1988 issue. She tells us that "Companies hunt for talent in a labor pool that can't read, write, or reason well enough for today's lowest level jobs." She quotes from a report prepared by The Committee for Economic Development, an independent research group of 200 business executives and educators. Their research indicates that our schools "send into the workforce a steady supply of unmotivated youth who are incapable of appropriate behavior on the job and unable to solve problems, make decisions, or set priorities."

At first reading I tend to react to such claims as incredible and to depreciate them as the exaggerations of alarmists. But, when reaction gives way to reflective response, my experiences as a teacher of the youth Neel and Galagan describe confirm the reality of the crisis. This confirmation raises the question as to how this crisis came to be. Dean Ratner suggested that since the late 1940's college enrollment has increased 400 percent, and "to the degree that the liberal arts were found by post-World War II students to lack practical value or relevancy, the liberal arts were pushed aside." These students do not see nor seek the relationship between principles of accounting, business policy, statistics and the humane study of the art of discourse, nor do they believe such a relationship exists. When have you heard these future leaders of business, industry, and government tell you that they enrolled in your speech class to become "good people speaking well," or to remedy their neglect of the art of rhetoric so that in the market place of ideas "truth will triumph over error, justice over injustice, knowledge over ignorance"? Do you hear expressed an interest in the study and practice of communication as preparation for excellence in civic virtue? Almost never do current students express such goals for their enrollment in liberal arts courses. I suggest that speech teachers hear college students most frequently state that they enrolled in speech class in order "to get it out of the way." Their concept of the liberal arts resembles their concept of getting the chicken pox. Once you get the pox out of the way you can forget it and move on to the important things of adulthood!

I believe Dean Neel identified this disregard for the liberal arts when he argued that our current crisis has resulted because "we have blindly accepted progress without definition and assumed that the single dimension of wealth is the sole measure of progress." A humane definition of "progress" and a humane perspective on the place of wealth in the life of an individual or a society will not come from technical, statistical, or professional course work, especially if the students' frame of orientation for life is to be left alone to accumulate the greatest wealth in the shortest time with the least bother. The liberal arts can provide the needed humaneness, but only when teachers and students approach them as seriously as they pursue personal wealth and power. Unfortunately, even the teaching profession has been ambivalent and weak in demanding that the liberal arts occupy their needed position and perform their necessary role in students' learning experiences. Dean Neel argued that our current higher educational institutions have exacerbated the problem and "have sanctioned self-serving purposes to achieve success."

From many reputable sources we have, therefore, these warnings: America cannot remain strong if we continue to graduate from college into the labor force incompetent thinkers, communicators, and problem solvers; American colleges and universities must not fail to meet the challenge of this crisis. Dean Ratner has wisely suggested that to teach the liberal arts to current students "we must respond to their goals and needs, to who they are." He argued that teachers of the liberal arts must find and teach "the many ways in which the past serves as a guide to the present. . .make connections between values drawn from the past and the lives our students lead." The wisdom and necessity of this proposal has few, if any, serious enemies except our own lack of ability and/or concern to operationalize it. You have to care deeply to invest the time, expense, and energy such a proposal requires. In short, I am not convinced that we know how to interface the canons of rhetoric and philosophy with the canons of managing productivity, profits, and personnel, nor that we care enouth to bring Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian into the same board room with Weber, Taylor, and Herzberg.

On the other hand, I am also convinced that our discipline, rooted in the study and teaching of speech communication as a liberal art, has prepared us for this crisis and has developed within us a profound caring for our students, our profession, and our national welfare. What may seem therefore, a formidable task may be our time of opportunity. Consider the skills and attitudes business leaders tell us they need in our graduates. Galagan reported that The Committee for Economic Development surveyed thousands of employers and they found that employers need potential employees who strive to do work well, set priorities, work well with others, communicate, and learn to learn. Galagan also reported that the Rand Corporation described the needed skills and attitudes of potential employees as cooperation, team problem finding and solving, communication, decision-making, commitment, confidence in abilities, and boldness in developing ideas and approaches. Everything in these lists of skills and attitudes falls within the rhetorical canons that rhetoricians have practiced, taught, and researched for centuries. From our basic communication skills class to the doctorate we facilitate the development of these skills and attitudes in ourselves and in our students. We can, therefore, bring together the humane study of communication and the professional study of vocational skills and technology, and we can graduate "smart people into a work world of smart machines." Pericles can converse with Parkinson, Socrates with Sloan, and Aristotle with Argyris.

I suggest that the Tennessee Speech Communication Association can and should provide educational leadership toward the development of courses of study, teaching methods and materials, and research that help to remedy the crisis of dull people operating smart machines. The president of TSCA or an appointee can develop an agenda for discussion and planning, and call together the chairpersons or appointees from college and university speech communication departments and business leaders. This group can plan and schedule a conference-symposium to examine and begin to resolve the crisis facing us in the area of "Leadership and Liberal Arts in an Age of Smart Machines and Dull People."

On the other hand we can continue with business as usual and miss an opportunity to practice those civic virtues, to implement those humane values, and to employ those communication skills that make us contemporary rhetors. If we ignore this opportunity, then future historians may identify us with the vacuity of the sophists rather than the prudence of the rhetors. Such a failure most certainly will classify us with Kurt Vonnegut's hero in **Mother Night** as "a man who served evil too openly and good too secretly, the crime of his times."

Shifting Perceptions of A Southern Sheriff: Message Making and Image Building in the Campaign of Jack Owens

John P. Bakke

Steven C. Ethridge

From the last week in May, 1986, to the 7th of August of the same year, the voters in Shelby County, the largest county in Tennessee, apparently changed their minds about what they valued most in a sheriff. In May they looked first for strong connections to "law enforcement" and "knowledge of the law." In August they looked first for signs of "morality," for qualities like "honesty" and "sincerity." Between May and August in Shelby County there was an election campaign for Sheriff that ended with the incumbent of ten years, a man with extensive background in law enforcement, being unseated by Jack Owens, a man with no previous education or experience in that field. On May 30th, according to his own polls, challenger Owens trailed incumbent Gene Barksdale 47% to 10% and was 9% behind another candidate, Harold "Buddy" Leatherwood.[1] In the August 7th election, Owens defeated Barksdale 38.4% to 31.9% while Leatherwood finished a distant third with 17.1%. Something had happened rhetorically. It is the purpose of this paper to account for what that "something" might have been.

By 1986 Gene Barksdale was on the verge of being a local institution. A former combat veteran, FBI agent, and policeman, Barksdale had won an upset victory in a 1976 special election after having fallen short in two previous attempts to become sheriff. Barksdale defeated political appointee Billy Ray Schilling by stressing his own law enforcement background. While in office, however, Barksdale soon convinced many of the people who had voted for him that he was not what they had been looking for. He began to look more like a maverick "western style" sheriff than a professional, as someone who took the law into his own hands while snubbing his nose at federal judges and other forms of established authority. In spite of expressed misgivings, Barksdale continued on his merry way, handing out special deputy badges and hand gun permits to friends and supporters, hiring relatives and cronies, ignoring affirmative action guidelines for promotions, laughing at contempt of court citations, and attracting national attention by chaining prisoners to fences.[2]

The growing sense of chagrin with the new sheriff did not surface dramatically until the 1978 election, in which he almost lost his office to colorless and underfinanced Buddy Leatherwood, an ex-police officer with little name recognition and almost no visible support. Heads were indeed turned when Leatherwood got 48% in the two-candidate race. If Barksdale had not had the support of the county's black political leaders, he would have lost by a large margin. Suddenly he appeared vulnerable; so much so that by 1982 he faced an array of opponents. But Barksdale prevailed with a 39% plurality, as his five challengers split the vote against him. Leatherwood finished second with 31%

Between '82 and '86 Barksdale's position appeared to be deteriorating even more, but another crowded slate of opponents indicated that the '86 election would be a replay of '82. Again there were five challengers who looked like they would split the vote in a manner that would allow Barksdale's predicted 35% plurality to be enough to return him. Barksdale himself was so confident of it that he declined to hire an agency, planned no television advertising, and prepared to distribute most of the $200,000 he reportedly had in his campaign chest to aid the efforts of the black opinion leaders whose support had kept him in office.

While Barksdale was strutting confidently, Memphis City Councilman Jack Owens felt that he could undermine Barksdale's black support to the point where it could not guarantee his reelection. Owens was promised the support of all four black members of the Memphis City Council and that of black congressman Harold Ford, whose support was worth about 15% of the total Shelby County vote. With such support Owens could win the election with a plurality of white votes. To get that plurality, Owens had to attract many of the white voters who had, on two previous occasions, voted for Buddy Leatherwood.

. In 1986 Buddy Leathewood had even less money and organization than he had in previous years, but he retained two real strengths. He was firmly connected in the public mind with law enforcement and with the office of Sheriff *and*, whatever else he was, he was perceived as something other than Gene Barksdale. He was thus the natural receptacle for the anti-Barksdale sentiment. In such a climate, Owens had to oppose Barksdale in a manner that would take votes from Leatherwood. He had to be perceived as a *positive* alternative to Barksdale. As Leatherwood had established his image as the "other guy," Owens had to appear as the "good guy."

The Owens Campaign did what it could to link the name "Owens" with the concept "good."[3] The campaign message was that Jack Owens would be "good" for Shelby County and that it was time to get rid of Gene Barksdale. The message was in the theme "Jack Owens for Sheriff. Good for Shelby County" and in its variant moral imperative "For goodness sake, elect Jack Owens Sheriff." On the one hand voters were asked to believe that benefits would follow the election of Jack Owens. On the other hand they were offered a note of self-congratulations for achieving the vision of a "Barksdale-less" Shelby County.

Before the campaign rhetoric was put into practice, the Owens Campaign conducted a detailed survey to determine how the various candidates were perceived by the public. On the one hand Owens was generally perceived as a good person, thus reinforcing the decision to depict him primarily in moral terms. *Sincerity*, *integrity*, and *honesty* seemed to be his perceived strengths and Barksdale's weaknesses, but findings in the survey still gave the Owens Campaign reason to pause.[4]

While Owens appeared rated highly in such moral properties as *character, putting public interest above politics, integrity, honesty, being trustworthy, being sincere, fairness to all people,* and *moral principle* and Barksdale was rated low in such matters as *putting public interest before politics* and in *being trustworthy*, according to the Owens survey the Shelby County electorate did not expect their sheriffs to be moral. *An honest sheriff, it seemed, was almost oxymoronic.*

The top five qualities the Shelby County public expected in a sheriff were *experience as an elected official, law enforcement know-how, determination, dealing with criminals,* and *knowing the law*—all signs of competency in law enforcement. In contrast, *honesty* was rated 15th out of the 27 properties listed; *being trustworthy* ranked 17th; *sincerity,* 19th, and *fairness to all people* was 22nd. Barksdale's image was strong in four of the top five categories, whereas Owens was weak in all of the top five, thereby necessitating adjustments in the Owens' image positioning.[4]

To counter Owens' lack of law enforcement background in light of the public's expectation of experience in their sheriffs, an effort was made to alter the public perception of the office from an enforcer of law to an administrator of a large department. Owens talked about his interest in law enforcement and his commitment to stop crime, but he was never pictured around badges, guns, or squad cars. Consistent with his background in public administration, he was depicted as a "proven administrator." In response to queries about his lack of law enforcement experience, he always said:

> The real issue is that this community has had a bad experience with Gene Barksdale. And Buddy Leatherwood has had two bad experiences trying to defeat him. I've had plenty of administrative experience. We must remember that Bill Morris, the best sheriff Shelby County ever had, went into office with no direct experience in law enforcement. I think honesty and administrative ability are the issues in this campaign, not experience in the police department.[6]

The adjustment seemed to work. In their endorsement of Owens, the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* said:

> Owens has the administrative capability to keep the sheriff's office running smoothly. He has a master's degree in public administration..., extensive experience during a military career, worked in county administration, and has had an opportunity on the City Council to understand the complicated workings of modern-day metropolitan government.(7)

And what did the public think? Owens' "perceived administrative experience" showed more positive movement than did any other quality. It went from 12th to 3rd in the public's order of preferred values.[8]

A second adjustment to the research on public expectations was to present *honesty* and other moral qualities as a surprise bonus in the Owens' package. Owens' leaflet read, "Jack Owens is an experienced public administrator who knows the value of our tax dollars. He's for strict and fair law enforcement. And he's HONEST." Dialogue for a radio commercial, moreover, was written to the effect:

> VOICE 1: There's a good man running for Sheriff this year.
>
> VOICE 2: For goodness sake!
>
> VOICE 1: His name is Jack Owens. He's a combat veteran, a proven public administrator, and he's honest.
>
> VOICE 2: For goodness sake!
>
> VOICE 1: For goodness sake, elect Jack Owens sheriff. Jack Owens for sheriff. Good for Shelby County.[9]

Finally, an attempt was made to connect morality and especially honesty with good law enforcement, implying that Gene Barksdale could not have been an effective sheriff because he did not have the public confidence in his integrity. Owens was presented as the answer to the lack of public confidence in the sheriff's department. His election would thus mean better law enforcement and that, of course, would be good for Shelby County. JACK OWENS FOR SHERIFF? GOOD FOR SHELBY COUNTY!

Owens started every speech with,

> Call it what you will, there is a crisis in confidence regarding the Shelby County
> Sheriff and his department....As you know, you can't have good law enforcement
> without confidence in the agencies that are charged with enforcing the law. [10]

When asked why he was running for sheriff, Owens would reply:

> There is a crisis in confidence in Shelby County in the sheriff...You can't have good
> law enforcement if the majority of people do not have confidence in their sheriff. [11]

At least *The Commercial Appeal* was listening. They introduced their editorial endorsement of Owens with the line "JACK OWENS IS THE BEST CHOICE TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE." The editorial asked:

> Which of the five challengers of [Barksdale] can best pull this community together,
> restore public confidence in the sheriff's office, and rebuild shattered employee
> morale? The answer: Jack Owens. [12]

The first media connection between "honesty" and "good law enforcement" was made in the first Owens' television commercial, aired in the last week of June. The commercial was intended to depict Owens as "honest," thereby giving people a reason to vote for him and making them want to vote for him so they would accept more uncritically the "good administrator commercial" which was to air in the next wave. In the commercial, people on the street talked about Owens' honesty before a stone-faced humorless Owens matter-of-factly said: "You have to be honest in order to have good law enforcement." [13]

When hearing of the commercial, Barksdale overreacted. As quoted in *The Commercial Appeal*, he said:

> There's only one remark that has been made by one of the other candidates that I've
> resented, and that was that he [Owens] *wanted to return honesty to the Sheriff's
> department*. [14]

As Owens had never called Barksdale "dishonest," *The Commerical Appeal* reported that Barksdale had misunderstood the commercial, but Barksdale kept talking about the moral issues implied and thus helped Owens' shift public focus from "competency" based on experience to moral considerations. [15]

By mid-July the Owens campaign was on schedule. Barksdale had fallen from 47% to 38%, while Owens had moved up from 10% to 17%. Most important from the point of view of Owens' strategy, Leatherwood had fallen from 19% to 11%. The anti-Barksdale vote was going to Owens while Leatherwood's soft support was gravitating into the "undecided" column. [16] Then events took over.

From the beginning, several of Barksdale's deputies had been working openly for Owens. One day Barksdale took them behind closed doors and told them if they kept doing it there would be reprisals. Seeing this threat as a violation of civil rights, the Deputy Sheriff's Association took Barksdale to a federal court. There Barksdale told Judge Robert MacRae that he had made no such threats. Association lawyer Allan Chambers then pushed a button on his tape recorder and asked Barksdale if the voice he heard on the tape was his. According to an eye-witness television reporter, the jaw of Barksdale's attorney "dropped a foot." [17] Barksdale was caught lying under oath.

The Memphis media dwelt for days on the apparent Barksdale lie. Judge MacRae called the sheriff a disgrace to the integrity of his office. [18] *The Commercial Appeal* ran a cartoon of Barksdale with a tree growing from his nose and printed a scathing editorial saying that, while there were grounds to impeach Barksdale, the voters would get the job done themselves by throwing him out of office on election day. [19] The moral fervor of the anti-Barksdale forces had thus been activated. The question was: could it be controlled? Could it be channeled into Owens' votes?

After the almost lynch-mob furor follwing the "Barksdale lie," the Owens campaign made adjustments to capitalize. They abandoned any planned humor in advertising or speeches, sensing humor as an inappropriate response to either moral fervor or to anyone in real trouble. Attack plans were also laid to rest. Allowing the media to attack, the Owens'campaign kept the "honesty spot" on longer than originally planned and began to make the point that Owens was the only candidate who could defeat Barksdale. Owens, for the first time, began to look viable. But Barksdale fought back.

A street black newspaper, *The Memphis Star*, using material furnished by the Barksdale campaign, revealed that Owens had been a member of the American Party, the party of George Wallace. The paper charged that the association meant that Owens was a "neo-Nazi" and Ku Klux Klan segregationist. In response, even the more reputable black weekly, *The Tri-State Defender*, ran a front page story asking if the black council members who had endorsed Owens wanted to wave the American Party flag, wear a swastika, or a KKK hat piece.[20] The strategy, of course, was to put pressure on the black leaders who had endorsed Owens to denounce him. If Barksdale could get back his solid black support, Owens' apparent gains as a result of his "lie" might be offset.

Owens had to respond to support the black leadership that had committed to him. Congressman Ford told him to call a press conference to clear the air and the black council members behind Owens did the same.

At his press conference, Owens admitted to being a former member of the American Party. He had been a delegate to their 1972 national convention when they had nominated William Schmitz for President. Owens explained that when he returned from Viet Nam in 1971, he wanted to get involved in politics. Neither Richard Nixon or George McGovern, he felt, had any insight into the plight of the Viet Nam combat soldier. So, he said, he gave the American Party a try, but dropped out right after their convention. He said he had made a mistake, but owed no one any apology for it.[21]

At the press conference of the black council members, Owens' supporters reaffirmed their commitment to him. One of the members, J.O. Patterson, Jr., praised Owens for his honest response to the delicate issue. He went on to say, "There was not a white person in Memphis in 1972 that did not have sympathy for George Wallace. Jack Owens is honest enough to admit it."[22] The Owens campaign, in the context of the "Barksdale lie," had turned a potentially bad situation for Owens into another reinforcement of his projected image as an "honest" man.

The controversy about Owens and the American Party was dropped by *The Commercial Appeal*, but the Owens campaign felt that there had been enough confusion to prompt anti-Barksdale voters in the while Shelby community to go back to "Good Ole Buddy" Leatherwood. The "other guy" might again look attractive if the image of the "good guy" became tarnished.

A tracking poll indicated that the Owens campaign had cause for concern. Barksdale had dropped another 11.6 points to 27.4, but Owens and Leatherwood had not moved since the last poll.[23] The public was waiting for Owens or Leatherwood to show something positive. Owens responded by asserting his platform through speeches and issue-oriented radio and television commercials.

The wave of commercials seemed to work. Data gathered ten days before the election showed that Owens had moved from 17.9% to 24.5% while Barksdale had fallen to 24%, his virtual bottom. On the other hand, Leatherwood had moved from 10.9% to 16%, meaning that he could still keep Owens from a plurality even though he could not get one himself.[24] While the race was not over, the Owens campaign took solace in the news that the "undecideds" preferred Owens to Leatherwood by about three to two. The trends were in Owens' favor. They simply needed acceleration.

Almost immediately after the survey noted above was taken, the *Commercial Appeal* endorsed Owens. As indicated above, the editorial sounded as if it had been written by Owens himself. The campaign message was repeated as fact. After the "sins" of Barksdale were catalogued, the point was stressed that only Owens had the kind of broadly-based community support to oust the incumbent sheriff. "It takes this kind of broadbased unity to sweep aside the cronyism so long associated with Gene Barksdale's sheriff's office in favor of fair-minded and efficient administration," said the editorial.[25] More significant, it emphasized the fact that *The Commercial Appeal* did not think less of Leatherwood than when they had endorsed him in 1982. "Leatherwood," said the editorial, "had made two valiant but unsuccessful attempts to unseat Barksdale."[25] It was time now to support someone who could get the job done.

Obtaining permission from the *Commercial Appeal* to reprint the editorial, the Owens campaign dropped copies door to door in anti-Barksdale precincts that showed a large population still undecided between Leatherwood and Owens. Shortly thereafter Congressman Ford and the Memphis Police Association made public their endorsements for Owens and the community began to sense that Barksdale was ready to fall. That feeling had to be addressed.

During the last few days Owens ran a mildly negative "time for a change" spot coupled with the third encore for the "honesty spot." Three newspaper ads, however, got more progressively to the point. The first was headlined by "Jack Owens for Sheriff: A Change for the Better." The second: "Opportunity Knocks! We Can Elect a New Sheriff!" The day before the election, the Owens' ad said: "Make Your Vote Count! Elect a New (and better) Sheriff." The copy began:

> Want a change in the Sheriff's Department? Elect Jack Owens! Jack Owens is the only candidate in the race who has won the community-wide support necessary to defeat the present sheriff.[26]

The race was over!

As implied throughout, the Jack Owens for Shelby County Sheriff campaign seemed to make a difference in public perceptions and result in a significant public persuasion. During the course of the campaign there was a

clear image created for Jack Owens, an image designed into his campaign communication and verified through campaign surveys. In addition, there was also an agenda shift. Qualities like being sincere, moral principle, fairness to all people, administrative ability, ethics, integrity, and honesty gained most in priority during the campaign.[27] All, of course, were in line with Owens' perceived strength and Barksdale's perceived weakness. On the other hand, the qualities most in decline were those associated with Barksdale's strength and Owens' weakness. Such qualities were experience as an elected official, knowing the law, law enforcement know-how, dealing with criminals, and having a proven record. In effect, the public expectations of what a sheriff should be had apparently been virtually turned upside down. It seemed that the people of Shelby County most wanted a "good man" to be their sheriff. They wanted "good" for Shelby County.

As there was image-creation and agenda-setting in the '86 Shelby County race for Sheriff, there was also image changing and persuasion. Gone from the prevailing public perception were old ideas of a sheriff as being either corrupt or beholden (the southern sheriff) or being the person who could take the law into his own hands (the western sheriff). In their places was the image of the sheriff as professional administrator committed to good law enforcement with the community good at heart.

And persuasion? Donald C. Bryant has viewed rhetoric (the art of persuasion) as a process of adjusting people to ideas and ideas to people.[27] Operating in the modern age of politics where media created impressions can count for so much, the Jack Owens campaign, through careful message creation and image building, through the selection of information and the strategic timing of that infomation release, adjusted people to ideas and then adjusted ideas to a changing people in order to direct an enlivened feeling (anti-Barksdale sentiment) towards a deliberative resolution (the election of Jack Owens). In the final analysis, the people who made the difference in Shelby County saw more than Barksdale as the problem. They saw Owens, not as a perfect panacea, but as the best and only available solution. His campaign positioning had moved his campaign forward and made him the beneficiary of the Barksdale mistakes. The fact that Leatherwood had actually lost a few points from the start of the polling until election day and did not move the final ten days is clear testimony to the Owens' campaign's successful execution of a tightly conceived rhetorical strategy. And is that not what persuasion is all about?

In conclusion, the Owens Campaign, we feel, tends to make some important points about how we might view public persuasion in political campaigns. We have too often heard it expressed that rhetoric is no more than the process of telling people what they want to hear, of adjusting a product to a demand, of fitting an image to a public expectation. It is our opinion that in a political campaign, the image must be grounded in the reality of a candidate. The process of adjusting people to ideas is a vital part of the Bryant concept which should not be undervalued in the conception of message making for the purpose of message creation. The success of the Owens Campaign tends to support that view.

Secondly, we have also for too long heard it expressed that the public is not intelligent, that it cannot be educated in a political campaign. Based on a study of the Owens Campaign one could argue: (1) that the Shelby County public was educated to expect more from their sheriffs than experience in law enforcement, that they were educated to expect from them good character as well, or (2) that the public was educated to see how morality and good law enforcement were inseparably related. On the other hand, one could argue that the public always knew the connection between law enforcement and morality, but had given up hope of expecting their sheriffs to be moral to the extent that they no longer thought it realistic to expect it of them. It was not a question of what the public wanted, but a question of what they believed they had to settle for. When faced with the possibility of a moral sheriff, however, they not only voted for good character but suddenly gave it a pivotal place in what had come to be their new set of expectations, a set of expectations by which the Owens tenure in office will likely be evaluated.

NOTES

[1]John P. Bakke, Chairman of the Department of Theatre and Communication Arts at Memphis State University, served as communications consultant for the Jack Owens Campaign and worked with Steve Ethridge on the campaign polling. Ethridge, at the time of the campaign, was Vice-President of Marketing Research for Cliff Davis and Associates of Memphis. The Owens polls were conducted through normal polling procedures with the data gathered by Pat Woods, Inc. of Memphis.

[2]Barksdale chained prisoners to fences as a form of protest when state authorities ordered state prisoners to be quartered in overcrowded Shelby County jails. The incident attracted national attention, and it seems that the alledged inhumanity of Barksdale, instead of the indisputably inadequate prison facilities, became the focus of the controversy.

[3]The Owens Campaign had to exploit what was a demonstrable wish among a significant segment of voters (about 40%) to get Barksdale out of office.

[4]For polling purposes, Ethridge adapted to politics what had been for him a successful marketing technique. He called it a "voter expectations index." He drew from a sample population a list of attributes connected with the concept "sheriff" and asked them to rank them in preferred order. Then he asked them to rate the leading candidates in light of these terms and in light of their own impressions.

[5]In the public mind, Barksdale conformed much more closely to expectations about what a sheriff should be than did Owens. Below is a comparison between late May, 1986 "Voter Expectations" compared with "Candidate Reputations." Candidate strengths are indicated when Reputation Index Number is enclosed in ( ), weaknesses are indicated when Number is enclosed in.[ ]

Candidate Attributes	Voter Expectations Index	Reputation Index for: Gene Barksdale	Jack Owens
1. Experience as an elected official	144	(177)	[93]
2. Law Enforcement know-how	132	(152)	[75]
3. Determination	125	(140)	[93]
4. Dealing with criminals	119	128	[84]
5. Knowing the law	118	(140)	[47]
6. Being a hard worker	114	117	12
7. Strict law enforcement	114	123	[84]
8. Character	113	96	(159)
9. Having a proven record	107	118	(75)
10. Being a good communicator	103	91	(130)
11. Putting public interest before politics	100	[81]	(130)
12. Administrative ability	99	108	[75]
13. Integrity	97	90	(121)
14. Dealing with other government bodies and officials	95	83	(130)
15. Honesty	94	86	(121)
16. Maturity	94	95	93
17. Caring about people	92	83	112
18. Being trustworthy	92	[74]	(112)
19. Being sincere	88	78	(121)
20. Being courageous	88	98	[56]
21. Fairness to all people	86	74	103
22. Moral principle	86	83	(112)
23. Ethics	86	74	103
24. Being a good person	85	83	[65]
25. Imaginative ideas	82	81	(112)
26. Criminal investigation	78	90	[47]
27. Restraint	66	56	93

[6]Quotation taken from text of Owens' stock responses to stock questions. At the time of the campaign Bill Morris was the popular Mayor of Shelby County and was remembered as the best sheriff the county had ever had.

[7]Editorial: "Owens for sheriff," *The Commercial Appeal* July 30, 1986, p.A8.

[8]See Pre vs. Post Campaign Rank of Voter Expectations Chart below.

[9]Taken from copy of prepared text for radio commercial.

[10]Taken from text of Owens' prepared stock speech.

[11]Taken from text of Owens' stock responses to stock questions.

[12]*The Commercial Appeal*, p.A8.

[13]The commercial was produced by the late Garry Welles of Lunar Productions of Memphis. The words and music for the jingle "Good for Us. Good for You. Good for Shelby County. Jack Owens for Goodness Sake" were written by Geordie Welles.

[14]"Barksdale kickoff warms to the political occasion," *The Commercial Appeal*, June 18, 1986, p.A11.

[15]Throughout the campaign Barksdale reacted defensively on "moral issues," thereby assisting the likelihood of an agenda shift in the public mind. He made no apparent attempt to keep the focus on his qualifications as a veteran lawman.

[16]Figures were taken from Owens' polls.

[17]Interview with Esme Murphy of WHBQ-TV, Jan. 11, 1987.

[18]Celeste Garrett, "Judge says sheriff lied, forbids coercion," The Commercial Appeal, July 19, 1986, pp.A1, A10.

[19]*The Commercial Appeal*, July 22, 1986, p.A6. The furor over Barksdale gave the sheriff's race center stage on the public agenda. Through an extensive yard sign, literature distribution, and radio and television effort, Owens had made his name and image readily visible for anyone who began to look seriously for a positive alternative to Barksdale.

[20]William Larsha, "Is Election '86 a 'big mess'?," *Tri-State Defender*. August 2-6, 1986, p.1.

[21]Taken from Owens' prepared text for press conference, July 22, 1986.

[22]WREG-TV Evening News, July 22, 1986. The response to the George Wallace association was in all probability "damage control." There is no way of knowing the extent to which the association stunted Owens' progress among black Shelby County voters, but it stands to reason that he was hardly helped by it.

[23]Taken from Owens' polls.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Editorial "Owens for Sheriff," *The Commercial Appeal*. July 30, 1986, p.A8.

[26]Taken from texts of Owens' newspaper ads.

[27]The following is a comparison of the Rank of Voter Expectations Pre vs. Post Campaign as measured by Owens' polls.

Rank	Pre-Campaign Expectations	Rank	Post-Campaign Expectations
1.	Experience as an elected official	1.	Being sincere
2.	Law enforcement know-how	2.	Moral principle
3.	Determination	3.	Administrative ability
4.	Dealing with criminals	4.	Fairness to all people
5.	Knowing the law	5.5	Being a good person
6.5	Being a hard worker	5.5	Integrity
		8.5	Dealing with government officials
8.	Character	8.5	Ethics
9.	Having a prover record	8.5	Honesty
10.	Being a good communicator	8.5	Restraint
11.	Putting public interest before politics	12.5	Caring about people
12.	Administrative ability	12.5	Determination
13.	Integrity	12.5	Putting public interest before politics
14.	Dealing with other governmental officials	15.	Strict law enforcement
15.5	Honesty	16.	Being a good communicator
15.5	Maturity	17.5	Experience as elected official
17.5	Being trustworthy	17.5	Law enforcement know-how
17.5	Caring about people	20.	Being a hard worker
19.5	Being courageous	20.	Dealing with criminals
19.5	Being sincere	20.	Maturity
22.	Fairness to all people		
22.	Moral principle	23.5	Being courageous
24.	Being a good person	23.5	Having a proven record
25.	Imaginative ideas	25.	Knowing the law
26.	Crininal investigation	26.	Imaginative ideas
27.	Restraint	27.	Criminal investigation

The following is a summary of changes in Candidate Reputations as measured in the Pre and Post Election Surveys. Barksdale's improvement in some of the 'moral' categories can be attributed to the increasing significance of the issues in the public mind coupled with the minority who strongly supported him. whatever the issue might be, Barksdale's committed following was likely to see him favorably in its light.

Attributes Which Gained In Voter Expectations	Voter Expectations Index	Candidate Reputation Index Change	
		Barksdale	Owens
Administrative ability	+25	+1	
Fairness to all people	+34	−6	+47
Ethics	+25	−20	+38
Honesty	+17	−45	+29
Restraint	+45	+39	+23
Moral principle	+43	+39	+23
Caring about people	+15	+12	+13
Being sincere	+50	+58	+12
Integrity	+19	−1	+4
Dealing with other government officials	+16	−1	−5

[28]Donald C. Bryant, "Rhetoric: Its Function and Its Scope." **Rhetoric: A Tradition in Transition**. Edited by Walter Fisher. Michigan State Univeristy Press, East Lansing, Michigan, 1974, p.211. Originally published in **Quartyerly Journal of Speech**, V.39 (December 1953), pp. 401-24.

Kotzebue and Popular Romanticism:
Triumph and Repudiation

Stephen D. Malin

In the literary world, the commencement of the Romantic era is usually identified with the 1798 publication of Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads*. In the theatrical world an unstructured predecessor, here termed "popular romanticism," emerged slightly earlier, its birth attended by enormous immediate obscurity. Its consideration is of interest in view of what Europe and America thereafter became, both socially and theatrically, and what to a discernible degree we remain.

Unsupported by any manifesto or philosophy such as Wordsworth supplied in his famous "Preface,"[1] popular romanticism may be defined as an emotionally-centered basis of perception and decision-making, one in which feelings were the final arbiter of judgment. In the burgeoning acceptance of this daring new attitude, attentive observers could hardly have failed to sense the ending of an old era and the beginning of a new. Its precipitating event, re-enacted in the capital cities of the West, was both literally and figuratively dramatic. It was also stunningly sudden, an almost instantaneous popular international endorsement of a drastic shift away from the ordered world of the Age of Reason into the turbulent world of popular romanticism

As an institution, the theatre which launched this phenomenon was a stage designed to appeal to the taste of the day, a stage filled with tireless Georgian morality, steeped in the belief that it was only necessary to bring the erring to an understanding of the error for redemption to follow. This belief, therefore, lead to the diligent, scrupulous moral preachments of the time, in which unfailingly noble sentiment ever hoped to work its wonder and restore the lost. At the same time, the most upright of the *dramatis personae* had to guard themselves against any unwary slippage into unreflecting moments, the philosophical banana peel of the eighteenth century which might bring a sudden skid into the ditch of the unredeemed. "I love you," quoth one hero of the day, "but though you protest you love me, I fear it is only pity." "Nay," his adored one replies, "I love you, but you are moved by duty."[2]

Ablaze with passion, this couple is nonetheless following the only course possible to eighteenth century propriety, a tirelessly virtuous, instructive fastidiousness. Nothing but the most scrupulously irreproachable proposal—of whatever kind—must be offered or accepted. This characteristic is often exaggerated in the genre, sometimes to a point approaching unconscious humor, as in Mrs. Francis Sheridan's *Discovery* of 1963. Much of the play's tension, effectiveness and popularity derived from the son's determined willingness to give up the woman he truly loves in order to save his father. The latter, however, protests, "I deserve the ruin I have brought upon myself, and am content to sink under it." Father: "I cannot ask it, my son." Son: "I'll give up all, even my love, to save you!" The engaged girl would herself abet the sacrifice, but a stunning *deus ex machina* puts matters right. Though not necessarily so overblown, it is the kind of perennially high-minded self-sacrifice which characterizes much of eighteenth century drama.

Through this rigorous middle-class rectitude, all things are possible: long-lost sons or long-gone fathers are reunited with families, innocence betrayed is rescued, duels offered are prevented, fortunes are transferred to legitimate claimants, husbands restored, wives reconciled, gamblers chastened, roisterers sobered, rakes reformed. But always and always, the emotional agonies undergone by the characters relent only when acted upon according to the most careful scrutiny, applying only the most fastidiously elevated standards, the most highly refined sense of duty. Hence the inexhaustible admonitions of the time were functional; they brought the light of reason to conduct, and so reformed it.

Onto such a stage burst Augustus Ferdinand Friederich von Kotzebue III, a playwright who soon came to be called "the German Shakespeare." His plays were produced more often in Germany than those of Goethe, Schiller and Lessing combined. Translated into a dozen languages, his work was wildly applauded, according to one authority, in "every playhouse in Europe and America." This claim is, if not provable, quite probable.

It is important to notice the international character of the acceptance of Kotzebue. That German drama by a German playwright should be popular in Germany is one thing; that it won immediate and overwhelming success all over Europe, in England and America is something else. The stunning new philosophic viewpoint which Kotzebue offered was everywhere embraced; plainly he had captured the spirit of the time as it is not often caught.

The play which opened the floodgates was *The Stranger*. It swept Europe, and was the first of two Kotzebue plays to open in London in the spring of 1798. Some critics hailed the author as greater than Shakespeare. The *Times*, hushed into awe, affirmed of *The Stranger*, "Its beauties 'are not of an age, but of all times.'"[4]

A few months later the play had crossed the Atlantic and proved equally popular. Brought first to the Park Theatre in New York, the work was praised by critics in unqualified terms, one of them saying, "I believe it may be asserted that this drama is without a parallel." The opening night audience evidently agreed, refusing to leave until the play was announced for performance the following night—unheard of in the repertory system of the day—and they "testified their approbation by huzzas."[5] During the remainder of the 1798-99 season at the Park, *The Stranger* was repeated once in every seven performances; indeed, the theatre's manager, William Dunlap, confessed that it was "the success of this piece alone" which alowwed him "to keep open the theatre."[6] The drama was, moreover, phenomenally popular everywhere it played, and it remained a standard repertory item on both sides of the Atlantic far into the next century.[7]

And what was this theatrical paragon like? Briefly, the plot concerns itself with an anonymous misanthrope—yes, the Stranger—who, previously deserted by his wife, lives in isolation from the world. Nearby dwells a woman who passes her days in humble deeds of charity which mark her unceasing repentance of having deserted her husband in favor of another man several years earlier. Each learns the other's name by word of mouth and they are discovered to be, of course, husband and wife.

They meet, but mutually decide to continue their separation despite their lingering love. She, it seems, must pursue her penitence alone as a species of moral obligation. He, likewise, is committed to solitude, for, if he were to take back the woman he loves, he would be forced to "renounce his character and become the derision of society." In the final portion of the play, he offers his wife the financial "means of indulging in charity the divine propensity of your nature." Affirming how richly she merits her reduced circumstances, however, she refuses:

> Never! By the labour of my hands must I earn my sustenance. A crust of bread moistened by the tear of penitence will suffice my needs and exceed my merits. It would be an additional reproach to think that I served myself, or even others, from the bounty of him whom I had so basely wronged.[8]

Thus determined, they tearfully enact their renunciation, and at the final parting,

> Their hands lie in each other's: their eyes mournfully meet. They stammer another "farewell" and part, but as they are going, she encounters the boy and he the girl [their children, previously ushered in by a friend].

CHILDREN: Dear Father! Dear Mother!

They press the children in their arms with speechless affection, then tear themselves away, gaze at each other, spread their arms, and rush into an embrace. The children run and cling round their parents. The curtain falls.

The popularity of *The Stranger* derived, I believe, from two things, both observable from this summary. The first is that the play establishes an unmistakable and impeccable standard of Georgian propriety, and, given the background already developed, this is readily demonstrable.

The Stranger, Haller by name, is perfectly correct when he points out that, were he to take back his erring wife, the act would be "to renounce his character and become the derision of society." Any enlightened, right-thinking eighteenth century rationalist would have been happy to point out the Age of Reason's reason for this. Simply put, to take back a woman who had scorned her oath of marital fidelty would constitute a deed almost as reprehensible as the original lapse. The husband would at least seem to be countenancing her act, perhaps even endorsing it, and neither was to be tolerated. Adultery could not be condoned, least of all by the offended—assuming him to be male.

Additionally, the husband who would readmit a publicly unfaithful wife could not be other than an object of scorn, a pitiable wretch, for had he not, after all, failed to control his wife? This duty remained basic to manhood, and it was regularly seen as fundamental to church and home alike; for Haller to fail in this duty and then condone the (presumably) consequent sin would surely be as he said, "to renounce his character and become the derision of society."

Beyond the personal disgrace, of course, lay the fact that, to many, he would be denying nothing less than the divine plan itself, which had placed the husband at the head of the household, charged with maintaining God's order therein.[10] To forgive an adulterous wife would assault, therefore, home, church and society at large. Better the children motherless, the husband solitary.

So ran the conventional eighteenth century view upon fidelity in marriage. It was a public, a parental and a personal duty to endorse through action that such a woman would be made the only useful thing she could hope to become, a wretched example, low, alone, perpetually penitent, an object calculated to demonstrate the wages of sin with all possible clarity and certitude. Mrs. Haller, of course, knows this and concurs in it. She cannot even accept money from her husband to use for the benefit of others—"it would be an additional reproach," she laments, "to think I served. . . others from the bounty of him whom I had so basely injured." hence, "a crust of bread moistened by the tear of penitence will suffice my needs and exceed my merits."

All this is old news. The Georgian sensibility, steeped in a stern yet delicate sense of duty, had been misting the eighteenth century eye for almost a hundred years. It was not this that made *The Stranger* popular, but it was the set-up. However the couple may desire reconciliation, society and their own thoroughly instructed understanding admit of but one course: renunciation.

Yet upon all this, Haller and his reaffirmed wife turn their backs. And in the capital cities of the West, and likewise in towns and villages, cheering audiences reversed a settled standard with their plaudits, and they did so in the most emphatic terms, making of the new play an unprecedented triumph—and at the same time a repudiation. The Hallers had examined themselves and their situation with all the meticulous moral exactitude which the eighteenth century demanded, and they were led to an irreversible conclusion. Unbelievably, stunningly, they ignored it. They turned their backs upon the injunction to a stern moral duty. They reconciled. They followed not the dictates of the head, as the age past instructed, but the dictates of the heart. The popular romantic revolution had erupted.

If the moment was greeted with thunderous ovations at the time, it has been ignored since. Beginning with William Dunlap,[11] critics early and late dismiss the play as "sentimental claptrap"—Ashley Thorndike's phrase of more than fifty years ago.[12] More recently, Walter Meserve's *An Emerging Entertainment* allowed the play 'a heroic rescue, plenty of sentiment, plus the usual melodramatic devices and contrivances [which] provided audiences with the emotional stimulation they wanted."[13]

But not all these "usual melodramatic devices" were in fact commonplace when Kotzebue wrote them. The most extraordinary device, however, became so rapidly and so completely a standard component of popular theatre, a part of its very atmosphere, that the moment of its emergence in *The Stranger* escaped subsequent notice. This remarkable device is the method used by the Hallers to effect their reunion; in reaching this decision, emotions are allowed not merely existence, but dominion.

Assuredly, this idea did not spring full-grown from the brow of Kotzebue; circumstances had prepared a welcome for *The Stranger*. From the time of Rousseau and the stirrings of the French Revolution, the sands of Reason had been running out, and increasingly emotion bid to replace them. Moreover, during the decade of the 1770's in Germany, *Sturm und Drang*, if diffuse and short-lived, nevertheless had made clearly known its preference for the heart rather than the head. Calculated or accidental, then, the arrival of Kotzebue, heart in hand, was well-timed.

But it would almost certainly be a mistake to credit Kotzebue with philosophic ambitions in making the statement he did. Time and again during his career he repudiated such a notion. What he repeatedly affirmed was his quest for popular success, with the conviction that plays which had won artistic triumph were, pragmatically speaking, failures. He maintained that

> Few of our masterpieces are effective on the stage because they fail to make a popular
> appeal. They assume a higher degree of culture, a higher power of comprehension
> than in fact exists. . .the people desire to be entertained.[14]

Entertainment remained Kotzebue's single-minded aim. Under no illusions as to what this implied about his work, he candidly admitted, "I know I write no masterpieces and that as a dramatist I am only entitled to secondary rank." The great objective, in Kotzebue's view, "is not to produce an ideal work of art;" the prime goal, rather, should be "exciting interest."[15] Not mincing words, the Kotzebue biographer, L. F. Thompson, summarized the matter by declaring that his subject "had no ideal which he desired to impart in dramatic form," and that the dramatist "was, in fact, the Philistine *par excellence*."[16]

Whatever the playwright's goals and character, however, his play was a watershed. With the ubiquitous production of *The Stranger*, beginning in the late eighteenth century, the criterion of the emotionally based decision swept into a mass acceptance whose repercussions have by no means disappeared as we approach the twenty-first century. The movement to the new standard constituted a sort of democratization of philosophy, inasmuch as anyone, however disenfranchised from achievement or culture, place or name, could make confident claim to valid grounds for a decision. Reason might mislead, but the heart could be trusted. Reason, of course, had repeatedly been used to mislead—the rationalizations defending workhouse, sweatshop and child labor offered the cynically specious construct whereby such institutions were maintained. But suddenly unschooled maids and machinists had only to inquire of their hearts to be led into truth. They could bypass the mazes of reason with which they were ill-equipped to deal, and it is not to be wondered at that they embraced the release with enthusiasm.

Their role models showed the way. Even under threat of death or dishonor, the typical nineteenth century hero or heroine of the popular stage follows the dictates of heart rather than head—and is unfailingly rewarded. It seems, therefore, that not quite all the fevered emotionalism of this theatre was emotion for its own sake, as is commonly charged. At the crucial moment, it is emotion employed as the basis for a decision.

From the early Kotzebue onward, emotions are with great rapidity and frequency used in this way, as a guideline for characters' choices. Before *The Stranger*, the emotional ice-jam had creaked and shifted, cracked and strained. Then, not with the "Preface" and the poems of Wordsworth did the dam burst, but with the

reconciliation drama of Kotzebue, and the river of feeling poured through. We're still regaining our feet and our composure.

END NOTES

[1]Wordsworth's preface did not appear until 1801 in the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*.

[2]The dialogue is drawn from William Whitehead's *School for Lovers*, a restrained example of its kind. Caelia and Sir John are the lovers.

[3]Ashley H. Thorndike, *English Comedy* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), p. 411. See also L. F. Thompson, *Kotzebue: A Story of his Progress in France and England* (Paris: Librarie Ancienne Honore Champion, 1928), pp. 5, 28, 54, 168; Ashley H. Thorndike, *Tragedy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), pp. 320-21, 327-28; Oral Sumner Coad, *William Dunlap* (New York: the Dunlap Society, 1917), 206-10. Patti P. Gillespie and Kenneth N. Cameron, *Western Theatre: Revolution and Revival* (New York and London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 369, calls Kotzebue "The most popular playwright in the world in the early nineteenth century."

[4]Quoted in Coad, p. 207; see also Thompson, p. 25; Robert Canary, *William Dunlap* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970), p. 29.

[5]Quoted in Coad, p. 212; see also George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1928), II. 44-45; William Dunlap, *A History of the American Theatre* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832), pp. 253-54; Barnard Hewitt, *Theatre U.S.A.: 1658-1957* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), pp. 53-54.

[6]Dunlap, pp. 253, 258, 261.

[7]Fritz Leuchs, *The Early German Theatre in New York* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1928), p. 16. The durability of *The Stranger* is partly indicated in the career of Anna Cora Mowatt, who did not act professionally until 1842, nearly a half century after the play's premiere, and who kept the work actively in her repertoire in both America and England throughout her brilliant twelve year career, Eric Wollencott Barnes *The Lady of Fashion: the Life and the Theatre of Anna Cora Mowatt* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), pp. 119, 174-75, 257; Barnes observes, "Anna Cora could scarcely have maintained her position as a star without appearing at least two or three times a season in the role of Mrs. Haller." Similarly, the British star, Fanny Kemble, found the play still effective in New York—"Many handkerchiefs in requisition," reported the *New York Mirror*, April 6, 1855. In frontier America as well *The Stranger* was long a standard among touring troupes like those of Sol Smith; Sol Smith, *Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty years* (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1968), reprint of the 1868 edition, pp. 48, 89.

[8]August von Kotzebue, *The stranger*, in Dougald McMillan and Howard Mumford Jones, eds., *Plays of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1954), p. 892.

[9]*Ibid.*

[10]This viewpoint is, of course, in direct line of descent from the hierarchical Great Chain of Being of the Renaissance.

[11]Dunlap, pp. 257-58.

[12]Thorndike, *Comedy*, p. 414; without pointing specifically to *The Stranger*, David Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled* (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Pres, 1968), p. 15, accurately observes that after Kotzebue, "drama was to be clearly grounded. . .in a philosophy of feeling;" see also, p. 13.

[13]Walter J. Meserve, *An Emerging Entertainment: the Drama of the American People to 1928* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1977, p. 110.

[14]August von Kotzebue, *Uber Recensenten Ufuq*, quoted in Thompson, p. 46, 47. Kotzebue was realistic about what his quest for popularity implied, believing that "None of my plays will be staged in fifty years."

[15]*Ibid.* In the process of exciting interest, substance sometimes emerged; Robertson Davies, *The Mirror of Nature* (Toronto, London: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 66, has observed, for instance, that the central focus of *The Stranger* helped lead "directly toward radical changes in moral ideas. . . .[*viz.*] marriages do not go astray because one partner is at fault and. . .a wife who has made a mistake deserves a hearing and a second change;" at the same time, however, the sincerity with which these issues were raised by Kotzebue can be questioned (see below).

[16]*Ibid.*, pp. 19, 40-41. Thompson's conclusion may seem harsh, but the account given here only brushes the outlines of a career of devoted opportunism and philosophical cynicism; see, for instance, August von Kotzebue, *Die Deutschen Kleinstadter*, ed. Ernest Haftel (London: Librarie Hachette and Cie., 1855), p. 111; Thompson, pp. 10-18, 37-38; Duinlap, pp. 254, 255-47, 258; August von Kotzebue, *Historical, Literary and Political Anecdotes and Miscellanies* (London: Henry Colburn, 1807), II, pp. 98-100, 184-86.

Who Enrolls in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking:
A Record-Data Survey

James Monroe Stewart

All of the figures referred to in the text are printed in the appendix at the end of the article.

Fundamentals of Public Speaking: A Data Survey

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to determine the utilization of an academic course, the Fundamentals of Public Speaking, in a comprehensive regional mid-southern university. The study was undertaken because of some recent concerns about the course's value or role in higher education curricula and because departments offering the course oftentimes do not realize the scope of university service they perform. Final grade reports were surveyed for the 7 academic-year period 1979-80 through 1985-86, including summer quarters. The more salient findings included the following: (a) the average enrollment per academic year was 379, with sections ranging between 18 to 23 students; (b) enrollment increases paralleled University growth, reflecting 1%; (c) Winter quarters, earlier class-hours, and Monday-Wednesday-Friday sections were preferable to respective comparable periods; (d) there was a gender bias favoring females, which was attributable to curricula; (e) sophomores comprised slightly less than one third of the enrollment for this second-year course; and (f) grades were better than the University average. Implications are discussed.

Who Enrolls in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking:

A Record Data Survey

The public speaking course is traditionally the most important course in any department or unit area of speech communication. It is important for several reasons; reasons which are all too often forgotten, misunderstood, or lost in the academic versus professional perspectives of speech communication (Hillman, 1978, 1982; Osborn, Yeomans, Lowe, Filippo, & Quiggins, 1977; Paulson, 1980; Gouran, 1980).

First, the public speaking course fulfills a curriculum requirement at some level of the university (Gibson, Gruner, Hanna, Smythe, & Hayes, 1980). For this reason, the course should be valued and evaluated; as a service course, it represents an expectation on the part of academic units requiring the course. Second, it challenges the students because, in many instances, if not most, public speaking represents a course causing anxiety and/or frustration (Beaty & Andriate, 1985; Daly & Friedrich, 1981). For a caring, sensitive faculty, the challenge is to present the course in ways that denote and connote both scholarly and lifelong learning.

Third, according to Fischer (1975) and Nelson and Pearson (1984), a course like public speaking builds personal competence, promotes social development, and enhances professional growth. Fourth, it serves as a vehicle to interest and to entice students into the major or into upper division courses, as well as to introduce them to forensics and debate.

Fifth, the course serves as the initial teaching assignment for many graduate assistants. In this case, the course should be monitored to ensure academic continuity with accepted departmental standards and to ensure that new teaching assistants are supported in their instructional activities (e.g., see DeBoer, 1980; Gibson et al., 1980; Gibson, Hanna, & Huddleston, 1985). Sixth, and probably the most important consideration, the course represents the cornerstone of departments' ability to generate credit hours (Gibson et al., 1980; Gibson et al., 1985).

The latter point carries some important implications. The first implication involves departmental solvency and/or, more appropriately, supply and demand. In some institutions during the past decade or two, curricula have waned because of enrollment problems. These curricula, like our economy, starting in the mid-1970s through today, have been unstable (unexpanding). This problem has affected the employment security of our colleagues and the job outlook for our majors (e.g., see Clavier, Clevenger, Khair, & Khair, 1979; Delia, 1979; Hauser, 1979; Lancer, Buckley, & Deetz, 1984). More recently, however, Gibson et al. (1985) report more favorable data.

The second implication reflects the converse of the first. In this case, the department is expanding its discipline courses and decreasing the service course(s), depending on the departmental philosophy or the availability of

teaching assistants. The specific aspects of these implications within the field of speech communication are considered, in part, by Brooks (1982), Hillman (1978, 1982), and Osborn et al. (1977).

A review of the literature in speech communication for the past decade or so reveals a number of studies devoted to surveying or to understanding some aspect of communication. A representative selection of these more recent studies include teacher effectiveness (Applegate, 1980; Kearney, Plax, & Wendt-Wasco, 1985; Powell & Arthur, 1985), the elderly (Dreher, 1982; Nussbaum, 1985; Schuetz, 1980), human interactions (Baxter & Philpott, 1982; Cody, McLaughlin, & Schneider, 1981; Gudykunst, 1985; Snavely, 1981; Wheeless & Berry-Fink, 1985; Wheeless, Wheeless, & Howard, 1984), communication apprehension (Beaty & Andriate, 1985; Daly & Friedrich, 1981; Greene & Sparks, 1983; Lederman, 1983; McCrosky, Beaty, Kearney, & Plax, 1985; Parks, Dindia, Adams, Berlin, & Larson, 1980; Porter, 1982; Prisbell, 1982), course evaluations (Clevenger & Todd-Mancillias, 1982), and survey of speech communication (Dance, 1980; Eadie, 1979; Gibson et al., 1980; Lance et al., 1984; Hostettler, 1980; Marlier, 1980; Paulson, 1980). Each of these surveys, and others like them, has contributed to our understanding of speech communication.

The literature does not reveal, however, studies which survey specifically the demand for or the utilization of a fundamental public speaking course in curricula requirements. This assertion differs from those developed by Dedmon and Frandsen (1964), Gibson and his colleagues (1970, 1974, 1980, 1985), and Hillman (1981). These studies focused, primarily, on trends in course content and instructional patterns in basic speech courses. The present study differs from these studies in four ways. It considers (a) course outcomes rather than course content and instructional trends and (b) empirical data rather than questionnaire data. Further, this study is limited to (c) a single university environment rather than a national survey and (d) a basic public speaking course rather than basic first courses in speech.

In surveying demands for public speaking, departments offering the course are better able to service curricula requirements and to utilize personnel wisely. This present investigation overviews some selected aspects of this issue.

The present study emanates from a concern for the service aspects of speech communication curricula and the broader perspectives on core curricula, speech majors, and job markets and security (Brooks, 1982; Clavier et al., 1979). In addition, this study serves as a reminder that, oftentimes, a course like Fundamentals of Public Speaking is the backbone of the programmatic offering for the academic unit administering it.

This study presents data on a specific course in speech communication. The course is Fundamentals of Public Speaking. It is defined within the context of the University and in this study as the initial course in speech communication, designed for oral communication from speech germination and planning through delivery on the platform. The data exist as a consequence of course administration and outcome.

Method

The study was conducted at Tennessee Technological University (TTU) in Cookeville, Tennessee. This University is a predominantly white, regional, comprehensive, multipurpose university located in middle-Tennessee. Its headcount enrollment was 7,680 students (or a Full-Time Equivalency of 7,132) in the academic year 1985-86, during the time of the survey.

In a recent national survey, *U.S. News & World Report* (1985) found TTU to be one of the best American colleges. In addition, the Tennessee Higher Education Commission (THEC) found that TTU had the highest percentage of academically talented students, defined by ACT scores of 24 and above (Sampley, 1985).

Departmental grade records were reviewed for the academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86, including the summer quarters. This 7-year period reflected the decade of the 1980s to date. This data gathering period was chosen for its timeliness.

Data from the records included academic year, quarter, section, sex, class rank, grade, major, and college. Because of the confidentiality of records and because of professional sensitivity on the grading process, no other identifying information was tracked. Course sections, however, were not problematic because they did not correlate with specific professors.

Results

Population

The 7-year period for the academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86 revealed 2,656 students matriculated in Fundamentals of Public Speaking. From this data, the average number of students per academic year was 379.

Enrollment

Course. Figure 1 reflects the enrollment of students in Fundamentals of Public Speaking by academic year. Percentages are superimposed on this figure for convenience and readability.

Exception for the academic year 1982-82, reflecting an enrollment of 451 students or 17% of the total, the enrollment was relatively stable. The range was 318 to 398, reflecting respective percentages of 12.0 to 15.2%. This observation indicates that the service roll of public speaking has changed upwards over the 7-year period by approximately 1% per year overall, but in the immediate past three years not more than one half of 1%.

University. Figure 2 supports the findings in the previous figure. Figure 2 indicates the percentage of overall growth in the University's enrollment during the 7-year period, which was approximately 1%. For the immediate past three years, the growth rate, like for public speaking, is less than one half of 1%. The percentages for the years, which range from 4.1 to 5.7%, although redundant, are superimposed on the figure rather than the headcount figures. The enrollment of students in Fundamentals of Public Speaking is keeping pace with the overall University enrollment pattern.

Quarter. Figure 3 reflects the percentage of students enrolled in public speaking for each of the academic quarters across the 7-year period. The totals are superimposed on the figure. Figure 3 indicates a higher demand for public speaking in the Winter quarter than in the others, reflecting 879 students or 32.1%. The Fall quarter follows second with 817 students or 30.8%. Although the percentage difference between the two quarters is small, 2.3%, the difference in enrollment translates into 62 students or 2 to 3 course sections.

The enrollment for the Spring quarter, which was 732 students or 27.6%, was 5.5 to 3.2% less than the two previous ones. Although the Summer quarter reflected 228 students or 8.6% of the total enrollment, the demand was clear for this course during the summer.

Section. Figure 4 offers an orientation on the utilization of course sections across the 7-year period, and is viewed best in conjunction with Figure 1. In this figure, the superimposed numbers reflect the enrollment for the academic year. This approach allows one to know the maximum number of sections offered and the total course enrollment in a given year. However, this approach is also independent of the academic quarters and the frequency with which these section maximums occurred.

Figure 4 shows, for example, that the maximum number of sections offered was 8, with an enrollment of 392 students in the 1983-84 academic year. This maximum occurred in the 1983-84 academic year, one year after the maximum enrollment of 451. During the peak enrollment of the 1982-83 academic year, 7 sections were offered. It reveals also that the number of sections offered during the 7-year period was tri-modal. During the two successive academic years, 1979-80 and 1980-81, there were 5 sections. There were 7 sections offered in academic years 1982-83 and 1984-85 and 6 sections offered in 1981-82 and 1985-86. Generally, this pattern for the number of sections followed the enrollment pattern of the University.

Another orientation on the utilization of course sections can be seen in Figure 5. In this figure, the superimposed numbers reflect the enrollment total for each section across the investigation period. This approach allows one to know the sectional preference.

Across the study period, Section 01 accounted for 586 students or 22.1% of the enrollment. The remaining sections can be viewed similarly, ranging downward from 470 students or 17.7% to 13 students or 0.5%.

Figure 5 indicates that student demand was toward sections earlier than later in the day, since section numbers correlate roughly with time. Section 05 is consistent with this observation because it represented a Tuesday-Thursday period rather than a Monday-Wednesday-Friday one. In addition, following this same logic, one can infer (see) that Monday-Wednesday-Friday sections were in higher demand than Tuesday-Thursday sections, because the higher numbered sections occurred generally with the latter.

The design of the study could not differentiate student preference from curricula demands. This consideration is important because courses in the major or competing course times may have been a factor rather than student preference. Without pursuing this consideration, both dimensions were probably operable. In addtion, the data in Figures 4 and 5 suggest that 6 sections are adequate to handle some additional enrollment growth.

Class Size. Figures 4 and 5 address, indirectly, class size. Because the number of sections does not change from quarter to quarter, except for the one section in the summer, the average class size per academic year can be computed with the aid of Figure 4. The range is 18 to 23; however, it is 20 to 23 for 6 of the 7 years. The recommended departmental maximum is 25.

College. Figure 6 displays student enrollment by college. The corresponding percentages for the enrollments are superimposed on the figure.

Figure 6 reveals that the biggest utilization of public speaking was by the College of Education. It accounted for 1,097 students or 41.3% of the enrollment. The College of Business Administration was second with 708 students or 26.7% of the enrollment. Third and fourth place enrollments were held by the College of Agriculture and Home Economics and Arts and Sciences with 15.9 and 12.2%, respectively. The other colleges and a general category of special students labeled "Othr" can be viewed similarly. Together, they accounted for nearly 4% of the total enrollment.

This figure is valuable because it reveals what academic units utilize public speaking. It reveals that 68% of the demand for public speaking was in the Colleges of Education and Business Administration. Thus, the figure is clear in depicting the lack of public speaking in the curricula of the artistic, humanistic, scientific, and technological disciplines.

Gender. Figure 7 addresses enrollment by gender. It reveals that females and males constituted 60.2 and 39.3%

of the enrollment, respectively. The category of others, constituting less than 1%, represents those students who were not clearly discernible and/or verifiable by gender. The corresponding superimposed enrollment counts are 1,598; 1,044; and 14 for females, males, and unknowns, respectively. The figure indicates that 50% more females were enrolled in public speaking than males. The obvious question is, why? Are there more females than males at the University?

University by gender. Figure 8 addresses further the finding in Figure 7. It indicates that 43 versus 57% of the student body was female versus male across the 7-year period. These percentages indicate that there were approximately 33% more males than females enrolled in the University. University enrollment patterns for gender do not account for the finding in Figure 7. Like Figure 2, the percentages in Figure 8 are superimposed and redundant. Figure 8 does not, however, include data on gender for the two academic years 1979-80 and 1980-81, because data are not available.

From Figure 8, it is clear that the University enrollment relative to gender is nearly constant. The actual percentages for males and females were 56.7 and 43.3%, respectively, for the two academic years 1981-82 and 1982-83. The latter 3 years are shown accurately in the figure. In the Fall of 1973, the gender percentages were 60 and 40% for males and females, respectively. The reasons for these rather stable, somewhat unchanging, statistics are unexplainable and beyond the scope of the present study. The importance of the data is in their existence and in their availability for comparisons.

Resolution of the conflicting data in Figures 7 and 8 can be resolved, in part, by returning to Figure 6. Figure 6 indicates that the Colleges of Education and Business Administration accounted for 68% of the enrollment in public speaking. From this data, it can be inferred that any biasing factors relative to gender can be discernible by further analyses of college enrollment by gender.

Gender by college. Figure 9 reveals the enrollment pattern for gender by college. The superimposed percentages correspond to the numbers enrolled.

It shows that the female versus male enrollment was 778 versus 315, or 29.3 versus 11.9%, in the College of Education. These figures indicate a female-male ratio of 2.5:1. In the Colleges of Arts and Sciences, Agriculture and Home Economics, and Business Administration, the female enrollment exceeded the male enrollment by approximately 2%. The gender ratio was much larger in the School of Nursing, 6.0:1, but this ratio involved only 12 females versus 2 males.

Figure 9 reveals a different pattern for the College of Engineering. It reveals a gender ratio of 0.1:1, or 10 times more males than females. This ratio is misleading somewhat, because it involved 8 females versus 78 males or 0.3 versus 2.9%. On the other hand, the ratio, relative to the others, leads one to understand the gender bias.

Figure 9 indicates that the gender bias for females was a function of curricula. This can be supported and seen better with the aid of Figure 10.

University by college. Figure 10 shows the number of students enrolled (N = 7,494) in the University by college during the 1984-85 academic year. Statistics for the University enrollments by college were not available for the other 6 years under study. There is no reason to assume, however, that these 6 years differed from the 1984-85 school year. This assertion is based on data contained in Figures 2 and 8. Again, for convenience and readability, the percentages are superimposed on the figure.

Figure 10 shows, for example, that the College of Education accounted for 10.5% of the University's total enrollment, while accounting for 41.3% of the public speaking enrollment (see Figure 6). The University enrollment percentages for majors in the Colleges of Arts and Sciences, Agriculture and Home Economics, Business Administration, Engineering, Nursing, and Other Programs were 19.3, 5.4, 20.1, 34.0, 4.4, and 6.3%, respectively. From Figures 6 and 9, their enrollments in public speaking were 12.2, 15.9, 26.7, 3.2, 0.5, and 0.2%, respectively.

In comparing Figures 9 and 10, one finds that education majors were enrolled in public speaking 4 times greater than their representation in the University, where the female enrollment was 2.5 times higher than males. Agriculture and home economics majors were seen in public speaking 3 times more often than their representation in the University, where the female population outnumbered the males by approximately 2%.

The School of Engineering was the biggest contributor to the female bias in public speaking. It accounted for 34% of the University enrollment, while enrolling 3.2% of its students in public speaking. Its University enrollment, therefore, was more than 10 times greater than its enrollment in public speaking. With their enrollment, although small, the males outnumbered the females by nearly 10 to 1. The School of Arts and Sciences also significantly contributed to the female bias. Its University enrollment (19.3%) was nearly 1.6 times greater than its enrollment in public speaking (12.2%), with an enrollment favoring females over males by slightly more than 1.5%. Although not as nearly great, the gender bias for the remaining colleges can be viewed similarly.

Class rank. Figure 11 shows the enrollment in Fundamentals of Public Speaking by class rank. The figure indicates little difference between the number of sophomores and seniors enrolled in the course; their numbers reflect 814 or 30.7% and 793 or 29.9%, respectively. Juniors accounted for 695 students or 26.2% of the enrollment, while 349 students were freshman or 13.1%. The category of others, labeled "Othr," included graduate or special students; it accounted for 0.2%.

Because public speaking is designated as a sophomore level course, one would speculate that the enrollment would reflect a precipitious downward trend. This reasoning is not supported by the data, which indicated that slightly less than one third of the students were sophomores.

Two reasons are possible for this contradictory finding. First, curricula requirements dictate a different sequence. Second, communication apprehension is a factor. From observations, based on class rolls and on student solicited information, the latter observation is clearly operable. How much the former one is operable is unclear. The exploration of these factors is beyond the scope of the present investigation and is not germane to the reality of enrollment.

Grade. Figure 12 reveals the grade distribution for public speaking. This figure reveals that the grades of A, B, and C were awarded to 602; 1,406; and 381 students, respectively. The corresponding, superimposed percentages are 22.7, 52.9, and 14.3%. All other grades, including a general administrative category, labeled "OT" (e.g., incompletes, (un)satisfactories, absences or lack of attendance, withdrawals, etc.), account for approximately 10%.

The figure indicates that the grade of B was awarded more than 2 and 3 times more often than the grades of A and C, respectively. There is no apparent reason for this grade distribution. It is not inconsistent, however, with the overall scholastic achievement of the student body. This assertion can be viewed from the University's perspective, reflected in Figure 13.

University grade distribution. Figure 13 shows the average distribution of grades in percent for the University's student enrollment during the academic years 1982-83 through 1985-86, including the summer quarters. Data are not available for the three earlier years. Like Figures 2 and 7, the percentages are superimposed and redundant for this figure. Figure 13 shows the percentages for the grades A, B, and C were 29.6, 31.2, and 23.6%, respectively. The other two grades account for nearly 16% of the distribution. These statistics are unlike those in Figure 12, for earned grades in public speaking.

Excluding the administrative grades, labeled "OT," in Figure 12, the grading distribution would have been higher, even more unlike those for the University. On the one hand, there is no reason to assume or expect each course within the University to mirror the University grade distribution. On the other hand, the enrollment favors upper division students, juniors and seniors (representing 56% of the enrollment, who may be better adept at studying. It is more likely, however, that grades favor the performance rather than the academic orientation of the course, since, generally, more weight is given to speech grades than to examination grades (e.g., see Gibson et al., 1980).

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to gather administrative data on the Fundamentals of Public Speaking, a course offered at a middle-Tennessee university. This study was undertaken with no formal hypotheses, but with general notions in mind. These general notions were that (a) public speaking is a valuable service course, (b) knowledge of who enrolls in such a course is a direct indicator of its importance, and (c) marketing strategies can be developed to adjust the course offering, based on the data.

As indicated in the Introduction, one finds a number of studies conducted in speech communication. None of these studies considers course administration and academic outcomes. The present study did so.

The reliability of the results can be tested, in part, against selected areas in closely related studies. These studies include Gibson and his colleagues (1970, 1974, 1980, 1985). But, because the data in this study were purposefully limited to the 1980s, the latter two citations are more germane to the results herein.

Class rank. With reference to the student population, Gibson et al. (1985) reported the enrollment in the speech basic course for freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors at 28, 29, 22, and 20%, respectively. These figures differ from the 13, 31, 26, and 30, respectively, in the present study. The principal differences lie in the freshman and senior classes across these studies.

In addition, the majority of the population were below the junior rank, 57%, in the former study and above the sophomore rank, 56%, in this study. This comparison reflects reverse trends. The majority of the enrollees were lower classpersons in Gibson et al., and were upper classpersons in the present study. The results in this study could not discern and Gibson et al. did not discuss whether curricula and/or communication apprehension affected the results. More importantly, Gibson et al. defined the basic course to include other communication courses in addition to public speaking, and 46% of their respondents enrolled in these other courses. The present study considered only public speaking as the basic course. These factors can account for the differences in findings.

Enrollment trends. Gibson et al. (1985) indicated that 62% of the responding institutions showed enrollment increases in speech courses corresponding to institutional growth. This study revealed the same finding. Specifically, the overall growth was 1% for the public speaking course and for the University. The growth rate for each of the last three years was less than one half of 1%.

Sections. Gibson et al. reported that 10 sections or fewer were being offered in any given term by the large majority of the respondents, and that the average class size ranged from 18 to 30 students. This was consistent with the findings in the present study where 8 sections was the maximum. The range for the average class size was

17 to 23. However, 5 of the 7 years revealed average sizes from 21 to 23 students. The departmental maximum was 25.

Implications

There are several implications for this study. First, it allows academic units (i.e., departments, colleges, schools, etc.) responsible for the administration of the course to see how well they interface with other curricula. The lack of involvement by other academic units reflects their perception of the importance of public speaking.

For example, Figure 6 indicates that very few engineering, nursing, and other undesignated majors enrolled in public speaking. This study did not attempt to seek the reasons for their lack of enrollment. It is generally recognized, however, that engineering and nursing majors follow a highly structured curricula because of accreditation obligations. Their curricular structure may be a contributory factor in their low representation. With engineering majors, there may be another plausible explanation. The language of engineering is mostly mathematical. Engineers may assume that English grammar, both spoken and written, can naturally be understood by peers (McLeod, 1986). This belief could, in part, account for the low enrollment in this study.

But, the counterargument is that public speaking benefits engineers and nurses, especially considering the complexity and precision of concepts required in their professions.

Similarly, the finding in Arts and Sciences presents a valuable orientation, which may be indigenous to TTU, but worth mentioning in the context of this study. First, the data suggest that more females are majoring in disciplines in Arts and Sciences. Second, the disciplines in Arts and Sciences do not support the Fundamentals of Public Speaking, which is also a course administered within this College.

The inference is that this course is not considered important by these disciplines, thus supporting the engineering and nursing orientations. Pursuit of this inference is beyond the scope of the present study.

Knowing that various majors have low enrollments in Public Speaking reveals potential growth markets for teaching speech communication. Generally, when academic units are convinced of the importance of public speaking they include it in their curricula. For example, engineering majors should understand the need for public speaking in terms of being better prepared or more knowledgeable in techniques for presenting difficult concepts. Similarly, nursing majors are frontline individuals in the delivery of health-care services. A large portion of this service is communication, explaining problems and issues to their patients and their families.

A third implication is in terms of supply and demand. Once enrollment sets the demand, the problem becomes to supply teaching personnel. By analyzing enrollment demands, departments are better able to plan and to utilize their personnel resources for teaching purposes.

Although beyond the scope of the present investigation, two subareas are worth mentioning. First, the academic status of those teaching Fundamentals of Public Speaking can affect enrollment. Students prefer full time rather than part-time faculty or graduate-teaching assistants.

The fourth implication is in the generalization of the method used in this study. The data presented in this study may not be generalizable to other institutions offering a basic course in public speaking. What is generalizable, however, is the method of analyses. The generalization of the method does not preclude the inclusion of other variables, which may have been overlooked or unavailable.

For example, it would be valuable to know how many students were unable to enroll in the course or their preferred choice of sections. This information on course demand would allow for more accurate course expansion. In the context of this University, course expansion could mean offering multiple sections at a given hour, at earlier hours, or on preferred days. This particular strategy would be consistent with the data presented in Figures 4 and 5.

Summary of Results

The following section summarizes the more salient findings presented above and capsulizes those findings worthy of further study.

Population. During the 7-year period, 1979-80 through 1985-86, a total of 2,656 students enrolled in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking. The average enrollment per academic year was 379, including the summer quarter. The enrollment range was 318 (1979-80) to 451 (1982-83). (Figure 1 refers.)

Paralleling the enrollment in public speaking was the enrollment in the University. As the enrollment of the University increased, the enrollment in the number of students taking public speaking correspondingly increased. The overall growth was 1% for both, with the peak University enrollment paralleling the peak public speaking enrollment. (Figures 1 and 2 refer.)

Quarter. The enrollment in public speaking was not distributed equally across quarters. There was a higher demand in the Winter quarter than in other quarters, followed somewhat closely by the Fall quarter. The difference can be equated to either 2 or 3 sections. The course demand in the Spring quarter was 5.5 to 3.2% less than in the Winter and in the Fall quarters. Approximately 8.6% of the total enrollment was for the Summer

quarter. (Figure 3 refers.)

Section. The number of course sections was tri-modal; the modes were 5, 7, and 6. In one year, however, there were 8 sections. The number of sections offered correlated closely with the growth in public speaking and in the University. (Figure 4 and 5 refer).

In addition, earlier hour sections were more in demand than later hour sections. Further, there was greater demand for Monday-Wednesday-Friday sections than for Tuesday-Thursday sections. (Figure 5 refers.)

Class Size. The average class size ranged from 18 to 23 students. The more representative average range was 20 to 23 students, reflecting 6 years.

College. The demand for public speaking can be ranked by college. The largest user was Education (41.3%), followed by Business Administration (26.7%). These two colleges accounted for 69% of the enrollment. Third and fourth place demands were made by Agriculture and Home Economics (15.9%) and Arts and Sciences (12.2%). The other colleges accounted for approximately 4% of the total. (Figure 6 refers.)

Gender. The enrollment for gender favored females by 50%. The figures were 60 versus 40% for females versus males. In the University, males were favored by 33%. The figures were 57 versus 43% for males versus females (Figures 7 and 8 refer.)

The gender bias was a function of curricula, with curricula favoring females in the College of Education and males in the College of Engineering, indicating traditional enrollments for males and females. (Figures 9 and 10 refer.)

Class rank. Class rank revealed sophomores and seniors comprised 30.7 and 29.9% of the enrollment, respectively. This was followed by juniors, comprising 26.2%, and freshman last, comprising 13.1%. (Figure 11 refers.)

Grade. Grades earned in public speaking differed from those earned in the University. The most frequent grade in public speaking was B, reflecting 53.2%; followed by A, reflecting 23.4%; and then C, reflecting 14.4%. The grade distribution across the University for these same respective grades was 31.2, 29.6, and 23.6%. (Figures 12 and 13 refer.)

Precis

Although the literature is limited, it is believed that public speaking should be a part of the liberal arts and/or university-core curricula. It is further believed that all persons can benefit from such a course, as argued in the introduction to this study.

The number of university curicula requiring enrollment or of students enrolling in a course in public speaking course indicates the importance of the course from a curricula perspective. This study addrssed the latter consideration and provided some insights about the former.

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Figure Captions

Figure 1. Number of students enrolled (N = 2,651) in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking for each of the seven academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86, with their corresponding percentages superimposed.

Figure 2. Percentage of TTU enrollment enrolled (N = 2,656) in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking for each of the seven academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86, with the redundant percentages superimposed for readability.

Figure 3. Percentage of students enrolled (N = 2,656) in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking for each academic quarter across the entire 7-year period 1979-80 through 1985-86, with their corresponding numbers superimposed.

Figure 4. Maximum number of sections offered in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking for each of the seven academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86, with the total course enrollment (N = 2,656) for each year superimposed.

Figure 5. Percentage of students enrolled (N = 2,656) in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking for each course section across the entire seven academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86, with their corresponding total enrollment for each section superimposed.

Figure 6. Number of students enrolled (N = 2,656) in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking by academic college across the seven academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86, with their corresponding percentages superimposed.

Figure 7. Percentage of students enrolled (N = 2,656) in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking by gender across the seven academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86, with their corresponding numbers superimposed.

Figure 8. Percentage of TTU enrollment by gender for each of the five academic years 1981-82 through 1985-86, with the redundant percentages superimposed for readability.

Figure 9. Number of students enrolled (N = 2,656) in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking for gender by academic college for the seven academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86, with their corresponding percentages superimposed.

Figure 10. Number of students enrolled (N = 7,494) at TTU by college for the academic year 1984-85, with their corresponding percentages superimposed.

Figure 11. Number of students enrolled (N = 2,656) in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking by class rank across the seven academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86, with their corresponding percentages superimposed.

Figure 12. Number of grades earned by students enrolled (N = 2,656) in the Fundamentals of Public Speaking across the seven academic years 1979-80 through 1985-86, with their corresponding percentages superimposed.

Figure 13. Percentages of grades earned for students enrolled at TTU across the five academic years 1981-82 through 1985-86, with their redundant percentages superimposed for readability.
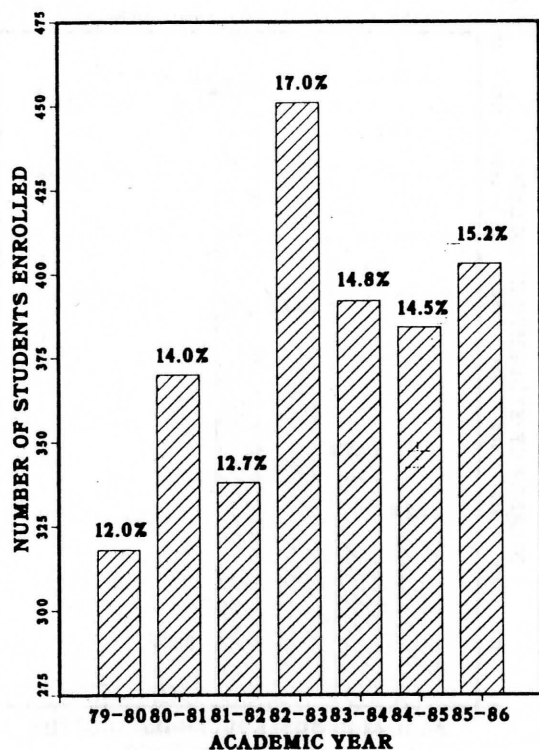
Figure 1

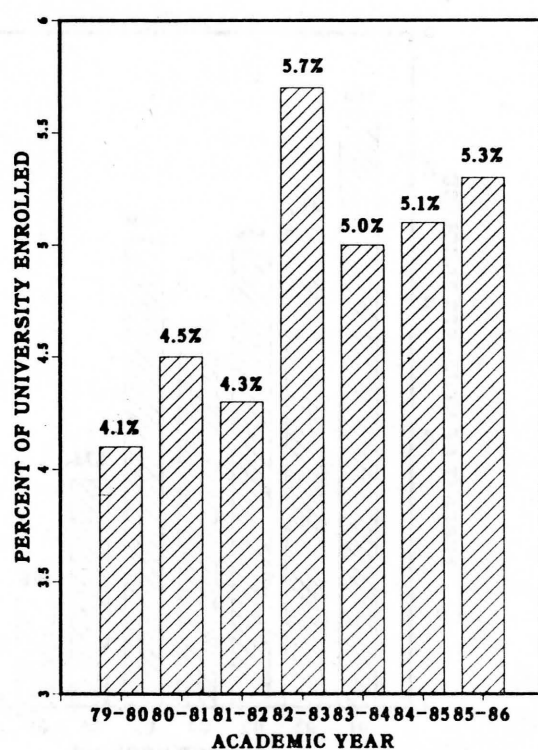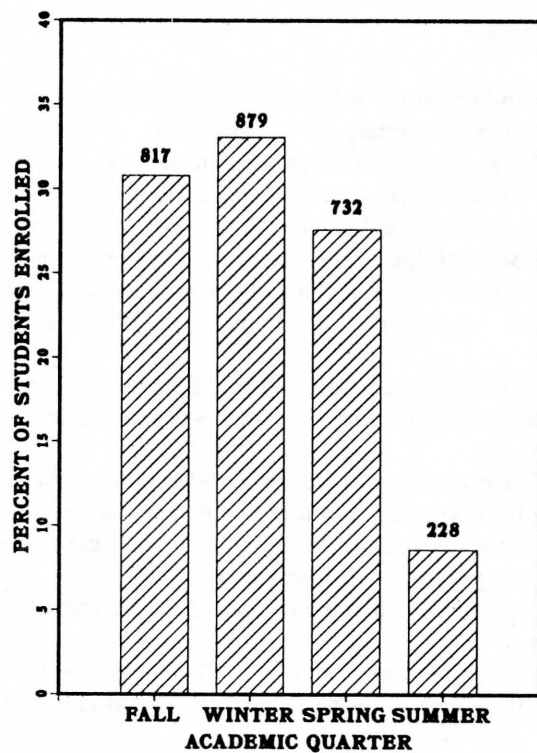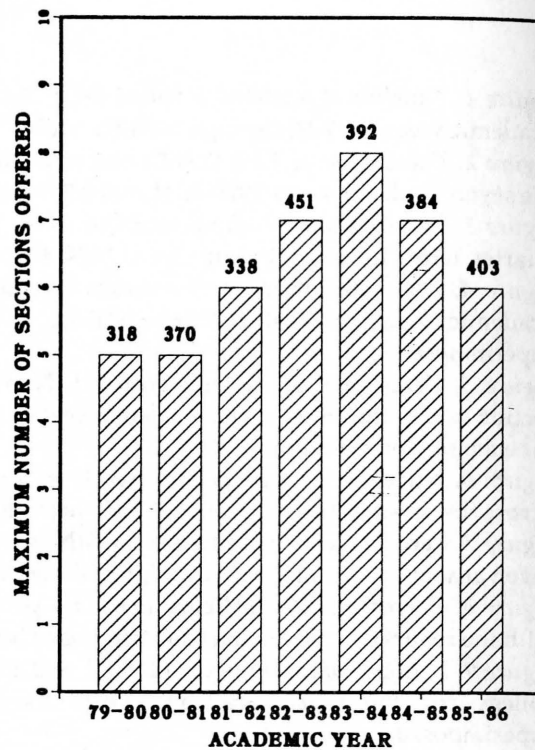## Figure 2

Figure 3

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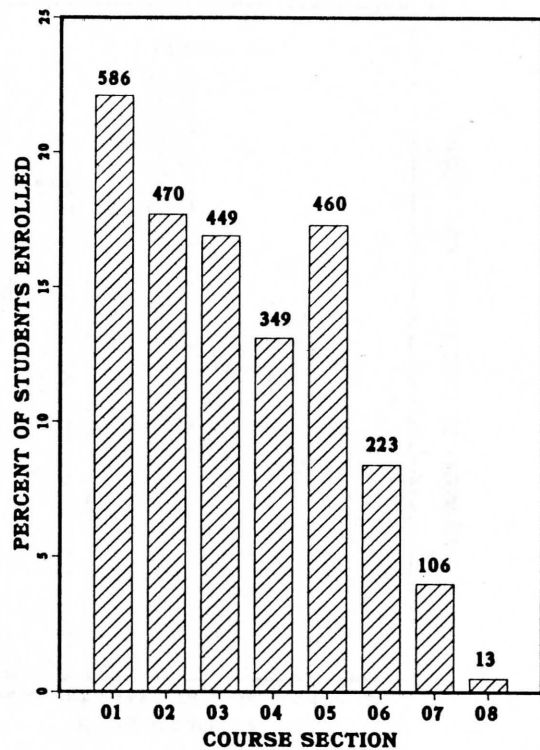
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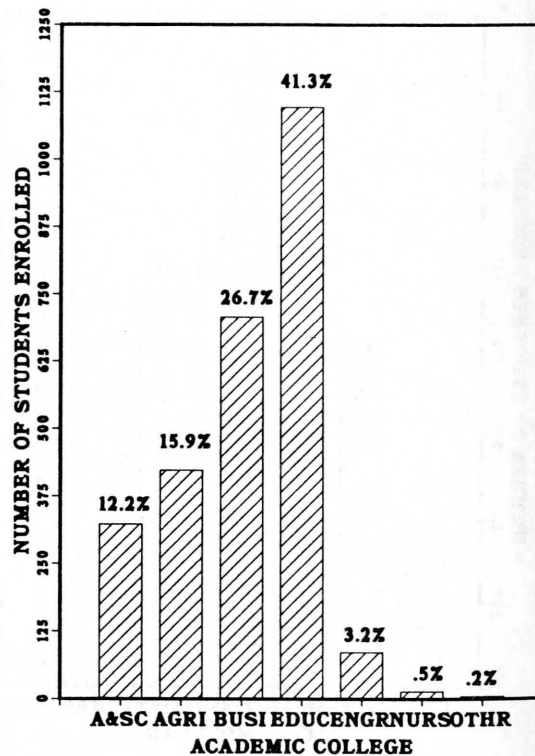
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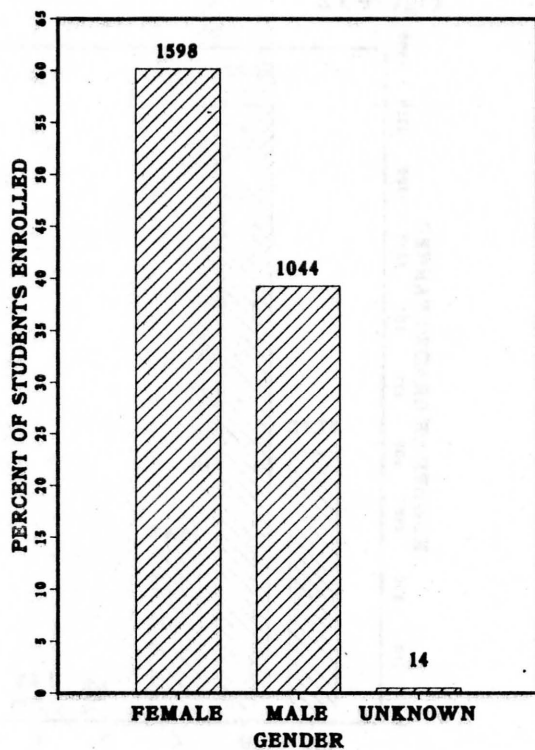
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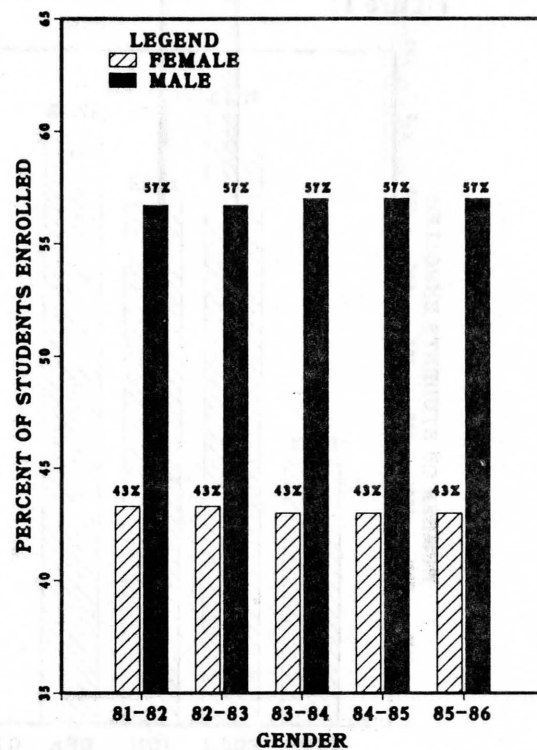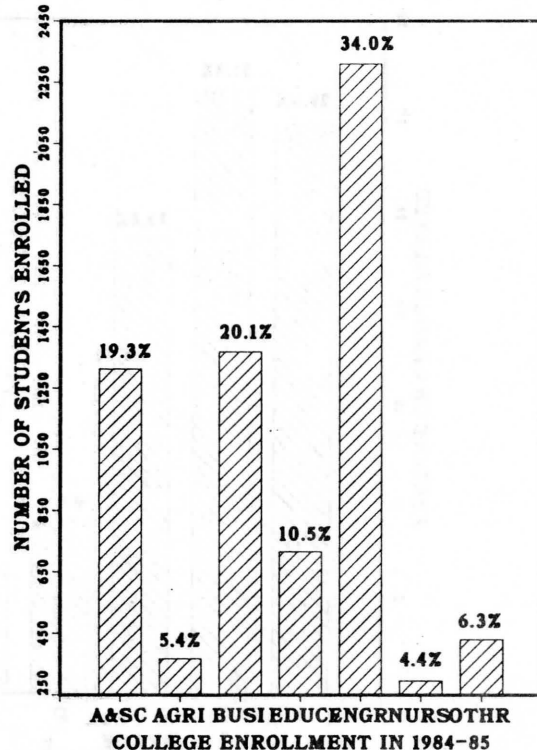

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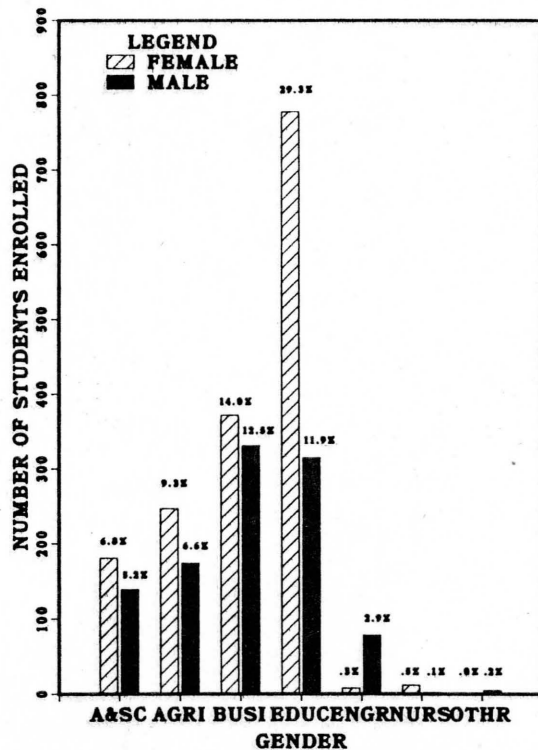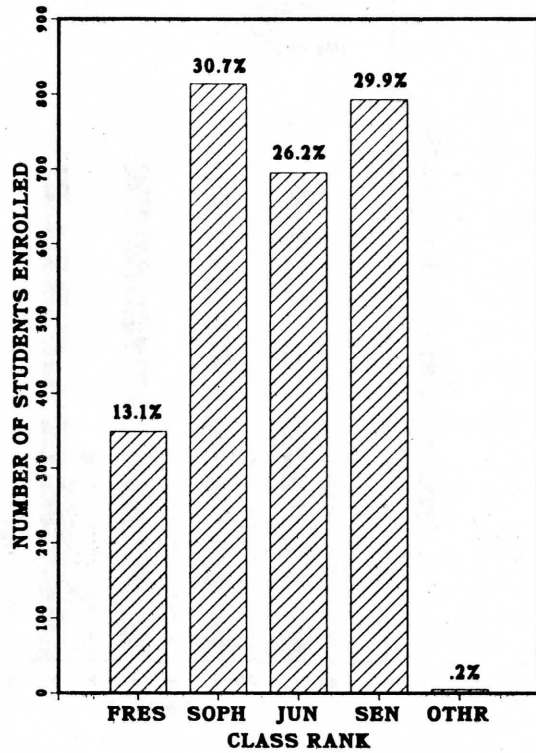

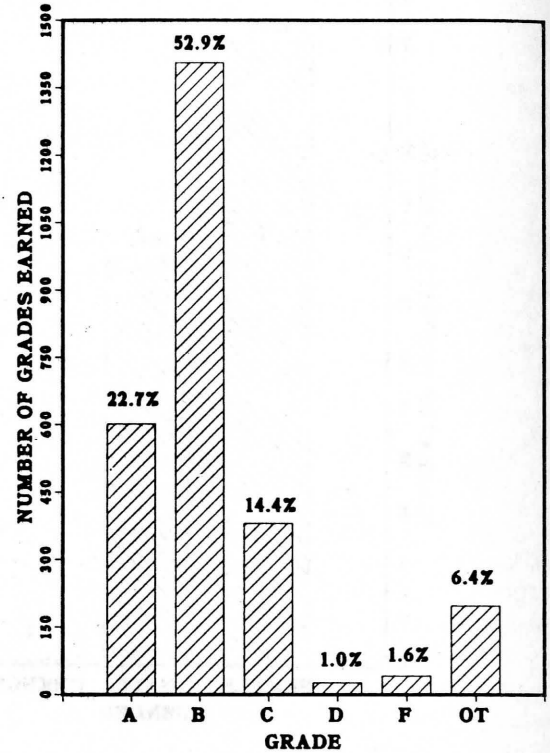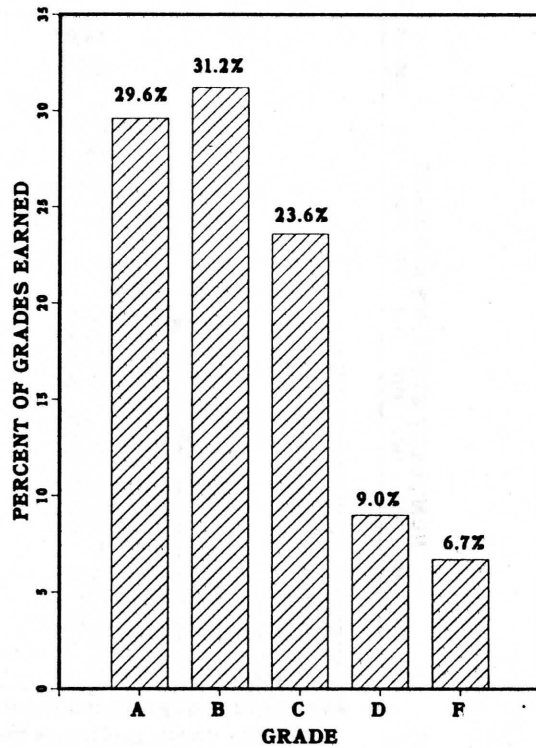## Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Beyond Demographic Groups: Patterns of Consumer Exposure to the Mass Media

Jim Walker

American consumers live in a mass media environment that is potentially both rich and diverse. Most consumers have the necessary monetary resources and language skills to use all of the major mass media, and from this rich media environment they select a particular pattern of exposure. Since the amount of media content is vast relative to the time available for media use, consumers must continually select from this mass media content, and no two will make exactly the same selections. Each person's exposure, therefore, to the mass media is unique.

It is likely, however, that among any large population in a similar mass media environment, there are similarities in patterns of exposure to the mass media. Consumers with a similar pattern of exposure to the mass media can be described as a particular mass media type. Given this assumption, one question naturally arises: What types of mass media consumers are there?[1]

Limitations of Demographically Defined Types

By far the most common approach to identifying individual differences in mass media exposure has been to relate differences in media exposure to demographically defined groups. The mass media exposure patterns, particularly television exposure, of people of different ages, educational levels, socio-economic statuses, household sizes, etc. frequently have been compared by mass media researchers.

In some cases, this research has produced clear distinctions among different demographic groups. Some of this research, however, has produced contradictory and inconclusive results. In their summary of research on children's uses of the mass media, Wartella et al. (1979: 43) concluded that "even for descriptive purposes the findings regarding correlates of media use [exposure] are contradictory." For example, "heavy viewers are found among the bright, the low SES, the middle class, and blacks. For each of these findings one can find opposing results" (Wartella et al., 1979: 42). Comstock et al. (1978) came to a similar conclusion about television exposure and demographic variables. They suggested that because television is so heavily used in our society, the differences related to demographic categories have been greatly reduced. Finally, Avery (1979: 59) found that sociological and demographic variables were more useful in differentiating the mass media exposure of adolescents than the mass media exposure of children, but he added that "the literature is not void of contradictions."

The popularity of demographic variables for mass media exposure research appears to stem from their traditional use in sociological research, as well as from their relative ease of measurement, rather than from their theoretical relationship to mass media exposure. Typically, the relationship between a demographic variable and mass media exposure has been explained after the relationship was discovered, rather than being offered as evidence to support a priori theoretical notions as to why people differ in exposure.

I do not discount the utility of demographic variables in studying mass media exposure, but wish to demonstrate that groups of mass media consumers (mass media types) identified by their similar patterns of exposure to mass media are not isomorphic with the groups identified by demographic variables.

In addition, I would suggest that groups of consumers identified by their commom patterns of mass media exposure are more closely related to specific media effects (changes in attitudes or behaviors) than are groups identified by demographic variables. Thus, the identification of mass media exposure types should more clearly isolate the individuals who are most likely to be affected by concentrated exposure to specific combinations of mass media content. This iunication scholars who have examined both the media consumeell as the effects of that selectivity on the formation of attitudes and values.

Theoretical Rationale

Lippmann's (1921) classic analysis of how mass media form the "pictures in our heads" of the reality that we cannot directly experience suggests that the types and amount of mass media which we use may substantially influence how we view the world. People who habitually consume a narrow range of kinds of mass media content severely limit their sources of information from which they build their pictures of reality, and severely constrain their experience of reality. Similarly, Becker's (1978: 44) mosaic model of communication illustrates that from an almost infinite collection of information increments (or bits) concerning any topic, we consume only a small am

> Information increments can come from any of a very large number of sources, so large a number that, for all practical purposes, it also can be treated as infinite. However, at any given moment, only a limited number of sources, if any, are making any of the relevant increments of information available to us.

Our choices are governed, in turn, by our existing attitudes and pictures of reality. The identification of mass media types will isolate the sources of information increments consumed by these types within a common mass communication environment.

The detailed effect of this has been conceptualized by Gerbner and Gross (1976) as the "cultivation effect" of television. Their studies suggest that habitual patterns of exposure will affect attitudes. If, as Gerbner and Gross argued, television effects come not from a single exposure, but from the repeated presentation of certain images that we come to view as reality, then it follows that the patterns of exposure to the media exhibited by consumers must affect the realities that they construct.

In addition, Schramm's analogy between the formation of stalagmites and the effects of communication on human development illustrates how exposure to different mass media sources might gradually influence personality. Schramm (1954: 125) claims that communication produces effects just as "the stalagmite builds up from the calcareous residue of the water dripping on it from the cave roof." Each drop leaves "only a tiny residue." Similarly,

> when we introduce one drop of communication into a person where millions of drops have already fallen and left their residue, we can hardly expect to reshape the personality fundamentally by that one drop.

The purpose of this study is to identify the different habitual patterns of consumer exposure to the mass media that help form distinct "Stalagmites:" personalities, attitudes, behaviors, or levels of knowledge. Factor analyses of the mass media exposure of three distinct age groups were used to identify habitual patterns of media exposure. These analyses reduced a large number of media exposure variables, representing respondents' exposure to many kinds of media content, to their underlying patterns of exposure.

Factor Analytic Studies of Media Exposure

Although numerous correlational studies have explored the relationships among exposure to various media (Bailyn, 1959; Samuelson et al., 1963; Anast, 1966; Greenberg and Kumata, 1968; Greenberg, 1973, Tan and Vaughn, 1976; Atkin, 1978; Robinson, 1980; Robinson, 1981; for example), few researchers have used factor analysis to isolate patterns of exposure common to particular groups of individuals. Most of these studies concentrated on exposure to news, either in newspapers alone or in newspapers and electronic media (Anast, 1961; Atwood, 1970; Bornholdt, 1966; Clarke, 1968; Grunig, 1979; Ryan, 1976; Stempel, 1967).

Despite differences in respondent ages and in the headlines or news stories used, there is some consistency in the kinds of factors isolated in the seven studies of news content listed above. Five of the seven found a factor associated with public affairs information (Bornholdt, 1966; Clarke, 1968; Grunig, 1979; Ryan, 1976; Stempel, 1967), a human interest/mishaps factor (Anast, 1961; Atwood, 1970; Bornholdt, 1966; Clarke, 1968; Stempel, 1967), and a science and/or health factor (Anast, 1961; Clarke, 1968; Grunig, 1979; Ryan, 1976; Stempel, 1967). In addition, two studies reported an entertainment factor (Anast, 1961; Stempel, 1967), an economics factor (Stempel, 1967; Ryan, 1976), and a sports factor (Bornholdt, 1966; Clarke, 1968). Factor analytic studies of news content, therefore, seem to point to at least three common factors: a public affairs factor, a human interest factor, and a science and/or health factor.

Although of value to those studying news analysis, an obvious limitation of these seven studies is that they differentiate only among patterns of exposure to varieties of news content. If we assume that non-news media content also has some influence over people, then it becomes imperative to analyze that content as well.

Five studies have examined both news and non-news media content (Boyd, 1978; Dunn, 1975; Martin et al., 1976; McIlwraith and Schallow, 1983; McIlwraith and Josephson, 1985). But each of the five used a different set of exposure items, so it is difficult to compare the final factors. One common result was noted. Three of the studies (Dunn, 1975; Martin et al., 1976; McIlwraith and Schallow, 1983) produced media factors that were characterized by exposure to a particular medium rather than to a particular type of media content. Dunn isolated radio users, television users, and newspaper users. Martin et al. found mostly media specific factors for the low socioeconomic group in their study. And McIlwraith and Schallow isolated television users, radio users, and print information users.

These factor analytic studies of exposure to news and non-news content are limited in three respects. First, the studies that included non-news media content surveyed either non-U.S. residents (Boyd, 1978; Martin et al., 1976; McIlwraith and Schallow, 1983; McIlwraith and Josephson, 1985) or members of a particular U.S. minority group (Dunn, 1975). Thus, the factors identified in these studies might not be descriptive of factors that would emerge in a study of representative U.S. residents. Second, these studies were based on exposure to a limited number of media exposure variables. None of these studies used more than 36 media exposure variables. Thus, much of the diversity available in the mass media was overlooked. Finally, each of these studies surveyed one age group. Thus, they could not compare factors among different age groups. This study addressed these three limitations.

1. What are the mass media types (patterns of consumer exposure to the mass media) among seventh graders, high school juniors, and adults in a given mass media environment (geographic area)?

2. What are the similarities and differences in the mass media types isolated for these three age groups?[2]

3. What demographic variables are most strongly related to each of the mass media types identified in the study?

4. Are the mass media types adequately described by demographic variables, or do they represent distinct descriptions of patterns of consumer exposure to them?

METHOD[3]

Respondents

Since the goal of the Q-type factor analysis is to identify unique types within a population, variation in the sample is more important than sample size. As Talbott (1971: 8) notes, in Q "The people sample is quite small and very explicitly and purposively chosen...to get representatives of the major patterns or views of the people being studied."

The school age respondents were 116 seventh graders from social science classes at a public school and 107 high school juniors: 59 from the study halls at a public school[4] and 48 from English classes at a university sponsored laboratory school.[5] All students were from the Waterloo/Cedar Falls, Iowa area. One hundred and seventy-five respondents completed the survey instruments in late October, 1982 and 48 completed them in late January, 1983. Ninety-one percent of the students sampled completed useable surveys.

Under the guidance of trained personnel, the respondents recorded their daily exposure to television, newspapers, magazines, radio, and recordings for one week, and completed a questionnaire which measured exposure to books and motion pictures, and provided demographic information.[6] Respondents completed the survey materials during the regular school day.

After an initial telephone interview, diaries, questionnaires, and instructions were mailed to 241 randomly selected adult respondents. One hundred and twenty-one adult respondents from Waterloo, Iowa returned completed survey materials, 100 in late October, 1982 and 21 in late January, 1983. Although the response rate was not particularly high, it was consistent with other studies of media audiences using diaries (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983: 275). In addition, the demographic profile of the adult respondents was representative of other adults in the survey area, except for years of education, which was slightly above average.[7]

Mass Media Variables

The 91 mass media exposure variables used in the study are summarized in Figure 1.[8]

FIGURE 1 MASS MEDIA VARIABLES

TELEVISION	NEWSPAPERS	MAGAZINES	MOTION PICTURES
action/adventure	advice columns	activities & hobbies	action/adventure
cartoons	business & finance	adult illustrated	art films
comedy	classified ads	Black	children's
country music/variety	comics	business	comedy
daytime soap operas	crossword puzzles	celebrity gossip	dramatic
game shows	editorials	children's	E.T.-
human interest	entertainment section	comic books	the Extra-Terrestrial
light dramas	international news	female adolescent	horror
movies	local news	humor	romantic/dramatic comedy
Music Television (MTV)	national news	hunting & outdoors	science fiction & fantasy
news & public affairs	obituaries	male sexual	sex
prime time soaps	other advertisements	mass circulation	teen appeal
public television	sports	motor vehicle	
religious	women's section	music	
situation comedies	other	news magazines	
sports		professional journals	
talk shows		religious	
other		science & technology	
		sports	
		upscale	RECORDINGS
		women's –	beautiful music
		non-traditional roles	classical
RADIO	BOOKS	women's trad. roles	comedy
Black	action/adventure	other	country
country music	non-fiction		gospel
middle-of-the-road	popular novel		
public radio	romantic novel		jazz
religious	other		New Wave
			pop
rock			rock
talk			soul
			other

For television, 18 categories of content were developed from the television programs which appeared on the three local, commercial network affiliates during the survey week, as well as any additional television programs recorded by the respondents. Exposure to each category equalled the sum of the half hours recorded by the respondent for that content category during the survey week. Total exposure to television was the sum of all of these half hours of viewing.

Each radio station serving the survey area was assigned to one of seven radio formats. Exposure to each format equalled the sum of the quarter hours recorded by the respondent for stations with that format during the survey week.[9] Total exposure to radio was the sum of all of these quarter hours of listening.

For recordings (records and tapes), respondents recorded their daily exposure to each of 11 categories. Exposure equalled the sum of the quarter hours recorded by the respondent for that category during the survey week. Total exposure to recordings was the sum of all of these quarter hours of listening.

For newspapers, respondents' scores for each of 15 parts of the newspaper equalled their rating of exposure to each part (where 0=never read, 1=seldom read, 2=sometimes read, 3=usually read, 4=always read), multiplied by their weekly newspaper exposure. Weekly newspaper exposure equalled sum of respondents' daily exposure scores (where 0=didn't read, 1=read 1-5 minutes, 2=read 6-15 minutes, 3=read 16-30 minutes, 4=read 31-45 minutes, 5=read 45-60 minutes, 6=read more than 60 minutes).

For magazines, respondents recorded the five that they read most frequently, in order of preference (where first preference = 5, second preference = 4, and so forth). Then, all magazines listed by the respondents were coded into one of 23 categories. Next, each respondent's preferences for a particular category were summed. Respondents' scores for each of the 23 magazine categories equalled their total score for that category multiplied by their weekly magazine exposure. Weekly magazine exposure equalled sum of respondents' daily exposure scores, using the same scale as described above for daily newspaper reading.

All motion pictures shown at theaters and drive-ins in the survey area during the two months prior to the survey week were classified into one of 11 categories. Exposure to each category equalled the sum of the motion pictures of that category the respondent reported seeing during the previous two months.

Five book content variables were measured by summing all of books that the respondent reported reading in that category during the previous two months. Total exposure to books equalled the sum of all of these books.

The mass media exposure data was converted into z-scores and entered into three separate Q-type factor analyses which grouped respondents with similar patterns of media exposure into factors.[10] Each factor contained two types of respondents (mass media types). The first type represented the respondents with the most positive factor leadings on the particular mass media factor. The second type represented the respondents with the most negative factor loadings. The interpretation of these three Q-type factor analyses answered Questions 1 and 2.

Demographic Variables

Once these mass media factors were identified, stepwise multiple linear regression analyses were used to evaluate the ability of the demographic variables used in the study to account for the variation in each mass media factor.[11] In these regression analyses, the demographic variables were the independent (or predictor) variables and the respondents' factor loadings on each factor identified by the Q-type factor analyses were the dependent (or criterion) variables. The interpretation of these analyses answered both questions 3 and 4.

The juniors and seventh graders provided information on seven demographic variables: sex, father's education, mother's education, household size, age, father's occupation, mother's occupation. The respondent's schools provided the measure of academic achievement.[12]

Using the National Opinion Research Center occupational prestige scale, trained personnel coded respondents' father and mother occupations into two parental occupational prestige scores,[13] and then reduced these two scores to one variable—household occupational prestige—by selecting the higher of the two parental occupational prestige scores.

For the adults, the demographic variables were more descriptive of the respondent and his/her spouse. Thus, respondent's education, spouse's education, respondent's occupation, and spouse's occupation replaced father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, and mother's occupation. The household occupational prestige score equalled the larger of the two spouse's occupational prestige scores.[14]

It seems clear that the mass media types identified in this study were not adequately explained by the demographic variables used in the regression analyses. The mean percentage of variance accounted for by the demographic variables in these 13 analyses was 19.6% (14.1% for the four seventh grader analyses, 18.9% for the four junior analyses, and 25.7% for the five adult analyses). Thus, there remained a considerable amount of unexplained variance once the effect of the demographic variables had been controlled for. In short, the mass media types were not isomorphic with the demographic groups.

RESULTS[15]

Q-Type Factor Analyses

The results of the Q-type factor analyses are reported in Table 1. Each factor reported in this study split into two types.[16] The first type represented the respondents who were positively associated with that factor, and the second type represented the respondents who were most negatively associated with that factor. Table 1 includes the media content variables that were most descriptive of each type (Z−score + or − 2).

TABLE 1
MASS MEDIA TYPES AND THEIR DESCRIPTIVE VARIABLES

```
N=newspapers, TV=television, MP=motion pictures, M=magazines, B=books,
R=radio, REC=recordings.   Each media content type is underlined.   The
number to the right of each variable is the z-score representing the
strength and the direction of the variable's loading on that type.
```

ADULTS FACTOR 1	JUNIORS FACTOR 1	7TH GRADERS FACTOR 1
	CABLE TV WATCHERS/	
NEWSPAPER AVOIDERS	NEWSPAPER AVOIDERS	"FEMALE" READERS
N-Entertainment -2.05	TV-Movies 2.26	B-Romantic Novels 3.73
N-Obituaries -2.07	R-Religious 2.11	B-Popular Novels 3.23
N-Editorials -2.07	TV-MTV 2.05	MP-Dramatic 2.63
N-Other Ads -2.17	N-Sports -2.02	MP-Children's 2.45
N-Internat. News -2.24	N-Entertainment -2.07	TV-Sit-Com's 2.14
N-National News -2.31	N-Local News -2.12	
N-Local News -2.66	N-Comics -2.17	
		"MALE"
NEWSPAPER READERS	NEWSPAPER READERS	NEWSPAPER READERS
N-Other Ads 2.23	N-Women's Sect. 2.81	N-National News 2.91
N-National News 2.13	N-Obituaries 2.66	N-Classified Ads 2.66
N-Women's Section 2.08	N-Entertainment 2.37	N-Other Ads 2.61
N-Entertainment 2.04	N-Local News 2.32	N-Sports 2.45
N-Local News 2.04	N-Advice Columns 2.32	N-Local News 2.40
N-Obituaries 2.04	N-Editorials 2.23	N-Internat. News 2.27
N-Advice Columns 2.02	N-National News 2.15	N-Entertainment 2.18
	N-Internat. News 2.13	
	N-Comics 2.08	

ADULTS FACTOR 2	JUNIORS FACTOR 2	7TH GRADERS FACTOR 2
		ACTION
TALK SHOW FANS	"BLACK" ROMANTICS	TELEVISION VIEWERS
TV-Talk 5.11	M-Black 3.63	TV-Action/Adven. 2.65
TV-Game 2.00	TV-P-Time Soaps 2.83	R-Information 2.48
	B-Romance Novels 2.62	TV-Human Interest 2.22
		N-Comics -2.16
	PROTOTYPIC	NEWSPAPER
HORROR FILM FANS	ADOLESCENT "MALES"	OPINION READERS
MP-Horror 5.16	N-Classified Ads 3.17	N-Editorials 2.77
MP-E.T. 2.92	M-Motor Vehicle 2.87	N-Advice Columns 2.40
	R-Rock Music 2.37	REC-New Wave 2.25
	R-Total News 2.25	N-National News 2.06
	N-Sports 2.11	N-Local News 2.01

ADULTS FACTOR 3	JUNIORS FACTOR 3	7TH GRADERS FACTOR 3
		COUNTRY RADIO LISTENERS/
COUNTRY LISTENERS	FILM FANS	ACTION AVOIDERS
REC-Country Music 4.19	MP-Teen 4.19	R-Country Music 2.78
MP-Romance/Comedy 3.14	B-Romance Novels 2.83	MP-Action/Adven. -2.24
R-MOR 2.91	MP-Horror 2.63	TV-Sit-Com's -2.35
R-Total News 2.28	MP-Comedy 2.57	TV-Action/Adven. -2.50
REC-Classical 2.23		
R-Country Music 2.06		
	NON-FICTION	
ACTION VIEWERS/READERS	TELEVISION VIEWERS	TELEVISION VIEWERS
TV-Comedy 3.57	TV-Talk Shows 3.73	TV-Sports 2.76
B-Action/Adven. 3.30	TV-Sports 3.54	TV-News 2.60
TV-Action/Adven. 3.16	TV-Comedy 3.26	TV-Comedy 2.57
TV-Light Dramas 2.16	TV-News 2.67	TV-Soap Operas 2.48
TV-Cartoons 2.12	TV-Country Music 2.34	TV-Sit-Com's 2.39

ADULTS FACTOR 4	JUNIORS FACTOR 4	7TH GRADERS FACTOR 4	ADULTS FACTOR 5
	"FEMALE"		
ENTERTAINMENT WATCHERS	ADOLESCENT READERS	"MALE" FILM FANS	NON-FICTION READERS
TV-Game Shows 3.78	MP-Dramatic 2.95	MP-Sex 3.58	B-Non-Fiction 3.77
MP-Action/Adven. 2.54	M-Female Adoles. 2.72	MP-Action/Adven. 3.55	M-Upscale 3.08
MP-Teen 2.44	M-Celeb./Gossip 2.64	MP-Teen 2.37	REC-Religious 2.44
MP-Sci-Fi & Fant. 2.42	M-News Magazines 2.35	TV-MTV 2.28	
MP-Romance/Comedy 2.17	B-Popular Novels 2.04		TELEVISION VIEWERS
			TV-Movies 3.35
SPORTS FANS	ENTERTAINMENT VIEWERS	NON-NEWS READERS	TV-Country Music 2.91
TV-Sports 3.21	TV-Cartoons 3.36	M-Celeb./Gossip 3.04	TV-Cartoons 2.24
N-Sports 2.29	TV-Sit-Com's 3.35	N-Business 2.24	N-Crosswords 2.08
	TV-Soap Operas 2.89	N-Advice Columns 2.23	TV-Action/Adven. 2.04
	TV-Action/Adven. 2.85		

Adults

The Q-type factor analysis of the adult respondents' exposure to the mass media content variables produced 5 factors and 10 types.[17] The five factors accounted for 30.8 percent of the variance and had these eigen values: Factor 1 (15.7), Factor 2 (7.6), Factor 3 (5.3), Factor 4 (4.7), and Factor 5 (3.9).

Factor 1 split into Newspaper Avoiders and Newspaper Readers. Newspaper Avoiders were low in exposure to seven categories of newspaper content. Newspaper Readers were high in exposure to seven categories of newspaper content.

Factor 2 split into Talk Show Fans and Horror Film Fans. Talk Show Fans were extremely high in exposure to television talk programs, and high in exposure to game shows. Horror Film Fans were extremely high in exposure to horror movies and very high in exposure to the most popular theatrical motion picture of the time of the survey, *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial.*

Factor 3 split into Country Listeners and Action Viewers/Readers. County Listeners had high exposure to country music, both on recordings and on radio, and also exhibited high exposure to several other kinds of non-rock audio: MOR radio, total radio news, and classical recordings. Action Viewers/Readers were very high in exposure to several categories of entertainment television: comedy, action/adventure, light drama, and cartoons. They also had very high exposure to action/adventure books.

Factor 4 split into Entertainment Watchers and Sports Fans. Entertainment Watchers were very high in exposure to several categories of film content (action/adventure, teen, science fiction and fantasy, and romantic/comedy) and television game shows. Sports Fans had a high exposure to sports content on television and in newspapers.

Factor 5 split into Non-Fiction Readers and Television Viewers. Non-Fiction Readers were very high in two categories of upscale print content: non-fiction books and upscale magazines. They were also high in exposure to religious recordings. Television Viewers were high in several categories of television programming: movies, country music, cartoons, and action/adventure. High exposure to newspaper crossword puzzles was also characteristic of these respondents.

High School Juniors

The Q-type factor analysis of the high school junior respondents' exposure to the mass media content variables produced four factors and eight types.[18] The four factors accounted for 26.9 percent of the variance and had these eigen values: Factor 1 (11.4), Factor 2 (6.7), Factor 3 (5.7), and Factor 4 (4.8).

Factor 1 split into Cable Television Viewers/Newspaper Avoiders and Newspaper Readers. Cable Television Viewers/Newspaper Avoiders were the highest in their exposure to movies on television, MTV, and religious radio stations. They were the low in their use of four categories of newspaper content, including sports and comics. These respondents consumed large quantities of two of cable television's more popular offerings, movies, and MTV, but avoided even the entertainment sections of the newspaper. Newspaper Readers were high in exposure to 9 of 15 categories of newspaper content.

Factor 2 split into "Black" Romantics and Prototypic Adolescent "Males." "Black" Romantics were presumably Black because of their heavy consumption of Black magazines.[19] These respondents also had high exposure to prime time soap operas (Dallas, Falcon Crest, etc.), and to romantic novels. Prototypic Adolescent "Males" consumed large amounts of typically male adolescent media content: motor vehicles magazines, newspaper sports, and rock music on radio. In addition, their high consumption of newspaper classified ads may have been tied to an interest in motor vehicles, since classified ads are a major source of information about used cars.

Factor 3 split into Film Fans and Non-Fiction Television Viewers. Film Fans were high in exposure to three categories of films, and to romantic novels. Non-Fiction Television Viewers were television viewers with a distinct preference for five categories of non-fiction television programs: talk shows, sports, news & public affairs, comedy, and country music.

Factor 4 split into "Female" Adolescent Readers and Entertainment Viewers. "Female" Adolescent Readers had high exposure to female adolescent magazines, celebrity/gossip magazines, news magazines, and popular novels. Their high exposure to dramatic films was linked primarily to a dramatic film with a strong romantic theme, *An Officer and a Gentleman.* Entertainment Viewers were heavy consumers of television entertainment programming. They were especially high in exposure to four types of entertainment programming: cartoons, situation comedies, daytime soap operas, and action/adventure programs.

Seventh Graders

The Q-type factor analysis of the seventh grade respondents' exposure to the mass media content variables produced four factors and eight types. The four factors accounted for 24.8 percent of the variance and had these eigen values: Factor 1 (10.32), Factor 2 (6.57), Factor 3 (6.35), and Factor 4 (5.46).

Factor 1 split into "Female" Readers and "Male" Newspaper Readers. "Female" Readers were high in exposure to

books and films targeted to female audiences. These respondents were very high in exposure to romantic novels, popular novels, dramatic motion pictures, and children's films. "Male" Newspaper Readers were high in exposure to 7 of 15 categories of newspaper content, including sports.

Factor 2 split into Action Television Viewers and Newspaper Opinion Readers. Action Television Viewers were highest in exposure to television action/adventure and human interest programs. Newspaper Opinion Readers were high in exposure to 4 categories of newspaper content, including editorials, and advice columns.

Factor 3 split into Country Radio Listeners/Action Avoiders and Television Viewers. Country Radio Listeners/Action Avoiders were high in exposure to country music on the radio. They were low in exposure to action/adventure content in two media, television and motion pictures, as well as televised situation-comedies. Television Viewers were high in exposure to a wide variety of television programming.

Factor 4 split into "Male" Film Fans and Non-News Readers. "Male" Film Fans were high in exposure to three categories of film content of particular interest to males, and to MTV, which has a higher percentage of male viewers than female viewers. Non-News Readers were high in exposure to three types of print media content: gossip magazines, newspaper business news, newspaper advice columns. In general, this type of reader avoided any hard news content.

Multiple Regression Analyses

The results of the stepwise multiple linear regression analyses run for each of the 13 mass media factors isolated by the three Q-type factor analyses are in Table 2. I labeled each of these 13 factors (dependent variables) with the type most positively associated with the factor and the type most negatively associated with the factor. For example, adult Factor 1 was labeled Newspaper Avoiders versus Newspaper Readers. Only independent variables significant at p$<$.05 ARE INCLUDED IN TABLE 2.

TABLE 2
REGRESSION ANALYSES

DEPENDENT VARIABLES	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	R^2	BETA WEIGHT	SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL
ADULT FACTOR 1 (.000) Newspaper Avoiders vs. Newspaper Readers	Age Household Occupational Prestige	.284 .051	-.575 -.230	.000 .003
ADULT FACTOR 2 (.000) Talk Show Fans vs. Horror Film Fans	Sex Household Occupational Prestige	.166 .056	.382 -.237	.000 .005
ADULT FACTOR 3 (.037) Country Listeners vs. Action Viewers/Readers	Age	.036	.190	.037
ADULT FACTOR 4 (.000) Entertainment Watchers vs. Sports Fans	Sex Household Occupational Prestige	.384 .033	.601 -.183	.000 .011
ADULT FACTOR 5 (.000) Non-Fiction Readers vs. Television Viewers	Education Age Household Size	.178 .062 .033	.473 .205 -.187	.000 .016 .024
JUNIOR FACTOR 1 Cable Television Viewers/Newspaper Avoiders vs. Newspaper Readers	No Significant Variables			
JUNIOR FACTOR 2 (.001) "Black" Romantics vs. Prototypic Adolescent "Males"	Sex Age	.094 .035	.311 -.187	.001 .043
JUNIOR FACTOR 3 (.000) Film Fans vs. Non-Fiction Television Viewers	Sex Household Occupational Prestige	.325 .041	.524 -.207	.000 .011
JUNIOR FACTOR 4 (.000) "Female" Adolescent Readers vs. Entertainment Viewers	Academic Achievement Sex Father's Education	.112 .076 .072	.273 .336 .297	.004 .000 .002

TABLE 2 CONTINUED

DEPENDENT VARIABLES	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	R 2	BETA WEIGHT	SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL
GRADE 7 FACTOR 1 (.000) "Female" Readers vs. "Male" Newspaper Readers	Sex	.152	.430	.000
	Academic Achievement	.045	-.257	.003
	Mother's Education	.043	.213	.014
GRADE 7 FACTOR 2 (.000) Action Television Viewers vs. Newspaper Opinion Readers	Sex	.140	-.360	.000
	Academic Achievement	.049	-.222	.010
GRADE 7 FACTOR 3 (.009) Country Radio Listeners/ Action Avoiders vs. Television Viewers	Sex	.042	.211	.022
	Household Size	.038	.196	.032
GRADE 7 FACTOR 4 (.012) "Male" Film Fans vs. Non-News Readers	Sex	.054	-.233	.012

Significance levels for the regression equations are in parentheses. Only significant ($p < .05$) independent variables are included.

Age was a significant predictor for three of the five adult mass media factors. In addition, sex was a significant, and strong predictor for two of the five factors; and household occupational prestige was a significant, but weak predictor for three of the five factors.

For the high school juniors, sex was a significant predictor of three of the four mass media factors. No other demographic variable was significant in more than one regression analysis.

For the seventh graders, demographic variables were generally weak predictors of mass media factors. Sex was the strongest predictor in all four of the regression analyses, and academic achievement was a signficant predictor in two of the four analyses.

DISCUSSION

Two limitations on the generalizability of these types should be noted. First, the respondents in this study came from two neighboring communities in Iowa, and do not reflect regional differences in mass media exposure in the United States. Second, the QUANAL program limited the number of factors or types to 10. This program limitation meant that the number of types isolated by these analyses might be artifically low. The types that were isolated, however, were the strongest types (in terms of variance accounted for), and thus are the most clearly distinguished from the rest of the population. Despite these limitations, these Q-type factor analyses were the first conducted on exposure to an extensive variety of media content, and the first to use demographically diverse samples selected from three distinct age groups of U.S. residents.

Some of the media types isolated in this study are related to types reported in other studies. Two U.S. studies of media exposure (Atkin, 1978; Poindexter, 1980) and two British studies of media preferences (Himmelweit et al., 1958; Goodhardt et al., 1975) identified groups with particular interest in news content. The Non-News Readers among the seventh graders, the Non-Fiction Television viewers among the juniors, and the various "Newspaper Readers" types among all three age groups seemed to support the generalization that the consumption or avoidance of news is a distinctive characteristic of some mass media types.

In addition, what Himmelweit et al. (1958) labeled the excitement type and Goodhardt et al. (1975) called the adventure type emerged in this study. Among the seventh graders, both the Action Television Viewers and "Male" Film Fans were characterized by an interest in action/adventure content, as were the junior Entertainment Viewers and the adult Action Viewers/Readers and Entertainment Watchers.

Some evidence of the sports content type found in several previous studies (Bornholdt, 1966; Clarke, 1968; Goodhardt et al., 1975; McIlwraith and Schallow, 1983) also emerged. The Prototypic Adolescent "Males" type among the juniors and, especially, the Sports Fans type among the adults were heavy consumers of sports content.

The general television factor found by McIlwraith and Schallow (1983) emerged in both the adult and seventh grader Television Viewers and, in a more ambiguous way, in the junior Entertainment Viewers and Non-Fiction Television Viewers.

Finally, the movies factor found by McIlwraith and Josephson (1985) emerged to some extent in all three age groups (Horror Film Fans for the adults, Film Fans for the juniors, and "Male" Film Fans for the seventh graders).

Unlike several previous studies (Dunn, 1975; Martin et al., 1976; McIlwraith and Schallow, 1983), the mass media types were, in general, characterized by exposure to a particular type of content rather than to a particular

medium. Eighteen of the 26 types were media 'content' types, while only eight were media "specific" types.[20] This contradictory result is probably due to the greater number of mass media exposure variables included in this study (91) as compared to previous factor analytic studies that used a maximum of 36 media exposure variables. Thus, this study indicates that people are more frequently identified by their interest in a particular type of media content than by their interest in a particular medium.

The use of three distinct age groups provided an opportunity to examine how mass media types differ by age. The three Q-type factor analyses all produced three media specific types (newspaper readers, film fans, television viewers) in varying degrees. In addition, the seventh graders and the adults shared a country listener type (Country Radio Listeners/Action Avoiders for the seventh graders, and Country Listeners for the adults), and the seventh graders and the juniors shared a female reader type ('Female' Readers for the seventh graders and "Female" Adolescent Readers for the juniors).

It seems clear that the mass media types identified in this study were not adequately explained by the demographic variables used in the regression analyses. The mean percentage of variance accounted for by the demographic variables in these 13 analyses was 19.6% (14.1% for the four seventh grader analyses, 18.9% for the four junior analyses, and 25.7% for the five adult analyses). Thus, there remained a considerable amount of unexplained variance once the effect of the demographic variables had been controlled for. In short, the mass media types were not isomorphic with the demographic groups.

This study was inspired by the common belief expressed by several mass communication scholars that habitual patterns of media exposure will lead to the development and maintenace of certain attitudes and behaviors. Lippmann's (1971) "pictures in our heads," Becker's (1978) Communication Mosaic, and Schramm's (1954) stalagmite analogy all suggest that the effects of mass media usually come not from a single message, but from the consistent reception of certain images, ideas, or attitudes over a long period of time. Since people differ in the combinations of media they consume, they should vary in the degree to which the media effect any attitude, belief, or level of knowledge. By isolating the common patterns of exposure to media content, as this study has done, the mass media scholar should be able to identify more precisely the types of media consumers most likely to have a particular media produced attitude, belief, or level of knowledge.

The thrust of this study was to identify types of media consumers, based on exposure to a wide range of mass media content rather than relying on exposure to a single medium (television, newspapers, etc.) or a specific type of content available in several media (news, action/adventure, etc.). The isolation of these mass media types, and their confirmation and modification in subsequent studies, should provide mass communication researchers with clearer directions in their search for mass media effects.

NOTES

1. Mass media exposure is not the only way in which users of mass media can be typed. The uses and gratifications approach has generated research that classified individuals based on their uses of the mass media (surveillance, entertainment, para-social interaction, etc.). These different expectations of the mass media are assumed to lead to differential patterns of media exposure (See Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch, 1974). In this study, I was interested in finding the patterns of mass media exposure that are part of the consumer's use of mass media regardless of whether this exposure is motivated by a specific need, or caused by some other source (e.g. the means to use media content, the time of day available for viewing, group influences on media selection).

2. In order to examine how mass media types change with age, seventh graders and high school juniors as well as adults were surveyed. Seventh graders were selected for three reasons. First, unlike most younger children, the average seventh grader has the necessary reading skills to use the full range of print media included in this study. Second, with the aid of a teacher, seventh graders were able to keep a daily diary and were sophisticated enough to respond to a written questionnaire. Finally, this age group is of particular interest because it is near the peak age of television exposure in the United States (Greenberg, 1973: 87). Thus, the strongest impact of television on the exposure to other mass media should be evident for this age group.

High school juniors were selected because they have incorporated a series of changes that begin with the onset of adolescence. Typically, juniors have developed social interests outside the home, including dating and other peer activities, which decrease the amount of time spent with television. Many juniors have access to an automobile and thus find it easier to attend motion pictures, and interest in popular music is usually at its peak. Because of these changes, high school juniors were used to provide a strong contrast to both adults and seventh graders.

3. A more detailed version of the method is available elsewhere. See Walker (1984).

4. Eight of the 59 Central High School juniors completed only 5 daily diaries. In order to save this data, estimates of their exposure to the media variables measured daily were constructed by multiplying their five day totals by 1.4.

5. Five of these respondents were seniors taking a junior English class.

6. To improve reliability, respondents were asked to record their use of specific types of television programs, radio stations, recordings, motion pictures, and books rather than estimating their average viewing (as when respondents are asked how often they watch television or a particular type of program on a scale ranging from "never" to "often"). As Hawkins and Pingree (1980: 205) have noted, estimates of average viewing "suffer from reliability problems especially for estimates of viewing different program types;" consequently, a "viewing diary should be more accurate." The results of a pilot study of 39 respondents conducted during the week of october 11, 1982 were used to modify the survey instrument.

7. The adult respondents' age ranged from 18 to 65 years with a mean of 38.9 years. Their mean number of years of education was 13.6, and their mean occupational prestige (using the U.S. Bureau of the Census scale) was 45.8 on a 100 point scale. There were 57 males and 64 females.

8. Because they do not refer to any specific type of media content, the five "other" mass media exposure variables (other television, other parts of the newspaper, other magazines, other recordings, and other books) were not included in the Q-type factor analyses.

9. Since news is available on most radio stations, and thus could not be measured using the above procedure, respondents recorded their daily exposure to radio news on a seven point scale: 1=not at all, 2=one time, 3=two times, 4=three times, 5=four times, 6=five times, 7=more than five times.

10. For this study, Q-type factor analysis refers to a factor analysis based on a transposed R-type score matrix. Thus, the correlation matrix used in the Q-type factor analysis consists of each respondent's exposure to the mass media variables correlated with every other respondent's exposure to those same variables. In short, Q-type factor analysis involves the correlating of respondents rather than variables.

This use of the "Q" label is consistent with Cattell (1952: 90-92; 1978: 322-329) but conflicts with Stephenson (1953: 47-59; 1967: 13-32). Both Cattell and Stephenson identify factor analytic techniques based on use of transposed R-type factor scores, but employ different labels to describe this technique. Cattell identifies any factor analysis that uses a transposed R-type score matrix as Q-technique. Stephenson insists that the Q-technique requires the use of a Q-sort of sample statements, not just a transposed R-type score matrix. He labels a transposed R analysis "System 3." Readers more comfortable with Stephenson's approach to Q may read my references to "Q-type factor analysis" as "System 3" or "Transposed R" factor analysis.

11. The SPSSX statistical package was used to compute the 13 multiple regression analyses.

12. For the seventh graders, academic achievement was operationalized as the respondent's composite score on the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills. For the juniors, the respondent's composite score on the Iowa Tests of Educational Development was used.

13. Since being a housewife or homemaker is not treated as an occupation on the National Opinion Research Center occupational prestige scale, it was assigned the same numeric value[22] as that of a private household worker. The responses "retired," "unemployed," and "student" were treated as missing data because the previous or future occupation of the person was unknown.

14. For all demographic variables except sex, missing data was replaced with the mean scores for that respondent's age group.

15. For each age group, means, standard deviations, and Ns for the nearly 100 media content variables are available elsewhere. See Walker (1984).

16. If over 25 percent of the variance in a factor is negative, the QUANAL program splits a factor into two types.

17. Ninety one content categories were coded in the study, but six of these categories were "other" categories (other television programs, other magazines, other parts of the newspaper, other books, other recordings, and pop recordings). Since the content in these categories was not of any consistent type, these categories were not used in the factor analyses.

18. For both the junior and seventh grader Q-type factor analyses, the varimax rotation (used to maximize the distinctiveness of the Q-type factors) could not be accomplished for more than four factors.

19. When the word "black," "male," or "female" is used as part of the label assigned to a mass media content type, it refers to patterns of exposure to media content traditionally consumed by these groups, not necessarily the respondents' race or sex.

20. For the adults, the media "content" types included Talk Show Fans, Horror Film Fans, Country Listeners, Action Viewers/Readers, Entertainment Watchers, Sports Fans, and Non-Fiction Readers; for the juniors, "Black" Romantics, Prototypic Adolescent "Males," Non-Fiction Television Viewers, "Female" Adolescent Readers, and Entertainment Viewers; and for the seventh graders, "Female" Readers, Action Television Viewers, Newspaper Opinion Readers, Country Radio Listeners/Action Avoiders, "Male" Film Fans, and Non-News Readers.

For the adults, the media "specific" types included Newspaper Avoiders, Newspaper Readers, and Television Viewers; for the juniors, Cable TV Watchers/Newspaper Avoiders, Newspaper Readers, and Film Fans; and for the seventh graders "Male" Newspaper Readers, and Television Viewers.

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The purpose of the publication is to expand professional interest and activity in all areas of the field of speech communication in Tennessee. Articles from all areas of speech study will be welcomed, with special consideration given to articles treating pedagogical concepts, techniques and experiments.

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