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Carolinas Communication Annual, Volume XXXIII

Editor

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Carolinas Communication Annual

Editorial Policy (2018)

The *Carolinas Communication Annual*, the peer-reviewed, state/regional journal published by the Carolinas Communication Association (representing both North Carolina and South Carolina), accepts the submission of scholarly articles on an ongoing basis. While articles by authors in the Carolinas and about topics relevant to the Carolinas and the surrounding region are particularly relevant for this journal, the call for submissions is open to authors from around the country and open to a wide range of topics from multiple methodologies and perspectives within the larger Communication Studies discipline. The journal is especially interested in submissions of pedagogical ideas and activities for our GIFTS INC (Great Ideas for Teaching Students in the Carolinas) area, which should be modeled after activity essays published in the journal *Communication Teacher*; submissions of multi-author forums of short thematically or methodologically related position papers or critical arguments; and submissions of "Debut" essays, which are papers written by first-time authors publishing their research in a peer-reviewed communication journal.

Critical essays and "debut" essays should generally be no longer than 6000-7000 words in length (including citations) and should follow the latest editions of MLA, APA, or the Chicago Manual of Style, depending on the author's preference. GIFTS INC essays and activities should generally be no longer than 2000-2500 words and should follow the latest editions of MLA, APA, or the Chicago Manual of Style, depending on the author's preference.

Authors should submit their essays electronically (in a Microsoft Word file) to the editor by or on **April 16, 2018**. Please include in the submission an author name and institution, author contact information, and an abstract in a separate cover letter to ensure blind review. In the cover letter, authors should also note the history of the submission and indicate, as needed, that the submission meets ethical standards of research (for example, IRB approval if relevant). The editor reserves the right to reject any submission that does not meet the basic standards above or seems to indicate a lack of ethical work. Authors should only submit one work per year to the *Annual* and the submission should not be under review with any other journal.

Editor's Introduction

Dear Members and Readers,

I am delighted to present the 2017 *Carolinas Communication Annual*. As I finish my second year as the *Annual* editor, I owe debts of gratitude to those who made this year's journal possible: our fine contributors for their excellent work, the editorial board members for their willingness to offer timely and critical feedback to authors, our journal's past editors for their legacy and example, and our association's leadership for keeping CCA thriving amidst many other responsibilities to their institutions and the profession at large.

In keeping with the journal's publication history, the 2017 *Annual* features scholarship from authors in and beyond the Carolinas, from early career and senior scholars, and on research and on teaching: all of which went through a rigorous double blind-review process. This year's journal begins with an exceptional invited forum of essays from the association's leading members, all who have served in various formal and informal capacities on the CCA Executive leadership and whose names will be familiar to you. The forum emerges from a series of presentations on the panel "Building on Our Legacies" programmed at the 2016 Carolinas Communication Association Convention hosted in Wilmington, North Carolina. Roy Schwartzman, Bruce C. McKinney, Elizabeth J. Natalle, Charmaine E. Wilson, and Nina-Jo Moore all participated on the panel, which reflected upon the contributions of the association's founding members as teachers and scholars. This forum is a highlight of this year's *Annual*, not only as an opportunity to look back on and celebrate the rich history of CCA, but also as a timely reminder of the vitality of the state association and an urgent call for how might move forward together amidst a changing field, new technologies, and discord permeating our political culture.

The journal features two outstanding scholarly research essays this year. Vincent Russell, Spoma Jovanovic, Margaret Bozovich, Jessica Clifford, and Rodney Johnson have collaborated on the essay "Developing Robust Undergraduate Research Opportunities in Communication Studies: A Community-Based Approach." The authors report on their findings about the intersections of undergraduate research and community-based projects between faculty, students, and community members focused on how to, as they put it, "provide students with a platform to practice democratic arts and gain experiences which prepare them for success beyond academia." As their findings suggest, preparing students for real-world situations and offering them a broad liberal arts education need not be mutually exclusive endeavors in and beyond the classroom. Further examining the vital relationships between instructors and students, Eletra S. Gilchrist-Petty's essay "Unraveling Complexities in the Teacher-Student Relationship: Perceptions of Immediacy, Credibility, and Learning" explores how teacher immediacy and credibility affect student learning. Her findings offer teachers suggestions for how to "enhance student learning by becoming proficient in their discipline's competencies and boosting their verbal and nonverbal immediacy behaviors."

This is the second year that the *Annual* will feature "debut" work from a new and emerging student scholar in the profession who is enjoying his first peer-reviewed publication in a communication discipline journal. In his essay "No Half Savior: Jarena Lee's Autobiography as Prophetic Rhetoric," Steven Tramel Gaines offers a smart critique of prophetic rhetoric in Jarena Lee's spiritual autobiography. His outstanding essay contributes to our understanding of rhetoric that both originates in and addresses a religious community, while simultaneously heeding the "call to decrease the white patriarchy" in the study of prophetic voices and discourses.

The *Annual* closes with two innovative and useful GIFTS INC (Great Ideas for Teaching Students in the Carolinas) activities. In their essay "Creating Understanding of Community Ethical Responsibilities from *The Men of Atalissa*," Michael M. Tollefson and Ronda Leahy invite readers to consider the ways by which we might empower our students to be ethically responsible citizens. Using the documentary *The Men of Atalissa* as its case study, this activity prompts student awareness of ethical persuasion from multiple perspectives and encourages mindfulness and self-reflectivity about personal ethical decisions. Finally, Nicholas T. Tatum, Hayley C. Hoffman, Amanda R. Slone, and Alexis A. Hadden offer "Let the Good Times Roll: Using Loaded Dice to Introduce Descriptive and Inferential Statistics," a "hands-on" activity focused on alleviating the anxiety experienced by students (and, no doubt, instructors as well) working with statistics in communication courses. This nuanced, yet accessible activity provides students a means to grasping how to use statistical software effectively, how to calculate and assess data findings accurately, and how to do both with greater ease and understanding.

As is once again my pleasure to write, the quality and distinct contribution of each essay in this year's *Annual* speaks volumes for itself. I have done my best to ensure that each essay is error-free and formatted correctly. Many thanks, again, to all who made the 2017 *Annual* possible.

Sincerely,

Melody Lehn
Sewanee: The University of the South
Sewanee, Tennessee
September 2017

Building on Our Legacies:
A Forum of Prospective Retrospectives

Roy Schwartzman

Recognizing these legacies not only as highlights from the past but as exemplars of what the association cultivates can inspire future scholars, leaders, and activists.

***Keyword**s: Carolinas Communication Association, professional organizations, organizational culture, mentorship*

Conferences convene in annual episodes. Associations endure as embodied connections among colleagues. Collectively, the essays that follow explore the human face of the Carolinas Communication Association (CCA) by reflecting on several members who have played important roles in shaping its direction. Perhaps more noteworthy, the six people at the heart of this forum—Ray Camp (North Carolina State University), Howard Dorgan and Charles Porterfield (both of Appalachian State University), Ethel Glenn (University of North Carolina at Greensboro), Sandy Hochel (University of South Carolina Aiken), and Lloyd Rohler (University of North Carolina at Wilmington)—collectively embody what constitutes the heart of this association.

The essays that constitute this forum developed from a panel at the 2016 CCA convention titled "Building on Our Legacies." At its core, the panel and these essays that emerged from it arose from two conjoined questions: What kind of association is CCA? What kinds of associations among people does CCA cultivate? Vibrant associations—personal, community, or professional—do more than designate geographical territories or compass points. This collection of essays offers glimpses of the history of human vibrancy that invigorates CCA. The focus centers on important luminaries of CCA who still define and exemplify the intellectual and personal associations that CCA members value today.

The contributions to this forum foster what could qualify as *generative memory*, retrospectives that yield richer possibilities than (re)collections of past facts (Michaelian, 2011)—constructing a future enabled and enriched by the paths these luminaries helped blaze. This opening of possibilities and enduring associations defines CCA. In my 23 years of association with this organization, I continue to observe and experience its strengths in three areas: inviting, embracing, and inspiring the study, teaching, and practice of human(izing) communication.

Inviting: CCA always has provided a welcoming and positive community for newcomers, especially undergraduate and graduate students. The annual conferences offer a plethora of student panels and two tracks for student paper awards (undergraduate and graduate). The membership takes seriously its obligation to provide meaningful,

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constructive feedback to students who present their work at the conferences. Respondents to student panels, as well as the reviewers of student submittals, are chosen for the care they take in reading and providing feedback on each submittal. CCA has long been a preferred "debut" experience for students new to the professional academic environment. In fact, my first "scholarly" article was published in the journal now known as the *Carolinas Communication Annual*.

Embracing: Unlike many academic enclaves that frame professional relationships as zero-sum competitions for prominence, CCA has a history of cultivating a non-judgmental atmosphere for members, authors of articles in its journal, and conference attendees. Make no mistake: many first-rate scholars and educators populate this organization. But they practice rigorous inquiry remarkably free from the need to upstage colleagues or celebrate their own celebrity status. The association provides a forum for celebrating each other.

Inspiring: Exceeding one's perceived limits requires a firm foundation, and CCA consistently provides those sources of support and encouragement. Simply put, the members are there for each other and for their endeavors. When an academic program is threatened, the membership rallies to lobby for it. When statewide guidelines move toward omitting communication from requirements or from transfer eligibility, CCA steps in as an advocate for the field. Members also frequently serve as promotion and tenure reviewers for each other, since CCA conferences and publications promote easy following of professional activity and deep discussion of colleagues' work. How did such a supportive atmosphere develop, and what sustains it?

Legacies of the Past, Lessons for the Future

Several stalwart members of CCA provide the reflections that follow. Each of the authors has a long and distinguished record of involvement in CCA, in their respective universities, and in the field. Their service in many capacities—including office-holding, presentation, reviewing, policymaking, and planning—enables the authors to offer a breadth and depth of perspectives that crystallize the essence of CCA. That essence thrives on the contributions of people who played major roles in the organization as well as in its members' careers and lives.

Ray Camp, Howard Dorgan, Ethel Glenn, Sandy Hochel, Charles Porterfield, and Lloyd Rohler all have won CCA's Betty Jo Welch Award, which recognizes "continuing and outstanding service to the association and the professions" (Carolinas Communication Association, 2017). A retrospective on their contributions does offer nostalgic recollections, but the purpose of this forum extends beyond reminiscence. In laying the foundations for today's CCA, these members also provided precedents for emerging teachers, scholars, and contributors to the community as well as to the communication field. In many respects, the people profiled herein exemplify how academics can enrich the lives of those around and beyond them. Renewed attention to such models as touchstones of what academics often hope to *be* rather than simply to *do* assumes particular urgency now.

Ongoing and intensifying calls for accountability and affordability in higher education have fueled an obsession with quantification: tracking numbers of student credit hours, numbers of full-time equivalents, numbers of publications, amounts of

grants, and other data that purport to measure quality by documenting quantity (Poulos, 2017; Schwartzman, 2016). The bean-counting legacy of neoliberalism treats education as a commodity, touting precision while glossing over the personal connections and role modeling that inspire students and teachers to excel (Jovanovic, 2017; Schwartzman, 2017). This forum's intentional renewal of the human components of a professional organization rehumanizes educational endeavors depersonalized by their characterization as mechanistic production of training or degrees for consumers who simply issue demands rather than join in a shared endeavor to learn (Foster, 2017).

In that rehumanizing spirit, attention now turns to some of the people who have inspired the deep connections fostered by CCA. Long-time CCA member Nina-Jo Moore of Appalachian State University, inaugural winner of the Lloyd Rohler Career Teaching Award, gathered and shared with me several firsthand testimonials regarding a pair of important figures from her institution: Charles Porterfield and Howard Dorgan (personal communication, August 24, 2017). Their profiles and influence emerge in boldest relief through the voices of people close to them.

Charles Porterfield

Charles Porterfield (1922–2004) chaired the Communication Department at Appalachian State University for more than two decades, continued as an emeritus professor after retirement, and received the Betty Jo Welch Award in 1991 (Carolinas Communication Association, 2017). He was only the third recipient of CCA's most longstanding award; his Appalachian State colleague Terry Cole won it the previous year. Some of the richest recollections of both Charles Porterfield and Howard Dorgan come from Cole, who notes: "Right out of graduate school, Charles and Howard became my mentors—as an academic professional, classroom teacher, and scholar." Cole's detailed portraits of both colleagues illustrate their mentoring in action.

> …I met Charles and Howard in mid-August, 1971, as I arrived in Boone for my first academic position in the Department of Speech at ASU, which I held for 41 years until my retirement.
>
> Charles met me the evening I arrived in town and led me to a farm house in Deep Gap which he had rented for my family. As I began opening the back of my U-Haul truck to unload, he asked me, "Don't you want to even look over the house?"
>
> My response was, "I am 2000 miles from my home with all I have in this truck, do I have a choice?" That began a long and positive relationship with Charles.
>
> Charles Porterfield chaired the Department of Communication for twenty-some years (I succeeded him as Chair in 1990). During his tenure the department evolved from the Speech Department, to the Department of Speech and Theatre, to the Department of Communication. When I joined it in 1971 it included: Speech, Theatre, Speech Pathology and Audiology, and Broadcasting. Over the years Speech Pathology / Audiology joined the College of Education, and Theatre became its own department. As he left the Chairmanship in 1990, it housed majors in Communication Studies, Broadcasting Electronic Media, Advertising,

Public Relations, and Journalism, and grew to be one of the largest departments in the University.

While not totally "publish or perish" oriented, Charles encouraged faculty to remain active scholars and to participate actively in various professional associations. Over the years many members of the faculty (with his encouragement) served in executive leadership positions in these associations and organizations. He was particularly supportive of the North Carolina Speech and Theatre Association, which evolved into the Carolinas Communication Association (embracing North and South Carolina). Within that organization he was a vocal advocate of effective preparation among students going into speech education and strongly lobbied the North Carolina Department of Education to certify Speech Educators.

Charles Porterfield's greatest strength was as an educator. He enjoyed the interaction of classroom instruction and demanded a strong student-oriented, classroom excellence of the faculty in the department. He assigned faculty to courses reflective of their interest and strengths and encouraged the development of new courses for the curriculum. His favorite course was Voice and Diction and he was a dedicated adherent to "standard American speech." Well known throughout the department was his final in that course: a timed recitation of a Gilbert and Sullivan passage in which the students were expected to recite it as quickly as possible while maintaining appropriate diction. As I recall, John Carter, now a WBTV anchor, held the departmental record. He and I had an ongoing exchange over my pronunciation of the word "get." In my Central California accent, I said "git." One day I retorted to his criticism, "If you can show me documented evidence that God ordained that we all speak with the accent of Southern Michigan and Northern Ohio, I will say "get" instead of "git". While I did not change his mind, he did avoid that criticism in future exchanges.

Charles Porterfield was a dedicated educator and administrator with strong values and a wicked sense of humor. In his teaching he was student-oriented and open and available. In his administration he was faculty-oriented and sought to be fair and open on most issues. While he did not micro-manage the faculty in their academic duties and instruction, he did expect productivity and excellence. In that sense, he was a role model as an educator and administrator.

Another colleague offers insight into Porterfield's professional activism as well as his mentorship.

Linda Welden, an Appalachian State professor (now emerita) and colleague of both Porterfield and Dorgan, shares fond recollections of her department chair. She was hired by Charles Porterfield primarily to teach "oral interp," or oral interpretation, beginning in the fall of 1972, getting the interview following "some arm-twisting on my behalf from Waldo Braden." She continues:

At that time, the state organization was called the North Carolina Speech and Drama Association, or NCSDA. It met every fall in Raleigh, and faculty members were not given an option of whether or not to attend. Charles would get a car from the motor pool that would start to shimmy if driven over 50 mph, and

we would all pile in and make the long drive together in one vehicle over two-lane roads to Winston-Salem, where Charles always stopped at Krispy Kreme in hopes of fresh donuts for our mid-morning snack. Then we would travel on to the capital, where we always stayed at the Velvet Cloak Inn. We were expected to represent our department with papers and discussions and to serve the organization as officers, and we did.

One of Charles' most heartfelt desires was to get the state legislature to require that the high school curriculum in the state schools include a unit in speech. He hoped that their doing so would make teaching jobs available for our students who were majoring in Speech Education. He pressured the NCSDA to lobby for this change for years, and the organization actually did make many attempts to do so, but in the end, it was a futile task and a great disappointment to Charles.

Porterfield's persistent advocacy might not have yielded the fruits he sought, but ongoing efforts by fellow and subsequent communication educators have generated sustained growth in the number of undergraduate majors and expansion of graduate communication programs throughout the region.

Porterfield's influence as a mentor remained just as strong many years after Terry Cole's and Linda Welden's early experiences with him. Jonathan Ray, an Appalachian State alumnus, also was one of my graduate students at UNCG and affirms the important motivational role Charles Porterfield played for him. Ray continues to be a versatile educator, performer, and director in theatre as well as a teacher of communication studies, currently serving as an adjunct at Appalachian State.

Dr. Porterfield hired me in August 1981 as a part-time adjunct, initially to teach acting, children's theatre, and creative drama. Within two days he offered me additional classes in Public Speaking, and I was essentially full-time the entire academic year. He provided crucial support and motivation for me to finish my MFA thesis and to take a few additional courses to upgrade my credentials, and he helped me to make the transition to full-time, tenure-track faculty.

Coming from a family well-known in regional theatre circles he was quite familiar with it, had strong opinions, and was fairly active in productions. His views often differed with those of individual theatre faculty about how the area should proceed. I would add that he had an impish sense of humor and propensity for mischief. He frequently was the one who served as devil's advocate and tension reliever in discussions as I remember it now.

This positive influence persisted, extending beyond budding academics.

Appalachian State alumnus Patrick Setzer confirms Charles Portefield's inspirational persona. Shortly after arriving on campus for an open house event in 1985, Setzer first encountered Porterfield. "When I met Dr. Charles Porterfield, chair of the communication department at the time, I thought, 'This could be the key to my future.' I knew I wanted to be taught by this man at this university. His attitude and welcoming spirit sealed the deal for me" (Kahow, 2010). Setzer went on to earn two degrees from Appalachian State, eventually becoming executive director of alumni affairs. Today the

Department of Communication at Appalachian State University offers an undergraduate scholarship named for Charles E. Porterfield.

Elaine Hartley, who served as a part-time secretary at Appalachian State when Communication and Theatre were still merged into one department (they split in 1990), provides a touching remembrance.

> My mother referred to colorful people as "characters." I would call Dr. Porterfield quite a character. He always had a joke or anecdote to share and I'm sure he knew he could count on me to laugh.
>
> When they were preparing to move from their house in Boone, he invited people to come raid his flower beds. He had lots of purple irises and I planted tons of them at our house in Valle Crucis where they thrived. We always referred to them as "the Porterfield irises."

Those flourishing irises furnish a fitting metaphor that captures the essence of good mentoring and collegiality: enabling others to blossom.

Howard Dorgan

Howard Dorgan (July 5, 1932 – July 5, 2012) was a prolific scholar who deeply influenced those around him. His daughter provides personal insight regarding his high standards and how he encouraged others to share them. Kelly Dorgan, now an associate professor of communication at East Tennessee State University, offers the following comments on father's role as a mentor:

> My mother, Kathleen Dorgan, taught me a love for language, but Dr. C. Howard Dorgan, my father, taught me a love of writing. Early in my life, dad demonstrated that a writer should be passionately engaged in the whole process: from inception to publication. Slapping words down never suited dad—of course, I tried to do just that. Throughout high school, I was a devoted procrastinator; only when the deadline loomed did I put pen to paper, and later, fingertips to keyboard. Always patient (perhaps overly so), dad stayed up the night before each assignment was due, editing my poorly developed paper and correcting my grammatical errors and misspellings. With a felt tip pen, he scrawled across the page, each comment and correction like a trail of small red ants. After years of pulling these last-minute stunts, I finally understood what he had been trying to teach me: writing requires great care, investment, and devotion. It took a while, but dad oversaw my transformation from a lazy writer to one who delights in the whole process. Dr. C. Howard Dorgan was a researcher, writer, and editor, but he readily shared his knowledge and talents, crafting future writers as carefully as he crafted his own works.

Care for the craft of scholarship accompanied Howard Dorgan's deep care about the people he studied as well as his generosity toward colleagues.

Howard's now retired colleague at Appalachian State, Terry Cole, provides a detailed portrait of his colleague.

Howard Dorgan was the quintessential educator/scholar and in that capacity served as a role model for his colleagues in the department. He edited two academic journals (for the Carolinas Communication Association and the Southern States Communication Association) and served as President of both associations as well as the Appalachian Studies Association. He authored five books in the area of Appalachian Religions and numerous journal articles and conference papers. It is classic scholarship that took him from an interest in the speaking pattern of a local preacher on WATA-AM radio in Boone to a nationally recognized scholar in Appalachian Religions.

Unlike the demands of many current faculty members, he practiced his scholarship while teaching a full load of courses without release time. When we arrived at the department for our eight o'clock classes, he would have already been in his office at the typewriter or computer for two or three hours. Many weekends were spent traveling throughout North Carolina, Tennessee, and West Virginia researching Appalachian religions and attending various services at "back-in-the-holler" churches.

As a colleague, Howard defined "academic productivity." Generally laid back, he did not avoid expressing his views on academic policy and curriculum issues. As a former debate coach, rational disputation was his style of choice. Throughout these what could become active disputations, I rarely saw him lose his temper. One memorable time is worth mentioning. When the department was completing a lengthy self-study, he volunteered to draft the final document. As a widely published scholar and editor of two academic journals, his willingness to draft the document was quickly accepted. Two public relations faculty members reviewed the document. Because it did not conform to the *AP Style Guide*, they "red inked" it extensively. I had rarely seen him so angry.

As a colleague, Howard was always willing to review publications-in-progress from other faculty members as well as discuss classroom ideas. He encouraged scholarship among his colleagues and was a frequent travel companion going to academic conferences throughout the Southeast. He was particularly committed to the activities of the Carolinas Communication Association and the Southern States Communication Association, where he shared his scholarship and scholarly interactions with his colleagues.

Howard Dorgan cut his teeth as a scholar doing traditional public address criticism, focusing especially on speeches of Southern orators. These efforts sometimes positioned him to collaborate with well-known public address scholars such as Cal Logue from the University of Georgia (Logue & Dorgan, 1981, 1987). His ventures into the realm of ethnography, however, left a lasting impression on me.

I vividly recall a casual encounter with Howard as darkness crept over the parking lot where we were chatting on the Appalachian State University campus. The attendees of another CCA conference were scattering after a full day of panels and other activities. Howard had delivered a presentation about his ethnographic studies of Southern Appalachian fundamentalist religious sects, the line of research he became best known for. Curious about how he approached cultural practices utterly alien to my suburban

Atlanta Jewish background, I probed him about his methods. He chuckled about being able to narrowly avoid the hazards of snake handlers, and we puzzled over the communication dynamics of speaking in tongues. When I mentioned the phrase "foot-washing Baptists," his eyes sparkled and then glazed over a bit. He spoke slowly, reverently, his voice suddenly hushed in awe. "You know," he said, "it's a humbling experience to get your feet washed by those folks. It's a true act of love." With that testament, I had just encountered another true act of love: the love of an ethnographer for his subject matter. But these foot-washers weren't simply research subjects; they were devout believers who honored him by welcoming him into their world.

This brief conversation deeply impacted me. Howard had written prolifically on Southern Baptist sects more charismatic, "primitive," and fundamentalist than the comparatively staid mainstream adherents of the Southern Baptist Convention that surrounded me during my upbringing. Impressively, he had sustained this line of scholarship—reliant on deep ethnographic investigation—over the course of decades, producing several books on the subject (Dorgan, 1987, 1989, 1993, 1997). I had long wondered how anyone could maintain a deep appreciation of the cultures they were studying without "going native" or distancing themselves by critiquing the cultural practices. Howard provided an answer: retain a sense of wonder. He had cultivated a profound sensitivity toward the role that every day and ritualized practices play in expressing and reinforcing cultural identity. By maintaining awareness of how these charismatic Christians sanctified mundane activities, he could encounter them on their own terms without risking conversion or critique. Howard's approach exemplified the essence of what Goodall (2003) identified as the attitude of mystery that energizes interpretive ethnography. Like Goodall, Howard was doing cultural ethnographic work many years before it became fashionable or widely accepted in the field of communication.

Personal, Not Personnel, Perspectives

Good mentorship includes so much more than good training. As one of my mentors, David Berlo, often proclaimed, "You train animals; you educate people." I would add, "You nourish and nurture colleagues." Throughout this forum, a leitmotif infuses the discussions of these people responsible for so much of what CCA is today—and what it can become in the future. That recurrent theme is that collegiality extends beyond personnel and embraces the personal. The commitment to excellence and to others transforms co-workers into associates who form a fellowship of kindred minds dedicated to advancing the discipline and one another. I was fortunate to receive firsthand enlightenment from some of the luminaries profiled in this forum. I already discussed my ethnographic epiphany thanks to Howard Dorgan. Ray Camp and Ethel Glenn provided important and ongoing influences.

Throughout his lengthy involvement with CCA, Ray Camp of North Carolina State University modeled the good judgment and dedication that later inspired me as I eventually held several offices in the association. I recall many *very* long Executive Council meetings wherein Ray painstakingly examined every detail of organizational operations: conference planning, current and future financial status, and grooming the next set of CCA officers. As Jody Natalle notes in her contribution to this forum, Ray

personified the kindly Southern gentleman with his patient grooming of new leaders for CCA. He was an astute scholar and critic, particularly in public address and political communication. Largely due to his combination of balanced judgment and scholarly acumen, I asked him to serve as an outside reviewer for my tenure candidacy and promotion to associate professor. Therein lies an important aspect of CCA: cultivating long-term relationships that foster future professional development.

As for that development, Ethel Glenn helped usher me fully into the professional academic world. In 1985, adrift in a fog of confusion regarding a prospective career, I had landed a job in Athens, Georgia. Girded for the world by my recent M.A. in Speech Communication from the University of Georgia, I occupied a post surely coveted by many nascent communication scholars: collecting on overdue auto loans and repossessing cars for a major bank. Remarkably, Repo Man didn't strike me as my true calling. Then that calling called. Dwight Freshley, the department head at the University of Georgia, phoned me at my workplace (while I was not out hijacking cars) to recommend I apply for an academic position at UNCG. Although only a one-semester replacement, it would provide a good testing-ground to determine whether I wanted to pursue a long-term academic life. Freshley had strongly recommended me already to the faculty at UNCG, and his influence helped the interview go smoothly. Soon I bade farewell to a promising career of committing legal grand theft auto.

Ethel Glenn played a major role in that decision, even more than the potential presence of delinquent loan holders wielding shotguns to guard their vehicles from Repo Man. Ethel served as my immediate supervisor, chairing the Communication division in a department that included Theatre and what would become known as Media Studies. The semester at UNCG extended to an additional summer session, after which I departed for the doctoral program at the University of Iowa. That positive experience, under Ethel's watchful tutelage, tipped the scales toward a career in academics. Shortly after I accepted UNCG's offer, Ethel duly notified me that she had found a suitable rental property: a basement apartment within two blocks of Ethel's house. She knew the landlord and had set up everything—I need only move in. Ethel also favored the proximity to her home so she could "keep an eye on me." Her promise constituted not so much the threat of surveillance as it signified maternal concern. She made clear to me that she would assure I got proper home-cooked meals when needed. After all, this was my first full-time, "real" academic job as a faculty member, and she would "look out for me" as a combination supervisor and surrogate mother. Ethel rigorously but lovingly enforced professionalism. She instilled in her colleagues respect for the teaching profession and the importance of modeling appropriate professional demeanor. Ethel's final words to me as I left carrying my last box of belongings from the office were: "We'd love for you to come back to work here." Twenty-one years later, I did exactly that.

Coda

Collectively, this forum that highlights key figures in the development and sustenance of CCA offers more than an amusing "blast from the past." It reminds us that, contra Isaac Newton, we do not stand on the shoulders of giants. Our past, present, and future colleagues do not tower over everyday life. Rather, they nourish and enrich who

and what we strive to become. If we can develop further as an association in the highest sense, then we must enlarge ourselves by welcoming our predecessors to dwell within us.

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Lloyd Rohler: Humanitarian, Entrepreneur, and Scholar

Bruce C. McKinney

Though he passed away in 2014, University of North Carolina Wilmington Communication Studies Professor Lloyd Earl Rohler left behind a legacy that still thrives in Wilmington and across continents. This essay documents Dr. Rohler's contributions to the Department of Communication Studies at UNCW, his dedication to ending hunger in Africa through the Full Belly Project, his scholarly legacy at Old Books on Front Street, and his contributions to the Carolinas Communication Association.

Keywords: Carolinas Communication Association, Full Belly Project, Old Books on Front Street, Universal Nut Sheller

The one statistic that stays with us is simple: our date of birth and the date of our death. Lloyd Rohler, born November 10, 1945 and died May 23, 2014. General Semanticists tell us this is an abstraction, that listing a person's date of birth and death is a perfect example of "The Law of the Excluded Middle" (Sondel, 158). The analogy is that life is like a ruler with the birthdate at the one-inch mark and death at the twelve-inch mark. By having only this information, we miss all the information that spans a life between these two marks. The purpose of this remembrance is fill in those inches.

Professional Life

Lloyd was a Hoosier. He grew up in Indiana and his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. are all from the University of Indiana. His first teaching assignment was at Hanover College in Indiana, where he also directed the debate team. However, Lloyd was destined for the Tar Heel State. He accepted a job at Duke University where he once again coached the debate team and taught courses in public speaking, rhetoric, and American political debate. However, he chose to leave Duke University after three years to come to UNCW in 1982 to what was known as the Division of Speech Communication in the Department of Creative Arts. His daughter Gwenyfar remembers asking him when she was in high school why he left Duke, a name with "cache" in her words, to come to the small university by the ocean. Lloyd told her that he wanted to be part of a growing program that he could help shape and nurture and that he wanted an opportunity to do something special at UNCW. So, Lloyd's choice became one of being a bigger fish in a smaller ocean. Once he met Betty Jo Welch who coordinated the division, he felt UNCW would be a good fit for him. After touring Wilmington, his mind was made up. Goodbye Durham, Hello Wilmington. In fact, Gwenyfar believes that "UNCW was a dream come true for him" (personal communication, March 29, 2017).

Lloyd continued to teach at UNCW for thirty-two years and focused his teaching in the areas of rhetorical theory, politics and film, and speech writing. As some UNCW students have said, "If the word 'rhetoric' was in the course, Dr. Rohler was probably

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teaching it." Frank Trimble of UNCW who knew Lloyd for 32 years, commented that, "In scholarship, collaboration, and conversation, Lloyd always reminded us that rhetoric is, and always must be, at the core of our pursuits. True to his training and experience, Lloyd embraced 'argument' as a vital, constructive process" (personal communication, September 23, 2016). Department Chair Rick Olsen, and former student of Lloyd's, estimated that in his career Lloyd graded over 86,000 essays (Olsen, 2014) as he never gave multiple-choice exams. Frank Trimble observed that, "Though Lloyd was quite modest regarding his contributions to the department, he was instrumental with Betty Jo Welch in developing the Division of Speech Communication, which later became the Department of Speech Communication and finally the Department of Communication Studies which currently has over 500 majors" (personal communication, September 23, 2016). At UNCW, it is a tradition for graduating seniors to provide commentary on professors they feel made an important impact on their college life and future. These comments are passed on to the professors along with a congratulatory letter from the Dean of Students. Lloyd received one of these letters from the university every year he taught at UNCW. However, Lloyd was much more than a university professor. To fully understand this individual, one must look beyond the ivory towers of academia.

Full Belly Project

One of Lloyd's passions outside of academia was The Full Belly Project, a Wilmington, North Carolina, organization that encourages self-efficacy, enabling individuals in developing countries by empowering individuals with the tools they need to help themselves (Full Belly Project, "Universal Nut Sheller," 2017). The theme behind the organization's title is to alleviate hunger and allow people to go to bed with a full belly, claiming on its website, "The Full Belly Project believes that rural communities should awaken each morning to a day of economic possibility and go to sleep each night with bellies that are full" (Full Belly Project, "Mission and Vision," para 3, 2017). It was founded by a friend of Lloyd's, Jock Brandis. The most significant contribution of this organization was the invention and development of the Universal Nut Sheller (UNS) by Brandis which enables individuals to shell 50 kilograms of peanuts an hour—as opposed to 1.5 kilograms by hand. The peanuts provide a convenient source of protein and 30 essential nutrients (Full Belly Project, "Universal Nut Sheller," 2017). The UNS is a simple machine made of concrete and a few metal parts and costs only 50 dollars to build. The Full Belly Project Project's UNS has been distributed in the following countries: The Bahamas, Uganda, Liberia, Zambia, Haiti, Kenya, Nigeria, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Malawi, and many other countries. Asked about her father's devotion to this project, his daughter Gwenyfar stated:

> My mother served on the Board of Full Belly for several years before her death. If you knew my mother, that meant that my father, by extension, was absorbed into Full Belly. Of course, my parents knew and admired Jock for many years before he invented the Peanut Sheller. But I think the direct impact that the Sheller and Jock's work with Full Belly Project has—it is so powerful and immediate—made a profound impression on my idealist parents (personal communication, March 29, 2017).

The Full Belly Project has received awards from MIT, Popular Mechanics, CNN, and the BBC for their efforts to thwart hunger in Africa.

Another major accomplishment of the Full Belly Project has been its impact on women. It enables women in the countries to be free of the burden of hand-shelling peanuts—since women in these countries provide most agricultural labor. In fact, the peanut harvest was often referred to as "the women's crop" because of the labor by women to shell peanuts. However, thanks to the Nut Sheller, women now can have more economic independence (Full Belly Project, "Universal Nut Sheller," para 1, 2017). Lloyd never lost his interest in this organization, he was always willing to tell you about this project if asked, and exemplified the humanitarian nature this individual possessed.

Old Books on Front Street

In 2005, Lloyd was contacted by a Mr. Richard Daughtry, owner of Old Books on Front Street who told Lloyd: "I want your daughter to buy my bookstore I think you need to come talk to me" (Gwenyfar Rohler, personal communication, March 29, 2017). Evidently Daughtry knew that the Rohlers had one of the largest collections of old books in a private home in the state of North Carolina. According to his daughter Gwenyfar,

> When he called, we were at a crossroads as a family. My mother was watching her older sister face retirement. (It was not going well.) She wanted Daddy to have something to do when he retired, I had a job offer in the Middle East that they were terrified I was going to accept… I think my mother saw it as destiny calling. Working the front desk on the weekends opened up an entirely new world to Daddy. He loved to regale my mother with stories of the people he met and the discussions about books that consumed his weekends (personal communication, March 29, 2017).

So, in 2005, Lloyd bought Daughtry's Old Books on Front Street, an iconic bookstore on 22 North Front Street in Wilmington. Its products are embedded in the name of the store: it houses thousands and thousands and thousands of used books. It is notable in Wilmington for having the best African-American literature selection in town, and an extensive foreign-language selection, paperback classics at affordable prices, home delivery, the largest selection of scripts in theater and film books in town, and first edition hardcovers for less than ten dollars. However, after a quarter of a century at its location on 22 North Front Street, Lloyd was told he had to move the bookstore due to catastrophic building failure. The building housing Lloyd's bookstore was condemned following the years of neglect by its owner, and all the thousands and thousands of books in the store had to be moved into storage. An example of the appreciation of the general community for Lloyd, over 300 people showed up to move the bookstore—which resulted in thousands of boxes of books, filing cabinets, etc., moved to a temporary location until a suitable location could be found.

Lloyd was able to purchase a new building at 249 North Front Street in Wilmington, and on December 6, 2010, Old Books on Front Street opened at its new location. Following in his footsteps, Gwenyfar has become an integral part of the Wilmington community. The store sponsors a variety of enterprises, including rentals of

books to local films being made in the Wilmington community, literary walking tours of Wilmington, a book club, and an annual poetry festival. There is also a loft above the store which is available for rental for local writers at a much-reduced rate compared to other downtown Wilmington lodging. One only need look at the web site Yelp (https://www.yelp.com/biz/old-books-on-front-street-wilmington) for reviews of the bookstore. There is not one rating below five stars, the following comments are typical of visitor's evaluations of the store:

> I cannot imagine a book lover not loving this place. The history and various offerings this place has is amazing. . . This is one great bookstore! They can find books no one else has readily available. . . Old Books on Front Street is a most unusual and creative bookshop I have ever seen! The shelves are stacked sky high and adorning them are bits of beautifully folded paper, pretty little signs, drawing, inspiring words, and banners created with book pages (Yelp, "Old Books on Front Street," para 5, 6, 10).

It is a common theme in American culture that a man is known, and measured, by what he leaves behind. The legacy of Lloyd Rohler, and his love of books and scholarship, is on display every day at 249 North Front Street in Wilmington, and in the accomplishments of his daughter Gwenyfar. I am sure Lloyd is smiling.

Scholarly Accomplishments and Contributions to Communication Education

As far as scholarly accomplishments, Lloyd had many. He co-authored three books: *Great Speeches for Criticism and Analysis* (2013), *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Preacher and Lecturer* (1995) and probably his best work, *George Wallace: Conservative Populist* (2004). His book *Great Speeches for Criticism and Analysis*, one of the first to combine a textbook with a series of matching videos, is in its fifth edition and still a popular seller on Amazon. In addition to the numerous articles he published, he also served as editor of the *Journal of Communication and Religion*. David Weber, a colleague of Lloyd's at UNCW made this observation about his scholarship:

> Lloyd provided a sort of "old-school" wisdom about scholarship, the field of communication generally, and rhetoric in particular. His professional training was classic and predated postmodern and critical approaches to the study of rhetoric and related subdisciplines (e.g., political communication). So, he represented that long line of thought stretching from the past into the present, that has become somewhat attenuated in recent years (personal communication, September 16, 2016).

When asked about her father's scholarly accomplishments, his daughter Gwenyfar reflected,

> I think he really embodied "Gentleman and Scholar." He loved teaching, loved it. But he really shone as a scholar. . . [his] scholarship was not dry and removed from current life. But rather, that the purpose of scholarship was to make the

connections that bind us to our forebears palpable. He was very proud of his work with the *Journal of Communication and Religion*, and of course his books. I think if UNCW had developed a graduate program he would have really enjoyed the opportunity to work closely with the next generation of scholars (personal communication, March 29, 2017).

However, if one is looking for accolades of Lloyd's scholarship, those who knew him from the Carolinas Communication Association were also eager to contribute to this article. Jody Natalle of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro states that, "Lloyd was so kind and soft spoken it was almost as if he floated around the room. He was loyal to CCA and thought critically about the issues. He always delivered provocative papers that encouraged discussion" (personal communication, September 15, 2016). Terry Cole, who is now retired from Appalachian State University, remembers, "At CCA conferences, Lloyd always participated in the more scholarly programs, he was a sharp rhetorical scholar" (personal communication, May 10, 2017). UNCW lecturer David Bollinger recalls that, "He had a deep kindness, was reserved, but he came out of his shell at CCA Conventions!" (personal communication, September 12, 2016).

Lloyd loved CCA. He attended almost every convention, and helped the organization in numerous ways. He was an associate editor of the *CCA Annual* for multiple issues, and served at the organization's treasurer for three years. The author of this article who edited the *Annual* for two years, found his advice essential to the success of the journal. Most of his contributions to CCA centered around presentations that focused on rhetoric. His 2002 convention presentation, "George Wallace Inaugural Address," was groundwork for his 2004 book about Wallace. However, Lloyd recognized that in the digital age new problems arose, and in 1999 presented a paper at the CCA convention regarding the use of Internet sources. The paper he presented at the 2009 CCA convention, "Barack Obama Introduces Himself to the Nation: The 2004 Keynote Address to the Democratic Convention," was typical of his love for rhetoric and political address.

Lloyd's contribution the CCA resulted in him winning the 2001 Betty Jo Welch Award for his exceptional service to the organization and the profession of teaching communication. In a congratulatory record, then UNCW Department Chair commented, "The honor sheds light on your achievements and reflects well on our department and institution" (Trimble, 2001). Personally, the author of this articles feels that Lloyd would probably find more satisfaction in knowing that CCA now has the Lloyd Rohler Career Teaching Award, and in 2016, Nina-Jo Moore from Appalachian State University was the first recipient.

Final Thoughts

To those who knew him, Lloyd was an extremely honest, humble, and decent man. When the author asked members of his department to contribute any comments they could about Lloyd for a presentation at the CCA Convention in 2016, one comment stood out. Faculty member Jennifer Chin recalled that her student organization, the Communication Studies Society, was raising money for Hurricane Katrina victims with a bake sale. Lloyd told Jennifer that he would match whatever money they raised. The sale

was successful beyond anyone's speculation—they raised $700. With a little reluctance, she went to Lloyd and told them how much they raised. Without hesitation, he took out his checkbook and wrote her a check for a matching amount (personal communication, September 27, 2016). This gesture was typical of Lloyd. He has been, and will always be missed by those who knew him.

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The Contributions of Ethel Glenn (UNCG) and Ray Camp (NCSU) to the Carolinas Communication Association: 1969-2000

Elizabeth J. Natalle

Ethel Glenn and Ray Camp were a formidable presence in CCA leadership during their active period between 1969 and 2000, and it is my honor to review their legacies in this essay.[1] They would be considered the "second generation" of leadership when the organization was transitioning from a speech and drama professional association into two associations—one for theatre and one for communication. Ethel was the chair of the Liaison Committee to the State Department of Public Instruction, Vice President, and President, while Ray served as Journal Editor, Vice President, and President. To say that Ethel and Ray were entrenched in the Carolinas Communication Association is an understatement. Ethel received the Betty Jo Welch Service Award in 1992 and Ray was the recipient in 1993. As I viewed a videotape of a 1988 Carolinas Speech Communication Association Spotlight Program, in which they participated, entitled *An Oral History of CSCA*,[2] I became nostalgic for a CCA "like the old days." This forum is designed to honor the legacies of people who served before us and to extend that legacy into the future. In addition to preserving history, I hope the forum inspires what will now be the "fourth generation" of leadership to renew the vital energy that CCA provides in the professional lives of communicators in North and South Carolina.

Ethel Glenn

Ethel Glenn (1926-2016) earned a Ph.D. at the University of Texas at Austin in 1972, and took a position at UNC Greensboro the same year. She served UNCG from 1972 until her retirement in 1995, and she joined our organization her first year at UNCG. She was a commanding public speaker, a task-oriented person who kept meticulous records, and she applied her love of detail and her intolerance of error to everything she did, including her work with CCA. The records of her committee work and leadership that I reviewed in the CCA Archives at Appalachian State University are interesting and meaningful. In her heart, she was a teacher and a teacher educator. She specialized in voice and articulation, listening, public speaking, and pedagogy. At

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[1] For historical materials and events referenced throughout this essay, I relied on the Carolinas Communication Association Archives, Series II, Box 4.4 NCSDA Correspondence, 1950-1980, folders 1 and 4, Special Collections, Appalachian State University Belk Library. This was supplemented with my personal collection of CCA minutes, correspondence, convention programs, and annuals, 1985-2016.

[2] Carolinas Communication Association Archives, Series III, Box 9, Oral History of CSCA [VHS tape], 1988, Special Collections, Appalachian State University Belk Library.

UNCG, she was the teacher education coordinator for the Department of Communication and Theatre. Her most significant contribution to CCA was the work she did, along with Helen Steer, Ruth Goodman, Douglas Ray, James Pence, Jean Cornell, Thomas Attaway, Charles Porterfield, John Auston, and Terry Cole to persuade the NC State Department of Public Instruction to incorporate teacher training in speech and theatre to public school instructors. They failed. But they gave it their best trying.

In March of 1973, Ethel was appointed by the North Carolina Speech and Drama Association (NCSDA as it was known then) to serve on a committee to work out guidelines and standards for a joint teacher certification in speech and drama in North Carolina. The rationale came from NCSDA members' experience with their own and their students' opportunities for employability and the structure of music and drama or speech and drama programs at the university level. So began a twelve-year effort to work with the State Department of Public Instruction (SDPI) to secure the following: a speech consultant for the state public schools to assist teachers; in-service training and exhibitions in high schools in debate, oral reading, small groups, and public speaking; and funding for research on student enrollment in high school speech. A lengthy report from this NCSDA Liaison Committee came out in October of 1973 detailing the state of things in teacher certification and the State's idea of competency in drama, but not speech. By 1974, separate certifications became the new request, and in 1975 the NCSDA went on record requesting that speech be a required unit for high school graduation. The SDPI was not organized or interested in speech and theatre as a unit and told our organization to provide evidence for the requests and create a handbook for elementary teachers. John Auston and Ethel Glenn wrote the handbook, provided research evidence that speech training aids "cognition, reading, and quantification," and that superintendents of schools supported speech training. Still, the SDPI balked. In 1978, NCSDA provided a list of qualified professors (consultants) who could train public school teachers and a list of competencies and performance indicators in speech. By 1979, the only "friend" NCSDA had in the SDPI, Denny Wolfe, resigned and NCSDA had to start all over again. Terry Cole and Charles Porterfield from Appalachian State helped Ethel and John slog forward. Competencies in the public schools were field tested in 1979 and Nancy Snow (NCSU) gathered new data on speech teaching in the public schools. By 1988, my viewing of the spotlight program video revealed that things fizzled in the 1980s because (1) NCSDA had become the Carolinas Speech Communication Association (CSCA) after a split with drama programs, and (2) as Charles Porterfield reported: mass communication showed up at the university level, there were plenty of majors, and the oral speech end of things just receded into the background. Ethel lamented our failure to secure a stronger place in K-12 public school education.

The commitment and activity level of the CSCA was very high during this time. The Executive Council met twice during the year on a regular basis, often twice over convention weekend, and often called special sessions. Members were highly devoted to the work of CSCA that included convention planning, training, and sharing research in addition to the professional interests that needed advocacy. One of the legacies of the teacher certification persuasion campaign is reflected in our more recent crisis of 2012 when Linda White, Cathey Ross, and Brenda Armentrout of Central Piedmont Community College brought to our attention the fact that communication courses were not part of the community college general education courses approved for transfer, that

credit was not being transferred appropriately, and that a mismatch of credit hour transfer in communication hurt students in communication studies as they tried to move from 2-year to 4-year institutions. In 2013, we devoted a panel to the topic at the annual conference. CCA rose to the occasion and lobbied the NC Community College Committee with a 2013 letter drafted by Richard Leeman (UNCC) that included arguments to see communication as a core course in general education and as desirable preparation for citizenship and employment. We seem to have won that battle! In an email on February 24, 2014, CCA President Linda White wrote to the Executive Council members:

> GREAT NEWS!!!! It is official!! Below is the press release from the NC Community College system and the UNC system announcing the signing of the revised Comprehensive Articulation Agreement. Yes, I did check again — COM 231 Public Speaking is listed in the "Universal 30" courses. Also, it is listed as one of the courses students use in the AA/AS degree programs.

Ethel Glenn served this organization well in her devotion to teaching, teacher preparation, and curriculum. She championed the Great Ideas for Teaching Speech (G.I.F.T.S.) panels that are so popular at the CCA annual conference. Ethel's leadership and record keeping in CCA should not be forgotten. In fact, a current master's student at UNCG is proposing a communication curriculum for high school students and is drawing from the work Ethel and her colleagues completed in the 1970s and 1980s.

L. Raymond Camp

I turn now to some remarks on Raymond Camp (1935-) of North Carolina State University, who joined this organization in 1969 and became one of the first life members. He served as Vice President and President in the mid-1990s. Ray was almost an opposite of Ethel from a personality perspective. While she was formal and articulate in her speech, he was a man with witty phrasing and charming cadence. His expressive nonverbal communication and animated facial expression kept us focusing on him. Ray earned his Ph.D. from the Pennsylvania State University in 1969, and he joined the faculty at NCSU that same year at the invitation of Charlie Parker. He retired in 2001 and is now in care for aphasia. Ray was a thoughtful scholar of public address and political communication, a Southern gentleman, and a man who enjoyed a good joke and good drink at the bar surrounded by friends and colleagues. We were always laughing, but he worked harder than anyone else to grind out four issues a year of the journal and to present completed papers on panels as a demonstration of his commitment to public address, rhetorical criticism, and political campaign communication. One of his greatest joys was to see his own students present their work at our annual conference.

One of Ray's great contributions to this organization was his editorship of the journal from 1975-1977. The *North Carolina Journal of Speech* was founded by Charlie Parker of NCSU in 1967 and turned over to Ray's editorship in 1975. In the 1988 spotlight video, Ray recounted his two-year journey cranking out issues with Terry Cole (ASU), helping him with the camera-ready copy. Ray made some changes (new cover with a map of North Carolina in red) and some innovations. He published a bibliography

on oral interpretation that he said, "librarians loved"—along with that cover! He instituted a kind of dialogue with the Speech Communication Association (now NCA) by publishing critiques from CSCA members. His big success was the 1976 Bi-Centennial issue, described in Executive Council minutes as getting the "Hoop de do da" treatment for its special cover, a message from the Governor, a bibliography of NC Revolution speakers from 1760-1800, and an article by the British consulate to the United States. Hoop de do da, indeed! Ray was really proud of that issue. He had journal subscriptions in 37 states and Canada, over 150 paid subscriptions, and called the editorship his "most stimulating experience in CCA." By 1977, he was tired and wrote a one-page pun from an alter ego, a certain Dr. Slogpender, who had broken down from the energy it took to do four issues a year! Of course, today, we publish one issue of the *CCA Annual*.

Spinning off from his editorship of scholarship was his influential role in *promoting* research. Ray made sure that scholarship was as strong a focus at the conference as the teaching emphasis that was already present. His scholarship influenced both his students who brought papers to CCA and to his peers in CCA. Panels with colleagues like Howard Dorgan of Appalachian State University always packed the room. Ray's presentations were exciting to listen to and we enjoyed his papers right up until he retired. At the September 2000 business meeting, former CCA President, Roy Schwartzman, proposed creating a research award to be named after Ray. This was a unanimous vote of love. A donation of $100 got the award started, and the criteria specified a complete paper from a current member of the Association with potential for publication in the journal. Richard Leeman of UNC Charlotte won the first award in 2001.

Ray's research interests in political communication, and his teaching experience in Mississippi in the early 1960s, positioned him well in 1988 to challenge CCA for not having more participation by African American colleagues. At the time, NC A & T faculty were regular members, but we really had not extended much beyond that. One of his inspirations to me was during my time as the 2nd VP in charge of membership in 2001. We conducted a membership drive and targeted the HBCUs in both states; at the time, there were eight in SC and eleven in NC. We did add new membership and our convention in Greensboro in 2002 drew a number of panels featuring diversity as part of the conference theme "Communicating Civility and Civil Rights." However, CCA has not had enough consistency in African American membership over the years. CCA can do better to be inclusive, such as our convention program in Greenville in 2014 on "Communicating Civic Responsibility and Reconciliation," but diverse leadership as well as membership should be a goal—Ray would want that. In 2001, CCA did take a stand to support the NAACP boycott in South Carolina over the confederate flag flying on the Capitol grounds. We did not meet in South Carolina while that flag flew, we did debate the situation, and we ultimately sent a letter to the South Carolina governor's office in protest.

Ethel Glenn and Ray Camp are a part of the reason that CCA has been successful as a site for professional development, the expression of teaching and scholarship, and the cultivation of life long friendships. Ethel and Ray inspired me to be a faithful member, and I have benefitted from active involvement in "third generation" leadership; I served in every officer position except web manager and journal editor, and I am a life

member. As I look toward retirement, I thank our previous leadership and ask that the future officers and members of CCA continue the legacy of excellence.

The Contributions of Sandra Hochel (University of South Carolina Aiken) to the Carolinas Communication Association: 1980 – 2008

Charmaine E. Wilson

Capable and committed individuals are essential to successfully launch and maintain a new organization. One of the earliest members of the Carolinas Speech Communication Association, Dr. Sandra Hochel was key to the establishment and success of the association that would eventually be renamed the Carolinas Communication Association (CCA). Through her many contributions to CCA, Sandy Hochel made a difference.

Some years ago, Dr. Keith Griffin posted a brief review of the beginning of the association on the CCA website (Griffin, n.d.). Griffin reports that in North Carolina prior to 1980, the professionals in the disciplines of speech and theatre combined to have an association and a conference. For reasons unknown, the group members had parted ways. Griffin was responsible for membership of the North Carolina Speech Communication Association. He reached out to speech communication professionals in both North and South Carolina, and invited them to attend a speech conference at Wingate College. Sandra Hochel, from the University of South Carolina Aiken, was among those who attended that meeting, and from that first meeting on, Sandy was a valued member of the group.

Sandy's roles in the new group were perhaps less visible than the roles of many other members. She was never president or vice president, and she was never editor of the association's journal. But Sandy was always doing those jobs that needed to be done. She wrote and revised the constitution and by-laws for the group, she recruited new members, she reviewed papers and chaired sessions, and she identified and enlisted future officers. Sandy would spend time writing personalized resolutions about each officer in the group, as well as those who had helped plan that year's meeting. The association members would vote on the resolutions at the business meeting, and the secretary of the association would send letters with the carefully crafted resolutions to the supervisors of the individuals. The organization recognized her contributions by awarding her the Betty Jo Welch Award in 1997.

My own recollections of the Association go back to 1991. I was a newly hired assistant professor at the University of South Carolina Aiken in August of that year. As my senior colleague, Sandy talked to me early on about joining CCA and made it clear we would be attending the conference together in a few weeks. That was the first of many conferences she and I attended (I'm guessing 20), and I quickly saw that she was a "mover and shaker" in the organization.

The most significant memory I have of the first conference I attended with Sandy was not the program. It was meeting many good people who treated each other well. I remember meeting a number of the other founding members: Ethel Glenn, Dolores Jones, Howard Dorgan, Terry Cole, George Lellis, and Lloyd Rohler. I also met individuals who

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were newer to the organization and would become friends, including Jody Natalle, Nina Jo Moore, and Jean DeHart. I remember feeling embraced by the group.

Sandy made certain I met everyone and became well integrated into the organization. The two of us did not spend a lot of time in our rooms, nor did we go off and have meals alone. We spent time with our CCA colleagues. I quickly learned that CCA was a group where you developed friendships and found people who shared your interests. So many of us then (and still now) were in small departments where we were the one person who focused on organizational or interpersonal or argumentation. This was not a group where people were busy trying to impress or outshine. CCA was an organization that fostered inclusion, and members like Sandy made sure of it.

Sandy also contributed to CCA by promoting the association as a group that values and encourages excellent teaching and strong departments. She was a regular contributor to the Great Ideas for Teaching Speech (GIFTS) panels, where many a member learned new pedagogical strategies and gained insights on how to incorporate innovations like service-learning into classes. Sandy organized and participated on panels to discuss topics that including building new degree programs, assessing program effectiveness, challenging outstanding students when you don't have an honors program, making the communication department more visible, and so on. When the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools added speech as an accreditation requirement, Sandy took advantage of the knowledge and experience of her CCA colleagues to create a plan for USC Aiken, and I'm certain she then shared that information at one of the next meetings of the group. When communication and speech programs came under attack, Sandy was a member of the group that worked together for solutions. So, not only did she want the organization to be inclusive, she wanted our conferences to have value for a wide range of attendees, not just those seeking a venue to present and get feedback on research.

Sandy's own personal interests were not the focus of her attention when it came to CCA. She, as J. Dan Rothwell (2016) would say, had her focus on the "we," not the "me." Sandy always attended the annual CCA business meeting. And she was, as you would expect of a champion debater, a voice of reason. Sandy encouraged us to deliberate very thoughtfully without making rash decisions. In the early 1990's, Sandy was among the many CCA members who argued that the association should support the NCAA boycott against South Carolina because of its flying of the Confederate flag. She asked the tough questions. She reminded us to think about the unintended consequences of decisions. "What message would we be sending?" or "What precedent are we setting?"

Sandy Hochel also helped groom future leaders of the organization. I am a case in point. Since my first conference in 1991, Sandy taught me through her own actions and through her words how to be an effective member. With her support and guidance, I proposed panels and volunteered for ad hoc committees. Eventually, I accepted the nominating committee's request that I run for secretary, and served in that role for several years. Since then, I have served as treasurer, I've gone through the vice president to president progression, planned a meeting, and attended almost every conference for the last 26 years.

Over the years, I learned much from Sandy—she was my mentor at USC Aiken, she is one of my dearest friends, and I still seek her out when I need sound counsel. Sandy was a master teacher and administrator and embodies the notion of life-long

learner. At USCA, she taught public speaking, argumentation and debate, persuasion, and eventually interpersonal communication. As she progressed in her career, she developed an expertise in intercultural communication, travelled the world, taught for Summer at Sea, and was a two-time Fulbright Scholar. She was an award-winning teacher at USCA, and she influenced the lives of thousands of students. At the same time, Sandy Hochel was one of several individuals who made the Carolinas Communication Association a group that is welcoming, inclusive, and supportive, as well as socially responsible. Thanks to Sandy and others, CCA is an organization where we can develop professionally as teachers, as scholars, and as administrators, and also a place where we can come together to reaffirm our values and ensure the integrity and strength of our discipline.

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Developing Robust Undergraduate Research Opportunities in Communication Studies: A Community-Based Research Approach

Vincent Russell, Spoma Jovanovic, Margaret Bozovich, Jessica Clifford, and Rodney Johnson

Incorporating undergraduate research in communication studies into a community-based research project offers students, faculty, and the community important ways to advance social change while also providing students a platform to practice democratic arts and gain experiences which prepare them for success beyond academia. We detail how 35 undergraduate students were involved in a multi-year research project about Participatory Budgeting and conclude that intentionality on the part of the faculty member, offering adequate support and guidance to students, and providing students with intellectual products contributed to the development of robust undergraduate partnerships.

Keywords: undergraduate research, community-based research, social change, democracy

The value of a college education has traditionally been recognized as an important contributor to a thriving democracy as students invest four years in learning to think critically, engage with new ideas and research, write extensively, and develop their capacities to speak in the public sphere. Yet, that presupposition was challenged, most notably by Arum and Roska, authors of the controversial 2010 book, *Academically Adrift: Limited Learning on College Campuses,* whose research revealed that a large percentage of college students were not learning critical thinking, complex reasoning, or communication skills as hoped. Since then, higher education administrators, professional associations, and faculty have integrated considerably more assessment and accountability measures into their operations in an effort to prove the value and relevancy of higher education to legislators, parents, and others funding the rising cost of college.

In the field of communication, the National Communication Association (NCA) took the concern to task, bringing together faculty from around the country to answer the basic question, "What should a graduate with a communication degree know, understand, and be able to do?" (Kidd, 2015, p. 6). The result was a comprehensive list of nine learning outcomes that, in addition to proving the worth of the discipline to funders, provided a clear, concise roadmap for communication departments to use in preparing students to be productive members of civil society and ready to enter an evolving job market. Among the recommendations that NCA promotes is for students to "engage in communication inquiry" and further to "create messages appropriate to the audience, purpose, and context" as well as to "advocate a course of action to address local, national and/or global issues from a Communication perspective" (NCA, 2015, pp. 6-7). It is with those three specific goals in mind—engaging in research, generating context-specific messages, and advocating for positive changes in the community—that informed a robust undergraduate research experience we write about here. That endeavor involved 35 students over the course of 18 months who worked under the direction of a faculty-graduate student team on a citywide effort to increase democratic participation in local government.

We examine the research and evaluation project of the first Participatory Budgeting process in Greensboro, NC (see Jovanovic & Russell, 2016). Participatory Budgeting (PB) is a directly democratic process, which allows residents to decide how to spend a portion of their city's tax dollars. PB processes engage historically marginalized groups and have been found to reduce political and economic inequalities because they reallocate resources to low-income people, increase public oversight of government, and create stronger social networks (Leighninger & Rinehart, 2016). Given the inclusive and empowering nature of PB, we committed ourselves to making the research and evaluation of Greensboro's PB process as inclusive and transparent as possible by including various stakeholders such as community members, undergraduate students, graduate students, and faculty.

We demonstrate lessons in how to weave together undergraduate research (UR) and community-based research (CBR) into a multi-year evaluation effort. UR has been determined to improve student classroom performance and increase post-graduation achievement (Hu, Scheuch, Schwartz, Gayles, & Li, 2008) while CBR validates multiple sources of knowledge with the goal of advancing social change for the purpose of social justice (Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker, & Donohue, 2003). By reflecting on our challenges and successes, we aim to offer practical lessons for others who wish to establish or strengthen undergraduate partnerships within their research agendas.

We conclude that 1) intentionality on the part of the faculty member to include undergraduate students; 2) offering adequate support and guidance to undergraduate students; and 3) providing students with an intellectual product they could take with them after course completion contributed to the development of robust undergraduate partnerships between faculty, graduate students, and community members.

Literature Review

Undergraduate Research

Over the past twenty years, higher education has placed a growing emphasis on the importance of undergraduate research. Hakim (2000) defines undergraduate research as "a student-faculty collaboration to examine, share, and create new knowledge or works in ways commensurate with practices in the discipline" (p. 1). The benefits of UR for students have been well documented, including improved retention, increased classroom performance, and greater post-graduation achievement (Hu, Scheuch, Schwartz, Gayles, & Li, 2008). Locally, the Carolinas Communication Association has awarded undergraduate research papers since 1995 ("Awards and Prizes", n.d.).

Multiple parties benefit from UR, including students, faculty, institutions, and the discipline. Undergraduate research can build a student's confidence and enthusiasm in their field of choice, while offering a rare glimpse into the rigors of graduate school. Indeed, research collaborations between faculty and students generate higher satisfaction in college for students and increase their desire to achieve and continue their education (Malachowski, 1999). Students who perform UR benefit from opportunities to present their work at academic conferences. Such experiences are simultaneously scholarly and professional and tend to possess monetary incentives and networking opportunities. Overall, undergraduate students can benefit from UR in five distinct areas: critical thinking skills, technical skills, problem identification, theory and research, and preparation for graduate school (Hartmann, 1990).

Faculty, too, benefit from incorporating undergraduate students into the research process, for it grants scholars the opportunity to mentor their strongest and most conscientious students. Out-of-class relationships that feature genuine encouragement for a student's success can create long-lasting bonds. Such experiences can result in transformational learning that profoundly impacts a faculty member's teaching strategies (Rodrick & Dickmeyer, 2002). UR is a learning experience for all involved, as faculty and students learn from and with each other.

UR also makes important contributions to the field of communication studies. "By challenging students to go above and beyond what has already been researched, we are encouraging them to leave an imprint on the field of communication" (Tyus, 2016, p. 13). Undergraduate students may offer fresh perspectives on issues and theories, and their work may be included in scholarly publications. By attending conferences or winning awards, undergraduate students bolster the reputation of their departments and institutions (Rodrick & Dickmeyer, 2002). Their successes, in turn, may generate increased excitement for communication studies among peers who see how the research makes classroom instruction practical and real.

Of course, the time commitments for both students and faculty are increasingly stretched thin, and UR may appear as a luxury which many cannot afford. To address this, faculty may introduce students to their research through the department's research methods class or senior capstone course. These classes build off one another to help students gain valuable research skills they can take later into the workforce or graduate school (Rodrick & Dickmeyer, 2002).

Whether incorporated into a curriculum or into a student's extracurricular experiences, undergraduate research stands to benefit students, faculty, and the field, as research, teaching, and mentoring fold into a holistic practice. When combined with community-based research, these benefits can be shared even more broadly.

Community-Based Research

Community-Based Research (CBR) is a process whereby community organizations partner with universities to carry out research that is beneficial to both in advancing disciplinary knowledge and addressing issues of community concern (Rosenberg, Karp, & Baldwin, 2016). The philosophical commitments of CBR include valuing multiple forms of knowledge and targeting social change efforts to advance social justice (Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker, & Donahue, 2003). The collaboration among community partners and higher education stakeholders begins with establishing the research questions and continues throughout all phases of the research. What sets CBR apart from other forms of research is the central role of the community in the process and outcome. Importantly, the rigor and systematic inquiry indicative of all strong research practices undergirds CBR in bridging academic and community measures of success. The work often leads to the creation of public and discipline-specific products such as evaluation reports, grant proposals, journal articles, conference presentations, exhibits, and posters.

For its proponents, CBR is public work undertaken for public purposes, rooted in both intellectual pursuit and practical application. As such, it is vital to introduce student researchers to community work where they can learn to integrate research and community action into programs that target meaningful impact and community change (Stoecker, 2013). CBR thus not only helps students become aware of local issues but also connects students with community organizations working for social change. Bachen (1999) suggests that many students who participate in CBR form bonds with the community that last outside of the research process and timeline. Along the way, students develop interpersonal skills and engage in critical thinking on social justice issues (Lancaster, Hossfeld, O'Donnell, & Geen, 2011).

Reciprocity is generally regarded as one of the most important features of CBR, despite being difficult to actualize and even harder to assess (Malm, Prete, Calamia, & Eberle 2012). To effectively carry out CBR, universities and communities alike must agree on what roles each will inhabit, the methods by which the research will be completed, and the goals of the research (Fontaine, 2006). According to Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2000), researchers ought to emphasize empowerment and look for ways to work *with* rather than *for* the community.

With these values and commitments in mind, we entered into a partnership with the City of Greensboro to research the city's first Participatory Budgeting process. To do so, we embraced the tenets of CBR as we incorporated undergraduate students into challenging, rewarding community-based research.

Pairing Undergraduates with Community Evaluation Efforts

The research team tasked with evaluating Greensboro PB began with only two people—a faculty member and graduate student—but consistent with CBR practices expanded to incorporate more talent, expertise, and assistance. For instance, a local research board was created, comprised of an interdisciplinary group of seven faculty researchers from five different colleges and universities in the state. In consultation with city officials, the team developed and refined survey questions and data collection protocols for the research project. The research utilized a mixed methods approach, using both quantitative and qualitative data collection analysis in order to comprehensively assess the process.

Inviting undergraduate students into this community research project that garnered local and national visibility was made possible through advance planning for how the research tasks could be effectively distributed so that students could learn how to do tasks and also complete them within the timeframe of a semester. The faculty member (Jovanovic) and graduate student (Russell) co-authors of the final report were prepared for this challenge following several years of communication activism research focused on PB (Frey & Palmer, 2014) that included collecting field notes since 2011, preparing and analyzing community surveys, collaborating on field note protocols, and writing progress reports on Greensboro PB's advocacy efforts (Jovanovic & Russell, 2014).

In addition to the local research board and undergraduate researchers, the evaluation report co-authors solicited the advice from other PB researchers around the country. The team that evaluated Chicago's Participatory Budgeting process and the staff members at Public Agenda, a non-partisan organization contracted to collect and collate research data for all North American PB efforts, provided on-going assistance.

With the research players in place, Greensboro's PB process launched in August 2015 and concluded in April 2016. By the end of the eight-month process, approximately 2,000 people participated, either by proposing a project idea, developing a project proposal, voting and/or volunteering in another capacity (Jovanovic & Russell, 2016). These residents allocated $500,000 of the city's budget and approved projects such as bus benches, street improvements, shade covers at public pools, and murals.

The evaluation of Greensboro PB sought to provide answers to three research questions that probed for civic participation and community-government relations:

> **RQ1:** How does civic engagement change among different community segments—the general population, communities of color, and other groups who have not traditionally been engaged with city government—as compared to voting or other measures of participation?

> **RQ2:** How is PB inclusive, thereby generating increased participation from Greensboro's historically marginalized communities (Black/African American, Latino/Hispanic, other) as well as the general population?

> **RQ3:** In what ways does PB affect community attitudes and trust/relationships between citizens and city government?

In addition to collecting quantifiable data, we sought to bring attention to the often taken for granted ways in which communication operates by highlighting interactions at community meetings to reveal values, power, intentions, strategies, ethics, and community building potential. Thus, our research examined the phenomenon of community engagement in local political processes by evaluating the ways people communicate and participate with the City of Greensboro's inaugural Participatory Budgeting process.

Democracy education, the touchstone for PB, involves advocating for people to be involved in decisions and self-governing practices. Educator Bill Ayers (2004) explains:

> A functioning, vital democracy requires, in the first place, participation, some tolerance and acceptance of difference, some independent thought, some spirit of mutuality…Democracy demands active, thinking human beings—we ordinary people, after all, are expected to make the big decision that affect our lives—and in a democracy education is designed to empower and to enable that goal. (pp. 9-10)

PB is thus considered a "citizenship school" (Wampler, 2000, p. 25) to build capacities for democratic participation with particular attention to expressions of multiple views, displays of tolerance and care, manifestations of creativity and the balancing of independence and mutuality as people discuss and deliberate on the decisions they make.

As such, our research aimed at evaluating how communication creates the conditions for greater community engagement. That focus was designed to add to the literature on community-based research, democratic pedagogy, and social change processes to advance the public good. (Jovanovic, 2014).

Data sources eventually included: 44 interviews with various stakeholders, lasting 15 minutes to an hour and a half that were conducted face-to-face, by phone, and through email; 724 surveys from PB participants to ascertain demographic information, participant interests in community concerns, attitudes about city government, and prior civic engagement activity; 521 typed pages of field observations from 74 events; review of half a dozen extant city reports; and consideration of 60 news articles.

A project of this size relied on multiple funding sources to ensure students could participate fully. A summer university grant was secured to design and refine PB research training modules that would be later used with the undergraduate students in a research methods course. An additional grant from the Waterhouse Family Institute on the Study of Communication funded both undergraduate and graduate students for out-of-class work in data collection and report writing.

The evaluation effort provided a practical experience for 35 undergraduate students to engage in all phases of the research, though not a single undergraduate student was involved in all phases. Undergraduate students in a research methods class honed their skills in survey design and ethnographic methods specifically designed for the community-based effort (Wadsworth, 2011). The 23 students attended community meetings across the city over a period of eight weeks to first document communicative moments and collect field notes, and then to write vignettes highlighting the quality of interaction at those meetings. Later, eight undergraduate students in a service-learning

course entitled "Communication and Community" organized and supported outreach activities to promote PB and collect surveys. Another student completed an academic internship with PB, which included assisting with volunteer management. Finally, three undergraduate students who received university or external funding, contributed to the preparation of the evaluation report itself, first in the assembling of monthly progress reports throughout the initial phases, and then in the writing and design of the final 192-page report.

Importantly, the contract between the university and the city included explicit language calling for the coordinated effort planned by faculty with students to complete the work, to bring attention to the role of students in the research effort. The contract stated that students would receive instruction in survey design and survey implementation as well as training on observation protocols and preparation of field notes. In addition, the contract stipulated that all participating student research assistants would successfully complete a well-known national on-line research ethics module to reinforce the importance of professional standards in academic research.

Analysis

The undergraduate partnerships developed in this research project constituted two categories: 1) funded undergraduate research assistants and 2) course-based undergraduate student researchers. We make this distinction because the responsibilities and time commitments of the roles were significantly different. The two categories of undergraduate partnership also demonstrate how students were involved in the process in various ways across various times.

Funded Undergraduate Research Assistants

Undergraduate research assistants volunteered to contribute to the project outside of a course requirement and invested significant time conducting data collection, data analysis and report writing/design. They met regularly with the lead researchers, attended community events, and presented at academic conferences. They contributed to written research reports and were regularly encouraged to re-write material as both a learning exercise and to improve their work quality. The undergraduate research assistants received increased support and encouragement from the faculty member and graduate student. They also demonstrated self-direction as they took on tasks and completed them according to deadlines provided by the lead researchers.

The first undergraduate research assistant, Rodney, participated in the research project his senior year of college, from fall 2015 to spring 2016. He met almost weekly with the faculty member and graduate student for several hours at a time to discuss observation protocols, interview protocols, and survey design. He collected field notes at six different events and interviewed three participants. He conducted background research on the city and developed interactive maps which displayed location data about Greensboro PB events. Rodney also worked with the county board of elections and the city's information technology department to acquire voter demographic data and map it across precincts. He developed a website as well for the research and evaluation effort to

ensure transparency and expand the reach of our research to new audiences (see greensboroparticipatorybudgetingresearch.weebly.com).

Rodney's work spanned a full academic year during the data collection phase of the evaluation. Following his graduation, two additional funded undergraduate students joined the effort to work on the report-writing phase of the evaluation that continued during the following summer and fall semester.

Maggie and Jessica, like Rodney, had demonstrated in other undergraduate course work their abilities and desire to collaborate on the research, and thus they were invited to join the team. Jessica agreed to write sections of the report while Maggie took lead responsibility for managing the visual rhetoric and design of the evaluation report.

Jessica viewed her time invested in academic writing as a communicative act that offers opportunities to critically reflect on experiences and make sense of disparate pieces of information. Taking inspiration from Bakhtin's (1981) dialogical realm framework, Motlhaka and Makalela (2016) argue that academic writing is "a dynamic, functional, intersubjective process of reciprocal negotiation among writers and readers, in which discourse mediates interactions among conversants" (p. 252). Jessica reported that writing for the research and evaluation project aided her in better understanding the scope of Participatory Budgeting and the varied roles of community members in supporting a local initiative.

Intensive feedback on Jessica's writing led to multiple revisions. She indicated that this process helped her hone her craft and sharpen her critical thinking skills. As we all wrote to develop different sections of the evaluation report, writing became a shared and collaborative act of inquiry. It was "a complex, mediated, distributed, and dialogic process of discovery and invention where collaboration, feedback, and indeed co-authorship" supported Jessica's learning (Motlhaka & Makalela, 2016, p. 253). For Jessica, the project was challenging, rewarding, and useful to her career ambitions in journalism.

Maggie came into the project with some prior graphic design experience and expressed a desire to put those skills to work for the evaluation report. The importance of graphic design comes from a recognition that the evaluation report constituted a rhetorical artifact and that both content *and* form would shape the perception of readers (Morey, 2014). Recognizing that representation matters (hooks, 1997), throughout the process, Maggie struggled with questions such as for whom were we designing the report, and whose stories would be graphically highlighted? Maggie reported learning about the importance of accessible design – that is, formatting the report so that it was appealing to community members, not just academics and government bureaucrats. Maggie aimed for the report's visual elements to reflect the diversity of participants, especially when selecting which photographs to include.

However, we underestimated the complexity of graphic design for our evaluation report. As the deadline for publication approached, it became clear that Maggie alone would not be able to complete the task. The amount of time and technical skill necessary for formatting the 189-page report required the services of a professional graphic designer who incorporated many of Maggie's design cues into the final product. Like Jessica, Maggie found the project rewarding. Although unable to execute every element of the report's design and formatting, she took pride in the development of several

graphic representations of the community process that are in the report and call attention to the community's participation in PB.

The funded undergraduate assistants invested considerable time in the research, and often under tight deadlines for specific products. To recognize that commitment with financial remuneration, we sought out as many campus-based and external funding opportunities as possible.[1] Funding the work of our three undergraduate research assistants was a significant factor in retaining them throughout the project, and reflected our social justice orientation to adequately compensate these research team members.

Despite the many important contributions and successful outcomes that ensued with the funded undergraduate research assistants, the process was at times fraught. The students' performances were sometimes inconsistent. In response, the faculty member and graduate student lead researchers struggled in considering how best to address the challenges: How much responsibility could we place on the shoulders of students? How much support and guidance should we offer? If we needed to decrease the undergraduates' workload, how could we do so without seemingly excluding them from the project? As might be expected, our undergraduate students occasionally found themselves stretched between commitments to schoolwork, family obligations, other employment, and our research project. We strove to navigate these tensions with patience, empathy, and honesty. Ultimately, all the undergraduate research assistants made valuable contributions to the evaluation of Greensboro PB during the busiest times of the research project.

Course-Based Undergraduate Student Researchers

A growing trend in high education institutions is to get involved in the surrounding communities to address long-standing social, economic, and political concerns (Battistoni, 2006). Thus, an undergraduate communication research methods course was designed specifically to teach the skills, theories, and practices of community-based research surrounding the evaluation of Greensboro Participatory Budgeting. Students, faculty, and community members collaboratively designed and implemented research that validated multiple sources of knowledge, promoted the use of multiple methods of discovery, and supported wide and varied distribution of the knowledge produced. The goal with community-based learning and research is to extend the capacity of nonprofit community partners to potentially bring about positive social change in the areas that they operate (Rosenberg, Karp & Baldwin, 2016). For this particular project, students relied on Yolanda Wadsworth's (2011) text, *Do It Yourself Social Research* that recognizes community-based research is accomplished by "systematically and rigorously amassing observations and imaginatively generating more compelling explanations" (p. 9). Throughout the course, students immersed themselves in the PB process, guided by the central question, how can the community benefit from this research? The students kept detailed records of their involvement, by time and activity type, and completed a

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[1] Internal funders included the University of North Carolina, Greensboro's Office of the Provost; Office of Leadership and Service-Learning; and the Undergraduate Research, Scholarship, and Creativity Office. External funders included Villanova University's Waterhouse Family Institute for the Study of Communication and Society.

series of assignments that mirror the tasks involved in many communication research methods classes, but with a specific link to PB.[2]

The community study required that students learn not only research methods, but also that they understand the context in which the research was taking place, including: the history of the city and current controversies; the geographic divisions within the city as they pertain to race and class segregation; the needs of residents as actually expressed by the residents and not elected or appointed representatives; patterns and processes of communication among residents and with city officials; and how local government operates in making budget and other decisions. Guest speakers from municipal government, nonprofit agencies, and the PB organizing team attended class sessions to provide this context and background information. Students also read *27 Views of Greensboro*, an engaging book detailing the complexities of the city through the perspectives of 27 different authors to "expose its fissures, of race and history, of politics, of culture" (Woodman, 2015, p. 15).

With readings and training in rhetorical analysis, ethnographic research methods, survey design, and interviewing, students were dispatched into the community and assigned work with four goals in mind. These goals reflect a view of civic engagement that scholar Randy Stoecker (2016) considers vital for "liberating" service-learning and community engagement from its tradition of prioritizing student learning instead of the more meaningful work of real social change. In sync with that view, the students' work was designed to: 1) Enhance capacity for change by providing knowledge to the community; 2) Enhance leadership of the community volunteers; 3) Organize constituent community groups; and, 4) Help build organizational capacity (Stoecker, 2016).

The first goal, providing knowledge to the community that can enhance the capacity for change, was accomplished in part with student-designed information graphics that summarized the research collected in various phases of the PB process (see "Research and Documents" at greensboroparticipatorybudgetingresearch.weebly.com). These designs were made into posters and circulated throughout the community to draw attention to how residents were participating in PB.

Second, to enhance the leadership of community volunteers, monthly research reports were prepared and distributed. These reports became "talking points" for PB volunteers in talking to the media.

Some students advanced the third goal, organizing constituent community groups, by educating international community members at events to promote PB. Of note is that approximately 11.7% or 33,059 Greensboro residents are foreign born, speaking 37 different languages (Planning Department, 2016). Participation from Greensboro's international community was admittedly low in the first phase of PB but surged later with increased outreach efforts. One student translated ballots and surveys into Spanish so that the growing Latino/a community members could be fully included in the final PB phase. Other students assisted in hosting an International Expo designed specifically to introduce and promote PB participation among community members whose first language was Spanish, Korean, French, Arabic, Vietnamese, Rhade, and Hindi.

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[2] Assignments included an annotated bibliography of outside research related to PB and community engagement, ethnography/field notes, rhetorical analysis, community interview, survey development, reflective journaling, and visual rhetoric.

The final goal, helping to build organizational capacity, was perhaps the most important function fulfilled by the students. Greensboro PB's staff time was limited, with the need for data collection and outreach outstripping the capacity. The students were recognized as critical team members to extend the reach of the staff members by providing event planning assistance, posting social media information, collecting data, canvassing neighborhoods, and developing graphic materials, in addition to contributing to the overall evaluation effort. The budget director for the city summed up the impact of students this way:

> I was surprised at the consistency of the effort from the students, and I was gratified with how they stuck with the process. I kept seeing students at every event…It was nice to have energy in the room from some of those younger folks.

The students were further applauded for displaying thoughtful and professional demeanors at the many public meetings.

Learning and Feedback

When students serve as research associates, faculty need to provide intense training and feedback to ensure the research skills not only contribute to the students' knowledge, but even more importantly, contribute to the community's goals. To cultivate a collaborative spirit in data collection, to ensure detailed observations from varied perspectives, and to have a means by which mediocre work could be mitigated (Mould, 2014), students were assigned to attend meetings in pairs or trios after receiving in-class training and practice to record the details of how people spoke about PB, community building, and citizen-government relations. One female student wrote a narrative from her field notes that connected detailed observations with matters of representation and storytelling:

> There was tension between Red Hair and the other volunteers. As fast as someone would suggest an idea, Red Hair would shoot it down…. Her excitement for the process was overshadowed by her inability to actively listen to others…This was my second experience taking field notes. After feedback from Spoma as well as information from our text, I was able to see the importance of noting the details.

This student's field notes and narrative were very good, yet as always, there was room for improvement as suggested by the instructor:

> Your ethnography is very good in its reach to explore how this method can be a positive research source for examining interaction. You provide a good example with Red Hair, and could possibly say more…For instance, how did she express concern for the community? You say she shot down ideas of others. How so? What did she say or do? Could you bring in more from your field notes (those are excellent, by the way) to help and detail?

This example shows how the iterative feedback and on-going process of data collection, writing, and review was important to the learning experience for undergraduate researchers.

Other students offered excellent observations and interpretations as well. For instance, another female student wrote about being a participant-observer. She had written earlier in her paper about a man in attendance that was skeptical of ideas being presented for consideration. The student noted that this man was visibly upset and so, as the meeting wrapped up, she took the initiative to talk to him:

> As others are filling out surveys and beginning to leave, I walk up to the man, still sitting in his chair. I say I liked the sidewalk idea. Then we talk for what seemed like 15-20 minutes…about couch potatoes, about sidewalks, about public art and statues. He had been grouchy, and he had spoken against beautification projects but in the end I learned he appreciated all that, he just wanted sidewalks first.

This student noted the value of dialogue in community meetings, and for reaching across difference as a fundamental democratic art needed to inspire trust and cooperative action. The faculty feedback affirmed and challenged the student:

> This is an important part of your paper that gets to the heart of PB *and* communication. That is, sometimes we say things that are aggressive, because we've been wounded or silenced for so long. This idea could benefit from references to justice, inclusion and care that we read about in structuring research and in implementing PB. You also point to dimensions of front-stage and back-stage talk, good communication features to weave into future writings.

The student's observation would eventually inform parts of the final evaluation report that pointed to the value of bringing people together to discuss specific, concrete needs in their community.

The above writing samples and faculty feedback encouraged a kind of learning that creates a partnership between the faculty member and students in doing research, becoming important resources, together, for the community. This is not a new finding for community-engaged scholars, but a message that requires repeating: "If colleges and universities look to their faculty and student bodies as resources in that campus-community partnership and regard community members and leaders as sources of knowledge and expertise, teaching and learning can be transformed" (Hagenhofer, 2014, p. 187).

Indeed, the learning in undergraduate research extends beyond the course concepts. As one male student wrote, his involvement led to an unexpected acknowledgment of his creative ideas:

> Even though my task is to observe, I cannot help myself. I raise my hand to suggest a project. The young lady scribe writes my idea on the board. An indescribable feeling swells inside me. I participated! People are listening to each other. I am in awe.

Similarly, an international student in the country for only that academic year, worried that she would not be able to record observations, or write to the standard expected of community-based research. However, her worries were unfounded. The faculty member wrote:

> You feared you might not understand everything, but you did—you noted the issue of being "alone, together" which is an important communicative notion and you pointed out issues of power and equity through examination of the talk. Terrific! Your writing is beautiful—this is a wonderful paper and a reminder why getting out in the community is the highest form of research and service that I can think of—the spirit of that is in your words.

Undergraduate research activity with training, support, and both public in-class and private direct feedback provides the opportunity for students to learn new skills and contribute in meaningful ways to their community.

Conclusion

The increasing interest in cultivating undergraduate student researchers, we found, has many benefits. Like Paul Harvey, the noted broadcaster for 75 years who made famous the phrase, "The Rest of the Story…" to call attention to news story postscripts, we too think it relevant to include how students applied their undergraduate research experiences upon completion of their work with Participatory Budgeting.

Our funded undergraduate students contributed a tremendous amount of time and skill to data collection and report writing that in turn provided them the opportunity to attend and present at a total of five local and regional academic conferences. These sometimes competitively selected and other times invited events represented important opportunities to demonstrate polished public speaking skills and to communicate research findings with other scholars and students.

The students further used their research experiences to bolster future work they would undertake. Rodney secured meaningful full-time employment in higher education, Maggie was accepted into the graduate program of her choice, and Jessica continued her undergraduate studies in an elite disciplinary honors program.

Rodney was hired at a community college as program coordinator for their Minority Male Success Initiative, a program rooted in social justice that fosters and encourages academic success for first-year minority male college students. He reported:

> The work I did as an undergraduate student has helped me to not only navigate and adapt to the culture that is student development, but also helped me to understand how to organize events and develop the tenacity and determination needed to thrive in this line of work. I draw upon every experience I had as an undergraduate research assistant every day at work.

Rodney's experiences with undergraduate research provided him with the confidence and knowledge to be a valuable team member in promoting social justice through scholarly means.

Maggie was accepted into her first-choice of graduate schools, where she researches media education through a social justice lens. Maggie's graphic design contributions to the report significantly shaped the final product, and an infographic she created has been adopted by the City of Greensboro as one of its preferred promotional materials documenting the impact of PB. She indicated that graduate school was nowhere on her horizon before she started this research project, but researching the power of direct democracy ignited a passion in her to pursue more of this work through advanced education.

Jessica, employing a leadership from the rear style, prodded our research team to meet self-imposed deadlines. We also counted on Jessica to do the background research necessary to write compelling narratives in the final report. Since then, she became one of only a handful of students in communication studies to pursue a yearlong project to earn disciplinary honors upon graduation. Her effort with PB propelled her further into social justice efforts with a project designed to provide digital networking resources for local grassroots organizations.

A number of students in the research methods course also used their community-based research experiences in productive ways. One found employment with a local nonprofit agency mitigating the impacts of human trafficking. Another student secured a paid internship with the Participatory Budgeting Project. One went on to complete a yearlong internship with the YWCA, advancing social justice through art in its Latino Family Center. Other students highlighted their research skills in applying to, and being accepted into graduate school.

The experience of incorporating undergraduate students into a community-based research project was both challenging and rewarding for all parties involved. Many students gained unprecedented civic engagement and research experience. An important factor for supporting student success was to provide them with a product they could showcase after their class ended. All students were able to demonstrate their research proficiencies with one or more of the following: academic posters, conference presentations, websites, and professional writing products. To ensure this, a significant time commitment was required to offer students adequate training, feedback, and support. Finally, intentionality on the part of the faculty member was an important factor in this experience that included securing funding for undergraduate students in grant proposals and building a research methods course around the evaluation of Greensboro PB.

Incorporating undergraduate students into community-based research stands out as a way to tie together multiple missions of higher education and the National Communication Association's goals for communication graduates. That is, undergraduate research which supports community initiatives for social justice both fosters the democratic arts and promotes critical thinking through communication practices while preparing students for entry into the workforce or other educational pursuits.

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Unraveling Complexities in the Teacher-Student Relationship: Perceptions of Immediacy, Credibility, and Learning

Eletra S. Gilchrist-Petty

This study initially examined students' (N = 300) perceptions of teacher immediacy behaviors as predictors of student learning. Data from a multiple linear regression revealed that the combination of verbal and nonverbal immediacy behaviors serves as a significant predictor of student learning. This study further explored how teacher immediacy and credibility (competence and character) impact student learning. A 2 x 2 x 2 three-way analysis of variance was performed to evaluate the effects of students' perceptions of teacher immediacy (high and low), teacher competence (high and low), and teacher character (high and low) on learning. Results indicate significant main effects for teacher competence with learning and immediacy with learning. Also, a significant interaction effect was found regarding perceptions of teacher competence and immediacy with learning, suggesting that students experience more learning with teachers who are both highly immediate and competent. Implications are considered for enhancing learning within the multi-faceted teacher-student relationship.

Keywords: Teacher Credibility, Immediacy Theory, Verbal Immediacy, Nonverbal Immediacy, Teacher Immediacy, Student Learning, Character, Competence

The teacher-student relationship comprises an important interpersonal relationship in the instructional domain. From a transactional communication perspective, teachers and students collaborate on discussions regarding course content and life experiences to create a supportive and effective learning environment. As Friedman and Friedman (2013) stated, "The true job of an educator is to provide students with an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and the ability to acquire it" (p. 8). Hence, teachers are afforded the unique opportunity of enhancing students' intellectual potential and equipping them with tools to not only become surviving, but thriving citizens. Considering both the privilege and responsibility teachers have to impact the current and future success of students, scholars have devoted considerable research toward better understanding the variables that impact teacher-student relationships.

Pedagogy scholarship has noted that teacher-student interactions are moderated by a laundry list of factors, including classroom technology (Schrodt & Witt, 2006), affinity-seeking behaviors (Frymier & Thompson, 1992), responsiveness and assertiveness (Martin, Chesebro, & Mottet, 1997), attire (Richmond, 2002), attractiveness

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(Buck & Tiene, 1989), sexual orientation (Russ, Simonds, & Hunt, 2002), ethnicity (Glascock & Ruggiero, 2006), race (Harris, 2007), age (Edwards & Harwood, 2003), linguistics (Subtirelu, 2015), and sex (Centra & Gaubatz, 2000; Hargett, 1999). These variables, among many others, affect both students' perceptions of teachers and learning. Aside from the aforementioned variables, scholars have noted that immediacy (Andersen, 1986; Gorham, 1988; Mazer & Stowe, 2016) and credibility (Beatty & Zahn, 1990; McCroskey & Young, 1981; Zhang & Sapp, 2013) permeate the teacher-student relationship and greatly impact perceptions of student learning. This study takes another look at the importance of immediacy and credibility in the teacher-student relationship, with special consideration given to the variables' impact on student learning. This study is warranted because the teacher-student relationship is complex and constantly evolving. Hence, this study is birthed out of a desire to offer a deeper perspective concerning the roles teacher immediacy and credibility occupy with student learning. We begin by conceptualizing immediacy theory.

Immediacy

Immediacy as a theoretical framework concerns specific behaviors that connote physical or psychological closeness (Mehrabian, 1971). Immediacy is further defined in terms of Mehrabian's (1971) "principle of immediacy," which states "people are drawn toward persons and things they like, evaluate highly, and prefer; and they avoid or move away from things they dislike, evaluate negatively, or do not prefer" (p. 1). In other words, immediacy relates to approach and avoidance behaviors that are connected to the perceived distance between people. Interpersonal research has examined immediacy behaviors within several human relationships, including supervisor-subordinate (Kelly & Westerman, 2014), coaches and athletes (Turman, 2008), doctor-patient (Richmond, Heisel, Smith, & McCroskey, 2001), and counselor-client (Turock, 1980). Immediacy has particularly been used as a theoretical framework for examining the teacher-student relationship. Teacher immediacy concerns an assortment of verbal and nonverbal behaviors that generate perceptions of psychological closeness between teachers and students (Andersen, 1986; Gorham, 1988). Research has suggested a positive connection between immediacy behaviors and effective teaching (Andersen, 1979; Nussbaum, Comadena, & Holladay, 1987; Teven & Hanson, 2004; Weaver, Wenzlaff, & Cottrell, 1993), as well as positive outcomes for student learning (Andersen, Norton, & Nussbaum, 1981; Chesebro & McCroskey, 2001; King & Witt, 2009; Richmond, Gorham, & McCroskey, 1987). Immediacy is best understood through its verbal, nonverbal, and holistic forms.

Verbal: Verbal immediacy is characterized by stylistic or linguistic dimensions, including the extent one uses the present over the past verb tense, inclusive references (e.g., we versus I), and probability (e.g., will versus may; Gorham, 1988). Verbal immediacy behaviors furthermore consist of humor, praise, self-disclosure, and willingness to provide feedback (Richmond, Lane, & McCroskey, 2006). Words that also decrease the distance between sender and receiver are seen as more immediate (Gorham, 1988). Research findings contend professors' verbal immediacy behaviors affect students' perceptions of quality teaching. For example, Nussbaum et al. (1987) identified humor, self-disclosure, and teacher narratives as three verbal behaviors linked to effective

teachers. Subsequently, Weaver et al. (1993) explored the link between verbal immediacy and being a *master teacher*. Students described a master teacher as (a) possessing excellent presentational skills that keep students awake and interested in the subject and (b) a friend whom they can communicate with on a one-on-one level in a relaxed atmosphere before and after class (Weaver et al., 1993). Henning (2012) added that students perceive effective teachers as using numerous and rich examples, questioning audience members, providing opportunities for participation through sharing examples and using clicker technology, repeating information, and communicating messages of care and concern for learning.

At the forefront of effective teaching is a presumption of student learning. Toward that end, instructional research has correlated teacher verbal immediacy behaviors to student affective, cognitive, and behavioral learning (Christophel, 1990; Gorham, 1988). Gorham's (1988) work revealed that students' cognitive and affective learning were related to multiple verbal teacher communication behaviors: (a) self-disclosure, (b) asking questions or encouraging students to talk, (c) asking questions that solicit viewpoints or opinions, (d) following up on student-initiated topics, (e) references to "our" class, (f) asking how students feel about assignments, due dates, or discussion topics, and (g) invitations for students to telephone or meet outside of class. Immediacy research offers a compelling case that a teacher's verbal immediacy impacts student learning, and similar findings have also been noted with nonverbal immediacy.

Nonverbal: Nonverbal immediacy includes behaviors akin to volume, movement, smiling, forward leaning, and eye contact (Richmond et al., 2006) that are used by teachers to communicate caring to students (Teven & Hanson, 2004). Although scholarly publications presented a convincing case that a teacher's verbal immediacy impacts student learning, some studies (e.g., Christophel, 1990; Gorham, 1988) have suggested that nonverbal immediacy has an even greater impact on student learning, with several teacher immediacy studies suggesting that nonverbal immediacy behaviors are positively correlated with student affect for the teacher, as well as the course (e.g., Chesebro & McCroskey, 2001; Christensen & Menzel, 1998; Frymier & Houser, 2000; Henning, 2012). Teachers who use nonverbal immediacy behaviors are, furthermore, perceived as more credible by students because the psychological distance between teachers and students is reduced (McCroskey, Valencic, & Richmond, 2004; Teven & Hanson, 2004; Thweatt & McCroskey, 1998). Students in a study by Weaver et al. (1993) referenced several nonverbal immediacy behaviors (e.g., movement, gestures, vocal variety, and direct eye contact) when describing what comprises a teacher's effective delivery. Later research by Henning (2012) echoed these findings when students interviewed in his study reported that effective teachers move throughout the class and maintain eye contact with all students.

Positive relationships between nonverbal immediacy and student affective, behavioral, and cognitive learning have also been reported. Specifically, Andersen (1979) found a significant relationship between nonverbal teacher immediacy and affective learning in that immediacy positively influenced student affect toward teacher communication, course content, the course in general, and the instructor. Aside from affective learning, immediacy has also been positively correlated to student cognitive learning and information recall (Christophel, 1990; Gorham, 1988). Findings by Richmond et al. (1987a) indicated vocal expressions, smiling, a relaxed body, movement

around the classroom, and gesturing were all teacher nonverbal immediacy behaviors associated with students' cognitive learning. Holistically, the literature suggests many educational benefits are associated with teachers using nonverbal immediacy behaviors in the classroom, but immediacy seems most impactful when the verbal and nonverbal aspects work in unison.

Overall Immediacy: Research has presumed when verbal and nonverbal teacher immediacy behaviors combine several positive student outcomes ensue, including affect, behavioral intent, perceived cognitive learning, motivation, and classroom climate (Chesebro & McCroskey, 2001; Mazer & Stowe, 2016; Richmond, 2002; Rocca & McCroskey, 1999; Thweatt & McCroskey, 1998). As summarized by Richmond (2002), increased teacher immediacy results in several advantages including: (a) increased liking, affiliation, and positive affect from the student toward the teacher and subject matter; (b) increased student motivation; (c) reduced student resistance; (d) the teacher being perceived as a competent communicator; (e) reduced student anxiety; (f) increased student-teacher communication and interaction; (g) reduced teacher intimidation; and (h) higher teacher evaluations.

Data have indicated that students who observe frequent verbal and nonverbal immediacy behaviors in their teachers tend to give high ratings to the overall quality of instruction (Moore, Masterson, Christophel, & Shea, 1996). Relatedly, students who view their teachers as immediate indicate they enjoy the course more, feel more comfortable with course material, and intend to pursue the subject farther (Andersen, 1979; Christophel, 1990; Gorham, 1988). Rocca and McCroskey (1999) associated more teacher immediacy with increased perceived similarity, and students viewed immediate teachers as more interpersonally attractive. Students have also perceived teachers as most competent, trustworthy, and caring when they were high in immediacy (Thweatt & McCroskey, 1998).

Using past knowledge regarding the importance of combined verbal and nonverbal teacher immediacy behaviors, Burroughs (2007) offered a glimpse into what an immediate teacher looks like, describing the teacher as one who ". . . seems relaxed, animated and vocally expressive during class lectures and discussions, moreover, this teacher smiles frequently, engages in a lot of eye contact and is generally perceived as friendly and approachable" (p. 456). In contrast, Burroughs identified a nonimmediate teacher from a combined verbal and nonverbal perspective as one who ". . . seems tense, reserved, and vocally unexpressive during class lectures and discussions. Moreover, the teacher seldom smiles, avoids looking directly at students and is generally perceived as remote, aloof and unapproachable" (p. 456).

Studies have noted the merit in examining teacher immediacy in its verbal (e.g., Christophel, 1990; Gorham, 1988), nonverbal (e.g., Christensen & Menzel, 1998; Frymier & Houser, 2000; Henning, 2012), and overall forms (e.g., Chesebro & McCroskey, 2001; Mazer & Stowe, 2016; Richmond, 2002; Rocca & McCroskey, 1999; Thweatt & McCroskey, 1998). Thus, this study follows its predecessors and examines all three forms of immediacy. Specifically, this study seeks to explore how teacher immediacy behaviors predict student learning and offers the following hypothesis:

> H_1: Students' perceptions of teacher verbal, nonverbal, and overall immediacy
> will predict perceptions of overall learning.

Credibility

Along with immediacy, credibility is essential to the teacher-student relationship. Aristotle referred to credibility as ethos, and as related rubrics, credibility and ethos are often used interchangeably in the communication discipline. Andersen and Clevenger (1963) defined ethos or credibility as "the image held of a communicator at a given time by a receiver" (p. 59). Aristotle viewed credibility as a multidimensional construct comprised of three dimensions: intelligence, character, and good will (Cooper, 1932). Since Aristotle's initial conceptualization, many scholars have illuminated the intricacies of credibility. For instance, McCroskey, Holdridge, and Toomb (1974) identified five dimensions of credibility: competence, character, sociability, extroversion, and composure; but, at a minimum, credibility is a multidimensional construct comprised of competence and character. The communication discipline has extensively explored the impact of speaker credibility on receivers, with Aristotle alleging that ethos is the most powerful means of persuasion (Cooper, 1932). However, the classroom situation differs from most public speaking situations in that students typically have extended and direct contact with teachers, which warrants a unique discussion of teacher credibility.

Teacher Credibility: Teacher credibility is generally regarded as the degree to which students perceive a teacher to be believable. Both major components of credibility, competence and character, have been linked to overall favorable perceptions of teacher credibility (Gerhardt, 2016). This is important to know since perceptions of teacher credibility are associated with students' holistic educational experience. For instance, research by Beatty and Zahn (1990) found that teacher credibility was positively associated with students' (a) overall rating of course excellence and the instructor and (b) intentions to take more courses from the instructor, recommend the instructor and course to peers, and take more communication courses from other instructors. More recent research by Zhang and Sapp (2013) found that students are less likely to resist compliance-gaining requests from teachers they perceive as credible. Teacher credibility studies span several decades and illustrate that researchers have had an enduring interest in better understanding the role of credibility in the teacher-student relationship. While research has long acknowledged the benefits associated with students' positive perceptions of teachers, credibility is subjective and seen through the "eye of the beholder" (Russ et al., 2002).

Because credibility is fluid, situationally dependent, and not automatically given (Gilchrist-Petty, in press), many teachers are greatly concerned about establishing and maintaining positive credibility in the classroom. For instance, findings by Powers, Nitcavic, and Koerner (1990) indicated that college teachers are generally cognizant of their extroversion, competence, composure, and character. Also, to help boost their ethos, some teachers make concerted efforts to justify their earned credentials to students, dress professionally, and even over-prepare for class (Harlow, 2003; Harris, 2007). Yet, despite these efforts, many variables can affect how positively or negatively students' view teacher credibility, and verbal and nonverbal immediacy have been directly linked to perceptions of teacher credibility. Teven and Hanson (2004), for example, found that instructors generate more positive perceptions of credibility when they are nonverbally immediate in the classroom and use more explicit, verbally caring messages toward students. Relatedly, Pogue and AhYun (2006) found that students experience more

affective learning and motivation with highly immediate and highly credible teachers. Even very recent research findings by Mazer and Stowe (2016) revealed strong main effects that suggested high levels of teacher immediacy led to increased teacher credibility. Given the strong connection between immediacy and credibility, this study aims to acquire more intimate knowledge of how teacher immediacy and credibility impact student learning through the following hypothesis:

> H_2: Students' perceptions of teacher immediacy, competence, and character are positively associated with overall learning.

Method

Participants and Procedures

Participants included a sample of undergraduate college students, who were at least 18 years old and enrolled in classes at a mid-size urban university in the southeastern region of the United States; 300 students participated in this study, whose present age ranged from 18 to 51 years ($M = 22.2$, $SD = 4.40$). There were 136 (45.3%) male and 164 (54.7%) female participants. Of the 300 participants, 223 (74.3%) indicated they were White Americans, 65 (21.7%) were Black Americans, 6 (2.0%) were Hispanic Americans, 3 (1.0%) were Asian or Pacific Islander, and 3 (1.0%) classified their race as Other. The sample included 22 (7.3%) freshmen, 65 (21.7%) sophomores, 77 (25.7%) juniors, 110 (36.7%) seniors, and 26 (8.6%) graduate students.

Students were recruited for participation through their enrollment in a variety of Liberal Arts classes, with the understanding they would receive extra credit for their volunteer participation. The survey initially asked students to complete general demographic items, such as age, gender, race, and academic classification. Based on the guidelines outlined by Gorham (1988), students were subsequently instructed to envision a college professor that they regard as *ideal*. The professor could be someone who taught the students in the past, was currently teaching them, or someone whom the students desired to be taught by in the future. Students were asked to keep their *ideal professor* in mind throughout the study. Participants then completed self-report measures to determine their perceptions of teacher credibility and verbal and nonverbal immediacy behaviors. Completion of the study took approximately 15 minutes.

Measures

Verbal Teacher Immediacy. Students evaluated the professor's verbal immediacy behaviors using Gorham's (1988) 17-item Verbal Immediacy Behaviors scale. Responses on the Likert scale ranged from *never* (0) to *very often* (4). Students indicated how often their ideal professor responds in a particular way when teaching. Sample questions included: "My ideal professor uses humor in class"; "My ideal professor asks questions that solicit viewpoints or opinions"; and "My ideal professor addresses students by name". The verbal immediacy measure has consistently demonstrated high reliability, with alpha and split-half reliabilities for students'

assessments ranging from .83 to .94 (Christophel, 1990; Gorham, 1988). Alpha reliability for this study was .86 ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 0.84$).

Nonverbal Teacher Immediacy. Nonverbal teacher immediacy was measured using Richmond, Gorham, and McCroskey's (1987) Nonverbal Immediacy Behaviors Instrument. The 14-item Likert scale assessed students' perceptions of a teacher's physical and psychological closeness by identifying approach and avoidance behaviors. Students were asked to indicate how frequently their ideal professor engages in specific nonverbal behaviors. Sample questions included: "My ideal professor gestures while talking to the class"; "My ideal professor looks at the class while talking"; and "My ideal professor smiles at individual students in the class". Responses ranged from *never* (0) to *very often* (4). Reliability for the nonverbal immediacy measure has ranged from .73 to .89 (Christophel, 1990; Gorham, 1988; Richmond et al., 1987a). Alpha reliability for this study was .74 ($M = 2.99$, $SD = 0.73$).

Overall Immediacy. The 17 items of Gorham's (1988) Verbal Immediacy Behaviors scale and the 14 items of Richmond's et al., (1987a) Nonverbal Immediacy Behaviors scale combine to form the 31-item Immediacy Behavior Scale (Gorham, 1988). Alpha reliability coefficients for the total immediacy behavior scale have ranged from .80 to .89 (Christophel, 1990; Moore et al., 1996), and the overall alpha reliability for this study was .82 ($M = 2.93$, $SD = 0.78$).

Perceived Learning. To assess students' overall perception of classroom cognitive learning, the example set by Richmond, McCroskey, Kearney, and Plax (1987) was followed. Specifically, respondents were asked to rate on a scale of 0-9 how much they learned or how much they thought they would learn from a class taught by their ideal professor; 0 meant they learned or would learn nothing, while 9 suggested they learned or would learn more than from any other class. This is a common means for assessing student cognitive learning. As noted by Chesebro and McCroskey (2000), "…instructional communication researchers almost exclusively have measured cognitive learning by asking student to report their own estimations of how much they have learned" (p. 297). Thus, this study followed the established paradigm, and the mean learning score was 8.18 ($SD = 0.97$).

Teacher Credibility. Two dimensions of teacher credibility were measured using McCroskey and Young's (1981) Teacher Credibility scale. This 12-item semantic differential scale asks students to evaluate their professor based on specific bipolar adjectives listed on a 7-point scale. The two-dimensional scale measures competence (intelligent/unintelligent, untrained/trained, expert/inexpert, uninformed/informed, competent/incompetent, stupid/bright) and character (sinful/virtuous, dishonest/honest, unselfish/selfish, sympathetic/unsympathetic, high character/low character, untrustworthy/trustworthy). Six items are reserve coded so that higher scores reflect higher perceptions of credibility, and McCroskey and Young (1981) reported that the scale has good construct and predictive validity and high internal reliability. Frymier and Thompson (1992) found alpha reliabilities of .83 for competence and .84 for character, whereas alpha reliability estimates for this investigation were competence, .77 ($M = 6.55$, $SD = 3.46$), and character, .73 ($M = 6.21$, $SD = 3.03$).

Results

One objective of this study was to explore students' perceptions of professor immediacy behaviors as predictors of student learning. Thus, a multiple linear regression calculated student learning based on perceptions of teacher verbal immediacy, nonverbal immediacy, and combined (verbal and nonverbal) immediacy. The linear combination of the three immediacy variables was significantly related to students' perceptions of overall learning: $F(2, 297) = 25.83$, $p < .001$, with an R^2 of .148, indicating that approximately 14.8% of the variance of students' perceptions of overall learning could be accounted for by the linear combination of verbal immediacy, nonverbal immediacy, and overall immediacy. However, only the coalesced (verbal and nonverbal) immediacy variable accounted for the unique variance in students' perceptions of overall learning ($t = 3.66$, $p < .001$).

This study's second hypothesis stated that students' perceptions of teacher immediacy and competence would be positively associated with overall learning. To explore this hypothesis, the overall immediacy variable was dichotomized on the median (2.93), where scores at or below the median reflected low perceptions of teacher immediacy, while scores higher than the median denoted high perceptions of teacher immediacy. Likewise, a median split occurred on the two components of the credibility measure, competence and character (competence = 6.50 and character = 6.21), where scores at or below the median were labeled as low competence/low character, and scores higher than the median were coded as high competence/high character. See Table 1 for each factor's descriptive statistics.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics _____

Factor	Mean	SD	N
High Immediacy	3.17	0.18	172
Low Immediacy	2.60	0.24	128
High Competence	6.90	0.14	189
Low Competence	5.96	0.57	111
High Character	6.73	0.25	160
Low Character	5.61	0.48	140
Learning	8.03	1.20	300

* Note: Grand Mean = 300

Using the median-split variables, a 2 x 2 x 2 three-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to evaluate the effects of students' perceptions of teacher immediacy (high and low), teacher competence (high and low), and teacher character (high and low) on learning. The results for the ANOVA revealed a significant main effect for teacher competence with learning, F (1, 299) = 16.37, $p <$ .001, indicating a significant difference between how students view high competent teachers (M = 6.90, *SD* = 0.14) compared to teachers low in competence (M = 5.96, *SD* = 0.57). The main effect of immediacy with learning yielded an F ratio of F (1, 299) = 20.33, $p <$ .001, indicating that the mean score of teachers perceived high in immediacy (M = 3.17, *SD* = 0.18) is statistically significantly higher than teachers viewed lower in immediacy (M = 2.60, *SD* = 0.24). Additionally, the results also showed a significant interaction effect for perceptions of teacher competence by perceptions of teacher immediacy with learning, F (1, 29) = 5.13, $p <$ .05, indicating that the competence effect was greater with teachers high in immediacy than those low in immediacy. Results from the ANOVA did not indicate a significant main effect for teacher character with learning, F (1, 299) = 0.96, $p >$ .05; and the data did not indicate interaction effects for immediacy by character with learning F (1, 299) = .22, $p >$ .05; competence by character with learning, F (1, 299) = 1.39, $p >$ .05; or immediacy by character and competence with learning, F (1, 299) = .312, $p >$ .05. See Table 2 for all 3-way ANOVA results.

Table 2

Results of 3-way ANOVA for perceptions of Student Learning_____

Factor	Sum of Squares	*df*	Mean Square	*F* value	*p* value
Immediacy (A)	15.92	1	15.92	20.33	<.001*
Competence (B)	12.82	1	12.82	16.37	<.001*
Character (C)	0.75	1	0.75	0.96	0.32
A x B	4.01	1	4.01	5.13	0.02*
A x C	0.17	1	0.17	0.22	0.63
B x C	1.09	1	1.09	1.39	0.24
A x B x C	0.24	1	0.24	0.31	0.57
Error	228.62	292	0 .78		

* Significant difference at $p <$ .05.

Discussion

This study pierces deeper into the complexities of the teacher-student relationship. Teachers are charged with educating and preparing students for promising futures. Hence, facilitating learning is essential to the teacher's role, and this study presents a deeper understanding regarding the roles teacher immediacy and credibility play in relation to student learning. Toward this end, the initial hypothesis connected to the theoretical framework of immediacy, which has been contextually studied and applied to an array of human relationships (Kelly & Westerman, 2014; Richmond et al., 2001; Turman, 2008; Turock, 1980), but research has consistently found a salient link between immediacy and the teacher-student relationship (Gorham, 1988). This study aimed to extend the scope of earlier research findings by exploring perceptions of teacher verbal, nonverbal, and overall immediacy as predictors of student learning, as noted by the first hypothesis.

A multiple linear regression analysis was performed to explore the initial hypothesis, which was the appropriate analysis procedure to determine whether the linear combination of verbal immediacy, nonverbal immediacy, and combined immediacy can help in predicting student learning. The data revealed that it is verbal and nonverbal immediacy working jointly that actually helps in predicting student learning. This finding has important implications to teacher-student interactions. As previously noted, a major objective of teachers is to convey knowledge and facilitate learning, and findings from this study illustrate that when teachers are high in immediacy, they communicate that they care (Mazer & Stowe, 2016). When students perceive that teachers care, an atmosphere conducive to learning is fostered. As stated by Mazer and Stowe (2016), "immediate teachers create an environment where student motivation, engagement, and learning can flourish" (p. 23).

Based on this study's findings, if teachers desire to maximize student cognitive learning, they should work on enhancing both their verbal and nonverbal immediacy behaviors. In reference to verbal immediacy, professors should use rich examples, ask questions, seek audience participation, and use inclusive pronouns, just to name a few (Gorham, 1988; Henning, 2012). Similarly, to display nonverbal immediacy in the classroom, professors are encouraged to move throughout the class, maintain direct eye contact, gesture, and have vocal variety (Henning, 2012; Weaver et al., 1993). Because findings from this study allege both verbal and nonverbal immediacy behaviors operate in unison when predicting student perceptions of cognitive learning, professors should always be mindful of demonstrating both forms of immediacy in their classroom interactions.

Another objective of this study was to evaluate the effects of students' perceptions of teacher competence, character, and immediacy on learning. Per a three-way ANOVA, seven separate *F* tests (three main effects tests and four interaction tests) were performed. One main effects test revealed a significant main effect for teacher competence with learning, indicating that the more competent students perceive their teachers, the more they also perceive to learn from those teachers. This finding makes sense given that scholars have long realized that being credible in the classroom equates to being competent (Cooper, 1932; McCroskey et al., 1974). It is not unreasonable for students to expect teachers to know their stuff. The teaching disciple requires individuals to spend

years honing their craft acquiring textbook and experiential knowledge. Teachers must then effectively transfer proficiency in content knowledge to their students; but, what does a competent teacher look like? Many scholars have identified characteristics of teacher competence. McCroskey and Young (1981) viewed a competent teacher as intelligent, trained, an expert, informed, and bright. In more recent analyses, The National Institute of Education (2009) pointed out three core competencies of teachers: (a) professional practice (nurturing, providing quality learning, cultivating knowledge with subject mastery, reflective and analytic thinking, initiative, creativity, and future focus); (b) leadership and management (working with and developing others); and (c) personal effectiveness (knowing the self and others, including exercising personal integrity, understanding and respecting others, and being resilient and adaptable). Additionally, the National Academy of Education Committee on Teacher Education adopted a framework comprised of three intersecting areas of knowledge that teachers should have: (a) knowledge of learners and how they learn and develop in social contexts; (b) understanding of curriculum content and goals; and (c) skills for teaching (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005). Given the link between emulating characteristics of teacher competence and student learning, teachers should make every effort to become master teachers of their discipline's content (Weaver et al., 1993) and understand the pedagogical strategies that help facilitate student learning.

Aside from perceptions of teacher competence, another main effects test indicated a significant main effect for teacher immediacy with learning, suggesting that the more immediate, warm, or caring students view their teachers, the more they also perceive to learn from them. This finding is well supported in the literature, with scholars asserting that students are more motivated to learn when teachers display high levels of immediacy (Mazer & Stowe, 2016), and teacher immediacy is positively associated with both cognitive and affective learning (Gorham, 1988). Moreover, given our knowledge concerning the importance of immediacy and teacher competence to the teacher-student relationship, it is no wonder that this study also found a statistically significant two-way interaction between perceptions of teacher immediacy and competence with learning. This implies that when students perceive that their teachers are both competent and immediate, positive perceptions of learning ensue. This finding further informs us that teacher competence, verbal immediacy, and nonverbal immediacy work hand-in-hand.

Verbal and nonverbal immediacy behaviors signal approach, open communication, caring, and warmth; thus, a positive connection between immediacy behaviors and effective teaching has prevailed in scholarship on teacher-student relationships (Henning, 2012; Mazer & Stowe, 2016; Nussbaum et al., 1987; Teven & Hanson, 2004; Weaver et al., 1993). Likewise, students' perceptions of teachers are fundamentally grounded in credibility (Gilchrist-Petty, in press). Data from this study add further validity to instructional research that has explored teacher characteristics and student learning. Students indicated a very high learning score [i.e., $M = 8.03$ (range 0-9)] regarding how much they learned or how much they perceive they would learn from a class taught by their ideal professor, whom they identified as high in competence, verbal immediacy, and nonverbal immediacy. This finding has merit, given that a growing trend with many academic institutions is the customer satisfaction paradigm. Customer satisfaction is the fundamental operating philosophy of flourishing businesses, which concerns satisfying customers' needs and validating their worth. Businesses who adopt

the customer satisfaction approach contend that the "delivery of high quality service is paramount to achieving sustainable organization performance" (Oluseye, Tairat, & Emmanuel, 2014, p. 51). Since this approach has proven success in the business sector, instructional scholars are beginning to presume similar benefits for academia and are, therefore, recommending that educational institutions adopt the customer satisfaction philosophy from businesses and put students first by ascertaining and fulfilling their needs, which is expected to promote learning and increase student satisfaction (Oluseye et al., 2014). In order for the customer satisfaction approach to ignite benefits in the teacher-student relationship, teachers must first understand what students desire from their educational experiences. Per the findings of this study, students desire highly competent teachers who excel in verbal and nonverbal immediacy.

According to Scott and Nussbaum (1981), akin to students, teachers need periodic evaluation of their performance if they aim to become more effective teachers. One way to evaluate a teacher's performance is through students' perceptions; hence, an important goal of instructional scholarship has centered on identifying the types of communication behaviors and characteristics teachers emulate that positively impact student learning outcomes (King & Witt, 2009). This study has added to this long line of literature, giving further support to studies that have previously suggested effective teachers exercise a wealth of verbal and nonverbal immediacy behaviors and are competent or knowledgeable in their subject areas. For teachers who are lacking in either immediacy or credibility, they can take solace in knowing that both immediacy (Gorham & Zakahi, 1990) and credibility (Gilchrist-Petty, in press) are fluid and modifiable communication characteristics; hence, teachers can use the findings from this study coupled with research on teacher-student interactions as inspiration for fine-tuning their credibility and immediacy behaviors, which have significant implications for enhancing student learning.

Though this study has helped us to better understand some of complexities of the teacher-student interpersonal relationship, limitations are evident. First, the findings are limited in that they only represent students' perceptions of overall cognitive learning. Because research has affirmed that teacher immediacy behaviors are linked to students' affective, behavioral, and cognitive learning (Christophel, 1990; Gorham, 1988; King & Witt, 2009), a replication of this study would be well served to also examine students' perceptions of all three types of learning. Additionally, this study assessed cognitive learning through student *perceptions* of learning. While many studies have used this approach to gage student learning (Richmond et al., 1987), its validity has been criticized in recent years (Hooker & Denker, 2014). To substantiate the students' perceptions of their learning, it could also be prudent if future research assessed actual student learning through measures akin to course test scores.

Furthermore, though the results of this study clearly suggest that students' perceptions of overall learning could be accounted for by the linear combination of verbal immediacy, nonverbal immediacy, and overall immediacy, it only accounts for 14.8% of the variance, suggesting that there are other variables that impact students' classroom experiences and learning. For example, as noted in the introduction, research has found that aside from immediacy a mix of variables impacts students' perceptions of teachers and how much they ultimately learn. Though it is not plausible for a single investigation to explore every possible variable, to enhance our understanding of the multifaceted

nature of student learning and teacher-student interactions even more, future research could explore how different variables interact with teacher immediacy behaviors and affect student learning.

Lastly, while the data showed strong support for competence as a main effect for student learning, no significant findings were found for character, the counterpart of competence in the multidimensional construct of credibility. This finding is rather interesting, considering that other studies have found that both competence and character are relevant to perceptions of overall teacher credibility (e.g., Gerhardt, 2016). However, due to some challenges associated with separating the components of credibility, some researchers (e.g., Pogue & AhYun, 2006) have opted to explore teacher credibility holistically, avoiding the bifurcation of competence and character. Hence, the discrepancy regarding teacher character as a significant variable that impacts student learning warrants further exploration.

Conclusion

Many dynamic teacher-student interactions exist within and outside the halls of ivy, making the teacher-student connection a significant relationship during the learning period and often well beyond it. This study has delved deeper into the complexities of the teacher-student relationship by investigating how teacher immediacy and credibility affect student learning. Findings from this study support previous associations between teacher immediacy and student perceptions of learning. Results from this study also suggest that students experience increased learning with teachers who are both highly immediate and competent. Teachers are responsible for maximizing students' intellectual capacities, which, in turn, prepares them to become thriving citizens. Given the enormity of this task, many teachers question their ability to effectively convey knowledge to students. This study's data can be used to minimize some uncertainty teachers may have. Per the findings, teachers can enhance student learning by becoming proficient in their discipline's competencies and boosting their verbal and nonverbal immediacy behaviors. This study is by no means the first of its kind to investigate student learning, nor should it be the last. Learning is a fluid process that constantly evolves; thus, instructional strategies and teacher characteristics must continue to adapt to meet the pedagogical needs of students.

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No Half Savior: Jarena Lee's Autobiography as Prophetic Rhetoric

Steven Tramel Gaines

Jarena Lee was an African American woman who preached in a patriarchal religious context in the nineteenth century. This essay claims that Jarena Lee's spiritual autobiography functioned as prophetic rhetoric within her religious community. Prophetic rhetoric calls for change and anchors that call in foundations that the communicator and her audience treat as sacred. I make four contributions to the study of prophetic rhetoric. First, I demonstrate that the genre of spiritual autobiography has value as a site of prophetic rhetoric. Second, I heed Kerith Woodyard's call to decrease the white patriarchy of the canon of prophetic rhetoric. Third, I expand the field's contextual scope to consider communication that both originates in and addresses a religious community. Fourth, I consider hermeneutical dimensions of race, sex, and class in prophetic rhetoric.

Keywords: Jarena Lee, prophetic rhetoric, spiritual autobiography, preaching

The tradition of prophetic rhetoric stretches back to ancient Hebrew literature, and James Darsey's *The Prophetic Tradition and Radical Rhetoric in America* provides a fresh foundation for the study of prophetic rhetoric in the United States of America.[1] Darsey's book focuses on white men, and more recent scholarly literature further expands our understanding of prophetic rhetoric. For example, Kerith Woodyard urges the tradition to consider women who communicate prophetically, while Andre Johnson and Christopher Hobson explore speeches and writings by African American men.[2] This essay combines those expansions to investigate prophetic rhetoric in a text by Jarena Lee, an African American woman.

[1] James Darsey, *The Prophetic Tradition and Radical Rhetoric in America* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

[2] Kerith M. Woodyard, "Depatriarchalizing in Rhetorical Theory: Toward a Feminist Prophetic Tradition," *Ohio Communication Journal* 48 (2010): 27-42; Christopher Z. Hobson, *The Mount of Vision: African American Prophetic Tradition, 1800-1950* (New York: Oxford, 2012); Andre E. Johnson, *The Forgotten Prophet: Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and the African American Prophetic Tradition* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2012); Andre E. Johnson, "'To Make the World So Damn Uncomfortable': W.E.B. Du Bois and the African American Prophetic Tradition," *Carolinas Communication Annual* 32 (2016): 16-29.

"One of the first African American women known to have preached the gospel in the thirteen colonies," Jarena Lee "is regarded as the first woman preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church."[3] She was born on February 11, 1783, in Cape May, New Jersey. Her parents were poor, and her maiden name is unknown.[4] She worked as a domestic servant for over a decade, in which she learned to read and write.[5] Following spiritual experiences in which she received her call to preach, she informed her bishop, AME founder Richard Allen, of her calling, which he resisted. Years later, when Allen finally heard Lee preach, he affirmed her calling but did not ordain her to the ministry of preaching. Instead, he limited her to speaking outside the main meetings of the religious establishment. Despite this marginalization, Lee's preaching ministry included countless miles, chronic illness, ecstatic results, and danger as she spoke in slave states. Her journal, in which she argued for her right to preach, first appeared in 1836, was printed again in 1839, and was widely distributed.[6]

This essay claims that Jarena Lee's spiritual autobiography, especially the section in which she explained her right to preach, functioned as prophetic rhetoric within her religious community. Prophetic rhetoric calls for change and anchors that call in foundations that the communicator and her audience treat as sacred (i.e. deeply treasured). The "sacred" may or may not be overtly religious, but for Lee it was.[7] She grounded her narrative and arguments in the Bible, theology, church tradition, and spiritual experiences. That engagement with religious foundations distinguishes the autobiography as a spiritual one.

In noting Lee's autobiography's prophetic elements, I make four contributions to the field. First, I demonstrate that the genre of spiritual autobiography has value as a site of prophetic rhetoric. Second, I heed Woodyard's call to decrease the white patriarchy of the canon of prophetic rhetoric. Third, I expand the field's contextual scope. Recent scholars of prophetic rhetoric have focused on communication from a religious community to a larger society, and I consider communication that both originates in and addresses a religious community. Fourth, I consider hermeneutical dimensions of prophetic rhetoric at an intersection of race, sex, and class. In making those contributions, I offer three sections in this essay's body. The first section briefly explains spiritual autobiography, describes Jarena Lee's spiritual autobiography, and begins to shift into analysis. The second introduces a theoretical foundation for the study of prophetic

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[3] Martha Simmons and Frank A. Thomas, eds., *Preaching with Sacred Fire: An Anthology of African American Sermons, 1750 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 2010), 160; Susan J. Hubert, "Testimony and Prophecy in *The Life and Religious Experience of Jarena Lee*," *Journal of Religious Thought* 54/55:2/1 (1998): 45.

[4] Much of the biographical information is from Simmons and Thomas, *Preaching with Sacred Fire*, 160-163.

[5] Louis Billington, "'Female Laborers in the Church': Women Preachers in the Northeastern United States, 1790-1840," *Journal of American Studies* 19 (1985): 374.

[6] Hubert, "Testimony and Prophecy," 45.

[7] Darsey mentions both religious and secular foundations ("Old Testament prophecy and the received notion of American virtue") in his *The Prophetic Tradition*, xi. In Evans' discussion of W.E.B. Du Bois, "the American ideal that informs democracy" serves as the sacred foundation. C.f. Joseph N. Evans, "Double-Consciousness: The Du Boisian Hermeneutic," *Homiletic* 36:2 (2011): 3.

rhetoric and analyzes Lee's words through that lens. The third explores the influences of race, sex, and class on Lee's interpretation of ancient texts deemed sacred by her community.

Spiritual Autobiography

In her article "Testimony and Prophecy in *The Life and Religious Experience of Jarena Lee*," Susan Hubert uses previous writings by and about Jarena Lee to study the life of this nineteenth-century preacher.[8] Hubert contributes to the field of knowledge about Lee and spiritual autobiography, especially in African American experience, in at least two important ways. First, Hubert calls for historical context to be the primary interpretive key of Lee's spiritual autobiography; literary form is secondary. Second, Hubert notes the communal nature of Lee's testimony and anchors that communality in the historic connection of individual and community in African traditions that influence African American Christianity. The second observation complements a statement by Roderick Hart and Suzanne Daughton: "A message is worth analyzing if it tells a story larger than itself. . . . Concern for the larger story, therefore, should animate each piece of rhetorical criticism."[9] To a large extent, with any message, the community is the story, whether that community is hidden, resisted, or embraced.

Instead of comparing "Lee's autobiography to other spiritual autobiographies . . . therefore giving privilege to literary form over cultural context," Hubert holds that "the African-American church context, rather than other autobiographical texts, is the essential interpretive key to Lee's autobiography." Hubert further claims that "*The Life and Religious Experience of Jarena Lee* is not simply a spiritual autobiography; it is both testimony and prophecy, and speaks from and to a particular faith community."[10] This observation helpfully contributes to the interpretation of Lee's narrative; but testifying, prophesying, and speaking "from and to a particular faith community" are common functions of spiritual autobiographies (i.e. autobiographies that use religious language and tell about religious experiences).[11] Hubert, however, writes that "it might be more appropriate to describe Lee's book as a testimony rather than a spiritual autobiography."

Importantly, Hubert does not provide a clear distinction between testimony and spiritual autobiography, even as she understands the distinction to have great impact on the reading of Lee's story. By treating it as a testimony, Hubert brings to bear on the interpretation the historical context and collectivistic culture in which Lee preached and wrote. Both are crucial to understanding Lee's narrative. Her words do not speak in a vacuum; they carry power to influence because they are rooted in a prophetic yet patriarchal religious culture. Her words also exert persuasive force because they are

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[8] Hubert, "Testimony and Prophecy," 45-52.
[9] Roderick P. Hart and Suzanne Daughton, *Modern Rhetorical Criticism*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2005), 32.
[10] Hubert, "Testimony and Prophecy," 45.
[11] Examples include the following: Leroy Garrett, *A Lover's Quarrel: An Autobiography: My Pilgrimage of Freedom in Churches of Christ* (Abilene, TX: Abilene Christian University Press, 2003); Sally Gary, *Loves God Likes Girls: A Memoir* (Abilene, TX: Leafwood Publishers, 2013). My parenthetical definition of spiritual autobiographies uses the term "religious," but I do not intend to exclude writings by people who might claim to be "spiritual but not religious."

written not simply by an individual but by an individual intimately connected as a member of a community of faith. Another observation, which Hubert might have in mind but does not overtly state, is that knowledge of Lee's historical and cultural contexts allows readers to understand her appeals to theology, scripture, and pragmatic results as methods of identification with her audience. Before detailing those appeals, this essay overviews experiences reported in Lee's autobiography.[12] That overview sets the stage for an analysis of her arguments.

Lee had spiritual experiences in which she received her call to preach. First, she endured a shocking silence in which she heard, "Go preach the Gospel!" She objected not by saying that she was unworthy, incapable, or unwilling, but by voicing her fear that "No one will believe me." Her fear was more about her reception as a speaker than it was about the content of her message. She lived in a patriarchal religious culture that had no place for female preachers. Although women had preached in Christianity since its beginning, Lee apparently had not learned about that legacy.[13] The AME Church, a religious community initiated to provide African Americans a worship environment outside the restrictions of white assumptions and practices, continued a system of sexual inequality received from their people's enslavers. Shirley Carlson writes about African American women in the later years of the nineteenth century:

> The black community's appreciation for and development of the feminine intellect contrasted sharply with the views of the larger society. In the latter, intelligence was regarded as a masculine quality which would "defeminize" women. The ideal white woman, being married, confined herself almost exclusively to the private domain of the household. She was demur, perhaps even self-effacing. She often deferred to her husband's presumably superior judgment, rather than formulating her own views and vocally expressing them, as black women often did. A woman in the larger society might skillfully manipulate her husband for her own purposes, but she was not supposed to confront or challenge him directly. Black women were often direct, and frequently won community approval for this quality, especially when such a characteristic was directed toward achieving "racial up lift." Further, even after her marriage, a black woman might remain in the public domain, possibly in paid employment. The ideal black woman's domain, then, was both the private and the public spheres. She was wife

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[12] This paper does not attempt to judge the reality of anyone's spiritual experiences. The information about Lee's spiritual experiences comes from her autobiography, *The Life and Religious Experience of Jarena Lee, A Coloured Lady, Giving an Account of her Call to Preach the Gospel: Revised and Corrected from the Original Manuscript Written by Herself* (Philadelphia: Printed and published for the author, 1836). This paper uses the reprinting of a portion of the autobiography in Simmons and Thomas, *Preaching with Sacred Fire*, 163-166.

[13] For historical accounts of women preachers in early Christianity, consult the following: Elaine J. Lawless, "Introduction: The Issue of Blood--Reinstating Women into the Tradition," in *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 2; Karen L. King, "Prophetic Power and Women's Authority: The Case of the *Gospel of Mary* (Magdalene)," in *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 21-23.

and mother, but she could also assume other roles, such as schoolteacher, social activist, businesswoman, among others. And she was intelligent.[14]

That situation may have been the case in the late nineteenth century but apparently was quite different from Lee's experience. When she heard the commission to preach, she was trapped in and formed by a religious system that privileged male voices. The silencing of women apparently was not an issue that she was interested to counter prior to this spiritual experience. Because of that, she assumed the speaker to be Satan. With that fear, she pursued confirmation of the call and had another spiritual experience, a vision of a pulpit with a Bible on it. Thereafter, she preached in her sleep loudly enough to wake up the other inhabitants of the house and even herself.

When she informed her bishop, AME founder Richard Allen, of her calling, he responded that the church's "Discipline knew nothing at all about . . . women preachers." She described this experience as a quenching of a fire, albeit a temporary quenching that would not permanently extinguish the flame.[15] "Discipline" refers to bylaws, and Allen referenced the discipline of the larger Methodist denomination. Martha Simmons and Frank Thomas write, "Allen's serious obedience to the white Discipline was indeed strange, since he had been breaking ties with the white Methodists since 1787. Was Reverend Allen really being faithful to the Discipline, or was he using it to disguise a culture-bound bias against women preachers?"[16] According to Simmons and Thomas, the second option is likely correct.[17] This makes sense in light of the above reported patriarchy of the nineteenth-century United States, a patriarchy that was "operative in the African-American church."[18] Deborah Gray White observes that African American women and men in nineteenth-century slavery on plantations in the South had different but complementary roles and experienced mutual respect, but white patriarchy crafted the African American Christianity that Jarena Lee experienced.[19] Years later, when Allen heard Lee preach, he affirmed her calling but did not ordain her to the ministry of preaching. Instead, he marginalized her to speaking outside the main meetings of the religious establishment.

After recounting Allen's initial response, Lee warned, "O how careful ought we be, lest through our bylaws of church government and discipline, we bring into disrepute even the word of life."[20] She anchored her claim in the words of Jesus: "nothing is impossible with God" (Luke 1:37). Lee apparently assumed that the biblical rationale for preaching by men and not by women arose from the theological conviction that men were permitted to preach because "the Saviour" (Jesus) died for men. Although Lee did not indicate that arguments from Pauline texts in the New Testament were used by her

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[14] Shirley J. Carlson, "Black Ideals of Womanhood in the Late Victorian Era," *The Journal of Negro History* 77 (1992): 62.

[15] In telling this part of her story, Lee uses language from the Hebrew prophet Jeremiah, as noted by Hubert, "Testimony and Prophecy," 49.

[16] Simmons and Thomas, *Preaching with Sacred Fire*, 161.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Hubert, "Testimony and Prophecy," 48.

[19] Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: Norton, 1985), 22.

[20] Lee in Simmons and Thomas, *Preaching with Sacred Fire*, 164.

specific religious community, those arguments were common in the larger context of Christianity in the nineteenth-century United States.[21] She challenged the conviction through a series of three consecutive questions. First, "And why should it be thought impossible, heterodox, or improper for a woman to preach, seeing the Saviour died for the woman as well as the man?" Second, "If the man may preach, because the Saviour died for him, why not the woman, seeing he died for her also?" Third, "Is he not a whole Saviour, instead of a half one, as those who hold it wrong for a woman to preach, would seem to make it appear?"[22]

After issuing the warning, challenge, and questions, Lee presented a series of arguments. First, she drew from the biblical account that Mary "*first* preach[ed] the risen Saviour" (John 20:18).[23] That part of the Fourth Gospel portrays Mary Magdalene telling other disciples of Jesus that she saw him. Although this small group communication does not fit the stereotype of preaching as a form of public address, a broader understanding of preaching appears later in Lee's autobiography.

Second, she appealed to theology. Specifically, she referenced the doctrine of the resurrection voiced by Mary in John 20 and developed initially by the Apostle Paul. Lee did not cite a specific Pauline text, but she may have thought of First Corinthians 15.

Third, Lee dealt with history. As if knowledgeable of forms of preaching in the early church as well as in the nineteenth century, she mentioned the possibility that preaching might have happened differently in the first century than in her own. She stated a view that some in her religious community may have held: "that Mary did not expound the Scripture, therefore she did not preach, in the proper sense of the term." Lee presented an insightful response: "it may be that the term *preach*, in those primitive times, did not mean exactly what it is now *made* to mean; perhaps it was a great deal more simple then, than it is now; if it were not, the unlearned fishermen could not have preached the Gospel at all, as they had no learning."[24] In making her argument, Lee exemplified a common tendency among nineteenth-century female preachers to resist education-based hierarchical distinctions between Christians.[25]

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[21] Cyrus Cort, "Woman Preaching Viewed in the Light of God's Word and Church History," *The Reformed Quarterly Review* 29 (1882): 124-126. For a nineteenth-century response to the use of those biblical texts to argue against preaching by women, see Luther Lee, "Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel," pages 92-95 in *Five Sermons and a Tract by Luther Lee*, edited by Donald W. Dayton (Chicago: Holrad, 1975). The sermons by Cyrus Cort and Luther Lee appear in Barbara J. MacHaffie, *Her Story: Women in Christian Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 212-215, 225-227. See also Billington, 378. The New Testament texts most mentioned in discussions of women's preaching, especially in arguments against women's preaching, are First Corinthians 14:34-35 and First Timothy 2:11-12.

[22] Lee in Simmons and Thomas, *Preaching with Sacred Fire*, 164.

[23] Contrary to *Preaching with Sacred Fire*'s introduction to Lee's piece, the Mary here is Mary Magdalene, also known as Mary of Magdala, not the mother of Jesus.

[24] Lee in Simmons and Thomas, *Preaching with Sacred Fire*, 164. Research supports Lee's suspicion about the diversity of preaching forms. Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church: Volume 1: The Biblical Period* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 9-16; King, "Prophetic Power and Women's Authority," 23.

[25] Billington, "'Female Laborers in the Church,'" 369-394.

Fourth, Lee presented her call to preach as a gift and anchored it in the biblical metaphor of a vineyard.

> If then, to preach the Gospel, by the gift of heaven, comes by inspiration solely, is God straitened; must he take the man exclusively? May he not, did he not, and can he not inspire a female to preach the simple story of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of our Lord, and accompany it too, with power to the sinner's heart. As for me, I am fully persuaded that the Lord called me to labour according to what I have received, in his vineyard.[26]

Given Lee's already apparent reliance on Pauline theology, her "gift" language likely arose from First Corinthians 12.

Fifth, Lee mentioned her success in preaching. People previously disinterested in religious matters had responded to her sermons.

> As for me, I am fully persuaded that the Lord called me to labour according to what I have received, in his vineyard. If he has not, how could he consistently bear testimony in favour of my poor labours, in awakening and converting sinners? . . . I have frequently found families who told me that they had not for several years been to a meeting, and yet, while listening to hear what God would say by his poor colored female instrument, have believed with trembling, tears rolling down their cheeks—the signs of contrition and repentance towards God.[27]

After appealing to the Bible, theology, and history, she mentioned her results as evidence of her calling.

Despite her skepticism regarding her calling to preach, despite marginalization by her religious establishment, and despite her doubt regarding her ability to endure, Lee persevered with hope. She ended her autobiographical account of her calling with a moving reference to God's love and power to keep her "from falling" (Romans 8:38-39; Jude 1:24). Within her religious community, this God appeal strengthened the previous arguments' legitimacy.

The genius of Lee's rhetoric is its use of the Bible, theology, history, and pragmatism. Of course, many Christians in the nineteenth-century United States wanted arguments to be anchored in scripture, theology, and tradition. To this blend, Lee added her success as a preacher. In a culture that valued pragmatic results, her account appealed not only to typical Christian authorities but also to a virtue valued beyond her religious community. This combination of appeals fueled her prophetic call for change.

Spiritual Autobiography as Prophetic Rhetoric

Andre Johnson defines prophetic rhetoric as "discourse grounded in the sacred and rooted in a community experience that offers a critique of existing communities and traditions by charging and challenging society to live up to the ideals espoused while

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[26] Lee in Simmons and Thomas, *Preaching with Sacred Fire*, 165.
[27] Ibid.

offering celebration and hope for a brighter future."[28] Prophetic rhetoric occurs in a four-part structure. First is a grounding of "prophetic discourse in what the speaker[s] and the audience[s] deem as sacred."[29] This grounding occurs in community, a required element of prophetic rhetoric. "People who adopt prophetic personas," in other words, "cannot do so as rugged individuals, but must root their 'prophecy' within communal traditions, beliefs and expectations."[30] As a member of an African American and religious community, Jarena Lee grounded her rhetoric in "sacred" foundations—scripture, theology, tradition, and experience. The second part of the structure is "consciousness-raising through a sharing or an announcement of the real situation. . . . Thus, instead of unveiling the hidden, the prophet reveals the hidden in plain sight" to state "the obvious that others might be afraid to speak."[31] In this consciousness-raising, a prophetic communicator wants the audience to reflect on the revealed "situation with the hope of changing its ways."[32] Lee may or may not have expected her community to change, but she boldly addressed her community's obvious yet overlooked sexism. The third part of the structure "is the charge, challenge, critique, judgment, or warning of the audience(s) . . . The prophet usually does this by offering reinterpretations of what is sacred and casting a vision of the world not as it is, but as it could and should be."[33] Lee reinterpreted the history and potential of women in Christianity, especially in preaching roles, and empowered her community to envision a future that included proclamation by women. Fourth "is the offer of encouragement and hope."[34] Johnson notes two kinds of hope in this kind of rhetoric. The first is "an eschatological hope . . . a hope that things will get better in some afterlife or some other spiritual transformation to some other world." The second is "a 'pragmatic hope' . . . a more 'this-worldly' and earthly type . . . that grounds itself in the prophet's belief in the Divine to make right order in this world . . . a hope that sees a new day coming."[35] Although Lee did not offer an end-of-time hope or a realistic expectation that her community would change its sexist ways, she offered an individual hope, which I will address later.

Two areas of confusion threaten to weaken the heuristic value of prophetic rhetoric as an analytical tool in rhetorical criticism. First, readers might assume that prophetic rhetoric predicts future events. Johnson's definition of prophetic rhetoric, however, involves calling for change and neither requires nor excludes prediction. Recent studies of prophetic rhetoric arise from ancient Hebrew rhetoric, and prophetic

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[28] Johnson, *The Forgotten Prophet*, 7. Because I do not present Jarena Lee's rhetoric as an occurrence of the African American jeremiad, this paper does not incorporate some important works in the study of African American prophetic rhetoric. David Howard-Pitney, *The Afro-American Jeremiad: Appeals for Justice in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); Willie J. Harrell, Jr., "A Call to Consciousness and Action: Mapping the African-American Jeremiad," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 36:2 (2006): 149-180.

[29] Johnson, "'To Make the World So Damn Uncomfortable,'" 19. This counters Darsey's claim that prophetic rhetoric does not appeal to the audience's foundational values. Consult Darsey, *The Prophetic Tradition*, 24.

[30] Johnson, "'To Make the World So Damn Uncomfortable,'" 19.

[31] Ibid.; Johnson, *The Forgotten Prophet*, 8.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Johnson, "'To Make the World So Damn Uncomfortable,'" 19.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., 19-20. This paragraph de-italicizes some words that Johnson italicizes.

communicators in that context sometimes predicted and sometimes did not. When they predicted, they did so to call for change. The change was the focus. Second, readers might assume that the phrase identifies the words only of someone in a specific ministerial position, as if only "prophets" speak prophetically. Christopher Hobson, however, writes that prophetic rhetoric is more than an office but is "a kind of speech or writing that occurred to its practitioners as they turned to questions that arose in community life."[36] Johnson similarly focuses on prophetic personas instead of deciphering who is or is not a prophet. This essay likewise does not attempt to determine whether Jarena Lee was a prophet. Instead, using the language of Johnson's definition to guide analysis, the following five observations reveal that Lee communicated in a prophetic manner.

First, Lee's story is "discourse grounded in the sacred."[37] Her story is more than just an autobiography; it is a testimony that speaks to people in power who have silenced her. Furthermore, it is rooted in sources esteemed by her religious community as sacred—scripture, theology, tradition, and spiritual experience.

Second, her story is "rooted in a community experience."[38] As stated above, Hubert asserts that Lee's story should not be read in isolation without consideration of her religious community. That is true of any story and is especially pertinent to one that specifically mentions parts of its community, as Lee's did. It referenced people, texts, traditions, and experiences of her religious community. Also, her religious community was part of a larger African American community, although Lee did not highlight racial issues but instead argued for the right to preach, as a woman, within her AME context. Furthermore, her story is rooted in the "community experience" of women, who were largely marginalized and silenced in the nineteenth-century United States. There is no evidence, however, that she had any intention to contribute to the developing movement toward women's rights. Her preaching did not focus on that topic but rather stressed a basic message of Christian proselytism. Her testifying autobiography, on the other hand, directly attacked patriarchal perspectives that limited women's participation in ministry. Although the extent to which Lee consciously rooted her rhetoric in the communal experiences of African Americans and women is limited, her narrative clearly is rooted in the AME community.

Third, Lee's story critiqued her community and tradition. She critiqued the AME Church's oppression of women by questioning theological assumptions of her community, including a patriarchal understanding of salvation and the resurrection. Furthermore, she highlighted hidden parts of her community's tradition (e.g. Mary's proclamation) that legitimized women's participation in preaching.

Fourth, the narrative challenged "society to live up to the ideals espoused."[39] Although some recent scholarship in the field of prophetic rhetoric has focused largely on discourse in public spheres beyond the ecclesial level, prophetic rhetoric "is based on the relationship between an individual and his or her community."[40] The society that Lee challenged was not her nation's general public but was the smaller society of the AME

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[36] Hobson, *The Mount of Vision*, 30.
[37] Johnson, *The Forgotten Prophet*, 7.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Hubert, "Testimony and Prophecy," 51.

Church. She called her religious society to "live up to" the commitment to a Savior who died for all people, the commitment to scripture that contains examples of women serving in ministries of proclamation, and the commitment to acknowledging and affirming spiritual experiences of the community's members. In a religious community that had begun as a reaction to the marginalization of the African American experience in predominately white Christianity, Lee called for continued change in the direction of equality and empowerment.

Finally, although her "offering celebration and hope for a brighter future" may not be clear, it is present. Lee did not paint a picture of a glorious future for her repentant community, nor did she foresee a possible future in which AME women would separate from the rest of their denomination. She did not call for a decrease of patriarchy in the larger United States culture. Instead, she firmly challenged the AME community to acknowledge her right to speak and to abandon understandings and practices that demeaned women. Her arguments for the right to preach did not reach a point of celebration, but she did extend hope—an individual hope: "nothing could have separated my soul from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus . . . I have not yet doubted the power and goodness of God to keep me from falling."[41] On a personal level, if not on a communal level, Lee was hopeful, not of her community's potential to change, but in her God's loyalty to support her and work through her. Without assuming her community would change, she nevertheless called for change.

Beyond Double-Consciousness

Jarena Lee's arguments interpreted ancient words (i.e. sacred foundations) to support her case, and the hermeneutical dimensions of Lee's rhetoric were shaped by her race, sex, and class. That multidimensional shaping requires scholars to think beyond the categories in some recent literature about hermeneutics and social inequalities. Therefore, after mentioning race in biblical hermeneutics, this section returns to Woodyard's contribution to consider sex's influence and then considers, in light of an article by Koala Jones-Warsaw, that race, sex, and class combined in Lee's prophetic hermeneutic. As my conclusion indicates, that consideration is incomplete and invites further development.

W.E.B. Du Bois once predicted that "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line."[42] Launching from that statement, Joseph Evans writes:

> These racially influenced constructs are embedded within and reinforced by Eurocentric aesthetics, interpretations and assumptions that claim *de facto* superiority over all other cultural norms. For most American whites these constructs gain hegemonic status; that is, they remain nearly invisible and unnoticed. For most whites, it has been always this way, and they are not aware of how the unholy trinity of racism, economic privilege, and political control gives

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[41] Lee in Simmons and Thomas, *Preaching with Sacred Fire*, 165, using the ideas of Romans 8:38-39 and Jude 1:24.

[42] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches* (Chicago: McClurg, 1907), 10.

to them social advantages that citizens otherwise do not enjoy or socially qualify to receive.[43]

Noting the twenty-first-century continuation of that "unholy trinity of racism, economic privilege, and political control," Evans presents race as the trio's primary member, "the central problem facing people of the twenty-first century."[44] The ongoing racial inequality shapes biblical interpretation (i.e. biblical hermeneutics), "creating two worlds: the white world informed by Eurocentric aesthetics, interpretation and its assumptions, and a world of color that is informed primarily by traditions and beliefs from African soils and other global regions inhabited by peoples of color."[45] My analysis of Jarena Lee's arguments, however, reveals a dimension beyond Evans' "double-consciousness" of racial worlds and calls for a consideration of sex.

Woodyard argues for a depatriarchalizing in the study of prophetic rhetoric and grounds that argument in feminist biblical hermeneutics, which rescues biblical texts from patriarchal interpretation and provides liberating meanings. Her argument takes three major steps in this direction. First, it reveals that the Hebrew Bible, an ancient source of prophetic rhetoric,

> contains the resources by which a gender-inclusive theory of the prophetic genre might be sustained. . . . Within feminist biblical hermeneutics, therefore, the prophetic-liberating principle is understood to "imply a rejection of every elevation of one social group against others as image and agent of God, every use of God to justify social domination and subjugation."[46]

Second, Woodyard points out that the Hebrew Bible contains women communicating prophetically. In addition to the men whom Darsey analyzes to construct a theory of prophetic rhetoric, women who spoke prophetically in the Hebrew Bible include "Miriam (Exod. 15:20), Deborah (Judg. 4:4), Huldah (2 Kings 22:14; 2 Chron. 34:22), Noadiah (Neh. 6:14), and Isaiah's wife (Isa. 8:3) . . . Sarah (Gen. 21:10-12), Hannah (1 Sam. 1:1 – 2:21), and Abigail (1 Sam. 25: 28-31)."[47] Third, Woodyard prescribes an incorporation of women into the tradition of prophetic rhetoric, including Angelina Grimké, Maria Stewart, and Sojourner Truth. The inclusion of Stewart and Truth suggests a need for consideration of womanist hermeneutics. Despite the value of Woodyard's contribution, however, it stops short of incorporating womanist perspectives.

In addition to African American and feminist dimensions of biblical interpretation, understanding Jarena Lee's rhetorical work requires a recognition of womanist perspectives, which entered scholarly literature more than a century and a half

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[43] Evans, "Double-Consciousness," 3.

[44] Ibid., 4.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Woodyard, "Depatriarchalizing in Rhetorical Theory," 30-32. Woodyard quotes Rosemary R. Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk: Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon, 1993), 23.

[47] Ibid., 34. One or two of these references might be questionable, but Woodyard successfully identifies women acting prophetically.

after her autobiography.[48] Jones-Warsaw writes that "the task of a womanist biblical hermeneutic is to discover the significance and validity of the biblical text for black women who today experience the 'tridimensional reality' of racism, sexism, and classism."[49] Lee spoke and wrote as a poor and African American woman, and any study of her words must recognize all three of those identities. Admitting her minimal education, Jarena Lee called for sexual equality in an African American community. The problem in the United States has never been the color line; it has always been a combination of race lines, sex lines, class lines, and other lines.

Conclusion

Arguing for the right to preach in a religious culture shaped by patriarchy, Jarena Lee's spiritual autobiography functioned prophetically. Lee accomplished this by appealing to scripture, theology, tradition, and experience. Her message fit Johnson's definition of prophetic rhetoric by being "grounded in the sacred," by being "rooted in a community experience," and by offering "a critique of existing communities and traditions by charging and challenging society to live up to the ideals espoused." Although she did not offer a communal hope, she proclaimed an individual hope. In all these ways, Jarena Lee confronted the leaders of the religious establishment in which she spoke and wrote.

This analysis of Lee's autobiography demonstrates that prophetic rhetoric happens in various contexts. The community that prophetic rhetoric challenges may be a nation, a denomination, a local congregation, or another community at any level. In future studies of prophetic rhetoric in diverse contexts, new models will be needed. Current theoretical models, such as those in the referenced books by Johnson and Hobson, are designed to describe public discourse that addresses government-related concerns. While that discourse needs to be studied, so does the work of critiquing and challenging religious powers from within religious communities. The study of prophetic rhetoric should maintain a place for communication in and to religious communities.

In addition to diversifying the communities whose prophetic rhetoric is studied, scholars should include women in the canon of prophetic rhetoric. More than forty years ago, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell called for increased recognition of women in the history of rhetoric.[50] Kerith Woodyard issued a similar challenge to scholars of prophetic rhetoric.[51] To understand how prophetic rhetoric has challenged patriarchy, the study of prophetic rhetoric must grow beyond the patriarchal foundations of its recent development.[52]

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[48] Alice Walker, *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens* (San Diego: Harvest/Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983).

[49] Koala Jones-Warsaw, "Toward a Womanist Hermeneutic: A Reading of Judges 19-21," *Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 22:1 (1994): 18-35. Jones-Warsaw quotes Jacqueline Grant, *White Women's Christ and Black Women's Jesus: Feminist Christology and Womanist Response*, AAR Academy Series, no. 64 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1989), 202.

[50] Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "The Rhetoric of Women's Liberation: An Oxymoron," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59 (1973): 74-86.

[51] Woodyard, "Depatriarchalizing in Rhetorical Theory," 36-37.

[52] Darsey, *The Prophetic Tradition*, 24. Woodyard, "Depatriarchalizing in Rhetorical Theory," 29-30.

Furthermore, the study of prophetic rhetoric needs to consider not only sex, but also race and class. This essay takes one curative step, but much work remains to be done. I encourage womanist rhetoricians to contribute to this conversation, building on my essay's strengths and compensating for its limitations, facilitating a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding of prophetic rhetoric.

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Creating Understanding of Community Ethical Responsibilities from *The Men of Atalissa*

Michael M. Tollefson and Ronda Leahy

As educators, we need to teach students how to be ethically responsible citizens. The following activity helps students understand ethics and persuasion from multiple perspectives. The Men of Atalissa (Simons, 2014) is a 35-minute documentary produced by the New York Times in 2014. The film explores reactions in the small town of Atalissa, Iowa, after the 2009 revelation that a decades-old program that sent Texas men with cognitive disabilities to work in a turkey processing plant resulted in the men living in squalid conditions, receiving low wages, and in the freezing death of one man who attempted to leave. Most students are shocked and saddened by the events in the film, and particularly by how townspeople were seemingly oblivious to the long-term mistreatment of persons in a vulnerable population. Students focus on the value of community, indicating that it can be a positive value that unites, while simultaneously serving as a negative value that excludes persons who are not wholly welcomed in a particular community.

Keywords: Ethics, Persuasion, Ethical Decision-Making

Courses: Persuasion, Communication Ethics

Objectives: 1. To illustrate approaches for making ethical decisions in persuasion; 2. To increase students' understanding of ethical persuasion from multiple perspectives; 3. To demonstrate ethical responsibilities in relation to power differences; 4. To encourage students to be self-reflective about personal ethical decisions.

Introduction and Rationale:

This exercise focuses on ethical decision-making in a context where economic and power differences exist within a community. Unethical behaviors portrayed in the media point to individual wrong doing rather than systemic problems. As educators, we need to teach students how to be ethically responsible citizens by providing models for making ethical decisions. The following activity helps students understand ethics and persuasion from multiple perspectives.

      The Men of Atalissa (Simons, 2014) is a 35-minute documentary produced by the *New York Times* in 2014. The film explores reactions in the small town of Atalissa, Iowa after the 2009 revelation that a decades-old program that sent Texas men with cognitive disabilities to work in a turkey processing plant resulted in the men living in squalid conditions, receiving low wages ($65 per month), and in the freezing death of one man

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who attempted to leave. The former mayor, townspeople, and turkey processing company former owner reconcile their experiences with the men and the iniquities that were exposed in the shutdown of the program. The men also recount their experiences. While the townspeople recall how the men enjoyed participating in Sunday school activities and trips to a local convenience store, the men discuss their efforts while working at the turkey processing plant and the worsening conditions in the "bunk house" where they lived together. The men also express their enjoyment of their new lives, in particular their ability to make decisions for themselves. Near the end of the film a social worker a case worker for the Iowa Department of Human Services recount their work to help the men. The film provides a way for students to talk about persuasion, specific values of communication in a community context, and categories of communication ethics.

Wood (1997) noted that "societies organize themselves by creating groups with distinct status and privilege, which, in turn, shape members' access to experiences, opportunities, activities, and circumstances. Thus, location within social groups profoundly influences personal identity, what and how we know, values we embrace, and codes of conduct and communication we consider appropriate in sundry situations" (p. 8). These are exactly the types of issues that students explore in the activity. The persons in the documentary range from those with more monetary and political power to a vulnerable population.

Description of the Activity

The activity takes a class period of at least 75 minutes. Students read the textbook chapter on ethics (Woodward & Denton, 2009) before class. A brief summary handout is provided at the beginning of the class period that defines communication ethics and then lists sources of ethical values (family, social institutions, etc.), specific communication values (truthfulness, responsibility, etc.), and categories of communication ethics (universal, contextual, etc.) from the textbook. The handout also provides space for students to take notes. Small groups of students are assigned to observe one person or set of persons from the film.

In their observations students seek to understand that person's perspective on their interactions with the men who worked at the turkey plant, as portrayed by the film. Students are instructed to focus on how persons in the film communicated with the men in the past, and how they communicate about their experiences with the men. Students then watch the film and take notes to list the specific positive and negative values that underlie statements made in the film, the likely source(s) of those ethical values, and the category of communication ethics that it best exemplifies. After viewing the film, students meet briefly in the small groups to compare notes and to discuss how groups and individuals in the film seemed to convey their own ethicality. Students also discuss their own ethical assessments of the individuals they observed in the film. Finally, the entire class discusses the film, with each group reporting its findings.

Debriefing

Each group reports its findings and leads the rest of the class in a discussion. Students see some individuals in the film as more ethical than others, which allows us to explore how we prioritize ethical values. Questions to ask to develop the discussion include:

1. How ethical or unethical is the communication of each person in the film? Why? What standards do you use to make those ethical judgements?
2. What persuasive strategies were utilized by the company?
3. To what extent should persons with more power have more responsibility for their communication?
4. What are the ethical implications of remaining silent in the face of injustices? Where have you spoken out against unjust communication?
5. What is happening (or has happened) with a vulnerable population in your hometown that goes/went unquestioned?

Appraisal of the Activity

Most students are shocked and saddened by the events in the film, and particularly by how townspeople were seemingly oblivious to the long-term mistreatment of persons in a vulnerable population. Students are also disgusted by the patronizing views of the mayor, townspeople, and former owner. Much of the discussion focusses on responsibility. Students also focus on the value of community, indicating that it can be a positive value that unites, while simultaneously serving as a negative value that excludes persons who are not wholly welcomed in a particular community. In regard to question 5 about their home towns, while most students cannot initially think of vulnerable populations, typically a student or two will discuss migrant workers who work and live on a social periphery of their community. Then other students become comfortable talking about populations that are not fully embraced.

The activity could be used in an online course because the video is available online and the remainder of the activity is discussion based. The activity could also be used in a shorter class period if students were required to watch the documentary outside of class time and assigned to answer questions about one or two members of the Atalissa community.

This film challenges students to be self-reflective about their own ethical decision-making. Students increase their understanding of ethical persuasion from multiple perspectives by observing power differences that are often unexamined.

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CST 412 Ethics   Person(s) you are observing _____

"Potential ethical issues are inherent in any instance of communication between humans to the degree that the communication can be judged on a *right-wrong* dimension, involves possible significant *influence on other humans*, and to the degree that the communicator *consciously chooses* specific *ends* sought and communication *means* to achieve those ends" (Johannesen, 1990).

Ethical **responsibility** requires ***RATIONALITY*:** An "ability to understand; identify standards for choosing, predict[ing] . . . the consequences of . . . choices, and later assess[ing] these consequences."

Rules and guidelines are not *relative*, but we "have a conflict between moral imperatives" in specific circumstances. [In those circumstances, we are called upon to make a choice between guidelines/values/rules] (Scott, 1969).

From Woodward and Denton (2009) textbook:
Communication ethical values: honesty, integrity, caring, respect, fairness, democracy, responsibility/accountability, civic virtue (public service and responsible citizenship), competence, reliability (see also pgs. 360-363)

Positive values   **Negative values**

Sources of ethical values: parents, peer groups, role models, social institutions (churches, government, professional organizations)

Likely Sources

Categories of Communication ethics:
Political/Democratic: functioning of democracy in America; openness, accuracy, mutual respect, and justice
Universal-humanitarian: seeks universal standards; wisdom, morality, rationality, character, commitment, rationality
Organizational/professional: code of a specific organization
Contextual: components/dynamics of the situation; audience adaptation, symbolic choice and flexibility
Dialogical/Narrative: code emerges from public discussion and interaction

Category that best fits

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Let the Good Times Roll: Using Loaded Dice to Introduce Descriptive and Inferential Statistics

Nicholas T. Tatum, Hayley C. Hoffman, Amanda R. Slone, and Alexis A. Hadden

Students in introductory quantitative methods courses often experience anxiety concerning statistics. As such, activities that expose students to statistics in a low-stakes, fun way are invaluable for increasing interest in statistical approaches and reducing apprehension in their application. Through participation in this hands-on activity using loaded dice and SPSS software, students will learn how to: input data and create new variables; compute measures of central tendency and dispersion; and perform paired samples t-tests and chi-squared goodness-of-fit tests. Moreover, students will also gain experience in interpreting SPSS outputs for paired samples t-tests and chi-squared goodness-of-fit tests. Upon completing this activity, students have reported reduced anxiety for using statistical software, high levels of gratification, and enhanced understanding of how to compute and interpret descriptive statistics, paired samples t-tests, and chi-squared goodness-of-fit tests.

Keywords: *SPSS, statistics anxiety, chi-squared, t-test, loaded dice*

Course: Introduction to Quantitative Methods

Objectives: By the end of this activity, students should understand the purposes of paired samples t-tests and chi-squared goodness of fit tests. Through participation in a hands-on activity using loaded dice and SPSS software, students will learn how to (1) input data and create new variables; (2) compute measures of central tendency and dispersion; and (3) perform paired samples t-tests and chi-squared goodness-of-fit tests. Moreover, students will also gain experience in interpreting SPSS outputs for paired samples t-tests and chi-squared goodness-of-fit tests.

Rationale

The need to understand and the ability to apply statistics has become an essential part of any degree program (Onwuegbuzie & Wilson, 2003), especially communication

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studies. According to Onwuegbuzie, DaRos and Ryan (1997), students' experiences in introductory methods courses lay the foundation for their attitudes toward statistics, and may even determine whether they become frequent users and consumers of statistics in the future. Unfortunately, quantitative research and statistical analysis are likely some of the most frightening courses for students. In fact, it has been estimated that approximately 80% of graduate students experience high levels of statistics anxiety; this figure is even higher for undergraduate students (Onwuegbuzie & Wilson, 2003). The apprehension that occurs in response to computing and interpreting statistics is known as *statistics anxiety* (Onwuegbuzie et al., 1997). Past research has demonstrated that statistics anxiety can have a significant, negative impact on course performance (e.g., Onwuegbuzie, 2003). For example, students with higher statistics anxiety typically achieve less on exams than their less-stressed peers, have a higher tendency to procrastinate on their work, and spend less effort and time on learning (Macher, Paechter, Papousek & Ruggeri, 2012). These feelings of apprehension may lead many students to delay enrolling in a research methods or statistics course for as long as possible (Onwuegbuzie, 1997), which in turn may impact their perceptions of and interest in statistics as a useful tool.

Despite the uneasiness that a large portion of our students have towards this type of course, great ideas for teaching designed for basic quantitative methods courses are sparse. This fun, engaging activity is designed to introduce students to some basic statistical tests while simultaneously familiarizing them with a popular statistical software package. In addition to creating a low-stakes, enjoyable environment for combating statistics anxiety, using this activity near the beginning of a semester can be an invaluable way to "connect the dots" for students when it comes to understanding the purpose of testing data.

Activity Description

Set-Up

The instructor can set the scene for the activity by first introducing concepts that underscore the lesson to students, such as how to use SPSS and/or the role of paired samples t-tests or chi-squared goodness-of-fit tests in statistical analysis. To begin the activity, the instructor should divide students into groups of four, with each group sitting at one table or in their own cluster of desks. Then, each group should further split itself in half, with one half of the group designated as Pair A and the other as Pair B. Students in Pair A should each be given a single *regular* die, while students in Pair B should each be given a single *loaded* die. It is essential that the instructor not reveal that loaded dice are present; students should arrive at this conclusion via statistical analyses. These loaded, 6-sided dice can be purchased from a variety of online vendors.

Data Generation

Each pair will then roll their dice a total of 99 times (or more if time permits) and record their "rolls" in a single column—either on a sheet of paper on in an Excel spreadsheet—after each rolling. Once complete, each group of four should create a single

new Data File in SPSS by choosing "New Dataset" in the initial opening window. Students should go to variable view within the new file, by selecting the "Variable View" tab at the bottom of the dataset, where each group will create 2 new variables—one for each pair. Upon naming the new variable, SPSS will fill in the rest of the information; however, students should update the label (Pair A or B) and measure type (scale) for each new variable. On data view, each pair should input their list of dice roles into their designated variable column.

Descriptive Statistics

Instructors should then engage students in a discussion about what descriptive statistics (i.e., measures of dispersion and central tendency) should be expected from their rolls. The following questions can be used to guide the classroom discussion:

1. **What can we assume about the randomization/probability of rolling dice?**
   A: Each number has an equal chance of being rolled each time.

2. **What should the measures of central tendency be for each variable in our experiment?**
   A: Mean = 3.5; Median = 3 or 4; Mode = Any number

3. **What should the measures of dispersion be for each variable in our experiment?**
   A: Variance = 2.92; Standard Deviation = 1.709. (Based on competence, instructors may have the students calculate these numbers themselves.)

4. **Should we expect the measures of central tendency or dispersion to be different for each variable?**
   A: Point students back to the probability from question 1. Every number has an equal chance of occurring, so the measures of central tendency and dispersion should be comparable for each variable.

Working as a group, each team should then compute the measures of central tendency and dispersion for each variable using SPSS. This can be done under the Analyze function by selecting "Descriptive Statistics" and subsequently "Descriptives." Move the two newly-created variables from the left list into the "Variable(s)" window by selecting each variable and pressing the appropriate arrow. Also, select "Options" and make sure all relevant measures of dispersion and central tendency are selected. Apply these changes and click "OK" to run the analysis. After the analysis is complete, instructors can use the following questions to guide class discussion:

1. **Were the measures of central tendency and dispersion what we expected for each variable?**
   A: Variable 1 = Yes; Variable 2 (Loaded Dice) = No

2. **Why do we think this happened? Did it happen by chance?**
   A: We do not know. While we can tell that the measures of central tendency and dispersion are different, there's no way of finding out any more information about the variables by just comparing descriptive data. Because of this, we cannot make any statistical assumptions of the variable differences.

Inferential Statistics

Based on these points of discussion, students will begin to understand the purpose of inferential statistics—specifically t-tests and chi-squared goodness—of-fit tests. To answer these unsolved questions, each group will first conduct a paired samples t-test to compare both variables. The paired samples t-tests will determine if each pair was in fact significantly different from each other—and thus lead students toward the conclusion that one set of dice is different from the other. Of course, given the independent nature of the dice rolls, an independent samples t-test may be a more appropriate tool; however, for the purposes of this activity, given the simplicity and functionality of a paired samples t-test, this type was chosen.

First, under the Analyze function, students should select "Compare Means" and subsequently "Paired Samples T-Test." Move the two variables from the left list into the "Paired Variable(s)" window onto the same line (e.g., Pair 1), then click "OK" to compute the test. Students will the examine the p value, finding that the paired samples t-test was indeed significant ($p < .05$) – meaning the dice rolls in Pair A were significantly different than the dice rolls in Pair B.

The second test, a chi-squared goodness-of-fit test, should be performed for each variable to determine whether observed rolls differ significantly from expected frequencies. Using the Analyze function, each group should conduct the test by selecting "Nonparametric Tests," "Legacy Dialogs," and "Chi-Squared." Then, move each variable into the "Test Variables List." After clicking "OK," the chi-squared goodness-of-fit test will appear in the output window. Students should examine the chi-squared value and p.

The p-value of the chi-squared test of Pair A should not be significant ($p > .05$), suggesting that observed rolls did not differ significantly from expected frequencies. However, the p-value of the chi-squared test of Pair B should be significant ($p < .05$), suggesting that observed rolls did differ significantly from expected frequencies, providing further evidence that the dice are loaded.

Debrief

After performing these statistical analyses, use the following questions to guide a class discussion:

1. **What unique information does each test show us about our dice?**
   A: Guide student responses by focusing on one test at a time. First, begin with discussion about the t-test. Be sure that before discussion ends, student comprehend the purpose of the paired samples t-test and what counts as a significant difference. Students should conclude that the two sets of dice had significantly different means. Like the t-test, students should leave class understanding the purpose and meaning

behind the results of the chi-squared goodness-of-fit test. The dice from Pair B were loaded. Therefore, each number did not have an equal chance of being rolled.

2. **How might a researcher use both tests in a study?**
   Ask students to provide examples of the various ways in which the paired samples t-test and the chi-squared goodness-of-fit test can be used in a research setting. However, as independent samples t-test may be more appropriate in some cases, instructors should make sure to clarify the difference if necessary.

Appraisal

Students often find themselves worried about beginning their studies in quantitative methods, and this activity can reduce these fears by introducing basic concepts (i.e., using SPSS software, descriptive statistics, paired samples t-tests, chi-squared goodness-of-fit tests) in a fun and engaging way. Past applications of this activity have yielded positive results. Students generally report high levels of gratification after the activity was completed. More importantly, students have reported reduced anxiety for using statistical software and a better understanding of how to compute and interpret descriptive statistics, paired samples t-tests, and chi-squared goodness-of-fit tests.

There are known benefits to engaging in class activities. Reducing the amount of time given to traditional lectures and, instead, employing interactive activities promotes positive social relations, problem-solving abilities, and retention (Johnson & Johnson, 1983; Johnson, Maruyama, Johnson, Nelson, & Skon, 1981). More recent research has suggested that activities are also highly beneficial in flipped classrooms (Tiarht & Porter, 2016). In addition, Bigelow and Poremba (2014) argue that software skills are best learned through hands-on use of programs such as Microsoft Office. However, it is important to note that these skills can be difficult and frustrating without the aid of an instructor. Therefore, while this hands-on activity is useful for both understanding statistics and using SPSS software, instructors should be available to answer student inquiries.

Given the vast amount of variation in introductory quantitative methods courses (e.g., class sizes, skill level), this activity can be altered to fit various contexts. In a smaller class (e.g., 10 to 20 students), verbal discussion can be guided easily. However, in a large lecture hall, instructors may wish to incorporate a personal response system (PRS; GTCO; CalComp, 2005) that allows students to respond to poll questions by pressing the corresponding button on a wireless transmitter. Other variations of this live-polling technique might use Twitter feeds (Tyma, 2011), live polling apps, or online discussion boards. For more advanced students, the activity could be replicated using different analytical tests in SPSS, such as one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs), which would simply require adding more types of dice.

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