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ARTICLES

SPECIAL FOCUS ON GIFTS INC (GREAT IDEAS FOR TEACHING STUDENTS IN THE CAROLINAS)

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Carolinas Communication Annual, Volume XXXIV

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SPECIAL FOCUS ON GIFTS INC (GREAT IDEAS FOR TEACHING STUDENTS IN THE CAROLINAS)

Editorial Policy (2019)

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.

The call for submissions for the 2019 *Carolinas Communication Annual* will be announced in early spring 2019 and authors should submit their essays electronically (in a Microsoft Word file) to the editor. Submissions should include 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 2018 *Carolinas Communication Annual*. First and foremost, I owe debts to those who made this year's journal possible: our contributors for their superb work and prompt responses to queries and requests; the editorial board members for their willingness to offer timely and critical feedback; the staff at Sun Solutions in Columbia, South Carolina who have printed the *Annual* for the past several years and oversaw its redesign in my first year as editor; our association's leadership for keeping CCA thriving amidst many other competing roles and responsibilities; and my supportive colleagues at the University of the South.
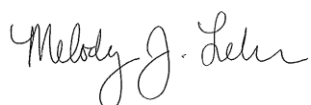
In keeping with the journal's history, the 2018 *Annual* features scholarship from authors in and beyond the Carolinas, from early career and senior scholars, and on research and on teaching: all of which went through a rigorous double blind-review process. This year's *Annual* features three outstanding essays. Richard W. Leeman's essay "The Radical Post-Reconstruction Rhetoric of Frederick Douglass" challenges prior readings of the nature and effect of Douglass's post-Reconstruction radicalism. In so doing, Leeman offers a nuanced understanding of how Douglass employed the rhetorical strategy of "emancipatory interpretation" to craft a "distinctly radical form of rhetoric" not previously accounted for. In their essay "'Four Homegrown Muslim Terrorists on a Mission From Hell': Law Enforcement Gatekeeping and News Framing of the Newburgh Four," J. Scott Smith and Kyle Angelet investigate how adapting framing and network gatekeeping shed light on how news commentators covered the arrest of the Newburgh Four. Focusing on the initial forty-eight hours of coverage, Smith and Angelet reveal how pro-law enforcement news frames perpetuated a "post-9/11 U.S. vs. Islam frame" that stoked fears of terrorism, reinforced views of law enforcement officials as gatekeepers, and raises questions about the roles of the government and press in disseminating news about national security issues. Wanda Little Fenimore's essay "Memorials to the Empire in a Postcolonial Age: Materiality and Rhetorical Performance of the Queen Victoria Memorial" interrogates the implications of monuments and memorials to former colonial empires through a case study of the Queen Victoria Memorial located at Buckingham Palace. Traversing the roles of tourist and spectator, Fenimore assumes the role of "critical museum visitor" to grasp how the full materiality of the Queen Victoria Scheme – as an inclusive text constituted by the Victoria statue, fountains, and gate – still today "rhetorically performs the strategies and tactics of colonization."

Drawing inspiration from the many gifted teachers in our Association's midst and the fine quality of this year's submissions of teaching activities, this year's *Annual* features a "Special Focus on GIFTS INC (Great Ideas for Teaching Speech in the Carolinas)" section. Each of the five GIFTS INC activities promises to invigorate and inspire our pedagogical practices in the classroom. John W. Edwards II and Stephen G. Keating lead the way with their contribution "Early Semester Challenges: Joining People and Technology on the First Day of Class." Acknowledging student anxiety and apprehension about using technology in the classroom, Edwards and Keating offer two activities that

set the tone for an engaged, technology-rich communication classroom. In "Introducing Intercultural Communication by Introducing Deaf Culture," Stephanie Kelly and Zachary Denton proffer a single-class activity that introduces students to deaf culture. Appropriate in courses across the curriculum, this activity uses deaf culture as a case study to prompt students to reflect upon their assumptions about cultural norms in communication. In something of a related vein, Jason Munsell's essay "The Wall between Hope and Fear: Using Problem Based Learning in the Intercultural Communication Course" suggests a semester-long approach to teaching Intercultural Communication that draws on problem based learning pedagogy. This approach and its application to the topic of immigration rhetoric, Munsell explains, simultaneously allows students to grasp the nuances of political debate about immigration policy and the corresponding relationship between ethnocentricity and public policy. Next, Mary Beth Asbury and Jessica M. W. Kratzer tackles the challenges students experience when trying to connect theory to lived experiences in their essay "Bringing Theory to Life: The Use of Autoethnography to Encourage Theoretical Understanding." In their three-part assignment, Asbury and Kratzer invite students to take, summarize, and reflect upon field notes about communication interactions over twenty-four hours, with several productive outcomes. Finally, Regina Luttrell's essay "Teaching Students to Gather, Interpret, and Present Information Graphically: An Exercise in Research, Data, and Infographics" offers a concrete and accessible template for how students can more effectively use data visualization to communicate in storytelling.

As my editorial tenure reaches its conclusion, I remain honored and humbled that my colleagues in the Carolinas have entrusted me with our association's journal for the past three years. It has been a singular highlight of my career thus far to collaborate with the *Annual*'s authors, reviewers, and readers. I look forward to seeing the great heights to which the incoming editor will no doubt take the *Annual* in the coming years.

Sincerely,

Melody Lehn
Sewanee: The University of the South
Sewanee, Tennessee
September 2018

The Radical Post-Reconstruction Rhetoric of Frederick Douglass

Richard W. Leeman

Scholars from across the disciplines have lauded Frederick Douglass as a powerful, ironic voice during the antislavery, Civil War and immediate post-war periods. Many scholars have argued, however, that after 1870 Douglass's radical reform voice became "somewhat muted." Others have disagreed with this assessment, but have rarely analyzed the radical qualities of his post-Reconstruction speeches. This essay examines the extent and quality of Douglass's radicalism in this period by analyzing three of his landmark post-Reconstruction speeches that addressed important reform issues of the day: the Supreme Court's reversal of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, woman suffrage, and lynching. The essay argues that, in each of these speeches, Douglass challenged the white and male hegemonic control of language, reinterpreting and renaming in order to provide his audience with new language with which to re-conceptualize race and gender relations and to challenge the prevailing values of the dominant culture. Douglass thus employed the rhetorical strategy that Robert Terrill calls "emancipatory interpretation," a radical discursive strategy that Terrill associates with the discourse of Malcolm X.

Scholars across disciplines have lauded Frederick Douglass as a powerful, ironic voice when he advocated for the abolition of slavery, equal treatment of blacks during the Civil War, and passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Studying Douglass's early speaking career, for example, Gregory Lampe writes that "Frederick Douglass's "rhetorical brilliance" helped make him "one of the most enduring and consequential public voices in American history."[1] John Louis Lucaites argues that "Frederick Douglass was without a doubt one of the most important spokespersons for the burgeoning African-American identity in the antebellum period, his reputation as a powerful orator ranking him with the likes of Wendell Phillips and Daniel Webster among whites and H. H. Garnet among blacks."[2] Douglass's "Fourth of July" speech is considered by many to be one of the finest speeches delivered in American history.[3] As Gerald Fulkerson concludes, "Frederick Douglass is widely acknowledged as the most significant black figure in nineteenth-century America," in large part due to his outstanding reputation as a public speaker.[4]

Although scholars universally acknowledge that Frederick Douglass was an eloquent and powerful speaker, whether he was also a radical and militant reformer has been debated. The pioneering scholar of African American history and Douglass biographer Benjamin Quarles, for example, writes that "Douglass was never the militant agitator," but rather was one who worked to advance the cause of blacks within the existing political framework.[5] Rhetorical scholar Omedi Ochieng disagrees. Analyzing Douglass's discourse as an epistemological, ideological and performative challenge to the rhetorical traditions of nineteenth century white America, Ochieng argues that Douglass

"articulated a distinctively radical rhetoric," that questioned "the very presuppositions [of the] polity."[6] Rhetorical scholar Rachel Prioleau concurs, arguing that Douglass employed what she terms "strategic discourse," a rhetoric of renaming, challenge and cognitive dissonance that produced "new ways of thinking about race and gender" in order to "motivate . . . listeners to cognitive and behavioral change."[7]

Further muddying the critical waters, many scholars divide Douglass's career into roughly two phases—pre and post Reconstruction—generally demarcated by 1870 and the successful passage of the emancipation amendments—the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments—or by the end of Reconstruction in 1876. Fulkerson, for example, writes that after Reconstruction ended in 1876, Douglass's "radical reform voice became somewhat muted," and that he "tended to moderate his criticism with a tone of hopeful optimism."[8] Historian Nell Irvin Painter has most notably led the scholarly charge against Douglass. In her landmark work *Exodusters*, Painter takes to task the so-called "representative colored men" such as Douglass, writing that "[Douglass's] opinions by [the late 1870s] were unswervingly conservative and often anti-Black. Many Blacks disowned Douglass's latter-day views, notably his shrill denunciations of the Exodus."[9] Most scholars who agree with Painter and Fulkerson point to Douglass's sometimes tortured support of Republican party politics, as he sought to advance African Americans' and his own fortunes through pragmatic political action. For example, in his highly regarded intellectual biography of Douglass, Waldo Martin argues that "as [Douglass] grew older, wealthier, and more patriarchal and emblematic, in crucial ways he increasingly lost touch with the ordinary Negro."[10]

Although Ochieng extends his counter-claim—that Douglass employed a radical rhetoric—to the reformer's entire oeuvre, all but one quotation in support of that claim is drawn from Douglass's pre-1870 discourse. Prioleau, too, confines her analysis to the pre-1870 years. Yet Philip Foner, another Douglass biographer, counters that Douglass's support of the Republican party cannot "obscure the fact that at a time when some Negro leaders were advocating conciliation and compromise, not to say surrender, Douglass uncompromisingly adhered to his principles of unflinching opposition to the entire pattern of segregation," and "stood squarely and uncompromisingly for the full freedom" of African Americans.[11] Still others have reached mixed conclusions about just how radical Douglass remained as a reformer after Reconstruction. Regarding the Exoduster movement and Douglass's criticism of the Exodusters, historian Nathan Irvin Huggins argues that the reformer's discourse was "guarded" and appeared "accommodationist" in tone.[12] Yet in another instance, Huggins favorably contrasts Douglass's radicalism with that of Martin Delaney, often known as the "Father of Black Nationalism."[13] While Delaney was critical of African Americans bringing firearms to their meetings during the Reconstruction era, Douglass supported the practice, saying "I shall never ask the colored people to be lambs where the whites insist on being wolves."[14]

Thus, the nature of and extent to which Frederick Douglass adhered to a radical discursive stance during his post-Reconstruction career is in question. This essay attempts to answer that question in part by examining three major speeches delivered after 1876 by Douglass, speeches that addressed three of the most pressing reform issues of the day: segregation, woman suffrage, and lynching. In each speech, I will argue, Douglass adopts a radical discursive stance that, as Ochieng would phrase it, verbalized a "root and branch rejection of the system" and "articulated a distinctively radical rhetorical stance that

searched for a passage" through the epistemological, ideological and performative traditions of the day. Put in other terms, in these three speeches Douglass challenged the language and underlying assumptions that legitimated discrimination against African Americans and women, and by doing so advocated for a radical understanding of what it meant to be human and thereby entitled to equal treatment in the eyes of the law and humanity.

Humbling a Nation

On October 15, 1883 the Supreme Court, filled with Republican appointments, handed down an 8-1 decision that declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 to be unconstitutional as it applied to the states, although the law continued to hold force in the federal district of Washington, D.C. At meetings across the country, speakers denounced the decision, and on October 22 citizens of the nation's capital met at Lincoln Hall to protest the Court's ruling. Some two thousand people were in the audience, and it is estimated that another two thousand were turned away at the door and listened from the street.[15] The two featured speakers were Frederick Douglass and Robert G. Ingersoll.

Douglass does contextualize his speech carefully. He announces in the first paragraph that he has written the speech out in full, recognizing that what he says is liable to be "misunderstood, distorted, or misrepresented."[16] As he nears the close of the speech, he assigns more sinister motives to his detractors: "It is a frequent and favorite device of an indefensible cause to misstate and pervert the views of those who advocate a good cause, and I have never seen this device more generally resorted to than in the case of the late decision on the Civil Rights Bill."[17] Specifically, Douglass's opponents charge that those expressing opposition to the Court's Civil Rights decision are actually attacking the institution of the Supreme Court itself. "I utterly deny that there has ever been any denunciation of the Supreme Court on this platform," Douglass retorts, and at several junctures early in the speech he supports the Supreme Court both particularly and, through extension, by his support of the institution of government.[18] "We should never forget," says Douglass early in the speech, "that, whatever may be the incidental mistakes or misconduct of ruler, government is better than anarchy, and patient reform is better than violent revolution."[19] In rejecting violent revolution, Douglass would appear to stand in opposition to what we might consider radical rhetors, such as the Black Power speakers who wanted to tear down the system by any means necessary.

These passages upholding the institution of government, however, should be understood as rhetorically strategic in two regards. First, Douglass seeks to divide the Supreme Court from the remainder of the Federal Government, because Congress and the President passed and signed the Civil Rights Law that the Court had just overturned. Thus he says that the law had been "calmly debated" with all the objections "carefully considered and fairly answered," had been "composed by the ablest men in the land," reviewed by the Attorney General, signed by the President, and remained in the statute book for "nearly a decade" and yet eight autocrats on the Supreme Court had struck it down.[20] By grounding his argument in the authority of government generally, he sets two branches of government in contraposition to the other and provides rhetorical space within which to unequivocally condemn the ruling.

Pragmatically, Douglass says, the Court's decision is "a heavy calamity upon seven millions of the people in this country" that has "left them naked and defenceless against the action of a malignant, vulgar, and pitiless prejudice."[21] Ethically, the Court's decision is a "moral cyclone" that has left "moral desolation in its track."[22] Legally, the Court's reasoning is ridiculous. In an extended lampoon of the Court's majority opinion, Douglass focuses like a laser on the legal reading of lawmakers' *intentions,* a word he italicizes throughout the printed version of this speech. During the slavery days, he reminds his audience, the Court was all about "intentions." The Court assumed, for example, that when the Constitution said its purpose was to "establish justice and to secure the blessings of liberty" for We the People, it *intended* it to be for We the White People. Yet now, when the legislative debates about and the *intentions* of the Fourteenth Amendment were clear and manifest, the Court says that the words of the Fourteenth Amendment apply only to proscriptions on state government, and not to the citizens of the state as a whole. The Fourteenth Amendment, Douglass asserts plainly, was "meant to give [the African American] the protection to which his citizenships, his loyalty, his allegiance, and his services entitled him; and this meaning, and this purpose, and this intention, is now declared unconstitutional and void, by the Supreme Court of the United States."[23] Douglass thus condemns and laments: "O for a Supreme Court which shall be as true, as vigilant, as active, and exacting in maintaining laws enacted for the protection of human rights, as in other days was that Court for the destruction of human rights!"[24]

Second, however, Douglass's defense of the institution of government should be understood as *contextualizing,* rather than *excusing*, the nation, a discursive move that provides Douglass with the rhetorical space within which to mount his unequivocal condemnation of a nation that has nurtured, permitted and even defended the Supreme Court's decision. It is not the institutions that are immoral, it is the people that those institutions embody who need to be changed in their minds and hearts. Further, the legitimacy of the institution's *character* justifies the standards to which the institution and its constituents should be held. Government needs to treat its citizens fairly, Douglass argues. It may "tax their bread and tax their blood," but if it then has "no protecting power for their persons," if it cannot secure their rights even as it makes its own claim for "service and allegiance, loyalty and life," then "what right have we to call ourselves a Nation, in view of this decision, and this utter destitution of [national] power?"[25] Using this parallel structure, Douglass puts the matter directly and succinctly in a formula that equates the well-being of African Americans with the well-being of the entire nation: "In humiliating the colored people of this country, this decision has humbled the Nation."[26]

Douglass is not content, however, with condemning the nation simply because its institutions cannot protect all its citizens. He also names the immoral forces that underlie the Supreme Court's decision and that motivate those who condemn the opponents of the Court's ruling. Ironically but not coincidentally, that immoral force is the very "malignant, vulgar, and pitiless prejudice" from which the Civil Rights Bill sought to protect its citizens of color. Recalling the antebellum struggles of Bloody Kansas, the Fugitive Slave Bill and the Dred Scott decision, Douglass casts the Court's decision as "one more shocking development of that moral weakness" that has attended the "conflict between the spirit of liberty and the spirit of slavery from the beginning."[27] It is the spirit of slavery and prejudice that leads the Supreme Court to preference *intentions* when it favors slavery in the antebellum period, and now leads the Supreme Court to ignore

intentions as it declares the Civil Rights Bill unconstitutional. Liberty, Douglass observes, has technically replaced slavery as the "base line of the Republic," but "it has not supplanted the spirit or power of slavery. Where slavery was strong, liberty is now weak."[28] Responding to the claim that the Civil Rights Bill was only weakly enforced, Douglass emphasizes the importance of having laws that promote equality instead of having them overturned. The Civil Rights Bill "was a banner on the outer wall of American liberty, a noble moral standard, uplifted for the education of the American people."[29] He continues:

> It expressed the sentiment of justice and fair play, common to every honest heart. Its voice was against popular prejudice and meanness. It appealed to all the noble and patriotic instincts of the American People. It told the American people that they were all equal before the law; that they belonged to a common country and were equal citizens.[30]

The Supreme Court, however, has given "joy to the heart of every man in the land who wishes to deny to others what he claims for himself" and "is a concession to race pride, selfishness and meanness."[31] While Douglass earlier told the audience that if they came to hear a "violent denunciation of the Supreme Court" they were mistaken, he now concludes that because the Court's ruling has "hauled down this flag of liberty in open day . . . I deplore and denounce that decision."[32]

Douglass is not content, however, to simply condemn the Supreme Court's decision and the spirit of slavery and prejudice that still consumes the land. If conditions do not change, he warns, the government and white Americans may come to regret it. Douglass begins by noting the irony that the Catholic Irish in America have, perhaps, been the most "extreme and dangerous" in their prejudice against African Americans, despite the fact that "no people on the face of the earth have been more relentlessly persecuted and oppressed on account of race and religion, than the Irish people."[33] Douglass does not leave it at the hypocrisy of persecuted people persecuting others in turn. The English-Irish situation becomes an analogy for the white American-black American relationship embodied in the Court's decision. "What is the chief source of England's weakness" today, Douglass asks, and any intelligent person will answer "Ireland."[34] "Poor, ragged, hungry, starving and oppressed as she is," Douglass says, in a description that matches the conditions for those of African descent in America, yet Ireland "is strong enough to be a standing menace to the power and glory of England."[35] Douglass then recounts blacks' military contributions during time of war: the American Revolution, with Jackson at New Orleans, during the Civil War. Generally, in African American discourse, this trope is used to remind the audience that African Americans have contributed fully as citizens. Douglass, however, employs it as a warning: "Our legislators, our Presidents, and our judges should have a care, lest, by forcing these people, outside of law, they destroy that love of country which is needful to the Nation's defence in the day of trouble."[36] Unlike later radical speakers such as Malcolm X or Stokely Carmichael, Douglass does not *explicitly* threaten violence by pointing out that blacks could have fought for the other side in those wars, and that perhaps they will do so in the future, but like them his appeal seems directed more towards creating *fear* in his white audience than it is in creating *guilt* for an unpaid debt.

Frederick Douglass's "This Decision has Humbled the Nation" is thus not the conciliatory speech it is sometimes portrayed as. He *says* there will be no "violent denunciation," but he declares, denounces, and ridicules the legal reasoning of the Court. Slavery "sternly demanded its pound of flesh, no matter how much blood was shed in the taking of it," and the spirit of slavery remains ascendant through the attitude of the nation and the rulings of its Court.[37] "When a deed is done for slavery, caste and oppression, and a blow is struck at human progress," as this decision has done, "the heart of humanity sickens in sorrow and writhes in pain."[38] "It makes us feel," he continues, "as if some one were stamping upon the graves of our mothers, or desecrating our sacred temples of worship."[39] This is an odious act of prejudice that must be challenged unequivocally, and so Douglass does.

Newspapers reported the meeting along partisan lines. Black-owned newspapers lauded the meetings, although rival T. Thomas Fortune's *The Globe* ignored Douglass's presence and focused on Robert Ingersoll's speech. The conservative *Washington Post* held that the Supreme Court had simply made a legal application of the Constitution to the law, and therefore it was "foolish to denounce this decision as if it involved some moral wrong or political treachery," which of course was the heart of Douglass's argument.[40] Most tellingly, the *Post* recognized the radical nature of Douglass's rhetoric, saying that the Court's decision had been "recklessly inveighed against by Mr. Douglass."[41] Through his condemnation of the Supreme Court's decision as a continuation of slavery in other forms, by calling out the prejudicial motivations behind the Court's ruling and those who supported it, and by reminding his audience that African Americans could be a threatening force, Douglass did indeed construct a radical discourse that attacked the system "root and branch."

Radically for Women's Rights

As with rights for African Americans, Douglass was unequivocal in his support for women's rights. At the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Douglass insisted that the convention should declare itself for woman suffrage, although the suffrage demand was the only resolution that the attendees did not pass unanimously. Relations between women suffragists and Douglass were strained during the Reconstruction era, as Douglass supported the move to separate the calls for black voting rights from those for women. Although he still viewed the two suffrage movements as identical in principle, as a pragmatic matter he did not believe the two reforms could pass if they were conjoined into a single Constitutional amendment. His legislative priority in the immediate post-war period was to secure passage of the "emancipation" amendments, i.e., the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. By 1888, the rift had healed well enough that Douglass attended the New England Woman Suffrage Association's annual convention and delivered the featured speech on the first evening of the convention, plainly entitled "I Am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man."[42]

As at Seneca Falls forty years earlier, Douglass's call for women's rights is clear and direct. Midway through the speech he notes that "it is hardly necessary for me to say, after what I have already said, that I am a radical woman suffrage man."[43] He had felt so, he says, nearly half a century earlier, and "time, thought and experience have only increased the strength of my conviction."[44] Woman suffrage is, like African American

civil rights, a simple matter of right and wrong: "I believe equally in its justice, in its wisdom, and in its necessity."[45] Although Douglass says that his "special mission in the world, if I ever had any, was the emancipation and enfranchisement of the negro," he still stands forth to speak on behalf of woman suffrage.[46]

Like the black militants of the 1960s, Douglass understands the rights of one class of citizens—such as African Americans—to be of a piece with all classes of citizens in all parts of the world.[47] If woman suffrage can be denied, so too can black suffrage. Time and again in his speech he analogizes the two movements. While African American rights had been his "special mission," he tells them, "your mission is the emancipation and enfranchisement of woman."[48] But he goes further: "Mine was a great cause. Yours is a much greater cause, since it comprehends the liberation and elevation of one-half of the whole human family."[49] It is, he says, "the same old conflict," and just as the churches and politicians resisted the call to abolition, so now they stand in opposition to woman suffrage. "We have the same sources of opposition to contend with," he declares, "and we must meet them with the same spirit and determination."[50] Thus, although Douglass begins his speech by identifying his special mission as being separate from the women's, he rather quickly ignores that self-created division and identifies all equal rights reforms as being parts of a greater whole.

Tellingly, Douglass expands the question of women's equality beyond the confines of the U.S., understanding that human rights are inherent in all persons and that the reformers' "conflict" with the opposition is world-wide. He describes his recent trip to Egypt, where he observes that "no more distressing thing confronted us during our recent tour in Egypt than this social and religious annihilation of woman."[51] In the practice of the hajib, separate prayer rooms at the mosque, and the inability of adult women to travel on their own, Douglass believes that women there were "treated more like a criminal than like an innocent person."[52] The recent Methodist Episcopal vote to ban women from serving as delegates to their national conference "has in it a strong element of this Mahometan (sic) idea of the proper sphere and treatment of woman."[53]

Douglass understands that the reformer's interests are universal because rights themselves are universal. His justification for woman suffrage is based on personhood, and his argument resembles Elizabeth Cady Stanton's rationale in her famous speech "The Solitude of Self" delivered four years later.[54] Declares Douglass:

> The fundamental proposition of the woman suffrage movement is scarcely less simple than that of the anti-slavery movement. It assumes that woman is herself. That she belongs to herself, just as fully as man belongs to himself—that she is a person and has all the attributes of personality that can be claimed by man, and that her rights of person are equal in all respects to those of man. She has the same number of senses that distinguish man, and is like man a subject of human government, capable of understanding, obeying and being affected by law. That she is capable of forming an intelligent judgment as to the character of public men and public measures, and she may exercise her right of choice in respect both to the law and the lawmakers. Than all this nothing could be more simple or more reasonable.[55]

The only difference between men and women, Douglass argues, is that men are stronger, and therefore "there is no getting away from the conclusion here other than that the essence of this anti-woman suffrage doctrine is that might makes right."[56] Once this tenet is established, Douglass can return to his original analogy of African American rights and women's rights: "[Might] is the right of the usurper, the slave-holder, the tyrant, the robber and pirate—a right which no woman ought to admit and no man should claim."[57]

Douglass's position thus rests upon the argument that women are persons and are therefore inherently endowed with full political rights. In a rhetorical move later made by 1960s militants as well, Douglass posits that women cannot be *given* the right to vote; men must merely step aside and stop denying her exercise of that right.

> As I understand the matter, woman does not ask man for the right of suffrage. That is something which man has no power to give. Rights do not have their source in the will or the grace of man. . . . All that woman can properly ask man to do in this case, and all that man can do, is to get out of the way, to take his obstructive forces of fines and imprisonment and his obstructive usages out of the way, and let woman express her sentiments at the polls and in the government, equally with himself. Give her fair play and let her alone.[58]

Stokely Carmichael makes a strikingly similar case in his "Black Power" speech, delivered at Berkeley in 1966. "No man can give anybody his freedom," Carmichael argues, because "a man is born free."[59] A person's physical liberty may be *taken* away, but the oppressor cannot "*give*" anyone the *right* to be free: "The only thing white people can do is *stop denying black people their freedom.*"[60] Leave the African American alone, Carmichael says, to go wherever, live wherever, and vote whenever.[61]

Of course, Douglass is not content to leave the argument solely as a matter of right. Adopting woman suffrage is a *necessity* because of the democratic principle of government. Douglass first grounds his claim in the nation's sacred documents. "According to the Declaration of Independence and to the men who signed that great charter of human liberty," Douglass notes, "all rightful powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed."[62] This is not simply a political principle, however. Just as W.E.B. Du Bois will do twenty-four years later in his speech "Disfranchisement" to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Douglass argues that by broadening participation to those who are governed, democracy provides the broadest measure of wisdom and justice to the whole.[63] Douglass's argument for greater diversity in the voting population has a remarkably modern ring:

> If governments are best supported by the largest measure of virtue within their reach, if women are equally virtuous with men, if the whole is greater than a part, if sense and sum of human goodness in man and woman combined is greater than in that of either alone and separate, then the government that excludes women from all participation in its creation, administration and perpetuation, maims itself, deprives itself of one-half of all that is wisest and best for its usefulness, success and perfection.[64]

Also like Du Bois, Douglass portrays the advancement of democracy as part of humanity's broad march "from barbarism to civilization."[65] However, "we see" he says, "that any and every advance, however simple and reasonable, has been sternly resisted."[66] In order to advance democracy and civilization, the resistance must be overcome and woman suffrage adopted. Woman suffrage is thus a moral right inherent in their personhood, and a necessary reform if true and full civilization is to be attained.

The Boston *Woman's Journal* wrote that Douglass's speech was met with "prolonged applause."[67] The *Washington Bee* noted simply that he "delivered an interesting address on the need of universal suffrage for woman."[68] His demands that women be treated equally as persons and that men stop denying women their freedom, and his affirmation of the value of diverse views and opinions all directly confronted the prevailing mores of the nation's culture and its institutions. This was root and branch, radical discourse.

Denouncing the Mob

On January 9, 1894 at the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church in Washington, D.C., Frederick Douglass instructed his audience on what he called "The Lessons of the Hour."[69] In various forms, it was a lecture he delivered multiple times during the last year of his life. The speech was a dissertation on the dissembling of white Americans and a lesson about their greed and their prejudice. Douglass explicitly denied and defied the practitioners and defenders of lynching and used that violent practice as a lens through which to denounce the actions and prejudices of white Americans generally. Douglass's speech was a declamation much in the spirit of the black power advocates who would agitate seven decades later.

From start to close, Douglass's speech denounced his opponents in no uncertain terms. His language was direct and unmistakable. In the fifth paragraph of the speech, Douglass tells his audience that Southern "mob violence" is a "sport," that is "not only a disgrace and scandal to that particular section but a menace to the peace and security of the whole country."[70] The "ghastly horrors" of lynching evidence the "frantic rage and savage extravagance" of the mob.[71]

> In its thirst for blood and its rage for vengeance, the mob has blindly, boldly and defiantly supplanted sheriffs, constables and police. . . . It laughs at legal processes, courts and juries, and its red-handed murderers range abroad unchecked and unchallenged by law or by public opinion. . . . Jail doors are battered down in the presence of unresisting jailors, and the accused, awaiting trial in the courts of law are dragged out and hanged, shot, stabbed or burned to death as the blind and irresponsible mob may elect.[72]

Douglass likens the mob to buzzards, vultures and hyenas, who "gloat over and prey upon dead bodies."[73] "There is nothing in the history of savages," he intones, "to surpass the blood chilling horrors and fiendish excesses perpetrated against the colored people by the so-called enlightened and Christian people of the South."[74]

However, it is not simply the lynch mob who must be declared immoral, unjust and wrong. Like other black militants, Douglass argues that all those who, by

commission or omission, do not denounce the mob, are complicit in supporting it. What of the "so-called better classes of the Southern States?" Douglass asks.[75] "We should be shocked and astonished," he says, for "the mobocratic murderers are not only permitted to go free, untried and unpunished, but are lauded and applauded as honorable men and good citizens, the guardians of Southern women."[76] About the Southerners attestations that they know what is best for race relations in their section of the country, or that the lynching is only practiced in response to the crime of rape, Douglass declares that "I impeach and discredit the veracity of southern men generally" because "I have no confidence in the truthfulness of men who justify themselves in cheating the negro out of his constitutional right to vote."[77] The strategy to disfranchise African Americans in the South "is not only admitted, but openly defended and justified by so-called honorable men" of the South, as Douglass cites a paper recently read at the World's Auxiliary Congresses by a Southern professor of note. "This kind of fraud in the South," Douglass declares unequivocally, "is notorious."[78]

Northerners of good intentions, of whom "we should have expected a more considerate, just and humane utterance," are similarly condemned.[79] They half-heartedly condemn lynching, reserving their moral fury for the alleged perpetrators of the alleged crime. But the crime with which African Americans are charged is "utterly groundless. . . a mere pretense, a sham, an excuse for fraud and violence, for persecution and a cloak for popular prejudice."[80] "When the moral sense of a nation begins to decline and the wheel of progress to roll backward," he says, "there is no telling how low the one will fall or where the other may stop," but all the signs are bad:

> The downward tendency already manifest has swept away some of the most important safeguards. The Supreme Court has surrendered. State sovereignty is restored. It has destroyed the civil rights Bill, and converted the Republican party into a party of money rather than a party of morals, a party of things rather than a party of humanity and justice. We may well ask what next? The pit of hell is said to be bottomless.[81]

White Americans advocating the repatriation of blacks to Africa are representative of all white thinking. "The champions of this idea," Douglass says, "are the men who glory in the good old times when the slaves were under the lash and were bought and sold in the market with horses, sheep and swine."[82]

> It is another way of saying that slavery is better than freedom; that darkness is better than light and that wrong is better than right. It is the American method of reasoning in all matters concerning the negro. It inverts everything; turns truth upside down and puts the case of the unfortunate negro wrong end foremost every time.[83]

Black power advocates would later point to the same issue that how blacks were "named" was at the heart of the problem: that Jesus was white, that everything black is bad or ugly, that African Americans are the descendants of Ham, or that civil rights is a "black" problem rather than a problem of white discrimination.[84] As H. Rap Brown summarized

these labels for one African American audience, those words were "the lies white America tells about you."[85]

This attention to naming, or *nommo*, is one of the particularly prominent characteristics of black militant rhetoric in the 1960s.[86] In his "Black Power" speech delivered at Berkeley in 1966, Stokely Carmichael succinctly summarized the problem. "We are now engaged in a psychological struggle in this country," he said, "and that is *whether or not black people will have the right to use the words they want to use* without white people giving their sanction to it; and that we maintain, whether they like it or not, we gonna use the word 'Black Power.'"[87] Malcolm X similarly challenged the "accepted" uses of language. "I'm not an American," he told his audience in "The Ballot or the Bullet," but rather "one of the 22 million black people who are victims of Americanism. One of 22 million victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy."[88] In *Malcolm X: Inventing Radical Judgment,* Robert Terrill argues that this discourse, with its attention to renaming and the control of naming, constitutes "emancipatory interpretation," a kind of critique performed by the rhetor in an attempt to "free [the audience] from the confining ways of thinking prescribed by the dominant white culture."[89]

In many regards, Frederick Douglass is performing the same rhetorical move in "The Lessons of the Hour." The "American method of reasoning" about blacks makes the dark light, the wrong right, and turns the truth upside down. From the very start of his speech, Douglass challenges white Americans' language. He questions the very naming of the issue, referring to it as the "so-called, but mis-called negro problem."[90] African Americans, he tells his audience, are neither the source nor the cause of the lynching problem that is dogging the United States: the mobocrats (lynchers) and those who shelter and encourage them are. The "*so-called better class*es of the Southern people," he says, are in "full sympathy with the mob" and "openly apologize" for its vicious deeds, while the disenfranchisement of blacks is "openly defended and justified by *so-called honorable men* inside and outside of Congress."[91] Mis-name the problem, he says, and the problem is misunderstood. "Much thoughtless speech is heard about the ignorance of the negro in the South," Douglass observes, "but plainly enough it is not the ignorance of the negro, but the malevolence of his accusers, which is the real cause of Southern disorder."[92]

As Douglass nears the completion of his speech, he returns again to what he terms "the so-called, but mis-called 'Negro Problem,' as a characterization of relations existing in the Southern States."[93] He moves quickly to challenge this label: "I say at once, I do not like or admit the justice or propriety of this formula."[94] Like the 1960s Black Power advocates, Douglass then performs a critical analysis of his opponents' language. "Words are things," he says, and they carry meanings and shape attitudes.[95] Calling the issue the "Negro Problem" he says "is a formula of Southern origin, and has a bias against the negro. It handicaps his cause with all the prejudice known to exist against him."[96] When Northern audiences accept the language, it further prejudices them against the African American. "It is a crafty invention," Douglass says, meaning crafty in the pejorative sense, "and is in every way, worthy of its inventors."[97] He continues:

> The device is not new. It is an old trick. It has been oft repeated, and with similar purpose and effect. For truth, it gives us falsehood. For innocence, it gives us

guilt. It removes the burden of proof from the old master class, and imposes it upon the negro. It puts upon a race a work which belongs to the nation. It belongs to that craftiness often displayed by disputants, who aim to make the worse appear the better reason. It gives bad names to good things, and good names to bad things.[98]

"This negro problem formula," he notes "lays the fault at the door of the negro, and removes it from the door of the white man, shields the guilty and blames the innocent."[99] It is not the "Negro Problem," he is saying, it is "The White Problem."

As Douglass observes, "the negro has often been the victim of this kind of low cunning."[100] During slavery, he says, the South called "the slaves 'domestic servants,' and slavery 'a domestic institution,'" which were "harmless names, indeed, but the things they stood for were far from harmless."[101] During the Civil War, blacks were "charged and stigmatized with being the cause of the war," which, Douglass bitterly lampoons, works on the same "principle that there would be no highway robbers if there were nobody on the road to be robbed."[102]

This union of prejudice and naming, Douglass notes, points up the problem of using language which both creates and perpetuates the myth that African Americans in and of themselves *are* the problem, and that the issues of lynching, civil and political rights, or even poverty among blacks have nothing to do with white institutions or the behaviors and policies of whites. If the cause is truthfully and plainly named, then the solution to the problem becomes apparent. Douglass returns to the analogy of slavery and lynching. "In old times," he says, "when it was asked," 'How can we abolish slavery?' the answer was 'Quit stealing."[103] "The same is the solution of the Race problem to-day," he observes: "The whole thing can be done by simply no longer violating the amendments of the Constitution of the United States, and no longer evading the claims of justice."[104] In his concluding paragraph, Douglass reiterates the simplicity of the solution: "Put away your race prejudice. Banish the idea that one class must rule over another. Recognize the fact that the rights of the humblest citizen are as worthy of protection as are those of the highest, and your problem will be solved."[105]

The white press reprinted portions of Douglass's speech, but refrained from evaluating it. The black press, however, were quick to discern in "The Lessons of the Hour" the same radical rhetoric that had marked his earlier discourse. The *Washington Bee* wrote that "Mr. Douglass has not lost any of his old time vigor,"[106] while the *Cleveland Gazette* termed it "the grandest effort of his life" and asserted that "it was an exceptionally fine oration, as all who heard it agree."[107] The *Huntsville Gazette* headlined that "The Old Man Eloquent Pleads for His Race at the Bar of Public Opinion" and reported that it was an "able and masterly speech."[108] Significantly, as the newspaper's story led into extended extracts from the speech that were reprinted, it repeated Douglass's focus on language, reporting that Douglass had addressed the "so-called, but mis-called 'Negro Problem.'"[109]

Conclusion

In the three, important instances analyzed here, Frederick Douglass employed a rhetoric of radicalism. Although he did not call for a revolution that would violently

overturn the American institutions, his discourse directly and expressly attacked society's prevailing norms and attitudes. In Ochieng's formulation, Douglass confronted the prejudices endemic to America's very foundations, thus attacking society "root and branch" and articulating "a distinctively radical rhetorical stance that searched for a passage" through society's discriminatory assumptions. As he did so, Douglass employed the rhetorical strategy that Robert Terrill calls "emancipatory interpretation," one that Terrill associates with the discourse of Malcolm X.' Douglass challenged the white and male hegemonic control of language, reinterpreting and renaming in order to provide his audience with new language with which to re-conceptualize race and gender relations.

Douglass's speeches here may suggest that there is a range of discourse that may be termed radical. He does not call for the violent overthrow of government as did some Black Power speakers, nor for overturning the capitalist economy as did Stokely Carmichael, nor the establishment of a Black nation as Malcolm X did, but Ochieng's formulation seems accurate that Douglass's discourse should be considered radical. All three of Douglass's speeches examined here provide a critique that attempts to "free [the audience] from the confining ways of thinking prescribed by the dominant white culture."[110] Douglass proposes a revolution not against institutions, but against the terministic screens contained within the language of the day, and in doing so there are discursive commonalities that may be discerned between his post-Reconstruction discourse and that of speakers typically considered radical, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, W.E.B. Du Bois, Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and H. Rap Brown. Discourse that challenges the very foundations of discourse is, I would posit, a distinctly radical form of rhetoric.

Notes

[1] Gregory P. Lampe, *Frederick Douglass: Freedom's Voice, 1818-1845* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1998), 290-291.

[2] John Louis Lucaites, "The Irony of "Equality" in Black Abolitionist Discourse: The Case of Frederick Douglass's What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" in *Rhetoric and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Thomas Benson (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1997), 49.

[3] In addition to the speech being in many "top" speeches lists, such as the Constitution Center's "Ten Great Speeches in American History" (retrieved at https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/looking-at-10-great-speeches-in-american-history on 22 May 2017), the speech has been analyzed many times by rhetorical scholars. See, for example, See Robert Terrill, "Irony, Silence, and Time: Frederick Douglass on the Fifth of July," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89 (2003): 216-234; John Louis Lucaites, "The Irony of "Equality" in Black Abolitionist Discourse: The Case of Frederick Douglass's What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" in *Rhetoric and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Thomas Benson (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1997), 47-70; James Jasinski, "Rearticulating History in Epideictic Discourse: Frederick Douglass's The Meaning of the Fourth of July to the Negro," in *Rhetoric and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Thomas Benson (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1997), 71-90; Neil Leroux, "Frederick Douglass and the Attention Shift," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 21 (1991): 36-46; and Kevin R. McClure, "Frederick Douglass' Use of Comparison in his Fourth of July Oration: A Textual Criticism," *Western Journal of Communication* 64 (2000): 425-444.

[4] Gerald Fulkerson, "Frederick Douglass," in *African-American Orators: A BioCritical Sourcebook,* ed. Richard W. Leeman (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 82.

[5] As quoted in August Meier, "Frederick Douglass' Vision for America: A Case Study in Nineteenth Century Negro Protest," in *Freedom and Reform: Essays in Honor of Henry Steele Commager,* eds. Harold Melvin Hyman and Leonard A. W. Levy (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1967), 144.

[6] Omedi Ochieng, "A Ruthless Critique of Everything Existing: Frederick Douglass and the Architectonic of African American Radicalism," *Western Journal of Communication* 75 (2011): 182.

[7] Rachel C. Prioleau, "Frederick Douglass: Abolitionist and Humanist," *Howard Journal of Communication* 14 (2003): 179.

[8] Fulkerson, "Frederick Douglass," 84.

[9] Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 142, 26.

[10] Waldo Martin, *The Mind of Frederick Douglass* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 74. Scholars also point to contemporary observers regarding Douglass's pecuniary interest in maintaining his standing in the Republican party as well as nationally. See, for example, the letter to the editor quoted in Painter, *Exodusters*, 28.

[11] Philip S. Foner, *Frederick Douglass* (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1964).

[12] Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Slave and Citizen: The Life of Frederick Douglass* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Co., 1980), 152.

[13] James H. Cone, *Martin and Malcolm and America: A Dream or a Nightmare* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 10.

[14] Huggins, *Slave and Citizen*, 145.

[15] "The Color Controversy," *National Republican* 23 Oct. 1883: 1.

[16] Frederick Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," in *The Frederick Douglass Papers, Series One: Speeches, Debates and Interviews, vol. 5,* eds, John W. Blassingame & John R. McKivigan (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 111.

[17] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 122.

[18] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 122.

[19] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 113.

[20] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 114-115.

[21] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 115.

[22] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 112.

[23] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 121.

[24] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 121.

[25] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 116.

[26] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 116.

[27] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 112-113.

[28] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 120.

[29] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 121.

[30] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 122.

[31] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 122.

[32] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 115, 122.

[33] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 117.

[34] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 117.

[35] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 117.

[36] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 118.

[37] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 120.

[38] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 112.

[39] Douglass, "This Decision Has Humbled the Nation," 112.

[40] *Washington Post,* 21 Oct. 1883: 4.

[41] *Washington Post,* 24 Oct. 1883: 2.

[42] Frederick Douglass, "I Am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," in *The Frederick Douglass Papers, Series One: Speeches, Debates and Interviews, vol. 5,* eds, John W. Blassingame & John R. McKivigan (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 378-387.

[43] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 383.

[44] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 383.

[45] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 383.

[46] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 379.

[47] E.g., see Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet," in *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements,* ed. George Breitman (New York, NY: Pathfinder, 1965), 286-287; Louis Lomax, "I Am Somebody," in *The Agitator in American Society,* ed. Charles

Lomas (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 121-135; and Stokely Carmichael, "Black Power," in *Stokely Speaks: Black Power to Pan-Africanism* (New York, NY: Random House, 1971), 54-55.

[48] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 379.

[49] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 379.

[50] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 381.

[51] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 382.

[52] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 382.

[53] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 382.

[54] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "The Solitude of Self," in *The Search for Self-Sovereignty,* ed. Beth M. Waggenspack, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989), 159-167.

[55] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 387.

[56] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 386.

[57] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 386.

[58] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 383. Douglass also uses this language in connection to African Americans' rights, when he asks the question in his often delivered lecture "Self-Made Men," "What shall be done with the [Negro's] case?" and he answers: "Give the negro fair play and let him alone." Frederick Douglass, "Self-Made Men," in *The Frederick Douglass Papers, Series One: Speeches, Debates and Interviews,* vol. 5, eds. J. W. Blassingame & J. R. McKivigan (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 557.

[59] Stokely Carmichael, "Black Power," 46.

[60] Carmichael, "Black Power," 46. Emphasis his.

[61] Carmichael, "Black Power," 46-47.

[62] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 384.

[63] See William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, "Disfranchisement," in *W.E.B. Dubois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses, 1890-1919,* ed. Philip S. Foner (New York, NY: Pathfinder, 1970), 230-238.

[64] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 387.

[65] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 386.

[66] Douglass, "I am a Radical Woman Suffrage Man," 386.

[67] As quoted in Papers, 379.

[68] *Washington Bee,* 9 June 1888: 1.

[69] Frederick Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," in *The Frederick Douglass Papers, Series One: Speeches, Debates and Interviews, vol. 5,* eds, John W. Blassingame & John R. McKivigan (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 575-607.

[70] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 577.

[71] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 577.

[72] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 578.

[73] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 578.

[74] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 579.

[75] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 579.

[76] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 579.

[77] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 583.

[78] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 583.

[79] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 579.

[80] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 595.

[81] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 596.

[82] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 599.

[83] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 599.

[84] See, for example, Stokely Carmichael, "We Ain't Going" (Speech at Tougaloo College, 1967) in *Great Speeches*, vol. 8. Educational Video Group; and Louis Lomax, "I Am Somebody."

[85] H. Rap Brown, "Speech at the Free Huey Rally, February 1968," *The Pacifica Radio/UC Berkeley Social Activism Sound Recording Project.* Retrieved from http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/MRC/rapbrown.html.

[86] See Molefi K. Asante's discussion of nommo in *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998).

[87] Carmichael, "Black Power," 48. Emphasis mine.

[88] Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet," 26.

[89] Robert E. Terrill, *Malcolm X: Inventing Radical Judgment* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2004), 154-155.

[90] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 577.

[91] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 579 and 583. Emphases mine.

[92] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 594.

[93] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 601.

[94] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 601.

[95] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 601.

[96] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 601.

[97] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 601.

[98] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 601.

[99] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 602.

[100] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 601.

[101] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 602.

[102] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 603.

[103] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 604.

[104] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 604.

[105] Douglass, "The Lessons of the Hour," 607.

[106] *Washington Bee,* 13 Jan. 1894: 1.

[107] *Cleveland Gazette,* 27 Jan. 1894: 2.

[108] *Huntsville Gazette,* "In the Negroe's Defense," 20 Jan. 1894: 1.

[109] *Huntsville Gazette,* 1.

[110] Terrill, *Malcolm X*, 154-155.

"Four Homegrown Muslim Terrorists on a Mission from Hell": Law Enforcement Gatekeeping and News Framing of the Newburgh Four

J. Scott Smith and Kyle Angelet

Adapting framing (Entman, 1993) and network gatekeeping (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008) this essay examines the news frames journalists adopted during their arrest coverage of the Newburgh Four to determine the role law enforcement gatekeepers had on the selection of frames. This analysis found that during the initial 48 hours of news coverage, all newspaper outlets supported law enforcement news frames with regards to the Newburgh Four's motive and the need to support U.S. homeland security policy. Implications are drawn concerning how journalists are gated to details regarding a terrorist event and the persistence of the post-9/11 U.S. vs. Islam frame.

Keywords: Framing, gatekeeping, terrorism, journalism, the Newburgh Four

On May 20, 2009, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) arrested Newburgh, New York residents James Cromitie, David Williams, Onta Williams, and Laguerre Payen (dubbed the "Newburgh Four") on charges that the men planned to bomb two synagogues and shoot down military airplanes using Stinger missiles (Hernandez & Baker, 2009). The thwarted terror plot prompted New York politicians to praise the efforts of law enforcement and detail the continued threat of terrorism. Congressman Peter King (R-NY) stated, "Thank God for the NYPD and it shows what a real threat we face from homegrown terrorists" and "it's why we can never let our guard down and we have to be extremely vigilant and realize the true diabolic nature of this enemy" ("FBI foils homegrown plot," 2009, p. 1). The initial coverage of the Newburgh Four highlighted the heroism of law enforcement and the danger posed by homegrown Islamic terrorism. Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly argued the Newburgh Four case was "a textbook example of how a major investigation should be handled" (as qtd. in Gendar & Siemaszko, 2009, p. 4).

While law enforcement's account of the Newburgh Four detailed an open-and-shut case against homegrown Muslim terrorists, the trial revealed a grayer narrative where poverty and an overzealous FBI informant played prominent roles (Sulzberger, 2010). The Newburgh Four's defense attorneys argued the men were entrapped by the FBI and declared the men "were idiots who knew nothing about explosives and were duped into the plot by an FBI informant" (Fenton, 2010, p. 4). The entrapment defense was unsuccessful; the men were sentenced to the minimum sentence of 25 years in prison (Weiser, 2013). But during sentencing, Federal Judge Colleen McMahon stated, "The

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government made them terrorists. I am not proud of my government for what it did in this case" (as qtd. in Weiser, 2013, p. A18). With regards to alleged mastermind James Cromitie, she added, "Only the government could have made a terrorist out of Mr. Cromitie, a man whose buffoonery is positively Shakespearean in its scope" (as qtd. in Golding, 2011, p. 24). The details of the FBI sting during the trial offered a starkly different story than the narrative law enforcement gatekeepers initially provided journalists after the Newburgh Four were arrested.

Given the differences between the arrest narrative and the trial narrative of the Newburgh Four, this article examines the initial two weeks of news coverage of the Newburgh Four to determine if newspapers selected frames (Entman, 1993) that supported law enforcement narratives and/or presented frames that countered law enforcement accounts. To further understand how coverage may have differed geographically, this article explores whether the reliance on law enforcement's account of the Bronx bomb plot remained consistent across newspapers domestically in the U.S. and internationally with other Western, English-speaking nations. This analysis found that regardless of the location or political ideology of the publication, journalists were gated (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008) to relevant information about the FBI sting for 48 hours, which limited the scope of their reporting. Journalists initially relied on law enforcement accounts that depicted the Newburgh Four as homegrown Muslim terrorists seeking to inflict harm on the United States. By the time journalists were no longer gated to alternative explanations of the FBI sting, the story had moved out of the news cycle for publications outside of New York, which meant that most U.S. and international audiences were only exposed to the initial reporting that relied on law enforcement accounts.

Examining news frames of the Newburgh Four deserves scholarly attention for various reasons. First, while scholarship has examined traditional gatekeeping of terrorism coverage (Dimitrova et al., 2003; Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2011) and the framing of terrorist attacks (Ette, 2012; Powell, 2011) few studies have examined the gatekeeping function law enforcement officials have on journalists. The 21st century instantaneous news cycle limits the time and resources available to reporters, which during times of crisis like terrorist attacks, government sources become more influential (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). The reliance on government sources during crisis events can result in distorted facts and promote sensationalized stories that are absent of counter-facts from non-government sources (Bennett, 2001; Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). Second, examining the news frames of the Newburgh Four can further explain how news outlets frame terrorist events through an Us vs. Them lens. Tuman (2003) argued that "All political movements and conflicts inevitably require lines to be drawn, sides to be defined, and allegiances (or their absence) declared…This allows the audience for such rhetoric to distinguish between the in-group and the outsider – the other" (p. 40-41). The focus on the "other" is of import in examining news frames because it guides the audience toward the presumed guilt of the accused and calls for the reader to support government policies aimed at combating the "other." Lastly, Powell (2011) noted the U.S. versus Islam frame has dominated post-9/11 international terrorism news coverage, which characterizes the suspects as the "other" and justifies the need for homeland security. Given that the focus on "otherness" has primarily been applied to international terrorist agents, this analysis of the Newburgh Four examines if newspapers will portray

three U.S. Muslim citizens similarly as the "other." This article deconstructs news frames of the thwarted Bronx bomb plot to explain how news coverage of the Newburgh Four relied on law enforcement gatekeepers to promote an U.S. versus Islam frame.

Conceptual Framework: Framing

Scholars have examined how news organizations frame specific events (Reese & Buckalew, 1995; Willis & Painter, 2016) or issues (Chari, 2010; Daniels et al., 2017). Journalists seek to reduce the complexity of issues and events by selecting frames to disseminate news stories to audiences that are inherently ideological (Gitlin, 1980; Watkins, 2001). Although scholars disagree about how framing is defined, Entman's (1993) discussion of how framing is applied to news narratives is widely accepted. Entman argued:

> To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (p. 52)

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) explained that journalists try to frame complex issues "efficiently and in a way that makes them accessible to lay audiences because they play to existing cognitive schemas" (p. 12). Journalists use underlying schemas to set the agenda for the public and "can affect *how* citizens think about issues" (Muddiman, Stroud, & McCombs, 2014, p. 216 emphasis in original). As such, investigating the frames journalists use to depict terrorist attacks and terror suspects can provide a greater understanding of how journalism supports dominant U.S. ideology and U.S. homeland security policies.

Ideologically, frames promote and reaffirm cultural narratives that individuals already have formed (Johnson-Cartee, 2005). Similar to the rally-round-the-flag effect produced by foreign policy crises (Groeling & Baum, 2008), terrorist attacks promote government leaders of both parties to close ranks to support the nation, which limits the amount of elite criticism of government actions from journalists. Bennett (2001) argued that journalists rely on elites to interpret events for audiences, which has resulted in authority-disorder news bias. He explained that news outlets are preoccupied with order and whether the government can establish or restore it. Nossek and Berkowitz (2006) posited that "when a society's core values are under threat—such as with physical or political violence—journalists switch to a *cultural narrative* that moves the public mind back toward the dominant cultural order" (p. 691).

Among the persistent cultural narratives of the post-9/11 media environment is a depiction of Muslims as the "other." The "other" is often conceptualized "through a lens of imperialism, sexism, and racism, in which 'the spirit of the primitive' (hooks, 2001, p. 427) lives in the bodies of individuals who appear different from those of the reigning culture" (Brennen & Duffy, 2003, p. 6). Powell (2011) argued that a potential reason that journalists have framed Muslims as the "other" is the lack of coverage of Islam and Islamic nations prior to 9/11. She noted that, "…what the audiences in the West know about Islam and Muslims, is connected to control of the resources of oil, war, and

terrorism" (Powell, 2011, p. 92). The implications of news frames relying on the Us vs. Them frame is that reporters can lead readers to particular interpretations of a media event by the angle chosen for the news story (Shah, et al., 2004). This article explores newspapers' selection of law enforcement frames to determine if the Newburgh Four were also depicted as the "other" even though three of the men were American citizens.

Network Gatekeeping

In addition to framing, this article examines if journalists were gated to pertinent facts about the FBI's case against the Newburgh Four, which would limit their coverage of the Bronx bomb plot. Traditional media gatekeeping scholarship described the media as an intermediary, in which journalists and editors determine which issues and events are newsworthy and are then disseminated to audiences (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009; Williams & Delli Carpini, 2004). Expanding on traditional gatekeeping, Barzilai-Nahon (2008) defined network gatekeeping as "the process of controlling information as it moves through a gate" (p. 1496). Network gatekeeping examines all forms of information control and views gatekeeping as a more dynamic and fluid construct than previous gatekeeping literature. As Barzilai-Nahon (2008) explained, "Network gatekeeping theory suggests a dynamic and contextual interpretation of gatekeeping, referring to gatekeepers as stakeholders who change their gatekeeping roles depending on the stakeholder with whom they interact and/or the context in which they are situated" (p. 1494). During events like terrorist attacks, journalists are often gated to information and rely on government and law enforcement sources for details of the alleged attack, which are then disseminated to audiences. Barzilai-Nahon (2008) contended,

> The given ability of the gated to produce information creates a circulatory affect between gated-gatekeeper. The gated produce information into consideration reactions and feedback from gatekeepers and other stakeholders. At the same time, gatekeepers are affected by the information produced and, in effect, change their stances. This may happen over and over again, creating an interesting circulatory exchange of information between the gated and the gatekeeper.

The initial reporting on a terrorist attack relies primarily on information from law enforcement gatekeepers and the circular exchange with journalists occurs after reporters have accessed defense attorneys and other stakeholders.

In the immediate aftermath of a suspected terrorist attack, there are often a limited and distinct number of sources available to journalists with direct knowledge of the attack. Similar to the rally-round-the-flag effect (Groeling & Baum, 2008), government and law enforcement gatekeepers stay on message following an attempted terrorist attack to control the narrative of events and to reassure that the public that the terrorists have been caught and order has been restored. While law enforcement gatekeepers may have the best intentions with regards to protecting due process and sensitive information surrounding an attempted terrorist attack, Powell (2011) noted that members of law enforcement often provide narratives that frame terrorist suspects as evil to reinforce the need for homeland security. As such, this article examines how frames presented by law enforcement gatekeepers influenced journalists' framing of the Newburgh Four.

Method

This article adapted Ette's (2012) textual analysis approach that identifies and analyzes news frames, while determining if the frames selected supported narratives from law enforcement gatekeepers (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008). A textual analysis of New York, U.S., and international newspapers was conducted to determine how the Newburgh Four were framed by newspapers after their arrest. News articles were analyzed to determine what news frames were highlighted and thereby raised in salience for the audience. Once the news frames of the Newburgh Four were identified, they were organized to determine if patterns emerged or differences occurred based on the location or ideology of the newspaper. This analysis considered the political ideology of the newspaper to be a potential reason that newspapers would differ in their coverage. The researchers used internet searches for each newspaper examined to determine if the paper presented an ideological bent. Additionally, this analysis explored whether news frames supported narratives from law enforcement gatekeepers,from family members of the Newburgh Four, or their defense attorneys. As the analysis will demonstrate, law enforcement gatekeeping was driven by two elements: first, the criminal complaint filed in court that provided the details of the government's case against the Newburgh Four and second, statements made by political leaders and law enforcement officials the night of the arrest.

Following the time frame previous research used to analyze news coverage of suspected terrorist plots (Ette, 2012, Powell, 2011), this analysis examined a two-week period of news coverage (May 20, 2009 – June 3, 2009) of the Newburgh Four following their arrest on terrorism charges. The researchers used circulation numbers to determine what news publications would be selected for the analysis for two reasons. First, the researchers sought to remove bias in the selection of news articles. Second, the researchers wanted to analyze articles that audiences would most likely be exposed to. Circulation numbers for New York and U.S. newspapers were provided by Alliance for Audited Media (Lulofs, 2013) and reported by the PR firm Burrelles*Luce* ("2009 top media outlets," 2009).[1] The top 10 circulating newspapers were also selected for the United Kingdom ("ABCs: National daily newspaper circulation," 2009),[2] Canada (Levson, 2009),[3] and Australia ("State of the news print media in Australia," 2008).[4] This

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[1] The rank of U.S. newspapers by daily circulation in 2009: 1) *USA Today* 2,293,310; 2) *Wall Street Journal* 2,011,999; 3) *New York Times* 1,000,665; 4) *Los Angeles Times* 739,147; 5) *New York Daily News* 632,595; 6) *New York Post* 625,421; 7) *Washington Post* 622,714; 8) *Chicago Tribune* 516,032; 9) *Houston Chronicle* 448,271; 10) *Arizona Republic* 413,332; 11) *Newsday* 377,517; 12) *San Francisco Chronicle* 339,430; 13) *Dallas Morning News* 338,933; 14) *Boston Globe* 323,983; 15) *Minneapolis Star Tribune* 322,360; 16) *Newark Star-Ledger* 316,280. The selection of the top four New York City newspapers is represented by the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *New York Daily News*, and *New York Post* and then the next top 12 U.S. newspapers by daily circulation.

[2] The rank of U.K. newspapers by daily circulation entering 2009: 1) *The Sun* 2,899,310; 2) *The Daily Mail* 2,139,178 3) *Daily Mirror* 1,346,916; 4) *The Daily Telegraph* 824,244; 5) *Daily Express* 728,296; 6) Daily Star 725,671; 7) *The Times* 600,962; 8) *Financial Times* 435,319; 9) *Daily Record* 349,235; 10) *The Guardian* 343,010.

[3] The rank of Canadian newspapers by daily circulation in 2009: 1) *The Toronto Star* 2,865,380; 2) *The Globe and Mail* 1,891,629; 3) *Toronto Sun* 1,322,042; 4) *The Montreal Gazette* 1,144,504; 5) *The Vancouver Sun* 1,053,434; 6) *National Post* 939,874; 7) *Winnipeg Free Press* 895,323; 8) *Ottawa Citizen* 866,989; 9) *Calgary Herald* 872,247; 10) *The Edmonton Journal* 830,343. This selection of Canadian newspapers only includes English speaking newspapers and not those printed in French.

textual analysis examined every newspaper article concerning the Newburgh Four during this two-week period (126 in total), which included 47 articles from New York newspapers, 38 articles from the *Associated Press*, *Reuters*, and the top 12 U.S. newspapers in circulation, and 41 articles from world newspapers (Table 1). This article explored the differences in frames between New York newspapers, U.S. newspapers, and international newspapers. Essentially, did newspapers rely on the U.S. versus Islam frame to depict the Newburgh Four as the "other" to support Western ideology? Additionally, this article examined if newspapers explored frames from non-governmental sources and determined if those sources changed the coverage of the Newburgh Four.

Framing the Newburgh Four

Before exploring news frames of the Newburgh Four, this section will provide a brief timeline of the events surrounding the Bronx bomb plot. The Newburgh Four (James Cromitie, David Williams, Onta Williams, and Laguerre Payen) were arrested on May 20 on charges that the men planned to bomb two synagogues and shoot down military airplanes using Stinger missiles (Hernandez & Baker, 2009). Articles published on May 21 explained the danger presented by homegrown terrorists and highlighted the acumen of the FBI. On May 22, the homegrown frame persisted, but articles started to further explore the Newburgh Four's conversion to Islam in prison, the amateur nature of the Newburgh Four, and more specific details of the year-long FBI sting. By May 23, questions emerged about FBI informant Shahed Hussain's role in the sting operation and whether the Newburgh Four were entrapped by the FBI (Rashbaum & Fahim, 2009). By May 24, news coverage of the Newburgh Four had dissipated with a final round of stories on June 2 and 3 that explored the Newburgh Four's court date where they would face formal charges (see Table 1).

Table 1
Newspaper Coverage of the Newburgh Four by Day and Region

Story Focus	NY Papers	U.S. Papers	Int. Papers	Total
May 21st – Arrest, homegrown terrorists, FBI heroes	7 (5%)	14 (11%)	12 (10%)	33 (26%)
May 22nd - FBI heroes, homegrown terrorists, prison converts, amateurs	20 (17%)	17 (13%)	23 (17%)	60 (48%)
May 23rd – FBI Informant, prison converts, FBI sting	7 (5%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	10 (8%)
May 24th – Amateurs, entrapment defense	6 (5%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	9 (7%)
May 25th – June 3rd – Court appearance, entrapment defense, amateurs	7 (5%)	5 (4%)	2 (2%)	14 (11%)
Total	47 (37%)	38 (30%)	41 (33%)	126

[4] The rank of Australian newspapers by daily circulation entering 2009: 1) *The Herald Sun* 530,000; 2) *The Daily Telegraph* 385,000; 3) *The Courier-Mail* 217,575; 4) *The Sydney Morning Herald* 212,500; 5) *The West Australian*; 6) *The Advertiser* 189,668; 7) *The Australian* 136,000; 8) *Financial Review* 89,329; 9) *The Mercury* 46,758; 10) *The Canberra Times* 34,068.

This article argues that during the two weeks of news coverage after the Newburgh Four were arrested, newspapers selected news frames that supported law enforcement narratives about the thwarted terrorist attack. Wilson (2009) detailed an explicit reference to law enforcement gatekeepers in the *New York Times*:

> These details as told by the authorities describe a homegrown terror plot to bomb two synagogues in the Bronx and shoot down a military aircraft in Newburgh. The outlines of the plan were fleshed out on Thursday, in court hearings, documents and interviews, as were bits and pieces of the checkered life stories of the four men charged in the plot (p. A1).

Wilson's (2009) reporting also demonstrated an attempt to provide balanced coverage of the Bronx bomb plot by interviewing Cromitie's mother and the imams from the mosque the men attended. While these interviews provided insightful background information, journalists were gated to greater details of the FBI sting during the first 48 hours of coverage, which meant the interviews did not counter law enforcement's account of the FBI sting. This framing analysis found news coverage of the Newburgh Four provided three major frames: Muslim prison converts turned homegrown terrorists, U.S. vs. Islam, and justifying law enforcement.

Muslim prison coverts turned homegrown terrorists

Newspapers relied on the salient post-9/11 U.S. vs. Islam narrative in their framing of the Newburgh Four, which included the threat of U.S. citizens as Islamic terrorists. Two frames emerged in the coverage: homegrown terrorists and Muslim prison converts. Powell (2011) contends that these frames "work together to connect terrorism and Islam…while creating a fear of the 'other'" (p. 95). The framing of the Newburgh Four adopted the U.S. vs. Islam frame which allowed readers to quickly determine that while the men may be American citizens, they no longer represent American values, and their actions represented a clear danger to the American people.

Homegrown terrorists. New York, U.S., and international newspapers selected law enforcement accounts that framed the Newburgh Four as homegrown terrorists during the first 48 hours of coverage. Newspapers often quoted Representative Peter King (R-NY) who stated, "There's a real threat from homegrown terrorists and also from jailhouse converts" (as qtd in. Chayes, 2009, p. A4; Daly, Gendar, & Kennedy, 2009, p. 5; Hernandez & Baker, 2009). New York, U.S., and international newspapers framed the Newburgh Four as homegrown terrorists during the first 48 hours of coverage but abandoned the frame after the initial news cycle.

After the arrest of the Newburgh Four, New York tabloids described the men as homegrown terrorists, while the *New York Times* (*NYT)* and *Wall Street Journal* (*WSJ)* avoided using the distinction. The *WSJ* neither framed the men as homegrown nor provided quotations from Kelly, King, or any other law enforcement official. *NYT* only used the term "homegrown" when referring to law enforcement accounts. *NYT* stated on May 24, "the latest case of what the authorities call a homegrown terror plot" (Wakin, 2009, p. A22). In contrast, the *New York Post* (*NYP*) and *New York Daily News* (*NYDN*) highlighted the severity of the intentions of the Newburgh Four while depicting the men

as homegrown terrorists. A May 21, *NYP* article stated, "Four homegrown Muslim terrorists on a mission from hell were arrested last night" (Weiss, 2009, p. 7). *NYDN* described the arrests on May 21: "The FBI and NYPD busted a four-man homegrown terror cell" (Daly, Gendar, & Kennedy, 2009, p. 5).[5] Even though the *NYP* had one of the more inflammatory leads of any of the articles covering the arrest of the Newburgh Four, the newspaper did not label the men "homegrown" except in their first article. *NYDN* also did not refer to the men as "homegrown" after May 22, preferring "Bronx bomb plotters" (Lysiak & Schapiro, 2009, p. 7) and by June 3, "Four suspected Islamic terrorists" (Zambito, 2009, p. 5). Unsurprisingly, New York tabloids sensationalized the event more than traditional newspapers seeking to highlight the "otherness" of the Newburgh Four and distance them from the dominant U.S. ideology.

Some U.S.[6] and international[7] papers also framed the Newburgh Four as homegrown terrorists but provided more restraint than New York tabloids. A May 21, 2009, *AP* article by Hill and Fitzgerald (2009) was picked up by *The Newark Star-Ledger* stating, "The four were arrested late Wednesday outside a synagogue in the Bronx, following a long line of homegrown, headline-making terror plots since Sept. 11" (Hill & Fitzgerald, 2009, p. 1). A few international newspapers labeled the men as "homegrown," but also provided a different context. A May 22 headline in the United Kingdom paper *The Mirror*, stated: "American Taliban: US shock at first home-grown Islamic terrorists" (Antonowicz, 2009, p. 21). *The Guardian* described them on May 21 and 22 as "Four self-styled jihadists from New York" (Pilkington, 2009, p. 24). Even when adopted for an international audience, news frames of the Newburgh Four as homegrown terrorists selected similar quotations and facts from law enforcement gatekeepers.

The framing of the Newburgh Four as homegrown terrorists illustrates the cyclical relationship that journalists have with law enforcement gatekeepers (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008) and the need for some newspapers, particularly tabloids, to sensationalize stories in an effort to satisfy readership (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). The selection of the homegrown terrorist frame depicts the Newburgh Four as the "other" while inciting fear of the unforeseen danger posed by U.S. Islamic terrorists. Yet, after the first 48 hours of coverage, other information stakeholders became available to journalists and the selection of the Newburgh Four as "homegrown terrorists" disappeared entirely. Given the lack of articles after May 22, U.S. and international audiences were most likely only exposed to narratives and news frames that supported law enforcement accounts of the Bronx bomb plot.

Muslim Prison Converts. The framing of the Newburgh Four as Muslim prison converts additionally depicted the men as the "other." Powell (2011) argued in the post-9/11 world, media have relied on dominant frames that discuss the role of Islamic extremism as a means of describing and explaining the motive an act of terrorism. The addition of "prison convert" adds another level of distance to the othering of the Newburgh Four as incarcerated individuals in the U.S. are considered separate from society and the conversion to radical Islam connotes the figurative stripping of U.S.

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[5] *NYDN* also described them on May 22, 2009 as "A bloodthirsty gang of four homegrown terror suspects" (Schapiro et al., 2009, p. 4) and "homegrown extremists" (Meek, 2009, p. 6).

[6] Gorski & Zoll, 2009; Hill & Fitzgerald, 2009; Honan, 2009; Susman, 2009

[7] Antonowicz, 2009; "FBI foils homegrown plot," 2009; "Four held on Jews terror plot," 2009; Pilkington, 2009

beliefs and values from the men. Even though the reporting of the Newburgh Four being radicalized in prison was later determined erroneous in a May 22 *New York Times* report (Wilson, 2009), audiences were initially presented news frames that explained the failures of the criminal justice system which highlighted the dangers of radicalized U.S. Muslim converts ("Accused bombers sought jihad, police say," 2009, p. 9; "Hapless gang of US misfits," 2009; Pilkington, 2009). While New York newspapers discussed the dangers of radicalization in prison, U.S. and international newspapers provided little coverage.

New York newspapers provided the majority of coverage about the dangers of radicalization in U.S. prisons. A May 22 *NYP* article claimed, "They were like a million other petty criminals – until they embraced radical Islam behind bars" (Chiaramonte, Mongelli, Montero, & Alpert, 2009, p. 6). *NYP* further framed the men as Muslim prison converts. A May 22 *NYP* editorial stated, "The plot also raises anew questions about how America's prison system has become a breeding ground for aspiring terrorists" ("The enemy among us," 2009, p. 30). *WSJ* stated, "The possibility that the alleged New York bomb plotters converted to Islam in prison and adopted radical views could provide evidence of how the criminal-justice system can be fertile ground for terrorist recruitment" (Fields & Sataline, 2009, p. A3). *NYDN* stated, "The four men accused of plotting to blow up synagogues and shoot down a plane all did stretches in state prisons - a major breeding ground for Islamic radicalization" (Cruz et al., 2009, p. 6).

Few U.S. and international newspapers discussed the issue of radicalization in prison. The only U.S. coverage of the problem of prison converts was a May 22 *AP* article titled, "Plot renews fears of radical Islam in prison" explored the problem of "Prislam" and the potential of radicalization in U.S. prisons (Gorski & Zoll, 2009). Some of the international papers described the men as being Muslim converts in prison. *The Daily Record* stated, "the men as jailhouse converts to Islam, who were angry about the deaths of Muslims in Afghanistan" ("Four held on Jews terror plot," 2009, p. 13). *The Mirror* stated, "Three of the gang are said to have converted to Islam while in jail after growing angry at the deaths of Muslims in Afghanistan" (Antonowicz, 2009, p. 21). The lack of news frames focusing on the prison conversion to Islam appears to have strayed too far from the initial arrest storyline and thus was deemed not relevant for U.S. and international audiences.

Us vs. Them: Extreme, yet hapless, Islamic terrorists

Journalists were gated to information about the FBI sting, which limited journalists' understanding of the Newburgh Four's motives to the criminal complaint filed. Reporters explained the Newburgh Four's motive for the bomb plot was derived from their hatred for the West and Cromitie's Afghan heritage. Yet, journalists also detailed the Newburgh Four's amateur skill set, which hindered their ability to complete the terrorist plot.

Hatred for the West. New York, U.S., and international newspapers all used quotations from the criminal complaint and law enforcement officials that explained the men were enraged by the killing of Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan by U.S. forces (Hernandez & Baker, 2009; Meyer, 2009; Morris, 2009). Newspapers quoted Police Commissioner Ray Kelly to affirm their motive: "They were disturbed about what was

happening in Afghanistan and Pakistan, that Muslims were being killed" (as qtd. in Antonowicz, 2009, p. 21; Bone, 2009, p. 45). Newspapers used a particularly repulsive quotation from the criminal complaint attributed to James Cromitie, the described leader of the group: "I hate those mother---ers, those f---ing Jewish bastards…I would like to get a synagogue" (as qtd. in "FBI foils homegrown plot" 2009, p. 1; Gendar & Siemaszko, 2009; Hill & Fitzgerald, 2009). Additionally, the complaint contended Cromitie said he wanted to do "something to America" and added "the best target was already hit" in a reference to the World Trade Center attacks (Bone, 2009, p. 45; Honan, 2009; Meyer, 2009; Rosenberg, Weiss, & Mangan, 2009). To a lesser degree, news articles provided a quotation from Onta Williams: "They are killing Muslim brothers and sisters in Muslim countries so, if we killed them here with IEDs [improvised explosive devices] and Stingers, it is equal" (as qtd. in Allen-Mills, 2009; "FBI foils homegrown plot" 2009, p. 1; Weiss, Calabrese, Fermino, 2009). These quotations demonstrate how journalists were gated to certain information of the FBI sting during the first 48 hours of coverage of the Newburgh Four. These terrifying quotations would later be placed in a larger context as information about the FBI sting and informant Shaheed Hussein would illustrate the Newburgh Four were not as eager to become terrorists as the initial criminal complaint dictated (Sulzberger, 2010).

Newspapers also relied on law enforcement quotations to illustrate the Newburgh Four's desire to kill. Assistant U.S. Attorney Eric Snyder described them as "extremely violent men" and "eager to bring death to Jews" (as qtd. in Grier, 2009; "Hapless gang of US misfits," 2009, p. 11; Honan, 2009). Snyder added, "It's hard to envision a more chilling plot" (as qtd. in "Hapless gang of US misfits," 2009, p. 11; Hernandez & Chan, 2009; O'Connor, 2009, p. 3A). An unnamed law enforcement official added the Newburgh Four wanted to create a "fireball that would make the US gasp" (as qtd. in Antonowicz, 2009, p. 21; Allen-Mills, 2009, p. 32; Daly, Gendar, & Kennedy, 2009, p. 5). *NYDN* quoted a senior federal law enforcement official stating, "These guys were angry, they had intent and they were searching for capacity" (as qtd. in Katz & Siemaszko, 2009). These quotations by law enforcement depict the Newburgh Four as angry killers that when positioned next to Williams or Cromitie's own hateful discourse heightens the salience of the homegrown Muslim terrorist frame.

The Afghan Myth. A primary inaccuracy of law enforcement's narrative described the purported leader of the group, James Cromitie, was of Afghan descent. He told boastful lies to FBI informant Shaheed Hussain, which included stating his father was from Afghanistan and his interest in returning to Afghanistan to fight and die a martyr (Weiss, Calabrese, & Fermino, 2009). New York, U.S. and international newspapers all relied on the criminal complaint to articulate that Cromitie's Afghan descent was the root of his motive to commit terrorist acts (Allen-Mills, 2009; Chiaramonte, Mongelli, & Alpert, 2009; Hill & Fitzgerald, 2009). The *AP* stated, "He said he was upset about the war in Afghanistan, as his father was an Afghan immigrant to the US" (McElroy, 2009). *The Times* (London) stated, "According to court papers, Mr. Cromitie was angry at the US war in Afghanistan, where his parents lived before he was born" (Bone, 2009, p. 45; Leonard, 2009, p. 20). By describing Cromitie as Afghan, newspapers further illustrated the "otherness" of the Newburgh Four and further distanced the men from dominant U.S. ideology.

While New York newspapers also promoted the Afghan myth, they were the only newspapers to provide corrections or competing frames. *NYP* asked Adele Cromitie, James Cromitie's mother, about living in Afghanistan and she stated that neither her nor his father had ever been there (Wilson, 2009). *NYP* quoted her, "I don't why he'd say that. We have no ties to the Middle East or anything like that" (Chiaramonte, Mongelli, Montero, & Alpert, 2009, p. 6). *NYT* provided a correction on May 27, 2009, which stated that articles about the Newburgh Four, "included erroneous descriptions from a law enforcement official about the men's ethnic origins. One is a Haitian immigrant and the other three are African-Americans; none are of Arabic descent" (Hernandez & Baker, 2009, p. A1). A June 2 correction in the *WSJ* did not mention a law enforcement official, just the inaccuracy: "A May 22 U.S. News article about the alleged plot incorrectly stated that Mr. Cromitie was Muslim from birth" (Sataline, Bray, & Fields, 2009, p. A3). *NYDN* stated, "Prosecutors said Cromitie claimed his father was Afghan, but cops now believe it was a lie to boost his 'terror creds'" (Melago et al., 2009, p. 5). By not providing corrections or competing frames, U.S. and international audiences were left to believe Cromitie's Afghan ties were accurate and provided a plausible motive for the Newburgh Four.

Amateurs. In addition to being described as hateful and dangerous, the Newburgh Four were characterized as amateurs in New York tabloid newspaper coverage. *NYP* described them as "jihadist wannabes" (Chiaramonte & Fermino, 2009, p. 6) and "a bunch of terror dummies" (Weiss & Alpert, 2009, p. 9). On May 24, the *NYDN* called them "bozos" and that the FBI provided the fake explosives that were "dummies for dummies" (Daly, 2009, p. 6). These descriptions of the Newburgh Four run contrary to the "homegrown Muslim terrorist" frame that both the *NYP* and *NYDN* used in their coverage. The contradiction of framing the men on one hand as "on a mission from hell" and on the other as "a bunch of terror dummies" illustrates that tabloids seek to simplify and dramatize stories for audiences, which vilified the Newburgh Four and highlighted the acumen of law enforcement.

Unlike U.S. and international counterparts, New York newspapers provided counter-frames from Imams and family members that argued the Newburgh Four were too incompetent to pull off a terrorist attack. Family members suggested that FBI informant Shaheed Hussain entrapped the Newburgh Four by promising them vast sums of money. Imam Salahuddin Mohammad stated, "These guys are not bright enough to conjure up something like this" (Chiaramonte, Mongelli, Montero, & Alpert, 2009, p. 6). Cromitie's sister Wanda Walker described him as "the dumbest person on this Earth" (Chiaramonte, Mongelli, Montero, & Alpert, 2009, p. 6). David Williams' girlfriend Cassandra McCoy stated, "They aren't radicals. They were just financially motivated. They aren't terrorists. If Maqsood wasn't in the picture, they would've never come up with this idea" (as qtd. in Mongelli, & Alpert, 2009, p. 5). These counter-frames were only afforded to New York audiences as only a few U.S. (Hill & Fitzgerald, 2009) and international ("Hapless gang of US misfits," 2009; Smith, 2009) newspapers even mentioned the amateur nature of the Newburgh Four.

Justifying Law Enforcement. New York, U.S. and international newspapers relied on the U.S. vs. Islam frame that portrayed law enforcement officials as competent, in control of the sting at all times, and keeping America safe. Mayor Michael Bloomberg stated, "This latest attempt to attack our freedoms shows that the homeland security

threats against New York City are sadly all too real" (as qtd. in (Weiss, Calabrese, & Fermino, 2009, p. 7). Bloomberg added, "I feel safer today in this city than ever before" (as qtd. in Gendar & Siemaszko, 2009; Katz & Siemaszko, 2009; Hernandez & Chan, 2009) before concluding, "We would be foolish to think this would be the last such conspiracy that we see" (as qtd. in Seifman, 2009, p. 9). Governor David Paterson stated, "The work was simply outstanding, and it demonstrates the increased sophistication that counterterrorist activity has had to undergo to keep up with the widespread threats" (as qtd. in Seifman, 2009, p. 9). These comments from political leaders support the U.S. versus Islam frame that law enforcement policies need to be continually supported to stop terrorist attacks by radicalized Muslims.

Supporting law enforcement policies is consistent with previous studies exploring the U.S. versus Islam frame (Ette, 2012; Powell, 2011). One aspect of supporting the dominant U.S. ideology is justifying policies associated with homeland security. Norris, Kern, and Just (2003) argue news media rely on the "interpretation offered by public officials, security experts and military commentators, with news functioning ultimately to reinforce support for political leaders and the security policies they implement" (p. 1). All newspapers sought to reinforce dominant U.S. ideology by consistently using quotations from political leaders that called for continued support in the fight against terrorism.

Discussion

This article examining newspaper coverage of the Newburgh Four provides implications with regards to framing and gatekeeping. First, the initial 48 hours of news coverage of the Newburgh Four revealed journalists selected frames primarily provided by law enforcement gatekeepers. Due to the increasing deadline pressures created by the 21st century instantaneous news environment (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005; Cassidy, 2006), journalists are forced to produce articles while the story is still developing. The initial framing of the Newburgh Four as homegrown Muslim terrorists, radicalized in prison, enraged by their hatred of Jews, and seeking revenge for the U.S. killing Muslims in Afghanistan were all news frames driven by law enforcement gatekeepers. Yet after the initial 48 hours, journalists dropped the more inflammatory frames about the Newburgh Four after other information stakeholders were consulted. Given the turn in coverage by newspapers after the first two days of coverage, this analysis supports Barzilai-Nahon's (2008) contention that the relationship between gatekeepers and the gated is fluid and journalists alter their content as new information arises.

Second, even in the age of partisan politics, political ideology had no apparent change in the frames selected by news outlets. This could potentially be explained in various ways. First, journalists were gated (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008) to information about the FBI sting, which resulted in journalists relying on similar frames promoting law enforcement accounts. Second, similar to the rally-round-the-flag effect (Groeling & Baum, 2008), political elites close ranks when faced with questions about terrorism in order to show solidarity for law enforcement agencies and the nation. In the case of the Newburgh Four, political elites stayed on message and avoided making statements that could be portrayed as playing politics. Lastly, Powell (2011) argued the media has been emotionally affected by the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which has created dominant frames in media coverage about Muslims. The first 48 hours of coverage on the Bronx bomb plot

depicted a one-dimensional story that vilified the Newburgh Four as homegrown Muslim terrorists, which reinforced dominant ideological views of Muslims in the U.S. regardless of the ideological viewpoint of the publisher.

Third, this analysis demonstrated that only New York audiences were exposed to news stories that provided counter-frames to those promoted by law enforcement gatekeepers. Regardless of location, all newspapers supported the Afghan myth, the motive, and the justification of U.S. homeland security policies. Yet, newspapers outside of New York were less likely to criticize the role of FBI informant Shaheed Hussain, provide quotations from Newburgh Four family members, or provide the discussion of potential FBI entrapment. Consistent with previous research (Dimitrova et al., 2003; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009), news outlets in greater proximity to the Bronx bomb plot tailored their content towards their readership, which serves to validate certain social systems and ideologies over others. As detailed above, the majority of coverage of the Newburgh Four occurred during the first two days of coverage. Of the 126 articles examined in this analysis, only 34 were printed after May 22, 2009. Of those 33 articles, only seven articles were from U.S. news organizations and only six articles were from international news organizations. So while audiences are likely to be exposed to and combine competing frames from news organizations covering major events like 9/11 or the war in Afghanistan (Edy & Meirick, 2007), for minor national security stories like the Newburgh Four, audiences may only be exposed to frames promoted by law enforcement gatekeepers. Given that news frames rely on existing cognitive schemas (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007), U.S. and international audiences most likely found law enforcement's account of the Bronx bomb plot to be consistent with other post-9/11 terrorism narratives, which included vilifying the Newburgh Four.

Lastly, coverage of the Newburgh Four relied on the U.S. versus Islam frame that sought to link their Muslim faith to terrorism which is consistent with previous research (Ette, 2012; Powell, 2011). By focusing on their "otherness," news frames of the Newburgh Four sought to distance the men from U.S. society. Tuman (2003) argued that public discourse surrounding terrorist events "require[s] lines to be drawn" and seeks to "distinguish between the in-group and the outsider – the other" (p. 40-41). The frame of homegrown terrorists highlights the difficulty of determining the "other" when the purported threat is a U.S. citizen turned Islamic terrorist. While Powell (2011) concluded, "Thus, it is the outsider that is more of a threat than the one that walks among us" (p. 98), the homegrown Newburgh Four are framed as more terrifying because they walk amongst us. By highlighting their "otherness," the labeling of the Newburgh Four as "Four homegrown Muslim terrorists" not only sensationalizes the story in an effort to increase readership, but further supports the U.S. versus Islam frame and by proxy, supports U.S. homeland security policies. Additionally, the U.S. vs. Islam frame provided readers with the ability to determine that even though three of the men were American, they had abandoned American values, and thus represented a danger to United States. With the guidance of the criminal complaint and law enforcement gatekeepers, journalists emphasized the "otherness" of the Newburgh Four to distance them from dominant U.S. ideology.

By depicting the Newburgh Four as homegrown Muslim terrorists, law enforcement used the climate of fear surrounding terrorism to illustrate the continued need to support law enforcement's fight against terrorists. But as the description of the

men as amateurs foreshadowed and the trial revealed, the Newburgh Four were not a violent radical extremist group; they were four poor Newburgh, New York residents without the knowhow or the means to commit a major terrorist attack. After the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit upheld the conviction in 2013 with a 2-1 vote, Chief Judge Dennis Jacobs provided a pointed dissent: "The government agent supplied a design and gave it form, so that the agent rather than the defendant inspired the crime, provoked it, planned it, financed it, equipped it and furnished the time and targets" (as qtd. in Weiser, 2013, p. A18). Judge Jacobs's dissent would remain the minority opinion as the Supreme Court declined to review the cases of the Newburgh Four in October 2014 (Sparks, 2014). Given that political elites close ranks and commit to a consistent message regardless of political ideology in response to terrorist attacks (Bennett, 2001; Groeling & Baum, 2008) future research should continue to examine the role that government and law enforcement gatekeepers play with regards to news coverage of national security issues. The relative absence of elite criticism with regard to national security issues should motivate journalists and scholars alike to criticize potential U.S. policies to ensure that the purported safety of U.S. citizens is not at the expense of their civil liberties.

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Memorials to the Empire in a Postcolonial Age: Materiality and Rhetorical Performance of the Queen Victoria Memorial

Wanda Little Fenimore

In the twenty-first century, monuments and memorials to former colonial empires still stand—sites where the past has a presence. The Queen Victoria Memorial located at Buckingham Palace in conjunction with the adjoining gates and pillars is a material, public, permanent site that commemorates the past glory of the British Empire. I argue that the Memorial's materiality rhetorically performs the strategies and tactics of colonialism.

Keywords: Public Memory, Queen Victoria, Materiality, Colonialism, Rhetoric

Catherine Hall writes that traces of imperial histories appear everywhere in Great Britain — not only memorials in cemeteries and public monuments, but also in the naming of streets, the sugar in the tea, the coffee and cocoa that are drunk (66). When I visited London for the first time in 2009, I did not consider that Great Britain's colonial past resided in the sites or places I planned to visit. Nor did I consider that there is no English history without its colonial history (Procter 82). But when I visited Buckingham Palace, I could not ignore the Queen Victoria Memorial because of its sheer size and geographic location in relation to the Palace. As I walked around, I noticed the gates and pillars surrounding the statue, with the former colonies' names inscribed. At that point, I became what Margaret Lindauer calls a critical museum visitor: someone who "notes what objects are presented, in what ways, and for what purposes . . . And she or he asks, who has the most to gain or the most to lose from having this information, collection, or interpretation publicly presented" (204). I questioned not only the symbolic representation of the British colonies, but also the material presence of the British Empire within this space of commemoration. My purpose in this paper is to further explore, beyond my tourist's observations, how the materiality of the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme rhetorically performs the strategies and tactics of colonization.[1] My analysis fosters a shift from a passive gaze to critical engagement in order to disrupt the memorial's narrative and interrogate the values the Scheme celebrates (Loewen 40).

In the House of Commons in 1902, Mr. Akers Douglas remarked "The monument would only take up a small portion of the space in front of Buckingham Palace, and would be a very great improvement to the front of the palace, and lead to only a slight curtailing of the park" (7/29/1902). His naïve assessment of the Scheme's intrusion mirrors ideas about colonization at that time: great improvement to indigenous lands with only a slight curtailing of their culture. However, neither the Scheme nor Great Britain's

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colonizing were contained. Instead, the Scheme fully intrudes and colonizes the space in front of Buckingham Palace, symbolically and materially. The statue is so dominant that one writer remarked in 1911, "Which is ultimately intended to be the climax of the Mall – the memorial or the palace of the King?" ("Chronicle of Passing Events" 69). The Scheme alters the entire landscape, whether viewed from Buckingham Palace, the Mall, Green Park, or St. James's' Park. According to Dickinson, Ott and Aoki, the material object is not isolated from its surroundings, "Rather, the museum's boundaries blend with the rest of the landscape, and the rest of the landscape is constituted, in part, by this museum" (41). While the Queen Victoria Memorial is not a museum, the statue is located at the center of a space that was reconfigured and transformed to accommodate all the elements of the Scheme. A removal of one of the elements within the Scheme would irrevocably change the entire landscape, just as the independence or conquest of a colony reworked the shape and power of the British Empire. The Scheme's elements are not disparate parts. Their collective presence mutually constitutes the landscape, just as the colonies mutually constituted the Empire.

Before the analysis of the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme, I discuss the British perspective of colonialism at the turn of the twentieth century. I also offer an overview of the framework I employ to analyze the Scheme. Then, I account for the historical circumstances in which the statue was produced and end with an examination of the material and symbolic elements of the Scheme that reproduce colonialism.

Colonialism

Ania Loomba defines colonialism as the conquest and control of other people's lands and goods. This process involves un-forming and re-forming communities that already existed through a wide range of practices including trade, plunder, negotiation, warfare, genocide, enslavement, and rebellions (8). According to James R. Andrews, "Fundamental to empire is the notion of *power* – the power to conquer, the power to hold, the power to punish, and the power to protect" (emphasis in original 62). Power, in this sense, is also a token of superiority because the white race held positions of dominance as a "natural" right (66). In addition, Loomba notes that colonialism did more than extract goods and wealth from countries. Colonialism restructured economies in such a way that a complex relationship developed between the colonized and colonizer countries (9). No matter which direction goods flowed, the profits always went back to the mother country. Therefore, the dominion states played a significant role in maintaining the cultural, military, and economic power of the empire (Withers 253).

Colonialism was often constructed as paternalist or philanthropic whereby "the task of settlers and officials was to enlighten and improve, that the colonial stage required control that was firm but kind rather than a theatre of cruelty" (Hall 73). This philosophy was underpinned by the belief that the English (or any colonial power) had the capacity to improve and civilize others (76). The British imperial mission was to bring blessings, comfort, and prosperity to native populations (Andrews 65). In a speech delivered in 1900, Reverent A. T. Wirgman articulated this sentiment in regards to the Boer War ". . . there is no doubt in the mind of any right-minded man, who knows the facts, that peace, order, and justice to the natives can only be secured in South Africa under the Union

Jack, as the symbol of political and religious liberty" (Burton 290). From this perspective, the British Empire acted on behalf of indigenous peoples.

This sense of self-righteousness and superiority reflects how ingrained and pervasive imperialist ideology was in Great Britain at the turn of the twentieth century. After Queen Victoria's death, E. W. Brabrook wrote of the benevolence of British colonial rule: "Under Her Majesty's rule every religious belief of these races has been respected, their customs have been regarded with consideration, and their prejudices conciliated" (98). The Empire was a vast, powerful, benevolent state. British colonization was perceived as beneficial, ". . . British colonialism was actually a good thing, and the benefits of being colonised far outweighed the negative aspects for nations that were subjected to colonial rule" (Withers 251). The Scheme performs British sentiments at the time it was unveiled in 1911 regarding the Empire's beneficence.

Rhetorics of Display and Materiality of Rhetoric

I employ two theoretical concepts in my analysis of the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme: rhetorics of display and the materiality of rhetoric. The first, rhetorical study of displays, involves the core dynamic between revealing and concealing, "whatever is revealed through display simultaneously conceals alternative possibilities." Certain elements are highlighted, emphasized, or given presence through presentational forms. Therefore, the display is defined by not only what is visible, but also by what is absent. Prelli's argument is that whatever is displayed, or made manifest, commands and sustains attention. What is displayed before the public as unequivocal and celebrated is manifested through the selections, styles, and silences of rhetoric. Finally, the rhetorical study of displays means asking "what meaning they [displays] leave absent even as they make others present, whose interests they mute as well as whose they emphasize, what they condemn as well as celebrate, and so on" (Prelli 2, 7, 11). The dynamic of presence/absence is particularly significant in regards to the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme because the ostensibly salutary attributes of the Empire such as benevolence, military power, racial superiority, and civilizing progress, are present while the unattractive attributes of imperialism such as greed, economic exploitation, racism, and military aggression are concealed in the rhetorical display and performance of the monument.

Rhetorics of display focuses on the symbolic, which historically has defined rhetorical criticism. However, Carole Blair finds this problematic because one must reach outside the symbol for meaning. The symbol is ephemeral because it consistently refers us beyond itself to its referential or meaning domains. Instead, Blair argues that rhetoric has a material force, "No text *is* a text, nor does it have meaning, influence, political stance, or legibility, in the absence of material form. Rhetoric is not rhetoric until it is uttered, written, or otherwise manifested or given presence." As such, scholars must not just ask what a text means, but what it does (Blair 18-23). Rhetoric of displays does not discount how the material is implicated because tangible features resonate with symbolic implications (Prelli 13). Therefore, the materiality of rhetoric is also implicated in the dynamic of revealing and concealing because the material absence or presence of an object in a physical space necessarily transforms the space.

Jack Selzer argues that material realities contain a rhetorical dimension that deserves attention because language is not the only medium or material that speaks (8). In other words, the shift from symbolicity to materiality means examining enactments – what does a text do (Zagacki and Gallagher 172). The material existence moves beyond sight and sound, but also includes three dimensionality and touch (Gallagher 306). Materiality results from memorials' presentness, in that they are not over nor finished. Instead, they remain in our perceptual fields as long as we are nearby (305). As such, materiality includes the physical profile and spatial dimensions of the monument as well as the geographical/cultural context (Blair and Michel 33).

My analysis will focus on how the materiality of the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme performs colonialism and how this performance simultaneously reveals and conceals specific aspects of the Empire and colonialism. My reading of the Scheme adheres to Carole Blair and Neil Michel's assertion, "Although we believe studying symbolism alone and in the absence of materiality is inadequate to an understanding or critique of *any* rhetoric, it certainly is so in the case of public art" (emphasis in original 56). Elements within the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme symbolize *and* perform colonialism. To forego one aspect results in a one-dimensional understanding of public memorials.

Historical Context

Victoria ascended to the throne in 1837, at the age of eighteen. She then married Prince Albert in 1840, and the couple dutifully produced nine children. In 1877, she was named the Empress of India. After Prince Albert died in 1861, Victoria entered seclusion until her Golden and Diamond Jubilees. At the time of her death in 1901, Victoria's was the longest reign in British history. *The Times* described her reign as "an age of great intellectual movement, of unexampled scientific advance, of immense material and mechanical progress, profoundly modifying the industrial framework of society, of far-reaching Constitutional evolution, of unprecedented Imperial expansion and consolidation" (5/16/1911). Victoria is also credited with uniting and consolidating the Empire, "under her guiding influence this country and the Empire had become more united than it had ever been in our history; the Throne and the people have been more closely drawn together; and every part of the Empire consolidated and united" (5/20/1901). The memorial to Queen Victoria is a material, symbolic, and performative memorial to the Empire because the monarch is equated with nation. Queen Victoria is England, "she was the living symbol of the empire, the corporeal representation . . . The Queen and the Empire were almost universally identified with each other" (Andrews 69). As an institution, the monarch was the vehicle for displaying and reinforcing imperialist values.

The suggestion for a national memorial initially came from Edward VII, Victoria's son and successor. Instead of funded by the State or Monarch, private subscriptions were solicited with the names of the contributors as well as the amount of their donations routinely printed in *The Times*. Also, instead of handled by a governmental agency such as Public Works, the Queen Victoria Memorial Committee composed of cabinet ministers managed implementation and design selection. The Committee also decided that the memorial should be permanent ("Monument to Queen

Victoria"). It may appear common-sense that the memorial was intended to be permanent. However, the Committee was not established to plan a celebration honoring the Queen. Instead, its intention was to erect a permanent, public, and material memorial to commemorate the Queen and instruct citizens and visitors "about what is to be valued in the future as well as the past" (Blair et al. 263). This permanence provides institutional credibility because the physical, material structure is of established value and lasting importance rather than soon to be forgotten (Gallagher 312).

On July 27, 1901, *The Times* reported that at a meeting of the Committee, members accepted Thomas Brock's design for the memorial as well as Sir Aston Webb's "grandiose" plan for the general treatment of the space in front of Buckingham Palace. However, the Committee delayed consideration of plans for the remainder of the Mall until the total amount of subscriptions was known. The Memorial as the central point of the scheme was to be situated immediately in front of the railings of the Palace, in a semi-circular space, with a "wide thoroughfare passing, on either side, towards Constitution-hill and towards Buckingham-gate." Plans for the Mall included cutting an opening so that it would become "a great thoroughfare from end to end." However, the design and installation of the dominion gates was to be delayed. "Some day, [sic] when funds permit, it is intended to place groups of sculpture at two points in the Mall representing (1) Canada and Australia, (2) India and Africa; but the subscriptions to the memorial must be largely increased before this will be possible." The overall theme that emphasized "the maritime foundation and the commercial greatness of our Empire" was expressed with 'its gleaming waters, its sculptures of tritons and mermaids, seahorses and porpoises." (7/27/1901)

The statues of the Memorial are composed of 2,500 tons of Carrara marble (The Royal Parks). Carrara marble is coveted because of its availability in enormous blocks, its pure white color, and its hardness. It also has a prestigious history because Michelangelo's *David* and the Pantheon are made of it (Roberts and Boulat). The selection of this type of marble indicates that the Queen's Memorial was, at least to the artist, sculptor, and Committee, of the same stature as these revered and internationally renowned objects. More importantly, the longevity and resistance of marble to the ravages of time indicates that the Committee viewed the Queen and her Empire worthy of preservation (Blair, Dickinson, and Ott 7). Therefore, the memory of Queen Victoria would remain as everlasting as its form (Young 294).

A point of contention, at least in the House of Commons, was that Italian workmen prepared the marble. Mr. Hay inquired "as to the work connected with the National Memorial to Queen Victoria being entrusted to foreigners in England and abroad" (House of Commons 5/7/1908). Mr. Hay's disdain for foreign workers reflected the imperial ideology of racial superiority. Mr. Gladstone replied that the choice of materials was left in the hands of the sculptor but in this case, the choices were wise. Carrara marble is the most enduring of materials, and available in a form that is free from flaws and defects. Italian workmen were employed because they were trained since boyhood to work with this marble. Because the marble was finished in Italy, the Committee did not incur the expense of importing tons of the raw material and then discovering possible defects upon its arrival. Mr. Gladstone pacified Mr. Hay by assuring him that the granite for the steps, paving of the central portion of the Memorial, and the surrounding architectural works were being carried out by British workmen.

King George V unveiled the statue on May 16, 1911. Unfortunately, Edward VII's proclamation in 1908 that "We will be dead before the memorial of our royal mother is completed," turned out to be true for him ("King is Annoyed at Artist's Delay"). Edward died in 1910. Nonetheless, numerous dignitaries and heads of state attended the momentous occasion, including Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany. Based on reports in *The Times*, the event garnered as much enthusiasm and excitement among the people of England as Princes William and Harry's weddings in 2011 and 2018.[2]

Materiality and Rhetorical Performance of Colonization

The actual statue of Victoria is colossal, eighty-two feet high. It is elevated to such a height that it is impossible for visitors to view the face eye-to-eye. The physical presence summons visitors' attention. The statue remains present within the visitors' perceptual fields even when they are quite a distance from it (Blair 17). The height of the statue embodies Victoria's inaccessibility as Queen and the significance of her reign over the British Empire. The likelihood of a British subject, from the United Kingdom or the colonies, to have an audience with the Queen or meet her face-to-face was highly unlikely, indicating her exalted position in the lives of her subjects.

The inaccessible portions of the Scheme, its overwhelming size, and its dizzying height perform the power and might of the British Empire. Blair, et al. argue that the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (VVM) in Washington, D.C. provokes engagement because it is not easily consumed or immediately intelligible. Also, the VVM's rhetoric invites an engaged and thoughtful reading rather than a tourist, consumptive response (278). The VVM does not dominate the landscape and is accessible to visitors because it is not raised on a base. In contrast, the Queen Victoria Memorial, by virtue of its size and proportions, does not invite engagement. It is not even see-able in its entirety, except from a distance. Although visitors can touch parts of it, they cannot touch every part of it. It fully dominates the landscape, situated on a base, "forcing visitors to gaze always upward" (Blair et al. 274). And it is not interactive in the way of the VVM. The only interaction between the statue and visitors is their climbing as high as they can onto it. These elements of the Scheme engender awe because one gazes in wonder.

James R. Young writes that at the time of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, imperialism was vastly popular. At its apogee, imperialism "shone brightly in its celestial orbit" (57). At the pinnacle of the statue, higher than Victoria, are Winged Victory with Constancy and Courage crouched below her, all of which are gold. The color not only distinguishes these elements from the rest of the statue, but also imbues them with the sign of wealth. This cluster of figures rests on Dominion, an eagle carved in the marble. The physical location at the upper most point within the Scheme elevates these concepts, indicating they transcend even the Monarchy. Victoria reigned under the protection of Victory, Constancy, Courage, and Dominion. However, her position directly beneath them situates them within her reach. Under their protection, Victoria's reign was blessed. The inclusion and position of heavenly entities that preside over Queen Victoria performs the endurance and "natural right" of the Empire, "The empire is immortal, beyond the bounds of time that a span of life imposes . . . empire is almost as vast in space as it is limitless in time" (Andrews 61). The upper-most figures reassure that the British Empire will outlast any individual monarch.

The statue faces the Mall, with its back to Buckingham Palace. The platform on which it sits is circular, and water from the fountains flows into semi-circular pools flanking the statue on the left and right sides. The inclusion of the fountains, on each side of the statue, completes the overall maritime theme and British naval power.[3] Andrews argues that Great Britain's rule over one-quarter of the world's land mass and over one billion of its inhabitants was due largely to its "mastery of the world's

sea." The display of naval might associates past glories with imperialism (Andrews 71). It also enacts the oceans surrounding the island of Great Britain and the country's imperial expansion beyond these waters.

The arrangement of thoroughfares and the control of the movement of automobiles and pedestrians in the space surrounding the Statue resemble the Empire's dominion over its colonies. While human and natural resources flowed between the colonies and Great Britain, it was Great Britain that controlled this movement. In her analysis of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Victoria Gallagher notes that visitors must follow rules that restrict their choices about how to move through the museum and experience it. The physical layout of hallways and galleries establish the rules (312). The statue of Victoria is located at the center of a route with significant automobile and pedestrian traffic. Automobiles travel in the front and sides of the statue, contained by evenly spaced posts approximately three feet high. However, the flow has been reconfigured to ensure pedestrian safety ("Travel Advisory"). Constitution Hill, The Mall, and Birdcage Walk all converge at the statue, as if all roads lead to the Memorial. The design of the Scheme and the landscape direct visitors' attention and their bodies (Blair 46). Just as museums engage visitors on a symbolic level through the practices of collection, exhibition, and display, they also engage on a material level by locating visitors' bodies in particular spaces. Rhetorical performance is not only located in the object, but also in how the space is defined and controlled. The Scheme controls the flow of bodies and automobiles (Dickinson, Ott and Aoki 29).

Financed by the imperial territories, the Dominion Gates mark the entries to the adjoining parks. In their analysis of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Blair et al. argue that it is remarkably complex, and its two components, Lin's wall and Hart's statues, oppose one another in what they symbolize about the war (281). In contrast, the components of the Victoria scheme materially complement each other in that Victoria's imposing statue is located in the center of the space with the dominion gates and pillars encircling it, in supplication, but at a distance. Therefore, the Scheme reproduces colonialism because of the geographic space between the statue and the gates in conjunction with how the gates encircle the Queen.

Approximately 200 feet to the left of the statue is the Canada Gate that marks the entrance to Green Park. About one hundred fifty feet directly in front of the Victoria statue, in the sight line, the South/West Africa gate flanks the Mall. The Mall is a wide thoroughfare lined with multiple Union Jacks, spaced every twenty feet or so. To the right of the statue is the Australia Gate at the entrance of St. James's Park.[4]

The South/West Africa gate is not actually a gate, but two columns situated on each side of the Mall. Each pillar is about thirty feet in height and made of marble. Atop each column is a young male, holding a shield, leaning against a wild cat, with his arm resting on the feline. The males are facing Victoria. Directly below the male is a wreath, with "W. Africa" horizontally inscribed on one column and "S. Africa" across the other. The wreath may be laurel, symbolizing victory.
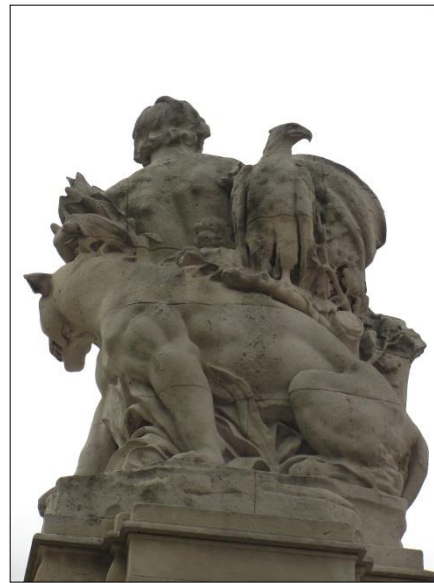
The Australia Gate is not really a gate either. Instead, an elaborate combination of pillars and wrought iron is located on both sides of the entrance to St. James's' Park. The side gate is an arch, made of wrought iron with pillars on both sides of the gate. The pillars are different heights. The taller is topped with a young male, grasping a kangaroo; he faces Victoria. The shorter is topped by a lantern. The taller pillar also has the wreath with "Australia" inscribed across it. The side gate/pillar combination is repeated on the other side.

The size of the Canada Gate signifies it was the largest dominion in 1911. It is located at the entrance to Green Park. It is quite wide, and actually five gates, with the center one being the widest. The outlying pillars anchoring the wrought iron gates are not as tall as the South/West Africa gate, but are topped with a young male with what appears to be a bounty of fruit. Once again, each pillar has the wreath on its column with "Canada" across it. The metalwork on the gates includes the crests of the Canadian provinces.

The material performance of the Memorial interacts with its symbolism (Blair and Michel 46), especially in regards to the statues atop the columns of the Gates. Each is a young male meaning that the colony is child-like and needs the guidance of an adult, or in this case, Great Britain. Also, the young male is leaning or holding an untamed indigenous animal, indicating that the colony needs civilizing or taming. The

juxtaposition of the adolescent and the Empire as materialized by the Victoria statue reinforces the identities of the dominated and dominator (Andrews 72). The males face Victoria, seeking her guidance, while she presides at the center of the Scheme.

According to Andrew Thompson, the colonies contributed a third of the cost for the Memorial's construction. Regardless of how the colonies' direct contribution was allocated, I argue that the colonies contributed far more indirectly. Although funded through private subscriptions, the money donated by each British subject was earned within a colonial economic system. Just as the colonies financially and economically supported the Empire, they funded not only the installation of the Dominion Gates, but the entire Scheme. Colonies' paying tributes to the Empire is one of the key elements of colonialism. Thompson also writes that the imperial symbolism of the Queen Victoria Memorial is muted with "barely visible depictions of the colonies on the monument's gateposts" (185). I disagree with Thompson's assessment because the material presence of the gates and columns overrides supposed low-key representations of colonialism within the Scheme. While the text signifying the names of the colonies is unobtrusive, colonialism is performed through the gates and columns because their installation depended upon colonial monies and they are physically located within the space of the Scheme.

Overall, the Scheme conforms to the generic expectations of the era: a colossal, reverent memorial to the monarch of large empire. The history that the Scheme inscribes and marks is partial. The violence of colonialism is concealed, while the might of the Empire is revealed. Although a material display of colonialism, the Scheme seemingly does not invite "doubt and critical differentiation of issues," but rather the "modernist formulae for commemoration" (Blair et al. 279-80). At the turn of the twentieth century, the Scheme was designed, funded, and erected to memorialize the Queen and her rule over an empire spanning 11 million square miles (Andrews 69). When Victoria was referred to as the "Great Mother" by Canadians and "Great White Queen" by African chiefs, the Scheme reverberates and performs colonialism.

Since World War II, Great Britain has taken steps to account for the absences within material tributes to British colonialism. In the House of Commons in 1956, Captain Kerby inquired about making provision for the symbolic representation at the Memorial of liberated colonies such as Nigeria and Ghana so that visitors would realize the steps taken by Britain to free the colonies and endow them nationhood (House of Commons 12/19/1956). Unfortunately, the response to his query was basically "no" because the gates, pillars and sculpture surrounding the Queen's statue are representative of those parts of the Commonwealth and Empire that contributed to the cost of the Memorial.

The material presence of the Empire within the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme requires a response from the current monarch due to the present-day problematizing of colonialism and its legacy. On November 6, 2002, Queen Elizabeth II unveiled the Commonwealth Memorial Gates which recognize the Indian, African, and Caribbean soldiers who were killed alongside British troops in the two World Wars. The commemorative gates sit at the top of Constitution Hill near Hyde Park. Thompson describes the Gates as a square defined by four stone piers, with an Indian-style chattri (domed pavilion) located between the piers. Inside the pavilion, the names of those who were awarded the Victoria Cross and George Cross, and the major campaigns in which

they fought, are inscribed (233). On its website, The Royal Parks describes the Memorial Gates as "The first permanent national recognition of the contribution and sacrifice made in the two World Wars by nearly five million people from the Indian Sub-Continent, Africa and the Caribbean" ("Factsheets - Monuments in Green Park"). Instead of laying bare the tremendous consequences of imperialism, the Memorial Gates partially celebrate the Empire by commemorating the soldiers it appropriated for its military forces in the World Wars. The Gates do recognize the soldiers' contribution and their country of origin, but fail to acknowledge that these men were fighting in the wars because of Great Britain's colonization of their homelands.

Conclusion

Scholars differ in their assessments of how past monuments may or may not be significant in contemporary times. For example, Thompson argues that after 1945 "the empire rapidly became irrelevant to the lives of people in Britain . . . It was a dwindling dimension of their past, more apparent to foreigners than to the British themselves" (204). Based on a YouGov poll for the *Daily Telegraph* in 2003, he concludes that 'half of the population of Britain is largely or totally ignorant of its imperial history" (224). A more recent YouGov survey conducted in 2016 in the midst of the controversy over Oxford University's statue of Cecil Rhodes found that 43% of 1,733 adult respondents thought that the British Empire was a good thing with 44% indicating that Britain should be proud of that history. However, young people were more likely to say that British colonialism is viewed too positively (Dahlgreen).

Even so, colonialism is part of British history just as slavery is part of American history. At the time of its unveiling in 1911, the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme mythologized British colonial history (Withers 246). Or as Edward Said writes "past events are selected, reconstructed, maintained, modified, and endowed with political meaning" (185). The material properties of the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme direct the visitor's vision and physical movements. The Scheme wholly transforms the Mall and the area in front of Buckingham Palace, in effect colonizing the space. Finally, the material properties, which cannot be wholly separated from its symbolicity, rhetorically perform the strategies of colonialism. The Scheme creates continuity with the past by reenacting the tactics of colonialism (Blair and Michel 47). Its potential discontinuity with the past exists in the Commonwealth Memorial Gates erected in 2002. While my purpose was to examine the intersection of rhetoric, performance, and materiality, my end-goal is that each museum, memorial, or exhibit visitor moves from a being a passive, pleasure-seeking spectator to an engaged, contemplative witness (Prelli 9). Critical engagement interrogates the past in order to reveal what material displays conceal.

Notes

[1] Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme refers to the space containing the actual statue of Queen Victoria, the fountains immediately adjacent to the statue, as well as the Dominion Gates of Australia, Canada, and South/West Africa. Although I do describe each element individually, I'm approaching the Scheme as an inclusive text recognizing that multiple monuments are contained in the grander scheme (Blair et al. 272).

[2] See a short video clip of the unveiling ceremony posted by British Pathé https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R_YUnORqOzU.

[3] At the unveiling in 1911, the fountains and pools were not adjacent to the Victoria statue. They were located at street-level and the pools were significantly larger. See images at http://interactive.britishart.yale.edu/victoria-monuments/224/national-victoria-memorial.

[4] These distances are approximate, based on my visits (May 2009 and May 2013) along with satellite and street views on Google maps.

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Early Semester Challenges: Joining People and Technology on the First Day of Class

John W. Edwards II and Stephen G. Keating

This activity addresses the juncture at which human connection and technology in the classroom diverge. The early-semester anxiety or apprehension caused by the divide between student aptitude and comfort with course technology practice and policies is highlighted, and the resulting need to meet in the middle of this technological divide is addressed. Lastly, two activities, both designed to lessen these early semester anxieties by way of meeting the following objectives, are outlined: (1) enable students to gain greater understanding of course practice and policies involving technology use and (2) increase socialization across the relevant technologies, both among students and also between students and their instructors.

Keywords: *Education Technology, Communication Apprehension, Course Socialization, Ice-Breaker Activities*

The first day of classes is an exciting, challenging, and apprehension-laden day for many students at all levels of education. One cause for apprehension may be related to unknown expectations regarding technology use for the coming semester. On one hand, many students, especially digital natives, have come to rely very heavily on their personal technologies in their lives outside of school. Therefore, in a seated classroom, where these technologies are often outlawed, anxiety can set in when first asked to communicate outside the comfort of these devices. On the other hand, in online classes, wherein technologies are often employed to a great extent or the entire course structure is facilitated through technology, there are students who may feel anxiety as a result of waning human interaction (Shedletsky & Aitken, 2001; Wrench & Punyanunt-Carter, 2007). Although many traditional students are intimately familiar with social media-based technology (Ledbetter & Finn, 2013), these same students may simultaneously lack appropriate knowledge of online learning technologies (Wrench & Punyanunt-Carter, 2007), which may then also lead to anxiety. While these anxieties may dissipate naturally as the semester progresses, early intervention could enable teachers and students alike to feel comfortable in the classroom more quickly and thus avoid the potential for negative effects of anxiety on the overall environment. In an effort to mitigate these early semester challenges, we have devised first day activities that bring us to a mediated middle of this technological plane in an effort to provide first day comfort for both face-to-face and online students. With each of these activities, we seek to adapt to our technological reality by connecting students and technology in ways that both orient and socialize

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students to reduce anxiety and uncertainty regarding the course and its relevant technological policies and procedures.

Connecting Cell Phone Technology to the Face-to-Face Classroom

Activity 1: Cell Phone Archaeology

Rationale: According to Maslow (as cited in Wood, 2016), we communicate because we need to communicate – for self-actualization, self-esteem, belonging, safety and protection, and physical needs for survival. Some students may feel a great deal of anxiety when their means of achieving these needs are taken away or outlawed, thus causing anxiety on the first day of class. We need to remind students that some of their more social needs can be achieved in the classroom. We know that many people feel a greater sense of comfort communicating through devices rather than in face-to-face contexts (Ho & McLeod, 2008), so, maybe a student holding on to that device is like keeping a safety blanket clasped in their hands. As teachers, let us not rip that safety blanket away immediately. Instead, we can bridge the gap slowly but surely. In this first activity, we allow the use of familiar technology early in the semester as a means of letting people get comfortable with something new (talking to others; interacting in class), thus hopefully bringing them closer to comfort in the classroom. Basically, we need to have our students "embrace the awkward" and increase their own socialization and comfort level in the classroom, but with their safety blankets in tow. Through a candid conversation with students about the purpose of this activity, instructors will also be able to show students that phones and other technologies can be advantageous in the classroom if used sparingly and purposefully. An exemplification of this purposeful use and a transparent explanation of the lesson shown through that purposeful use can help to inform students of their class-based technology policies and hopefully reduce uncertainty and stress levels.

Instructions: Have students take out their cell phones on the first or second day of class and then have them begin an archaeology mission of sorts into their devices. Give them approximately 5 minutes to go through their phones and find something that represents them or their lives in some way. Not all students have phones, but even the presence or absence of a phone can say a lot. Some potential choices include: pictures; songs; text messages or emails that sum up a sense of humor or personality; apps that are used every single day; presence or absence of a case; presence or absence of screen cracks; games; ring tones; screen backgrounds; number of times their alarm is set; how many alarms they have on their phone, and so on.

After students choose a representative feature from their phones, share your own findings as a model and then allow each of them the chance to explain what they have found and their connection to that feature. This portion of the activity can be tailored to meet the needs of the particular class and students. For example, a public speaking class might benefit from presenting these findings in front of the room, while others would do just as well to remain seated. If there is a digital projector available in the classroom, images of the findings might be shown on the board to enhance clarity of explanations. If there are time constraints or students with high communication anxiety involved, the

class can be divided into groups so that students can participate in the activity with three or four peers instead of in front of the entire class.

Instructor Debrief and Outcomes: As facilitators, we end the activity by acknowledging that we now know just a little bit about each other and should seek to learn more throughout the rest of the semester. We also explain how the activity has provided an orientation for how cell phones will be used in our classrooms throughout the semester. We let students know that we understand cell phones are an important part of life, that they are not going anywhere any time soon, and that there is room for them in the classroom at times. However, we also point out that there is a time and place for cell phone use. To avoid any confusion, we can outline some scenarios in which it would make sense to employ the cell phone or similar technologies in the classroom. The outcome of this activity is that students hopefully feel more comfortable in their classes, with their peers, and with their instructors as a result of orientation. An additional outcome is that students should feel comfortable with the technology policies we employ in running our classrooms.

Connecting Humanity in the Online Class

Activity 2: Digital Introductions

Rationale: As mentioned previously, students may feel a degree of apprehension when they are asked to abandon their usual technologies, such as cell phones, in place of human interaction in a seated class. However, on the other end of the spectrum, there are nontraditional students who may be nervous about using any type of technology and also students new to online learning who may feel anxiety as a result of needing to learn class-specific technologies. These students, especially those who fall into the nontraditional category, may be more comfortable with human interaction and traditional modalities. Although these elements are often sought to be replicated in online courses using yet more technologies, the replacements are not always equal. In an effort to stay current with technological advancements but also meet the needs of students who feel anxiety at the start of a course due to the list of technologies and programs to be learned, we must bridge the gap. In an effort to move toward the middle, we might consider incorporating video technology, which allows for students to interact in a very familiar way (face-to-face) as facilitated through a new technology. As with the previous activity, the goal is to get students to an area of comfort in which they can participate in the course as it is designed, but allow them to do so in a way that provides them comfort in the transition. Although video submissions or online conferences can be used at any point throughout the semester, the focus of use for this current essay is to build social presence in the online class with a self-introduction video submission.

Instructions: During the first week of class, require students to record self-introduction videos using a web camera or other device. Students then upload their videos to the course learning management system or some other cloud-based location that will enable the video to be linked back to the course site. The videos should be short, and the students should seek to provide their peers with basic introduction information about who they are as individuals, their birthplace, and their reasons for enrolling in the class or the college. Additionally, students should include something interesting (but appropriate!)

about themselves that might get the attention of their peers. Lastly, students are encouraged, but not required, to ask a question in their video about some aspect of the course. As a secondary requirement, students are assigned to view the videos of their peers and respond with encouraging feedback. To provide a model for students, the instructor should post her or his own welcome video when the course opens.

Instructor Debrief and Outcomes: One important result of posting a welcome video is that many students are more likely to watch a short video segment that explains and clarifies course policies than to read through a dense document that outlines those same policies. Hence, having the course instructor provide a short video wherein he or she highlights important course guidelines makes it more likely students will attend to those policies and thus experience less uncertainty in the course.

Another interesting outcome of this exercise is the response from classmates. In most discussion board assignments, instructors require students to respond to at least four or five classmates in a meaningful way. Many students report having a hard time replying to that number of classmates. When a video is involved, students seem to voluntarily watch most of the videos rather than complaining about the number of responses they have to post. The comments they have made in the past reflect the desire for human connection. One student stated, "I enjoy being able to see the people that I am working with online." Another commented "It seems that (with videos) I am better able to create real relationships with classmates." This assignment appears to help students enjoy human connection, online presence, and a greater sense of orientation in the beginning of the course.

One potential negative of this assignment may be that students occasionally report anxiety when asked to create a video they have to record and upload for other students to watch. The application of new technology in itself may also stoke student apprehension. However, our perspective is that when students understand this assignment is a low-stakes opportunity to gain experience in the speech process and use of course technology, they are generally willing to invest in the course and face their fears.

Conclusion

There are many causes for apprehension at the start of the semester. The activities presented in the current essay address the idea that at least some first-day anxiety is caused by a disjuncture between use of technology and human interaction in the classroom. In an effort to find a solution, this essay proposes to meet in the middle with icebreaking activities that help students to enhance sociality in the class and provide orientation for uncomfortable policies through familiar means. In a seated class, we try to get closer to the middle through the incorporation of technology and, thus, adaptation to the realities of devices in our classroom. In an online course, our goal is to humanize the required technology by designing assignments that require more traditionally relatable communication means, such as face-to-face interaction, as facilitated through an asynchronous video source. We plan our ice-breakers to help socialize and orient students to the course and to each other. We want to create a comfortable rapport between ourselves and our students (and among the students themselves), and we also want to show our students what it means to be actively engaged in the community we create in the classroom.

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Introducing Intercultural Communication by Introducing Deaf Culture

Stephanie Kelly and Zachary Denton

This single-class activity introduces students to intercultural communication for business with an introduction to American Sign Language (ASL) and Deaf American culture. Students are introduced to information about Deaf culture, learn the ASL alphabet, and then learn an appropriate business greeting in ASL. The purpose of the activity is ultimately to help students recognize their own assumptions about what is culturally "normal" in communication. As a bonus, at the end of the activity, students are better able to avoid common intercultural faux pas in addition to having the ASL language competence for a business-appropriate greeting.

Keywords: ASL, sing language, cultural communication, business communication

Intended Course: Business Communication

Other Courses: Intercultural Communication, Interpersonal Communication, Nonverbal Communication, Disability Studies, Cultural Studies, Semiotics

Learning Goal/Objectives:

1. *To help students identify their assumptions of what is "normal" before communicating with someone from another culture*
2. *To make students more cognizant of intercultural faux pas when engaging with the Deaf community*

Activity Type: Single-Class Activity

The importance of infusing intercultural communication into business communication curriculum is becoming increasingly recognized as businesses continue to globalize (Ainsworth, 2013; Fall, Kelly, MacDonald, Primm, & Holmes, 2013; Nikmaram & Kousari, 2017). This essay will detail a three-part, single-class activity that was developed to introduce intercultural communication in business communication by teaching students the basics of Deaf Culture and American Sign Language (ASL).

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Because Deaf American communities exist within the United States, most hearing American students assume that this culture is similar to their own. Yet, Deaf American culture is quite unique and follows its own set of communication rules (Padden, Humphries, & Padden, 2009; Sparrow, 2005). As such, this activity is designed to help students appreciate how drastic, yet subtle cultural differences can be, and help students be more culturally competent when dealing with Deaf Americans at work. The activity has been successfully utilized for the past three years at a university in the Southeastern United States.

The Activity

Step 1: A presentation of American Deaf culture and language facts. The first step of the activity is to present the students with a series of true/false statements about ASL and Deaf Culture. These statements were developed from information provided by the local Regional Center for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing (RCDHH) Division Manager in Greensboro, NC as surprising facts for hearing individuals, which often influence local business interactions. The facts are presented to students one at a time through PowerPoint slides and students are asked to indicate whether they believed the fact is true or false by using the appropriate ASL sign as shown in Figure 1. After students make their best guess as to whether the statement is true or false, the correct answer is provided as well as a cultural explanation. The first eight facts statements are generalizable throughout the U.S.:

1. *There is a difference in the words "deaf" and "Deaf."* (True) "Deaf" refers to the culture and/or cultural membership of a person and "deaf" refers to a physical condition in which one is unable to hear (Barnett, 1999).

2. *ASL is based on English*. (False) ASL is actually based on French, which is why it is grammatically very different from English. In fact, from a grammatical standpoint, ASL is closer to Mandarin than English (Cohen & Lefebvre, 2005).

3. *ASL is used by most Deaf people in the United States and Canada*. (True) Canada adopted ASL for its English-speaking citizens (Carbin & Smith, 2013).

4. *Facial expressions are more important when communicating in ASL than English*. (True) ASL doesn't have as many synonyms as English, so facial expressions are relied upon for emphasis and range (Kacorri, Lu, & Huenerfauth, 2013). For example, angry and furious have the same sign in ASL, so facial expressions are used to distinguish the intensity of the mood.

5. *While watching another person sign, you should just watch their hands*. (False) If a person just watches a signer's hands, he or she will miss a great deal of message context (Kacorri, Lu, & Huenerfauth, 2013).

6. *To get the attention of a Deaf person you can tap him or her on the shoulder*. (True) Tapping a Deaf person lightly on the shoulder to get his or her attention is completely acceptable (Barnett, 1999). It will draw less attention from other people who are not involved in the conversation than waving your hand.

7. *Lipreading is an effective communication strategy between the Deaf and hearing*. (False) While lipreading can assist, it is more effective to write down messages because many English words share lip shapes (Barnett, 1999). For example, the phrases "I love you" and "elephant food" look identical to someone reading lips.

8. *When conversing with a Deaf person using an interpreter, you should look at the interpreter since he or she will be orally speaking to you*. (False) You should look at the Deaf person because that is the individual with whom you are truly conversing (Simon, 1993).

These last three statements include information that may be specific to members of the Deaf Community in the Greensboro, NC Metro. Just as there are many subcultures among hearing individuals, there are subcultures among the Deaf communities that drive the norms for business interaction. The Greensboro, NC RCDHH Manager suggested that if this activity is to be used outside of the Greensboro, NC Metro that the facts be checked with members of the local Deaf community to ensure that these practices are still preferable in that business culture:

9. *It is rude to speak orally in when speaking with a Deaf person, even while signing*. (True) This broadcasts your part of the conversation to other hearing people. It is fine to move your lips, but you should not be vocal.

10. *It's okay to watch two people having a signing conversation if you don't know ASL*. (False) That is the equivalent of eavesdropping.

11. *If your path is blocked by two signers, you should go ahead and walk through them*. (True) If you walk between two signers, you cannot eavesdrop on their conversation, but you can eavesdrop if you walk around them. Therefore, it is considered politer to put yourself in a position in which you are not privy to their conversation.

Step 1 takes 10-15 minutes.

Step 2: Learning the ASL alphabet. The next step is to teach students the ASL alphabet. Being able to sign and recognize the alphabet will greatly increase their competency in ASL. A free, printable handout of the ASL alphabet is available at: http://www.deafedge.com/printable-abc.html. The instructor should lead each student through the alphabet to ensure that they understand the illustrations. It is helpful to have the instructor sign each letter and have the students mimic the hand gesture. During this time, the instructor should walk throughout the room so that he or she can check each

student's finger positions per letter. Then, students should be given five minutes to practice signing their name. This entire step takes approximately 10 minutes.

Step 3: Learning ASL greetings. The next step is to teach students a basic greeting. Greetings in ASL are much longer than simply "Hello." ASL greetings are the beginning of a conversation that include at a minimum "Hello," "What is your name?" and "Where are you from?" Notably, because grammar is different in ASL than English, these questions and answers are not direct translations from English. Below is the literal dialog that would take place in an ASL greeting:

Communicator 1: "Hello! Your name what?" (See Figure 2.)

Communicator 2: "My name ____." In the blank, the communicator would

fingerspell his or her name. (See Figure 3.)

Communicator 2: "Your name what?"

Communicator 1: "My name ____."

Communicator 1: "You from where?" (See Figure 4.)

Communicator 2: "Me from ____." (See Figure 5)

Communicator 2: "You from where?"

Communicator 1: "Me from ____."

Communicator 1: "Nice meet you." (See Figure 6.)

Communicator 2: "Nice meet you likewise." (See Figure 6.)

The instructor should break students into pairs and teach them this dialog in three parts (i.e., what is your name, where are you from, and nice to meet you). During this time, the instructor should walk through the room and watch students practice to check their finger positioning. Students typically confuse the signs for *my* and *me* as well as *you* and *your,* so pay special attention to those signs. Once each student can go through the three segments flawlessly, they should practice the dialog as one conversation. This phase typically takes 30 minutes. (Notably, if instructors would like more nuanced illustrations or short videos to accompany these signs, www.handspeak.com and www.lifeprint.com/dictionary are excellent free resources.)

Debriefing

In a 50-minute class period, the debriefing typically needs to take place the next day. This activity is ideal for a 75-minute class. During the debriefing, students should be asked what they learned that surprised them. Students are typically shocked by the

cultural differences between Deaf and hearing Americans. Students should then be asked how these differences influence business communication when dealing with Deaf Americans. They always note the grammatical differences in ASL and English, which often lead to misunderstandings when a member of the hearing community attempts to make direct translations from English to ASL during business interactions. They are also typically surprised by the ways they can accidentally broadcast or eavesdrop on business conversations by speaking orally or walking around signers. Students should then be asked what assumptions this means that they should not make when engaging in intercultural communication. Student responses typically include not assuming that knowing words in a language means that you can string together a sentence, that being overly confident in your communication skills can actually make an interaction awkward for the native listener, and that nonverbal communication is likely their strongest tool in intercultural communication.

Appraisal

The first time students are presented with the slides of facts in Step 1, the majority of students only answer one or two questions correctly. The next week, students are presented with the slides again and typically answer nine to 10 questions correctly. Alternatively, the facts can also be included for students on the final exam to check for more long-term retention. During the one semester in which this exam assessment was conducted, all students answered each True/False statement correctly. As such, after this activity, students are more aware of cultural faux pas to avoid when dealing with Deaf Americans, particularly at work.

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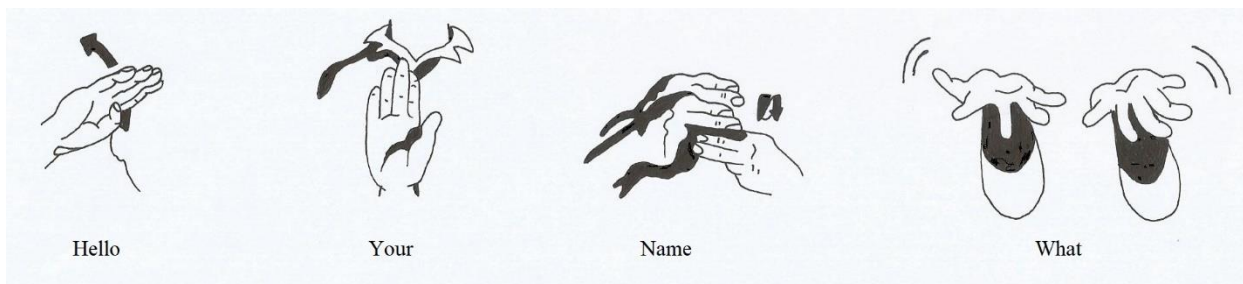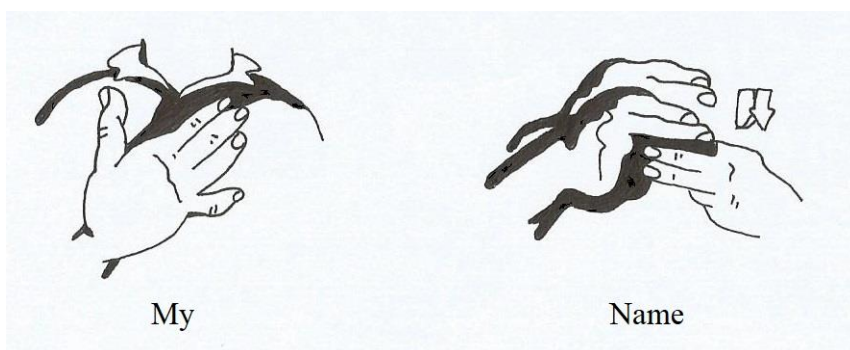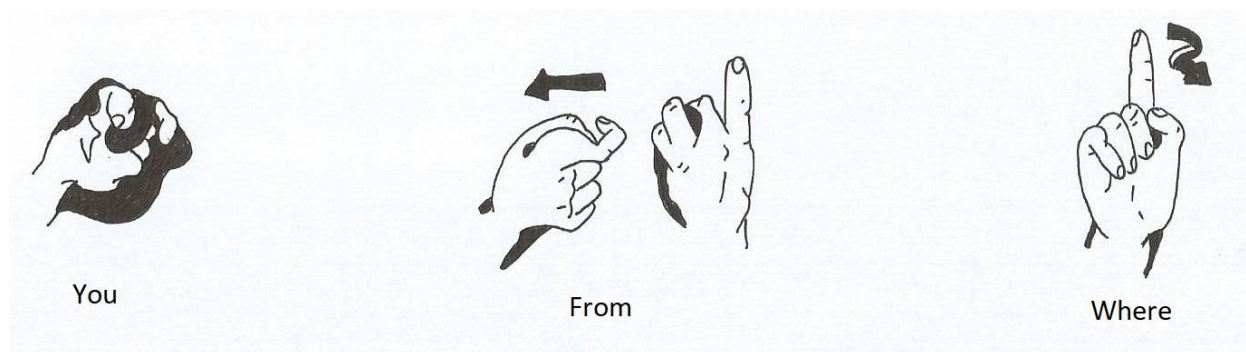
Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

You   From   Where

Figure 4

Me   From

Figure 5

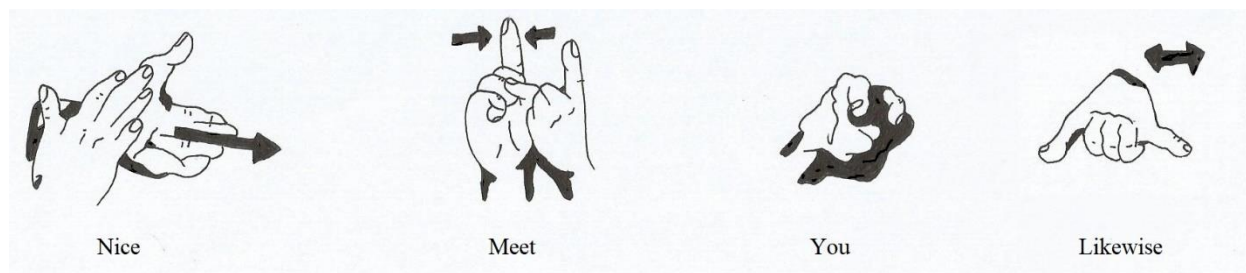Nice   Meet   You   Likewise

Figure 6

The Wall between Hope and Fear: Using Problem Based Learning in the Intercultural Communication Course

Jason Munsell

This essay explains a broad, semester-long approach to teaching the Intercultural Communication course through Problem Based Learning pedagogy; rather than an essay describing an individual activity or lesson to teach a specific concept, theory, or skill. Through this particular use of PBL, students in Intercultural Communication study issues of immigration as well as immigration rhetoric. The PBL process helps students not only understand the contours surrounding political debate on immigration policy, but also how ethnocentricity corresponds to public policy. While this current account comes from a class on Intercultural Communication, Problem Based Learning is a high impact form of pedagogy that could be applied to many communication courses.

Keywords: Problem Based Learning, Intercultural Communication, Immigration

Courses: Intercultural Communication

Goals and Objectives

While Intercultural Communication textbooks indeed discuss immigration, it is often in the context of demographic shifts and the importance of effective intercultural competence. The textbook I use, Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel's *Communication Between Cultures*, aligns with this trend. However, I do applaud the authors for also discussing immigration within the context of acculturation and how host cultures react to immigration. They ultimately conclude, "In order to work toward a world where diverse cultures can live side by side in a community, we urge you to be open, objective, and tolerant. With a receptive perspective, you can learn about the new cultures in your community and learn to be accepting" (404). I contend that using a Problem Based Learning (PBL) approach to immigration is an important supplement to what common texts like *Communication Between Cultures* offer. Thus, in my class, I use PBL as a way to weave together the general goals and objectives of teaching intercultural competence with discussions of immigration rhetoric and immigration policy; all with the overarching outcome goal of reducing ethnocentrism.

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Rationale

The Carolinas are home to some pretty ethnocentric people. According to the Associated Press, in the recent 2016 presidential election, President Donald Trump won South Carolina with approximately 55% of the vote. The president won by a slimmer margin in North Carolina; 50.5%. Not that all Trump voters are necessarily ethnocentric, but Trump made immigration one of his main issues. His talk of building a wall between the United States and Mexico, as well as his distaste for "bad hombres," apparently resonated with many voters. Of course, it's not like Trump's election serves as some sort of critical awakening to the fact that ethnocentrism exists; particularly, in South Carolina. The racist legacies of the slavery holocaust, as well as sexist, entrenched, excruciating codes of genteel gender, both hold clinging sway here. And at times, it's usually quite explicit. Back in 2010, former SC Lexington County Republican Jake Knotts (then in office) commented on Nikki Haley's initial gubernatorial campaign: "We've already got a raghead in the White House, we don't need another raghead in the governor's mansion." In short, when I approach my Intercultural Communication course, my goal is always to teach students to question their own ethnocentricity and to be very critical of the ethnocentricity of others. I started using this PBL approach several years before Trump's election and our current political debates about immigration, though I contend this approach is perhaps timelier than ever. Further, I do not regularly teach the Intercultural Communication course, but I plan to employ this PBL approach in my upcoming Political Rhetoric course; this is a flexible pedagogical strategy.

I want to re-emphasize that President Trump has no monopoly on ethnocentrism nor is South Carolina some isolated land of xenophobia. The history of the United States is a history of ethnocentrism and the country has often been contained by the problematic frame of exceptionalism that anchors the popular theme of "America First." No matter neither the political situation nor the current occupant of the White House, I want my students to better understand how ethnocentricity seeps into and is constructed and sustained through our immigration rhetoric and therefore results in certain worldviews that often translate into specific immigration policies. Ultimately, I want to engage my students in the project of fighting against ethnocentric public policies. Therefore, immigration policy(ies) become great case-study(ies) for these types of pedagogical objectives and PBL becomes a fruitful avenue toward such an end.

Description and Directions

A running theme in this essay is that Problem Based Learning is messy and hard; it does not have an activity that has a step by step process per se. Thus, I focus my description and directions on generally defining PBL then I discuss how I use that process through a set of four papers and reflection discussions in class. I do offer some possible alternatives and logistics as well, and then comment on issues of ethics in light of recent developments.

What is Problem Based Learning?

I adapted material from Southern Illinois University's Medical School since PBL was actually created within the context of medical pedagogy. There are many basic books on PBL one can easily buy through Amazon, but much of what I used I, again, borrowed from SIU and the text, *Principles and Practices of aPBL* (*a* stands for authentic) by Howard S. Borrows and published by the SIU School of Medicine. Borrows has offered his ideas for PBL since the 1980s.

Generally, with PBL, the whole enterprise is learned-centered and students are given a great deal of responsibility for their own education. Thus, PBL can craft independent learners and the role of the teacher in PBL is guidance that facilitates learning; the instructor is not the expert. Also, PBL is about real world problems. In brief, PBL is about learning through trying to solve a real world problem or settling a real world issue. And the process is messy and might be uncomfortable for some teachers and students since, in a way, teachers give up traditional authority. Furthermore, students might already know something about the problem they tackle but must still do substantial research to learn all they can about the contours of a certain problem so they can potentially resolve it. Students engage in self-directed study to research the information needed by finding and using a variety of information resources (newspapers, books, journals, reports, online information, and a variety of people with appropriate areas of expertise). They then can report on their findings to others, reflect on their understandings, and continue to assess their own individual learning processes. In a way, students, therefore, craft their own curriculum, but in my case, I assign the problem or issue (immigration policy/ies) and the students work on papers independently, but then share findings in a learning group that consists of the entire class; which in my case is usually pretty small. In those class settings in which students share their individual research findings I, again, simply serve as a moderator and make sure to set out parameters for an open and respectful, reflective discussion. I also make it very clear that I do not know all the ends and outs of immigration policy(ies) and so I, as instructor, am along for the ride. A final aspect in defining this process is simply that PBL becomes a motivational process in which students are hopefully self-inspired to learn.

More concisely, paraphrased from Howard Borrows, PBL is meant to: Engage students with a real-life problem they might actually encounter or have already; learn how to problem-solve using their own research skills and information they have at their disposal; learn how to learn on their own; always self-monitor and think critically as they sift through information they find; and finally share their knowledge and ideas and work with others in a group in the process of solving a problem.

How Did I Employ PBL?

The main assignments in the course consist of four papers and on the day those papers are due, our entire class devotes itself to sharing information from their papers (practically presenting their papers) and talking through the issues. Below is the way I generally frame the papers; and in my syllabi, I write as if I am talking to my students and so the tone and language below I lift from my syllabus.

1. *Paper 1*: What is immigration? Do we have an immigration problem? Do we need reform? Lots of folks seem to think so. How you approach all this is up to you, but you should be reading both primary (laws, speeches, etc.…) and secondary (newspapers and stuff like that) sources to capture the contours of what folks are saying out there. But the main thing here is sort of analyzing the problem or the possible problem(s) folks seem to discuss if and when they call immigration a problem.

2. *Paper 2*: What are all the laws and how have they changed? This paper should focus mainly on primary sources and I want you to narrate changes in laws concerning immigration. Please note that immigration is chiefly regulated by the federal government, though some states have attempted regulation. There are a lot of online sources for you through various governmental agencies, etc.… You could even (and perhaps should) go back to some of our country's founding documents and do an online visit to the South Carolina Office of Immigration Compliance.

3. *Paper 3*: What is it like to be an immigrant (legal or illegal) in SC? This could be tricky. I will work with you to approach this ethically, but I would like you to interview an immigrant currently residing in South Carolina (if you are an immigrant I would urge you to interview someone else). Of course, you can find someone to interview on your own and in class we'll talk about how to approach this interview, but generally you just want to learn what it is like to live life as an immigrant in South Carolina even as individual standpoints and experiences always differ. The interviews should be anonymous and I'm happy to help find translators if needed. The interviewees should trust us.

4. *Paper 4*: This is more of a position paper. What do you think should or should not be the law of the land? Should the U.S. Congress still regulate immigration, or should states have a role? You'll need to take a stand, point out pros and cons, opposing positions, etc.… But ultimately your goal is to support your own position.

Alternatives and Logistics

I understand that these paper instructions are fairly broad and sweeping and if the reader would like a copy of the specific rubrics I have used to evaluate them, I would be happy to provide them. I do often grant my students paragraph by paragraph prescriptions and ask them to keep the papers to around five pages, though still offering room for creativity. Moreover, Intercultural Communication is a popular course in many communication curricula and in the cases I have taught the course, it had been offered as a 200 or 300 level required course and as part of that institution's general education requirements; I would not recommend this process for a 100 level course. Further, and as indicated, my own experience is with teaching smaller classes of about 20 students, though I think an instructor could use this PBL strategy in larger, lecture classes using break-out groups. Also, in my own cases, I allow class time for research and I also devote

a full class to discussion after each paper is due; those, too, could be done in break-out sessions so long as they are moderated and that there are rules for open and honest reflective discussion. Dedicated library colleagues have helped with links to legal primary sources. For the first paper students generally use periodical sources to show how people are talking and writing about immigration in the news. The second paper focuses more on primary legal sources. The third paper takes on a more ethnographic tone, and the last essay, as indicated above is a position paper. Thus, I do think that this approach could be used in many different kinds of classroom contexts so long as the instructor devotes a good deal of time to the process, which, again, is hard.

In essence, I am teaching what we often cover in an Intercultural Communication course, but also using this PBL process to dig deeper into a specific issue—immigration. Again, the very nature of the PBL process asks instructors to re-negotiate their roles as professors which might mean leaving a professorial comfort zone as we also ask our students to leave comfort zones. In our American higher education milieu of learning outcomes, rubrics, and general assessment-centricity that often reduces the process of education to something similar to an instruction manual for putting together a chair, this process can be messy and sometimes exacting instructions limit potential outcomes. Embrace the uncertainty and mess! Likewise, both students and faculty might be reluctant to have uncomfortable discussions about issues of immigration and ethnocentricity generally; particularly when there's a lot of ethnocentricity and general lack of awareness in the room. There is often a wall of resistance in our own classrooms to tackle difficult social issues, but I think that's part of the point of PBL as strategic pedagogy. PBL in this case invites all participants to become more aware and to learn the facts and to have difficult discussions. It is messy, but more strategic and procedural than just throwing out "let's talk about immigration" in class. Perhaps most important, it is essential to create a classroom environment of respect for multiple points of view. In my classrooms I create safe spaces and I do my best to insure anonymity and tell my students that our discussions don't leave the classroom. I have personally gone through Safe Zone training and I take some of those lessons to my classroom. I don't mean to scare anyone away from this process, but it is important to approach this type of PBL, no matter the class context, with a big heart and an open ear and sensitivity to student needs and differences; and that includes being sensitive to possible triggers and warning students.

PBL and Ethics in the Age of ICE

As of the writing of this essay in the summer of 2018, there is perhaps no more intense issue on the national stage as immigration, though, and again, I devised and starting using this PBL approach a few years ago. Thus, while various policies and procedures of US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) have not always been so intense in our public consciousness they certainly are now. Many are calling for abolishing ICE. ICE can be a trigger for some of my students. I had a student just last semester (in a Public Speaking class) speak about her father being detained in an ICE raid in South Carolina; he was a citizen and apparently spared any great difficulty. My third paper asks students to interview people that might indeed be targets of ICE. Thus, I completely understand any reticence my students would have for doing this in our current situation and the general ethical dilemmas such an assignment puts in place. There are

questions of logistics here too depending on class size, community populations, etc. Moreover, some colleges and universities have clubs or centers through Student Life/Affairs offices that many instructors could work with, though some colleges and universities do not offer those kinds of opportunities. My initial idea for the third paper was for students to pick legal immigrants or naturalized citizens, but I give my students the choice on how to approach that particular paper. Further, if students are generally uncomfortable with the interview process, I offer potential alternatives, including using interviews they see on the news, or read in periodicals, or first-hand accounts they might find through savvy library research. My goal for this paper is for my students to, in part, learn and practice empathy and critically consider Otherness.

Debriefing, Results, and Appraisal

In her edited book, *Who Belongs in America?: Presidents, Rhetoric, and Immigration*, Vanessa B. Beasley indicates that the rhetoric surrounding immigration in the United States usually teeter-tooters between tensions of hope and fear. She notes that immigrants serve a "symbol of hope" and as rhetorical reservoir for larger themes of all that is apparently glorious about America (7). But also, much like Hitler's scapegoating of the Jews, there is a rhetorical tradition of blaming immigrates for decreased resources and as a danger. It is interesting, therefore, that those themes of hope and fear also develop in student papers and discussions in light of this PBL approach. And that tends to be the norm in multiple sections.

In the papers and in discussion, some focus on issues of nomenclature. That is, simply calling someone an illegal immigrant or alien versus an undocumented person or worker became a running theme in how we generally approach the idea of immigration from hope or fear and construct Otherness. Moreover, many students indicate that people decrying immigration as a source of limited resources (like lost jobs) or just a generalized problem were wrong. They illustrate that often they themselves or their friends (or parents!) do not really know all the facts. Students learn about the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) as well as the Immigration and Reform and Control Act (IRCA) and various current manifestations of immigration related policies. And they learn that the processes of immigration are so contoured and complex that it is nearly impossible to grasp the entire system unless it is fully studied; and that much of the problems are actually systemic problems (rather than the so-called influx of undocumented workers). Another trend seems to be the finding that immigration seems restricted during times of cultural unrest or fear and more open in good times. A common theme from students regards the tightening of immigration because of 9/11 and a general, phantom fear of anything foreign. For the third paper, and in consideration of fear, it is telling that many of the interviewees were quite mistrustful of the government generally and faced a great deal of discrimination, racial profiling, and general misunderstanding. Ultimately, the final positions in the position papers supported fairly open immigration policies, amnesty, support for DACA, passage of the Dream Act, and the like. I have never had a student go through this process, become more aware and then argue for tighter immigration policies. Therefore, students offered positions that actually aligned with the textbook's articulation of a "receptive perspective" versus a more ethnocentric perspective.

While I have no specific assessment statistics to share, I saw evidence of the efficacy of this PBL approach in student reactions like "I would have never learned about immigration if you had not asked us to do this" and things like "Don't change a thing. I'm so glad we did this. I knew nothing about it." Moreover, in one section I was quite fortunate to have an international student from Palestine who discussed her troubles of getting to the United States to study, even as she isn't in the process of immigration. As an instructor I always learn a great deal about immigration policy(ies) I did not know already; I become the student which is part and parcel of PBL.

My course is not pure PBL and I would encourage other instructors to take this same hybrid approach of covering typical Intercultural Communication course content supplemented by PBL and I think this process indeed did what I had hoped it would. I am a strong proponent of critical pedagogy and teaching against oppression. I can see how some instructors might see this approach as "too political" and it is indeed hard to face the paradox of tolerance. I guess there is always some sort of danger in opening up minds, but it sure is amazing how after students learn facts and become more aware of the nuances of an issue they tend to come to reasonable conclusions. The students saw the link between ways of viewing the world and public policy and how intercultural competence might change public policy for the good of all; this PBL approach potentially offers hope that tears down the wall of fear.

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Bringing Theory to Life: The Use of Autoethnography to Encourage Theoretical Understanding

Mary Beth Asbury and Jessica M. W. Kratzer

Students in theory-based communication courses are often unable to connect theory to lived experiences. This three-part assignment gives students the tools to learn communication theories by applying them to their lives. Specifically, students will take field notes on their communication interactions for a 24-hour period, write a summary paper about their experiences, and write a final paper that applies communication theories to the students' interactions. Upon completing this assignment, students have reported a clearer understanding of communication theories and a practical use for theory in their everyday lives.

Keywords: communication theory, autoethnography

Objective: The overarching purpose of this assignment is to help students understand theory and see how it applies to their everyday lives. By the end of the semester, students should be able to explain several communication theories and be able to apply them to their lived experiences. Through participating in an autoethnography of their own communication, students should be able to (1) understand communication theory, (2) see the value of communication theory, and (3) demonstrate the applicability of communication theory outside the classroom. Courses such as Interpersonal Communication, Communication Theory, Relational Communication, and any class that emphasizes theory can use this assignment.

Rationale

One of the benefits of studying and teaching communication is its applicability to everyday interactions, and "theories of interpersonal communication are the bedrock of many introductory textbooks designed for use in undergraduate courses on communication and communication theory" (Myers, 2014, p. 32). However, the term *theory* can often be off-putting and intimidating for students. Frequently, students view theory as something that is *obscure, abstract, and dull* and does not apply to their lives (Griffin, Ledbetter, & Sparks, 2015; Littlejohn & Foss, 2010; West & Turner, 2010). Communication theory textbooks (e.g., Griffin et al., 2015 and West & Turner, 2010) note that instructors face a particular challenge when teaching theory because they not only have to teach theoretical concepts in a clear way, but they must also overcome the stigma associated with theory (i.e., it is boring and hard).

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West and Turner (2010) suggest that one way to make theory more appealing is to show students how it applies to their everyday lives. While classroom examples can help students make these connections, students will remember and learn more when they can associate theories with their interactions outside of the classroom (Myers, 2014). This assignment seeks to help students apply their knowledge of theory by reflecting on previous interactions by using autoethnography. By understanding how to analyze their interactions using communication theory, students are better equipped to use theory in future interactions, helping them to understand how theory applies to their lived experiences.

Description of Assignment

The assignment consists of three parts that are facilitated throughout the semester. It uses autoethnography to help students understand, value, and demonstrate the applicability of communication theory in their lives. First, students must learn about autoethnography. Autoethnography is the use of autobiography and ethnography that allows a researcher to analyze their own lived experiences as a way to understand those experiences in reference to culture (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). To help students understand autoethnography, you can give them references to read and discuss in class. Sections of the sources we recommend are a great starting place for helping students understand autoethnography. These sources include: Ellis, 2004; Ellis, 2007; and Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011. We have found that using autoethnography allows students to learn about theory but also gives them the opportunity to examine their own communication habits and norms. We have designed a semester-long set of three assignments that allows students to move through the process of self-discovery and the realization of the usefulness of communication theory.

Assignment 1: Students are provided a detailed assignment sheet (Appendix A) that instructs them to choose a 24-hour period in which they keep a field note journal. In this journal, they must write down every single interaction they have over the chosen 24-hour period, including face-to-face, telephone, social media, etc. They are to write down whom they interacted with, the time, the subject, and feelings about the interaction. The students carry their journal with them at all times and write down the interactions as they happen; they should not just write down a summary at the end of the day. It is helpful to give students a guide they can use when taking their field notes (see Appendix B). Students can then print this guide and staple it together to use as their field note journal. Students then turn the field notes in for a grade. If the instructor feels that the field notes are inadequate, the instructor can ask the student to do them again, as the field notes set up the rest of the assignments. Adequate field notes include addressing all of the areas listed on the guide with details regarding what they talked about and the goal of the interactions. Students begin the second assignment after the field notes are graded and returned.

Assignment 2: Students are provided a detailed assignment sheet (Appendix C) that instructs them to write a 4-5 page paper that reflects on the communication experiences they had while taking their field notes. This reflection allows students to think about the interactions they had in order to better acquaint themselves with their communication habits and norms. The paper should address all of the questions listed on

the assignment sheet. This includes what their interactions were about, how often they communicated with others, if they communicated more or less than they expected, what times they communicated the most, how they felt after interactions, what they are satisfied with, and what they would like to change about their communication habits and norms. After the summary paper is graded and returned, students begin the last assignment.

Assignment 3: Students are provided a detailed assignment sheet (Appendix D) that asks them to choose three interactions and apply one theory for each interaction, not allowing any theory to be used more than once. The theories students are to use come from the textbook used in the class. We have used Interplay (Adler, Rosenfeld, & Proctor, 2014), and Interpersonal Communication (Floyd, 2011, 2016). Students first explain the interaction that they experienced, which often includes information about the relationship with the interactant and backstory that leads up to the specific interaction. Next, they describe the theory and cite a minimum of two sources for each theory (e.g., the textbook and an outside source). Lastly, they apply the theory to their interaction by analyzing the interaction based on the concepts of the theory.

For example, a student may describe an interaction they had with someone they recently met. The interaction could include discussion of just about anything, but let us say that they are talking about their schoolwork. The student will describe this interaction in a minimum of one full paragraph, then they will discuss the theory they would like to apply in an additional paragraph(s). Let us say they choose Social Penetration Theory (Altman & Taylor, 1973). The student will fully describe the theory citing both the course textbook and an outside source such as a journal article. Lastly, the student will apply the theory to their interaction. In this case, the student can discuss how they were initially talking about surface level items such as schoolwork because they were at the beginning of their relationship. They should use language from the theory, such as discussing the lack of breadth and depth with this interactant because they were newly acquainted. The student could also explain the current state of the relationship because they took the field notes a few months prior; have they shared more depth and breadth about themselves with this person or not, and what does that mean for their relationship? Students will do this sort of analysis for three of their interactions using a different theory to analyze each.

Debriefing

After each step of the assignment, students form small groups in class to talk about the benefits and challenges of the assignments. For the first step (i.e., taking field notes), they discuss how their experience either met or did not meet their communication expectations as well as the process of taking notes. For the second step (i.e., summary paper), students discuss what they noticed about their communication. For example, was the communication more positive or negative? In addition, what patterns did they see? For the final step (i.e., theory paper), the entire class gets into a circle and each person shares one interaction and the theory they applied to it. Then, they discuss how effective the entire process was and how it helped them understand interpersonal communication theories.

Results and Assessment

This assignment allows the students to take a theory and apply it to their circumstances. After doing this assignment, student participation increased because they could provide examples of theories and concepts. Students' grades on the final exam also improved because they understood the theories more thoroughly. In addition, this assignment goes well with the process of learning in a class. The first assignment, field notes, does not really require students to know a lot about communication. As the class progresses and new concepts are introduced, they start to *connect the dots* regarding communication concepts and their own lives. The theory component of the assignment allows students to bring everything in the class together. Overall, students have liked the assignment. In their final papers, the majority of them had a phrase such as, "I did not think I would like this assignment because theory is boring, but I realized that theory is actually useful to my life. I want to learn more."

Appraisal of Assignment

This assignment has primarily been used in the Interpersonal Communication class, but it could easily translate into any class that involves communication theory, such as Communication Theory, Family Communication, Organizational Communication, or Small Group Communication. In addition, this would be a suitable assignment for an online class because students are doing most of the work on their own and not in the classroom.

Appendix A

Autoethnography Assignment
Part 1: Field Notes

Due: At the beginning of class on the date marked on the course schedule

Points: 50

For this part of the assignment, you must take field notes of every single interaction you have for 24 hours. **Please note that you need to write down all of these interactions when or directly after they happen.** Thus, you will need to carry a notebook with you all day. Simply sitting down one night and reflecting on what happened during the day will not meet the requirements of the assignment. If someone talks/texts/emails/signs/nonverbally communicate, etc. or interacts with you in any other way, you must write it down. In addition, you must write down every time you talk/text/email/sign/nonverbally communicate. This must be done for 24 straight hours. **You must make note of the interactions right when they happen or directly after.**

To do this, you will keep a time log. For every interaction that you have, you need to write down the time it happened, where you were, who the interaction was with, what you talked about, the goal of the interaction (or what you believe it to be), and how long the interaction lasted.

For this assignment, interactions count as the following:

1. Initiated by you
    a. Face-to-face
    b. Voice-to-voice (phone)
    c. Written (text, email, iMessage, twitter, Instagram, Snap Chat)
    d. Social media (that you create or comment on - Facebook, Vine, etc.)
2. Initiated by others
    a. Face-to-face
    b. Voice-to-voice (phone)
    c. Written (text, email, iMessage, twitter, Instagram)
    d. Social media (that you create or comment on - Facebook, Vine, etc.

Your field notes should be extensive and should be hand written. You will turn in your handwritten notes (they do not have to be pretty) in class. **Please staple your pages together.**

Appendix B

Guide for Field Notes

Time:

Place:

Whom I interacted:

What we communicated about:

My perceived goal of the interaction:

Length of interaction:

Who initiated interaction:

Type of communication:

Appendix C

Autoethnography Assignment
Part 2: Summary

Due: Online - check course schedule for date/time

Points: 75

Pages: Approximately 4-5

Once your field notes have been graded and returned, you will use them to write a paper summarizing and reflecting on some of your interactions.

In the paper, you will need the following:

1. An introduction that clearly outlines the topic with a clear thesis and preview.
2. Body
   a. Summarize your interactions where you address the following questions
      i. What were most of your interactions regarding? Did you notice any patterns?
      ii. How often do you communicate with others? How often to others communicate with you?
      iii. At what times are you communicating the most?
      iv. Did you communicate more or less than expected?
      v. How did you feel after some interactions? Tired? Down? Happy? Energized? What made them feel that way?
      vi. How satisfied are you with the communication in your life based on this experience?
      vii. Is there anything you would like to change about your communication? What steps can you take to make those changes?
3. A conclusion where you summarize the paper and give concluding remarks.
   Make sure that you use headings to guide the reader regarding each topic in the body and the conclusion (this means that you should have a heading for each question you address – note that there are seven questions). In addition, make sure that you use correct grammatical form and structure.

Please note that as this paper is about *your* feelings about *your* interactions, it is not necessary to cite sources for this paper.

Appendix D

Autoethnography Assignment
Part 3: Theory Application Paper

Due: Online - check course schedule for date/time

Points: 100

Pages: Approximately 5-7

Once your summary has been graded and given back to you, you will now analyze your interactions in terms of theories. You gave value to what you experienced in the summary paper. For the current paper, you are going to analyze your experience in terms of some of the theories we have learned in the class.

In the paper, you will need the following:

1. An introduction that clearly outlines the topic with a clear thesis and preview.
2. Body
   a. Choose three interactions that you had during your experience (these could be big interactions or little interactions)
      i. Explain what happened during the interaction (act as if I have never read about this interaction before)
   b. Pick one theory for each of the interactions
      i. Explain the theory (again, act like I have no idea what this theory is; describe it thoroughly, define all terms, and cite a minimum of one outside source)
      ii. Tell me how this theory explains and relates to the interaction that you presented. Describe thoroughly.
3. A conclusion where you summarize the paper and reflect on your experience. Tell me what you learned about yourself and communication.
4. Make sure that you use headings to guide the reader regarding each topic in the body and the conclusion. In addition, make sure that you use correct grammatical form and structure.
5. You should cite both the textbook and one outside source (e.g., a journal article or different theory textbook) for each theory/interaction. Cite sources in APA style.

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Teaching Students to Gather, Interpret, and Present Information Graphically: An Exercise in Research, Data, and Infographics

Regina Luttrell

Visual representation of ideas is an effective alternative for presenting research comprised of significant amounts of information. Infographics have the ability to communicate topics more efficiently than traditional text; however, successful messaging relies heavily on the clarity and overall presentation of the infographic. This paper proposes an activity to assist students in learning how to communicate effectively through storytelling using data visualization and design by developing an infographic.

Keywords: Infographics, data visualization, teaching technology, effective communication

Courses: Introduction to Communication, Introduction to Mass Communication, Social Media, Introduction to Public Relations, PR Writing, Feature Writing

Objective: Offer a hands-on classroom activity that aids a students' ability to conduct research, critically evaluate the credibility of sources, understand ideas found within peer reviewed journal articles, newspapers, press releases, blogs, magazines, and research reports, in an effort to visually communicate their understanding of complex information.

Rationale

To be well-informed consumers and citizens, students need to both understand and be critical of graphically presented information.[1] We live in an age of incredible ubiquity regarding the diffusion of data. Research indicates that a need exists for the improved representational competence of young people[2], and developing their multimodal literacy is imperative.[3] The method by which people process and share information has significantly changed. Over the past two years alone, the creation of roughly ninety percent of worldwide data occurred.[4] The current output of data is roughly 2.5 quintillion bytes a day.[5] As the world continues the trend of increasing connectivity via electronic devices, it is becoming evident that communications practitioners need to find unique methods of representing qualitative or quantitative data in a concise, graphically designed package.[6]

Only a few years ago individuals created and shared information so rapidly that the sheer volume of content produced every two days eclipsed the entirety of information developed between the start of human civilization and the twenty-first century.[7] As a result, it has become increasingly difficult for communications professionals to capture

the attention of their intended audiences. The digital age has ushered in an information overload. One way to organize a significant amount of information is through visual representation and infographics.[8] According to Oxford Dictionaries, the definition of an infographic is "a visual image, such as a chart or diagram, used to represent information or data."[9] Randy Krum defines infographic as "visual representations of numerical values. Charts and graphs are data visualizations and create a picture from a given set of data."[10] Corporations, organizations, and companies use images and graphs to highlight data from their analyses, research reports, journal articles, press releases, and newspaper stories. Infographics are widely used to convey complex information in a concise, easy to understand format.

Despite their uncharacteristically long length, infographics have carved a prominent niche within the social sphere, and the public cannot seem to get enough of them. Prominently incorporated within a variety of media outlets, including newspaper publications and blogs to corporate and small businesses venues, most everyone is using infographics, and, indeed, there is a very good reason for that. Simply stated, the content resonates with the public. Research illustrates that ninety percent of information transmitted to the brain is visual[11] and that individuals are thirty times more likely to read infographics than text articles.[12] Infographics break information into short snippets and images that help the reader more easily interpret data or digest lengthy information.

The goal of this assignment is to teach students how to present vast amounts of information using graphical representation, while also building skills related to the increasingly important area of data and information literacy. This assignment requires students to research topics within their chosen field of study, inclusive of interpersonal and organizational communication, mass communications, journalism, feature writing, research, theory, mass media, public relations (PR), or social media (SM). Students may select research topics related to the history of public relations, communication theories/concepts, or other activities of interest to the student. Students will ultimately create a quality, publishable infographic directly associated with their field of study.

Activity

Activity Preparation

This activity requires approximately one week for completion (three one-hour sessions or two extended class sessions). The instructor should locate and print at least six infographics, representing both good and bad examples, and display them around the classroom in support of the associated lecture. The instructor should also bring several post-it note pads to class. The subsequent links provide relevant infographic examples:

1. https://graphicmama.com/blog/infographicic-design-trends-2018/
2. https://contentmarketinginstitute.com/2018/01/charts-infographicics-mistakes/

The following free web-based applications can support the development of infographics: Piktochart, Visme, Imgur, Canva, or Easel.ly, and can provide appropriate instruction in the design of infographics for students having had little previous graphic design experience. These platforms allow users to include videos or hyperlinks within

their infographic, embed charts or other interactive maps, and provide numerous design tools including a library of icons, fonts, and images. The image libraries are easy to use with icons and images organized by subject or areas of broad interest. Upon completion, students can save their infographic within the desired platform to support future editing. Export of final infographics support various file types including JPEG, PNG, or PDF file.

It is suggested that the instructor experiment with these platforms and create an infographic in order to become acquainted with the platforms that the students will be using. Familiarity will aid the instructor in answering student questions.

Procedure

Class Session 1: Prior to the instructional session wherein infographics are introduced, students should review the materials from their class assigned textbook, which may vary depending on the course. For example, instructors may consider using any of the following texts:

- *Storytelling with Data: A Data Visualization Guide for Business Professionals* by Cole Nussbaumer Knaflic
- *Infographics: The Power of Visual Storytelling* by Jason Lankow
- *Writing Feature Stories: How to Research and Write Articles - From Listicles to Longform* by Matthew Ricketson and Caroline Graham
- *Feature Writing: Telling the Story* by Stephen Tanner and Nick Richardson
- *From Memoir to Literary Journalism and Everything in Between* by Lee Gutkind

This instructors' preference is to use *Strategic Writing: Multimedia Writing for Public Relations, Advertising and More* (4th Edition) by Charles Marsh, David W. Guth, and Bonnie Poovey Short. To complement the reading material, students should also watch a video entitled "7 Common Types of Infographics" published by Easel.ly (http://bit.ly/infographiceasel), and the three part series from Visme that covers various the necessary components of creating infographics (http://bit.ly/vismepart1, http://bit.ly/vismepart2, and http://bit.ly/vismepart3).

At the beginning of class, the instructor should discuss how data, text, images, and tone play a critical role in developing infographics, and how, when combined appropriately, these elements create a fluid story. Turn the lecture into an interactive discussion by asking students the following questions:

- What their preferred method of information consumption is – do they read headlines, do they scan for bits of information, or do they read articles in their entirety;
- Which types of media attract and hold their attention;
- How multi-tasking impacts information they read;
- The types of data they understand the easiest; and finally
- How fonts, colors, and imagery contribute to their understanding of subject matter.

As the discussion progresses, convey to the students the notion that infographics break down information into "how" something is done by presenting the supporting data

in a graphical fashion. It is then appropriate to transition from the discussion to the class activity wherein students have the opportunity to evaluate various infographics displayed around the classroom.

For this portion of the lesson, the instructor should distribute post-it notes to the students and request that they walk around the classroom and comment/evaluate on the effectiveness of each infographic on display. In a traditional classroom, exhibit printed versions of infographics around the room. In a computer lab with access to digital monitors, the instructor can pull up examples of infographics to display on a class screen. As students participate in the exercise of commenting on image effectiveness, the instructor should continuously educate the class on the importance of balancing tone, text, data, and images within each infographic. As students complete the task of recording their comments on post-it-notes for each infographic, the class can then discuss their thoughts about each image. The instructor can use this conversation to educate the students on the various elements that make some infographics more effective than others. For example, instructors can discuss the structure, accuracy, reliability, depth, and functionality of each infographic. [13] By examining the infographics in this manner, students will begin to understand how infographics can convey complex messages. According to Husni and Saad, categories wherein infographics tend to fall include comparison, flow chart, timeline, process, image-based, data, narrative, metaphor, and combination.[14] Encourage students to identify and assign one of these categories to the infographics around the room, as well as the importance of selecting the one most appropriate to convey complex information most clearly.[15] Links to examples of some of these categories are as follows: http://bit.ly/comparisonSM, http://bit.ly/flowchartadv, http://bit.ly/informative0, and http://bit.ly/processinfographic.

As part of their homework for this class session, students should think about specific topics or issues that their infographic will support. For example, instructors teaching public relations may suggest infographic topics such as "PR Then & Now," "Protecting your Online Reputation," "Key Factors for Social Media Guidelines," "Elements in a PR Campaign," "How to Reach your PR and SM Goals," "10 Traits of a Social Media Pro," or even "5 Questions to ask when Hiring a PR Strategist."

Note that this list is easily amenable and modifiable to support other areas of interest. Instructors teaching journalism might include topics such as "Ethical Standards in Journalism" to "Various Ways to Exasperate a Journalist." Mass media instructors may suggest that students develop infographics highlighting "The Differences between Social Movements and the Media," "The Culture of Distraction," or the "Ownership of Media Outlets." Additionally, interpersonal communications instructors may be interested in seeing an infographic differentiate between linear models, interactive models, and transactional models of interpersonal communication or propose students identify "Ten Guidelines to Improve Perception and Communication." Students can also, of course, propose their own ideas for these classes and others. One of the greatest strengths of this assignment is that instructors can make modifications to fit the needs of the learning objectives of their course.

Class Session 2: Students are generally excited to complete this assignment and ready to jump right into creating their infographics. However, as with most projects, the process always begins with research. Students will use the first part of this class session to research their topic and identify the category that they plan to convey the material

visually. The Pew Research Center, Neilson, Institute for PR, industry specific peer-reviewed journals, and other professional based organizations are good places to start the research process. The instructor will need to aid the students in assessing the research findings for appropriate understanding and comprehension during the research process. It is important for the instructor and students alike to conduct ongoing assessments during the research process in order to refine a graphical outline for their infographic. Additionally, since the basis of this assignment relies on research, instructors should ensure that students follow citation rules when developing their infographics. Remind each student to capture citations correctly for any information that they will include within this assignment.

As each student progresses in developing their infographics, they should identify critical information, facts, and data for inclusion. This is also a good time to revisit the introductory examples discussed in the initial class period and review with students the necessary elements for composing a good infographic. This reminder will support students in determining which colors, layout, order, and workflow are best suited for the data they plan to present. The final projects should convey knowledge and information in a clear, simplistic, design-friendly manner in order to inform and engage with the audience.

Debrief

As students complete their individual infographic, they will share their project with the class through an informal discussion, focusing on issues relating to course concepts. Once the final student has presented, a larger class discussion should occur summarizing the key takeaways related to visual storytelling. A running aggregate of outcomes is useful to both the instructor and future classes as it captures elements of effective communication and provides students with additional examples of efficient content presentation.

Appraisal

This activity appeals to a wide range of learners. Students are not only engaged in the material, but are also encouraged to think creatively, critically, and analytically, while building a foundation of data information literacy. Today's student is fluent in multimedia and gravitates toward experiential and personalized learning, guided monitoring, and collective reflection.[16] This assignment challenges students to think, promotes freedom to research topics of interest, and incorporates practical principles used within the course material. Feedback previously received on this assignment indicates that students appreciate the flexibility to select their own topic as it relates to their field of study. Today's students require a more forward-thinking approach to learning as it relates to practice and application within the field of communications.[17] Allowing students to choose a topic that connects to their chosen profession exposes them to relevant components of their future careers. This activity provides the opportunity to apply a deeper understanding of course concepts that goes beyond what can be achieved through ordinary lecture alone. This basis of this assignment utilizes the hierarchical doctrines of Bloom's Taxonomy of cognitive domains, leveraging several learning standards

including the ability to understand content through creation, application of meaning, and interpretation/analysis of materials to construct an infographic.[18]

One variation of this assignment is to have students create a blog post that accompanies the infographic. Many communications, writing, public relations, and journalism courses now incorporate blog writing within the class requirements. Blogs can be an extension of this assignment because they allow students to not only identify important information, but also provide an outlet to record detailed observations related to their research. Limitations of this exercise may be the usability of the free platforms. Student feedback suggests that some of the free platforms available to create infographics are easier to use than others. This author encourages students investigate and navigate the usability of each platform before selecting one to create their infographic.

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