Ohio Communication Journal
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Ohio Communication Association

2024 Executive Committee

Guidelines for Manuscript Submissions

The *Ohio Communication Journal* is an annual peer-reviewed online publication that publishes original scholarship bearing on the breadth of the field of communication studies. Within this broad purview, it welcomes diverse disciplinary, conceptual, and methodological perspectives, especially scholarship covering a wide variety of topics from every facet of the field and debut papers from undergraduate and graduate students.

The *Ohio Communication Journal* believes that research must be carried out in an ethical fashion, so we subscribe to the National Communication Association Code of Professional Ethics for Authors and we expect submissions to reflect these guidelines. These guidelines enjoin authors to use inclusive and non-defamatory language.

In addition, submissions should be accompanied by a cover letter attesting that the author has met professional standards for any of the following principles as may apply:

(1) The manuscript is original work and proper publication credit is accorded to all authors.

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(5) All legal, institutional, and professional obligations for obtaining informed consent from research participants and for limiting their risk are honored.

(6) The scholarship reported is authentic.

2023-24 Call for Papers

Full-Length Manuscripts

The *Ohio Communication Journal* publishes extended, complete studies that generally do not exceed 30 double-spaced pages (including references), except in cases where "thick description" of qualitative/ rhetorical data may require a slightly extended length. The *Ohio Communication Journal* is committed to an eclectic approach and to the publication of high-quality articles from a variety of different areas within the field of communication including: critical studies, state of the art reviews, reports of topical interest, supported opinion papers, and other essays related to field of communication. Manuscripts may be philosophical, theoretical, methodological, critical, applied, pedagogical, or empirical in nature.

Short Essays

In addition to our traditional call for research manuscripts, this year (2023) we will be accepting select, short essays (2500 words max.) that focus on the role of artificial intelligence (e.g., ChatGPT) in communication pedagogy and research.

Manuscript Submission Process

After removing all identifiers in the properties of the document (go file-properties-summary and delete your name and affiliation), authors should submit one electronic double-spaced copy of the manuscript and one separate title page in Microsoft Word (preferred). See the Ohio Communication Association website under "Journal" for specific submission guidelines.

All manuscripts should conform to the most recent edition of the American Psychological Association (APA) Style Manual 7th Edition. The cover page must contain: (1) the title of the manuscript; (2) the author's name, (3) author's institutional affiliation, (3) the mailing address, (4) the author's phone number, and (5) author's e-mail address. The second page of the manuscript must include the title and a 50–100-word abstract.

For more information about the *Ohio Communication Journal*, please visit the Ohio Communication Association website at https://ohiocomm.org/ohio-communication-journal/.

Volume 62 Acceptance Rate

The acceptance rate for Volume 62 of the *Ohio Communication Journal* was 40% for full-length manuscripts, 66.66% for short essay submissions, and 46.15% overall.

Featured Publications

Short Essays

Undergraduate Essay

This essay was awarded Top Student Paper at the Ohio Communication Association's 87th Annual Conference in October 2023. The author was offered the opportunity to publish this work after undergoing additional review.

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"You Don't Have to do Anything to Deserve Food:" College Student's Memorable Messages About Food and Self-Esteem

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This study investigated the memorable messages about food that college students recall receiving from their parent or guardian and the relationship of these messages on self-esteem from a parent or guardian. Memorable messages about food focused on food as fuel, portion control, food as pleasure, food as economic/privilege, you are what you eat, and body image. Mothers were identified as being the source of the memorable message about food. Although the findings revealed no significant relationship between memorable food messages and self-esteem, and no significant difference between gender identity and self-esteem, the findings provide an initial understanding of the memorable messages given in parent-child communication surrounding food.

Keywords: Memorable messages, self-esteem, parent-child, and food neutrality

Introduction

Research has established the productive intersections between family and health communication research, as family members serve as agents in an individual's primary socialization, impacting the development of health behaviors and beliefs (Baiocchi-Wagner, 2015). Since parents serve as the first gatekeeper, model, and educator for nutrition in an individual's life (Yee et al., 2021), family members' communication impacts an individual's perception of their body image and eating behaviors. For example, family teasing about weight and parental dieting can contribute to the development of disordered eating habits or identity stigma for LGBTQ+ populations (Neumark-Sztainer et al., 2010; Jordan, 2023). In fact, family members, mothers particularly, are often the source of influential messages around weight, compared to peers, medical professionals, or media-sources (Russel & Smith, 2017). With the rise of obesity, a stigmatized and dangerous health condition (Nelson et al., 2008), one's food choices, in addition their weight, can become a source of scrutiny. When parents discuss food and nutrition with children, obesity faces a distinct caricature: both as a moral danger, and as something within a person's full control, an idea that casts overweight individuals as irresponsible or lazy (Dorrance Hall et al., 2016; Thompson & Zaitchik, 2012). Thus, how family members communicate about nutrition, weight, and dietary behavior can impact one's perception of the self and their behavior, potentially in moralistic frames. However, since food should be a neutral topic, an examination into influential messaging on food opens opportunities for understanding healthy family communication.

Memorable messages about food provide uncharted areas in memorable message research, particularly surrounding the role of family communication in well-being and self-esteem, familial commonality, and in future nutritional decision-making. To date, memorable message research has largely focused on messages around weight, an emotionally laden and socially stigmatizing topic (Dorrance Hall et al., 2016; Rubinsky et al., 2019; Russell & Smith, 2017; Thompson & Zaitchik, 2012). For example, young women receive messages about their weight and size, which can impact relationships with food, propensities to eating disorders, body-image satisfaction, as well as self-esteem (Rubinsky et al., 2019). In addition, memorable messages have been revered as a positive contributor to decision-making which might not always be the case in sensitive topics, such as diet and food (Rubinsky et al., 2019; Dorrance Hall et al., 2016). Emerging adulthood is a popular time to study memorable messages, as this period creates opportunities for autonomous decision-making when individuals leave home. Food

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consumption and nutrition are major areas of decision-making for young adults, and weight-gain, often referred to as the 'freshman fifteen,' is common during this time (Thompson & Zaitchik, 2012).

However, unlike weight, food is an otherwise neutral topic that can become vilified and labeled with lasting impacts on individual choices and self-perceptions. Therefore, attunement to the ways parents talk about food with their children is needed to begin identifying what memorable messages surrounding food are recalled by individuals, as well as the effects of these memorable messages on self-esteem. The present research aims to inquire into this gap, identifying the prominent memorable messages college students received about food and their self-esteem.

Literature Review

Food Neutrality

Food neutrality describes the growing resistance against the labeling of food in moralistic terms (Tribole & Resch, 2020; Remmer, 2023). Food is not inherently 'good' or 'bad,' because when these labels are attributed to certain foods, individuals become 'good' or 'bad' according to what they consume (Tribole & Resch, 2020). Nutritionists and researchers alike advocate for an understanding of food as neutral, much akin to the rise of body neutrality. Remmer (2023) claims that, "labels such as 'good,' 'bad,' 'healthy,' and 'unhealthy,' place foods on a hierarchy and attach moral value to them. Using these terms with our kids perpetuates diet culture, disrupts their ability to eat intuitively, and can lead to disordered eating" (para. 4). In fact, BALANCE, an eating disorder treatment center in New York City, articulates food neutrality as a key mental shift for overcoming eating disorders (Rogers, 2018). Overwhelmingly, food neutrality, an unexplored area in communication research, provides an approach to healthy family communication around food, diet, and nutrition. This study follows the rising awareness of food as a neutral entity, exploring memorable messages on food, and their impact on self-esteem, to understand what types of memorable messages on food are sent and by whom.

Memorable Messages

In their seminal piece on memorable messages, Knapp and colleagues (1982) define memorable messages as "verbal messages which may be remembered for extremely long periods of time and which people perceive as a major influence on the course of their lives" (p. 27). Memorable messages persist over time because of their salience to the receiver; typically, memorable messages are brief guidelines or rules given by a person in a position of elder or authority (Knapp et al., 1981). In recall, individuals report confidence in the ability to recollect the message verbatim, and recollection of memorable messages aids in present decisions and sensemaking for individuals (Stohl, 1986). Memorable messages often transcend one particular context, instead allowing wider applicability in an individual's attitudes and behaviors (Knapp et al., 1981). Despite wider discussion on key characteristics of memorable messages, two necessary conditions classify memorable messages as such: the message is precisely recalled and significant to the receiver (Russell & Smith, 2017). With a broad conceptualization of memorable messages, the conceptual and contextual application is rich in research.

Memorable messages inform daily health behaviors, leading health communication to be a field with ample sources for research. After nearly three decades of research on memorable messages, the ongoing interest in memorable message research within health communication continues (Cooke-Jackson & Rubinsky, 2017; Cooke-Jackson & Rubinsky, 2023). Since memorable messages are brief and often structured as an if/then rule (Knapp et al., 1981), rules about health behaviors fit this structure, leading to memorable messages being influential messages about one's health behaviors (Cooke-Jackson & Rubinsky, 2019). For example, when parents talk about food, this communication often sets 'food rules' that prevent unhealthy consumption and promote healthy behaviors (Yee et al., 2021). However, this guideline is particularly important when examining messages about food, as foods are neutral entities commonly labeled as 'good' or 'bad.' Parental messages surrounding weight reveal a long-term impact on

diet choice and self-esteem, as individuals can identify messages and cite their parents as the source of their personal struggle with their health (Dorrance Hall et al., 2016). Children initially learn their dietary habits from family socialization (Haines et al., 2019), which offers ample opportunity for parents to provide their children with memorable messages on food.

Message Sender

Parental figures are influential memorable message senders surrounding food and wellness. Most memorable messages are transmitted face-to-face from an individual older than the receiver (Knapp et al., 1981), allowing the family unit and home to be a prominent site of production. Research still corroborates the interpersonal, hierarchical nature of memorable messages. Russel and Smith (2017) found that the family members serve as the primary source of memorable messages surrounding weight with friends of a higher status position as the second-most common source. In Knapp and colleagues' (1981) original study on memorable messages, over 80% of the receivers were under 21 years of age at the time of message delivery. During adolescence, parents often serve as the primary decision-maker and model surrounding health behaviors (Russel & Smith, 2017). With nutrition, parents act as a model for and gatekeeper on food selection (Yee et al., 2021), and parental dieting is evidenced to impact children's eventual adaption of disordered eating behaviors (Neumark-Sztainer et al., 2010). Mothers take on the role of caregivers within families. Baiocchi-Wagner and Olson (2016) framed mothers as responsible for health*care*, whereas fathers are prominent in health*play*. Disproportionately, mothers take on the physical responsibility of wellness. For example, mothers primarily take on the responsibility of driving children to extracurricular sports, grocery shopping and cooking meals, and taking children to healthcare appointments (Baiocchi-Wagner & Olson, 2016). Research on memorable messages surrounding weight, diet, and body-image overwhelmingly focuses on women (Dorrance Hall et al., 2016; Rubinsky et al., 2019). In part, this emphasis on women in diet and weight research can be understood as part of "doing the tradition," a socialization process that places women at the center of caregiving in the family unit (Baiocchi-Wagner & Olson, 2016). In fact, mothers are the most common source of memorable messages (Russel & Smith, 2017), especially during childhood for girls (Rubinsky et al., 2019). The present study seeks to examine the reception of memorable messages regardless of receiver gender, we hypothesize:

> **H1:** Female-identifying parents or guardians more frequently send memorable messages surrounding food, compared to male-identifying counterparts.

Message Valence

An important element of memorable message research is the valence of the message. When the receiver of the memorable message interprets the message, they often interpret it as having a positive, negative, or neutral valence (Smith & Ellis, 2001; Voorhees et al., 2023). The perception of the message plays an important role in memorable message research. Kranstuber et al. (2012) note that, "message characteristics (e.g., valence, perception of parent intent) and relational satisfaction with the message-provider (i.e., the parent) were predictive of student outcomes of college motivation, college satisfaction, learner empowerment, and cognitive learning indicators" (p. 60). Therefore, this suggests that the valence of a message can be predictive of the impact the message has on an individual (Catlett & Koenig Kellas, 2009). Understanding that the memorable message one recalls may be viewed as positive, negative, or neutral, is important when understanding the message as a whole, as well as the message content.

Message Content

Memorable message research has found that the word-for-word recollection of the message is not as important as the content of the message (Knapp et al., 1981; Holladay, 2002; Cooke-Jackson & Rubinsky, 2018). Memorable messages are typically coded along four lines: the structure of the message, the form and organization of the message, the circumstances surrounding the sending of the message, and the content of the message (Knapp et al., 1981). Often, previous studies focus on the content of the message. When facing a problem, individuals often recollect memorable messages for decision-making

(Thompson & Zaitchik, 2012; Zelaya, 2018; Brown & Wingate, 2022). Memorable messages are often assumed to be beneficial to decision-making, since messages have been studied as solicited by the individual (Knapp et al., 1981). However, recent studies call this finding into question (Rubinsky et al., 2019). Since memorable messages persist, identifying message themes allow for family communication interventions. These interventions tie to the positive or negative long-term impact of such messages on behaviors, as well as the rising awareness of food neutrality compared to the stigmatization of conversations on weight. Due to the limited research surrounding memorable message and food, we offer the following research question:

> **RQ1:** What types of memorable messages about food do college students receive from their parents or guardians?

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem is defined as "how much value one places on themselves" (Baumeister et al., 2003, p. 2). This value is based on one's perception following interactions with others (Baumeister et al., 2003). Self-esteem influences how individuals perceive themselves, which impacts individuality, relationships, and well-being (Baumeister et al., 2003; Branden, 1994). Research on self-esteem and body image or diet behaviors is prominent in adolescents and young adults, a population most vulnerable to eating disorders and body image issues (Sheldon, 2010). Body image and self-esteem can be understood as a relational phenomenon, as co-rumination on body image impact personal beliefs about the self, a popular practice amongst women (Arroyo et al., 2017), and food choices are impacted by other present individuals and their servings (McFerran et al., 2010). Since emerging adults in college constantly witness the food choices of others in dining halls and collective living spaces, body comparison can impact self-esteem. In these environments, individuals likely recall memorable messages on food as a way of navigating nutrition choices.

Exploring memorable messages on food, compared to weight, provides an initial understanding on food neutrality within family communication. Food neutral messages may not be as stigmatizing as conversations on weight, which negatively impact one's perception of the self and self-esteem (Rubinsky et al., 2019). Family and peer pressure about nutrition and body image impact self-esteem and body satisfaction (Sheldon, 2010). In particular, family and peer pressure are the greatest contributors to body esteem for both men and women (Sheldon, 2010). Although women talk to their friends more, especially negative self-talk on body image (Arroyo et al., 2017), family peer pressure to be thin is strongly correlated with low body esteem for women (Sheldon, 2010). Men experience family pressure, too, as family pressures regarding thinness and food hold greater impact for men than peer pressure (Sheldon, 2010). However, women do experience more pressure for body ideas in general (Arroyo et al., 2017; Sheldon, 2010). Since families tend to hold negative views of obesity (Thompson & Zaitchik, 2012), family pressure for thinness likely emerges in conversations about food. In addition, children are acutely aware of parental struggles surrounding body image and food, which can lead to increased sensitivity in their personal choices (Thompson & Zaitchik, 2012). Co-rumination is positively correlated with purging and binging behaviors, as women who engage in negative self-talk are at a greater risk for unhealthy patterns of behavior (Arroyo et al., 2017). With the persisting nature of memorable messages, a negative message could contribute to such negative self-talk. Although most research on self-esteem and food focus on women, the fact that men do experience pressures for thinness from families requires more attention (Sheldon, 2010). With memorable messages persisting and influential to individuals, it is important to identify the long-term impact such messages have on self-esteem.

> **RQ2:** Do female-identifying and male-identifying individuals differ in their self-esteem?

Method

This study aimed to explore the memorable messages an individual received about food. Specifically, this study investigates what type of memorable message was received by the child from their parent or guardian, the message valence, and how this message impacts self-esteem and worth. This section will focus on the research design, sample, and measures explicated to complete this study.

Research Design

This study was conducted through administration of an online survey via Qualtrics. Students enrolled in communication courses at a Midwestern university accessed the link for the survey through the university research pool. The survey was completed anonymously, and participants received course credit for their participation. Students received 2% of their course grade by completing the survey, or an alternative assignment. All participants were informed of their rights as a research participant and consented to participate in accordance with the IRB guidelines.

Participants

This study used an online survey methodology to answer the hypotheses and research question. Participants (n = 147) were sampled through convenience sampling using the university research pool. Participant ages ranged from 18 - 24 (M = 19.18, SD = 1.28). Participants' year in school included first year/freshman (n = 80, 54%), second year/sophomore (n = 40, 27%), third year/junior (n = 16, 10%), fourth year/senior (n = 8, 5%), fifth year/super senior (n = 2, 1%), and other (n = 1, .7%). Participants identified as female (n = 77, 52%), male (n = 65, 44%), transgender male (n = 1, .7%), intersex (n = 1, .7%), gender queer (n = 2, 1%), and gender fluid (n = 1, .7%). Participants race/ethnicity included Caucasian/White (n = 133, 90%), African American/Black (n = 8, 5.4%), Native Hawaiian or Alaskan (n = 1, .7%), Hispanic/Latino/a (n = 4, 2.7%), Middle Eastern/Arab American (n = 1, .7%), and Multi-racial or Multi-ethnic (n = 2, 1.4%).

Measures

The survey questionnaire was divided into three parts. In the first part of the survey, participants were asked to answer an open-ended question regarding a memorable message they received from a parent or guardian about food. The second part asked the participants to address how this message impacted their self-esteem. Lastly, demographic questions were posed.

Memorable Message

After providing the participants with the definition of a memorable message (Stohl, 1986) and two examples of memorable messages (Kranstuber et al., 2012), we asked the participants to "Recall a memorable message about food you have received from a parent or guardian. Please write this memorable message that you have been told about food." After answering this question, the participants were asked to identify the message giver. Participants identified that messages came most often from their mother (n = 89, 60.5%), father (n = 30, 20.4%), stepmother (n = 1, .7%), stepfather (n = 1, .7%), grandmother (n = 18, 12.2%), grandfather (n = 1, .7%), or other (n = 7, 4.8%).

Self-Esteem and Self-Worth

Self-esteem was measured using Rosenberg's (1989) Self-Esteem Scale. This scale includes 10-items with a 7-point Likert-scale ranging from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*. This scale contains positive and negative feelings about the self. Example questions include: "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself," "I feel I do not have much to be proud of," and "I take a positive attitude toward myself" (M = 4.76, SD = 1.18, α = .91).

Data Analysis

Memorable Food Messages Themes

To answer the first research question in this study, the authors generated themes for the memorable messages about food. The data set allowed for natural emergence of the themes through an inductive analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and through using Owen's (1984) criteria of "(1) recurrence, (2) repetition, and (3) forcefulness" (p. 275). Using the method that Rubinsky et al. (2018) used for data analysis, the authors read through the memorable message data and created their own themes. After the messages were coded with their themes, the authors came together in person and compared their themes for the messages. Through theme comparison, the authors then generated themes that represented the data set.

After the themes were established, the authors created a codebook to categorize and explain the themes of the memorable messages. Each author was assigned to code all of the data. For the coding of the memorable messages, Cohen's kappa revealed a good reliability (k = .77). The themes are reported below and reflect agreement between the authors.

Results

Parental Gender Identity and Memorable Messages

To answer hypothesis one, which stated that female-identifying parents or guardians more frequently send memorable messages surrounding food, compared to male-identifying counterparts, a frequency analysis was conducted. The analysis discovered that female-identifying parents or guardians more frequently sent memorable messages surrounding food that individual's gender identity [female (n = 109, 74.1%), male (n = 34, 23.1%), Gender Queer (n = 1, .7%), and other (n = 2, 1.4%)]. Thus, hypothesis one was supported.

Memorable Food Messages

The research question aimed to investigate what types of memorable messages about food college students recall receiving from their parents or guardians. Through our analysis we produced six themes: *food as fuel*; *portion control; food as pleasure; food as economic/privilege; you are what you eat;* and *body image*. Seven messages were deleted because their memorable messages were not about food and one participant could not recall a memorable message. The memorable messages that the participants recalled were from their mother (n = 89, 60.5%).

Food as Fuel

The theme that was the most prevalent was messages regarding food as being fuel (n = 43, 29.5%). Food is fuel messages refer to messages that describe food as aiding in individual productivity in accomplishing daily tasks, making one strong or healthy, and eating the right foods will make one feel good. Example messages that participants recalled hearing include: "My mom always told me to eat well to make my body feel well (Participant 6); "Fruits and vegetables help you grow!" (Participant 76); "Drink your milk for strong bones" (Participant 89); and "You don't have to do anything to deserve food, you could lay in bed all day, you could have eaten a lot, you could have messed up, but that doesn't mean you don't deserve to eat, you need it to survive" (Participant 142). These messages describe how food is important because it fuels your body through nutrients, can make you strong, help in one's performance, and leads to one's overall well-being.

Portion Control

The second most prevalent theme about food was messages about portion control (n = 32, 21.9%). These messages refer to the amount of food one is eating, what food to avoid, and making sure to eat. Example messages include: "No, you can't have a snack, just chug a thing of water" (Participant 16); "I was always told by my parents to stop eating after having one serving of food, rather than to stop eating when I was full" (Participant 47); "Moderation is key. While eating healthy is important, it is also important to watch how much you eat" (Participant 78); and "Your eyes are bigger than your stomach" (Participant 78). These messages describe the different viewpoints controlling and not controlling what one's eating.

Food as Pleasure

Food as pleasure messages (n = 28, 19.2%) refer to food being enjoyable, that trying new foods is important, and that recipes and how to prepare food is important. Example messages include: "Count memories, not calories" (Participant 50); "You'll never be on your deathbed regretting that you ate that slice of cake" (Participant 70); "I'd rather eat pasta and drink wine than be a size 0" (Participant 74); and "Food is a great form of self-expression and art that can connect people and places and time" (Participant 127). Food is something that individuals recall being told that food is enjoyable and is viewed as something pleasurable in their life.

Food as Economic/Privilege

Food as economic/privilege was the third most prevalent message participants recalled hearing (n = 18, 12.3%). These messages refer to food being something you are not to waste because people may not have the privilege of food. Example messages include: "Be grateful for your food, some kids don't have it as easy as you" (Participant 7); "Don't spend money on food, make food at home" (Participant 24); "Make sure to waste as little food as possible, there are starving people in the world who would love to have a meal like that" (Participant 51); and "You always need to finish your food, otherwise it's a waste" (Participant 99). These messages reflect the value food plays economically as a privilege to individuals in society.

You Are What You Eat

Message about being you are what you eat (n = 13, 8.9%) refers to how eating healthy or eating poorly makes you that food, or your value increases/decreases alongside of your choices. Example messages include: "You are what you eat" (Participants 21, 112, 118, 129, 132, 140, 144, 147); "What you eat can reflect how you live" (Participant 40); "You should try not to eat so unhealthy, it will affect you later in life" (Participant 105); and "If you eat a balanced diet and drink more water, you'll feel like a better person" (Participant 128). These messages reflect how the food one chooses to eat plays a role in one's health.

Body Image

Food messages that participants recalled hearing reflect messages about body image (n = 12, 8.2%). These messages made reference to individual body size (i.e., skinny, fat, weight, etc.) and how the food would impact their body appearance. Example messages include: "Don't eat too much your freshman year that's how all my friends got fat" (Participant 23); "You are too skinny. You need to eat more" (Participant 56); "People don't like a girl that eats that much" (Participant 82); and "If you eat that you'll blow up and be as big as a house" (Participant 109). These messages vary, but overall, they show how certain food can hinder one's body and how eating affects individual bodies.

Gender Identity and Self-Esteem

To address research question two, we conducted an independent-sample t-test to compare self-esteem of female-identifying individuals and male-identifying individuals. There was no significant

difference in self-esteem between female identifying individuals ($M = 4.66$, $SD = 1.11$) and male identifying individuals ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.26$); $t(137) = 1.32$, $p = .10$ (two-tailed). Thus, female-identifying and male-identifying individuals probably do not differ in self-esteem.

Discussion

The primary goal of this study was to examine what memorable messages about food are recalled by students from their parents or guardians and see the impacts of these messages on self-esteem and gender identity. Largely, responding to the growing awareness of food neutrality, this study sought to explore how food is communicated in the family, revealing that food is a neutral topic among children and their parents/guardians. The findings revealed six main themes, *food as fuel*; *portion control; food as pleasure; food as economic/privilege; you are what you eat;* and *body image*, regarding the messages parents provide their children about food. Female-identifying parents or guardians were the most frequent givers of memorable messages about food. Additionally, the findings revealed no significant relationship between memorable food messages and self-esteem. Furthermore, the findings revealed no significant difference between gender identity and self-esteem. The following paragraphs will focus on the parental role, memorable messages, and self-esteem.

This study reinforces previous research positioning women as prominent memorable message senders. In particular, female-identifying individuals commonly cite their mothers as memorable message senders (Rubinsky et al., 2019). In addition, women often 'do the tradition' of domestic tasks in the home, which is why Baiocchi-Wagner and Olson (2016) differentiate women as responsible for family health*care*, whereas men engage in health*play*. Our results position female-identifying parents or guardians, and mothers in particular, as the primary sender of memorable messages surrounding food, supporting previous findings.

This study sought to understand what types of memorable messages surrounding food are given in a parent-child dyad. Our results produced six themes of memorable messages. Although memorable messages do commonly form an if/then or rule-based content and form (Knapp et al., 1981), and health messages geared toward behavior can fall under such structure (Cooke-Jackson & Rubinsky, 2019), only one theme focused on rules of consumption: *portion control*. Our findings provide an initial understanding of the memorable messages given in parent-child communication surrounding food. In fact, two of the three most prominent themes in this study align with understandings of food neutrality. The themes 'Food as Fuel' and 'Food as Pleasure' collectively compose 48.7 percent, nearly half, of respondent's recalled messages. Surprisingly, the theme 'body image' was the least prominent theme in our study. Compared to other memorable message studies that explore socially stigmatizing topics, like weight or disordered eating patterns, our study found that when prompted to recall messages on food, respondents overwhelmingly recall neutral messages. This finding warrants further investigation into family conversations on food through the lens of food neutrality.

Our results do not support a significant connection between self-esteem and the memorable message recalled, or between gender identity and self-esteem. In line with prominent neutral themes, the non-significant relationship between self-esteem and the memorable message recalled, as well as self-esteem and gender identity, is interesting, as food neutrality would insolate individuals from stigmatizing comments on food choices. Although research indicates that female-identifying individuals experience more family pressure surrounding food, and family pressure is strongly correlated with low esteem in women (Arroyo et al., 2017; Sheldon, 2010), our study found no connection between the memorable message and esteem. In addition, research indicates female-identifying individuals engage in more co-rumination and experience more social pressure surrounding their bodies (Sheldon, 2010; Arroyo et al., 2017). While Sheldon (2010) encourages more research investigating the impact of family pressure on the self-esteem of men, this study found no significance between gender identity and self-esteem. Based on our findings, we encourage more research to be conducted into the differences surrounding gender identity and self-esteem, connected to gender norms and stereotypes.

Limitations

This study contributes to the literature and research surrounding memorable messages by looking at how messages about food impact individual self-esteem. Through our analysis, the findings give a greater insight into the messages that college students recall hearing from their parent or guardian. The main message senders identified by the participants were female-identifying mothers, and the messages were ones that regarded 'food as fuel.' This study gives insight into this area of research but there are limitations to this study.

First, the sample was mostly white. This limitation is common to research conducted at U.S. universities and requires structural address amongst researchers as a whole (Scharrer & Ramasubramanian, 2021). Having a more diverse sample would allow for a richer understanding of the memorable messages about food individuals recall receiving.

Second, this study did not ask the participants to indicate their perception of the message they received (i.e., positive, negative, or neutral). Asking them their perception of the message valence would allow for better understanding of how the messages impact their self-esteem. This would further reinforce previous literature surrounding memorable messages and their impact on individuals' self-perception, giving insight into how memorable messages can hinder or support individual self-esteem.

Lastly, example memorable messages were given to the participants to help them understand what a memorable message was. Due to the examples, participants did not answer the prompt appropriately which led to removal of seven participants. For example, we provided two memorable messages from Kranstuber et al. (2012), a study on memorable messages about college, so two participants provided messages about college, instead of food. This is a limitation because we lost out on members of our sample. In addition, if participants struggled to conceptualize what a memorable message was in their life, we suspect they provided comments that noted healthy food, eating well, etc. for social desirability. Since 'Food is Fuel' proved to be the most common theme of messages, and this theme included messages about healthy eating, more research should aim to emphasize the characteristics of memorable messages to prevent similar, potential responses for desirability.

Future Directions

First, future research should examine the self-reported valence of the message, to understand the relationship between solicited and unsolicited messages and their positive or negative reception. In addition, an understanding of message valence and the impact on self-esteem more holistically can extend the current research on food neutrality. This aids in understanding how memorable messages about food can lead to understanding individual self-esteem impart to how messages received impact individuals in the future.

Contrary to existing research, our results do not indicate a significant difference between gender identity and self-esteem, as well as gender-identity. Future studies should examine the relationships between gender identity and similar constructs, like self-esteem, to identify if the non-significance found in this study indicates broader shifts in gender stereotypes or coherence to gendered norms that may provide new insights about gender differences.

Lastly, studies should go beyond the United States to see if there are similarities or differences in the memorable message themes. Food is an important component to the world globally when it comes to attainability, agriculture, and beyond. Through continuing this study beyond the United States, one could understand what is similar and different about the food messages provided by parents or guardians, as well as the conceptualization of 'food' globally.

Conclusion

Food is understood as being a neutral topic, in that food is not ‘good’ or ‘bad,’ but is something that fuels one’s body. However, messages about food, when stigmatizing, leave a lasting impact on individuals when it comes to their food choices. Research regarding memorable messages have looked at the implications of messages surrounding body image, health, and education. This present study extends the memorable message research into a new area looking at memorable messages about food. We learned that food memorable messages are mostly about food being fuel, and that female-identifying mothers are the frequent providers of memorable messages about food. Gender identity did not lead to differences in self-esteem. However, the findings reinforce that memorable messages are impactful to one’s perception of food and provides an introductory understanding of food neutrality in family and health communication research.

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God Term and Devil Term Paradox: Discovering Artifact Meaning through the Deadpool Term

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Kenneth Burke's ideas about god terms and devil terms are important to artifacts because they help audiences determine opposing meaning found through the identification of opposing terms. Identifying god terms and devil terms within artifacts gives insight into rhetor motive and message intention. In order to build upon audience comprehension of god terms and devil terms, anti-hero characteristics will be used to suggest an additional labeling of the "Deadpool Term." The Deadpool Term is an entry point for understanding that a term in an artifact, at the point it is used, can include both god term and devil term dichotomy, which would then mean that opposing meaning can actually—and quite purposefully—be found within the term. Identifying a Deadpool Term can additionally help the audience discover an important rhetorical strategy; the rhetor intends to show extremes of meaning, as well as conflicted feelings, by way of intentionally chosen symbolic language.

Keywords: Kenneth Burke, god term, devil term, anti-hero, Deadpool Term

Introduction

In an effort to further explore, reconsider, and revitalize our understanding of Kenneth Burke and rhetoric, we are suggesting that audiences look to the rising cultural popularity of anti-heroes as the foundation for a theoretical framework of the symbolic use of language. The unpredictable, gray area that anti-heroes inhabit can make them more relatable to audiences; their emerging importance is notable since they can run the range of extremes of good and evil. Using Burke's (1966) notion that "language has its own particular motives" (p. 440) and Brummett's (1989) idea that "some vocabularies take [a key symbol] to be a Devil term and others a God term" and therefore "intractable conflict and controversy may arise around that symbol" (p. 88) as frameworks, the goal in this paper is to establish examples of terms that can also run the range of good and evil, therefore introducing the "Deadpool Term." Named after Marvel/Disney's Deadpool, the Deadpool Term will serve as a means of grasping a symbol by utilizing Burke's research while also expanding on his ideas. Deadpool Terms can be used to understand otherwise seemingly paradoxical language within persuasion, thereby offering a new framework through which rhetorical meaning in persuasive acts can be derived. Ultimately, the Deadpool Term is an alternative framework for understanding words and phrases and the ways in which those words and phrases connect with audiences.

Burke has a clear indication of god terms and devil terms within artifacts; 'artifacts,' in this case, referring largely to human-made, culturally-bound texts. Conceptually, artifacts "can be inductively analyzed by indexing key terms and their associations, a technique [Burke] calls 'cluster analysis' by which a complex concordance is assembled to aid interpretation" (Thames, 2021). The key term labels of 'god term' and 'devil term' and what they represent are shaped from a theological foundation. For Burke (1989), the labels of god terms and devil terms are derived from "the devil being the dialectical counterpart of God" (p. 171), since the terms are meant to be dialectical counterparts of each other. The prevailing notion is there is a "leading in the secular realm towards an over-all title of titles. Such a secular summarizing term would be technically a 'god-term'" (Burke, 1970, p. 25). For the rhetor, "the term god, as well as the term devil," are representations, respectively, of "things which are deemed good

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and right, as well as things which are to be judged evil and wrong" (Slater, 2018, p. 102). Likened in a way to a god, the god term symbolizes an ultimate good, while the devil term symbolizes an ultimate evil.

Since the words run in extreme directions, they are meant to provide crucial insight into rhetor worldview. This is because, as expressed by Brummett (1989), god terms and devil terms "essentialize…good or evil motives" (p. 86). The key terms are therefore bound to the rhetor's motive, internalized within the artifact, more than they are bound to an existing, external cultural construct. This is partially how "conflict and controversy" found "around [a] symbol" (Brummett, 1989, p. 88) due to subjective interpretation might be mitigated. The rhetor's motive is meant to be revealed through term use within the particular artifact, with as comprehensive and complete of an understanding as possible. Specifically, "the good rhetorician leads those who listen in the direction of what is good" (Weaver, 1985, p. 18). Accordingly, the terms are judged and interpreted by the audience based on what appears to be intended on the part of the rhetor within a given artifact, something Burke (1984) depicted as "our word for the motive characterizes the situation" (p. 221). For example, 'love' is a term that may be viewed culturally as an extreme positive, but it does not automatically follow that 'love' is used positively in a given artifact—the strategic use of the word 'love' is only found through individual artifact examination. The rhetor may use the term 'love' negatively, primarily due to rhetor experience and message purpose. The context and surrounding clues, the aforementioned "associations" (Thames, 2021), in the artifact must be used to help make such a determination; artifact analysis will show how the rhetors strategically use particular terms toward intentional meanings within their artifacts.

The Inquiry

As an important distinction, the objective in this work is to evaluate how the god term and devil term classification might well be oversimplifying the issue, particularly if terms are capable of accomplishing both extremes simultaneously. The objective in this work is not to look at whether one term could represent one extreme in one instance in an artifact and then perhaps represent another extreme in a different instance. After all, it is clear that if a rhetor is telling a story that unfolds, a characterization could change. Burke (1984) accounted for this by saying, "Insofar as schemes of motivation change, one may expect a change in the very motives which people assign to their actions" (p. 25). Since god terms and devil terms are 'dialectical counterparts,' then they could already be accounted for as serving different extremes of meaning in different circumstances.

In a song about a breakup, for example, the rhetor might refer to a relational partner, or the relationship itself, in an artifact positively pre-breakup and then negatively post-breakup. If the artifact is designed to tell a story of life experience dealing with the events of the breakup, the rhetor could choose to structure the artifact in such a way that earlier mentions of the relationship—pre-breakup—are god terms, while the later mentions of the relationship—post-breakup—are devil terms. In a simplistic sense, the rhetor would be crafting a message this way in order to convey to the audience how impressions of the relationship shifted.

To illustrate the point, an example of relationship impression shifting is found in the 2021 song "Driver's License" by Olivia Rodrigo. In the song, use of the word "you" early on is a reference to her relationship partner. "You" could be a god term in this case because the lyrics suggest her partner was a source of inspiration for getting a driver's license and learning how to drive. Additionally, her relationship partner is excited that she will eventually be able to drive up to his or her house due to having a license in hand. The license is motivation; the license is achievement, and the partner is supportive.

A bit later in the song, the usage of the word "you" is very different and could well be a devil term. The relationship is referenced as being over, with the word "you" stated in a sadder and more accusatory way. Additional context in the song shows that there is shock that the relationship partner could be so okay with the relationship having ended, including mention of driving alone past her relationship partner's street—a direct contrast to the earlier goal of driving up to her partner's house. The license would then be a painful memory because it is attached to the relationship; it is sadness.

This then leads to the central argument for this work of how a key term might instead exist as a god term and devil term simultaneously; the possibility of a key term, even in the exact same instance it is used, representing both an ultimate good and an ultimate evil for the rhetor at the same time. If a key term's purpose is truly to lead "those who listen in the direction of what is good" (Weaver, 1985, p. 18), is opposing meaning possible in the same term and in the same instance? Technically, it may be more likely that it is not supposed to happen when considering Burke's purpose with his terminology.

Since god terms and devil terms are representative examples of extremes of worldview for the rhetor, a term functioning as god and devil at once seems as if it would cancel out, so to speak, and become neutral and therefore not represent an extreme either way. The issue, though, is that "Burke is often oversimplified or read dualistically" (Slater, 2018, p. 98), and this is where understanding god terms and devil terms as 'dialectical counterparts,' however in the exact same instance, is an important contribution to the conversation. It is also what necessitates the analysis of an alternate term, because "at their most extreme, these unnecessary dichotomies can metaphorically suggest fallacious binaries" (Slater, 2018, p. 98). Burke's ideas may currently be evaluated in ways that are too formulaic if there is ambiguity in how meaning is meant to be both expressed and understood. In evaluating the extremes of motive and worldview, a term is supposed to show an audience a positive or negative feeling denoted by god and devil—that much is clear. A fully polarized comprehension of Burke is not entirely useful, however, if there exists some ability to address blurred meaning of symbolic expression, again through what Thames (2021) described as an effort toward "complex concordance" designed "to aid interpretation"—considering deliberate, blurred meaning can very well be meant to align with rhetor motive. Extremes of worldview certainly appear as though they can be found without necessarily requiring different terms.

This is not to propose that Burke was wrong. Instead, nuancing his argument can help with comprehension and subsequent explanation of god terms and devil terms in order to accurately perceive a push and pull of the struggle of meaning within particular, applicable terms and artifacts. For Burke, rhetoric is meant to "illustrate a world of composition and division, a world of conjunctive and disjunctive relations" (Stob, 2008, p. 139). Within this conversation, the 'conjunctive and disjunctive relations' can still conclusively be found, just as different meanings within the same term.

Part of the issue connects to how language forms meaning. There exists a rather definitive fact that "the English language is peculiarly abundant in words and phrases which are capable of two meanings" ("Double Meanings," 1871), something that directly points us to the possibility of opposing meanings instead of only opposing terms. Language in-and-of-itself is wrought with meaning beyond how words may be traditionally perceived at face value. There is also, however, the interpretive and psychological element to the rhetoric in an artifact. As put forth by Jiao, Yang, Guo, Xu, Zhang, and Jiang (2021), it "is an interesting topic…to explore whether good and evil natures represent opposite poles on a single, bipolar dimension or if these concepts are better considered as two dimensions" (p. 285). A 'single, bipolar dimension' of language analysis makes considerably more sense, rather than always looking at two entirely distinct dimensions—to qualify: at least within particular circumstances. Following Weaver's (1985) claim that "rhetorical language, or language which would persuade, must always be particularized to the situation" (p. 8), polarizing meanings within the same term in specific artifact examples will be discussed—because they indicate carefully chosen and deliberate moves on the part of the rhetor. According to how Burke is read, persuasive messaging is critically in need of context sensitive engagement, after all.

The Debate

Artifact analysis is meant to reveal organic meaning. There is a belief that "if a rhetor links a god term to the ends of her argument, the argument seems to gain veracity" (Kurlinkus, 2014, p. 52). The artifact is meant to become a clear encapsulation of rhetor worldview. Furthermore, "such words are called god terms in the first place…because they promise some fated result" (Kurlinkus, 2014, p. 57). The purpose of a god term is to illustrate an ultimate good, which is why they allow insight into rhetor

perspective. The artifact will of course seem more genuine when a rhetor is able to depict through a message what should be valued or at least what should be valued ideally.

As representations of potentially differing meanings in the same term, 'fated results' are context-sensitive, yes, but they extend beyond what might be evident even through the artifact as an overall, organic whole. As mentioned previously, artifacts dealing with relationships are entry points for this kind of understanding. Through an artifact, a rhetor may construct an earlier part of an artifact's message under the belief/premise that a relationship will work out in the long run. In these kinds of cases, the relationship, as well as its corresponding terms, might be god terms within the artifact. If the relationship ends up not working, and therefore is looked at negatively, the relationship and its corresponding terms might be devil terms at a different point within the artifact. Even at this base level, however, there is a justification for looking at terms through which meaning in each individual case should be evaluated, as opposed to looking at the term and all its subsequent usage as having one, holistically motivated and organic meaning for the entire artifact.

In individual instances of term use, one should then reflect on whether relationship references can exist simultaneously as god and devil terms at the same time. In cases where "evil…is in the thing itself, an absence of the good" (Norrie, 2015, p. 452), then it might make sense to give meaning to a term as purely devil—Norrie (2015) pointed out that there is a "problem" to this "approach" of "evil" as "absence of the good" (p. 452), anyway. From a particular philosophical standpoint, evil well may be characterized as 'absent of good,' and there is little uncertainty to that interpretation. To say a term can only be one thing in one artifact without any level of ambiguity, however, shortchanges how language carries symbolic meaning. To the point, Burke (1969) discussed how "a perfectionist might seek to evolve terms free of ambiguity and inconsistency" (p. xviii), though such a level of perfection in language use is far from achievable. Language and symbolism, because they are ambiguous, require additional need for conversation.

Part of the condition, and even challenge, for making interpretive assessments is in looking at symbol use at all. As described by Jiang and Liao (2021), "The natural language, which is vague and ill-defined in humanistic system, is an important information expression tool for people" (Jiang & Liao, 2021, p. 207). While there is no question over the benefit of humankind using language to articulate ideas and feelings, language itself can be insufficient to convey all possible meanings at all times, as accurately as possible. This complication is further evident because "emotions, like words and symbols, are also ways of seeing the world" (Slater, 2018, p. 100). Language has its limitations and should therefore be viewed with as much room for interpretation as possible. Even for Burke, the intention was to "discover how conflicting and imperfect symbol-using creatures can move towards a better life" (Slater, 2018, p. 97). Burke was of course interested in evaluating how language can be used for self-expression and a means to discover rhetor intention. Such an evaluation, though, cannot be done without full recognition that language is incapable of capturing the entirety of rhetor mindset.

While terms are ultimately meant to indicate rhetor worldview within an artifact, terms themselves can fall short of capturing true, expressive meaning exactly as intended. Since language can sometimes be 'ill-defined,' despite the value it holds in self-expression, it would stand to reason that a word could therefore be a god term and a devil term at once; "persuasion is at once subversive and constructive" (Rosteck & Leff, 1989, p. 330). A rhetor may want to express conflict with or toward a desired motive. The rhetor's purpose could then manifest itself through one term holding both extremes. Put simply: should a rhetor want to convey the dichotomy of split feelings at once, particular word choices may help in crafting a message of extreme, yet contradictory, emotion.

Drawing again on the relationship example—if a rhetor was to write a song about a valued and missed relationship after the relationship has ended, there could be a bittersweet intention on the part of the rhetor for using relationship-based terms within an artifact. The 'fated result' would be found within the terms used because they still hold the capacity of extreme meanings for the rhetor…though the terms could be concurrently meant to be a contradiction within themselves. A single term might represent negative emotions of sadness, frustration, and anger, while also representing good memories; nostalgia, love, and caring.

The spirit of the argument still holds true because "an ethics of rhetoric requires that ultimate terms be ultimate in some rational sense. The only way to achieve that objective is through an ordering of our own minds and our own passions" (Weaver, 1985, p. 232). Our minds are ordered to have conflicting feelings about particular circumstances—it then follows that rhetors may choose to express passionate feelings through language, directly due to their own held conflict. This is because "symbols, terms, and language form the building blocks, the bricks and mortar, of the structures of our collective life" (Stob, 2008, p. 131). Within our collective life is conflict; it is a natural step that we, as humans with language at our disposal, would use language, and crucial language within an artifact at that, to try and precisely demonstrate the kinds of conflict we have. Specific terms could be used to express passion, and yet a level of struggle or conflict, which necessitates an account of use.

Applications of Anti-Heroes/Deadpool

In order to establish a conceptual foundation for relatable struggle, conflict can also be explored in characterization. Anti-heroes have gained tremendous popularity in recent history, likely because "modernist authors used anti-heroes to confront ambiguity and shifting societal norms" (Triana, 2018, p. 1018). Dodds (2022) commented on the relevance of more nuanced plots and characters today, criticizing "clear cut good vs evil…which works well in terms of the narrative, but very much lacks the moral gradient that modern audiences have become accustomed to." Traditionally, "the goodness (or evilness) of a person's character determines whether he/she is likely to be helpful (or harmful) to others. In recent years, the perspective that personal perception and impressions people form of a person can have both good and evil traits has grown" (Jiao et al., 2021, p. 276). The use of characters with good and bad traits may at least partially explain the conflict of meaning within god terms and devil terms—and that one term is capable of having opposing meaning.

Characters who display both good and evil traits are much more multidimensional and therefore seem uniquely appealing to audiences—the same could be said of symbols in general. Unlike the earlier mentioned perspective of "evil" being "in the thing itself, an absence of the good" (Norrie, 2015, p. 452), for anti-heroes "the absence of evil may not indicate the presence of good in terms of personality and vice versa" (Jiao et al., 2021, p. 277). Characters such as DC's Harley Quinn and Catwoman and Marvel's Wolverine and Deadpool tend to resonate with audiences not because of their heroics but because they occupy a morally gray area. They themselves are character-based, symbolic representations of god terms and devil terms functioning together.

Instead of being stoic, unyielding, and dogmatic characters, they are imperfect, pushing the boundaries between being hero and villain. In application, for these characters, villainous acts do not cancel out heroics, which is the combination needed for an anti-hero; "MACs [morally ambiguous characters] often behave in immoral ways; however, they also have redeeming qualities that differentiate them from villains" (Krakowiak & Tsay-Vogel, 2015, p. 390). Without yet trying to make too much of a leap, terms can possibly do the same—be bad, but redeeming; devil and god. When looking at "how broader perceptions of these morally mixed character types affect not just enjoyment but also other positively valenced evaluations such as appreciation or search for meaning" (Eden, Daalmans, & Johnson, 2016, p. 351), there is at least a slight comparison to be made. If audiences do indeed value a level of ambiguity in meaning and motive, or at the very least if they are on the lookout for it, then symbolic characters may have the same kind of appeal and interpretation as symbolic language—especially when both can be so crucial for making sense of an effective artifact.

Consider ways in which audiences try to understand artifact meanings. If a rhetor has a motive and an intention toward creating a message and then filters that message through an artifact, characters and symbols/language/terms can operate in somewhat similar ways. As Burke (1989) himself claimed, the "act of persuasion may be for the purpose of causing the audience to identify itself with the speaker's interests" (p. 191). Noted in this paper already, humans experience and feel conflict due to a variety of occurrences in their lives. If language, even confined within the same term, can be used to express said

conflict, then there should be a resulting level of identification on the part of the audience—which is a result of comprehending the rhetor's struggle.

Identification

Identification is also present for characterization. It is not uncommon for "individuals [to] compare their own behaviors to those of a character in entertainment content" (Krakowiak & Tsay-Vogel, 2015, p. 392). Within the search for meaning encouraged by character interpretation is also self-reflection. Importantly, "heightened identification may allow viewers to like a character even when he/she is perceived as immoral" (Oliver et al., 2019, p. 170). Anti-heroes can come across as more human and more relatable compared with definitive heroes and definitive villains. Even if an anti-hero acts outside the scope of what a person may actually do in his or her own life, identification can still take place. In instances where a rhetor is using symbolic language in an artifact, the rhetor him- or herself may also act outside the scope of a what a person may actually do in his or her own life; 'heightened identification,' however, remains a real possibility. Character, and even rhetor, motivation would be similar to motivations potentially felt by audiences, therefore creating a level of identification. The relatability afforded to anti-heroes could also be afforded to terms of conflicting meaning.

The suggestion here is that a mixed, extreme meaning-based term that simultaneously functions as a god term and a devil term be called a Deadpool Term. Marvel's Deadpool is a popular anti-hero, and his actions and motivations make him particularly well-suited for the term label. Deadpool is genuinely driven by extremes of good and evil. For instance, if you compare Deadpool with the above-named anti-heroes, there are essential distinctions. Harley Quinn leans more toward being a villain because of her associations with The Joker and Poison Ivy. Wolverine leans more toward being a hero because of his association with Jean Grey and his allegiance to the X-Men. Catwoman's association with Batman puts her more in the realm of a hero due to her fascination with and fixation on him. In recent history, Catwoman has even been depicted alongside the Justice League, further reinforcing her classification as a hero.

Deadpool, however, appears to act in accordance with his own agenda. At any given point in time, he is typically shown doing what best suits him. His actions reveal extremes of good and evil simply because his actions are based on self-interest—no matter how villainous or how heroic those actions might be. He has saved the day on numerous occasions but has no problem acting in a selfish manner or killing, even when unnecessary. Unlike many other anti-heroes, the only side he has really chosen is his own.

Deadpool would also not be categorized as a neutral character because of how extreme his actions are. While he may not be conflicted about what he does in the same way terms can be representative of rhetor conflict, his girlfriend does keep him grounded enough that he retains his humanity and never fully becomes a true villain. The difference between Deadpool, as compared to Harley Quinn, Catwoman, and Wolverine, is that his girlfriend is not steadfastly affiliated with the fiction and instead comes across as just a regular person; at least, in the sense that she is not a prominent character and is not important to a particular side and is not given her own plotlines. She is inconsequential compared to the likes of The Joker, Poison Ivy, Batman, or Jean Grey. As a result, Deadpool does not have a connection that pulls him one way or another, to good or evil only, in any kind of consistent manner.

Further to the point, as seen in the first Deadpool movie, "Deadpool was driven by revenge, as well as the desire for a woman and to return to his former, attractive, physical appearance" (Triana, 2018, p. 1017). His love life grounds him, but his desire for revenge and his desire to reverse his physical appearance are personal motivators that ensure he makes the majority of his actions out of a self-serving mentality. He purposefully embodies the good and evil extremes of anti-hero, which is why he is best suited as an entry point, as a label, to analyze terms that embody both good and evil extremes, as well. It is this uniqueness of Deadpool's character that justifies the terminology of 'Deadpool Term,' as opposed to something more generalized, such as Anti-hero Term. Deadpool encompasses what it means to be a genuine anti-hero. Quite simply, Deadpool functions as both good and evil, as Deadpool Terms function

as both good and evil. They are separate and opposite meanings derived from the same thing. As Deadpool could be more relatable to audiences because he embodies conflict of meaning, Deadpool Terms and applicable rhetor motives can also be more relatable. Deadpool has personal motivators that are established through a characterization of opposing meaning, and rhetors have personal motivators that can be established through term use of opposing meaning.

God Terms and Devil Terms Instead

Finding these kinds of opposing meanings in artifacts is critical for a justification of the Deadpool Term. Aside from Deadpool himself being symbolic of the Deadpool Term, there is again an opportunity to evaluate Deadpool Terms used in relationship-message contexts. In order to adequately explain that Deadpool Terms are different from god terms and devil terms, however, a discussion of the distinction is needed. At its core, the distinction between god terms or devil terms, as opposed to a Deadpool Term classification, is predicated on whether terms are truly reaching opposing, extreme meaning. Brummett (1989) provided a foundation for this distinction when discussing god term and devil term use. The representative example given by Brummett (1989) was how "Mother Teresa may be a perfect symbol, but the real Mother Teresa is probably given to unsaintly crankiness on occasion" (p. 87). When applied to language, a god term would represent an ultimate good. If the good has elements of bad, however, it does not necessarily follow that the term has an opposing extreme of meaning and should also be classified as an ultimate evil, as a devil term. The vice versa argument would be accurate, as well, thus suggesting that artifact examples are needed to demonstrate these kinds of distinctions.

Taylor Swift's 2007 song "Teardrops on my Guitar" contains terms that at first appear as Deadpool Terms but are truer to the meaning of devil terms. In the song, both the teardrops and the guitar seem to represent mixed emotion. Swift sings about someone named Drew who, in the context of the song, is conveyed as either an ex, now with someone else, or perhaps a friend she wishes she had been involved with romantically before he found someone else. The "teardrops" on her "guitar" are a reference to her crying when thinking about her circumstances. Though Drew still functions as a muse of sorts, inspiring her to continue singing and playing guitar, the "teardrops" and the "guitar" are in fact devil terms only. There is little in the song to suggest the teardrops are in any way tears of joy. While Drew could theoretically bring about positive emotions, convincing her to continue singing and playing guitar, the songs she creates may well still be sad or at least might function as an outlet for her sadness. Even if that is in fact the case, a slightly positive meaning added to the terms "teardrops" and "guitar" would not be enough to suggest the terms should also be considered as god terms. The extremes of meaning, necessary for Deadpool Term classification, are not present.

The 2018 song "Happier" by Marshmello and featuring Bastille presents problems with identifying Deadpool Terms, too, because it more closely resembles use of god terms. The song is about ending a relationship because it looks to be the only way to make the relationship partner happy again. The first problem that emerges in identifying Deadpool Terms within this song is that the word "happier," which could pull in both extreme directions, is an adjective. As such, it is more useful as a description rather than a key term, which negates its classification as god or devil.

Consider the problem of accounting for extremes of meaning through the terms "I" and "you." The rhetor accepts the fact that the relationship needs to come to an end in order for his partner to be happier. The mentioned "you," then, would be a god term because the objective described in the song is to make "you" happier. The only real negative for the "you," as established by the rhetor, is in keeping a dysfunctional relationship going. It is therefore difficult to justify "you" as a devil term, as well. "You" is not an evil, and the rhetor's intention toward the mentioned "you" is positive; he seeks his partner's happiness.

The "I" in the song is in a state of conflict, but, as the song says, "only for a minute, I want to change my mind." When evaluated for its context, there is only a small hesitation in what "I" needs to do by ending the relationship; there is an accepted sadness. Even the relationship itself has become a source of sadness, with the rhetor sad to see it end. It would be easy to discredit the claim that "I" is both god and

devil due to such a small/minor reconsidering of the matter. Though "I" may not be a true god or devil term at all, a lack of real, meaningful conflict in what "I" needs to do denies its classification as a Deadpool Term.

Even if Deadpool Terms are rare, however, there is evidence of their existence for the purpose of using language and rhetorical strategy to achieve desired meaning and relatability. According to Slater (2018), "As strategies, [emotions] can sometimes be effective and sometimes not, but the point is to learn to enact the best strategies as often as possible" (p. 99). When needed, the Deadpool Term can capture emotion and also emotional conflict. It is a strategy to a message, and it is worth noting, even if clearly identifying Deadpool Term use presents a challenge.

Deadpool Term Artifact 1: REO Speedwagon's "Take It on the Run" (1981)

In REO Speedwagon's 1981 song "Take It on the Run," the rhetor/narrator describes how his relationship partner might be cheating on him. The rhetor's message to his partner is that he is hearing rumors of infidelity, yet he is working under the assumption those rumors are not true. The stand he takes, however, is that if the rumors are true, he has no hesitation in being done with the relationship.
In this song, 'baby' and 'babe' are references to the rhetor's partner and are Deadpool Terms. Certainly, the rhetor is suspicious of his partner based on the rumors, but he is willing to give the benefit of the doubt. 'Baby' and 'babe' are vital to the artifact's message, and they are repeated, so they are unquestionably key terms. On one hand, the terms could be seen as devil terms—there is a sadness that comes with the prospect of the relationship ending due to cheating. Cheating itself is obviously also a source of sadness. On the other hand, though, this song is about not buying into rumors at their absolute face value. Given the benefit of the doubt, the rhetor's partner, the "baby" and "babe," are also given a god term status; this is the person trusted until presented with concrete evidence not to trust. Further evidence in the song demonstrates both god term and devil term extremes—"baby" gets the preferential treatment of not believing the cheating rumors are true, but if they are, it is a problem; "babe" gets referenced within the context of a denial of the cheating, but to be aware that if cheating is taking place, "babe" should just leave and is no longer welcome in the rhetor's life.

The song "Take It on the Run" is an emotional response to a partner potentially cheating; however, the response is characterized as a logical and strategic kind of emotion—not to accept a rumor, but to send the message that, should the rumor be true, the relationship would need to immediately end. There is a push and pull of extremes because the inclination is not to believe rumors that are spread and perhaps exaggerated, especially when they are not confirmed by the relationship partner. At the same time, the thought the rumors are true crosses the rhetor's mind with a level of suspicion—should the rumors be true, there is a direct stance that the relationship will cease.

This song demonstrates a genuine goal for Deadpool Term usage. To accomplish the aim of the message, mentions of the partner in the relationship are critical to the song's meaning and are far from neutral. They are meant to run extremes of meaning by design. The relationship partner is held in high enough regard since the rumors are not accepted outright. The rumors, however, also trigger a level of doubt, with the rhetor in the song even pointing to some behaviors in the relationship that could, possibly, and when taken into account alongside the rumors, be an indication of cheating taking place.

Deadpool Term Artifact 2: O.A.R.'s "Shattered" (2008)

Mentions of relationship partners are not entirely necessary for finding Deadpool Terms. In the 2008 song "Shattered" by O.A.R, it is the word "car" that functions as a Deadpool Term. In the song, the rhetor is describing how he feels that change is needed, but he continually comes back to his relationship partner/the relationship by "always turn[ing] the car around." The purpose of the song is that he needs to come to terms with the fact that the needed change is internal, within himself, as opposed to faulting the relationship and his partner for the internal problems he has. In an interview, O.A.R.'s lead singer Marc

Roberge commented on the song, saying, "It's not about the people holding you back. It's about you" (Ortega, 2008).

The car is a representation of what can pull him away from the relationship, but it is also the thing that he uses to return. The car is therefore a devil term in the sense that it represents a thing which provides him the capability of unjustifiably leaving the relationship—which he is inclined to do—but the car is also a god term because it is the thing he uses to come back to the relationship, as well. The word "car" is repeated throughout the song and is fundamental to the song because of what it represents.

The last line of the song is "I've got to turn this thing around." The word "thing" in this case is a god term only because the rhetor has, as represented by the concluding line of the song, figured out that it is his own thinking that needs to be reevaluated; that he should stop faulting anyone else. By contrast, the word "car" is used previously in the song when he is sorting through his thought process, so it embodies a much different tactic within the message. The "car" is a Deadpool Term because of its conflict of meaning. It signifies the uncertainty that an audience is meant to comprehend on the path to realization. Without the "car" being used as a Deadpool Term in the song, the struggle would not be as obvious as the rhetor intends.

Deadpool Term Artifact 3: Kate Bush's "Running Up That Hill" (1985)

Kate Bush's 1985 song "Running Up That Hill" may well be the best example of Deadpool Term usage, though it does need interpretation. "Hill," a repeated, absolutely necessary key term that establishes a vision for the song, while also being important enough to be in the song's title, denotes a conflict of meaning because of wishful thinking. When Kate Bush describes herself as "running up that hill," she is looking at the hill as an obstacle; a challenge. It is a tough obstacle, sure, but not an undefeatable one. According to Kate Bush herself, the song is about how, in a relationship, "if the man could be the woman and the woman the man, if they could make a deal with God, to change places, that they'd understand what it's like to be the other person and perhaps it would clear up misunderstandings" (Eames, 2022). In a perfect world, partners in a relationship would be able to switch places with one another in order to better understand each other's mindset, thereby being able to conquer hills, the bumps in a relationship, with virtually no effort. Kate Bush additionally said, "If we could actually swap each other's roles, if we could actually be in each other's place for a while, I think we'd both be very surprised!" (Eames, 2022).

Therein lies the basis for "hill" as a Deadpool Term in the song. Yes, the song sets up an impossibility of men and women switching places in order to understand one another, but the hypothetical setup does not therefore suggest hills are impossible to be conquered otherwise. It would be nice if relationship partners did not have to deal with obstacles in their relationships, but they do…the necessary evil is what creates the Deadpool Term for the song.

Given that people cannot actually switch places with one another, then a hill is otherwise only conquerable with effort. The hill is a devil term because it is this thing in the way—a thing that would be nice to not have to deal with at all. The hill is not pleasant by any stretch of the imagination, but the hill can be conquered, and conquering the hill is the only way to grow. The overall meaning in the song includes both relational and individual growth. The importance of growth and strengthening the relationship classifies "hill" as a god term, as well, which means a Deadpool Term is being used.

Again, Norrie (2015) stated that there is a "problem" to "the approach" of viewing the "evil that is in the thing itself" as an "absence of the good" (p. 452). This is why the "hill" works so well as a Deadpool Term. There is an evil to that hill, but it does not mean the hill is absent of the good. The hill, problematic and frustrating though it may be, is also representative of a way for the relationship to improve. The hill for Kate Bush is hypothetical, and she wishes it was not there, which would appear to make it a devil term only; however, she also sees the hill as conquerable with a fantastical mind switch. The way she describes "hill" in the context of the song is therefore already technically a god term. The "hill" has additional reason for god term classification, though, because Kate Bush likely does not see all relationships as doomed without said mind switch. Given that relationships can still work without partners

switching minds, so, too, is the hill not insurmountable. Relationships and individuals can grow by overcoming odds.

As evidenced through the song's context, Kate Bush is demonstrating how the "hill" plays to both extremes of god term and devil term. Use of the word "running" up the hill suggests the hill can be conquered—through the allusion of running—as a result of the mind switch. Kate Bush's lyrics are, "Be running up that road, Be running up that hill, Be running up that building." The fact that Kate Bush uses the world "building" in the song is unusual, but it allows for an interpretation of personal growth as key to relationships, too. Certainly, running up a building is a more unique and complicated line for an audience to grasp as compared to running up a road or hill.

Conquering a building gives the impression of individual success, such as within a work setting in an office building. The image created therefore leans more toward personal growth, which is important because it is still necessary to grow as an individual as a relationship grows. The sequence of lines provides concrete evidence of Kate Bush's intention for the song's message. The ordering of "road," then "hill," and then "building" indicates increasing steepness and also increasing difficulty. On one hand, this is arguably Kate Bush saying that not dealing with problems in a relationship will make them worse; on the other hand, it is arguably Kate Bush saying the "building," the really tough obstacle, requires both relational and personal growth to effectively overcome.

Though it could be argued that "road" and "building" are Deadpool Terms in the song, too, "road" falls short as a key term at all because, by association, running up a road would be relatively easy for most runners and therefore tends to avoid either extreme of god term or devil term. In addition to the mind switch, running directly up a building adds a layer of impossibility, which pulls it toward a devil term and away from being a god term—though it is nonetheless still an obstacle that would be great to overcome. If 'stairs' were used as a word in place of or along with "building," it would drastically alter the message. Running up a building, though, presents a tough visualization for the audience. It is akin to thinking of someone scaling a building. If "building" was somehow meant to be a reference to relationship building, it may have god term appeal, but that requires an interpretative move that would make the "building" more neutral. Rather than being this impossible thing to run up, the building would lose its devil term connotation.

The "hill," the portion of the relationship after the road but before the building, is a clear indication and visualization of struggle, and yet is also the thing that you can surpass with effort. Again, note that "hill" is deliberately the word used in the song title; not road or building. Running up a road does not adequately give the impression of difficulty, and running up a building is much tougher to comprehend for an audience trying to make sense of a message about overcoming obstacles. The "hill" is unmistakably volatile, which is why it makes sense for the title, and it is also why it makes sense as a valuable and purposeful Deadpool Term.

Conclusion

A revitalization of Burke's rhetoric can allow audiences to gain a level of insight into how words are intentionally used for strategic purposes. For Burke (1966), "language" is imbued with "its own particular motives" (p. 440). Outside of a conventional understanding of opposing meaning of god terms and devil terms in artifacts, Deadpool Terms are both god terms and devil terms functioning, quite deliberately, at the same time. There is clear reason to evaluate extremes of meaning existing in the same terms. There is also reason to use Burke's ideas as the basis of an ongoing conversation about symbols and symbolic language. Even if artifacts where god term and devil term dichotomies are present at the same time and in the same term are rare, in instances where they can be found, considerable analysis is needed. As part of a persuasive strategy for communicating significant and meaningful messages, rhetors can utilize opposing meanings within the same term. This tactic of language that can be referred to as a Deadpool Term. The Deadpool Term serves as one way to navigate "intractable conflict and controversy" (Brummett, 1989, p. 88), stemming from otherwise confusing interpretations. Rather than relying on the customary analysis of god term and devil term dichotomy, instead the Deadpool Term offers a unique

approach to persuasion and language use within artifacts. As opposed to relegating key terms to an ultimate good or an ultimate evil only, the Deadpool Term reveals instances of ultimate good and ultimate evil portrayals coexisting at once.

As examples, Deadpool Terms are presented in the songs "Take It on the Run," "Shattered," and "Running Up That Hill." It would be beneficial in future studies to evaluate artifacts outside relationship-based songs; certainly, there is reason that characters can be symbolic of Deadpool Terms, too. For the purposes of scratching the surface, though, relationship-based songs are worthwhile choices, especially in cases where the relationship is addressed as a source of conflict. In order to even further understand and reconsider perceptions of Burke's analysis, a range of extremes can likely be found elsewhere, too. Burke already allowed for opposing extremes of meaning found in opposing terms, so pushing the conversation further to determine extremes of opposing meaning in the same term is worthwhile. The introduction of the Deadpool Term in this work is meant to bridge the gap in the comprehension of conflicting meaning.

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Civil Rights Movement Imagery, Collective Memory, and Group-Based Emotions

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The current case study critically examined imagery of the Civil Rights Movement, collective memory and intergroup emotions. Adopting content analysis, we examined a sample of civil rights images (N = 55), to illustrate the potential for recall and group-based emotions related to perceptions of the social movement. Findings included themes related to recall and subject matter focused on collective action efforts, including racial hostility, brutality, non-violence, and celebrity. Each theme posited that a range of Civil Rights Movement imagery may cement a visceral and thought-provoking collective memory and, as such, as the potential to contribute to distinct emotions among audiences.

Keywords: Civil Rights Movement, collective memory, intergroup emotions, imagery

Introduction

Scholars have noted that media imagery often impacts individuals' collective memories, specifically when audiences lack direct engagement with high-profile events (Halbwachs & Douglas, 1980). Images, such as the social unrest during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, garnered a collective memory of struggle, triumph, and conflict, which is often related to audiences' emotional responses (Harris, 2006). For example, during the Freedom Rides of 1961, college students from the Congress of Racial Equality rode buses from Washington, D.C., to Jackson, Mississippi, to protest racial segregation on interstate buses. The groundswell of support from the freedom riders was attributed to the media's dissemination of Civil Rights imagery that captured the brutality that took place in Jackson, Mississippi (Buchanan, 2014). We argue that media imagery from the 1960s Civil Rights Movement may buttress collective memories among audiences and from a selection of images, examined themes relevant to the recollection based on artifacts and events that coincided with the time the images were taken. Moreover, we offer the groundwork that the imagery has the potential to contribute to a range of group–based emotions (Clayton, 2018; Hume, 2010).

The current study adopted tenets of collective memory (Halbwachs & Douglas, 1980) and intergroup emotions theories (Mackie & Smith, 2015) and critically discussed the potential for Civil Rights Movement imagery to provoke recall and emotional responses based on what was capture in each image. We do not aim to test, by means of participant influence, the application of theory but more so to engage in a critical conversation that suggests that society at large may acquire knowledge from visual imagery of the Civil Rights Movement, which may provoke affective responses.

Collective Memory Theory

Collective memory theory proposes that an individual's exposure to the media and other artifacts (e.g., physical monuments) may be related to remembering past events with which individuals often lack direct contact or intimate association (Halbwachs & Douglas, 1980; Lyons & Kudrnac, 2018). People's collective memories often depend on their engagement (or lack thereof) with an event. Individuals with

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direct contact with high-profile events may not need imagery to recall an event. Instead, people may rely on personal experiences to remember significant episodes. However, individuals who lack direct engagement may rely on imagery to recall important incidents (Coman et al., 2009). The collective memories of high-profile events are important because communal recollections often shape the narrative of historical moments, including the attitudes toward the events and support (or lack thereof) for circumstances related to those incidents (Hirst & Fineberg, 2011).

Collective memory occurs on two levels. The first exists at the individual level, which refers to how people's beliefs and exposure to artifacts impact if and how they remember a past event (Olick, 1999). The second occurs as a collective memory among a population whereas groups may recall and agree upon the recollection of an event (Halbwachs & Douglas, 1980). The group-based collective memory has suggested that group membership is a salient determinant of how people may recall an event (Lyons & Kudrnac, 2018). Group membership may drive recall and feelings, particularly when specific identities are intertwined with the event (Gensburger, 2016). For example, the Civil Rights Movement took place in America, thus impacting the way of life for many Americans, as a group identity. Equally, collective memory may be impacted by systems, one example being the media, which may contribute to affective outcomes among the group (Jackson, 2021).

Collective memory is an appropriate tool for studying phenomena in communication studies (Edy, 2011; Gensburger, 2016). Jackson's (2021) work noted that news programming has often shaped the collective memory of Black activism and collective action. They argued that Black people's engagement with advocacy was related to widespread commemorations of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, which correlated with a shared collective memory of pride and admiration among Black audiences. The media enabled audiences to "identify with the experiences of people who endured certain events" and created a shared recollection of persons, accounts, and narratives of these high-profile occasions (Berkowitz, 2001, p. 14). Wasilewski (2019) explored images within far-right media outlets such as blogs and websites and recognized how content dislodged US mainstream collective memory of social movements and the advancement of non-White and other groups (e.g., ethnic and sexual minorities) among audiences. No matter the spectrum of recall (e.g., positive or negative), media imagery has the ability to impact the collective memory of audiences (Florini, 2015). Media, including mainstream, alternative, and digital forms–work to meet the expectations of their target group, and one way to do so is by cementing the collective memory of salient activities (Wasilewski, 2019).

Collective Memory and Media

The media can actively shape and curate audiences' collective memories (Sheffi, 2011). If the media (e.g., newspapers) consistently display images of an event, the images may shape attitudes and cement the significance of the occurrence (Bourdon & Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011). For example, imagery from the media reinforced the world's collective memories of Germany during WWII, and scholars have noted that imagery of Nazi Germany still "constrains German foreign and domestic policy" (Olick, 1999, p. 334). Researchers have recognized that journalists (including photojournalists) have the strongest influence on how audiences remember events due to the authority to select imagery presented in media outlets (Neiger et al., 2011). Journalists' influence on the selection of imagery and their authority as storytellers allow for interpretative freedom in framing narratives and, thus, may help shape collective memories (Meyer, 2009; Harris, 2006).

Research that has adopted collective memory theory has overwhelmingly demonstrated its utility in how visual forms of mass media often derive an audience's recall (Bourdon & Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011; Jackson, 2021). Hariman and Lucaites (2003) studied the infamous photograph 'Napalm Girl," an image captured during the Vietnam War that depicted then nine-year old Kim Phuc Pan Thi running toward a camera in agony from the napalm burns covering her body. The authors argued that this image was a powerful emotional resource for that shaped the collective memory of the Vietnam War among US audiences (Hume, 2010).

Scholars have pondered why certain images are ingrained in audiences' subconsciousness and impact recall regarding an event. For example, hundreds of images circulated the graphic instances of violence in Vietnam, including murdered prisoners of war. However, the 'Napalm Girl' image was embedded in people's memories despite "many, many press reports and a number of striking photos that would suffice as evidence for any claim that the United States was fighting an immoral war" (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003, p. 40). The authors drew attention to the emotion and noted that the little girl was directly facing the lens, looking straight at anyone who looked at the photo. The photograph conveyed pain, and the image may have evoked emotions among spectators. Hariman and Lucaites (2003) stated that the image influenced audiences' collective memory due to its ability to activate emotions "including pain, fragmentation…betrayal, and trauma" (p. 40). The potential for images to drive emotional responses highlight a unique relationship, whereas collective memory can be deeply ingrained in the emotional response of individuals. To aid in the understanding of emotional response, we provide a discussion of intergroup emotions theory.

Intergroup Emotions Theory

Intergroup emotions theory (IET) conceptualized that emotions are a product of life created by shared moments and collective understandings of events, people, and situations (Mackie & Smith, 2018). Emotions are often linked with identities (e.g., being an American), and IET has suggested that emotions can be experienced at the group level. Groups of individuals often experience emotions from shared experiences. Moons and colleagues (2009) found that exposure to salient group-focused information impacted group-based emotions (i.e., we feel this way) compared to individual-level emotions (i.e., how I feel). In particular, an individual's emotional response is not isolated but often shared by group members as people often experience moments using communication channels, such as media (Mackie & Smith, 2015; Stamps & Mastro, 2020).

The addition of IET in the current study is not to assess the individual outcomes related to emotion but to critically discuss how audiences' encounters with 1960s Civil Rights Movement imagery, which may aid in collective memories of significant events, may also derive emotional responses. Harris (2006) demonstrated that the formation of collective memory and group-based emotions (e.g., anger) contributed to engagement in the Montgomery Bus Boycott in the aftermath of Emmett Till's murder. Griffin and Bollen (2009) found that the collective memory of civil rights events (e.g., The March of Washington) was related to individuals' emotional responses and a shift in attitudes on race relations and racial policies. Duffy and Besel (2010) noted that imagery of civil rights era activism served as a source of emotions, such as inspiration during the movement and ongoing advocacy post the movement. Images of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement may contribute to audiences' collective memory and potentially evoke emotional responses at the group level (Harris, 2006).

Collective Memory, Media, and the Civil Rights Movement

The 1960s Civil Rights Movement aimed to combat racial oppression and encourage the basic freedoms that Black Americans were systemically denied. The movement began in response to the Jim Crow laws that perpetuated racism and upheld race-based policies and practices (Clayton, 2018). During the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, Black individuals (and non-Black allies) countered violent racial oppression, often through organized collective action efforts. One outcome of the actions was to garner widespread news coverage (Clayton, 2018). Hundreds of images exist of the Civil Rights Movement. However, some images have been ingrained in the collective memory of US audiences. The iconic and notable images have a certain "stickiness"–a factor that draws viewers in (Dover, 2011).

Images presented in news coverage played a key role in the Civil Rights Movement as activists believed it was a "promising new medium through which they could prevent the world from turning a blind eye to violence against Black people" (Ruff, 2020, p. 38). Mamie Till understood the value of media imagery when she allowed newspapers to publish graphic images of her deceased son, Emmett Till, who

was brutally tortured and murdered by white supremacists. This intentional act demonstrated how imagery could have a persuasive influence on individuals. Thousands of Americans were unaware of how commonplace lynchings and racial injustice occurred in certain geographic locations (Mace, 2014). Media imagery of the Civil Rights Movement aided in creating a collective memory and emotional-centered response for many audience members (Jackson, 2021).

The Current Study

Theoretical assumptions rooted in collective memory theory and IET suggest that thematic elements from images of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement and a range of emotions may exist. In particular, images of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement may be related to distinct collective memories and align with distinct group-based emotional responses. Research has suggested that media imagery has remained important to the construction and preservation of a collective memory as the stories of the past are visceral (Edy, 2006). Accordingly, we examined a selection of media imagery of events during the Civil Rights Movement and, from this integrated perspective, explored the following research questions:

RQ1: What themes are present among 1960s Civil Rights Movement imagery that may be deem relevant to collective memory?
RQ2: What are some relevant artifacts presented among 1960s Civil Rights Movement imagery that may have contributed to audiences' collective memories of that era?
RQ3: What are examples of emotion(s) that might be derived from 1960s Civil Rights Movement imagery?

Method

Procedures

Researchers in recent years have utilized content analysis as a method to analyze images from diverse types of mainstream media (Mucchielli, 2002; Rose, 2001). A content analysis is a systematic process that isolates and investigates substantial properties of content that may escape ordinary mindfulness or inspection (Rose, 2001). Scholars often use content analysis to study media memory phenomena, particularly content centered on Black identity and race-focused imagery (Stamps et al., 2022). Frazier (2020) conducted a content analysis of Black-orientated magazines Jet and Ebony coverage of the Tuskegee syphilis experiment and its relationship to Black individuals' collective memories of the Tuskegee incident. Clayton (2018) utilized content analysis to examine the New York Times' coverage of the Black Lives Matter and the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. Schwalbe, Silcock, and Keith (2008) conducted a content analysis of US mainstream media images and analyzed the emotional effects of viewing the images, such as 'shock and awe.' Following the established methodology of previous research (Stamps et al., 2022; Frazier, 2020; Clayton, 2018; Schwalbe et al., 2008), the current study adopted content analysis and examined media images of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. We offered a discussion of select images, their potential impression on collective memories, and the prospective group-based emotions that may arise from audiences.

Data Collection, Coding and Analysis

The lead author collected images of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement in January and February 2021 from various archival websites and media outlets that included the All That is Interesting (ATI) gallery, the Afro-American Newspaper, The New York World Telegraph & Sun, The Life Images Collection, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives and Records Administration. The collection of images concluded once the same imagery continued to appear in online searches. To avoid bias in selection criteria, once images began to reappear in the online search, we stopped data collection

and examined the total number of documents ($N = 55$). Our total number of images is not exhaustive and does not represent all the documented images from the movement. This method of visual analysis is not era free or complete in avoiding bias but provides a notable form of interpretative investigation (Knoblauch et al., 2008). Appropriately, we recognize that lexical ambiguity exists, and thus our analyses of the data is one of the multiple interpretations (Stamps, 2023).

Hariman and Lucaites (2003) explained that a "photographic image is capable of directing attention across a field of gestures, interaction rituals, social types, political styles, artistic motifs, cultural norms, and other signs as they intersect in any event" (p. 38). Social science scholars have developed diverse and numerous types of methodological techniques for 'reading' and analyzing visual materials (Glăvan, 2014; Mucchielli, 2002; Rose, 2001). In line with previous research, a codebook was created by both authors to analyze the randomly selected media images (Cowart et al., 2016). We followed the approach of Glăvan (2014) to create adequate codes that were exhaustive, exclusive and enlightening, resulting in codes that allowed us to analyze the images in an "analytical and coherent" manner (p. 90). We ensured that our codification relied on our research questions and theoretical framework to accurately inform our findings.

The images were coded following traditional grounded theory directives (Charmaz, 2014). The codes specifically focused on the surroundings showcased in each image, the actions of the figures in the image, the facial and bodily expressions of the individuals portrayed, and the presence of signs or text (see Table 1 for descriptions). Each image was examined regarding its potential influence on audiences' collective memories of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement and the probable emotional response related to the image. The second author provided a member check regarding the analysis of each image in accordance with the codebook. Discrepancies between the image and analyses were discussed until both authors agreed on the themes, relevance of artifacts, and potential emotions that may have derived from each image.

Table 1

Code and Definitions of Each Code

Code(s)	Definition/Description
Surroundings	The background or surroundings in each image (e.g., individuals engaging in protest or the presence of law enforcement).
The event taking place	The event happening at the moment the image was taken (e.g., persons sitting at a Woolworth lunch counter or attending the March on Washington).
The actions taking place	The actions or activities happening in the moment the image was taken (e.g., segregationists attacked protestors during Bloody Sunday).
Facial expressions/Body positioning	The individuals pictured in the image, if applicable, and their facial expression (e.g., anger, passion) or body positioning (e.g., pain, anguish).
Presence of signs or text	The presence of signs (e.g., protest signs) and the visible text, if applicable, (e.g., "I AM A MAN") presented in each image.

Findings

Previous research that has explored media imagery and collective memory has denoted a sanitization of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement (Jackson, 2021). This is noteworthy as Yazdiha (2023) eloquently noted, "The danger of a sanitized reading of the past [Civil Rights Movement] is that this selective memory evades social reality and enables the maintenance of white supremacy" (para. 11). The images of the Civil Rights Movement are open to audience interpretation, but our collective memories are often situated in documented history. Meaning that we can fact check if the language, symbolic figures, and imagery of historic people and settings were misappropriated or counter to the realities presented (Hill, 2017). Our findings suggest a complex discursive environment where various narratives may have correlated to collective memories and emotional responses related to the 1960s Civil Rights Movement imagery. Below we discuss the themes associated to the selected images, themes included racial hostility, racial brutality, non-violence, and celebrity. Below we provided a description of the image, an analysis based on the codebook (e.g., noted artifacts or facial expressions), relevant media coverage surrounding the event represented in the image (i.e., evidence), and descriptions of historical events that occurred that may have prompted the image and thus contributed to collective memory.

Racial Hostility

Amid the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, the racial integration of education institutions that resulted from the Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision heightened racial hostility (National Public Radio, 2011). Scholars noted that depictions of the Little Rock Nine–particularly that of Elizabeth Eckford walking alone through a screaming mob of white people–launched the realities of racial injustice and racial hostility into the living rooms of individuals who were not on the frontlines of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement (Lebeau, 2004). Elizabeth Eckford was one of nine Black students to integrate Little Rock Central High School on September 4, 1957. The integration of Little Rock Central High School garnered news attention due to the circumstances surrounding racial hostility and the notable individuals on both sides of the argument. The governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, a segregationist, ordered the National Guard to form a blockade around the school to keep Black students out of the school. A group of NAACP lawyers, which included Thurgood Marshall, challenged Faubus' actions in court, and a judge ordered the National Guard to stand down. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. reached out to President Dwight D. Eisenhower and urged him to protect the incoming Black students, and Eisenhower deployed 1,000 paratroopers to assist in the integration of Little Rock Central High School (Bennett, 2020).

The National Public Radio (2011) reported that news cameras and photographers were largely present during the Little Rock Central High School integration events. However, the image of Eckford, with her back to an advancing, angry, white crowd, who is seen collected and posed amid the chaos, is a visceral contrast to the angry mob that surrounded her. Additional images of Eckford walking to school that day exist; however, none showed the majority-white crowd surrounding Eckford, nor did most media images showcase the crowd's hostility and the potential threat that Eckford and other Black individuals endured.

Racial Hostility and Emotions

Collective memory scholars have established that images can evoke emotional responses from audiences (Parry-Giles & Parry-Giles, 2009; Hariman & Lucaites, 2003). The image of Eckford suggests that emotional responses, including worry, anger, or horror, due to the presence of the mob and the treatment of a fifteen-year-old may have occurred. Individuals who were geographically distant or lacked direct engagement with the Civil Rights Movement may have gleaned knowledge about racial hostility related to education desegregation and created collective memories of heightened hostility from images like this example.

White women had a large hand in perpetuating racism and hate; however, it was rare that images captured the reality (McRae, 2018). The image of Eckford, which also portrayed white women who actively protected and upheld white supremacy, may have tapped into audiences' emotional recall. The range of emotions related to images of racial hostility may have varied from sympathy toward the 1960s Civil Rights Movement to shame or guilt by viewing persons behavior, or pride or adulation, as segregation was coveted by groups who contested desegregation efforts (Griffin & Bollen, 2009; Kennington, 2020). The image, depending on the positionality of audience members in the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, may trigger memories related to education integration and a range of emotions.

Racial Brutality

Throughout the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, protests and demonstrators were subject to brutality. Media imagery of police brutality, specifically images that captured protestors mauled by police dogs and attacked with batons and fire hoses by law enforcement, was a mainstay (Bryant, 2013). One such notable image taken on May 4, 1963, in Birmingham, Alabama, showed three Black individuals sprayed by high-pressured water hose by law enforcement as they protested against segregation practices. The three Black demonstrators were dressed in what was recognized as their "Sunday Best," or attire deemed news media friendly (Kerrison et al., 2018). During the clash between the protesters and police, a white crowd watched the conflict ensue and again showcased the indifference to collective action that resonated with the Civil Rights Movement. Multiple images captured the demonstrations throughout the deep South, including in Alabama. Other images from the data included the march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge and the marchers clash with police, also known as Bloody Sunday. Many of our images depicted Alabama as a key location due to the depicted racial brutality.

Alabama has a sordid history of harsh treatment toward Black US citizens (Kihlström & Kirby, 2021). Throughout Alabama, Black citizens were subjected to lynchings, church bombings, and attacks by white supremacist groups. Alabama's history of racism can be traced back to its ties with slavery, including the Confederacy's formation in 1861 in Montgomery (Kennington, 2020). Dr. King Jr. visited the city of Birmingham to support Black citizens as the city notoriously refused to hire Black individuals for blue–and white-collar jobs, and the Black community faced discrimination and segregation regarding access to educational and social facilities (Levingston, 2020). The news media often covered the racial brutality in Alabama because of the constant presence of key figures like Dr. King Jr., which often resulted in numerous media images.

Racial Brutality and Emotions

The images of brutality would undoubtedly have triggered various emotional responses among viewers. Persons without proximity to the depictions of racial brutality may have conjured feelings of anger, disgust, or outrage due to the open display of this action against protestors and the visuals of onlookers who displayed delight or indifference toward the cruelty. Similar emotions, such as sadness or shock, may have also surfaced. The mistreatment of individuals is often justified if persons are deemed criminal or violent; however, the images from our data collection did not showcase these traits. The images captured demonstrators who engaged in non-violent behavior, and their style of dress countered the stereotypes often attributed to Black people (Stamps & Mastro, 2020). The images also provided compelling evidence of violence against Black individuals and may have solidified heightened emotions in response to the 1960s Civil Rights Movement.

Non-Violence

During the height of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, eight days before the March on Washington, over 1,300 demonstrations in 200 cities took place between May and August 1963 (Bryant, 2013). Many protests occurred in the deep South, where explicit forms of racism and racial violence were

common; however, protests took place in Northern cities in the US. Our data included imagery from locations that included Brooklyn, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Chicago, Illinois. One example was an image of a young Black woman thrown into the back of a police truck by three police officers in Brooklyn, New York. The woman was depicted protesting in her "Sunday Best," and the respectable style of dress and non-confrontational engagement was the centerpiece of the image. The women pictured showcased behavior aimed to counter the narrative of the angry and violent Black individual (Richardson, 2019). An expectation of nonviolence was commonplace among participants who engaged in collective action during the Civil Rights Movement, but these narratives were restrained in media coverage that aimed to delegitimize the movement (Jackson, 2021).

An example from the data included an image of Sarah Jean Collins in a hospital bed recovering from injuries that resulted from the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing by Klu Klux Klan members. The bombing, one of many, took place on September 15, 1963, in Birmingham, Alabama and the media image depicted Collins' battered and bruised face. Collins had two large bandages that covered her eyes, and the visible skin on her forehead, cheeks, nose, and lips was swollen, blistered, and burned. Collins was 12 years old, and the bombing led to 22 individuals injured and the death of Collins' sister, Addie Mae Collins, and three girls, Cynthia Wesley, Carole Robertson, and Denise McNair (Trent, 2020). Before the attack, civil rights leaders, including Dr. King Jr. and Fred Shuttlesworth, used the 16th Street Baptist Church as a meeting center for their campaign to desegregate Birmingham (Levingston, 2020). This was the third bombing in 11 days in Birmingham and the first that resulted in death. Life Magazine published the image of Collins and "the photograph…helped the nation find its humanity" having exposed US audiences and reinforced the collective memory of the hostility of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement (Trent, 2020, p. 1).

Non-Violence and Emotions

The array of emotions due to the juxtaposition of peaceful and respectful protestors and the repeated narrative of the angry and threatening presence of Black people may have been perplexing for audiences. Feelings such as confusion or frustration may have resulted as individuals often view themselves as blameless or non-racist (Stamps & Mastro, 2020). The images that captured Black individuals who defied expectations of aggression or intimidation by showcasing civility were now seen in contrast to the brutality of law enforcement. With intention, the collective memories of the Civil Rights Movement were to decenter narratives that were often false and disingenuous regarding Black people.

The non-violence and the victims who embodied non-violence may have ignited a range of raw and unfathomable emotions in response to the atrocities that impacted non-violent individuals, specifically, children. Children are often viewed as innocent, although this is not always applied to Black children (Goff et al., 2014). The atrocity of Collins's wounds displayed in the image may conjure feelings of helplessness, sadness, sympathy, and distress. Likewise, the collective memories of the Civil Rights Movement may have cemented a harshness afforded non-violent individuals, which may be correlated to individuals' remembrance of an overarching narrative of non-violent collective action (Clayton, 2018; Griffin & Bollen, 2009).

Celebrity

The involvement of Dr. King Jr. and many well-known activists, such as Reverend James Lawson, helped garner news coverage and provided ample images of the Civil Rights Movement. One example of imagery included the "I AM A MAN" protests in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968. In response to the death of two Black sanitation workers crushed by garbage trucks, individuals protested the injustice inflicted on the families. The city of Memphis' sanitation workers comprised only Black men and the public works department denied compensation to the families of the deceased. Over 1,300 Black men walked off their jobs in protest of the incident, along with the documented horrendous working conditions and abuse from the city (Brown, 2018). A protestor recalled that the demonstrations were a way for Black

men to remind society that "we were human beings…[and] to demand the same dignity and courtesy as any other citizen of Memphis" (Brown, 2018, p. 1).

Before the demonstration, a march in Memphis that involved Dr. King Jr. and Rev. Lawson turned violent and resulted in the shooting of a 16-year-old protestor; protestors were teargassed, and demonstrators were beaten with batons by police officers (Brown, 2018). In response to the actions, the mayor of Memphis, Tennessee, declared martial law and called in the National Guard. As a result of the presence of National Guards, the referenced image depicted a group of predominately Black men marching in the middle of the street in a single file line and the explicit war-like presence of the National Guard. The demonstrators are sternly focused and dressed in collar shirts, suit jackets, and hats. Each of the protesters wore a sign that read, "I AM A MAN." Contrastingly, in the same image, the National Guard and riot police are lined up to the left of the protestors, with military tanks to the right side.

Celebrity and Emotions

As with many of the images of the Civil Rights Movement, a barrage of emotions from audiences may have resulted, and exposure to each image may have cemented distinct collective memories. Feelings of confusion, outrage, or astound may have resulted from the contrast of calm and aggression between Black individuals and law enforcement. Nevertheless, the "I AM A MAN" image challenged such narratives (Dixon, 2017). The image demonstrated how the US "demands a certain kind of performance from a Black man every time he leaves his home [as] he must affirmatively demonstrate–to the police and the public at large–that he is not a threat" (Butler, 2017, para. 32). The imagery of Black people before, during, and after the Civil Rights Movement has challenged the expected norms of social groups and organizations such as law enforcement (Lyle & Esmail, 2016).

The argument that specific themes derived from visuals may contribute to collective memory has aligned with previous research (Wertsch & Roediger, 2008). Scholars have noted the relationship to themes such as racial hostility, racial brutality, and location, and its correlation to individuals' shared memory (Schwalbe et al., 2008). Harris' (2006) work drew attention to the imagery of Emmett Till's massacred body, its role to ignite audiences' awareness of racial hostility, and cement the collective memory of his death as the impetus of the Civil Rights Movement. Ghoshal (2013) noted that moral valence often contributed to the richness of recall, and this was prevalent to the collective memory of racial brutality during the movement. Griffin's (2004) work recognized how geographic location impacted audiences recall of the Civil Rights Movement and noted a difference based on region regarding memory. The current work aimed to contribute to the timely dialogue of imagery and the role of collective memory regarding significant events.

Conclusion

Media imagery of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement helped solidify a collective memory of distinct topics and although not tested, may contribute to a range of diverse emotions. The widespread imagery of the protests in Selma, Alabama, such as Bloody Sunday, exposed the reality of police brutality, and images of collective action in Northern US cities, laid bare the reality of injustice and racial issues outside of the deep South. Documented scholarship has noted that depictions of the movement augmented individuals' emotional response and thus shifted collective action efforts, and others were dismayed and disapproved of law enforcement practices in response to protests (Kohut, 2020). Equally important, public support for civil rights, the work of demonstrators and civil rights groups, and activists, many of whom were captured in media, helped pass key legislation like the Voting Rights Act. Prolific imagery played a key role in cementing the collective memories of the Civil Rights Movement and tapped into the emotional response that may have swayed the public's attitudes toward racial justice (Griffin & Bollen, 2009).

We did not aim to test the application of IET, but rather to foreground how emotions may derive from imagery, particular images situated in racial identity and collective action (Stamps & Mastro, 2020).

Holmes (2009) explained that with the help of imagery, which included burning buses and bloody attacks, people across the US were emotionally driven to engage in sit-ins and bus rides to challenge racial inequality. The Freedom Rides of 1961 are a testament to the role of imagery that may have prompted emotional responses. An appropriate next step in exploring exposure or consumption of imagery and its relationship to audiences' emotions may include qualitative inquiries such as focus groups or one-on-one interviews were differing populations can speak to derived emotions from consumption of Civil Rights Movement imagery. Likewise, correlational and experimental examinations may also speak to the relationships.

The examination of the Civil Rights Movement's images, collective memory, and group-based emotional responses was not without limitations. First, the data collected, which yielded 55 images, does not demonstrate an exhaustive account of the data. Future research may seek to collect and examine a larger data sample. Second, the discussion of themes from the data included images chosen at random. However, memorable images such as Ruby Bridges, one of the first children to desegregate schools in Louisiana, and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis, Tennessee, are examples of imagery that could further solidify the narratives that contributed to the collective memories of the Civil Rights Movement. A more robust discussion would help strengthen the initial argument, but page constraints limited the number of images we could reference. Third, the application of critical analysis proved useful in determining salient themes from the sample of data. Survey or experimental research that explores the impact of such images or assesses the potential emotional responses from a sample population would strengthen the application of collective memory and intergroup emotion theories. We hope that the current work helps to foreground continued investigations. Finally, the current work utilized a systematic approach to examine media imagery according to an established codebook. However, additional codes such as the presence of different genders, drawing attention to intersectional identities, or the presence of non-Black persons, with a focus on allyship, may be helpful to further understand the role of collective memory and emotional responses from varied audiences.

Despite the limitations, the current study drew attention to the role of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement and their contribution to collective memory and intergroup emotions. The role of collective action and images that capture influential moments have contributed to the salience of racial justice and policy accountability, and this is no small matter. Current movements, such as the Black Lives Matter movement, continue to illustrate the role of images in generating collective memories and accompanying collective action efforts.

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Giving Negative Evaluations in Romantic Relationships

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People in romantic relationships often have to give honest but potentially hurtful evaluations to their partners. Providing constructive criticism has always been an intriguing topic for interpersonal communication researchers. The current scenario study examined two factors (order and specificity enhancement) that might affect people's perceptions of negative evaluations from their partners. Findings showed strong support for an order effect: positive-first messages (enhancement before negative evaluations) were perceived more positively than positive-after messages (enhancement after negative evaluations) and bald-on-record negative evaluations. No significant effect of enhancement specificity (issue-specific enhancement or general enhancement) was detected, except that general enhancement messages were perceived as more polite when said before rather than after negative evaluations.

Keywords: negative evaluations, romantic relationship, enhancement messages, face-threatening act

Introduction

People in close relationships offer evaluative messages to each other about numerous aspects of their lives (Jussim, Coleman, & Nassau, 1989). These evaluations can make people feel good or bad, help them make life decisions, and inform their sense of self (DePaulo & Bell, 1996). Katz and Joiner (2002) argued that evaluations from close partners help people grow and mature.

Empirical studies on the effect of evaluative feedback have generated mixed results. For example, Moring and Epstein (1997) indicated that people prefer feedback from their partners that makes them feel better about themselves, despite whether or not the feedback confirms their self-views. This view is supported by positive illusion effect in close relationships. Two studies by Murray and colleagues suggested that people are more satisfied when partners hold overly positive perceptions of them (Murray, Holmes, & Griffin, 1996; Murray & Holmes, 1997). In contrast, another view is that honest and accurate feedback offers confirmation to partners. Consistent with self-verification theory, Katz and Joiner (2002) found that participants in dating relationships reported more commitment and intimacy when their self-evaluations were consistent with their partner's evaluations of them. Overall, experimental research on the effects of evaluative feedback on self-appraisals indicates a general trend: positive feedback increases subsequent positive self-appraisal, while negative feedback decreases one's self-assessment (e.g., Jussim et al., 1992).

In everyday conversations, however, few of our messages are purely negative. When we have to give negative comments, we often combine them with positive ones to soften the harshness of the language. In a series of studies on honest but hurtful (HBH) evaluative messages in close relationships, Zhang and colleagues found that recipients of HBH messages could detect the enhancement motivation from the speaker and that such perceived enhancement motivations were positively associated with the perceived relational outcomes of those messages (Zhang & Stafford, 2008, 2009; Zhang, 2009). Zhang and Stafford (2009) suggested that expressing one's enhancement motivation when one has to give honest but potentially hurtful evaluations could decrease the level of face threat and increase positive relational outcomes.

The question now is how we should add enhancement elements to negative or potentially hurtful evaluations. Two specific goals guide the present research project. First, we want to test whether the sequential order makes a difference. In other words, when we have to give negative evaluations, should

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we say positive or enhancement messages before negative evaluations, or vice versa? A second purpose of the study is to test whether the issue-specificity of the enhancement message affects how the evaluations are received. For example, when we give negative evaluations of one's academic ability, should we supply a general enhancement message on one's personality (e.g., "You are a nice person.") or an issue-specific message on one's intelligence (e.g., "You are very smart.")? Thus, the current study uses a 2 (positive comments before or after negative evaluations) x 2 (issue-specific versus general enhancement) design, with a comparison group of negative comments only.

Literature Review

Politeness Theory

A useful theoretical framework in the research on negative evaluations is politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987). One basic assumption of politeness theory is that face can be threatened or honored in social interactions. Brown and Levinson (1987) claimed that three factors influence people's perception of the amount of face threat: relational distance between the speaker and the hearer, the power of the speaker over the hearer, and the culturally defined ranking of the face-threatening acts. Brown and Levinson suggested that as the magnitude of the face threat increases, a speaker is more likely to use polite forms of address. When little threat is anticipated, a face-threatening act (FTA) is likely to be committed directly and efficiently (bald-on-record). When the magnitude of the face threat increases, a speaker may: (a) use some indirectness methods, in which the speaker uses hints to communicate his/her intentions implicitly; (b) use some face redressive actions, such as expressing understanding or sympathy with the hearer (positive face redress) or depersonalizing the message (negative face redress); or (c) decline to commit an FTA to avoid face threat. In sum, politeness theory offers "a functional explanation for why languages have certain features and for how people can arrive at a shared understanding of those features" (Goldsmith, 2000, p. 260).

Goldsmith (2000) suggested that there are two limitations in the fact that politeness theory is grounded in the speech act as a unit of analysis. On the one hand, it implies that face threat arises from features of a speech act rather than the goals speakers bring to the act (Jacobs & Jackson, 1989). On the other hand, it does not consider the ways "in which inferences about goals rely on sequential placements of acts in an interaction" (Goldsmith, 2000, p. 2). There is empirical evidence to support Goldsmith's speculations. First, Wilson et al. (1998) found that interaction goals influence the levels of perceived face threat. Specifically, they found that young adults perceived different levels of face threat when they had different situational goals such as giving advice, asking a favor, or enforcing obligations with a same-sex friend. A central tenet of identity implication theory by Wilson and colleagues is that features of the context affect the appraisals of face threat (Wilson et al., 1998; Wilson, Kunkel, Robson, Olufowote, & Soliz, 2009). Second, results from Goldsmith (2000) indicated that the sequential placement of advice had a significant effect on the degree to which advice was seen as solicited, which in turn, was related to the perceived regard for face. Later work by Goldsmith and colleagues (e.g., Goldsmith & MacGeroge, 2000) suggested the need to explore the effects upon face threats of motivations underlying messages.

For this current project, we continue to test the sequential effect suggested by Goldsmith (2000). Specifically, we try to examine two types of repair messages, that is, general enhancement and issue-specific enhancement, which we will elaborate on below.

Order Effect

In the research on social support offered to distressed individuals, Burleson and Goldsmith (1998) suggested that messages would be most beneficial when "the distressed other can give free voice to his or her feelings and explore those feelings fully" (p. 263). Thus, Feng (2009) argued that offering emotional support before advice giving would be more effective, as it provides the target person with an opportunity to work through his or her problems. Feng's speculation received support, in that advice was evaluated more positively when it was offered following emotional support than before or without emotional support.

Feng's (2009) argument and findings can also find support from Brown and Levinson's (1987) face-preserving strategies. In the example of how "troubles" are broached and received, Brown and Levinson believed a greeting such as "how are you" before telling the trouble focuses on the target's welfare and self-esteem, thus mitigating the potential face threat. On the other hand, enhancement messages after bald-on-record comments would be seen as redressive strategies used to minimize the face threat of the comments. Thus, we propose:

> **H1:** Messages with the sequence of enhancement before negative evaluations (positive before negative) will be perceived more positively than messages with the sequence of enhancement after negative evaluations (positive after negative) or messages without enhancement, that is, bald-on-record messages only (negative only).

Although bald-on-record messages might be perceived as most face-threatening, they can achieve maximum efficiency (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Brown and Levinson suggest messages with redress might decrease the communicated urgency. Therefore, we predict:

> **H2:** Bald-on-record negative evaluations (negative only) will be perceived as more effective than messages with enhancement elements (positive before negative, or positive after negative).

Issue-Specificity of Enhancement

Neff and Karney (2002) called for a distinction between global and specific perceptions of partners in the research on close relationships. They defined global perceptions as "a large number of distinct behaviors" and specific perceptions as "relatively few distinct behaviors" (p. 1083). They believed global views would help close partners to see the big picture of the relationship. As a result, close partners are motivated to enhance each other more on global rather than specific attributes. They found that global traits were rated as significantly more desirable than specific ones, and that satisfied couples described their partners' positive traits in more global terms and negative traits in more specific terms.

Leary et al. (1998) defined hurtful feelings as perceptions that one does not feel as "important, close, or valuable" to the partner as one desires. Thus, a message that criticizes a partner's physical appearance may be perceived as hurtful ultimately because the partner perceives relational devaluation in the message. What happens if we criticize the partner on one domain of their life, be it physical appearance or intellectual ability or athletic ability, but we enhance them in general, such as giving them relational confirmation (e.g., "I still love you the same")? In the current study, we want to test whether the specificity of enhancement (general versus issue-specific) differs when offering negative evaluations to partners.

> **RQ1:** Will the enhancement messages at different specificity levels (general versus issue-specific) be rated differently?

RQ2: Will the enhancement messages at different specificity levels (general versus issue-specific) be perceived as equally effective?

Method

Participants

Participants (N = 148) were recruited from communication studies classes at a medium-sized university in the southern region of the United States. Once IRB approval was obtained, participants were provided with a link to one of five versions of an online survey and offered extra credit for completing it. The sample was 28.1% male and 71.9% female, with a total of 13 participants failing to indicate their gender. In age, participants ranged from 18 to 49 (M = 22.54, SD = 5.34). They were mostly upperclassmen, 43.4% juniors and 32.4% seniors, with the remaining percentage being freshmen and sophomores. With regard to ethnicity, 60.4% of the participants were white, 24.6% African American, 11.9% Hispanic, 1.5% Asian, and 1.5% Native American.

Overall Survey Structure and Procedure

Zhang and Stafford (2008, 2009) have identified four types of hurtful evaluative messages in romantic relationships, relational (e.g., You like to flirt with others), dispositional (e.g., You are lazy), behavioral (e.g., You drink too much) and physical appearance (e.g., You smell bad). In this project, we designed our scenarios focusing on evaluating partners' physical appearance. Participants read a scenario in which they were asked to imagine that they were in a long-term romantic relationship and, as they are trying on a new set of recently purchased clothes, their partner comes to them. They ask the partner about their appearance in the new set of clothes, and the partner responds with one of five different versions of a message designed to encourage the participant to lose some weight. These five message versions were designed to operationalize the key predictor variables in the study, which we explicate in the following section.

Once consent was obtained, participants were told that they could withdraw from the study at any time to ensure ethical adherence. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the five message conditions. Next, they responded to a series of Likert-type scales designed to gauge their evaluation of the partner's and the message's communication qualities. Also, using one Likert-type item ranging from 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely) we asked participants to indicate how likely they would be to lose weight given the message their partner had just communicated to them (effectiveness of the message). At the end of the survey, demographic information was collected from each of the respondents.

In addition, as an ecological validity check on the realism of the scenario and the partner's responses, we asked participants, on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) to indicate how believable the scenario was, how likely the partner's response would be in real life, and how likely it would be that people would encounter this situation in real life. Mean responses to these realism items ranged from 4.6 to 5.3, that is, all of the means were above the "neutral" midpoint (4), suggesting that participants generally agreed that the scenario and responses were more realistic than not. The internal consistency of these three items assessing realism, as measured by Cronbach's α, was .81.

Predictor Variables

The five versions of the romantic partner's message requesting that the participant lose weight, only one of which was read and responded to by each participant, were designed to manipulate the key predictor variables of the order of the positive (praise) and negative (the need to lose weight) portions of the request (positive-negative or negative-positive), and the specificity or generality of the positive portion of the request. Of the five versions, the first was used as a baseline message in which there was no

positive portion of the request to be manipulated. We refer to this version as a straightforward request. The five versions are labeled and quoted below.

Straightforward

"It does look like you have gained weight. I can tell your clothes are tighter than normal. You really need to lose a few pounds" (n =30).

General Positive with Positive-Negative Order

"You know I love you very much. You mean the world to me. It does look like you have gained weight. I can tell your clothes are tighter than normal. You really need to lose a few pounds" (n = 34).

Specific Positive with Positive-Negative Order

"You know you are very attractive to me. But it does look like you have gained weight. I can tell your clothes are tighter than normal. You really need to lose a few pounds" (n = 24).

General positive with negative-positive order.

"It does look like you have gained weight. I can tell your clothes are tighter than normal. You really need to lose a few pounds. You know I love you very much. You mean the world to me" (n = 25).

Specific Positive with Negative-Positive Order

"It does look like you have gained weight. I can tell your clothes are tighter than normal. You really need to lose a few pounds. But you know you are still very attractive to me" (n = 35).

Outcome Variables

This study's dependent variables fell into two general categories: perceptions of the partner and his/her message, as well as behavioral intentions to lose weight based on the partner's message. In previous research on the influence of a variety of message and receiver characteristics on message interpretations, Edwards, Bello, and colleagues have focused on several key elements of positively versus negatively-valenced interpretations: the perceptions by the receiver of the degree of politeness, honesty, and competence of the message in question (Bello & Edwards, 2005; Bello, Brandau-Brown, & Ragsdale, 2008; Edwards & Bello, 2001). In the process, they have successfully confirmed hypotheses using relatively brief and simple measures of each of these three elements of interpretation, helping to establish their validity. These involve seven-point Likert-type statements (strongly disagree to strongly agree) about aspects of the message (and its sender) to which participants respond. We chose to use these instruments in the present study, modified slightly to reflect the sender as a romantic partner.

Each of these measures contains at least one reverse-coded item to help mitigate response bias. The measurement of perceived politeness consists of five items (e.g., "My partner was trying to make everyone feel good" and "My partner was rude" [reverse coded]), honesty of five items (e.g., "My partner was willing to speak her/his mind" and "I did not trust my partner" [reverse coded]), and competence of four items (e.g., "My partner was good at expressing thoughts" and "My partner was a poor communicator" [reverse coded]). In previous research, the internal reliabilities (Cronbach's α) of these scales have been good, ranging from .84 to .92 for politeness, .79 to .92 for honesty, and .71 to .85 for competence (Bello et al., 2008; Edwards & Bello, 2001). In the present study, the internal reliabilities were .88, .79, and .86, respectively.

Because the appropriateness of a communicator and his/her message is closely related to competence and politeness (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984) and because we believed, therefore, that it might be associated with the tendency to follow the advice given in the message requesting weight loss, we included a series of items to measure perceived appropriateness. The items, a total of seven, were adapted from the Conversational Appropriateness Scale, for which validity and internal reliability have been established (Canary & Spitzberg, 1987, 1989, 1990), and used the same seven-point Likert-type scale as

the previous measures of message interpretation (see above). Internal reliability (Cronbach's α) was .85. Sample items included "My partner's statements made me feel uncomfortable" (reverse coded) and "Everything my partner said was appropriate." As indicated earlier, the effectiveness of the message was measured using one item asking participants about their likelihood of losing weight.

Results

Hypotheses and research questions were tested using multivariate analyses (MANOVAs). Pillai's trace test was conducted to test the statistical power of the MANOVAs. The sample sizes of participants in the five conditions (e.g., five different versions) of the survey ranged from 24 to 35. At the significance level of .05 with a medium effect size of .25, a sample size of 24 resulted in a statistical power of .829. A sample size of 35 yielded a statistical power of .971. Thus, the sample size of this study ensured a reasonable statistical power.

The independent variables were order (3 levels: positive first, positive after, and bald-on-record) and specificity (3 levels: issue-specific enhancement, general enhancement, and bald-on-record). The outcome variables were perceived politeness, honesty, competence, appropriateness, and perceived likelihood of change. There was one significant interaction effect between order and specificity of enhancement on politeness, F (1, 123) = 9.84, $p < .05$. Specifically, issue-specific enhancement messages were seen very similarly in terms of politeness when they were said before (M = 3.61, SD = 1.03) or after (M = .359, SD = 1.45) negative evaluations, but general enhancement messages were perceived as more polite when they were said before (M = 4.20, SD = 1.20) rather than after (M = 2.94, SD = 1.24). No other interaction effects were found.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that positive-first messages (that is, enhancement before negative evaluations) would be perceived more positively than positive-after messages (that is, enhancement after negative evaluations) and bald-on-record negative evaluations (negative only). The MANOVA tests generally supported H1. Positive-first messages were seen as more polite, F (1, 123) = 6.79, $p < .05$, more honest F (1, 123) = 6.80, $p < .05$, more competent F (1, 123) = 6.67, $p < .05$, and more appropriate F (1, 123) = 5.99, $p < .05$.

Scheffe post hoc analysis showed positive-first messages (M = 3.95, SD = 1.15) were perceived as more *polite* than positive after (M = 3.30, SD = 1.39), and bald-on-record messages (M = 2.88, SD = 1.34). Positive-first messages (M = 6.24, SD = .63) were more *honest* than positive-after messages (M = 5.81, SD = .97), but at similar level of bald-on-record messages (M = 6.32, SD = .76). Positive-first messages (M = 4.78, SD = 1.30) were more *competent* than positive-after messages (M = 4.09, SD = 1.45), but at similar level of bald-on-record messages (M = 4.13, SD = 1.54). Positive-first messages (M = 3.84, SD = 1.14) were more *appropriate* than positive-after messages (M = 3.22, SD = 1.28), and bald-on-record messages (M = 3.19, SD = 1.38).

Hypothesis 2 suggested that bald-on-record messages (negative only) would be more effective than messages with positive elements (positive before negative or positive after negative). This hypothesis was not supported, F (1, 123) = 1.03, $p > .05$. Although this hypothesis was not supported, the mean of bald-on-record messages (M = 6.25, SD = .79) was the highest in terms of likelihood to change, compared with positive-first messages (M = 5.49, SD = 1.72) and positive-after messages (M = 5.85, SD = 1.05). Research Question 1 asked whether enhancement specificity would make a difference in terms of message evaluations. Research Question 2 asked whether enhancement specificity would make a difference in effectiveness. The results did not show any significant differences. One exception was the interaction effect reported earlier. That is, general enhancement messages were perceived as more polite when they were said before (M = 4.20, SD = 1.20) rather than after (M = 2.94, SD = 1.24) negative evaluations. No other difference was found.

Discussion

People in close relationships often encounter situations where they must give honest but potentially hurtful evaluations to their partners. How to give constructive criticism has always been an intriguing topic for interpersonal communication researchers. The current scenario study examined two factors (order and enhancement specificity) that might affect people's perceptions of negative evaluations from their partners. Findings showed strong support for an order effect in that positive-first messages (enhancement before negative evaluations) were perceived more positively than positive-after messages (enhancement after negative evaluations) and bald-on-record negative evaluations. No significant enhancement specificity effect was detected except that general enhancement messages were perceived as more polite when they were said before rather than after negative evaluations. These findings reveal significant theoretical and practical implications.

Theoretical Implications

There is limited previous literature on how to give constructive negative evaluations in close relationships. The current study serves as a reminder that face threats can be minimized depending on how we say things. One of the major contributions of our study to understanding and extending politeness theory is the detection of order effect. In the original account of the theory, Brown and Levinson (1987) state that redressive actions that "give face to the addressee" (p. 69) would reduce the potential face damage. Our study extends the theory by indicating the order of redressive actions makes a difference in the appraisal of the face threat of a message. This finding adds to the growing body of research (e.g., Johnson, 2007; Knobloch, Satterlee, & DiDomenico, 2010) that the conceptualization of face threat is more complicated than originally proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987).

Specifically, messages with the order of positive comments before negative evaluations (positive-negative) were found to be more polite, honest, competent, and appropriate than messages with the order of negative evaluations followed by positive enhancement (negative-positive) and negative-only evaluations. This finding is consistent with Feng (2009), lending support to Burleson and Goldsmith's (1998) conversationally induced reappraisal (CIR) model. It also shows the importance of situational parameters in the appraisals of face threat, which the original politeness theory by Brown and Levinson did not address (Lim & Bowers, 1991; Wilson et al., 1998; 2009). Offering support or enhancement before negative evaluations can function in at least three ways: a) explicitly showing the primary goal of enhancement rather than criticizing, thus reducing the level of face threat of negative evaluations that follow, b) providing support to the self-esteem of the message recipient, and c) giving relational confirmation to the recipient so that the recipient will still feel valued, appreciated, and important.

Secondly, our finding lends support to Brown and Levinson's (1987) argument that bald-on-record messages can have potential advantages because they are the "most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise" (p. 69). Although evaluations with the positive-negative order were perceived as more polite, honest, competent, and appropriate, they were not seen as more effective. In contrast, bald-on-record messages received the highest mean in terms of likelihood to change, compared with positive-first or positive-after messages. This result, however, did not achieve statistical significance. Because the mean trend was as predicted, future research might well re-visit this issue, especially considering that Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that direct messages can be most effective.

Thirdly, our study emphasizes the importance of enhancement messages, rather than levels of specificity, in reducing face threats when giving negative evaluations. Two of our research questions asked if enhancement messages at different specificity levels (general versus issue-specific) would be rated as more polite and more effective. Results showed participants' perceptions of messages with different levels did not differ. This indicates that enhancement messages function well in support of one's relational needs, regardless of the message being general or specific.

Practical Implications

The results of this study offer some practical implications on how we should give negative evaluations in close relationships. First, as indicated earlier, the order of how we say things matters. When we have to give negative evaluations to our partners, it is best to express our enhancement motives before we articulate the negative messages. Of course, expressing one's enhancement motive does not imply that our partner would necessarily agree with, or appreciate those motives. However, communicating one's motivations might help the partner know one's intentions in the message and possibly lessen face threat. Second, although bald-on-record messages were rated as less polite and less appropriate than positive-first messages, such messages received the highest mean in terms of effectiveness. If our number one goal is to get the message across to our partner, bald-on-record messages might be the choice, though they may not sound as nice. Third, the levels of enhancement specificity did not differ in terms of message appropriateness or effectiveness. Thus, when we express our enhancement motives to the partner, we could use general or issue-specific supportive messages to make our partner feel loved and appreciated.

Limitations and Future Directions

Several limitations deserve our attention. First, in this study, we used scenarios where one receives negative comments on their physical appearance. Results might be different when we give comments to partners in domains such as athletic ability, intellectual ability, personality, or behaviors. In future follow-up studies, using scenarios in areas other than physical appearance is necessary.

Secondly, the manipulation of enhancement specificity also needs to be improved. In this study, we used "I love you" as general enhancement, and "You are attractive to me" as issue-specific enhancement. If we use a different type of general enhancement, for example, "you are a nice person," results might be different. In everyday situations, we sometimes enhance a person in terms of their personality when we criticize their physical appearance.

Thirdly, in the discussion of constructive criticism, a sandwich method (positive-negative-positive) is proposed by Kohn and O'Connell (2005). Future research should include scenarios with the sandwich method in comparison with positive-first messages.

Lastly, the sample size, the discrepancy between the numbers of male and female participants, and the nature of the student sample may influence the validity of the results. Had we had a bigger sample size, we might have found significant differences in the outcome variable of likelihood to change. In addition, due to different social expectations and roles, females could be more likely to use positive-first messages than males when giving negative evaluations. Future research should investigate whether this would alter the scope of our findings. Plus, using a convenient student sample always poses problems for the generalization of findings to a larger population. A community sample should, therefore, be recruited for future research.

Conclusion

In conclusion, our study finds that giving enhancement before negative evaluations was rated as more positive than giving enhancement after negative evaluations and bald-on-record negative evaluations. This scenario study is an initial investigation into the order effects of giving negative evaluations in close relationships. Although there remains a lot of research to be done before we can draw more definitive inferences, this study has provided an important basis upon which future research can be conducted to replicate the current study and investigate the order effect further.

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A Brief and Begrudged Reflection on AI in Education

Erik Gustafson

The following short essay presented a brief reflection on AI in education. Within the essay it is argued that while artificial intelligence poses several threats and opportunities to the profession of teaching, the phenomenon itself is far from novel. By briefly highlighting how technology has always affected education it is shown that AI represents new challenge, but not an altogether foreign one. Past, present, and future instructors are implored to take on the challenge of deliberating for the education of the future.

Keywords: Artificial intelligence, instruction, history of media

Teachers are reported to be one of the most trusted and respected professions in the world (Saad, 2022). As an educator, one is tasked with helping individuals develop personally, professionally, and socially. In return for their efforts, they are often paid meager salaries and expected to work long hours (Will, 2022). Of course, individuals entering this career are typically motivated by factors other than money or fame – teaching is often felt as a calling or a passion. However, technological developments continually change not only the day-to-day responsibilities of teachers, but also how we as a society conceptualize education, learning, and the role of the teacher within each. Which begs the question: what happens when what it means to be a teacher is transformed entirely?

Enter artificial intelligence. A blanket term for hardware and software that allows machines to perform tasks typically associated with human intelligence, artificial intelligence has sparked panic amongst educators (Ceres, 2023; Scott, 2023; Waxman, 2023). Increasingly sophisticated programs, such as ChatGPT, appear to threaten the need for students to develop basic reading, writing, and comprehension skills that traditionally have formed the bedrock of any education. Concerns have ranged in direction and veracity, but suffice it to say, educators are by in large less than ecstatic about the continued development of such technologies. To that reaction, I must begrudgingly write, as an educator myself, the following: that's too damn bad!

Artificial intelligence may be the newest iteration – and perhaps the scariest for educators of the 21st century – but humans have always sought to extend their methods and modes of knowing. Cave drawings served as guidebooks for ceremony and activity (Mullen, 2008). Literacy offered a code for recording human memory (Ong, 1982; Wolf, 2007). Typography allowed for the replication, distribution, and decentralization of materials and instruction (Einstein, 1979; McLuhan, 1962). The camera captured time and place (Sontag, 1977). The wireless telegraph separated time from space (Carey, 1989). Film and television transposed our images and imaginations onto and through screen (Corkin, 1985). The internet connected us all to all information at all times (Andrejevic, 2013). At no point in human history have the methods and modes of knowledge remained static.

With the advent of each new mode of knowledge, there have always been serious objections to each of the newest developments. Socrates bemoaned literacy as the demise of human memory and, consequently, knowledge (Havelock, 1963). Established religions scrambled to restore legitimacy in the wake of the printing press which allowed the creation and distribution of unsanctioned doctrine (Einstein, 1979). Painters saw photographs as inauthentic. Walter Benjamin condemned the film and any other artistic reproduction for destroying the aura imbued in art (Benjamin, 1935/2021). Scholars of all stripes continue to aim barbs at the internet for its fragmentary and illusory nature (Carr, 2020). No technological development is ever without detractors.

Of course, this does not mean that we should be excited – or even accept – each new technological development as inherently positive and inevitable to be adopted. Such deterministic views rooted in technophilia are equally as dangerous as deterministic views rooted in technophobia. However,

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what this does mean, is that we as educators must accept – really accept, not just tolerate – that *change itself* is inevitable. Paradoxically, the previous statement is deterministic in nature, but it is deterministic in the phenomenon of change, not deterministic in regard to the manner in which we treat these changes.

In education specifically, it would be naïve to assume that we have been untouched by technology – even on the most basic of skills. While the skills of reading, writing, comprehension, and oratory go back to ancient times, they have not existed in isolation in quite some time. Calculators replaced abacuses, word processors replaced typewriters and handwriting, search engines replaced brick-and-mortar libraries, and so on. Through time, the processes of writing and reading have been supplemented, augmented, and streamlined by technology. The point here is not that new technologies always improve education. Rather, the point is that technology will always impact education. Though we lose certain modes of knowing, we create new ones. It is the educator's task to assess and evaluate the good, bad, and ugly of these new modes of knowing. Change is inevitable (just ask a physicist), but how that change manifests is the most important, and perhaps painful, deliberation educators will make in the 21st century.

As educationists have long pleaded, it is integral for educators to accept our responsibility to prepare students for their worlds – not ours (Dewey, 1938/1994). While we may wish to impart knowledge and sensibilities that have helped us to make sense of our worlds, it is still our responsibility to prepare students for their world – a world which we will never actually see (Postman, 1994). If we are not able or willing to put aside our own biases for this mission, perhaps it is time for us to switch professions.

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Using Generative AI to Enhance Teaching and Learning

Paul R. Raptis

While educator concerns about the potential for students to misuse generative AI such as ChatGPT for cheating and academic dishonesty are understandable, prohibiting the use of AI technology in the classroom is a short-sighted response. Rather than banning AI technology, educators should embrace the technology as a teaching and learning tool. Generative AI has the capacity for stimulating student creativity, offering opportunities for personalized learning, and helping students prepare for the future by providing them with the information and media literacy skills they need in the workplace.

Keywords: generative AI, communication, education, information literacy, media literacy

Introduction

In *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Terry (2023) presents a student's perspective on the use of generative AI such as ChatGPT among college students. As an undergraduate student at Columbia University, Terry (2023) provides an informative first-hand account of his own use of generative AI to brainstorm and organize initial drafts of his writing assignments. Terry (2023) also points out what he describes as the disconnect between how students use AI technology compared to the way their professors think they use it. His narrative illustrates how the introduction of new technology in higher education often raises questions about its efficacy for teaching and learning. For example, is generative AI a tool for cheating or is it an instrument for teaching students how to improve their writing, critical thinking, interviewing, and debate skills? Moreover, how can communication educators use generative AI to help students build greater information and media literacy skills?

To further illustrate the equivocation surrounding the use of generative AI in the communication classroom, at a recent faculty meeting, my colleagues engaged in a robust discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of using ChatGPT in their public relations, journalism, and media courses. While no definitive conclusions were reached, the conversation did reflect the mixed reactions educators often have about generative AI and its implications for teaching and student learning in online and in-person contexts. Certainly, concerns about the potential for cheating and academic dishonesty are real and legitimate. Nonetheless, as Warner (2022) observes, the leaps we have witnessed in AI technology can also serve as opportunities for instructors to re-examine our teaching practices as well as pedagogical goals and objectives. In this essay, I examine the literature and consider the ways in which educators can use generative AI such as ChatGPT to enhance teaching and learning in the communication classroom.

Generative AI in Communication Education

Edwards et al. (2018) raise the question of what is gained or lost when communication that typically occurs between humans is communicated through AI. They also consider the educational, ethical, creative, and social implications this type of interaction with technology has on the communication process. As the authors explain, while technology has a long history of being used as an educational tool, the introduction of AI technology as a communication source or interaction partner is a relatively recent development in higher education. Edwards et al. (2018) argue that human-machine communication (HMC) or the use of technology as a source of communication and interaction with others has "the potential to disrupt some of our most basic assumptions and expectations about communication and education" (p. 474). As a result, they urge instructional communication scholars to examine the issues related to designing, implementing, and evaluating the use of AI technology in the communication classroom (Edwards & Edwards, 2017; Edwards et al., 2018).

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Teaching and Learning

Luttrell et al. (2020) point out that while technology has the potential to improve the development and practice of effective communication skills, it has not yet been fully incorporated into communication education. Luttrell et al. (2020) discuss five considerations for the future direction of AI technology in communication education and how educators can adapt their teaching strategies accordingly. First, instructors should help students understand and explain how advances in emerging technology apply to foundational communication theories and practices. For example, by adopting AI methods in the classroom, educators can provide students with the experience they need to use AI to verify the truth and validity of online information. Second, instructors should help students understand the ethical implications of using AI technology in relation to decision-making, critical thinking, media literacy, and perspective taking. As such, educators can reinforce the ethical foundations inherent in communication studies and help students create ethical codes of conduct for using AI technology in the classroom and in the workplace. Third, instructors should engage in professional development to foster their awareness of emerging trends for incorporating the application of AI in the communication field. For instance, educators can work collaboratively with industry professionals to address students' skills gaps and align course curriculum to more effectively meet employer expectations. Fourth, instructors and administrators should provide students with access to digital platforms to help them gain knowledge and skills in creating and measuring strategic communication for careers in public relations, journalism, advertising, and marketing. Fifth, instructors should help students acquire media literacy skills to better ensure that they become ethical as well as responsible consumers and producers of social media and AI technology.

To further illustrate the capabilities as well as limitations of generative AI as a teaching and learning tool in journalism and media education, Pavlik (2023) employed ChatGPT to examine what journalism and media educators should teach students about using AI technology as a source for information gathering. Most notably, while one of the advantages of generative AI is the speed at which it can generate and analyze information, it is also important for students to consider the possible drawbacks such as the potential for introducing bias or errors in reporting. Similarly, students should understand the need for oversight and editing of AI content as well as the ethical and legal implications of its responsible use in journalism and media. Pavlik (2023) points out that while generative AI has limitations in terms of knowledge range and depth as well as capability for analytical and creative thinking, it does possess an impressive level of information on journalism and media history, scholars, and issues. Furthermore, because of its potential for content generation in the fields of journalism and media, AI technology should also have increased relevance in journalism and media education.

Information and Media Literacy

According to Meyer et al. (2008), information literacy skills involve the ability to locate, analyze, and evaluate the credibility, objectivity, and reliability of information. The authors argue that information literacy is interconnected with the development of critical thinking. Moreover, providing students with the skills "to acquire, use, and evaluate information is a staple of communication education" (Meyer et al., 2008, p. 30). As Lee (2018) discusses, helping students improve their media literacy skills means affording them the knowledge they need to evaluate online information "to consider factors such as who is sending a message, the purpose of the message, the persuasive techniques included, and the potential interpretations of a message" (p. 460). While the topic of media literacy education is interdisciplinary, communication and instructional scholars have the opportunity to make significant contributions in enhancing media literacy knowledge and skills not only to students in the classroom, but also to adult populations beyond the classroom as well (Lee, 2018).

Friesem (2019) states that cultivating media literacy skills involves the process of learning how to gather information, analyze and evaluate online sources, consider the ethical implications of messages, reflect on media consumption, and consider personal as well as media biases. Communication educators can help students increase their media literacy skills by integrating problem-based instruction and

experiential learning in their course assignments. Friesem (2019) notes that problem-based instruction and experiential learning can also help students learn more about the reliability, validity, and trustworthiness of online information and sources while also enhancing their critical thinking skills. In the process, students can also become more reflective about the types of media and technology they consume, the ethical implications of the messages they send and receive, and how their media choices relate to their identity as well as social, cognitive, and emotional needs.

Challenges to Information and Media Literacy

As Tiernan et al. (2023) explain, AI technology presents challenges to information and media literacy as competencies. For example, while AI can generate information, it cannot explain where or why it obtains information. Likewise, AI technology poses issues for information gathering and evaluation by generating hallucinations or incorrect and even fake information and references. To address the problem of hallucinations in AI-generated data, Ringman (2023) urges AI developers to implement topical, safety, and security software guardrails designed to ensure greater accuracy in AI's output process. In addition, measures such as human intervention and oversight in reviewing and assessing AI-generated content can also identify and prevent the occurrence of inaccurate, misleading, or false information.

AI technology has also changed the way we access, evaluate, and consume information and media by providing users with features such as facial recognition software, algorithms generating personalized recommendations, AI-powered assistants such as Siri, and text and image generation which can also include "deep fake" audio and video (Tiernan et al., 2023). As a result, not only has AI transformed how we gather information, but also the very nature of what we consider information to be. Therefore, as communication educators consider what information and media literacy means in the age of generative AI, we must also examine the role AI technology plays in generating and filtering the information and misinformation (Henshall, 2024) we receive and teach students how to evaluate evidence accordingly.

Integrating Generative AI in the Classroom

Many educators were caught off guard by the sudden emergence of ChatGPT in late 2022 (McMurtrie & Supiano, 2023; Ross, 2023). Since its introduction, however, instructors have begun to familiarize themselves with the technology and how generative AI can be used as an instructional tool for writing, brainstorming, problem-solving, answering exam questions, offering feedback, lesson planning, and course design (McMurtrie & Supiano, 2023; Mowreader, 2024: Schroeder, 2023). Educators have also attempted to discover ways to detect when students submit papers using AI-generated text rather than their own writing. As Kan (2023) explains, however, the tools for detecting AI-generated text are often unreliable in accurately distinguishing AI-generated versus human-generated content. As a result, the software can create false flags and mistakenly accuse students of plagiarism even when the work is their own. Students whose first language is not English or those whose writing is overly concise or formulaic often run the risk of being falsely accused of academic dishonesty (Kan, 2023).

Educator Attitudes about AI

To gain insight into the experiences educators have had with adapting to generative AI, McMurtrie and Supiano (2023) surveyed seventy instructors from several academic disciplines. As expected, the responses indicated a wide range of attitudes and perceptions about AI technology. For example, some educators stated that they planned to include language in their course syllabi about the appropriate use of generative AI. Others considered including more in-class writing and project-based learning along with class discussions to examine the strengths and weaknesses of AI technology. While several instructors expressed the opinion that any use of generative AI by students constitutes cheating and plagiarism, others took a less restrictive approach. Rather than banning the use of AI technology in

the classroom, these educators thought they should help their students cultivate greater information and digital media literacy skills that would be useful in their future careers.

The importance of helping students acquire AI literacy skills supports the results found in an Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB, 2023) study arguing that preparing students to meet the demands of the digital future means providing them with experiential opportunities to understand and apply AI technology today. Regarding the implications these findings have for communication instruction, the AACSB (2023) study underscored how educators can employ generative AI as a valuable instructional tool for enriching student learning and success. By harnessing the possibilities of AI technology, instructors can help students learn to ask questions, apply critical thinking skills, and develop a growth mindset that will prepare them to take on the leadership roles and challenges they will face in the future.

Teaching and Learning

While educator concerns about cheating and academic dishonesty are understandable, banning the use of AI technology in the classroom is a short-sighted response (Duckworth & Ungar, 2023). Instead, instructors should discover ways in which AI technology can help students apply analytical thinking and problem-solving skills. The authors discuss how generative AI illustrates the distinction between knowledge and thinking. For example, while a chatbot may possess an infinite knowledge base of facts and information at its disposal, it lacks the human ability to think, reflect, and reason. To help students further realize the limitations of AI technology, Duckworth and Ungar (2023) describe how educators can help students exercise critical skills in writing and debate, analyzing arguments, examining evidence, and evaluating sources by encouraging them to question and fact check AI-generated information. Rose (2023) proposes that instructors take a dialogic approach to help students use generative AI to practice higher order thinking skills. For example, instructors can ask their students to compare essays they have written to those composed by AI technology. Students can then engage in additional writing and analysis by providing feedback and suggestions for themselves or their classmates on improving their writing.

Generative AI can also be employed as an instructional tool for creating outlines and drafting essays (Roose, 2023; Torres & Nemeroff, 2024). By working individually or with their classmates, students can then apply the outlines to write essays, short stories, and scripts of their own. Students can also practice comparing and contrasting ideas, evaluating evidence, and engaging in debate preparation. Likewise, instructors can work collaboratively with their students in creating grading rubrics for defining the components of a good essay. Students can then use their rubrics to analyze and evaluate essays written by generative AI for content, evidence, and accuracy (McMurtrie, 2023). Educators can also help students gain confidence in preparing for job interviews by using generative AI to gather information about organizations and organizational culture, analyze keywords in job descriptions, practice answering interview questions, and engage in mock interviews (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2024).

Responding to the Future of Generative AI

To examine generative AI's impact and to produce strategies for how to more effectively harness the potential of AI technology in higher education, D'Agostino (2023) spoke with several faculty members and administrators for their recommendations. One of the suggestions they offered is for educators to become familiar with AI technology and to explore the implications it has for enhancing teaching and learning. Achieving this objective, however, means that administrators should provide faculty and staff with the training and support they need for professional development. Educators should also consider the learning objectives of their courses and reflect on how AI technology aligns with achieving those outcomes. They also discussed the importance of considering the types of AI literacy skills that students will need to succeed in the future and the necessity of encouraging students to join the conversation and share their thoughts on why and how they use technology.

While AI technology can be useful in helping students utilize critical thinking skills for effectively addressing the real-world challenges they will face in their future careers, Abramson (2023) argues that educators should also be judicious in integrating its use in the classroom. She offers several insights for instructors to consider such as how technology can help them achieve course objectives and encourage AI literacy. In addition, educators should also weigh the potential for academic dishonesty, communicate their expectations to students on using generative AI, and increase their own AI literacy by applying the technology for planning or administrative purposes. Abramson (2023) advises instructors to exercise patience as AI technology continues to evolve. She points out that while learning new technologies can seem overwhelming, the experience can also be empowering for instructors as well as students. The main take away is that as both educators and students gain greater AI literacy, we will be able to better understand and identify its strengths, weaknesses, biases, and potential for misuse.

Conclusion

The goal of this essay is to examine the emerging literature on generative AI and consider how communication educators can use AI technology to enhance teaching and learning in the classroom. Although educator concerns about the possible misuse of generative AI contributing to academic dishonesty are valid, a total ban of generative AI technology is counterproductive. Instead, communication educators can discover ways to frame the use of AI technology to effectively integrate it into our courses. Besides helping students develop writing and analytical skills, instructors can also help students improve the information and media literacy skills they need to be successful now and in the future. As Edwards et al. (2018) argue, communication scholars have much to add to the conversation about designing, implementing, and evaluating the use of AI technology in instructional contexts in and outside of the classroom to "help guide industry and educators toward best practices" (p. 478). Certainly, generative AI presents new challenges, new levels of complexity, and new opportunities for enhancing rather than replacing critical thinking and creativity in the communication classroom.

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Memory Dis-Membered: A Call to Re-Member the Forgotten Rhetorical Canon

Ryan Eisenhuth

This essay addresses the dis-membering of memory from the traditional rhetorical canon that has taken place in our contemporary mediated environment. After demonstrating the centrality of memory to invention, arrangement, style, and delivery – the other members of the rhetorical canon – I argue that our culture has largely forgotten the importance of cultivating a strong memory for engaging in the public sphere due to the proliferation of communication technologies that "remember so you can forget." As communication teacher-scholars, we must seek to re-member the forgotten canon of memory within our classrooms by cultivating what Arnett (1992) refers to as a "community of memory" with and within our students.

Keywords: *Memory, Rhetorical Canon, Media Ecology, Communication Pedagogy, Communities of Memory.*

Introduction

In the 2022 film, *Doctor Strange in the Multiverse of Madness*, the Marvel superhero Doctor Strange teams up with a mysterious teenage girl, America Chavez – who has the power to instantly travel from one universe to another – to save all the universes from the evil forces of the Scarlet Witch. At one point in the film, Doctor Strange and America visit Memory Lane, a business that allows a person to view their previously forgotten memories. When the pair walks up to the Memory Lane building, an automated voice welcomes them, saying, "Memory Lane. Replay your significant memories, now at a discounted price. We remember so you don't forget" (Raimi, 2022, 0:42:01). The film goes on to use Memory Lane as a plot device that reveals expository information to the audience before the action of the film continues. The remainder of the plot is of little significance for our current purposes. Rather, we must consider the symbolic nature of Memory Lane as it relates to the mediated environment of our culture and our communication classrooms.

The phrase "We remember so you don't forget" acts as a summary statement of how communication technologies function as an extension of one's mind and memory. Starting with the invention of writing, one of the primary functions of communication technologies has been to extend the memory storage capacity of humans. As Ong (2002) noted, before people began writing, they only knew what they could recall from their memories. In the absence of any recording technologies, all spoken utterances vanished as soon as they were uttered (Ong, 2002). Without technologies to record the spoken word, one had to rely on memory alone to make arguments of all kinds in the public sphere and meaningfully contribute to any private conversations. However, as Descartes (1985) noted, human memory "is often unreliable" (p. 67). The lack of reliability of human memory was especially problematic to civilizations with increasingly complex patterns of political power and organization, like the Greek or Roman cultures of antiquity. Thus, writing developed as a response to the exigence of forgetfulness that prevented a developing society from remembering the ever-important spoken word (Ong, 2002). Indeed, the invention of writing allowed for the extension of human memory in a way that was impossible before writing (McLuhan, 2001).

In the millennia following the invention of writing, the inventions of print, the computer, the Internet, the cell phone, and other subsequent communication technologies have all served to further

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extend human memory (Barnet, 2001). At first glance, the extension of memory using technology sounds as if it will lead to nothing but progress in the overall human condition. Nevertheless, the extension of our memory has come at a cost. McLuhan (2001) demonstrated that whenever we amplify or extend any of our senses using media, we always numb or block our perceptive capacity in some way, depending primarily on the senses that are affected by the medium in question. The price we pay to have the power of nearly infinite digital information storage is therefore the numbing of our memory's natural capacity (Carr, 2011). As Sweller (1999) noted, our long-term memory development depends on our ability to transfer information from short-term memory to long-term memory. Small & Vorgan (2009) additionally found that the use of communication technologies over time changes physical neural pathways found in our brains, including the pathways needed to transfer information between short- and long-term memory. Further, contemporary communication technologies tend to divide attention between multiple stimuli, leading to cognitive overload, which, over time, can sever the neural pathways between short- and long-term memory (Sweller, 1999), thereby obstructing the "consolidation of long-term memories and the construction of schemas" not just within individuals, but across populations of those who use contemporary media every day (Carr, 2011, p. 193).

Furthermore, in our mediated environment, "Knowledge is merely recalled in the instant it is needed and is no longer known and lived in the mind of the individual" (Barnet, 2001, p. 218). On one hand, the exteriorization of memory frees the human mind and therefore liberates the human body to focus on other tasks that one deems more important and a better use of the limited resources of time, energy, and mental capacity. The aforementioned Memory Lane slogan of "we remember so you don't forget" could therefore be more accurately stated as "we remember so you can forget" based on the common mentality toward the faculty of memory in the present day. On the other hand, the exteriorization of memory contributes to the alienation of the human person from human history, the thoughts of other people, and one's own experience (Stiegler, 2019). For communicators of all kinds, the exteriorization of memory is especially problematic because memory always proceeds the rhetorical acts of speaking and writing (Barnett, 2001).

In this cultural situation, one would expect the communication teacher-scholars of our day to emphasize the presence of the rhetorical canon of memory in their theory, practice, and pedagogy. The five rhetorical canons of invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery are applicable in all rhetorical situations, and the mastery of the canon of memory is essential to mastering the others (Toye, 2013). Instead, contemporary communication teacher-scholars have largely deemphasized the importance of memory to effective public speaking and writing, arguing that new media have transformed our understanding of rhetoric and that therefore the way we provide rhetorical training and face rhetorical situations should also change (Brooke, 2009). Specifically, Brooke (2009) argued that the canon of memory is completely unnecessary to the way we understand rhetoric today and serves as little more than a reminder of ancient rhetoric in a different place and a different time. For all intents and purposes, it seems as though Brooke's argument has become a taken-for-granted assumption of the communication discipline, based on the increasing emphasis placed on information literacy – which involves the knowledge of how to store, manipulate, evaluate, and retrieve information – over the memorization of speeches in the basic communication classroom (Eyman, 2015). Indeed, in speech and communication departments around the country, "memory is approached largely as an historical interest," rather than a competency to be developed (Pruchnic & Lacey, 2011, p. 473).

As a result, the canon of memory has been largely forgotten by the communication teacher-scholars of our day and has therefore been all but completely dis-membered from the rhetorical canon itself. As I argue below, the dis-membering of memory is quite harmful to the study and practice of human communication. In response to the exigencies that result from the shortcomings of a dis-membered rhetorical canon, we as communication teacher-scholars must seek to re-member the forgotten canon of memory in our communication theory, practice, and pedagogy starting with the cultivation of communities of memory within the communication classroom.

A Fully Membered Canon

We will begin by briefly reviewing the rhetorical canon and memory's relevance to each of the canon's other members. Since the days of Cicero, the rhetorical canon has been used to divide the work of the rhetorician into discrete units of study. The fully membered rhetorical canon consists of invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery (Herrick, 2012). In antiquity, the canon largely served as a pedagogical device used to aid students of rhetoric in preparing a speech (Kennedy, 1999). In addition, the rhetorical canon was thought to impose an order to *all* communication and the thought(s) that proceed(s) *all* communication, whether the message is verbal, nonverbal, or written (Herrick, 2021). The rhetorical canon's usefulness – and the centrality of memory within the rhetorical canon – to public speaking and all other forms of communication will be more apparent by taking a brief look at each of the canon members as they relate to the preparation of a speech-act, which we will broadly define as any message actively sent by a rhetorician through any medium.

Invention is the first member of the rhetorical canon. According to Toye, invention is the process of discovery that involves "coming up with arguments appropriate to the situation" (Toye, 2013, p. 36). Traditionally, invention has been stressed as the most important of the rhetorical canons, as evidenced by the fact that the majority of Cicero's rhetorical writings were dedicated to teaching the skill of developing appropriate arguments. Cicero's emphasis on invention led Roman rhetoricians to emphasize invention over the other canons, thereby leading subsequent cultures to do the same (Herrick, 2021). Even so, it must be stated that invention depends on assembling the necessary evidence for persuasion and reflecting on the nature of the audience to be addressed. That is, in order to generate effective arguments for an audience, rhetoricians must draw upon both general lines of argument common to all kinds of speech acts and specialized knowledge about the subject at hand, both of which should be found in the memory of the rhetorician (Griffin et al., 2015). Thus, even though invention is stressed as the most important of the rhetorical canons, memory always proceeds the speech act as it is enacted.

Arrangement is the second member of the rhetorical canon. According to Toye (2013), arrangement concerns the ordering and structuring of invented material in a speech act. Whether preparing a speech, writing an article, designing a website, or enacting any other kind of speech act, the arrangement and structure of the speech act are intimately related to its capacity to inform or persuade the audience at hand. A typical arrangement involves an introduction to capture the audience's attention, establish the speaker's credibility, and make the speech act's purpose clear; a body that clearly explains the background and premises necessary to understanding the conclusion of the speech act; and a conclusion that reminds listeners or readers of key points and leaves them thinking about the ideas espoused in the speech act (Griffin et al., 2015). Thus, the function of arrangement is to make a speech act more memorable for both the audience and the rhetorician delivering the speech act, thereby ensuring the centrality of memory to the canon of arrangement.

Style is the third member of the rhetorical canon. According to Toye (2013), style is concerned with the words selected by the rhetorician. Toye specifies that the words chosen by a rhetor and the ways in which these words are put together using figurative language are never neutral in the audience member's minds. Using style as a mediator, rhetoricians translate complex ideas and messages into the everyday language and experience of their audience (Troup, 2021). A speech's style, according to Aristotle, is primarily rooted in the metaphor. As Aristotle (1991) noted, "to learn easily is naturally pleasant to all people" and the "metaphor most brings about learning" compared to other figures of speech available to rhetoricians (p. 244). Troup (2021) further expressed that properly used metaphors draw on language to connect reason to the imagination. Thus, listeners, readers, watchers, and even speakers are more likely to remember a well-crafted metaphor than a brilliant idea that is not connected to a metaphor. Like invention and arrangement before, memory is also central to the canon of style. Strong metaphors cannot be generated by rhetoricians without a working memory of how the complex idea being expressed is experienced in the daily lives of their audience members. Additionally, strong metaphors are better remembered by the speaker and therefore help the speaker to more effectively deliver their message (Hennessey, 1959).

Memory is the fourth member of the rhetorical canon. According to Toye (2013), memory involves the ability to deliver the different parts of a speech without (or with minimal reference to) notes, teleprompters, or any other exterior memory aids. Toye (2013) further specified that memory is useful for the internalization of relevant facts, phrases, words, and values that essentially form the building blocks of any argument. Even though memory is listed as the fourth rhetorical canon in Cicero's writings on rhetoric, it seems as though memory was the last category to be added. As Griffin and colleagues (2015) noted, "Aristotle's students needed no reminder that good speakers are able to draw upon a collection of ideas and phrases stored in the mind" (p. 291). Even so, memory was added to the canon because "Roman teachers found it necessary to stress the importance of memory" due to the fundamental role that one's memory plays in their ability to effectively apply the other rhetorical canons to their speech act (Griffin et al., 2015, p. 291).

Delivery is the fifth and final member of the rhetorical canon. According to Toye (2013), delivery involves "questions of accent, posture, gesture, tone of voice," and other nonverbal elements of a speech act that have "a profound effect on how a speech is received" by its audience (p. 40). To deliver a speech well, Herrick (2021) wrote that speakers must control their voice and body in a manner that is "suitable to the dignity of the subject matter and the style" (p. 108). However, in the contemporary age, in which rhetoric has been divorced from its original context of public speaking, it is increasingly clear that delivery involves more than a gesture, physical movement, and expression (Welch, 1999). Rather, as Brooke (2005) noted, many contemporary rhetoricians assert that there is an intimate connection between the act of delivery and the medium of communication used to deliver a message. Like the rest of the canon, memory is important to delivery because any rhetorician must remember the affordances and limits of each communication medium to deliver their message effectively to a given audience.

As we have seen from this brief review of the rhetorical canon, the faculty of memory is crucial to each of the other canons: memory always precedes invention; arrangement and style function to make a speech act more memorable to both the audience and the rhetorician; and effective delivery depends on an effective memory of how each medium of communication will impact the meaning of a message. Nevertheless, of the five rhetorical canons, "memory has by far suffered the largest scholarly decline over the centuries" (Pruchnic & Lacey, 2011, p. 472). Starting with Ramus' (1986) reduction of memory to a mere supporting role – rather than a fundamental role – of rhetorical practice, the canon of memory has increasingly been forgotten by teachers of the rhetorical arts. Since Ramus, the conception of rhetorical memory as "little more than the practicing of effective mnemonic techniques" has rarely been questioned by rhetoricians (Pruchnic & Lacey, 2011). Responding to this observation, Griffin et al. (2015) lament that memory is a largely lost art in our society. Even so, they downgrade the importance of memory in relation to the rest of the rhetorical canon by dis-ordering the canon and discussing memory last, after their discussion of delivery. They further demonstrate that the canon of memory is less important than ever before because "most of us aren't speaking in public every day;" thus, "the modern equivalent of memory is rehearsal" (p. 290). The intention of memory, in this sense, is to develop a sort of "muscle memory" of one's speech, rather than emphasizing the importance of increasing the overall capacity of one's mind (Griffin et al., 2015). Thus, it seems as though the canon of memory has been all but officially dis-membered from the rhetorical canon.

The Dis-Membering of Memory

The faculty of memory has been largely dis-membered from the overall rhetorical canon in our contemporary society. Because memory plays a central role in the generation of speech acts of all kinds, rhetoricians must seek to re-member the forgotten canon of memory by emphasizing the importance of memory to the other members of the rhetorical canon. Before we can discuss how to re-member the canon of memory in our rhetorical theory, practice, and pedagogy, we must understand how memory has become dis-membered from the rest of the canon in the first place. The dis-membering of memory is largely a result of a radically changed mediated environment in Western culture. As I argue below, the mediated environment has changed radically due to the proliferation of communication technologies that

extend the capability of human memory by expanding the capacity to store information but numbing the faculty of memory by alienating rhetoricians from the knowledge that they once stored in their mind. This change began with Western culture's shift from being a predominantly oral culture to a predominantly literate culture.

Ong (2002) defined oral cultures as those cultures that are "untouched by writing in any form;" by the nature of the human condition, those in oral cultures must "learn a great deal and possess and practice great wisdom" to survive (p. 8). However, unlike those who live in contemporary cultures that are radically impacted by the invention of writing, those who lived in oral cultures can only learn through the dissemination of sound. As Ong (2002) noted, sound has a special relationship to time, unlike any other human sensation. In his own words, "sound exists only when it is going out of existence" (p. 31). Thus, those in oral cultures must depend on the faculty of memory alone in order to grow in learning, knowledge, and wisdom. The introduction of writing to the oral cultures of the past made it possible for people to "remember" learning, knowledge, and wisdom through the externalization of information. As the medium of writing proliferated through what were once exclusively oral cultures, knowledge no longer needed to be held in the minds and souls of the people, leading to a restructuring of human consciousness (Ong, 2002).

Responding to the restructuring of human consciousness that resulted from the introduction of writing, Plato (1973) noted several objections to the new technology in Phaedrus. First, a written text is unresponsive. As Ong (2002) demonstrated, "If you ask a person to explain his or her statement, you can get an explanation; if you ask a text, you get back nothing except the same, often stupid, words which called for your question in the first place" (p. 78). Plato additionally argued that writing is inhuman, as it is a manufactured product and can therefore only pretend "to establish outside the mind what in reality can only be in the mind" (Ong, 2002, p. 78). Finally, and most importantly for our purposes, writing destroys the faculty of memory: "Those who use writing will become forgetful, relying on an external resource for what they lack in internal resources. Writing weakens the mind" (Ong, 2002, p. 78). Despite Plato's critiques, Ong (2002) goes on to demonstrate that "Plato's philosophically analytical thought was possible only because of the effects that writing was beginning to have on mental processes" (p. 79). The written word does not lead to pure memory in the human mind and soul but rather functions as a reminder of what has been learned in the past (Carr, 2011). Indeed, the written word allows humans to grow in learning, knowledge, and wisdom as it enables them to contribute new thoughts and ideas to the ongoing conversation of life, rather than requiring them to continuously repeat the same thoughts and ideas verbally so that they can be memorized and preserved through the generations. Thus, writing, like Memory Lane in *Doctor Strange in the Multiverse of Madness*, is used by humans so that they do not forget the learning, knowledge, and wisdom that has been bestowed on them from the past.

As the dominant communication technology evolved from writing to print, from print to radio, from radio to television, from television to computers, and from computers to artificial intelligence and beyond, Carr (2014) observed that we have increasingly looked to these technologies to shoulder more of our physical and mental work. Today, when we have a question, instead of asking another human or looking up the answer in a book, we Google it. We constantly consult our screens, take advice from digitally constructed voices, and defer to the wisdom of algorithms as we seek information that is remembered by our technologies instead of our minds (Carr, 2014). In *Technopoly*, Postman (1993) argued that new technologies, like computers, "define our age by suggesting a new relationship to information, to work, to power, and to nature itself…the computer redefines humans as 'information processors' and nature itself as information to be processed" (1993, p. 111). According to Postman (1993), our communication technologies have also shown that they can "think" better and faster than we can, and we have therefore removed a lot of decision-making authority from humans and given a lot of decision-making authority to our computers. As such, we are less likely to engage in the "kind of real-world practice that generates knowledge, enriches memory, and builds skill" (Carr, 2014, p. 84). In other words, we have tacitly given up our faculty of memory and our desire to grow in the faculty of memory within our contemporary mediated environment. Instead of remembering so that we don't forget, our communication technologies remember so that we can forget.

The evolution of communication technologies that store seemingly infinite amounts of information has led us to neglect the importance of human memory to the overall human condition. In other words, we have forgotten the importance of developing the faculty of our own memories. This is apparent in many places in Western society — from the way we educate our children in school to "cram" for tests, "dump" the right answers onto the test, and then forget the material covered by the test soon after, to the way in which digital calendars automatically send notifications to remind us of our commitments each day. All of this leads to what Stiegler (2019) referred to as a "pharmacological condition of anamnesis," or what can be more easily understood as a cultural condition of amnesia (p. 109).

For our purposes, one of the most telling symptoms of our cultural condition of amnesia is the dis-membering of the rhetorical canon in the way in which it is reproduced by and taught to rhetoricians at all levels of the discipline. The canon of memory has been largely forgotten and therefore dis-membered from the rest of the rhetorical canon as Cicero once envisioned it. Brooke's (2005) argument that memory increasingly stands as an unnecessary canon, which was once a radical statement, is now taken for granted by many teacher-scholars of rhetoric as evidenced by the scholarly decline of interest in memory – especially as it is compared to the other rhetorical canons – over the last few centuries (Arellano, 2023). Instead of being seen as a necessary precedent to effective invention for all kinds of speech acts, memory has been reduced to a mere rehearsal of speeches in the way it is taught to budding rhetoricians (Griffin et al., 2015). Indeed, as Pruchnic & Lacey (2011) noted, "memory is approached largely as an historical interest, implicitly foregrounding how foreign the importance of memory in early rhetoric now seems in our own time" (p. 473). The rightful place of memory in the rhetorical canon has therefore been forgotten by contemporary rhetoricians. One way we can begin to address this exigence is by committing to re-member the forgotten canon of memory within the communication classroom.

Re-Membering Memory in the Communication Classroom

As communication teacher-scholars, we must seek to re-member the canon of memory, which has been dis-membered from the rest of the rhetorical canon. In some ways, the dis-membering of memory through exteriorization can be beneficial to humans as it affords greater efficiency in any work that requires knowledge. According to Descartes (1985), writing and computer technologies ensure that it is "impossible for our memory to go wrong, and our mind will not be distracted by having to retain these [unnecessary memories] while it is taken up with deducing other matters" (p. 66). However, while the exteriorization of memory allows "the imagination to devote itself freely and completely to the ideas immediately before it" (Descartes, 1985, p. 67), Stiegler (2019) noted that Descartes' ideas do not account for Plato's warning of the death of human memory, as it was discussed in the prior section. Instead, Stiegler (2019) contended that the exteriorization of memory intended to "liberate" memory leads instead to the "alienation" of memory and imagination from the rest of the human condition. The alienation of memory and imagination becomes problematic when one realizes that memory and imagination proceed all human communication, rather than being a mere vestigial result of the utterances retained in the mind even after the sound of the utterance has vanished from existence.

To Vico (1965), eloquence in all forms was characterized not by natural talent, but by a superhuman effort that required attention to memory. Vico's (1965) conception of effective rhetoric required perspicacity, which is the quality of having insight based on one's memory. In his analysis of Vico's rhetoric, Schaeffer (1990) explained that the best way to grow in one's rhetorical faculty under Vico's conception of perspicacity is to learn "how to select from memory all the learning relevant to a particular situation" and "how to focus such learning on a particular case in an imaginative and effective speech" (p. 56). Memory, to Vico, is "far more than a means of storage;" instead, memory is "the first step in the process of synthesis" that "supplies matter to invention" (Carr, 2011, p. 179). Thus, in order to truly learn something so that it can be used to serve others through a speech act, it must first be remembered by the rhetorician and retained in their long-term memory. This is because ingenuity in

speaking and in writing requires the store of words and experiences, which can only be found in the mind of a rhetorician (Schaeffer, 1990). Nevertheless, a rhetorician cannot just say whatever is on their mind. Instead, a selection of data must be taken into account for a rhetorician to speak into any situation effectively (Schaeffer, 1990). A selection of data is not possible for a rhetorician unless multiple data points are retained in the memory to be selected, interpreted, and translated into meaningful knowledge for a speech act. Thus, in order to have meaningful insight, one must have memories that can be applied to the current situation and the eloquence necessary to translate those memories into a form that is useful to their audience. At the center of this process, of course, is the rhetorical canon of memory.

The purpose of rhetorical training is to equip rhetors "to find and articulate truth in the public sphere" (Schaeffer, 1990, p. 68). As we have seen, this rhetorical training requires the development of the faculty of memory to be successful. Indeed, Vico (1965) directly stated that "the teacher should give the greatest care to the cultivation of the pupil's memory" (p. 14). What actions should teachers of rhetoric and communication take to effectively cultivate the memory of their students? Vico argued that the development of memory can be "encouraged by poetry, painting, and oratory" (Schaeffer, 1990, p. 72). Such activities provided students with the material necessary to draw upon for oral creation at a later time (Schaeffer, 1990); however, the rhetoricians of our day must have a working memory that enables them to "speak into the situation" through other media, such as the written word and the electronic word. How can teacher-scholars of communication help their students to develop a memory that can help them to write effectively as well as speak effectively? Arnett (1992) argued that it all starts with cultivating a "community of memory" within the classroom (p. 131).

A "community of memory" is a community that "does not forget its past" by constantly involving people in the retelling of its story (Bellah et al, 1985, p. 153). As Brooks (2019) claimed, all communities must be organized around a common story: a story that defines the context of a community by specifying where a community came from, where it is going, who the people in the community are, and the proper actions that define them (pp. 282-283). The "community of memory" assumes that all human beings are born in the midst of a story and that to create something new that impacts humans for the better, one must work to cultivate the story into which they are born (Crouch, 2008, pp. 74-75). Arnett further explained that to cultivate the story of a community, one must cultivate the tradition of a community. He writes, "A community of memory is a tradition whose past continues to guide its future. We invite students into a community of memory as we offer conversation, our relationship, and time" (Arnett, 1992, p. 132). As communication teacher-scholars, what tangible actions can we take to cultivate the traditions necessary for communities of memory to thrive in our classrooms? I contend that reading a variety of books, taking advantage of commonplace notebooks, facilitating discussions during class time, and assessing learning outcomes using oral exams are helpful traditions that can be – and, in many cases, already are – integrated into classrooms to cultivate thriving communities of memory, as they are described above.

As a starting point for developing communities of memory, students must be asked to read a variety of books, from a variety of authors, times, and places, that espouse a variety of ideas. Ideas and people are at the center of education, politics, relationships, culture, employment, and organizational life, and therefore many books should be read by students to understand people and ideas, especially primary sources with which they may disagree (Arnett, 1992). Even so, long-term memory is not developed by the act of reading alone. Adler and Van Doren (2014) encouraged students to mark their books by underlining key quotes, doodling a star by the most important passages, circling key terms, and writing their conversations with the author in the book's margins. Using a similar practice, Renaissance humanist Erasmus suggested that every student should keep a notebook, organized by subject, to write down anything worth remembering as they read (Rummel, 1996). These notebooks were called commonplace notebooks, and they were considered to be "necessary tools for the cultivation of an educated mind," especially when entries were transcribed by hand and rehearsed regularly to develop memory (Carr, 2011, p. 179). With a variety of books read and a series of key ideas recorded in their commonplace notebooks, students are ready to discuss ideas in class with one another. By hosting discussions in which students can wrestle with complex contemporary issues, relate those issues to ideas read about and recorded in their commonplace notebooks, and enter into dialogue with their peers, communication teacher-scholars can

reinforce "effective oral communication practices" including the development of strong rhetorical memory (Ruiz-Mesa & Hunter, 2019, p. 140).

After a variety of ideas are read in books, written in commonplace notebooks, and discussed between students, student learning must be assessed. In addition to using conventional assessment methods such as written exams, research papers, and oral presentations, prioritizing the use of oral examinations can further aid the cultivation of communities of memory within the classroom (Burke-Smalley, 2014). Oral exams are especially appropriate for testing students' depth of understanding, ability to organize ideas, and ability to express complex concepts on the spot using language appropriate to their audience (Evans, Ingersoll, & Smith, 1966). These are precisely the skills that the fully membered rhetorical canon aims to develop in students. Furthermore, the fact that during the exam, "the student is sitting a few feet away . . . and making eye contact" with the instructor ensures that the content is held in the student's memory while minimizing the risk of student cheating (Burke-Smalley, 2014, p. 267). As such, oral exams can be especially valuable in our contemporary mediated environment considering the increasing concern over students using ChatGPT and other artificial intelligence tools to cheat on assignments (Keegan, 2023). Ultimately, adopting or maintaining pedagogical traditions including reading a variety of books, encouraging the use of commonplace notebooks, making time for serious discussion in class, and taking advantage of oral exams can make leaps and bounds toward the cultivation of communities of memory within communication classrooms. As Arnett (1992) argued, a commitment to cultivating these communities of memory gives each student an internal catalog of people, ideas, categories, ways of thinking, and experiences from which they will be able to draw when they are communicating or preparing to communicate in any medium. The cultivation of such classrooms around the country will not only benefit the students in each class, but it will benefit our whole society, as it leads to the creation of "a thoughtful and well-educated population from which to elect future leaders" (Arnett, 1992, p. 211). This whole process begins with a commitment to re-member the forgotten canon of memory back into the rhetorical canon.

Conclusion: A Call to Re-Member

Effective communication through any medium has traditionally depended on the rhetorical canons of invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery (Herrick, 2021). Since the days of Cicero in the Roman Empire, these canons have been a staple of rhetorical training and communication education. Due to the proliferation of contemporary communication technologies, which not only "remember" information so that you don't forget but "remember" information so that you can forget, the canon of memory has been dis-membered from the rhetorical canon (Brooke, 2005). While the dis-memberment of memory was controversial at first, it has been largely accepted today by communication teacher-scholars, as evidenced by the fact that, when teaching the canons, "memory" is either ignored altogether or typically only refers to the "rehearsal" of a speech or the "memory aids" used when delivering a speech (Griffin et al., 2015, p. 291).

As the communication discipline changes, grows, and evolves with progressively advanced technologies, the importance of memory is increasingly forgotten. However, as I have argued, memory is essential to all other aspects of the rhetorical canon: memory proceeds invention, memory is the goal of arrangement and style, and successful delivery depends on effective memory of how each medium of communication is experienced by the audience. Even though memory has been dis-membered and forgotten by communication professionals and rhetoricians of all kinds, the memory of facts, stories, and experiences is at the root of eloquent speech, eloquent writing, and eloquent production design in all areas of contemporary rhetoric. Thus, memory is essential, rather than vestigial, to the work of a communication professional (Schaeffer, 1990). As such, teacher-scholars of communication must take the advice of Vico and strive to "give the greatest care to the cultivation of the pupil's memory" (1965, p. 14). Several practical implications of these ideas include requiring students to read a variety of books while keeping track of key ideas using commonplace notebooks, discussing these ideas with other students during class time, and assessing students' mastery of these ideas using oral examinations. Such teaching

practices will give students more opportunities to commit course content to long-term memory, cultivate communities of memory between students within the classroom, and give students tools of the mind to draw upon and apply to a variety of circumstances, no matter what kind of work they are doing in the discipline of communication.

The "motto" of our former communication technology is "We remember so you don't forget," as it is espoused by Memory Lane in *Doctor Strange in the Multiverse of Madness* (Raimi, 2022, 0:42:01). Meanwhile, the motto of our contemporary and future communication technology is and is increasingly becoming, "We remember so you can forget." Even so, the canon of memory is increasingly vital to successful theory, practice, and pedagogy in the communication discipline. One must cultivate memory in order to create memorable communication in the future (Crouch, 2008). One must remember the names of the people around them in order to grow in relationships (Van Manen, 2014). Such relationships will only transform into friendships if details from conversations and shared experiences are remembered over time. One must remember the story of their community, especially when they are a communication professional whose role is quite literally to tell the story of their community. Furthermore, a cultivated memory may be one of the only things that set a competent rhetorician apart from artificial intelligence technology which is increasingly used to more efficiently complete the work of communication professionals at all levels of organizational life (Rogers, 2019). A well-cultivated memory will ensure that a human knowledge worker is able to generate and arrange messages and metaphors to communicate with humans more effectively than is possible using artificial intelligence systems. When all is said and done, effective communication in all contexts will not occur unless information is stored in the memory of the human mind to be translated into meaningful terms through the processes of invention, arrangement, style, and delivery. As teacher-scholars of communication, we must work to re-member the canon of memory, the dis-membered and forgotten member of the rhetorical canon.

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