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Talk About Theory

I met Glenn Sparks and Marty Medhurst my first year teaching at Wheaton College. Glenn and Marty were friends who signed up for my undergraduate persuasion course. As students, both men were interested in the broadcast media. After graduating from Wheaton, both went on to earn master's degrees at Northern Illinois University. Each then earned a doctorate at separate universities, and both are now nationally recognized communication scholars. Glenn is on the faculty at Purdue University; Marty is at Texas A & M University.

Despite their similar backgrounds and interests, Glenn and Marty are radically different in their approaches to communication. Glenn calls himself a behavioral scientist while Marty refers to himself as a rhetorician. Glenn's training was in empirical research; Marty was schooled in the humanities. Glenn conducts experiments; Marty interprets text.

Glenn and Marty represent two distinct perspectives within the field of communication theory. Ernest Bormann, a theorist at the University of Minnesota, refers to communication theory as an "umbrella term for all careful, systematic and self-conscious discussion and analysis of communication phenomena."¹ I like this definition because it's broad enough to include the different kinds of work that both Glenn and Marty do, and it also covers the diverse theories presented in this book.

To understand the theories ahead, you need to first grasp the crucial differences between the objective and interpretive approaches to communication. As a way to introduce the distinctions, I asked Glenn and Marty to bring their scholarship to bear on a contemporary communication phenomenon—a television commercial.

SCIENCE OR INTERPRETATION: TWO VIEWS OF A SWIMMING ELEPHANT

In the competitive soft drink market, Diet Coke vies with Diet Pepsi for audience attention. In an earlier edition of this text, Glenn and Marty analyzed a Diet Pepsi commercial that used supermodel Cindy Crawford to hold viewer interest. For this edition I've chosen a Diet Coke ad that features an equally ar-

resting model—a swimming elephant. Under the title, “Diet Coke’s Refreshment Packed in Swimming Trunks,” *Advertising Age* columnist Bob Garfield sets the scene:

The spot opens with an underwater camera, panning left from the tendrils of some marine plant to an enormous, shadowy figure swimming awkwardly toward the lens. Is it an octopus? Is it a manatee? Is it Aunt Bernice?

Oh, dear me, it’s an elephant. A swimming elephant. . . .

The elephant is swimming through a lagoon toward a brightly colored raft, where a slim and beautiful woman is drinking Diet Coke from the new contour bottle. The lady, who has an ice bucket full of Diet Cokes on her raft, returns to her paperback, oblivious to the approaching company. . . .

The floating sun goddess is neither the subject of the elephant’s affections, nor the reason for the 200-meter pachyderm crawl. What he’s after is the soda pop. Reaching with his prehensile trunk, he pilfers one from the ice bucket, leaving on the raft in exchange four damp peanuts.²

Glenn: An Objective Perspective

As a behavioral scientist, I want to understand the causes of human behavior. As my understanding increases, I’ll be able to offer explanations of why people act the way they do. I’ll also be able to predict people’s behavior before it occurs.

My particular area of interest is media effects. I would like to discover how mass media messages *affect* people’s thoughts, values, feelings, attitudes, and behavior. So my approach to the Diet Coke ad is to ask, “What can I learn about the effects of advertising from this commercial?” ✓

The answer to this question can never be found by simply discussing the words and pictures that appear on the screen. It’s true that an in-depth analysis might reveal all sorts of interesting things about the content of the ad. And I could even speculate about how the commercial will affect the viewers. But my scientific instincts would not be satisfied with mere speculation.

After identifying a particular feature of the ad that might affect people, most scientists would like to develop a *theory* that explains the effect. For example, I might think that the image of a swimming elephant is so rare that it will be particularly powerful in holding the attention of viewers. Given that most people have a positive emotional reaction to elephants, I could also predict that this increased audience attention will result in people wanting to buy Diet Coke. My theory would present a rationale for why we pay attention to unusual things and why positive feelings should result in wanting to buy the advertised product.

Constructing a theory is not enough, however. Along with other scientists, I want an objective test of media theories to find out if they are valid. Perhaps I could run a study to see if the ad is, in fact, a more powerful attention-getter than other ads that don’t feature bizarre sights like swimming elephants. After people watch the ad, I’d check which brand of soft drink they preferred.

Testing the audience is a crucial scientific enterprise. I might think I know the meaning that the audience will assign to the ad, or how the ad will affect them—but until I actually measure its impact, I can't be sure.

As a media effects researcher, I want to go beyond this single commercial. I'm interested in gathering support for general principles that apply across *many* advertisements. I might hypothesize that "increased attention to objects that cause pleasant feelings will result in greater persuasion." By testing principles such as this, our knowledge of communication processes can accumulate and progress over time.

Marty: An Interpretive Perspective

This ad is best understood as an allegory. An allegory is a symbolic story in which there is both a surface (or manifest) meaning and a deeper (or latent) meaning.

On the surface, this ad seems pretty simple: an elephant swims across part of the ocean to snatch a bottle of Diet Coke from a bathing beauty who is perched on an isolated floating raft. The elephant's journey is set to the tune of an old-fashioned sounding song that asks:

Is it love? Yes my dear.
Is it love that draws me near?
Is it love that brings me back into your arms?

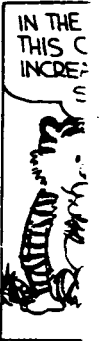
The elephant seems at home in the water—almost as though he is dancing along with the music. He single-mindedly makes his way to the raft, deposits four peanuts, snatches a bottle of Diet Coke, then swims away to the sounds of "Is it Love?" As we watch the elephant swim away, a voice-over says, "The irresistible taste of Diet Coke." The Diet Coke logo then appears on the screen with the slogan, "This is refreshment."

But there is more to this ad than immediately meets the eye. It is significant that of the nineteen separate shots that make up the ad, the elephant appears in fourteen of them—far more than the bathing beauty or the bottle of Diet Coke. This is a crucial interpretive key, for it indicates the significance that the makers of the ad attach to the elephant.

I believe this ad is an allegory about what all "elephants" (i.e., overweight people) need to do if they want to attract the attention (or perhaps even love) of a beautiful woman:

First, overweight people must earnestly want that which they do not have. This is symbolized by the effort the elephant makes to swim across a large body of water to obtain what he wants. The water stands between the elephant and the object of his desire. Reaching the object requires swimming—a form of exercise without which the object cannot be obtained.

Second, when the elephant reaches the raft he immediately turns in his peanuts—a high-fat food item—in exchange for the Diet Coke. Clearly this symbolizes a need for a change in one's eating habits before one can attain the desired object. It is also a none-too-subtle allusion to the low cost of Diet Coke (mere peanuts).





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Finally, it is not until after the elephant has exercised, changed his eating habits, and made off with the Diet Coke that the bathing beauty even notices his existence. The implication of the visual text seems clear: If overweight people want beautiful people to notice them, they had better change their behaviors—and what better way to start that change than by drinking Diet Coke.

Although both of these scholars focus on the unique image of a swimming elephant, Glenn's objective approach and Marty's interpretive approach to communication study clearly differ in starting point, method, and conclusion. Glenn is a *scientist* who works hard to be *objective*. Throughout these introductory chapters I will use those terms interchangeably. Marty is a *rhetorical critic* who does *interpretive* study. Here the labels get tricky.

While it's true that all rhetorical critics do interpretive analysis, not all interpretive scholars are rhetoricians. Most (including Marty) are *humanists*, but a growing number of postmodern communication theorists reject that tradition. These scholars refer to themselves with a bewildering variety of brand names: hermeneuticists, poststructuralists, deconstructivists, phenomenologists, cultural studies researchers, and social action theorists, as well as combinations of these terms. Writing from this postmodernist perspective, University of Utah theorist James Anderson observes:

With this very large number of interpretive communities, names are contentious, border patrol is hopeless and crossovers continuous. Members, however, often see real differences.³

All of these scholars from Marty on down do *interpretive* analysis—scholarship concerned with meaning—yet there's no common term like *scientist* that includes them all. So from this point on I'll use the designation *interpretive scholars* or the noun forms *interpretivists* or *interpreters* to refer to the entire group, and only use *rhetorician*, *humanist*, *critic*, or *postmodernist* when I'm singling out that particular subgroup.

The separate worldviews of interpretive scholars and scientists reflect contrasting assumptions about ways of arriving at knowledge, the core of human

nature, questions of value, the very purpose of theory, and methods of research. The rest of this chapter sketches these differences.

WAYS OF KNOWING: DISCOVERING THE TRUTH VERSUS CREATING MULTIPLE REALITIES

How do we know what we know, if we know it at all? This is the central question addressed by a branch of philosophy known as *epistemology*. You may have been in school for a dozen-plus years, read assignments, written papers, and taken tests without ever delving into the issue, "What is truth?" With or without in-depth study of the issue, however, we all inevitably make assumptions about the nature of knowledge.

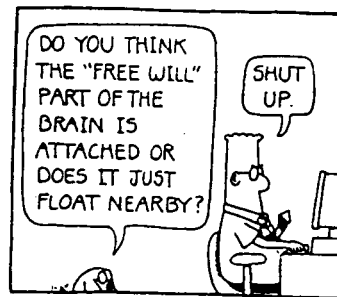
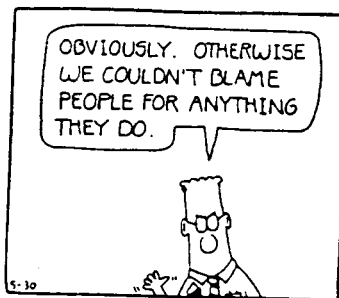
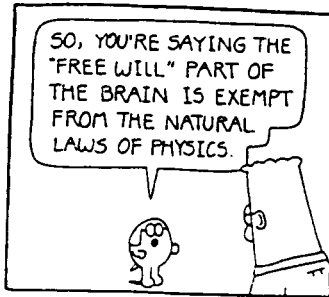
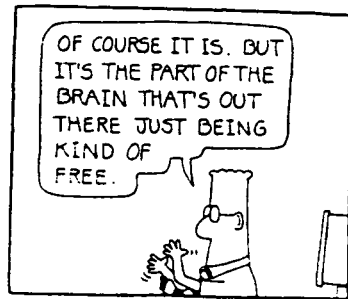
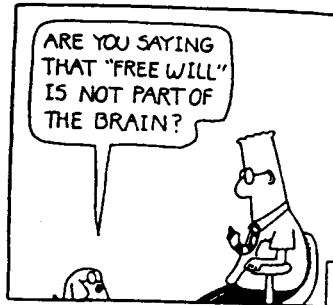
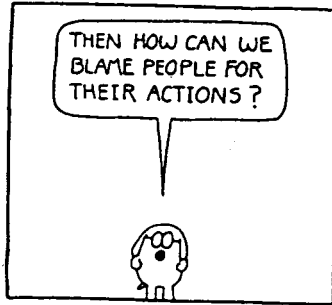
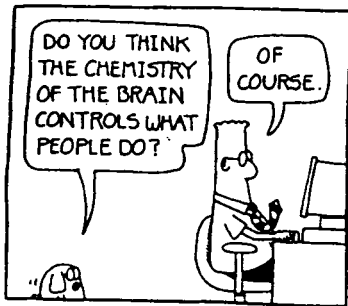
Scientists assume that Truth is singular. There's one reality "out there" waiting to be discovered through the five senses of sight, sound, touch, taste, and smell. Since the raw sense data of the world are accessible to any competent observer, seeing is believing. Of course, no one person can know it all, but individual researchers pool their findings and build a collective body of knowledge about how the world operates. Scientists consider good theories to be mirrors of nature. They are confident that once a valid principle is discovered, it will continue to be recognized as true as long as the conditions remain relatively the same.

Interpretive scholars seek truth as well, but they are much more tentative about the possibility of revealing objective reality. They believe, in fact, that truth is largely subjective; meaning is highly interpretive. Rhetorical critics like Marty are not relativists, arbitrarily assigning meaning on a whim. They do maintain, however, that we can never entirely separate the knower from the known. Convinced that meaning is in the mind rather than the verbal sign, all interpretive scholars are comfortable with the notion that a text may have multiple meanings. Rhetorical critics are successful when they convince others to share their interpretation of the way a text works. As Anderson notes, "truth is a struggle, not a status."⁴

HUMAN NATURE: DETERMINISM VERSUS FREE WILL

One of the great debates throughout history revolves around the question of human choice. Hard-line determinists claim that every move we make is the result of heredity ("biology is destiny") and environment ("pleasure stamps in, pain stamps out"). On the other hand, free will purists insist that every human act is ultimately voluntary ("I am the master of my fate; I am the captain of my soul"⁵). Although few communication theorists are comfortable with either extreme, most tend to cluster into one of these two camps. Scientists stress the forces that shape human behavior; interpretive scholars focus on conscious choices made by individuals.

The difference between these two views of choice inevitably creeps into the language people use to explain their actions. Individuals who feel like puppets



on strings say, "I had to . . .," while people who feel they pull their own strings say, "I decided to . . ." The first group speaks in a passive voice: "I was distracted from studying by the argument at the next table." The second group speaks in an active voice: "I stopped studying to listen to the argument at the next table."

In the same way, the language of scholarship often reflects theorists' views of human nature. Behavioral scientists usually describe human conduct as occurring *because of* forces outside the individual's awareness. The explanation tends not to appeal to mental reasoning or any kind of inner life, seeing behavior instead as a result of stimulus-response bonds. As Glenn suggested, people *will* watch a swimming elephant.

In contrast, interpretive scholars tend to use phrases such as *in order to* or *so that*, since they attribute behavior to conscious intent. Their choice of words suggests that people are *free agents*, that they could decide to respond differently under an identical set of circumstances. For example, Marty would hold that an obese viewer could identify with the elephant's quest on one occasion, yet scoff at the fantasy the next time around. The consistent interpretivist wouldn't ask *why* the viewer chose a given response. As Anderson explains, "True choice demands to be its own cause and its own explanation."⁶

Human choice is therefore problematic for the behavioral scientist because as individual freedom goes up, predictability of behavior goes down. Conversely, the roots of humanism are threatened by a highly restricted view of human freedom. In an impassioned plea, British author C. S. Lewis exposes the paradox of stripping away people's freedom and yet expecting them to exercise responsible choice:

In a sort of ghastly simplicity we remove the organ and expect of them virtue and enterprise. We laugh at honor and are shocked to find traitors in our midst. We castrate and bid the geldings be fruitful.⁷

Lewis assumes that significant decisions are value laden, and most interpretive scholars would agree. Notice how Marty's explanation of the elephant's swim engages the moral life of the viewer. The story is a mini morality play—physical fitness is a virtue.

WHAT DO WE VALUE MOST? OBJECTIVITY VERSUS EMANCIPATION

When we talk about *values* we are discussing questions of relative worth. Values are the traffic lights of our lives, priorities that guide what we think, feel, and do. The professional values of communication theorists reflect the commitments they've made concerning knowledge and human nature. Since most social scientists regard Truth as singular, they place a high value on objectivity. Because humanists and others in the interpretive camp believe that the ability to choose is what separates humanity from the rest of creation, they value scholarship that expands the range of free choice.

As a behavioral scientist, Glenn works hard to maintain his objectivity. He

is a man with strong moral and spiritual convictions, but he doesn't want his personal values to distort human reality or confuse what *is* with what he thinks *ought to be*. Glenn is particularly upset when he hears about researchers who fudge the findings of a study to shore up a questionable hypothesis. He shares the academic goal of Harvard sociologist George Homans to let the evidence speak for itself: "When nature, however stretched out on the rack, still has a chance to say 'no'—then the subject is science."⁸

Marty is aware of his own ideology and is not afraid to bring his values to bear upon a communication text under scrutiny. By revealing the psychological appeals built into the swimming elephant spot, Marty provides people with the resources to resist the commercial message. Critical interpreters value socially relevant research that seeks to liberate people from oppression of any sort—economic, political, religious, emotional, and so on. They decry the detached stance of scientists who refuse to take responsibility for the results of their work. Whatever the pursuit—a Manhattan Project to split the atom or a Genome Project to map human genes—critical interpreters insist that knowledge is never neutral.

THE PURPOSE OF THEORY: UNIVERSAL LAWS VERSUS RULES FOR INTERPRETATION

Even if Glenn and Marty could agree on the nature of knowledge, the extent of human autonomy, and the ultimate value of scholarship, their words would still sound strange to each other because they use distinct vocabularies to accomplish different goals. As a behavioral scientist, Glenn is working to pin down universal laws of human behavior that cover a variety of situations. As a rhetorical critic, Marty strives to articulate unique acts of interpretation.

If these two scholars were engaged in fashion design rather than research design, Glenn would probably find or tailor a coat suitable for many occasions that covers everybody well—one size fits all. Marty might apply principles of fashion design to style a coat that makes a statement for a single client—a one-of-a-kind, custom creation. [Glenn constructs and tests. Marty interprets and applies.]

Theory testing is the basic activity of the behavioral scientist. Glenn starts with a hunch about how the world works, and then crafts a tightly worded hypothesis that temporarily commits him to a specific prediction. As an empiricist, he can never completely "prove" that he has made the right gamble; he can only show in test after test that his behavioral bet pays off. Prediction and control are the name of the game.

The interpretive scholar explores the web of meaning that constitutes human existence. When Marty creates scholarship, he isn't trying to *prove* theory. However, he could *use* rhetorical theory to interpret the written, spoken, and nonverbal texts of people's lives. Robert Ivie, former editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, suggests that rhetorical critics ought to use theory this way:

We cannot conduct *rhetorical* criticism of social reality without benefit of a guiding rhetorical theory that tells us generally what to look for in social practice, what to make of it, and whether to consider it significant.⁹

RESEARCH METHODS: EXPERIMENTS, SURVEYS, TEXTUAL ANALYSIS, ETHNOGRAPHY

Whether the quest is for prediction and control, or for interpretation and understanding, theorists know that the task demands research. A leading textbook on communication inquiry presents four primary techniques for the study of communication.¹⁰ Experiments and survey research offer quantitative ways for the scientist to test theory. Textual analysis and ethnography provide qualitative tools that aid the interpretive scholar's search for meaning. I'll briefly describe the distinct features of each method. After working through the differences, take a look at Figure 1.1, which gives you questions to ask as you read about a study of communication that uses one of these four methods.

1. Experiments

Working on the assumption that human behavior is not random, an experimenter tries to establish a cause-and-effect sequence by systematically manipulating one variable (the independent variable) in a tightly controlled situation to learn its effects on another variable (the dependent variable). For example, Glenn suggested showing the Diet Coke commercial to a panel of soft drink consumers to determine whether attention to an engaging visual stimulus of a swimming elephant would affect response to the advertiser's product. For purposes of comparison, he could show a less novel ad for Diet Coke to a similar group. To make certain that he had successfully manipulated the independent variable of attention, he might use lab equipment to monitor eye blinks, pupil dilation, and the direction of gaze of each subject.

After the ads were shown, Glenn would then measure each group's expressed desire for Diet Coke—on attitude scales, through competitive taste tests with Diet Pepsi, or by actual consumer behavior in the store. If viewers captivated by the sight of a swimming elephant responded more favorably to the sponsor's product than subjects who were exposed to a more mundane appeal, the centrality of attention to the persuasion process would gain support.

2. Surveys

Using questionnaires or conducting interviews, survey researchers rely on self-report data to discover what people think, feel, or intend to do. Coca-Cola committed a classic market blunder in 1985 by altering its basic formula to take away the familiar bite and make the soda sweeter. The company introduced the change after conducting one hundred thousand taste tests with non-Coke drinkers, but they neglected to check with their loyal customers. Sales plum-

EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH

How precise are the hypotheses? Is each a clearly worded, simple, single cause-effect prediction?

Are the hypotheses interesting or are they self-evident?

Were subjects randomly assigned to the experimental groups? Did everyone studied in the experiment have an equal chance of being assigned to the different experimental conditions?

Was the manipulation of the independent variable "life-like" enough to allow the researcher to generalize the findings beyond the confines of this particular experiment?

Were important extraneous variables that may confound the findings controlled for? Might the findings be due to other events that occurred between the time the subjects experienced the independent variable and when they were measured on the dependent variable?

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW RESEARCH

Is there a response bias in the sample? Could there be differences between those who participated and those who did not? Was the response rate sufficient for the purposes of the research?

Was the choice of a questionnaire or an interview appropriate for answering the research question posed?

Were the questions worded clearly and leading questions avoided?

Were respondents guaranteed anonymity?

Did the interviewers receive sufficient training? Did they probe effectively?

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS: RHETORICAL CRITICISM

Were the most appropriate texts selected for analysis?

Is the researcher sure that the texts selected are complete and accurate? What might be left out of these texts, and how might any omissions affect the results?

What type of rhetorical criticism was it: historical, Neo-Aristotelian, generic feminist, metaphoric, narrative, dramatic, fantasy theme analysis?

Did the critic produce a compelling argument about the meaning of the text?

In the final analysis, did the essay produce a richer understanding of human persuasion?

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

What justified observation or interviews as the appropriate methods to use? Were the observations conducted on-site, where people are communicating naturally?

Did the observers exhaustively record all the communication behavior related to the research questions?

Are the findings described in sufficiently rich and vivid detail (a "thick description") so the reader may visualize the communication behavior observed and the context in which it occurred?

What assurances are provided that inferences are grounded in the data, not imposed or biased by the researcher's a priori assumptions?

Do the article's findings "put you in the respondents' shoes," so that you now have a better sense of how people in the group being studied act, think, speak and/or react to others?

FIGURE 1.1 Twenty Questions to Guide Evaluation of Four Research Methods
(Selected from Frev, Botan, Friedman, and Kreps, *Interpreting Communication Research: A Case Study Approach*.)

meted until public outcry forced the company to restore the original taste. Marketed today as "Classic Coke," the name reminds us not to automatically assume that we know how people will react. They may not be charmed by a swimming elephant. If we want to know, we need to ask.

Survey methodology also helps scientists validate theory. For example, a researcher might question a representative sample of shoppers who purchased six-packs of cola the week following the ad's blanket buy on television. A positive correlation between vivid recall of the ad and a report of an uncharacteristic choice of Diet Coke over other no-calorie soft drinks would give credence to theories of influence that focus on attention. Of course, there's no guarantee that these purchases weren't affected by prime shelf display or discount pricing. It's difficult to support cause-and-effect relationships from correlational data. Yet, unlike a highly controlled laboratory experiment, a well-planned survey gives the social scientist a chance to get inside the heads of people in a "real-life" situation. There's less rigor than in an experiment, but more vigor.

3. Textual Analysis

The aim of textual research is to describe and interpret the characteristics of a message. You may have noticed from Marty's analysis of the Diet Coke ad that the word *text* is not limited to written materials. Communication theorists use this term to refer to any intentional symbolic expression—verbal or nonverbal. Marty's critique is a contemporary example of the oldest tradition in communication research—the intensive study of a single message grounded in a humanistic perspective. Rhetorical criticism is the most common form of textual analysis.

An increasing number of interpretive scholars aren't content merely to interpret the intended meanings of a text. They want to expose and publicly resist the ideology that permeates the accepted wisdom of society. These critical scholars reject any notion of permanent truth or meaning. To traditional thinkers, their activity looks like a few angry children in kindergarten knocking over other kids' blocks, but they are intentionally using theory to carve out a space where people without power can be heard.

Lana Rakow, a feminist scholar in the Communication Department at the University of North Dakota, would have us consider the plight of women watching almost any female model in a television commercial. Female viewers can't escape the portrayal of unattainable thinness as the erotic ideal, and they are continually invited to see their body as "the object of men's fetishistic gaze."¹¹

For Rakow and other theorists critical of the "culture industries," advertising is the linchpin of oppression that needs to be resisted by those who are aware that television imposes meaning on the viewer. Their form of textual analysis isn't a detached and impartial enterprise; it is a powerful tool in the service of a reformist agenda.

Although Marty's reading of the Diet Coke commercial may not appear particularly radical, it includes a significant—if implicit—social critique. Highlighting our culture's obsession with thinness, he suggests that the ad plays to viewer anxiety over excess pounds through association with the rotund pachyderm. In fact, Marty's claim that the ad targeted weight-conscious viewers was sufficiently subversive to incur the disapproval of Coca-Cola. The company expressed its displeasure with his analysis by denying me permission to run photos from the ad in this book. Diet Coke may be sugar-free, but the decision to prohibit publication illustrates the interpreter's claim that knowledge is never value-free.

4. Ethnography

In the 1990 Academy Award-winning film *Dances with Wolves*, Kevin Costner plays John Dunbar, a nineteenth-century Army lieutenant alone on the Dakota plains.¹² Amidst some anxiety and with great tentativeness, Dunbar sets out to understand the ways of the Sioux tribe camped a short distance away. He watches carefully, listens attentively, appreciates greatly, and slowly begins to participate in the tribal rituals. He also takes extensive notes. That's ethnography!

Princeton anthropologist Clifford Geertz says that ethnography is "not an experimental science in search of law, but an interpretive [approach] in search of meaning."¹³ As a sensitive observer of the human scene, Geertz is loath to impose his way of thinking onto a society's construction of reality. He wants his theory of communication grounded in the meanings that people within a culture share. Getting it right means seeing it from their point of view.

Most people have long regarded advertising as a world unto itself. A communication researcher could view the Diet Coke commercial as an artifact of this particular subculture and seek to understand the web of meaning surrounding the creation of this and other television spots. An ethnographer would look for the rites, ceremonies, rituals, myths, legends, stories, and folklore that reflect the shared meanings and values of the advertising industry. Perhaps you could find an ad agency that would welcome you as an intern willing to assume a participant-observer role.

LOOKING BACK, LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter I've introduced five crucial differences between objective and interpretive theories of communication. Using Glenn and Marty as representative theorists, I outlined their separate answers to questions of how we gain knowledge, how free we are to act, and what values should guide our study. Finally, I've shown that scientists and interpreters have different reasons for studying theory, which in turn influence the research methods they use.

A basic grasp of these distinctions will help you understand where

like-minded thinkers are going and why they've chosen a particular path to get there. While some communication theorists have a foot in both camps, I find it helpful at the outset to view most of the theories in this book as originating in either an objective or interpretive worldview.

In Chapter 2, "Weighing the Words," I introduce widely accepted standards that you can use to evaluate the worth of each theory. Since objective and interpretive theories of communication differ markedly, I offer two separate sets of criteria. Yet surprisingly, by the end of the chapter you may conclude that objective and interpretive theories have numerous points of contact.

QUESTIONS TO SHARPEN YOUR FOCUS

1. Compare Glenn Sparks and Marty Medhurst's approaches to the Diet Coke commercial. Which analysis makes the most sense to you? Why?
2. How do *scientists* and *interpretive scholars* differ in their answers to the question, "What is truth?" Which perspective do you find more satisfying?
3. Think of the communication classes you've taken. Did an objective or interpretive perspective undergird each course? Was this due to the subject matter or to the professor's orientation to the discipline?
4. How would a *rhetorician* view *experiments*, *surveys*, *textual analysis*, and *ethnography* as research methods? How do *empiricists* regard the same methodologies?

A SECOND LOOK

Recommended resource: James A. Anderson, *Communication Theory: Epistemological Foundations*, Guilford, New York, 1996.

Introduction to theory: Ernest Bormann, *Communication Theory*, Sheffield, Salem, Wisc., 1989, pp. 105-256.

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Defense of empirical scholarship: Robert Bostrom and Lewis Donohew, "The Case for Empiricism: Clarifying Fundamental Issues in Communication Theory," *Communication Monographs*, Vol. 59, 1992, pp. 109-129.

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