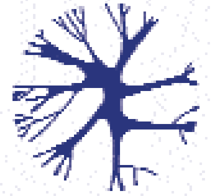
COMMUNICATION RESEARCH TRENDS



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IN THIS ISSUE

Walter J. Ong, S.J. A Retrospective

Paul A. Soukup, S.J.

Managing Editor

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Walter J. Ong, S.J.
A Retrospective

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Communication Research Trends usually charts current communication research, introducing its readers to recent developments across the range of inquiry into communication. This issue, however, takes a different tack, looking back on the writings of Walter J. Ong, S.J., who died at the age of 90 in August 2003. Ong spent his scholarly career at Saint Louis University, where he served as University Professor of Humanities, the William E. Haren Professor of English, and Professor of Humanities in Psychiatry at the Saint Louis University School of Medicine. In a career that spanned 60 years, Ong published 16 books, 245 articles, and 108 reviews. In addition, he edited a number of works and gave interviews that further explored his wide-ranging interests. Readers interested in a full bibliography of Ong's works should refer to the web site prepared by Professor Betty Youngkin at the University of Dayton, at *http://homepages.udayton.edu/~youngkin/biblio.htm*.

From the perspective of an interest in connections among many areas of human knowledge over such a long career, he explored a whole gamut of activities by careful observations of the threads that run through western culture and by insightful analysis of what he observed. Communication forms one of those many threads in the West—perhaps the dominant one—and so it occupies a similar place in Ong's work. The tapestry Ong weaves has, bit by bit, influenced thinking about communication as well as research. And so, *Communication Research Trends* looks back on the writings of Walter Ong, S.J.

Walter J. Ong, S.J.

Perhaps surprisingly for someone with academic preparation in Classics (B.A, Rockhurst College, 1933), Philosophy (Licentiate, Saint Louis University, 1941), Theology, (Licentiate, Saint Louis University, 1948), and English (M.A., Saint Louis University, 1941; Ph.D., Harvard, 1954), Walter Ong showed an early understanding of the power of mass communication. One of the few to review Marshall McLuhan's 1951 work, *The Mechanical Bride: The Folklore of Industrial Man*, Ong (1952) recognized, with McLuhan (his M.A. thesis adviser), that advertising and popular communication provide an insight into contemporary culture. He also recognized the ways that communication technologies had linked the entire world. This early sensitivity to topics related to communication runs through his entire career.

Farrell (2000) has already provided a detailed introduction to Ong's work, paying particular attention to his literary criticism, media studies, and psychological explorations. Interested readers may consult that work for biographical details as well as for information regarding other key themes in Ong's writings: literary, psychological, pedagogical, and so on.

Though difficult to isolate completely, Ong's contributions to communication studies fall into five general groupings: historical studies of rhetoric; visual images and habits of thought—what Ong terms, "visualism"; the word; stages of communication media (oral, literate, and electronic); and digital media and hermeneutics. Though one might argue that his pedagogical and psychological themes also touch on communication, this retrospective will examine them only in terms of the former topics.

1. Historical Studies of Rhetoric

Ong's Harvard graduate work (1948-1954) focused on the 16th century Paris arts professor and educational reformer Peter Ramus (1515-1572). In Ong's hands, Ramus and Ramism open windows first onto the system of western education, then onto intellectual history, and finally onto human development. A significant part of those histories is the history of rhetoric. Ong's work fills in part of the gap between the classical rhetoric of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian, for example, and the 18th century efforts of Hugh Blair and others. The story appears embedded within the history of western pedagogy, since rhetoric fairly defined educational preparation in the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Ong, 1971c).

The study of Ramus plays a central role in Ong's thinking about communication, one that extends far beyond the history of rhetoric. From classical times through the Renaissance, rhetoric defined not only how people spoke, but how people analyzed and solved problems. In many ways, because rhetoric more or less defined education, it defined, through education, the dominant ways of thinking. Several changes occurred shortly before or during Ramus's lifetime. Ong noticed two key changes in western thought, manifest in Ramus's writing: a shift away from rhetoric (with its emphasis on probable knowledge) to logic (with its emphasis on proofs and truth); and a shift from hearing spoken argumentation to seeing a written demonstration. And Ong also noticed how printing changed the school environment. It was here that Ong first made the connection between communication form (hearing, seeing), communication media, and thought processes. Much of his later work bearing on communication explicates this initial insight.

In Ong's study, Ramus plays a three-fold role in the history of rhetoric. First, he more or less makes permanent the dismantling of rhetoric and the transfer of key elements of classical rhetoric to the province of dialectic. Second, he reinforces an emphasis on method that will continue the impoverishment of rhetoric in favor of dialectic. Third, he influences the teaching of rhetoric and dialectic throughout western Europe through the widespread popularity of his books. To understand Ong's later work, we must explore something of its origins in the history of rhetoric and the career of Peter Ramus.

A. Ramus and rhetoric

Rhetoric refers to oral expression and a preparatory analysis of issues for discussion or debate. But systematic teaching about rhetoric did not begin until people could write texts about it. And so, though the study and teaching of rhetoric depends in some ways on writing, writing itself appeared subordinate to oral expression in the educational experience of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. "From antiquity through the Renaissance and to the beginnings of romanticism, under all teaching about the art of verbal expression there lies the more or less dominant supposition that the paradigm of all expression is the oration" (Ong, 1971c, p. 3). This pre-eminence of the spoken word found reinforcement both from the goals of the educational establishment (to train political and ecclesiastical leaders and teachers) and from the method of instruction (lecture and debate). But, as in all human enterprises, education itself redefined its subject. In the case of rhetoric, much of this redefinition had to do with the relation of rhetoric to logic or dialectic—methods of proof (Ong, 1971b, p. 81).

Ong offers an overview of the educational milieu that saw the development of Ramism and its transformation of rhetoric.

> The more or less traditional five parts of rhetoric commonly adhered to by non-Ramist Renaissance textbook writers—invention, disposition, memory, striking expression (*elocutio*), and delivery—date from ancient Greek times. They were not five abstract parts of an abstract art then, but five activities in which an aspirant was disciplined so that he might become an orator or public lecturer—the common ideal of all ancient liberal education. In antiquity a boy was given a foundation of general information on all possible subjects (*inventio*). He was taught to use this material in composition (*dispositio*), his mnemonic skill was developed (*memoria*), together with his literary style (*elocutio*) and his oral delivery (*pronuntiatio*). These five activities added up to a rather complete educational program extending over a good number of years. As a training which the normal educated man received, these activities today would be called simply education, or perhaps general education.

> . . . it was quite different in medieval and Renaissance Europe. Rhetoric, which in ancient times had been general culture purveyed in the vernacular, was now culture set within a foreign tongue; ... Rhetoric thus became chiefly a course in Latin. (Ong, 1958a, p. 275)

The education system, with its need to teach Latin grammar as well as subject matter, offered an opportunity for Ramus to combine and simplify the curriculum. Part of this took place in a changed understanding of dialectic or logic.

In tracing the run-up to Ramism, Ong notes how medieval Scholasticism had begun to develop logic in a more formal way, splitting it off from any relationship with rhetoric (1958a, p. 53). In some ways, this marked a kind of swing of the pendulum:

> The relationship between rhetoric and logic over the ages has been partly reinforcing and partly competitive. Rhetoric overshadowed logic in the patristic age, yielded to it more or less in the Middle Ages (though rather less than even scholarly mythology today commonly assumes), and overshadowed it again in a different way in the Renaissance. (1971c, p. 7).

Throughout this history rhetoric referred to oral composition (from finding arguments to presenting them), while Cicero's companion art of dialectic (termed *ars disserendi* in the West) became more identified with logic (Ong, 1971d, p. 67). Gradually, people came to regard rhetoric as a kind of lesser art, good for reasoning with probabilities; logic, as scientific or mathematical reason, grew in relative importance.

In Ramus's day, Peter of Spain's *Summulae logicales* formed the standard text. Since medieval students consisted of teenaged boys, the treatment simplified and introduced dialectic/logic, covering "propositions, the predicables, the predicaments, syllogisms, the topics or places, and fallacies." Other tracts addressed "supposition..., relative terms..., extension..., appellation..., restriction..., distribution..., and perhaps exponibles" (1958a, pp. 56-57). What the boys received, then, was a quick introduction to a kind of grammatical logic. Though Peter of Spain at first "seems to be in the Aristotelian tradition of dialectical or rhetorical argumentation" (dealing with probable argument and probable conclusion), he quickly moves to conviction, addressing the truth claims of questions (p. 61). In his manual for logic, Peter of Spain leaves behind Aristotle's understanding "of dialectic as a rational structure, more or less involved in dialogue between persons, made up of probabilities only" (p. 61) for an insistence on proof. Eventually he ends with a formalistic logic, applied with almost mathematical precision.

The next stage in the history of rhetoric and dialectic occurred with Rudolph Agricola's *Dialectical Invention in Three Books*. Agricola more or less defined dialectic for the Renaissance, presenting less an emphasis on the scientific reasoning demanded by teachers and more an emphasis on a "real-world" quality that would appeal to students and to the growing number of scholars associated with the humanist movement (p. 97). Agricola developed materials from Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and other classical sources, but simplified terms. Dialectic works through speech, and so Agricola devotes his second book to the oration (p. 98). Book III continues with the effects and styles of speech. By now the art of discourse finds its home in textbooks of dialectic rather than rhetoric; rhetoric even loses its claims to invention and to a key part of invention, the "places" (*loci*) or topics that helped the speaker find out what to say (pp. 101-102).

> This limitation of *loci* to dialectic is the critical Renaissance divorce in the chronologically uneasy union of rhetoric and dialectic. Agricola decrees this divorce, which will carry through Ramism. (1958a, p. 102)

The *loci* or places take on huge importance in Agricola and later in Ramus. They begin as headings or topics under which one can develop arguments. Here is Agricola's definition:

> These things, common in that since they contain within themselves whatever can be said on any matter, they thus contain all arguments, were called by these men places (*loci*), because all the instruments for establishing conviction are located within them as in a receptacle or a treasure chest. A place (*locus*) is thus nothing other than a certain common distinctive note of a thing, by the help of which it is possible to discover what can be proven (or what is probable) with regard to any particular thing. (qtd. in Ong, 1958a, p. 118)

Ong points out that this concept of the *loci* does not address any kind of theory of cognition or epistemology; instead it relies on a visual analogy. The development of such thought ultimately established graphical representation of thought categories firmly in western civilization.

The transfer of the *loci* to dialectic also further weakened rhetoric, for no longer did those educated in

this tradition—a tradition that had a huge impact on Ramus and, through him, on western Europe—look to rhetoric for invention. "This implied spread of dialectic to cover all discourse is made fully explicit by Agricola in his assertion that 'there are no places of invention proper to rhetoric' " (1958a, p. 101). Ramus eventually completed the move by calling these places (*loci*) "arguments" (p. 105).

Ramus also highlighted and developed Agricola's use of charts or visual aids to represent the places. While neither man was the first to do this, the printer- or book-friendly nature of the charts made Ramus's use extraordinarily influential. But the use of visual representation for cognitive categories had a greater effect, which Ong describes as a conflict between visual and auditory means of knowing, a conflict manifest in the shift to logic/dialectic (and its visual places) from rhetoric with its emphasis on speaking. Dialectic, in Ramus's hands, emphasizes invention, removed as it was from rhetoric.

> The reason for the difficulties which these two concepts [invention, judgment] present is that they are not traceable to two such clear-cut steps in cognition, but rather to two different ways of approaching the cognitive process. Invention sees it in terms of an analogy with a high visual and spatial component: one *looks* for things in order to find them; one *comes* upon them (*invenio*, ʽευρισκω). This notion is allied to the Greek (and Latin) concept of knowledge and understanding, based on some sort of analogy with vision (γιγνωσκω, *intelligere*). Judgment cannot be readily interpreted in terms of such an analogy; it is connected with judicial procedure (and thus with the categories or "accusations"), and suggests the Hebraic concept of knowledge (*yadha'*), which is analogous to hearing. The presence of these two items at the very center of the traditional account of the operations of the mind thus confirms . . . that any attempt to deal somewhat fully with the intellectual processes must rely on analogies between understanding and hearing as well as between understanding and seeing. (1958a, p. 114)

In many ways the history and relationship of these two ideas forms the central insight that grounds all of Ong's work. His later studies flesh out how humans define knowledge and how they develop tools to convey knowledge, particularly communication tools.

Aristotle's sense of human knowledge involves speaking. "Human knowledge for Aristotle exists in the full sense only in the enunciation, either interior or exteriorized in language; the *saying* of something about something, the *uttering* of a statement, the expression of a *judgment*" (p. 108). Agricola and Ramus, in contrast, concentrated on visual maps. And this visualism reinforced the proof-oriented logic of Peter of Spain. Ramus himself developed this as a method, "which consists of trying to impose upon the whole axiomatic tradition of scholastic philosophy the pattern of a logic of topical invention" (p. 130). And that emphasis fit nicely with pedagogical practices, printed texts, and the need for a scientific method that would eventually serve to guarantee knowledge.

Ramus was above all a teacher and that shaped his approach to developing both his dialectic and his rhetoric in an age when printing changed the school environment. He lived at a time when science also changed the learning environment. His was a time that witnessed "a movement away from a concept of knowledge as it had been enveloped in disputation and teaching (both forms of dialogue belonging to a personalist, existentialist world of sound) toward a concept of knowledge which associated it with a silent object world, conceived in visualist, diagrammatic terms" (p. 151).

His dialectic, like that of Agricola, focused on finding terms (invention) and recasting judgment as "the doctrine of collocating (or assembling) what invention has found, and of judging by this collocation concerning the matter under consideration" (qtd. in Ong, 1958a, p. 184). The collocation (as the word implies) stresses arrangement, again a visual move.

B. Ramus and method

In tracing the history of "method" Ong reminds the modern reader that in its original Greek use, by the second century Hellenic rhetorician Hermogenes, method "means something more like mode of rhetorical organization or thought structure" or even "pattern" rather than Aristotle's "systematic investigation" (p. 231). The approach made its way through the humanists to the schools, where Ramus eventually found Johann Sturm and Philip Melanchthon using it in their logics. In these instances, method is associated with language rather than science. The part of method that underwent greatest development in Ramus is the logical process of invention through the division of definitions into their parts (p. 233).

Ramus proposed a whole series of methods—things that have universal applicability. In general, his laws of method feature subsequent definitions and divi-

sions, resulting in a nearly binary chart of breaking concepts down into smaller and smaller parts. With this almost mechanical technique of invention, and with the emphasis on visualization that such a technique supports, what is left for rhetoric?

Given his desire to sort things out clearly, Ramus removed anything from rhetoric that appeared elsewhere in his syllabus. Where Aristotle and Cicero had set up parallel structures for rhetoric and dialectic, depending on the nature of their objects, Ramus drew a strict division. Since invention and disposition (judgment) are already treated in dialectic, they cannot have a place in rhetoric. In Ramus's treatment, rhetoric can claim only elocution and pronunciation. "The fifth part, memory, is simply liquidated by being identified with judgment" (p. 270). Much of the Ramist reform of rhetoric, then, resulted from the demands of his teaching.

Ong recognizes the larger implications of Ramus's dual stress on visual organization and simplification.

> In this economy where everything having to do with speech tends to be in one way or another metamorphosed in terms of structure and vision, the rhetorical approach to life . . . is sealed off into a cul-de-sac. The attitude toward speech has changed. Speech is no longer a medium in which the human mind and sensibility lives. It is resented, rather, as an accretion to thought, hereupon imagined as ranging noiseless concepts or "ideas" in a silent field of mental space. . . . Thought becomes a private, or even an antisocial enterprise. The sequels of Ramism—method and its epiphenomena, which identify Ramism as an important symptom of man's changing relationship to the universe—connect with Ramist dialectic directly but with rhetoric only negatively or not at all. (1958a, p. 291).

Ramus's rearrangement of dialectic and rhetoric both indicate what happened in the educational world of the 16th century and added force to those happenings.

C. Ramus and printing

The spread of Ramism forms the third pillar supporting Ramus's effect on the history of rhetoric. The impact of his work lies precisely in its popularity. In both the last part of his book on Ramus and in its companion volume (1958b), Ong traces "the diffusion of Ramism" through the humanist publishers. In a word, Ramus became a publishing phenomenon, the author of educational best sellers.

Because of its school-text approach, Ramus's method proved highly successful, not only in Paris, where Ramus led the Collège de Presles and also served as dean of the regius professors at Paris. His writings spread through continental Europe and England, where he influenced several generations of teachers from the Tudor period (1971d, pp. 81-89) through John Milton (1608-1674) (Ong, 1982a). His influence on the Puritans carried Ramism to New England where his educational method and approach to rhetoric appeared at Harvard University in the 17th and 18th centuries.

2. Habits of thought, representing knowledge, and visualism

In tracing the history of dialectic and rhetoric, Ong remarks more than once that rhetoric shaped the ways that people thought. Generation after generation of young boys learned from classical texts where to find ideas, and they imitated the models of expression and analysis they found in the classical texts. However, even as they thought they were doing the same thing as Cicero, they adapted to a world that had changed its mental symbols. Ong finds these "shifts in symbolization and conceptualization observable in the physical sciences"; they are related, he tells us, "to another series of shifts in the ways of representing the field of knowledge and intellectual activity itself" (Ong, 1962b, p. 69). He does not claim a causal connection but remarks on the growing emphasis on the visual, found in Renaissance astronomy, mechanics, and physics, as well as in the use of perspective in art and architecture. This same emphasis appears in "the three *artes sermocinales*, or arts of communication—grammar, rhetoric, and most particularly dialectic" (p. 69). It is a movement "from a pole where knowledge is conceived of in terms of discourse and hearing and persons to one where it is conceived of in terms of observation and sight and objects" (p. 70).

The shift appears in different guises. In his history of Ramism, Ong had already identified one: the

changing understanding of the commonplaces. In the older rhetorical tradition, the commonplaces have two primary senses. First, they are the "headings" under which one sought knowledge about various topics. "These headings implemented analysis of one's subject: for a person, one might, by a kind of analytic process, consider his family, descent, sex, age, education, and the like; or more generally, for all sorts of things, one could look to definition, opposites, causes, effects, related matters, and so on" (Ong, 1977f, p. 149). But commonplaces also referred to "a standard brief disquisition or purple patch on any of hundreds or thousands of given subjects—loyalty, treachery, brotherhood, theft, decadence . . . and so on; these prefabricated disquisitions were excerpted from one's reading or listening or worked up by oneself" (p. 150). Though such passages were commonly written down in medieval *florilegia*, Ong follows Havelock (1963) in attributing them to a much more ancient oral tradition that valued the flow of words and constantly recycled sayings lest they be lost by forgetting.

By the Renaissance these collections had multiplied. They served a purpose in schools, where they became handy compendia of Latin for schoolboys. The Renaissance ambition to return to the classics also meant that such collections increased their value. The big change, though, is that such collections appeared in texts and their pattern of recall no longer depended on memory but on their visual arrangement on a page (1977f, pp. 161-163). The rise of the printing press transformed such collections by adding an index, by arranging things artificially (for example, in alphabetical order), by laying things out on a page. Ong terms this "visual retrieval" (p. 166) and shows how Theodore Zwinger in his 1586 *Theatrum humanae vitae* [Theater of Human Life] literally envisioned his commonplace collection as "scenes."

> Zwinger thinks of the printed page as a map on which knowledge itself is laid out. Over and over again he compares his work to that of geographers and cartographers. (1977f, p. 174)

Ong judges Zwinger's compilation of charts, whose ideas are linked by typographic symbols "visually neat" but "the result is so complicated as to be psychologically quite unmanageable" (p. 176). Even if it were a failed attempt, it demonstrates how thoroughly western thought had shifted from oral arrangements to visual ones.

The rise of such visual organization occurs along with other changes in the history of ideas. Among them Ong places the rise of a "system" as opposed to a "method" of thought. After tracing the history of these epistemological approaches through the medieval period and through the thickets of dialectic, he concludes:

> With the method discussion at this point and the visualist tide running strong, an important shift took place in the whole notion of space, signalized if not caused by the publication of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus* in 1543. . . Copernicus's astronomy approaches the universe from the point of view of purely geometrical space, in which no direction was more favored than any other, since neither up-and-down motion nor any other directional motion had priority over other kinds, any more than it does in a geometrical abstraction. (Ong, 1962b, p. 80)

Copernicus's understanding of the cosmos opened the door for others to set aside notions of method, which involved direction (literally, in Greek, "method" is seeking a "way through" a problem, p. 82), and to embrace instead a more abstract arrangement. Such arrangements of "objects" in "space" almost presuppose the visual. Ong offers two comments:

> Thinking of knowledge as governed by the diagrammatic, easily imagined, and only loosely applicable notion of system was more satisfying than thinking of it in terms of method and these conundrums [of direction, end, finding a way in unknown territory, etc.] . . .
>
> The rise of the notion of system as applied to the possessions of the mind is only one in a whole kaleidoscope of phenomena which mark the shift from the more vocal ancient world—truly an audile's world—to what has been called the silent, colorless, and depersonalized Newtonian universe. (1962b, p. 83)

The western habits of thought have become visual, disconnected from the voices and clamor of debate.

In a wonderful essay, "'I See What You Say': Sense Analogues for Intellect" (1977b), Ong summarizes the effects of visualism on thinking, going so far as to show its history in the vocabularies we use. As with rhetoric, the way we talk reveals, in some ways, the way we think. His list of visual words "used in thinking of intellect and its work" includes "insight, intuition, theory, idea, evidence, species, speculation, suspicion, clear, make out, observe, represent, show, explicate, analyze, discern, distinct, form, outline, plan, field of knowledge, object" and many others. Aurally

based terms, though greatly reduced, still exist. They include "category, predicate, judgment, response" and so on (pp. 133-134). The attention to the visual marks a difference. "Because sight is thus keyed to surfaces, when knowledge is likened to sight it becomes pretty exclusively a matter of explanation or explication, a laying out on a surface, perhaps in chart-like form, or an unfolding, to present maximum exteriority" (p. 123). This, of course, stands in contrast to the interiority revealed by sound.

Ultimately, Ong tries to gather material from throughout the western tradition. "I have also attempted to show how intimately this aural-to-visual shift is tied in with educational procedures and with the transfer of verbalization from its initially oral-aural economy of sound to a more and more silent and spatialized economy of alphabetic writing and of printing from movable alphabetic type, which seems to assemble words out of pre-existent parts, like houses out of bricks" (p. 126).

Evidence for the increasingly visual quality of knowing appears throughout the literary and pedagogical tradition of the West. Ong finds support in his study of poetry, examining what happens to poems as writers and readers adjust to texts. Where the oral and rhetorical tradition addressed an audience (literally, hearers), "the reader, using his eyes to assimilate a text, is essentially a spectator, outside the action, however interested" (Ong, 1977c, p. 222). Where the live audience "knows" through interaction in an open arena of discourse, the reader experiences a kind of insulation. This fosters a different kind of knowledge—more solitary, more reflective, a "romantic feeling for isolation" (p. 223).

Ong hints here at a much larger project, one that connects habits of thought not only with rhetoric but with the technologies of communication. From the perspective of communication, Ong repeatedly calls attention to the difference between communicating orally/aurally and visually. Though he highlights the habits of thought aligned with each, we could equally well read him as highlighting the media, something that he does increasingly later on in his writings, and something to which we will return in Part 4.

3. The Persistence of the word

Throughout his histories of rhetoric and in the course of his sensitivity to visualism in intellectual history, Ong does not lose his ear for sound. Voice matters.

A. Voices and hearers

Ong refers to "the world of sound" and calls it "the I-thou world where, through the mysterious interior resonance which sound best of all provides, persons commune with persons, reaching one another's interiors in a way in which one can never read the interior of an 'object'" (1962a, pp. 27-28). In addition to opening up the interior, sound always signifies life. In a favorite example, Ong reminds his readers that we can see an elephant, touch an elephant, smell an elephant, or even taste an elephant without worry. But if we hear an elephant, we'd better watch out (Ong, 1967, p. 112)!

Voice is not just any sound, though. While even an animal cry signifies an interior condition, the human voice is "an invasion of all the atmosphere which surrounds a being by that being's interior state, and in the case of man, it is an invasion by his own interior self-consciousness" (1962a, p. 28). The interior cannot be completely exteriorized, but verbal expression connects to a person's interiority. "Language retains this interiority because it, and the concepts which are born with it, remain always the medium wherein persons discover and renew their discovery that they are persons, that is, discover and renew their own proper interiority and selves" (p. 29). The voice giving voice to words makes a claim on us.

Whether that voice occurs in first-person speaking or whether it appears as an authorial voice, a claim occurs. The voice utters words, which both manifest the interior and connect us to one another. "Every human word implies not only the existence—at least in the imagination—of another to whom the word is uttered, but it also implies that the speaker has a kind of otherness within himself" (Ong, 1962c, p. 52). Because such words connect, they claim a relationship, the I-thou which Ong mentioned earlier. Ong ponders how this relationship can occur with literature and he traces human relationships from the face-to-face, through role playing in drama, to the voice that a reader hears. All exist within "a context of belief "—a connecting of one with another. Here, to specify that con-

text of belief, Ong distinguishes "belief that" from "belief in," noting that voice promotes the latter. To put this in more recognizable communication terms, "belief that" refers to content, while "belief in" refers to a relationship. Speaking and literature—indeed all communication—occur within this context of "belief in," of making claims one upon another (pp. 55-57).

Without such an imitatively oral or face-to-face context to connect interlocutors, written communication cannot succeed. Voice does summon belief. But the process works both ways. Writers, too, must reach out to readers, if only in imagination. The interactive—live, interiority manifesting—nature of communication is so central that the writer must create a voice and in so doing, create an audience. Before one can write, one must imagine an audience—hearers; that is, one must re-create the role playing of voice calling on voice. In fact, readers pick up the roles defined for them by writers, often "the role of a close companion of the writer" (p. 63). Ong finds the roots of this technique in journalism. "With the help of print and the near instantaneousness implemented by electronic media (the telegraph first, later radio teletype and electronic transmission of photography), the newspaper writer could bring his reader into his own on-the-spot experience, availing himself in both sports and war of the male's strong sense of camaraderie based on shared hardships" (p. 67). Though Ong admits that "readers have had to be trained gradually to play the game" (p. 67), he insists that voice remains a part of all communication.

These explorations of sound, voice, word, and interiority tease out more of the experience of communication. The spoken word of rhetoric differs from the visual object; knowledge developed in each of these cases differs one from the other. Ong has a sense that more is going on with the word than he can quite explain.

B. Word, sound, and the sensorium

By the early 1960s, Ong had come to know the work of Eric Havelock (1963), Milman Parry (1928), Albert Lord (1960), and Marshall McLuhan (1962). Havelock describes the period as one of intense intellectual ferment for those concerned with language, oral cultures, and thought (1986, p. 25). Not surprisingly, many things fell into place for Ong. Each of these writers provided additional evidence for what Ong had noticed abut the word. Havelock's work on Greek philosophy (1963) argued that writing—the move from oral forms to written ones—began a transformative process in Greek thought, one that ultimately leads to Greek philosophy, to objective thought, and to the kinds of analysis that reach a peak in Aristotle.

Parry's and Lord's investigations of the Homeric question—how a bard could compose and recall works the length of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* without writing—discovered still more about oral patterns of thought. What Ong had seen in rhetoric, Lord and Parry explored in poetics. Both described patterns of thought and remembering associated with speaking.

McLuhan's attempt to put the pieces together—he drew on Ong's Ramus work—showed some of the ways in which the forms of communication shape its content. In a kind of creative leap, McLuhan understood that both context and medium matter, an insight he summed up in the now famous phrase, "the medium is the message" (1964, p. 7). McLuhan pointed Ong and others toward the recognition that our own forms of communication (writing, for example) affect our own thinking and perhaps in this way prevent us from attending to oral thought.

Ong's thinking about oral/aural communication received new energy. His Terry Lectures at Yale, published in 1967 under the title, *The Presence of the Word*, lay out a wide ranging meditation on the word, both spoken and written.

Ong introduces here the idea of "the sensorium," the patterned, patterning, and coordinated world of sense experience—the use of the human senses together to communicate (1967, p. 1). "By the sensorium we mean here the entire sensory apparatus as an operational complex" (p. 6). Despite the fact that people communicate by means of all the senses, the oral/aural takes on special importance. In commenting on Heidegger's claim that language is rooted in a "primordial attunement of one human existent to another ... in 'speaking silence'," Ong observes

> All this is true, and in a certain sense commonplace, but it is noteworthy that when we thus think of silence as communicating, we are likely to think of it as a kind of speech rather than as a kind of touch or taste or smell or vision—"*speaking* silence," we say. The reason is plain: silence itself is conceived of by reference to sound; it is sound's polar opposite. Thus even when we conceive of communication as a transaction more fundamental than speech, we still conceive of it with reference to the world of sound. . . (1967, pp. 2-3).

Acknowledging that different cultures organize the sensorium differently, Ong reminds us that people must

attend selectively to sense perception and that sound has special properties (p. 6).

The spoken word has consequences that go beyond simple communication. As we have seen, rhetoric, the art of oral thinking, is tied to cultural forms, thought patterns, and human experience. But there is more. The world of sound is a world of passing time. "Sound is more real or existential than other sense objects, despite the fact that it is also more evanescent" (p. 111). A spoken word exists in time, passing out of existence even as it is spoken (Ong, 1973/2002, p. 377). Even with this, the spoken word seems more real to people, especially as a source of power (1967, p. 114), because sound and spoken word manifest interiors and interiority (p. 117). They manifest a presence. Sound unites us—it situates us in the middle of things (p. 128), in contrast to contemplation which, as a visual activity, removes us from the immediate world. Sound fosters particular structures of personality. Here, Ong makes a strong, though somewhat intuitive claim: "Personality structure varies in accordance with variations in communications media and consequent variations in the organization of the sensorium" (p. 131). He explains:

> In a world dominated by sound impressions, the individual is enveloped in a certain unpredictability. As has been seen, sound itself signals that action is going on. Something is happening, so you had better be alert. Sounds, moreover, tend to assimilate themselves to voices....A world of sounds thus tends to grow into a world of voices and of persons, those most unpredictable of all creatures. Cultures given to auditory syntheses have this background for anxieties, and for their tendencies to animism. (1967, p. 131)

Sound not only characterizes a way of communicating but also forms humans in response to it.

By calling attention to the sensorium, Ong also reminds us that depending too much on vision impoverishes knowledge, leading people to discount what knowledge comes through senses other than sight (1977b, pp. 129-131). In fact, many mental processes depend on sound.

> To learn to think and understand, it is far more necessary to be able to hear and talk than to be able to see. This is a counterindication apparently denying primacy to sight in favor of hearing. (1977b, p. 137).

Here, Ong argues that vision distances: we need separation in order to see. Intellectual knowledge follows the same dynamic: analysis is a taking apart. But we also need to put together, which is the movement of predication or judgment, both actions allied to speaking and to sound. Sound surrounds us, unites us, connects us to what we know (p. 138). Sound fosters the I-Thou knowledge typical of the knowledge of persons in relationships (pp. 140-141).

Sound has religious overtones as well. In addition to his reference to animism where things are alive with sound, Ong also considers the Word of God in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Though he does not undertake a full study, Ong suggests that attention to the verbal or sonic dimension of communication can aid theology. "An oral-aural theology of revelation through the Word of God would entail an oral-aural theology of the Trinity, which could explicate the 'intersubjectivity' of the three Persons in terms of communication conceived of as focused (analogously) in a world of sound rather than a world of space and light" (1967, p. 180). Or, again, "But because the human word is uttered at the juncture where interior awareness and external event meet and where, moreover, encounter between person and person occurs at its most human depths, the history of the word and thus of verbal media has rather more immediate religious relevance than the history of kingdoms and principalities" (p. 181). He also suggests that secularization (or "desacralization") has connections with the shift from oral communication to written. "The shift of focus from the spoken word and habits of auditory synthesis to the alphabeticized written word and visual synthesis (actuality is measured by picturability) devitalizes the universe, weakens the sense of presence in man's life-world, and in doing so tends to render this world profane, to make it an agglomeration of things" (p. 162).

C. Fighting words

Sound also brings a polemic element to the fore. Ong had noted this in his initial work on Renaissance pedagogy. Schools taught boys to fight—with words, but to fight nonetheless. From oratorical debates to disputations to contests of words, education harnessed the polemic spirit in students. For Ong, this shows yet another manifestation of sound. The speaker is bound up in a particular way with sound/speech. The simultaneity of it creates a kind of ego bond that the print word does not. Print distances, allows some psychological space, even a little self-criticism, that speech does not. And so, people fight over words. Many causes contribute to the polemic nature of human interac-

tion, but that polemic shows up in styles of talk and thought and even in the content of that talk.

> Superficially, preoccupation with virtue and vice can be interpreted as an index of the religiosity of a culture, and it is frequently so interpreted, particularly in studies of the European Middle Ages. But from what we have seen it should be apparent that the tendency to reduce all of human experience, including patently nonmoral areas such as the incidence of disease or of physical cataclysm to strongly outlined virtue-vice or praise-blame categories can be due in great part to the tendency in oral or residually oral cultures to cast up accounts of actuality in terms of contests between individuals. (1967, p. 201)

Spoken words, sounds, situate people in the world in combative ways.

But—and for Ong, this is a good thing—people also fight with words. Words substitute for arms and weapons. Talking means that physical fighting has not started. In oral cultures, including the more oral parts of contemporary culture, people compete with words in contests ranging from "playing the dozens," to swapping insults, to extemporizing a rap song.

In all of these things sounds/words matter. Sound belongs to human life and helps to establish the human life-world. Ong's historical studies also indicate that the human relation with words changes over time, as seen in the shifting relationship of rhetoric and dialectic. But what else changes?

D. Stages of communication, stages of consciousness

The historical evidence Ong follows in *The Presence of the Word* reinforces his conviction that human communication unfolds in stages. After an oral stage, human cultures gradually adopt writing systems (chirography or hand-writing first, then print). The history of the West shows a third stage—electronic communication (1967, p. 17). The stages build on one another in such a way that oral habits do not disappear as people learn to write (a phenomenon that Ong calls "residual orality"), nor does writing disappear with the advent of the radio or television.

Ong noticed parallels between these developments in human communication and the development of consciousness. The modes of communication interact with the ways that culture shapes consciousness (or at least shapes the pedagogical tools by which it shapes consciousness). More than an acknowledgment that the styles or means of communication can influence thought categories or cultural predispositions, this claim indicates that communication itself develops along with human consciousness. Ong imaginatively plays with some parallels between this development in human communication and the development of the human psyche.

In a kind of McLuhanesque probing, he attempts an exploration into Freudian psychology: Do the three stages of media (oral, written, electronic) relate to Freud's psychosexual stages (oral, anal, genital)? He finds enough parallels to remark that oral verbalization and the flow of words matches "the oral psychosexual state if we think in terms of permissiveness and lack of constraint" (1967, p. 93). Writing, like anality, constrains. The electronic stage may be generative and socially oriented (pp. 101-102). However, Ong honestly admits that the parallelisms do not always work. The oral stage "fails in terms of assimilative activity" and the direction of interiority (pp. 97-98). The parallels also don't work in terms of ontogenetic and phylogenetic relationships (p. 103). Despite this, Ong still feels that there is something in common between psychological development and the development of communication capability.

He shifts to more solid ground as he explores the development of consciousness as outlined in the work of psychologist Erich Neumann (1949/1954). In Neumann's work, he found additional evidence of the ways the human psyche "feels its relationship to the surrounding world, to time, and to space" in different historical epochs. "The experience of being human has undergone a kind of sea-change" (Ong, 1977e, p. 44). Contemporary humans live in largely artificial worlds, not only cities and skyscrapers, but artificial worlds of communication. Writing, Ong reminds us over and over again, is a technology. As such, it separates us from the word and in some ways from ourselves. Speech is something natural and that "is why speech is so closely involved with our personal identity and with cultural identity, and why manipulation of the word entails various kinds of alienation" (p. 22).

As writing and other communication technologies emerge, consciousness changes. Ong observed this with the shifting fortunes of rhetoric and with the observations of Havelock regarding the Greeks. Revisiting medieval pedagogy in the light of Neumann's history of consciousness, Ong hypothesizes that "the modern state of consciousness could never have come into being without Learned Latin,"

that is the written Latin learned as second language in grammar schools down to the 19th century.

> If writing initially helped thought to separate itself from the human life world so as to help establish and manipulate abstract constructs, Learned Latin would seemingly have helped at a crucial period with special efficiency, for its commitment to writing is in a way total, as has been seen: it does not merely use writing but is controlled by writing. Such a chirographically controlled language would appear to reduce to a new minimum connections with sound and thereby connections with the intimate human life world in its interiority and darkness. (1977e, pp. 36-37)

The artificial quality of written Latin forces humans to experience the world abstractly, in the more visual terms Ong had identified. Writing—indeed all communication technology—implicates consciousness, both the consciousness of individuals and the shared consciousness of cultures, as manifest in knowledge, science, and practices.

> Technology is important in the history of the word not merely exteriorly, as a kind of circulator of pre-existing materials, but interiorly, for it transforms what can be said and what is said. Since writing came into existence, the evolution of the word and the evolution of consciousness have been intimately tied in with technologies and technological developments. Indeed, all major advances in consciousness depend on technological transformations and implementations of the word. (1977e, p. 42)

Contemporary communication media, Ong tells us, make "possible thought processes inconceivable before. The 'media' are more significantly within the mind than outside it" (p. 46). The various communication technologies—writing, the alphabet, visual images, even computers—produce new ways of thinking because they provide new tools to assist thinking and they allow thinking to be recorded and even to occur outside of the minds of individuals. We read the thoughts of others and further them; we share knowledge; we have machines do routine analysis (p. 47).

E. Religious consequences

In studying the word and its immediacy, Ong calls attention to the religious qualities of communication. As he came to understand the stages of communication, he applied that model to the religious realm as well.

Early and medieval Christianity had produced a theology (as a systematic reflection on belief) that presumed texts: the biblical text, the texts of Christian writers, and so on. Ong, however, points out the highly oral nature of this theology. The Bible itself features a many-layered orality and these oral structures have largely found their way into theology (Ong, 1969a, p. 469). Later, even medieval and Renaissance theology used oral forms, inherited in and from the original Latin forms in which they worked. Such forms also produced the polemic quality of theology—a quality much in evidence in the Reformation period (p. 477). As theology became more print-based, it developed new, less formulaic, and less agonistic formats. While these print-based structures characterize theology today, Ong predicts that more contemporary theology will feature both an orality based on electronic communication and a wider interaction among disciplines, led and expanded by the ease promoted by the same electronic communication (pp. 479-480).

The same forces at work in the stages of communication affect worship as well. Most liturgical activity arose in oral cultures and key characteristics of orality—formulas, mnemonic patterns, rhythmic movements—remain in worship (Ong, 1969b, pp. 480-481). Ong argues that many of the problems in the mid-20th century Roman Catholic liturgical reform stemmed from the clash between this orality and the orality of electronic media, a more intimate experience, in which the audience (or the community at worship) act more like readers than hearers (pp. 481-482). Sensitive to the role of sound, Ong also calls attention to the polemic and irenic alignments that enter into worship (p. 485). Finally, he notes that liturgy will change or at least adapt its oral inheritance as it touches on memory, community, participation, and thought processes.

(Ong wrote extensively on religious topics throughout his career. As in these essays, he applied to the religious his observations on communication, psychological development, media, and so on. He also acted as a particularly sensitive observer of the religious scene, much as he observed communication. A collection of his more explicitly religious essays appears in *Faith and Contexts*, Volumes 1 and 2, 1992.)

4. Communication media, orality, literacy, and secondary orality

Ong's work with Ramus and the history of rhetoric combined with his reading of Havelock, Parry, Lord, and McLuhan sensitized him to communication media, communication processes, and their effects on human life and thought. But even before his readings on oral cultures—as early as a 1960 *College English* essay—he discerned a line leading from ancient Greece to modern communications, traced through educational establishments.

> From the time of ancient Greece, communication processes have always been at the center of western education. Early academic study focused on grammar, which gave birth to rhetoric. Rhetoric formed a matrix for dialectic and logic, and all these conjointly help shape physics and medicine, and ultimately modern science. Through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and into the 19th century, education began with grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic or logic, the *artes sermocinales* or communication arts. (Ong, 1962d, p. 220)

The printing revolution of early modern Europe (Eisenstein, 1979) definitively puts texts at the center of the educational enterprise and for the several centuries thereafter, up to our own, teachers and students wrestled with texts. Rhetoric, as we have seen, had moved from the spoken word to an attribute of written materials.

For Ong, the advent of new communication technologies will not remove communication from the curriculum but will have an effect.

> Probably a great many things are stirring; but it is certain that many of them can be summed up by saying that we are leaving the Gutenberg era behind us. As we move further into a technological civilization, we meet with abundant signs that the relationship between the teacher and the printed word and hence those between the teacher and a large area of communication, which included practically all of what we generally mean by "literature," are no longer what they used to be. These relationships were set up in the Renaissance when a typographical civilization appeared, climaxing the intense development of a manuscript culture which had marked the preceding Middle Ages. The present swing is to oral forms in communication, with radio, television (oral in its commitments as compared to typography), public address and intercom systems, or voice recordings (to replace or supplement shorthand, longhand, typing, or print). As a result of this swing, older relationships are undergoing a profound, if not often perceptible, realignment. (1962d, p. 221).

Here we see Ong laying out the pieces for his later construction of the relationships of oral and literate cultures, even marking the emergence of what he eventually terms "secondary orality" (Ong, 1971a, p. 296). New forms of communication build on older forms but each one affects the relationships afforded to human interaction. Ong remarks on the move from the oral teaching of Socrates to Plato's written version, Cicero's later writing out his speeches to Augustine's reading aloud. The manuscript culture of the Middle Ages "retained massive oral-aural commitments" (p. 222), but print culture largely silenced the voice, though not the heritage of eloquence (p. 223).

The 20th century introduced a paradox: "that a society given so much to the use of diagrams and to the maneuvering of objects in space . . . should at the same time develop means of communication which specialize not in sight but in sound" (p. 224). Such an emphasis on sound acts to counterbalance the dominance of the visual reinforced by printed texts. Though printed texts will not disappear, the more human dimension of sound cannot be suppressed.

> In their whole trend, modern developments in communications, while they have not slighted the visual, have given more play to the oral-aural, which a purely typographical culture had reduced to a record minimum in human life. The sequence of development running from silent print through audiovisual telegraph to the completely aural radio is an obvious instance of increasing aural dominance. Even television belongs partially in this visual-to-aural series, being only equivocally a regression to visualism. For the visual element in television is severely limited. . . . Silent television is hardly an engaging prospect. (1962d, p. 225).

The re-emergence of the oral-aural marks out the personalist element of contemporary culture. If sight beholds surfaces and promotes objectivity, then sound opens up the interior, both literally and figuratively (pp. 226-27). Ever the observer, Ong notes how such sensitivities emerge in philosophy, literature, advertising, and teaching.

A. Oral cultures, literate cultures

For Ong, it is never enough to remark the alignments of communication or the connections among its modalities. He tries to connect our awareness of communication to its academic study, to its uses, to its consequences. *Orality and Literacy* (1982b), perhaps his most widely reprinted and translated work, attempts precisely that kind of connection.

Orality and Literacy marks Ong's most systematic treatment of words—both spoken and written. His subtitle, "The technologizing of the word," specifies how humans use technology to preserve, extend, and modify their words. And—in a crucial step—Ong also shows how human thought patterns interact with the way they use words. Not as concerned with matching up the communication changes with psychological stages of growth, he summarizes several decades of research to more solidly connect thought patterns with communication. The stages of communication media appear clearly: oral communication in oral cultures; writing in chirographic cultures; print in print-based cultures; and various media in electronic cultures.

Returning to, and radically extending, some themes of *The Presence of the Word*, Ong describes oral cultures in terms of "Some psychodynamics of orality" (his chapter title). Oral cultures dwell in sound and in the power of sound. As members of writing cultures, we have trouble imagining this situation: to understand, for example, the power of a name.

> Chirographic and typographic folk tend to think of names as labels, written or printed tags imaginatively affixed to an object named. Oral folk have no sense of a name as a tag, for they have no idea of a name as something that can be seen. (1982b, p. 33)

Instead object and name cannot be separated.

Oral cultures depend on memory and recall. "You know what you can recall" (p. 33). What people think about depends, too, on such recall. And so, oral cultures must not only remember but organize things through the patterns of recall. These include rhyme and rhythm, movement, formulas, and sayings (p. 35). "In an oral culture, to think through something in non-formulaic, non-patterned, non-mnemonic terms, even if it were possible, would be a waste of time, for such thought, once worked through, could never be recovered with any effectiveness, as it could be with the aid of writing" (p. 35).

The centrality of memory and recall shapes other dynamics of orality. Its thought is additive, stringing items together, and thus works with aggregates rather than with the taking of things apart through analysis. "Without a writing system, breaking up thought—that is, analysis—is a high-risk procedure" (p. 39). It is too easy to forget how things fit together. The necessity of remembering, and of remembering in particular ways, leads to a redundancy in oral expression: better to repeat than to forget. Thus, oral cultures tend to be conservative, whether in expression, narrative, government, or religion (pp. 41-42). Oral cultures emphasize participation or identification with narrative characters or the objects of knowledge (p. 46). Everything appears in its situation, since that is how memory works best (p. 49).

The need to remember leads to specifically oral techniques, rituals of behavior and language. Rhetoric is a way of knowing and a way of expressing and a way of acting. Interaction is expected. Oral folk expect people to engage each other, but in predictable ways.

> Primary orality fosters personality structures that in certain ways are more communal and externalized, and less introspective than those common among literates. Oral communication unites people in groups. (1982b, p. 69)

Such group emphasis appears in the narratives and stories of oral cultures. Key figures unite the group but also help the recall of story. Much easier to remember the many adventures of a single Odysseus than the individual acts of 20 others (p. 70).

Writing and, later, print change this, though the change appears gradually. It triggers, in Raymond Williams' wonderful title, "the long revolution" of literacy (1961). Writing allows distance, both literally and figuratively. By processing thoughts through texts, writing spans miles and centuries. But writing also allows a psychological distance: one can see one's thoughts recorded and spread out, separate from oneself. Again, the chapter title gives the argument: "Writing restructures consciousness" (Ong, 1982b, p. 78). Memory gives way to written records, though this too occurs slowly. Neither Plato nor medieval English law trusted writing: "Witnesses were *prima facie* more credible than texts because they could be challenged

and made to defend their statements, whereas texts could not" (p. 96). But over time, people learned to work with texts, to provide contexts and external guarantees, cross-references, and visual methods that outweighed the textual silences (pp. 99-101).

Writing has its own dynamic. Its distancing leads to precision: one can polish sentences and one can be concise, without the need for repetition. Writing allows the writer to "eliminate inconsistencies . . ., to choose between words, . . . [to] erase" (p. 104). "By separating the knower from the known . . ., writing makes possible increasingly articulate introspectivity, opening the psyche as never before not only to the external objective world quite distinct from itself but also to the interior self against whom the objective world is set" (p. 105). Pedagogical practice amplifies writing's effect on consciousness by teaching people to work with texts, by fostering more analytic thought, and by holding out the possibility of objectivity.

Ong is careful enough to warn against any reductionism here, but he does urge us to see the web of relations connected to writing.

> Once writing is introduced into a culture and grows to more than marginal status, it interacts with noetic and social structures and practices often in a bewildering variety of ways . . . . Sooner or later, and often very quickly, literacy affects marketing and manufacturing, agriculture and stock-raising and the whole of economic life, political structures and activities, religious life and thought, family structures, social mobility, modes of transportation (a literate communication system laid the straight Roman roads and made the ancient Roman Empire . . .) And so on ad infinitum. (Ong, 1986/1999, p. 155)

In "Writing Is a Technology That Restructures Thought" (1986/1999), Ong spells out 14 consequences of writing's separation or distancing. These include, as we have seen, the separation of the knower from the known, as well as data from interpretation, word from sound, word from existence, past from present, administration from other social activities, academic learning from wisdom, logic from rhetoric, social classes one from another, sound from sight, and being from time (pp. 156-162).

Printing speeds the process along, both by increasing literacy (as more people have access to texts) and by fostering greater visualism. "Writing moves words from the sound world to a world of visual space, but print locks words into position in this space" (1982b, p. 121). Printing leads to any number of changes in how people deal with information—changes we largely take for granted, but which appear revolutionary when compared to the information economy of oral cultures. Printed texts foster the use of lists, material "abstracted from the social situation in which it had been embedded . . . and also from linguistic context" (p. 123). Such listings seem even stranger when they have no oral organization, but only one based on alphabetical order. The fixity of print also promotes a particular kind of list—the index—to guide readers to the fixed location of information within a book.

The visualism of printed books promotes seeing the book and its pages as labels, as illustrations of knowledge (p. 126), something Ong had seen in the books of Ramus with their graphically arrayed binary arrangements of logic. Ong also connects this visualism to modern science. While observation was not new, "what is distinctive of modern science is the conjuncture of exact observation and exact verbalization: exactly worded descriptions of carefully observed complex objects and processes" (p. 127). Where oral cultures attend to action, visual ones focus on appearance. This bias of print supports science's need to provide precise descriptions in ways that other scientists could confirm. As a way of seeing, visualism leads to more precise seeing. Ong finds additional evidence of this visualism in post-print literature's elaborate descriptions and use of typography (pp. 127-128).

Other marks of modern society connect to print as well. Print fostered a sense of language as something written—dictionaries, grammars, "correct" expression (p. 130). By supplying more books to readers, print changed the relationship between readers and books. First, it supported a sense of privacy (being alone with a book, with no need to interact with others). Second, it fostered a sense of ownership of words (copyrights, for example). And print also changed the relationship of readers with themselves. By treating words as things on a visual surface, print led humans to think of the their own consciousness as a kind of thing or mental space (pp. 130-132).

B. Traces of older media

But it all happened slowly. While print changed the information dynamics of human society, it did not erase the oral. The same thing occurred with the advent of writing. Comparing the oral Homeric epics to Virgil's written work, Ong notes, "But oral traits did not by any means vanish in narrative immediately with

the coming of writing. They tapered off gradually and unevenly" (Ong, 1977a, p. 195). What evidence suggests oral habits lingering in western print culture, print habits remaining in electronic culture? Ong highlights two things. First, he comments on what he terms "oral residue," the oral modes of thought and expression that appear in the writings of the generations new to print. Second, he claims that electronic communication has created a "literate orality," an oral culture based on print, what he terms a secondary orality. Both assertions seem almost self-evident, but Ong provides some supporting evidence.

Oral residue occurs because people educated for oral expression will use those expressions in their writing.

> Manuscript and even typographic cultures . . . sustain traces of oral culture, but they do so to varying degrees. Generally speaking, literature becomes itself slowly, and the closer in time a literature is to an antecedent oral culture, the less literary or "lettered" and the more oral-aural it will be. (1971b, p. 25)

To demonstrate his point, Ong searches Tudor literature for oral residue. He find it in particular in "the cult of *copia* and of the commonplaces" (p. 27). Both come to English literature from the rhetorical tradition. The former refers to an eloquence never at a loss for words, the "rich flow, as well as ability, power, resources, or means of doing things" by which speakers (and later writers) manage language. It is the ability of an epic poet to assemble volumes of material (pp. 33-35). Of course, a writer need not marshal words in the same way that an orator or bard does. In fact, highly developed writing avoids this kind of repetition, since writers know that readers can turn back and re-read material as necessary.

We have already seen the second oral residue, the commonplaces, those ways of organizing material that seem strange to us today, but which fairly well defined the information handling of oral cultures. In another essay, Ong suggests a third lingering oralism: the use of epithets in the English epic poetry of Spenser and Milton (1977a).

In addition to the oral residue marking print culture, orality also returns as secondary orality in post-print culture. Ong's knowledge of the history of rhetoric attuned his ear to the similarities and differences between contemporary speaking and the recorded speech of earlier eras. Such secondary orality appears not just in a more writerly speaking—the television dialogue or speaking that depends on a script, for example—but also in a speaking that unveils a changed psyche.

> If I may use terms which I fondly believe I have originated, I would suggest that we speak of the orality of preliterate man as primary orality and of the orality of our electronic technologized culture as secondary orality. Secondary orality is founded on—though it departs from—the individualized introversion of the age of writing, print, and rationalism which intervened between it and primary orality and which remains as part of us. History is deposited permanently, but not inalterably, as personality structure. (1971a, p. 285)

The strands and habits of these oralities do not disentangle easily. Following his usual approach, Ong examines them carefully, looking to one characteristic, in this instance "the use of formulary devices" (p. 285). The use of formulas appears constantly in primary orality—to describe, to store knowledge, to compose utterances, and so on. In fact, the works of Havelock, Parry, and Lord spell out how ancient Greek culture depended on the use of formulas, especially in the *Illiad* and *Odyssey* and how the formulas influenced Greek thought.

Today's electronic culture of radio and television still uses formulas but in different ways. "The formulary device is no longer deeply grounded in practical living since it has now relatively limited use for knowledge storage and retrieval" (p. 296). Instead we use formulas as cliches or as starting points for analysis (p. 297). The formula appears as an advertising or political slogan, as a catch phrase, as a jingle, almost as a label (p. 299). And each of these in some ways resembles the visual form, a connection with literacy, that belies the oral and reminds us that secondary orality rests on the psychological foundations, organizations, and habits of writing.

Ong arrives at a similar conclusion from a different angle when he asks whether new media destroy older media. Once again taking up an historical approach, he remarks "some paradoxical laws":

> A new medium of verbal communication not only does not wipe out the old, but actually reinforces the older medium or media. However, in doing so it transforms the old, so that the old is no longer what it used to be. Applied to books, this means that in the foreseeable future there will be more books than ever before but that books will no longer be what books used to be. (Ong, 1977d, pp. 82-83)

People do not abandon communication media that have successfully served them. But they often discover new ways to use the old. If Ong is correct that media forms restructure (or at least influence) consciousness, then new forms change people and how people think to the extent that they can never pretend that the new had not touched them. We have a complex cycle of interaction, evolution, and transformation of communication media.

> . . . part of the transformation is effected because the new medium feeds back into the old medium or media and makes them redolent of the new. The conventionally produced book can now sound to some degree like the orally programmed book [the transcription of a recorded interview, for example].
>
> Patterns of reinforcement and transformation have existed from the very beginning in the verbal media. . . . When writing began, it certainly did not wipe out talk. Writing is the product of urbanization. It was produced by those in compact settlements who certainly talked more than scattered folk in the countryside did. Once they had writing they were encouraged to talk more, if only because they had more to talk about.
>
> But writing not only encouraged talk, it also remade talk. Once writing had established itself, talk was no longer what it used to be. (1977d, p. 86)

Talk changes, not only because one could talk about what was written—people no doubt talked about Plato's Dialogues just as we talk about the books on best seller lists. Talk changed, too, by becoming more literary. Orators could write out speeches to practice them before delivering them. People could study textbooks on speaking, much as we do today.

New communication media change old media and old media remain a part of newer media. The same interaction, evolution, and transformation happens with radio, television, and computers today. "A new medium, finally, transforms not only the one which immediately precedes it but often all of those which preceded it all the way back to the beginning" (p. 90). Our use of computers for instant messaging, for example, affects how we watch television, how we write, and how we talk.

5. Digital communication, writing, and interpretation

A. Text

Digital or computer-based communication not only transforms what precedes it, but calls attention to specific aspects of textual communication. Digital communication depends upon a specific code: it is information—"a message transmitted by a code over a channel through a receiving (decoding) device to a particular destination." But this code is not itself communication, since communication requires "the exchange of meanings between individuals through a common system of symbols" (Ong, 1996, p. 3). The latter, however, makes use of the former. The awareness of this dependence of communication on information leads to a further awareness, that "all text is pretext" (Ong, 1990/2002, p. 497).

A text, Ong writes, "is not fully a text until someone reads it, that is, until someone produces from the writer's text something nontextual, a sequence of sounds" (p. 497). But in order to read a text, the reader must know the code used to write the text. This dependence on reading reminds us, who have most likely overlooked or forgotten the fact, that "text as text is part of discourse" (p. 497). Discourse, interaction between people, somehow gets suspended in a text "until a reader chances along" (p. 498).

And discourse requires the presence of the word, of a dialogue, of people. Ong defines "the basic sense of presence" as a "person-to-person relationship, not thought-to-word-to-thing relationship" (p. 498). Texts manage both to facilitate and to get in the way of these relationships. They interpose themselves and need decoding, but they also allow readers to enter into relationships with long-dead writers.

> This absence calls for fictionalizing. Someone has to play a role: writer or reader or both. And since the reader has to be alive to read, his or her roles are more proximate to us... (1990/2002, p. 498)

And here modern, electronic communications help us in yet another way to understand what is going on with texts. The sense of immediacy of electronics gives readers a sense of proximity to events reported. That,

too, occurs with texts. With a text that works well, readers enter into the text, "into the immediacy of the writer's experience" (p. 499). But electronic communication also reveals that this immediacy is highly mediated, and thus somewhat artificial.

> A paradox is at work here, as always when we are dealing with the application of technologies to the word, from writing onward. Electricity means generators, machinery, and mechanical equipment. It interposed a great deal that is not directly human between the written verbalization of reporters . . . [and readers]. (p. 503)

Speeding up communication serves to decrease distance and to increase the immediacy and thus the person-to-person quality of communication. Understanding the digital codes and electronic speeds helps us to understand better what happens with texts (and what was happening all along, though we did not notice).

B. Writing

From the perspective of code, we also understand writing systems better. "Recent findings have made it possible to see an intriguing relationship between developments leading into writing in its very earliest form and our only recently devised writing with the digital computer" (Ong, 1998, p. 4). Reviewing the work of Denise Schmandt-Besserat (1992), Ong recognizes that the coding for numbers used in Sumerian pre-pictographic writing has affinities with the digital storage of information—that information storage underlies writing. Such an information storage system arises only in "the larger human context, social, economic, technological, and other" (Ong, 1998, p. 10). Human communication is decidedly oral and humans have developed technologies to preserve and sharpen that communication—from memory systems to artificial information storage systems. These grow out of the human life world.

> Given that writing is a technological product storing knowledge outside the human individual and thus encouraging a sense of the known as separate from the knower, it appears to be no accident that the prehistory of writing begins with enumeration of visible, material commodities, object-things seen and/or felt as distinct from human thinkers and verbalizers, such as Schmandt-Besserat finds in the commodities with which the Near East tokens deal. (p. 19)

The artificial means of storing information in turn began to affect the ways that people think and live (pp. 14-15). Having the tool available means using it.

The process took time, though. "Originally, writing was not so much a 'communication' device (involving interchange between two conscious persons)—although it was this to some extent—as it was a simple 'information' system (a coding system), although it was not entirely this either" (p. 19). Ong admits that the process from pre-writing to writing is a complex one; it involved not only the development of an efficient tool like alphabetic writing, but also the mindset to use the tool. Just as the history of rhetoric tells the story of evolving human thought, so too does the story of writing. For writing to work, humans needed to adjust psychologically.

The contemporary information processing model shows us more clearly that pre-writing storage systems work as information storage. They also illustrate how any text works—by deferring or interrupting dialogue.

C. Interpretation

The abundance of information resulting from all of our information storage systems does not become immediately intelligible. It requires interpretation. But, as with most things Ong explores, a study of the interpretation of stored information tells us about more than itself, tells us in this instance about an on-going need for interpretation in all communication.

"In a quite ordinary and straightforward sense, to interpret means for a human being to bring out for another human being or for other human beings (or for himself or herself) what is concealed in a given manifestation, that is, what is concealed in a verbal statement or a given phenomenon or state of affairs providing information" (Ong, 1995/1999, p. 183). No communication is complete because one can always say more: dialogue continues; texts require contexts; discourse needs commentary; and so on. Language itself allows this complexity and commentary in its very structures of syntax and referentiality (p. 185). It, like all communication is not a closed system.

To examine one communication form or medium, as we have seen, shows us how it has transformed what preceded it. And so the awareness of the need to interpret texts casts light on what happens in conversation.

> Besides being complex and supple, verbal interpretation is curiously self-propagating. For if, as has been seen, more than other sorts of interpretation (gesticular, and so on), verbalized inter-

> pretation moves toward maximized interpretation, it is at the same time never totally maximized, never totally completed and thus by its very existence invites further asymptotic movement toward completion. (p. 187)

The need for interpretation stems from the nature of communication. The bringing of people together, the mutual revelation of the interiority of individuals, can never be perfect. But people try.

Texts complicate the situation because texts cannot explain what lies beyond the text. Ong traces the history of hermeneutics as a science of interpreting texts. Handwritten texts more urgently than face-to-face communication required interpretation because here people first experienced the absence of the author, the absence of the kind of dialogue to which they had been accustomed. Centuries later, "with the deep interiorization of print . . . hermeneutics as a self-conscious, more or less systematized activity comes into its own" (p. 196). But digital communication, Ong argues, really makes us aware of the need for hermeneutics, since digitization radically separates information from communication. Asking why this happens now, Ong answers, "One reason that suggests itself is that electronic communication has made us into an information society, and information of itself says nothing unless it is interpreted or treated hermeneutically" (p. 197). But there is more than this. Information storage systems themselves call attention to the fact they depend on encoding and decoding outside of themselves. They rely as much on a social structure as they do on a technological one. And that, Ong reminds us, fairly defines the hermeneutical circle (p. 197).

But, then, all communication depends on social structures. And therefore all communication requires interpretation. "Hermeneutic or explanation stops not when there is nothing left to be explained but when, for present purposes, in this given existential situation, nothing further is felt to be necessary" (p. 199). Such communication inevitably goes beyond propositions and logic; but the history of rhetoric and dialectic and the history of visualism and visual representations of knowledge in the West sometimes mislead us. Ong returns to sound: sound reveals the interior. The social structures of all human life presume those interiors.

The process of interpretation summarizes much of Ong's explorations and conclusions about communication.

> Since each "I" must sense the "you" whom the "I" addresses before speech begins, dialogue demands, paradoxically enough, that the persons addressing one another be somehow aware of the interior of each other before they can begin to communicate verbally. . . . In verbal communication, the hearer must be aware that the speaker intends the utterance to be a word or words and not just noise; the speaker must know that the hearer knows this, and the hearer must know that the speaker knows that he or she (the hearer) knows it. The hermeneutical circle again. We are somehow inside one another's consciousness *before* we begin to speak to another or others. (p. 203)

Conclusion

If these five areas—the history of rhetoric, the exploration of visualism, the understanding of the word, the delineation of the stages of communication, the situating of hermeneutics—were all that Ong had done, his work would have a significant impact on communication study. But there is more, more than we can review here. Ong also carefully observed culture, particularly in literature and education, but in other areas as well. Gronbeck (1991) argues that Ong represents an important strand in an American cultural studies tradition, a conclusion echoed by Farrell (2000). Gronbeck argues that this cultural studies tradition differs from others:

> Distinctively American with its unusual grounding in classics, religious hermeneutics, the philosophy of sociology, and anthropology, this school of communication studies stands counterpoised to its Continental and British sisters. It has affinities with French semiotics and structuralism, and the breadth of its generalizations gives it the feeling of writings from the Frankfurt school, yet cultural studies in America is its own creature. (Gronbeck, 1991, p. 9)

It is in this tradition that Ong provides communication studies more broadly conceived with both a stance towards culture and a methodology to explore it.

Gronbeck identifies four key questions that characterize Ong's approach. "What are the distinguishing features of *media of communication*, broadly understood?" (p. 11). "What are the *psychodynamics* of selfhood? If British and European cultural studies turn outward to matters of social structure and political-economic power when contemplating communication processes . . . Americans often turn inward to trace the consequences of mediation processes for the individual self" (p. 12). The third area of Ong's questioning that Gronbeck identifies focuses on the relationship between culture and life world, while the fourth calls attention to "the *implications* of the interactions of mediation, consciousness, and culture for various facets of human existence" (p. 13).

Within all of his explorations of these interactions, the human interaction matters most for Ong: the personal, the interior. All the technological systems humans create—memory systems, rhetoric, dialectic, writing, printing, electronics—ultimately serve this interaction.

Ong's explorations remind us, too, that the technological systems of communication have their own effects. Humans adapt to them in ways that we do not often recognize. Each time he looked at communication he discovered more of these psychological adjustments as well as a resistance to change. Ramus's texts, with their visual aids, revealed something about rhetoric. Early printed texts showed an oral residue. Electronic communication absolutely depends on printed texts but also introduces a new orality into human life. Digital information systems reveal that all the prior communication media also function as information systems.

The need to interpret all this brings us back again to the human interactions—the manifestation of interiority—that began it all.

Though not formally a communication scholar, Ong has contributed mightily to communication studies in four ways. First, as a cultural historian exploring rhetoric, he has called attention to the link between mental processes and communication tools. Second, in his recognition of the visualism promoted by printed texts, he reminds us of the role of the sensorium in all communication. Third, through his proposal that we think of the modes of communication (primary oral, literate, secondary oral) as stages building on one another, he has helped to identify the extraordinary complexity of human communication and provided an hypothesis to guide further exploration. And, fourth, by his insistence on the living word, he has kept the human at the center of all communication, reinforcing the link between the interpersonal and any other kind of mediated communication.

If all of this seems natural to us today, we should credit Ong for introducing so much, in such detail and clarity, as to make it seem readily apparent and so much a matter of common sense.

Editor's Afterword

W. E. Biernatzki, S.J.

Father Walter Ong, S.J., was widely known and highly regarded in academic circles. Those who knew him personally saw a different, but related side of his personality: a seeker of knowledge at all levels, interested in the world, eager to know its many facets. In his youth, as an Eagle Scout, he had to earn many merit badges, an accomplishment that both appealed to his inquiring nature and introduced him to a wide range of diverse subjects, both practical and theoretical.

That thirst for knowledge of all sorts carried over into both his intellectual life and his day-to-day interests and recreations. He was quick to join conversations on whatever topics his companions might introduce, from fly fishing, to psychoanalysis, to linguistic philosophy, or space travel. Often, he knew the topic so well that other parties to the conversation could only sit back and absorb his contributions. At the same time, he was genuinely interested in others' work and their ideas, listening patiently, then injecting his own perspectives on the subject.

Ong, the polymath, was thus well-equipped from the start to explore the hidden nooks and crannies of western intellectual history, and not only to bring into the light unexpected treasures but also to relate them to the

vast, complex and ever-evolving chart of reality being drawn by both modern sciences and humanistic studies.

Walter was interested in the work of the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture and in this journal, *Communication Research Trends*, from their very inception, in the 1970s. He recognized that the focus of the Centre and the journal coincided closely with his own preoccupation with the nature of information and communication and their developing role in the modern world. He contributed the major contents of two issues of the journal, articles on "Information and/or Communication" (1996), and "Digitization Ancient and Modern: Beginnings of Writing and Today's Computers" (1998).

At the same time, he was a Jesuit, a vowed religious, deeply embedded in the matrix of Catholic Christianity. This embedding doubtless contributed greatly to his ability to draw out the meanings implicit in his insights and to relate them into a big picture. The unbroken current of Judeo-Christian history, running through the broader stream of Western intellectual history, was available to him not merely as a problematically abstract framework but as meaningful to every level of his life. He spent most of his life in a Jesuit university faculty community, with a variety of "men astutely trained," sharing a common set of religious and moral values, but often able to argue vigorously for a wide range of individual interpretations from many perspectives. The effects of that intellectual environment on Walter would be impossible to analyze with scientific precision, but it had to be significant.

Walter had a notable effect on all who knew him well, but probably on none more than his students. These are scattered far and wide, not only in America but in many countries around the world. Many were impressed not only by the "bare bones" of his theorizing but also by his interest in their own languages and cultures, bringing the theories alive to them through his questions about their own ways of knowing and communicating. That questioning was no mere pedagogical gimmick, either, but it was evident that he was continually learning from their answers. His willingness to learn while teaching was, in itself, a valuable lesson, an opening for the students into an ever-expandable universe ripe for their own future exploration.

His insights and ideas broke new pathways for understanding how we think and communicate. But there remains unexplored territory beyond the ends of those paths. The best imaginable tribute to his learning and his memory would be for those who knew him and learned from him to push on with the explorations.

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Book Reviews

Bivins, Thomas. *Mixed Media*. Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004. Pp. xii, 229. ISBN 0-8058-4257-8 (pb.) $29.95.

> "Stop thinking about what you have the right to do and start thinking about what is the right thing to do." –Fred Friendly

This quote from Fred Friendly, Edward R. Murrow's collaborator on *See It Now* who resigned as president of CBS News over coverage of the Vietnam War hearings sums up the essence of this book. It is obvious that the author wants to help journalists, public relations professionals, and advertising personnel learn how to make ethical professional decisions based on understanding and weighing competing classical philosophies. Unhappily there is a large gap between ethical theory and professional praxis that this book is unlikely to close.

This heavily footnoted book that includes a substantial bibliography opens with a discussion of what constitutes an ethical issue followed by a chapter on who are moral claimants. It presents complex models for each of the three fields listing and weighing the competing claims of employees, stockholders, clients, the general public, news sources, and so forth. As I struggled through this tedious, complicated chapter, I tried to envision any of the city editors I worked for in 11 years on a daily newspaper making it past the second page. Ditto my supervisors in corporate PR. All I could think of was the city editor who refused to read any memo longer than a paragraph. In the fast-moving, brutally practical world that these news, PR, and advertising professionals inhabit, the abstruse, complex analysis that Bivins recommends is virtually unimaginable.

This is too bad because there is good material in this book if the reader has more patience to pursue it than any decision-maker I ever worked for. The book is essentially a short course on the philosophical underpinnings of ethical decision-making on media issues. According to the author, a basic philosophical clash between the libertarian and social responsibility models of media underlies many of the ethical dilemmas that communications professionals face.

"Roughly speaking libertarianism holds that freedom should be unbounded; there should be no restrictions on an individual's freedom to do what he or she pleases" (p. 40). In contrast, in the social responsibility model, "businesses are seen as operating at the behest of the public; thus their rights are really privileges—and privileges come only at the expense of reciprocation in the form of agreed-upon responsibilities" (p. 41). Learning even this much philosophy can provide a framework for making ethical decisions about issues such as the interesting case studies that many chapters present. Some cases are familiar to readers. Should reporters lie about their identity to investigate an issue? Did tennis great Arthur Ashe's right to privacy outweigh an alleged public right to know about his AIDS diagnosis because he was a celebrity?

Readers who persevere through the models will eventually find readable and common sense summaries of major points such as:

> The media are obligated to a vast array of claimants and must discharge those obligations satisfactorily in order to act ethically. And while obligations may differ among the various media, commonalities do exist in such areas as truth telling and prohibitions against harm. (p. 44)

But philosophy is tough going for the uninitiated—probably a high percentage of working journalists—and "truth" is no simple concept. A chapter on "Media and Professionalism" examines that issue along with root questions such as the nature of professions and whether any of the media occupations might qualify. Here the fields appear to diverge. Journalism has never aspired to professional status because it resists the idea of an official exam or credentials to qualify (a violation of libertarianism) while public relations professionals are more likely to seek such status. Once again, a complex discussion ends in a common sense conclusion: "Being a professional assumes a level of ethicality beyond that of societal norms . . . the media may garner the benefits of professionalism by merely acting as if they were professions" (p. 70).

I found this discussion interesting because of my academic background and readings in the literature of professionalism. My former city editor (a Marine veteran who once threw a chair to express exasperation with something) might have used barracks language to describe his vast unconcern with the topic.

A major section of the book briefly digests the ethical theories of major philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, Locke, Kant, John Stuart Mill, etc.) whose ideas are relevant to media ethics. This chapter also outlines the philosophical battles between competing schools of thought such as the social contract and utilitarianism, free speech, virtue ethics, and so forth. It's almost like reviewing all of Philosophy 107 or Political Philosophy 302 in one chapter. The material is probably germane

to a battle over whether to run a particularly gruesome photo in a newspaper but I tried to imagine any city editor I worked for mentioning John Stuart Mill or Aristotle in those circumstances. Not likely.

The author raises some interesting issues such as the different possible meanings of truth in journalism vs. truth in PR and advertising and the relationship between persuasion and facts. PR and advertising practitioners who resent the equation of persuasion with falsehood might appreciate some of what Bivins says.

The book's final chapter is perhaps the most useful to professionals. It contains a checklist for moral decision making, asking good and useful questions that a city editor might even ask. For example, "What immediate facts have the most bearing on the ethical decision you must render in this case?" (p. 174) "List at least three alternative courses of action" (p. 176). Each of the checklist items is followed by a compact explanation of what specific questions to ask and what evidence to examine. At last the author offers a practical framework that could help a professional under pressure resolve an ethical dilemma based on reason and principles instead of hunch or instinct.

When I finally reached this chapter, I wished that the author had adopted a classic journalistic strategy: lead with the conclusion. Had he done so, I think there is a fair chance that some media professionals might use this book to resolve their ethical dilemmas, or at least to ponder them. They could search the book for the material they need to understand some issues on the checklist while skimming over less relevant parts of the book. Journalists, especially, are pros at skimming reams of complex material to find what they need. It's a basic survival skill. Sadly, I fear that few media professionals will reach the concluding chapter unless someone advises them to.

Overall, this was a challenging book to read and evaluate. There is a great deal of excellent information including an appendix containing eight ethical codes or statements of principles from various groups of journalists, public relations, and advertising professionals. There are the wonderful and readable case studies covering episodes of questionable ethics. Some of these, such as the Arthur Ashe vs. *USA Today* example leave even libertarian journalists very uncomfortable about their advocacy of unfettered media freedom.

The book might be more useful as a college media ethics text than as a guide to ethics for professionals. I wish the author would write a second version more attuned to the mindset of the audiences he most wishes to reach. Bivins obviously knows his material. The professionals could benefit from his wisdom and expertise—but not as it is offered in this book. Think of my chair-tossing city editor. That's the audience Bivins is trying to communicate with. This book will not do that.

—Eileen Wirth
Creighton University

Bochner, Arthur P., and **Carolyn Ellis.** (Eds.)**.** *Ethnographically Speaking: Autoethnography, Literature, and Aesthetics.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002. Pp. i, 412. ISBN 0-7591- 0129-9 (pb.) $29.95.

Ethnographically Speaking represents a compilation of *ethnographic alternatives* as developed for the 2000 Couch-Stone Symposium, the millennium meeting of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction, and revised for inclusion in this edited volume. Participating authors, representing over 30 different disciplines, reflect "a wide range of people . . . who share an interest in work that crosses the boundaries between social science, literature, and the arts" (p. 3). Organized around the themes of "Culture Embodied: Performing Autoethnography," "Wounded Storytellers: Vulnerability, Identity, and Narrative," "Ethnographic Aesthetics: Artful Inquiry," and "Between Literature and Ethnography," the book provides three broad categories of materials: concrete forms of experimental ethnographic representation, methodological papers, and cultural and critical works.

Through a complex interweaving of representational examples of (auto)ethnographies, scholarly treatises, and critically reflective essays, Bochner and Ellis, albeit through their contributing authors, draw upon ethnographic roots to ground their exploration of interrelationships among various disciplinary threads; the resulting work illustrates the power and range of potential applications and uses of ethnographic research, while acknowledging existing criticisms and limitations. While not intended for only a communications audience, this work is of particular interest to communication scholars as Mary and Kenneth Gergen introduce the book by explaining "Ethnographic Representation as Relationship." Interludes are provided to transition or connect section to section and a final closing collection of articles brings the reader full circle back to the conference planners' reflections on this experience.

Ethnographically speaking, Gergen and Gergen argue "Like other forms of research, ethnographic inquiry traditionally functions as a means of representa-

tion. Ethnographers attempt to represent the lives, practices, beliefs, values, and feelings of some person or group. . . .[this body of literature would suggest] that representation does far more than communicate about a subject; it simultaneously creates forms of relationship" (p. 12). They conclude "there is no 'one best way' in the matter of representation; relationships can be many and varied and to apply a single criterion to the matrix is to constrain our potential" (p. 31). The varieties of representations fill the remainder of the book.

"Culture Embodied" contains three examples of "Performing Autoethnography:" ethnodrama (Pelias), torch singing (Jones), and an approach to research-based theater (Gray, Ivanoffski, and Sinding). In general, stories of autoethnography begin "with the experience of one person, but others make it over to themselves and give it new uses and interpretations" (Jackson, 1989, p. 18, qtd., p. 53). Historically, performance artists have communicated and interpreted culture through performance texts. Experiments with performance texts include ethnodramas, the most complicated of performance texts. Ethnodramas, as exemplifies by Pelias and discussed by Gray, Ivanoffski, and Sinding, "merge natural script dialogues with dramatized scenes and the use of composite characters" (Denzin, 1997, p. 99, qtd., p. 58). Lockford, author of this interlude, explains how each of these three chapters asks us to consider how the actors (and the scholars who created them) construct, deconstruct, and/or rebuild their respective cultures (through the performance of these forms of scholarship).

"Wounded Storytellers" is aptly titled as these narratives convey stories of vulnerability and identity. Kiesinger offers the strongest theoretical discussion of narrative reframing and its utility, premised on the assumption that our life stories become the "frameworks of meaning out of which we act, think, interpret, and relate" (p. 107). Narrative reframing allows us to "reinvent our accounts in ways that permit us to live more fulfilling lives. . .contextualize our stories within the framework of a larger picture. . .[and] requires that we assess the degree to which we live our stories versus the degree to which our stories live us" (pp. 107-109). Illustrative narratives include erotic mentoring (Rushing) and sexual identity transformation (Dent). Jenks explicitly addresses practical concerns and theoretical issues that surround (auto) ethnographic, qualitative research, as illustrated through her "mom" role. Sparkes concludes this lengthy section by challenging the "universal charge of self-indulgence so often leveled against autoethnography (and of narratives of self), [as being] based on a misunderstanding of the genre in terms of what it is, what it does, and how it works in a multiplicity of contexts" (p. 222). Autoethnographies in particular, and narratives in general, both construct and reflect our constructed realities. We come to understand ourselves and others through lived experiences. Specifically "autoethnographies can encourage acts of witnessing, empathy, and connection that extend beyond the self of the author and thereby contribute to sociological understanding in ways that, among others, are self-knowing, self-respectful, self-sacrificing, and self-luminous" (Sparkes, p. 222).

Multi-layered, polyphonic narratives typify "Ethnographic Aesthetics." The interconnected relationships, underlying the theme of the entire book, are explicated in the poetry, art, text, and storytelling that form a collage of "Artful Inquiry." Congruently, autoethnography is clearly illustrated, as Ellis (1999, qtd., p. 283) describes, as "an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness. Back and forth autoethnographers gaze, first through an ethnographic wide-angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract and resist cultural interpretations" (p. 283).

The modes of expression and evaluation of social knowledge (e.g., written word, film) work the hyphen (introduced by Picart in the previous section) "Between Literature and Ethnography." Griots, according to Stoller, are West African bards who take on the social burden of words; they are the repositories of history and culture who convey the lessons of culture from generation to generation. Stoller's use of narrative and dialogue has been an attempt to maintain representational fidelity to African ways of talking social life. Congruently, Angrosino's purpose is to discuss issues that relate to the emerging craft of literary ethnography from the anthropological tradition and in light of the process of experimentation "collectively labeled 'alternative ethnography'" (p. 328). Tillmann-Healy further argues that the criteria by which we judge narrative ethnographies are different from those used to evaluate traditional science, but not deficient.

> Narrative ethnographers write for those who wish to be engaged on multiple levels: intellectually, emotionally, ethically, and aesthetically; to confront texts from their own experience; and

> to participate as coproducers of meaning. Narrative ethnographies embrace, in Denzin's terms, a "dialogical ethics of reading." (p. 340)

Reflective essays by Frank, Richardson, Goodall Jr., and Ellis and Bochner conclude the volume. Individually, they offer personal insights on the emerging dialogue and collectively these, with the other 25+ authors, "give readers a sense of the experience and feeling of the [2000] conference" (p. 391) that explored in great depth and from a variety of disciplinary perspectives the emerging patterns, issues, and contributions of (auto)ethnography.

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Bryant, Jennings, David Roskos-Ewoldsen, and **Joanne Cantor**. (Eds.). *Communication and Emotion: Essays in Honor of Dolf Zillman*. Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003. Pp. vii, 610. ISBN 0-8058-4032-X (hb.) $89.95. (Special prepaid price, $49.95).

From the heights of Aristotle and Shakespeare to the trough of pop psychology, the advice is unwavering and untiringly the same: Some variation of "bite your tongue," "wait until you've cooled down," or "count to ten." The wise person reins turbulent passion through reason. Through the prism of Dolf Zillman's "three-factor theory of emotion" and its refraction into "excitation-transfer," the old adage sounds thus:

> Responding 'emotionally' to threats of self-esteem, social status, social power, or economic standing not only tends to lack adaptive utility but also can be counterproductive and maladaptive. . . . Staying calm and collected in devising strategies for effective action would better serve their welfare and self-interest. (p. 46)

So do Bryant and Miron quote Zillman in one of the 23 essays collected here in tribute to Zillman's prolific work on communication and emotion of the last three decades (largely at Indiana University and most recently at the University of Alabama). Much of what Zillman and his followers conclude about the consequences of unrelieved emotional tension, subsequent outbursts, and the like resounds with ho-hum familiarity. For example, in persons unable to master their anger, i.e., people of "limited cognitive capacity," this deficiency "manifests as 'inability of extremely agitated and aroused persons to conceive and execute rational, effective courses of action . . .'"(p. 45). Yet the reader who takes such observations as the point of these studies or disparages at finding in this volume some new, definitive word on emotion and communication will miss the book's true riches. And these are several. First, the range of subjects investigated mirrors the impressive breadth of Zillman's research in media use and gratification. All the major promontories of the mass media—news, sports, entertainment—are explored, as are the outcroppings of violence, pornography, eroticism, and horror. Second, the high overall quality of these essays makes them a good introduction to the scope of contemporary communication research. Especially useful are the essays' literature reviews and bibliographies, which comprise a handy reference to major works in the field. The most significant aspect of the book, however, is methodological: it charts the breadth of Zillman's multidisciplinary approach.

The nexus of this approach is Zillman's continually evolving "three-factor theory of emotion"—introduced in 1978—which Zillman himself updates in the book's final essay. As Zillman notes, William James reversed "the common sense sequence that, as we encounter danger, we experience fear and then decide to run. He argued that we run first, and that then, while running, we become aware of bodily changes and experience fear" (p. 545). James' axiomatic two-step sequence of events inspired "two-factor" theories of emotion. Zillman deemed these "incomplete" for their failure to account for the initial skeletal-motor reactions involved in emotional behavior. This missing third component appears as the first factor in Zillman's three-factor theory.

Using recent discoveries in neurophysiology to true his model, Zillman argues that emotional reactions may be triggered automatically, i.e., without prior thought or reasoning. In other words, the neural circuitry that activates fight-or-flight responses bypasses the neocortex. Incorporating the discoveries of neuroscience moves communication research out of the vagueness of work based on hypothetical constructs. As useful and clever as these might be, reason, imagination, and empirical observation only go so far in penetrating communication and emotion. For example, apart from the primary emotions, fear and anger, the classification of emotions is fraught with disagreement and seems based more on semantic argument and idiosyncrasy than science.

In essence, Zillman's work is an attempt to correlate emotional behavior with corresponding physiological chemistry and brain topography. This serves as a

corrective mechanism to theoretical error. Thus Zillman's claim that emotional behavior may occur without prior deliberation is based upon recent neurophysiological research, which Zillman summarizes thus:

> The amygdala has emerged as the pivotal structure for the operation of triggers. A direct path to this structure is via the sensory thalamus. An alternative route is from the sensory thalamus through the sensory cortex to the amygdala. The direct path takes about half the processing time, allowing responses to be made prior to full awareness and contemplation of the circumstances. (p. 547)

This description figures into the first of the three factors that account for emotional behavior and how it is experienced. Zillman terms the factors "dispositional," "excitatory," and "experiential." Roughly, the first two refer to the pre-reflective, immediate motor and arousal responses induced by a stimulus. The third factor, the "experiential," refers to the conscious appraisal and synthesis of immediate experience. The "experiential" factor describes how reason and learned behavior may check inappropriate responses and also control the intensity and duration of our moods. The understanding and judgments that we pronounce upon our emotional reactions may in turn become neurologically embedded and, for better or worse, alter our "emotional preparedness for future encounters" with emotional triggers (p. 551).

Although reason serves to control and determine the appropriateness of emotional behavior, it doesn't always attribute the right cause to emotional arousal. Such "misattribution" is a central factor in accurately assessing the mass media's impact on behavior. The idea of "misattribution" figured into Zillman's early preoccupation with media violence and aggressive behavior and spawned the "three-factor theory" (and the symbiotic "excitation-transfer theory"). Misattribution occurs because there is a time lag in the decay of emotional arousal. Therefore, the residual effects of an emotion may persist long after the stimulus has disappeared. For example, after exposure to four consecutive stimuli, the residual effects of these may be "misattributed" to a fifth condition, giving rise to the "transfer of excitation."

The conclusions drawn from excitation transfer seem to be where Zillman's theorizing is least convincing. For example, he hypothesizes that a television viewer is subjected to news of a plane crash followed immediately by a report on the territorial expansion of encephalitis-spreading ticks. "Residual excitation from the initial report thus should 'artificially' enhance the affective reaction to the second report, even creating unnecessarily intense fear of the ticks" (p. 558).

Not every essay in this collection makes use of "three-factor theory," "excitation-transfer theory," or "misattribution." One of the strongest pieces is Hans-Bernd Brosius' "Exemplars in the News: A Theory of the Effects of Political Communication." Brosius examines the journalistic practice of using single individuals to typify a problem. Although vivid, such exemplars are not representative and tend to exert an undue influence on how a problem is perceived.

Another strong essay is David R. Roskos-Ewoldsen's "What is the Role of Rhetorical Questions in Persuasion?" The question is thoroughly examined through an exemplary literature review that reveals intriguing findings—for example, rhetorical questions improved learning by inducing curiosity (p. 305)—and identifies knowledge gaps, "no research has been conducted looking at the influence of personal versus impersonal rhetorical questions in a persuasion context" (p. 306).

Each chapter includes its own reference list. An author index and a subject index appear at the end of the volume.

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Dodge, Martin and **Rob Kitchin**. *Mapping Cyberspace*. London and New York: Routledge, 2001. Pp. xii, 260. ISBN 0-415-19884-4 (pb.) $36.95.

Though *Mapping Cyberspace* addresses some of the most recent sources of information, the underlying problem of visualizing information has a long history. In fact, the method it describes has existed for a number of centuries. The struggle for the spatial representation of knowledge can trace its modern history at least to early 16th century printings of the logical treatises of Tartaret and Celaya (Ong, 1958, pp. 74-83).

Mapping Cyberspace updates and surpasses these efforts, applying the spatialization of knowledge to the multiple discourses of cyberspace (the World Wide Web, Gopher space, email, IRC chats, news groups, domain names, the physical infrastructure, and so on). To make their project work, Dodge and Kitchin introduce the reader to cyberspace, geography, and cartography. Spurred on by an idea for a coffee table book of the stunning maps generated by those trying to chart the growth of the Internet, they instead developed a

treasure trove of information about those discourses that make mapping possible.

Their review of the relevant literature in Chapter 1 highlights the dichotomies that underpin our notions of cyberspace: space vs. spacelessness, place vs. placelessness, industrial vs. post-industrial, public vs. private, broadcasters vs. listeners, real vs. virtual, nature vs. technology, and fixed vs. fluid. After so situating the problem, Dodge and Kitchin turn to the "geographies of the information society" (Chap. 2) and examine social geographies; political structures; the relations among place, community, and identity; spaces of surveillance; the globalization of trade; and city planning. These in turn open onto the "geographies of cyberspace" (Chap. 3): online communities, power relations, identity, personal interaction, and so on.

The rest of the *Mapping Cyberspace* addresses the cartography. A helpful introduction to the idea of maps orients the reader but also raises key issues (data quality, user knowledge) and problems (ethics). The subsequent, richly illustrated chapters examine maps of cyberspace. The first set (in Chapter 5) illustrate the physical components of the Internet: "maps of infrastrcuture; maps of traffic; and attempts to map the temporal aspects of ICTs [information and communication technologies]" (p. 81). Here we find maps that trace the locations and growth of the Internet as well as show the various ways people have tried to illustrate the interrelationship of its parts. These form the most familiar of maps to the non-specialist since in one way or another they rest on the usual notions of physicality.

Chapter 6 moves to the analogical process of "spatializing cyberspace." These include maps that attempt to show the "topography" of the information spaces online: how does email relate to listservs? What about other kinds of information? Dodge and Kitchin review both flat and 3-dimensional maps, as cartographers attempt to include more data points for the more complex information. Chapter 7 addresses the social dimension of cyberspace presenting various maps of asynchronous space. These maps of social groups take their data from email systems, mailing lists, and news groups.

Time, however, proves a more difficult aspect to map. What should representations of synchronous social spaces include? Chapter 8 shows the reader chat rooms, MUDs, and virtual worlds, in which participants track both social location and virtual physicality.

Dodge and Kitchin conclude their work with a return to theory as they consider how people think about cyberspace. A fascinating chapter turns to fiction and the "imaginative mappings of cyberspace." Here they show how much of the thinking about cyberspace (including its very name) arose from science fiction. They plumb that fiction for additional clues as to how people shall continue to place this virtual space.

A last chapter suggests future directions for research and thinking. They suggest continuing the line begun here:

> Mapping cyberspace, as we have demonstrated, is a multifaceted project; one that consists of elements that are philosophical, theoretical, empirical, and practical. It is a project that is only partially captured by our overarching questions: What does cyberspace look like? How is cyberspace changing social relations? Will cyberspace make geography obsolete? (p. 207)

Each of these questions spawns its own set of follow-up questions, which Dodge and Kitchin spell out in a—dare we say?—"map" of future research.

This book presents an excellent overview of cyberspace and thinking about it. Its hyperlinks to mapping projects and its 25 page bibliography increase its value tremendously. The book also has an index.

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Einstein, Mara. *Media Diversity: Economics, Ownership, and the FCC*. Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. 2004. Pp ix, 249. ISBN 0-8058-4241-1 (hb.) $59.95. (Special prepaid price, $29.95).

In *Media Diversity*, Mara Einstein explores the notion of diversity identified in the title. She suggests that

> television's reliance on advertising as its primary source of revenue is the reason we have so few program choices. This economic structure inherently puts limits on program content that far outweigh anything that occurs due to media consolidation. These limits include time length for program, a "lowest common denominator" mentality because advertising perforce requires that programmer generate large audiences, and finally, programming cannot be too controversial or denigrate consumer products or their producers because they are footing the bill. (p. vii)

Chapter 1 provides an extensive overview of the U.S. regulatory tradition in the area of broadcasting.

Specifically, regulation aimed at safeguarding, and increasing, diversity of content is presented and discussed. Einstein argues that given the restrictions on government regulation imposed by the First Amendment, the FCC and Congress attempted to achieve diversity of content through outlet and source, that is, structural regulation. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of studies of media diversity, specifically diversity in television, minorities and diversity, and concentration and diversity.

Chapter 2 explores the genesis and implementation of the so-called *financial interest and syndication rules* (fin-syn) that were aimed at weakening television networks' monopoly over production and distribution of programming:

> The broadcast networks controlled the pipeline to the American viewing public. The fin-syn rules eliminated the networks' stranglehold on the industry and limited them to making money from advertising and from selling the rights to what limited programming they could still produce for a single payment. (p. 68)

Also discussed are the anti-trust investigation by the Justice Department in the 1970s and President Nixon's relationship with the media in general and with networks in particular.

Chapter 3 offers a detailed account of the demise of fin-syn rules, from its beginning in the early 1980s to their final repeal in 1995. President Reagan was instrumental in prolonging the battle that pitted networks against Hollywood producers, both independent and large studios. Technological changes, most notably the spread of cable networks, led to the fin-syn rules and prime time access rule being repealed in 1993.

Chapter 4 analyzes the structure of television industry with the focus on broadcast networks. It concludes that the major networks, despite the fact that their combined share of viewing audience fell from over 90% to around 50%, continue to exercise a dominant influence on what is being produced. Reasons for that are twofold. First, networks are the sole providers of *mass* audience. Second, as a result of industry consolidation, they are now parts of larger integrated media companies.

> Vertical integration has led to concentration, which has in turn limited the diversity in program suppliers and program outlets, at least in terms of the largest outlets. . . . This concentration of power denies access to viewpoints that communicate a different perspective of the world. ... This integrated structure makes it virtually impossible for an independent company to succeed because of exceedingly high barriers to entry. (p. 151)

Chapter 5 examines the effect of fin-syn rules on diversity, which in this instance was operationalized as diversity of genres. The author found that "it may be possible to say that fin-syn contributed to a decline in diversity, since the drop [in diversity] occurred at the same time as the rules. Similarly, the repeal of the rules led to an increase in the diversity of genres within two seasons after its repeal" (p. 176). Hand-in-hand with the increase in number of genres represented in prime-time went the concentration in the production sphere. In 1970, 20 producers, about a half of which were independents, produced approximately 67% of prime-time content. In 2002, six producers (including the four largest networks) produced approximately 82% of content.

In Chapter 6, program producers and network executives discuss the prime-time selection process. The repeal of fin-syn rules, followed by unprecedented vertical integration of electronic media, resulted in a situation where networks again have a financial interest in most programs that are being aired. Networks' gatekeeper power in many cases curtails not only business success of producers, but also their creativity.

In the concluding chapter, Einstein overviews the causes for the drop in diversity and quality of television content. They include: (1) Flawed approach to regulation. Government (society) wants to achieve greater diversity and quality, but is banned from regulating content. The history has shown that structural regulation does not achieve this policy goal. (2) Proliferation of outlets stretches the available production talent too thinly. (3) All broadcast media depend on advertising as primary source of income. This dependence has direct effect on the kind of content that will be produced and shown.

The author concludes:

> What is needed is a new definition of diversity—or perhaps even a new policy goal since diversity is so ambiguous. What is also needed is a space within the media marketplace that is insulated from advertising and its accompanying need to produce large, homogeneous audiences. It is only in this way that we will be able to have content that serves multiple audiences, and puts public interest over profit motive. (p. 226)

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Elasmar, Michael G. (Ed.). *The Impact of International Television: A Paradigm Shift*. Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003. Pp. x, 213. ISBN 0-8058-4219-5 (hb.) $49.95; 0-8058-4220-9 (pb.) $25.00

The argument of this book is one that has been around for more than 20 years: that the claims of Cultural Imperialism about the dangerous impacts of foreign television has no basis in empirical evidence for audience effects. This was first raised by a critical researcher himself in 1981 when Fred Fejes suggested that media imperialism had no evidence about audience impacts.

The present book under the editorship of Michael Elasmar of Boston University seeks to bring together what evidence there is on audience effects of watching foreign programs. The conclusion of Elasmar (who authors or co-authors four of the 10 chapters) is that there are still few studies of audience effects and that evidence does not account for much of the variance even though the 28 studies almost all showed some impact on audiences. The centerpiece of the argument is a meta-analysis in Chapter 8 of these 28 studies. Although one might argue with some of the technical assumptions of the analysis, the work does help to clarify the continuing lack of good studies of audience effects of watching foreign (often American) programs.

The question to be asked is why this dearth continues decades after the challenge by Fejes. This question, regrettably, the book does not answer. Two responses are possible: first and most importantly, there is no simple answer about media effects anywhere, even on much studied topics like U.S. children's exposure to violent television, and certainly not in a complicated area like the viewing of foreign programs; and second, the issue of cultural imperialism though far from dead in many peoples' minds has moved out of the policy limelight these days and has few scholars devoting time and effort to the topic.

Even with this critique, there is still much to be learned from this book. Elasmar has focused his attention on a central failing of the media/cultural imperialism argument: what about the audience in this whole debate? There are six chapters reporting new data or summarizing older studies done by the authors. Of these, the one by Joseph Straubhaar is by far the strongest. What Straubhaar does is to summarize much of his previous work on the pattern of choice of Latin American audiences toward those programs that are either national or Latin American in origin over those from outside the region (primarily from the U.S.). Moreover, he develops a much more sophisticated analysis of why audiences choose local programming. He begins with the obvious issue of language as a filter for audiences in choosing programs, arguing that even with dubbing, American programs are not as close to audience language, experience, and culture (cultural proximity is the phrase that captures this). But he adds to this these elements—the impact of family, religion, schooling, personal networks, and travel—to argue for a complex mix of factors that directs audience choices toward more familiar programs from national and regional sources. He adds to these culturally unifying factors the important notion of class and its attendant distinctions in cultural capital that different segments of society bring to program choice. Yet he does not take a simple individual audience member approach but recognizes the structural realities of international television distribution and scheduling, including the showing of many Hollywood films on television. Finally, he uses a series of in-depth interviews among a variety of Brazilian audience members to define the variety of choices that different class members make regarding local, regional, and global programming. Not surprisingly, it is the middle and elite classes who tend to participate more in global programming because their cultural capital (education, income, employment, travel) allows them more contact with the world beyond national borders and national culture.

The chapter by Alex Tan and colleagues shows a sophisticated analysis of different theories that may be appropriate to the study of television impacts of foreign programs, but in reporting his own studies among different national audiences, he comes to a conclusion that is a theme throughout the book: the process of influence by television is more complex than cultural imperialists thought. This is echoed by many of the other authors because their studies have run into the same complications that the television violence studies experienced in this country in the 1970s. We may be convinced that there is an effect, but to demonstrate it convincingly is not easy. When we consider that many of the studies reported in the book were poorly funded and were done under difficult field conditions, it is not surprising that better data were not gathered. The conclusion of these studies is that the cultural imperialists overstated the simple connection between foreign program presence and a number of negative consequences for audiences.

The final chapters of the book report the meta-analysis that shows that there are small impacts on audiences but consistently indicating some consequence of watching foreign programs. Elasmar and Hunter correctly observe that none of the 28 studies that corresponded to the requirements of the quantitative measures indicated an overwhelming impact and that very little of the variance in the dependent measures could be accounted for by exposure to foreign programs.

In the final two chapters, Elasmar gives his version of an approach that would provide a final answer to the question along with recommendations in the final chapter of how such a paradigm study might be implemented. The contents here seem to be reasonably coherent but the paradigm outlined may illustrate how complicated a task is at hand. And the question to be asked is, if it could be carried out, would it allay the cultural concerns of people in other countries? I think not. The issue that surrounds the question of cultural imperialism is one of power and not of individual change. As long as there is a feeling that American culture represents at least a threat to someone's culture, language, values, or identity, then there will continue to be critics of influence of that culture.

This book takes up a challenge from more than two decades ago and examines the evidence for claims that are still around though dressed in different language. It brings together that evidence and identifies the complexity of the process of media influence. The challenge to rectify this lack will depend on moving the audience issue back into the public policy limelight.

Each chapter has its own reference list/bibliography. The editors provide both an author and a subject index for the whole volume.

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Frey, Lawrence R. (Ed.). *Group Communication in Context: Studies of Bona Fide Groups.* (2nd ed.) Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003. Pp. v, 446. ISBN 0-8058-3149-5 (hb.) $99.95; 0-8058-3150-9 (pb.) $45.00.

Working in groups is an inevitable event in our lives; however, many may not take into consideration the various internal and external intricacies of small groups. In this second edition, Frey's editorial work captures the essence of small groups and represents a collection of research studies that involve bona fide groups. Originally identified by Putnam and Stolh (1990), bona fide groups are defined as demonstrating "two important and interrelated characteristics: stable yet permeable group boundaries and interdependence with their relevant contexts" (Frey, p. 4). Bona fide group research challenges the traditional "container" notion of examining groups (which may or may not be within natural settings) and examines groups whose "external environments and internal group processes are intrinsically and intricately related" (p. 7). Thus, bona fide groups reflect a both/and perspective whereby external and internal contexts interdependently affect the group and cannot be studied in isolation.

Frey's text is divided into six parts (in addition to an introduction by Frey and an epilogue by Stohl and Putnam), which range in contexts from familial groups and boundaries to mediated electronic groups. The positioning and ordering of the text carefully lays out for the reader a micro-to-macro approach of understanding bona fide groups. A distinguishing contribution of the studies is that many are collaborative efforts where scholars and practitioners are actual members of the groups themselves, thus providing credence to the notion of bona fide groups in natural settings. In addition, the variety of theories, methodologies, and analyses in these studies provides an eclectic approach to study bona fide groups. Regardless of one's own philosophical grounding, this text offers a fresh and engaging approach to understanding groups.

Two chapters, which make up Part I, "Tales from the Home and Hood: Managing Group Boundaries and Borders," examine important groups in which individuals can directly relate: families and neighborhoods. In Chapter 1, Petronio, Jones, and Morr look at privacy dilemmas family members face and how their individual and shared boundaries affect decisions regarding the management of privacy issues within the family. They studied privacy issues through a thematic analytic technique based on questionnaire responses from family members. In the second chapter, Buchalter examines a neighborhood in Queen Village from a case study perspective (which includes longitudinal interviews). She examines how "the definition of a neighborhood is challenged and negotiated" (p. 59) by its members and concludes that everyday interactions and spatial relationships dramatically affect how individuals understand themselves and their environment.

Part II of the text, "Community Groups: Engaging in Group Decision Making, Deliberation, and Development" highlights two research studies with

specific communities. Although most group research emphasizes how the past, present, and future affect group decisions, these two chapters reveal the magnitude of how these factors influence and develop a community. Grounded in Bormann's rhetorical vision and structuration perspectives, Howell, Brock, and Hauser (in Chapter 3) explore the process of how individuals come together to create a youth community group and overcome the challenges of redeveloping the city of Detroit. As Howell et al. state, "all shared a belief that cities could no longer look to big business or big government to solve their problems; community members had to develop their own solutions" (p. 87). Thus, individuals made up of youth, community activists, and others formed an emergent group who because of vested personal interest, identification with, and commitment to rebuilding communities, created Detroit Summer (a multicultural youth program).

In Chapter 4, Tracy and Standerfer focus on the dialogue of several school board meetings in the process, deliberations, and selection of a superintendent. The research identifies how a group (in this instance, a school board) constructs and re-constructs its identity and boundaries throughout various deliberative processes. The chapter emphasizes the importance of how the group history shapes current and future decisions via not only decision-making, but rather deliberative functions.

Chapters 5 and 6 make up Part III of the text, "Groups Confronting Crisis: Contextual Effects on Group Communication," which explore circumstances that are rare, yet sometimes have the most devastating consequences for groups, crisis situations.

Houston, in Chapter 5, examines the timeline and circumstances regarding the 1996 Mt. Everest tragedy via structuration and bona fide group perspectives. Houston puts it best by stating "although the successful scaling of a mountain may depend on an individual climber's skills and expertise, in crisis situations, the permeability of group boundaries and effective intragroup and intergroup communication are critical to survival" (p. 154).

In Chapter 6, Yep, Reese, and Hegron focus on a "closed" support group of Asian-Americans living with HIV infection. Closed group meeting notes, exchanges between group members, clinical observations, and explanations of interventions became the data for thematic content analyses. This research sheds light on how culture and stigma operate within and affect the internal communication of the Asian-American HIV/AIDS support group. Yep et al. conclude by stating that regardless of the "closed" nature of a group, the group is interdependent with and influenced by various contexts; thus, it is never "closed."

Part IV, "Cooperatives and Collaborations: Communicating Amidst Multiple Identities, Boundaries, and Constituents" consists of three chapters and reflects organizational groups that are inherently made up of parties at all levels with vested interests. Oetzel and Robbins, in Chapter 7, examine how the organizational structure for a cooperative supermarket shape the identities within its hierarchical structure. With a top-down structure, the cooperative promotes autonomy of groups, thus a variety of identities exist. Although the organization thrives economically, the dialectical nature of cooperatives and paradoxes of employees create multiple identities that can shape and change the organizational principles as well as inhibit effective communication between units of the organization. The future challenge of cooperatives is to find a balance between economic and social concerns in order to create more interdependence and coordination among organizational units.

In Chapter 8, Lange's research involves the communication surrounding environmental collaborations, specifically with a case study of the Applegate Partnership. Through interviews, co-facilitation of meetings, and examination of written materials, Lange unfolds the many challenges of this collaboration which include but are not limited to "power, labor-management negotiations, intraconstituency disagreements, public interest groups concerns of environmental issues… Through the challenges, however, the Partnership was successful in accomplishing its goals; both instrumental and relational goals through what Lange calls "transformative dispute resolution" (p. 227).

Finally, Keyton and Stallworth, in Chapter 9 study the collaboration of a Drug Dealer Eviction Program made up of rental owners, law enforcement officials, and organized neighborhood communities, among others, whose purpose was to remove drug dealers from rental properties. Keyton and Stallworth argue that collaborations "are unique in that participants are already members of other organizations that are aware of problems in their environment" (p. 237). Through multi-method data collection, communication and group processes were examined. The authors conclude that unless all parties have agree-upon objectives and shared decision-making, a collaborative cannot be suc-

cessful. “A collaborative’s outcomes are inextricably linked to its interaction processes” (p. 259).

In order to understand the dynamics of bona fide groups whose boundaries and borders go beyond geographical contexts, Part V of Frey’s text is entitled “Global Groups: Interfacing the Macro and the Micro” and includes two chapters. In Frey’s words, “the interdependence and interaction of groups at the global level offers opportunities to understand how macro-level contexts influence micro-level group practices and products” (p. 13).

In chapter 10, Sherlblom looks at international business consulting teams and their communication processes by examining the boundary and context influences on team recommendations. Through focus groups, questionnaires, written reports, and team project notes, Sherlblom identified several contexts of the teams (i.e., culture and language differences, isolation by corporate sponsors, working with subteams in different countries, access to technology) as well as additional contexts of political, economical, and technological infrastructures in various countries, and consumer analyses that affected the team’s decision making, communication, and recommendations.

Chapter 11 centers on a case in Poland during the transformation from a communist country to a democracy (p. 293). Parrish-Sprowl, as a participant observer, examined Eco-S, a newly formed recycling company via macro and micro structures that shaped the company’s communication and decisions. Parrish-Sprowl concludes that “the dramatic events in Poland provide a historically unique opportunity to understand how changes at the macro level influence and, in turn are influenced by changes at the micro level—in this case, in the groups that helped forge those changes” (p. 304). Thus, as demonstrated in these two chapters, the study of bona fide group dynamics is critical in understanding international issues as they are multi-faceted in their macro/micro boundaries and borders.

Even when individuals are alone at their computers, they are really never in isolation. The last part of the text is Part VI, “Mediated Groups: Negotiating Communication and Relationships Electronically” and includes three chapters focusing on online communication groups. In Chapter 12, Alexander, Peterson, and Hollingshead examine the communication among Internet support groups through qualitative and quantitative methods. They focus on four different types of support groups and how the group membership, intragroup and external (i.e., referrals, links to other sites …) communication influences the group process. They conclude by stating “members of the Internet support groups give and receive social support and that these groups can and do develop a strong sense of group identity” (p. 330).

Krikorian and Kiyomiya, in Chapter 13, apply the bona fide group perspective to online discussion newsgroups. By examining actual newsgroups and providing data on how online groups communicate, they develop a model of bona fide newsgroups. In addition, they also extend their model with the self-organizing systems theory and show how the two perspectives can be studied with various online groups.

In chapter 14, Meier describes what could be referred to as “what you see is only part of what you get” in terms of group processes and communication. Meier examines a German company and its “groupness” via videoconference meetings by focusing on the interactions of the meeting participants. Conclusions indicate that several verbal and nonverbal factors (including technological features) do impact groupness in business meetings and that a bona fide group perspective provides a unique way to study spatially distributed work groups.

Finally, Stohl and Putnam provide an epilogue that includes the state of bona fide group research, a critique of group communication research, and suggestions for future research. They conclude by stating that “this volume demonstrates both the viability and the potential for a bona fide group perspective” (p. 413).

Overall, Frey’s text engages the reader to want to know more about, or conduct one’s own study, via the bona fide group perspective. The applicability of this text is useful for educators, medical practitioners, and corporate managers, among others, who are interested in understanding how the internal and external contexts impact and affect all facets of group decision-making. The text is also excellent for students, as it not only identifies the variety of small group contexts, but also demonstrates a variety and an equal balance of methodological approaches to studying group communication; it is an exemplar survey of bona fide group research.

The text also contains a table of contents, an extensive list of references following each chapter, a brief description of each of the authors, an author index, and a subject index.

—Donna R. Pawlowski
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Greene, John O. and **Brant R. Burleson**. (Eds.), *Handbook of Communication and Social Interaction Skills*. Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003. Pp. xvi, 1048. ISBN 0-8058-3417-6 (hb.) $195.00; 0-8058-3418-4 (pb.) $75.00

Communication has always claimed to be a practical discipline, concerned with the *how*, as well as the *why*, of message sending and receiving. Communication students and scholars alike are continually intrigued and challenged with identifying specific skills to help them communicate more successfully, with a variety of people, on myriad topics, in different contexts, and across many types of relationships. Morreale, Spitzberg, and Barge (2001) argue that most of us in the discipline, in fact, find ourselves feeling like we are still enrolled in a beginner's class in relationships—at least some of the time. The daunting task of usefully illuminating empirically supported strategies for developing new social skills is met at multiple levels by Greene and Burleson's *Handbook of Communication and Social Interaction Skills* (2003).

Excellent texts that highlight interpersonal *skills* typically aim at two goals: to offer an overview of the field of interpersonal communication and, then, to help the reader build and enact new interpersonal skills (i.e., DeVito, 2003, offering an emphasis on skill building, listening, cultural sensitivity, empowerment skills to increase relational effectiveness, and presentation skills; see also Lynch, 1995; Verderber & Verderber, 2004). Building on communication constructs and theory, such books are directed at undergraduate students. Offering a significantly more comprehensive and in depth description of theory, up-to-date research findings, and social interaction skills (954 pages of text, 37 cross-disciplinary contributors, and 24 chapters), Greene and Burleson's new handbook is directed at the *teaching-scholar* (yet retains a surprising accessibility for students and laypersons). At the same time, the editors assembled contributions that would be of specific value for clinicians, therapists, educators, and trainers.

One of the strengths of this book is its cross-disciplinary scholarly talent: authors are preeminent researchers, not only from communication, but from social psychology, family studies, business management, and health care, to name a few. The handbook chapters are organized into five units: (a) theoretical/methodological issues (communication competence, skill acquisition, assessment, and training), (b) interaction skills (nonverbal, conversation, message production, message reception, and impression management), (c) function-focused skills (informing and explaining, arguing, persuasion, conflict, emotional support, and narrative), (d) skills in close relationships (friendship across the life-span, romance, couples, parenting), and (e) skills in public and professional contexts (negotiation, group decision making, pedagogy, health care, and intercultural communication competence).

Contributors were all challenged by the editors to address core questions about what it means to be skilled in a particular context, the practical significance of possessing a communication skill, the consequences of low skills in an area, methodological issues encountered in assessing skills, the manner in which individual-difference variables affect skills, and the implications for training and development.

Distinctive features of this handbook include up-to-date reviews of research in each area, emphasis on empirically-supported strategies for both developing and enhancing skills, and broad treatment of multiple relationships across the lifespan. At the same time, as the editors admit, there are important communication skill domains that were not represented in the chapters, such as computer-mediated communication, listening, social perception, and presentational skills.

At the same time, however, this handbook foregrounds skills topics that have been neglected by communication and relational scholars. Childhood social skills has been little-investigated by communication scholars, even as children and adolescents suffer social exclusion, ineffective peer group entry attempts, teasing, bullying, and increasing aggression from angry outsiders (Sunwolf & Leets, 2003). The chapter by Hart, Newell, and Olsen takes on social-communicative competence in childhood, offering an original in-depth discussion of relevant research from molecular genetics, behavioral genetics, physiology, and temperament that will enhance the understanding of ineffective communication in childhood for interested scholars.

A number of other excellent under-represented topics are covered, for example: (1) Distressed emotional states (anger, fear, anxiety, sadness, shame, hurt) and the gap between what messages receivers are needing and senders are actually sending is taken on in Burleson's chapter on emotional support skills; a particularly useful discussion of the paradigms in research in this area includes the naturalistic paradigm, interaction analysis, message perception paradigm, as well as the experimental paradigm. An excellent model of emotional support as communication is offered, including a discussion of less well-known model/theories

(e.g., optimal matching model, sensitive interactions system theory, and theory of conversationally induced reappraisals).

(2) A unique perspective on "narrative" as skill is offered by Mandelbaum (How to "Do Things" with Narrative), significantly expanding typical approaches to narrative as a communication methodology, to argue through research findings that narrative is, in fact, a communication skill; particularly well-discussed is the neglected topic of joking and laughter in everyday talk and the bipartite nature of storytelling as shared communication. (3) Samter's unfolding of friendship interaction skills across the life span fills important gaps in two understudied directions (childhood and older adulthood); the chapter's organization includes friendship activities, gender differences, conflicts, and pragmatic competencies in every age grouping. Finally, (4) the creative examination of impression management strategies and skills by Metts and Grohskopf not only maps the concepts in useful frameworks, but usefully connects situated social identity (facework and politeness theories) with a dynamic model of impression management metagoals.

The attention contributors gave to future directions will be particularly useful to scholars and graduate students interested in pursuing new directions in research that focus on useful relational skills and build on what we already know. Rowan, for example, expands informing and explaining skills by concepts such as transformative explanations and typological theory, with suggestions for work in mass media science news, web pages, and communication in university classrooms. Hample turns "arguing skills" on its head by effectively focusing on the *experience* of the process of arguing, with exciting claims about arguing well and arguing badly. Moving persuasion as a communication skill in exciting new ways, Dillard and Marshall set out agendas that suggest new ways to explore relational implications of person-to-person influence, acknowledging the effects of mood and anxiety on the skills needed.

Taken as a whole, this handbook describes clear summaries of programmatic research, useful conceptual models for making sense of prior findings, and practical directions for communication skill training in the real world. Beyond accomplishing a work that is both scholarly and practical, one major value of Greene and Burleson's handbook is the consistent thoughtfulness with which these impressive contributors engaged in forward skills-thinking, suggesting the stage for future scholarship and pedagogy in social skills research. Our interpersonal relationships are continually created, sustained, repaired, and changed by the skills with which we succeed or fail in sending or interpreting social messages. Readers of this handbook will find that their abilities to understand, teach, and personally enact new relational communication skills will be provoked, enriched, and challenged.

Each chapter has its own reference list; the book provides both a subject and author index covering all the chapters.

—Sunwolf
Santa Clara University

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Gurak, Laura J., and **Mary M. Lay** (Eds.). *Research in Technical Communication*. Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2002. Pp. xi, 266. ISBN 1-56750-665-8 (hb.) $64.95 (Telephone orders: 1-800-225-5800).

"Technical communication," as described in the introduction, is a rich and broadly-conceived field that "covers events as diverse as organizational issues, Internet and online communication, technical writing, gender and political studies, and so on." A unifying common element "is an interest in the relationship between applied areas—in particular, sciences and technologies—and the ways in which language is used to convey, construct, and communicate those areas." This book focuses on "methods and perspectives one can bring to the study of technical communication." Its 12 chapters fall into two categories: "foundational research methods and issues," in the first six chapters, and "perspectives on applying and contextualizing one's research" in the remainder (p. vii).

Chapter 1, the editors say, is "a good starting place for the book," since it "addresses the ethical issues one must face when conducting research"—a concern "lacking in technical communication studies," but one that "is important in an age when all human subject research is under an increasingly tight spotlight" (p. vii).

In discussing ethical issues, in Chapter 1, the authors—Lee-Ann Kastman Breuch, Andrea M. Olson, and Andrea Breemer Frantz—stress the importance of "a reflexive attitude that encourages self-criticism of research conduct," particularly as that conduct impacts audiences (p. 2). Five issues are held to be "especially important for ethically conducting research in technical communication. They are consent of participants, confidentiality, avoiding manipulation of data, reliability and validity of research methods, and the role of the researcher" (p. 5).

Susan M. Katz describes the importance and value of ethnographic methods that achieve "a level of detail that is not otherwise available." But she emphasizes that they are demanding of "a great deal of time... patience...and a great deal of faith that order will arise out of the chaos" (p. 23).

Chapters 3 through 6 consider, respectively, "analyzing everyday text in organizational settings," historical methods, surveys and questionnaires, and "experimental and quasi-experimental research."

The remaining six chapters "discuss applying and contextualizing one's research within certain critical perspectives," according to the editors (p. ix). Those perspectives are "identifying and accommodating audiences" (Chapter 7), "the means and uses of usability research" (Chapter 8), the connection between feminist research and technical communication research (Chapter 9), cultural studies (Chapter 10), research methods from science and technology as a framework for the study of technical writing (Chapter 11), and (in Chapter 12) how research in ethnography, rhetorical analysis and survey research "are changed and complicated when conducted over the Internet" (p. xi).

An index and biographical sketches of contributors are provided. References follow each chapter.

— W. E. Biernatzki, S.J.

Hartnett, Stephen John. *Incarceration Nation: Investigative Prison Poems of Hope and Terror*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003. Pp. xiii, 181. ISBN 0-7591-0419-0 (hb.) $65.00; 0-7591-0420-4 (pb.) $24.95.

This book is the first in a series, "Crossroads in Qualitative Inquiry," edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (p. ix).

Hartnett writes from his experience "of 12 years of writing about and protesting at prisons, and nine years of teaching college in Indiana and California prisons" (p. xi). It is an undisguised argument for prison reform and against the death penalty, which is, at the same time an effort to present in the form of poetry statements about prison life and conditions in the United States that have value as empiriical findings of qualitative research. He regards the "prison-industrial complex" as "one of our most serious threats" to seeing America, in the tradition of Walt Whitman, "as the world's best and most radical experiment in democracy, ...even when that experiment is botched in many ways—as are addressed here in relentlessly painful detail" (p. 1).

The author's choice of poetry to express research findings is certainly unusual. He justifies it as follows:

> Whereas many activists and scholars have made this argument in prose, I pursue it via poems that are laden with research, hence merging the evidence-gathering force of scholarship with the emotion-producing force of poetry. In doing so, I hope to inhabit the cosmic (and of course slightly crazy) bird's eye view that makes Whitman's poems so maddening, sometimes funny, and often miracouously insightful regarding what is best and worst about America (pp. 1-2).

He introduces the mostly-in-poetry body of the book with a 24-page prose "Introduction: A Reader's Guide to Investigative Prison Poetry," to explain his approach. He admits that many have found his investigative poems difficult to understand, in large part "because they so actively refuse to fit into traditional genres of textual production" (p. 2). Some poets criticize them as "not poetic enough and too information-heavy," while scholars find them "emotionally charged and politically savvy while not understanding the need to convey it in poetic form." Some activists disliked the stress on "mutual reciprocity of obligations for both oppression and liberation"—not one-sided enough for effective muckraking (p. 2). He notes that most of the objections center on genre: "Is it poetry?" (p. 3).

Subsections of the Introduction are ended with selections from poems written by prisoners. It also includes discussions of the work of John Dos Passos, Carolyn Forché, and Peter Dale Scott "as models of how to merge historical materials, political analysis,

investigative muckraking, self- exploration, and poetry . . ." (p. 23).

The poems by Hartnett himself form the main part of the book. They are sprinkled with factual information, including statistics about the horrors of the "prison-industrial complex," foreign and domestic, as well as the governmental and social structures that make and keep it what it is. There are ample notes citing sources of quotations and factual information, but no index.

—WEB

Powell, Larry, and **Joseph Cowart**. *Political Campaign Communication: Inside and Out.* Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc., 2003. Pp. x, 310. ISBN 0-205-31843-6 (pb.) $45.80.

Is it political communication, or political communications?

Your response to that, Powell and Cowart say, may depend on your perspective, either from the academic study of political communication, or the professional activities of political consultants. While the academic community may refer to it as a single academic discipline "to represent a holistic process" (p. 5), political consultants use the plural to refer to the numerous messages used by a campaign. This semantic distinction represents the larger issue of potential misunderstandings between academics and professionals regarding political campaigns, and this book bridges the gap between the two groups as well as their perspectives.

The approach taken by Powell and Cowart is unique when compared to other books on political campaigns and communication. They provide perspectives on political campaigns from inside the campaign from the point of view of a political consultant (Cowart), and from outside as an observer or researcher (Powell is on the faculty at the University of Alabama at Birmingham). The issues raised are considered not only from the practical perspective of a political consultant, but also the scholarly perspective of a researcher. Of consultants and scholars, they say "neither will reach full productivity until they understand each other" (p. 5)

The book is informative not only for people who may be interested in studying or working on political campaigns, but also voters who want to understand campaign strategy, in order to answer the question "why do they (campaigns) do what they do?" The inside view of the campaign, and the outside observer and researchers' view, are both necessary to "make the average citizen a more informed voter" (p. 278).

The book is composed of 15 chapters and is organized into three sections: political communication issues, the campaign team, and campaign concerns. Powell and Cowart review conceptualizations of political communication in Chapter 1, and define it themselves as "the study of the communication processes that contribute to the exchange of ideas in the democratic political process" (p. 16). The breadth of subjects reviewed reflects this broad conceptualization, as the book reviews issues and research in all aspects of campaign communication. For example, advertising in different media, online campaigns, public opinion polls, campaign speeches, political debates, news media coverage, campaign spending and fund raising are just a few of the subjects of or within chapters. Presidential campaigns are the primary focus in examples, but a number of state level races are used to demonstrate the issues surrounding political campaigns as well.

Considering the dual nature of the book, the research and theory is presented in readable summaries that would be useful for a political consultant to review, without having to be immersed in numerous scholarly journal articles. A thorough bibliography at the end of the book can be utilized to track down specific studies.

The political communication scholar will find a number of relevant theories briefly presented in the book. While one chapter is dedicated solely to media theory, research related to theory is woven into each chapter. This approach clarifies the relevance of research to specific aspect of political campaigns, supporting the "inside and outside" approach Powell and Cowart take.

Each chapter includes interviews with political consultants on a topic covered in the respective chapter, and also concludes with "Questions for Discussion" that would be appropriate for stirring discussions in college classrooms or other interested groups. For example, the concluding chapter addresses "Ethical Questions in Political Communication," and its "Questions for Discussion" provide ethical scenarios and raise questions to the reader how he or she would deal with the problem. A substantial bibliography (pp. 280-300), and index (pp. 301-310) conclude the book.

—Joan Conners
Randolph-Macon College

Price, Monroe E. and **Stefaan G. Verhulst** (Eds.). *Parental Control of Television Broadcasting*. Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002,

Pp. xxv, 314. ISBN 0-8058-2974-4 (hb.) $74.95; 0-8058-3902-X (pb.) $34.50.

The protection of minors from exposure to content that might harm them has been an important social concern worldwide, with debate often centering on the balance between broadcaster and parent responsibility. Price and Verhulst note that broadcasting policy deliberations in the 1990s focused increasingly on the development of rating systems or other tools that would increase parents' ability to control the media environment within their homes.

In 1997, as a guide for future policy in the European Union, the European Parliament mandated an investigation of measures that would facilitate parental or guardian control over television programs that minors might watch. Included in that investigation was an analysis of the various types of technical devices available to assist parental control of television broadcasting and the types of rating systems for content that could be used together with the technical devices or on their own. In addition, the inquiry examined other efforts to increase media literacy within families and throughout the society. This volume summarizes the results of the investigation initiated by the European Parliament. It takes into account not only the views of parents but also broadcasters, producers, educators, media specialists, and other relevant parties across the European Union. Drawing upon data generated from the individual countries, the book provides historical insights into broadcasting systems and regulation, as well an analysis of current ratings systems in practice by the European Union Member States. In line with the objective of guiding policy in the future, the authors also offer recommendations.

The book's introduction situates the problem of protecting the child viewer from potentially harmful programming within the more complex multi-channel, multi-set household, in a broadcasting system that is moving from analogue to digital. Also provided in the introduction is a summary of the main conclusions reached in the study, including its recommendations.

Following this substantial introduction, the book is divided into three main parts. The first part, "Technical Devices and Rating Systems," provides a comprehensive examination of technical devices that can block or filter content and the specifications of the rating systems that would accompany them. It lays out the factors that can affect the choice of a technical device, such as the transition from an analogue to a digital broadcasting system, and compares and contrasts the technical characteristics of different devices. Examples from different European countries are provided.

Part II, "Ratings Systems: Comparative Country Analysis and Recommendations," provides a typology of the rating systems that have been in use across Europe (developed as "stand alone" systems, not to interface with a given technical device as discussed in Part I). The comparison across countries shows how the ratings systems developed are a product of each country's internal media history and are further shaped by its social and political circumstances. This can lead to differences in who administers the rating system (state, industry, third party), the nature of the methodology followed in coming up with a rating, and what kind of information is provided the viewer about the program (e.g., descriptive or evaluative). Additionally, in this section, the authors discuss the variability of rating systems across media. It concludes with recommendations about the types of rating systems that are most likely to be effective for families across different countries in the future.

The third part, "Family Viewing Alternatives: Economic Justifications, Social Efficiency, and Educational Support," addresses three other issues connected with the development of policy around the parental control of broadcasting content. First, from an economic point of view, are there efficiency or equity concerns about the type of information or services available to consumers? Are some groups in society disadvantaged in terms of their access to information about program content or their ability to act on that information, and if so, what types of regulations are most helpful to these groups? Second, what is currently known about the efficacy of the rating systems in place to date? Research from different European countries and the U.S. is reviewed here. Third, this section considers what types of public education campaigns are desirable or necessary for rating systems to reach their potential. Included are information programs implemented by broadcasters or non-profit organizations, those aimed at parents and those conducted within educational institutions, and specific efforts initiated within Member States.

Finally, the volume contains two lengthy annexes (appendices). The first annex (pp. 133-238) provides more detailed descriptions of individual Member States' rating systems for cinema, video, TV, and the Internet. The second annex (pp. 239-281) provides the specific objectives of the study as mandated by Article 22b of the *Television Without Frontiers Directive* of the

European Parliament and Council in 1997, the list of persons/groups contacted about the study, the references consulted, and more details about the methodology of the project. The book concludes with an author and subject index.

—Christine M. Bachen
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Reichert, Tom and **Jacqueline Lambiase** (Eds.). *Sex in Advertising: Perspectives on the Erotic Appeal.* Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003. Pp. xii, 294. ISBN 0-8058-4117-2 (hb.) $65.00; 0-8058-4118-0 (pb.) $29.95.

This review might catch even more attention if the word "sex" appeared in a font much larger than the other title words. As if a play on its content, the cover of this book displays the word "SEX" in two-inch letters above the half-inch "in advertising." The undercurrent of this book is indeed the platitude that "sex sells," but its coverage of the material is far-reaching and insightful.

This edited volume is a comprehensive collection of essays that approaches sex in advertising from a variety of disciplines. The book is organized in five parts: Research Approaches to Sex in Advertising, Consumer Responses to Sex in Advertising, Cultural Impact and Interpretation, Contexts and Audiences, and a Conclusion with a synthesis chapter written by the editors that identifies areas for future research.

The organizing principle of this volume is that research into sex in advertising is rich and diverse, and that research is often fragmented by missed opportunities to reach across disciplinary lines. As the editorss put it,

> Because scholars from both the sciences and humanities have been discussing sexual appeals inside disciplinary boundaries, this collection allows dialogue to occur across those boundaries to create synergy among these varied perspectives. (pp. 3-4)

Sex in advertising research is as varied as sexual appeals themselves. The contributors represent the disciplines of Journalism, Marketing, Business, English, and Communication. The volume addresses qualitative, quantitative, and definitional issues (p. xi).

Section I provides an overview of the scope of research involving sexual appeals. It is here that the breadth of research becomes evident. Reichert lays out the foundation of social scientific research through a comprehensive identification of major types of sexual content in advertising. Juliann Sivulka provides a history of research into sexual appeals, and Jonathan Schroeder and Janet Borgerson draw on the use of fetish in two Absolut Vodka print advertisements as a tool for analyzing visual consumption. These three chapters lay out the foundations, history, and power of visual imagery of sex in advertising.

Not only do the essays represent theoretical points of view, some also provide considerations for practitioners. Section II of the collection lays out four chapters on the responses to sexual advertising. For example, Michael LaTour and Tony Henthorne suggest, among other findings, that mild sexual appeals seem to be viewed as appropriate, whereas receivers may view more explicit images as inappropriate. As the authors put it, "It is clear that there is a difference between what is considered 'sexy' and what is considered 'sexist' in the present moral and cultural environment" (p. 103).

Collin Brooke introduces the notion of "sex as a subset … of what [he] would call *spectacle advertising"* (p. 137). His definition of advertisement asserts that advertisers compete for the consumer's attention just as companies compete for their money. The relentless pursuit of attention can wear an audience out thus resulting in acquiescence; hence his chapter on "Sex(haustion)."

Section III presents chapters on sexual imagery and its relationship to culture. James Twitchell examines the impact of Adcult and gender (reprinted from his 1996 *Adcult*) and Wilson Bryan Key proposes that there are serious socio-cultural impacts of years of subliminal sexual imagery and sexual embeds in advertising. His chapter provides examples and images from some of his influential work in subliminal advertising. Jean Kilbourne explains the disconnection that sex in advertising creates: "Sex in advertising has far more to do with trivializing sex than promoting it, with narcissism than with promiscuity, with consuming than with connecting" (p. 174).

Section IV extends general cultural responses to sex to examine specific contexts within which sexual advertisings exists. Barbara Stern examines the evolution of masculinism; Gary Hicks describes (and provides numerous visual examples of) contemporary homoerotic appeals; and Lambiase sets the tone for research on sex in advertising on the Internet.

The work of Reichert and Lambiase is ambitious. Like the topic of sex itself, working with sexual appeals as one's unit of analysis can be misunderstood, rejected, or simply ignored. This volume represents

great strides toward drawing together disparate research interests. Where appropriate, some articles include photographs. This book has separate subject and author indexes.

—Pete Bicak
Rockhurst University

Sturken, Marita, and **Lisa Cartwright.** *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. 385. ISBN 0-19-874271-1 (pb) $37.95.

Practices of Looking, as the cover suggests, provides a clear introduction to visual culture by bringing an interdisciplinary approach to evaluating the images that surround us in popular culture. Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright thoroughly examine how the theories and practice of art, design, advertising, mass communication, and psychology can decode the forms and content of images used in contemporary media.

These theories and concepts are illustrated by concise text coupled with relevant illustrations. With over 175 illustrations, *Practices of Looking* contains a lucid visual example of nearly every concept in the book.

Nine chapters on topics such as the evolution of "the gaze," consumer culture, and the impact of scientific images lead the reader through a comprehensive overview of visual culture. Theories are presented in historical, cultural, and critical contexts for the reader to absorb. The sheer range of topics and theories covered in the text should prove useful to any instructor looking to enhance the quality of critique and/or discussion in a relevant course.

A few chapters are of particular interest for design educators. Chapter 4, Reproduction and Visual Technologies, includes several examples of recontextualization of images through both reproduction and manipulation. Design students rejoice in their newfound ability to use software to create photorealistic fiction—and a good dose of critical thought in this arena would be a welcome addition to a design curriculum.

Chapter 6, Consumer Culture and the Manufacturing of Desire, reads as both a critique of consumerism and of the advertising and design professions—as well as a how-to guide for aspiring designers and advertisers to create effective advertising and branding campaigns. When taught within the context of ethics, students can learn how the professions have used imagery and text to create a consumer culture that is easily manipulated. The chapter ends with a section covering anti-ads and advertising criticism. A second edition of the book should include mention of Adbusters magazine—and its collection of anti-ads. Ironically, Adbusters magazine uses most of the strategies described in this chapter to sell their own products (magazines and shoes) while denouncing the entire concept of manufactured desire and a consumer culture.

As contemporary media such as the Internet continue to evolve and redefine globalization by the level of access it offers users, it will have a massive impact on the evolution of visual culture as well. Chapter 9, The Global Flow of Visual Culture, provides a bridge from established concepts of independent media to the contemporary reality of media convergence. The authors even tip their hats to the notion that the Web is such a convergent medium, that to address the visual apart from the textual and aural and is to overlook the source of the medium's appeal. To date, the web is the only medium capable of truly convergent communication—sound, video, text, and imagery (both 2-D and 3-D) presented in a non-linear interactive format on demand.

In the face of the reality of media convergence, the second edition of the book should include more information and criticism of interactive convergent media. The concept that truly convergent media can no longer be examined from a purely visual standpoint is a reality that has become far more apparent in the past few years—and may require a redefinition of the concept of *visual* culture.

Overall, *Practices of Looking* is a superb text for both beginning and advanced students in visual culture and communications related courses. Granted, some chapters could already use a refresher due to the volatile nature of online cultural and technological growth, but that is to be expected of any book including coverage of the medium. The text is both easily understood and engaging to the reader, and presented in a manner that allows for thorough absorption of most topics.

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Thomas, Douglas. *Hacker Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003. Pp. xxvii, 266. ISBN 0-8166-3346-0 (pb.) $19.95.

Ethnographers, Clifford Geertz once cautioned, face a difficult balancing act in capturing and rendering intelligible the experience of other cultures. The trick is to get close enough to view the world from the subjects' perspective and grasp how a culture creates and uses symbols to define itself. Yet the ethnographer

must also maintain enough distance to place both experience and culture in a broader, comparative context. Get too close and you're awash in myopic jargon. Stray too far with arcane, alien concepts and you cease to represent [exit] the subjects' world.

The most readable and interesting parts in *Hacker Culture* are those instances where the author quotes others or gives a straightforward historical account. In these bits the reader will catch the clearest glimpses of hacker culture. Thomas is less successful when he steps back and attempts further illumination by covering the subject with tired, 1990s postmodern dogma. Too often, this results in more opacity than insight, more triteness than profundity.

For example, Thomas makes much of the playful ways that hackers might alter the spelling of words, such as representing "t" with a plus sign (+), "e" with "3," and the letter "l" with the number "1." In the space of one page, Thomas brings Martin Heidegger, Walter Benjamin, and Plato heavily down upon the subject. Here is a sample:

> What one finds in these substitutions are never *merely* substitutions, but rather *translations*. In choosing this word, which I do advisedly, I want to follow Walter Benjamin in his assessment of translation as a "mode." [To comprehend translation as a mode] Benjamin writes, "one must go back to the original, for that contains the law governing the translation: its translatability." The process of hacker translation does return to the "law governing the translation," but it does so in a manner that is concerned neither with fidelity nor license but with questioning language's relationship to technology itself. (p. 57)

Such passages beg for parody. What might one make of an electric "kar kare" sign?

Such theoretical musings aside, the first of the book's three parts, "The Evolution of the Hacker," provides a useful synopsis of the main stages in the evolution of hacker culture, from the first "phone phreaks" to the recent "script kiddies," who don't perform "true hacks." "'True hacks' are the result of understanding how things work (or, sometimes, don't work) and taking advantage of those flaws, oversights, or errors in an original way. This level of hacking requires intimate knowledge of computers, programs, and computer languages" (p. 43). In contrast, a "'script kiddie' is someone who hacks, usually using someone else's prewritten hacking script or program, without really understanding what he or she is doing" (p. 43). Worth noting is the origin of the term "hacker," a piece of late 1950s MIT slang, which Steven Levy chronicled in his definitive 1984 work, *Hackers*. Solutions to programming problems were termed "hacks." The goal was to create the most elegant solution by using the fewest number of command lines. Eliminating lines of program instruction without affecting the outcome came to be called "program bumming" (Levy, p. 26).

Thomas uses milestones in pop culture to mark the shifting sensibilities of hacker culture, which he places in two general camps, old (1960s) and new (1990s). In the 1960s, the first generation of hackers drew inspiration from writers such as Isaac Asimov and Philip K. Dick, whose science fiction depicted a future "of possibility that is familiar enough to be recognizable yet strange enough for us to take notice to the ways in which our future might change" (p. 20). By comparison, the foreboding "cyberpunk" fiction of William Gibson influenced the hacker of the 1990s. "The world of cyberpunk portrayed a high-tech outlaw culture, where the rules were made up by those on the frontier—not by bureaucrats. It was a digital world, where the only factor that mattered was how smart and talented you were" (p. xii). Gibson coined the term "cyberspace" in his novel *Neuromancer* (1984):

> Cyberspace. A consensual hallucination experienced daily by billions of legitimate operators, in every nation, by children being taught mathematical concepts. . . . A graphic representation of data abstracted from the banks of every computer in the human system. Unthinkable complexity. Lines of light ranged in the nonspace of the mind, clusters, and constellations of data. Like city lights, receding . . . (p. xii).

Thomas notes that hacker culture exploded into the national consciousness with the 1983 movie *WarGames*, which influenced a new generation of hackers and "had a greater impact on hacker culture than any other media representation" (p. 26). How hackers are portrayed in the mass media occupies the book's second part, "Hacking Representation." At stake is the clash between a subculture and its parent culture over how the former is defined and portrayed. Unlike other youth subcultures, whose symbols and rituals have been appropriated and commercialized by mainstream culture, hacker culture has successfully resisted incorporation.

Hackers "have occasionally documented their own culture to resist media interpretations of their activities" (pp.157-158). Salient examples of the hack-

er voice are "The Hacker Manifesto," a 1985 essay by The Mentor, and the electronic magazine *Phrack*, whose issues Thomas quotes extensively. Subcultures that are defined by fashion are easily incorporated. However, while there is a hacker style, the core of hacker culture—knowledge and mastery of technology—is invisible and thus resistant to incorporation. Rather, episodes of destabilization to hacker culture occur when hackers reach adulthood and give up hacking to work as computer security experts, for example.

In the book's final part, "Hacking Law," Thomas aims to show how hacking is "transformed in the eyes of law enforcement, from exploration and mischief into dangerous criminal behavior, resulting in new challenges to the law, questions of constitutional rights, a new era of political "hacktivism," and the political education of a new generation of hackers" (p. 176). He treats several high-profile cases that raise new legal issues and show that while hacking "is changing as fast as the technology that accompanies it. The issues that remain, however, will always be ones that focus primarily on human relationships, and cultural attitudes toward technology, change and difference" (p. 237).

Among other things, *Hacker Culture* purports to be part theoretical reflection and part ethnography. While the level achieved in each of these endeavors is uneven, *Hacker Culture* does open a portal into hacker culture. This best occurs when hackers "speak" for themselves. Here, for example, is The Mentor explaining the formation of a hacker in the essay that first appeared in *Phrack* (1985) as "The Conscience of a Hacker":

> But did you, in your three-piece psychology and 1950s techno-brain, ever take a look behind the eyes of the hacker? Did you ever wonder what made him tick, what forces shaped him, what may have molded him? (p.73) . . . We've been spoon-fed baby food at school when we hungered for steak. . . . The bits of meat that you did let slip through were pre-chewed and tasteless. We've been dominated by sadists, or ignored by the apathetic. The few that had something to teach found us willing pupils, but those few are like drops of water in the desert.'" (pp. 77-78)

Notes to chapters and an index appear at the end of the book.

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References

Gibson, W. (1984). Neuromancer. New York: Ace Books.

Levy, S. (1984). Hackers: Heroes of the Computer Revolution. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press..

Wicks, Jan LeBlanc, George Sylvie, C. Ann Hollifield, Stephen Lacy, and **Ardyth Broadrick Sohn**. *Media Management: A Casebook Approach.* (Third Edition). Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004. Pp. x, 326. ISBN 0-8058-4715-4 (pb.) $39.95.

This new edition involved all the primary authors of the second (1999) edition in its writing and revision. "Each author reviewed the relevant scholarly and trade literature to update the theories, research, industry practice, trends, examples, and appropriate statistics in their chapters, as well as to add information on the Internet and new media," according to the Preface (p. ix). "Our goal is to give students practice in solving simple and complex problems and provide professors a variety of choices for assignments" (p. ix).

Based on feedback from a "user survey," chapter order and the central approaches of the previous edition were deemed appropriate and therefore were retained. The 10 chapters that comprise the core of the book each consist of a systematic presentation followed by two to five case studies and assignments designed to help students apply the material to practical situations.

Topics covered by the 10 chapters are managerial decision making, leadership and the workforce, motivation, the global structure of media organizations, technology and the future, regulation and self-regulation, planning, market analysis, marketing and research, and budgeting and decision making. An example of a case especially appropriate to present-day conditions is case one in Chapter 6, "Regulation and Self-Regulation," which calls for students to "develop a plan and procedures for protecting employee health and safety in the event of a terrorist attack" (p. 149).

A final chapter presents two additional "extended case studies" designed to get students to apply "concepts covered throughout the book" (p. 284). "One goal in both extended cases is to give students a chance to consider major problems they are likely to face at various points in their careers" (p. 285). These revolve, in case one, around change at a newspaper, and, in case two, "newsroom restructuring" necessitating downsizing of staff.

References,.an author index, and a subject index are provided.

— WEB