Carolinas Communication Annual

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“Instagram It” Introduction—Creating a Social Presence in the Online Classroom
Carrie R. McCormick, University of Mississippi

Building Teams Cohesion Through Meaningful Symbols
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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 2020 *Carolinas Communication Annual* will be announced in early spring 2020 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 would like to take a moment to introduce myself as the new editor of the *Carolinas Communication Annual.* I am the Director of Undergraduate Studies in the Department of Communication Studies at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro. My areas of interest lie in critical rhetoric and social movement. Throughout my career I have been lucky enough to work with amazing people who have helped me develop a research line that I am proud of, and who ultimately steered me toward my current role as the editor of our association’s journal. While editing any publication is often a daunting task, this particular work has challenged me in the most wonderful of ways and I am so pleased with the work we are offering our readership.

While I am excited to present this year’s journal, I also want to pay a moment of respectful reflection on the work of previous *Annuals*. I chose to begin this journal with articles that examine the present through artifacts that harken the words, symbols, and actions of the past. This organizational scheme seemed fitting, as in creating this year’s publication, I spent an ample amount of time examining past editions of the *Annual.* I would like to thank all of the previous editors for their contributions, and in particular, I am honored to take this position after the exemplary tenure of Melody Lehn who oversaw the publication of the *Annual* for three years prior to the 2019 edition. Melody passed on a wonderful project and eagerly shared templates, tips on the various “how-to-do’s” that come with the publishing process, and most importantly, advice and support. Thank you Melody. I could not have done this without you. I would also like to thank my colleagues in the Communication Studies Department at UNCG for their support.

The 2019 *Annual* is also the product of hard work from our scholarly contributors who presented thoughtful, reflective, and artful work. It was truly my pleasure to review it. I would also like to thank the editorial board members for their amazing and timely reviews. Their insight helped to create the rich and diverse articles we are able to offer in this year’s publication. It has also been a pleasure to work with the staff at Sun Solutions in Columbia, South Carolina. I appreciated their guidance as I embarked on my first year as editor. And of course, thank you to our association’s leadership for your support during this process. I appreciate your advice and willingness to share/talk through ideas, hiccups, and the other late-night realities that arise in all editing endeavors! Thank you.

Before I formally introduce the journal, I would also like to thank Jody Natalle from the University of North Carolina, Greensboro. Jody is a life-time member of CCA and introduced me to the conference when I first arrived at UNCG. Throughout her career, she has taken special care to bring young scholars under her wing. I will always remember where I was sitting when Jody asked me to co-edit our book, *Michelle Obama: First Lady, American Rhetor*. I was both ecstatic and terrified! However, that experience changed my career and my outlook on editing. Jody will retire from teaching soon, and while her presence will be missed, she showed many of us—particularly young women in academia—how to pass the torch. Thank you, Jody, for letting me carry that torch with you for awhile. It was a partnership I will always cherish.

Like past editions, the 2019 *Annual* is comprised of scholarship from a breadth of authors, both in and outside of the Carolinas. We also feature the work of those embarking on new careers and those bringing their academic scholarship and service to a close. The *Annual* has always maintained a rigorous double blind-review process, and each manuscript in this year's publication received the same attention. This year's journal begins with "White-washed and/or Blackfaced?: The Roles of Public Memory, Racial (Re)presentation, and White Guilt in Memorialization of Black Confederate Soldiers" by Carson S. Kay, a doctoral candidate from Ohio University. Kay's work examines the history of racial controversy as he reflects on the proposed erection of a statue honoring Black Confederate soldiers on South Carolina statehouse grounds. Following Kay's work, Susan Opt uses the rhetoric of social intervention to examine the controversy surrounding President Donald J. Trump's request for a military parade in her essay, "'That's Not Why We Do It' and 'That's Not Who We Are': U.S. Military Parades, Ideology, and Identity." Spoma Jovanovic and Vincent Russell examine the rich, deliberative, and democratic process of Participatory Budgeting in their essay, "Constructing Civic Competence through Storytelling: Local Knowledge and Public Consequences in Participatory Budgeting." Sarah Benton and Michaela D.E. Meyer explore the consequences of auteurs expanding their repertoire in "Paradoxically *For the People?*: Television Showrunning, Artistic Signatures, and Auteurs in Shondaland." Pavica Sheldon and Alexandra Wiegand look at the reasons people—in particular, young women—use social media in "'Am I as Pretty and Smart as She Is?' Competition for Attention and Social Comparison on Instagram." Deborah Breede and Margene Willis write about the pedagogical advantages mentoring brings to the communication classroom in, "Mentoring as Applied Communication Education." Continuing the theme of mentoring and high impact instruction, Michael G. Strawser, Shawn Apostel, Russell Carpenter, Kim Cuny, Kevin Dvorak, and Karen Head provide readers with best operating practices for communication centers in their essay, "The *Centrality* of the Center: Best Practices for Developing a Robust Communication Center on Campus." This year's articles culminate with a reflection on our region's communication past in the work of John S. Armstrong, who details the humble and important history of radio in South Carolina in his essay, "The Amateurs' Hour: South Carolina's First Radio Stations, 1913–1917." I am also pleased to introduce Beth Ann Paris Labadorf's debut publication: "Bilingual Language Accommodation: A Qualitative Study." Labradorf's work examines when, where, and why bilingual speakers chose to speak first and second languages.

The Carolinas Communication Association strives to honor the work of our membership's teachers in our "Special Focus on GIFTS INC (Great Ideas for Teaching Speech in the Carolinas)" section. Each of the GIFTS INC activities in this year's *Annual* asserts the value of thoughtful, intercultural evaluation in the communication classroom. Our special focus begins with "'Don't Stop the Music': Developing Creative and Critical Thinking Skills," by Rosalie S. Aldrich and Renee Kaufmann who have designed an activity that allows students to identify and explain key course concepts by analyzing musical lyrics. Jessica Welch, presents readers with a single-class activity that introduces students to the role of emotion in public speaking in, “Nonverbal ‘Charades’: Teaching the Power of Emotion in Public Speaking,” Carrie R. McCormick’s in class activity, “‘Instagram it’ Introduction—Creating a Social Presence in the Online Classroom,” is designed to assist students in creating identity through social media in an online class. We close the spotlight with Elizabeth Jeter’s “Building Teams Cohesion Through Meaningful Symbols.” Jeter employs student’s skills in design and teamwork development by exploring meaningful symbols in flags in her activity.

It is my great pleasure to introduce the 2019 *Annual* to our membership. Thank you to all who contributed your reviewing, editing, and emotional support.

Jenni M. Simon

Jenni M. Simon
University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Greensboro, North Carolina
September 2019

White-washed and/or Blackfaced?: The Roles of Public Memory, Racial (Re)presentation, and White Guilt in Memorialization of Black Confederate Soldiers

Carson S. Kay

Historically, South Carolina has constructed racial controversy. Since the state's secession from the Union in 1860, its legislature has ignited race-based tensions between White and Black citizenry. To address these tensions, South Carolina Representatives Bill Chumley and Mike Burns propose erecting a monument on statehouse grounds memorializing Black Confederate soldiers. By re-constructing public memory of the Confederate bodies, the representatives seek to honor voices silenced by the white-washed public memory of American history. Nevertheless, the question of whether this monument would give voice to Black Confederate soldiers or merely commodify their bodies has yet to be considered in contemporary scholarship. This essay reflects upon memorialization and public memory, the historical context surrounding Black Confederate soldiers, blackface minstrelsy, and white guilt to contemplate the appropriateness of a Black Confederate soldier monument on South Carolina Statehouse soil. By dissecting this proposed monument, I illustrate that rather than diversifying history, the proposed monument a) would fail to shift public memory of Black Confederate soldiers, b) would blackface white-washed history, and c) is a bandage of white guilt, not an ointment for healing racial wounds. The reconstruction of public memory would reinforce preexisting structure rather than reimagine meaning. Upon the completion of the critique, I suggest several rhetorical and critical research avenues to contribute to public memory literature and race relations in American culture.

Keywords: *Confederate, Public Memory, White Guilt, Blackface, Monuments*

Nestled between Sumter, Pendleton, Assembly, and Gervais Streets looms a large stone building. Evincing the architectural design of the First Renaissance Revival (Binette, 1997), the granite South Carolina Statehouse peers over the city of Columbia, casting a dark shadow over the smaller monuments upon the ground it resides. Although the 31 memorials surrounding the Statehouse shrink in stature (South Carolina State House, n.d.), several of the statues continue to spark far more controversy than the Statehouse due to their Confederate sentiments. A recent controversy, however, stems not from the monuments present, but from a monument proposed, a tribute to the estimated 350 Black soldiers who fought for the Confederacy (DeWitt, n.d.; Farrington, 2017).

The proposal rides the wake of another monument suggestion, in which South Carolina legislators Greg Gregory and Darrell Jackson called for a statue of Robert

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Carson S. Kay is a doctoral candidate, teaching assistant, and Assistant to the Graduate Director at Ohio University, School of Communication Studies. A version of this paper was delivered at the the 2019 Southern States Communication Association Annual Convention and was presented as part of the Top Student Paper Panel in Political Communication. The author thanks Dr. jw Smith for his guidance in conceptualizing this essay.

Smalls—a slave, Union soldier, and eventual Congressman—to grace the Statehouse grounds (Shain, 2017). However, instead of supporting this monument, thereby acknowledging the atrocities inflicted upon the Black community preceding, during, and following the Civil War, Republican Representatives Bill Chumley and Mike Burns purport that to truly represent history within Statehouse space, Black soldiers of the Confederacy must be recognized. As Burns notes, "The history is the truth and is being white-washed . . . [Black Confederate soldiers] deserve to be honored for what they did on behalf of South Carolina" (Shain, 2017, para. 5).

Were the proposal to pass, this Black Confederate memorial would become the 32nd monument on South Carolina Statehouse property (Shain, 2017) and join a tense conversation surrounding the placement and appropriateness of Confederate monuments on state soil. Over the past two years, material sentiments of the Confederacy have been hotly protested as tarnishes of governmental properties. Immediately following the racially-motivated Charleston Church Massacre of 2015, in which a White supremacist gunned down nine Black church congregants, states removed the Confederate flag from its position over the South Carolina, Virginia, and Alabama Statehouses (Marcos, 2016; McCrummen & Izadi, 2015), as well as the walls of the Rayburn House Office Building in the District of Columbia (Marcos, 2016; Steinhauer, 2015).

Like the flag, Confederate monuments—and recent calls to remove them—have sparked violent debate. Some cities, like Boston, quietly removed Confederate monuments from their parks. Others, like Charlottesville, Virginia, faced much harsher backlash. Just two years after the Charleston shooting, the proposed removal of a Robert E. Lee monument spurred an alt-right protest of White nationalists and a counter-protest of anti-racists. By the end of the night, at least 34 lay injured and one dead after a series of fights and after a car careened into the crowd of counter-protesters (Stolberg & Rosenthal, 2017). In response to the Charlottesville violence, government officials across the country began actively removing Confederate statues. As of August 16, 2017, cities in California, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Montana, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Texas, and Wisconsin had begun removing monuments (Bidgood, Bloch, McCarthy, Stack, & Andrews, 2017). In 12 states, cities have covered their monuments and/or are proposing the memorials' removal (Bidgood et al., 2017). In short, the appropriateness of Confederate memorialization is under heavy fire.

Although removing the monuments is partially economically motivated, as cities fear losing valuable tourism income (Courtney, 2017), city officials have insisted that removing the monuments is critical for public safety and racial healing (Bidgood et al., 2017). As Massachusetts Governor Charlie Baker declared, "We should refrain from the display of symbols, especially in our public parks, that do not support liberty and equality" (Bidgood et al., 2017, para. 9). To allow such structures to remain on government property is to imply the government not only supports, but glorifies America's history of racist atrocity.

The United States does honor Black Americans elsewhere. Monuments of Harriet Tubman (see National Park Service, n.d.d), Booker T. Washington (see National Park Service, n.d.a), George Washington Carver (see National Park Service, n.d.c), Charles Young (see National Park Service, n.d.b) and Martin Luther King, Jr. (see National Park Service, n.d.f) honor the trials, tribulations, and triumphs of Black Americans. Furthermore, Burns and Chumley's suggestion is not the first proposal for Black presence among Confederate memorialization. In the early 1990s, Richmond contemplated mounting a statue honoring Arthur Ashe among Confederate monuments on Monument Avenue (Horwitz, 1998). Nevertheless, one glaring discrepancy remains. Fifteen-hundred Confederate monuments stand on American soil, but few memorials exist for the millions who perished in the Africa-America slave trade and American Civil War, especially on behalf of the Confederacy (Dvorak, 2017; see National Park Service, 2015). The "lost cause" is remembered, yet the lives lost due to that cause are still unacknowledged in public memory. The veil, as Du Bois (1903) visualized, still separates White accounts of history from Black historical reality.

In light of race-based violence and lack of visual remembrance, a call for memorialization of the enchained has entered public discourse (Blumenthal, 2017; Hale & Chase, 2015; Roberts & Kytle, 2015). The 2016 opening of the National Museum of African American History and Culture is certainly an indication of progress (Johnson, 2017; National Museum of African American History and Culture, n.d.; Py-Lieberman, 2016), but it cannot be the sole solution to America's monumental race problem. Despite current attempts to mitigate the absence of Black slave memorials (Garnier, 2017), solutions combining the "lost cause" with the Black lives lost strike a sour chord. The solutions sounded questionable when the Heritage Preservation Association presented them in years past to "disassociate the Cause from slavery" (Horwitz, 1998, p. 251) and the solutions continue to miss the note. Although Representative Burns argues that "the history is the truth and is being white-washed" (Shain, 2017, para. 5), one cannot help but question whether memorializing Black Confederate soldiers is stripping history of white-wash or merely applying rhetorical blackface to an already ill-represented past.

In this article, I argue that rather than diversifying the White account of U.S. history, the proposed construction of a Black Confederate monument a) would fail to properly shift public memory of Black Confederate soldiers, b) would ultimately blackface white-washed history, and c) is really a white guilt-spurred bandage, not a step forward in healing racial wounds. Addressing this contemporary issue as such is critical for three reasons. First, while prior communication research on public memory (Aden, 2012; Blair, 2006; Foote, 1997; Zelizer, 1995), monuments (Dunn, 2017; Gallagher & LaWare, 2010; Lavrence, 2005; Schmitt, 2015), and white guilt (Nakayama, 2017; Wander, Martin, & Nakayama, 1999) exists, limited work has socially critiqued all three components within the context of contemporary racial (in)justice in the Southern states. This work begins that conversation in the discipline. Second, too much emphasis is placed upon the mere presence of Black memorials rather than the appropriateness of those monuments. This article emphasizes that the motivation behind memorialization matters. Third, as racial tensions continue to rise in the U.S., conversations surrounding monuments are not likely to reach a resolution any time soon. Therefore, it is vital to identify the potential consequences of erecting monuments that fail to provide more than face-value to current issues. Consequently, the monuments appearing on Statehouse grounds may be both warranted and worthy historical representations.

Delgado and Stefancic's (2017) critical race theory will influence this essay as a theoretical undercurrent to underline "the relationship among race, racism, and power" (p. 3). Furthermore, this work draws upon four previously established research areas—monuments and public memory, history of Black Confederate soldiers, blackface minstrelsy, and white guilt to set the stage for this social critique. After reviewing the literature, I explain the proposed monument's potential abilities to shift memory, address claims of white-washed American history, and evoke social change. Finally, this article puts forth suggestions regarding how rhetorical critics might evaluate material attempts to heal racial tensions.

Monuments and Public Memory

Monuments and memorials have long functioned in preserving history. One set of well-known memorials, "sites of remembrance" (National Park Service, n.d.g), includes structures commemorating wars and veterans. According to the National Park Service (n.d.g), the United States currently houses 20 military parks, 18 battlefields, 14 historic sites, 14 national cemeteries, 11 national monuments, and nine memorials dedicated to those who fought in the French & Indian War, the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican-American War, the American Civil War, the American Indian Wars, World War II, the Cold War, the Korean War, and the War in Vietnam. This count does not include the countless local and state structures honoring war heroes.

Material and textual framing of war reflects the rhetorical intentionality of authorities in commentating on symbolic structures. Warfare is wrought with pain and deception that is memorable for its visceral realities. Thus, official figures seek to (re)frame public recollection to emphasize the glory and valor of victory rather than the raw realities of the battlefield. Essentially, American monuments manifest "to recontextualise [sic] the realities of war and soldiery, suppressing much of what comprises war, avoiding any critical stance, while fostering celebratory discourses of nation, protection and noble sacrifice" (Abousnnouga & Machin, 2011, p. 322). In other words, monuments selectively represent history.

This selectivity is a prominent part of public memory. The absence of certain historical facts is not an indication of insensitive national forgetfulness (Dickinson, Blair, & Ott, 2010), but rather a distinct political choice (Kitsch, 2017). The past is recalled in ways that align with individual's ideologies (Bodnar, 1992) and political aspirations (Browne, 1999). Alternatively stated, people remember that which aligns with their perception of the world. Typically, those memories are limited as "complex histories in condensed form" (Kitsch, 2017, p. 422). Rather than reflecting the unresolved atrocities plaguing contemporary society, American memorialization recollects accomplishments of the past, the finished chapters of history, while leaving unfinished business out of the imagery (Browne, 1990; Dickinson, Blair, & Ott, 2010; Kitsch, 2017). In the words of Kitsch (2017), "As some aspects of past memories are portrayed and commemorated, others are deflected" (p. 422). After all, national nightmares hold no American pride.

This selective (re)framing and (re)contextualization of public memory exemplifies how governmental entities hold power over representation. In other words, memorials partially function in controlling the public's conceptualization of past events by indicating which people, places, and historical predicaments deserve reverence and remembrance (Browne, 1990; Kitsch, 2017). When a monument is constructed, the entity is symbolically maintained at the forefront of the public eye. As such, its symbolic significance to American culture heightens, for no event unworthy of memory would hold such a prominent, physical place in our day-to-day lives. The selective memorialization allows those in political power to influence public discourse about

American history and thus control the national narrative. This control is not dissimilar to that of news organizations; memorials do not dictate how individuals should interpret them, but their presence does demand they be acknowledged (see McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Consequently, memorials are reminders that authorities may not tell citizens what to think, but they surely influence what citizens think *about* (see McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

Indeed, memorials function as both (re)enforcers of approved historical narrative and reminders of the power differential between the government rhetor and citizen audience. These functions largely arise due to the undeniable physicality of governmentally sanctioned memorials. It is this physical materiality that (re)shapes public memory of the past. Components as simple as the size, height, and material contribute to the monuments' ability to communicate with observers (O'Toole, 1994). Take, for example, the Lincoln Memorial (see National Park Service, n.d.e). Its very construction is designed to encourage individuals to acknowledge its looming presence and reflect upon its meaning. In a sense, the physical attributes of monuments serve to grab attention, remind of a specific person and/or circumstance, and reinforce the dominant historical narrative.

Black Soldiers of the Confederacy

In fact, the proposed monument seems to integrate a lost plotline into the dominant narrative, for Black Confederate soldiers have not received national recognition for their service. However, it is vital to recognize that the very existence of Black Confederate soldiers is muddled in contradiction, controversy, and considerable uncertainty (see Musick, 2012). Reports indicate that Black slaves contributed to the Confederate cause through mining, construction, and farming (Levine, 2006), but some argue that Black bodies also occupied Confederate camps as soldiers (see Ireland, 2011; Glatthaar, 1990). Even though Black men would have comprised less than 1% of the Confederate army, this argument unfortunately allows neo-Confederates to insist the Civil War was about states' rights, not slavery (Ireland, 2011). The existence of Black Confederate bodies feeds into a narrative that smooths over the South's human rights violations by focusing on a more politically sterilized script. Still, the alleged double-bind that these Black soldiers would have faced reveals the stains the said script covers. Namely, if Black Confederates existed, their decision to fight may not have been of true loyalty to the Confederacy, but to increase their social status and to avoid re-enslavement (Glatthaar, 1990; Ireland, 2011). Were Black soldiers to have fought for the Confederate army, they would be the only 1% forced to fight for their suppressors.

However, it is quite possible they did not fight at all. University of South Carolina professor emeritus Walter Edgar maintains there is no evidence of Black soldiers fighting for the Confederacy in South Carolina (Criss, 2018; Wilkinson, 2017). In fact, Confederate law allegedly forbid Black slaves from operating and/or owning firearms until 1865 and South Carolina's Department of History and Archives holds no record of Black Confederate soldiers receiving compensation for their service (Wilkinson, 2017). One of the earliest collections of African American Civil War contributions, Joseph T. Wilson's (1890) *The Black Phalanx,* relays tales of Black Confederate soldiers surrendering to Union regiments, but the collection provides few details of the Black soldiers. More information is available about legislation *allowing* for Black enlistment than of the actual *presence* of Black Confederate soldiers. Bell Irvin Wiley (1938) explains that South Carolina passed an act on December 23, 1703 permitting slaves to bear arms in the event of an invasion. The law declared it

> lawfull for any master or owner of any slave, in actual invasion, to arme and equipe any slave or slaves, with such armes and ammunition as any other person by the act of the militia are appointed to appear at muster or alarums . . . if any slave shall in actual invasion kill or take one or more of our enemies . . . he shall have and enjoy his freedom. (McCord, 1875, p. 33)

The presence of legislation permitting Black bodies to fight on behalf of the Confederacy does not mean those bodies actually stood on the frontlines. In fact, incomplete and conflicting records of the number of Black soldiers in the Confederate army have evoked skepticism (Musick, 2012). Although Wiley (1938) details that numerous conversations arose regarding the recruitment and forced enlistment of Black slaves, he notes that

> there seems to be no evidence that the Negro soldiers authorized by the Confederate Government ever went into battle . . . [which] gives rise to the question as to whether or not any Negroes ever fought in the Confederate ranks. (p. 160)

There is also little evidence suggesting that free Black companies organized individually (Wiley, 1938). While "slave labor did . . . prove essential to the Confederate war effort" (Levine, 2006, p. 62), little evidence supports the claim that Black slaves fought for the Confederate States of America.

History of Blackface

The absence of Black bodies in historical evidence troubles Confederate memorialization, as it both weakens the basis for monument construction and reflects that Confederate forces maintained racial hierarchies. Nevertheless, while the antebellum era is a prominent reflection of racial inequality in the United States, it is far from the first. In fact, White appropriation of Black bodies and culture traces back to the Renaissance era of the 1820s, in which blackface minstrel burlesques manifested as choice carnivalesque entertainment. During these performances, White men covered their faces with burnt cork or charcoal paste and imitated the music, dances, and behaviors of Black folk, essentially forming parody spectacles of Black culture (Moody, 2016). The rhetorical choices made by the actors ultimately suggested that Black people were unintelligent and jester-like (Lott, 1993). Due to the popularity of these performances, the stereotypes became seen not as caricature nor parody, but as truthful representation of the race. Even today, "the visuals (and symbols) associated with the depiction of black stereotypes has become commonplace in film and television thus creating 'black iconography' that has resulted in White America developing preconceived notions regarding black culture" (Moody, 2016, p. 90). Through White-dominating entertainment, representations become racial reality.

In practice, blackface minstrelsy was the White man's temporary acquisition of the Black body for theatrical entertainment. However, much deeper meaning is beneath the blackface mask. In dictating the dominant representation of the Black race, White men painted oppressive racial hierarchy as logical (Lott, 1993; Moody, 2016). Blackface minstrelsy allowed White actors and publics to socially construct fantasies of Black culture and thereby solidify their preconceptions of the people within. Ultimately, through blackface, White men (re)enforced the social rules of racial hierarchy by creating their own evidence to support racial inequality as sound social praxis.

The Black community's reaction to this "sound social praxis" was one of disdain. Black folk, like Frederick Douglass, condemned blackface as "the filthy scum of white society, who have stolen from us a complexion denied to them by nature, in which to make money, and pander the corrupt taste of their fellow white citizens" (*The North Star*, 1848, as noted in Lott, 1993, p. 15). Blackface was seen as belittlement of Black folks' experiences and tribulations, while its medium—the minstrel performance—was deemed racist propaganda. After all, blackface minstrelsy intercepted nearly all facets of White life. Its continued misrepresentation slandered the Black race's cultural identity.

However, blackface was not just smearing the lives of Black folk. Politically, it justified acts of inhumanity. Through performative caricature, White men justified the existence of slavery "by pretending that slavery was amusing, right, and natural" (Lott, 1993, p. 4). Blackface minstrelsy normalized abuse and oppression, while robbing the Black community of their racial and cultural identities, reflecting what W. E. B. Du Bois (1903) would declare years later: Black folk have no self. All that they possess is the image and identity assigned to them by the dominant culture. In short, blackface allowed White men to dominate the Black community by symbolically illustrating a) that their racial identity may be borrowed and wiped away at any given moment, b) that they possess no unique identity out of the White man's powerful reach and brushstroke, and c) that consequently, they reasonably exist below White society, as they have no sense of self exclusive from that which White culture dictates. All that Black folk do, blackfaced White men can seemingly do better.

White Guilt

Blackface is explicit racism. Although blackface minstrelsy is no longer a common White entertainment outlet, explicit racism is far from extinguished. Nevertheless, many White Americans are ashamed of their ancestor's acts against the Black race during the nineteenth century. White Americans now experience something known as white guilt, "the vacuum of moral authority that comes from simply knowing one's race is associated with racism" (Steele, 2006, p. 24). White guilt is an ever-lingering sensation of shame experienced by those of the White race and American nationality who acknowledge the atrocities their race historically dealt upon the Black population. The recognition of association both empowers and constrains White agency. On one hand, this guilt motivates one to compensate for one's race's historical wrongdoings and reflects a shift in racial ideology. Nevertheless, white guilt simultaneously prohibits the White race from engaging in discourse and action about race. Acknowledging one's people's racism requires one to "lose moral authority over everything having to do with race, equality, social justice, poverty, and so on," which consequently leads to the transferring of authority “to the ‘victims’ of historical racism and becomes their great power in society” (Steele, 2006, p. 24). In other words, to admit one’s race’s involvement in past oppression—such as through blackface—is to lose all ethos in speaking on the matter. That authority is redistributed to the race affected by historical wrongdoings, which heightens its members' power. Thus, white guilt leads to the transference of rhetorical power from dominant suppressor to those historically oppressed. Ironically, the blackface act of White dominance used to justify racial suppression would actually become the justification for silencing White culture on race-related issues. The way White culture speaks about others may foreshadow that dominant group’s silencing in the future, for as Alim and Smitherman (2012) recall, “language is loaded with power . . . the way we talk can either grant or deny us access to social, political and economic opportunities” (p. 2). In the words of Steele (2006), “white guilt is quite literally the same thing as black power” (p. 24).

Critique of the Proposed Monument

At this point, we hold a stronger conceptualization of four theoretical and historical components: memorialization and public memory, history of Black Confederate soldiers, blackface minstrelsy, and white guilt. These conceptual explanations allow me to critique the appropriateness of the proposed Black Confederate monument in South Carolina. More specifically, I shall evaluate the proposed monument’s ability to shift public memory, the monument’s potential relationship with blackface, and the influences of American white guilt on this potential monument.

Memory Shifting

The first area of consideration is the proposed memorial’s ability to shift public memory. The legislators calling for commemoration claim that current history curricula and conversations are white-washed representations of history that fail to address inherent complexity. More specifically, these South Carolina representatives condemn the omission of Black Confederate soldiers in public memory. South Carolina State Representative Mike Burns argues that these soldiers “were freed men who actually chose to fight because they thought the South was being oppressed,” and laments that “it’s a shame our third- and fifth-graders don't get to hear this side of the argument” (Shain, 2017). Thus, erecting a monument on South Carolina Statehouse grounds would illustrate reverence of the alleged 1% and challenge the pre-existing narrative about the Confederate army. In sum, Representatives Burns and Chumley seek to upset contemporary conceptualization of the Confederate forces, question current discourse surrounding the Civil War’s motivation, and reframe public perception by reminding Americans that Black Confederate soldiers existed.

Burns and Chumley accurately criticize U.S. history for lacking diverse perspectives and experiences. However, they fail to acknowledge the controversy surrounding whether Black Confederates existed. Even if Black men fought for the Confederacy, Burns and Chumley overlook the manner in which Black soldiers may have been enlisted into the Confederate army. If Black Confederate soldiers fought, they likely did not fight out of Southern love and loyalty, but for fear of what might have happened if they refused (Steele, 2006). This, however, is not the public memory Burns and Chumley wish the nation to recall. It is one they wish to selectively divert from the public's attention. Despite their argument that Black Confederate soldiers deserve to be memorialized, Burns and Chumley do not wish for *all* parts of them to be honored. Their bodies should be preserved, but their minds, their experiences, and their motivations for acting should remain buried with the innumerable slaves who remain unrecognized. Burns and Chumley do seek to modify public memory, for their proposal reflects a desire to both portray certain aspects of history while deflecting others (Kitsch, 2017). However, their criticism of white-washed history is invalid support for their argument because their suggested solution is functioning identically to historical white-washing. They abide by "the idea that one can use words to undo the meanings that others attach to these very same words" or, in this case, monuments (Delgado & Stefancic, 1992, p. 1258). Although their proposed monument would bring awareness to Black men's choices to become Confederate soldiers, it would simultaneously suppress the coercive reasons behind that choice and be used to further the argument that emancipation was not the motivation behind the Civil War. Ultimately, this monument would provide naught but a watered-down representation of Black contributions to American society. The inclusion of Black folk does not reverse white-washed historical accounts unless it acknowledges the Black community's entire story. Therefore, while framed as a liberating step forward in healing racial wounds through historical inclusion, the construction of a Black Confederate monument would merely contribute to a white-washed narrative in which Black folk make a brief appearance. The monument would fail to expose how and why Black slaves and freed men fought for their captors—if they did—and thus would provide but face-value to both the commemoration of Black folk during the Civil War era and the diversification of U.S. history.

Blackfacing History

This empty inclusivity leads to another area of consideration: the blackfacing of history. Burns and Chumley's entire narrative is grounded in the need to un-white-wash American history and allow minority contributions to be appreciated. Nevertheless, a quick trip back to the historical context of both the Black Confederate soldier's questionable existence and blackface minstrelsy reveals that the narrative would fall flat were the monument to be erected. Those who maintain that Black folk fought for the Confederacy argue they joined for one of two reasons. They were either slaves forced to contribute to the armed initiatives or they were freed men who feared not joining would result in severe social repercussions (Glatthaar, 1990; Ireland, 2011). Enlisting was not a choice if one had any hope of surviving the Civil War South. Despite this, the purpose of the monument is not to remind Americans of past social injustice. Rather, it is to simply acknowledge that Black folk fought for the South, to use their race to make a political point.

This alone challenges this monument's functionality, whether it would represent the *constructed* Black lives *honored* to fight or the *true* Black lives *forced* to fight. After all, "how we frame [categories and subgroups of people] determines who has power, voice, and representation and who does not" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 62). Regardless of whether Black folk actually fought for the Confederacy, the oversight of the problematic enlistment influences leads one to question the motivation of the South Carolina representatives. Do they truly seek to give voice to the Black community through political remembrance or do they intend to construct a physical rationale for the argument that the Civil War was spurred by states' rights rather than by slavery?

Furthermore, one might return to the origination of blackface when reflecting upon the appropriateness of a Black Confederate soldier monument. Recall that by perpetuating stereotypes as truth, blackface minstrelsy allowed *White men* to (re)enforce racial hierarchies by perpetuating stereotypes as truth and *to normalize practices of racial inequality*. Alternatively stated, blackface allowed dominant, White power to use Black folk's own race against them, to secure established social praxis rather than advocate for social revolution. Burns and Chumley both claim this monument would give these soldiers the historical recognition they deserve. However, they focus solely on the *presence* of Black folk, not the *reason* they were present. By presenting Black Confederate soldiers as individuals who stood up for their statehood, Burns and Chumley practically white-wash their own attempt to challenge white-wash. Alternatively stated, by failing to acknowledge the injustice which calls for this memorial, Burns and Chumley present Black folk as equal members of Southern society who held agency to choose to fight. This, however, is simply not historically accurate, leading one to wonder if the entire purpose of this proposition is to use the Black race to further a post-racial agenda countering the account of the Civil War as sparked by racial injustice. One must question if Burns and Chumley are reflecting "the belief that one can change a narrative by merely offering another, better one – that the reader's or listener's empathy will quickly and reliably take over" (Delgado & Stefancic, 1992, p. 1258). In other words, one must wonder if these two White men are smearing blackface on history to give the illusion of racial progress while simultaneously supporting neo-Confederate sentiment.

White Guilt

Although Burns and Chumley's proposal may reflect a commitment to antebellum ideals, another feeling may be influencing their rhetorical choice of monument: white guilt. As previously established, white guilt is the feeling of shame White individuals experience due to their ancestors' acts of violence toward the Black race. A brief reflection reveals the potential presence of white guilt spurring Burns and Chumley's proposal. Both representatives are White men who—in the 19th century—may very well have observed minstrel shows for entertainment. While Burns and Chumley have likely never attended blackface minstrelsy performances themselves, their proposal suggests they feel the residual shame in admitting their predecessors contributed to Black stereotyping. As such, their proposal may be a conscious attempt to temper their guilt. Their call for the monument—to remember Black soldiers just like White soldiers—signifies the transference of power from dominant White to suppressed Black citizenry. Indeed, the authors may perceive their proposition as one that benefits both Black and White Southern communities by identifying a common tie. Nevertheless, white guilt disempowers Burns, Chumley, and their proposal. This monument would not be built to honor the Black men who fought for the Confederacy. It would be an offering to the conscience, an attempt to mitigate the sting of white guilt. Only when all aspects of the Black people's struggles are fully acknowledged by the White population and properly represented in memorial form will strides in racial healing outweigh the innate presence of white guilt within those in attendance.

Conclusion & Future Research

In summary, Burns and Chumley's proposal for a Black Confederate soldier monument on the South Carolina Statehouse property is improper for three reasons. First, the monument would glorify the Black body's presence rather than acknowledge that body's motivation for becoming a Confederate soldier, thereby failing to shift public memory toward the legitimate trials Black soldiers faced during the Civil War. Second, the memorial would allow neo-Confederate ideology to blackface history under the guise of racial progress. Third, despite its stated intentions, the memorial would serve more as a guilt-ridden peace offering than a testament of true racial healing. Essentially, to create this monument would be to blackface white-washed history instead of stripping it back to its accurate roots.

From these conclusions arise three research agendas in need of further inquiry. For starters, there exists room in the field of communication studies for work combining public memory, monuments, and white guilt. All three areas are individually marked by significant research; public memory (Aden, 2012; Blair, 2006; Foote, 1997; Zelizer, 1995), monuments (Dunn, 2017; Gallagher & LaWare, 2010; Lavrence, 2005; Schmitt, 2015), and white guilt (Nakayama, 2017; Wander, Martin, & Nakayama, 1999) are not without prior academic consideration. Nevertheless, in today's heated climate surrounding racial identity and political belonging, work interweaving public memory, memorialization, and white guilt within the context of social justice in the Southern states *today* is quite timely. This is a gap in literature that should be further explored by rhetorical and critical scholars to better understand the genuineness behind acts identified as racially healing.

This idea of genuineness leads to the second area in need of exploration: motivation of memorialization. Presence of Black memorials does not equate with appropriateness of these structures, for if the memory they pitch to the public fails to tell Black truth, these monuments are but agents in the continuation of white-washed history and contorted public memory. Motivation behind memorialization matters, so rhetorical scholars might delve into the stated proposals and reasoning behind memorial construction to critique whether such monuments would truly achieve their suggested goals.

Third, racial tension is running high in contemporary America. From the heightened prominence of the alt-right nationalist movement to the continued enforcement of minority stereotypes by federal government officials and citizens, the country desperately needs to improve race relations. Discussions surrounding Civil War memorials are sites of hotly contested opinion. It is this heated debate that calls for evaluation of monuments from a critical communicative perspective. Namely, it is vital that scholars examine both existing and proposed structures, reflect upon the context monuments address and the context in which they currently reside, and establish the social consequences of erecting and/or leaving face-value monuments to ensure the memorials Americans cherish are worthy representations of suppressed minorities and their historical challenges. Perhaps then we may truly strip away the White strokes hiding history instead of slapping on Black paste and hoping it adheres to the minds of the American people.

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"That's Not Why We Do It" and "That's Not Who We Are": U.S. Military Parades, Ideology, and Identity

Susan K. Opt

In 2018, President Trump advocated an alternative symbolic reality in which he named a U.S. military parade as an "appropriate" way to reify U.S. ideological tenets and its identity of "greatness." In response, various U.S. stakeholders promoted rejection of President Trump's renaming attempt because it did not fit their ideological assumptions regarding "appropriate" purposes for holding a military parade and ways for enacting the U.S. identity of "greatness." Their differences about whether to hold a U.S. military parade was more than a consideration of cost, resources, and appreciation, but a matter of stakeholders attempting to reify U.S. ideology and identity more "perfectly." In all, the study serves as a reminder that "appropriateness" simply reflects our choices in how we constitute symbolic reality.

Keywords: *Military Parade, Rhetoric of Social Intervention, Naming, National Identity*

In July 2017, President Donald Trump was the guest of honor at France's annual Bastille Day military parade. Two months later, Trump mentioned the possibility of holding a similar parade in the United States (Abrams, 2017; Woolf, 2017). However, his remark received little coverage in U.S. media until February 2018, when the media learned that in January, Trump had told Pentagon officials that he wanted a military parade "like the one in France" and had directed them to start preparations (Jaffe & Rucker, 2018). On rare occasions, the United States has held military parades to celebrate war victories, holidays, or inaugurations (Keith, 2018). But, in general, the country has shied away from organizing such events because it historically has deemed them as "demonstrations of force" that are non-fitting with its democratic ideology (Keith, 2018; McDowell, 1974; Orzeata, 2014; Sørensen, 2017). Furthermore, Trump's initial talk about the parade as a "show of our military might" sounded characteristic of an authoritarian regime's event (Devaney, 2017, para. 5). As a result, numerous U.S. stakeholders of various political party affiliations responded to Trump's endeavors by intervening rhetorically to encourage rejection of his naming proposal, and by extension, the military parade plan.

The disagreement about the meaning to attribute to a military parade presents an opportunity to extend knowledge about U.S. military parades in general. Perhaps because of their infrequency, scholars have not attended to them. When they have studied military parades in other countries, they have focused on their functions for internal and external audiences and not on the symbolic processes by which stakeholders constitute meaning for them (e.g., Gong, 2013; Hwang & Schneider, 2011; Sørensen, 2017). Thus, the differences

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also offer an opportunity to explore the communication process human beings enact to constitute, maintain, and change a meaningful symbolic reality. Highlighting this process reminds us that our assumptions about "appropriateness" simply reflect choices in how we constitute symbolic reality, that military parades or any experience mean only what we act as if they mean.

This study draws upon the rhetoric of social intervention model (RSI) (Brown, 1978, 1982) as a lens through which to explore the symbolic meaning-making process generating the concept of "military parade." More specifically, it argues that various U.S. stakeholders promoted rejection of President Trump's symbolic categorization of military parades because it did not fit their ideological assumptions regarding "appropriate" purposes for holding a military parade and ways for enacting the U.S. identity of "greatness." The analysis highlights the communicative actions stakeholders undertook when they encountered a version of symbolic reality that seemed at odds with their rendering and the symbolic process they enacted in their attempt to negate that alternative. In all, in choosing how to name a military parade, the interveners were attempting to more "perfectly" make real tenets of U.S. ideology and its identity as "great."

The essay begins with a brief overview of the RSI approach followed by a short summary of scholarly literature about parades and a discussion of text selection. Next, it summarizes Trump's initial 2017 talk about a parade to show the symbolic reality he was advocating. Then it analyzes the rhetorical interventions that occurred in 2018 as Trump's proposal began to take on concrete form. The essay concludes by considering implications of the parade-related symbolizing and the rhetorical intervention process.

An RSI Approach

The rhetoric of social intervention (RSI) (Brown, 1978, 1982) approach highlights the communicative process by which we create, maintain, and change "symbolic reality." The RSI framework is based on the assumption that we constitute reality symbolically by "naming," or transforming sensed and non-sensed experience into symbolic categories so as to communicate with and form relationships with others (Brown, 1978). Naming enables us to create diverse symbolic realities that seem to their adherents to give order and meaning to the apparent "chaos" of life (Brown, 1978; Opt & Gring, 2009). We constitute names discursively by negotiating the "criterial" or "defining" attributes that comprise the names and then acting "as if" these attributes make "real" the symbolic categories (Brown, 1978). Thus, naming creates expectancies that these criterial attributes will be present in and suggests an "appropriate" response to a named experience (Brown, 1978). For instance, if a person names the actions of a group of people walking in a pattern down a street "a parade," then that person also attributes meaning to the group's actions and expects it will act a certain way. At the same time, another person could name the actions "a protest," creating an alternative symbolic reality and expectations about the group's behavior.

Besides naming day-to-day experience, we also constitute and negotiate superordinate names, or ideologies, that give us a sense of having a whole or complete understanding for and expectancy about all of life (Brown, 1978). For example, underlying the social conversations that generate U.S ideology is the assumption that our lives and world can be made better or "perfected" (Opt & Gring, 2009), reminiscent of Burke's (1966) definition of human beings as "rotten with perfection" (p. 16). In our day-to-day talk, we debate and reason about interpretations regarding the most "appropriate" way to enact our symbolically constituted reality (Opt & Gring, 2009). For instance, we might name "healthier food" as the way to improve and perfect life or "arming teachers" as the means to better students' educational experience by providing a safer environment.

The RSI critic focuses on the communication process by which various stakeholders, in their talk and actions, intervene rhetorically to promote and hinder the attribution of particular names or constructions of symbolic reality (Brown, 1978; Opt & Gring, 2009). The RSI model views "stakeholders" as any person or group who has a stake or share in negotiating or choosing symbolic reality, and, by extension, shaping a social system's future (Brown, 1978; Opt & Gring, 2009). Prompting these stakeholder interventions is an assumed innate human need to make sense of apparent "imperfections" or "anomalies" that result when name-prompted expectancies are violated (Brown, 1978; Opt & Gring, 2009). For example, what if the "parade" participants begin attacking police officers? What if we eat "healthier foods," but our blood pressure rises? What if "arming teachers" to create a safer environment results in reduced funding for teachers' aides, thus impacting the quality of students' educational experience? Thus, the RSI critic analyzes the rhetorical attention-switching process we enact in the attempt to account for anomalies and preserve a sense-making symbolic reality.

To compensate for anomalies, we shift how we abstract symbolically to make the apparent "imperfection" of our symbolic reality seem to disappear (Opt & Gring, 2009). To do this, we might attempt to shift attention to an alternative name that we reason makes "better" sense of and creates predictability about life (Brown, 1978, 1982; Opt & Gring, 2009). The naming shift alters symbolic reality by also shifting interpretations of needs and power (Brown, 1978), which become "visible" in social system change. For example, if a person shifts to naming "healthier foods" as the means to achieve a better life, then the person will perceive a reduced need for "junk" food and an increased need for "wholesome" food. The person's interdependency with fast food restaurants will decrease, but increase with health food stores, resulting in social system shifts. Alternatively, to compensate for anomalies, we might attempt to hinder a shift of attention by revising the criterial attributes that constitute the naming (Opt & Gring, 2009). For instance, the attributes generating "parade" could be adjusted to include "challenging social hierarchy," creating the expectancy that attacks on police could occur during an event named "parade."

Overall, the RSI approach leads the critic to attend to how we constitute and shift our interpretations of "reality." In addition, as will be seen in the review of parade literature, it directs attention to how concepts, such as "parade" are constructed symbolically.

Parade Literature

In an historical overview of U.S. parades, Ryan (1989) found that in the 1800s, U.S. society tended to constitute "parade" as "a distinctive and curious mode of public celebration" that featured linear groups of people processing through public spaces (p. 131). Ryan (1989) noted that the attributes constructing the concept "U.S. parade" included separately organized marching units, "each representing a preestablished social identity," the involvement of a large portion of the local population, and its apparent "aimlessness, or lack of plot" (p. 134). Research on U.S. parades suggests that they initially were a way to make visible ideological tenets such as "patriotism" (e.g., July 4), "heroism" (e.g., anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans), and "progress" (e.g., completion of the Eric Canal) (Ryan, 1989). In the late 1800s, parades shifted to becoming enactments and "celebrations" of ethnic and social group "identity," a trend that continues today (Altman, 2016; Borda, 2002; Bruce, 2013; Lumsden, 2000; Marston, 1989; Mulligan, 2008; Nisco, 2012; O'Reilly & Crutcher, 2006; Ryan, 1989). Besides communicating "identity," parades can serve to reify symbolically constituted categories such as "community," "neighborhood," and "traditions" (Grams, 2013; O'Reilly & Crutcher, 2006). Moreover, researchers have investigated "anomalies" in parades' enactments of U.S. ideological tenets. For example, parade organizers' narratives can sanction the exclusion of participants based on gender, sexual preference, and ethnicity (Leighton, 2012; Marston, 2002; Mulligan, 2008). Parades also can promote a hegemonic power structure (Borda, 2002) and stereotyped ethnic portrayals (Nisco, 2012).

Even though the United States has held military parades, they appear unstudied. Instead, researchers have analyzed other nations' military parades. They primarily have examined military parades of states categorized as "authoritarian," such as the People's Republic of China (PRC), North Korea, and Russia (e.g., Gong, 2013; Hwang & Schneider, 2011; Sørensen, 2017; Zhang, 2011). For example, Sørensen (2017) analyzed the PRC's 2015 military parade, finding that the Chinese press coverage emphasized the leaders' naming of the parade as a "celebration" of the party's peaceful rebuilding of the country after the Japanese "humiliation" (Sørensen, 2017). However, Western media ignored the leaders' naming and categorized it symbolically as a "show of military strength" (Sørensen, 2017). Similarly, Hwang and Schneider's (2011) study found that although Chinese leaders intended a 2009 military parade to reify "national identity" and "unity," external audiences named the parade as exemplifying the "China Threat" (p. 48).

Although most researchers have focused on "authoritarian" military parades, Azaryahu (2000) noted that "as a universal ritual, the military parade is ostensibly independent of the form of specific government" (p. 5). For example, Israel once organized annual Independence Day military parades as a reification of "national pride" and "military strength" (Azaryahu, 2000). However, in 1969, Independence Day organizers decided to foreground the "civilian achievements" attributes of "national pride" and background the "military achievements" and hold a military parade only on special occasions (Azaryahu, 2000). But, in 1978, organizers canceled a military parade to celebrate Israel's 30th anniversary after stakeholders disagreed about the parade's meaning (Azaryahu, 2000). Parade supporters named the parade as reifying "a militarily powerful and solidary society" while opponents said it would promote the categorization of Israel as a "militaristic society" (Azaryahu, 2000, p. 111).

France has held military parades since 1880, when the Third Republic government leaders purposefully constituted "Bastille Day" in the attempt to build a national identity and support for the new regime (Simon, 2008; Sprout, 1996). The regime required that army officers, who were "generally hostile to the Republic," hold "grand parades" around the country on that day (Sprout, 1996, p. 71). Since 1918, a large Bastille Day military parade has occurred most years in Paris down the Champs-Élysées ("The National Holiday," 2015). Only one study has examined the military parade—Simon (2008) found that over time television has changed the parade's character as its organizers began revising the event to meet the broadcast audience's expectancies.

Although the United States has held several military parades, database searches uncovered no scholarly work about them. In the past, U.S. military parades have been held to commemorate war victories, presidential inaugurations, and specific national holidays (Fessenden, 2018; Keith, 2018; Murrmann, 2018). Several early U.S. presidents reviewed military parades as part of Independence Day celebrations, a ritual that ended with James Polk (Fessenden, 2018). The most recent parade, The National Victory Celebration held in Washington, D.C., in 1991, marked the end of the Gulf War (Murrmann, 2018). Thus, the infrequency of U.S. military parades may account for the absence of research on them.

In all, in their study of parades, researchers have assumed that the human action to organize people who process linearly through public spaces has meaning and purpose. Scholarship about U.S. parades suggests that the U.S. society apparently has construed a symbolic reality in which parades are a named as "celebrations" of particular aspects of U.S. ideology and, by extension, identity. Parades reify criterial attributes that constitute and reflect ideological tenets, such as "progress," "community," and "diversity." They help promote the characteristics that prompt the naming of the United States as a "great" nation. Research on military parades indicates that authoritarian regimes hold parades as a way to constitute and maintain national identity and reinforce the current power hierarchy domestically. But external media have tended to categorize the military parades symbolically as "force demonstrations" or "threat" enactments, thus potentially influencing or reflecting how they are named in the United States. Although military parades have been held in the United States, popular media have categorized them as "celebrations" connected with very specific events such as war victories, holidays, and inaugurations. Thus, Trump's advocacy of a symbolic reality that deemed a U.S. military parade as a reification of "might" seemed non-fitting with the way in which they have been named historically in the United States.

To explore how some stakeholders responded symbolically to Trump's intervention, media discourse about the 2018 parade proposal was analyzed through the lens of the RSI framework (Brown, 1978, 1982). To capture the communicative process underlying the response, the World Newsbank database and Google were searched from July 1, 2017, to March 5, 2018, to find texts in which Trump and other stakeholders talked about a U.S. military parade, with attention to first-person discourse. Stakeholders were deemed to be the media (as reflected in editorials, columns, and broadcast commentary) and persons interviewed by the media (as reflected in first-person quotations or interviews in the texts) who talked about Trump's proposal. Text collection began July 1, 2017, because of Trump's attendance at the July 14 Bastille Day parade. It closed on March 5, 2018, because the media coverage responding to Trump's directive to the Pentagon tapered off around the end of February. Duplicate texts were removed, and international sources were excluded to focus on meanings being generated and promoted within the United States. The search resulted in eight texts published or broadcast between July 15, 2017, and Sept. 26, 2017, and 109 texts between Feb. 6, 2018, and Feb. 28, 2018. The texts were read chronologically and closely multiple times. In particular, the discourse of stakeholders opposing Trump's parade plan was highlighted and noted. Then the extracted discourse was reviewed for patterns in how the stakeholders were naming the parade and using anomaly featuring/masking communication to generate their version of symbolic reality and to forestall Trump's intervention communicatively. The resulting analysis reports the key commonalities or narratives that emerged from the discourse patterns.

The analysis is organized into two time periods. The first, 2017, explores Trump's initial talk about the parade, which reveals his proposed version of symbolic reality. The second, 2018, analyzes the discursive themes underlying stakeholders' attempts to hinder the adoption of an alternative meaning for military parades and maintain taken-for-granted assumptions regarding military parades.

2017—Proposing a U.S. Military Parade

In June 2017, French president Emmanuel Macron invited Trump to be the guest of honor at the July 14 Bastille Day military parade. The French called the two-hour parade a "tribute" to the 100th anniversary of the United States entering World War I (Johnson & McAuley, 2017). Besides the usual French tanks, military vehicles, aircraft, and bands, the "tribute" was reified in the appearance of 200 U.S. soldiers clothed in historic WWI uniforms, U.S. Air Force plane flyovers, and U.S. flags.

Two months later, Trump appeared with Macron at the United Nations in New York. Trump announced that he had been talking to his aides about holding a July 4, 2018, military parade down Pennsylvania Avenue (Devaney, 2017). Trump categorized the French parade symbolically as a "show of military pride" (Devaney, para. 2) that reified France's "military might," "great warriors," and "victories" (Abrams, 2017, para. 5). He reasoned that a U.S. parade likewise would "show our military strength" (Devaney, para. 5), adding that the United States would have to "try to top" the French parade (Abrams, para. 7). Thus, Trump's initial naming of a U.S. military parade directed attention to its apparent function as a "force demonstration." He proposed a symbolic reality in which showing "our military strength" and "one-upping" the French also would promote the U.S.'s identity as a "great" nation.

The few news articles published in response to Trump's announcement quoted stakeholders who attempted rhetorically to hinder adoption of Trump's naming proposal. For instance, a retired rear admiral claimed that the U.S. military's "size, capabilities, reach, lethality, leadership, and professionalism" already demonstrated the U.S.'s "strength" (Kirby, 2017, para. 9). A Public Radio International news editor emphasized that a parade might prompt a renaming of the military from "a necessary evil" to "an idol" and change the military's relationship with civilian authority from one of "servant" to "master," enabling an "authoritarian" leader to take over the country (Woolf, 2017, paras. 4, 13). In essence, the responses attempted to halt the shift of attention to a symbolic reality in which the holding of a U.S. military parade would be interpreted as "appropriate" and impede social system change. However, the general lack of media coverage at the time suggests that stakeholders might have deemed Trump's proposal "a whim," a naming that masked their attention to the possibility of its realization. As a *Vanity Fair* writer noted, "At that time, that promise was easy to write off—Trump, after all, is not known for his follow-through" (Nguyen, 2018, para. 2). Attention would shift in 2018, when Trump's "desire" for a military parade became renamed as a "directive."

2018—Hindering a U.S. Military Parade

On February 6, 2018, the *Washington Post* reported, "President Trump's vision of soldiers marching and tanks rolling down the boulevards of Washington is moving closer to reality" (Jaffe & Rucker, 2018, para. 1). The article, based on an unnamed military official's statement, described a January 18 meeting between Trump and Pentagon officials in which "Trump's seemingly abstract desire for a parade was suddenly heard as a presidential directive" (para. 3). In response to the *Post* story, the White House press secretary issued a statement that portrayed Trump's naming of the parade as "a celebration at which all Americans can show their appreciation" for the military (Lemon, 2018, para. 29). Another White House official reiterated this meaning, saying that the parade would be a "celebration of the men and women who give us freedom" (Jaffe & Rucker, 2018, para. 25). Thus, via White House spokespersons, Trump attempted rhetorically to background attention to the parade's initial naming as a "show of might" and foreground attention to its recategorization as a "show of appreciation."

The Pentagon's renaming of Trump's proposal from "desire" to "directive" created an anomaly for some U.S. stakeholders who adhere to a symbolic reality in which the name "military parade" prompts expectancies linked to "authoritarian" behaviors. Furthermore, the symbolic reality advocated by Trump seemed to violate taken-for-granteds related to "appropriate" reification of U.S. identity. Hence, despite Trump's attempt to rename the military parade as a "show of appreciation," over the next several weeks numerous rhetors enacted communicative interventions designed to discourage a shift of attention to that symbolic reality.

That's Not Why We Do It

A key assumption embedded in the stakeholders' talk about U.S. military parades related to "purpose." Specifically, their comments promoted a symbolic reality that assumes "a U.S. military parade should serve a national or military purpose." The interveners' discourse featured attention to the anomaly that Trump's version appeared to lack the expected national or military "purpose." For example, in a letter to the U.S. Secretary of Defense, several senators wrote, "It is unclear what military needs this event would fulfill" ("Senators Question," 2018). A Rice University presidential historian commented that without a "genuine reason" to hold the parade, it "smacks of something you'd see in a totalitarian country" (Jaffe & Rucker, 2018, para. 24).

Furthermore, the stakeholders' discourse emphasized criterial attributes that they assumed constituted "appropriate" purposes for holding a U.S. military parade. For example, some rhetors reasoned that "celebrating a war victory," as occurred in 1865, 1919, 1946, and 1991, generated an "appropriate" purpose for a military parade (e.g., E. Cohen, 2018; R. Cohen, 2018; *Omaha World-Herald* editorial, 2018; Welna, 2018). However, they highlighted the anomaly that the U.S.'s ongoing conflicts in the Middle East and Afghanistan have yet to be resolved. With no victory in sight, "what then would be the purpose of a large 2018 national military parade?" asked former secretary of defense Chuck Hagel (2018, para. 2).

Trump's naming the occasion a "show of appreciation" potentially could be interpreted as an "appropriate" purpose for a U.S. military parade. However, the opposing stakeholders rhetorically foregrounded two key anomalies in this alternative symbolic reality. One, they pointed to existing actions such as giving military personnel shopping discounts, throwing local parades, and organizing NFL game flyovers as already enacting the symbolic category "appreciation" (e.g., Friedman, 2018; Tharoor, 2018). Two, they named a U.S. military parade as an "inappropriate" way to reify "appreciation" because, instead of making military lives better, it would worsen them. Military personnel would sacrifice a holiday weekend and family time (Stavridis, 2018). "Thousands of service members would be jerked around for two or three days so Trump and his cronies could demonstrate their love of the military," remarked a *Salt Lake City Weekly* contributor (Rasmuson, 2018, para. 8). Furthermore, stakeholders foregrounded how the money used to finance the parade could be redirected to enact "appropriate appreciation" by fulfilling military needs, such as updating equipment, hiring more VA doctors, ending veterans' homelessness, providing scholarships to soldiers' children, and offering daycare for families (e.g., Clark, 2018; Dionne, 2018; Friedman, 2018; Selle, 2018).

Some stakeholders harkened back to Trump's initial naming of the parade as a "show of might" to forestall a shift of attention to Trump's proposed symbolic reality. They featured anomalies in the expectation that a "show of might" would "appropriately" enact the symbolic category "strength." For instance, a *Baltimore Sun* editorial (2018) described the criterial attributes of the U.S.'s "strength" as being its "democratic institutions, not in its army" (para. 9). Furthermore, several rhetors highlighted the anomaly that a "show of might" failed to fit expectancies associated with the symbolic category "superpower." For example, a retired rear admiral said, "The US military does not need to show off its hardware to show its strength…. [T]his is not the way a superpower behaves" (Lemon, 2018, para. 33). Assumed is that by not demonstrating "strength" as a "physical force," a "superpower" paradoxically acts out the symbolic category "strength." Other stakeholders reiterated this taken-for-granted. "The idea is that the world's pre-eminent military is strongest when its might is inferred, not shown off in boastful fashion or in an implicit threat to foreign powers" (Lederman, 2018, para. 9).

Finally, some stakeholders reasoned that the way to make sense of the apparent lack of an "appropriate" military or national purpose in Trump's symbolic reality was by promoting an alternative meaning for the parade. The U.S. military parade served "Trump's purposes." To promote this version of symbolic reality, the rhetors made assumptions about Trump's needs and demonstrated how holding a U.S. military parade would fulfill those needs. For example, Trump desired a favorable outcome in the 2018 midterm elections, so the interveners contended that Trump was pushing for a military parade before then in hopes of influencing the election results in his favor (Alcindor, 2018; Milbank, 2018; Novak, 2018). A CNBC senior columnist noted that in the presidential election, the military and veterans had strongly supported Trump. "The Trump team wants to put his strongest and largest source of support in the spotlight and reward it with national attention on the July 4 holiday" (Novak, 2018, para. 10). The stakeholders also claimed that Trump needed to avert criticism about his actions in office, which might highlight anomalies in his enactment of the symbolic category "president" (Friedman, 2018). "It is likely another opportunity for Trump to preen and pose and deflect attention from controversies" (*Chicago Tribune* editorial, 2018, para. 12). Lastly, the stakeholders took for granted that Trump had internal or psychological needs that holding a parade could satisfy. "This is about the president showing off. This is all about his ego," said a retired rear admiral (Camerota, 2018, para. 8).

This Is Not Who We Are

Besides embodying the assumption that "a U.S. military parade should serve a national or military purpose," stakeholder discourse also reflected a key supposition related to U.S. "identity." Specifically, their remarks promoted a version of symbolic reality in which "a U.S. military parade should serve to promote the United States as a great nation." In their talk, the interveners attempted to forestall a shift of attention to Trump's proposed symbolic reality by foregrounding how it failed to reflect the criterial attributes that constitute the U.S. identity of "greatness." To define U.S. "greatness," stakeholders frequently pointed to U.S. values, its democratic institutions, and its large military as indicators of "greatness" (e.g., Calamur, 2018; Camerota, 2018; Lemon, 2018). In addition, because the rhetors took for granted that other nations also could "see" the U.S.'s "greatness," a military parade was not needed to reify this attribute. As a lieutenant general explained, "We don't have to portray military might because people know how strong we are. The world knows what we are" (Camerota, 2018, para. 16).

Although a U.S. military parade could be interpreted as an indicator of "greatness," the opposing stakeholders highlighted the anomaly that such a display might prompt a shift away from naming the United States as a "great" nation. For instance, other nations might construe a military parade as marking a change in the U.S. power hierarchy—that civilians were now subordinate to military control (*Baltimore Sun*, 2018). As a result, foreign stakeholders might categorize the United States symbolically as the "same as" an authoritarian country that holds military parades. A retired admiral claimed, "Anytime you are staging a massive military event, you can come off as over militarized and over authoritarianist" (Guthrie & Jackson, 2018, para. 8). In addition, other nations might interpret the holding of a military parade as reifying the symbolic category "self-doubt," suggesting that the United States might be questioning its "strength," the "power" of its military, and its world "position" (*Daily Review* editorial, 2018, para. 29). Consequently, foreign stakeholders might name a U.S. military parade as a sign that the country had lost its "direction" (para. 30) and its assumed "greatness" as a nation.

Additionally, the interveners emphasized that although having a large, "powerful" U.S. military is one of several criterial attributes that constitute U.S. "greatness," it should not be the "ultimate" attribute that defines U.S. "greatness." Holding a military parade might direct the world's attention away from the criterial attributes assumed to make "America a beacon to the world" (*Baltimore Sun*, 2018, para. 10). These qualities include the U.S.'s enactment of particular taken-for-granted "rights" or "ideals," such as "freedom," "self-determination," "liberty," and "democracy" (*Baltimore Sun*, 2018; Calamur, 2018). "It has been America's purpose, not its power, that the world has respected," said former defense secretary Chuck Hagel (2018, para. 6). He described the key attributes that constitute U.S. "greatness" as its "noble purpose, economic strength and a vibrant inclusive society governed by values and the rule of law" (para. 7). Thus, in the opposing stakeholders' version of symbolic reality, holding a military parade might violate the assumptions that generate the naming of the United States as a "great" nation.

Finally, some rhetors attempted to make sense of the "inappropriate" reification of U.S. "greatness" implied in Trump's alternative symbolic reality by suggesting a more "appropriate" meaning for it. They named the U.S. military parade as being less about promoting the United States as a "great" nation and more about advancing Trump as a "great" president (e.g., Gessen, 2018; Lemon, 2018; Novak, 2018). A political commentator remarked that Trump "conscripts the military as a prop to bathe himself in an aura of presidential grandeur" (Tharoor, 2008, para. 7). Moreover, the rhetors foregrounded the anomaly that, instead of constituting presidential "greatness" based on taken-for-granted criterial attributes, Trump was building his "greatness" based on "force demonstration," an attribute associated with "authoritarian" regimes. Hence, the stakeholders highlighted Trump's similarity to the leaders of Russia, North Korea, and the PRC (e.g., Frieman, 2018; Lockie, 2018) in their attempt to advocate rejection of his version of symbolic reality. A retired army colonel predicted, "No doubt the president will experience a power surge as soldiers parade in unison before him—a human testament to self-aggrandizement" (Umberg, 2018, para. 2). A *Baltimore Sun* editorial (2018) claimed, "[T]hose who make a show of military parades often believe the key to maintaining power is through fear, intimidation and shows of force (para. 6).

Discussion/Conclusion

In all, Trump advocated a symbolic reality that named the holding of a military parade as an "appropriate" way to enact U.S. ideological tenets and its identity of "greatness." In response, various interveners attempted rhetorically to hinder support for Trump's attention shift in two key ways—by emphasizing "this is not why we do it" and "this is not who we are." In so doing, they attempted to maintain taken-for-granted meanings attributed to military parades. In terms of "why we do it," the stakeholders' discourse reinforced a symbolic reality in which "celebrating a war victory" seemed to be named the only "perfect" reason for organizing a U.S. military parade. Hence, they tried to demonstrate rhetorically that adopting Trump's "show of might" or "show of appreciation" parade purposes would result in "imperfection." Similarly, in terms of "who we are," the interveners' talk supported a symbolic reality in which the U.S.'s democratic purpose, values, and institutions were deemed the "perfect" ultimate criterial attributes for constituting "greatness." Thus, they foregrounded rhetorically the ways Trump's proposed symbolic reality failed to reflect expectancies associated with "greatness" and would lead to "imperfection." Moreover, the stakeholders attempted to make sense of the anomaly that a nation's leader would "imperfectly" categorize a military parade symbolically. To do so, they attempt to shift attention to an alternative meaning for the parade—it would serve Trump's "individual" purposes and boost his own "presidential greatness."

In general, the opposing stakeholders attempted rhetorically to maintain a symbolic reality that chooses to categorize a military parade primarily as a "force demonstration," an attribute associated with "authoritarian" nations. Research suggests that Western media have helped to reinforce this naming in their coverage by foregrounding the "show of might" aspect of authoritarian military parades and backgrounding their "national identity" and "unity" features (Hwang & Schneider, 2011; Sørenson, 2017). The stakeholders' discourse also tried to maintain a symbolic reality that chooses to reify the U.S.'s identity as a "great" nation in the values it enacts and the institutions it has created. Research on U.S. parades indicates that the United States developed a distinctive form of parades that evolved into ethnic and social group celebrations that create and reinforce identity, community, pride, and traditions (Altman, 2016; Grams, 2013; Marston, 1989; Ryan, 1989). Although scholars have highlighted U.S. parade "imperfections," such as limiting access and reinforcing unequal power structures in the celebrations (Mulligan, 2008; O'Reilly & Crutcher, 2006), they still could be considered events that reify U.S. "greatness" by the values they emphasize. In fact, a few stakeholders suggested that instead of a military parade, Trump should hold a "traditional" U.S. parade with floats, high school bands, vintage fire trucks, and such to enact "greatness." "That's a parade celebrating the America that people around the globe admire and want to emulate" (Burns, 2018, para. 32).

In a February 2018 *Fox News* interview, Trump continued advocating his proposed symbolic reality by naming a military parade as "great for the spirit of our country" (Pirro, 2018). But, he added that the parade would be held only if it met the criterial attribute of "reasonable cost" (Pirro, 2018). In March 2018, the Pentagon issued a memo describing initial plans for a U.S. military parade to be held November 11 and integrated with Washington, D.C.'s, local Veterans Day parade (Superville, 2018). On August 13, Trump signed the John S. McCain National Defense Authorization Act, which officially authorized the November parade (Colvin & Superville, 2018). But, four days later, the media reported that the parade's estimated cost had jumped from $12 million to $92 million, and Trump announced the parade's postponement until 2019 (Glor & Van Cleave, 2018).

In the United States, presidents have the "power" to call for military parades. Thus, Trump can order the Pentagon to organize one without apparent stakeholder concurrence, much like army officers had to follow France's Third Republic leaders' orders to hold the first Bastille Day parades (Sprout, 1996). However, although presidents can expect that the military will carry out their directives, they cannot expect all stakeholders to adopt their advocated symbolic reality. As a *New Yorker* columnist noted, the military parade's most important aspect "is the meaning it will acquire in American culture and politics" (Gessen, 2018, para. 1). If stakeholders continue attempting to hinder the attention shift advocated by Trump and naming military parades as "inappropriate' reifications of ideology and identity, Trump might find himself in a situation much like Israel did in 1978. Its military parade was canceled after stakeholders failed to agree upon a shared meaning for it (Azaryahu, 2000). If it had been held, it might have become a reification of Israel's apparent increased "division" rather than "unity" (Azaryahu, 2000).

Yet, Trump's attempt to rename could be a sign that the traditional meanings attributed to U.S. military parades are up for reconsideration. After all, why should stakeholders take for granted that U.S. military parades are held for war victories, holidays, or inaugurations only? Why should military parades be seen as actions undertaken by authoritarian nations only? After all, neither the "show of appreciation" nor "threat demonstration" name is "appropriate" or "inappropriate" or will lead to "perfection" or "imperfection." The names simply reflect stakeholder choices in their constitution of symbolic reality. However, the choices have implications for the social system's constitution. An alternative meaning for a military parade would result in social system shifts as various people and groups would become more or less important in the parade's realization. For example, as the opposing stakeholders pointed out, funding for a military parade would mean decreased funding for other activities.

In all, the disagreement between Trump and some stakeholders regarding how to name a military parade allows us to glimpse the rhetorical process by which we create, maintain, and change symbolic reality. The RSI model assumes that although names for specific experiences such as "military parade" may change as rhetors try to make sense of "imperfections" inherent in the symbolic abstraction process, the rhetorical process remains constant as human beings attempt to meet an innate need for sense-making. Furthermore, as the study has shown, the differences about whether to hold a U.S. military parade are more than considerations of cost, resources, and appreciation, but a matter of stakeholders attempting to reify U.S. ideology and identity more "perfectly." Thus, perhaps as we grow in our understanding of the constitutive nature of our symbolic reality, we will become less divided by and more open to reflecting on our naming choices. We might come to interpret our discursive attempts to constitute a "better world" or a "better life" and to determine "appropriateness" or "inappropriateness" as simply rhetorical choices that will always be "imperfect."

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Constructing Civic Competence through Storytelling: Local Knowledge and Public Consequences in Participatory Budgeting

Spoma Jovanovic and Vincent Russell

Participatory budgeting (PB) recognizes the primacy of public communication and residents' voices to advocate for choices in economic and social decision making. Residents directly decide how to spend a portion of taxpayer dollars, by relying on stories as dialogic practice in deliberations to express local knowledge and influence collective action. Based on observations and interviews spanning nine months, we saw that PB's varied meeting forms encouraged the telling of stories, often centered around matters of social justice, and, in so doing, provided opportunities for people to do democracy, thereby constructing new civic competencies based on their own experiences. We found that when ordinary people were the decision-makers in their city, they spoke and acted in ways that: 1) Articulated equality and diversity as essential community values; 2) Expressed dissent to advance social justice; and 3) Recognized the value of collaborating with local, government officials steeped in shared accounts of hope for change. This unique approach to public deliberation offers promise for cities everywhere working to engage citizens in meaningful action.

Keywords: *Civic Competence, Participatory Budgeting, Stories, Social Justice, and Deliberation*

Civic activity waxes and wanes, say scholars of political participation, based on a myriad of factors including but not limited to economic conditions, media influences, moments of national pride, and extended periods of fear. A growing number of educators are joining the choir of community organizers who have long recognized that for democracy to be strong (Barber, 1984), people need civic competencies that go beyond voting to include the skills, knowledge and dispositions needed for collective responsibility-taking about how we can best live together (Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Bloch-Schulman & Jovanovic, 2010).

The goal of active public participation in civic affairs is laudable to counter the continuing decline in trust of elected officials and public servants (Swaner, 2017). Kettering Foundation President David Mathews opines that two obstacles prevent people from claiming their rightful place in democratic processes. He says, "People are too often on the sidelines of the political system. Furthermore, simply being involved won't result in a better life for all unless citizens make informed and wise decisions about what should be done" (2014, p. 67). That is, political systems and structures themselves are at fault in preventing meaningful citizen engagement. Government officials who consider their own expertise more important than the public's too often convey in word and deed that ordinary people are superfluous to the management of public resources. Further, when people do engage in political processes, the limitations imposed upon them by public agencies frequently reduce citizens to *just* voices for consideration, rather than as worthy

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partners in the project of governance.

We find, with others, that introducing civic engagement at the local level offers the most promising route to democracy that is more fully *of* the people. As Clark and Teachout (2012) argue, local "must mean small-scale and place-based" (p. 113) where citizens can talk with one another to tackle difficult decisions as a complement to representative government. One fast rising process for engaging ordinary people in political matters is participatory budgeting (PB). PB features open meetings, deliberative opportunities, and a focus on face-to-face interactions rooted in local issues and communities. PB demonstrates how communication processes, primarily stories, provide a promising gateway to cultivating greater civic competence where local knowledge leads to tangible, public consequences.

Here, we examine the role of deliberation in PB by considering storytelling as a bedrock feature of public life. Understood this way, stories are more than just one of many rhetorical options available to stakeholders (Young, 2000); they are an essential dialogic dimension of deliberations that express our "values, identities, and experience of time" (Engelken-Jorge, 2016, p. 84). Accepting this view situates stories as constitutive of the human experience upon which deliberations are based, rather than as a tool of deliberation. In other words, we see meaningful deliberation as fully dependent upon and reflective of people's stories to achieve its aims.

We begin by offering an overview of PB as a rapidly growing and popular deliberative process that offers residents opportunities from beginning to end to use their stories and reasons as the basis for deciding how to spend a portion of the local government budget. Involving residents in this way offers "much needed new approaches to bridge the gulf between public officials and citizens who often feel as if their needs aren't being met and opinions aren't being heard" (Haller & Faulkner, 2012, p. 25). Our analysis demonstrates how stories shape deliberations and, in so doing, helps residents construct new civic competencies for engaging in government processes. Nabatchi and Leighninger (2015) note that encouraging storytelling in public spaces is "the most fundamental missing ingredient" needed to bolster public participation (p. 26). Three distinct, yet overlapping outcomes of PB deliberations, framed by stories to inform spending priorities, revealed that project ideas emerged from deep democratic values. First, residents said they wanted projects that explicitly involved the promotion of equality and diversity, particularly to benefit under-resourced members of the community. This precondition signaled a commitment to, and, notably, the vocabulary of social justice, a not common enough feature of public deliberations (Schoem, 2014). Second and not surprisingly, residents also expressed reasoned dissent targeted toward aspects of current government structures and programming they deemed ineffective. Providing meaningful critique, said residents, is simply not common enough in public deliberations. The effect of expressing both positive ideas and critical messages led to the third noticeable outcome of the PB process—a platform for authentic communication and collaboration with public officials. For at least some people, PB represented the first time city employees and elected leaders were accessible, considered even partners with the community members they serve. This outcome led some residents to reassess their previously held beliefs about remote elected officials and nameless bureaucrats. We conclude by affirming the need to further advance storytelling as deliberative practice to move resident-government interactions into routine rather than exceptional moments.

Participatory Budgeting

As a model, PB around the world has been successful for nearly 30 years in promoting involvement of marginalized communities to address social inequities (Stewart, Miller, Hildreth, & Wright-Phillips, 2014). PB began in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 1989 and has since spread to more than 1,500 cities worldwide. Along the way, it has picked up endorsements from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the White House, and the Black Lives Matter Movement as a best practice for democratic citizen engagement (Lerner, 2011; The Open Government Partnership, 2015; Mercedes, 2016).

PB in Porto Alegre was designed to provide previously disenfranchised and impoverished citizens a modicum of control over a part of the city's budget, advancing a larger set of democratic reforms there. The democratic socialists of The Workers' Party, who had achieved electoral victories opposing the former military regime, implemented PB in tandem with grassroots community groups. Porto Alegre's early PB projects were impressively successful in affording residents with much needed clean water, improved sewage systems, better roads, expanded public transportation, and a larger stock of public housing (de Sousa Santos, 1998). PB in Brazil and most other locations around the world was and is a program rooted in social justice, inclusivity, and transparency. Its goals are realized in democratic participation and deliberation.

A single PB cycle in the United States typically consists of four phases. First, residents meet in neighborhoods to brainstorm project ideas to address or solve local problems. Then, residents do the painstaking work of developing the myriad ideas into feasible projects. In this second phase, community members volunteer as budget delegates to work with city staff members in figuring out the exact costs, benefits, drawbacks, and suitable locations for a list of final projects. Third, the project proposals are put on display in public spaces to stimulate conversations about the merits of each project before residents cast their final votes a few weeks later. The winning projects, based on the most votes, are slated for implementation. In the fourth stage, residents continue to work with city government to ensure that the approved projects are completed.

The first U.S.-based PB process was unveiled in Chicago in 2009 (Haller & Faulkner, 2012). Two years later, in 2011, New York City was the second city in the U.S. to launch PB (Su, 2012). The scope and reach of PB continues to grow. After nearly a decade of use in North America, PB has been used in more than 300 cities, using $239 million to implement 1,600 community-directed projects that have involved over 400,000 people (Participatory Budgeting Project, 2018). In November 2018, more than 80% of New York City voters approved a city charter revision to create a citywide PB process that promises to more than double the size of PB in the United States.

Our study examines Greensboro, NC as the first southern city in the United States to implement PB and the third in the nation with citywide implementation. It was the first U.S.-based PB process to emerge from the efforts of a handful of active community members despite considerable, initial resistance from city leaders (Jovanovic & Russell, 2014). After four years of all-volunteer community organizing and success at obtaining $100,000 in funding from local foundations to defray start-up costs, the city finally allocated $500,000 for residents to use in the first PB process there in 2015. By 2018, Greensboro PB was planning its third cycle as a fully integrated program in city operations when the council members established a formal PB Commission with members appointed for fixed multi-year terms. At the heart of all PB processes are lively conversations and deliberations that demonstrate democracy in action.

Democratic Deliberations for Faithful, Community Decisions

Democratic deliberation has seen increased attention in academic and community circles in recent years as a corrective to the polarized discourse surrounding politicized events. Locally and globally, people have felt the impact of an avalanche of difficulties involving widespread economic disparities, private and public school reforms, changing immigration policies, rising poverty levels, more visible gender violence, disputes surrounding climate change, and inequitable labor practices. The stories to cope with and address those challenges have ranged, not surprisingly, from ones punctuated by collective cynicism and disinterest on the one hand, to tales of inspired citizen-initiated actions, buoyed by a commitment to social justice, on the other hand. In the best cases, stories that shape public deliberations tap into our interdependent and networked society with ethical and political acumen to replace, augment, contest, or change public policy and practices (Roberts, 2004).

Deliberation, according to scholars who study it, is a form of talk, a decision making process, a method of weighing alternatives, and a means by which to organize community members (Gordon, Haas & Michelson, 2017). Though each approach may be distinct, common to them is examining the impact of facilitated conversations between people with diverse points of view in order to arrive at a solution or decision surrounding a public concern (Makau & Marty, 2013; Gastil, 2008). A grounding principle for public deliberative processes in addition to making more informed decisions, is the construction of increased civic competence that can translate into future, sustained public action.

Most famously, adherents to Habermas's ideal speech situation (1979; 1989) argue that deliberation needs to be free, reasoned, and equal, aiming for rationally motivated consensus (Cohen, 1997). Others see deliberation as a more accessible pursuit when considered not as an "ideal" but instead as an "idealized" set of values to guide interactions with others (Apple & Beane, 2007).

Indeed, how deliberation unfolds in community settings is dependent upon the values participants agree to for the length of their time together. These values and the deliberation processes themselves are necessarily varied in response to the context, people, and issues involved. From how to manage future water needs to determining local transportation requirements and responding to controversial legislative mandates, navigating the tensions between people's values is critical in order to arrive at cooperative community decisions (Carcasson & Sprain, 2016; Townsend, 2013). Communicating those values often happens through stories.

The Centrality of Storytelling

The primacy of stories in our human lives is evident. People learn how to read, understand a different culture, begin employment at a new workplace, get introduced to a new community, and make decisions about the future through stories. Stories, as told by parents, friends, colleagues, and neighbors are far from arbitrary (Young, 1997); they are the conduit for important history, personal experiences and lessons learned. Stories also forge important social connections:

> Stories support a lattice of human experiences. Each new story acts as a tendril tying us to the past, making the present significant, and giving shape to the future. In this way, a story…can be joined to other stories, help us establish connections with people, and inform future behavior. (Gargiulo, 2006, p. 8)

In sharing stories, then, people both reveal a bit of what is important to them and build stronger social bonds with others (Nabatchi & Leighninger, 2015).

When people appreciate stories as central to the human condition and necessary for the fair and equal treatment of all in the public sphere, their communication reflects a cognitive framework that Lakoff (2002) calls "Nurturant Parent Morality" (p. 108). Communication, for them, is respectful and provides the opportunity to teach and learn from others through empathy, care, and a commitment to communal responsibility. Through storytelling, people recognize that sacrifices are sometimes necessary for the sake of the greater good, understanding that some people will need more than others in a fair distribution of resources (Lakoff, 2002, p. 124). For them, the government is the final arbiter of fair treatment for all, particularly those who have experienced systemic discrimination.

The political process can provide much needed relief to those suffering the wrongs of discriminatory practices by laying the groundwork for stories to be shared. As Young (2000) explains it, a woman in a wheelchair, for example, has the greatest opportunity for influencing the public will to eliminate impediments to her full participation in public life when she can tell of the concrete obstacles she faces everyday. Young (2000) says:

> Storytelling is often the only vehicle for understanding the particular experiences of those in particular social situations, experiences not shared by those situated differently, but which they must understand in order to do justice. (p. 74)

Storytelling, then, is a vital means by which political communication strives to enact justice. Storytelling so considered is a valuable civic competency, not to be overlooked or diminished.

Methods

To understand the ways people used stories in their interactions in the Greensboro PB process, we relied on ethnographic methods, continuing a research program that dates back to May 2011 when community organizers met for the first time. Following Gadamer (1976), our qualitative research is steeped in hermeneutical inquiry and the phenomenological tradition that seeks to bridge existing understanding with new or expanded interpretations of conversational interactions.

We entered this study as participant-observers, with a commitment to highlighting how people participated in PB. This approach stands in contrast to much of the literature on PB that focuses on how, why, and in what ways public administrators can consider alternative public input processes. Our focus on the people's perspective and with attention to social justice arose, in part, from our active participation in the grassroots campaign from 2011 to 2014 to launch PB in Greensboro. That involvement dovetails with our professional interests to examine ethical, just features of talk that lead to social change (Jovanovic & Russell, 2014).

Community-Based Research

Our research was a community-based project, reflecting a desire to work *with* the community to develop creative strategies for political and economic change, a distinguishing feature of communication activism (Frey & Palmer, 2014). Community-based research is defined by the collaborative effort of community members and researchers to ensure that the entirety of the process—from design to data collection to results and recommendations—reflects the interests and needs of the community (Stoecker, 2013; Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker & Donohue, 2003). We recognize the expertise of all the constituent partners, and thus do not consider our research as a project of "ours" that we are doing *for*—or worse—*to* "them." At the same time, we acknowledge that, "stakeholders are not equal, as they represent different organizations with varying strategic interests" (Keyton, Ford & Smith, 2008, p. 380). Thus, throughout the study we worked, as did our community partners, to cultivate a mutually beneficial relationship, marked by closeness, equity, and integrity—hallmarks of strong community-campus partnerships (Bringle, Clayton & Price, 2009).

Admittedly, that level of strong relationship was not always achieved as the partnership was one of continual negotiation (Keyton et al., 2008). Nevertheless, after working with the same group of city officials and community partners first to advocate for PB, then to evaluate its first year implementation, and finally continuing with support for outreach efforts, we came to know and understand one another through regular interactions.

Data and Analysis

The primary data for this research was collected in 2015-2016. Our 223 pages of field notes come from two sources: 74 events of one to two hours and 23 interviews, each lasting 15 to 60 minutes. The data collection relied on the labor of a research team of more than 20 individuals, including undergraduate students, graduate students, and a faculty member.[1]

Of note is that the data analysis occurred throughout the data collection process. After attending PB events, we often reviewed our rough, in-the-moment field notes and wrote more coherent, reflective interpretations of what happened, stories shared, and other relevant information. The core research team further made adjustments to collection protocols as needed. Thus, the analysis process was ongoing and iterative, allowing us to review what we were documenting, consider new possibilities for thematic consideration, and reach new understandings while working on the study.

We used both categorical aggregation to piece together information from multiple episodes and direct interpretation to attach "meaning to a small collection of impressions within a single episode" (Stake, 1995, p. 74). The codes were inspired by prefigured features of deliberation identified by Gastil (2008), though here we focus on just a few: prioritizing the key values at stake; considering other ideas and experiences; and respect for other participants. We also developed our own "emergent" categories reflecting the views of participants (Creswell, 2013, p. 185).

The philosophical and methodological approaches associated with our study wrap around communication activism that regards scholarly and civic engagement as good, political practices to showcase diverse interests in a community. PB, likewise, recognizes the power of the people, in the presence of one another, who tell stories, practice active listening, and engage in deliberations, to take pragmatic action committed to the public good. Here, we consider the stories shared in the deliberative spaces that define PB.

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[1] IRB deemed the study exempt from approval as it did not constitute human subjects research as defined under federal regulations.

Voices Emerge to Value Equality, Dissent, and Collaborations

As in cities elsewhere, residents in Greensboro wanted to have their voices included in local decision-making, even in the budgeting process that is admittedly dense and confusing. Yet, as Nabatchi and Leighninger (2015) note, "The official conventional processes and structures for public participation are almost completely useless" (p. 3) because of outdated practices that limit collective problem solving. Greensboro's PB process offered an approach and structure designed specifically to encourage face-to-face interactions where stories flowed among neighbors in cooperative work sessions that included government staff.

When Greensboro PB was unveiled, 85% of participants reported it was their first time participating in city budget decisions; further, 70% indicated they had not previously been involved in *any* city or community-sponsored activity (Jovanovic & Russell, 2016). The stories these residents shared revealed that when ordinary people are decision-makers, they speak in ways and take action to: 1) Articulate equality and diversity as essential community values; 2) Express dissent that builds a case for advancing social justice; and 3) Recognize the value of collaborating with local, government officials in shared accounts of hope for change.

Articulating Equality and Diversity as Essential Community Values

A crucial aspect of deliberative practice is inclusion and attention to equality that embraces diversity as a central feature. Scholars argue that for equality to manifest publicly, democratic deliberation requires adequately distributed speaking opportunities and a respect for other participants (Fishkin 2009; Gastil, 2008; Gutmann & Thomson, 2004). PB organizers, too, placed a premium on equality and diversity and thus fanned out to all corners of the city to ensure participation would meet their stated goals of equity, transparency, community building and empowerment. PB participants who identified as other than white or Caucasian, took part in all PB phases at just slightly less than the city's demographic profile of 54% minority designated (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), but at rates that surpassed their involvement in recent local elections.

Organizers were attentive to best practices in space arrangement and devoted considerable planning time to ensure a robust, welcoming environment for the PB meetings. Organizers played pop music in the background, secured plentiful snacks and drinks for participants, and greeted people as they entered the various meeting rooms. Theatre-style seating with chairs facing forward remained in place only long enough for introductory information. Then, chairs were moved into small circles where every person, at nearly every meeting, shared stories of their dreams for the city. Sharing personal stories offered an egalitarian platform for democratic action (Young, 1997). Stories, we saw, place people at the center of attention, expanding discourse from a focus on ideas only to include the human experience that contributed to political arguments presented in narrative form (J. H. Miller, 2016).

For example, at one meeting where only 12 people were present on a day that was rainy and gloomy, a middle-aged man, donning a sweat suit, offered a suggestion that spoke to what the community needed. "All of the areas where the buses pick up people…every last one should have a shelter that should be nice with no mud." In addition to conveying the desire for dignity for all people who wait for the bus, the man's knowledge and experience exposed the city's story of an embarrassingly low number of bus shelters. Of the 1100 bus stops in the city, 94% do not provide any shelter, 87% do not even have a bench for people to sit, and 81% are not accessible to people with physical disabilities (Jovanovic, Poulos & LeGreco, 2010).

Later that evening, the same man offered a story about the need for more recreational opportunities to help young people stay active in his part of town that is home to Blacks and other ethnic minorities. He reminisced about a time when things were different, better for young people with greater efforts made to keep them physically healthy. He recalled when he was growing up in that area, there were tennis and basketball courts virtually everywhere for him to use. He admitted he did not know what happened in the ensuring years, only that those courts disappeared slowly over time, leaving young people today without accessible, free recreation spaces, a situation he thought the community could change through a PB-inspired project.

At another meeting, a female in her 30s and a recent transplant to the city offered an idea based on her life's struggle, what she called "travel aids." She asked her neighbors, "What about people who come here for a man, then that doesn't work out? You need help to get out! Not everyone wants to make this place their home." After a bit of laughter, the small group with whom she was sitting recognized her story as one filled with the need and desire for free access to public transportation, revealing their sense of connection, empathy, and understanding.

Young (1997) suggests that solving collective problems relies on a sensible consideration of context, costs, and solutions, and also the emotional features of lived experiences. As shown by the woman proposing free public transformation, Young says we enact democracy when we see and feel how people express excitement, frustrations, wants, and desires based on their experiences to gain the attention and interests of others in determining the way forward.

These PB stories advocate for needs, and in so doing, can also be seen as challenges to the dominant discourse. The stories call attention to previously unaddressed issues in the community via a deliberative agenda, made possible through a welcoming, inclusive environment where community members clearly spoke of their values for equality and diversity.

Expressing Dissent to Advocate for Social Justice

Most citizens, roughly 66%, rightly wonder why their voices are too often dismissed, even if politely, by government officials (The Winston Group, 2017). It is not uncommon to see at public meetings of all kinds, including budget sessions, frustrations mount as people request something of city officials, sometimes through persuasive means, other times through anger-filled demands. The response from city officials is nearly universal, as if reflecting public administration training, lesson 101. The pat official response is, "We'll take that idea into consideration," a phrase used to diffuse tensions, without needing to take any specific action.

PB assumes a fundamentally different process, one that is neither efficient, nor simple, but one that is foundational to the pursuit of justice where individual and group differences are valued as co-contributors to decision making (Young, 1990). And, rather than leaving out minority voices in that process, as is often the case in public conversations (Pearce, 2002), PB actively seeks out members of under-resourced communities as critical to the overall project.

The story of a Latinx small business owner who attended a PB meeting reveals how dissent can be a response of frustration designed to highlight an alternative (Young, 1997). When participants were asked to form into several small circles, this man placed himself outside the circle, despite repeated invitations to join the others. He remained silent until everyone else had spoken. Then, he stood up and said he rejected the previous ideas focused on beautification efforts, when people were dying of poor health caused by lack of exercise. He spoke of the need for sidewalks to get people moving and out of their cars. He expressed a desire for people to be able to move safely to schools, to work, and to retail locations. He pointed out that more sidewalks could lower the obesity levels that were rising in the city. As the meeting came to a close and people left the room, the man remained, talking to a female college student for another 20 minutes about how sidewalks were more than concrete pathways. He shared stories of his hometown in Colombia where art and public safety, including the construction of sidewalks, were wedded together. She leaned in, wanting to know more. He wrote down cities in Colombia the co-ed should visit. The two moved outside, sat on a bench, and talked about more, including America's prejudice and how the man feels it so personally, even after living in the United States for more than 30 years. The college student later recounted that while the man's passions were targeted toward the need for more sidewalks, she thought that perhaps most of all, he was eager to have someone listen to his concerns. When she did, he spoke not just about sidewalks, but also of the many needs of the city, and the desire for human understanding. She underscored how actively listening to others' perspectives was really the point of PB, though that outcome would be one never formally recorded.

Expressing dissent is not always expressed with outrage, and can sometimes even be a humorous, subversive act. The story of how PB project ideas were labeled as "eligible" or "ineligible" illustrates this.[2] At one particular meeting, some people voiced opposition to the term "ineligible" as a demeaning label that countered the openness of PB. In a subtle act of rebellion, one of the participants marked out the word "ineligible" on the poster where ideas were being recorded and replaced it with "possible." Thus, projects at that event were deemed either eligible or *possible*. This small change was a voice of dissent designed to communicate that all ideas are worthy of consideration even if they do not fit the parameters established by the PB process. Even more importantly, the people at this meeting used their voices to remind everyone that PB belonged to the people, not the paid organizing staff who recorded ideas onto posters. They communicated a new, slightly subversive, humorous, and ultimately open and collaborative way to work with city officials.

Collaborating with Government Officials to Bolster Trust and Inspire Hope for Change

Improving citizen–government relations requires providing meaningful opportunities for citizens to assert their autonomy while also recognizing the important work of civil servants. Leading civics scholar Harry Boyte (2009) says citizen action of this kind is best characterized as public work rather than community organizing for its emphasis on "the capacities, talents, and energies of all involved in addressing public challenges and creating public things" (p. 15).

Francis,[3] a volunteer budget delegate, told a story of a previous, negative experience with the city that led her to get involved with PB. She spoke of money that had been bequeathed to the city for the purpose of building a monument to honor women. Until that point in time, every statue in the city paid homage to men, mostly military heroes. According to Francis, the city's officials had "repurposed" that money, over her objections. That is why, she said, she volunteered with PB, to make sure people's voices would be heard and their ideas implemented, even if the ideas were not ones the city officials wanted or would have previously considered.

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[2] Greensboro's PB process only permitted capital projects. Capital projects, in the words of one facilitator, are objects "You can reach out and hug" – infrastructure such as streetlights, sidewalks, bus benches, and even neighborhood welcome signs. Despite the fact that some participants believed the real issues facing their community required more than new "things" to install, capital projects were the only ones labeled "eligible."

[3] Names of participants used in this manuscript are pseudonyms.

As volunteers and city staff worked together to move general ideas into specific project proposals, time was invested in considering how projects could benefit the community. Sharon, a middle-aged white woman was in a group of four people, two white and two Black, who together considered the viability of a book mobile. She wondered if older people would be the target audience, perhaps audio books would be needed. Sam, a Black male, also middle-aged like Sharon, added that the book mobile was an idea more than about books. It promoted mental health and alleviation of isolation by reaching people who may not be able to leave their homes due to dementia or depression. The prohibitive cost of the book mobile ultimately led to its demise, despite its benefits to build social cohesion in the community.

Many residents credited PB for building a bridge toward greater resident–government cooperation. One participant said, “I don’t know how city government works. I’ve never really been involved, but I thought this was a good thing, and I’m hoping that’s how city government conducts other types of business.” Other participants expressed appreciation towards city government for its transparency and invitation to impact the public budget. One said, “I felt grateful that some people in our local government would accept or invite the PB process here.” Another summed it up in this way: “It [PB] served to validate what I think the city truly wants to be about, and what I feel the community truly needs, which is more interaction, feedback, and collaboration with the people of the city to improve the city.”

Greensboro’s PB process also represented a significant shift in community engagement for members of city staff. In the words of one staff member, “The city doesn’t really solicit ideas. It’s usually people calling with complaints. PB was much more of going out and requesting ideas.” The city had previously mastered offering responses and reactions to complaints, but with PB, city staff began to learn new communicative skills in proactive outreach to community members.

From offering new and multiple spaces for deliberation and encouraging stories to vet values and ideas to ensuring outreach efforts engaged historically marginalized community members, Greensboro’s PB process created a foundation for a new deliberative infrastructure in the city (Lukensmeyer, 2014). Spaces used for the PB public meetings were intentionally accessible by public transportation and organizers did more than wait for people to come to meetings. They also went to locations where community members gathered, including at an ID card drive for undocumented immigrants. Community members unable to leave their homes were encouraged to use their computers or phones to suggest ideas and track PB’s progress. That is, members in the community with the least material resources were tapped for engagement in ways not previously considered.

Conclusion

Polletta (2006) has highlighted the importance of storytelling for minority participants. Although storytelling has sometimes been considered incompatible with rational deliberation (Dryzek, 1990; D. Miller, 2002), the process of storytelling is particularly powerful for women and people of color. As Polletta (2006) explains, “Encouraging disadvantaged groups to tell their own stories can counter the silencing that comes with privileging abstract, rationalist discourse” (p. 86). We noted as much at one meeting where a 20-something Black woman said she attended the meeting, somewhat reluctantly, unsure of what she could contribute.

She would later tell people in the room that as she heard their ideas to improve road conditions, start a community garden in a part of the city deemed a food desert, and build a new shelter for the homeless, she was inspired by their spirit of generosity. She, too, eventually had an idea and raised her hand late in the meeting to suggest better lighting and parking for a community center serving low-income members of the community. The PB experience, structured as it was, was one she described as transformational and inclusive (Lerner & Secondo, 2012). She said:

> That was a cool moment, I felt like I was a part of the community…it was one of the best experiences I've had in Greensboro. The people I spoke to welcomed me with open arms and were excited to talk to me. I got a couple hugs, met a woman's child, and was even invited to church by one woman. I felt so a part of the community.

Sharing stories, like this one, provided affirmation for the PB process and hope that people, together, could inspire one another to advance projects for change that could provide relief to people with few resources in the community.

Democratic engagement that reflects the interests of all constituent groups requires a diverse populace collaborating for the public good. In fact:

> Democracy, to be fully realized as inclusive and participatory, requires public spaces in which different views are able to be spoken and heard, and where opinions are formed and informed through interactions among people with diverse interests. (Bloch-Schulman et al., 2015, p. 25)

Greensboro's PB process reveals that despite a history of repeated failures at dialogue and deliberation in years earlier over civil rights struggles (Chafe, 1981; Jovanovic, 2012), there remains hope and a desire for citizen-government interaction. This new approach to satisfying that desire shows signs of promise, despite some cautionary notes.

Most participants ultimately reported positive feelings about the quality of talk at the PB events, moved by the sharing of stories by diverse participants. People also indicated that they appreciated that their city government offered this process for resident involvement, reflecting a desire for collaboration between government and the people and a new deliberative infrastructure for the city.

Greensboro PB was effective, even when other past attempts at deliberation in the city were not, because it generated two, distinct positive outcomes. These communicative acts are ones the city is considering integrating into other outreach processes and ones necessary to build much needed trust and deeper relationships between residents and public servants. First, stories and dialogue about needs in the community must focus on creating opportunities for non-polarizing deliberation. Second, in a time when resources around the world reflect increasing moves toward austerity, PB offers, without requiring additional funds, a space for hopeful conversations for new city projects. Even when families feel the crunch of too little money in their home budgets, having a say in the public space allows a semblance of agency coupled with optimism to create positive social change.

Greensboro PB encouraged hopeful conversations and optimism, with an eye toward affecting change in the community; residents experienced that city government could be more responsive to the community's needs. Stitzlein (2014) sees that feeling of connections between people as an essential democratic habit and argues that "Americans need hope for a better functioning democracy and better social living" (p. 77). Hope promotes agency and results in attitudes that can contribute to social change. In Greensboro, a Black, transgender participant expressed this hope in arguing for PB to be implemented elsewhere, specifically in police operations: “There should be a portion of the police budget, if our tax dollars are going to it, that should be for people to decide how we want it to be used.” Responding to pressures such as these, Greensboro’s police chief directed his staff to learn from PB how to better engage with the community.

Most of all, PB’s emphasis on the inclusion of stories and ideas from all segments of the community contributed to its communicative and material success. By emphasizing the involvement of as many people and ideas as possible, Greensboro PB communicated to participants that their voices mattered and were worthy of consideration. Organizers made significant efforts to initiate one-on-one contacts with religious representatives, community groups, and neighborhood associations where historically under-represented citizens lived. This open, inviting, and welcoming structure was a significant turn away from traditionally organized city events where notices are posted simply according to legal mandate.

Despite much success, challenges did arise for Greensboro PB that admittedly fell short of certain deliberative goals. PB’s parameters prevented the process from meaningfully addressing persistent needs of marginalized communities. For example, many project ideas to alleviate homelessness were deemed ineligible because they were not capital improvements. Proposals for more public restrooms, more affordable housing, and additional homeless shelters did not qualify under PB because they exceeded the limited amount of funds available. If money allocated through the PB process could be earmarked for spending on programs, many ideas for substantial projects could perhaps better tackle persistent issues such as poverty, food insecurity, and discrimination.

With PB and the demonstrable interest from residents to have more influence in government decisions, city staffs are being pushed to incorporate more resident dialogue, stories, and deliberation into public decision making. Additional outreach strategies, including creative and media appeals to younger residents, are recommended as well. Indeed, PB represents a new frontier rich for applying theoretical conceptions of democratic deliberation and storytelling surrounding community needs identified by the public.

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Paradoxically *For the People?*: Television Showrunning, Artistic Signatures, and Auteurs in Shondaland

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This paper explores one of Shondaland's latest shows, For the People, for its execution of Shonda Rhimes' signature style of carnivalesque excess, colorblind casting, and innovative production techniques via social media. Through a close textual analysis of season one, along with a study of Twitter activity about the show, For the People emerges as a paradoxical installment in the Shondaland universe. By investigating the path of production surrounding For the People, we argue that the expansion of Shondaland as a production company may be creating a distance between the Shondaland brand and Shonda Rhimes as an auteur. The broader industry trend of television showrunners becoming producers is interrogated, exploring the consequences of auteurs expanding their repertoire to a point that it dilutes their creative influence over multiple projects. Ultimately, these practices can establish new installments within Shondaland as less satisfying to core fans and potentially compromise brand recognition overall.

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For the People premiered on ABC in March of 2018. As one of the newest narratives within the Shondaland universe, *For the People* follows a semi-procedural legal drama format by developing competing narratives for both the prosecution and the defense within each episode. The cast consists of six brand-new lawyers—three who operate as public defenders (Sandra, Allison, and Jay) and three who represent their opposing Assistant US Attorneys (Kate, Leonard, and Seth). Each of season one's ten episodes features court cases where these attorneys battle it out on opposite sides of the courtroom. While many legal dramas design their narratives so that audiences find it easy to cheer for either the prosecution or defense (i.e., whichever side the main characters of the show represent), *For the People* drives home the idea that there are always two sides to every story. ABC renewed the series for a second season which premiered in March of 2019.

Much like how the show divides the prosecutors and public defenders, *For the People* has already divided audiences into die-hard fans and outspoken critics. In a review for *Variety*, Saraiya (2018) calls *For the People* "the new legal procedural [that] is essentially 'How to Get Away with Murder' without Viola Davis, which is about as disappointing as it sounds" (para. 1). Yet *Entertainment Weekly* reviewer Baldwin (2018) finds the show "a lively Shondaland spin" that was "formulaic in the best way possible"

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because it "deliver[ed] exactly what you want from a Shondaland drama—and perhaps a little bit more" (para. 1). Others expressed more mediocre reactions to the show. Feinberg (2018) claims the show's tilt toward a legal procedural rather than legal melodrama is disappointing for those expecting a Shondaland product close to the excitement of *How to Get Away with Murder*, but he also notes that the cast shows promise overall. Needless to say, *For the People* has produced a paradoxical response from audiences and critics who for the most part seem to either love or hate the new direction of Shondaland.

Griffin and Meyer (2018) argue that Shonda Rhimes, and by extension her production company, Shondaland, possesses a signature style and vision comparable to that of an auteur. Contemporary television showrunning has become a staple of TV industry, with over 400 scripted original TV shows in the U.S. alone by the end of 2016, indicating that "L.A. may have more showrunners than taco trucks" (Goldberg, O'Connell, Sandber & Stanhope, 2016). In television, the role of showrunner—"a position once so rarefied and coveted that you'd have been hard pressed to name 50 people who held it"—has become a staple of producing quality, scripted television series (Goldberg, O'Connell, Sandber & Stanhope, 2016). Within this context, the development of recognizable stylistic elements within television series has become more common across projects connected to individual auteurs such as Rhimes. Considering Rhimes' recent move to Netflix in an attempt to expand the repertoire of Shondaland, her company is actively "seeking new genres, bringing new writers into the fold and expanding beyond traditional TV" (Poggi, 2016, para. 4). With the production of *For the People* beginning around the time of the initial declaration of Rhimes' shift from ABC to Netflix, its appearance within the landscape of Shondaland could represent the direction of Rhimes' new vision or it could simply be a residual trace of her former connection to ABC. Therefore, studying *For the People* could not only help provide answers to the mixed reviews of the show, but also extend and expand academic research on Shondaland.

In our essay, we examine *For the People* as the newcomer to Shondaland through a narrative analysis. First, we outline and engage existing academic conversations on Shondaland, particularly those that establish the patterns and trends associated with Shonda Rhimes' and Shondaland's signature styles. We then offer a close reading of the first season of *For the People* for its representation of these specific stylistic themes and patterns. Ultimately, we find that the while the series embraces some classic Shondaland elements, it sharply departs from others, making its positionality within the Shondaland universe tenuous at best. Through an in-depth discussion of industry production issues behind the series, we illustrate how the delicate the balance of showrunning and televisual auteurship must be negotiated and reconstituted through production.

The Rise of Shondaland: Shonda Rhimes' Signature Style and Status as a Television Auteur

At the turn of the twenty-first century, television was enduring vast changes in its content. Networks discovered the low costs and immense popularity of the reality genre and thus began greenlighting such shows while cutting traditional narrative pieces that often involved heavier investment and financing (Johnson, 2009). As a network, ABC was caught in more than one transition during this time. After Disney purchased it in 1996, the network desperately attempted to find footing in the shaky new terrain of reality television, but encountered little success. After various rebranding attempts, ABC finally struck gold with *Lost* and *Desperate Housewives* in 2004 and *Grey's Anatomy* in 2005 (Grainge, 2009). These primetime melodramas breathed new life into the dying network and kept ABC financially afloat.

While *Lost* and *Desperate Housewives* served their purpose for ABC at a time of need, *Grey's Anatomy* turned into the gift that kept on giving. The show itself is currently in its 15th season, but more importantly, its creator, Shonda Rhimes remained committed to the network for over a decade and continues to produce audience-captivating shows into the present. *Grey's Anatomy* was merely the first installation of Shondaland, Rhimes' production company named in homage to Disneyland (Jones & Vajjala, 2018). Massive hits, including *Private Practice*, *Scandal*, and *How to Get Away with Murder*, appeared in the years that followed, garnering even more attention for ABC, Rhimes, and Shondaland (Meyer & Griffin, 2018). Shondaland has also created or produced *Off the Map*, *The Catch*, *Still Star-Crossed*, *For the People*, and *Station 19* through its relationship with ABC, helping the network to achieve and maintain its fourth-place ranking among television broadcasting networks (Meyer & Griffin, 2018). Throughout her rise to fame and subsequent reign over primetime, both scholars and individuals within the television production industry have been captivated by Rhimes' success. Everett (2015) explains the fervor behind Shondaland noting the unprecedented move by ABC to reserve a three-hour time block on Thursday nights, referred to as "TGIT," strictly for Shondaland shows. As the hype increased, other producers demanded their writers tap into the essence of Shondaland, creating shows like *Quantico* that are strikingly similar to the big names of Shondaland (Driscoll, 2015).

Because of Rhimes' immense popularity and revolutionization of the industry, scholars have taken a deeper look into her success and modes of operating. Meyer and Griffin (2018) explain Rhimes as an auteur, a title typically reserved for high-brow filmmakers whose cinematic artistry gave them a distinct style (p. 4). As an auteur, Rhimes too has a "signature style" which defines her work and makes it easily distinguishable from other television shows (Meyer & Griffin, 2018, p. 6). Individual scholars place greater emphasis on different aspects of this style, but collectively find visual excess, grotesque realism, diverse (blind) casting, innovative production strategies, and fan engagement through social media to be the most salient elements that characterize Rhimes' signature style (e.g., Erigha, 2015; Everett, 2015; Griffin & Meyer, 2018; Ingram-Waters & Balderas, 2018; Jones & Vajjala, 2018; Long, 2011; Petermon, 2018; & Warner, 2015).

Carnivalesque excess is perhaps the most defining feature of Rhimes' work. Jones and Vajjala (2018) analyze Shondaland shows through a Bakhtinian lens, showing how Rhimes' three main shows, *Grey's Anatomy*, *Scandal*, and *How to Get Away with Murder*, each display carnival themes through their plots, storylines, and characters. Their analysis highlights these narratives' use of ritual spectacle, upheaval, and grotesque realism, often aligning with cycles of degeneration and regeneration. These carnival trends are what give Rhimes' shows their signature twists and turns, making Shondaland's flaming rollercoaster logo all the more real to audiences who must cling to the edges of their seats throughout the ride (Jones & Vajjala, 2018). Taking the carnival elements less literally, other scholars have made note of the often outrageous and compelling twists that define Rhimes' narratives. For example, Everett (2015) attributes Rhimes' "ultrafast-paced, frenetic, and head-spinning storylines" to what truly "mesmerize[s] audiences every week" and gives Rhimes her edge as an auteur (p. 36).

While the carnival connections are often what attract audiences to the plot, Rhimes' practice of colorblind casting has earned her the most attention from scholars for how it foregrounds racially marginalized actors in meaningful and substantial television roles. Whereas Rhimes herself describes this as "normalizing" television rather than "diversifying" it, countless critics have poked holes in this logic (e.g., Bailey, 2011; Cramer, 2016; Long, 2011; Petermon, 2018; Warner, 2015). Warner (2015) argues that colorblind casting ultimately belittles acclaimed black actors, ignores important racial differences, and caters to white audiences instead of those allegedly being represented. More to that point, Erigha (2015) claims that even though marginalized actors are present in Rhimes' shows, they are compelled to minimize their blackness on screen to be successful among white heteronormative audiences. Petermon (2018) expands on Erigha's ideas, suggesting that colorblind casting results in "hyper(in)visibility," where black people are displayed across television to show societal progress, yet their humanity becomes obscured (p. 108). In the end, Petermon (2018) and Long (2011) agree that this tactic potentially results in a new, more insidious, forms of racism, where the increased visibility of racially marginalized characters across mass media content creates a false and problematic belief that racism has ended. Despite this overtly negative reception to colorblind casting among scholars, it is still a defining feature viewers have come to expect from Shondaland.

While colorblind casting deserves its own spot under Rhimes' signature style, a closely related element, innovative production strategies related to social media, is also integral to Rhimes' identity as a television auteur. Rhimes "set a new industry standard" and reshaped how producers and viewers interact when she introduced live-tweeting during first run episodes of Shondaland shows (Ingram-Waters & Balderas, 2018, p. 197). Although producers retain the majority of the control in this relationship (Ames, 2018), viewers still have the opportunity to build community with other fans and feel a greater connection to the actors and writers behind their favorite shows (Ingram-Waters and Balderas, 2018). When Rhimes found immense success with her Twitter campaign, other television shows followed, taking to social media to expand the realm of their shows through their own popularized hashtags (Wood & Baughman, 2013). Participation in the "second screen" is a signature feature of Shondaland across televisual narrative content (Ingram-Waters & Balderas, 2018).

Methodology

Our study utilizes narrative analysis as the methodological framework for analyzing the television series *For the People*. Scholars often utilize narrative analysis as a means of examining how televisual media frames, represents, and disseminates stories within contemporary culture. Foss (2009) defines a narrative as "a way of ordering and presenting a view of the world through a description of a situation involving characters, actions, and settings" (p. 400). Narratives or aspects of narratives can be examined in multiple ways. For example, critics can focus on the effect of narratives on audiences, what the narrative reveals about the culture, or how the narrative's structure emotes persuasive power. Foss (2009) explains that narrative analysis allows scholars to examine both the representations within stories "and the likelihood that [the narrative] will be successful in gaining adherence for the perspective it presents" (p. 400). While many television scholars have utilized narrative criticism to focus solely on textual analysis, others blend traditional textual elements with other popular discourse surrounding a visual product in an attempt to crystalize cultural response to television narratives (e.g., Watts & Orbe, 2002).

This study utilizes season one of *For the People* as the data for its analysis. Season one consisted of ten episodes which were accessed on both ABC.com and Hulu streaming services. Season two was not included in this analysis as it only began airing in March of 2019, which was during the writing of this analysis. We assessed each episode using Foss' eight dimensions of narrative analysis, including setting, characters, narrator, events, temporal relations, causal relations, audience, and theme (Foss, 2009). The researchers took notes on each of these elements while viewing the ten episodes of the first season and utilized these notes to organize our analysis. We then consulted online reference Internet Movie Database (IMDB) to obtain production information about each of the individual episodes, as well as IMDB pages on *Grey's Anatomy*, *Scandal*, and *How to Get Away with Murder*. To help crystalize our analysis, we examined various entertainment commentary on *For the People* and consulted its official Twitter Twitter page (@ForThePeopleABC) as a means of understanding the intersections between broadcast television narratives and the second screen.

***For the People* and Shonda Rhimes' Signature Style**

Based on our review of literature, scholars have argued that excess/grotesque realism, diverse casting, and innovative production techniques related to social media define Rhimes' signature style. Thus, if *For the People* is the latest installment of Shondaland, we would anticipate it should contain these stylistic elements. After examining all ten episodes of season one for these elements within the narrative, we found that the show largely does not adhere to these elements of stylistic vision. We discuss each aspect in more detail below.

Excess/Grotesque Realism

The first episode of *For the People* begins as Sandra Bell frantically hustles through the empty halls of an unidentified, ornate building (Davies & Verica, 2018a). She skids to a stop in front of two grand wooden doors and yanks at the handles. The doors do not budge. She tries again to the same result. Sulking in disappointment, she resigns herself to sitting at a bench across the hall. While it first appears Sandra has failed to make it on time to an important appointment, other professionally dressed individuals soon trickle into the hall and join her in front of the doors, showing how she was merely early to the event and the very first to arrive at that. Once the doors finally open, the characters enter an elegantly furnished courtroom where they meet Chief Judge Nicholas Byrne. As Judge Byrne initiates these new federal government attorneys, he explains the magnitude of their membership in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York. During his speech, viewers learn the main characters of the show will now be a part of "The Mother Court," which earns this name as "the oldest, most prestigious, highest profile trial court in America" (Davies & Verica, 2018a). With such distinguishing superlatives, "The Mother Court" seems to promise atypical, intriguing, and wild cases to viewers.

Episode one begins to deliver on this promise when Sandra picks up a terrorism case against AUSA Leonard Knox. In this case, Sandra represents a young Muslim man named Mohamed Fayed who was caught plotting to blow up the Statue of Liberty. Not only are terrorism and Muslim prejudice prevalent topics in this construction, but the terrorist threat occurs in New York City which reminds viewers of 9/11 and the destruction of the World Trade Center's Twin Towers. Similarly, because the Statue of Liberty serves as a symbol of America, the thought of it exploding, especially at the hands of terrorists, unsettles viewers. Sandra soon learns federal agents sought out Fayed, basically planted the idea of the bombing to him, and convinced him to go through with it, even going so far as to supply a fake explosive after 18 months of conducting a sting operation. At first glance, these culminating details would appear to produce a high-stakes trial full of twists and turns, or one that would have been at least a little explosive in some way.

The idea of the federal government essentially "creating a terrorist" to stop terrorism has enormous potential, but the execution within the episode is lacking. For example, grotesque realism could have taken center stage if viewers were invited into the scene where Fayed was nervously riding the ferry to Liberty Island with the bomb concealed within his coat before being abruptly arrested. Instead, viewers bounce between scenes shot in the courtroom, law offices, and detention center where Fayed is being held. Instead, viewers are confined to the back-and-forth arguments inside the courtroom. Viewers are merely told the "outrageous" details of the case and never see anything on screen that would allow them to be a part of the action themselves. Repeatedly being told details instead of seeing or living them makes the story feel detached, potentially preventing viewers from forming connections to essential characters and plot elements. Thus, the lack of visual representation of anything related to excess or grotesque realism immediately marks *For the People* as different from its Shondaland-sister drama *How to Get Away with Murder* which literally opens with legal interns hacking up and burying a dead body. *For the People* centers itself firmly on the here-and-now, focusing on the retelling of a story from two different perspectives.

By the time closing arguments come around, this complex and controversial issue is wrapped up into a neat box. After citing how Americans only find out who is a terrorist "after they've shot up a night club, or blown up a marathon, or brought down a building, or two," Leonard claims "the only chance we have to fight these enemies is to find out who they are before they do these terrible things" (Davies & Verica, 2018a). Sandra, on the other hand, argues "instead of hunting actual terrorists, your government tried to make a terrorist" by "target[ing] and manipulat[ing] and incarcerat[ing] American citizens because of their religion, their ethnicity, and their national origin" (Davies & Verica, 2018a). Thus, by the end of the episode, viewers are presented with the overly-simplified black and white choice between arguments that equate to "we can never be too careful" or "our racist government did this." The episode ends with a verdict that sends Fayed to prison and Sandra off to questioning her future.

Because Sandra started the episode as a confident attorney, but finished with her first major loss, the cycle of degeneration and regeneration is primed. Yet the following episodes largely ignore this supposedly "career-ending loss." Episode two includes one sentence that makes note of Sandra working on an appeal for "the Fayed case," but Sandra is relatively unscathed from the loss as she continues to work on new cases with little reference to her previous failure. Obviously, Fayed went to jail, but he is never seen or heard from again, making him easily forgettable to viewers. In fact, not until the final episode of the season do we see Sandra obsessively working on appeals for "the Fayed case" instead of her other case work (Davies & Verica, 2018b). But because "the Fayed case" had been ignored since episode one, it is difficult to care about whether the appeals go through.

Once viewers get past the pilot, the general pattern for the plot of each episode is highly formulaic. Cases are introduced at the start of an episode, the attorneys argue them at trial, a verdict is delivered before the credits roll, and viewers hear nothing about the cases again apart from occasional and odd one-liners that serve as insults to attorneys that lost a previous case. This episodic structure contains individual cases within single episodes, which makes it feel more like a legal procedural rather than a legal melodrama. A viewer would have no problem skipping episodes of *For the People* without missing much, which cannot be said for other Shondaland artifacts such as *Scandal* and *How to Get Away with Murder*. While *Grey's Anatomy* is also rather procedural, the characters within *Grey's Anatomy* have far more interpersonal interaction outside of their medical casework that allows audiences to form bonds with the characters. *For the People* lacks interesting character drama outside the court cases while the court cases themselves provide little opportunity for development of emotional connection, leaving viewers detached from the show's protagonists. This dramatic shift in form, from signature Shonda Rhimes melodrama to episodic legal procedural more reminiscent of a Dick Wolf (the creator of *Law & Order*) production, feels oddly out of place within the broader Shondaland universe.

Diverse (Blind) Casting

The next staple of Rhimes' signature style is her use of colorblind casting, which has led to shows that are rich with character diversity. Although *For the People*'s protagonist, Sandra Bell, is white, three out of the six new attorneys are characters of color. Sandra's best friend, Allison Adams is African-American, as is Leonard Knox, who fights for the prosecution. Jay Simmons, a public defender, is Syrian-American. Outside of the six starring attorneys, Chief Judge Nicholas Byrne and Clerk of Court Tina Krissman are both African-American, reoccurring characters on the show. Thus, on the surface, it would appear that *For the People* embodies Shondaland's blind casting strategies to create a diverse cast.

As television critics, however, we are wary of the implied use of blind casting within the series based on what is publically known about the last-minute casting changes made on *For the People*. In the original pilot episode, African-American actress Britne Oldford played the role of Sandra Bell, while Caucasian actress Lyndon Smith played Allison Adams. After "an exhaustive search," the series was re-cast with Caucasian actress Britt Robertson in role of Sandra Bell and African-American actress Jasmin Savoy Brown in the role of Allison Adams, essentially flipping the races of the characters in the narrative (Reilly, 2017). When asked to explain the switch, series creator Paul William Davies offered the explanation that Sandra is "like a firecracker—she's got this energy to her which is intoxicating but sometimes gets her in trouble. The first incarnation of Sandra I didn't think of it quite the same way" (Mitovich, 2018). Brief glimpses of the original pilot episode show Oldford delivering the exact same lines Robertson would later give (JoBlo TV Show Trailers, 2017). More to the point, Oldford responds to challenges with the same hot-headed, fighting attitude that Robertson would later embody in the series. Initially, this transition may seem to suggest that the race of the characters was not written into the show.

However, taking Davies' comments and Sandra's hot-headed character representation into account could expose potential motivations behind the casting changes. After filming the pilot, those in charge of the show may have thought Sandra came off as an "angry black woman," a stereotype that has long existed within television representation (Boylorn, 2008). It is entirely possible the casting change was adopted to avoid this stereotype, particularly as it would be inconsistent with the Shondaland brand. When you combine the lack of interpersonal interaction of the characters outside of the courtroom with the narrative representation, viewers most often encounter the characters arguing in court. The easiest fix for producers to avoid inadvertently creating an "angry black woman" would have been to make Sandra's character white, meaning they had an agenda when casting the race of the lead actress and would thus not be honoring blind casting practices. Davies and his production team went so far as to claim, "If there were knocks about replacing a black lead with a white one, I never heard them, but also, there really isn't a 'lead' [on this show]. It's an ensemble" (Mitovich, 2018). This positioning feels inauthentic given the development of Sandra's character on the series, where she functions as the center for many episodes and is also one of the more argumentative and disagreeable individuals in the ensemble. The rhetorical framing utilized by Davies serves to minimize a casting change that significantly altered the representational dynamics of the series, raising serious questions about *For the People*'s casting practices in relation to other Shondaland creations.

Innovative Production Techniques Related to Social Media

The final element that characterizes Shonda Rhimes' signature style is her ability to create and utilize innovative production strategies that engage her fan bases. The epitome of this ingenuity was Rhimes' introduction of live-tweeting during first run episodes of her shows (Ingram-Waters & Balderas, 2018). Because this practice connected fans to the writers and actors behind the show as well as other fans, *Scandal* amassed an enormous Twitter following and earned even greater popularity upon its launch. *How to Get Away with Murder*, airing a few years after *Scandal*, used the same techniques and found similar success (Ames, 2018). Viewers of these two shows find Twitter rewarding because episodes often contain outrageous events and jaw-dropping cliffhangers that leave viewers craving answers. Viewers then turn to Twitter to find the tidbits of information from the actors or writers of the show, as well as have their reactions and theories validated by fellow fans (Williams & Gonlin, 2017). *For the People* is different in this regard because there are very few cliffhangers to kick off a commercial break. Similarly, each episode is neatly wrapped up by its conclusion, leaving few questions unanswered. Thus, viewers have little reason to visit Twitter to engage in conversation unless they want to debate the two opposing viewpoints represented in that particular episode.

Despite the fact that *For the People* does not employ twists and turns that would make it conducive to prompting Twitter conversation during episodes, the actors of the show still use Twitter as a promotional platform. The @ForThePeopleABC main Twitter page houses most of these conversations, featuring retweets from Shonda Rhimes herself as well as the leading actors of the show. Because Shondaland shows often feature a strong Twitter presence, it appears that *For the People* felt obligated to continue this trend even though the show's format does not seem to match the social media platform's aims. This is evidenced by Jasmin Savoy Brown tweeting: "Again, I will not be tweeting tonight as I'm [in] Europe, but please tweet at me!" (@jasminsavoy, May 15, 2018). This offer prompted very few responses, as do most of the tweets produced by the show's official account. Yet one tweet from Kerry Washington, the star of *Scandal*, asking who was watching *For the People* on its premiere garnered 33 comments, 88 retweets, and 760 likes (@kerrywashington, March 13, 2018). At the end of season one, a tweet posted by @ForThePeopleABC during the finale asked fans to retweet if they were watching and accumulated 4 comments, 72 retweets, and 141 likes (@ForThePeopleABC, May 22, 2018). These discrepancies illustrate a stark difference in social media engagement. Obviously, Kerry Washington has had significantly more time to establish a fanbase, so focusing solely on her popularity is limiting. However, given that neither the *For the People* official Twitter account or the actors' individual accounts tend to garner much interest from fans in terms of dialogue and discussion is a telling departure from Shondaland's signature style.

The Implications of Decentralizing Creative Control in Shondaland

The paradoxical case of *For the People* raises serious critical questions for research on television auteurs, and Shonda Rhimes and Shondaland in particular. As auteurs become successful and launch their own production companies, their artistic work as an auteur and the production company itself will need to be differentiated. Shonda Rhimes does not write every show within Shondaland, so the products that come out of Shondaland may not always exude her signature styles of excess/grotesque realism, diverse (blind) casting, and innovative production techniques via social media. These aspects of Rhimes' signature style are industry production *practices* and can therefore be easily emulated, but the creativity behind the plot and characters, what gives the narrative its recognizable signature is an art form exclusive to the content creator.

Grey's Anatomy, *Scandal*, and *How to Get Away with Murder* are the quintessential narratives of Shondaland and demonstrate the best examples of Rhimes' signature style, yet only *Grey's Anatomy* and *Scandal* were created by Rhimes herself. *How to Get Away with Murder* is a product of Shondaland and Shonda Rhimes is an executive producer, but Peter Nowalk is the show's creator and therefore has the greatest creative influence over the show (Internet Movie Database, n.d.c). Nowalk does seem to channel Rhimes' signature style into *How to Get Away with Murder*, but he has also creatively worked with Rhimes for over a decade. Nowalk worked on *Grey's Anatomy* from 2008 to 2013, writing 34 episodes, serving as story editor for 47 episodes, and producing 69 episodes during this time (Internet Movie Database, n.d.b). Nowalk also contributed to *Scandal* from 2013 to 2014, writing 1 episode and co-executive producing 18 episodes in this brief window (Internet Movie Database, n.d.d). Only after years of work with Rhimes, during which he could learn the ins and outs of her storytelling style, did Nowalk receive the chance to create and lead his own show at Shondaland. Because he was so well acquainted with her style, *How to Get Away with Murder* could easily be mistaken as being written by Rhimes herself, which is why fans of *Grey's Anatomy* and *Scandal* quickly gravitated to the show.

Nowalk's experience with Rhimes is what gives *How to Get Away with Murder* its appeal, but Paul William Davies, the creator and executive producer of *For the People*, does not have the same resume as Nowalk (Internet Movie Database, n.d.a). Davies worked on *Scandal* from 2014 to 2017, writing 15 episodes, producing 16 episodes, and serving as story editor for 24 episodes (Internet Movie Database, n.d.d). While this is not equivalent to Nowalk's time with Rhimes, it is still some experience at Shondaland that could have shaped Davies writing style to greater reflect that of Rhimes. With that being said, even though he had this experience, Davies might not have the same relationship that Nowalk and Rhimes had. While Davies joined Rhimes in 2014, Nowalk had been by her side since 2008. This additional six years could help to explain why Nowalk's work so closely resembles that of Rhimes. Moreover, it is commonly known that Nowalk originally envisioned the character of Annalise as far more shallow than star Viola Davis embodies her - thus, the casting of Davis and her specific artistic contribution to the show could also account for the narrative aligning more with Rhimes' artistic signature and vision. Nowalk has in fact been quoted saying Davis, "came to the part with so much insight and thoughtfulness. She helped shape the part in ways that I can't even describe—and every time we talk, I leave with so many more ideas I wouldn't have thought of" (Kapsch, 2015).

In our analysis of *For the People*, we have concluded that it does not possess the signature style of Shondaland including aspects like excess/grotesque realism, diverse (blind) casting, and innovative production techniques via social media. Just because Paul William Davies was familiar with Rhimes' work, does not necessarily mean he would make *For the People* feel like a Shonda Rhimes show. In fact, from the onset of this venture, Davies warned audiences that *For the People* would not be exactly the same as the Shondaland shows before it. Davies explained that the show would follow the "traditional Shondaland mold," which would account for the diverse cast and Twitter presence that is common practice among Shondaland shows (Goldberg, 2018, para. 12). But at the same time, Davies noted that the show was a "procedural" and would have "traditional relationship arcs" (Goldberg, 2018, para. 12). With Davies' procedural emphasis, the lack of outrageous narratives and the unoriginal, and often limited, character development begins to make sense.

Conclusion

This study explored whether or not *For the People* exhibits Shonda Rhimes' signature style of excess, diverse casting, and innovative production techniques. The show's procedural emphasis and disappointing characters restrict opportunities for excess to play an important role in the narrative. Although the cast of *For the People* appears diverse, late casting changes imply strategic choices related to racial representation as a part of the production process and thereby nullify the process of blind casting. Finally, even though the actors and writers of *For the People* participate heavily in live-tweeting efforts like the Shondaland shows before it, the show has yet to attract a prominent following on Twitter. Because the show largely fails on these three essential fronts, *For the People* does not embody the signature style of Shonda Rhimes. This failure can be tied back to the show's creator, Paul William Davies, who warned *For the People* would not be the same as its fellow Shondaland shows from the beginning.

A key conclusion to our exploration of *For the People* is that the lines between television auteurs and branding will continue to be an important area for media studies scholars to consider. As television narratives expand and diversify, the creative talent behind those narratives takes on qualities that are more common to traditional film studies. Our work illustrates just how blurred the lines have become between television and film production. Ultimately, media studies scholars should embrace the concept of the auteur as one that is not specifically owned by film studies. Moreover, the paradox created by the creation of a signature style that then becomes part of televisual branding is one that also warrants further attention from media scholars. Many successful television showrunners are launching their own brands and producing multiple narratives simultaneously. As television markets expand, numerous auteurs are able to negotiate within and between networks in ways that traditionally were not possible in the industry. Thus, more careful attention to how these dynamics continue to play out as technology improves will be warranted.

While this study was successful in many ways, it still had limitations. When this investigation began, only season one of *For the People* was available, offering only 10 episodes for analysis. Similarly, during the writing of this essay, season two is currently airing, which would provide more data for examining narrative content for Rhimes' signature style. Moreover, our analysis of *For the People*'s Twitter activity could have been enhanced by special Twitter search algorithms that would better organize the data and expose patterns and trends for the show. We suggest future research efforts should focus on extending both the continued narrative of *For the People* and more careful analysis of Twitter response to *For the People.* There are also other aspects of Rhimes' signature style that we chose not to focus on in this analysis. For example, soundtracking has been identified as a key aspect of Shonda Rhimes' signature (Billinson & Meyer, 2018), but we did not explore this aspect for this project. Similarly, Rhimes is known for championing particular causes through her narratives (e.g., Abdi & Callafell, 2018; Furgerson, 2018), so extended analysis of contemporary social issues within *For the People* may be another useful avenue of study.

Our analysis presents some important implications for future research in Shondaland. If *For the People* was never meant to fully embody the essence of Shondaland, then why would Rhimes agree to greenlight the show within Shondaland? Her reasoning behind this decision most likely goes back to comments in 2016 where she explained she wanted to expand her television empire (Poggi, 2016). Even though finding new stories and introducing new writers were her goals, she also made it clear that she did not want to lose the "essence of Shondaland" in the process (Poggi, 2016, para. 5). As her empire grows, Rhimes' focus will span numerous projects, meaning her commitment to any individual effort within Shondaland will be diluted. In the end, Rhimes' name may be attached to *For the People*, but her creative vision is not. Without her expert touch, *For the People* comes out lacking and distant from other Shondaland shows. Media scholars should seek to understand the complicated interactions at play in contemporary television showrunning—that becoming an auteur takes a particular amount of creative vision and effort that can then shift focus when one becomes a producer or brand rather than an individual artist. These industry shifts have the potential to shape television content for years to come.

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"Am I as Pretty and Smart as She Is?" Competition for attention and social comparison on Instagram

Pavica Sheldon and Alexandra Wiegand

With the proliferation of social networking sites (SNS), the Internet has become a place for young adults to perform social comparisons. Most of the previous studies have focused on appearance comparisons only. The current study explored how female college students' use of social media to compare themselves (in terms of school success, eating habits, exercise habits, happiness, intelligence, physical appearance, popularity, body weight, and muscle tone) to other female friends relates to their Instagram use. Results revealed that comparisons to female friends influence how women use Instagram. While comparisons in terms of physical appearance are most frequent among women on social media, popularity is a driving force behind Instagram use.

Keywords: *Instagram, Social Comparisons, Uses and Gratifications Theory, Social Media, Young Adults*

Nearly 90% of American young adults report being active users of social media (Smith & Anderson, 2018). One of the most popular social media platforms is Instagram. A mobile photo and video-sharing application was launched in 2010 and currently boasts over 800 million active users (Instagram, 2018). A recent Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults found that 71% of younger Americans (those ages 18 to 24) visit Instagram multiple times per day (Smith & Anderson, 2018).

Since most people use social media to impress others, images on Instagram tend to be socially desirable, highlighting positive life events (Chou & Edge, 2012). This leads to an erroneous impression that others are living happier and more satisfied lives than them (Chou & Edge, 2012). Comparisons on social media are most often negative, even they are natural (de Vries & Kühne, 2015; McLean, Paxton, Wertheim, & Masters, 2015). According to Festinger's *social comparison theory* (1954), humans are naturally driven to compare themselves to others.

Several studies have looked at how Instagram appearance comparisons influence users. A survey of female undergraduate students revealed that acute exposure to *fitspiration* images (the amalgamation of the words fitness and inspiration) on Instagram led to increased negative mood and body dissatisfaction and decreased self-esteem (Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2015). Individuals who engage in more appearance-related comparisons on Instagram report experiencing greater body dissatisfaction (Hendrickse, Arpan, Clayton, & Ridgway, 2017).

Instagram has a lot of features that might encourage social comparison. First, unlike other social media outlets that are more text-based (e.g., Twitter), Instagram focuses only

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on images. The two most common types of images shared on Instagram are selfies and photos of friends (Hu Manikonda, & Kambhampati, 2014; Ridgway & Clayton, 2016). Seeing one's selfies and photos may lead to social comparison.

However, while previous studies have mostly focused on appearance-related comparisons on Instagram, we know that women engage in other types of comparisons as well. Those include comparisons in terms of school success, eating habits, exercise habits, happiness, intelligence, and popularity (Chua & Chang, 2016; Vogel et al., 2014). Although these comparisons could be beneficial as they encourage women to become healthier and study harder, they can also lead to inadequacy feelings (Chou & Edge, 2012). Chua and Chang (2016) study with high-school girls from Singapore revealed that all participants encountered upward and downward comparisons depending on the peer being observed. Although girls agreed that peer comparison through social media was "stupid," "unhealthy," "unnecessary," and "not making sense," all participants made remarks about how peer comparison can have unhealthy consequences, including going back and deleting photos with few likes due to "frustration or embarrassment" (Chua & Chang, 2016).

This study, therefore, explores the frequency of different types of comparisons on Instagram and also their relationship to Instagram use. In this study we measure Instagram use as motives for its use, the amount of time spent on Instagram, frequency of editing Instagram photos, and number of Instagram followers.

We focus on women only, as women have been socialized from a very young age to be oriented to others to receive validation of their self-worth (Cash & Henry, 1995), and also engage in more comparisons than men (Sheldon, 2010). Women also spend more time on Instagram (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016).

This study applies uses and gratifications (U&G) theory (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1973–1974), a key assumption of which is that people actively choose media that can satisfy one or more needs. One of the needs might be a need to compare. Individuals are less likely to compare themselves to others that they perceive to be more dissimilar (e.g., distant sources of influence like the mass media; Morrison, Kalin, & Morrison, 2004). The need to compare to peers of the same sex is especially common among adolescent girls (Sheldon, 2013), as they often try to attract high quality mates (Gilbert, Price, & Allan, 1995).

Uses and Gratifications Theory and Social Media Comparisons

A number of studies have applied U&G to understand the gratifications/motives for using various new communication technologies (e.g., Krause, North, & Heritage, 2014; Mull & Lee, 2014; Sheldon & Bryant, 2016). As a result, new categories emerged explaining why people use Instagram, Pinterest, and Facebook. For example, Sheldon and Bryant (2016) found that the main reasons for Instagram use among college students are social interaction, documentation, coolness, and creativity. Sheldon, Rauschnabel, Antony, and Car (2017) added self-promotion and diversion.

Whiting and Williams (2013) defined the *social interaction* motive as "watching what others are doing." In recent years, opportunities for social interaction via social media such as Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, or Skype have greatly expanded, as users organize events, share photos, and chat with family and friends (Sheldon et al., 2017). *Documentation* is one of the newest identified gratifications for social media use (Sheldon

& Bryant, 2016). The documentation motive measures the extent to which users want to remember special events by sharing their photos and videos on the site. Unlike Facebook, Instagram encourages posting a limited number of pictures per day. The next motive is diversion. McQuail, Blumler, and Brown (1972) defined *diversion* as an escape from boredom or problems, and emotional release. A number of studies confirm that diversion accounts for much social media use (e.g., Krause, North, & Heritage, 2014; Sheldon, 2008). It is about gratifications derived from pleasurable experiences. Chen and Kim (2013) found a significant relationship between the diversion motive and problematic social media use. *Self-promotion* was another motive identified in previous U&G studies (e.g., Charney & Greenberg, 2001; Sheldon & Bryant, 2016). One major goal of many Instagram users is to gain a large number of "likes" for their posts. Such "likes" validate their popularity and status among peers (Dumas, Maxwell-Smith, Davis, & Giulietti, 2017). Finally, *creativity* is one of the newest discovered gratifications of social media use (Sheldon et al., 2017). It is defined as showing off one's skills and creating art. As a visually-based social networking site, there are ample opportunities for users to portray creative talents on Instagram. Instagram offers a number of special filters that allow users to edit the colors, filters, and resolutions of images before they are posted. Then there are creative captions and hashtags.

Overall, Instagram has a lot of features that encourage women to compare to each other. First, unlike other social media outlets that are more text-based (e.g., Twitter), Instagram focuses only on images. Considering that we do not know much about Instagram use relationship to different types of comparisons to others on social media, we ask the following research question:

RQ1: How does female college students' use of social media to compare themselves (in terms of school success, eating habits, exercise habits, happiness, intelligence, physical appearance, popularity, body weight, and muscle tone) to other female friends relate to their Instagram use (gratifications/motives, amount of time spent on Instagram, the frequency of editing Instagram photos, and the number of Instagram followers)?

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants for the study were recruited through classes offered at a southern American research university. Only female students with an existing Instagram account were allowed to participate. 163 women participated of which 132 were Instagram users (mean age = 21.46; *SD* = 3.68; age range 18-38). Of those 132, a70% self-identified as Caucasian, 10% African American, 9% Asian American, 5% Native American, 2% Hispanic, while the remaining 5% of participants did not fit into provided categories.

Materials

Eligible participants completed the survey questionnaire through the online program Qualtrics. Some participants received extra credit for their participation although surveys were completed outside of class. Demographic questions, as well as questions about the comparison to friends on social media, motives for Instagram use, and the behavioral outcomes of that use (the number of followers, hours spent on Instagram per day), were used.

Measures

Instagram uses and gratifications. To measure the reasons for Instagram use, 28 items were included in the questionnaire. Items were pooled from previous uses and gratifications of Instagram studies (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016; Sheldon et al., 2017). Survey participants had to answer how often (from 1 = *never* to 5 = *always*) they used Instagram for the given reasons. An exploratory factor analysis was used to verify motives for Instagram use. The factor analysis used a principal component solution and varimax rotation and specified the retention of factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0. This resulted in five factors that accounted for 66.18% of the variance (Table 1). The main reason participants used Instagram was social interaction (M = 3.73), followed by documenting (M = 3.39), diversion (M = 2.51), creativity (M = 2.09), and finally self-promotion (M = 1.94).

Instagram use. Instagram questions included the amount of Instagram use in minutes per day, the amount of time spent editing the photos before uploading them on Instagram, as well as the number of Instagram followers. Students reported that, on average, they spent 58 minutes a day on Instagram (M = 58.36; SD = 59.77). They spent close to 3 minutes on editing the photos before posting them for others to see (M = 2.81; SD = 1.30). On average, the number of followers was 608 (M = 608.31; SD = 618.85).

Comparison to friends on social media. Comparison to same-sex friends on social media was measured using items from the Comparison to Models Survey (Strowman, 1996) and body weight and muscle tone questions (Goodman, 2005). Female participants indicated how often they compare themselves to same-sex friends on social media (in terms of school success, eating habits, exercise habits, happiness, intelligence, physical appearance, popularity, body weight, muscle tone, and in general). One item was used to measure each type of comparison. Participants' responses ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*) (see Table 2).

Results

RQ1: Social Media Comparisons' Influence on Instagram Use

To better understand how comparisons to friends on social media influences Instagram use (motives, amount of time spent on the site, frequency of editing photos, number of Instagram followers), Pearson product-moment correlations and hierarchical multiple regressions were computed. A correlational analysis (Table 3) revealed a number of significant although weak relationships.

Hierarchical linear regressions

Eight hierarchical linear regressions were computed. Dependent variables included motives for Instagram use (documentation, social interaction, diversion, self-promotion, and creativity), as well as behavioral outcomes of that use (time spent on Instagram, frequency of editing Instagram photos, and the number of Instagram followers). Independent variables included comparison to other types (in terms of school success, eating habits, exercise habits, happiness, intelligence, physical appearance, popularity, body weight, muscle tone, and in general).

For the dependent variable documentation, results revealed that a comparison to female friends in terms of popularity was the only significant predictor of use for that reason ($B = .26$; $SE = .08$; $\beta = .31$; $p < .05$; $\Delta R^2 = .07$).

For the dependent variable social interaction, results revealed that 6% of the variance could be explained by comparisons to female friends in terms of muscle tone ($B = .19$; $SE = .06$; $\beta = .32$; $p < .05$; $\Delta R^2 = .06$). Another significant predictor of using Instagram for social interaction was a comparison in terms of popularity ($B = .13$; $SE = .06$; $\beta = .20$; $p < .05$; $\Delta R^2 = .05$).

For the dependent variable self-promotion, comparison in terms of physical appearance was the only significant predictor ($B = .15$; $SE = .08$; $\beta = .19$; $p < .05$; $\Delta R^2 = .03$).

For the dependent variable creativity, results revealed two significant predictors: comparison to friends in terms of school success ($B = .19$; $SE = .09$; $\beta = .21$; $p < .05$; $\Delta R^2 = .076$), explaining 7.6% of variance, and comparison to friends in terms of intelligence ($B = .20$; $SE = .09$; $\beta = .24$; $p < .05$ $\Delta R^2 = .036$), explaining 3.6% of variance in creativity.

No comparison variable could explain using Instagram for diversion.

The frequency of editing Instagram photos could be predicted by comparison in terms of popularity ($B = .29$; $SE = .11$; $\beta = .28$; $p < .05$; $\Delta R^2 = .07$), and comparison in terms of happiness. Happiness, however, was a negative predictor of the frequency of editing Instagram photos ($B = -.27$; $SE = .13$; $\beta = -.24$; $p < .05$ $\Delta R^2 = .02$). The number of Instagram followers could be predicted by comparison to female friends in terms of popularity ($B = 163.46$; $SE = .55$; $\beta = .33$; $p < .05$; $\Delta R^2 = .08$). The amount of time spent on Instagram could not be predicted by any comparison variable studied; however, the self-promotion motive was a significant predictor of the amount of time spent on Instagram ($B = 19.82$; $SE = 6.57$; $\beta = .29$; $p < .05$; $\Delta R^2 = .063$). Figure 1 represents all the significant relationships between comparison variables and Instagram use.

Discussion

The online world and especially visual social media sites such as Instagram offer new venues that adolescents and young adults use to compare themselves to others. Social comparisons are much more common among women than men; yet, to our knowledge this is the first study to explore how female college students use social media to compare themselves to other female friends, especially in terms of school success, intelligence, and happiness, and not just physical appearance.

Previous research shows that women are often dissatisfied with their bodies as a result of social comparison to peers. Most social comparisons are physical appearance comparisons (Rutledge et al., 2013; Sheldon, 2013). Our findings confirm results of prior research. When asked about comparisons that happen through social media, women rated comparison to other females in terms of looks highest. Considering the nature of Instagram, which focuses on images of a person's face or body, this is not surprising—although it is alarming. According to the latest statistics from the American Society of Plastic Surgeons (ASPS), there has been an increase in the number of cosmetic procedures performed in this country in the last 15 years, and those statistics include children and adolescents as well (American Society of Plastic Surgeons, 2016). In addition, when exposed to mass media images such as fitspiration photos on Instagram or images of thin fashion models in magazines, women experience decreased self-esteem and an increased drive for thinness (Groesz, Levine, & Murnen, 2002; Park, 2005; Tiggemann & Zaccarddo, 2015)—which frequently leads to the development of eating disorders (Harrison & Cantor, 1997).

Our results show that depending on how women choose to compare themselves to other females, their motives for using Instagram might be different. This finding reflects the basic tenets of the uses and gratifications theory (Katz et al., 1973–1974) that people's needs influence their media choices. For example, this study finds that using Instagram for documentation purposes is only related to one type of comparison, and that is in terms of popularity. Comparison in terms of popularity is also positively related to the number of Instagram followers. The latter finding is not surprising. When it comes to popularity, one major goal of many Instagram users is to gain a large number of "likes" for their posts (Dumas et al., 2017). Social network sites might be ideal venues for "high need for popularity" individuals, because they provide users with a large audience (Utz, Tanis, & Vermeulen, 2012). Documentation has previously been identified as one of the motives for Instagram use (Sheldon & Bryant, 2016; Sheldon et al., 2017). Interestingly, no studies have made connections between the need to document and popularity comparisons.

We find a positive relationship between using Instagram to socially interact and comparisons in terms of popularity and body weight/muscle tone. This reaffirms the common belief that Instagram is all about self-promotion and looks. Even theories on the psychological development of emerging adults state that young adults tend to explore self-identity by seeking continuous approval from peers during the process (Arnett, 2004). This is at the core of Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory. Because most friends on social network sites are weak ties or even strangers, Utz et al. (2012) previously argued that need for popularity is a better predictor of social SNS behavior than need to belong. As evident from the current study, comparisons in terms of popularity predict a wide range of Instagram behaviors. This social app is, therefore, not very different from other types of new technologies whose use reflect our quest for fame and the need to feel seen and valued (Greenwood, 2013).

Another interesting and somewhat unique finding was the relationship between creativity and comparison in terms of school success and intelligence. As a visually-based social networking site, there are ample opportunities for users to portray creative talents on Instagram. Instagram offers a number of special filters that allow users to edit the colors, filters, and resolutions of images before they are posted. Then there are creative captions and hashtags. They require some skills and intelligence. Creative Instagram users therefore compare to peers based on intelligence which relates to the trend of being different (i.e., creative), and how clever one is by picture angles or even captions.

When it comes to editing Instagram photos, we find that less happy individuals are more likely to edit their photos before posting. This is a novel finding, but it is not surprising considering previous research on self-esteem and the greater likelihood to compare to others (Sheldon, 2010).

Although the amount of time spent on Instagram was not related to any types of social comparisons, the self-promotion motive was a significant predictor of time spent on the site. This again confirms our findings that self-promotion and popularity are driving forces behind Instagram use. In their study examining how culture influences motivations for Instagram use, Sheldon et al. (2017) found that American participants who use Instagram for self-promotion tend to spend more hours on Instagram, whereas participants from more collectivistic cultures do not. These findings align with our study. Uhls and Greenfield's (2012) focus groups with 20 children between 10 and 12 years of age revealed that fame was the number one cultural value in the preadolescent sample. Nearly half of the photos posted and shared on Instagram are categorized as "selfies" and "self-presented photos with friends" (Hu, Manikonda, & Kambhampati, 2014).

Limitations and Future Research

Although Instagram's most active users are in the same age category (18 – 29 years old) as those who participated in our study, our sample consisted of primarily white American college students. Thus, the findings may not be generalizable to other groups of women, According to most recent Pew Research Center survey findings, Instagram is more popular among African-American young adults than among Caucasian young adults ("Social Media Fact Sheet", 2019).

Second, the limitation of all social comparison studies is that most people are reluctant to admit that they compare themselves to others (Lee, 2014). Therefore, future research should include other demographics and also employ different methods to uncover social comparison trends. Most studies on social comparison are also cross-sectional, thus preventing us from making causal conclusions. Another limitation of this study is that it did not identify the types of images female participants were exposed to on Instagram. Different types of accounts and people post differently, yet users of Instagram usually follow a large number of others so the only way to track this would be to have participants personally fill out a form of that information during the given time period. Studies should focus on the type of imagery (i.e. selfie, groups, edited or not) to see if they have any differing effects on how young females compare themselves to them.

Finally, U&G theory used in this study to understand the needs for Instagram use did not take into account the social context of the media, including the environment as well as the state of the media user.

Conclusion

Applying social comparisons theory (Festinger, 1954), this study examined how female college students' use of social media to compare themselves (in terms of school success, eating habits, exercise habits, happiness, intelligence, physical appearance, popularity, body weight, and muscle tone) to other female friends relates to their Instagram use. Results revealed that comparison to female friends influences how women use Instagram. While comparisons in terms of physical appearance are most frequent among women on social media, popularity is a driving force behind Instagram use. Overall, this study contributes to the current research literature on motives for Instagram use, offering insights into how social comparisons processes might relate to different motives for Instagram use.

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Table 1
Factor Matrix of Motives for Instagram Use

	Self-Promotion	Social Interaction	Diversion	Documenting	Creativity
To become popular	.80				
To self-promote myself	.83				
To show off	.66				
To see what other people share		.76			
To follow my friends		.73			
To “creep” through other people’s posts		.64			
To see “visual status updates” of my friends		.73			
To escape from reality			.74		
To avoid loneliness			.65		
To relax			.77		
To remember special events				.88	
To remember something important				.87	
To commemorate an event				.73	
To depict my life through photos				.65	
To create art					.81
To show off my photography skills					.85
Alpha	.76	.75	.74	.89	.72
Mean	1.94	**3.73**	2.51	3.39	2.09
SD	.90	.80	.98	1.02	1.06

Pattern Matrix; Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis, Rotation Method: Varimax.
Overall variance explained: 66.18%
Values <.3 are suppressed.

Table 2

Comparison to Female Friends on Social Media Items

	*M**	*SD*
In general	3.15	1.03
In terms of school success	3.06	1.15
In terms of eating habits	2.68	1.27
In terms of exercise habits	2.99	1.20
In terms of happiness	3.06	1.12
In terms of intelligence	2.78	1.20
In terms of physical appearance	**3.46**	1.14
In terms of popularity	2.70	1.27
In terms of body weight	3.14	1.32
In terms of muscle tone	2.94	1.34

*responses ranged from 1(never) to 5(always)

Table 3

Inter-item Correlations between Instagram Use and Comparison to Friends on Social Media

Comparison to Friends on Social Media	*Document. Motive*	*Social Interact. Motive*	*Diversion Motive*	*Self-Promotion Motive*	*Creativity Motive*	*Hours on Instagram*	*Freq. of editing Instagram photos*	*Number of Instagram Followers*
In general	.29**	.21**	**.32****	.15*	.17*	-.04	.16*	-.01
In terms of school success	.22**	.04	.10	.18*	.23**	.12	.09	-.09
In terms of eating habits	.31**	.14	.09	.24**	.20**	.06	.22**	.03
In terms of exercise habits	.34**	.08	.23**	.26**	.11	.05	.19*	.10
In terms of happiness	.25**	.12	.24**	.07	.11	-.07	.01	-.09
In terms of intelligence	.09	.01	.15*	.16*	**.29****	.00	.02	-.04
In terms of physical appearance	.39**	.34**	.26**	.18*	.12	.08	.23**	-.05
In terms of popularity	**.44****	**.37****	.08	**.36****	.16**	.09	**.31****	**.19***
In terms of body weight	.40**	.25**	.18*	.24**	.13	**.15***	**.27****	.05
In terms of muscle tone	.30**	**.39****	.10	.16*	.11	**.17***	.17**	.10

Note: *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.0$

Mentoring as Applied Communication Education

Deborah Breede and Margene Willis

This narrative exploration presents mentoring as an applied pedagogical tool within an interpersonal communication classroom. Analyzing the successes and challenges of a regional public university's partnership with a K–8 public school district, this critical essay reviews traditional and current conceptualizations of mentoring, responds to recent calls for increased mentoring within the communication discipline, and applies interpersonal communication objectives and outcomes to a required mentoring project in a collegiate classroom. We assert that mentoring programs have valuable pedagogical functions within communication classrooms that foster student successes, abilities, knowledges, and advanced understandings of their worlds and the interpersonal communication inhabiting them.

Keywords: Pedagogy, Communication Education, Mentoring, Interpersonal Communication, Student Success

Introduction and Background: "Fear Does Not Exist in This Dojo"

The further I drove down the street, the more dilapidated the neighborhood. I had volunteered to mentor an inner city child, and I was reconsidering my decision. Boarded buildings with iron bars stretched down either side of the potholed and unmarked road. Some boys played basketball on one street corner lot, weeds sprouting through the concrete. The basket had no netting, just a rusted wire rim, and the thud of the ball, the boys' taunts and jeers, echoed against the concrete. On the opposite street corner, an old man wearing a dark suit sat in a green lawn chair. They had both seen better days. I stopped to check the address. Rich blue twilight was receding; darkness approached. I was afraid to get out of my car. I jumped at the knock on my window.

"Are you my mentor?" A girl about 12 or 13 stood there, one hand twirling a braid. I rolled down my window. "From the university? Are you my mentor?" She repeated, eying me warily, with desire and distrust, hope and hostility, rocking slightly back and forth on sneakers that, like the concrete lot and basketball rim, like the old man and lawn chair, had seen better days. Those eyes sealed the deal. I leaned my head out of the window and smiled broadly. "Yes," I replied. "I'm your new mentor."

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Justification: "A Zen philosophy"

It is the first day of the semester, and I introduce my Interpersonal Communication course (COMM 350) to the mentoring project, a component of their final grade in the class. As a skill set, value, ethic, and, I would suggest, a moral obligation, mentoring has become an integral part of this upper level offering.

"Why mentoring?" I query. "As we'll discover later in the semester, mentoring applies multiple interpersonal communication assumptions, skills, and outcomes to the one-on-one relationship that often characterizes an interpersonal dyad. Our textbook, *Your Interpersonal Communication* (Mottet, Vogl-Bauer, et. al., 2012), defines interpersonal communication as 'a transactional process that occurs when two people use verbal and nonverbal messages to create understanding and to influence each other to manage the relationship' (p. 5). These relationships pack powerful rhetorical punches; people situated within our interpersonal relationships, such as family members and friends, are the most influential persuasions we receive. Importantly for us as communication scholars, however, is Taylor's (2018) argument that formal mentoring programs are generally absent within the communication discipline, especially as we prepare communication professionals for work within our field. He asserts that 'mentoring and coaching for leadership have probably been largely ad hoc for most in the communication discipline' (p. 22). I agree. This project serves to apply interpersonal communication skills to a mentoring relationship."

"But I thought mentoring was like when a boss or someone at work takes you under their wing and helps you along?" asks Tierra, her forehead crinkling with her question. "Or like a guide at camp or counselor at school?" She turns toward the girl sitting next to her and says, "You know, Kyla, like Mrs. Crowley?" They nod together, and Kyla says, "Our high school guidance counselor."

"Yes, that's often the case," I respond. "But let's start at the beginning…"

Research Area: "The Crane Kick Stance"

This article arises from a larger project examining mentoring in multiple contexts that stems from my initial participation in and subsequent research within The Dalton and Linda Floyd Family Mentoring Program. The program pairs willing college students with children (K-8) in area schools. Schoolchildren recommended by their teachers or counselors to the program can obtain educational and social enrichment and/or tutoring from vetted and trained undergraduate students who participate in the program through coursework within areas as diverse as communication, education, language and intercultural studies, sociology, psychology, and public health. The program aims to raise awareness of the university among area youth, with the ultimate goal of improving their educational and social skills and facilitating their college attendance (The Dalton and Linda Floyd Family Mentoring Program). All of the children are at risk for various reasons: family housing and/or employment uncertainties, custody disputes, family loss and/or illness, and a host of other challenges that complicate a child's educational needs. Margene Willis, the Mentoring Specialist within the program and my long-time colleague, mentor, friend, and co-author of this piece, has visited my classes each fall since 2014 to promote the program and recruit potential mentors. Since then, we have been researching and documenting the successes of the program as well as the individual benefits and challenges for program participants.

In this particular piece, we analyze, document, narrativize and present the specific successes and challenges resulting from students' participation in the program as a project requirement in my Interpersonal Communication (COMM 350) classes. Additionally, we apply mentoring literature and the real world experiences of our students and ourselves within the classroom setting. We employ the first person within the narrative sections of the paper while using third person plural for other sections of the paper to differentiate between my teaching experiences and our research findings. Our section headings, all quotations from the film *The Karate Kid*, reflect mentor Mr. Miyagi's mentoring strategies with his young protégé, Daniel LaRusso. Throughout the film we witness Daniel's transformation from a frightened, insecure newcomer to a brave, confident "Sensei Dan," largely due to the influence of his mentor. We assert that mentoring programs have valuable pedagogical functions within communication classrooms that foster student successes, abilities, knowledges, and advanced understandings of their worlds and the interpersonal communication that inhabits them.

Literature Review: "Wax on, wax off"

Often situated within institutional contexts such as business and education, scholars have traditionally defined mentoring relationships in ways that suggest temporal, contextual, and power-laden qualities. In some professional and educational contexts, organizational leaders choose mentors for new employees. In other settings, mentoring relationships are more organic in genesis. For example, Gong, et. al. (2014) suggest that mentoring relationships begin early in one's time with an organization, often as a "…traditional recruitment mechanism whereby protégées can acquire mentoring [and] support…" (p. 490). Bloomberg (2014), on the other hand, defines mentoring as "…a relationship that gradually evolved over time and included sharing ideas, advice, and wisdom" (p. 88). As commonly conceptualized, "a mentoring relationship involves a more experienced professional serving as a supportive and guiding role model" (Bin Tareef, 2013, p. 703).

In addition to defining mentoring, scholars have classified types of mentoring. Mansson & Myers (2013), following Kram (1983, 1988), distinguish between "career mentoring [which] refers to behaviors intended to advance a protégé's job skill development" and "psychosocial mentoring" (p. 55) which reference an individual's sense of poise and self-efficacy. Within those delineations, researchers have identified multiple sub-sets of career and psychosocial mentoring (Hill, Bahniuk, et. al., 1989; Schrodt, Cawyer, et. al., 2003).

Researchers and practitioners alike have identified positive outcomes for mentees and mentors. Participation in mentoring programs facilitates leadership, fosters organizational enthusiasm, enables professional growth, and improves employee collegiality (Canter et. al., 2012; Ghosh & Reio, 2013; Hart, 2009; Rodd, 2006; Taylor, 2018; Weasmer & Woods, 2008; Weaver, 2004; Wilson & Elman, 1990; Wright, 2012). Additionally, mentoring garners positive financial outcomes for both the mentor and the mentee (Hart, 2009). These can include "…awards, promotions, financial compensation, development of a professional relationship network, opportunities for collaboration, and research production and dissemination" (Canter, et. al., 2012, p. 162).

Benefits to mentor and mentee serve the organization as well. The existence of a mentoring program facilitates successful recruitment and improves retention (Hart, 2009). According to Henriques & Curado (2008), a mentor can provide "career guidance, personal support, and facilitate the socialization process into the organization" (p. 86). They also found that "mentoring programs allow talent development, improvement of employee knowledge, skills, and abilities, and employee retention" (p. 94). Wilson & Elman (1990) argue that mentoring "provides a structured system for strengthening and assuring the continuity of organizational culture" (p. 89).

A mentor can be transformational for children, adolescents, and young adults (Bella & Bloom, 2003; Rodd, 2006). Doan (2013) asserts that "…pursuing research on the mentoring needs of novice early childhood educators could lead to increased levels of workplace satisfaction for mentors and novice early childhood educators, including less burnout, greater understanding of leadership in early childhood education, and better quality care." Jahn & Myers (2014) discovered that the messages adolescents receive could foster "vocational anticipatory socialization" providing youth with positive personal fulfilment and career details furthering their educational, professional, and personal success. In other words, "mentoring can help a child to find the right path" (Hatcher, 2013, p. 7).

Scholars have identified a variety of personal benefits to mentoring as well. In a survey of attorneys participating in the State of Utah's mandatory mentoring program(s), mentees described the ways in which their mentors helped them manage challenges and difficulties, assisted them in becoming more "well rounded and skilled," and were one of their "most valuable assets." As one mentee summarized, "I gained a life-long friend and confidant" (Wright, 2012, p. 35). Canter et. al. (2012) noted over 155 personal benefits found within mentoring relationships in their study of psychologists. These included "…feelings of intrinsic satisfaction, development of personal relationships, and personal growth, such as development of personal views and beliefs" (p. 162).

Mentoring is so important for communication scholars, students, researchers, and practitioners that the National Communication Association's magazine, *SPECTRA*, recently devoted an entire issue to the subject, within which Jackson (2018) observed that "people mentor in a variety of ways " (p. 2). Mentoring occurs both informally and formally in contexts that are as varied as schools and homes, corporations and small businesses, governments and not for profits. Mentoring is a relational process and creates a reciprocal space (Ghosh & Reio, 2013). Canter et. al. (2011) claim that there is "…a greater complexity to mentoring than the one-sided transmission of knowledge, skills, and interactions that is commonly used to define the term…" (p. 162) and suggest a "bi-directional definition" of mentoring to "more accurately describe the relationship" (p. 158). Therefore, we embrace Srivastava & Thakur's (2013) description of mentoring as a more relationally based shared benefit. They assert that mentoring is "…synonymous with mutuality and reciprocity, shared influence, reliance on communal norms of exchange, self-affirmation, and inspiration…" (p. 16). We concur, and reiterate that mentoring can have tangible, instrumental, transformative, and long lasting benefits for both the mentor and the mentee that affect others outside of a "mentoring" interpersonal relationship. Mentoring becomes inspirational for all.

The Interpersonal Communication Mentoring Project: "Sweep the Leg"

"All right, students, let's get out the syllabus (Appendix A) and the "Mentoring Project Assignment Sheet" (Appendix B). Students pull out book bags, laptops, and cellphones. I wait a moment as they retrieve their notebooks, log in to wireless, and access their materials. It's about a month into the semester; by this time Margene has visited my class to "pitch" the mentoring program; interested students have been recruited, trained, and have visited with their mentees once or twice; and as is typical each semester, about a quarter of the class (generally three to five students) are now Teal Youth Mentors. I explain the grading requirements of the project, and we begin brainstorming ideas. As usual, the students' interests are diverse. Some want to complete a traditional research paper about mentoring, some want to analyze one of their favorite films, and some want to complete an art project accompanied by an artist's statement. I mention that in the past some students have created a gift that they then presented to a mentor, or wrote their mentor a letter expressing their relationship.

Kyla looks quizzical and raises her hand. "You mean we can write a letter?" she asks. "How do you include the concepts from the book and the references and all?"

"Students in the past have done this a variety of ways," I explain. "They'll often describe a quality about their mentor, and then say something like 'Interpersonal professors call this 'agape,' (Mottet, et. al., 2012, p. 273) it's a selfless love, and the way you showed this to me made me want to show it to others.' You can cite it right in the letter; then attach your reference sheet to my copy of the letter. Other students have attached an index to the letter for their class submission. There are several ways to do it." Kyla is nodding and taking notes.

Tierra raises her hand. "I don't understand how we do the project if we're actually volunteering as mentors? We're going to visit our mentee at least once a week, and doing the logs for Ms. Margene, and Teal Youth Day with our mentees...it's a lot of work…" Her voice trails off. Several students nod.

"It is a lot of work; you're actively performing your project, and that's why all you submit to me is an artist's statement, as if you were doing a piece of art. Your project is the performance of mentoring, and the product of your project is the contribution you make to this young person. The product of a research paper is the paper itself; the product of an artistic vision is the piece of art; the product of your performance of mentoring is evidenced every time you interact with that young person." My voice is raising with passion. "Your service is your product. That is why you design a one or two page artist's statement and attach your references. Ms. Margene provides me with your logs, which is another product of your performance." I display some sample artists' statements and access our university art gallery's current schedule.

The Mentoring Project seems most successful when students have several opportunities to discuss, craft, and draft their projects. I budget a full class period to explain the project, the idea brainstorm, and in a seventy-five minute class, include a walk over to the university art gallery to continue the brainstorm and view more artist's statements. Then, a few weeks after that, the first draft of the project is due in a full class period that consists of peer review. I place students in groups of three, distribute peer review sheets (Appendix C), and students review each other's outlines, storyboards, paper drafts and/or idea trees. Students submit these for my review; I return them to the auteurs with my feedback. When possible, we have a second peer review class a few weeks before the project's due date.

Because of the size of the class, I am unable to accommodate individual project presentations. Instead, I use the due date for the project as a "World Café" day. According to Brown (2018), "It's never enough to just tell people about some new insight. Rather, you have to get them to experience it in a way that evokes its power and possibility" (www.theworldcafe.com). Conversational design principles and a simple method form the basis of a World Café event, and it usually begins with one fundamental question. In this case, our World Café question is "What are the benefits and challenges of the mentoring relationship, and how can we better facilitate mentoring as interpersonal communication scholars?" Conforming to the World Café design principles can be challenging in an institutional classroom, but we all bring refreshments, tablecloths, and the accoutrements of a restaurant to create our café.

It is the end of the semester. Conversation is robust; laughter is infectious. With the inspiration of the large placemat-like poster paper, crayons, and markers, students eat, drink, laugh, talk, and play. They doodle and record their conversations around our central question: "What are the benefits and challenges of the mentoring relationship, and how can we better facilitate mentoring as interpersonal communication scholars?" Students describe their projects, and the room gets loud. It is my favorite day of the semester. My second favorite day is Teal Youth Day, when our Dalton Family Mentees visit campus for a day of activities. After a rousing kick off in our football stadium, mentees take a campus tour; engage in a variety of recreational activities; eat lunch at one of the campus dining facilities; and each child leaves campus with a new book. Hosted by their mentors, the children oooh and aaah over the turtles in Wally Pond, Prince Lawn's emerald green expanse, and the array of dessert selections at Hicks Dining Hall. It is an invigorating and inspiring day.

Analysis and Discussion: "Sensei Dan"

Several of my students' observations and lessons learned regarding mentoring echo much of the literature we have presented earlier in this piece. Whether they participate in the Dalton and Linda Floyd Family Mentoring Program or use this project assignment to reflect on a past mentoring experience, students have used words such as "life changing," transformational," and "valuable."

The Projects

The research papers, film analyses, and other written projects that students complete for this assignment are often good, but rarely extraordinary. The art projects that students complete for this assignment, however, tend to be more imaginative, insightful, and complex. For example, "Flowers" was a gift for a mentor who helped a lost and lonely transfer student find her calling and become a campus leader. "Never Lose your Sparkle" was a tribute to a mentor who helped a student athlete realize her self-worth after she was cut from the softball team. The concept of "reflected appraisals" (Mottet, et. al., 2012) (i.e., looking glass self, Cooley, 1912), with the aid of her mentor, helped one student understand how the construction of multiple selves (Gergen 1971, 1991; Kondo, 1990) worked toward recovery from trauma. Students' artist statements explain the relational mentoring, apply at least two concepts from our interpersonal textbook, and offer the students new and unexpected insights into their selves, their relationships, and their worlds. These works of art, attached as Appendix D, have certainly informed students' understanding of interpersonal communication, and, more specifically, mentoring.

Actual participation in the mentoring program, however, is transformational for most students. Student mentors overwhelmingly agree that serving as a mentor helped them "to be and see myself as a positive role model;" increased "…awareness of social and cultural similarities and differences [and] …intention to volunteer and be of service to others." They agreed that their involvement helped them "…develop a better understanding of our global society" (Photographs of Teal Youth Day are attached as Appendix E. Representative comments from the Mentor Survey Results are attached as Appendix F.)

While this article focuses on the pedagogical value of the mentoring program within the communication curriculum, we have also examined the efficacy of the program for the at risk children who it serves (Bergstrom, Breede & Willis, 2019). The program seems to be transformational for the schoolchildren who participate in the program. Surveys completed by the elementary and middle school mentees 2014-2017 have been consistently and overwhelmingly positive. While many of the participants mentioned how much fun they had with their mentors and how much they liked their mentors bringing them ice cream or buying them birthday presents, most survey respondents acknowledged the instrumental benefits of having a mentor. Students consistently mentioned "helping" as a benefit of the program, and "helping" included academic, social, personal, and emotional assistance. For example, "I liked her helping me learn to read," "she would help with stuff I don't understand," and "she was helping me when my anger showed" are typical of the types of "help" that children stated their mentors provided. Children also consistently mentioned the importance of "having a friend," especially "a college friend." Respondents frequently cited "Making a friend" and "having a college friend." They used similar constructions, such as "I always had someone by my side" and "you had someone to hang out with." This relationship was often characterized as "familial"; i.e., "I felt like I actually had a sister" and "I had someone to talk to, an older person, like a brother." Students often mentioned the value of "talk" as a benefit of the program. "I could talk to my mentor about anything" and "I always had someone to talk to" are just a few of the representative comments from the mentee surveys, but my frequently appearing favorite when asked what they liked best about the program – "EVERYTHING!" Representative comments from the Mentee Survey Results are attached as Appendix G.

The mentoring project also garners positive reviews in course evaluations for the university faculty who foster its participation within their classes. My course evaluations from Fall 2014–Fall 2017 have been consistently positive and reflect the success of this pedagogy. From the speaker's visits to the mentoring project, students praised the incorporation of mentoring into the interpersonal communication curricular content. Selected, pertinent comments are reflected in Appendix H. Other faculty who facilitate student participation in the mentoring program also report improved faculty evaluation comments. In an interview study conducted among Coastal faculty (Breede & Willis, 2019), faculty from disciplines as diverse as Education, Health Sciences, Honors, Languages and Intercultural Studies, Psychology, and Sociology all reported improved faculty evaluations within their courses that had a mentoring component.

We believe that mentoring is contagious. It creates a reciprocal space, motivating others to mentor because of the mentoring observed, displayed, and/or received. While I tend to receive student comments that reflect my passion for the field, nowhere are these comments more common than in Interpersonal Communication (COMM 350). My passion for mentoring is easily transferable to my students, and they internalize, motivate, and enact this passion in turn. The pedagogy becomes the mentoring. The mentoring becomes the pedagogy.

Challenges, Implications and Future Study: "Mercy is for the weak"

Certainly, the success of this curricular component within the Interpersonal Communication course is in large part facilitated by the Dalton and Linda Floyd Family Mentoring Program and Horry County Schools. These entities fund, foster, and facilitate the program, and most participants believe that the program would not be possible without the shared resources, cooperation, and commitment evidenced by both of these institutions. Horry County Schools provide referrals into the program and allow mentors to visit during the activity hours within the regular school schedule. The Dalton and Linda Floyd Family Mentoring Program completes mentor background checks and develops the mentor training, materials and resources. Together, the two partners handle trouble shooting and problem solving, and participating faculty assist in the recruitment of the student mentors.

However, faculty and staff have identified many of the reasons that prevent some students from program participation as weaknesses of the program. First, a lack of transportation makes program participation difficult for many students. Administrative rules prevent first year students on this campus from having cars, and public transportation options are sparse. An underfunded public bus system is the only option for those students who do not have a car, and our county is geographically disparate and larger than the state of Rhode Island. Because the mentor/mentee visits can only occur during the daily activity hours, many students cannot participate because of scheduling conflicts. Some students begin the process of mentoring, but then do not visit their school and mentee regularly, resulting in dissatisfaction, disillusionment, and disappointment for the mentee. Finally, we never have enough mentors to meet all children's needs, and each year we have a shortage of male participants.

There are also socio-economic factors that affect the program's success. Horry County suffers from low high school graduation rates, low wages, and limited economic opportunities, and these challenges sometimes foster parental resistance to the program. Some parents are reluctant to permit their children to participate in the program because of privacy concerns and/or fear of outsiders. Sometimes, my student mentors are disappointed that some parents will not allow their children to participate in activities such as Teal Youth Day, stating that such participation is "a waste of time" since their child will not be attending college anyway.

We also recognize that this research area suffers from a lack of inquiry that identifies causal relationships between participation in the program and indicators of success, for both the mentees and the mentors. For the mentees, while scholars have identified correlations among increased graduation rates, decreased disciplinary actions, and increased academic success, it is difficult to isolate cause and effect relationships. This is also true for the mentors. While the benefits of being a mentor have been well documented, much of this data is anecdotal and highly personal. We need more social science research, especially within the communication field, on the benefits of mentoring and its success when used as a curricular tool. This research may assist stakeholders in funding and developing more mentoring programs and partnerships among educational providers.

While we certainly believe that increased transportation provisions, more social science research, and identification of the ways in which larger socio-economic weaknesses affect educational successes for participants, we also believe that there is an ephemeral quality to the mentoring relationship. It is performative, highly subjective in many ways, and fleeting. Like many issues affecting the education of young people today, there are tensions between the results of hard science and the ineffability of care, compassion, commitment, and the complexities surrounding the ways in which these ethics affect others. Scholars must acknowledge and address these complexities in future studies on mentoring.

Conclusion: “Mr. Miyagi and the Karate Kid”

Mrs. Felton’s fingernails floated through the air, as shiny and amorphous as her long, flowing maxi-dress. Her narrow white sneakers peeked out from the hem of the dress. “Cultural choices are neither right nor wrong,” she enunciated in her perfect grammar. “They are simply different. When we feel as though our cultural norms are superior to others, we are practicing ethnocentrism. “E T H N O C E N T R I S M.” Mrs. Felton spells the word out on the chalkboard in big capital letters, white chalk dust salting her wildly printed dress. “Ethnocentrism unfairly judges other cultures, especially non-white, non-western, and/or non-Christian cultures. We do not judge culture. We experience it. We learn from it.” I was enthralled. As a high school junior, I had gotten special permission to enroll in Mrs. Felton’s senior seminar, “The Anthropology of Culture.” I had Mrs. Felton for U. S. History, Psychology; I tried to take every class she offered. Many students made fun of her—her odd tennis shoes, her unusual accent, her skeletal shape—but I adored her. She had introduced me to the pre-Columbian empire of the Powhatan, she had turned me on to Freud, and now, we were embarking on a new journey together. She was a teacher, a hippie, a shaman. She was my mentor, and I wanted to be just like her.

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Appendix A

Pertinent Portions of Syllabus for Comm 350 (1) - Interpersonal Communication – Fall 20178/22/17-12/14/17 Lecture Tuesday, Thursday 3:05 PM – 4:20 PM, Brittain Hall, Room 239

"It's the sense of touch. In any real city, you walk, you know? You brush past people, people bump into you. In L.A., nobody touches you. We're always behind this metal and glass. I think we miss that touch so much, that we crash into each other, just so we can feel something."
Paul Haggis, Crash (2004)

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Office Email:	dbreede@coastal.edu
Office Hours:	Mondays – Thursdays 10:00 am -12:00 pm and by appointment

Course Description

Interpersonal Communication Foundations. (3) (Prereq: COMM 101/140) This course will cover the basic principles of interpersonal communication which includes -but is not limited to- communicating with friends, co-workers, fellows students, and various general publics. Discussions will cover general communication theories and topics such as communication and self-concept, perceptions, language and culture, nonverbal communication, conflict management, and listening. Students will work on deepening their understanding of communication and on improving their communication skills. F, S.

Standards of Academic Integrity

Coastal Carolina University is an academic community that expects the highest standards of honesty, integrity and personal responsibility. Members of this community are accountable for their actions and are committed to creating an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust.

Required Text(s)

Please bring your required book(s) to class each day along with notebook (paper and/or electronic), paper (yes, old school!), and writing utensils. Please silence and stow all electronic equipment if not being used for class. Thanks!

The following text is available at the Coastal Carolina University bookstore "used." It can also be found at other area bookstores as well as at your favorite online book vendor. You will not be able to locate a new version of this book.

Mottet, T. P., Vogl-Bauer, S., & Houser, M. L. (2012). *Your interpersonal communication.* Boston: Pearson.

Course Instructional Objectives

- Define and apply a variety of theoretical applications to your own and others' interpersonal communication within a variety of contexts;
- Critically evaluate the intricacies of interpersonal relationships and the communication issues surrounding human interaction in various contexts;
- Manage conflict in a variety of interpersonal communicative contexts;
- Hone oral and written communication skills to reflect an advanced ability to synthesize and theorize interpersonal communication concepts;
- Improve research and cognitive skills.

Student Learning Outcomes

When you complete this course you will be able to

- Identify and apply individual preferences and an increased appreciation for the differences of others within a variety of interpersonal communication contexts.
- Identify, assess, and manage the dialectical tensions that arise as students use communication in interpersonal contexts to satisfy conflicting personal needs.
- Identify, apply, and manage the ways in which the process of perception affects communication behavior.
- Create and maintain supportive communication climates.
- Resolve conflict in interpersonal communication contexts.
- Develop competencies to improve communication with individuals from other cultures and co-cultures.

Grading Procedures

Assignment	Percentage of Final Grade
Classwork	20%
Homework	20%
Midterm Exam	20%
Final Exam	20%
Mentoring Project	20%

Class Schedule

Class Date	Class Topic	Preparation for Next Class
Tues 8/22	Introductions and Orientations The Interpersonal Project	Obtain book. Read Chapters 1 & 2. To turn in 8/31 p. 59 BYS #6 & incorporate TDQ #4, 5, & 6. Complete sentences; use text.
Thur 8/24		
Tues 8/29	Guest speaker Margene Willis	
Thur 8/31	Self, personality & communication	Read Ch 3. To turn in 9/7 p. 87 TDS#2 or 3.
Tues 9/5	Perception & Interpersonal communication	Read Chapters 4 & 5 Verbal and nonverbal communication
Thur 9/7		
Tues 9/12	Verbal and nonverbal communication in Interpersonal Relationships	
Thur 9/14		Read Ch 6. To turn in 9/28 p. 177 DQ#4 & BYS#3. Are you developing ideas for your mentoring project?
Tues 9/19		
Thur 9/21	Mentoring Project discussions	
Tues 9/26	Emotions in interpersonal relationships	
Thur 9/28		Read Ch 7. To turn in 10/5 p. 203 BYS # 2, 3 OR 4. Be sure to apply to readings.
Tues 10/3		
Thur 10/5	Midterm Review	Study for Midterm Exam
Tues 10/10	Midterm Exam	Draft Mentoring Project Due 10/12
Thur 10/12	Peer Review Mentoring Project	Read Chapter 8
Tues 10/17	Conflict within interpersonal relationships	Read Ch 9. To turn in/bring to class DQ#2 or #3 on 10/24
Thur 10/19		
Tues 10/24	Understanding relationships	Read Ch 10 Understanding relationships.
Thur 10/26		Read Ch 11 & 12. Due Tues 11/7 BYS pp. 305 & 327 #1 combine weeklong journal requirements & activities. Apply concepts.
Tues 10/31	Families, Friends & Work: Interpersonally speaking. Work on Mentoring Project!	
Thur 11/2		
Tues 11/7		During this period of time, your only homework is to be finishing your interpersonal mentoring project due 11/14
Thur 11/9		
Tues 11/14	Mentoring Project Due	
Thur 11/16	NCA Annual Conference – No Class	During this period of time, your only homework is catching up on all readings and beginning to prepare for the final exam
Tues 11/21-Thur 11/30	Thanksgiving Holiday	
Tues 12/5	Review for Final Exam	Study for final exam
Thur 12/7	Study Day No Classes	
Tues 12/12	Final Exam @ 4:00 pm	Good Luck and Thanks for Taking this Class

Appendix B

Project Assignment Interpersonal Communication Comm 350

I. Objectives:
   A. Students will explain, critique and complexify interpersonal communication norms in a particular segment of our culture: within interpersonal relationships that contain some aspect of mentoring
   B. Students will develop and complete an original project, paper, or applied experience that illustrates at least two theoretical interpersonal communication norms, concepts, and/or suggestions within the context they have chosen;
   C. Students will achieve these objectives in an original paper, poster, three dimensional project, electronic recording, or applied experience that is interesting, thorough, creative, and free of mechanical error.

II. Project options:
   A. Margene Willis, Project Coordinator, *THE DALTON AND LINDA FLOYD FAMILY MENTORING PROGRAM*
   B. Previous mentoring experiences
   C. Formal and/or informal mentoring experiences
   D. Analysis of mentoring relationships
   E. New theoretical positionalities for mentoring

III. Preparing for the assignment
   A. As we move through the textbook, think about what areas of interpersonal communication interest you the most.
   B. Think about the assignments we're doing/have done in class. What did you most enjoy? What was most interesting to you?
   C. Think about your interpersonal relationships. Who has influenced you in a positive way through that relationship? What type of influence was it?
   D. Develop a thesis; for example, "Children who suffer from poverty are often unprepared and ill equipped to start school. Mentoring can help these children achieve success" OR "In the film *The Breakfast Club*, students who are being disciplined bond together and begin the process of mentoring each other into more positive behaviors."

IV. Examples
   A. Styles and genres
      1. Are you interested in writing about relational experiences or doing research into a particular topic?
      2. Are you interested in watching film, TV or other media and critiquing such a text?
      3. Would you like to engage in a mentoring relationship and/or analyze a previous mentoring relationship?
      4. Would you prefer a more artistic or creative project that allows you to create some form of art – whether music, sculpture, mixed media, film, etc?
   B. Forms

        1. If an applied experience, your work must be accompanied by an experience report;
        2. If a creative project, your work must be accompanied by an artist's statement;
        3. If a written analysis, your paper is the only requirement.

V. Choose and develop your project. Your project must
    A. include at least two other theorists' or researchers' ideas/findings about your topic;
    B. explain and apply mentoring within the context you have chosen;
    C. exemplify at least two of Mottet's concepts from our readings;
    D. be free of mechanical error.

VI. Important due dates and notes:
    A. 8/29/17: Guest speaker: Margene Willis, the Dalton and Linda Floyd Family Mentoring program
    B. 9/21/17: Detailed project discussions. Exemplars. Visit to Randall Art Gallery.
    C. 10/12/17: DUE IN CLASS - Detailed draft with at least two concepts from text and with references OR formal outline, artists statement, work of art, and/or Storyboard with references OR formal outline, draft and/or fieldnotes with references.
    D. 11/14/17: DUE IN CLASS – Final papers/projects

***** This assignment is worth 20% of your final grade.

VII. How will I be graded?
    A. Originality, creativity, utilization of previous work;
    B. Complexity of mentoring definitions/understandings
    C. A (university name deleted to preserve blind peer review)racy and depth of at least two concepts from Mottet;
    D. Complexity of explanation/research;
    E. Freedom from mechanical error;
    F. Compliance with norms of style and referencing.

Appendix C

Interpersonal Communication Comm 350
Peer Feedback for applied paper/project Fall 2017

Writer's Name ____

Reader's Name ____

1. What is this project's title? Use this space to suggest ideas for a creative title.

2. How does this project relate to interpersonal mentoring?

3. What is this writer's thesis statement? Use this space to suggest ideas for a creative thesis statement.

4. What two outside references, in addition to our Mottet text, is this writer using?

5. Can you give this writer some ideas for introductory/concluding techniques?

6. What are the two concepts that this writer seeks to explain and apply in this work?

7. What does this paper or project still lack that it will need when submitted?

8. What academic reference style is this writer using? What helpful tips can you offer for conforming to style?

9. Provide a search term, database, journal title (Chapter 13) or useful reference (References) in the Mottet text that this writer would find helpful. What reference tools should this writer consider?

10. What positive feedback can you add?

Appendix D

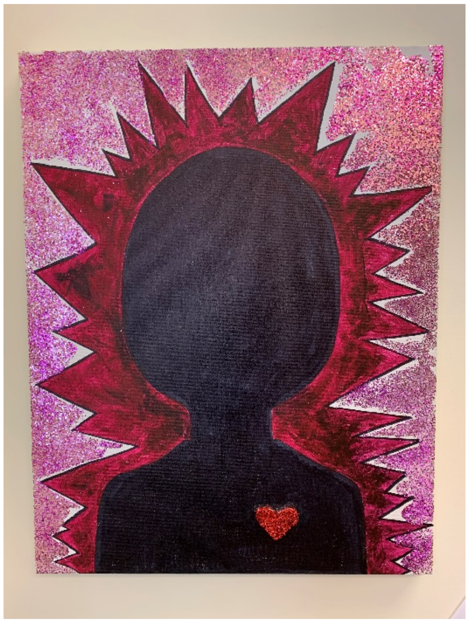
Photographs from Teal Youth Day

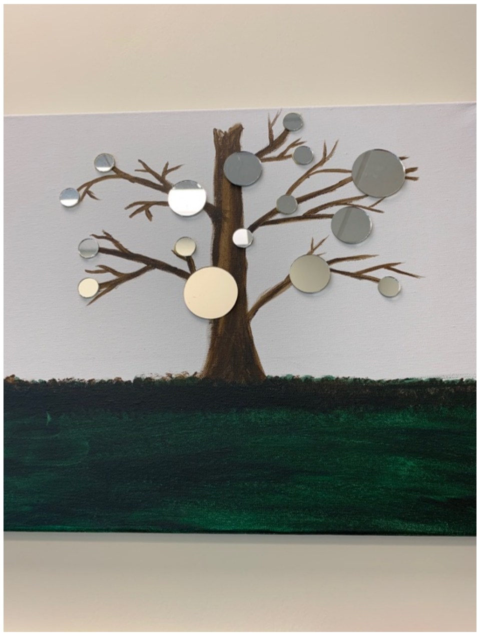
Dalton & Linda Floyd Family Mentoring Program

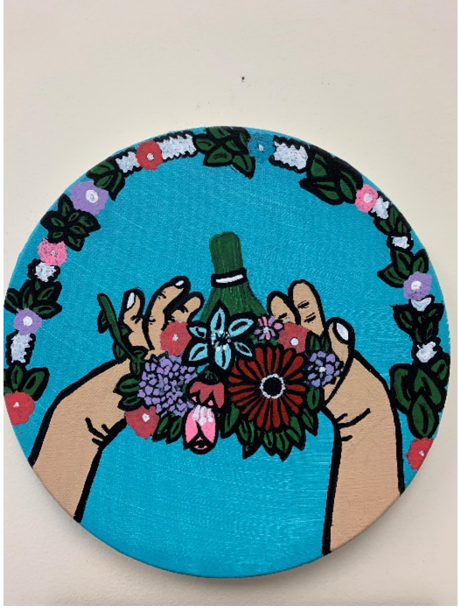
93
COASTAL
COASTAL RISING

Appendix E

Interpersonal Communication Mentoring Art Projects: "Never Lose Your Sparkle," "Flowers," "Looking Glass Self"







Appendix F

Mentor Survey Results
Representative Comments from School Mentor Survey 2016
Question: "After serving as a mentor, I understand that a mentor is…?"
N=86

almost like a parent. in the sense of teaching and guiding the child toward better manners and behavior. Mentors are also supposed to be friends
that a child can have fun with and confide in.

From my perspective a mentor is a person who help teachers and parents fill in that missing puzzle piece in a child's life. A mentor steps in and assists students towards success so that they can be the best at whatever it is in life that they want to do.

I understand that a mentor is a role model. Someone who this younger person can look up to. Someone who wants to give attention to their mentee and who isn't afraid to correct them when they are doing something they shouldn't be. Someone who truly cares for the future of a child and wants to see them succeed.

A mentor is more than just a tutor or one who helps the child get better grades. A mentor is a friend, one who encourages, loves, and builds a relationship. We get to watch a child blossom after days, weeks, or months of hard work and difficult days. The best part of being a mentor is
seeing the growth and improvements a child has made and the happiness and confidence seen at the end.

Mentors make the biggest difference in a child's life. They get to fill part of the emptiness inside of that child's heart. No beginning mentor really knows what to expect or understands, but by the end of the year he will get a better understanding.

More than a role model. Once you establish a strong connection with your mentee, you realize that your mentee loves being around you & spending time with you. They speak highly of you to their friends and family.

A figure that will positively impact a life.

A friend, someone to count on, someone to look up to

Is role model to the mentee. Also like a older sibling and someonw they like to talk to.

A mentor is someone who takes time out of their busy schedule to find the joy and happiness of their mentee.

a person that a mentee looks forward to seeing at least once a week. I understand that I am a role model. I know that I am to hold myself to a higher standard, so that my mentee has a respectful person to look up to.

A person who makes a commitment to a child to be with them, listen to them and support them

A person who's purpose is to help make a child better than what they are and will be.

a positive role model and influence on the mentee, and the whole entire class as a whole. The mentor really can make a difference in the mentee's life and show him how it is to progress into a young, determined adult.

A responsible leader, who is capable of assisting the mentee in anything they are struggling with. The mentoring program is a great program, for anyone looking to openly volunteer in their community. The mentoring program built character, as It helped me more than I helped him. The connection we had throughout the semester grew on me, he's awesome

A responsible role model, a guide, and student

Appendix G

Representative Comments from Elementary School Mentee Survey 2016
Question: "What is something you learned from your mentor?"
N=174

Get along with people better
good friend
He helped me with improving my grades and doing my best.
He helped me with my math
He taught me how to spell and read and he taught me how to do my homework
He told me told not be mean to other peple
He would help me with my school work-when I had ISS he helped me with a few pages
helped me with my behavior.
helped with homework
homework
how to have fun
I don't know
I have learned, that it's better to talk to people when you have something bad that's going on, don't let it build up inside you. It makes it worse.
I know he is god in math and super cool.
I learn about my mentor that she funny sometimes.
I learn from my mentor is that she have brother.
I learned a little math from my mentor.
I learned about letters.
I learned not to be angry at people, be frustrated and she taught me how to focus better in class. Mentor is the best
I learned that when people are away for a long time, think of something else.
I learned that when people do good things then they get things in return.
I learned that you don't have to like hide you problems but you should feel comfortable talking about them.
I learned that you don't need to fight back.
I learned that you need to study
I learned that you should not let other people stop you from learning, she encouraged me to keep my grades up now
i am in beta club, she encouraged me to always have an positive attitude in all maters and to be strong no matter what happens, to believe in myself and never give up.
I learned to read a little better
If I am bad, I will have consequences.
if you do good you get something good.
I learned that if you don't know a answer ask.
I learned that if you don't know a answer they will help you with it.
I learned that it is always great to have a positive attitude.
I learned that it is okay to be in a slower class and just take my time do not move fast.
I learned that she is fun, she works at Pizza Inn, and to try my best with my behavior
I learned that they were fun
I learned to never give up your dreams.

Appendix H

<table>
<tr><th colspan="5">Coastal Carolina University Student Evaluations Selected Comments
Interpersonal Communication (COMM 350) Fall 2014 – Fall 2017</th></tr>
<tr><th></th><th>2014</th><th>2015</th><th>2016</th><th>2017</th></tr>
<tr><td>Speakers</td><td>Any outside presenters she brought to the class were helpful and beneficial.</td><td>I loved the guest speaker who talked about mentoring.</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Projects</td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2">The mentor project was excellent</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mentoring</td><td>Im grateful for her efforts as an educator and a person!</td><td>The fact that she is so interested and passionate about the material she is teaching makes you want to be just as interested and passionate about it.</td><td>She is incredibly passionate about the study of communication and that passion radiates in her instruction of this course.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Enthusiasm</td><td>The class was engaging.
She is always upbeat and engaging.</td><td>The instructor was engaging and used many different methods…</td><td>She was very enthusiastic about what she taught.
It made me really want to engage and absorb the information.</td><td>Always upbeat and ready to teach.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Passion</td><td>Very excited about her material and she transfers that excitement onto her students.</td><td>Passionate about the topics discussed!</td><td>Clearly has a mastery over the material and very passionate.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Care</td><td>She shows every day that she cares.
She really cares about the subject.</td><td></td><td colspan="2">Wonderful, challenging instructor that not only cares about her students understanding the course but truly cares about the lives and well-being of her students which goes way further than teaching class material any day.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Success</td><td>I learned a lot.</td><td></td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">I was able to develop both an understanding of the topics, as well as learn new tactics to improve my communication with those around me.</td></tr>
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The *Centrality* of the Center: Best Practices for Developing a Robust Communication Center on Campus

Michael G. Strawser, Shawn Apostel, Russell Carpenter, Kim Cuny, Kevin Dvorak, Karen Head

Communication centers are a complementary student service that can help stakeholders improve communication competency. Centers can often serve as a foundational interdisciplinary resource for communication students as well as those in other majors. As the presence of communication centers continues to rise, because of their centrality on campus, it is important that center praxis receives continued exploration. To assist communication center directors, university administrators, faculty, and student center tutors, this article provides 10 best practices for developing a robust communication center on campus.

Communication centers serve a valuable purpose on college campuses and continue to be a necessary and well utilized student support service. In fact, the number of centers on both two and four-year institutions continues to rise (Morreale, Myers, Backlund, & Simonds, 2016). Originally supplementing the basic or introductory communication course (Nelson, Whitfield, & Moreau, 2012), communication centers can also be catalysts for campus-wide service and institutional culture (Strawser, Apostel, O'Keeffe, & Simons, 2018). No matter how institutions use the communication lab or center, faculty and students can greatly benefit from an effective center experience.

The center can provide all campus stakeholders, but especially students, with invaluable supplemental communication training. For context, communication centers can serve a variety of roles on college campuses. Primarily, centers help students communicate effectively in various contexts. Some communication centers focus exclusively on oral communication while others may be more multimodal (oral, written, and/or digital). Centers may employ student tutors or recruit faculty to help train student communicators and center audiences are not limited to communication majors. According to Turner (2015), students who use center facilities become more competent and confident public speakers and, even more so, more effective holistic communicators. As a complementary resource to classroom communication content (Helsel & Hogg, 2006), students who visit

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communication centers, also called communication labs or oral communication centers, reported decreased communication apprehension (Dwyer, Carlson, & Hahre, 2002) and improved grades (Hunt & Simonds, 2002).

Because all communication centers functionally serve their specific institution, establishing generalizable best practices is difficult. Unfortunately, "minimal research exists about communication centers that allows for generalizability and comparability to improve scholarship and inform best practices" (LeFebvre, LeFebvre, & Anderson, 2017, p. 411). Therefore, the list of best practices below represents an attempt by several leading communication center scholar-practitioners to identify unifying best practices that can inform center praxis. This list of best practices addresses institutional differences across Carnegie classifications (i.e. doctoral universities, master's colleges and universities, baccalaureate, associate's, special focus, and tribal colleges). The authors believe the best practices identified here are useful for any institutional communication center, no matter the size, scope, or resources available.

Best Practice #1: Make Your Students Stakeholders

Thomas Merton once said, "The least of the work of learning is done in the classroom." His words are particularly true in communication centers. Students come into these centers to receive feedback on their assignments, and the results are stronger projects. However, we can stretch this give-and-take a bit further in communication centers and make our students our strongest stakeholders. Here's how: as we listen to student ideas, write them in a public area, and encourage others to offer ways of accomplishing that idea, the communication center should continue to evolve (Strawser, Apostel, O'Keefe, & Simmons, 2018). To make students our stakeholders, center directors and staff need to listen to them, encourage them, and dream big with them, letting our communication centers be the hub for their ideas. Specifically, centers may consider employing student surveys to gauge student user needs.

Best Practice #2: Choose Sustainable Technology

Usually when we think about sustainable technology, we concentrate on two major time periods: when the components are being purchased (Are they environmentally friendly? Were the materials sustainably harvested?) and when the components are being recycled (Is the designated recycling company ethical in its practices?) (Apostel & Apostel, 2015). While these decisions are very important, probably the worst thing we can do for sustainability is purchase technology that will not be used at all (Apostel & Apostel, 2017). Given the risk of doing so, purchasing usable, sustainable technology can be accomplished with the following best practices: 1. Favor open source software over proprietary. What happens if that company goes out of business? Or, what happens when the new version comes out and the old version is no longer supported? Open source software allows you to figure out a solution. 2. See what technology is already being supported by your IT department. Your IT may have components or software they are very familiar with, and if you have a question, IT can offer immediate support. For instance, if they already work with a certain type of camera for recording events, get that same camera for your center. 3. Favor software and hardware that's intuitive/easy to learn and that has built in tutorials or training available. You can have the best document camera money can buy, but if teaching people how to use it is difficult, the device will grow dust on a shelf. Center directors and staff, by considering sustainability before purchasing, you'll ensure the software or component you purchase will have a long life in your communication center.

Best Practice #3: Develop Creative Confidence in Students

Kelley and Kelley (2013) believe that "everyone has creative abilities and that creativity can be taught. For them, creative confidence is the belief in your ability to create change in the world around you" (p. 2). Developing creative confidence in students through the communication center helps students build confidence during each phase of the communication-design process—from brainstorming and invention to final editing. Creative confidence allows students to explore available possibilities and means of persuasion for the communication projects, including presentations, slides, and other deliveries. Communication centers offer numerous benefits to their institutions, students, and faculty. The opportunity for students to engage in new and emerging strategies for designing and honing communication projects can be among the most impactful.

A focus on students' "creative confidence," however, can open new pathways and opportunities for students to develop communication skills, strategies, and habits. As such, center tutors and consultants would be wise to engage critical reasoning and creative thinking in student participants. For students, creativity is broader than the creative and performing arts. As Kelley and Kelley (2013) explain, "We think of creativity as using your imagination to create something new in the world. Creativity comes into play wherever you can generate new ideas, solutions, or approaches. And we believe everyone should have access to that resource" (p. 3). Creative confidence, however, allows students to develop communication in ways that encourage development of new ideas, solutions, or approaches. Importantly, though, students can find creative confidence by embracing the messiness and complexity of process-oriented approaches, and communication centers can encourage students to defer converging—or deciding on—communication approaches until all ideas have had the chance to grow and develop. Centers would also benefit from training student consultants to think creatively themselves.

Best Practice #4: Cultivate Leadership and Mentorship

Educational development and training are critical to any communication center. Communication centers are ideal sites for leadership and mentorship development as well. Leadership skill development can come in many forms, depending on the size and scope of communication center. Leadership training can come in the form of skill development, with increasing responsibility assigned to students as they acquire training and advance in the communication center. Communication centers and center directors can design specific leadership roles for consultants and allow them to take on increased administrative responsibility. Mentorship is an approach for cultivating leadership in communication centers. Mentors and mentees can be matched at the beginning of each academic year or semester. During the early weeks of the semester, mentors can support mentees as they acclimate to working in the communication center. When mentees begin doing consultations, mentors can observe and offer specific, measurable, and actionable feedback, usually focused on about three areas for future growth. Mentors and mentees document the process, review goals, and build on earlier experiences to increase their depth of knowledge and experience. Then, after the center assesses current (or potential) development, revise current practices to adjust to those key metrics.

Best Practice #5: Initiate Course-Embedded Programing Beyond Communication Courses and Develop Strong Connections to Faculty

Communication centers are often recognized as support units for basic communication-related courses (Jones, Hunt, Simonds, Comadena, & Baldwin, 2004; LeFebvre, LeFebvre & Anderson, 2017), similar to how early writing centers supported basic writing (Turner & Sheckels, 2015). As more communication centers are positioned to serve wider academic support services at their institutions (LeFebvre, LeFebvre & Anderson, 2017), communication centers might benefit from having another similarity to writing centers: by growing through the development of course-embedded consulting initiatives that connect them to courses across the curriculum. Doing so establishes a campus-wide sustainability for centers.

Many writing centers have benefitted from initiating "writing fellows" programs that connect/embed a writing tutor (in these cases, known as a "writing fellow") into courses, both lower- and upper-level, undergraduate and graduate, that assign discipline-specific writing assignments. For writing centers, facilitating course-embedded initiatives provides an "opportunity to export writing center philosophy to the campus," and it allows peer writing consultants to act as ambassadors for the center (Severino & Knight, 2007, p. 20). That type of advertising—student to student, peer to peer—can be invaluable to developing student buy-in and voluntary visits.

Communication fellows can similarly serve to support students across the curriculum on oral and visual presentations, as they are often assigned in STEM, business, education, and health sciences programs. Course-embedded programming also offers centers stronger opportunities to work closely with faculty, who are incredibly important as allies. Unlike students, who may be on campus for two, four, or six years (depending on institution types and programs) faculty are expected to be around for a lot longer—and they are the ones who will recommend (or even require) their students to visit the center. In short, strong faculty buy-in should lead to strong student buy-in.

Best Practice #6: Align Your Center's Mission and Assessment with the Institution's

When developing a communication center, like any other entrepreneurial endeavor, it is important to establish a mission statement that clearly defines the center's purpose. To do such, a center director can answer several questions:

- What does the center do? (e.g., one-one-one consultations, small group consultations, workshops, faculty development, community service)
- Who does the center support? (e.g., first-year communication students, all undergraduate students, graduate students, faculty, community members)
- How does the center provide its services? (e.g., face-to-face, online: synchronous or asynchronous, in class, in a center)

- How does the center support the institution's mission? (e.g., supporting students and academic success, developing lifelong learners)

While the first three questions may sound familiar to any business, the fourth may be less recognizable, but entirely essential in this context since university- or college-based communication centers intentionally operate within and to support a larger organizational structure. As academic support units (with great potential for teaching and research), communication centers are often designed to work with specific communication courses, though they have the potential to offer even more services to their broader institutional communities (LeFebvre, L., LeFebvre, L., & Anderson, D., 2017). The role of such support units has become increasingly paramount to student success and aligning them to directly support an institution's mission shows their value and connection to the larger university. LeFebvre, LeFebvre, and Anderson (2017) suggest that such "integration into the larger institutional fabric would provide a platform to become an "essential discipline and resource within the academy" (p. 446).

When developing a mission, it can be helpful to for center directors determine the learning outcomes that might be expected of the center and staff so appropriate assessment measures can help guide and improve the initiative (Leek, Carpenter, Cuny, & Rao, 2015). As Edwards, Edwards, and Spence (2018) recognized, "developing a mission for your lab will set the tone and guide your educational outcomes to be achieved" (p. 77). It is critical to understand the types of assessment valued by the institution in order to be efficient and effective (i.e., does administration prefer quantitative over qualitative, or vice-versa, or combinations of both?). It can also benefit the center to partner with another resource on campus—such as an office of institutional effectiveness (IE)—that can help provide and analyze data. For example, an IE office may be able to show student learning through increased GPAs over the course of several semesters, or they may even show greater student satisfaction with courses connected to the communication center.

Best Practice #7: Plan for Organizational Culture

Littlejohn and Cuny (2013) argue that early conversations need to identify an agreed upon purpose and goals for the learning space. After, the conversation needs to give much thought to organizational culture. Considering organizational culture early will greatly benefit both the people who work in the center and the experiences of patrons. Organizational culture is "the set of artifacts, values, and assumptions that emerge from the interactions of organizational members" (Keyton, 2011, p.1). Choices made in the earlier stages of development will profoundly shape the organizational culture of tomorrow.

Some material or tangible ways that the organization's culture is represented i.e. artifacts include a mission statement, room layout, interior design colors, signage, wayfinding, and furniture choices. A good resource for space design is Carpenter's (2013) Cases on Higher Education Spaces. Careful consideration, by the center, of these visible artifacts (including physical space design) will have an important impact on the invisible culture of the center.

Best Practice #8: Establish Values and Plan for Assumptions

Values, the attitudes or principles members of an organization should hold, will later guide behaviors and decision-making in the organization. At one center, where people and relationships are valued over everything else (Cuny, 2018), the values, coupled with the mission statement, guide all decisions. Values also guide how student educators/tutors/consultants are trained. Interpersonal communication competencies, which must be a part of initial and ongoing training at all centers, are the focal point at a center that values people and relationships.

Assumptions will reinforce or challenge the organizational culture. An example is how a center has established how things are done and no one questions them. Over time, the stories told in the workplace will reinforce assumptions. What might happen to assumptions if student educators are taught to ask "why" at every opportunity? When they ask, the discovery might reinforce and/or challenge organizational culture, participating in this conversation contributes to their interpersonal communication competency development.

If the institution, or the center, has not yet identified who will take on the role of the director of an emerging center, the values and assumptions should reveal themselves during the personnel search. It is best to leave establishment of the organization's values, and the assumptions that will take root, in the charge of the new hire. Organizational culture is ultimately tied to a center's ethos.

Best Practice #9: Better Communication of STEM Data through Visual Design

One of the major communication challenges of the 21st century is sharing complex STEM information in a sense that broader audiences can understand, and visual design is one way to do improve this process. The growing emphasis in the STEM fields of what is often more generally labeled "communicating science to the public," has many students visiting writing centers to seek help.

Visual design exercises, like storyboarding and comic jams (Losh, et.al., 2014), provide excellent tools to help students re-envision the ideas they need to communicate. Traditionally, these visualization processes have helped artists plan out their projects to examine the best way to achieve maximum audience engagement. However, visual design methodologies can also be useful in analytical assignments to discover main points; analyze themes; and consider multiple viewpoints.

Quantitative Physiology professors at MIT found that students "often find themselves at a loss of what to do with the data tables and figures they have produced" and "are likely to simply dump raw data tables into laboratory reports with the claim that the data support a given" (Losh et al., 2014, p. 115). Frustrated that the students seemed unable to show the meaning of their data, they began teaching students to use visualization tools to better negotiate data presentation into a more coherent narrative. Because students in STEM focus so strongly on showing their process, they often forget to contextualize their information and emphasize the point of their research. Visualizations encourage them to show the meaning behind the numbers.

Best Practice #10: Building Trust through Identity Management

Creating a culture of trust as quickly as possible can mean the difference between a student seeking our help or not. Students, or clients as they are often called in communication center language, recognize academic discourse as a core requirement, and they fear it because it is likely in opposition to elements key to their personal identities—if not in opposition then clearly requiring some competencies they have, yet, been unable to achieve. Even if clients fear failure, rather than a loss of identity, repeated failure certainly will have a negative impact on their self-perception, making them more likely to try to hide core deficiencies.

Clients may downplay the significance of any deficiencies if they perceive these deficiencies as undermining their identities as high performing students. Colleagues who have worked in communication centers know that identity is a central issue, but they may not consider this issue as completely as they should. As Denny (2010) explains, "Identity is ubiquitous to the everyday life of writing centers. For them [clients], struggles with face involve a complicated juggling of identities in relation to perceived audiences" (p. 8). However, we cannot begin to address issues with perceived audiences, and the accompanying problems of race, gender, ethnicity, and so on, until our clients overcome a more fundamental problem of identity: the stigma of communication deficiency and the moves clients make to deny and/or disguise this deficiency.

Addressing the issues that prevent students from seeking help from communication centers is as important, if not more important, than the help we provide once they arrive. Interestingly, if clients, like the ones at our institution, find comfort in an atmosphere of multimodality—one where we are as open to discussing their Instagram posts as we are their academic projects—it may prove significant that multimodality provides entry points to communication competencies that clients do not necessarily recognize themselves possessing because that part of their identities has been segregated from their academic selves.

Conclusion

In this article, several communication center staff and directors provided 10 best practices that communication center directors, campus administrators, faculty, and even student tutors can consult as they build and sustain a center on campus. While the list is not exhaustive, it is helpful to have a starting point to then establish even more consistent techniques that apply to individual institutions. As communication centers change, evolve, adapt, and improve (Carpenter, 2018), center stakeholders should reassess and continue to develop even more best practices for sustained center success.

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The Amateurs' Hour: South Carolina's First Radio Stations, 1913-1917

John S. Armstrong

This critical essay argues that South Carolina has a "lost history" of civilian radio comprising the amateur radio operators who appeared between 1913 and 1917. Previous histories have suggested that the state's first civilian stations were the commercial broadcasters who began transmitting in 1930. Moreover, what historian Jerrold Siegel calls "networks of means" are discernable in pre-World-War-I South Carolina radio, giving the state its first broadcasting infrastructure. In challenging the historical primacy given to commercial broadcasters, this essay provides a case study in how radio hobbyists, often teenagers, helped a poor, highly rural state make its first contact with broadcasting and networking.

Keywords: *Network, Broadcasting, Radio, Localism, Infrastructure, Amateur*

Spartanburg's WSPA, which went on the air in February, 1930, is often remembered as South Carolina's first radio station, followed by Charleston's WCSC and Columbia's WIS in the same year.[1]In fact, the state's first, licensed civilian radio stations appeared more than a decade and a half earlier. South Carolina also had its first, tenuous contact with radio broadcasting and radio networks in the 1910s and then embraced them in the 1920s.

Broadcasting is the use of the airwaves for one-way transmission to sizeable and often unknown audiences. Point-to-point radio, on the other hand, means transmission to a single or limited number of known receivers, such as an air traffic controller radioing instructions to an aircraft pilot. Radio began as a point-to-point medium in the late nineteenth century but within 30 years it had developed into the influential and wealthy broadcasting industry. The historian Susan Douglas argues that the 1910s and 1920s were decades in which the American population accepted crucial cultural and regulatory practices that would shape broadcasting for the remainder of the century.[2]

Another scholar, Robert McChesney, suggests that a long-held but erroneous view among historians was that the period before the late 1920s was an

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[1] For a scholarly example, see "Biography: Chronology," (Walter Brown Papers at South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia), accessed March 7, 2018, https://library.sc.edu/socar/mnscrpts/brownwj.pdf. Historian Walter Edgar refers to WCSC as "Charleston's first radio station." Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 494.

[2] Susan J. Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting: 1899–1922* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 214–215.

insignificant prelude to the inevitable birth of the "American System" of commercial broadcasting that was dictated by the nation's cultural values and economic system. [3] In South Carolina, the "American System" would be represented by WSPA, WCSC, WIS and other commercial stations that endured into the 21st century. This critical essay, however, follows the Douglas-McChesney framework. It argues that the history of local broadcasting in the state begins not with WSPA's debut in 1930 but with Charles Westfield Moseley, a Columbia teenager certified as South Carolina's first amateur operator in 1913, and moves fitfully through experiments with local radio.[4]

At almost the same moment as broadcasting, the network made its appearance in American radio. The historian Jerrold Seigel analyzes a variety of network types: financial, social, technical, and others. He asserts that focusing on the history of networks can help us understand "…the rhythm and direction through which crucial political, social, and cultural phenomena developed."[5] Seigel's insight is relevant to the specific history of radio networks in the United States and South Carolina. As with radio stations, radio networks were more evident in northern and western states in the 1910s and shaped radio there as a social as well as technical practice. This essay extends the historical understanding of radio development by using South Carolina as a case study in how radio networking, along with broadcasting, also managed to create an incipient infrastructure in a poor, rural, educationally backward American state in the years before World War I.[6]

TINKERERS TRIUMPH

The histories of radio and television comprise a series of complex interactions among scientific discovery, technical innovation, and the human urge to communicate. The Scottish scientist James Clerk Maxwell theorized the existence of electromagnetic waves in 1865; just over two decades later German physicist Heinrich Hertz proved their existence in well-publicized experiments.[7] In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the most successful radio innovator was Guglielmo Marconi, the ambitious son of an Italian aristocrat and an upper-class British mother. By 1899, at age 24, Marconi had developed a system of "radio telegraphy" powerful enough to transmit a Morse signal across the English Channel.[8] By 1902, he would send radio signals across the Atlantic.[9]

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[3] Robert W. McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928–1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 251.

[4] Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of Navigation, *Radio Stations of the United States, Edition July 1, 1913* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 122.

[5] Jerrold Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life: Society, Politics, and Culture in England, France, and Germany since 1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 11.

[6] In the 1910 federal census, South Carolina's population was assessed as 14.8 percent urban when the national average was 48.6 percent. *Department of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1915* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916), 39. According to the 1910 federal census, South Carolina also had the second highest rate of illiteracy, 25 percent, of the 46 American states. Department of Commerce and Labor, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1910: Abstract* (Washington. D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1914), 248.

[7] Alfred Balk, *The Rise of Radio: From Marconi through the Golden Age* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2006), 19–20.

Marconi's fame, along with his radio patents and his family's money and influence, enabled him to build an international corporation based on point-to-point-communication. He successfully promoted wireless telegraphy for ships and shore stations. Clients not only leased Marconi Company radio sets, but were also required to carry Marconi operators trained in Morse code.[10]

At the height of Marconi's power, his radio operators played a heroic and tragic role in one of the most publicized catastrophes of the early 20th century: the sinking of the *RMS Titanic* in 1912 with the loss of more than 1,500 lives. The Titanic Disaster would have repercussions for the development of radio in South Carolina and across the United States.

In the newspaper coverage that followed the tragedy and in the official investigations, a dramatic narrative emerged about the Titanic Disaster and radio. Jack Phillips and Harold Bride, the *Titanic's* young Marconi operators, had performed heroically and saved hundreds of lives by alerting a rescue ship. Phillips finally drowned and Bride barely escaped death. Newspapers also declared Marconi himself a savior of the Titanic's survivors: it was his radio system that brought the rescuers to the lifeboats.[11]

However, the Titanic Disaster also brought negative publicity to amateur, hobbyist radio operators. The young Guglielmo Marconi had not been the only tinkerer fascinated by the communicative possibilities of electromagnetic waves. In the early 20th century, a burgeoning network of youngsters who built and operated their own radios became a well-publicized phenomenon in the United States. Rather than financial gain, the young amateurs were often motivated by the challenges of building their own simple radios and learning Morse code, along with the comradeship of other amateur operators with whom they swapped equipment and technical knowledge. Prestige also attracted some amateurs: before (and soon after) the Titanic Disaster, radio operators in America—both amateur and professional—were often held up as paragons of ingenuity, enterprise, and technical mastery. Now, however, the media and politicians blamed amateurs for much of the confusion that occurred in the immediate aftermath of the *Titanic* sinking. As reports spread in the hours after the ship's collision with an iceberg, both professional and amateur operators had taken to the airwaves to gather and share information. The on-air chatter made it difficult for essential Marconi stations to communicate. Amateurs were blamed for an early, false report that the *Titanic* was safely under tow to the Canadian port of Halifax. The press lambasted the amateurs as not only a nuisance to the professionals but as a hazard to the lives of ship crews and passengers.[12]

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[8] "The Wireless Telegraph," *New York Times*, April 9, 1899.

[9] "Marconi here Talks of Wireless Telegraphy," *New York Times*, January 13, 1902.

[10] Marc Raboy, *Marconi: The Man Who Networked the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 144–145.

[11] Ibid., 355.

[12] Ibid., Douglas, *Inventing*, 229.

The United States Congress was quick to hold hearings on the Titanic Disaster and in July it amended the Wireless Ship Act of 1910 so that vessels with more than 50 passengers were required to have radios and operators on duty around the clock.[13] A month later, on August 13th, Congress passed more sweeping legislation. The Radio Act of 1912 mandated that the federal Department of Commerce license all civilian operators who transmitted radio signals. To qualify for a license, radio operators were tested on their knowledge of radio technology and their proficiency in Morse code. This was an obstacle to the amateurs—as it was intended to be. Another blow to the hobbyists was the provision that restricted amateurs to the "shortwave" band of radio frequencies (200 meters or less in wavelength).[14] According to the radio lore of the day, the shortwave frequencies permitted less signal range than the longwave band.[15] Tenacious amateur operators would eventually disprove this notion.[16]

Despite the harsh publicity from the Titanic Disaster and despite the Radio Act of 1912, the subculture of amateur radio managed to recover and even thrive in the period between the Act's passage and America's entry into World War I. In 1913, the Commerce Department's Bureau of Navigation listed 1,314 licensed amateur stations in its first annual publication of *Radio Stations of the United States*. This document identifies the first, licensed amateur station in South Carolina: 4AY, owned by Charles Moseley of 815 Mulberry Lane[17] in Columbia.[18] In July of 1913, when the list was published, Charles Westfield Moseley was 15 years old.[19] Taken in isolation, the fact that a teenager named Charles Moseley was the first licensed amateur in South Carolina might be of only passing interest. However, if we look more closely at the scant historical records of Moseley and place them alongside other attributes of radio in 1913, his story becomes more significant.

A striking aspect of this first list of more than 1,300 amateur stations is that it shows but one licensed civilian station—amateur or professional—in all of South Carolina. At the time, South Carolina had a population of about 1.5 million.[20] The paucity of local, transmitting stations in South Carolina would continue through the 1930s, by which time radio had become a mass medium and tens of thousands of South Carolina households owned radio receivers. It should be noted that there also could have been unlicensed radio transmitters on the air in South Carolina in 1913. Then, as now, there were "pirate" radio stations in at least some states that skirted federal regulations and inspectors.[21] Moseley not only stands as the first licensed amateur operator of a civilian radio station in South Carolina: it is likely that he started the first licensed civilian station of any sort in the state's history. The Navy had radio stations at the Charleston Navy Yard since at least 1906 but there is no record of a Marconi station or any other licensed civilian station operating in South Carolina until Moseley fired up his modest twenty-watt set in Columbia.

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[13] "Agree on Wireless Bill," *New York Times*, July 16, 1912.

[14] Frank J. Kahn, ed., *Documents of American Broadcasting, rev. ed.* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1972), 8–16.

[15] Richard A. Bartlett, *The World of Ham Radio, 1901–1950* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2007), 23.

[16] *Government Control of Radio Communication: Hearings on H.R. 13159, Day 4, Before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries*, 65th Cong. 240–241 (1918) (statement of Hiram Percy Maxim, President of the American Radio Relay League).

[17] Charles W. Moseley is incorrectly listed as "Charles V. Moseley" in in the 1913 report and his address is erroneously listed as "Mulberry Street" rather than Lane. In the 1910 U.S. Census, Charles Moseley's father, the owner of the house, is incorrectly listed as "Harry W. Moseby" rather than Harry W. Moseley.

[18] Ibid., Department of Commerce, *Radio Stations, Edition July 1, 1913,* 1913.

[19] Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc. 2006. Harry W Moseby (sic), Columbia, SC., accessed September 20, 2016, http://
www.ancestry.com/inst/discoveries.

[20] South Carolina's population was 1,515,400 in the 1910 U.S. Census.

Charles Moseley was the son of an overseer at the Olympia Mills Textile Plant, located just two blocks from the Moseley family's rented house.[22] The numeral four of Charles's call sign 4AY was assigned because his station was located in the Bureau of Navigation's Fourth District, headquartered in Savannah, Georgia. Proficiency in Morse code was not only a requirement to pass the Bureau's examination, it was also a practical necessity for anyone who desired to reach a radio audience in the 1910s. Reginald Fessenden had first broadcast the human voice and music via radio in 1906. But Fessenden had used an expensive, made-to-order, General-Electric Alexanderson alternator to create the continuous radio waves necessary to carry voice and music.[23] Eventually, vacuum tubes would provide a more efficient means to generate (and receive) continuous wave radio. However, alternators and vacuum tubes were generally hard to come by for pre-World War I amateurs. Far more common were the cheap, easily constructed spark-gap transmitters that were only suitable for Morse code. Ironically, Marconi, the preeminent professional radio organization of the day, had become notoriously averse to technical innovation by the 1910s; Marconi too relied on spark gap technology and Morse code through most of the decade.[24]

Although Charles Westfield Moseley is singular in his status as the state's first licensed amateur radio operator, as a white, fifteen-year-old boy, he was typical of many American radio "hams" (as they proudly began to call themselves) of the first half of the twentieth-century.[25] Douglas points to two, conflicting imperatives pulling at American boys in the early 20th century: the glorification of strength and physical courage in contemporary media and sports versus the awareness that middle-class workers increasingly performed in the physical safety of offices, where intellect trumped brawn.

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[21] American Radio Relay League, *Fifty Years of A.R.R.L.: A Reprint of Historical Articles from the 1964 Issues of QST* (Newington, CT: American Radio Relay League, 1965), 17.

[22] *Columbia, S.C. City Directory.* St. Paul: Wright Directory Co., 1913.

[23] Hugh J. Aitken, *The Continuous Wave: Technology and American Radio, 1900–1932* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 68–73.

[24] Ibid., 159.

[25] The origin of the term "ham" for amateur radio operators is not certain. The most plausible explanation is that it began in the 19th century as a pejorative word for those less proficient, "ham fisted" telegraph operators. According to this theory, it was next leveled as an insult to amateur, Morse-code radio operators in the early 20th century and eventually adopted by the amateurs as a term of honor.

> For a growing subgroup of American middle-class boys, these tensions were resolved in mechanical and electrical tinkering. Trapped between the legacy of genteel culture and the pull of the new primitivism of mass culture, many boys reclaimed a sense of mastery, indeed masculinity itself, through the control of technology…Few inventions were more accessible to the young man than the latest marvel, wireless telegraphy.[26]

However, Douglas also argues that the subculture of radio amateurs has significance even more enduring than providing a model of youthful masculinity in the early 20th century.

BROADCAST BEGINNERS

Susan Douglas asserts that the radio amateurs played a crucial role in developing broadcasting as it would be practiced in much of the 20th century and into the 21st.[27] Her assertion rests on notions about two social practices of the amateurs that are as relevant to broadcasting—radio and then television—in South Carolina as they are to its emergence elsewhere in the United States. The first social practice is that of listening to radio in the home as a form of recreation. The concept of an audience, entertained and informed by electromagnetic signals from a point of origin, is central to radio and television broadcasting. Within a few decades in the USA, the notion of being entertained in one's home by an electronic communication appliance could seem so natural as to be intuitive.[28] It is not intuitive. That point-to-point communication—rather than broadcasting—gripped the attention of early radio executives and engineers is illustrated by the fact that the most powerful radio corporations of their day, Marconi and the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), were founded in 1897 and 1919, respectively, with the express goal of dominating the market for point-to-point radio communication. Both would eventually move into the more lucrative field of broadcasting but only after amateurs had helped introduce audiences to radio listening.

It is important to note that no license was required in the United States—or ever would be—for radio sets that *received* but did not *transmit* signals. This makes it difficult to know how many receiver-only radios were in use in South Carolina or the nation in the 1910s. There is reason to believe that the number was significant. Hiram Percy Maxim was the president and founder of the American Radio Relay League (ARRL), the most influential radio amateurs' organization in the USA. In Congressional testimony in 1918, he estimated that before World War I led to the shutdown of amateur radio, there were about 25 receiving radio sets in the country for every licensed amateur station capable of transmitting.[29] It is impossible to verify Maxim's claim, but it does suggest that even in the mid-1910s, when most transmissions were in Morse code, the audience for radio signals outnumbered the licensed stations sending them. Historian Susan Smulyan notes that: "Much like the early hackers who helped spread an interest in computers, the prewar hams eagerly helped others build receiving sets and, in the process, indoctrinated them into the culture of radio listening."[30]

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[26] Ibid., Douglas, *Inventing*, 191.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., 302.
[29] Ibid., *Government Control of Radio Communication*.

Who might have listened to Charles Moseley's 4AY in 1913? Did he have an audience, an essential criterion of broadcasting? Transmission range varies with antenna height and there is no record of how tall Moseley's "aerial" stood. In Columbia's hilly terrain, his small, twenty-watt transmitter would have an approximate daytime range of less than five miles and not much more than 20 at night. This would preclude any listening much beyond Richland County. For Columbia listeners, it is possible that some military and shipping transmitters also reached the city from the Atlantic Ocean and the seaport of Charleston (about 110 miles from Columbia). Along with 4AY, those would likely be the only consistent offerings for receiver-only radio sets in Columbia in 1913. If Maxim's estimate is correct, there might have been only a handful of listeners in Columbia, but it also suggests that transmitting operators like Moseley could have some expectation of an audience hearing their station.

With its navy yard and ship traffic, Charleston (also the state's most populous city) was probably a more fertile ground for early radio listening than Columbia. Indeed, Charleston and its environs were also the next area in South Carolina to boast a licensed amateur operator, Mayrant Simons of Summerville. Simons and his station 4BK appear in a supplement of federal radio license listings issued by the Department of Navigation on October 1st, 1913—just three months after Moseley and 4AY.[31] Like Moseley, Simons was 15 years old at the time.[32] Also like Moseley, Simons was middle class: his father was a civil engineer who owned an engineering firm.[33] In contrast to Moseley and most of his amateur contemporaries in the United States, Simons' station featured a relatively powerful 1,000-watt (1 kilowatt) transmitter. Summerville is located 25 miles northwest of Charleston and a transmitter of 4BK's wattage could be expected to reach Charleston, day or night.

The radio environment grew richer in Charleston in 1914 with the licensing of 4YC, owned by the Citadel Military Institute.[34] The 1914 through 1918 editions of the Citadel's catalog describe the radio set as part of the Department of Physics Laboratory. The 1914 catalog notes that it boasts a "one-hundred-and-seventy-foot aerial"[35] and the 1918 edition states that "The radio station, run in connection with the laboratory, possesses up-to-date receiving and sending sets, and is of great value in the illustration of a great many physical principles"[36] (no mention is made of the radio ban in effect in 1918). The Citadel's 4YC can be considered South Carolina's first educational radio station. With the addition of 4YC, and with a growing cadre of students trained in radio technology, Charleston became an even more likely candidate to support broadcasting in the 1910s.

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[30] Susan Smulyan, *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1920–1934* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 14.

[31] Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of Navigation, *Radio Stations of the United States, Supplement No. 1, Edition of July 1, 1913* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 8.

[32] "Funeral Services Set Today for Mayrant Simmons," *The News and Courier* (Charleston, SC), June 29, 1965.

[33] Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on–line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc. 2006. A Lewis Simons, Summerville, SC, accessed August 24, 2016, http://www.ancestry.com/inst/discoveries.

[34] Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of Navigation, *Radio Stations of the United States, Supplement No. 2, Edition of July 1 1913* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1914), 4.

TWO KINDS OF NETWORKS

The second social practice for which Douglas credits amateurs is the broadcast network. The sequential radio relay was a simple method of overcoming the limited range of individual transmitters in the 1910s. A station in Hartford, Connecticut with a range of only twenty-five miles might transmit a message to another station fifteen miles to the north. That station, with a range of twenty-five miles, might then transmit the message twenty miles further north to a station in Rhode Island. The relays might continue until the message reached a station in Boston. By combining resources, increasing range, and creating synergy, a radio relay constitutes a network.

In Hartford in 1914, Hiram Percy Maxim helped form the American Radio Relay League to fulfill the potential of radio relays and to advance the interests of American amateur operators. Maxim was 44-years-old and the son of the famous inventor of the Maxim machine gun. Hiram Percy Maxim was already a successful inventor in his own right by 1914, holding a patent for the first commercially successful gun silencer and other patents for automobiles. In mid-life, however, Maxim became fascinated with radio and built his own set. He soon became a spokesperson and leader for the amateurs.[37]

Motivated by the spirit of innovation and the strategic aim to justify the tenuous foothold of the amateurs in the radio spectrum, Maxim and the ARRL began organizing chains of amateur stations to relay messages across various regions of the continental United States. In May, 1916, the League's magazine, *QST*, carried plans for "Trunk Line C," intended to relay messages along the Eastern Seaboard between Boston, Massachusetts and Miami, Florida[38]; by September, 1916, plans called for the line to extend even further south to Key West.[39] The chain of 56 stations would include relays through Summerville and Charleston, South Carolina—along with Hiram Percy Maxim's own 1ZM in Hartford.[40] The May, 1916 issue of *QST* lists Mayrant Simons' 4BK as the link in Summerville and two newer stations, William Allston's 4CB and the Citadel's 4YC, as links in Charleston. The plan lists two stations in several other cities in the chain, suggesting either duplication for backup or uncertainty about the participation of some stations.[41]

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[35] Citadel, *The Citadel: The Military College of South Carolina* (Charleston, SC: The Citadel, 1914), 54.

[36] Ibid., Citadel, *The Citadel* (1918), 60.

[37] Ibid., Bartlett, *Ham Radio,* 26–30.

[38] "Monthly Report of Trunk Lines 'C' and 'D,'" *QST*, May, 1916, 95–96.

[39] "Monthly Report of Trunk Lines 'C' and 'D,'" *QST*, September, 1916, 254–255.

[40] Ibid., "Monthly Report," *QST*, May, 1916, 95–96.

On January 27th, 1917 amateurs scored a triumph when they relayed their first transcontinental message from Los Angeles to Maxim's 1ZM in Hartford. Unlike the ARRL's elaborate trunk lines, this relay comprised just five powerful stations, spanning hundreds of miles apiece. On February 6th, another chain of five stations relayed a question from New York City to the West Coast and received an answer back in just an hour and twenty minutes.[42] Trunk Line C, the East Coast chain that included South Carolina, was far less successful. In fact, it never fully spanned its intended length (including the South Carolina portion) before the federal government shut down amateur radio in April, 1917.[43]

The success of the coast-to-coast relays brought pride and publicity to the radio amateurs. It also demonstrated the viability of joining multiple radio stations together in a communication network or chain. Within ten years, the commercial radio networks NBC and CBS would begin, employing some of the same techniques. The radio network (by the mid-1920s using telephone lines rather than over-the-air relays) became a crucial infrastructure in American broadcasting. Although the network of Trunk Line C never reached fruition for South Carolina's ARRL members, its concept had at least penetrated the state. The ARRL also brought a network to South Carolina in a less obvious but equally important fashion.

Historian Jerrold Seigel describes "networks of means" through which the urban, middle class achieved wealth, political power, or knowledge in the modern era.[44] According to Seigel, the market is the emblematic network of modern life but networks can take on such diverse forms as "…a state, a profession, a large corporation, the Republic of Letters, NBC, or the Internet…"[45] The medium of money connects modern, market networks. Other types of networks—including the ones discussed in this essay—link through media in which mechanical and electric devices are necessary but not sufficient. Such media also require human expertise in codes, specialized idioms, scientific disciplines, or other practices. Seigel, a former radio amateur himself, specifically notes Morse code as a basis for networking.[46]

In Seigel's sense of a knowledge network, the participation of Mayrant Simons and other South Carolinians in the ARRL (there is no evidence that Charles Moseley joined) and the network of radio amateurs is worthy of attention. In particular, *QST*, the ARRL's monthly magazine for members, helped knit together a network of knowledge. Although the apparent essence of pre-World-War-I radio amateurism was communication through the airwaves (usually by Morse code), the printed magazine *QST* conveyed the culture and expertise of the radio amateurs more broadly than the brief, encoded radio transmissions of the day. Along with news of wireless technology and of radio legislation in Washington, D.C., the magazine printed letters from ARRL members around the country and profiled exemplary stations. Even the magazine's title, *QST*, is based on radio code for "calling all stations." Besides their mastery of technology, their code, slang, rituals, and solidarity made the radio amateurs enviable to many Americans and likely attracted new participants to the pastime of radio listening. For South Carolina's scattering of amateurs, the ARRL and *QST* offered a connection with the dynamic radio culture of the Northeast, the Midwest, and the West Coast. The ARRL and its official publication thus fostered a second network linked, not by radio waves, but by the printed word and the United States Postal Service.

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Clinton B. DeSoto, *Two Hundred Meters and Down: The Story of Amateur Radio* (West Hartford, CT: American Radio Relay League, 1936), 49.

[43] "Monthly Report of Trunk Lines 'C' and 'D,'" *QST*, March, 1917, 36.

[44] Ibid., Seigel, *Modernity and Bourgeois Life*, 15.

[45] Ibid., 29.

[46] Ibid., 14.

CONCLUSION: RADIO SILENCE

The Bureau of Navigation's July 1, 1916 list of licensed stations was the last published before America entered World War I. Only four South Carolina stations appear on the document: Simons' 4BK, Allston's 4CB, the Citadel's 4YZ, and Drayton McMillan's 4BG in Bamberg, a station first listed in 1915.[47] Three of the four South Carolina stations that lasted into 1916 were members of the ARRL (McMillan's 4BG is the exception).[48] South Carolina's short roster of stations stands in contrast to New York, with 560 stations in the 1916 listing, Connecticut with 103 (and a 26 percent smaller population than South Carolina in the 1910 census), or even Georgia with 38.[49]

In April 1917, America's entry into World War I abruptly punctuated the history of American radio amateurs. Although the amateurs—spearheaded by the ARRL—possessed modest political influence, the federal government immediately moved to silence non-military radio, including the amateurs. An executive order declared that those amateur stations that were not commandeered by the United States Navy should be shut down immediately."[50]

The radio ban of April 1917 was not the end of civilian radio in the USA. In fact, the war would help build a foundation for the civilian "radio craze" that erupted in much of America about three years after World War I ended in November 1918[51] and was under way in South Carolina by the winter of 1923.[52] During the war, the United States military trained thousands of service members to operate radios. Many others saw the uses and capabilities of radio. In addition, the stepped-up wartime production of radio equipment would prove a boon to postwar civilian radio builders when the gear was sold off as military surplus. In postwar America, radio amateurs—many of them radio-savvy veterans—served as heralds of radio listening.

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[47] Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of Navigation, *Radio Stations of the United States, Edition July 1, 1915* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915), 117.

[48] Ibid., "Report on Trunk Lines" *QST*, September, 1916, 254.

[49] Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of Navigation, *Radio Stations of the United States, Edition July 1, 1916* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), 91–121.

[50] "Navy to Take over All Radio Stations," *New York Times,* April 7, 1917.

[51] Christopher H. Sterling and John Michael Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A History of American Broadcasting,* 3d ed. (Mahwah, NJ: 2002), 99–100.

[52] An analysis of the Columbia *State* newspaper, Charleston's *News and Courier*, and the *Greenville News* shows a surge in articles about radio in the first months of 1923.

As striking as they are, the radio craze and the dramatic growth of broadcasting and broadcast networks in the postwar period did not start *de novo*. As already noted, several scholars have made the case that the groundwork for mass media radio was laid in the years prior to World War I. This essay has focused on South Carolina, a state that in the 1910s lay on the American periphery in education, wealth, urbanization, and technical infrastructure. So too was South Carolina's engagement with radio from 1913 to 1917 far more modest than urbanized hotbeds such as New York, Illinois, Connecticut, and California.[53] Still, when mass-audience radio broadcasting came to South Carolina in the 1920s and 1930s, it did not arrive as a stranger. As this essay has shown, South Carolina was not immune to the social and technological currents that drove American boys and other radio amateurs to experiment with broadcasting and networking. South Carolina's civilian radio history begins in 1913, not 1930.

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[53] Compared to South Carolina's modest 14.8 percent urban population in the 1910 census, New York was 78.8 percent, Illinois 61.7 percent, Connecticut 89.7 percent, and California 61.8 percent. Ibid., Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract: 1915*, 1916, 39.

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Bilingual Language Accommodation: A Qualitative Study

Beth Ann Paris Labadorf

Many internal and external factors influence a bilingual's language choice. Through six in-depth interviews of approximately 30 minutes each, I investigated what these influences are, whether they differ depending on the speaker's native language, and how the concepts of Communication Accommodation Theory may help explain these choices. Half of the participants' native language was Spanish, and the other half's native language was English. The data were transcribed and then iteratively analyzed and coded for recurring and overarching themes. Many factors discussed in previous research were relevant to these participants, and additional factors from the interviews include converging to show language options, diverging to benefit the other, and communication efficiency.

Keywords: *Communication Accommodation Theory, Bilingualism, Language Choice, Spanish*

Among all the choices that Americans make on a daily and hourly basis, which language to speak with someone else is not often one of those choices. However, whether consciously or subconsciously, bilingual people must select which language to speak to each other every time they converse, and many communication and linguistic scholars have researched the factors that influence these choices. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) suggests that people choose to appear more similar to others by communicating like them, known as converging, and to appear different from others by communicating differently than they do, known as diverging (Giles, 1973).

When considering bilingualism, CAT suggests that a person may choose a language to make him/herself seem either similar to or different from the other interlocutor by intentionally choosing to use or not to use the other's preferred language. This study used in-depth interviews to investigate what factors influence which language bilingual people choose and whether CAT has any power to explain these choices made in conversations between bilingual individuals. This is a worthy method of research for those hoping to further articulate the choices bilingual speakers balance in multilingual situations as it further reveals the numerous intercultural negotiations bilingual communicators are constantly forced to make.

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Literature Review

Language Choice

Many factors affect a bilingual individual's language choice when talking with another bilingual person. Language proficiency greatly influences people's language preferences and choices (Fishman, 1965; Platt, 1985). Someone's language choice can also be influenced by someone's physical location during a conversation (Fishman, 1965; Galindo, 1996; Hammer, 2017) and often determines whether a language choice is viewed as polite or rude (Eng, 2016). Fishman (1965) claims that the conversation's situation, such as the setting, topic, and style of the conversation, also affects someone's language choice. In addition, understanding the culture of the other speaker is a significant factor influencing when someone uses a second language (Back, 2013). Someone's skin tone can even be a notable factor in how another bilingual person perceives their language skills, thereby impacting the language chosen (Lutz, 2006).

The relationship between the speakers may also play a significant role in one's language choice (Fishman, 1965). In a customer-server relationship, the language of a service person often predicts whether a language choice is viewed as polite (Eng, 2016). Using a language that is well known by others around is also often seen as a polite language choice. Bilinguals from the same ethnicity often speak the language that is common to their culture (Platt, 1985). If one language is viewed as the language of those in power, individuals may intentionally choose to use or not to use this dominant language to highlight their education or to express cultural unity with or separateness from other speakers (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Galindo, 1996).

Communication Accommodation Theory

Communication Accommodation Theory was introduced by Howard Giles (1973) who proposed that communicating like another person "not only reduces linguistic dissimilarities between sender and receiver but … also presents the sender in a relatively more favourable [*sic*] light" (p. 101). The theory's core is that people adjust social identity and relationships using three methods. First, individuals can gain favorability with another by converging to the other's speech style, intentionally speaking more like the other. Second, they can create distance by diverging from the other, intentionally speaking differently than them. Finally, they can maintain their status by continuing in their normal speech patterns (Vincze, Gasiorek, & Dragojevic, 2017). In a bilingual setting, convergence, divergence, and maintenance are readily seen in the language that the speakers choose to use.

CAT was first applied to bilingualism near the time of the theory's origination in the 1970s in a study about the impact of the perceived motives for accommodation between bilingual speakers (Simard, Taylor, & Giles, 1976). The researchers found that if the listener thinks that the speaker is accommodating to them out of goodwill, the listener is likely to accommodate back in their response. However, if the individual believes that the other person feels forced to accommodate, they will be less willing to return the accommodation (Simard et al., 1976). Recent studies about bilingualism, which were conducted in a setting that has a majority and a minority language, supported other studies that found that language competence often constrained someone's desires or motives to converge or diverge from other speakers (Gasiorek & Vincze, 2016; Vincze et al., 2017).

Research Questions

This literature review prompted the following research questions:

1. What factors affect the language convergence and divergence of Spanish-English bilinguals?
2. What similarities or differences exist between the language accommodation of Spanish-English bilinguals who grew up speaking Spanish and those who grew up speaking English?
3. What differences do these groups have in how they talk, feel, and think about language accommodation?

The first research question was not originally an *official* research question but rather an overarching mindset derived from the literature review that was used going into the interviews. However, the data from the interviews warranted a fuller exploration of what factors affect both groups of bilingual speakers. Therefore, I used this broader question to guide the findings section, and the similarities and differences between the language groups will be part of the analysis in the discussion section.

Methodology

Strategy

To investigate these questions, I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews lasting approximately 30 minutes each with individuals who speak both Spanish and English. The research process I used is like the process Galindo (1996) employs in her in-depth interviews of language use and attitudes among Hispanic women in Texas.

A benefit of in-depth interviews is that "meaning is created between participants rather than being held in the minds of the interviewer or the interviewee and swapped back and forth" (Tracy, 2013, p. 132). Interviews allow participants to "provide accounts—or rationales, explanations, and justifications for their actions and opinions" (Tracy, 2013, p. 132). I used an interview guide to provide direction and consistency to the interviews. This guide gave the ability "to compare and contrast data" like completely structured interviews, but because the guide "is meant to stimulate discussion rather than dictate it," it easily allowed for flexibility with follow-up, probing questions like unstructured interviews (Tracy, 2013, p. 139).

The following questions are a representative sample of my interview guide:

1. Have you ever felt unsure about which language to use when speaking with another bilingual person? Tell me about some of those experiences.
2. What types of things influence which language you do choose?
3. Have you had any experiences that have directed your language choice patterns? Would you describe some?

Participants

I used a purposeful sampling method, which is the same participant selection method that Eng (2016) used. She intentionally selected people that she knew who matched her study's targeted language skills, life experiences, and demographics. Tracy (2013) also supports using purposeful sampling in situations like this one in which the researcher is attempting to "purposefully choose data that fit the parameters of the project" (p. 134). My six participants were either students at or employees of a southern university who were purposefully selected based on their being known as at least conversationally proficient in both Spanish and English. Spanish was the native language of half of the participants, and English was the native language of the other half. In the findings section, pseudonyms are used to identify the participants, and their language backgrounds are described.

Data Analysis

After conducting the recorded interviews, each interview was transcribed, yielding a total of 72 transcribed pages. The data were analyzed using an inductive iterative coding process as described by Tracy (2013). She describes this process as "analysis that alternates between … emergent readings of the data and an etic use of existing models, explanations, and theories" (Tracy, 2013, p. 184).

The first round of coding included reviewing all the data and marking the emergent themes with codes that "detail[ed] the 'who, what, and where'" of the data (Tracy, 2013, p. 189). The second round of coding involved taking the first-level codes and beginning to "organize, synthesize, and categorize them into interpretive concepts" (Tracy, 2013, p. 194). For example, I combined the first-level codes of "look-Hispanic," "heritage," and "English to Americans" into the second-level code of "stereotypes." Another example is that I synthesized the first-level codes of "nostalgia," "confidence," and "exciting," among others, into the second-level code of "emotions."

Findings

Expanding Earlier Findings

Data analysis revealed that many of the factors for language accommodation that were discussed in the literature review were also relevant to these participants. The tendency of speakers of the same ethnicity to use their native language (Platt, 1985) was also mentioned by each one of the participants. Additionally, regardless of whether the participant was a native speaker of Spanish or English, most participants mentioned that they normally preferred to accommodate to the other's native language unless there were intervening factors. The participants named many other factors that may either support or hinder this desire to converge to the other's native language.

Language proficiency. One of the most apparent issues affecting someone's language choice is an individual's comfort and proficiency with each language. Many researchers (Fishman, 1965; Platt, 1985; Gasiorek & Vincze, 2016; Vincze et al., 2017) discussed the impact of this factor. Many participants mentioned that they try to accommodate to the language that the other person is more proficient in. However, the participants stated that their own knowledge of vocabulary at times prompted them to choose their own native language, regardless of whether it accommodated to or diverged from the other person's native language.

Many participants added that struggling with vocabulary can be especially impactful on their language choice when they feel vulnerable. For example, one native English-speaking participant, Inigo, said that "if I feel like speaking Spanish would simply expose every error I could possibly make in Spanish, then I would not want to make myself vulnerable in speaking to that person if I feel like they can clearly speak English." However, multiple participants said that having a prior relationship with the speakers lessens the impact of the fear of making mistakes. For instance, Carmen, a native Spanish-speaking participant, stated, "When people know that I'm an international student, but they don't speak my language, it makes me feel more comfortable to speak to them in English … because I didn't feel pressured."

Relational impacts. Like what Fishman (1965) discussed, several participants stated that they often developed habits of which language to use with different people. This habit often depended on the first language that the participants spoke with the other person. Another native English speaker, Joseph, said, "Once we're friends, and we've established which [language to speak], we'll usually stick to that language. We don't really go back." Carmen agreed that "it kind of depends on how we met. If we met speaking English, then we'll speak in English; but if we met speaking Spanish, we keep speaking Spanish," regardless of what speakers' native languages are. Inigo specifically added that this habit can cause him to diverge from the other person's native language. He stated that:

> If somebody speaks Spanish—and even if Spanish is their main language—if I meet them in a context where I get to know them speaking English…, typically I just feel like English is more appropriate. If they don't give me any reason to think they want to [speak Spanish], I'll just stick to English.

Elaborating on just how important this factor is, Christina described how great an impact this relational habit has had on her family. She and her husband have created a trilingual home; she speaks to her children exclusively in Spanish, her husband speaks to them exclusively in French, and the children respond accordingly. They all speak English with others outside their home. She stated:

> My kids—they know who to talk to in what language. If they see Granny, what comes out of their mouth is English. If they see my parents, what comes out of their mouth? It's Spanish. When they see me, it's Spanish. When it's our French friends, it's French. So, their minds have been trained to know in what circumstances what language to use, and it's just wonderful to see them growing like that, because I'm observing them and watching all the time … in different scenarios.

These children's innate responses exemplify the impact a relational habit can have on language choice.

Though most participants stated that they often prefer to speak the language that all in earshot can understand, having a relationship with people near the speakers allows the participants not to feel rude when speaking a language that not everyone knows. As part of a discussion about being rude, Daniela, a native Spanish speaker, stated that she feels comfortable speaking Spanish with a friend in class because "my other classmates know that I love them and that I care for them, and I'm not going to speak evil of them, so they don't have to worry about that." These examples show how great an impact a relationship can have on the language individuals choose, whether those impacts are through relational habits or the comfort of knowing that the speaker is not being offensive to friends.

Expressing unity. Some researchers discussed the use of a majority or minority language to emphasize unity and separateness (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Galindo, 1996), and some participants told stories about this concept. The most common reason to express unity by these participants was to feel nostalgia. Inigo told a story about conversations with a classmate while sitting in an English class:

> We would always speak in Spanish. We were both like, "We know Spanish; we're going to speak Spanish." We're talking about English, but we would speak in Spanish [because] we miss it…. English is simply standard, every day. You do it all the time; there's nothing really fancy or nice about speaking in English. But speaking in Spanish is something you don't get to do very often. So, it's a treat.

When asked to give a fuller explanation, he said that:

> it's kind of bonding in that we both miss our Spanish-speaking cultures, and we can both be thinking of completely different Spanish-speaking cultures, but we kind of bond in that we don't fit in. But not that we're misfits, but more like we love Spanish. [Another example is that] if somebody is from Spain or has been in Spain, speaking in Spanish kind of has both people thinking about other experiences of Spain. And while we've visited Spain or both left Spain, neither one of us would be thinking about Spain if we weren't speaking in Spanish. So, it's not necessarily that we're in love with the language as much as the language is a pointer to the culture.

Daniela discussed the same concept, saying that "when you're outside of your country, and you hear somebody else speak your language, it just makes you feel like you're at home." She continued with a story about speaking to a bilingual coworker who is also from a Spanish-speaking country: "We speak to each other in Spanish. It just makes him feel at home. Because healthcare work is stressful, and you're constantly dealing with people, and it's just relaxing to see someone who knows your language." These two stories reveal that the unifying connection of a language is caused not only by the shared language itself but also by the similar memories and experiences of the speakers.

Additional Contributions

The interviewees discussed several factors that were not discussed in the literature review but add interesting insight into the lives of these participants and other bilingual people as well.

Caring for the other. One of the most common things that the participants mentioned but was not discussed in the literature was the immense focus that the speakers gave to caring for the other person's desires and opinions. A prominent way that the participants expressed their care for the other person is through accommodating to that person's native language, as discussed earlier. Inigo explained that his reason for accommodating to the other's language is that he cares about them. He said, "I don't want to make somebody speak my language if it's not their primary language. They might be good at it, but I feel like it's a nice sign of courtesy or respect to speak their language." Daniela, a native Spanish-speaker, expressed that she naturally used the other person's native language, especially if the other person's native language is Spanish, too.

Raymond, a native English speaker, also discussed choosing the other speaker's native language to make that person more comfortable. He discussed attending an event in the United States during which he was talking in English to a bilingual young man from Puerto Rico. The other man's mother joined the conversation in English, but it became clear to Raymond that she was more comfortable speaking Spanish, her first language. To make her more comfortable, he "started speaking Spanish to her. That instantly changed the dynamic of the conversation." After accommodating to her native language, Raymond stated that "she was a lot more open, a lot friendlier, [and] she spoke a lot faster. She was excited to be talking to me. And I could see that through her facial expression [being] more personal."

Caring because of shared experience. Other participants discussed how their personal experiences shaped their desires to accommodate to make the other person comfortable. Carmen stated:

> It's really cool just to know that we've been through the same stress with like, "I'm really, really awkward right now!" So, I know how they feel. And it's really nice to know that they know how I felt, too. And you can kind of sympathize more with people.

Another native Spanish-speaking participant, Daniela, added that, when talking to a native English speaker, sometimes she thinks, "Oh, you're a native speaker, I feel embarrassed." She stated that because they understand that feeling, they choose whichever language the other person prefers so that others do not feel that way, too. Having experienced the same struggles as other bilinguals and language learners, these participants want to reduce that fear in the people with whom they speak.

Caring by using target language. Another way that the participants showed care for others is by using the language the other person wants to learn. For example, when referring to conversations with a native English speaker who wants to learn Spanish, Daniela stated:

> I feel that it would be really helpful for them if I spoke with them in Spanish because it's a second language, so they could continue to be fluent. But I feel the urge in my heart to still practice my English with them, so I think that I [usually speak to them] in English unless they asked me to speak to them in Spanish. So, I have to be selfless in that situation. It would be more helpful for them if we spoke in Spanish.

This selflessness of helping the other person practice rather than fulfilling her own desire to practice exemplifies the desire to accommodate out of caring for the other person first.

Christina also discussed choosing a language to help someone meet their language goal. Christina is a Spanish teacher, and she said that she speaks Spanish to her bilingual students even outside of the classroom to help them meet their Spanish goals. She also shows care to them by speaking English to clarify when a concept is really complicated or when a student wants to clarify the instructions for an assignment. She does not let her personal desire for them to learn actually to impede their learning or their relationship.

Caring by diverging. Although the literature review indicated that individuals who care for others accommodate to the other's native language, some participants indicated that, at times, they diverge from the other's first language out of care for them instead. There are two distinct ways that the participants described this action. One reason they diverged was that they did not know the other individual or their exact language abilities well and, therefore, would choose the majority language to avoid the appearance of stereotyping the person. Joseph, a native English speaker, explained this by saying that "if they're strangers, and I don't really know much, then I'll just always speak in English, even if I know they might [know Spanish] or they have a history [speaking it]." He also explained that the other person may be Hispanic but may have grown up in the States and prefer English, so he "always stay[s] on the safe side" by speaking English.

The other prominent care-driven reason to diverge from the other person's preferred language is the desire for that person to grow in their language skills. The participants' general expectation was that foreign language teachers would speak the target language with their students. However, Christina mentioned that she prefers to diverge from speaking English to help non-students practice Spanish if they are heritage Spanish speakers, individuals whose parents are native speakers but who themselves grew up speaking both English and Spanish. She stated:

> I want to use Spanish with them because they are a good percentage Hispanic… [but] they'd rather talk to me in English. And … that's fine with me, and we'll switch to English.… I don't try to force [Spanish]. Occasionally I do, like, "Hey, you know Spanish, come on, give it a try, use it, feel proud of it! It's a tool. It's a wonderful tool to have. Why not? And if you make a mistake, it's not the end of the world; I make mistakes too."

She expressed that this desire for the heritage speakers to speak Spanish was done out of a desire to inspire them to have personal pride about the language and culture of their heritage.

Demonstrating options. Another way that the participants have shown care for the other speaker is demonstrating to the other person that they have the option to choose which language to speak. Raymond, a native English-speaker, explained this point very clearly:

> If I meet someone in initially, and I know they're Hispanic, I will just clue them right off the bat that I speak Spanish. I will answer one of their questions in Spanish just to make them feel more comfortable. It just helps them feel more comfortable when they realize the person they're talking to doesn't have a problem with their accent and understands their language and is capable of speaking it.

He told an accompanying story about holding the door for a Hispanic man who said, "Thank you" in English, but Raymond responded in Spanish with "*de nada* [you're welcome]." He then kept "the conversation going until he … realized, 'this guy knows a good bit of language, and he's comfortable with it.'"

Joseph also discussed using Spanish with someone to let that person know they have the option to speak Spanish rather than English. In situations that he already knows they are bilingual, he said that:

> I'll probably start in Spanish, just to be different because … it's like we have more things in common if I know they speak Spanish and I speak Spanish—not everyone does. If I want to get to know them better, I'll just start speaking in Spanish just to show them we have these things in common.

Joseph would not have the opportunity to develop these relationships based on their mutual enjoyment of Spanish if he never converged to them to let them know that he speaks Spanish.

As mentioned above, several participants choose to diverge from the other's language to avoid stereotyping anyone, yet at other times some intentionally accommodate to the other's language to give options. These examples show that there are conflicting trends about whether to converge or diverge to the other person's native language when the speaker does not know the other person, but both this convergence and divergence are done with the goal of caring for the other person.

Efficiency in groups. Many participants stated that they normally choose a language all listeners understand, but not always. Although most people who chose a different language than those who were listening to them either for privacy or for habit's sake, Inigo pointed out how valuable diverging from the group's language can be simply to create efficiency:

> I could spend maybe 10 seconds ... just trying to raise my English voice above the dinner table. But if I just start speaking to [my brother] in Spanish, that is only one person I could be talking to, and everyone else notices, "Wait he's saying something, and it's not for me." It's less of a fight for whose story is better or anything like that and more of just like—"Wait a second, you just changed the rules of the game." …. It's more efficient than letting the whole group in on the conversation, because then everyone formulates an opinion, maybe voices [it] and gets annoying. I like people's opinions, but sometimes it's not the more efficient.

Christina discussed this same concept when she stated that she would often use her native language of Spanish when in a group of monolingual English speakers if the information given was simply irrelevant to others present, and she needed to efficiently communicate with her family.

Expectations. Most participants stated that when they are in the United States and speaking to a bilingual person, they normally start the conversation in English. For instance, Joseph said that he starts in English "just because that's where we are—in America." The participants had a collective expectation that conversations in the United States are conducted in English. Speaking in Spanish is an exception due to a specific reason to accommodate, communicate efficiently, or out of a habit with a specific individual.

However, people in or from other locations may have significantly different expectations. Daniela commented that she sometimes prefers to use Spanish, but that "it's kind of rude, so there's the ups and downs of it." Therefore, she normally speaks English while in the United States unless she knows those who are around will not mind her speaking Spanish.

She told a moving story that influenced her personal view of politeness with language accommodation. When she was at a U.S. airport on a trip back to her Spanish-speaking home country, a Hispanic lady bumped into her. Daniela said, "I'm sorry" in English, and the Hispanic lady lashed out in Spanish, accusing Daniela of trying to be a "*gringa*" [a derogatory term for a white female] and rejecting her Hispanic heritage by speaking English. Although Daniela had intended her English comment to be friendly and polite because she was still in the United States, the other person's perceptions of language choice being inseparably linked with cultural identity made the statement come across as extremely rude.

Discussion

Reflection

These findings have answered the first research question. As stated above, most of the factors that affected the language convergence and divergence of bilinguals in previous research also help explain the choices of these Spanish-English bilinguals. When thinking of just the other speaker, reasons to converge to the other speaker are the other's native language, having a prior relationship with the person, the location of the conversation, the topic, and having shared language experiences. Reasons given to diverge from the other speaker's preference include the speaker's language proficiency, the lack of an existing relationship, and a desire for the other speaker to develop more language skills.

When considering others around who may be listening to the conversation, reasons to converge to the language of those around include a specific desire to include those who can hear and to avoid sounding rude. Reasons to diverge from the language of the other listeners include a desire for privacy and a desire to cut through the noise of the other conversations going on.

The study also answered the second and third research questions with the finding that the native English speakers and native Spanish speakers discussed very similar factors and motives for their language convergence and divergence. Both groups of participants expressed extreme value for showing care for the other's preferences and for sharing experiences with one another. Both groups expressed the constraining impact of their own language ability on their desire to use the other's native language, the desire not to use a language the other person is not comfortable speaking, and the desire or tendency to use their own native language when speaking to another native speaker of that language.

One significant difference in how the participants discussed their language accommodation was how they referred to the idea of showing off their language skills. Two native English-speaking participants, although they expressed that their main desire to speak Spanish was to connect with other people, mentioned sometimes using Spanish to look cool or to show off. Daniela, a native Spanish-speaking participant, commented that she might be able to use English to show off in her home country, but it would normally be perceived as rude or arrogant rather than impressive. She added that if she were American, she might be inclined to show off with Spanish because that would show that she had learned the language from scratch. Surprisingly, she did not mention or even seem to notice the connection that her everyday life in the United States shows her own accomplishment of learning a language from scratch and even using it for a university education. This difference seems to indicate a very different mindset toward language learning and proficiency between the native English speakers and speakers who come from abroad to study in the States.

Strengths

One strength of these findings is that the stories told by the different participants revealed many common experiences among those in the group. There certainly were unique comments made by several participants, but the repetition of many themes woven throughout all the participants' stories supports this research as being an appropriate representation and explanation of the experiences that these participants have had and shared.

This method had the strength of allowing the participants to tell full stories of their experiences and emotions rather than just agreeing with or denying that certain factors influence their decisions. The rich stories that the participants told in the interviews also allowed me to uncover and explore of some unexpected themes that gave a window into the experiences, passions, and desires of these specific participants.

Limitations

Because these interviews were exploring the personal experiences and expressions of only six participants, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to all bilingual people or even to all Spanish-English bilinguals. Although the themes that are common to these individuals and to the participants from previous studies likely apply to other bilingual individuals, the themes should not be considered universal rules but rather as concepts to keep in mind as possible influences that could impact any given bilingual conversation, especially for bilingual individuals in similar situations.

The research method itself created some limitations for the study. The time span of 30 minutes for the interviews constrained how much data I could gather. Learning much more about the participants' backgrounds and experiences, such as responding to other bilingual people who have started a conversation with them, would have allowed for a richer exploration of the data when considering CAT. However, there was not time in the interviews to do so.

The location of this study had a profound impact on the findings. Like Joseph said, most bilinguals speak English "just because that's where we are—in America." Because the participants were bilingual individuals living in the United States, their interactions were situated in a (predominantly) monolingual society. The perceptions of appropriate, practical, and preferred language choices may and even likely would shift drastically in a bi- or multilingual society because of the vastly different cultural and linguistic experiences. When multiple languages are in use, conversion and diversion from someone else would have many more facets than those that have been considered here. The findings of this study will likely, therefore, resonate most with bilingual individuals who have lived in a predominantly monolingual society.

Implications

Although these findings cannot be generalized to all bilingual people, these stories may resonate with other bilinguals, whether they be other Spanish-English bilinguals here in the United States or from completely different backgrounds and languages. Keeping these findings in mind as possible factors when interacting with other bilingual individuals may help equip me and others to better relate to these individuals and inspire us to learn their personal stories about being bilingual. Considering the impact of vocabulary or emotional connection that another may have when interacting bilingually can help us be open to seeing these or other new factors that influence a bilingual's everyday life.

It is encouraging that all participants normally used the language that the other person preferred to show their care for the other person. Many intervening factors do prevent people from always converging, but most reasons to diverge were intentionally out of respect for the other person as well, such as to help them learn and to avoid stereotyping them. Other reasons for diverging were very practical reasons such as clarity because of lacking vocabulary or a habit that neither person may even be thinking about it. Not one participant mentioned diverging from the other person's language preference out of malice or carelessness for the other person's preferences.

These findings show that neither convergence nor divergence can be classified as inherently good or bad. They can both be done while considering the other person and creating effective communication. The prominence of showing care and deference for, as well as empathizing with, the other person by accommodating to their preference is in line with CAT's prediction that people accommodate to show similarities with the other person. However, unlike CAT's prediction, diversion was not predominantly used to show difference from the other speaker but for the practical reasons discussed above.

Further Research

Several studies could be completed to further this research of applying CAT to bilingualism. The theme of using a minority language for efficiency rather than specifically for excluding others could be a rich field of study. It contains many aspects uniquely fitted to bilingual communication: efficiently gaining attention, giving instructions, simplifying vocabulary, and many others. Exploring these aspects, their uses in different contexts, and how they are perceived as communicating sameness or separateness would be a helpful addition to the literature.

Another significant way to expand this research is to reverse its focus. These interviews focused exclusively on the accommodative actions that the speakers did and their motivations for these actions. However, another rich study could take the opposite point of view, exploring people's perceptions about the language that others speak to them and the motives that the participants attribute to the language choices made under different circumstances. Like any form of communication, exploring the relationship or the intentions of the sender and the perceptions of the receiver can give significant insight into how people think. Expanding on how the listener perceived conversion and diversion, even more studies could intentionally explore how the perception of the motivations for convergence or divergence affects the social distance between the interlocutors.

Conclusion

I hope that this article leaves you with one lasting thought. The same communicative action could be done for a plethora of reasons. I may *converge* to your language because it is easy for me, because others can understand it, because society expects me to, or because I think you would like me to. Conversely, I may *diverge* from your language because it is not easy for me, because others may not understand it, because society expects me to, or because I think you would like me to.

As with practically all things in life, communication and the people doing the communicating are much more complex than we often assume. When communicating bilingually—or monolingually, for that matter—we must put away our assumptions of the other person's intent and focus instead on the mutual goal of relating with another person and developing encouraging relationships.

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"Don't Stop the Music": Developing Creative and Critical Thinking Skills

Rosalie S. Aldrich and Renee Kaufmann

This activity was designed for upper-level undergraduate communication courses. Specifically, this activity could be used in Gender Communication or Health Communication courses. Additionally, this activity can be used in any course that involves engaging students in creative and critical thinking.

Learning Outcomes

The purpose of this assignment is to help students identify and explain key course concepts, analyze and interpret messages (i.e., music lyrics), produce a visually appealing poster, and deliver an effective oral message.

Introduction and Rationale

Research continues to support the importance of incorporating creativity in the classroom (Kirkendall & Krishen, 2015; Shaheen, 2010). "Creativity is generally conceptualized as the ability to produce something that is both novel and useful" (Pang, 2015, p. 122). Unfortunately, many people are convinced they are not creative by the time they complete high school (Matthews, 2011). Paul and Elder (2006) argue that creativity and critical thinking are inseparable and both are achievements of thought. Critical thinking is a complex concept that includes understanding, analyzing, synthesizing, and evaluating information (Piaw, 2010). It is essential for undergraduate students to cultivate critical thinking skills in order to be successful at the graduate level or to be competitive when they enter the professional world (Atkin, 2010). In order to help students develop critical thinking skills, it is necessary to incorporate creativity into the classroom and assignments. Research supports that producing visual art encourages development of critical thinking (Alter, 2011; Gude, 2007). The use of music and visual design have the potential to engage students' creativity and increase student interest in the subject matter. This assignment also encourages students to engage with one another and fosters conversations about the content, which are two important factors for climate building in the classroom (Kaufmann, Sellnow, & Frisby, 2016).

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Activity Description

This individual activity is assigned as homework for students to complete outside of the classroom (it is advised to give students a week to complete this assignment) and then to present the final product in a brief presentation to the class. This assignment helps students practice their creative and critical thinking skills while developing a deeper understanding of their identified course concept.

Begin by explaining to students that they may choose the concept or term they wish to focus on within the instructor's parameters (e.g., certain chapter, unit). Next, give the students a handout with these questions to consider (add others as appropriate): 1. Why should my classmates understand this term? 2. How is it relevant to me/others? 3. Are people influenced by this? 4. Has this changed over time? 5. Are there things we do not know about this concept or term? 6. Does this benefit or harm me or others? 7. What is a possible counter-argument? 8. What is the most or least important thing to know about this term or concept? 9. Where would we see this in the real world? 10. When has this played a part in our history or my own life?

Then instruct the students to find a song that represents the concept or is related to it in some way. After they have identified a concept and found a song that represents the concept, they will then create a one-page poster. The authors recommend the free site canva.com; however, a PowerPoint slide would also work. The poster must visually align well with the song and the course concept. On the poster, students must include the concept they are focusing on, the name of the song, and the name of the artist(s). The poster must also be ecstatically pleasing, interesting, clear, and easy to read and understand.

Here are two examples to further illustrate this assignment. One of the concepts studied in a gender communication course is "feminine friendships" described by Wood (2017) as ". . . many women's friendships give center stage to communication which fosters disclosure, verbal expressiveness, depth and breadth of knowledge, and attentiveness to the evolving nature of the relationship" (p. 190). Some possibilities for visually representing this concept may be to show two women engaged in a conversation or talking in close proximity to one another. A song that would align with this concept is "Girl" by Destiny's Child. The song starts with the line, "Take a minute girl come sit down and tell us what's been happening." The song showcases how close women friends recognize and talk about personal problems with one another. An example from a health communication course, using the term "emotional support", defined as ". . . the love and interpersonal acceptance an individual receives from others, either through explicit statements to the effect, or as a result of considerate and caring actions" (Belsky, 1984, p. 87). The visual poster could include a patient in the hospital surrounded by family and friends. The song "Skin (Sarabeth)" by Rascal Flatts would align with the concept of emotional support. This song describes a teenage girl dealing with a cancer diagnoses and losing all of her hair. Her high school sweetheart shaves his head in solitary and takes her to prom. The act of shaving his head shows empathy, love, and support. See a student example in the Appendix.

Finally, students orally present these posters to the class. The oral presentation includes defining the concept, sharing the audio for the song, and discussing how the concept, song, and visual presentation align. The oral presentation is brief, 3–5 minutes long, with an introduction, a body in which the student demonstrates a clear understanding of the chosen concept while effectively providing a strong argument of alignment, and a conclusion.

Debriefing, including typical results

Depending on class size, a discussion should follow the oral presentations. In smaller classes it may be most beneficial to discuss each presentation directly after it occurs. For larger classes it may make the most sense to have a discussion at the end of all the presentations.

Instructors can aid the discussions by prompting students with discussion questions/prompts. Here are some examples: 1. Can someone else summarize or define the term/concept in your own words? 2. How would you change the visual to better represent the concept/term? 3. What other songs would represent the concept/term? 4. What is the most significant idea or element of the concept/term? 5. How does the concept/term presented compare to others discussed in class? 6. Why is it important for students to understand this concept/term?

Additionally, if time allows, conversations about copyright and fair use of images, music, and other content are strongly encouraged. These discussions are a great opportunity to share with and remind students about style guides and avoiding plagiarism.

The variety of songs used is fun for the whole class. Song choices help to foster discussions about other songs (or parts of songs) that would also align with that concept. It is also interesting to see how the concept/song is visually presented. Students discuss what worked visually and musically and what did not, as well as alternative approaches to aligning the three assignment elements.

Appraisal of the activity, including any limitations or variations

The presentation portion of the assignment allows for peer-learning, which can be quite beneficial to students. Research suggests that peer-learning contributes to developing critical thinking skills and retaining learning (Garrison, Anderson, & Archer, 2001). This assessment has been well received in the past. Students enjoy doing something that is different from the norm, while still demonstrating they understand the material. Course evaluations support that students appreciate this type of assignment. The assignment described in this article is labeled an “Application Assignment” in the course syllabi, thus the language used by the students in the following statements. One student stated, “I thought the application assignment was a great way to use critical thinking to apply the concepts from the reading to other scenarios.” Another student stated, “I would like to see more assignments like the application assignment. These assignments really help me comprehend the material.”

An added bonus, is that students tend to remember the concepts/terms presented in class more often and with a deeper understanding than concepts not presented in class, later in the semester on the final exam.

This assignment is ideal for a class size of 15–25 students. For larger classes, this assignment would work well as a group project; however, instructors may want to assign the concept to each group in order to reduce concept overlap. This assignment is also suitable for an online course. The poster presentation can take place within the learning management system's discussion forum. Students can post their posters, provide a link to the song (audio or visual), and upload an audio presentation explaining how the concept, song, and visual presentation align. Students can then discuss the presentations by responding to their peers' presentations.

Some students prefer not to engage in creative assignments for a variety of reasons, for example: 1. they do not see the value in creative exercises, 2. it makes them uncomfortable because it is out of their comfort zone, or 3. they lack confidence in their creative ability. It may be important for instructors to address the importance of creativity and critical thinking skills prior to the assignment, so students understand the overall value of the assignment.

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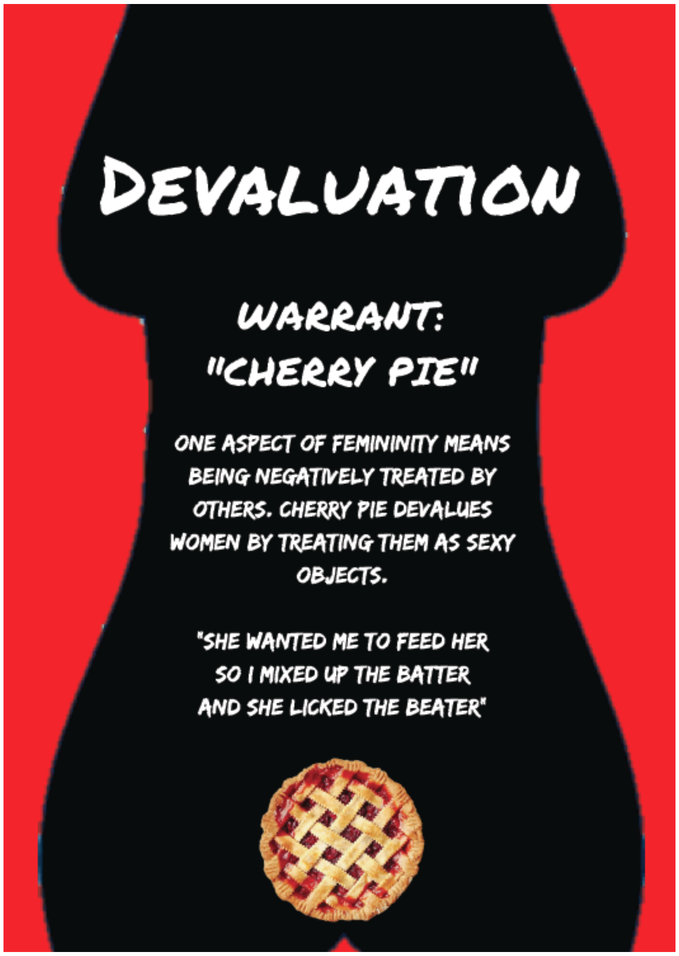
Appendix

A former student, Hannah McDonald, gave us permission to use her poster to serve as an example of a final visual product. Her poster was from an undergraduate, 400-level course, *Gender Communication.* The textbook used in the class was Wood, J. T. (2015). *Gendered lives: Communication, gender and culture.* (11th ed.). Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning. ISBN-13: 9781285075938.



DEVALUATION

WARRANT:
"CHERRY PIE"

ONE ASPECT OF FEMININITY MEANS BEING NEGATIVELY TREATED BY OTHERS. CHERRY PIE DEVALUES WOMEN BY TREATING THEM AS SEXY OBJECTS.

"SHE WANTED ME TO FEED HER
SO I MIXED UP THE BATTER
AND SHE LICKED THE BEATER"

Nonverbal "Charades:" Teaching the Power of Emotion in Public Speaking

Jessica Welch

When preparing to give a presentation, students often focus entirely on what they are going to say, with little attention given to how they are going to say it. This single-class activity introduces students to the role of emotion in public speaking. The purpose of this activity is twofold. First, it is designed to demonstrate how emotion impacts message delivery. Second, it gives students the opportunity to practice using emotion in a classroom setting.

Keywords: *Public Speaking, Basic Course, Presentations, Nonverbal Delivery*

Intended Course: Basic Course/public speaking

Objectives:

1. To demonstrate the importance of nonverbal communication
2. To get students comfortable expressing emotion during presentations
3. To increase students' speech performance through effective use of nonverbal communication

While preparing for and giving presentations, students often spend all their time focusing on *what* they say rather than *how* they say it. Including emotion in speeches keeps the audience engaged and can be a very effective persuasion strategy, but many students are either not comfortable expressing emotion in a classroom setting or do not know how to do it effectively. Research shows that things like tone of voice and body language communicate much more than the actual words speakers use (Hendley, 2015; Huler, 2014; Ramsey, 2016; NewsMax, 2015). Therefore, it is important for students to be aware of the emotions they are conveying (perhaps unintentionally) to their audience and know how to use nonverbal communication strategies to their advantage during presentations. This activity demonstrates the power of nonverbal communication in expressing emotion and illustrates that, when verbal and nonverbal communication contradict each other, it is generally nonverbal communication that is believed.

Description of the Activity

This activity has students use conflicting verbal and nonverbal messages to demonstrate the power of nonverbal communication and get students comfortable expressing emotion in a classroom setting. It will take 30 – 40 minutes to complete depending on your class size, as each student should get at least one turn to speak. Before beginning this activity, students should have a basic understanding of nonverbal versus verbal communication and what elements are included in each.

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1. Begin with a brief discussion (approximately five minutes) of the importance of nonverbal communication. Discuss ways that emotion can be communicated nonverbally. I like to provide specific examples that students are familiar with. For example, when someone tells us that they're "fine," but we know they are not, how can we tell? This example also demonstrates that, when nonverbal and verbal communication contradict each other, we tend to believe nonverbal. Explain how this relates to public speaking in terms of speeches students will give in your class and in the future (keeping the audience engaged, persuasion using pathos, etc.)

2. There are two methods for completing the next step of the activity. I normally give students about five minutes to write down a random sentence on a piece of paper (the more creative, the better). You will get better results if you give them some guidance about desired length of the sentence and examples/non-examples. What they write down should be one complete, declarative sentence, but not a run-on sentence. The other option is to write your own sentences on index cards ahead of time and bring them to class with you. This option is good if you are worried about time constraints or the creativity/appropriateness of the sentences your students would create. (Appendix A includes a list of sample sentences). Regardless of the method you choose, you should also bring index cards to class with different emotions written on each one. (Appendix B includes the emotions I use, but you can edit the list to fit your preferences). I originally had students write both a sentence and an emotion on their paper, but issues with semantics made it more difficult to accurately identify emotions during the activity. For example, a student may write "shocked" as the emotion, but the class keeps guessing "surprised." Therefore, it is a good idea to read off all the possible emotions before beginning the activity so students know what their options are.

3. Collect your students' sentences and place them on a desk in the front of the room, putting the emotion index cards in a separate pile. Students will take turns coming to the front of the room, drawing a "sentence card" and an "emotion card" and saying that sentence with that emotion. Similar to the game charades, their classmates will try to guess what emotion that individual is conveying. The student must act out their emotion until someone guesses correctly. I originally randomly selected the order in which students would participate, but found that the first students set the tone for the rest of the class. Specifically, if the first few students are particularly shy and do not fully act out their emotion, the rest of the class will also be more reserved during their turn. This makes the activity less instructive and enjoyable. Therefore, I like to set the tone by going first to show that we are all going to look and feel a little silly, but that is the point of the exercise. I then ask for volunteers to go next. Inevitably, the most confident and outspoken students volunteer, providing quality examples which set the tone for the rest of the class.

Debriefing

After each student has had a least one turn, take ten minutes to debrief the activity. Possible discussion questions include:

1. Based on nonverbal behavior, how could you tell when your classmates were scared, sad, etc.? (This question could also be posed after each individual's turn, depending on your time constraints and class size).

2. What things did you pay attention to when trying to guess how your classmates were feeling?
3. How can you use nonverbal communication to enhance your presentations?

Appraisal

Students enjoy this activity because it's generally entertaining. Writing the sentences that will be used also makes them feel involved in the creation of the activity and they enjoy hearing what their classmates come up with. This activity is most effective when used right before students begin preparing for a speech in which emotion is especially important, such as a personal narrative. Because this activity asks participants to get out of their comfort zone, it runs most smoothly when done at least a few weeks into the semester when students have gotten to know each other. If used at the very beginning of the semester, students are generally too shy to fully act out the emotions, making the activity less instructive and entertaining. When used effectively, this activity helps students become more comfortable showing emotion in a classroom setting and has many of the benefits of impromptu speeches, but with an emphasis on nonverbal communication.

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Appendix A

- ✓ I woke up this morning and the sun was shining.
- ✓ I'm going to Disney World for my birthday this year.
- ✓ I never sleep on Christmas Eve because I'm afraid of Santa Claus.
- ✓ You look like a fool eating that ice cream cone.
- ✓ This Saturday is my sister's first gymnastics competition.
- ✓ When people ask me what I want to be when I grow up, I always say a librarian.
- ✓ I'm pretty sure the chickens just escaped.
- ✓ Let me sit by you and whisper sweet nothings in your ear.
- ✓ I could really use some help building this swing set.
- ✓ Let's fill the swimming pool with chocolate milk.
- ✓ I'm not entirely sure about the rules of badminton.
- ✓ We're going to need to pack the cake and also the good potatoes.
- ✓ I think I'm going to start collecting postcards.
- ✓ I don't much care for hot beverages.
- ✓ First the giraffe lost his top hat and then he ate his monocle.
- ✓ Somebody please show Jeffery the way to the elevator.
- ✓ Theses checks aren't going to cash themselves.
- ✓ I've never used a blue telephone before.
- ✓ I'm not sophisticated enough to go to the opera.
- ✓ For dinner tonight I am preparing crab cakes and Gatorade.

Appendix B

- ✓ Sad
- ✓ Scared
- ✓ Annoyed
- ✓ Excited
- ✓ Happy
- ✓ Mad
- ✓ Nervous
- ✓ Confused

"Instagram It" Introduction—Creating a Social Presence in the Online Classroom

Carrie R. McCormick

This activity attempts to aid students in creating a social presence in an online class by having them post photos and hashtags that reflect a part of their identity. Instagram is widely used by the college demographic, and students are at ease self-selecting and filtering photos, creating novel hashtags to explain their photos, and then commenting on their peers' posts. This activity draws on students' familiarity with social media platforms to prompt them to begin engaging in authentic communication and self-disclosure.

Key Words: Online Learning, Nonverbal Immediacy, Social Presence, Instagram

Intended Courses: *Fundamentals of Public Speaking, and Introduction to Human Communication*

Learning Objectives: *At the end of this activity, students will be able to express their concept of self through pictures and hashtags, critique the context of the communication event (the photo), discuss and respond to students' posts, interact with classmates in a non-threatening manner, and create the beginnings of social presence in the online classroom.*

Introduction and Rationale

Creating authentic communication and facilitating student engagement is difficult in an online class (Meyer, 2014). However, students are very plugged into social media. A survey by Edison Research in 2017 found that during the survey period, 73 % of the responding Internet users ages 13–24 used Instagram. Further, this age group rated Instagram as one of the most important social networks, along with Snapchat and Twitter (Edison Research). Another survey looking at the age distribution of Instagram users in the United States as of February 2019 found that 22.9% of Instagram users were ages 18-24 and 32.7% were ages 25–34 (NapoleonCat).

Although research indicates college age students are consistently building social presence across multiple social media platforms, a constant problem found in the online classroom is a lack of social presence. Social presence is defined in a multitude of ways, but in its simplest form is the concept of one's sense of being with others. It can be expanded to include self-projection into a group (Kehrwald, 2010). In an online course, many nonverbal cues, including physical and social clues are not present, leaving the students with few to no impressions of the students they are in class with, responding to discussions with, peer critiquing, etc. This in turn can lead to potentially biased interpretations and/or less reflective critiques of their classmates and their classmates' work

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(Phiranagee & Malec, 2017). Students, in essence, if just using plain text to communicate across various assignments, have no opportunity to create a social presence, include nonverbal immediacy cues, or reveal their own interpretation of self.

Nonverbal immediacy is built through behaviors such as smiling, eye contact, body orientation, and other nonverbals, which help create a sense of closeness (Trad, Katt, & Miller, 2014). High nonverbal immediacy is often seen as being linked to positive student outcomes in the classroom (Allen, Witt, & Wheeless, 2004). However, in the online classroom, students have little opportunity to communicate face to face. Though synchronous communication is increasingly integrated through the use of technology such as Google Meet, Zoom, etc., this type of communication usually is still not in widespread practice for initial, early in the semester assignments. By having the students participate in the Instagram It photo posting and hashtagging, though a static image, students will still be able to interpret nonverbal cues, draw inferences, and establish a sense of closeness, therefore potentially leading to positive class experiences.

The Instagram It activity allows students to self-select their identity in the class, create a social presence, and interpret nonverbal immediacy cues. The activity builds on the familiarity students already have with self-selecting photos, editing and filtering them, then posting them to Instagram to portray a certain message. Because this activity is similar to Instagram, students who are comfortable sharing and communicating within the digital community and across various social media platforms are likely to engage in authentic communication and create social relationships with their classmates (Lee, Lee, Moon, & Sung, 2015). By posting their own self-selected and edited photos, students use visual imagery to help create a social presence through nonverbal immediacy in the class (Dixson, Greenwell, Rogers-Stacy, Weister, & Lauer, 2017). This activity also helps to re-enforce the basic tenant of communication—that everything communicates something. By posting both a photo and hashtags, students begin disclosing information that they have carefully curated to communicate a certain image. Additionally, this activity helps show students that as they deliver their speeches, whether video recorded or synchronous through tech (for example Google Meet or Zoom), that their nonverbals matter as does the environment of the speech delivery. Both impact how they and their speech will be perceived.

The Activity

To begin, students are given the following instructions: "Choose a photo that you would normally post on social media such as Instagram or Snapchat. The photo may be filtered or edited. Remember that everything communicates something—from colors to clothing to posture, etc. Choose a photo that represents part of who you are or how you would describe yourself. Make sure the picture is appropriate for class, and if multiple people are in the pic, please identify yourself. Next, create three hashtags to explain the pic and introduce yourself to the class. Your goal should be to effectively introduce yourself to your classmates, revealing something about yourself through the photo and hashtags. For example, the photo and hashtags may disclose something you like/dislike, a hobby, pet, favorite place, etc."

Next, give specific instructions on where/how to upload the picture and hashtags. An instructor may choose to do this in a discussion board or blog. If using a discussion board, I specifically tell them where/how to click to upload the photo and insert the hashtags. I provide an example thread with my own photo and hashtags, both for students to model as well as for them to learn more about me and increase engagement.

Students are instructed that after posting their own photo and hashtags, they need to comment on five (5) other students' posts and hashtags. They can leave sentence comments or alternative hashtags. I attach a minimum word count to the responses. Students are given one week to complete the assignment.

Debriefing & Typical Results

Students enjoy this assignment! After learning more about each other from viewing photos, hashtags, and responses on the posts, I have noticed the students give more personal, specific comments when they peer review other speeches. Students often comment on more than the required five posts as they want to see everyone who is in their class. Students start forming connections as they realize that like another student, he also has a pet, she is from out of state, he plays an instrument, etc. Also when students begin commenting and responding, they often note similar likes/dislikes as well as comment on other things they notice in the photographs. Students have commented on the scenery, others present in the photo, specific dress, and the action that is occurring.

Many students also comment on the instructor's starter post. My own photo is usually an informal one of me engaged in some type of outdoor hobby. Overall, this introduction activity definitely helps to personalize not only the students, but also the instructor in the online environment. I often get just as many responses as the students do in the class.

This activity also provides a low stress way to first meet others in the class. Students have total control over what they communicate to the rest of the class. After making them aware of the nonverbal communication in their photographs, I often discuss social media responsibility across multiple platforms and draw the comparison to how they communicate in the online class. I talk about fonts, emojis, misspelled words, and even how they interact in emails and messages with the me, the instructor.

Lastly as a result of this activity, I have noticed additional care to the environment when students are recording or live-streaming subsequent speeches. Students appear to be more tuned in to the big picture as far as what they are wearing, the delivery location, and so forth. When peer reviewing and critiquing speeches later in the semester, students often comment on dress or the location (too dark, heard a weird noise, painting on wall was distracting), helping to further teach that context matters in communication.

Other Considerations

Although I have not yet done so, one can actually complete this activity in Instagram. With student approval and if the posts are Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) compliant, one can create a class specific hashtag to allow the class to interact without all of the students (and instructor) having to follow everyone's personal accounts.

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Building Teams Cohesion Through Meaningful Symbols

Elizabeth Jeter

Inspired by Tuckman's stages of group development and Leeds-Hurwitz's (1993) discussion of meaningful symbols in flags, this class activity develops student's transferable skills in design software and teamwork to build team cohesion and produce quality presentational aids and deliverables for group-based assignments. These transferable skills benefit students beyond the classroom, which addresses a growing need among university students to develop skills marketable to internship and potential employers though coursework. The activity is applicable to a variety of courses and adaptable to meet different instructional needs.

Keywords: *Group Development, Transferable Skills, Teamwork, Culture, Design Software, Flags, Collective Identity, Presentational Aids*

Intended Courses: *Public Speaking, Organizational, Intercultural, Business, and Training and Development courses that include group work and design-based requirements for assignments.*

Objectives: *After completing this class activity, students should be able to (1) describe the significance and impact of design on groups; (2) explain and apply meaningful symbols; (3) participate in the forming phase of the group development process; and (4) create and evaluate good design.*

Rationale

Adapting to students' changing educational needs is essential in our fast-paced global world, especially as technology access allows for covering communication topics and developing skills in new and exciting ways. In the last three years, my students have expressed a need for developing transferable skills that are marketable to internships and workplaces beyond our classroom. Communication studies can address this need, so I designed the following class activity to develop design software and teamwork skills across different courses, especially applied organizational and intercultural courses.

The following activity is based on Tuckman's stages of group development (Bonebright, 2010; Tuckman & Jensen, 1977) and Leeds-Hurwitz's (1993) connection between communication, meaningful symbols, and group identity because, as Lam (2015) finds, team cohesion and collaboration are improved through quality group communication and task design that allow groups to communicate a

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collective identity and a sense of belonging that motivates group members to communicate, collaborate, and develop skills as a team.

Tuckman's stages of group development—including forming, storming, norming, performing, and adjourning—offer a framework for developing teamwork skills. This activity focuses on forming as the initial stage where teams experience "fears and anxieties and fairly strong positive expectations" (Tuckman & Jensen, 1977, p. 422) as well as when "the group becomes oriented to the task, creates ground rules, and tests the boundaries for interpersonal and task behaviours" (p. 113). This activity directly addresses how teams develop during this forming stage, so teams can experience early success and create a solid foundation for continued collaboration. The team's forming task is designed so students learn how to use design-based software and produce a simple design-based product to enhance the developing teamwork skills with design skills. These skills directly benefit student outcomes in group assignments when students produce high quality presentational aids and deliverables as well as work together to learn and apply new software.

Leeds-Hurwitz's (1993) combination of communication, meaningful symbols, and group identity is central the activity's design. As Leeds-Hurwitz (1993) writes, "symbols serve *reflexively*, as a way for us to tell ourselves a story about ourselves…[and] serve as markers of identity [emphasis original]" (p. 34). I included the negotiation and use of meaningful symbols, specifically those used in the creation of team flags, in the activity as a method for creating team cohesion through a shared collective identity. Leeds-Hurwitz (1993) uses flags as an example for how symbols have layers of meaning—or intertextuality—where different symbols shape the meaning of others within an object or artifact and a deep cultural knowledge is needed for interpreting and appreciating symbols in context (see p. 162). Designing team flags with symbols is a method for using and interpreting culturally significant symbols while creating quality design and building team cohesion. I discovered Kaye (2006) and Mars (2015; 2015, July 23) while researching flag design. These authors clearly describe criteria for constructing and evaluating a combination of quality design, meaningful symbols, and cultural context. These authors and their work cited within this activity appeal to students at all levels while providing a starting point for discussing and using meaningful symbols to unite build team cohesion and learn transferable skills.

Activity

Prior to class, assign students the following homework:

1. Read Kaye (2006) and Mars (2015, July 23)
2. Watch Mars (2015)
3. Register for a free Canva account (https://www.canva.com)
4. Complete the *Canva Starter Challenge* (https://designschool.canva.com/tutorials/)

If needed, there is a 2-minute *Getting Started on Canva* video at the tutorial page link above that can assist students with learning the graphic-design software and tools. The homework assignment takes approximately 30–40 minutes to complete. My students respond well to Canva's user-friendly, drag-and-drop format, but PowerPoint or other design software can be used if frustration arises. I strongly encourage using only free design elements within Canva or other software even though paid options are available.

The in-class activity last approximately 40–60 minutes and includes the following steps. First, review Kaye's (2006) Five Basic Principles of Flag Design:

1. Keep it simple
2. Use meaningful symbolism
3. Use 2-3 basic colors
4. No lettering or seals[1]
5. Be distinctive or be related

There are several good and bad flag examples from Kaye and Mars to demonstrate each principle. I also use the examples in Figures 1–3 to explain how I adapted the local city flag of Greensboro, North Carolina using meaningful symbols from Major General Nathanael Greene, the city's namesake, who is prominently featured on the original flag (see Figure 1). I demonstrate how to create the Figure 2 flag in Canva, which can be completed in less than one minute with practice. Depending on time, students can practice building the Figure 2 flag.

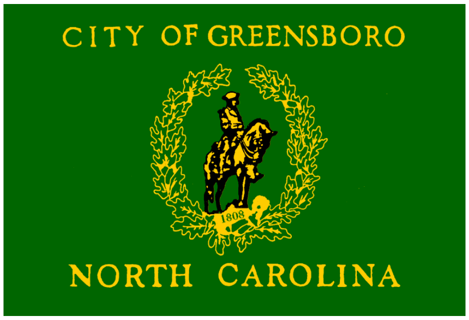

Figure 1: City Flag of Greensboro, NC

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[1] When adapting Kaye's principles for assignments, I replace the 4th principle with "use clear & legible content" to include writing content within designs.

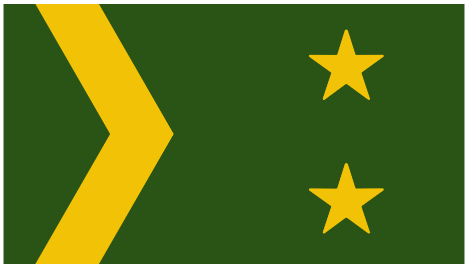

Figure 2: Good City Flag of Greensboro, NC

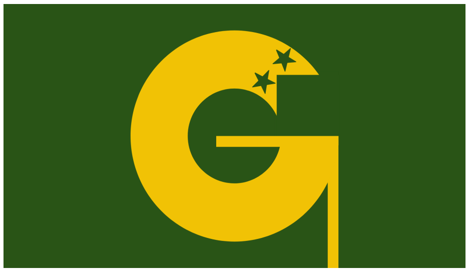

Figure 3: Rule Breaking Flag of Greensboro, NC

Next, review and discuss Mars (2015; 2015, July 23) using any of the following questions:

1. How can flag design unite and/or divide groups of people?
2. How can design evoke passion, pride, or other powerful emotions?
3. How are symbols meaningful?
4. How can symbols have multiple and/or contested meanings?
5. What do bad flags teach us about creating and editing designs?
6. How can good design inspire creativity and/or innovation?
7. Why and how can groups break design rules?
8. How would you evaluate the Greensboro, NC flags (see Figure 1-3)?
9. How should we evaluate good design in our course?

Finally, break students into teams for the next group-based assignment with time for groups to review the assignment instructions, requirements, and evaluation methods. Have each team discuss and create a mind map that outlines: 1. team values; 2. expectations for team member performance; 3. skills each member brings to the team; and 4. preference for teamwork processes (see Figure 4). If time permits, create the mind maps in Canva or other design software. Then, have teams create a team flag based on Kaye's principles that translates ideas outlined in the team's mind map into meaningful symbols.

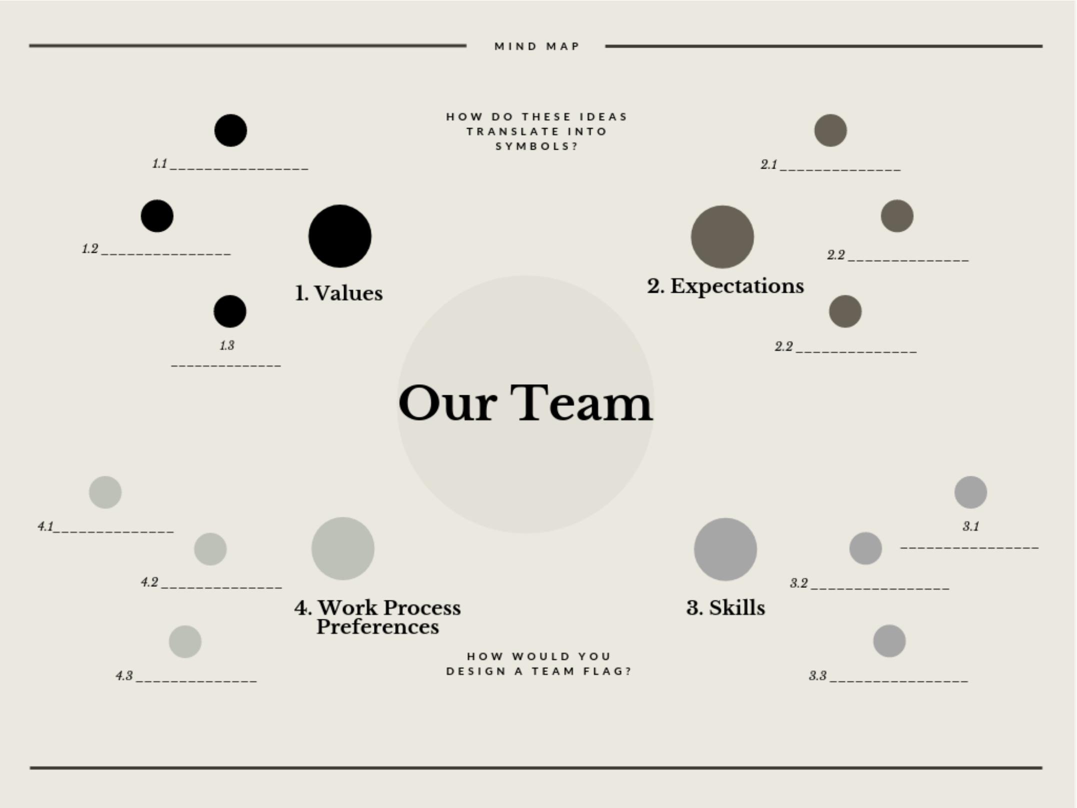
MIND MAP
HOW DO THESE IDEAS TRANSLATE INTO SYMBOLS?
1.1
1.2
1. Values
1.3
2.1
2. Expectations
2.2
2.2
Our Team
4.1
4.2
4. Work Process Preferences
4.3
3.1
3.2
3. Skills
3.3
HOW WOULD YOU DESIGN A TEAM FLAG?

Figure 4: Mind Map Example

Debrief

Have each team present their flag to the class. The presentation should address: 1. translating mind map content into meaningful symbols; 2. making design choices and engaging in the team design process; and 3. discussing the benefits and challenges of the activity. As a whole class, discuss the importance of meaningful symbols for groups and how these are effectively used in good design. Then, discuss how the information and skills covered in the activity can be used in class assignments and beyond the classroom. Finally, explain to the students how creating a team mind map and flag are a starting point for the teamwork process and how teams develop through assignments to achieve their shared goals.

Appraisal

I adapted this activity over three years within five courses—including introduction to the major, intercultural, conflict resolution, leadership, and training/development. I found that instructor time management is needed to successfully complete the activity within the suggested timeframe. I recommend running the activity first with upperclassmen as these students demonstrated the ability to complete the activity faster than underclassmen in my courses. If timing issues persist, the activity can be segmented or edited.

There were three unexpected outcomes as the activity developed over time. First, team flags were used instead of individual names when submitting group assignments to further individuals' identification with the team. Second, teams used their flag design to inspire final presentational aids and deliverables for group assignments, which added visual cohesion across activities and assignments. Third, teams used the mind map as an informal contract where teams referred back to or referenced it when solving team conflicts and assessing teamwork processes. These unexpected findings suggest ways to integrate the activity more directly with group assignments. Finally, the activity proved adaptable to meet the needs of several courses. For example, within my intercultural course, we used the activity to discuss critical-cultural theories and topics including deconstructing colonial histories and influences on flag design; highlighting contested political symbols and meanings; presenting subculture or alternative flags representing minority groups; and discussing power and contested meanings of symbols.

Overall, this activity was successful in meeting learning objectives and adapting to students' changing needs. Students commented in personal communication and on teacher evaluations that the activity contributed to improved perceptions of and outcome for group work assignments. Students also reported using the activity's information and skills in coursework, internships, and e-portfolios after leaving the course by creating free professional quality deliverables and evaluating the effectiveness of their designs. As a result, this activity appealed to students across the major as it addressed their expressed desire for learning transferable skills and team development strategies for uses beyond the classroom.

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